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CUZCO GENERAL STRIKE DEMANDS FREEDOM FOR HUGO BLANCO

Cuzco, Peru's 11,440-foot-high city which was the ancient capital of the Incas, was shaken by a most militant general strike December 20. The central demand was the immediate release of Hugo Blanco and some sixty other peasant leaders held prisoner by the government. Agence France Presse reported in a dispatch from Lima.

Hugo Blanco is a Trotskyist leader whose role in organizing the peasantry into unions made him a national figure. Seized by government troops last summer, his renown has increased as he calmly awaits trial at Arequipa on a charge that may mean his death.

Demonstrations in cities as widely separated as Tokyo, Rome, London, Toronto and New York have demanded freedom for him and the other peasant leaders.

Che Guevara, while visiting Algeria, joined in the campaign by praising Hugo Blanco's courage as a revolutionist.

The Cuzco general strike is undoubtedly associated with a new rise in the Peruvian peasant movement.

In recent months peasants in various parts of the country have seized land long held by the ruling oligarchy. In some instances the landholders have responded with savage reprisals.

The Lima dispatch, as it appeared in the European press, is as follows:

* * *

LIMA, Dec. 21 (AFP) -- A number of wounded, a priest listed as missing, railway and telegraph lines cut, the city of Cuzco completely in the hands of thousands of strikers -- that is the first balance sheet of grave incidents that happened Friday evening as part of a 24-hour general strike that paralyzed Cuzco, third city of the country, and the surrounding area.

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE - Hebdomadaire

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The strikers, peasants, workers and students were demonstrating to obtain the release of some sixty extremists, including the guerrilla leader Hugo Blanco, jailed for some months for breaking the law, according to the authorities.

Thousands of peasants "marched" on Cuzco, while the city itself was completely isolated from the rest of the country and in the hands of thousands of other strikers who turned to pillaging. Offices and businesses locked their doors while the police retreated to their barracks and the central prison in order "to avoid any bloodshed." A thousand demonstrators nevertheless battled police in the Urumba area, leaving behind them a number of wounded. A priest of this town "disappeared" during the encounter.

It is still not known in Lima what followed these happenings.

WITCH-HUNT TRIAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Two trials of political opponents of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa have disappeared from the columns of the big newspapers of the West. One of them, the Nelson Mandela case, created such a scandal when it was first scheduled that the United Nations passed a resolution calling on the South African government to drop it. Later it was quashed by the court only to be resumed under a modified indictment. [See World Outlook October 18 and November 15.]

The second case, in which the principal figure is Neville Alexander, one of South Africa's most distinguished colored scholars, received brief attention in the London Observer and considerably more in West Germany where Dr. Alexander is well known. Other than that, there has been dead silence.

Because of the fascist-like conditions prevailing under the Verwoerd government, the defense labors under great difficulties both in the court and in securing adequate publicity and funds. It would seem, therefore, that the Western press which likes to boast about the "freedom" it enjoys in handling the news, would be especially concerned to keep the public informed about these two important trials. Such has not been the case. For information, it has become necessary to depend on the South African press itself which is either afraid to speak out or interested in avoiding facts that might place the Verwoerd government in too vile a light. We have just received a batch of clippings taken from this partially muzzled press reporting the proceedings in the Alexander trial. From this we offer some excerpts that should prove of interest and which we hope will help break through the conspiracy of silence.

The eleven on trial in Cape Town are:

Neville Edward Alexander, holder of two doctorates in Germany philology, first colored South African student to ever receive a scholarship from the Alexander Von Humboldt-Stiftung Foundation and the first colored South African scholar to win a doctor's degree in

in Germany in German philology.

Don John William Davis, 42 years old, a minister.

Marcus Solomons, 24, a schoolteacher.

Elizabeth van der Heyden, 28, a schoolteacher.

Fikele Charles Bam, 26, senior law student at the University of Cape Town.

Lionel Basil Davis, 27, a storeman.

Ian Leslie van der Heyden.

Dulcie Evon September.

Dorothy Hazel Alexander.

Doris van der Heyden.

Gordon Frederick Hendriks.

The case began July 12 when Neville Alexander was arrested in his home under the infamous 90-day detention law. Under this law he was "interrogated" for 76 days without benefit of counsel. On September 27 he was given a 20-minute hearing and remanded to "summary trial" before the Supreme Court. He was denied bail and the trial was set for November 4. The circumstances of the arrest of the others are not specified in the press reports we have received.

The prosecution is represented by Deputy Attorney-General J.E. Nöthling and D.B. Brunette. Gerald Gordon, QC, R.M. Marais and H.S. Strauss are defending eight of the accused and Mr. Marais and Mr. Strauss, the others.

Accused of "Conspiracy"

All the defendants are colored. All of them have pleaded not guilty. They face a "main charge" of allegedly conspiring to overthrow the government by means of violent revolution, guerrilla warfare and sabotage. Three "alternative charges" are also lodged against them. The first one is based on the same alleged facts as the main charge. The other two alternatives come under the "Suppression of Communism Act" and allege that the defendants furthered the aims of Communism or incited others to do so by devising or supporting a doctrine or scheme which aimed at bringing about a political, social or economic change in South Africa by the promotion of disorder. The penalty can be up to the death sentence.

According to the Cape Argus [November 8], Deputy-Attorney General J.E. Nöthling said, "The State will attempt to prove that all of the accused belong to the Yu Chi Chan Club (Y.C.C.C.), also called the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.), whose objects were to overthrow

the Government in the manner I have mentioned."

The "conspiracy" occurred at various meetings allegedly held by this organization. Part of the "conspiracy" consisted of seeking to raise funds through the "South African Students' Bursary and Loan Fund."

The first witness called by the state's attorney was Lt. Samson Esais Sauerman of the South African Police, Cape Town. Here is how the Cape Argus describes his testimony:

"Lieutenant Sauerman said that on July 12 this year he went to the house Sandhurst, 8 Swiss Road, Lansdowne. Where Neville Alexander answered his knock at the door.

"Alexander invited him to come into the bedroom as he said he friends [sic] in the living-room.

"I said I would like to meet his friends, and he took me to the living-room," the lieutenant said.

"Seated round a table in the room were another of the accused, Ian Leslie van der Heyden, and two other non-White men, Reginald Franken and Gerald Giose.

"There was half a bottle of brandy and a bottle of wine on the table, and a book entitled 'The Red Army of China.'

"In a sideboard, which was locked, he found a number of books, pamphlets and documents. He then told Alexander that he was arresting him under the Suppression of Communism Act.

"Lieutenant Sauerman then handed in as exhibits, a book entitled 'Strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War,' by Mao Tse-tung; a book 'The Paris Commune,' by I.V.Lenin [sic]; a book 'Yu Chi Chan Guerrilla Warfare,' by Mao Tse-tung; two copies of a book 'Partisan Warfare'; and a German newspaper 'Zeitung.'

"These articles had all been contained in an envelope addressed to 'Herr Dr. A. Alexander.'

"Lieutenant Sauerman also handed in the following items which, he said were also found in the sideboard: a booklet entitled 'When, Where and Why the N.L.F. was Formed'; a handwritten foolscap sheet headed 'Short Report on Activities in South West Africa'; another headed 'Conditions for Victory'; four handwritten folios headed "N.L.F. Work in Towns.'

"There were also handwritten reports 'Torture in South Africa,' and 'Decisions of the International Executive,' and a typed report headed: 'Poqo -- We Stand Alone.'"

Books Read into Court Record

To introduce this "evidence" in the record, the prosecution then began reading the contents of these books, pamphlets and reports. D.B.

Brunette began to read as the first incriminating item, Mao Tse-tung's strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War, including what was written on the flyleaf and the index.

By November 11, Brunette had finished reading aloud The Paris Commune by Lenin and the prosecution announced that it would introduce more books probably the following day.

On November 13 Brunette read into the record the text of Che Guevara's book Guerrilla Warfare. The prosecution claimed that this book was found in the possession of one of the defendants, Don John William Davis.

Certain paragraphs in this book where Guevara describes the "duty" of a guerrilla fighter were reported in the South African press.

Under cross-examination by the defense on November 14, Det.-Sgt. J.P. van Wyk, who searched the home of Neville Alexander, admitted that he found hundreds of books there but he refused to specify what proportion were political (the ones seized by the police). He said he did not remember whether any books had authors with names like Goethe and Kant but he thought he remembered seeing Das Kapital by Karl Marx and also a book "by Lenin."

The November 14 session provided a sensational item for next day's Cape Times. This was an article "Torture in South Africa," which appeared in Liberation, Volume 1, No. 3, official journal of the National Liberation Front. The article charged that "White-controlled South Africa" was resorting to torture.

"During the Algerian revolution," the article was quoted as saying, "the French used the most brutal methods of persuasion to get information from their prisoners as regards the activities of the FLN. These brutal methods of getting information were intensified as the struggle progressed.

"We in South Africa can and must expect similar treatment from the police and the Army. In 1959 already two top-ranking Army officers and one police officer were sent to Algeria to study the methods the French were using in the war against the Algerians."

How "Conspirators" Operated

On November 15, in an effort to show how the "conspirators" operated, the prosecution brought in two witnesses.

Dan Arthur Daniels, a colored building contractor said that he had known defendant Don Davis for three or four years. "He was a preacher in our church, the Assembly of God."

Daniels claimed that the minister began talking to him about "how we are suffering under certain laws."

"I said I was not interested in politics," Mr. Daniels said. "He then gave me a little book "Guerrilla Warfare" by Mao Tse-tung."

"I saw later that it was a banned book and I burnt it."

The second witness Charles Stephen Pitt, a colored apprentice plumber, said Davis paid him a visit at his parents home and showed him a pamphlet.

"He put it on the table," Mr. Pitt said, "then my mother took it and burnt it."

On November 18 another colored witness, H.C. van Rooyen, was put on the stand by the state. He claimed that Davis had said the whites had a laboratory at Cape Town in which they destroyed colored babies.

The defense sought to show that Davis had spoken about two different things: (1) a laboratory at Cape Town and (2) the high rate of deaths among colored children due to malnutrition and gastro-enteritis.

Other witnesses were also put on the stand to try to prove that Davis was guilty of distributing pamphlets dealing with guerrilla warfare.

On November 20, the government put a paid police spy on the witness stand. This was one Cecil Dempster who claimed that Alexander had come to his home on July 8 and given him a bundle of pamphlets "about Cuba." After a few days the police called to pick them up.

Under cross-examination Dempster admitted that he was not paid a salary by the police but only for the work he did and that this was actually the first job he had done for them. He was often visited by the police while working on the assignment. "I am a police informer," he said.

He claimed that among the money-raising efforts he participated in, one was organization of a dance. "Any money over was to go to buy weapons, but after we paid for the hire of the hall there was no money left."

"Led Weeping from the Box"

The Cape Argus of December 12 reported dramatic details about the trial. In two days four witnesses for the prosecution refused to testify although this could signify savage reprisals.

"Today Mr. Nöthling called Miss Dorothy Adams, a Coloured woman, who was warned by the judge that she was regarded by the prosecution as an accomplice.

"The judge told her she would be indemnified from prosecution if she answered all questions to the satisfaction of the court. He then asked: 'Are you prepared to give evidence under oath?'

"Miss Adams, who was wearing dark glasses, burst into tears. 'I can't do it,' she sobbed as she looked towards the accused in the box.

"She was led weeping from the box."

On the previous day, Det.-Sgt. D.J. Greeff claimed to have found in a "backyard shed" a box "containing rolls of paper, a revolver without a

trigger and a plastic bottle fitted with a wick made of pyjama cord." Another witness claimed that the box had been left by the minister Don Davis.

Following Miss Adams, Enver Marney was placed on the stand to identify another "incriminating" object alleged to belong to one of the defendants. He "said that in June he had borrowed a portable typewriter from Dr. Alexander.

"He said he did not, in fact, use the typewriter, because the ribbon was faulty. When he heard that Dr. Alexander had been detained, he gave the typewriter to his niece, Maureen Hendricks."

Mr. Marney, a self-proclaimed expert on "South African non-European [colored] politics for 18 years," held that guerrilla warfare and violence are "quite inapplicable" in a modern country.

"He said he felt Dr. Alexander was under the influence of 'European political thought,' and admired the type of struggle conducted in Algeria."

He felt that it was clear that Dr. Alexander "had a group going that was fascinated by Black nationalism."

Another prosecution witness, Robert Wheatley, said that Elizabeth van der Heyden had sought to book a hotel hall for a dance on June 12.

Trevor Potgieter said that Miss van der Heyden and Miss September had sought to rent accommodations at the Trade Union House for the South African Students' Bursary and Loan Fund in June but that in August they had called him by telephone to say that the office would not be taken up.

"Reasonable Possibility"

On December 4 Elizabeth van der Heyden was called to the witness stand. She was asked if she had voluntarily given an officer of the Security Police a handwriting sample while she was detained under the 90-day clause.

"I don't consider that anything under 90 days is done voluntarily or freely she said."

After argument, Justice van Heerden held that the exhibit was admissible. In the case of Marcus Solomons, however, he upheld the contention of the defense that a sample of his handwriting was not admissible. Solomons had said that he did not give the sample until September 30, three days after being hit, kicked in the stomach and being bent backwards by Sergeant van Wyk. On being asked once more to give the sample of handwriting, Solomon had done so out of fear that he would be again assaulted. The judge found that there was a "reasonable possibility" that Solomons "reasonably apprehended that he might be assaulted."

The political views of the defendants have not emerged in the reports appearing in the South African press. The Cape Times of November 14, however, quoted an editorial in Vol. 1, No. 1, of the National Liberation Front, the official journal of the National Liberation Front, which the prosecution

alleged was found in the room of Fikele Charles Bam and which was read into the court record:

"It is with a sense of pride and revolutionary achievement that we introduce our members to this, the first issue.

"The need for an illegal newspaper to serve as a national organizer of the South African revolution has made the appearance of Liberation essential.

"It is dedicated precisely to this task, i.e., to the organization and co-ordination of the South African revolution.

"We hope to open its pages to all dedicated revolutionaries inside and outside South Africa.

"Spontaneous revolutions have never occurred in history. Today it is even more necessary than ever that every conscious revolutionary has a clear idea of our goals."

Critical of Communist Party

According to the Cape Times account of what was read into the court record, Liberation recommended certain literature to be read on guerrilla warfare, communism, fund-raising, business ventures, organization of cells, identification of members and "espionage."

The issue contains reports on various South African organizations, including the Communist party, Congress Alliance, Pan-Africanist Congress, the Non-European Unity Movement, the anti-CAD Movement and the South West African People's Organization. Its report on the Communist party is critical:

"Since 1960, i.e., Sharpeville, the C.P. has made a determined effort to put itself at the head of affairs once more.

"Its strategy has been to try to upset the security of the State to such an extent as to bring about mass reprisals resulting in international intervention -- in the form of UNO.

"In other words, it has almost deliberately cut itself off from the masses and is advocating petty terrorism which is objectively not directly linked with a mass movement.

"It is interesting to note in this respect, that the CPSA has invariably supported Khrushchev's interpretation of the policy of peaceful co-existence in the Sino-Soviet quarrel about tactics and strategy.

"Although it helped to draw up Freedom Charter with its slogans of nationalization of the mines, etc., its policy does not go beyond bourgeois democratic demands of the Liberals."

Whatever the political views of the defendants may be, it is clear that they are victims of a witch-hunt. From the evidence it is only pos-

sible to conclude that they are being tried for (1) harboring thoughts frowned on by the Verwoerd government, (2) allegedly reading, recommending or having in their possession books and pamphlets banned by this same fascist-like regime. The trial, even as reflected in an utterly one-sided manner in the South African press, is strikingly similar to some of the trials that occurred under Hitler in Nazi Germany.

Everyone concerned about democratic rights in the world today should help spread the facts about South Africa's infamous thought-control laws and the crucifixion of the political opposition.

THE POLICE TURN UP A WITNESS

[From indirect evidence, such as appears in the article below, it can be gathered that the eleven defendants, headed by Dr. Neville Alexander, in the Cape Town "sabotage" trial are immensely popular among the colored people of the city. The case is undoubtedly the topic of daily conversation among wide circles.

[The atmosphere of police terror reigning in South Africa can also be deduced from some of the facts presented.

[The article, a report in the Cape Times of December 7 on what happened the previous day in court in the trial when a prosecution witness decided to testify after previously refusing, is reproduced without any changes. The subtitles appear in the original.]

RELEASED DETAINEE: I HAD LIFE OF HELL OUTSIDE

A former 90-day detainee told yesterday of conditions in prison and his "life of hell" after he was released, when friends called him a traitor and a fifth columnist. "I was a branded man and could not even go to our local bioscope," he said.

Mr. X -- the Press was ordered not to identify the witness - gave evidence at the trial of 11 people in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, charged with sabotage.

Mr. X said he had enough to eat in prison. The food was not "too bad." He gave a lot of his food to Don Davis -- an accused -- because he knew Davis was a big eater.

Complained

In the morning they had porridge and coffee and dry bread. Sometimes the coffee was with milk. In the afternoons they had a cooked meal, and if there was food over, they had it at night.

If not, they had soup and coffee and dry bread, or just coffee and dry bread.

The prison authorities were "good to them" and once they -- the

Coloured detainees -- complained of the food given to the African detainees.

"The prison chief said he would see what he could do and the African detainees were given the same food as we got.

"We were only given the Bible to read and no other reading matter. We were taken to a yard for exercise every morning, but only for 15 minutes. We could wash every morning.

"Sometimes we had a cheeky warder and then we could only have five minutes for a wash.

"We were not allowed visitors and when I did not sleep or read my Bible, I spent the time walking up and down my cell. The cell was six-and-a-half paces long and three-and-a-half paces wide."

Mr. X said he was "never ever" ill-treated. Once he complained about the hard floor he slept on and was given more blankets.

Then his back became painful and they took him to a doctor. The doctor gave him tablets.

"Taken Medicine?"

"Each morning the sergeant opened my cell and said to me: 'Well. . . have you taken your medicine this morning?'" (laughter from accused).

Asked by Mr. Gerald Gordon, QC, defending, why he declined to give evidence for the State the first time he was asked, Mr. X said:

"I was released after being held for 28 days. Everybody knows why the police release a detainee early -- because he has made a statement.

"I had a life of hell outside. My friends pestered me with questions and branded me a traitor. They asked me why I had made a statement to the police and called me a fifth columnist.

"First I took my wife to bioscope outside our area. But it kept on until I used to tell her to go out by herself and leave me at home."

"Friends" in Gallery

Mr. Gordon: Why did you not give evidence the first time you took the witness box? -- I looked up at the public gallery and I saw my friends there. I knew it would start again and I could not give evidence. I just could not.

X said he was charged with sabotage soon after he declined to give evidence, and was remanded in the magistrate's court.

But the day he began giving evidence in the Supreme Court the charge against him was withdrawn.

"Later, I begged the police to let me give evidence. I begged them and told them why I was afraid and they said they would give me another chance.

"My wife made me promise to give evidence. She said that while I was being detained none of my friends came to her and offered even 25 cents to buy food."

Cross-examined earlier by Mr. Gordon, X said he was not hostile to the Group Areas Act, but was against job reservation.

"At Bonteheuwel we have new houses and better living conditions. But job reservation is oppression of the Coloureds."

Mr. Gordon: How do you think the Coloured people will get relief from this oppression? -- My belief is that time alone will bring us freedom. Changes are being made. It is slow, but you cannot plant a tree to-day and get fruit to-morrow.

X described job reservation as a "nightmare." He said he had been in his trade for 18 years and often had to show White men what to do.

"But I cannot work this machine or that machine because of job reservation and although I know more than some White men, I am paid less," he added.

Mr. Gordon: Are you bitter and frustrated? -- No. I have a very good boss. At the end of the year I go to him and ask for more money for the workers.

We discuss it, and if the profits were good, we get more money. There is always this way to ask nicely.

Violence Discussed

He admitted that he sometimes felt "despair" and discussed with others the possibilities of changing things through boycotts and strikes and even violence.

Questioned about guerrilla warfare, X said that at meetings attended by some of the accused, he told them the "Boer, policeman and farmer" were the best guerrilla fighters, and "we stood no chance against them."

The hearing was adjourned to Monday.

TWO SOUTH AFRICAN VICTIMS JUDGED INSANE

Two "detainees" under South Africa's 90-day law have been sent to Valkenberg Mental Hospital for observation," according to the Cape Times [November 18]. They are Mr. T. Tsotso and Mr. M. Msingizane.

Under this fascist-like law, the police are free to arrest anyone they

please, hold suspects for ninety days for "interrogation" without benefit of counsel, deny them visitors, keep them in solitary and feed them as they please. If the suspect is deemed to be unco-operative, he can be held for another ninety days, and so on indefinitely.

In response to an inquiry from the Cape Times, Cape Town Security Police Chief Col. E.G. McIntyre said, "As soon as these two, Tsotso and Msingizane, showed signs of apparent insanity, we called in the district surgeon and he examined them. He consulted a second doctor in terms of the law and application was made through a magistrate in each case for them to be committed to Valkenberg."

Minister of Justice Vorster denied over the telephone from Pretoria that the two detainees had gone insane while in detention.

He claimed that there had been cases where people held under the 90-day law had feigned insanity. One of them, Mrs. Eleanor Anderson, even succeeded in escaping from the country after successfully convincing the doctors that she had gone mad.

-THE MYSTERIOUS NGUDLE CASE

The London Observer of November 3 reported a few facts about the mysterious death of "Solwandle," a former salesman of the now defunct left-wing newspaper New Age who was allegedly found dead in his cell in a Pretoria jail where he had been held under the 90-day law. [See World Outlook November 15, pages 24,25.] A few newspaper clippings which we have just received from South Africa enable us to fill in more details.

The case involved Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle. He was "detained" by the police on August 19. The Cape Argus [October 21] reports that he "died in his cell in a Pretoria jail or police lock-up on September 5."

Dr. George Lowen, Q.C., appearing for Mrs. Beauty Ngudle, the victim's widow, demanded an inquest. The circumstances of the death, he said, were highly suspicious.

Although Ngudle died on September 5, according to the police, they did not inform relatives for another ten days. Ngudle's mother was told that her son had "passed away."

When she asked what he had died from, the police told her he had hanged himself. This information was met with complete disbelief by everyone who knew Ngudle.

"Evidence will be led," said Lowen, "that it is unbelievable that this man, who was in the best of health and the best of spirits, would have hanged himself."

The mother asked that her son's body be sent home for burial. The police said that it would be too expensive.

The authorities finally gave the mother a rail warrant to go to Pretoria to attend the funeral. The wife could not go because she had given birth to a baby.

The mother arrived in Pretoria September 22 and went straight to the jail. First the authorities told her that they knew nothing of the matter. Later they told her that the body had already been buried.

Still later they claimed that they had buried the body at the request of Ngudle's wife. "She strenuously denies ever making such a request."

The mother then asked for her son's clothing. "She was told there were no clothes."

The Cape Argus reports:

"Dr. Lowen then read from a report made to the Bar council by an advocate after seeing an accused -- not Ngudle.

"The advocate said he had been told that they had been tortured, by being electrically shocked, and that canvas hoods had been placed over their heads.

"Referring to Ngudle, the prisoners said he had not committed suicide but had died as a result of torture."

Dr. Lowen asserted: "The man may have hanged himself. But there have also been cases in which people have been killed by other means and have been found hanged by means impossible to achieve.

"We want only the truth."

Mr. V. Marinus, an attorney for the state, sought to defend the police. He made the following statement about Ngudle:

"He was interrogated on a number of occasions. On the day before he was found dead, he gave the police certain information that led to other arrests.

"It was made clear to him that he could give evidence at his trial and what the consequences might be.

"He realized he had given information which would lead to retribution from the persons concerned.

"It was a case of being put to death by the proper functions of the law or be put to death by the people with whom he had previously associated.

"That was his predicament."

Dr. Lowen pointed out the complete impropriety of a prosecutor suggesting that a detainee not even charged with an offence faced death by judicial hanging.

Joel Carlson, an attorney acting in behalf of Ngudle's widow describe how the authorities had manipulated dates in relation to an inquest. In response to a demand October 7, it was set for October 25. But on October 14 he was told by Marinus that it would have to be held on October 31. On October 17 he was abruptly informed by the Control Magistrate that it would start on October 21.

As for the reasons for this juggling of dates, he was told that the magistrate had no option in the matter. He was "acting on instructions from higher authority." He would not reveal who the higher authority was.

On top of all this, "before Ngudle's widow was able to interview her attorney in Cape Town," reports the Cape Times [October 22], "she was picked up by 'of all the branches of the police, the Security Branch.'"

As reported in the November 15 World Outlook, Dr. Lowen was unable to pursue the inquest to the end. He withdrew from the case because he said he did not want to expose himself or witnesses to prosecution.

This could arise from the fact that some of the witnesses, who are prepared to testify that Ngudle was tortured to death by the police, are 90-day detainees who are under banning orders. It is an offence in South Africa to publish or quote any statement by a banned person.

The Deputy of Justice later said that permission would be granted to let banned persons be quoted at inquest hearings. The attorneys were said to be reconsidering their decision to withdraw.

This is all the information we have received.

CHRISTMAS NEVER MERRIER IN NEW YORK

The Christmas season in 1963 had little cheer to offer those who genuinely yearn for peace on earth and goodwill toward men but not everything was gloomy in the world's richest Christian country. In fact cash registers never sounded merrier. Here are some of the toys and presents America's businessmen were buying in New York:

At Abercrombie & Fitch, a \$125 pig-sticking spear and \$90 cashmere underwear with long legs. The connection between the two gifts remains obscure.

At Van Cleef & Arpels, wooden rings -- set with diamonds. A popular design could be had at \$1,200.

At Hammacher Schlemmer, a miniature Model-T Ford automobile -- it really runs -- for the children. Only \$395.

The same company also reported several sales of its Golfatron -- just the present for a golf-crazy banker. It consists of a netted room with electronic instruments to be set up inside a living room or basement for indoor golf practice. Cost? A mere \$8,500.

Hammacher Schlemmer won the Annual Wall Street Award for the Most Intriguing Gadget of the Year -- a mechanical parrot. Hidden under the bird's feathers is a tape recorder. Speak to the intelligent robot. It turns its head, blinks its electric eyes and delivers a 15-second playback of any conversation it hears. Most wonderful feature of all: it never expects a cracker!

The store reported that it sold 800 of these novel toys at \$40 each to the adult trade. One of them was scheduled to show up under the Christmas tree of the Eisenhowers.

ALGERIANS PREPARE FOR FLN CONGRESS

The following is the list of questions which are being examined by the Preparatory Commission for the next congress of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] as published in the December 21 Révolution Africaine:

I. POLITICAL PROBLEMS

(a) Historical analysis.

- (1) Analysis of the Algerian movement up to the eve of the revolution (characteristics and ideological manifestations).
- (2) The birth of the FLN, insurrection November 1, 1954.
- (3) Analysis of the different stages of the war of liberation.
- (4) The taking of power and political evolution since independence.

(b) For the Socialist Revolution.

- (1) General characteristics of Algeria.
- (2) Algerian society: the social layers of our people and their respective roles in the life of the nation.
- (3) The Algerian road of socialism and the various forms of socialist development in the world.
- (4) Analysis of the current situation in the world and foundation of our foreign policy.

(c) The instruments for the realization of socialism.

- (1) The single party, its role, its powers, and the conditions of its unity.
- (2) The mass organizations:
 - Definition of mass organizations.
 - Fundamental role of the workers and peasants unions.
- (3) The state (the government, the national assembly, the army administration, judiciary).

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

- (1) The economy under a capitalist regime.

III. ORGANIC PROBLEMS

- (1) The party.
 - (a) Structure and ground-plan.
 - (b) Statutes. Fundamental principles of party functioning (internal democracy, freedom of criticism and necessity of self-criticism). Discipline; elections; collective leadership; majority rule; qualification for active membership; necessary criteria in choosing cadres; roles of leading bodies.
 - (c) Program of immediate action.
- (2) The state and its basic structures.

IV. THE CONGRESS

- (1) Participants and conditions of representation.
- (2) The economy under a socialist regime.
- (3) The economic situation following independence.
- (4) Social situation; problems in the colonial period and problems during the war.
- (5) Economic and social management since independence:
 - Its positive aspects.
 - Its negative aspects.
- (6) Problems of the transition period and the economic tasks of socialist construction.
 - (a) Agrarian reform.
 - (b) Reconstruction and reconversion of the substructure.
 - (c) Credit and trade.
 - (d) Mineral and energy resources.
 - (e) Industrialization.
- (7) Realization of the social aspirations of the masses.
 - (a) Elevation of the standard of living; solution of the problem of employment.
 - (b) Education, culture.
 - (c) Formation of cadres.
 - (d) Housing and reconstruction.
 - (e) Public health.
 - (f) Role of women.
 - (g) Problems of the war (war orphans, war widows).
 - (h) Integration of former fighters into the active life of the country.
 - (i) The Algerian emigration.
 - (j) Problems of the youth.

THE BUREAUCRATIC DANGER IN ALGERIA

[The following editorial, signed by Mohamed Harbi, which appeared in the December 21 issue of Révolution Africaine under the title "The Duty of the Press," is of special interest, we believe, in showing the awareness that exists in Algeria of one of the difficult problems the Revolution faces -- how to mount an effective struggle against the threat of bureaucracy. Discussion of this problem ties in with preparations for the FLN congress. We have translated the complete text of the editorial.]

Algeria has decided on socialism. Nevertheless national independence has not been completely won; the economic, social and political bases of socialism have not yet been assured and consolidated.

It is the duty of genuine revolutionists to locate in an exact way the forces whose action tends to aggravate the antagonisms and internal contradictions of our country.

The struggle conducted by Révolution Africaine and other Algerian journals against changing the political line defined by the general secretary of the party helps to bring into view the dangers faced by our Revolution.

Since our country gained independence, a new social layer with a bourgeois mentality has formed within the state apparatus. It is this layer which, to further its own interests, consciously seeks to merge the political power and the administration. It is this layer, too, that presses for the fusion of the state apparatus and the party in order to lift itself above the popular masses. It is this layer, finally, which in every essential problem places the activists and partisans of socialism before the dilemma: "Shut up or be accused of antigovernmental action."

Because of its position in the machinery of the state and the economy, the bureaucracy can prove to be more dangerous for our evolution toward socialism than any other social force in the country. It is through this layer at the present time that imperialism as well as the bourgeoisie transmits its influence.

Its role is not autonomous. It is at one and the same time a transmission belt of the antisocialist forces and their vanguard. In the struggle against these negative tendencies, the national press in a general way, and the party press in a particular way, have enormous responsibilities. These responsibilities must be assumed without fail.

The difficulties of the period of transition from the colonial capitalist system to socialism require a permanent combat to reinforce the ties with the masses, a combat that is inseparable from the struggle against all the errors and all the deviations which tend to sow doubt and discouragement in their minds.

It is in this way that the fake revolutionists will be unmasked, those who hide behind their positions and those who mask themselves with an abstract liberalism in order to avoid the front where the battle for socialism is being carried on.

CHOU EN-LAI ADDRESSES THE FLN

The Chinese Revolution scored a major diplomatic victory with the announcement in Algiers December 27 that the Tunisian government intends to recognize the People's Republic of China. The announcement came as the delegation of some 100 representatives of the New China, headed by Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, participated in farewell celebrations in the Algerian capital before proceeding to Morocco, the next stop on their tour of newly independent states of Africa.

The recognition to be granted by Tunisia is an important gain for China in the African continent. Perhaps even more important is the implication of a shift of forces in the Western camp to the disadvantage of the blockade which U.S. imperialism has sought to maintain against revolutionary China.

In his appearances in Algeria (and previously in Egypt), Chou En-lai did much to counteract the unfavorable image of the People's Republic of China which both the U.S. State Department and Khrushchev have sought to create and maintain by distorting China's positions on war and peace, and by taking advantage of badly formulated Peking statements plus Mao's self-defeating defense of Stalin.

It was especially noticeable that in Algeria, where he was trying to make a good impression on some very independent-minded revolutionists, Chou En-lai was conspicuously silent about the "merits" of Stalin. This was all to the good.

Chou En-lai stressed Peking's opposition to nuclear war and the Chinese interest in peaceful coexistence between states. At the same time he talked about the need for developing the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. At a meeting of cadres of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] in Algiers December 25, he spoke rather vigorously on this:

"The present international situation is excellent; it is favorable to the development in depth of the Algerian Revolution and to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of various countries. The revolutionary forces of the peoples of the world are rapidly growing. The forces of the socialist countries continue to develop. The anti-imperialist revolution is storming vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, great masses of workers are energetically unleashing mass struggles. All these forces are converging in an irresistible current of struggle against imperialism and for the defense of world peace."

Chou En-lai developed this optimistic picture even further: "Meanwhile the imperialists run into increasingly great difficulties and into more and more accentuated internal contradictions, while they fight among themselves either openly or surreptitiously, and proceed farther and farther along the road of disintegration. From the preceding, it is clearly to be seen that in the world today it is the revolutionary forces of the people that are rising; and not the rotten forces of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism that are really powerful.

"American imperialism, armed to the teeth, has not even been able to

prevent the population of South Vietnam from marching from victory to victory in their armed revolutionary struggle, nor the Cuban people from gaining in their revolution.

"It is more and more evident that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America need only to unite and persevere in their struggle to be able to defeat imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and to advance triumphantly along the revolutionary road they themselves have chosen."

In relation to the Algerian Revolution, Chou En-lai carefully refrained from taking any position on internal problems which could have been seized on as a pretext to charge him with intervening in Algeria's internal affairs. Nevertheless he indicated the feelings of the Chinese people toward Algeria:

"Our Algerian friends and brothers have often referred to the aid given by the Chinese people to Algeria. We felt that it was our international duty to aid the Algerian people in their struggle. The aid has always been mutual. In fact, it was the Algerian people who helped us in the first place by their struggle. Our aid to the Algerian people has been limited. The struggle of the Algerian people and their victory constitute in themselves great aid for the Chinese people, for the peoples of other socialist countries and for all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world."

Besides the establishment of closer fraternal relations between the Chinese and Algerian peoples in their common struggle for a better world, there were many reports in the press that conversations were held on the possibility of strengthening economic ties.

Because of her own poverty, China is not able to grant aid on the scale possible to the Soviet Union. [China granted Algeria a \$50,000,000 interest-free loan, while the USSR granted a loan of \$100,000,000 at a low rate of interest.] However, China is in great need of oil and thus there may be substance to the repeated reports that this subject was discussed in the light of Algeria's desire to develop her own enormous potential in this field.

ALGERIANS PLEASED WITH SOVIET TRIP

The large delegation which the Ben Bella government sent to the Soviet Union under the leadership of Hadj Ben Alla to work out details in applying the \$100,000,000 loan negotiated October 4 by Col. Houari Boumedienne, left Moscow December 28 after a week in the limelight as featured guests.

The trip to Moscow was said to have coincided with Chou En-lai's week in Algeria by "pure accident." Khrushchev, however, did not hesitate to try to turn the coincidence to advantage; and statements which he made during the visit of the Algerians competed with those made by Chou En-lai in Algiers in gaining headlines in the world press.

The Algerians, however, succeeded rather adroitly in their aim of

remaining "neutral" and not becoming involved in the conflict between Moscow and Peking. In a brief address in the presence of Khrushchev, Mohammed Lebjaoui, one of the top leaders of the delegation, brought out the Algerian viewpoint in the following way:

"We have not become Communists; but we can testify to the profoundly sincere and completely disinterested nature of Soviet-Algerian friendship." The main aim of the mission, he said, was "to reinforce the links of friendship between the two countries" and the results achieved have been "positive to the highest degree."

Then coming to the immediate aim in mind, Lebjaoui continued: "Let there be no attempt by the representatives of imperialism and neocolonialism to embroil us with the Soviet Union. They will break their teeth. And don't let them try to convert us into enemies of China and Mao Tse-tung, of Yugoslavia and Tito, of Cuba and Fidel Castro. If they do, they will likewise surely break their teeth."

With the evident aim of offering something sweet to make up for the need to refer to Mao Tse-tung in this context, Lebjaoui worked in a favorable remark about "peaceful coexistence," which, as is well known, is a favorite topic with Khrushchev.

"Our socialist orientation," said Lebjaoui, "does not prevent us in any way from advocating peaceful coexistence with other peoples, in particular with the French people, insofar as the Algerian people are sovereign. We support and practice the policy of co-operation with the French government, holding that this policy is useful to the two peoples."

LAUNCH YOUTH PAPER IN CANADA

Young Socialist Forum, a paper for students and young workers, was launched nationally in Canada in December. The first issue is a lively four-page tabloid. The main article calls for an end to nuclear arms in Canada.

The publication began as a mimeographed monthly published by socialists in British Columbia. It was endorsed by the British Columbia provincial council of the New Democratic Youth which is connected with Canada's labor political formation, the New Democratic Party.

Because of a witch-hunt against socialists in the two organizations, the endorsement was withdrawn and some of those on the editorial board were expelled. The Ontario members decided to continue the publication as part of their fight for reinstatement.

A copy of the publication can be obtained by writing the Young Socialist Forum, Box 939, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

GENERAL HUMBERTO DELGADO -- REVOLUTIONARY OR ADVENTURER?

By Julio Cabral

ALGIERS -- General Humberto Delgado, leader of the Portuguese emigré opposition, left Rio de Janeiro on December 18 for an extended tour of Africa beginning with Algiers where he intends eventually to establish himself. The General plans to visit Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Ethiopia, Tanganyika, Nyassaland, the Congo, and Senegal.

The avowed purpose of the trip is to seek help from African states in overthrowing Salazar. In a statement in Rio, General Delgado declared: "I want to discuss with Heads of State in these countries and convince them that I possess the solution to the problem of ending Portuguese colonialism. I want the Africans to help me to assemble the forces necessary to enter Lisbon, where the head and heart of the beast are to be found. If the Africans will help me I can overthrow Salazar towards next July."

The General added that he favoured total independence of Portuguese African territories. "If I win," he said, "they shall have their independence. We shall be friends with the Africans. Portugal is too poor to maintain a war in several territories."

He said he had thought of holding a summit conference in Dar-Es-Salaam with African nationalists from the Portuguese colonies. In a later statement the General added that he intended to form a Provisional Government.

Does this reappearance in the news of this controversial figure of anti-Salazarism augur a strengthening of revolutionary activity among the Portuguese Opposition?

General Delgado, who was Opposition candidate in the 1958 Portuguese presidential elections and now leads the MNI [Independent National Movement], a component of the FPLN [National Patriotic Liberation Front], has already made two attempts at the forcible overthrow of the Salazar régime since his break with the dictator and his unsuccessful candidature in the 1958 electoral fraud. First was his participation in the DRIL [Revolutionary Directorate for Iberian Liberation], which climaxed its activities with Captain Galvão's sensational seizure of the Santa Maria in January 1961. General Delgado subsequently broke with Galvão. The reasons for the break remain obscure, but among the General's accusations are that Galvão disobeyed orders and surrendered the seized Portuguese liner without the General's authority.

A year later on January 1, 1962, the General, who had entered Portugal clandestinely, took part in the abortive Beja uprising when 130 oppositionists, including a number of communist workers, attempted unsuccessfully to storm the army barracks of this southern Portuguese provincial town.

Like his former associate Galvão, but unlike other anti-Salazarists of his generation -- the General is nearing sixty -- Delgado is a late-comer to the ranks of the Portuguese Opposition. A career officer in Salazar's air force, he was Portugal's NATO representative in Washington

and later director of Portuguese Civil Aviation.

Although he is regarded as an honest and intrepid man, for a former fascist general, Delgado nevertheless bears the hallmarks of his class and training. He has never put forward any program of a coherent kind for his new Portugal, other than the single point of his electoral campaign: "As President of the Republic I will dismiss Salazar from premiership." When asked during his visit to Britain in 1960 about his economic policy, he admitted he knew nothing of economics, but if he achieved power, he said, "I can easily take a quick American correspondence course."

His lack of understanding of African politics and the aspirations of colonial freedom-fighters was evidenced in an interview he gave in Rio de Janeiro last October 1 when he declared: "African States ought to revise their policy of giving moral and material aid only to the offensive against the dictatorship's troops in the Portuguese colonies." The opposite, he said, should be done. Africa should concentrate all its efforts on aiding the Portuguese Opposition -- "this would be cheaper, quicker and more efficient." He added that he was willing to enter into agreements with African nationalists that would guarantee the interests of Portuguese settlers in Angola and those of the Angolan people who aspired to self-determination.

Delgado's activities have always been regarded with misgivings punctuated by open hostility, by the Portuguese Communist party, which at first campaigned against him for alleged American connections. Today, although the Communist party forms part of the FPLN, it continues to discourage talk of armed struggle, while paying lip-service to the "need to prepare a pre-insurrectionary situation." It bans its members from reading Che Guevara's book on guerrilla warfare, and concentrates on campaigns around wage issues and amnesty for political prisoners. Desertion from the armed forces is discouraged and soldiers are called on to protest against bad conditions prevailing in barracks.

Correctly, the Communist party warns against the tendency towards putschism and terrorist adventures, declaring that a successful insurrection can only be achieved by mobilizing the people. However, in practice it does nothing towards that mobilization and fails to put forward the necessary class slogans that could rally the Portuguese peasants and workers around the party for a socialist revolution. Instead the party proclaims the need for unity -- not unity of the people's forces, but unity of the antifascist forces, among whom it includes colonialists and the liberal bourgeoisie who are vehemently opposed both to effective colonial liberation and to armed struggle of the Portuguese masses.

This revisionist policy, together with whole-hearted support for the Khrushchev line in the Sino-Soviet conflict (though without any accompanying democratization of the party's inner life), has aroused bitter discontent among the rank and file. This encourages the very putschist tendencies that the party criticizes, and many younger oppositionists are fired by Delgado's action slogans.

This situation is especially apparent in the exile groups where political activity is easier. The number of exiled Portuguese grows daily, due to the influx of deserters and those fleeing from military service which

would take them to Angola. These young people are naturally eager to see rapid change of régime in Portugal which will enable them to return home and take up their normal lives. Most of these deserters are from the middle class, the officer category. Lower ranks have neither the economic possibilities nor the facility for leaving Portugal. What these young emigrés want most is to be able to get home to continue their interrupted studies. Few of them have any political education and practically nothing is done within the organized opposition to provide any. Political education means political discussion, and political discussion is dangerous because it threatens "unity."

Inside the country the mass unrest that showed itself in the first year of the Angolan war, in the student demonstrations of spring 1962, huge street demonstrations of May Day 1962 and lesser demonstrations in May 1963 has dwindled to a point of no response in recent months. In May 1962 thousands filled the streets in answer to demonstration calls, for the rumor had been spread that arms would be distributed. No arms were forthcoming. Again the same rumors spread in May this year. Far fewer people believed them. But although there were widespread calls for mass demonstrations on October 5 (traditional Opposition festival to commemorate the 1910 Republic) nothing happened. Radio broadcasts by the FPLN had called on the Portuguese people for weeks preceding October 5 to demonstrate in the streets and not to worry about being unarmed. The people's brothers in uniform, the army and the gendarmerie -- these broadcasts repeated -- would not fire on their own kind! These assurances were not believed, and in view of the wounded and killed in previous unarmed demonstrations this is not surprising.

The Juntas de Acção Patriótica or JAPs, the basic organizations of the FPLN, which experienced a flurry of activity in 1961 and 62 are now practically defunct inside Portugal, reduced to a handful of middle-class people and intellectuals who are periodically imprisoned.

In this atmosphere of a total vacuum in coherent political leadership, bitter division in the opposition over the colonial question, and a subsidence in mass revolutionary enthusiasm, it is not surprising that an activist tendency has developed which places all its hopes in a rapid military putsch.

In these circumstances, while it is unlikely that African leaders will listen sympathetically to suggestions that Delgado is an appropriate spokesman of Angolan interests, and while it is difficult to see how a general, presumably versed in military science, can envisage armed invasion of Portugal whose coast bristles with defences and whose capital, Lisbon, is NATO's naval headquarters -- nevertheless, it is possible that Delgado's renewed spurt of activity will encourage dissident Salazarists to head preparations for a quick military overthrow of the 35-year-old régime.

Some of Salazar's closest supporters, influential men in the fascist state structure, have become more and more vocal lately at the disastrous effect on the Portuguese economy of the Angolan war, shortly to enter its fourth year. This war, accompanied by guerrilla activity in Portuguese Guinea and the potential threat of nationalism in Mozambique, means that Portugal at present maintains nearly 100,000 soldiers overseas. This is a

colossal burden for a nation of nine million which has per capita the lowest national income in Europe. Moreover, the Addis Ababa decisions, the recognition by several African states, including Algeria, of Holden Roberto's Angolan government in exile, and mounting international discredit, are beginning to convince more far-sighted Portuguese colonialists that all this expense might not result in victory. The growing efficacy of the Angolan nationalists is now becoming evident, and when even a New York Times [December 16] correspondent states that 2,500 fully armed soldiers are being turned out every eight weeks at the Angolan nationalist base in the Congo, even the most recalcitrant Salazarists begin to have second thoughts.

But this process has been underway for over a year. Former Minister of Colonies Adriano Moreira, industrialist Manuel Vinhas, ex-president of the republic Craveiro Lopes, deputy Homem de Mello; all these have been vocal for some time in calling for a reconversion of Portuguese colonialism. They want an ending of the war, softening of repression, limited civil rights for Africans and a number of costly reforms to provide education for building an "African élite." The only reconversionist to explain clearly how such reforms could be paid for is the anti-Salazar economist Cunha Leal. In his book, A Patria em Perigo, Cunha Leal pointed out that Portugal could not afford to live without colonies (a ferocious anti-Communist, the author means a capitalist Portugal) nor could she afford a colonial war. The answer therefore was to open both the metropolis and colonies to unlimited foreign, especially American, investment. Cunha Leal declares with admirable accuracy that only such a policy could enable Portugal to recreate modern colonialism. The only real differences between Cunha Leal and the dissident fascists are his lack of hypocrisy and his openly voiced hostility to Salazar.

It is possible that Delgado might well provide a suitable cover for all these interests in the Portuguese ruling class. The mass popularity his "pistol-packing" bluntness aroused in 1958, and his flamboyant courage could provide the "popular" image that the Portuguese capitalists and compromised fascists require if they are to preserve their rule after the old dictator's downfall. What is more, Delgado has another asset for the Portuguese ruling class. He is extremely popular in the Portuguese colonies -- among the colons. Despite fraud and trickery at the polls by the fascist authorities in 1958, Delgado won a legal majority in some areas of Angola and Mozambique, where, of course, whites only (and then only certain categories) have the vote. These whites are very much in favor of self-determination and of Cunha Leal's views on dropping Lisbon-imposed barriers on wider American investment. But the self-determination they want is of the Rhodesia-South Africa variety, and they are even more ferocious than Lisbon on the question of "keeping the native in his place."

One more of Delgado's assets to the Portuguese colonialist bourgeoisie is his friendly relationship with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], now discredited in Africa since its leader Agostinho Neto allied himself with pro-Portuguese Angolan groups. Only a month ago Salazar's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franco Nogueira, declared in New York that he could envisage negotiations with Mario de Andrade (former president of the MPLA) "but with Holden never!"

It seems therefore that Delgado is unlikely to prove to be a Portuguese astro. The Portuguese masses, after years of fascist censorship and bans on workers' organizations, are almost totally unpoliticized. A mounting atmosphere of social-chauvinism and reformist illusions permeates the petty bourgeoisie. The Communist party's abdication of revolutionary leadership added to all these factors make it unlikely that Delgado can lead anything other than a putschist adventure.

The political changes that would result could scarcely satisfy either the Portuguese people or the African masses. The Angolan National Liberation Front is fully aware of these dangers which have been pointed out in recent statements by Hoden Roberto and other FNLA spokesman in discussing the Portuguese opposition.

All progressive Africans, throughout the continent, have every reason to be wary of General Delgado's plans. As Algeria's president Ben Bella put it at Addis Ababa, African unity is to be reached through the path of full liberation of the continent from colonialism. Indeed, the only point on which Africa is united is the need to liberate the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and South Africa.

Portuguese pseudo-reforms and the installation of an African puppet régime in Angola under colon guidance could well provide a temporary deviation from the revolutionary path, not only for the Portuguese colonies and Portugal itself, but for other territories. Any delay in full liberation of Angola will delay the revolution in South Africa, whose logistic bases lie naturally in this territory. A "respectable" régime in Portugal would provide a welcome respite from the united African struggle against colonialism and an excuse to backslide from Addis Ababa that many neocolonialist African leaders are looking for.

In the final analysis there is only one solution to the Portuguese colonial problem: genuine liberation for the African peoples of its colonies. There is only one solution to the problem of neocolonialism in Africa: extension of the revolution to Africa's southern, industrial heartland of Rhodesia and South Africa. And, finally, there is only one solution to the social and economic problems of the Portuguese masses: the effective overthrow of the Portuguese ruling class whose continued existence depends on its colonial profits as entrepreneur for international finance-capital. This class, despite its feeble industrial and financial resources, has shown a remarkable talent for survival. When the Portuguese monarchy no longer suited it, it installed a bourgeois republic; when the latter provided insufficient stability, it installed a military dictatorship, which gradually developed into fascism. Today, when Salazar has nearly served his turn, the Portuguese bourgeoisie seeks a less repugnant figure-head to face the world stage.

MEMO FOR THE NEW YEAR

The nuclear rockets of a single Polaris submarine outweigh in destructive power all the bombs exploded by all the participants in World War II -- including the two that wiped out Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

London Letter

BRITAIN AFTER KENNEDY

Pre-Election Crisis Intensified

By T. J. Peters

To a people in whose history the last assassination of a chief executive goes back four hundred years or more, the murder of President Kennedy was undoubtedly a more severe shock than perhaps to any other, including the American.

Britannia ruled the waves and was leader of the capitalist world from the threshold of the industrial revolution practically up to the beginning of its greatest crisis -- the first world war which culminated in the world-wide depression of 1929. Reluctantly but ineluctably the British lion has since steadily yielded its place to the American eagle. In consolation, the rulers in Whitehall propagated among the people the notion of some "special relationship" with Washington, more a myth than a reality.

Now this whole notion is beset with doubts. What solace is there in being very close to a power, overwhelming as it is in this frightful nuclear age, which cannot assure for itself (even if, as always, lawless violence is practiced upon the "undeveloped" countries abroad) the "civilized" rule Britain has enjoyed for centuries? For the assassination, calling attention to the racist atmosphere of its locale, and the televised application of lynch justice to the alleged assassin, revealed in a flash what before was only faintly apprehended: that behind the finger on the button supposed to guarantee the ultimate deterrent to world annihilation lies a seething social cauldron that puts a question mark on everything.

Expressions of disillusion and even of hopelessness at this state of affairs are fairly widespread in press and public, even when uttered with typical reserve. For the ruling class the whole problem of assuring stability in the general conduct of the capitalist system of the West is causing particularly great anxiety. The Tory government of Sir Alec Home-Douglas does not lay much stress on the "special relationship" these days. The whole pre-election strategy of Sir Alec who had hoped to wring some partisan advantage out of the test-ban treaty (which he signed as Foreign Minister Lord Home) and to follow it up with a suitable stance as "man of peace," is somewhat battered in the process.

Projected Talks with Gromyko

For these reasons the Prime Minister's recent rival, the new Foreign Minister, Mr. R.A.B. Butler, is encouraged to try a British initiative all on his own in Moscow, to seek negotiations alone for a "further reduction of tension" in a meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister. Difficulties in agriculture and in the chemical industry related to it within the USSR, congressional impediments to trade credits for the Soviet Union in the US, and Britain's own continuing balance of payments crisis make up an economic background that lends some feasibility to the projected Butler-Gromyko talks as a new tack in foreign policy.

While the Labour opposition sees through and denounces the stunt aspect of this move, and its leader Harold Wilson is apprehensive of a snap election (the Prime Minister under the British system can call for an election at any time of his choosing) -- Wilson expects one in March -- the upset in international relations caused by events in America has not, naturally, been without its effect on the leadership of this party, too.

Labour Deputy (Assistant) Leader George Brown's indiscreet and somewhat inebriated appearance on television at the time of the Kennedy assassination revealed the close tie-up of this wing with the Washington power structure. Combined with the assurances of the right-wing Brown to businessmen at private gatherings and in interviews about the moderation that can be expected from a Labour government, it has caused the barely patched-up unity of the party to tremble. A minor illness gave Brown the opportunity to withdraw from public view for the time being.

Left Wing Steps Up Pressure

The left wing of the party has, in the meantime, stepped up its pressure for a more independent British policy: to begin with, withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. Instead of a fortress, the weekly Tribune argues in a prominent article, NATO has become a prison for Britain. The logic of the developments noted is bound to push the Labour leadership in a direction in line with this thought.

The very shake-up in international affairs, while momentarily to the fore, has tended to focus attention more and more on the internal mess evident after twelve years of Tory government, which encouraged a free-for-all in the economy, rebuilt after the war by sweat and toil under a Labour government.

Concentration on the car and aircraft industry as the key to affluence, after the American model, has indeed brought enormous profits to the wealthy. But it has left the country as a whole in a state of disarray, beginning with stagnation in industry itself. Industrial expansion in Great Britain remains the lowest of any of the major Western countries. At the same time, all the nationalized industries taken over by the Attlee government have been geared to practically subsidize private industry, and government control of the wage structure within them has been used as a lever to hold down wages everywhere. With all the load of exorbitant compensation payments upon them in addition, nationalized enterprises have been run on the same basis of profitability as private concerns and, not being able to show a similar profit, have been used by the Tories and their backers as whipping boys in their frantic campaigns against nationalization.

Late Converts to "Planning"

The result of the free-for-all has been decay in the transport system, a housing crisis grown acute, choked roads and a tremendous lag in public services, especially in health and in education, behind the pressing needs of the times. Belatedly, the Tories have resorted to setting up all kinds of planning and investigation commissions. Under pressure of housing profit scandals they have even threatened to carry through measures of land

nationalization. As late converts to planning, they have set out in a White Paper a program of public expenditures over the next five years that exceeds the sums for which they denounced the late Hugh Gaitskell's proposals in the 1959 elections as extravagant and bound to hit the taxpayer's purse. Now they themselves warn that there will be no tax reductions and that taxes may have to go up.

At first their "planning" proposals were still based on the profit principle. Thus the Beeching Plan for transport simply proposed to shut down wholesale all railway lines that didn't pay. Now they have published among others, the Buchanan Report on roads which, while advising the overhaul and reconstruction of whole cities and their traffic lanes in the long run, proposes as an inevitable immediate measure to prevent chaos, the complete rehabilitation of the present transport system as a public service regardless of whether railroads, buses, etc., pay for themselves or not. Every crisis which their commissions examine in the life of the country inescapably leads to the logic of nationalization and the indictment of the profit motive of capitalism.

Who Gets the Cake?

Nor do matters stand any better with the sharing of the "national cake" of income. The economist Nicholas Davenport estimates (Spectator, November 22) that in the last twelve years real wages have risen some 45%, while the coupon clippers have increased their takings by 200% to 300% on average. This despite enormous militancy on the part of the workers, with wild-cat strikes counted by the thousands each year. The criterion of productivity, apparently, has to be applied to wages only; profits are unlimited.

Obviously, volatile class relations are built into such a process. The threat of automation jeopardizes even the meager gains of the workers, made under conditions of intolerable overtime work. The return of the more well-off worker to the Labour fold, and the continued disaffection of the lower middle class from the Tories -- in the last of the by-elections, at Dumfries, the Tory majority melted from about 9,000 to some 700 -- presage a Labour election victory. Barring coincidences -- such as that in Australia and New Zealand at the time of the Kennedy assassination, in which confusion worked against changing the government -- a Labour government will soon take the helm in Britain.

The trend to planning and nationalization, evident now, will then become an irresistible flow. The militancy of the British worker, unabated during the last period, will take on new forms after a brief spell to give the new government a chance to settle down. Almost inevitably it will make itself felt in demanding an ever greater share in the management and control of planned industry. It will become a factor on the political arena with which a Wilson government will have to reckon, and upon whose course it will exert an unyielding pressure.

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE BEGINS TO PICK UP AGAIN

By Evelyn Sell

The civil-rights struggle in the United States is getting back to where it was, after the initial uncertainty following the Kennedy assassination. At the national conference of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] in Washington the week end of November 29, not one student leader called for a moratorium on demonstrations. SNCC is not a general membership group but a leadership organization that provides trained and dedicated young people for civil-rights activities throughout the country, particularly in the South. It is the most militant of the nationally recognized civil-rights groups. However, even the older, more conservative organizations have announced continuing demonstrations.

Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], was asked by reporters whether the civil-rights groups would call off their demonstrations in view of President Johnson's appeal for an end to all hate and violence. Wilkins responded tartly: "I wouldn't equate civil-rights demonstrations with hate and violence. Until the Congress of the United States gives some evidence that it is aware of this problem and gets away from its politics-as-usual approach and from attempts to postpone this thing into the year 1975, I see no prospect that Negroes will restrain themselves from expressing themselves in whatever way is open to them."

Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference [SCLC], announced, after a fifty-minute meeting with Johnson, "I made it clear to the President that demonstrations stand as a basic thrust of our movement and we will have demonstrations until the injustices that have caused them are eliminated."

New York Rent Strike

One of the more interesting struggles already taking place is the rent strike in New York City's Harlem, the largest Negro ghetto in the U.S. Families in sixteen tenement apartment buildings started the action in protest against lack of heat and hot water. [In the winter New York can have bitter weather.] Many of the families are also complaining about rats. [Landlords are legally responsible to take preventive measures against vermin.]

Now other families have joined the pioneer group so that the strike at present involves fifty buildings housing some 3,700 persons.

In a rent strike like this the tenants withhold payments until the landlord takes remedial measures in the buildings. The rent money is usually set aside in a special fund. When the demands are met, the tenants then use the special fund to pay the back rents.

Another method used to force landlords to repair run-down buildings is to appeal to the City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. This body has power to take tenements over, rehabilitate them and then return them to the landlord, charging him for the repairs. It can also order

rents to be reduced for tenants who are forced to live under inhuman, degrading conditions.

Strike leaders outlined the following tactics: (1) Urge courts to refuse to grant evictions of tenants from buildings where the landlord refuses to comply with health and safety standards. (2) Stage demonstrations in court rooms with rubber rats tied around the necks of participants. (3) Picket the City Department of Buildings, demanding complete cellar-to-roof inspections of buildings.

The strike is being organized through the Community Council on Housing. A similar strike, organized by the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE], is taking place in Brooklyn, one of New York's five boroughs.

"Asked for My Prayers"

The struggle for equality goes on -- and so does the struggle for the Negro vote. President Johnson is continuing to woo the Negro vote he will need so desperately this coming November if, as is expected, he runs as the Democratic candidate for the presidency. Within a few days after being sworn into office, Johnson called a number of national Negro leaders on the telephone.

Whitney Young, head of the National Urban League [NUL], reported about the telephone call he received from Johnson: "He called to say he needed support and guidance and asked for my prayers."

Within his first two weeks in office, Johnson had relatively lengthy private meetings with Young, Wilkins, King and James Farmer, head of the CORE.

In his first official speech, Johnson urged the immediate passage of the civil-rights bill pending in Congress and it is reported that he has personally intervened with congressmen to get the bill acted on before the end of 1963. However, it is still tied up in legislative red tape, being held at the moment by the House Rules Committee headed by Southerner Howard W. Smith (Democrat, Virginia), a long-time enemy of civil-rights legislation. Representative Smith stalled immediate action by promising to hold "hearings" on the bill "in January."

Threaten No Delivery

All of this political maneuvering is being closely watched by the Negro community; and their spokesmen warn the politicians time and again that they must deliver civil-rights legislation or the Negro will not deliver the vote on election day.

The NAACP's traditional policy on voting has been to merely list the voting records of legislators and then leave it up to each voter to decide whom to support. On November 2 Roy Wilkins announced a change. From now on the NAACP will actively work for the defeat of congressmen refusing to support civil-rights bills. "Next November, we're going to say this congressman voted against the civil-rights bill and we urge you to defeat him."

Such departures from traditional policies indicate the tremendous and unrelenting pressure of the Negro masses on all organizations and institutions -- white and black.

THE LAW OF VALUE IN RELATION TO SELF-MANAGEMENT AND INVESTMENT

IN THE ECONOMY OF THE WORKERS STATES

Some Remarks on the Discussion in Cuba

By E. Germain

[Continued from last issue.]

The Law of Value and Autonomy of Decision at the Enterprise Level

In the debate which has raged in some of the workers states, the problem of the area of application of the law of value is intimately linked with the problem of autonomy of decision at the enterprise level in the field of investment. The Yugoslav authors have even formulated with regard to this a veritable new dogma which requires critical analysis: "Without the right of the self-management collectives to dispose of a considerable part of the social surplus product, no genuine self-management." (4)

(4) Thus Milentiji Popovic, in an article titled "Self-Management and Planning": "On the other hand, in the sector of expanded social reproduction, in perfecting the system of investment on the basis of the new relations, our results are less conclusive, although the first steps have been taken in this direction. The establishment of nonadministrative relations, of economic relations, in this sphere, reverts quite simply to the establishment of credit-interest [!] relations, and to taking them as the basis. . .

"One must first of all counteract the contradiction which arises from the fact that the resources serving social reproduction are deducted exclusively through administrative measures (taxes, duties, contributions) thus leaving free the organization of labor without the latter on the other hand becoming the 'proprietor'; the organization of labor evolves, in fact, into a unique system of credit in which these resources are at one and the same time 'theirs' and 'common' (article 11). . .

"It is possible to avoid, on the other hand, having subjective and political considerations as the only ones to be taken into consideration at the time of the adoption of the decisions concerning investments. It goes without saying that this method cannot and must not ever be pushed to its final conclusion. But a system can be constructed in which the political decisions will bear on the general orientation of the political economy, while the distribution of the means destined for investment is carried out in accordance with the credit mechanism, according to financial and material [!] criteria fixed with more or less precision. In operating in this way the process of expanded reproduction is likewise 'depoliticalized.' This 'depoliticalization' is not absolute. It is carried out to the degree that bureaucratism must be deprived of its base in this sphere as in the others."

[My emphasis.] (Current Questions of Socialism, No. 70, July-Sept. 1963. pp. 67-8.)

This analysis must examine the problem from two aspects: economic efficiency (criteria for choosing one investment project rather than another), and social and political efficiency (success in the struggle against the bureaucracy and bureaucratization).

The more backward a country is, the more the conditions of almost universal scarcity rule not only in the means of production but for much of the means of industrial consumption (at least for the great majority of the population), and the more detrimental the practice of self-management is, the more detrimental is it to permit the self-management collectives to determine for themselves the projects for priority of productive investment.

It is evident in fact that under conditions of almost general scarcity of industrial commodities, almost all the investment projects can be economically profitable, no matter how gross the economic errors that are committed. Almost every profitable industrial or agricultural enterprise (providing funds for investment) is like an island in a sea of unsatisfied needs. The natural tendency of self-investment is therefore to attend to what is most pressing, both locally and in each sector.

In other words: if the self-management enterprises hold large funds for self-investment, they will have a tendency to orient their investments either toward the commodities which they lack the most (certain equipment goods; raw materials; auxiliary products; emergency sources of energy), or toward the commodities which their workers or the inhabitants of the area lack the most. Thus criteria of local or sector interest are placed above national interests, not because the law of value is "denied" but precisely because it is applied! This means, once more, to orient industrialization toward the "traditional road" which it followed in the historic framework of capitalism, in place of reorienting it according to the requirements of a nationally planned economy.

An attempt can be made to reconcile national planning requirements and allocating self-managed enterprises considerable funds for self-investment. The means chosen for this aim can be a levy-tax in behalf of national development funds and equalization funds for regional development. This is evidently a step in the right direction, but it does not at all resolve the problem.

Since an underdeveloped economy is characterized precisely by the fact that the enterprises of high productivity are still the exception and not the rule, it is sufficient to leave them a part of their net surplus product and the inequality of development between the industrialized localities and the nonindustrialized localities, the inequality of development and of revenue between the archaic enterprises which enjoy only an average level of productivity and the enterprises technologically "up to date" will increase instead of diminishing. It is necessary moreover to insist on this fundamental idea of Marxism: any economic freedom, any "autonomy of decision" and any "spontaneity" increases the inequality so long as there exist side by side strong and feeble enterprises or individuals, rich and poor, favored and unfavored from the point of view of location, etc. This is the reason why, it should be noted in passing, that according to Marx the mechanism of the law of value leads to its own negation, competition inevitably ends in monopoly.

The economic logic of a planned economy therefore speaks completely in favor of productive investments by budgetary means, at least for all the big enterprises. What must be left to the enterprises is an amortization fund sufficiently large to permit modernization of equipment with each renewal of fixed equipment (gross investment). But all net investments should be made in accordance with the plan, in the branches and places chosen according to preferential criteria selected for the society and its economy as a whole. In this respect, too, the thesis of Comrade Guevara is correct.

The problem has been obscured, above all in the USSR, through associating it with the problem of heightening the material incentives in enterprises. Numerous Soviet economists have criticized the stimulants still employed today in the economy of the USSR to incite the enterprises (?) to carry out the plans. This criticism is in general pertinent. It has but to repeat what the anti-Stalinist Marxists have said critically for many years. Yet it is only necessary to examine closely the arguments of these economists to see that what is involved in reality is heightening material incentives for the bureaucrats, for whom the growth of revenues must in some way be the essential stimulus for the expansion of production in the enterprises.

This is where certain partisans of self-management, particularly in Yugoslavia, maintain that decentralization of the decisions on investment would be a powerful guarantee against bureaucratization. This thesis is based on a fallacy. The Yugoslavs are right in stressing that the power of the bureaucracy grows in relation to its freedom in disposing of the surplus social product. But the technicians and economists of the planning commission "dispose" of the surplus product only in the form of figures on paper; the real power of disposal is situated at the level of the enterprises.⁽⁵⁾ The more that means other than consumption funds (distributed revenues and social investments) are left at the free disposal of the enterprises, the more is precisely bureaucratization stimulated, at least in a climate of generalized scarcity and poverty; also the greater the temptation becomes for corruption, theft, abuse of confidence, false entries -- temptations that do not exist at the level of the planning commission, if only because of multiple checks. The concrete experience of Yugoslav "decentralization" has shown, moreover, that it is an enormous source of inequality and bureaucratization at the level of the enterprises.

But doesn't the possibility of complete centralization of the means of investment at the state level create the danger of the whole political economy favoring the bureaucracy, as was the case in Stalinist Russia? Obviously. But then the cause does not reside in the centralization itself, it lies in the absence of workers democracy on the national politi-

(5) This obviously does not apply to cases where raw materials, equipment goods and sometimes even means of consumption are centrally distributed, becoming veritable hotbeds for germinating corrupted bureaucrats.

cal level.(6) This means that a genuine guarantee against bureaucratization depends on workers management at the enterprise level and workers democracy at the state level. Without this combination, even the autonomy of the enterprises will eliminate none of the authoritarian, bureaucratic and (often) erroneous character of economic decisions made at the government level of the plan. With this combination, the centralization of investments -- priorities being democratically established, for example through a national congress of workers councils -- would not encourage bureaucratization, but on the contrary suppress one of its principal sources.

The Law of Value and Self-Management

"Heightening material incentives" in the enterprises cannot be a "stimulant" in the question of investments. But "heightening material incentives" in the self-management collectives can actually stimulate continual growth of production and productivity among the enterprises.

Certainly, under a regime of genuine socialist democracy, creative enthusiasm, the free development of all the capacities of invention and organization of the proletariat, constitute a powerful motor for the growth of production. But it would be a grave idealist and voluntarist error to suppose that in a climate of poverty -- inevitable in an underdeveloped country immediately following the victory of the socialist revolution -- this enthusiasm could last long without a sufficient material substructure.

The example of the Soviet Union, where the proletariat gave proof of an enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice without parallel in the first years after the October Revolution, is instructive in this respect: a long period of deprivation ended inevitably in mounting passivity of the workers, daily material concerns taking precedence over attentiveness to meetings.

It is therefore imperative to link self-management to the possibility for the workers to immediately judge the success of each effort at increasing productive by the elevation of their standard of living. The simplest and most transparent technique is that of distributing a part of the net revenue of the enterprise among the workers in the form of one or more months of bonus wages, the amount increasing or diminishing automatically with the level of revenue. The increasing collective material interest of the workers in the management of the enterprises moreover is superior to piece wages, inasmuch as it does not introduce division and conflicts in the workers collectivity, inasmuch as it corresponds better to contemporary technique, which places less and less importance on individual output and

(6)"Only the co-ordination of these three elements, state planning, the market and Soviet democracy, can assure correct guidance of the economy of the epoch of transition and assure, not the removal of the imbalances in a few years (this is utopian), but their diminution and by that the simplification of the bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat until the time when new victories of the revolution will widen the arena of socialist planning and reconstruct its system." (Leon Trotsky: "The Soviet Economy in Danger." Available in French in Tome I of Ecrits 1928-1940, p. 127.)

more and more importance on the rational organization of labor.

Self-management (and not mere workers control) seems to be the ideal model for organizing socialist enterprises. But it by no means hinders more or less unlimited competition among enterprises, which flows from their autonomy in the domain of prices and investments. This autonomy cannot but reproduce a series of evils inherent to the capitalist regime: monopoly positions exploited in the formation of prices and revenues; efforts to defend these monopolies by "hiding" discoveries and technical improvements; waste and duplication in the field of investments; high cost of errors in decision, revealed a posteriori on the market (including the shutting down of enterprises); reappearance of unemployment, etc., etc. Useless and detrimental from the economic point of view, it by no means constitutes a sufficient guarantee against bureaucratization, as we have indicated above.

In this connection, the polemic of Lenin and Trotsky against the theses of the "Workers Opposition" is still completely valid. Marxism is not to be confused with the anarchical doctrine of trade-unionism. The genuine guarantee of workers power lies on the political level; it is on the state level that it must be established; any other solution is utopian; that is, unworkable in the long run and a source for the reappearance of a powerful bureaucracy.

For all these reasons, self-management by no means bars wider recourse to the "law of value" in relation to centralized planning.(7) The fundamental data of the problem remain the same. It is necessary to carry out strict calculations of production costs to show in the case of each commodity whether its production has been subsidized or not. But nothing calls for the conclusion that prices must be "determined by the law of value," that is, by the law of supply and demand. If such a conclusion still has some meaning with regard to the means of consumption, it is senseless for the means of production which, we repeat, are not commodities, at least in the great majority of cases. And even means of production which are still commodities -- those produced by the private or co-operative sector for delivery to the state, and those which the state furnishes to private enterprises or co-operatives -- cannot be "sold at their value" without encouraging under certain conditions private primitive accumulation at the expense of socialist accumulation. But, if the means of production are not sold

(7) Certain Yugoslav authors take quite correct positions in this respect. See for example Dr. Radivoj Uvalic: "While the open market can be widely utilized, it cannot be the sole or even the principal regulator of the socio-economic relations of a socialist country." And again: "The importance of the planned guidance of economic development under the conditions of socialism lies first of all in the possibility that is offered of considering profitability from the point of view of the economy as a whole and not from the point of view of each particular unit of the economy. . . . This is the case in all branches of high concentration of capital [?], such as the production of the means of production and raw materials, which could never be developed sufficiently on the basis of the accidental play of the market, with the rate of profit as the sole stimulate." (In: Socialist Thought and Practice, No. 6, 1962, pp. 47 and 55.)

"at their value," the "value" of the means of consumption is itself profoundly modified.

Prices are, then, instruments of socialist planning and cannot be anything else in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. If you say instrument of planning you likewise say instrument for determining the distribution of the national revenue between consumption and investment, an instrument for determining the distribution of revenues among the different classes and layers of the nation. To leave the determination of this distribution to the "law of value," is to leave it in the final analysis to the "laws of the market," to the "law of supply and demand," that is to economic automatism. And economic automatism would rapidly take us back to an economy of the semicolonial type.

But to say that prices cannot be determined by the law of value, does not at all signify that they can be independent of the latter. Society can never distribute more values than it has created without progressively destroying its accumulated wealth and impoverishing itself increasingly in the absolute sense of the term. The total sum of prices must therefore be equal to the total sum of value of the commodities produced (granting that there has been no monetary depreciation). The distribution of certain products -- in goods or vouchers -- below their value (subsidies!) automatically signifies a distribution of other products above their value. Without strict calculation of production costs; without bookkeeping aided by an objective criterion; without a kind of double entry system that faithfully registers, for each product, alongside the price fixed by the state the real cost and the subsidy (or the tax), there is not only no possibility for genuinely scientific planning, there is above all no stimulus for the fundamental economic dynamic of the epoch of transition -- the dynamic that progressively elevates one new branch of industry after another to the point of rendering it "competitive" in relation to prices on the world market, up to the time socialism announces its next triumph when socialist industry as a whole operates with a productivity superior to that of the most advanced capitalist industry.

At that moment, the "law of value" could theoretically govern the dynamic of the workers state (or more exactly: the workers states as an international whole; because it appears excluded that this situation could be first obtained "in a single country"). But at the precise moment when it is on the point of triumphing, its reason for being disappears. The highest level of productivity attained under capitalism in all its branches cannot be surpassed without approaching such a level of abundance that commodity production withers away. In the workers state, "the law of value" cannot channel investments except to the precise degree that it withers away and to the degree that along with it all the economic categories, products of a relative scarcity of material resources, likewise wither away.

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[The end.]

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