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1968— a Year of Upsurge in the World Revolution

by Les Evans

The year began with some reason for muted optimism in the world's financial capitals. The British pound had survived devaluation. While West Germany had experienced its first serious recession since the advent of the postwar "economic miracle," a new upturn had begun. Che Guevara was dead in Bolivia and it was boasted in Washington that any hope for an imminent upsurge of revolution in Latin America had died with him.

From Vietnam, General Westmoreland sent optimistic dispatches, assuring President Johnson that light had indeed been sighted at the end of the tunnel, the U.S. was winning the war and the resistance of "the enemy" was visibly weakening day by day.

As 1968 drew to a close, the prospects facing the defenders of capitalism were considerably dimmer. The forces for revolutionary social change had proved to be immensely stronger than the rulers of Europe and America had supposed.

Heavy blows were dealt to imperialism in the colonial sector, particularly in Vietnam. Westmoreland himself was knocked out early in the year.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the second major sector, a new generation of radical youth had appeared on the scene in strikes and demonstrations

of massive character. In France in May and June the student revolt touched off the first revolutionary mobilization of the working class in an advanced country for more than twenty years.

The third major sector the workers states dominated by the Soviet bureaucratic caste, also exploded in 1968 with the mass movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

The first harbingers came with the New Year's celebrations. On January 5 Antonin Novotny, long-time Stalinist boss of Czechoslovakia, was ousted as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party and replaced by Alexander Dubček. On January 23 the U.S. spy ship Pueblo was seized in North Korean waters and its eighty-three-man crew interned.

The Tet Offensive

Then, on January 30, the tone was set for the year. The National Liberation Front celebrated Tet, the lunar new year, with simultaneous assaults on twenty-six provincial capitals in South Vietnam. It was the most stunning blow the U.S. invasion force had yet received in the course of the war. Overnight the vaunted "pacification" program evaporated and the countryside passed into the hands of the Vietnamese freedom fighters. The ancient imperial capital of Hue fell to the in-

surgents, as did a substantial part of Saigon itself. The lack of popular support for the Ky-Thieu regime was glaringly exposed.

To preserve the rule of the puppet regime, Westmoreland had to throw major American forces into battle and virtually level entire areas in many cities. An American major said of the destruction of Ben Tre: "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

The dramatic advance of the Vietnamese revolution in face of Washington's callous disregard for the lives of the people it claimed to be defending, drew worldwide admiration and a new upsurge of antiwar sentiment and action.

More than 20,000 persons marched in West Berlin February 18 protesting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It was the largest demonstration against the war yet held in Europe. In the front ranks were 300 members of the French Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth], who would soon be facing de Gaulle's police in the streets of Paris. The demonstration was an important step toward practical cooperation among revolutionary socialist youth groups in various countries.

These developments had a response in the workers states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Twelve Soviet intellectuals sent a letter to the conference of Communist parties in Budapest at the end of February protesting "the trampling on man in our country." The signers included Pavel M. Litvinov, Larisa Daniel, Aleksei Y. Kosterin, and former Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko.

As the year ended Litvinov and Daniel were in prison awaiting deportation to remote regions to serve out long terms of exile imposed for demonstrating against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Kosterin was dead, his health broken by a series of legal harassments resulting in his expulsion from the Soviet Writers Union, and from the Communist party — after fifty-two years of membership.

Grigorenko remained at liberty; and in his funeral oration November 14 over the body of his dead comrade, he called for a struggle against the bureaucracy in words that have not been heard in the Soviet Union since the defeat of the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In Poland, the first week in March, tens of thousands of students, joined by many workers, battled police who attempted to disperse demonstrations for academic freedom and socialist democracy at the Warsaw Polytechnic School.

Meanwhile the Tet Offensive took its toll among America's rulers. As the myth of a foreseeable U.S. victory crumbled, divisions became sharper within the ruling class over what tactical course should be followed in Vietnam. The McCarthy "peace" campaign picked up steam. Johnson's popularity sank so low that the president, elected in 1964 with the largest popular majority in history, no longer dared to appear in public because of the antiwar demonstrations wherever he went.

In early March, McCarthy received 42.4 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire Democratic party primary. A few days later Robert Kennedy, grasping which way the wind was blowing, announced his candidacy for the party's presidential nomination. On March 17 more than 30,000 persons demonstrated in London against the Vietnam war.

A Casualty of the Antiwar Movement

Johnson began to wriggle. The everoptimistic Westmoreland was summarily dropped from command in Vietnam and hastily promoted to an administrative post at home. Two days before the Wisconsin primary -- which could only spell disastrous defeat -- Johnson made his famous March 31 broadcast to the nation in which he announced a limited "bombing halt" over North Vietnam, and his own abdication. In essence, Johnson was done in by the antiwar movement. The unabated antiwar pressure of the American masses made it impossible for him to campaign in the primaries, and prevented him from staging a "coup" at the Democratic party convention in August or even attending it.

By August Johnson's principal rival, Robert Kennedy, had fallen, a victim like his brother of an assassin's bullet. This ensured the nomination of Johnson's heir apparent, Humphrey.

Even Johnson's withdrawal could not save the Democrats in November. The party's responsibility for the criminal war in Vietnam ensured Humphrey's defeat, despite the unattractiveness of his opponent. The war in Vietnam remains a central issue as Nixon prepares to take over the White House. If Nixon continues the aggression in Vietnam, he will soon find himself as hated and reviled as Johnson is today.

The struggle of the colonial world against imperialism has its direct counterpart in the antiwar movement in the advanced countries. Similarly, the revolutionary rise of the colonial masses is directly related to another immensely important development in the main bastion of the capitalist system -- the struggle of the blacks for freedom. In 1968 this

reached fresh heights.

Only a few days after Johnson's announcement that he would not run, a bullet fired by a white racist assassin struck down Martin Luther King Jr. The murder triggered a new explosion of America's black ghettos.

In the days that followed, rebellions and elemental mass outbursts took place in more than 100 cities. The federal government, while making a show of mourning King's passing and urging nonviolence on black people, called up 65,000 soldiers in the largest peacetime muster since the Civil War.

Brutal governmental repression left 43 dead and more than 20,000 arrested. But the flames of burning white businesses could be seen ten blocks from the White House and their message could hardly be misunderstood.

The McCarthy campaign and Johnson's so-called bombing limitation disoriented some sections of the antiwar movement. Nevertheless the depth of popular revulsion at the war could be gauged by the participation of more than 1,000,000 students throughout the country in the April 26 campus strike against the war called by the Student Mobilization Committee. The next day over 200,000 marched against the war in New York; 30,000 in San Francisco; and thousands more in hundreds of other cities.

Revolt in France

Without question the most significant event of this extraordinary year was the May-June revolt in France.

The central pillar of capitalist stability, according to the apologists for the system, has been the success of postwar capitalism in ameliorating the contradictions that lead workers to struggle for socialism. The consumer society, it has loudly and often been proclaimed, has eliminated depressions and given the majority of the working class a stake in the status quo.

Many radicals, pragmatically viewing the quiescence of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries for a prolonged period, have proclaimed similar theories. These count on other forces besides the industrial working class to bring about the downfall of capitalism: the students, the black masses in the United States, the colonial revolution, etc. As none of these forces alone seem to possess the power to carry through a socialist revolution on a world scale, the advocates of these theories usually speak pessimistically about the possibility of a socialist victory.

The French upheaval was a great test for the prophets of the new capitalist millennium and for those "New Left" critics who had written off the working class.

Beginning with a protest at Nanterre University over the arrest of several students involved in an antiwar demonstration, the action spread to the Sorbonne May 3. On the night of May 10-11, the famous "Night of the Barricades," thousands of students battled de Gaulle's elite police units in the streets of the Latin Quarter.

The heroism of the students won the respect and support of wide layers of the working class. The General Federation of Labor (CGT), the leadership of which is dominated by the Communist party, was forced to call a one-day general strike on May 13, despite the hostility of the CGT leaders to the student revolutionaries.

When a million workers and students turned out for the march in Paris during the token strike, the Communist party bureaucrats found themselves caught up in a struggle that tended to sweep over their heads. On May 15 a strike broke out again spontaneously in the Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes. Within a few days 10,000,000 workers had gone out on strike without the approval of their unions.

The de Gaulle regime was suddenly confronted with the most massive general strike in the history of any capitalist country. The "strong state" constructed in the decade since de Gaulle seized power seemed very weak indeed compared to the power of the organized workers.

When the general finally made his first address to the nation May 24, proposing a national referendum for June, the effect was only to deepen the resistance. De Gaulle's allies at home and abroad wrote him off as finished and were questioning whether capitalism itself would survive in France. The most sophisticated observers, including the New York Times, agreed that the future of capitalism in France depended on its final bulwark, the Communist party.

The Betrayal of the French CP

When on May 27 the Communist party attempted for the first time to give leadership to a general strike which it had not called, it was to try to persuade the strikers to go back to work. The workers overwhelmingly rejected the purely economic settlement negotiated for them between the CGT bureaucrats and the de Gaulle regime.

This readiness to fight for power, despite the opposition of all the established organizations in society, including the Communist party and the unions, showed the combativeness of the French workers. All that was lacking was the organization to take the power. In this regard, the Communist party was the greatest single obstacle to the creation of a workers state in France last May.

The revolutionary vanguard organizations were able to win the leadership of the student movement. In addition, many thousands of young workers looked to these organizations for guidance during May and June.

In the basic ranks of the working class, the influence of the Communist party was seriously weakened but not broken. The mass of workers were ready to defy the CP when it first presented a purely economic settlement. But then the question of power became an immediate one that had to be resolved one way or the other in a short space of time. The general strike could not go on indefinitely, and the workers were not yet familiar enough with the vanguard organizations to follow them in an attempt to bring a workers government to power. In the end they reluctantly accepted the decisions of the CP.

De Gaulle had reached the limit of his resources. He did not dare use the army against the strikers for fear of a general revolt among the troops. Even sections of the police had become unreliable.

But the general calculated -- quite correctly -- that the Communist party, slavishly committed to the "parliamentary" road and to Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism, would do everything possible to help him save the situation. What was required from him was a means of assisting the Communist party in this task. And so to the workers -- who already controlled virtually everything -- de Gaulle magnanimously offered an election.

Waldeck Rochet responded instantly to the opportunity to serve as the savior of French capitalism and de Gaulle's regime. The Communist party called off the strike, demobilizing the masses. De Gaulle emerged greatly strengthened in the electoral arena. And the disillusioned middle class, a sector of which had been ready to accept a revolution in May, returned big Gaullist majorities at the end of June.

The ingrained reformism of the Communist party bureaucrats put them on the opposite side of the barricades from the revolutionary students and workers. The greatest opportunity in history for a so-

cialist victory was betrayed by the Communist party of France in exchange for the cheap show of a weighted election and wage increases that were whittled down within a few months by inflation.

Although the French workers were unable to overcome this betrayal in the course of their strike, they were not defeated. Substantial economic gains were made. They will be inclined to defend them in a militant way as de Gaulle maneuvers to pass on to the French workers the cost of bolstering the franc.

More important, a sizeable revolutionary vanguard was formed in the course of the struggle, numbering thousands of students and many hundreds of workers throughout the country. The role of the militants in the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire was decisive in this regard.

The revolutionary youth, both students and workers, who were tempered in the May-June struggle, and in the repressions that followed, will be in the forefront of the next class battles. The revolutionary vanguard is fighting for the allegiance of the mass of workers, to complete the task of overthrowing French capitalism which was begun in such inspiring fashion in May-June 1968.

It should not be assumed that France is in some way exceptional in this. What the French workers have shown themselves capable of doing is not beyond the capacity of the Italian, German, British, or American workers.

It is this aspect of the French events that has yet to make its full impact in other parts of the world. The French revolt was not touched off as the direct consequence of a war or a depression. The detonator was the student movement. The students' first point of contact with the working class was the young workers, part of the same radicalizing generation. This new generation is free from the ingrained pessimism of those who became discouraged by the defeats of the thirties and forties — and free from traditional allegiances to the reformist organizations in the workers movement, whether Communist or Social Democratic.

That the workers <u>could</u> be sparked, however, is an indication of deep-going and long-standing grievances against present-day capitalist society that belies the surface appearance of the contented consumers of recent years.

What was at issue in France was not the size of the workers' ration, but who would rule, who would make the decisions. And that is the one point on which no capitalist class will grant concessions.

Thus it was the ordinary conditions of capitalist rule that produced a revolutionary situation in France, not some extraordinary catastrophe. This is what has shaken the complacency of every capitalist government in the world and made all of them take a second look at the young revolutionists of the new generation.

As the year closed, de Gaulle found himself in a difficult position. The growing competitive power of West German capitalism and the refusal of Bonn to revalue the mark left de Gaulle with no alternative but to devalue the franc or to institute an "austerity" program.

The flight of French capital to Swiss and German banks, speculating on devaluation, led de Gaulle to decide to make the workers pay for the weakness of the French economy -- a dangerous game. He threatens to freeze wages in the face of already steep increases in prices and taxes. If the general has his way, the French workers will find themselves worse off than before May.

This will help drive home the lesson that economic gains, to be made lasting, require establishment of a workers government.

The Struggle Continues

With all its repression, the government has not succeeded in demobilizing the student vanguard. Although the JCR and many other radical organizations have been declared illegal, there is a growing movement of revolutionary socialist youth around the new left Communist paper Rouge.

The nervousness of the government was indicated when it issued a decree December 14 restoring disciplinary powers to university rectors and authorizing them to expel student leaders. Classes have yet to be resumed on a wide scale at the Sorbonne.

Student clashes with police broke out the day before the decree was issued at universities as widely separated as Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, Nantes, Clermont-Ferrand, and Nanterre, where the struggles first began. The much-touted university reforms which de Gaulle promised the students last June have not been instituted or have had insignificant effects.

All the sectors of the mass movement in France remain explosive. The conditions that led to the May upheaval still exist. The June concessions that gained French capitalism a respite are rapidly being eroded.

The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in Czechoslovakia

The third major arena of struggle in the world revolution, the degenerated or deformed workers states, was also the scene of giant battles in 1968. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August was a major political disaster for the Kremlin.

Czechoslovakia was the only East-European country that did not go through a period of "de-Stalinization" in the 1950's. When the long-delayed explosion came it went deeper than in Hungary or Poland. The mass movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia was triggered by a rift in the top layers of the bureaucracy. The differences came into the open at the end of 1967 in a contest for power between the old-line Stalinist grouping around Novotny and a newer layer of technocrats and reformers led by Dubček.

In attempting to unseat Novotny, who had the blessings of the Kremlin, the reformers were compelled to give considerable scope to the independent activity of the ranks of the Communist party and to the unorganized masses. By early spring there was a virtual explosion of creative mass energy. While many different tendencies and groupings arose, within and without the party, there were certain common features to most of their demands.

Nowhere in the mass movement was there any serious call for the restoration of capitalism or for a rapprochement with imperialism, as the Soviet leaders later deceitfully claimed.

Most often heard were demands for the right of free speech, press, and organization for tendencies that supported and defended the socialist property relations.

The Dubček leadership was caught in a crossfire between the Czech masses, who wanted to carry the process of democratization further by setting up workers councils, and the Kremlin bureaucrats, who wanted the process halted and turned back.

When Brezhnev and Kosygin failed to achieve their aims by threats, they launched their blitzkrieg invasion of Czechoslovakia August 20-21. The justification they advanced was that a "counterrevolution" backed by Western imperialism had broken out and that top government and party leaders in Czechoslovakia had appealed for help.

The Trotskyist movement declared at the time that this subterfuge was nothing more than a cover for an attack

on the left and on the Czech masses. This is precisely what happened in the months following the invasion. No move was made up to the end of 1968 to dismantle the economic reforms, denounced in the Soviet press as "procapitalist." In fact these were merely variations of the Liberman reforms in the Soviet Union itself. No right-wing conspiracies were unearthed, no links to foreign spy networks.

The chief Soviet demands on the Czech leaders have been to end the workers councils, reimpose censorship, and outlaw the left-Communist associations.

The Soviet action had a more devastating impact on the pro-Moscow Communist parties than even the suppression of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. In part this was due to the much more advanced state of disintegration of the Stalinist monolith today.

Twelve years ago the Cuban revolution was still only in its opening stages. There were no sizeable rivals to the left of the pro-Moscow Communist parties. The Sino-Soviet dispute had not yet flared into the open. It was still possible to line up most CP's behind the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary intervention in Hungary. Chou En-lai himself came to Europe to throw the full ideological weight of Mao and the prestige of the Chinese revolution behind Khrushchev's use of Soviet troops in Hungary.

Today a new radicalization has already gone very deep. On the whole it has bypassed the ossified and openly reformist parties in the Kremlin's sphere. The pro-Moscow Communist parties are themselves under heavy pressure from both the revolutionary youth to their left and the Social Democratic formations to their right. Few seemed inclined to commit political suicide by giving uncritical endorsement to Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Virtually without exception, the major Communist parties of Western Europe publicly criticized the Kremlin's action. Even in those few parties that remained determined apologists for Moscow, like the Communist party of the United States, sections of the leadership publicly dissented from the official view.

The invasion also gave the United States government an excuse to heat up the cold war and strengthen the NATO alliance. Apologists for American imperialism were not slow to cite Czechoslovakia as a justification for continued U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

On top of all these serious defeats for the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with Western imperialism, the invasion failed to accomplish

its primary aim: it did not succeed in demobilizing the Czech masses.

The Soviet occupation forces were unable to find a single political figure to play the role of a Czechoslovak Kadar. Brezhnev and Kosygin were forced to conclude a hasty agreement with the chiefs of the "counterrevolution," as it had been described in the script written in Moscow.

It is true that important concessions were wrung from Dubček, Cernik, and the others. Many of the Czech party leaders are today following a course of conciliation with Moscow at the expense of the revolutionary, gains of the masses.

But also to be noted are the enormous difficulties which these forces have encountered in trying to reimpose the Stalinist straitjacket on the workers, students and intellectuals of Czechoslovakia. Nearly four months after the invasion, speaker after speaker at the December 13-14 meeting of the Central Committee referred to the deep split in the party ranks over the democratization process. Vilem Novy, director of the Central Committee's Higher Political School and an old Stalinist, bitterly denounced the continuation in the party of "a free and practically independent coexistence of the most various ideologies, theories, thinking processes and tendencies."

The same week, unions in Prague publicly announced that they would call a general strike if Josef Smrkovský, the most stalwart of the de-Stalinizers in the leadership, were removed as National Assembly chairman and member of the politburo.

Despite attempts to restore censorship, the Prague papers have remained critical of both the invasion and the party leadership. The new year opens with a deeper commitment among the Czech masses to press on for full socialist democracy. There will certainly be new clashes and confrontations there in 1969.

One question remains concerning the invasion. Why did the Kremlin, knowing the risks and the price it must pay, decide on the action in the first place? If, as their postinvasion policies prove, the threat of counterrevolution or foreign imperialism was not the reason, then it can only be concluded that the Soviet leaders viewed the process of socialist democratization itself as a very serious threat indeed.

It is not reasonable to assume that the defense of bureaucratic privilege in Czechoslovakia alone would be sufficiently important to Brezhnev and Kosygin for them to risk tearing apart

the world Communist movement by intervening militarily. What caused them to act was their realization that the Czech example would inspire similar movements throughout the East European countries and threaten their own power and privileges in the Soviet Union itself.

In the official Soviet press, dissident left-Communist voices in the USSR, when mentioned at all, are dismissed as inconsequential. The invasion of Czechoslovakia indicated that the Kremlin bureaucrats stand in holy fear of dissidence in the Soviet Union and that they regard it not as a danger of the remote future but something very immediate. Just as the struggle against imperialism in Vietnam and the revolt against capitalism in France helped spark the mobilization against bureaucratic misrule in Czechoslovakia, so the Czech events provide an example for opponents of bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union. We can expect to see the growth of a movement for the restoration of Leninist democracy in the land of the October revolution in the coming period.

The Student Radicalization Around the World

The flames leaped high in France, Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, but there were fires elsewhere, too, some of them quite fierce. If there was any nearly general phenomenon throughout the world in 1968 it was the mass radicalization of students and youth.

The Mexican student strike, for instance, involving hundreds of thousands of students and young workers in pitched battles with the police and army marked a new stage of revolutionary action in the cities of Latin America.

The student movement in Mexico City began mass demonstrations in July around the slogan, "Free Mexico's Political Prisoners." The "democratic" government of Diaz Ordaz replied with brutal police violence. On July 26 at least one student was killed and many injured when police attacked a peaceful demonstration at the Zócalo, the huge square where the government buildings are located.

On September 18 the army occupied the campus of the University of Mexico. In the battles that followed more than 1,000 students were arrested. The parallel with the French events was very much in the minds of both the students and the government, and was frequently discussed in student publications.

Diaz Ordaz decided to crush the student movement. On October 2 the army surrounded a peaceful crowd of 30,000 at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. The soldiers attacked without warning, machine-

gunning women and children. The dead were estimated at more than a hundred, with an uncounted number wounded.

This crime stunned the general population of Mexico. The student militants received a heavy blow, but like their French counterparts they have continued their struggle despite the fierce government repression.

In London, more than 100,000 persons, led by a youthful vanguard, marched against the Vietnam war October 27. The week before, 800,000 persons took part in antiwar actions in cities across Japan.

From Zurich to Capetown and from Berkeley to Lisbon, students took to the streets to demand fundamental changes in the system.

In the last months of 1968 student demonstrations shook the governments in the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and Italy.

This new radicalization has produced countermoves on the part of the ruling capitalist classes in many countries. The masses use bourgeois democratic liberties of free speech and assembly to protest the continued dominance of society by a capitalist minority that puts its own narrow, selfish interests above those of the nation and humanity. The capitalist governments have retaliated by increasingly severe suppression of elementary civil liberties.

In Latin America the trend toward open military rule, with the backing of Washington, continued in 1968. Military juntas displaced civilian regimes in Peru and Panama. On December 13 Brazil's "civilian" president Arthur da Costa e Silvathe handpicked successor of his military predecessor — assumed dictatorial powers, dismissed congress, and ordered widespread arrests of political opponents.

Severe witch-hunts against revolutionary student organizations were opened in countries as diverse as Mexico, France, Japan, Brazil, Tunisia, and South Africa. In the United States legal harassment and victimization of leaders of the Black Panther party and other militant black organizations continued throughout 1968.

Such repression, however, can cut two ways. The general period favors the continual rise of revolutionary forces. In the absence of a decisive defeat for the student movement and the working class, sporadic victimizations can have the opposite effect from that intended. They can bring new layers into struggle who are outraged at the authoritarian and antidemocratic behavior of the government.

The United States

In the United States, the citadel of world imperialism, new forces were set in motion in the fall of 1968 that will bear watching closely in the year to come.

Throughout the country hundreds of black student and community organizations formed around the struggle for black control of the black communities. This demand was expressed in different ways, but the most common was for local control of ghetto schools.

The New York City teachers' strike expressed the reactionary resistance of the white trade-union bureaucracy to the growing power and organization of the black community.

The mounting concern of the black community over the curriculum and teaching staff of its school system was a prominent phenomenon in most of the major cities in the United States in 1968. It is evidence of a new stage in the consciousness and organization of the black masses.

Another new development in 1968 that did not go unnoticed in Washington was the participation of more than 1,000 active-duty soldiers in antiwar demonstrations in October, which were called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

This public manifestation of the antiwar sentiment among the ranks of the armed forces is a portent of what is to come. As the year ended, plans were being discussed for massive antiwar demonstrations in the spring in which servicemen will be invited to participate.

On January 20 Nixon will take office with far less political capital than Johnson had after the 1964 election. Yet Nixon owes his victory — a negligible plurality at that — to popular revulsion against Johnson-Humphrey. Worldwide outrage at U.S. aggression in Vietnam was a big factor in the devaluation and ultimate political demise of Lyndon Johnson.

Nixon, along with the presidency, will inherit the dilemma of Vietnam. If he continues to cast Washington in the role of world policeman, attempting in particular to crush the colonial revolution, if he continues Johnson's policy of keeping the war going in Vietnam, he risks ultimate defeat and disaster and an escalation of opposition at home. Such a course would entail immense dangers for capitalist rule in the United States.

The liquidation of the war without a clear imperialist victory is perhaps equally hazardous for Washington. A triumph for the revolutionary movement in one area has immediate repercussions in many countries. The victory of the Cuban revolution, for instance, inspired a series of struggles in Latin America.

This victory was partially offset by a number of defeats and setbacks as in Brazil, Indonesia, Algeria, Ghana, the Middle East.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has helped overcome the demoralizing effect of these defeats. In large measure it inspired the new youth radicalization in the advanced capitalist countries that was so marked in 1968.

If the U.S. is forced to get out of Vietnam this will constitute a major victory for the colonial revolution. The consequences throughout the world could prove to be enormous.

The imperialists hope, with the collaboration of Moscow, to wrest major concessions from the Vietnamese freedom fighters at the conference table. Failing that, they calculate on using the negotiations to lull the people at home while continuing the war across the Pacific.

Nixon will not be able to draw this process out for a long period without drastic consequences to the stability of American imperialism at home. Quite likely he will soon be notified of this through renewed demonstrations in which the slogan, "Immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam," will receive increasingly sharp emphasis.

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