

Why Johnson Abdicated



Nixon Weighs His Course in Vietnam

How Hanoi Reports the Paris Conference

'Let the Huks Go!'

The Banning of Carlos Fuentes

IN SOUTH VIETNAM: "... the U.S. must withdraw all aggressor troops and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs without interference." See page 270.

WHY JOHNSON ABDICATED

By Joseph Hansen

At least three separate accounts, all of them in substantial agreement on the main points, have appeared in the American press telling the inside story of why Johnson decided just one year ago to back off from further escalation of the war in Vietnam toward the north, to call a bombing "halt," and seek negotiations with the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Besides their historic value -- they confirm the con-

clusions drawn by the antiwar movement at the time -- the accounts are of unusual interest in showing how major policy decisions are actually made in Washington. The revelations also unquestionably have an immediate bearing on the current heaving and hauling among different sectors of the capitalist class over the tactics they want the Nixon administration to follow with respect to Vietnam.

The first, and shortest, account was written by Mary McGrory. It appeared in her column in the March 1 issue of the New York Post.

A longer account was published in the March 10 issue of Newsweek. It was written by Contributing Editor Charles Roberts, who "talked at length with Johnson Administration officials who participated in the backstage battle that preceded the President's decision."

The most detailed account appeared in two long installments in the New York Times (March 6 and 7). It was written "by Hedrick Smith in collaboration with William Beecher, and incorporating reports by Peter Grose, John W. Finney, E.W. Kenworthy, Roy Reed, Benjamin Welles, Edwin L. Dale Jr. and Max Frankel." The Times evidently considered the story so important that it went to unusual lengths to get the facts.

The crisis in the Johnson administration was precipitated by the success of the Tet offensive which opened on January 30, 1968. The American command in Saigon had insisted previously that "the enemy" was exhausted, weary, and on the run, and that victory for the Stars and Stripes was within sight. The Tet offensive, involving coordinated assaults on thirty-six cities in South Vietnam and even a daring raid on the U.S. embassy compound, caught Gen. Westmoreland -- and Washington -- completely by surprise.

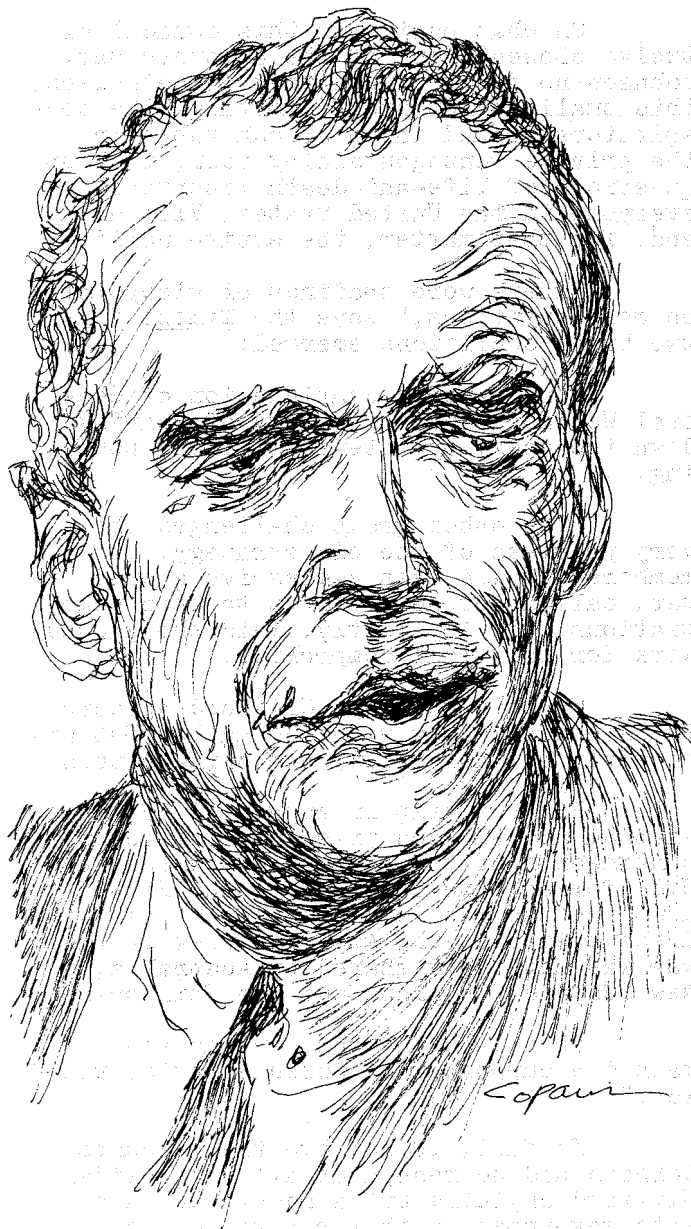
"Confident and secure one day," says the Times, "Gen. William C. Westmoreland, then the American commander in Saigon, found himself on the next dealing with a vast battle the length of South Vietnam."

"The psychological impact on Washington had outrun the event: The capital was stunned."

Johnson sent Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to Saigon on "an urgent mission" to find out what had happened and what should be done about it. Wheeler, upon returning February 28, paused "only to change into a



GEN. WILLIAM C. WESTMORELAND. "Confident and secure one day, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, then the American commander in Saigon, found himself on the next dealing with a vast battle the length of South Vietnam. The psychological impact on Washington had outrun the event: The capital was stunned."



CLARK CLIFFORD. "He argued against the damage to the dollar and the inflationary spiral that another multibillion-dollar commitment to Vietnam might cause. He warned that another major escalation of the war might 'tear the country apart.'"

fresh uniform" and hurried "through the rain to the White House to deliver a report and make a request."

"On that day at the end of February, President Johnson and his closest aides assembled for breakfast around the Chippendale table in the elegant family dining room on the second floor of the Executive Mansion. Before rising from the table, they had set in motion the most intensive policy review of the Johnson Presidency -- and one of the most agonizing of any Presidency."

Wheeler offered a reassuring pic-

ture. There had been no military defeat, he claimed. "The enemy had been thrown back with heavy losses and had failed to spark a popular uprising against the South Vietnamese regime. Not only had the Government in Saigon and its army survived the hurricane, he continued, but the offensive has 'scared the living daylights' out of non-Communists, and they were beginning to cooperate."

Notwithstanding this improvement for the American side, "more -- many more -- American troops were needed because the allied forces were off balance and vulnerable to another offensive."

In addition, it was Gen. Westmoreland's opinion "that massive reinforcements would guard against a quick repetition of the Tet offensive and would allow the allies to regain the initiative, to exploit the enemy's losses and to 'speed the course of the war to our objectives.'"

"General Wheeler gave the Westmoreland request his personal endorsement. It added up to 206,000 more men."

The actual figure was, it appears, not mentioned among the breakfasters around the Chippendale table. Wheeler merely submitted a "shopping list."

"Once the plan was fed through the Pentagon computers the precise number emerged. It became so secret that to this day some officials will not utter it -- a reminder of the President's wrath when it did leak to the press during the March debate.

"The sheer size of the request -- a 40 per cent increase in the 535,000-man force committed to Vietnam -- stunned Mr. Johnson and the civilians around him, though the initial impulse was to see how the commander's needs might be filled.

"'It was a hell of a serious breakfast,' one participant recalled. 'It was rough as a cob!'"

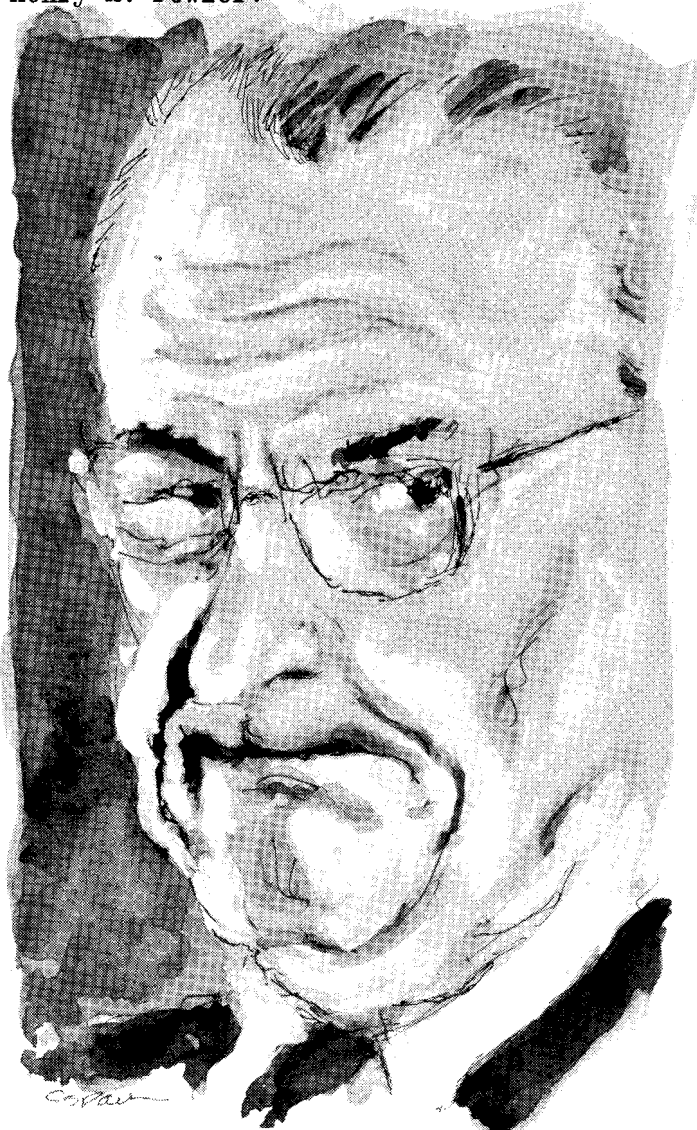
At this point the spotlight shifts to Clark M. Clifford, who, all three accounts agree, was to play the key role in the succeeding acts of the drama.

"Clifford had been brought in as a stalwart and soothing replacement for Robert S. McNamara, who had developed an awkward strain of Nervous Nellyism about bombing," writes Mary McGrory in her column. Clifford's "first assignment, which began the day of his oath-taking, was to chair an intergovernmental group charged with expediting -- not questioning -- Gen. Westmoreland's new troop request..."

This top-level group met at 1:30 p.m. March 1 "around the oval oak table in the private Pentagon dining room of

the Secretary of Defense," according to the Times.

Besides Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, the group included "Walt W. Rostow, the President's assistant for national security affairs, Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence; General Wheeler, General Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Ambassador to Saigon and a Presidential adviser on Vietnam; Paul H. Nitze, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; Paul C. Warnke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs; Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs; William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, and, for financial advice, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler."



LYNDON B. JOHNSON. "The President's relations with Clifford became so frosty he refused to confer with his Defense Secretary alone. 'The President,' adds one participant somewhat inelegantly, 'was colder than a whore's heart.'"

On what basis was this council of twelve chosen? None of the accounts say. Johnson no doubt picked them. Nonetheless, this small secret group, meeting like conspirators around the oval oak table in the private Pentagon dining room, took up questions of life-and-death importance to everyone in the United States, Vietnam, and, for that matter, the entire world.

"There were shadings of viewpoint on most questions," says the Times, "but two broad coalitions emerged:

"One favored continuation of General Westmoreland's strategy of wearing down the enemy by intense military pounding....

"The other group challenged the very premises of the old strategy. Its members urged a less aggressive ground war, called for new efforts to open negotiations and, implicitly, laid the groundwork for political compromise."

In this meeting, Clifford appears to have gone along with the hawks. But apparently he was already harboring doubts.

After a trip in August, 1967, to Vietnam and the countries sending token contingents of troops to fight with the U.S. forces, "he confided to the President that he was deeply uneasy at having discovered that the American view of the war was not fully shared by Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines.

"Disturbed he was, but he remained a supporter of Administration policy."

In fact, to believe the accounts, Johnson had no reason at all to consider Clifford anything but a hawk. "He came into government with a reputation as a hawk," says the Times, "as a trusted, loyal 'back-room' counselor to Mr. Johnson who had steadfastly supported Administration policy. In December, 1965, he had opposed the 36-day bombing pause then advocated by his predecessor. One man acquainted with the circumstances of the Clifford appointment said later:

"I am sure the President felt, 'Here is a good, strong, sturdy supporter of the war, and that's what I need.' Mc-Namara was wobbling -- particularly on the bombing issue. I think the President felt Clifford was strong and sturdy."

Whatever may have been in the back of his mind, Clifford proceeded as if he had full confidence in the judgment of the generals in Vietnam and their commander-in-chief in Washington.

However, he kept putting searching questions to the Pentagon and kept bringing the disturbing answers back to his

atorial, maneuvering -- with compromises struck for bureaucratic purposes and with opponents in agreement for contrary reasons."

Clifford "discovered," for instance, that the Pentagon appeared to be running by inertia and not by any coherent policy.

Newsweek reports: "'When he asked the Joint Chiefs how many men were needed really to do the job,' says one of those present, 'the Joint Chiefs said they didn't know. When he asked if recent increases in combat troop strength had really changed the complexion of the war, the Joint Chiefs said, "No." And when he asked what effect the bombing of the north had had, they replied, "Not much."'

"Very soon it became apparent that Clifford himself was moving definitely toward the dove. One who knows him well put it this way: 'Clifford first developed an uneasiness, then doubts, and finally a conviction that the war could not be won militarily under the ground rules laid down by LBJ. As he saw it, the only plan the U.S. really had was to send in more and more troops to fight more and more Communists.'"

To believe the accounts, Johnson was beside himself with rage over Clifford's seeming treachery. Barely in his post, Clifford turned out to be more of a Nervous Nelly than McNamara!

"The President's relations with Clifford," says Newsweek, "became so frosty he refused to confer with his Defense Secretary alone. 'The President,' adds one participant somewhat inelegantly, 'was colder than a whore's heart.'"

The comment undoubtedly came straight from the heart of that participant, evidently one able to speak from experience concerning Washington's main profession.

The changing political climate in the United States, registered in the polls as an erosion of Johnson's "popularity," is indicated in the three accounts.

"The Tet offensive," says the Times, "had punctured the heady optimism over the military progress reported to Congress by General Westmoreland and by Ellsworth Bunker, the Ambassador to South Vietnam, in November, 1967. Not only had the pool of disenchantment spread by late February to fence-sitters in Congress, to newspaper offices and to business organizations. It had also reached the upper echelons of the Government.

"If tolerance of the war had worn thin, so had the nation's military resources -- so thin, indeed, that there



ELLSWORTH BUNKER. "Meantime, the hawks were maneuvering for their own counter-attack....the President was bombarded with urgent, hard-line messages from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Saigon."

patron in the White House.

Some political analysts may hold that Clifford was doing what he could to save Johnson from a disastrous error and that Johnson himself, fully aware of the handwriting on the wall, was cooperating by following suggestions from Clifford on how best to conduct himself to recover the situation or at least save his image for history.

However that may be, the current accounts picture Clifford as a genuine hawk who changed his mind, despite Johnson's anger, as he saw the evidence. According to this view, Clifford emerges as a statesman who rose in stature as he played the difficult part of a wise vizier to an idiot emperor.

It is hard to say. As the Times itself points out: "The turnabout [in Johnson's policy] emerged through sharp confrontations and subtle, even conspir-

was almost nothing more to send to Vietnam without either mobilizing, enlarging draft calls, lengthening the 12-month combat tour or sending Vietnam veterans back for second tours of duty -- all extremely unappealing.

"Congress was in such ferment that the process of legislation was partly paralyzed. The dollar was being battered by the gold crisis in Europe and inflation at home.

"More fundamentally, the nation was seriously divided. The fabric of public civility had begun to unravel as opinion on the war polarized."

The Times refrains from going into the symptoms of the deepening polarization such as the massive antiwar demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of participants in the major cities of the country. The Times confines itself, only to allusions to what was happening. For instance: "The public was increasingly impatient with the war." Again: "The country was in turmoil and the dollar was in danger."

In face of Johnson's unloving attitude, "Clifford's response...was, perforce, almost conspiratorial," according to Newsweek. "Quietly, he rallied what he called his 'strategy group.'"

This group went in for intensive buttonholing among the cliques and camarilla's of Johnson's court.

"'We had a good day today,' Clifford would report after yet another session with Mr. Johnson -- and his aides knew at once that he felt he had managed to put some questions that clearly disturbed the President. 'Is he one of us?' Clifford's men would ask before setting out to recruit other officials for their maneuvering."

But the going was not easy, Newsweek continues. "Meantime, the hawks were maneuvering for their own counterattack. This force was led by Rusk, Wheeler, Ros- tow and retired Gen. Maxwell Taylor. One result was that Harry McPherson [Johnson's speech writer] suddenly found himself systematically excluded from top-level White House meetings on Vietnam. Another was that the President was bombarded with urgent, hard-line messages from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Saigon."

The hawks appeared to be gaining ground in the battle to sway the thinking of the crown. But Clifford, "the silent hero," as Mary McGrory describes him, thought of a strategist.

"He recalled," says Newsweek, "that the President had summoned a dozen



SUPREME COURT JUSTICE ABE FORTAS. "There was, to be sure, a faction that held firm in defense of the harder line -- Justice Fortas, General [Maxwell D.] Taylor and Mr. [Robert D.] Murphy. Mr. Murphy wanted more bombing, not less."

non-government 'wise men' -- mostly members of the Eastern Establishment -- in November 1967, to discuss the war. He proposed that the President convene another such advisory group for the critical policy review at hand. Mr. Johnson agreed, and on March 25, a Who's Who of prestigious Americans, most with experience in government, met secretly at the State Department."

The New York Times does not use the label "mostly members of the Eastern Establishment" to describe this mysterious, but evidently very powerful, body. The main newspaper of the Eastern Establishment says that it was a "secret council of trusted advisers" constituting "a 'who's who' of the American foreign-policy establishment." It lists fourteen as

being present at the March 25 meeting:

"Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under President Truman; George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, retired World War II commander; McGeorge Bundy, special assistant for national security affairs to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Arthur H. Dean, President Eisenhower's Korean war negotiator; Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury under President Kennedy.

"Also Associate Justice Abe Fortas of the Supreme Court; Mr. [Arthur J.] Goldberg [present by special invitation of Johnson]; Henry Cabot Lodge, twice Ambassador to Saigon; John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner in West Germany under President Truman; Robert D. Murphy, ranking diplomat in the Truman-Eisenhower era; Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, retired Korean war commander; Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a constant Presidential adviser on Vietnam, and Cyrus R. Vance, former Deputy Defense Secretary and President Johnson's trouble-shooter."

Johnson was presumably present, although the accounts do not indicate this, just as they fail to indicate whether the conspirative body sat around a Chippendale breakfast table, an oval oak table, or perhaps a card table.

The composition of the council deserves to be noted. It was a twin-party grouping, no attention being paid to whether the members were nominally Democrats or Republicans.

It did not include a single representative of any of the trade unions or minority movements.

The Pentagon, White House, State Department, and Supreme Court were represented, but not a single congressman was included, although the subject under discussion was the war in Vietnam and, under the constitution of the United States, the warmaking powers reside with Congress.

Nonetheless, as will be seen, Johnson listened to this unrepresentative, unelected, secret council as if it spoke for the real masters of the country. In this he was, of course, dead right.

"The wise men," continues the Times, "heard candid briefings, some of which bordered on pessimism, and then questioned Messrs. Rusk, Clifford and Rostow and others about the extent of the Tet disaster and the plans for the future. The discussion continued late that night and resumed the next morning at the White House.

"For the first time President Johnson got the trend of their views. He was 'deeply shaken,' one aide said, by the change of temper of the wise men, who were deeply discouraged over the war after the exalted hopes of the previous fall.

"The President was especially impressed by the fact that Mr. Acheson, McGeorge Bundy and to a lesser degree Mr. Vance had joined Mr. Ball and Mr. Goldberg in opposing further military commitments and advocating some way of getting out of the war. He was jolted when Mr. Bundy, one of the architects of intervention in the early sixties and of the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, now took an opposite tack.

"There was, to be sure, a faction that held firm in defense of the harder line -- Justice Fortas, General Taylor and Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy wanted more bombing, not less.

"Ambassador Lodge, now President Nixon's chief negotiator in Paris, left the other participants puzzled. Several found him hawkish, but at least one said he was 'on all sides of the issue.' Mr. McCloy leaned toward the hawkish group.

"Mr. Dean, Mr. Dillon and Generals Bradley and Ridgway were now doubters. They were plainly war-weary if not yet ready to shift course dramatically. The waning public support of the war was a constant concern.

"There was no consensus on the bombing issue. Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Ball advocated a halt as a way to negotiations. The others were uncertain but the impression left with Government sources was



HENRY CABOT LODGE. "Ambassador Lodge, now President Nixon's chief negotiator in Paris, left the other participants puzzled. Several found him hawkish, but at least one said he was 'on all sides of the issue.'"

that the wise men as a group were saying: 'We had better start looking for another way to get this war settled.'

Clifford followed up vigorously, his immediate objective being to get Johnson to rewrite a speech he was scheduled to deliver March 31. While various drafts had been made, the basic line was unaltered.

"It was still, in the words of one participant," says the Times, "a 'teeth-clenched, see-it-through' speech, announcing that about 15,000 more troops would be sent to Vietnam."

Meeting with Rusk, Rostow, McPherson and Bundy, Clifford "launched an impassioned plea" against taking the course outlined in the speech.

"It would tear the country apart, the Defense Secretary argued, to hear a speech that promised only more war. What was needed, he said, was not a 'war speech, but a peace speech -- the issue is as sharp as the edge of an ax.'"

According to Newsweek, "He mustered every available argument against pouring more troops into the 'bottomless pit' of Vietnam. He argued against the damage to the dollar and the inflationary spiral that another multibillion-dollar commitment to Vietnam might cause. He warned that another major escalation of the war might 'tear the country apart.'"

Mary McGrory says, "Clifford warned of civil war."

By the end of the day, Rusk had been won over. He agreed that a new speech should be written. McPherson went to work at once, and by morning had the new draft prepared. This was the speech that announced a partial bombing "halt."

Johnson added an unexpected peroration of his own -- the announcement that he was withdrawing from the presidential race. As the Times blandly explains:

"The approach of the Wisconsin primary also served as a deadline for action, in the view of some of his political advisers. They thought his withdrawal would be more dignified and more effective if made before the primary rather than after the expected victory for Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota."

* * *

Precisely why have these details now been made public? The ostensible reason is that this is the first anniversary of the change in Johnson's course. It is rather novel, however, to see the capitalist press display such a punctilious attitude toward history -- at least history

as recent as this.

A more likely explanation is that the "Eastern Establishment," that powerful coterie of the American capitalist class which very early came to the conclusion that Johnson had made a tactical blunder in escalating the Vietnam war to the north and which finally -- through the deft work of Clifford -- succeeded in getting Johnson to alter his tactics, is now worried over what Nixon might do.

The new man in the White House is not talking as yet, but evidence is mounting that he is inclined to take a whirl at "retaliatory" bombing of North Vietnam.

The publicity now given to the story behind the scenes, disclosing how Johnson was persuaded to change, serves to warn Nixon, in effect, that the Eastern Establishment is opposed to any such dangerous adventure. Don't misinterpret the temporary quiescence in the antiwar movement, Nixon is being told. If you fly in the face of the clearly registered basic mood, which forced Johnson to abdicate after assuming office with the greatest majority in history, you can stir up a storm which could "tear the country apart" and even lead to "civil war."

An incidental motive may well be to further enhance the image of Clark Clifford, the Eastern Establishment's troubleshooter, who succeeded against great odds in getting Johnson to switch his course and even deliver his own political funeral oration.

Ironically, the Eastern Establishment, whatever its differences on tactics, is committed to the same basic policy as both Johnson and Nixon -- to maintain the American "presence" in South Vietnam.

What it wants is a settlement similar to the one achieved in Korea -- division of Vietnam into two halves, with ultimate suppression of the revolution in the south. This objective, the Eastern Establishment hopes, can be achieved with the help of Moscow. But to accomplish this, some concessions must be granted so that Brezhnev-Kosygin can do their work under a plausible cover. To resume bombing North Vietnam could prove fatal to this possibility.

The way to bring the war to a quick end is apparent for everyone to see -- stop intervening in the Vietnamese civil war; withdraw the troops at once.

Both Nixon and the Eastern Establishment, it can confidently be predicted, will soon be given a fresh reminder of this by millions of people, who will not easily be persuaded to treat Nixon more gently than they did Johnson if he thinks he can get away with escalating or even prolonging the slaughter.

NIXON WEIGHS HIS COURSE IN VIETNAM

It is nearly two months since Richard Nixon was inaugurated president of the United States. In his campaign speeches he claimed that he had a plan to end the war in Vietnam. What that may have been remains a closely guarded secret. The reality is that the American command has steadily escalated the war in South Vietnam since Johnson's bombing "halt" over North Vietnam went into effect last November 1.

It now appears that Nixon is weighing "retaliatory" bombing in North Vietnam. The reason is that the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam has responded to the increase in American military activities by opening a counter-offensive.

The Pentagon announced March 6 that 453 American soldiers had been killed and 2,593 wounded in the first seven days of stepped-up fighting. The casualties were the highest in any single week since May 1968.

They were higher than those incurred during the first full week of the Tet offensive a year ago.

The Pentagon's claims of the number of NLF soldiers killed, on the other hand, was only half the number they claimed to have slaughtered during the first week of Tet: 6,752 as against 13,118 last year. These figures have always been notoriously inflated, but it is significant that the Pentagon's claims have been so sharply reduced.

Nixon made his first public statement concerning the NLF thrust on March 4. The United States, he said, "will not tolerate" attacks on South Vietnamese cities. He threatened that "an appropriate response will be made to these attacks if they continue."

Inasmuch as U.S. forces have already been under orders to exert "maximum" military "pressure" in South Vietnam since last November, Nixon clearly implied a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam. He drew back, for the moment, from carrying out the threat.

The evidence, however, pointed toward resumption of bombing forays over North Vietnam. Nixon cited the so-called understanding with North Vietnam -- the U.S. assertion that Hanoi agreed to prevent the NLF from attacking major South Vietnamese cities -- as justification for his threats of retaliation. In addition he added a new condition of his own. For the first time, he promised retaliation for "attacks which result in heavier casualties to our men at a time when we

are honestly trying to seek peace at the conference table in Paris."

Tom Wicker, writing in the March 6 New York Times, took note of this new condition demanded by the president:

"The latter stipulation ignores what news reports from Vietnam have strongly suggested -- that United States forces, too, have tried in the past months to seize as much military advantage as possible, so that when and if the negotiations approach a settlement, the American power position will be strong. And if this is a suggestion that the attacks mean that Hanoi is not yet really seeking a settlement, then the question has to be asked whether Mr. Nixon is, either...The question here is whether a settlement is Mr. Nixon's first priority. If it is, little is to be gained by public recriminations and talk of retaliation."

Nixon's choice of Vietnam appointees has done little to reduce the speculation that he plans a new buildup in Vietnam. Tom Wicker said in his March 4 column that they are "either Johnson holdovers or more identifiable hawks than their predecessors."

On March 7 the State Department announced a further Nixon appointment that confirmed this trend. Marshall Green, presently an aide to Henry Cabot Lodge in Paris, is being made Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, a key policy post held for the last four years by William Bundy. Green was U.S. chargé d'affaires in South Korea at the time of the military coup by Chung Hee Park in 1961, and he was U.S. ambassador to Indonesia in 1965 at the time of the bloody massacre of Indonesian communists by General Suharto and his American-backed coterie.

Nixon has apparently been more blunt about his aims in private than in public. Drew Pearson, in his nationally syndicated column, reported from Washington March 8 on Nixon's closed-door meeting with congressional leaders on his European trip. There Nixon discounted all the public hints of a limited withdrawal of U.S. troops during 1969:

"I know Mike Mansfield's views on the withdrawal of troops," Nixon told the 20 Senate-House leaders who came to the Cabinet room for the confidential briefing, "but this is not the time to begin pulling troops out of Vietnam. I think the impact would be bad."

Nixon has escalated the war beyond the borders of South Vietnam. The March 9 New York Times reported that American

marines "seized several hilltops just inside Laos....Some of the Americans were reported to have remained on Laotian soil for about a week before they withdrew."

This was the first time that American military authorities have admitted invading Laotian territory, although the Times said that it had happened before. The Times described the operation as a "major campaign" labeled "Operation Dewey Canyon." The American command claims to have killed 1,400 Vietnamese freedom fighters and to have seized 400 tons of arms and ammunition. Significantly, the Times added, the "campaign began six weeks ago." That is, long before the NLF counteroffensive.

The Times also reported the covert extension of American aggression in Laos: The U.S. "provides war matériel, military training and military advisers to pro-Western forces in Laos. At the request of the pro-Western elements, American planes fly every day over Laos on 'reconnaissance missions,' a diplomatic euphemism for bombing raids.

"Operation Dewey Canyon may or may not have been the first time in the Vietnam war that a large unit of allied ground troops deliberately crossed into Laos and dug in. Almost certainly there have been a number of accidental incursions of brief duration, not only into Laos but also into Cambodia."

Another indicator of Nixon's thinking was Secretary of Defense Laird's announcement in Saigon March 9 of a \$70-million increase in the budget for the war this year. When asked about the perspectives for an American withdrawal, he pushed the question off into the misty future: "I'm sure we all look forward to the day when it will be possible to replace some of our soldiers of our combat units with South Vietnamese forces.

"But this is no time to discuss troop withdrawals."

The administration's aggressive tone and actions, while a major policy decision is under discussion, has led to an uproar from critics of further escalation within the ruling class. That wing of the American capitalist class which views the Vietnam war as unwinnable without provoking disastrous social explosions at home began to raise their voices.

Averell Harriman, Johnson's chief negotiator in Paris, publicly denied Nixon's claim that the NLF offensive was a violation of any "understanding." In an interview with James A. Wechsler that appeared in the March 6 New York Post, Harriman described the NLF offensive as a "response" to American actions in Vietnam. He said that he had predicted such

a response if Washington carried out General Abrams' order for "all-out pressure on the enemy," which has been in effect since the bombing "halt."

Harriman added, "The big decisions are still to be made."

Wechsler warned that Johnson's fate awaited Nixon if he further escalated the war:

"His [Nixon's] responses may determine the fate of his Administration. For a sudden expansion of the war, flimsily camouflaged by charges that Hanoi has violated the 'understanding' of October when in fact the 'all-out pressure' order first came from our side, will instantly recreate, on a larger scale, the discords that haunted the Johnson era."

Senator John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, indicated some of the limits of Nixon's options in a March 9 television interview on "Face the Nation." The Mississippi senator said Americans would be "badly mistaken if we think we can depend too much upon this South Vietnamese Army winning this war or being able to hold the line....I don't believe they will be able to do it and I believe Hanoi knows this better than we do." He added that at the present level of fighting, "We'll have to stay there for 10 years at best."

The New York Times warned of this danger in a March 9 editorial. "The most predictable effect of precipitate resumption of the bombing would be to alienate world opinion again and hamper negotiations on Vietnam and other critical issues with the Russians. It certainly would halt the Paris talks, prolong the war and escalate the fighting, thus increasing instead of reducing the ultimate cost in American casualties."

The Times was very clear as to who had escalated the war:

"Pentagon figures show that from November to January the number of allied battalion-sized operations increased more than one-third, from 800 to 1,077....Meanwhile, the North Vietnamese pulled all but three of their 25 regiments in the northern sections of South Vietnam back across the borders. This freed more than a full division of American troops to join in maximum military pressure further south...."

The Times pointed out that Nixon has virtually suspended the Paris talks:

"The sad fact is that the Paris talks have been left on dead center while Ambassador Lodge awaits a White House go-ahead for making new peace proposals or for engaging in private talks out of which

the only real progress is likely to come. Everything has been stalled while the Nixon Administration completes its military and diplomatic review."

William Beecher, writing from Washington in the March 8 New York Times, pointed to one of the most important considerations holding Washington back from a new major escalation:

"The Nixon Administration is in something of a quandary. A State Department official who recently returned from speaking engagements at a number of universities was amazed that the students, who only six months ago were lambasting Washington for its Vietnam policy, hard-

ly brought the subject up. Public pressure over the war has almost disappeared. But if the Administration should pull its negotiators even temporarily out of the Paris talks, as was seriously contemplated last week, or should bomb the North, it would run the risk of stirring up protest once again."

What Nixon's bourgeois critics rightly fear is the explosion of a new wave of popular antiwar sentiment if the Paris talks are exposed as a cover for prosecuting the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Nixon had a period of grace provided by Johnson's apparent scaling down of the war. The new offensive of the NLF has drastically shortened Nixon's time limit.

GERM WARFARE "TO DESTROY PEOPLE...NOT PROPERTY"

U.S. army chemical and biological warfare projects have long been top-secret, hidden from the world, the American people, and even most members of Congress. On March 4, at the insistence of a group of senators and representatives, the army lifted the lid a little in a private briefing session. The few facts made public by the legislators provide a small insight into the Pentagon's chamber of horrors.

The briefing was given by Brigadier General James A. Hebbeler, the director of the army's chemical-biological-radiological and nuclear sector. Most of the general's remarks were confidential, but it was revealed, for example, that the army regularly transports by rail 300-gallon canisters of a nerve gas known as G-B, a few drops of which will kill a person.

On March 13, 1968, more than 6,000 sheep were accidentally killed in Utah by another nerve gas, called VX, carried on the wind. Some of the legislators expressed concern over the danger of a rail accident bursting a canister of G-B near a population center.

For the first time, the cost of the chemical and biological warfare program (known in the trade as CBW) was revealed.

During the past four years all CBW expenses have been scattered throughout the military budget, disguised under other headings. All references to the overall totals have been censored from testimony before Congressional committees. Representative Richard D. McCarthy of Buffalo, New York, told the press after the briefing that the army spends \$350 million a year on CBW projects, equally divided between research and production.

General Hebbeler reportedly told

the legislators this information was "confidential," but McCarthy evaded the injunction by referring to an unofficial study that gave this figure as accurate.

The general asserted that the Soviet Union spends seven to eight times as much as the U.S. on CBW research, but Representative John Brademas, Democrat of Indiana, described this statement as "a not very thinly disguised argument for more support" of Pentagon CBW projects.

If the investment appears smaller than that plowed into nuclear weapons, it must be remembered that a tiny amount of any of these substances can wipe out hundreds of millions of people. The army has developed a botulism toxin, for example, for which there is no known cure. It kills 65 percent of its victims. One ounce could kill 60 million people.

The army maintains six CBW installations. In addition many universities and industries are involved in CBW research through Defense Department contracts.

The March 9 New York Times listed a few of the choice items in the Pentagon's cupboard, compiled from unclassified sources:

"Anthrax, a bacterial lung infection that is usually fatal within a few days if not treated promptly.

"Pneumonic plague, another fast-killing bacterial infection against which there is no effective vaccine and which is nearly always fatal without prompt treatment. A British CBW worker recently died of pneumonic plague which he contracted while on the job....

"Equine encephalomyelitis, a viral infection of the nervous system that kills

as many as 65 percent of its victims and for which there is also no specific treatment.

"Production of an organism like the plague bacillus which is resistant to all known antibiotics -- or, better yet, resistant to all but one antibiotic which is known only to the offense.

"About a dozen other agents, many equally deadly, could be added to this list."

The army has reportedly been looking for a site to test these disease-producing "weapons," but has so far not found one. If even a bird were to bring the germs to a city, an epidemic might be unleashed.

On the chemical side, the specialists in mass annihilation have devised a list ranging from blistering and choking agents that are often lethal, to nerve gases that paralyze the nervous system and spread swift death over a wide area.

These horror weapons that American imperialism is preparing for use against the people of the world could as thoroughly destroy mankind as a nuclear holocaust. America's capitalist rulers -- who no doubt expect to be among the chosen handful with the secret antidotes -- reportedly believe there is a certain advantage to wiping out the human race with biological rather than nuclear weapons. The Times noted: "It would destroy people but not property, thus presumably leaving a better chance for postwar rehabilitation."

DIAZ ORDAZ MAKES A "LITERARY" ATTACK ON JOSE REVUELTAS

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

As is well known, the Díaz Ordaz regime has accused the novelist and revolutionary Marxist José Revueltas of being one of the main instigators of last year's student rebellion -- a great crime in the eyes of the government. Revueltas' imprisonment has shocked intellectual circles in Mexico. It is feared that the government will not have to prove the accusations against the famous writer in court, because they come from the highest federal authorities. If convicted, Revueltas may be sentenced to many years in prison.

The reaction among intellectuals has had an important impact, because, owing to their role in society, the intellectuals enjoy greater freedom of action than that remaining to the student movement -- which has been forced into semi-clandestinity by the brutal repression it has suffered and which still continues to some extent.

The PEN [Poets, Essayists and Novelists] Club of Mexico has issued a declaration in support of Revueltas.

It has been pointed out with irony that the regime is preparing to crucify a distinguished literary personality to whom it awarded a major cultural prize in 1967.

The greatest storm has been created by an open letter to President Díaz Ordaz from the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda. The letter, demanding Revueltas' release, was published in the February 26 issue of the magazine Siempre.

Neruda paid tribute to the many

well-known artists of the Revueltas family:

"In a country of inexhaustible creativity like our sister nation, the members of this family have shown excellence and unusual gifts. This family has displayed its proficiency in music, language, theater." He might have added that the Revueltas family has distinguished itself as well in the field of painting in the work of Fermín.

After relating various anecdotes about the musician Silvestre and the actress Rosaura, Neruda tells us in his letter:

"But, today, the important Revueltas for us is José. Contradictory, hairy, desperate, mischievous, José Revueltas is a synthesis of the Mexican soul. He, like his country, has his own orbit, a free-ranging and violent one. He has the rebelliousness of Mexico and a greatness inherited from his family."

Neruda concluded by calling for Revueltas' release:

"Mr. President Díaz Ordaz, I demand the release of José Revueltas, among other things, because he is surely innocent. Secondly, because he has the genius of the Revueltas, and also, which is very important, because we love him very much."

Neruda's letter was an important victory in the Revueltas case. Neruda is one of the most popular poets in Mexico and carries great authority throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

The regime recognized the problems

that could be created for it by the angry Mexican intellectuals. It had already received a heavy blow with the resignation of Octavio Paz, who had been ambassador to India, in protest against the October 2 massacre in Tlatelolco.

Díaz Ordaz himself replied to Neruda. Choosing the same forum the poet had used for his letter, the president of Mexico gave his answer in an interview published in the March 5 Siempre.

"It is good you published Neruda's sublime piece of prose," Díaz Ordaz said; "I can recall only one case where a man wrote as beautiful an appeal as the one you have just read where the great Chilean poet asks the release of José Revueltas. In my mind is the letter Victor Hugo wrote to Juárez asking him to spare the life of Maximilian."

What did Díaz Ordaz mean by this? Was he comparing himself with Juárez? And, more seriously, what reason did he have for saying that there is even the most remote similarity in the cases of Revueltas and Maximilian?

The interviewer who took down this conversation, César Martino, has said that he "would have liked to have had a tape recorder to catch this statement word for word." But is a tape recording necessary to understand the threat implicit in this comparison?

Fortunately, the death penalty has been abolished in the Federal District. Otherwise Revueltas would run the risk of being declared guilty of "high treason" and shot like Maximilian.

The suggestion that Revueltas is an agent of some foreign country is nothing but an expression of Díaz Ordaz' ferocious anti-Communism. He considers Revueltas to be a "subversive" agent, presuma-

bly of the Soviet Union.

This kind of chauvinistic concoction by the government is especially inappropriate in the case of José Revueltas because the writer has made deep-going and severe criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy for its crimes against socialism, especially its invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In any case, Maximilian was a representative of imperialism, not of a workers state, whatever the deficiencies of its leadership. It is not Revueltas who is playing the imperialists' game. It is Mexicans like Díaz Ordaz and the members of the class to which he belongs who have hitched Mexico to the cart of U.S. policy.

It is the present government that has betrayed the national interests by subjecting the country to the imperialist dictates of the USA!

Revueltas and all of us who think like him in the Mexican revolutionary movement are fighting for a truly independent Mexico, for a democratic and socialist Mexico. In the historical struggle that is developing today in our country it will not be the revolutionists who will be considered Maximilians. It will be those who have jailed the political prisoners -- who are earning the hatred and repudiation of the people, which will deepen as time goes on -- who will go down in history as the real spokesmen and puppets of imperialism. They are the counterparts of the gang of conservatives who appealed to Maximilian to come and "govern" over them.

It is the political prisoners today and their allies out of jail who will have to carry out for the second time the task that Juárez and his generation undertook a hundred years ago -- to drive imperialism out of Mexico.

GOLDSTUECKER AMONG DIPLOMATS REHABILITATED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A special commission of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry recommended March 2 that more than 200 former diplomats purged from the foreign service between 1948 and the mid-1960's be rehabilitated. The list included Eduard Goldstuecker, chairman of the Writers' Union. Goldstuecker was formerly ambassador to Israel and Sweden. Bedřich Biheller, chairman of the rehabilitation commission, in an interview with the Czechoslovak press agency, described the purges:

"Personnel work centered mostly on collecting and distributing negative, mostly unfounded, or fabricated slanders about people....Innocent people were un-

justly persecuted for other than professional reasons." He reportedly listed among these reasons service in the Spanish Civil War, participation in the Resistance during World War II, and "nationality of origin," a euphemism for Jews and Slovaks.

Goldstuecker, as a Jew and a leader of the reformers, has been attacked as a "Zionist" and a "counterrevolutionary" in the Soviet press. The Kiev daily Pravda Ukrainy, for example, on August 28, 1968, described Goldstuecker as an assistant "of world imperialism and militant Zionism."

MASS MURDER IN INDONESIA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

From 2,000 to 3,000 persons, accused of belonging to the Indonesian Communist party, were murdered by army guards in the concentration camps of Purwodadi, Kuwu, and Gundi during November and December, 1968, according to a statement issued February 25 by Johannes Pricen, the vice-chairman of the Indonesian Institute of Human Rights.

Several hundred detainees in Kuwu were killed by being struck on the back of the neck with a steel bar and some of the prisoners were forced to dig their own graves before they were killed.

Pricen cited cases in which pris-

oners were tortured by electrical devices to force them to confess to being "Communists."

He said that those being held in the Purwodadi camp are still being subjected to extreme terror and that many of them have committed suicide.

The Institute asked Indonesian President Suharto's advisers what penalties were to be imposed on those responsible for the massacres. Pricen was told that although an official inquiry was under way, no official report had been made.

APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH DOMINICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Santo Domingo

Official denials notwithstanding, there have been political prisoners in Dominican jails ever since President Balaguer took office. The present regime has always been careful to bring criminal, not political, charges against its opponents.

However, during a hunger strike by prisoners that started July 22, 1968, Attorney General Dr. Carlos Rafael Goico Morales admitted that political prisoners were involved -- not imprisoned politicians as President Balaguer has had a habit of saying.

This strike lasted forty days. Nearly 200 persons participated in the La Victoria jails in Santo Domingo; Santiago, the second largest city in the country; La Vega, north of Santo Domingo; and San Cristóbal, about ten miles west of Santo Domingo.

Of these 200 prisoners, seventy were political prisoners. The strike demands were unconditional and immediate release of the political prisoners and better treatment for the ordinary convicts. Five days after the prisoners began their protest, their relatives here in the capital also launched a hunger strike, in solidarity with them.

Unfortunately this action ended in failure because of wrangling among various Maoist groups. The "Red Line" faction of the 14 de Junio [June 14] movement and the Movimiento Popular Dominicano [Dominican People's Movement] fought each other for leadership of the strike. Another Maoist group, the Pacoredo [Partido Comunista de la República Dominicana -- Communist party of the Dominican Republic],

opposed the strike outright.

The most prominent political prisoners at the present time are the following: Agustín Marte Polanco, who has been sentenced to twenty years on charges of being an international spy; the brothers César Augusto Melo and Jesus Aristy Melo, sentenced to five years on a charge of complicity in the killing of the American professor Stewart Stearn; Marco Antonio Santana, sentenced to five years for killing a police lieutenant in self-defense (the lieutenant fired seven shots at Santana before being killed).

The following prisoners, who are being held on various charges, have yet to be sentenced: Miguel Juan Núñez Jiménez, who is charged with attempted physical and armed assault on a police lieutenant and sergeant; Ramón Pacheco, charged with the murder of army captain Peralta Peña and assaulting and disarming a longshoremen's union leader Stapi; Julián Parahoy, charged with attempted murder of a policeman; Ramón López Mejía, charged with possession of eight machine guns in his home; Carlos Anibal Mota, attempting to disarm a customs official; Héctor Antonio Ortiz and Winston Franklin Vargas Valdez, murder; Diómedes Mercedes, carrying high-caliber arms and engaging in political activities in the town of San José de las Matas near Santiago; Rafael (Fafa) Taveras, distributing propaganda prejudicial to state security; Amin Abél Hasbun, inciting peasants to rebellion against the government; Clodomiro Gautreaux, assaulting a businessman; Jorge Mora, Machi Constán, Gregorio Hiciano and Bienvenido Tavárez, all accused of disseminating Communist propaganda; and Santiago Guillermo González, passport falsification and illegal possession of arms.

These prisoners live in subhuman conditions. They are beaten by the guards. They are without medical care. There are beds for only one in ten. The food is inadequate. There are no libraries, workshops, or sanitary facilities. Homosexuality abounds. The political prisoners are mixed in with ordinary offenders.

In view of the desperate situation of these political prisoners, we urge that telegrams of protest be sent to Secretary General U Thant, the United Nations Secretariat, New York, and to the following officials:

President Joaquín Balaguer, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, West Indies.

Procurador General de la República

Dr. Carlos Rafael Goico Morales, Ministry of the Interior and Police, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, West Indies.

Jefe de la Policía General Braulio Alvarez Sánchez, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, West Indies.

Copies of these protests should be sent to the following journals in Santo Domingo: El Caribe, El Listín Diario, El Nacional, Ahora.

Also the radio stations: Radio HIN, Radio MIL, Radio Comercial. All are in Santo Domingo.

Copies should also be sent to La Información, Santiago, Dominican Republic, West Indies.

TEHERAN HIGH COURT TURNS DOWN APPEALS OF 12 POLITICAL PRISONERS

The appeals of thirteen Iranians, sentenced to long prison terms on charges of having plotted against the state's security, were rejected by a high court in Teheran February 28.

One prisoner, Kiumars Izadi, who had been sentenced to six years, was reprieved after he told the court that he supported the Shah's "white revolution."

Most prominent among the prisoners whose sentences were upheld were Bizhan Jazani and Abbas Surki, who are considered to be the leaders of a left-wing grouping. Jazani had been given fifteen years as "an incorrigible." Surki re-

ceived the maximum sentence for the charge involved -- ten years. Six others were also given the maximum. Five youths were given sentences of three to eight years in prison.

At the hearing, some of the prisoners repudiated confessions they had made during the lower court trial, declaring that they had been extorted by force.

An observer from the Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme [International Human Rights Federation], Mme Garidou, a Paris lawyer, was present at the appeal.

GRIGORENKO DEMANDS THAT SOVIET TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Former Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko, a well-known Soviet critic of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is reportedly circulating an appeal in Moscow calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. An open letter addressed "To the citizens of the Soviet Union" is said to be passing from hand to hand in typewritten form. The letter is in response to the suicides by fire in Prague of Jan Palach on January 16 and Jan Zajic on February 21.

"This protest," the letter said, "which took on such a frightful form, was directed, above all, at us, the Soviet people. It is the unsolicited and unjustified presence of our troops that called forth such anger and despair from the Czechoslovak people. We, all of us, bear the burden of guilt...."

"Do we not have enough courage to admit that a tragic mistake has been made

and do everything in our power to correct it? We call upon all Soviet people, without doing anything rash or hasty and by all legal methods, to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and the renunciation of interference in her internal affairs."

The letter was also signed by Ivan A. Yakhimovich, chairman of a collective farm in Latvia, who was ousted from his post for sending a letter to the party leadership in February 1968 protesting the trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg.

In a related development, the New York Times reported March 7 that eleven Crimean Tartars will be tried in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, late in March. The Tartars were banished to Siberia by Stalin. They were recently allowed to settle in Uzbekistan, but demand the right to return to their homes in the Crimea. They have been defended by dissident Communists.

GERMAN PROFESSOR SPONSORS LAW TO BAN STUDENT PROTESTERS FOR LIFE

West German government officials have recently become preoccupied with the problem of eliminating student protest. Special bodies and commissions are putting in full time on the task.

The most drastic plan so far is one proposed by Reserve Brigadier General and Law Professor Friedrich August Freiherr [Baron] von der Heydte in the South German state of Bavaria. It is also the first of the new repressive schemes to be proposed as a law.

After being unanimously approved by the state parliamentary fraction of the Christliche-Social Union (CSU) [Social Christian Union -- the Bavarian section of the Christian Democratic party], Baron von der Heydte's proposal was put on the legislative calendar of the Bavarian parliament in mid-February.

Notable for its vagueness as well as its vehemence, the proposed law could be used to ban all student protesters for life from attending any institution of higher learning or taking up an academic career.

The penalty would be applicable to anyone who "by force, threat, or grievous mischief, or in any other illegal way, hinders another person in the exercise of his rights under Article 108 of the Bavarian Constitution [freedom to create, study, and teach]" or "who is sentenced to a reformatory or prison for a...crime or offense or whose expulsion is necessary to assure freedom of teaching and research and the maintenance of academic discipline."

The German liberal weekly Der Spiegel commented March 3 that the law proposed by the South German "Academicus" goes far beyond the laws against student protest introduced by the colonels in Greece. It would permanently bar any protester from academic life after only one offense and without regard to its seriousness. The law decreed by the Athens dictatorship imposes six different penalties, ranging from a "stern warning" to life-long academic exile.

However, if the bill is unique in the severity of the sanctions it carries, the recommendations that came out of the February 22 conference of prime ministers of the German states were much broader in scope. Among those with the widest implications were the following:

"Since order in the universities can be impaired if trials proceed too slowly in cases where members of the academic community have committed offenses involving disruption of university dis-



RESERVE-BRIGADEGENERAL UND RECHTS-PROFESSOR
FRIEDRICH AUGUST FREIHERR VON DER HEYDTE

cipline, we recommend that every effort be made to speed these legal actions."*

"It was recommended to the prime ministers that they or their representatives meet with the managers of the radio and television networks and with representatives of the press associations to discuss the possibilities for improving the objectivity of the mass media's reports of matters involving the universities. Much misleading reporting has contributed to escalating conflicts and to undermining the authority of democratically constituted bodies. At the same time, state representatives to the mass media must also work for this."

The German authorities may have been encouraged by the temporary weakness of the student movement to try increased repression as a means for quelling opposition on the campuses. Over the past months, factional struggles and anarchistic moods have be-

* The West German jurists association already protested government pressure for "speedy" trials of arrested demonstrators on April 19, 1968, during the protests that followed the attempted assassination of student leader Rudi Dutschke.

set the national organization of the main body of student rebels, the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS) [German Socialist Student League]. Opposition activity in the universities and high schools remains at a high level and is even spreading to some extent, but it is dispersed in character and has tended to lack direction and cohesiveness. The German press has reported a number of local defeats for the student movement in the latest period.

However, some of the more cautious elements of the West German ruling class fear that the government crackdown will have an effect opposite to that desired.

Der Spiegel wrote March 3: "It is obvious that such a policy provokes new disorders because it forces the conflicting factions of the student opposition back into a united front. Proof of this can be found in the experiences in Berlin where the new style peace-keeping laws have been enforced since the end of 1968."

Der Spiegel noted that the recent expulsion of ten students from the Free University of Berlin stirred the students there to stronger opposition than before. "Even members of the faculty," it complained, "took up the slogan 'Today Expulsion -- Tomorrow Liquidation? Better Revolution.'"

NEW REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION THREATENED IN TURKEY

Premier Suleyman Demirel of Turkey has introduced a bill that would give the government sweeping powers to jail political opponents for virtually any spoken or written criticism of the regime. The move follows widespread student demonstrations in mid-February protesting a visit by U.S. warships to Istanbul.

The bill, called the "Law for the Prevention of Acts Against the Constitutional Order," carries penalties of up to five years in prison for speeches, articles, and even pictures or cartoons, "threatening or undermining the entity of the Turkish nation," "provoking various classes and groups against each other," "causing division on the basis of religion, race, language, and region," or "mocking one particular class or group of the nation."

The advocacy of "communism, fascism, anarchism, or a theocracy" is a criminal offense under this bill, punishable by similar sentences. Any newspapers or books expressing any of the ideas enumerated in the bill would be subject to seizure after a decision by a judge. Newsboys or bookdealers convicted of selling proscribed material are liable for jail terms of from six months to two years.

The Demirel regime is trying to clamp down before the student radicalization penetrates other sectors of the population. Inflation is rampant and has provoked a series of strikes involving the occupation of factories, including the American-owned Singer sewing-machine plant in Istanbul where 120 workers were arrested January 11. The March 6 Christian Science Monitor reported that in the countryside "there has been a series of incidents involving land-hungry peasants who have occupied state-owned property to press their demands for a redistribution of land."

The new repressive legislation is aimed explicitly against the workers and peasants, with provisions outlawing the occupation of places of work or the use of "threats" to secure wage increases. The bill also prohibits any praise of acts declared illegal in other sections of the law, providing sentences of up to a year in jail for violations.

There has been a sharp polarization of Turkish society in recent months. Marxist books, including the works of Che Guevara, have been translated into Turkish and are reportedly very popular.

As the popular movement grows stronger, right-wing groups have increasingly resorted to armed commando attacks on student demonstrations, with the tacit support of the police.

There has been widespread condemnation of the proposed thought-control law, even from conservative sectors. In Ankara, a group of jurists issued a statement saying the bill would "establish a police state in Turkey."

The widely read daily Milliyet called the bill "a frightening assassination of the freedom of expression in Turkey." The Yeni Gazete declared the move was "an unconstitutional step which would create a totalitarian regime in Turkey and mark the beginning of the end of democracy."

Minister of Justice Hasan Dincer took an imperious tone toward the government's critics: "We shall not yield to all the fuss that is being made about this bill," he said. "...Some people may say that freedom is to be lost, but the government is determined to have this law passed." Inasmuch as Premier Demirel's Justice party controls parliament, it is

believed that the bill will be pushed through in the near future.

Although the new law is promoted with claims that it is directed against "extremists" of the right and the left, right-wing groups have little to fear. On the other hand, it is expected that the catchall law will be widely invoked against students, workers and peasants. The Christian Science Monitor, in the dispatch quoted above, said:

"Because of the right-wing ten-

dency of the government, many nonpartisan Turks fear that the bill would be applied against all those who oppose Mr. Demirel's policies on the pretext that they are propagating Communist or anarchist ideas. 'Criticizing the landlords, the usurers or intermediaries, for instance, would be considered as an offense under this law,' they say."

Whether the government will have the power to enforce such a measure remains to be seen.

SADI ALKILIC BEGINS SERVING SIX-YEAR TERM

[The following open letter, dated Cologne, Germany, January 11, is being circulated by the European Federation of Turkish Socialists. The organization asks that publicity be given to the facts in the case of Sadi Alkiliç so as to help secure his release from prison.]

of the government which hangs over them like the sword of Damocles. The sentence against Sadi Alkiliç marks a high point in violations of our constitutional liberties. During the six-year-long case the criminal court acquitted him twice of the same charge.

* * *

To All Who Are Concerned
About the Freedom of Their Fellow Men:

The case of the now 60-year-old Sadi Alkiliç has caused a considerable stir in world opinion. Amnesty International sent a letter of protest to the Turkish Supreme Court of Appeals which was signed by the following intellectuals: Pablo Casals, Yehudi Menuhin, Danilo Dolci, Pablo Neruda, Professor Salvador de Madariaga, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In addition, Bertrand Russell and President Saragat of Italy endorsed Amnesty International's statement.

A month ago, the Supreme Court of Appeals in Turkey sentenced the Turkish writer Sadi Alkiliç to six years in prison and ordered him to begin serving his term. He was given this sentence under Article 142 of the Turkish Criminal Code because of a feature piece, which he wrote for a newspaper, entitled "Socialism Is the Only Road to the Liberation of the Turkish People."

On January 12, 1969, at 2:30 in the afternoon, the Turkish workers and students staged a silent march to the Turkish consulate in Bad-Godesberg to protest this violation of the right to freedom of belief and to inform the German public of the fascist trend in Turkey.

Articles 141 and 142 were patterned on the old Italian fascist criminal law and are in glaring contradiction to the new Turkish constitution of 1961, which stands on the principle of a free, social, constitutional state. Citing articles 141 and 142, the government is trying to suppress freedom of belief, which is inviolable under the constitution. Many critical and dissident writers have already fallen victim to this weapon

The European Federation
of Turkish Socialists

Ayhan Alpagut, President

3,000 IN BERNE DEMONSTRATE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

More than 3,000 persons demonstrated in front of the federal palace in Berne, the capital of Switzerland, March 1, demanding the establishment of women's suffrage in that country. The demonstrators, moreover, protested the claim of the Swiss government that it is adhering to the European Convention on the Rights of Man as long as women do not have the right to vote in all twenty-two cantons in the Alpine nation.

At present, women are allowed to vote only in the cantons of Vaud, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Basel, which border France, and in some municipalities in the canton of Berne. The other seventeen cantons, most of which are German-speaking, bar women from the polls. A national referendum would be needed to give women the vote throughout Switzerland, and resistance to recognizing women's rights is still strong in the German areas.

Solzhenitsyn's New Novel

THE IMPACT OF DE-STALINIZATION

By George Saunders

[Continued from last issue.]

Together with an impression of how Soviet daily life was becoming modernized in the fifties (wedding-cake architecture giving way to glass and aluminum, etc.), Cancer Ward shows the impact of de-Stalinization. The political changes intrude into the lives of the patients indirectly. The way Pravda, the official bearer of news of change, is viewed and handled by various characters is masterfully sketched by the novelist. In one such sketch, he also shows what the function of the controlled press is for the bureaucrats themselves.

Rusanov, the "important" official, regarded newspapers as "openly disseminating what were, in fact, coded instructions, in which it was impossible to call things by their proper names, but from which a knowledgeable and capable person could form the correct concept of the newest trend by various little hints, the page position and display of the articles, and what had been omitted or left unsaid."

The trouble is that as the political changes in the country proceed, Rusanov is less and less able to understand the "coded instructions." He is especially confused and depressed when the second anniversary of Stalin's death is taken note of only by a minor article with critical undertones. Only two months earlier, the Great Leader's birth date had been celebrated in traditional grand fashion.

Two sample passages illustrate the effect of the changed code on the old-line bureaucrat.

The first is as follows:

"Capably and deftly [Rusanov's] eyes scanned the headlines and the texts of the sessions [of the Supreme Soviet], when suddenly...What was this? How could it be?"

"Printed in letters anything but large and quite insignificant to the uninitiated, there was an unprecedented, an impossible decree! Screaming, yes, screaming at him from the page! Complete replacement of the Supreme Court!..."

"He could not believe his eyes. Matulevich, Ulrikh's assistant! Dotistov! Pavlenko! What about Klopov? As long as the Supreme Court had existed, Klopov had been on it! But Klopov had been removed too! Who would stand guard over old func-

tionaries now? The replacements were men with utterly new names. Everyone who had administered justice for a quarter of a century -- gone at one blow!

"This was no accident.

"This was a step of history.

"Pavel Nikolayevich broke into a sweat."

In the second passage, he reads the news of the concluding session of the Supreme Soviet. In large type on the front page it is announced that Malenkov had asked to be relieved of his post as prime minister:

"This was how the session had ended; and Rusanov had expected nothing more from it than the adoption of the budget!"

"...He did not understand this news. He had ceased to understand 'coded information' openly disseminated. But he realized that it was a sharp change, too sharp.

"It was as though, somewhere at great, great depths, geological strata had rumbled and quivered ever so slightly in their rock bed, and the whole city, the hospital and Pavel Nikolayevich's bed had swayed with the shock."

One of the most interesting signs of the changing political times is the portrait of the new secret police commandant with whom Kostoglotov has to clear his papers to leave the city after his treatment is finished. Gone is the bureaucratic arrogance and formality. The commandant is polite, friendly, open. He assures Kostoglotov that all exiles will be set free before long, that amnesty is on its way.

But Kostoglotov does not give in to unmixed feelings of relief and joy. He had learned "to distrust the people" who occupied these desks. How could he not remember the lie deliberately circulated by the officials, the captains and majors, after the war, that there would be a sweeping amnesty for political prisoners? How it was believed! "The captain told me himself!" Yet the officials had simply been ordered to give the despairing prisoners hope so that they would carry on and fulfill their work quotas and make an effort to stay alive."

Is this Solzhenitsyn's subtle dig

at the real reasons behind de-Stalinization? Were the Soviet workers resisting and lagging on production? Was it partly to entice them into intensifying their labors?

The most important way the changing times are reflected in the novel is in the growing political awareness and discussion of issues. Kostoglotov is constantly at the center of this process and constantly in conflict with Rusanov over it.

To Rusanov these discussions are distressing from the very first. He overhears the ex-prisoner talking with young Demka. Demka wants to go to the university. "That's good," says Kostoglotov. "But remember education doesn't make you any smarter." Rusanov is shocked: What was Kostoglotov teaching the young fellow?

Kostoglotov likewise spreads dangerous ideas to the young nurse Zoya, while flirting with her. In speaking of the siege of Leningrad, in which Kostoglotov's mother, sister, and grandmother had died, the question of responsibility for the conduct of the war comes up.

This is a sore issue for the bureaucracy. Several writers have suffered reprisals in recent years for works critical of wartime military policy. (Kommunist, the theoretical organ of the Soviet party, came out even this February in defense of Stalin's role in the war and damned his detractors.) But Solzhenitsyn plows right into the subject, speaking through his hero:

"Hitler was certainly a curse. Still I wouldn't put the whole blame for the siege of Leningrad on him....Why? Because, after all, Hitler was out to destroy us...He was waging war, he was an enemy. The siege was someone else's fault."

"Whose?" Zoya whispers, never having imagined such an idea.

"Let's say it was the fault of the man or men who should have been ready for war even if Hitler had been joined by Britain, France and America," is Kostoglotov's simple but "novel" thought, "those who drew their pay for decades but did not foresee the exposed position of Leningrad and plan for its defense; those who failed to gauge the intensity of the future bombing and did not think of hiding the food reserves underground. They're the ones who killed my mother -- they and Hitler."

On another occasion there is a dispute over Tolstoy. Kostoglotov had given one of the patients a book of Tolstoy's moral fables to read. Rusanov de-

nounces it dogmatically:

"You've read a bunch of trash and have disarmed yourself ideologically...! Are you going to preach all sorts of decadent perfectionism to us here?"

Kostoglotov growls: "Why are you so riled by moral betterment? Whom can it hurt? Only the morally deformed!"

The bureaucrat puts his opponent in his place, so he thinks, by citing the authorities. "Lenin wrote about that moral perfectionism of Count Tolstoy & Co., once and for all! So did Comrade Stalin! And Gorky!"

"Nobody on earth can say something once and for all," Kostoglotov replies, defying the undialectical authorities. "Life would stop in that event, and the next generations would have nothing to say....I understand that Lenin reproached Leo Tolstoy for moral perfectionism when this distracted society from the struggle against the autocracy, from the maturing revolution." But why shouldn't a Soviet citizen concerned with his personal dilemma as a cancer patient get solace from Tolstoy's writings? "What harm can this do? Or should Tolstoy be burned at the stake? Did the Government Synod fail to finish its job, perhaps?"

Kostoglotov has in mind the Holy Synod of the Russian Church under czarism that excommunicated Tolstoy, but Rusanov misunderstands. In a marvelous satirical passage, Solzhenitsyn has the old official think to himself:

"This already was a direct attack upon a government institution (though [Rusanov] had not made out which). This had been done, moreover, in front of a chance audience, not one selected according to a list, which aggravated the situation to where it was imperative to withdraw from the argument tactfully and, at the very first opportunity, have a check run on Kostoglotov."

It is a sign of the changing times that although Rusanov is convinced from Kostoglotov's talk that he is subversive and "a class enemy," he takes no steps against the upstart. "If these were different times...", he sighs regretfully at his last view of the rebel.

Solzhenitsyn pauses rather significantly at one point over Kostoglotov's place at the center of the discussions that go on in the cancer ward:

"He had been used for so many years to keeping silent before free people, to keeping his hands behind his back and his head bowed in their presence, that this had become second nature to him...And

[yet] here were free people, the kind who had been forbidden for so many years to talk with him as an equal or to discuss anything seriously with him as with a human being, worse yet to shake his hand or accept a letter from him -- these free people now sat unsuspectingly before him as he sprawled on the windowsill in the role of a teacher...."

Yet the atmosphere of repression has not lifted completely. In several discussions, Kostoglotov and others show caution or hesitation about expressing their real thoughts. After the most heated and bitter argument in the book, Kostoglotov feels he has "said too much, but he felt a bitter relief that he had so little left to lose." Shulubin says to him about the same argument, "At home... I wouldn't dare say what I said the other day in the ward."

The particularly dangerous thing that Shulubin had done was to quote Lenin to the effect that "no officials should be paid more than the average pay of a skilled worker."

That discussion had touched on other questions extremely dangerous for the bureaucracy; it is worth describing in detail.

It begins with a patient gossiping about someone he knows who has devoted his whole life to accumulating things to fill up the rooms of the house he had built himself -- antiques, bowls, mirrors, paintings.

An incident from the news is brought up: an official who built himself a mansion with government funds was caught; he turned it over for a kindergarten, admitted his error, and wasn't even expelled from the party.

Kostoglotov raises a challenge: "How do you explain all this philosophically?"

"Survivals of bourgeois mentality," comes the pat answer. "If you dig into such cases," declares Rusanov, "you always find they come of bourgeois families."

Kostoglotov rejects that argument as nonsense that "they've drummed into your heads."

Vadim interjects that his generation doesn't accept anything on faith. "Then why do you accept this social-origins idea? It isn't Marxism, it's racism....Do you know what they used to say in the twenties? They used to say, 'show your calluses'! Why are your hands so white and puffy? Now, that was Marxism!"

Rusanov takes this as a personal

attack. "I've worked," he exclaims.

"I believe it," Kostoglotov comes back. "Once you even picked up a board yourself on a Sunday work-outing, only you were the middle one of the three who carried it. I know. I might be the son of a merchant, the son of a member of the third guild, yet all my life I've worked with my hands, and here are my callouses, look! Then what am I -- a bourgeois? What did I inherit from Papa -- different red blood cells? white blood cells? I'm telling you, you're not talking class, you're talking race. You're a racist!"

Kostoglotov launches an all-out attack on Rusanov, coming close to punching his face. "A man might have an entire lineage of proletarian forebears, but if he doesn't work, he's no proletarian.... He's a greedy leech, not a proletarian. This one's just itching for a fat personal pension. I heard it all!"

He blasts Rusanov: "It's not your country you love, it's the pension. But I don't need a pension! I don't own a thing, and I'm proud of it!...And I don't want a high salary -- I despise it!"

One of the others comes out with a traditional Stalinist argument: "Socialism provides for differentiated pay."

Kostoglotov storms: "You mean that on the way to communism the privileges of some over others ought to increase, is that it? So that to become equals we must first become unequal, is that it?"

The other patient, a philosopher, replies with "logical phrases about different contributions to the social product by the person who washes the floors in the hospital and the one who directs the health service."

It's at that point that Shulubin quotes Lenin on the limits for official salaries and adds: "So the province health department chief shouldn't get more than Nelly [the charwoman] here."

The bureaucrat Rusanov's reaction to the argument is revealing: If someone "couldn't find anything smarter to say than that the head of the province health department and a charwoman were equal," what was there to talk about?

As a final point, Kostoglotov tells the young Vadim a few eye-opening facts about his army service:

"Our army used to be called the Workers' and Peasants' Army in those days. A squad commander got twenty rubles a month, and a platoon commander got six hundred, you understand? At the front the officers got special rations -- cookies, butter, canned foods -- and hid from us

when they ate, you understand? Because they were ashamed. And we built shelters for them before we built our own. I was a sergeant, I repeat....

"Where is the bourgeois mentality in this? Whose is the bourgeois mentality?"

[To be continued.]

HOW HANOI REPORTS THE PARIS CONFERENCE

[The following article, taken from the February 24 issue of the Vietnam Information Bulletin, is of special interest as an example of the way in which the Hanoi government is reporting the talks at the Paris conference to the people of North Vietnam. As will be seen, it differs considerably from the presentation to be found in the capitalist press. The basic position taken by the author, insisting on the unconditional withdrawal of all troops of the U.S. and its allies, is, in our opinion, unassailable. We would only add that the withdrawal should be immediate.

[The article is reproduced as it appeared in the original with the exception of a few obvious typographical errors.]

* * *

Hanoi, VNA [Vietnam News Agency], Feb. 12. -- "U.S. must withdraw unconditionally all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam" is the title of an article by the Nhan Dan's commentator* today.

The article said: The Paris Conference on Vietnam has so far held three plenary sessions; world public opinion is longing for an early correct solution to the Vietnam problem to be found at the conference, so that war will end and peace will be restored.

Why the war in Vietnam? How to stop it? Do the participants in the conference really want to end the war on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's national rights? These are very fundamental problems raised by world public opinion which is waiting for an answer.

The speeches made at the last three plenary sessions had shown the evidence of the stands of the different parties on these problems. At the first session on January 25, 1969, Tran Buu Kiem, head of the delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation [NFL], and Minister Xuan Thuy, head of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRVN], pointed out: The war in Vietnam is caused by the dispatch of troops of the U.S. and its satellites to their

country to wage neo-colonialist aggressive war, by the establishment by the U.S. of a stooge administration serving as a tool to prevent the South Vietnamese people from realizing the fundamental national rights, and achieving the reunification of their country as provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

To end the war and restore peace, the U.S. must withdraw all aggressor troops and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs without foreign interference. This is the main content of the four-point stand of the D.R.V.N. and the five-point stand of the N.F.L. fully expounded at the conference by the heads of the respective delegations.

The U.S. and puppet sides have failed to answer the above fundamental questions, the representatives of the Saigon puppet administration have tried to distort the truth and picture the Vietnamese people's patriotic resistance war as an "aggression" and the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen who massacre the Vietnamese people as "victims of aggression" and defenders of the "freedom and independence" for the "Republic of Vietnam" of the traitors.

More perfidious still, Cabot Lodge, delegate of the U.S. at the Paris Conference, eluded the problems related to the origin of the war by calling for "looking ahead" and a peace "based upon agreements as to the future rather than polemics concerning the past."

He held that the Vietnam problem must be split into specific problems to be settled at the conference which should immediately pay attention to the "specific military issue" such as the "restoration of the demilitarized zone" and that "without agreement on military issues, there would be great difficulty in achieving the solution of external problems."

Lodge's allegations proved that the U.S. still is obdurate and perfidious, for refusing to go into the fundamental questions; namely, ending its aggression and withdrawing troops from South Vietnam, and for avoiding an all-round solution and deliberately separating the matters for settlement, and bringing up "specific military matters" such as the "restoration of the status of the D.M.Z.

* Nhan Dan [People's Army], a Hanoi daily newspaper.

[demilitarized zone]" as a substitute to the basic matters. This is aimed at kidding public opinion and covering up the origin of the aggression.

The aggression by the U.S. is the root and direct cause of the Vietnam problem. Any military and political act of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies in the war is aimed at aggression. The aggression originates from the United States and its military bases in Asia from where the U.S. has sent to South Vietnam by air and by sea more than half a million U.S. and satellite troops.

For that reason, to solve the Vietnam problem, the matters to be discussed must not be separated, instead the U.S. aggression must be ended by an all-round solution along the line enunciated by the delegation of the N.F.L. and the D.R.V.N. at the plenary sessions of the Paris Conference.

It is clear from the above analysis that the stands of the two sides are different from each other like water and fire. Yet, at the February 6 session, Cabot Lodge tried to picture things as though the two sides have "common ground" and want a solution that "rests upon the right of the South Vietnamese to self-determination," "without external interference."

Let us ask: What is the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese? It is precisely the right to realize their earnest aspiration: Independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity, and the ultimate reunification of their fatherland, as embodied in the political programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. To achieve their sacred right, the South Vietnamese people, fearing no sacrifices and hardships, have been fighting for more than ten years now, and have defeated an aggressor army of more than 1,200,000 U.S. and satellite troops. To achieve this sacred right, the South Vietnamese people in the areas still controlled by the enemy have, in defiance of terror and repression, struggled resolutely to demand the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky-Huong war-like puppet administration, formation of a "peace-restoring cabinet," talks with the N.F.L. and withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam.

The interventionist, who is blocking the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, is precisely the U.S. imperialists, who are maintaining by bayonets, bombs and shells, a rotten clique of traitors and giving them a varnish of fake independence, and describing their clamour for war and their betrayal of the fatherland as the "right to

self-determination of the South Vietnamese" which the U.S. "had committed" itself to defend.

The right to self-determination cannot be achieved under the iron heel of 600,000 U.S. and satellite troops who are occupying South Vietnam. It can be achieved only when the South Vietnamese people have swept all the aggressors off their country.

We must make it clear to the U.S. imperialists that there cannot be "common ground" between the stand of the aggressor and that of the victims of aggression. As the U.S. is committing aggression against our country, it must end that aggression. The urgent demand now is that the U.S. withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam and let the South Vietnamese people settle their own affairs in accordance with the political programme of the N.F.L. without foreign interference.

The U.S. must withdraw unconditionally all its troops and the troops of its satellites from South Vietnam. This is the "honourable way" for the U.S. to extricate itself from failures and the stalemate in South Vietnam. There is also the key problem which the Paris Conference must settle to reach a correct solution to the Vietnam problem.

At the current Paris Conference, the U.S. representatives are trying to elude the key problem, thus hindering the progress of the conference. The obdurate attitude of the U.S. representatives reflects the U.S. wicked scheme in South Vietnam to prolong its military occupation in South Vietnam, trying to beef up the puppet army, bolster up the puppet administration, step by step "de-Americanize" the war and clamp a type of neo-colonialist regime upon South Vietnam so as to continue clinging to South Vietnam and prolonging the partition of our country.

The Vietnamese people will decidedly not allow them to do so. The attitude of the D.R.V.N. and N.F.L. delegations at the conference is serious. Should the U.S. obstinately continue to refuse to solve the Vietnam problem on the basis of respect for the fundamental national rights of our people and pursue its aggressive schemes, our people in the north as well as in the south would be resolved to act upon President Ho Chi Minh's appeal: "So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must continue our fight and wipe him out so as to lead the resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation to complete victory."

"LET THE HUKS GO!"

[The following is an editorial that appeared in the February 25 issue of Laging Una, "The Voice of the Filipino People," published in Los Angeles, California. The same issue of Laging Una reported that a petition is being circulated in the Philippines calling for the unconditional release of all Filipino political prisoners. The petition is addressed to President Marcos and the Supreme Court of the Philippines. The initiators of the action announced a goal of 50,000 signatures. Sponsors of the petition include the Free Union of Filipino Youth, the Free Union of Peasants, the Philippine chapter of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and the National Lawyers Guild.

[The political prisoners are primarily leaders of the Hukbalahap liberation movement, some of whom have been jailed for more than eighteen years. The prisoners include Jesus Lava, general secretary of the Communist party of the Philippines, who has been held in solitary confinement since his arrest in 1964, and Casto Alejandrino, a member of the party's Political Bureau.

[Listed as having spent eighteen years under sentence of death are Federico Maclang, a peasant leader, and Ramon Espiritu and Honofre Mangila, trade-union leaders. Serving life sentences are José Lava, a lawyer and economist; Angel Baking, engineer and former counselor of the Philippine Foreign Affairs department; Simeon Rodriguez, theatrical producer; and Federico Bautista, a former army officer.

[Laging Una noted: "Although the Philippine Supreme Court has a constitutional obligation to review all death sentences, it has not done so in the Huk cases. The life or long-term prisoners, as well as the condemned, have all appealed their convictions. The high court has not considered the appeals and has turned down repeated petitions for bail pending final disposition of the cases....

["Failure of the court to act appears especially strange in that the court itself, on July 18, 1956, handed down a landmark decision in another but parallel case, that of labor leader Amado V. Hernandez, which indicates clearly the illegality of the treatment being given the Huks. Hernandez was accused of aiding the Huks and, like them, was indicted for 'rebellion complexed with murder, arson, robbery and kidnapping.' The high court upset his conviction with the ruling that the Penal Code specified no such crime and that acts incidental to rebellion were absorbed by the major charge and could not be the subject of additional

counts.

["It was the court's contention that only a charge of simple rebellion could be sustained, carrying penalties of 6 to 12 years in prison. Hernandez was released but the Huks remain in prison although they long ago completed the sentences they might have been given for simple rebellion."]

* * *

It is welcome news that a petition is being circulated in the Philippines calling for the unconditional release of the imprisoned Huks. For long it has seemed that these were forgotten men.

Over the years this newspaper has repeatedly urged justice for the political prisoners. If either President Marcos or the Supreme Court orders their release, this will end the mistreatment to which they have been subjected. The wrong done them cannot be undone.

It is nothing short of scandalous that some of these men have been kept in prison for 18 years with death sentences hanging over them. Could anything be more barbarously cruel than that?

What is equally scandalous is the fact that all the prisoners were convicted of a crime -- "rebellion complexed with murder, arson, robbery and kidnapping" -- that the Supreme Court in a related case declared non-existent. Hence the convictions obtained by rabid anti-Communist prosecutors were illegal.

Despite this fact, the Supreme Court has not acted on the appeals of the prisoners and has denied their repeated petitions for bail pending hearings on their appeals. Even worse, it has failed to review and pass on the death sentences as it is required by law to do.

The Supreme Court thus appears, not as an impartial tribunal devoted to truth and justice, but as a pliant tool in the hands of successive administrations which, for political reasons, wanted the Huks kept behind bars.

Justices of the Supreme Court are fond of making speeches in which they expound the loftiest principles of human conduct and urge all citizens to respect the law. The justices should examine their consciences and make amends for their own failure to uphold the law.

A surprising thing is that lawyers in Manila (the city has so many that they literally fall over each other) have not condemned the outrageous denial of jus-

tice to the imprisoned Huks and by their outcry forced the authorities to take corrective action. And what of the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines? Why has it not been heard from?

It would be sheer illusion to suppose that the government in Manila will yield to anything but great public pressure on behalf of the prisoners. Considerations of justice do not move the rulers of the Philippines where their class interests are involved. They regard the Huks as a menace and if containment requires injustice, so be it.

Let it be emphasized, finally, that the imprisoned Huks are not crimi-

nals in the generally accepted sense of that term. Every one of them is morally superior to the men who are keeping them behind bars. Their crime, if such it be, was that they fought against oppression and exploitation as champions of the common people. In this endeavor they laid life and liberty on the line. Their prosecutors and traducers -- the propertied classes that the Huks dared to challenge -- are comfortably shielded by a government and an army devoted to preserving the status quo.

The people should speak out now for their own in a voice so thunderous that it will shake the walls of Malacanang Palace: LET THE HUKS GO!

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL RELEASED FROM PRISON IN THE UKRAINE

Vyacheslav Chornovil, the Ukrainian journalist sentenced to prison in 1967 for reporting on the secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals, was freed in Kiev February 3, according to a report in the February 24 New York Times. He had spent eighteen months in a labor camp.

Chornovil, now 31, was convicted on November 15, 1967, under the all-inclusive Article 62 of the Soviet Criminal Code for "slandering the Soviet system." He was sentenced to three years in prison, but this was reduced in a general amnesty.

In 1965-66 Chornovil, a secretary of the Komsomol [Communist Youth League], was assigned to cover the semisecret trial of twenty Ukrainian intellectuals for Kiev television. No reports were ever published or broadcast, but Chornovil kept a careful record of the proceedings. Later he was called to testify in a secret trial. He refused on the grounds that a closed trial is illegal under Soviet law. He was then indicted under Article 172 (refusal to give evidence). He protested that it was illegal to charge someone with refusing to take part in an illegal trial. He was reindicted under Article 62.

Chornovil's book-length account of the trial of Ukrainian intellectuals -- accused primarily of promoting Ukrainian culture and "nationalism" -- was smuggled to the West. It was published this month by McGraw-Hill of New York under the title, The Chornovil Papers.

Chornovil argues eloquently in his book for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. Brief excerpts that have appeared in the Western press indicate that he is clearly anticapitalist. Parts of his manuscript were first published in

the January 6 and 8, 1968, issues of the Toronto Telegram.* There he said:

"For five years I studied faithfully Marxism-Leninism at the university -- just recently I passed my Master's examination in Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Then, all of a sudden and quite by accident I lay my hands on a Ukrainian book published abroad and I'm accused of being a bourgeois nationalist...or I read a leaflet from Peking and I become a follower of Mao Tse-tung...or I listen to a speech by the Pope on the radio and I become a Jesuit..."

"Without doubt Marxism-Leninism is stronger than bourgeois ideology. Yet in our country the reading of a book published in the West makes one subject to prosecution...."

Chornovil repudiated the claims of the Soviet bureaucrats that economic progress alone without mass participation in political life represents socialism or communism:

"The highest material saturation without free thought and free will does not constitute Communism. Rather it constitutes a great prison in which the food ration for prisoners has simply been increased....It has been declared that in our country today, Communism is becoming a reality; that today's generation of Soviet people will live in Communism...Perhaps our generation will live during declared Communism, the same as we are presently living in a declared sovereign republic, have declared freedoms and a declared Socialist law."

* See "The Case of Vyacheslav Chornovil," World Outlook, Vol.66, No. 3, January 26, 1968, page 65.

THE UNITED FRONT FORMS A GOVERNMENT IN WEST BENGAL

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

The United Front, the twelve-party alliance dominated by the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], succeeded in forming a government in West Bengal February 25, more than two weeks after its landslide victory over Indira Gandhi's Congress party. The delay was caused by horse trading among the constituents of the United Front [UF] over the allocation of ministerial portfolios. Ajoy Mukherjee, a leader of the Bangla Congress,* was sworn in as chief minister.

There are twenty-seven ministers of full cabinet rank and three ministers of state in the new team. Some posts are still to be filled, as the Samyukta Socialist party [SSP], one of the constituents of the UF, secured nine seats in the 280-member Legislative Assembly but has not joined the cabinet. The SSP insists that it should be allocated two cabinet posts. The rest of the UF has agreed to give them one full ministerial post and one post of minister of state.

Never before in West Bengal have there been so many full-fledged cabinet ministers. The Council of Ministers headed by the late Dr. B.C. Roy of the Congress party had thirty-six members, but only nineteen were full cabinet ministers.

The present list was made final after considerable wrangling as to who should be the head of the new cabinet. The Bangla Congress with its 33 seats in the assembly, supported by the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI] with 30 members and the Forward Bloc (another 30 members), insisted on Mukherjee. Mukherjee was chief minister of the previous United Front government, elected in 1967 and dismissed by the centre after nine months.

The CPI(M), as the major constituent in the United Front, with 83 members (including three independents sponsored by it), demanded the post of chief minister for its own nominee, Jyoti Basu. The party finally agreed to forego its claim on condition that it should have the entire Home department. After a great deal of haggling it was decided that the CPI(M) should hold the "major parts" of the Home department in addition to other key departments.

In the new setup that has been announced, all departments having "opportunities for mass contact" have gone to the CPI(M), including Land, Land Reform, Labour, Education, Transport, and Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation. Jyoti Basu, designated the deputy chief minister, has been given charge of almost the entire Home department.

Only three important departments will not be controlled by the CPI(M). They are: Finance, Planning and Development, and Food and Supplies. The Food and Supplies department has been allocated by the CPI(M) to Sudhin Kumar of the Revolutionary Communist party of India, which won two seats in the assembly.

The nine CPI(M) ministers are: Jyoti Basu, deputy chief minister and minister-in-charge of Home (constitution, elections, special and general administration, police and press branches); Harekrishna Konar, Land and Land Revenue; Niranjan Sen Gupta, Relief and Rehabilitation, and jails branch of the Home department; Satya Priya Roy, Education; Abdullah Rasul, transport branch of the Home department; Provash Chandra Roy, Fisheries; Krishnapada Ghosh, Labour; Krishna Chandra Halder, Excise; and Golam Yazdani (a CPI(M)-supported independent), passport and civil-defence branches of the Home department. In the old UF cabinet, the CPI(M) had only three ministers. All of them are in the new cabinet.

The Bangla Congress, which had four ministers in the last cabinet, has four in the new team also. Only one of them will be a newcomer -- in place of Jehangir Kabir, who has defected from the party. The Bangla Congress ministers are: Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, chief minister, minister of Finance, and head of the political and defence branches of the Home department; Sushil Kumar Dhara, Commerce and Industries; Charu Mihir Sarkar, Community department; and Bhabatosh Saran, Forests.

The CPI, which had two representatives in the last UF team, will have four in the new one. One of the newcomers is Mrs. Renu Chakravarty, a former member of the Lok Sabha,* who was not elected to the assembly. She may be nominated to the upper house of the legislature. She has been allotted the Department of Co-operation and Social Welfare. The other CPI ministers are: Somnath Lahiri, Local Self-Government, Planning, and Housing;

* A bourgeois formation composed of dissidents from the Congress party.

* House of the Peoples, lower house of the Indian national parliament. -- I.P.

Biswanath Mukherjee, irrigation and waterways, and tanks, small wells, tube wells and pump irrigation of Agriculture; and Abdur Razak Khan, Relief.

All three ministers of the Forward Bloc will be new. They are: Kanailal Bhat-tacharji, Agriculture; Sambhu Ghosh, Cottage and Small-Scale Industries; and Bhakti Bhushan Mondal, Judicial and Legislative. In the last UF ministry the Forward Bloc had only two ministers.

Allocation of other portfolios are listed by party as follows: Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP], Jatin Chakravarty, Parliamentary Affairs and chief whip of the UF legislature, and Mani Bhattacharjee, Medical and Public Health; Socialist Unity Centre [SUC], Subodh Banerjee (Labour minister in the last UF cabinet), Public Works department, and Miss Prativa Mukherjee, minister of state for the roads branch of the Public Works department and Roads Development; Lok Sevak Sangh, Bibhuti Das Gupta, Panchayats [village courts]; Gurkha League, Deo Prakash Rai, Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare; Workers party, Jyoti Bhushan Bhattacharjee, Information and Public Relations; Revolutionary Communist party [RCP], Sudhin Kumar, Food and Supplies; Forward Bloc (Marxists), Ram Chatterjee, minister of state for the sports branch of the Education department; Bolshevik party, Barada Mukutmani, minister of state for Tourism.

Sudhin Kumar of the RCP and Mrs. Chakravarti of the CPI are not members of either house so far, but they may be elected to the upper house.

The president's rule in West Bengal, imposed when the last UF government was dissolved, was formally revoked on February 25, before the new ministers were sworn into office. The UF has decided to elect Mr. Bijoy Kumar Banerjee, the speaker in the old assembly, as the new speaker. The assembly is to meet in the second week in March to pass vote of accounts.

The SUC's Prabodh Banerji held the Labour portfolio in the last UF ministry. He was said to have been the initiator of the "gherao" movement of the working class in West Bengal [a technique of surrounding employers or managers seeking on-the-spot redressal of grievances]. The fact that the department has been withdrawn from him and taken over by the CPI(M) has been viewed as a move by the CPI(M) to assume full responsibility for the labour policy of the new UF government. Some have seen it as also designed to appease the industrialists who are threatening to withdraw their capital from the state.

The SUC initially refused to join

the cabinet as a protest, but relented in return for the "lucrative" Public Works department -- which handles government contracts.

In a sense the CPI(M) has exploited the wrangle over the chief minister-ship to its own advantage. It virtually dominates the new cabinet and will therefore be responsible for all the basic policies of the UF government.

Among the constituents of the UF, only the RSP raised political objections to joining a multiclass coalition under a capitalist constitutional framework. At its last conference, the RSP had decided to join the UF as an electoral front but the question of joining the ministry was kept open. Immediately after the midterm poll, however, the politbureau of the RSP met and directed its members to join the cabinet. The RSP doubled its strength in the assembly and also in the cabinet.

After the national conference of the RSP, a section led by Keshav Prasad Sharma of Uttar Pradesh seceded from the party and now functions as a rival RSP. This group is opposed to coalition politics, but it adopts a chauvinist-nationalist attitude in supporting the Indian government against Pakistan and China. It also considers the Soviet Union, China and other workers states as "state capitalist societies." There is another small group in the RSP, particularly in Bombay, which is opposed to coalition politics and has protested against the opportunist policy of the leadership in joining the UF ministry.

The allocation of the important Food and Supplies department to the RCP has been resented by smaller constituents of the UF. But the CPI(M) has been anxious to boost the image of the RCP for its own internal reasons: to counter the emergence of a new Maoist CP that is also called the Revolutionary Communist party.

The CPI(M) described itself as a Maoist party at the time it split from the CPI in 1964, but the news of its recent triumph at the polls was not warmly received in Peking. The New China News Agency greeted the new ministerial team in West Bengal as "this gang of renegades to the Indian revolution, scabs and reactionary politicians." The NCNA recalled that while in power on the last occasion, the UF had "brutally suppressed the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle in Naxalbari and other areas in the state. It threw several hundred peasants and workers into prison, tortured them, ransacked their homes and murdered 18 revolutionary peasants with bullets and bayonets."

The NCNA further charged: "For the shameless purpose of selling out the Indian revolution, the Indian revisionists took advantage of this opportunity to intensify their activities in the electioneering in an attempt to gain some government posts and use this to prove that 'people's governments' can be established and the people's livelihood can be improved through bourgeois assemblies."

The NCNA concluded: "The 'midterm elections' farce of the four Indian states profoundly shows that the reactionary rule of the Congress party has become increasingly feeble and shaky. It fully reveals the hypocritical and reactionary nature of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. It is futile for the Indian revisionists to join the Indian reactionaries in performing this farce in an attempt to induce and deceive the Indian people into taking the 'parliamentary road'. Through

the 'midterm elections', the Indian people will realize more clearly that violent revolution is the only correct road to liberation." [Hsinhua, February 24, 1969.]

The Maoist supporters of the third Communist party, the so-called Naxalites, claimed considerable support in West Bengal. They condemned the parliamentary cretinism of the CPI(M) and the CPI and their policies of multiclass coalitions.

The Maoists, however, advanced the anarchist slogan of boycotting the elections instead of utilizing the opportunity provided by the elections to propagate their own ideas. But their "boycott" propaganda did not seem to have any significant impact on the voters in West Bengal. In fact, in the Naxalite strongholds, the Congress party was able to defeat the CPI(M).

NEO-STALINISTS RULE OUT COEXISTENCE WITH LENINISM

By Fernand Charlier

"The present stage of historical development is characterized by sharpening ideological struggle between the two systems. All the immense anti-Communist propaganda apparatus is directed now at weakening the unity of the socialist countries, of the international Communist movement, at driving a wedge into the ranks of the progressive forces in the world today, and at undermining socialist society from within. For this, it is relying on nationalist and revisionist elements in the hope of extinguishing the class consciousness of certain Soviet citizens. It is striving to spread bourgeois ideology in politically immature circles. Therefore, discipline must be rightened." (Reports of the April 1968 plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], Pravda, April 11, 1968.)

In general little attention has been paid outside the Soviet Union to the resolutions of the April 1968 plenum of the CPSU from which the above quotation is taken. However, these resolutions are the codification and justification of the self-defense measures of an increasingly unstable bureaucracy.

The coincidence between the time these resolutions were adopted and the time when the struggle in Czechoslovakia reached a higher stage directly affecting and concerning broad masses -- about April 1968 -- should not be overlooked.

What is hidden, in fact, behind these arguments about "sharpening ideological struggle," "no peaceful coexis-

tence on the level of ideology," "the stepped-up imperialist offensive and ideological subversion," is an attempt to reinforce monolithic conformity.

What is "new" in this neo-Stalinist "theory" in contrast to the old Stalinist style is the attempt to "explain" a so-called "renewal" and "increase" in the penetration of bourgeois ideology through formulations that do not contradict the theory and practice of "peaceful coexistence."

Thus, a whole series of orthodox ideological articles have appeared, especially since the occupation of Czechoslovakia, to explain these new "April Theses" of the ruling bureaucracy. For example, G. Khromushkin explains in an article entitled "Ideological Struggle in the World Is Sharpening" (La Vie Internationale, No. 12, November 1968): "The final objective [liquidating the Soviet regime] of imperialism's leading circles remains in force. Only the methods of attaining this end have changed substantially....These circles are relying today essentially on ideological subversion...."

Khromushkin goes on to explain that this change is owing to a shift in the relationship of forces, compelling imperialism to give up the idea of direct aggression and to agree to peaceful coexistence. The "ideological subversion" arises as a concomitant of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social and economic systems which is practiced by the Soviet Union," Khromushkin continues.

But he puts his readers on guard against "subversion" and "peaceful coexistence" in the realm of ideology: "In fact, the architects of the 'policy of building bridges' seek to use contacts with the socialist countries to export bourgeois ideology, to step up their subversive activity, and break away the socialist countries from the Soviet Union."

Another author, N. Yuriev ("The Aggressive Essence of the Strategy of 'Peaceful Penetration'") clarified the question a little more, writing: "The events in Czechoslovakia are by no means an isolated phenomenon...Czechoslovakia served as the testing ground for the application of this 'new' strategy of imperialism." (La Vie Internationale, No. 12, December 1968.)

Thus we are faced with a new ideological construction whose basic lines were already drawn in a purely polemical way -- peaceful coexistence does not imply peaceful coexistence of ideologies. The basic postulates of this construction are as follows:

(1) Imperialism is on the defensive; (2) it must accept coexistence; (3) but it has not given up the idea of subversion; (4) however, it carries on its subversive work in a more subtle way through ideological penetration; (5) therefore, discipline must be tightened (along with coercive methods, including police and military coercion).

It would be quite astonishing after fifty years if a public still existed in the Soviet Union susceptible to "bourgeois" ideology.

In reality, as noted above, the

aim of this new "theory" is to liquidate the "subversion" (not through "ideological" argument but through force), the "subversion" being a return to Leninism. It is to block the development of ever broader currents demanding a return to democratic norms in the operation of the workers state.

Yuriev's article makes this absolutely clear in citing examples of insidious imperialist activity: "For these purposes [ideological subversion] all sorts of 'theories' demanding 'separation of the Communist party from the state in socialist countries,' 'equal rights with the Communist party for other political organizations,' 'allowing factional groups within the Communist party,' etc., are being spread...The social [?] goal of these slogans is quite clear -- to gain an opportunity to create legal or clandestine political centers in the socialist countries which could serve as shock detachments in carrying out coups d'état."

Thus, what these neo-Stalinists are opposed to is coexistence with real Leninism. In this regard, we can turn the bureaucrats' argument around. Revolutionary socialists oppose peaceful coexistence insofar as it involves maintaining the status quo just as much as they support ideological coexistence, that is, a struggle of ideas among the working-class and socialist currents in the workers states!

The theory of sharpening "ideological struggle" is simply a variant of the Stalinist theory of intensified class struggle in "socialist countries" adapted to new conditions -- conditions where the bureaucracy is hard pressed. This theory does not reflect the weakening of imperialism but that of the bureaucracy confronted by rising new forces.

THE BANNING OF CARLOS FUENTES

By Les Evans

On February 22 the tourist vessel Virginia de Churruca, en route from Barcelona to Veracruz, Mexico, docked at San Juan, Puerto Rico. The passengers went ashore for a brief visit to the U.S.-administered island.

One passenger, however, was not permitted to leave the ship. Carlos Fuentes, the well-known Mexican novelist, was ordered by U.S. immigration officials to remain on board. They tore up his transit card. Fuentes said he was treated "like a common criminal."

The February 28 New York Times reported that a Justice Department spokes-

man in Washington said the novelist was listed as "a person considered undesirable" by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Times added that the Justice Department "declined to give any reason."

One of the reasons may have been Fuentes' sharp public criticism of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It was embarrassing for Washington to spell this out. The same views are shared by a great many Americans who might be inclined to shout, "We, too, are undesirables."

The government's action raised a storm of protest from writers' organiza-

tions, newspapers, and even former government officials.

Roger W. Straus Jr., president of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Fuentes' American publisher, denounced the ban as "absolutely outrageous."

Two officials at Columbia University, Frank MacShane, chairman of the writing division of the School of the Arts, and Charles Wagley, director of the Institute of Latin-American Studies, sent a letter of protest to Attorney General Mitchell. Abba P. Schwartz, former head of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, sent a telegram to Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urging changes in the immigration law "to prevent further senseless and embarrassing situations."

William D. Rogers, former head of the Alliance for Progress, declared in a letter to Secretary of State William P. Rogers: "The notion that Fuentes's presence among us could in any sense damage our national interest is unworthy of serious discussion. To the contrary, it is his rejection which will cause us immense harm. It will be interpreted by the youth and intellectual community in Latin America as meaning that our commitment to free expression is superficial and will confirm the impression to some that we are timid and fearful of criticism of Latin-American writers."

In a March 5 editorial the New York Times said: "One sure way to tarnish the United States is for some bureaucrat to decide that a writer, painter or other artist is an 'undesirable alien' because of his work or beliefs....The basic problem is that the immigration law on exclusion is a vestige of the restrictive era of the nineteen-fifties. Aliens who are teachers and writers are particularly singled out for advocacy and affiliations that are considered repugnant; almost anyone can be barred for past or present Communist or totalitarian affiliations. Congress ought to re-examine and eliminate these purposeless restrictions, which make the United States ridiculous rather than secure."

The Times described Fuentes as "one of Mexico's outstanding writers."

This was not the first clash Fuentes has had with the State Department. In April, 1963, he had been invited to participate in a television debate on the "Alliance for Progress" with a State Department representative. The State Department itself intervened to deny its opponent the right to appear, on the grounds that he "might" be a member of the Mexican Communist party.

In 1966 Fuentes was given a visa, after a long fight, to attend a congress of International Poets, Essayists and Novelists [PEN] in New York.

While the Fuentes scandal was still reverberating, the widely read New York Review of Books published a lengthy essay by the banned writer which gave the American public a chance for a good look at the ideas the State Department found "undesirable." Entitled "Viva Zapata," the essay was a review of Zapata and the Mexican Revolution by John Womack.

Fuentes holds that the rebellion of the Mexican students today is in the historical tradition of the battles of the Zapatistas for land reform.

"The Mexican Revolution," he wrote, "broke the back of the Spanish feudal inheritance that still shackles the rest of the Latin continent, and then pursued a course of basic capital accumulation and rapid industrialization through heavy foreign loans, and by postponing the demands of the campesinos, who had been the soldiers of the Revolution, and of the workers who supplied cheap local labor.

"But the country has now reached the final stage of economic development through the sacrifice of social progress and political freedom. Such is the source of the eminently political revolt of the Mexican students that shook the somnolent Establishment to its foundations last year. The government's over-reaction, which led, on October 2, to the massacre of students and civilians on the Plaza of the Three Cultures...proves that for the first time the system is on the defensive, unwilling to grant one inch of its acquired powers..."

Perhaps it was his defense of the heroic students in Mexico City that made the State Department decide that Carlos Fuentes should not set foot on even a colony of the United States. Or perhaps it was his tribute to the fighters against imperialist rule and bureaucratic privilege in many other countries throughout the world that made Washington underline Fuentes' name on their list:

"...I recall other men I have met," Fuentes wrote, "Cuban guajiros directly explaining their problems to Fidel Castro with a newfound sense of dignity, Parisian students fighting at the barricades of the Boulevard St.-Michel to be something more than cheerful robots of the consumer society. Czech workers on strike against censorship of the press at a Prague metal works. And men like these have harassed, outwitted, and finally defeated the awesome imperial force of the United States in Vietnam."

FREI'S PARTY REBUFFED IN CHILEAN ELECTIONS

The Christian Democratic party of Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalva -- the U.S. State Department's model reformist regime in Latin America -- suffered a major setback in the legislative elections of March 3. Popular reformist hopes which brought high votes for Frei and his party in the presidential elections of September 2, 1964, and in the legislative elections of March 7, 1965, seem greatly cooled.

In the recent elections, the Christian Democratic party lost its absolute majority in the lower house of parliament, dropping from 82 seats to 55, out of a total of 150. Its popular vote declined from 42 percent in 1965 to 29.7 percent.

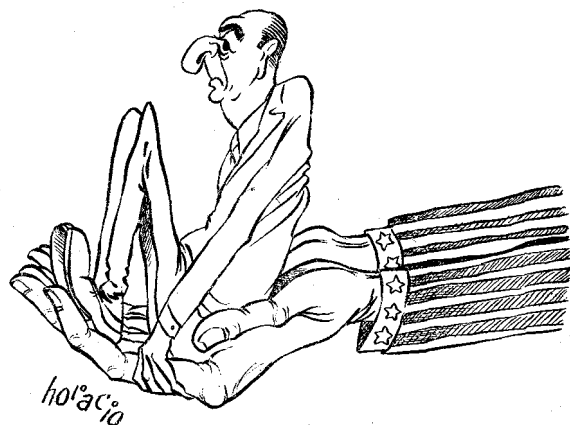
The Christian Democrats did score some successes in the elections to the upper house, increasing their seats from 11 to 23, out of a total of 50. However, they had been greatly underrepresented in this house with respect to their popular vote. Since only half the members of the upper house are elected every four years, there is a considerable lag before its composition comes to reflect the real political relationships in the country.

The Communist and Socialist parties registered gains over 1965, which were not entirely reflected in the distribution of seats. The Communist party won 15.7 percent of the popular vote this time in comparison with 11.87 percent in 1965 and won four additional seats in the lower house. The Socialists, although split in two groups, won 14.4 percent as against 10 percent in 1965.

The Christian Democratic losses in parliament were approximately matched by gains for the right-wing Nationalist party, which represents a fusion of the old Liberal and Conservative parties. In the 1965 elections, the two rightist parties together won 10 lower-house seats. This time the combined party won 34.

An important feature of this year's election was the sharp rise in abstentions, which increased from 19.5 percent in 1965 to 29.5 percent this year. This total is quite high inasmuch as voting is compulsory in Chile and absence from the polls is punishable by a fine.

It is evident from the pattern of this election that Frei's "bloodless revolution," the most successful of the U.S.-sponsored reformist schemes in Latin America, is running out of steam. The results reflect the Christian Democrats' failure to achieve any real change in the condition of the Chilean masses or to free the country from imperialist dominance.



EDUARDO FREI: Uncle Sam's Latin-American showpiece. [Horacio in Granma.]

Although the Frei government has instituted a few social welfare and tax reforms, it has made no serious effort to take the country's economy out of the hands of the imperialist interests. The pattern of underdevelopment and economic dependence persists. The concessions made to the people are proving ephemeral. The cost of living rises 25 percent a year. The national currency is regularly devalued twice a month. Strikes are brutally repressed.

The decline of the Christian Democrats cannot fail to be a matter of concern to their protectors and financial backers in the United States. Washington can point to few pro-American regimes in the colonial world that enjoy any popularity or can inspire popular reformist illusions.

New York Times writer Malcolm Browne took stock March 9 of the deterioration in the Christian Democrats' popular standing since Frei won the presidency in 1964, when "the wave of jubilation reached as far as Washington...which had heavily subsidized Mr. Frei's campaign..." Now, he said, "psychologically...the big change is already apparent. Chile's Christian Democracy is just another political party."

The new lineup in the Chilean parliament is given below:

	Chamber of Deputies	Senate
	(total 150)	(total 50)
Christian Democrats	55	23
Nationalists	34	5
Radicals	24	9
Communists	22	6
Socialists	15	5
Misc. Left	0	2

POLICE IN GHANA FIRE ON STRIKERS

The police forces of Ghana's military dictator General Ankrah fired on 6,000 strikers, demonstrating March 3 in the mining center of Obuasi about eighty miles northwest of Accra. Three miners were reported killed and many others wounded.

The massacre resulted when police were brought in to suppress protests against low wages in the mines belonging to the British Goldfields Corporation. A March 4 UPI dispatch from Accra reported that police opened fire when angry workers began stoning them.

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO STUDENTS STAGE PROTEST

The School of Social Sciences of the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan was shut down March 5 as hundreds of students attended a protest rally instead of classes. The demonstrators were demanding reform of the curriculum.

that a course in Puerto Rican history be required for graduation. They also asked that tenured professors deliver their classes in Spanish and that courses "reflect the problem of the Puerto Rican reality more adequately."

Students asked that all required social science courses be taught in Spanish, that texts be written in Spanish and

About 10 percent of all classes are reportedly held in English at the present time.

In this issue

Page

Why Johnson Abdicated -- by Joseph Hansen	250
DRAWING: Gen. William C. Westmoreland	250
DRAWING: Clark M. Clifford	251
DRAWING: Lyndon B. Johnson	252
DRAWING: Ellsworth Bunker	253
DRAWING: Abe Fortas	254
DRAWING: Henry Cabot Lodge	255
Nixon Weighs His Course in Vietnam	257
Germ Warfare "To Destroy People...Not Property"	259
Díaz Ordaz Makes a "Literary" Attack on José Revueltas -- by Ricardo Ochoa	260
Goldstuecker Among Diplomats Rehabilitated in Czechoslovakia	261
Mass Murder in Indonesia's Concentration Camps	262
Appeal for Solidarity with Dominican Political Prisoners	262
Teheran High Court Turns Down Appeals of 12 Political Prisoners	263
Grigorenko Demands that Soviet Troops Withdraw from Czechoslovakia	263
German Professor Sponsors Law to Ban Student Protesters for Life	264
DRAWING: Professor von der Heydte	264
New Repressive Legislation Threatened in Turkey	265
Sadi Alkiliç Begins Serving Six-Year Term	266
3,000 in Berne Demonstrate for Women's Suffrage	266
Solzhenitsyn's New Novel: The Impact of De-Stalinization -- by George Saunders ..	267
How Hanoi Reports the Paris Conference	270
"Let the Huks Go!"	272
Vyacheslav Chornovil Released from Prison in the Ukraine	273
The United Front Forms a Government in West Bengal -- by Kailas Chandra	274
Neo-Stalinists Rule Out Coexistence with Leninism -- by Fernand Charlier	276
The Banning of Carlos Fuentes -- by Les Evans	277
Frei's Party Rebuffed in Chilean Elections	279
Police in Ghana Fire on Strikers	280
University of Puerto Rico Students Stage Protest	280

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N. Y. 10010

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen. CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, George Novack. TRANSLATIONS: Gerry Foley, George Saunders. BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen. Published each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July; not published in August. TO SUBSCRIBE: For 26 issues send \$7.50 to Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010. Write for rates on airmail. PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-

Martin, Paris 10, France. INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Copyright © 1969 by Intercontinental Press.