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NIXON'S "PEACE" PLAN FOR VIETNAM

By Les Evans

The Nixon administration, under increasing pressure from the Vietnamese freedom fighters on the battlefield and from a resurgence of antiwar activity at home, announced April 5 that it had devised a "plan" to end the war in Vietnam. Those people disposed from experience to regard such an announcement as a maneuver to allay popular opposition to the war could not fail to note that the government's revelation came on the same day that tens of thousands of persons in cities throughout the country demonstrated for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The daily press, nevertheless, took the administration's hints, added Defense Secretary Laird's April 1 announcement of a 10 percent cut in B-52 bombing sorties over South Vietnam and President Thieu's offer for "private talks" with the National Liberation Front, and presented the whole package as a portent of the imminent end of the war.

James Reston, the executive editor of the New York Times, stated this thesis flatly in his April 6 column in the authoritative capitalist daily.

"The indications are," he wrote, "that the President has decided to reduce the level of violence at once in Vietnam, begin withdrawing substantial forces from that conflict by the end of 1969, and negotiate a cease-fire, a compromise settlement and a complete withdrawal of American troops from that country by the end of 1970."

The Times, which had described the B-52 cutback as "a welcome and overdue first step toward de-escalating the war," hailed Secretary of State William P. Rogers' April 7 press conference where the secretary affirmed, "We do have a plan which we think is a fair and reasonable one for ending this conflict." Although Rogers specifically added that the government did not "anticipate any immediate withdrawal of troops," the Times attributed to Washington a "policy for ending the war."

Since the plan itself still remains a secret, we must first examine the more tangible evidence of this assertion, such as the B-52 cutback. On the face of it, a reduction of bombing sorties over a small country from 1,800 to 1,600 a month is hardly a gesture of humanitarian goodwill. Elizabeth Pond, writing from Saigon in the April 4 issue of the Boston Christian Science Monitor, raised further doubts as to the extent of this "de-escalation."

"A quantitative drop of 11 percent," she wrote, "would not necessarily mean an equivalent drop in effectiveness -- the same number of targets could conceivably be hit with fewer airplanes and still accomplish the same result...."

"Some of the more doubtful targets might also be eliminated without materially affecting the war effort. Col. Kenneth E. Wehrman, chief of the SAC [Strategic Air Command] Advanced Echelon in Saigon, acknowledged in an interview the occasional feeling that there is overkill.... A 10 percent drop could, therefore, make target decision 10 percent more selective and strikes 10 percent better, Colonel Wehrman suggested."

The April 4 New York Post added that the money saved by the "cutback" was already earmarked by the military brass for some other aspect of the Vietnam war. The Pentagon, the Post said, "is already talking significantly about supplemental appropriations for the war -- if needed -- early next year. The much-celebrated reductions are, in a real sense, no more than provisional."

As for the "private talks" Thieu has offered to hold with the NLF, the Vietnamese liberation fighters have replied quite correctly that the roadblock in the Paris talks stems not from holding the talks in public, but from Washington's claim to have the right to determine the future of the Vietnamese people and its support for the Saigon dictatorship. Thieu's proposals that the NLF lay down its arms and submit to a "free" election carried out under military rule are nothing more than a demand for unconditional surrender.

But if Saigon has learned that it must talk peace while it wages war, Nixon is under an even greater compulsion to do the same thing. If the administration could manufacture a peace gesture from a token reduction of bombing sorties, how much more mileage could it get from a token withdrawal of U.S. troops? Senator Albert Gore baited Secretary of State Rogers on this point during recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Gore told the committee that he had heard that one of Rogers' aides had told a group of businessmen privately that "the American people will be bought off with phased withdrawal -- 50,000 to 60,000 a year." Rogers, of course, denied the account. But persistent reports in the press suggest that this is indeed the core of Nixon's "plan."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert

Novak on April 11 described Nixon's plan, which they said was "based on the most careful two-month review that has ever been done on this war." This secret policy review was said to have been carried out by Nixon, Laird and Henry Kissinger, White House foreign policy adviser, after Laird's visit to South Vietnam in March.

The review included the Nixon meeting with the U.S. ambassador to Saigon, Ellsworth Bunker, and General Andrew J. Goodpaster. In addition, every top official in the U.S. delegation in Paris was said to have been asked to submit his evaluations and proposals in writing to the president.

Evans and Novak summarized the results, which they said they learned through a "leak" in Washington:

"In brief, the President is now committed to a two-stage operation that will begin with the well-publicized withdrawal of perhaps 200,000 or more U.S. troops....

"If this massive reduction of almost one-half the American troop contingent in Vietnam is not matched by a will to negotiate and equivalent troop withdrawals by Hanoi, the Nixon plan will swing into stage two: the threat of leaving a sizable number of specialized U.S. troops in Vietnam indefinitely...he is warning that, with much-reduced U.S. military forces and a drastic cut in the politically explosive U.S. casualty rate, the Communists will have to contend with the U.S. for a long time to come."

"Specialized U.S. troops" presumably would include bombing crews and combat troops. This would necessitate the taking over of logistics and supply functions by units of the Saigon army, as was recently proposed by Defense Secretary Laird. Whatever this might mean, it could not mean an end to the war. It would fit in with the NLF's description of the new deployment of American troops in Vietnam.

The Liberation News Agency of the NLF released a statement April 2 which said that since the 1968 Tet offensive the U.S. has been forced to abandon much of the countryside it previously held. American forces have fallen back into three defensive belts. The main concentration is spread north and west of Saigon, where about half of all American troops are now based. The second belt centers around Danang, and the third around Hue.

It is possible that Nixon believes he can hold these sanctuaries with some reduction of American troops while continuing raids and bombing attacks on the rest of the country. These calculations are based, however, on two dubious prem-

ises: that the fighting capacity of the Saigon army can be substantially improved by the mere infusion of more American money, and that the liberation fighters will not be able to sustain further major offensives.

The March 24 issue of the liberal weekly Nation published a letter from a South Vietnamese student leader, jailed during the Buddhist demonstrations in 1966. This youth was recently drafted into the Saigon army. He described the new "buildup" being carried out under American auspices:

"I discovered that some 90 percent of the trainees were either long-time draft dodgers, grabbed up mostly in the cities and towns, or recalcitrant deserters from military units (some for the third or fourth time), or transferrals, like myself, from re-education centers. Only about 10 per cent were volunteers, and their main reasons for signing up were hardly the most patriotic....

"Draftees being brought in from distant towns and provinces, or being moved from one camp to another, were generally piled into ten-wheeled heavy trucks, the sides laced with barbed wire. Preceded and followed by MP jeeps and police armed to the teeth, they roared at high speeds down the roads and highways....

"When assigned to front-line units, a good proportion of draftees found ways to escape; it was not uncommon to hear that only three out of ten remained at their posts for any time at all....The American 'experts,' those realists with their statistical charts, ticked off the 700,000 or more South Vietnamese soldiers who supported them. In fact, a given division or battalion may have had only one-half the proclaimed numbers on the roster."

As for the NLF, its spring offensive continues unabated. Washington claimed at the beginning of April that the NLF had "exhausted" its potential. Then on April 11 the liberation fighters launched forty-five mortar and rocket attacks on military and official installations throughout South Vietnam. Vinhlong, a provincial capital, suffered the heaviest mortar attack of any Vietnamese city since the offensive began last February 23. At Tayninh two ammunition dumps were hit, blowing up more than 200 tons of artillery and small-arms ammunition -- according to figures released by the American command.

The only way the war in Vietnam is going to end is for the United States to end its aggression and get out. There will be peace in Vietnam when the last American soldier is brought home.

THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE CP OPENS

By George Novack

The struggle for supremacy among the contending factions in the Chinese Communist leadership, which brought on the "great proletarian cultural revolution," has been settled for the time being with the holding of the ninth congress of the party. The congress, which opened April 1 in Peking, has been called to ratify the complete centralization of decision-making power in the triumphant Maoist grouping.

The congress was convoked after a long series of delays. Following its formation in 1921, the party held six congresses in seven years. Since Mao took command in the mid-1930s, it has had only three congresses: the seventh in 1945, the eighth in 1956, and the second session of the eighth congress in 1958.

The eighth was the last formally elected congress. The party constitution adopted at that time stipulated that a congress was to be held every five years, the delegates to reconvene annually until the next set of delegates were selected for the next congress. However, the set of delegates selected for the 1956 congress met only once, in 1958, and have not assembled again for the past ten years.

Very likely the protracted conflicts within top circles, which have been going on behind the scenes since the 1958 "great leap forward" and which broke out in public with the "cultural revolution" in 1965-66, have been the principal reason for the repeated postponements of the congress.

Mao has been no more scrupulous in complying with the provisions of the party statutes than was Stalin, who likewise called congresses of hand-picked delegates at arbitrary intervals that suited his bureaucratic convenience. Under the new proposed party statutes, delegates are not required to convene during the five-year periods between congresses.

As expected, Mao was elected chairman, Lin Piao vice-chairman and Chou En-lai general secretary of the congress. The three-point agenda included a political report by Lin, the adoption of a revised party constitution and the election of a new Central Committee.

The 1,512 delegates in attendance were constitutionally required to be elected. According to the New York Times correspondent from Hong Kong, "it seems unlikely that such legal procedures were followed." The electoral principle has fallen from favor under the latest dis-



MAO TSE-TUNG

pensation of Mao's thought and replaced by what is euphemistically termed "full democratic consultation by party organizations at various levels." The delegates were probably hand-picked by the revolutionary committees which now administer the provinces.

The preponderant weight that the army has acquired in recent years is evidenced in the estimate that one-third of the 176 persons elected to the presidium belong to the military. All the chairmen of the revolutionary committees that govern China's twenty-nine provinces were among the delegates and twenty-one of these are generals. Delegates representing party members among the Red Guards were also at the congress.

Hsinhua News Agency exuberantly hailed the gathering as "a congress of vitality, a congress of unity and a congress of victory." While it does signify the victory of the Maoist forces, the façade of unity and unanimity rests on the irreparable shattering of the old party and state leadership, which has weakened the bureaucratic regime as a whole.

The havoc inflicted on the party hierarchy by the interbureaucratic conflicts is visible in the removal of many of the most prominent veterans of the regime. No less than two-thirds of the former ninety-man Central Committee have either fallen into disgrace or are now deceased. Only nine out of twenty-six members of the directing Political Bureau which came out of the eighth congress have politically or physically survived.

The congress is expected to approve the expulsion from the party last October of President Liu Shao-chi as a "scab, renegade and traitor," along with other previously powerful personages in the top leadership. The draft of the new constitution bars the way to their reintegration into the party, since it provides no appeal procedures against expulsion on such charges.

At the same time, the congress will serve to rubber-stamp Mao's designation of Lin Piao as his heir. Chairman Mao has written Marshal Lin's name into the new constitution as a guarantee that his "close comrade-in-arms" will accede to power. In Moscow's unbridled denunciation of the congress as a "Maoist farce," its publicists have scornfully referred to "the monarchical thesis" by which Lin is constitutionally directed to succeed Mao. To be sure, Stalin's successors have not been freely chosen by the party ranks or the Soviet people. But it is difficult to gainsay their criticism of Mao's anti-Marxist and undemocratic procedure.

There was also more than a touch of nepotism evident in the choice for top honors of the thirteen notables on the platform. The wives of both Mao and Lin are conspicuous among them. The original team of Chinese Communist leaders has been narrowed down to a coterie of personal followers of Mao. Presumably, not too many individuals in high places outside the family circle are now considered to be completely trustworthy interpreters of his thought.

Peking's isolation in the Communist world is indicated by the almost total absence of foreign visitors to the

congress. At the 1956 gathering, held at the height of Sino-Soviet amity, forty-six foreign delegations attended. It is not known how many, if any, were represented at the current sessions.

No foreign correspondents were admitted to the proceedings and no news of the sessions was forthcoming from official sources for more than a week after the congress began. It is known that both Chairman Mao and Marshal Lin made important speeches on the first day. Lin presented the general report which in 1956 was given by the deposed Liu Shao-chi. It was a balance sheet of the last three years of the cultural revolution but the text is not yet available.

In the reconstruction of the party it remains unclear what functions will be assigned to the revolutionary committees -- made up of the military, reclaimed party cadres who have abjured their anti-Maoist errors, and "real revolutionary" workers and peasants -- which have been administering the government in place of the dismantled party apparatus.

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch April 8 in the Paris daily Le Monde, after vice-president Lin's political report, three documents were submitted to the congress on the situation in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. These resolutions are said to advocate a policy of revolutionary armed struggle not only against the governments of Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia but also against those of India and Japan. Pakistan and the Philippines are omitted from the list of countries that are ready for armed struggle. The documents likewise express support for the guerrilla struggles of the Palestinians against Zionist Israel and of the Africans against the South African and Rhodesian regimes as well as against the Portuguese colonialists.

The congress has also categorically condemned the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" which Moscow invoked to justify its invasion of Czechoslovakia. Peking fears this doctrine may be used for Soviet incursions into its territory.

#### SPLIT IN THE FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY

The old-line Stalinist faction walked out of the fifteenth party congress of the Finnish Communist party in Helsinki April 6. The party, through the Finnish People's Democratic League, holds 41 of the 200 seats in parliament and is represented in the government. The party

majority, led by Aarne Saarinen, voted to drop the words "dictatorship" and "force" from the program, declaring that the socialist revolution will come through "peaceful and democratic means." The Soviet delegation present issued a statement opposing the split.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By Ernest Mandel

[The Seventh National Conference on Workers Control in Great Britain was held in Sheffield, March 29-30. More than a thousand representatives of trade-union locals and socialist groups attended, including many foreign delegations.

[One of the most interesting reports at the conference was given by Ladislav Velenský, the editor in chief of Prace, the daily paper of the Czechoslovak trade unions, who described the development of workers councils in Czechoslovakia. The New York Times reported on April 9 that Velenský has been summoned before a party control commission in Czechoslovakia and faces expulsion from the Czechoslovak CP.

[Ernest Mandel, the editor of the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly La Gauche, also took part in the conference. He commented on Velenský's report in the following article in the April 5 issue of La Gauche. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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The movement for workers self-management was started by the shop stewards and by the Czechoslovak workers themselves. It began after the celebrated "January 1968 Resolution" permitted a renewal of initiatives and political activity by the Czechoslovak working class, which had previously been stifled by the bureaucratic straitjacket of the Gottwald-Novotny regime.

The first workers councils were elected on July 1, 1968. The trade unions stressed the need for legal recognition of participation by the workers in the management of the means of production, which belong to them collectively.

The report that the comrade editor in chief of Prace, the Czechoslovak trade-union daily, gave to the Seventh Conference on Workers Control in Great Britain has made it possible to clarify where workers self-management stands in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

So far workers councils have been elected in 114 factories, including most of the big plants in the country, such as the Skoda works.

But the debates over the law on workers councils are continuing. At the congress of the Czechoslovak trade unions that was just held, sharp criticisms were raised regarding the proposed law drawn up by the government.

This bill provides for three types of enterprises. The first are social enterprises which have financial autonomy and where workers councils are to take an active part in the management. The second are public enterprises, which do not enjoy financial autonomy and which, like many enterprises in the public services sector, do not have to show a profit. In enterprises of this type, the workers councils are to be democratically elected but their powers are to be severely restricted. Enterprises in the third category are associations. These include combines made up of several social and public enterprises, or, should the occasion arise, foreign enterprises.

The congress of Czechoslovak trade unions primarily criticized the insufficient degree of workers control in the second and third categories mentioned above.

The basic idea of Czechoslovak codetermination -- because what is involved is codetermination rather than self-management -- is that the workers councils are the partners of the management bodies rather than organs of management themselves. But the demand was raised at the Seventh Congress of Czechoslovak trade unions that the workers councils should be the highest organs of economic management. Discussion is continuing on this question and will certainly continue for a whole period more.

The official conception of workers codetermination in Czechoslovakia includes strong technocratic tendencies. Attention is centered on the profitability of the individual plants. The "efficiency" of the "socialist market economy" is constantly stressed.

This is reflected first of all in the composition of the already existing workers councils. According to our Czech representative, 71.5 percent of the members of these councils are presently technicians, 23.6 percent workers, and 5.9 percent white-collar workers. This is reflected also in the formula of excluding worker-elected organs from the management of public service enterprises.

Experience has confirmed what Marxist theory has proclaimed for a century. It is impossible to achieve real liberation of the workers within the framework of a market economy -- even if it is based on collective ownership of the means of production -- and in the context of competition setting the enterprises against each other. The workers who are "liberated"

in this fashion learn very quickly that in reality they are slaves to the tyranny of the "laws of the market," which produce gluts on the market, excess capacity, layoffs, and unemployment.

The claim made by both the neo-Stalinist leaders in Moscow and the technocratic ideologues in Belgrade and Prague that the only choice is between bureaucratic centralization and the market economy -- that is between the tyranny of the bureaucracy and the tyranny of the market -- is false. There is another solution in harmony with revolutionary Marxism. All power over the management of the economy must be transferred to a national congress of workers councils.

The members of this congress must be democratically elected and subject to recall. The statutes of this body must assure that the preponderant number of its members are workers. And in many areas, this council must be able to make decisions, especially in regard to investments, that would tie all the enterprises together.

Real workers self-management can only operate on an economy-wide basis. It cannot even operate in the individual plants unless it governs the economy as a whole. This conception, which is beginning to be accepted by the most conscious revolutionary forces in Yugoslavia, will also win acceptance among the Czechoslovakian workers and students.

#### ERNEST MANDEL'S "MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY" PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES

The long-awaited English translation of Ernest Mandel's Marxist Economic Theory was released in the United States in mid-April.\* This important work is now available in all the major Western languages. Spanish, Italian, and German translations have been published. The book originally appeared in French in 1962.

Marxist Economic Theory is widely regarded as the most important contribution to Marxist political economy in more than a generation. Mandel's definitive work is marked by an exceptional breadth in its treatment of the principal categories of political economy from the first forms of commodity relations through the changes in capitalism to post-capitalist conditions. Since it examines the economic forms, it also shows in broad outline the history of human social development. The book includes abundant material on early economic history and anthropology, bringing up to date the application of the Marxist historical method to precapitalist societies.

Above all, however, it is the extensive and rigorous analysis of capitalist development since the death of Marx that has earned Mandel's work a preeminent place in the literature of political economy. Of special interest are his treatments of monopoly capitalism, imperialism, the Soviet economy and economic forms transitional to socialism. The English edition includes added material on the economics of the Common Market and the "socialist market economy" reforms in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

Mandel's book had already won a

reputation as the best and most up-to-date introduction to the economic ideas of Marx and their application to contemporary problems before its publication in English. Its value was recognized by the most diverse sources.

The conservative English business magazine, The Economist, wrote: "[Mandel] is an independent thinker, combining an exceptionally wide erudition with a remarkable lucidity and fluency of expression. His treatise is by far the best popularization of Marx's economic theory that has appeared for forty or fifty years; and it is far more than that -- an ambitious, and largely successful, attempt to bring the doctrine up to date."

The liberal Paris weekly L'Express gave this assessment: "This is certainly a very important book. Well written, effortlessly readable, buttressed by repeated references to modern economic developments and economic theory. Without doubt the best introduction to date to the economic theory of Marx. And still better, a work which analyzes in a relevant fashion a variety of new aspects of social development..."

One of the principal merits of Mandel's book is that it rescues Marxist economic theory from decades of Stalinist distortions and shows what the potential of a socialized economy would be if the Stalinist bureaucratic caste in the USSR and the other workers states were removed.

Mandel's work has been largely ignored by the Stalinized Communist parties, which are unable to refute his findings or to produce any work of comparable worth. One exception to this official silence was the Austrian Communist party, which reviewed the German edition of Marxist Economic Theory in the December issue

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\* The two-volume set can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. The price is \$15 per set.

of its theoretical journal Weg und Ziel. The Austrian CP reviewer, as might be expected, expressed mixed feelings about the book, but he found certain aspects of it of special interest:

"The studies of the specific mistakes, failings, and contradictions of the Soviet economy are very interesting and instructive. Among these deficiencies are the 'law of giving priority to the development of the production goods sector,'

which is stubbornly defended by Soviet authors. The application of this principle has entailed great hardships and an unnecessary lag in the satisfaction of consumption needs. Mandel shows that the necessary extended reproduction can be achieved even when the proper attention is given to the consumption sector and that it can be achieved with less conflicts if that is done....All in all, this is a provocative and interesting book with which we will have to deal."

AN APPEAL FOR THE RELEASE OF THE IMPRISONED STUDENTS IN TUNISIA

[The following article by André Tunc, a professor of law and economic sciences at the University of Paris, was published in the April 6-7 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde. Professor Tunc voices a strong protest against the victimization of dissident students in Tunisia which has been going on since the anti-imperialist demonstrations during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

[To date two main groups of students have been given long prison sentences for their political activities and views. The first group, which was sentenced in September 1968, included pro-Moscow Communists grouped around the magazine Espoir and revolutionary socialists grouped around the magazine Perspectives.

[The second group, sentenced in February 1969, was composed of pan-Arab nationalists. For details on the case of the socialist students imprisoned, see "Tunisian University Students Sentenced to Long Prison Terms," in Intercontinental Press, September 30, 1968, p. 807.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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It has been announced recently that President Bourguiba has just ordered the release of some of the students sentenced in September and February. I would like to be able to praise his clemency. I must, unfortunately, still appeal for justice.

The great majority of those sentenced -- students, teaching assistants, and senior teaching assistants -- remain in prison. During the trial last September, world opinion, enlightened by the press, was struck by the uprightness of these students, by their dignity and the firmness of their principles. After a trial in which they were denied all the guarantees that the democratic nations of the world grant defendants in the interests of establishing the truth with

greater certainty, their sentences caused disappointment.

These sentences distressed not only those who knew and esteemed the accused but all those who for years had sympathetically observed President Bourguiba's efforts on behalf of his people. But these young men continue to be held incommunicado, and at least some of them are being subjected to very harsh conditions. If it is hoped that they will be forgotten, that hope is in vain. Their friends and the friends of Tunisia cannot forget them.

What reprehensible act have they committed? In this case, in which the trial was prepared in secret, conducted in haste under the gavel of clearly biased judges, and where the convicted prisoners have been held incommunicado ever since they were sentenced, it is not easy even for an attentive observer to know the truth. I do not want, then, to make myself the spokesman for any rumor, no matter how grave its content, which I cannot verify. I only want to bear witness to what is evident.

It is evident that the preliminary hearing was one-sided. The accused and their lawyers were not given the opportunity to help establish the truth. The police dominated the hearing. But even assuming that the Tunisian policemen were politically independent, they were, like any other policemen, susceptible to those passions which cause people to deceive themselves and deceive others. Why was the Tunisian chief of police arrested in December? After all, is there a single country in the world where miscarriages of justice have not resulted from overzealousness on the part of the police?

It is no less evident that the trial itself was conducted under conditions that made it impossible to establish the truth. All of the papers reported the facts: the court refused to allow the lawyers from Paris to carry out the mission entrusted to them by the families of the accused; it also refused to allow



Madame Fadilou Diop, a member of the Dakar bar and a deputy in the Senegalese National Assembly, to do this; the accused were never given the opportunity to confront their accusers or to see the documents on the basis of which they were to be sentenced, which would have been essential to their defense; nor were they allowed to call witnesses.

How could I know if any of the prisoners convicted committed any crime? But what I am certain of is that the sentence given one of them, whom I know well, was unjust and absurd (and my colleagues tell me the same thing about the other defendants that they know). Shortly before his arrest, I had a long political discussion with him. He is in no respect the revolutionary extremist from whom the authorities claim to have defended the nation. He is a young and generous but very moderate man, who -- like the president himself -- ardently desires the development of his country and the human betterment of his fellow citizens. But he knows that there is no easy and sure way to attain these objectives.

In reality, he was sentenced essentially for having participated in the founding of a Tunisia-North Vietnam association, which was an open organization and perfectly legal, and perhaps for participating in the anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations at the time of Vice-President Humphrey's visit. It must be remembered,

in this regard, that many American intellectuals, including McCarthy, a presidential candidate, participated in similar demonstrations. And Mr. Humphrey himself would probably have organized such demonstrations if he had not been vice-president. The United States does not ask anyone -- it is to be hoped -- to be more pro-American than it is itself.

What is clear to me finally is that young men remain in prison who were the hope of Tunisian higher education. Shortly before his arrest, the one I knew defended his thesis in the school of law and economic sciences at the University of Paris. His work received the citation of "very good" and was held to be considered for a prize. He showed rare judicial talents which justified his hope of obtaining a French doctorate of laws and becoming a professor in the school of law and economic sciences at the University of Tunis. This career is in danger of being irrevocably ruined.

Tunisia is famous for the acuity and distinction of its intellectual elite. One of my friends who participated in the negotiations which led to the independence of Tunisia told me how much he admired the Tunisian negotiators. How am I to believe that President Bourguiba can no longer see the young intellectuals of his country except through police reports? This is a grave injustice. It is also a blow to the future of the country.

#### A SYMPOSIUM ON TROTSKY

[The widely read Paris daily Le Monde devoted the two center pages of its April 5 literary supplement to assessments of Leon Trotsky's contributions as a revolutionary thinker.

[The occasion of Le Monde's special study was the appearance of a whole series of Trotsky's works in French during the recent period. Among the books just published is a new revised version of The Third International After Lenin,\* edited by Pierre Frank, the Paris editor of Intercontinental Press. A history of the Fourth International by Pierre Frank has also just appeared.\*\*

[The lead essay in the Le Monde symposium is by Jean-Michel Palmier, entitled "Leon Trotsky, Philosopher of the

Permanent Revolution." Palmier summed up Trotsky's place in modern history this way: "Prophet armed, prophet in exile, and finally a prophet murdered, Trotsky, in Isaac Deutscher's fine phrase, never finally died. The man whose name and whose place in the history of the October revolution Stalin wanted to efface has never ceased to haunt imaginations. And it is by no means clear that what is involved here is mere revolutionary romanticism. Today, Trotsky's work is again on the order of the day."

[Another essay was written by one of Trotsky's former secretaries, Fred Zeller, who worked with Trotsky during his exile in Norway.

[Essays entitled "A Writer Above His Own Life" and "When A Hero Is Revived..." were contributed respectively by French writers Claude Roy and Claude Lefort.

[An essay on The Third International After Lenin was written by Pierre Naville. Naville was one of the original

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\* L'Internationale Communiste Après Lénine, Presses Universitaires de France, two volumes, 15 francs [US\$3], with preface and notes by Pierre Frank.

\*\* La Quatrième Internationale, Maspéro, 8.90 francs [roughly US\$1.90].

members of the Left Opposition in France. He remained active in the leadership of the Trotskyist movement there until 1939. Since that time he has devoted himself to scholarly work and is considered one of the outstanding Marxist sociologists of Western Europe. The text of Naville's essay is given below. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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Trotsky's work which has just been published under the title l'Internationale Communiste Après Lénine appears from the vantage point of history as a political document of capital importance for the whole epoch that followed it and for the age in which we are living. It is impossible to understand anything about the development of the current crisis in the "Communist" parties without drawing on this essay.

It poses questions in a clear form to which no definitive answer has yet been found -- the emergence of bureaucratic dominance based on state employees, "socialism in one country," the perspective of "permanent" revolution. Events have shown that these questions are posed not only where the capitalist bourgeoisie has been eliminated but even where it is still developing under the protection of the state power. Forty years ago, Trotsky dealt with these questions in editing a program for the Communist International whose publication had been anticipated since 1920. But in 1928, Trotsky was no longer in the leadership of the International. He had been expelled from the Russian Communist party and exiled to Alma-Ata in the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union.

L'Internationale Communiste Après Lénine is primarily the text of a "letter" of 500 pages addressed to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. It was a rigorous and relentless analysis of the program which Bukharin and Stalin developed to serve as the platform of the Communist movement.

What did Trotsky show here? He demonstrated that socialism -- conceived from a Marxist point of view -- recognizes no "national roads" which lead to pacts with bourgeois parties or nations; that potential success is endangered by yielding to the interests of opponent classes, even "progressive" classes; that it is vain to expect a revolution confined in national limits to abolish all exploitation and class or caste rule; that permanent or uninterrupted revolution calls for constant advance to the final goal; and finally that bureaucratic rule, destructive of socialism, would be the inevitable consequence of a series of wrong turnings in which a Stalin appeared to play the role of "the great organizer

of defeats."

Trotsky did not draw his conclusions from a vulgar manipulation of quotations, as his adversaries were fond of doing. He based his conclusions on a profound study of the events and the role of the men involved. From this he produced his great political portraits of the aborted revolution of 1923 in Germany, the English crisis in 1926, the predominant role of American capital, of the Chinese revolution crushed in 1926-27, of the growth of bureaucratic domination of the socialized economy in the USSR. This last development was to become the "model" underlying the present conflict between the antagonistic interests of the various "socialisms in one country," as attested to by the USSR's blitzkrieg against Czechoslovakia and the latent war between China and the USSR.

All this could be seen only in embryo in 1928. But Trotsky's ultra-keen eye already saw the threats posed for the future. He understood already at that time the counterrevolutionary essence of Stalinism. However, preoccupied as he was with possible changes and corrections in the course of the Communist movement, he did not yet recognize the strength of the foundations the bureaucracy had laid by 1928, which began to crumble only forty years later.

This extraordinarily clear and acute polemic -- together with the Revolution Betrayed, which was written eight years later -- belong to the category of those great documents which although long consigned to history by political thought provide the inspiration for the rising generations. Both supporters and opponents must define their positions with respect to these works. It is clear that today "Trotskyism" -- it would be more correct to say the Marxist thought of Trotsky -- has again become the touchstone, hidden or not, for all contemporary revolutionary movements.

Today's world is grappling, on a vast scale, with the problems which Trotsky raised here. The struggle against bureaucratic domination is on the order of the day everywhere and is scarcely beginning to reveal its real dimensions. Conflicts between "socialisms in one country" have become the everyday stuff of international politics.

Recognition of the works Trotsky produced and the role he played is spreading rapidly throughout the world. Publication of a ten-volume edition of Trotsky's works in Yugoslavia will attest to this persistent vitality. The French edition of The Third International After Lenin will also help to revive the kind of debate for which French revolutionary thought clearly has the greatest need.

FORT JACKSON STRUGGLE SPOTLIGHTS GROWING ANTIWAR ACTION IN U.S. ARMY

By George Saunders

"Private Joseph Miles represents a new type of Army man, a small, but growing minority of GIs who do not accept the Army's idea of right, wrong and discipline," wrote Bryna Taubman in an April 12 New York Post article entitled "The New Breed of Soldier and Why He's Out of Step."

Joe Miles is twenty years old. He comes from Washington, D.C., is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and was one of the founders of "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," which began in January of this year at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. The antiwar committee has recently branched out to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, after Miles was transferred there in February as part of the Fort Jackson command's effort to stop the growth of GIs United.

Similar groups of antiwar soldiers have sprung up at bases around the country, including Fort Campbell and Fort Knox, Kentucky; Fort Bliss and Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Gordon, Georgia; Fort Sheridan, Illinois; Fort Devens, Massachusetts; Fort Lewis and McCord Air Force Base, Washington; the Marine Corps base at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina; Fort Dix, New Jersey; Fort Belvoir, Virginia; and installations around Norfolk, Virginia.

GIs United has received a good deal of attention recently from the mass media, especially since ten of its members filed a civil suit April 1 against Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor and the Fort Jackson base commander, Brigadier General James F. Hollingsworth, who was a commander in Vietnam. The suit requested legal affirmation of the right of Fort Jackson GIs, of which there are 23,000, to "freely discuss the legal and moral questions related to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens both within and outside the Armed Forces."

The GI lawsuit also requested an injunction against the "pattern of harassment and intimidation" by the base commander and officers under him against GIs trying to exercise these rights.

What is the GIs United and what activities have led the Fort Jackson command to harass its members? Joe Miles described it to the New York Post this way:

"We circulated a petition around the base, asking the commanding general for permission to hold an open meeting on the base. We got more than 200 signatures in two weeks."

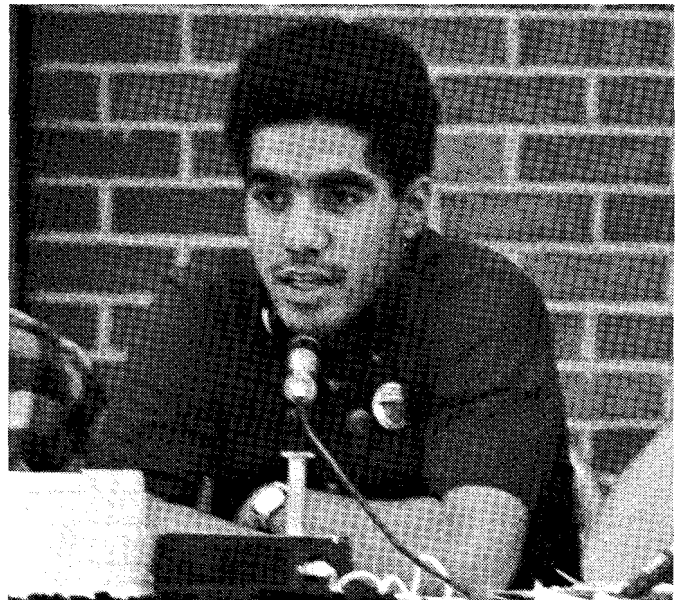
General Hollingsworth refused to accept the petition on the grounds that it constituted "collective bargaining," which the army forbids.

Nine of the leading activists in GIs United were arrested March 21. (Private Miles was not arrested, as he had already been transferred by this time.) Charges brought against them included "disrespect towards a superior commissioned officer," "failure to obey a lawful order or regulation," and "breach of peace." The charges stemmed from a big, informal gathering of about one hundred soldiers in and around the barracks of B-14-4 [Company B, 14th Battalion, 4th Combat Support Training Brigade], the night of March 20.

As the GIs described it in their Communiqué No. 1: "It just happened. Guys gathered outside the barracks and began rapping [talking] about the Vietnam war to their buddies, most of whom were leaning out the windows of B-14-4 to dig the discussion...No violence. No disturbances. Just a big rap session.

"The brass came around and they were scared. But there was nothing they could do except a little harassment of a few individuals. They knew they couldn't break up our meeting because the guys were just exercising their democratic constitutional right to free speech, so they just left."

Communiqué No. 1 appealed to other GIs: "The fight to free the Fort Jackson Four [now the Fort Jackson Eight] is your fight. Join us in defending these men and



PRIVATE JOE MILES

getting them out of the stockade by legal and legitimate means. Let the Army know they can no longer step on GIs."

The April 1 civil suit on behalf of the Fort Jackson GIs was filed by a number of noted civil liberties attorneys, including Leonard B. Boudin of New York, David Rein of Washington, D.C., Howard Moore of Atlanta, Georgia, and Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, South Carolina.

The April 2 New York Times reported from Washington on this development:

"Army spokesmen here said it was 'quite likely' that the courts might uphold the suit, believed to be the first of its kind in American military history."

The army's position was further weakened by the revelation on April 9 that one of the nine Fort Jackson men being charged was acting as an informer "in behalf of the command." The army identified him as Private John Huffman, 19, of Oak Park, Illinois, announcing that all charges against him were being dropped. One army spokesman said that the informer's real name might not even be Huffman.

The Huffman revelation was described as a "two-edged" development by the April 10 New York Times, "posing potential public relations, and possibly legal, embarrassments" for the army.

The Times explained the "public relations" embarrassment this way:

"By bringing out into the open Private Huffman's role as an informer, some believed, the Army tended to lend credence to angry charges by the enlisted militants that their assertedly legal and proper antiwar activities had been the object of harassment."

The legal implications were also "embarrassing" to the army: "For reasons that Army spokesmen would not explain," reported the Times, "Private Huffman's role was not disclosed until after he had participated with the other G.I. defendants known as 'The Fort Jackson Nine' in numerous supposedly confidential lawyer-client conferences with the accused soldiers' civilian and military defense counsel."

On April 11, defense attorney Boudin announced that a writ of habeas corpus seeking the release of the Fort Jackson Eight would be filed immediately. He also demanded dismissal of all court-martial charges on the grounds that the army's case had been "irrevocably tainted" by the use of the informer.

The presence of a secret army agent in confidential attorney-client meetings, in effect denied the accused

the right to counsel, a right guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Attorney Boudin also requested that a formal hearing be held, with Huffman present, "for examination by us concerning his activity as an Army agent" and "that there also be produced for examination all government or other Army representatives who directed or collaborated in his activity and to whom he reported." Boudin also requested "copies of all such reproductions and recordings of Army action taken, together with tapes and transcripts and records of conversations which the Army has secured as the result of the use of any electronic or other conversation-recording devices."

According to the Times: "Army officials acknowledged that the [possible] failure of the case against the eight militant troops who remain in confinement might be widely hailed as a victory for the G.I. antiwar movement within the Army, which is small but growing at posts across the country."

Members of GIs United reacted with unshaken confidence to the news of Huffman's true role. A report from Columbia, South Carolina, in the revolutionary socialist weekly The Militant stated:

"GIs United has been completely open in its functioning, never advocating anything illegal or acting in an illegal manner. It has sought only to assert GIs' first amendment rights as citizens to discuss the war and racism. It is unlikely, therefore, that whatever information Huffman passed to the Army could be legally used to victimize the militant GIs."

As Joe Miles remarked at a press conference in New York April 11, "It's all right with us if the army wants to send us people to help spread the exercise of free speech and democratic rights." Miles denied news reports that Huffman had been a "key leader" or founding member of GIs United.

Private Miles outlined the reasons for his own optimism for the future of his imprisoned comrades and the growing oppositional trend among GIs on a larger scale.

"Now these guys are asking questions. They want to know what is in Vietnam that is worth their life. Most of them come up with a big fat zero. The majority of GIs are opposed to the war."

Touching on the racism in the army, Miles added: "We get a whole lot of freedom on the battlefield, a whole lot of equality in the foxhole and a whole lot of equality to die, but once you get out of the field, it stops."

From the Brazilian Underground:

"WE MUST PREPARE THE WAY FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP EVERYWHERE"

[The following article, entitled "Confront the Repression," was the lead editorial in the March 7 issue of the national bulletin of the Brazilian Partido Operario Comunista (Communist Workers party). This bulletin, like all socialist and opposition publications in Brazil, has to be published clandestinely because of the virulent repression imposed by the military dictatorship that rules the country.

[The Brazilian military junta that seized power on April 1, 1964, first consolidated its position, then assumed the trappings of legal rule. In 1966 it held "constitutional" elections, in which an ex-general, Arthur Costa e Silva, was elected president. He was inaugurated in March 1967. While continuing a relentless repression against the left, the Costa e Silva regime allowed a moderate opposition to exist. The military rulers even promised social and economic reforms. However, when militant student and worker struggles developed in 1967 and early 1968, the regime dropped its constitutional mask and reverted to naked military rule.

[The return to all-out repression was inaugurated with the proclamation of the "fifth institutional act" on December 13, 1968. The immediate cause of the turn was the crisis created by the refusal of the Brazilian congress to waive the parliamentary immunity of one of its members, Marcio Moreira Alves, and turn him over to the army for a military trial. Moreira Alves was accused of "defaming" the armed forces.

[The "fifth institutional act" empowered the president to strip any Brazilian of his political rights, to remove any elected official from office, to declare a state of siege and appoint governors for the states, and to seize the assets of all those who "illegally enrich themselves in public office." The act also suspended the writ of habeas corpus for anyone charged with crimes against the national security. Promulgation of this act was followed by hundreds of arrests and the imposition of Draconian censorship on the press.

[The purpose of the editorial printed below was to orient Brazilian revolutionists to combat the new situation of full-scale repression. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

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After the "fifth act" was decreed, we warned about the measures that would



ARTHUR COSTA E SILVA

strike the revolutionary left and the working masses. We pointed out that while the immediate enemies of the military dictatorship were the bourgeois oppositionists, they had behind them the threat -- though it was more in the future than in the present -- represented by the workers, the working masses in general, and the students moving toward the revolutionary left.

The dictatorship launched a full-scale propaganda offensive to conceal its objectives. It was going to carry out a land reform, the price rise would be halted, the corrupt capitalists would be thrown in jail, wages would no longer lag behind prices.

Meanwhile, the regime opened all the stops on its repressive apparatus. The results are now being felt in hundreds of homes of workers, blue-collar and white-collar, of students, and of fighters against the dictatorship. The whole story is not yet known and what is known is already old news. The essential purpose of the press censorship is to assist the police in their work by keep-

ing the scope and direction of their activities secret. But the use of torture is a general rule, and a student and a worker have already been killed. These victims preferred to resist and fight back against the savagery of the police.

Moreover, the working-class neighborhoods considered most dangerous -- such as Cidade Industrial in Minas Gerais and Osasco in São Paulo -- are living under martial law, and it is "normal" for workers to be imprisoned to force them to inform on their companions. The bosses are taking advantage of the situation to fire the most militant workers.

Obviously this policy does not contribute to the rosy picture the dictatorship wants to give of itself. And for this reason, the regime is trying to limit the police terror to a few areas and to give the appearance of tranquility in the others. But even in these regions it is resorting to measures which, while not so openly violent, are just as repressive. Thus, those unions still existing whose leaderships are not entirely cowardly are suffering a new wave of government interference in their affairs. There have already been more than a hundred cases of government intervention.

Faced with such a situation, we must act. On the one hand, the repression is harsher and this is disorienting many people. But on the other side, there is a combative spirit and a desire to face the enemy. And this spirit awaits only a firm direction. Thus, in the same way the revolutionary left won the confidence of great sections of the masses in the struggles of 1968, it must broaden this confi-

dence in the harsh conditions of 1969.

We must extend independent working-class organization in the shops everywhere and counter the demagogy of the dictatorship with proletarian propaganda and agitation in ever larger areas.

But besides this, we must be able to lead new limited struggles taking up where the struggles that began at the end of 1967 left off. The orientation of these limited struggles will vary with the conditions, just as the dictatorship's repression itself takes different forms in different places.

Where we face open terror (precisely because the movement is more advanced), the way to begin mobilizing the workers now is around more defensive tasks -- reorganization of the shop committees, defense of victimized comrades, clandestine agitation, etc. Obviously, if the defensive battles are won, these vanguard sectors will resume struggles of a more advanced type.

Where the dictatorship has preferred not to give away its whole game and where the conditions are ripening for limited struggles, we must concentrate on developing this form of struggle. In this way, we can again clear the road for a mobilization of the entire working class.

We Must Organize the Working Class  
from Below Everywhere!

We Must Prepare the Way for Struggle  
Against the Dictatorship  
Everywhere!

#### TURKISH STUDENTS FORCE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. AMBASSADOR

The New York Times reported April 10 that President Nixon had announced the withdrawal of the American ambassador to Turkey, Robert W. Komer, and his replacement by career diplomat William J. Handley.

Komer has been the target of student demonstrations since his arrival in Ankara November 28. He is the former chief of the rural pacification program in South Vietnam and previously was in the employ of the Central Intelligence Agency. The students have called him "the butcher of Vietnam."

The April 10 Le Monde reported that 40,000 Turkish students were on strike in fifteen institutions of higher learning throughout the country. In addition to the ouster of Komer, the students were demanding educational reform, an end to government control over radio and tele-

vision, and the end of repression against the left. At the Middle East Technical University at Ankara, students forced the rector and his academic council out of the administration building, which they took over as a strike headquarters.

The pro-American regime of Premier Suleyman Demirel is moving toward a confrontation with the students. The government, rather than accede to the demand that elementary democratic rights be respected, has introduced bills in parliament that would give it sweeping powers to jail political opponents and to tighten its control of the mass communications media.

The proposed laws would provide penalties of up to five years in prison for speeches or articles "threatening or undermining the entity of the Turkish nation." The April 8 Le Monde said that

Demirel's own Justice party is sharply divided over the harsh measures.

The proposed laws would strengthen articles 141 and 142 of the penal code -- laws originally patterned on the old Italian fascist constitution. In addition to the restrictions on speech and political association under Article 142, the revised Article 141 would impose virtually complete censorship on the already strictly controlled national radio and television networks.

Le Monde commented, "These two proposed laws have raised considerable emotion in Turkish public opinion, which in

its great majority regards them as grave threats to the liberties guaranteed by the present constitution."

Nixon's withdrawal of Ambassador Komer in face of the widespread student protests and a growing radicalization among workers and peasants was looked on by the students as an important victory in their battle against the repressive regime and its American protectors. The New York Times seemed to share this evaluation when it noted, April 10, "Many Turks feel that the Komer withdrawal has given courage to the extreme left, which is trying to undermine this country's close ties to the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

#### A CHARITY CASE

By April 15 every law-abiding American is supposed to have filled out the proper forms and mailed his income tax report to the Internal Revenue Service -- including the receipt from his employer for the amount of taxes withheld from his salary during the year, plus, in many cases, a cash balance still owed to the government.

There is one notable citizen, however, who by his own admission will not have to pay a red cent in taxes. Not because he has too little wealth or an inconsiderable income. He is hardly a prospect for the relief rolls. In fact, he's one of the richest men in the country.

His name is readily recognizable. It is John D. Rockefeller, 3rd.

How does this member of one of America's ruling families get away with paying no income tax whatsoever?

He does so legally. He is one of about 100 lucky multimillionaires who benefit from a special clause in the tax code permitting certain individuals to take unlimited deductions for charitable contributions. These contributions con-

sist of appreciated property, primarily securities, though sometimes real estate and works of art, which are all evaluated far above cost.

Rockefeller hasn't paid any tax since 1961, when he qualified for the unlimited deduction. However, he is not unmindful of his obligation to support a government which treats him and his kind so generously. Out of charitable impulse, he says, he has voluntarily given the government 5 to 10 percent of his adjusted gross income every year. (An ordinary worker gets 20 percent of his unadjusted gross pay sliced off by the tax collector every week!)

Rockefeller told the House Ways and Means Committee, which has been holding hearings since February 18 on the scandalous loopholes in the tax rules, that it shouldn't tamper with that particular provision because it might discourage philanthropy like his.

Such "incentives are a workable mechanism" for responsible philanthropy, he told the legislators. And, he might have added, don't forget that charity begins at home.

#### THE SCALES OF JUSTICE IN WEST GERMANY

The April 10 Los Angeles Times reported, "Germans who fought for Gen. Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War are eligible for federal compensation while those who fought against him are not."

A decision of the West German Federal Labor Ministry that has recently come to light declared that veterans of the International Brigades that fought on the Republican side are ineligible for

state aid. Former members of Hitler's Condor Legion, on the other hand, will receive federal funds, as the ministry explained, because they "were German soldiers who, although volunteers, were fighting in Spain at the wish of the German military leadership. The Spanish Civil War served as a testing ground for the fighting ability of German troops and for war materiel with regard to the forthcoming second world war."

CIA ACCUSED OF INTERVENING IN PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

[The following article is reprinted from the March 25 issue of Laging Una, "Voice of the Filipino People," published in Los Angeles, California.]

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A legislative committee in Manila has been looking into assertions by a prominent Filipino citizen that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has picked its candidate for President of the Philippines and is busy seeing to it that he gets to the polls in November.

The man selected by U.S. imperialism's spying and subversion agency, Manila Times columnist J.V. Cruz told the Senate committee on privileges and election laws, is Sen. Genaro Magsaysay. The senator is a brother of the late President Ramon Magsaysay, noted for his savage campaign to wipe out the Huks. He has been mentioned as a likely presidential candidate of the opposition Liberal party.

Presently, Magsaysay is a Nacionalista, but party-switching is common in the Philippines.

Cruz, who was press secretary to the late President, first made the charge of CIA meddling in his Times column. The Senate committee then called on him to furnish specific information. Sen. Magsaysay, junketing in Hongkong, said he knew nothing about the matter and so could not comment.

In his appearance at the Congressional building Feb. 6, Columnist Cruz told the Committee that two CIA agents are plotting the moves designed to put Magsaysay in Malacanang Palace. One, he said, was a frequent visitor to the Philippines who masqueraded as an American businessman, the other a permanent resident married to a Filipina.

The Manila Times reported that Cruz identified the two agents in a closed session that followed the open hearing before the committee.

Brig. Gen. Ismael Lopus, chief of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency, attended the closed session and said later that he did not know the two Americans mentioned by Cruz. They were not, he said, among the six CIA agents accredited to the NICA -- an unabashed admission that the CIA has a meddling interest in Philippine affairs.

Sen. Benigno S. Aquino, regarded as another likely presidential candidate of the Liberal party (but not until 1973, when he will be of legal age to occupy



FERDINAND E. MARCOS

the presidency), recalled that a few days before the Committee hearing President Marcos had decorated a "top CIA agent," Brig. Gen. Joseph Cappucci, conferring on him the medal of the Philippine Legion of Honor for his services in training the President's personal security guard. Cappucci heads the Office of Strategic Intelligence of the United States Air Force.

Cruz was asked by Aquino why Cappucci should have been decorated by Marcos if he (Marcos) did not enjoy the backing of the CIA. "Is it not possible," he inquired of the witness, "that President Marcos could be the candidate of the CIA?" Cruz replied that "it is not improbable that Marcos is a candidate of the CIA or one of its branches."

This appeared to suggest that the CIA might try to pick the candidate of each of the major parties, both the ruling Nacionalistas and the opposition Liberals, the only requirement being that they should be pro-American.

There have been indications, however, that Washington may have gone sour on Marcos. Observers have noted that the President, responding very cautiously to the growing anti-U.S. sentiment of the



Filipino people, has been talking about a new "independent" foreign policy and has called for a revision of treaties under which the U.S. maintains military bases in the Philippines.

If Cruz told the Committee what the CIA was actually doing to put Magsaysay across, this did not appear in press reports of his testimony. He said that what he had written was based on information given him by "quarters whose knowledgeability, whose access to the information covered, and whose capability of assessing such information I have no reason to doubt."

Some observers pointed out that if the mantle of U.S. imperialism had really fallen on the shoulders of Sen. Magsaysay, the CIA would now be concentrating its efforts on getting him the nomination of the Liberal party, since Marcos has a firm grip on the Nacionalista nomination. This would require influencing the party directorate by putting out financial bait (secret pledges of campaign funds). The CIA has been known to spend large sums on getting "friends" of the U.S. elected in foreign countries.

As press secretary to President Magsaysay, Cruz had ample opportunity to observe the meddling hand of the CIA in Philippine affairs. He told the Committee: "I know from personal experience, because I was personally and intimately involved,

that the CIA has meddled in Philippine elections."

It was an open secret, Cruz said, that Brig. Gen. Edward Lansdale, a notorious CIA operative with a murky record of undercover activity, had been deeply involved in the presidential election of 1953 in which Ramon Magsaysay unseated Elpidio Quirino with very obvious American backing. Magsaysay was favored by Washington because, as defense secretary under Quirino, he stopped at no brutality in the anti-Huk campaign and seemed a happy replacement for the corrupt, ineffectual Quirino.

"If the CIA could meddle in 1953," the columnist declared, "it could also meddle in 1969, because the same interests that the CIA seeks to protect -- political, economic and military interests in the Philippines -- are still very much present."

The revelations by Cruz inspired laconic comment from a fellow columnist on the Manila Times. Teodoro F. Valencia wrote: "The CIA backing of a Presidential candidate? Is that new? The only thing new about it is that we're talking about it, writing about it, and worse, some people are actually bragging about it...If we must elect a man President on the strength of his CIA backing, we might as well ask for statehood too, or be content with being a colony again."

#### POSITION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT ON "PRIVATE TALKS" WITH NIXON AND THIEU

[The following is the full text of a statement by a spokesman for the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation replying to the "offers" by President Nixon and Saigon's President Thieu for "private talks" on the Vietnam war. The statement was issued in the March 1969 information bulletin of the NFL published in Prague.]

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U.S. President Nixon said on March 25, 1969, that "private talks" are needed to peacefully settle the Vietnam issue. At the same time in Saigon, Nguyen Van Thieu also declared that he was ready to have "private talks" with the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

In this connection the spokesman of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation Central Committee declares the following:

(1) Heavily defeated in its war of aggression in Vietnam and strongly opposed by the world public and progressive opinion in the United States, the U.S.

has had to stop unconditionally the bombing and shelling of the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to sit down at the four-party conference in Paris for a political settlement of the Vietnam question. Since February this year, U.S., satellite and puppet troops have been repeatedly attacked by the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces everywhere on the South Vietnam battlefield and have sustained heavier and heavier losses.

Yet, the U.S. remains very stubborn. The U.S. is stepping up to a very high degree of fierceness its attacks on villages and towns in South Vietnam, with bombing raids and "accelerated pacification" operations, thus piling up loathsome crimes against the South Vietnamese people. It has even sent U.S. marines deep into the territory of Laos, and is threatening to extend hostilities to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The U.S. is seeking ways and means to maintain and bolster up the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration, using it for downright repression of the Buddhist move-

ment, and to crack down on the movement in the towns to demand the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique and the setting up of a "peace cabinet" willing to talk with the National Front for Liberation [on] a settlement of the South Vietnam issue.

Obviously, the U.S. is losing, yet it is trying to cling to South Vietnam and maintain the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration, in the hope of carrying through its neocolonialist policy in South Vietnam, and prolonging the partition of Vietnam. It is with this scheme in mind that so far the representatives of the U.S. and puppet administration at all the nine plenary sessions of the conference in Paris have evaded discussion of the key problem, which is the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam. Because of this the Paris conference has made no progress at all.

(2) President Nixon says "private talks" are "the only way" to settle the Vietnam issue. The Nixon administration claims it wants an end to the war. Yet, it does not want to withdraw unconditionally all the aggressor armies of the U.S. and its satellites from South Vietnam. It also says that it respects the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination, while in fact it is clinging to the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique, the overthrow of which is being demanded by the South Vietnamese people. It speaks of its "desire for peace," but in fact it is seeking a "position of strength" for the Saigon puppet administration to secure "permanent control" over South Vietnam. Though repeatedly attacked by the PLAF [People's Liberation Armed Forces] right in its dens, the Nguyen Van Thieu stooge administration keeps demanding the "dissolution" of the National Front for Liberation.

The decisive question is not to talk this way or that way, but whether or not the Nixon administration wants to put an end to its aggression against Vietnam, whether or not it wants to withdraw unconditionally all U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam.

The U.S.-puppets proposal for private talks between the Saigon puppet administration and the National Front for

Liberation is but a cunning move to camouflage the bellicose and obdurate attitude of the U.S. and to hoodwink the world's people and progressive public [opinion] in the United States now demanding the Nixon administration put an early end to the war of aggression in Vietnam.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation energetically denounces to the public at home and abroad that bellicose attitude and deceitful move of the Nixon administration. Again, it reaffirms that the Thieu-Ky-Huong administration is nothing short [of] a gang of traitors and antipopular elements, who serve as an instrument for aggression of the U.S. imperialists and do not represent anyone.

The National Front for Liberation firmly believes that peace-and-justice-loving people all over the world and the progressive people in the U.S. will sternly condemn the U.S.-puppets for stepping up the war and delaying the settlement of the Vietnam issue.

(3) The stand of the Vietnamese people is the five points proposed by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the four points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam government. It is the basis for a correct solution to the Vietnam question, because it is consonant to the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, to the reality in Vietnam at present, and to the interests and aspirations of the American people and the peace-loving peoples in the world.

It is with a serious attitude that the National Front for Liberation delegation has come to Paris to bring, together with the other parties, the conference to positive results. If the Nixon administration keeps clinging to South Vietnam and the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique, if it does not want to withdraw unconditionally all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and if it does not truly respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people and the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination, no form of talks whatever can lead to a settlement of the Vietnam issue. The U.S. must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its obstructing the Paris conference on Vietnam.

#### YOUTHS IN LIMA STONE U.S. INFORMATION OFFICE

A crowd of youths threw stones and Molotov cocktails at the United States Information Service office in Lima, Peru, April 8. The front door of the building was charred and a large window was shattered. No injuries were reported.

The April 10 Christian Science Monitor reported that prior to the demonstration, "three armed men wearing masks invaded a Lima radio station and forced the announcer to broadcast an appeal for attacks on United States property in Peru."

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT AND THE ALIENATION OF SOCIETY

By José Revueltas

[José Revueltas is known as one of the most outstanding writers of Latin America. His second novel, El Luto Humano ("Human Sorrow"), won the Mexican Premio Nacional de Literatura (National Prize for Literature) in 1943.

[Revueltas is also known as a long-time member of the Communist party. In 1933, he was arrested for being a member of the Young Communist League and sent to the Islas Marias penal colony.

[In 1949, his novel Los Días Terrenales ("Earthly Days") brought him into conflict with the Stalinist literary canons. In attempting to deal with the contradictions he saw in the lives of the students, workers, and intellectuals he knew who were trying to change society, Revueltas developed existentialist concepts.

[Subjected to violent attacks from guardians of "socialist realism," Revueltas dropped out of the literary world between 1949 and 1956 to reconsider his views. His reflections led him further away from the Communist party. In 1956, he published the short novel En Algún Valle de Lágrimas ("In Some Vale of Tears"), in which he took up the theme of alienation.

[In the recent period, Revueltas has devoted himself to studying the causes and implications of the new youth rebellion. As a result of this interest, the government of Díaz Ordaz accused him of being the "intellectual" leader of the Mexican revolutionary student movement that developed after July 26, 1968. At the height of the repression against the student movement, following the massacre of Tlatelolco on October 2, 1968, Revueltas was arrested as a "subversive."

[José Revueltas wrote the following essay in Lecumberri prison shortly after his arrest. It represents his interpretation of the student rebellion and its implications for Marxists.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

\* \* \*

On October 1, 1968, the night before the massacre of Tlatelolco and one month and sixteen days before his own death, Vicente Lombardo Toledano\* gave a

lecture on the problems stirring the youth of the world and of Mexico. He chose to compress these problems into the frame of a question which the youth rebellion, at least in its most significant expressions in France and Mexico, had not asked: Was Marxism becoming outmoded as a philosophy and social doctrine?

This lecture was, then, Lombardo Toledano's last theoretical labor before he died on November 16. Thus, his lecture took on something of the status of a political testament. And from another point of view, the proverbial image of a swan song comes to mind, the swan being a bird reputed to sing a final melody in farewell to life.

However, with this swan song (Swan with a capital "S" in the manner of Rubén Darío)\* Lombardo announced more than his own death. In the historical circumstances today in the world and in Mexico this swan song was nothing less than the recessional of a collapsing system of ideas -- an ideological system trying to stagger a few steps more and wheeze a few words more before a now strange public no longer understanding its language, because the curtain was beginning to fall which will put an end to the comedy.

The youth were no longer there to listen to Vicente Lombardo Toledano's threnody. This funeral song was sung to empty masks of abstract youth that were products of the imagination of the actor himself. It was as if, in a last anthropomorphic aberration, he insisted on regarding the rejection by the youth of his own senility and decay and that of his ideas as a rejection of the ideas and methodology of Marxism as such.

This brew was supposed to contain Trotskyism, Freudianism, and existentialism in the dosages needed to constitute what, for lack of a better term, had to be considered neo-Marxism. From neo-Marxism to neorevolution or New Revolution (except that Lombardo did not use

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president of the Confederación Trabajadores de Mexico [Mexican Workers Confederation]. The leading Stalinist intellectual and labor leader of Mexico, he died November 16, 1968. -- I.P.

\* Darío (1867-1916) took the swan as the symbol of his poetry. It became the emblem of the Modernismo school of which he was the greatest representative. The swan stood for a romantic, controlled, aesthetic poetry. -- I.P.

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\* Vicente Lombardo Toledano was head of the pro-Moscow Partido Popular Socialista [Popular Socialist party] and was first

capitals), was then hardly a step, not even a hair's breadth. Thus, it was against these, against the New Revolution and neo-Marxism, that Lombardo aimed his misdirected fire.

This attack constituted the essence of his swan song -- this bourgeois-democratic funeral song in the throat of an opportunist wearing false Marxist plumage. Lombardo's barrage, moreover, mingled in the blinding and corrosive chorus of fascist bullets that cut down the youth on the night of October 2, 1968, in Santiago Tlatelolco on the ironically named Plaza de las Tres Culturas [named for the monuments of three cultures -- Aztec, Spanish colonial, and modern -- that dominate it]. Lombardo added his voice to that of the soldiers of the Mexican bourgeoisie who massacred the youth.

Let me begin, then, by saying that the questions that the youth are raising today do involve the premises of a new revolution and that this does require taking a new attitude toward Marxism. This attitude is new with respect to that adopted forty years ago by the real neo-Marxists who, after the death of Lenin -- and after they had physically liquidated or politically isolated and defamed the Leninist and revolutionary enemies of Stalinism throughout the world -- denatured, prostituted, and distorted Marxism to suit their own interests.

But before we take up these questions, let us listen carefully to the song of Lombardo Toledano in order to catch all its false notes.

According to Lombardo Toledano, the ideologists of the New Revolution, who are supposed to have inspired the recent youth movements of confrontation throughout the world, start out from a series of theoretical propositions, which he summed up as follows: (a) the adult generation holding the reins of political power is insensitive to the transformations that the youth and the popular masses need; (b) the rapid development of science and technology has outstripped the traditional forms of government; (c) the revolutionary ideas of the past are no longer valid and can no longer serve as a guide for the people; (d) the "orthodox working-class parties" have become senile and no longer play a revolutionary leadership role, and therefore new parties, new ideas, and new leaders are needed because humanity has entered into the phase of a new revolution.

We should stop right away to analyze this -- not so much to analyze the thought which Lombardo attributed to these ideologists of the New Revolution as the form and method of his exposition. This is an essential first step in ap-

proaching any category of Lombardo's writings, both to understand his intent -- the target of his "philosophical artillery" -- and the double meaning hidden behind the most apparently innocuous statements.

Before taking up the cudgels against an ideological adversary, Lombardo habitually struck the pose of a "fair fighter" and recapitulated his opponent's views. But in so doing he always introduced a subtle shift in the meaning of words which was hard for the unwary reader to recognize and through which he gave his opponent's positions a coloration different from that of the original.

Through this system of semantic sleight of hand, Lombardo established a basis for moving on to the method of slurring over differences and of skilled distortion. As a lawyer, he probably learned this technique from the method used by prosecutors to lead their victims into contradictions and then close the trap.

Thus, he started off by claiming that the ideologists of the New Revolution, who supposedly counterpose youth to the "more advanced society," believe that the adult generation is unresponsive to the changes that the popular masses and the young people need. From this he inferred that the "theory" of the New Revolution substitutes a so-called new historical phenomenon, the generational conflict, for the scientific principle of class struggle.

From the fact of the "rapid development of science and technology" in the modern world, he inferred that the new generations assert the "inviability of the traditional forms of government" and consider them "a broken-down and unserviceable rudder by which to steer a ship heading into a storm area." He overlooked their interpretation of what this phenomenon objectively represents -- a profound gap and an ever more acute contradiction between science and technology both in the socialist and capitalist world.

Finally -- and here is the basis for Lombardo's whole argument in defense of a so-called orthodox Marxism -- from the idea that the old Communist parties have betrayed the principles of revolutionary Marxism and internationalism, he inferred that the ideologists of the New Revolution proclaim Marxist theory itself obsolete. He inferred that they call for replacing Marxist theory with the "neo-Marxism" that he himself built up as a straw man, with this phantom which he conjured up only for the purpose of exorcising it through the magic power of his dogmatic formulas.

But Lombardo Toledano did not confine his use of this method to the realm of pure abstractions. He had to descend to the level of low politics -- low even for Mexican politics. Thus, he also inferred -- only, this time, from objective reality, which he also had no scruples about touching up and making over to suit the purposes of his argument -- that the causes of the rebellion and discontent among the youth were sometimes nothing more than "tendencies to imitate what has occurred in other countries."

He inferred that sometimes these moods among the youth were encouraged by the influence of "foreign" elements trying to lead the youth movement into creating subversive disturbances to overthrow governments, just out of a light-hearted sporting urge to overthrow governments, without any idea of what might replace them.

These false notes in Lombardo's swan song reveal his intent with such clarity that there is no need to plumb the depths of their boundless political cynicism.

Here Lombardo, trying to keep the solemn tone of a sociological and philosophical dissertation, did not hesitate to misrepresent and slander the revolutionary youth movement -- but not just some abstract and immaterial youth movement. Vicente Lombardo Toledano misrepresented and slandered the youth movement which the government of President Díaz Ordaz was planning to drown in blood the next day in the most abominable and dreadful massacre in the history of modern Mexico.

Lombardo's allegations of "tendencies to imitate," "foreign elements," or disruptive influences of who-knows-what "philosophers of destruction" were the ingredients out of which the chief executive of the nation tried to cook up an "ideological stew" to explain the subversive nature of the student strike in his official report of September 1. These fantastic allegations took the place of all rational, objective, scientific examination of the student movement. The report lacked even the most simple literacy -- that would have been too much to expect. The purpose of all this was to create a smoke screen to conceal the actual causes of the student strike.

This illogical, crude, and vulgar "ideological concoction," which was sweetened with secondhand or thirdhand learning, needed the "academic blessing" of a philosopher of substance (someone a bit more esteemed and less discredited than, say, an Emilio Uranga). And scarcely a month later, Vicente Lombardo, the ideologist of the bourgeois dictatorship, quickly stepped into this role, with an

ingratiating deference and a compliance that was wasted -- since he did not know that he would die a few weeks later.

The ideas he expressed in this lecture qualified Lombardo to step forward as a man whose sociological assessment of the student unrest and discontent was drawn from the same sources as the president's learned and well-documented report. Lombardo's high status in the Mexican cultural world made him all the more fitted to represent this school of scientific inquiry.

One need only look at the symmetry between President Díaz Ordaz' report on September 1 and Lombardo Toledano's lecture on October 1 to realize that the latter's philosophical ponderings were simply the "spiritual perfume," as Marx called it, of the wild charges and threats of repression against the student movement that were contained in the presidential report. And the government's assassins later carried out these threats with a bitter increment against the people.

The sole purpose of this lecture was to polish the rough edges of Díaz Ordaz' fairy tale and to dress it up. The only object of this lecture was to cover up the extravagances of this figment of a senile imagination with the clothing of apparently systematic ideological analysis. He sought to cover the nakedness of this fable, invented by the Mexican bourgeoisie because it was incapable (although it initiated it) of comprehending the new revolutionary process from which history had excluded it.

Let us return now to examining the problems raised by the New World Revolution. In the specific conditions of the second half of the twentieth century in Mexico, as well as in the other countries of the world, including the socialist countries, these problems are expressed in explosions of militant discontent in which the youth are the most active detonating factor.

These problems cannot be understood, however, without examining the decisive factors that make up the framework of contemporary reality in the second half of the twentieth century. And these factors, in turn, are the consequence of the course the historical process took after the European revolution failed and the Russian revolution found itself isolated and confined to Soviet territory (1924-1927), developments which resulted in the defeats of the Opposition in the Soviet Union and in Trotsky's exile. Moreover, Trotsky's exile was merely the symbol of the expulsion of the much greater thing he represented. Victorious Stalinism renounced the perspective of world revolution.

The peculiar and seemingly aberrant contradictions of the contemporary world intertwine in a confused and complex web which reaches into the most remote corner of the globe. To understand these contradictions, we must measure the phenomena occurring in present-day society not by their immediate political meaning or by their fortuitous interrelationships with power and decision-making but by what might be called a topography of the class struggle. Such an approach would enable us to take account of the way the historical process has been diverted by surface obstacles, which are largely subjective factors and the result of the existential fate of the great personalities who were the principal actors in the drama -- Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Hitler, Mao Tse-tung.

This topography shows that we are faced with a reappearance of essentially the same processes in a hybrid form, in new modes, channeled through new conduits, and even with new implications. These processes, moreover, are conditioned by new, original mediations and contradictions whose development could not have been foreseen.

In the order of their appearance on the historical scene, the following factors can be cited as having shaped contemporary reality.

(1) The Soviet Union's renunciation of world revolution in favor of building socialism in one country.

(2) The interimperialist war of 1939-45 between the allied Western powers and Hitler's Germany, with the USSR joining with one of the contending imperialist bands.

(3) The discovery of atomic fission and its use in war with genocidal intent by American imperialism.

(4) The division of the world into "spheres of influence" by the victors of the second world war, including the Soviet Union.

(5) The Soviet Union's development of atomic energy for military purposes and the establishment of the preconditions for domination of the earth and space by the nuclear superpowers.

(6) The contradictions within the bloc of socialist states expressed in the conflict between the Soviet Union and People's China.

The obvious perversion of the code of values, the transformation of the content of ideological categories, the confusion of political language are only the superstructural result of these underlying factors. Without the role of these

factors in conditioning the reality of the contemporary world, the immediate future in what remains of the century would be inexplicable.

To ask whether these factors might have been different and if the expectations of the theoreticians and political leaders of the first third of the twentieth century might have been realized would be, from the point of view of historical methodology and of theory, to ask an empty question. Such an inquiry would be absolutely irrelevant to the real nature of this process. It would be nothing but a tissue of the silliest moralistic arguments.

We are faced with the objective results of the development as it occurred. And these results are not dead historical facts but a living reality that is in continual motion toward climax in a nuclear catastrophe. All of the various societies on the earth, regardless of the economic and political systems they maintain, are moving toward this catastrophe.

Let us then, examine the dialectic of these results in connection with their causes.

Because of its renunciation of what we might call the "classic" perspective of a world socialist revolution, the first workers state became a national power with its own national interests -- even with ethnic interests, those of the Russian nationality. It has had a very special geopolitical strategy which is no different in essence from the traditional strategy of the former czarist state.

From the standpoint of theory, this represents a "betrayal" of the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. All right. But there is something more serious here than simple betrayal. What is at work here is "accommodation" by the Soviet state and the Communist party of the USSR to this deformation in historical development through an acceptance of a distorted conception of dialectical development.

Parenthetically, I must refer here to the superstructural phenomenon in which the Soviet bureaucracy's "accommodation," which it wants to make seem so inevitable, appears with absolute crystal clarity -- the deformation of ideology.

The victory and consolidation of the Stalin faction in the USSR meant a real subversion of the ideological superstructures both within the frontiers of the Soviet Union and throughout the world. It meant the most dangerous and serious attempt in the history of the modern world to subvert philosophy itself by converting it into a "state philosophy" like the old

official religions.

Thus the teaching of dialectics in the USSR was reduced to the level of an imitative formal craft practiced only by those able to limit their understanding to the compendia deftly written by the official philosophers. This did not, however, mean the flagrant "falsification" of dialectics as such. It meant rather the falsification of that aspect of the dialectic which explained the ideological aberration. It was a superstructural phenomenon that corresponded exactly to the objective reality -- which was a dialectical social deformation -- and that represented its realization in practice.

This dialectic of [social] deformation, in acting on the objective reality, does not become a distorting conception of the dialectic of development directly and without transitional phases. It does not and cannot operate in a way distinct from the dialectic itself as such. The secret of its operation, if there can be anything "secret" about such things, rests in watering down the contradiction between the perceptible, immediate, and objective reality, on the one hand, and the mediated content which expresses it, a content which is not, of course, either perceptible or objective. This attenuation of the contradictions opened up the widest possible field for pragmatic activity up to the point of the inexorable negation of the negation, which was denied. In the language of day-to-day perceptible facts, the problem appears in the following terms.

The USSR renounced the perspective of an international proletarian revolution and thereby broadened to the fullest the possibilities for building socialism within the limits of its own frontiers. This required reinforcing the state and the state apparatus and preserving the territorial integrity of the country at all cost (an attitude diametrically opposite to the one Lenin assumed toward the Brest-Litovsk peace).

This development resulted in the establishment of a national state and a nation, although both state and nation continued to embrace a number of different ethnic groups -- which in itself is a separate problem. Socialism has clearly been established, since the means of production have been socialized. On the other hand, the social liberation of man has been much less completely realized.

The socialism that was established was a socialism of the political bureaucracy, that is the bureaucracy of the state and party, and the administrative bureaucracy, or the bureaucracy of the unions and the social organizations. The technical and literary intellectuals must

also be included in the bureaucracy. But this system did not cease to be a certain form of socialism, no matter how repellent we may find it. The abolition of democracy and of the free play of opinion in the party and in Soviet society were the prerequisites for this course and synonymous with it.

This development of the distorting conception of the dialectic conditioned in an almost causal way (leaving aside here the internal struggles within the Communist parties during a certain period) the collapse of the Third International as the world party of the working class. It influenced the degeneration of the Communist parties throughout the entire world as class parties of the workers, in various ways, according to their peculiar characteristics. These parties were, however, to continue to function as workers parties, as the Social Democratic parties did after the historical collapse of the Second International in 1914-18.

After the USSR, the dialectic of deformation found the broadest, richest, and most fertile field for development in Germany. It also had its most catastrophic results in that country. In the nineteenth century and still today Germany continues to be the key to the European revolution. Thus, it was also logical that it should have become the world focus of black reaction with Hitler's seizure of power in 1933.

This logic was transformed into an objective force and could realize itself because the Soviet Union and the Communist parties abandoned the perspective of world revolution. The German Communist party played a decisive role in this by its advocacy of the diversionist policy of considering the Social Democracy as the "main enemy," which opened the way for the Nazis to take power.

The zigzag course this logic followed subsequently, first in the German-Soviet pact and later in the alliance of the USSR with the Western powers, was thus only the consistent form of dialectical interpenetration of the opposites, socialism and imperialism. The resolution of this contradiction seemed removed for an indefinite period from the scene of immediate reality.

In an age of bureaucratic socialism and imperialist capitalism, the negation of the negation through the establishment of a free and democratic world socialist system must wait a long time for its turn. It has to wait a long time in history's repair shop because many of its components are damaged.

[To be continued.]

STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA DEMONSTRATE AGAINST APARTHEID EDUCATION

White students at the English-language Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa, began a nine-day confrontation of apartheid in education April 10. Six students were arrested the first day and their picket signs were confiscated. Three other English-language universities -- Cape Town, Rhodes (Grahamstown) and Natal (Durban and Maritzburg) -- were also scheduled to take part in the protest. None of the Afrikaans-language schools participated in the action.

The students were protesting the government ban on the admission of non-white students to the universities (instituted ten years ago) and the establishment of separate "ethnic" colleges for African students; the deportation of white student leaders from South Africa last year; and the suspension of forty-three African students from the Fort Hare ethnic college during the past eight months.

Minister of the Interior Louwrens

Muller expressed fears prior to the demonstrations that student actions might cause upheavals such as those that have taken place in other countries. He threatened to use force to prevent this. One cabinet minister said the government would not hesitate to call out the army.

Duncan Innes, president of the National Union of South African Students, replied to these threats in a statement in Cape Town that was published in the April 6 London Observer. "We cannot expect the right to express our points of view without fearing retribution of the most vicious kind," Innes said. "Yet our points of view will continue to be expressed...The fact that our universities now exist for white students only, that non-white students now receive an inferior education to white students, that the new legislation naming these tribal colleges as full universities is the most absurd piece of legislation yet passed... since these colleges bear no resemblance to true universities -- all these facts will be made known."

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