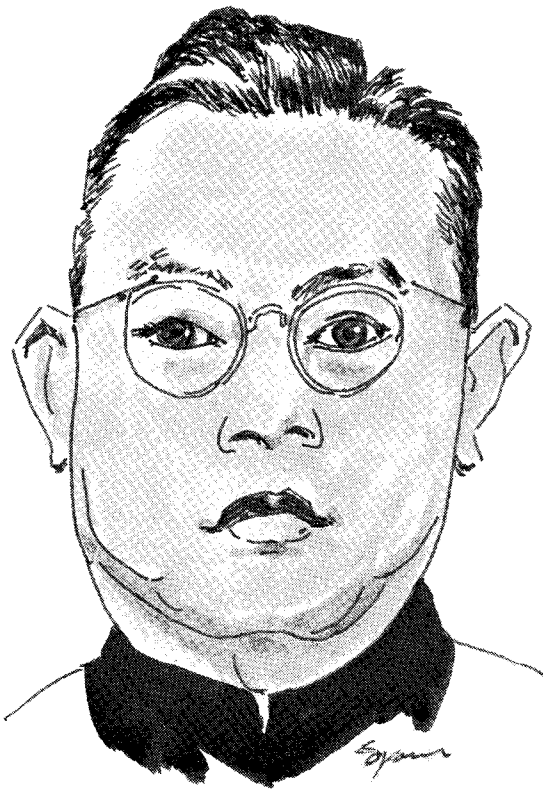


Mounting Opposition to the War



LI HSIEN-NIEN: Top Peking official warns again that China will meet "obligation" to help Indochinese. See page 195.

U.S.A.:

Democrats Join the 'Doves'

Sweden:

**Sharpest Labor Battle
in Twenty-Five Years**

Report from Japan:

Workers' Spring Offensive

High-School Students Mobilize:

Giant Demonstrations Win Victory in Paris

Tito and Hoxha Mend Fences

The governments of Albania and Yugoslavia set aside diplomatic hostilities of more than twenty years' standing February 5 by announcing the exchange of ambassadors for the first time since 1948. The shift in Tirana is doubly interesting both as an indication of thinking in Peking, which counts Albania as its only European ally, and also in light of the Albanian workers state's long-standing feud with Tito which predates the former's conversion to Maoism.

China itself resumed ambassadorial relations with Belgrade in 1970, but the Hoxha regime in Tirana has proceeded more cautiously.

Yugoslavia and Albania were on good terms in the immediate post-World War II period, but with the Tito-Stalin split the Albanian regime renounced all its treaties with Belgrade. Hostilities reached the stage of armed border clashes in 1952 after remaining diplomatic ties had been cut. A number of Albanian leaders were executed on Hoxha's orders for "Titoist" deviations at that time.

Since the 1948 break, the Albanians have charged Tito with territorial designs on their country. Yugoslavia with its 20,600,000 population virtually surrounds tiny Albania. The Maoist outpost, with a population of 2,200,000, has a common border with only one other country: Greece.

Another sore point has been the inclusion inside Yugoslavia's borders of some 750,000 ethnic Albanians, who constitute moreover a disadvantaged and impoverished national minority in relation to the standard of living of the predominant Serbs and Croats.

The thaw in Tirana dates from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Peking was quick to denounce the Kremlin's action, and the Albanian Maoists hastily followed suit. Hoxha's policy since 1968 has been to strengthen ties with Yugoslavia and Rumania, both of which have expressed fears that the "Brezhnev doctrine" of "limited sovereignty" might be extended to their territory as was done in Czechoslovakia.

In 1969, Yugoslav tourists were once more allowed to visit Albania. The Albanian government in April of that year pledged to support Yugoslavia and Rumania if they were attacked by the Soviet Union. □

Our New Address

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Nixon Edges Closer to the Brink in Indochina

By Allen Myers

As it became increasingly evident that Saigon forces faced the prospect of a major defeat in Laos, the Nixon administration attempted to prepare public opinion for further escalations aimed at salvaging the operation. Official statements in Washington and from Nixon's puppets in Saigon indicated two options were being considered: the open use of U. S. infantry in Laos and an invasion of North Vietnam.

Despite massive U. S. air support involving more than 40,000 helicopter missions, Saigon's troops were unable to advance further than sixteen miles into Laos. There was no longer any talk about seizing Tchepone, the town mentioned as a prime target during the first days of the invasion. Instead, Saigon units north and south of Highway 9 were barely able to hang on to a few hilltops.

On the night of February 20, the 39th Ranger Battalion, considered one of Saigon's elite units, was overrun. Some two-thirds of the battalion, according to official admissions, were killed, wounded, or captured.

In its February 23 issue, the Paris daily *Le Monde* indicated that conditions were already approaching a rout of Saigon's forces:

"The North Vietnamese counter-offensive, launched Thursday [February 18] in the area of Route 9 in Laos, has cost the Saigon forces several hundred dead, wounded, and missing. Elite units have been put in full flight, while bad weather and the power of the Communist antiaircraft fire prevented the Americans from bringing aid to their encircled allies.

"The few helicopters that succeeded in getting through were forcibly seized by South Vietnamese soldiers who wanted to flee the combat zone."

On February 25, the nearby Hill 31, six miles inside Laos, came under siege by the liberation forces. There were conflicting reports and denials from Saigon that this position had already been overrun. Alvin Shuster wrote from Saigon in the February 28 *New York Times*:

"Field reports indicated that a fierce

struggle was continuing around the position, which has been under attack by an enemy force put at 2,000 men bolstered by 20 tanks. . . .

"A new threat to South Vietnamese troops appeared to be developing at a nearby position, Hill 30, where more of the light tanks were spotted by American helicopter pilots.

"One pilot said that several enemy units appeared to have broken through the outer defenses of the position, about five miles from Hill 31."

South of Highway 9, a base at Hong Ha Ha was under attack. Shuster quoted a helicopter pilot as saying:

"Those people at that one are really in a bind with dead and wounded and we can't get them out."

Earlier, on February 24, the main supply base for the invasion at Quangtri was hit by rockets.

The day before, the Saigon military command, in an attempt to put a good face on the setbacks it has suffered, announced that it had no intention of pushing farther into Laos "right now." The colonel in command of the tank spearhead was more blunt. Asked what he thought his forces should do, he answered:

"Try to get out . . . There's no reason to stay in bad country when you cannot move."

In Saigon, Nguyen Van Thieu borrowed a propaganda trick from Nixon and decreed that the Laos invasion was already a success. It was intended, he said, to stop North Vietnamese forces from seizing South Vietnam's five northernmost provinces, and, sure enough, they hadn't done it.

With several Saigon units surrounded and the entire invasion force virtually unable to move, Nixon came up with a verbal cover for sending in U. S. infantry units. Hedrick Smith reported in the February 27 *New York Times*:

"Administration officials . . . said that small numbers of American combat troops would be sent into Laos, if necessary, to help recover American airmen shot down during the fighting there.

"If we had an air crew downed there we would do whatever was necessary to recover that crew," Jerry W. Friedheim, the Pentagon spokesman, said. . . .

"These are not combat missions," officials stated. "They are search and rescue."

The *New York Times*, in a February 28 editorial, pointed out where such missions would lead:

"The whole history of the Indochina conflict, beginning with the use of 'noncombat' advisers, is one of major escalations growing out of relatively minor increments in the American commitment, made to appear innocent by deceptive phraseology. 'Protective encirclement,' like the 'incurSION' it supports, is another step up the escalator."

An even more serious escalation was threatened by Thieu February 25. The official Saigon news agency quoted Nixon's puppet as saying an invasion of North Vietnam "only depended on a time factor."

The threat must be taken seriously, despite an attempt to retract it the next day, coming as it does on the heels of a similar statement by Thieu's vice-president, Nguyen Cao Ky. [See *Intercontinental Press*, February 22, page 147.]

Henry Kamm reported in the February 28 *New York Times* that the "hottest" rumor current in Saigon ". . . is that the Saigon administration is planning an invasion of North Vietnam."

Lon Nol's Cambodia regime was also busy beating the drums for an invasion. At a February 26 news conference in Australia, Koun Wick, Lon Nol's foreign minister, called on Nixon and his "allies" to invade the North.

Nixon had already escalated the air war against North Vietnam. On February 20 and 21, fighter-bombers attacked supply depots, antiaircraft positions, and missile sites as far north as the nineteenth parallel. The raids were the largest since those that accompanied the attack on Sontay last November.

At the same time, Nixon kept a

1,500-man marine force poised at the edge of the so-called "demilitarized zone," in what, according to the February 28 *New York Times*, ". . . officials in Washington admitted privately was a deliberate effort to suggest a possible strike into North Vietnam." (Emphasis added.)

This sort of brinkmanship could not help but increase the pressure on the Chinese government to intervene in the war. The February 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a Hong Kong weekly, reported a public pledge by Li Hsien-nien, the vice-premier of the State Council:

"China and the three Indochinese countries are brothers as close as legs and arms . . . We resolutely fulfil our internationalist obligation of a big rear area to a big frontline now struggling against the US."

Li, as vice-premier, is Chou En-lai's deputy and a major figure in the Chinese hierarchy. His remarks, which were made before Nixon and Thieu began talking publicly of an invasion of North Vietnam, cannot be lightly dismissed.

Although the Nixon administration continued to belittle the possibility of Chinese intervention, a growing number of bourgeois commentators were clearly alarmed. The March 1 issue of *Newsweek* reported the fears of several unnamed officials:

"I think we've gone just about as far north on the ground as we safely can," cautioned one American official in Asia. 'We cannot let the South Vietnamese get any closer to China.' And a Western diplomat in Indochina added, 'Any indication that the North Vietnamese regime might collapse for any cause would be regarded as an unacceptable threat to China's security.'"

Columnist Marquis Childs warned February 24:

". . . there can be no overlooking the fact that for the first time the North Vietnamese have publicly suggested that China may respond to the invasion of Laos and the threat of invasion of North Vietnam with direct intervention. . . .

"Communist regimes do not make such statements lightly. They normally come after careful, calculated private exchanges between the principals involved." (Emphasis added.)

Childs pointed out that Nixon was using essentially the same arguments that Truman had used in claiming

the Chinese would not intervene in Korea.

Childs' position was reinforced February 24 by Nguyen Thi Binh, the Provisional Revolutionary Government's chief delegate at the Paris talks. She charged that Nixon was preparing an invasion of North Vietnam and said that China "would not remain idle" when the invasion came.

Nixon's apparent intention to continue the escalation even jolted the Soviet bureaucrats, whose criminal inactivity has so far been Nixon's biggest encouragement. In a February 25 statement, the Soviet government declared that it was prepared "to continue giving all necessary aid" to "the patriots of Indochina." This was the first time the Kremlin had made a public commitment to aid the liberation forces in Cambodia and Laos.

It remains to be seen, of course, whether this aid will amount to anything more than words. At the moment, the Soviet bureaucrats are helping Nixon. One of Nixon's arguments that China will not intervene has been that Peking has been moving troops northward rather than toward the border with Laos. The March 1 *Newsweek* reported:

"A Soviet military maneuver which began last week near Lake Baikal in Siberia could only aggravate Peking's long-standing fear of the Soviet presence on its northern border and make the Chinese reluctant to shift troops away from that critical front."

Nixon appeared to believe it was safe to plunge ahead in Indochina

as long as he offered China the prospect of diplomatic concessions. In his February 25 "state of the world" address, Nixon talked of establishing "a dialogue with Peking," and proclaimed that he did not "wish to impose on China an international position that denies its legitimate national interests." He even hinted that he would be willing to see China in the United Nations, as long as this did not mean the exclusion of Chiang Kai-shek.

Even before Nixon spoke, however, Peking had put him on notice that it would pay more attention to his actions than his words. The February 20 issue of the Communist party's official organ *Renmin Ribao* carried an article signed "Commentator," a pseudonym usually considered to represent a party leader. The article warned:

"Nixon's attempts to tie the hands of the Chinese people to prevent them from aiding the Laotian and other peoples of Indochina in their war against American aggression and for national salvation will never succeed. . . .

"Laos is not located in the northwest of Europe or in South America, but in the north of Indochina . . . Laos and China are linked by the same mountains and the same rivers and have a common border of several hundred kilometers. Nixon should not lose his head or forget such elementary notions of geography." [The official English version of the article is not yet available to us. The passage above is our translation from quotations in the February 23 *Le Monde*.] □

Mounting Opposition to Indochina War

April 24 Actions Win New Support

As Nixon and Thieu found themselves increasingly bogged down in Laos, the antiwar movement continued to gain ground in the United States.

The National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC] announced that it would hold a press conference in New York March 4 to report on the wide backing already received for the projected April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.

Scheduled to attend the press conference were such public figures as

actor Ossie Davis; Henry Foner, the president of the joint board of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers Union; authors Gloria Steinem and Joseph Heller; Corliss Lamont, chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; actress Julie Newmar; journalist Murray Kempton; and First Lieutenant Louis Font of the Concerned Officers Movement.

On February 27, an important step was taken toward healing the breach that has existed in the antiwar movement since the demise of the New Mo-

bilization Committee, the coalition that preceded NPAC.

The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice [PCPJ], which includes persons like Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, and Professor Sidney Peck, who have sought to direct the movement toward civil-disobedience activities rather than mass actions, announced its willingness to join with NPAC as a cosponsor of the April 24 actions. Although PCPJ has not succeeded in building itself into a broad coalition, being confined primarily to some pacifist tendencies and the Communist party, it does represent a tendency in the antiwar movement that the NPAC has been eager to involve in the April 24 demonstrations.

Discussions between NPAC and the

PCPJ are now under way to work out a basis for joint sponsorship.

There were other indications of a growing sentiment for massive protests against Nixon's continued escalation of the war.

The results of a Gallup poll printed February 28 showed that by a two-to-one margin the American public believed the Laos invasion would lengthen the war rather than shorten it, as Nixon has claimed.

A series of teach-ins launched by professors at Harvard University began February 22 on a successful note. Trudy Rubin reported in the February 24 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"... well over 2,000 people attended each of the first teach-ins at Harvard and Yale, jamming and over-

flowing the halls provided."

Other teach-ins are being scheduled at colleges all over the country, with the organizers hoping for as many as 100 meetings in all.

The mood of the campuses was indicated by an incident at the Yale teach-in. Averell Harriman, formerly the U. S. chief negotiator at Paris, was loudly hissed by the audience when he said, "I'm not for cut and run. We've got to get out with responsibility."

His audience recognized that the U. S. "responsibility" is to get out of Indochina now. The continued growth of this mood could give the April 24 demonstrations extraordinary impact. □

Nixon Headed for 'Same Rocks' that Sank Johnson

Democrats Stake Their Antiwar Claim

Symptomatic of the resurgence of public opposition to Nixon's expansion of the war in Indochina has been the revival of the long-silent congressional opposition. Democratic party politicians, conspicuously quiet on the war question since last summer, have begun fluttering in the dove-cote in the weeks since the Laos invasion began February 8.

Perennial presidential aspirant Senator George S. McGovern (Democrat of South Dakota) accused Nixon February 18 of "flirting with World War III." "I fear," McGovern added, "that the President right now [in] spreading this war from South Vietnam across Cambodia and Laos and in the direction of China is inviting . . . response from the Chinese."

Another Democratic Senator, Frank Church of Idaho, joined McGovern in expressing fears that Nixon's course would lead to a clash with Peking. "They warned us in Korea," Church said. "We chose not to accept the warning. I think there have been warnings out of China this time. They haven't taken precisely the same form, but there have been rumblings."

More significant, the top leadership of the Democratic party demonstratively went on record with its sharpest criticism of the war to date. It should be noted that they tested the wind first, waiting for several weeks after



MUSKIE: Still against immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina.

the Laos invasion had begun—until the U. S.-South Vietnamese "drive" began to look like a disaster rather than a quick victory.

On February 23 the Senate Democratic caucus, after a three-hour debate, adopted a policy resolution calling on the current Congress—whose term lasts until January 1973—to "work to achieve the following purposes: to end involvement in Indochina and to bring about the withdrawal of all prisoners in a time certain [sic]."

Vague as this formulation is—even the January 1973 date is not proposed as a legal limit on the war—it represents an effort by the Democrats to align themselves with the mass antiwar sentiment and to distinguish their policy from Nixon's.

The Democratic leadership, including most of the party's serious presidential hopefuls, was clearly thinking of the antiwar vote for the 1972 presidential elections. This will be the first national election since the voting age was lowered from twenty-one years to eighteen. Several million youths can be expected to vote for the first time, and these young voters in their overwhelming majority oppose the war in Indochina.

The Democrats carefully covered their "moderate" flank by calling attention to the absence of any provisions for enforcement of the policy they had adopted. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield pointed out to reporters that statements of party

policy are not binding on any senators.

Nevertheless the capitalist press was quick to note the distance the Democratic leadership had moved away from its former positions under pressure from the antiwar movement.

"Despite Mansfield's contention that the resolution simply backs what Democrats hope the President intends to do," the *Washington Post* commented February 24, "the resolution goes far beyond any plans Mr. Nixon has announced so far and appears to stake out an independent Democratic position—the first time any major policy-making body of either party has made a statement of this type. The resolution, in effect, endorses what a year ago was considered a bit too 'far out' to be an official party position."

Would-be presidential candidates went even further than the official statement. Senator Edmund S. Muskie, speaking at a meeting of 4,000 students at the University of Pennsylvania February 23, called for "a fixed and definite date" for the withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina.

Until such a hypothetical date arrives, however, Muskie and the other Democratic party chiefs are, in effect, giving Nixon a free hand to bomb and burn the people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Not one of these politicians endorses the central demand of the antiwar movement, for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia.

Trudy Rubin, writing in the February 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, gave this account of Muskie's sudden decision to make opposition to the war the theme of his speech before a student audience:

"The original draft of the address mentioned Indo-China only peripherally in a broad foreign-policy context; but the final draft for the teaching centered wholly on the war, advocating withdrawal by the end of 1971 and backing the Hatfield-McGovern amendment that calls for cut-off of funds for the war by that date."

Hubert Humphrey and former Senator Eugene McCarthy also added their voices to the chorus of well-known Democrats in public criticism of Nixon's escalation. On February 25, seventeen Democratic senators and at least one Republican introduced legislation in congress that would prohibit American forces from supporting an invasion of North Vietnam

without "prior and explicit" approval from Congress.

The real measure of the "antiwar" professions of these Democratic party machine hacks—even if we were to discount their fervent support of the war when Lyndon Johnson was in the White House—is the fact that with a majority in congress they could legislate an immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Southeast Asia and could impeach Nixon if he refused to carry out the decision.

But even the sham posturings of the Democratic high command have caused no little concern among liberal Republicans, who fear that their party will be outflanked on the war issue

in 1972. On February 25, Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York said Nixon's political future was in "grave danger" if he did not abandon his "Vietnamization" policy and opt instead for complete withdrawal from Vietnam.

"I feel the time has come," Javits said, "for a Republican Senator to post warnings that the ship of state may be headed for the same rocks which broke up and sank the Presidency of President Johnson."

It is not Nixon alone but the capitalist two-party system itself that may founder on the rocks of the Vietnamese revolution. □

Suit Filed Against State Department

U.S. Passport Blacklist Challenged

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee [NECLC] filed suit in New York federal district court February 24, challenging the action of the State Department's Passport Division in maintaining a blacklist of nearly 250,000 names.

The suit was prepared by the NECLC's acting general counsel, Victor Rabinowitz. It asks that the passport office be prevented from maintaining the blacklist and that the government be ordered to destroy all the information it possesses about the persons on the list.

An NECLC release dated February 24 explained how the suit came to be filed:

"The complaint grew out of a disclosure February 9 by Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. . . . that the Passport Division blacklist contained the names of 243,135 persons, gathered from various sources, for checking on applicants for passports, or validation of existing passports.

"Plaintiffs in the complaint are Dr. Corliss Lamont, Chairman of the N.E.C.L.C.; Bernard Brightman and Sidney Gluck, businessmen who are members of the N.E.C.L.C. Executive Committee; Arnold Johnson, Public Relations Director of the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, acting in behalf of itself and its members. The four named plaintiffs are acting as individuals."

The action also represents one of the few occasions in which a well-

known member of the Communist party has agreed to join the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party in a civil-liberties suit of this type.

The plaintiffs charge that the blacklist violates their constitutional rights under the first, fifth, and ninth amendments; "serves no legitimate purpose"; and "authorizes an unwarranted invasion" of "personal and associational privacy."

Senator Ervin has said he was told by the State Department that the largest number of names on the blacklist are those of "known or suspected Communists or subversives." Others have been included because their actions allegedly "do not reflect to the credit of the United States abroad."

Ervin also charged that although persons on the blacklist are prevented from knowing what is in their file, federal, state, and local government agencies have free access to it. □

Big Profits in Ivory Coast

Foreign private investment in the Ivory Coast has totaled \$600,000,000 in the last ten years. While there has been some industrial development, most investment has gone into agriculture for export.

The January 29 *New York Times* said that "conservative" estimates foresaw foreign investors sending home \$80,000,000 profit annually by 1975.

The largest part of the investment comes from France, but West German, Dutch, American, British, Italian, and Israeli capitalists are also involved.

Paris High-School Students Win in Huge Street Demonstrations

By Gerry Foley

"More than 10,000 teen-agers in the street, almost all the high schools in the city and region of Paris on strike for three days running, and, at the end, 'victory'—Gilles Guiot released. A major social phenomenon was seen this past week that would have been unimaginable a few years ago. . . .

"From the first demonstrations at Chaptal to the 'apotheosis' of Gilles Guiot's acquittal, in the last analysis, it was 'high-school student power' that asserted itself. . . . Society and still more the schools cannot fail to heed this voice without exposing themselves to still other rude awakenings."

This was the comment of Frédéric Gaussen, writing in the February 21-22 issue of *Le Monde*, France's most authoritative capitalist daily, on the crisis that broke without warning as the sharpest challenge to the Gaullist regime since May 1968.

According to Gaussen's account, "for a period of a few days an entire generation of Parisian high-school students mobilized for the same cause, under the red and black flags of the revolutionists, under the banners of the communists, or sitting down in front of the schools under the benevolent eye of their teachers."

The mobilization of the Paris high-school students February 15-19 developed with a speed and power comparable to that of the great May 1968 upsurge, testifying to the continually widening radicalization of the youth.

The detonator was an apparently minor instance of police victimization. But this case brought into focus the whole system of intimidating young people that was instituted by a Gaullist regime badly shaken by the great battles that exploded nearly three years ago.

The case of Gilles Guiot was first reported in *Le Monde* of February 16, a week after the nineteen-year-old youth had received a six-month prison sentence (three months of it suspended). His first appeal was rejected February 15. "This decision was

greeted with stupor by the young man's parents, his teachers, and the head guidance counselor, who had attended the hearing," the Paris daily reported. It was an understandable reaction.

Bright, Checked Vest

Guiot was sentenced February 10 by one of the special "quick justice" courts set up to try offenders "caught in the act." The youth was charged with slugging a cop. The only evidence against him was the testimony of the "guardian of the peace" himself and a police "colleague." The cops claimed that they recognized the youth by his bright, checked vest. Guiot gave the court his "word of honor" that he had neither attacked any policeman nor even participated in the demonstration held in the Place de Clichy, where he was arrested.

It seemed that the "guardians of the peace" were not greatly concerned with a precise identification. A young victim was needed to propitiate the honor of the force.

Unfortunately for the cops, they happened on one of the most unlikely youths in Paris to cast in the role of "ultraleftist wildman" and "physical assailant." Guiot's teachers and friends all testified that he had never engaged in political activity.

"The prisoner has been depicted by all who know him as not only an exceptionally serious and hardworking boy but also as one of quiet, gentle, timid character, not a member of any political formation," the February 16 issue of *Le Monde* reported. "He was chosen at his high school to represent all his fellow students. He still maintains his innocence, quietly, as is typical of him, apparently very surprised and certainly highly disconcerted by his misadventure."

Moreover, the nineteen-year-old youth was a student of higher mathematics at the Lycée Chaptal, a preparatory school serving the "Grandes

Ecoles," which supply most of the country's top administrators.

The repressive forces had trapped themselves. Neither the cops themselves nor the courts could retreat without putting into question the reliability of police testimony, on the basis of which many rebellious youths have been railroaded to jail for "violations of order." But at the same time the accusations of the cops in this case were so incredible that not even the ultrarightists could defend them.

The breadth of the opposition to the victimization of Guiot was illustrated by the protest of the moderate Fédération des Conseils de Parents d'Elèves des Ecoles Publiques (Federation of Councils of Parents of Public School Students), which could hardly be accused of holding "leftist" sympathies.

Against 'Youth Hunt'

"The parents of public school pupils consider a 'youth hunt' a totally unacceptable means of assuring the serenity essential for study.

"At a time when agitation is developing among high-school students for the most diverse reasons, arresting and sentencing the young Gilles Guiot in the absence of legal counsel seems destined to widen and reinforce this movement.

"The administrative council of the Fédération des Conseils de Parents d'Elèves des Ecoles Publiques (FCPE), which wants a climate propitious for work in the high schools, unanimously demands the immediate release of the young Guiot. It wishes to see him assured the normal means of legal defense that will enable him to establish his innocence, which is not doubted either by his comrades or his teachers."

The court's refusal to release Guiot in his parents' custody pending his appeal spurred public revulsion. In the right-wing *l'Aurore*, Jean Laborde wrote that "the procedural code, especially since the last reform, offers every possibility for sparing Gilles ten to fifteen days in prison, which at his age and in his situation is a terrible ordeal. . . .

". . . The whole question is whether Gilles, who was not politically active before entering prison, may become so after he gets out."

The government's position was made far more difficult by the fact that René

Tomasini, secretary general of the Gaullist UDR [Union pour la Défense de la République—Union for the Defense of the Republic], chose February 16 to make a particularly pompous and strident "law and order" speech. Addressing a meeting of parliamentary journalists, France's would-be Spiro Agnew denounced the courts for "leniency" toward young troublemakers:

"You must be assured," Tomasini said, "that the state is compelled to demand respect. If acts contrary to the law have been repressed in a regrettable fashion, the fault lies not with those who have the responsibility for repressing them but with the cowardliness of the judges, and I say this with all due deliberation. It is impossible for citizens to maintain a state of latent anarchy by disobeying the law. Under the occupation, the judges acquired the habit of prudence. The French people must understand that policemen are the representatives of liberty."

Tomasini picked the worst possible time to plant the laurel wreath of liberty on the helmets of club-wielding cops. Not only had the Guiot trial exposed the indiscriminate vindictiveness of the uniformed goons defending capitalist "order." The terrible wounds the police inflicted on Richard Deshayes, a participant in the February 9 demonstration near which Guiot had been picked up, inspired widespread horror.

In broad daylight and from a distance of less than twelve feet, the police fired a tear-gas grenade into the face of this well-known leader of the Maoist VLR [Vive la Révolution—Long Live the Revolution]. The exploding shell destroyed one of Deshayes' eyes and smashed his nose and cheek bones, badly disfiguring the twenty-year-old university student.

Besides their negative effect on the public, moreover, Tomasini's statements, provoking an understandable resentment in judicial circles, helped to divide the government front in the face of the massive student protests that erupted the following three days.

'Ferment' in High Schools

The fears of the conservative parents' organization that the Guiot case would consolidate the previously dispersed agitation in the high schools proved well founded. In the same issue (February 16) that carried the

news of the rejection of Guiot's first appeal, *Le Monde* printed a "last-minute" report: "The 'Guiot Affair' provoked vigorous ferment yesterday in several Paris high schools . . . According to principals, the strike that began in several schools (Chaptal, Condorcet, Turgot, Honoré-de-Balzac, and Buffon) threatens to spread as a result of the mass meetings and general assemblies held yesterday, particularly at the Lycée Carnot."

On the afternoon of February 15, groups of teachers and students from the Lycée Chaptal visited other Paris high schools, appealing to students and faculties alike to give their "active support" to protests on behalf of the imprisoned young man. These groups stressed, however, that all actions should be conducted with "dignity and order" so as not to "prejudice" Guiot's case.

At the Lycée Chaptal, students, teachers, and the administration were solidly behind the protest strike. At the Lycée Condorcet, the teachers also joined the strike. At the Lycée Turgot, the entire establishment, students, teachers, and administrators, voted to hold a one-day strike February 16.

Two teachers' unions, SNES [Syndicat National des Enseignements de Second Degré—National Union of Secondary-School Teachers] and the Syndicat National des Professeurs d'Education Physique (National Union of Physical Education Teachers), called on high-school faculties to suspend afternoon classes February 17 and assemble to voice their protest against the arrest and sentencing of Gilles Guiot.

Together with the Fédération de l'Education Nationale [National Federation of Educators], and the FCPE, these two unions scheduled a protest meeting in the Bourse du Travail for 6:15 p.m., February 18.

It was apparent that the organizations of the left, most of which had been caught by surprise by the spontaneous upsurge of teen-age youth, were trying to connect up with the movement. *Le Monde* reported the reactions of two currents. The Communist party youth organizations called on their supporters to attend the scheduled Bourse du Travail rally.

The Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the followers of Pierre Lambert, who is associated with the sectarian Socialist Labour League in

London) scheduled their own rally for February 18 in the Place de la Bastille at 5:00.

Will It Reach a Political Level?

At first the liberal *Le Monde* gave guarded approval to the protests. In its February 17 issue, it wrote: "While drawing attention to the abuses of the 'youth hunt,' the high-school student agitation—if it does not become excessively politicalized—may also help to bring about some penal and judicial reforms."

This astute bourgeois journal has warned repeatedly of the dangers involved for capitalist society in systematic persecution of the youth. Furthermore, as *Le Monde* noted in a later issue, many dim-witted cops have come to regard the internationally respected capitalist daily as a "leftist" publication. They are inclined to give youths caught carrying it a hard time. The paper indicated that it would not be unhappy to see the police taught a lesson, as long as the protests did not become too militant or fall under the influence of "leftists."

By the second day of the protests, however, *Le Monde's* editors were apparently worried. The middle pages of the February 18 issue (reporting the events of the sixteenth) were filled with news and comment on the agitation in the high schools.

Under the headline "A Spontaneous Movement Becomes Politicalized," a major article said: "A spontaneous surge of solidarity is the only thing that can explain the rapid spread of the high-school strike—comparable at this level of the schools at least to what happened in May 1968—and the breadth which it has assumed. For the great majority of students the issue is only 'Free Gilles Guiot,' whom they consider unjustly sentenced. In a large number of schools, it is the 'silent majority' of students who are participating actively in the movement . . ."

Le Monde's concern seemed to be caused by two facts. The first was that considerable inflammable material had accumulated in the high schools: "A latent discontent has existed in fact in many high schools. The arrests for questioning, identity checks, and the jibes made at youths by certain policemen, have engendered a climate of unrest among a large percentage of high-school students in Paris, especially since the end of

Christmas vacation. In some schools, expulsions of students and ousters of teachers have helped to increase this malaise and provide specific focuses of agitation."

Secondly, the mobilization in the high schools had attained such scope that it could not help but challenge the institutions of bourgeois society. Moreover, a third organization of the left had appeared on the scene.

Trotskyists in Action

"While up to Tuesday evening, the movement maintained a certain unanimity," *Le Monde* wrote, "it seems that as of this Wednesday [February 17] it will not be able to avoid a certain 'politicalization,' either because some groups (leftists, communists, or some unions) have tried to exploit it, or because, following a common pattern, it has spread out to other issues than the defense of Gilles Guiot alone. The need for coordination among the various high-school 'strike committees' led almost necessarily to a 'politicalization.'"

"Thus a meeting took place Tuesday afternoon in the Lycée Chaptal of 'strike committee delegates' from more than twenty Parisian high schools. Among these delegates were numerous members and sympathizers of the Ligue Communiste (Trotskyist) [The Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International]."

In fact, on Wednesday, February 17, the movement abruptly jumped to a higher plateau. *Le Monde* reported the news February 19 under the headline "10,000 High-School Students March Peacefully."

A "peaceful" procession was a particularly notable occurrence because there is a general ban on street demonstrations in France. Apparently the police had not dared to intervene.

Le Monde described the march: "A demonstration organized by the Comité de Coordination des Comités de Grève Lycéens [Coordinating Committee of the High-School Strike Committees], led most notably by the Trotskyist activists of the Ligue Communiste, drew about 10,000 high-school and university students. They made a 'long march' from the Lycée Chaptal on the Boulevard des Batignolles to the Pont d'Austerlitz and the old science school of the Halle-aux-Vins."

Minister of the Interior Marcellin announced: "The processions of high-school students that took place February 17 on the public thoroughfares were tolerated by the police. The forces of order wanted to avoid clashes with very young demonstrators. The case of the high-school student Guiot will be judged Friday [February 19] by the court of appeals. The court must be able to make its decision in a serene atmosphere. All demonstrations, all marches, all processions are forbidden Thursday, February 18, and Friday, February 19. Only indoor meetings such as the one at the Bourse du Travail can take place."

Some commentators did not fail to note that the police had shown no scruples about beating up youngsters before. In fact, it was precisely such incidents that had given rise to the spreading wave of protest now propelling thousands of youths into the streets to break the repressive ban on demonstrations.

It was clear that the breadth of the protests was a strong deterrent to police attacks.

Le Monde commented: "Obviously after the excesses committed in the Place de Clichy, at the Rue Ordener, and the Sacré-Coeur, the government feels a wave of reprobation that greatly exceeds the limits not only of the leftist groups but even of the 'classical' opposition.

"For the government to have thrown its forces against youths of sixteen to twenty would have been at once a tragedy and a political error."

Despite the political climate, the police, who obviously felt incited, might well have attacked the demonstrators, as later events indicated, if they had been offered a pretext to intervene. Moreover, an outbreak of street fighting would, under the circumstances, almost certainly have divided the broad front forming against the repression.

The organizers of the march carefully took advantage of the breadth of the movement, striving to prevent any provocations that could be used to justify a police onslaught. "The corps of marshals, composed most notably of members of the Ligue Communiste, 'supervised' the demonstration . . ." *Le Monde* wrote. "They moved effectively twice when the procession passed in front of police vans. For the first time at 4:30 p.m., in front of the Eglise Saint-Germain-des-

Près, some youths hurled a few stones at helmeted policemen armed with tear-gas guns as they were getting out of their vans. The marshals pulled the demonstration away and lectured the 'provocateurs.'"

Moreover, the organizers of the demonstration seemed to have maintained the unity of the movement despite opposition from some elements at the Lycée Chaptal. *Le Monde* stressed this disagreement. Groups of students, teachers, and administrators of the Lycée Chaptal, it reported, "defended" the door of their school.

"A big poster proclaimed that they would not participate in the demonstration. Across the street from this poster, hundreds of high-school students flocked around banners demanding the release of Gilles Guiot. A last appeal to the 'Chaptaliens' to join the demonstration was made over a loudspeaker. At the same time, the march was rumbling toward the Boulevard de Courcelles. Demonstrators marched by unceasingly. There were four to five thousand of them when the procession, going along the Boulevard Maiesherbes, reached the Place de la Madeleine."

In the united demonstration, slogans and banners mentioned other victims of repression besides Gilles Guiot.

"From the start," *Le Monde* said, "the slogans placed the 'Guiot affair' in the context of the present 'repression.' Richard Deshayes, the student wounded by a tear-gas grenade, shared the 'starring' role with the Chaptal student. At the head of the procession, several demonstrators carried a picture of Deshayes' bloody face . . ."

"The main slogans were 'Pleven-Marcellin, Murderers,' 'Pleven, You Dirty Dog, the People Will Have Your Hide,' 'We Will Judge Richard's Murderers,' 'Down With Bourgeois Justice,' 'Dissolve the Special Brigades,' 'Mussolini-Tomasini,' and 'It's Only a Beginning, Let's Continue the Struggle.'"

Students Defy Police Ban

In defiance of Marcellin's specific ban on further demonstrations, a second mass march took place February 18. *Le Monde's* headline in the February 20 issue was almost the same as the day before: "More than 10,000 High-School and University Students Demonstrate Peacefully."

The situation was more complex,

however, than it had been February 17. There were three separate demonstrations and a joint rally—each action illustrating the different strategies of the organizations of the left that were trying to provide leadership for the movement.

Press accounts indicated that the march organized by the Comité de Coordination des Comités de Grève Lycéens (CCCGL) was by far the largest demonstration. At around 3:00 the marchers began gathering at the Lycée Buffon on the Boulevard Pasteur.

"A few dozen police in helmets and carrying long clubs had taken up positions as early as 2:00 p.m. in the area of the Lycée Buffon," *Le Monde* reported. "The high-school students, who were pouring out of the subways by the hundreds, were told by their organizers to go inside the school. Then a procession formed up in front of the establishment in the Rue de Vaugirard [around the corner from the Boulevard Pasteur]. At about 3:30 it was joined by a group of about a thousand demonstrators headed up by banners. Most of them were university students. The police began to bar the streets in the area, and tension mounted between the two groups."

The coolness and political skill of the organizers were decisive in preventing a clash. "The Ligue Communiste leaders, who had stationed helmeted marshals in the front ranks," *Le Monde* continued, "negotiated with the police superintendent. 'Let us pass, you cannot club down such young demonstrators.' The superintendent, who did not hide his embarrassment, invoked the 'formal orders of the minister,' and invited the demonstrators to leave by subway. The entrances had been cleared. While these negotiations were in process and police reinforcements were arriving, the demonstrators left the Lycée Buffon by the Rue de Vaugirard, heading toward the Porte de Versailles. The march, which included about 5,000 persons, quickly reached the Rue de la Convention by way of the little streets of the fifteenth arrondissement."

The police caught up with the demonstration at the Place Balard, just as the marshals were directing the marchers into the subway entrances. The cops surrounded the area. The police superintendent, refusing to engage in any more negotiations, warned the organizers that he would order an attack if the square were

not cleared in ten minutes.

The marshals succeeded in moving the crowd out before the police could attack. Two large groups were ushered into the subways at the Place Balard. The rest of the marchers retreated toward the Porte de Versailles. After receiving instructions to reassemble at the Place de la République, they flooded into the subways.

"At the Place Balard, a confrontation between the last groups of demonstrators and the forces of order was narrowly averted," *Le Monde* reported.

At the Place de la Bastille

Another group had scheduled a demonstration to begin a little later than the one starting out from the Lycée Buffon. "At about 5:00 p.m.," according to *Le Monde*, "a few hundred young people began to gather at the Place de la Bastille in response to the call issued by the Délégation Permanente de l'UNEF [Standing Committee of the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (National Union of French Students), a splinter of an old student-interest organization]. This organization is led by the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (Trotskyist). However, the demonstrators, grouped at the corner of the Boulevard Beaumarchais and Richard-Lenoir, were quickly isolated by large police units massed all around the Place de la Bastille. A few rather violent clashes ensued."

The demonstrators "scattered, running through the narrow streets of the Marais to return to the Boulevard Beaumarchais by way of the Rue de Tournelles. As they ran they shouted, 'Free Guiot!' Riot police units tried to block their way. There was an initial [police] charge at 5:15 at the Rue des Minimes, and a second much more violent one at the Rue de Béarn.

"At about 6:15 a demonstrator, M. Pierre Lescouet, forty-two years old, a packing-house worker at Les Halles, was arrested on the corner of the Place de la Bastille and the Rue Saint-Antoine, charged with insulting a policeman and willfully striking and wounding a member of the forces of order. Lescouet was booked and remanded for trial."

Despite the attacks of the police, at least a fair percentage of the few hundred demonstrators sponsored by the Délégation Permanente de l'UNEF reached the Bourse du Travail, where they linked up with the more moderate

rally being held under the auspices of the FEN and with the support of the CP youth organizations.

The merger did not take place without some friction, according to *Monde*. "The convergence of the two groups of demonstrators provoked a certain tension and some blows were exchanged. The followers of UNEF-Renouveau [UNEF-Renewal, the CP-led splinter of the old student-interest organization] shouted that 'The UNEF Will Be Renewed.' Little by little, calm returned as the shout went up 'Gilles Guiot Will Be Released.'"

Apparently the organizers of the Bourse du Travail rally had moved at least part of the meeting outdoors, a change from the plans announced earlier. Perhaps the successful street demonstration the day before had encouraged them to take a bolder stand.

Le Monde described the rally as "A Confused Meeting." The report indicated that a rather sectarian atmosphere prevailed, despite protests from some Lycée Chaptal students that the movement must be "apolitical and absolutely independent."

"A leader of UNEF-Renouveau," the Paris daily reported, "gave a brief harangue in which he explained, as if by chance, that the Guiot case came just 'at the moment when UNEF, the organization of the students, is being renewed.'" The meeting was generally turbulent but "The din became indescribable when the floor was given to M. Michel Sérac, leader of the 'Délégation Permanente' de l'UNEF."

Marchers Flood into Rally

The high-school student march also ended up at the Bourse du Travail, where the demonstrators came to join the rally.

"The procession of the Comités de Grève Lycéens, of the Ligue Communiste, and Secours Rouge—which had come by subway from the Place Balard and the Porte de Versailles—regrouped and grew on the Place de la République [near the Bourse du Travail]. There were now seven to eight thousand demonstrators. The helmeted marshals of the Ligue Communiste led the march. The leaders of Secours Rouge (Halbwachs and Doctor Kahn), of the Ligue Communiste (Krivine, Ben Saïd, and Weber), along with Marc Heurgon of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié] and Roland Castor of Vive la Révolution were in the front ranks. A loudspeaker announced:

'Comrades, this time we are the strongest. There are a lot more of us . . . Once again the police could not intervene and there were no incidents.'

The two groups did not merge. *Le Monde* did not indicate the reason, but there seemed to be some hostility, since the paper noted that "they were separated only by their separate corps of marshals." The two demonstrations "tried to shout each other, sometimes using the same slogan, 'Guiot, Deshayes, Down With the Repression.'"

Later the high-school student and leftist demonstration, flanking the Bourse du Travail meeting, flooded the full width of the Boulevard Magenta.

The Lambertistes in the crowd of moderates and supporters of the CP-led youth organizations were apparently most hostile to the high-school student marchers, according to *Le Monde*. "Brawls took place between Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme members and the leftists."

The frictions among the various currents in the high-school movement do not seem to have disrupted the united front, however.

Third Violation of Ban

On February 19, the day of Guiot's appeal, the ban on demonstrations was successfully broken for the third straight day.

"Throughout the afternoon [of February 19] demonstrations were organized in various cities of France," *Le Monde* wrote in its February 21-22 issue. "The largest was in Paris, where about 10,000 youths, the overwhelming majority of them high-school students, gathered in the Latin Quarter. Massive police forces were stationed around the Palais de Justice [where the appeal hearing was held]. But until after the order was given to disperse, the high-school students' demonstration proceeded peacefully." A few ultraleft groups engaged in minor scuffles after most of the demonstrators had left.

Two thousand high-school students demonstrated in Grenoble, around 1,000 in Lyon, and 400 in Marseille.

In Paris, by 10:00 a.m. the police had blocked the bridges and subway entrances in the area of La Cité, the island in the Seine where the Palais de Justice is situated. At 10:30, the nearby Latin Quarter was completely quiet. Within fifteen minutes, thou-

sands of high-school students poured out of the subway stations further within the Latin Quarter, marched to the Seine, and sat down in the street between the Pont Saint-Michel and the Boulevard Saint-Germain.

The demonstration proceeded as smoothly as the two preceding ones. "Equipped with loudspeakers, the leaders of Secours Rouge, the Ligue Communiste, and the PSU gave the orders. 'No provocations, this is a peaceful gathering.' They advised caution: 'Any incident may be exploited immediately by the police.'"

"The service d'ordre [marshals], the 'S. O.,' of the demonstration, composed of young people in helmets, the same as yesterday, stood in a square formation to create a sort of 'no man's land' in the center of La Place Saint-Michel. The same leftist service d'ordre diverted traffic from the Boulevard Saint-Michel toward the Boulevard Saint-Germain, then closed the 'Boul' Mich' as far up as the Sorbonne."

The streets in the whole area were packed with people. Hour after hour they waited, separated from the armed police by a narrow dozen yards. Slogans were chanted occasionally. The police changed guards. Some companies were sent into the Latin Quarter to outflank the demonstrators. The students passed out sandwiches and cans of chocolate. A collection was taken up to reimburse a small shopkeeper whose window had been broken by an "anarchist." Time dragged as the big throng waited.

The verdict was announced a little after 4:30 p.m. The word came that the judge had released Guiot on the recommendation of the prosecutor himself!

"The news was relayed by loudspeaker," *Le Monde* reported. "A wave of enthusiasm swept the entire boulevard. The crowd laughed; it sang the 'Internationale.' The slogan went up, 'We Have Won, We Will Win Again.'"

Win on Tomasini, Too

The regime had lost on four counts. Its ban on demonstrations had been defeated. Thousands of young people mobilized in the street, superbly organized by a militant leadership, had forced the repressive apparatus to admit that it had committed an injustice. Moreover, the government's whole "law and order" campaign had been compromised.

On February 18 the Paris judges marched in front of a plaque commemorating a colleague executed by the Nazis. The gesture was to protest Tomasini's attack on the courts. Doubtless, the judges intended this demonstration to counter the charge that the occupation had made cowards of the French judiciary. But the form it took also constituted a very sharp rebuke to the spirit of Tomasini's attempted rightist rabble-rousing.

The following day, Tomasini sent a letter to the president of the republic and the chairman of the Conseil Supérieur de la Magistrature (Supreme Council of the Judiciary) which, along with some huffing and puffing, contained a humiliating retraction: "The communiqué issued by the executive bureau [of the UDR] on February 17 seemed sufficiently explicit to convince the judges that certain words went further than I intended and that these words had been tentatively exploited. Since I see that I was not understood, I take the opportunity to advise you that I regret having said the word 'cowardice' and respectfully ask you to accept my withdrawal of it."

Not the least victory won by the high-school students was their exposure of the police as a mercenary body alienated from the populace and distinguished by an ethic of gang loyalty. This reality appeared very clear-

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ly from the testimony at the appeal hearings, which was published in the February 21-22 issue of *Le Monde*.

The Truth on Guiot Case

Guiot testified that after leaving an examination in English the afternoon of February 9 he and his friend Alain Gourmont decided, out of curiosity, to go to the Place de Clichy to have a look at the Secours Rouge demonstration that was to be held there. The minute they entered the area they were seized by the police and taken to a van. Gourmont confirmed his friend's account.

When the judge asked Guiot why he had not asked Gourmont to testify for him at the original trial, he said: "I told the police superintendent about it but he did not think it worth taking note of. He smiled when I told him my friend was nineteen years old."

Gourmont described what happened after the two were picked up: "When we got into the van it was 4:25. I remember because I looked at my watch. I sat facing Guiot. There were other people in the van. After a little while, a CRS [member of the Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies, the universally hated special riot police] opened the door and shouted in Guiot's direction: 'You dirty dog! You hit one of our buddies!' Was he talking to Guiot or the Flins worker sitting next to him? I didn't know. The CRS returned with a police superintendent and he asked, 'Who hit a CRS?' Since there was a dead silence, he asked, 'Who did I just talk to?' Gilles raised his head and they took him away at once."

The CRS Moine testified that Guiot struck him: "An old woman had begun to protest against our intervention," he said. "And suddenly the young man struck me a blow in the face with his fist. He ran toward the Avenue de Clichy . . . I never lost sight of him."

The prosecutor asked Moine: "Did you recognize him by his face or by his vest?" Moine answered: "By his bright, checked vest."

Moine's story was backed up by the policeman Tropée: "Near officer Moine, I noticed a young man wearing a checked vest. He seemed completely calm. Taking advantage of my colleague's lack of attention, he suddenly struck him a blow in the face

and ran off. I chased after him. I never took my eyes off him. He ran toward the subway, which he skirted. Then he ran toward the statue. It was there that he was caught. I yelled—'Don't let him go, he has just struck a colleague.' I saw what van he had been taken to. I went there and recognized him. I said to him—'I am going to take special care of you.'"

The judge also asked Tropée if he recognized Guiot "by his vest or his face." The cop answered: "By his vest. I could not see his face because he was running away from me."

In an age of mass-produced clothing, the prosecution's evidence was rather weak. Nevertheless, the judge was faced with contradictory accounts. The state prosecutor solved his problem. "In your place, I would release Guiot," he said. After that, *Le Monde* noted, "The verdict did not come as a surprise."

Even before the prosecutor's suggestion, Guiot's release was expected by many teachers and students. In its February 23 issue, *Le Monde* reported that an announcement had been made in the high schools of the Yvelines Département on the morning of February 18 that Guiot would be released. In some schools, members of the administration passed the information on to the students directly.

In the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs in Saint-Germain the following notice was posted in the faculty room: "Message from Monsieur Prieur, inspector of the academy. It has just been learned from a verified official source that the student Guiot will be released tomorrow evening. You are to inform the interested students. There is, therefore, no point to demonstrations."

New Rise in Youth Radicalization

The entire generation of teen-agers in the French capital who fought and won the battle to free Gilles Guiot cannot help but have learned important lessons from their experience. If Guiot himself, by reports one of the quietest of his contemporaries, is any example, they gained an indelible understanding of bourgeois society.

"My stay in prison was probably profitable in a way," the young "Chaptalien" told reporters. "It made me socially conscious."

It seems probable that the high-school student mobilizations of Feb-

ruary 17-19 drew a whole new age group into the struggle against capitalist "order," marking another important rise in the political and organizational level of the youth radicalization.

They experienced the power of disciplined, broad mass action. At almost no cost to themselves, they dealt the government a stinging defeat.

The fact that for four days running a mass of very young demonstrators were able to outmaneuver huge, motorized and radio-directed contingents of riot police, dispersing on signal, reassembling at chosen points with clockwork precision, and frustrating all attempts at diversions, represents a portentous organizational achievement. And, as the unfolding of the demonstrations showed, this success would not have been possible if the organizers had not understood how to apply political pressure to restrain the repressive forces.

The victory of February 19 could not have been won by the spontaneous militancy of the masses of teenagers alone. A highly effective and politically conscious leadership was obviously at work.

Sensitized to the role of the revolutionary left organizations by May 1968, the most intelligent French bourgeois observers studied the intervention of the various groups among the high-school demonstrators very closely. In the February 21-22 issue of *Le Monde*, Frédéric Gausson assessed the tactics and relative success of the competing tendencies: "Each group tried to graft its own strategy onto the movement. The Maoists tried to toughen it up—to no avail. The Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste tried—with some success—both to get in step with the movement and organize it. The other Trotskyists of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, as is their habit, raised their own slogans—which got a poor response. Finally, the Communists of UNEF-Renouveau and UNCAL (Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lyceens [National Union of High-School Action Committees]) tried to tie the movement to the teachers unions." □

Pakistan Reserves Tumble

Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves declined from \$300,000,000 to \$180,000,000 during 1970.

Reprisals Directed at Dissidents' Lawyers

The ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union may be taking steps to discipline lawyers who are too conscientious in defending political dissidents. Anthony Astrachan reported from Moscow in the February 5 *Washington Post* that at least one lawyer has been threatened with being barred from practice and another has been arbitrarily removed from a case he was handling.

Vladimir Yakovlevich Shveisky is the attorney of historian Andrei Amalrik, the author of *Can the U.S.S.R. Survive Until 1984?* and *Involuntary*

Sea Serpent Problem

Unplanned tampering with the environment in the interest of promoting commerce often produces unexpected and sometimes disastrous side effects. A case in point is the interrelationship between the proposed sea-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama and the habitat of the poisonous yellow-bellied sea snake.

The snakes (*pelamis platurus*), which have been known to reach a length of eight feet, are presently confined to the Indian and Pacific oceans. But the sea-level canal would permit them to cross into the Atlantic in large numbers.

In experiments conducted at the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute in Balboa, Canal Zone, Atlantic snappers unwittingly swallowing the snakes died from venomous bites within twenty minutes. Snappers on the Pacific side of the Isthmus have learned to steer clear of the snakes, even when in danger of starvation.

Presumably, canal officials, within the framework of the free enterprise system, will find some way of preventing the snake exodus, perhaps by charging prohibitive tolls.

Racist Rationale

"Three thousand non-Europeans and 6000 people of mixed descent had been permitted to settle in Australia in the year ending last June 30, Mr. Phillip R. Lynch, the Minister for Immigration announced. He said on January 18 that though this number was not large it was not insignificant. . . .

"Mr. Lynch described the Government's immigration policy as one based on prudent caution. . . . He said thoughtless impetuosity was out of place in migration. . . ."—From a release by the Australian News and Information Bureau.

Journey to Siberia. Amalrik was sentenced to three years in a labor camp last November 12.

The Ministry of Justice recently wrote Shveisky that it had asked the Moscow Collegium of Defense Lawyers to expel him. If it did so, Shveisky would not be able to practice law.

Shveisky has also reportedly been threatened with expulsion from the Communist party.

On February 9, Amalrik's sentence was upheld by an appeals court in Moscow. Newspaper accounts did not indicate whether Shveisky was allowed to represent his client at the hearing.

The lawyer who was removed from a case outright was Alexandrovich Zalessky, one of the few attorneys to win a favorable ruling from a Soviet court in a political case. The unusual victory took place at a trial last August in Krasnodar, a district on the Black Sea. The defendant, Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov, a writer on religious affairs, was accused of "dissemination of falsehoods derogatory to the Soviet state and social system." Zalessky succeeded in having his client freed on the grounds that the police had committed illegalities in their investigation and that Levitin-Krasnov had been held for eleven months prior to his trial, the maximum permitted under Soviet law. The prosecutor appealed but the decision was confirmed by the supreme court of the Russian Republic.

Despite these decisions, Levitin-Krasnov was recommitted for trial in Moscow on January 7—this time without the assistance of attorney Zalessky.

Astrachan quoted Levitin-Krasnov as saying that Zalessky "refused to handle it [the case] any longer on the grounds that the regional Collegium of Lawyers had not included him on the list of lawyers who could have handled such cases. To put it briefly, he had been deprived of the opportunity to handle my case."

Levitin-Krasnov has said that he will not take part in his trial unless Zalessky is permitted to defend him. □



ANGELA DAVIS

Assails Prison Conditions

Bernadette Devlin Visits Angela Davis

Bernadette Devlin, the Northern Ireland civil-rights militant and youngest member of Britain's parliament, visited Angela Davis in the Marin County jail in California February 21.

Devlin had already aroused the wrath of such ruling-class papers as the *New York Times* [see the March 1 *Intercontinental Press*, page 181] by her comments on the Davis case. Her remarks February 21 were hardly designed to appease them.

Devlin called the treatment of Davis "scandalous" and charged that the Black Communist party member was being kept in solitary confinement, allowed to exercise only twice a week, denied decent food, and prevented from seeing or talking with other prisoners.

Devlin expressed her support for "her [Davis's] struggle against political repression," and added:

"I think we're in the same struggle. Angela Davis sees it as the liberation of all people. It's a class struggle."

Later the same day, the Irish militant spoke to a crowd estimated at 2,000 by United Press International at the University of San Francisco. □

Labor in Sharpest Battle Since End of War

"The Swedish government, facing the most severe labor conflict in postwar years, announced tonight [February 23] that 3,000 army officers would be locked out of their bases next week in a movement to bring pressure on striking Government employees.

"The lockout, to start March 4, would bring the number of striking and locked-out Swedes—including teachers, railwaymen and civil servants—to 50,000."

New York Times correspondent Bernard Weintraub's dispatch from Stockholm February 23, quoted above, was one of the first reports in the international press of a confrontation developing since the end of 1970. On one side stands the Swedish government; on the other the membership of the independent public workers' unions, of which the army officers are a small fraction.

The conflict escalated sharply February 1 when 2,500 employees of twenty-five municipalities and three county councils went out on strike. The striking workers, including social-welfare clerks and librarians, belonged to SACO (Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation—Swedish Professionals' Central Organization).

On February 5, some 4,000 national government employees went on strike, 3,000 belonging to SACO and 1,000 to the SR (Statstjänstemännens Riksförbund—National Confederation of State Functionaries). Since the SR members who struck included key railroad personnel, most train traffic was halted.

The government response to the partial strikes was to refuse to negotiate as long as any members of the bargaining unions were out. The government at all levels—city, county, and national—threatened to lock out the entire membership of SACO and the SR. By February 16, some 11,000 members of these unions had been locked out. All of the county governments and 330 of the country's 464 municipalities had been affected by strikes and lockouts.

On Friday, February 19, the national government issued an order to lock out 28,000 members of SACO and 2,500 of the SR. The largest cate-

gory was 25,000 teachers. Instruction stopped for 700,000 high-school students and 100,000 university students, in a country with a total population of about 8,000,000.

The government objective in ordering the lockout was clear—to increase the pressure on strike funds and starve out the strikers. "The decision to start the big lockout was taken immediately after the vote in the mediation committee," the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* wrote February 19. "The Avtalsverk [State Negotiating Department] does not want to give SACO any respite. Every day the lockout was postponed, SACO would 'save' nearly 2,000,000 krona [5.17 krona equal US\$1] in strike contributions."

SACO has a total strike fund of 60,000,000 krona. The SR has 15,000,000 krona, and following the February 19 lockout, its daily strike expenses rose to 200,000 krona. The state threat to lock out the military officers belonging to the SR, over half the officer corps, was viewed by the Swedish press as essentially a means of increasing financial pressure on the union.

Rapidly rising prices and taxes are the source of discontent among public workers. The categories belonging to SACO and the SR, although better paid than most Swedish workers, have suffered substantial losses in buying power over the past two years. The business magazine *Veckans Affärer* estimated the loss at 4.7% for SACO members and 4.0% for members of the SR, according to the February 12-16 issue of the Swedish CP organ *Ny Dag*.

The government employees' unions estimate that they would need to win wage rises of 28% to maintain the 1968 buying power of their members. Before the start of the present confrontation, the unions had already reduced their demands to 22%. In the February 24 *New York Times*, Weintraub reported that the government had offered 7%.

The public workers' wage campaign takes on key importance because it precedes the negotiation of new contracts for industrial workers, who

have shown increasing militancy since the wild-cat mine strikes a year ago.

In its effort to crush the employees' unions, the government claims that these organizations are resisting the official policy of "equalizing" wages between white- and blue-collar workers. In this demagogic line, the government is supported by the LO (Landsorganisation—National Organization, the main trade-union federation), which is bound hand and foot to the ruling Social Democratic party.

The Social Democratic press has made its contribution to the government lies by running scare stories about the effects of the public workers' strike on the country's economy. For example, the Stockholm daily *Aftonbladet* ran the following headlines February 21: "New SACO Strike Tomorrow Can Bankrupt Many Businesses"; "Threat of Devaluation, Everybody May Get Less."

Under the second headline Hakan Olander wrote: "The conflict can force a devaluation. That is what the radio's foreign expert Hans Von Friesen said yesterday.

"Responsible political sources deny this categorically. 'If the risk arises, we will not delay an instant. We will terminate the conflict immediately.'

"The premier [Olof Palme] stressed," *Dagens Nyheter* reported February 17, "that the wage trend had been very favorable for professionals in the entire postwar period, because educated labor was scarce. This was the result of the fact that only about 3% of the youth got a high-school education in the 1930s and that the public sector has undergone such rapid expansion." Now that 85% of Swedish youth get a high-school education, Palme said, there was no longer any reason to pay high salaries to professionals.

The Swedish premier also threatened to introduce repressive laws against strikes by public workers, ending the country's relatively liberal bargaining rules: "We have tried to build a system that is unique in the world. . . . But when this conflict is over, we must think through the situation anew to see if the system has stood the test of reality.

"It is difficult for the state to function as an ordinary employer. . . . And a situation can arise in which the government must act as the state power, as the representative of all the citizens."

Calley Details Mylai Atrocities

"Q. Who did you fire at?

"A. Into the ditch, sir.

"Q. What at in the ditch?

"A. At the people in the ditch, sir. . . .

"Q. What were these people doing as they were being fired upon?

"A. Nothing, sir.

"Q. Were they being hit?

"A. I would imagine so, sir.

"Q. Do you know?

"A. I don't know if they were being hit when I saw them, no, sir. . . .

"Q. How far away were you from them when you fired?

"A. The muzzle would have been five feet, sir." (*New York Times*, February 25.)

For two and a half days, February 22-24, Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr. testified in his own defense at his court-martial in Fort Benning, Georgia. His admissions confirmed not only the details of the atrocities at Mylai in March 1968. What emerged even more clearly was the genocidal nature of the war the U. S. government is waging in Indochina.

Calley testified on his training:

"Well, there was never any word of exactly who the enemy was, but to suspect everyone, that everyone was a potential enemy and that men and women were equally injurious and because of the unsuspectedness of children, they were even more dangerous. . . . We were given examples of why not to let the Vietnamese populace move in close to your areas, why to keep them out of your night . . . positions, why to keep them out of the areas that you were defending and many reasons, many examples why to keep them away from you personally."

"Children," he said he had been told, "can be used in a multitude of facets from being used as warning signals, also at the same time casualties [sic]. One of their best ways to warn the VC in the area that an American unit has come in is to give a small child a hand grenade and let them throw it at an area, kill one GI and let the enemy in the area get out of the way. They also use children to collect and distribute mines and just basically they are very dangerous."

According to Calley, there was nothing

really unusual about the Mylai massacre. He was accustomed to the idea that the entire population of Vietnam was the enemy:

". . . it was our job at this time to go through, neutralize these villages by destroying everything in them, not letting anyone or anything get in behind us."

At a briefing by Captain Ernest Medina before the assault, Calley said, ". . . somebody asked if that meant women and children, sir.

"Q. Did Captain Medina respond to that question? . . .

"A. He said that meant everything. He said that—he said he meant everything." (*New York Times*, February 24.)

Calley also indicated that higher officers had in effect given permission for the massacre:

"As long as I have known the area, this area was in the general classification of the word of free-fire zone. On this operation, we had political clearance to destroy everything in the area . . . In the area you could engage any target of opportunity and, on suspected areas, you could use indiscriminate artillery, sir."

Calley's testimony revealed still another, apparently common, atrocity—the use of civilians to explode minefields. The February 24 *New York Times* reported the following exchange between a defense lawyer and the lieutenant:

"Q. Was there a policy that had developed . . . in connection with the use of Vietnamese in connection with clearing minefields?

"A. I don't think it was said. It was understood when we made our final assault on Mylai 1, we would have had civilians pulled in front of us, yes, sir.

"Q. And what was the purpose for that?

"A. Clear the minefields, sir."

Under cross-examination, Calley indicated that he had used civilians to clear minefields as a normal practice.

The contention of Calley's lawyers is that the lieutenant cannot be guilty of premeditated murder because his army training had conditioned him to regard all Vietnamese—men, wom-

en, and children—as the enemy. Such an argument cannot, of course, excuse Calley, whatever the jury may decide, but it has produced still more evidence that the ultimate responsibility for Mylai lies at the very top of the chain of command.

On February 18, First Lieutenant Louis P. Font, a West Point graduate, presented a news conference with 300 pages of evidence to back the accusations of war crimes he has filed against Major General Samuel Koster and Lieutenant General Jonathan Seaman. (Seaman recently dismissed other charges against Koster related to the Mylai massacre. See *Intercontinental Press*, February 22, page 167.) The evidence consists of testimony by Vietnam veterans at public hearings held in Washington in December. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 14, page 1077.)

Font told the news conference:

"I learned two things at the academy. A commander is responsible for everyone under his command and that the truth makes no exception of military rank, that what holds true for privates or sergeants also holds true for generals."

If that were the way things really operated, Koster, Seaman—and Nixon—would be in the dock along with Calley. The reality, however, is that the government is attempting instead to silence Font by court-martialing him for alleged failure to obey orders of his superiors at Fort Meade, Maryland. The antiwar officer could be sentenced to as much as twenty-five years in prison. □

600 in Guatemala Slain by Police, Army

The World Confederation of Labor, in a communique issued February 9 in French in Brussels, said: "Since individual and collective guarantees were suspended November 13 in Guatemala, the 'forces of order' have assassinated with their own hands more than 600 persons."

The labor organization, composed of former Christian unions, said that a "climate of terror" exists in Guatemala, "which we fear will lead to new mass killings."

The confederation added that "astounding figures are given on the shootings of natives, peasants, and workers" by the police and army.

The World Confederation of Labor accused the United States government of supporting this "policy of terror." □

Workers Prepare for Spring Offensive

By Susumu Okatani

Japanese workers are now preparing for their 1971 "spring offensive." Sohyo, the largest national federation of trade unions, organized a Committee for the 1971 Cooperative Spring Offensive last October.

One of the targets set in its published program is to increase monthly wages by at least 15,000 yen [360 yen equal US\$1]. Most of the unions are making plans along the lines laid down in the program.

The spring offensive by Japanese workers is nothing new. It is a regular annual event, and has been staged every year for more than fifteen years. The demand for higher wages is usually the basis of bargaining in these struggles. The present leadership of the labor movement—which is called "Mindō" (democratization group of union leaders)—has taken the initiative in the offensives, while the members have consolidated rank-and-file influence in the unions and the workers movement.

There is scarcely anything new in the current offensive's programs and schedules that have been published by the major unions and their cooperative committees. Nevertheless, it is extremely important and urgent to analyze how the new leadership, which various groups are expecting to emerge from their own ranks, will finally evolve and how well it has been prepared.

Of the possible contenders for the new leadership, at least one is expected to be revolutionary. This is exactly what the young activists—who are critical of the traditional leaders, whether Communist or Social Democratic—have been waiting for.

Militant workers critical of the traditional leadership appeared on the scene under Trotskyist influence in the struggles against the Japan-U. S. treaty in 1960. Their numbers increased in the 1968-70 struggles against the treaty and the Vietnam war.

Sohyo and the Socialist party, under pressure from the Communist party, adopted resolutions in the sum-

mer of 1969 excluding the Anti-War Youth Committee from any mass meeting or campaign. This reflected the fears of the leaders of the traditional workers organizations that the militants of the youth organizations might gain the initiative in the workers movement in the near future.

In fact, the Anti-War Youth Committee, which is composed mainly of workers, played as important a role in the 1968-70 struggles as Zengakuren [National Federation of Student Self-Government Associations] did in 1960.

Intent on challenging the control of the traditional leadership, some young workers of the Anti-War Youth Committee, wearing helmets and carrying sticks, disrupted the national conference of the Socialist party and meetings of major unions. Most of the committee members, however, are concentrating their efforts on creating active organizations of young workers in the trade unions and the Socialist Youth.

It is obvious that the gulf between the national trade-union leaders and the rank-and-file members is widening. Few trade-union leaders can keep control of the mass of active unionists during any large campaign. The extent to which the young militants can exert their influence on the masses and succeed in organizing them should be tested during the coming spring offensive.

The widening gap between the traditional leaders and the members does not necessarily stem from the activities of the young militants. More important is the objective factor of the entirely new situations resulting from the growth of the Japanese economy, to which the traditional workers organizations and their leaders have not been able to adapt. Only the capitalists have had sufficient initiative to examine the problems of the traditional wage system and the present trade unions.

The movement to construct a new party—that could win the workers' allegiance—from the elements of the

Socialist party and the Democratic Socialist party, or those two plus the Komeito party,¹ has found no politician who stands out as a possible leader. Likewise, no union leader or group of leaders has arisen that is capable of organizing a new national federation of trade unions.

Some maneuvers are being carried out under the sheer pressure of the objective situation. The spring offensive should provide a good opportunity to analyze the development of new leaderships and their ability to adapt to the present relationship between employers and workers.

Preparations for the Offensive

Zenteishimbun, the newspaper of the Postmen's Union, in its January 18 issue gives an example of the kind of effort major trade unions are making. The issue is devoted exclusively to discussion of the spring offensive.

Setting a target of 15,000 yen as the monthly wage increase, the Postmen's Union organized two-day discussion meetings of its ten regional branches throughout the country between February 10 and 14. The purpose was to draw together the workers' representatives to discuss the documents published by the union executive. The documents are based on research into the lives of unionists and the views of union leaders on the present wage system.

A questionnaire answered by more than 7,000 members, who constitute a representative sampling of the national membership, showed that the income of postal workers lagged substantially behind the national average.

The union compared the data from its survey with the results of research by the prime minister's office into family income and expenditure for the month of August 1970. The comparison revealed that postmen earn 30,000 to 40,000 yen less per month than

1. The so-called Clean Government party, founded by the rightist Buddhist sect, the Sokagakkai.—IP

the country's average, and that spendable income² for postal employees with one or more dependents was much lower than the average.

Thus, for example, the national average monthly income for a household of two persons is given as 83,391 yen, while the survey in the postal union showed a family of two receiving only 40,000-45,000 yen. For a family of five the respective figures were 107,610 yen as compared to only 70,000-80,000 yen.

In judging the impact of this disparity, it must be remembered that a high proportion of postal employees are older workers with a correspondingly higher number of dependents. This flows from the fact that the Postmen's Union is older than many others, such as the Telecommunications Union, and the Electrical Machinery Workers Union.³ The only exception to this pattern has been in the larger cities where expansion of the post offices has led to the employment of a certain number of new workers. Because of the large number of older members, the Postmen's Union tends to be less active than others in Sohyo.

The Postmen's Union survey also showed that union members are suffering from higher prices, with the monthly cost of living per household being 5,000 to 10,000 yen higher than last year.

On the strength of these facts, the union insists that it is necessary to fight for higher wages, and maintains that its demand for an extra 15,000 yen per month is not at all excessive.

Another document reveals the ideas of the union leaders on the present wage system.

It emphasizes two factors as the

2. Real spendable income is somewhat higher than the fixed monthly wage. The difference comes from bonuses. Under the system followed by most companies in Japan, bonuses are paid twice a year and usually total the equivalent of three months' wages. Bonuses are normally used not so much to cover living expenses, but rather to pay for luxury items such as television sets and cars. — S. O.

3. The labor force in Japan is much less mobile than in most other advanced capitalist countries. Many workers are employed by the same company all their lives. Consequently, jobs in new branches of industry tend to be filled by young workers just entering the labor market. — IP

main reasons why the present wage scale should be revised.

The first is the introduction of machinery into the post office, which has raised the status of the young workers, who are better at adjusting to the new machinery. They complain that the present wage system is geared to seniority, giving higher wages to the older workers than to the younger although both are engaged in the same work.

The second factor is the shortage of young workers. Estimates are that graduates from secondary or higher schools seeking work will decrease in number from 1,303,000 a year for the years 1960-65, to 375,000 a year during 1980-91. Managers are afraid that the pressure for increased wages for young workers will influence the demands of the older workers. Preventing widespread wage rises from occurring automatically as the result of wage increases for the younger workers is a major headache for the bosses. Managers are very anxious to develop a new wage system based on a different set of values, with emphasis on the type of work rather than longevity.

Against the managers' ideas, the union puts forward four principles as a basis for revision of the wage system:

1. Priority must be given to guaranteeing the workers' necessities.
2. Equal wages for equal work.
3. Wages should be reasonable and satisfactory to the workers themselves.
4. For the right of the union to intervene in wage negotiations.

The union will also argue for higher wages for new workers and for standards of promotion to be clearly specified in the contract.⁴

Following the discussion meetings of the regional branches, the Postmen's Union will hold a meeting of its central committee in early March to decide what concrete demands should be made on wages, and will then place them before the Ministry for Postal Services. In April and May, they will go into action with telecommunication workers and others planning their struggles for that time. Their efforts will reach a peak sometime in July.

4. Under the present system, promotion is at the discretion of the company. Thus loyalty to the company is a major factor in determining who is or is not promoted. — IP

Strategy of the Young Militants

While national leaders are concentrating their efforts on the economic struggle, young unionists are trying to organize action committees in their work places. These committees were supposed to be organized by the union, but neither national nor regional leaders have wholeheartedly attempted to do so. They are afraid that any youth committee will quickly fall into the hands of the young militants, as was the case with the Anti-War Youth Committee, which was originally organized under the sponsorship of the Socialist party and Sohyo, but became too radical for them to control.

The young unionists of the action committee, who are critical of the outdated attitude of their leaders toward post-office mechanization, stress that the capitalists receive all the benefit of such mechanization. They are now seeking members of the committee from the lower strata of workers, who are not closely tied to the opportunist leadership.

The militants cannot get their members into the committee without first joining the struggles supported by the mass of young workers. They are therefore actively engaged in the spring offensive in addition to being involved with their own programs, plans, and organizations.

Young militant postmen in Osaka have built a united action organization called the Osaka Committee for Radicalization of the Workers Movement. It is composed of young telecommunication workers, metalworkers, regional government employees, etc. The most important part of its program for the spring offensive is the demand for 90,000 yen per month as the wage for a young worker aged 22 or 23, who has worked five or six years after leaving secondary school, or four to five years if they had more advanced schooling. The committee insists that abolition of the present wage system, which acts as a brake on the activity and enterprise of workers, can only be achieved by pressing for large demands.

From their viewpoint, the present wage system works along the following lines:

The wage structure gives a minimum wage to the new worker fresh from secondary school. This is just enough to meet his daily necessities. His wage increases a little each year,

and marriage brings an extra allowance for his wife and children. If he is skilled or specially qualified, the increase in his wage will be greater.

But the decision to recognize a worker's additional skills is entirely in the hands of the managers. His financial progress will be impeded or advanced by the decision of his senior.

A worker therefore tends to stay with the same company for as long as possible to receive maximum benefits from his long service. He avoids being too active for fear of the material repercussions that can result if his manager disagrees with his views and curtails his promotion.

The system seems to keep wages on a level with the daily necessities of food and clothing. The campaign for higher wages advocated by the trade unions only scratches the surface of the problem. It merely aims to keep wages even with, or slightly ahead of rising prices.

The committee believes that the principle of wages based on needs should be discarded, and the principle of equal pay for equal work adopted instead. Why, they ask, should a young worker who works as well as an older man not be allowed to receive the same wage?

On the other hand, the average expenditure of a worker's family was 80,405 yen a month in 1969, according to statistics of the prime minister's office. Taking into consideration a 6-7 percent rise in prices and a 6 percent increase in the level of consumption between 1969 and 1970, the average expenditure of a worker's family can now be estimated at 88,700 yen a month. A man and woman with two children must earn as much as is spent by the "average" family.

On the basis of equal pay for equal work, the young worker is entitled to demand 90,000 yen a month, which the worker with the average family must of necessity ask. Although 90,000 yen a month is a difficult demand to achieve, it is important that the principle of equal pay for equal work be brought to the fore.

Another interesting point of the Osaka committee's program deals with the timing of the spring offensive. They aim to have the struggles of postmen and other public employees reach a peak in March and April rather than in July, the time chosen by the union leaders.

The latter prefer July because they

intend to exert as much pressure as possible on the National Personnel Authority (an organ that advises the government on wages and working conditions of workers and public employees) at the time that body is meeting to decide its recommendations on wage increases.

The young militants maintain that the National Personnel Authority merely protects the employers and has been mainly responsible for the stag-

nation of wages. The union leaders, they say, have done nothing but follow the authority's advice.

The militants feel that the strength and success of the spring offensive lie in the unity of the workers and the timing of the struggles. March and April promise to be the time of the most intense battles, which will attain their objective only if workers from many unions unite. □

The Accidental 'Nuclear Alert'

Somebody Just Pushed the Wrong Button

"THIS IS AN EMERGENCY ACTION NOTIFICATION (EAN) DIRECTED BY THE PRESIDENT. NORMAL BROADCASTING WILL CEASE IMMEDIATELY. . . ."

* * *

The message from the National Emergency Warning Center at Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado, went out on news service wires at 9:33 a.m., February 20. According to "civil defense" regulations, it indicated an imminent nuclear attack on the United States.

Radio and television stations were supposed to tell their audiences that the president had declared a national emergency, direct them to tune to an emergency station, and leave the air. Those that did must have caused more than one unnecessary heart attack among their listeners.

The alert, as it turned out, was an "error." An employee in the underground complex at Cheyenne Mountain inadvertently put the wrong tape on the wire. When the mistake was discovered, it took the warning center forty minutes to send out a correction because the necessary code word could not be found.

The response of radio and television stations to the original message was far from what it was supposed to be. Paul L. Montgomery reported in the February 21 *New York Times*:

"Many stations apparently did not know the procedure, others listened to see if competitors had gone off the air, some used independent means of checking the authenticity of the alert and some, realizing that a test was

scheduled for 9:30, ignored the warning."

At least one station did not even receive the message because its Teletype machine was jammed.

The incident thus demonstrated the fraudulence of the whole "civil defense" concept, which is designed to convince the American people that society can survive nuclear war. The February 20 alert showed that even the organizers of the system don't take "civil defense" seriously.

The episode also pointed to a very serious danger. If the mistake of one person can cause a "presidential" order to alert the U.S. for nuclear war, is it not possible that a similar error in another department might actually launch that war?

"Those who deny such a possibility," the *New York Times* said in a February 22 editorial, "must explain why the safeguards governing instant-response weapons—which are also subject to human errors—are more trustworthy than those which failed to prevent the false emergency announcement."

So far no one has produced the explanation demanded by the paper.

We would go a bit farther than the *New York Times* editors. Implicit in their remarks was the assumption that a nuclear holocaust is perfectly acceptable as long as it occurs on Nixon's orders rather than by accident.

We find the prospect unattractive under any circumstances. And we wouldn't be consoled even if they do get the "civil defense" system in shape to provide us the requisite fifteen minutes' preannihilation notice. □

In the Cesspool of Bourgeois Coalition Politics

By Les Evans

It appears that "success" can have its disadvantages as well as rewards, judging from the efforts currently being made by the Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP]* to publicly justify its victory in last May's election in Ceylon.

The problem for the LSSP leadership, of course, is that after its years in the wilderness it came to "power" not under its own steam or through the independent mobilization of the working class, but on the coattails of the Sri Lanka Freedom party, which took for itself the lion's share of the government posts and prerogatives.

This is not the LSSP's first experience with ministerial portfolios under such circumstances. But 1970-71 is proving to be a more difficult period for Perera and his colleagues than was 1964-65. During the latter episode, the LSSP right wing projected a certain course of development to explain their opportunist departure from revolutionary Marxism. They were not, they said, abandoning socialism at all. The alliance with the SLFP would open the door to reaching the masses still influenced by their bourgeois ally, and soon the center of gravity in the coalition would shift to the left, with the LSSP emerging as the dominant partner.

Fortunately for Perera and company, the coalition's reign proved to be brief. Perera and two other LSSP leaders entered the cabinet on June 11,

* The LSSP [Ceylon Equal Society party] is Ceylon's oldest and largest working-class party. It was, until 1964, the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. In June of that year the LSSP right wing, led by N.M. Perera, won a majority at a hastily called party conference for a proposal to accept cabinet posts in the capitalist government controlled by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP]. Perera and his followers were immediately expelled from the Trotskyist movement. A minority continued to struggle for revolutionary socialism in Ceylon, forming the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)].

1964. On December 3 of that same year the government lost a vote of confidence in parliament and the SLFP-LSSP bloc was defeated in the elections that followed in March 1965.

While out of power the LSSP tops were able to blunt much of the criticism of their class-collaborationist alliance on the grounds that it had not been given a real chance to show what it could do.

The May 27, 1970, landslide victory of the SLFP-LSSP bloc, now augmented by the pro-Moscow Communist party, turned the whole situation around and forced the LSSP leadership to take direct political responsibility for the day-to-day functioning of the capitalist state machinery.

One of the party's top "theoreticians," Leslie Goonewardene, who doubles as minister of communications in the Bandaranaike government, took up the challenge in the December 31, 1970, Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*.

Under the title "New outlook of the LSSP," Goonewardene set out to explain to any impatient sectors among the masses—and any disgruntled LSSP members as well—why so much time is required to deliver on the long-promised gains.

The minister of communications had his job cut out for him, inasmuch as sectors of the union movement have taken the coalition's election propaganda seriously and consequently have demanded improvements in the workers' standard of living. Nor has Ceylon been exempt from the worldwide youth radicalization, which has produced a growing number of young people who rightly regard the present regime as mere defenders of the status quo.

Particularly embarrassing for the government has been the spontaneous appearance of radical youth groups like the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna [People's Liberation Front]. The JVP naïvely supports the Bandaranaike regime, but demands that it fulfill its promises. The "socialist" leaders of the LSSP have denounced these idealistic youths as "CIA agents" and have

had them arrested for putting up posters, having political meetings, or carrying on other ordinary political activity.

On August 25, for example, sixty-three youths from Seeduwa were arrested by the CID Special Branch (the political police), taken to Colombo, and grilled by the inspectors. Their crime was to have participated in a political meeting in a private home. The *Ceylon News* of September 3 provided this further incriminating information:

"In their possession were found maps, communist literature and books by Fidel Castro and Mao Tse Tung in addition to a handbook on guerrilla warfare.

"When the youths were brought to the Seeduwa police station, a mob surrounded the station and demanded their release. Police dispersed the mob and detained two persons from the crowd. . . . Last week, the CID raided a printing press in Colombo, which was suspected to be used by the JVP for printing their publications."

Is it any wonder that Goonewardene feels called on to explain that his government really is "revolutionary"?

Goonewardene's contribution in the *Ceylon News* is ostensibly part of the rituals called for by the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the LSSP. For the record he begins with the disclaimer that "it is not my purpose to state that the basic principles of our party have changed." For Goonewardene it is only "some ideas" of the LSSP that have been modified, or as he puts it, "It is worthy of special mention that in the recent period our Party has made one adaptation and two changes on the plane of its ideas."

Goonewardene's views on "changes on the plane of ideas" are of some interest inasmuch as he and Colvin R. de Silva—at present Sirimavo Bandaranaike's minister of plantation industry—are the two best-known theoreticians of the LSSP.

At the time of the 1964 betrayal, Goonewardene and de Silva, along

with most of the other well-known LSSP leaders, found themselves reduced to an insignificant minority in their own party by trying to pursue a "centrist" course, not endorsing Perera's enthusiastic capitulation to Bandaranaike, but refusing at the same time to support the principled fight by the LSSP left wing for maintaining the program of Trotskyism. After the left wing walked out to form the LSSP(R), which is today the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, Goonewardene, de Silva, and others like them trailed after Perera into the bourgeois coalition. In his article in the *Ceylon News*, Goonewardene lists accurately enough the revisions of Marxism his party has undertaken in the years since:

"By adaptation I refer to the attempt to move towards Socialism with the assistance of the Parliamentary system. By the two changes in policy I mean first the setting up of a Government in alliance with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and, second the policy of Sinhala only as the Official Language."

Goonewardene indicates that he has not forgotten the program on which his party was founded:

"It was our belief at the time of the formation of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party that Imperialism and Capitalism can be destroyed and a Socialist Society created only through the smashing of the power of the Imperialists and Capitalists and the seizure of power by a mass uprising."

He suggests that despite the fact that no such uprising has taken place, the battle is already half won—"imperialism" has been defeated through the struggles of others:

"But the course of history has been different. In the first place, we were able to liquidate our colonial status without a mass struggle. Our freedom came as a consequence of the great struggles waged by our neighbouring countries in South East Asia. In Ceylon there was no mass struggle against Imperialism."

Goonewardene does not return to the subject of imperialism, indicating that he considers the question settled with the winning of "freedom" from direct British rule.

In its efforts to hold its dwindling mass support, the LSSP argues the point both ways. Here Goonewardene assures his readers that parliamentary

reformism has already won big gains by reducing the enemy to the domestic capitalists and reactionaries. Meanwhile his colleague Perera, who is minister of finance, cites the statistics of the previous government's indebtedness to imperialist financial institutions as evidence that the coalition inherited a bankrupt economy and hence must be granted a considerable amount of time to provide any improvements in the standard of living.

Thus Finance Minister Perera announced in his November 1 budget speech to the House of Representatives: "Austerity must be the keynote of our social thinking during the next few years." This austerity, it might be noted, does not apply to a great variety of capitalist enterprises, which receive extended tax holidays and other inducements from the "socialist" government to continue exploiting the Ceylonese workers. [See *Intercontinental Press*, February 15, 1971, page 127.]

Having, at least verbally, erected a wall to protect his island kingdom from the depredations of the advanced capitalist powers, the minister of communications turns his attention to the home front:

"Also in the post-war era," Goonewardene writes, "the people of this country were able to use the power of the Universal Franchise in 1956 to defeat the political party of the Ceylon Capitalist class that functioned as the agents of the Imperialists. They installed the leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, as Prime Minister and were able to use the Parliamentary system as a vehicle to move towards Socialism, however slow the journey."

However slow indeed! But just think, if the "power of the Universal Franchise" was able to convert the parliamentary system into a "vehicle to move towards Socialism" after only eight years of independence in Ceylon, what must it not have accomplished in Great Britain and the United States where the trip began hundreds of years earlier? If these nations—and Ceylon also, fifteen years after the 1956 election—do not bear any great resemblance to socialist societies, may we not conclude that something more is required than universal suffrage and that Goonewardene's "vehicle to move towards Socialism" lacks both a motor and wheels?

Furthermore, the estimate we are given here of the significance of the 1956 elections is in sharp contrast with the view taken by the LSSP at the time. Nowhere does Goonewardene mention this view. Nowhere does he advance any valid reasons for changing it.

In 1956 the LSSP characterized Bandaranaike's party as bourgeois and it was not until 1960 that anyone in the LSSP proposed a coalition with this capitalist party. Presumably Goonewardene's obeisance to the memory of the late prime minister—even posthumously bringing this wealthy plantation owner into the ranks of those moving "towards Socialism"—is one of the little services expected from "leftist" cabinet members.

According to Goonewardene it was the 1956 election of Bandaranaike that prompted the LSSP to junk the Marxist conception of the state:

"Largely because of this experience [the election of a liberal bourgeois prime minister], the ideas of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party on this question [the possibility of achieving socialism through the capitalist electoral process] underwent changes. Whatever may be the experience of other colonial countries, in Ceylon the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was convinced that a Parliament elected by Universal Franchise is not merely a platform for proclaiming our views to the country, but also an instrument that can be used for movement towards Socialism."

This is almost a perfect restatement of the reformist perspectives of the pre-World War I German Social Democrats under the leadership of Edouard Bernstein. And as with Bernstein, the consequences of such a course include defending the existing system against any serious challenge from the working class.

Goonewardene does not shrink from revealing his party's side of the bargain. In the past, he says, the LSSP suffered from the mistaken notion that it was a betrayal of the working class to join "an all-embracing political United Front [including capitalist parties] for setting up a Government and accepting responsibility for the State. [Emphasis added.]

"Our Party had the opinion over long period of years that a United Front for installing a Government in power could only be formed between

working class parties."

Goonewardene makes it clear that he understands what kind of class-collaborationist regime his party now advocates (and participates in) under the rubric "all-embracing political United Front":

"Samasamajists cannot easily forget the way in which the People's Front of 1936 in Spain led to the defeat of the revolution in that country. *However it is a different situation that arose after the World War, especially in the countries of Asia and Africa.*" (Emphasis added.)

In today's "different situation" it seems that socialism is to be achieved by defending capitalist private property in coalition with the bourgeoisie in the style of the people's fronts long advocated and practiced by the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Here is Goonewardene's explanation of why his party is following this discredited and counterrevolutionary policy:

"In the first place, Imperialism emerged after the [second world] war weaker than it had been in the years before the war. Before the war Russia was the only Socialist country in the entire world. After the War, not only were there a number of other Socialist countries brought into being in Europe, but after 1948, in the East, China emerged as another Socialist giant. . . .

"Because of this weakening of Imperialism, we were able to see a new phenomenon in a number of Asian and African countries. This phenomenon was that even with a leadership lacking in clarity of political position, the people were seen to have surged forward in several countries in appreciable measure, not only along the road of anti-Imperialism, but also on the anti-Capitalist and Socialist Road."

The minister of communications cites several cases where the "people were seen to have surged forward . . . on the . . . Socialist Road":

"Indonesia under Sukarno, Ghana under Nkrumah and the United Arab Republic under Nasser are prominent examples of this."

What world is Goonewardene living in? Even the case-hardened Stalinist bureaucrats who were responsible for the Indonesian debacle of 1965 do not dare any longer to hold Sukarno up as a model. Moscow and Peking blame each other for the massacre of some 1,000,000 Indonesian Communists at the hands of the bourgeois-

sie with whom they were allied.

Goonewardene is absolutely right in comparing Sukarno with Bandaranaike. Both were representatives of the so-called national bourgeoisie. But this class is not lacking in "clarity of political position," as Goonewardene puts it. It is striving by every means at its disposal to subjugate the working class to its rule in order to preserve capitalist society. Any aid the colonial bourgeoisie gets in this task from "working-class" organizations is appreciated, but when the "socialist" helpers are no longer needed or become too demanding they can be dispensed with—either politically or, as in Indonesia, physically.

It was precisely the policy of the Indonesian Communist party—now aped by the LSSP—of accepting responsibility for the bourgeois state and subordinating the struggle for socialism to a coalition with the "liberal" bourgeoisie that disarmed the Indonesian working class and left them helpless when the generals began their butchery. Goonewardene and his comrades are following a course that leads into the same trap.

* * *

Perhaps the most shameful concession the LSSP has made to its bourgeois ally has been in the area of the rights of the Tamil-speaking minority. Some 22 percent of Ceylon's 12,600,000 people speak the Tamil language, having originated in South India. About half of this number migrated to Ceylon many generations ago; most of the rest were brought from India in the nineteenth century to work on British plantations.

The Tamils as a whole and those of "recent" Indian origin in particular (the families of many of the latter have lived in Ceylon for more than a century), constitute an oppressed national minority, overwhelmingly composed of exploited agricultural laborers.

From its founding, the Ceylonese Trotskyist movement staunchly defended the Tamil minority against racist attacks from the Sinhalese majority. Goonewardene's allies in the Sri Lanka Freedom party, however, built their organization on the basis of demagogic communalist attacks on the Tamil people, even inciting pogroms against them, as in 1958. For the LSSP, the price of membership in the

coalition included jumping on the "Sinhalese only" bandwagon.

Young Sinhalese members of the LSSP must find this racist course repugnant—to say nothing of Tamil members, if indeed any remain. Significantly, the *Ceylon News* notes that Goonewardene's article was originally published in Sinhala. There is no mention of a Tamil translation.

Goonewardene refers to the proud early record of the LSSP on the question of Tamil rights as though it were an embarrassment that he would rather not discuss. He does tell his readers that the Lanka Sama Samaja party was the first political organization in Ceylon to demand—in 1936—that government agencies and the courts use the languages of the people—both Sinhalese and Tamil—rather than English.

Goonewardene claims that the LSSP abandoned its demand that Tamil be accorded equal status with Sinhalese in 1963, when the party formed an electoral front with the Communist party and another left group. It is nevertheless a fact that at the split conference of the LSSP in June 1964, Perera concealed from the party membership the agreement he had concluded with Mrs. Bandaranaike to uphold Sinhalese racism. As the basis of the coalition, the SLFP demanded, and received, four concessions from the LSSP, three of them concerning the Tamil question: (1) a "rightful" place for Buddhism (a majority of the Tamil people are followers of the Hindu religion); (2) acceptance of Sinhala as the only official language; (3) recognition of the 1948 anti-Tamil citizenship laws; and (4) veto power for the SLFP over all electoral candidates selected by any of the coalition partners.

The left wing of the LSSP, although not told of this reactionary agreement, fought vigorously for defense of Tamil rights, and today as an independent party continues to do so.

Furthermore, although Goonewardene would like to assuage the conscience of any troubled LSSP members by assuring them that the change in language policy happened long ago, other political tendencies in Ceylon are not ready to accept this verdict. Only two weeks before publishing the "New outlook of the LSSP," the *Ceylon News* (December 17) published a report that showed that the Ceylonese press still had questions about the

LSSP's shift:

"Has the LSSP changed its language policy?"

"This was the question fired at Dr. N. M. Perera at Sunday's anniversary press conference of the Samasamaj party.

"Dr. Perera's reply: 'There is no doubt about it. The LSSP has abided by a decision given by the people several times over. . . .'

"Mr Bernard Soysa added that the change in LSSP policy was 'of course within the framework of the Common Program. The Common Program *accepts* minority rights.'" (Emphasis added.)

The Citizenship Acts of 1948, which Perera in 1964 committed the LSSP majority to uphold, used the power of the state to impose second-class citizenship on nearly 1,000,000 Tamil workers. Prior to 1948, all long-time residents of Ceylon were recognized as citizens. The Citizenship Acts stripped all persons of "recent" (i.e., nineteenth century) Indian origin of their citizenship, declaring them "stateless" persons. While most of these people have continued to live and work in Ceylon, they are not permitted to vote and are excluded from ordinary social services such as free education, poor relief, and unemployment insurance.

In addition, some 525,000 Tamil-speaking workers are faced with the threat of forcible deportation to India under a further piece of reactionary legislation, the so-called Sirima-Shastri Pact, passed in 1964 under the first SLFP-LSSP regime. Fittingly, the dirty work of enforcing this law has been delegated by Ceylon's bourgeois rulers to their ex-Trotskyist assistants. As minister of plantation industry, the job falls to Colvin R. de Silva. [See *Intercontinental Press*, July 13, 1970, page 668.]

Goonewardene seeks to provide the "theoretical" justification for this foul business. His first argument is on the ground of "practicality":

"Until this time [1963] the Lanka Sama Samaja Party continued to think that the opinion of the Sinhala people that the Sinhala language should alone be made the official language was a temporary phenomenon. Believing that the only road to the establishment of national unity lay through the adoption of both languages as official languages, our Party swam against the stream for a num-

ber of years, refusing to change its policy and suffering an enormous loss of support among the majority community namely, the Sinhalese people.

"Nevertheless, as time passed it became apparent that the intention of making the Sinhala language alone the official language had sunk deep roots among the majority nationality, the Sinhalese. . . .

"In this situation the Lanka Sama Samaja Party leaders realised that the consequence of not changing their language policy would be isolation from the principal mass force working in the country towards socialism. They therefore changed this policy by accepting the position that the Sinhala language should be the official language, while the Tamil language should be accorded a reasonable place.

"Looked at from a practical point of view, on the basis of a measurement of its advantages and disadvantages it is very clear that the decision of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party to change its language policy was a correct step."

It could hardly be more baldly stated. The ruling class is racist. The masses of the majority nationality are deeply infected with this chauvinism. In order to escape from "isolation," the LSSP must become chauvinist and racist as well. After all, from a "practical" standpoint, "on the basis of a measurement of . . . advantages and disadvantages," impoverished Tamil field workers—unlike the reactionary leaders of the SLFP—are in no position to hand out juicy government jobs. And for a party, like the LSSP today, committed to the "parliamentary" road to "socialism," there is the obvious disadvantage of championing the cause of people who cannot vote.

As a "theoretician," Goonewardene evidently felt he could not conclude his exposition on such a note of crass opportunism. Trying to provide arguments to sway those uncomfortable with the LSSP's policy on Tamil rights, he adds a "scientific" justification:

"The lesson of experience of other countries in the world is that it has been possible to establish national unity in countries where there are several nationalities, by special assurances to the smaller nationalities, thus dispelling the fear lurking in their minds."

True enough so far. But the minister

of communications suggests a novel way of applying this to Ceylon:

"However, the Sinhalese, who are the majority community in Ceylon, look upon themselves, not as the majority community but as a minority."

Here we leave the realm of material reality altogether for the sphere of racial mythology. Does Goonewardene mean to suggest that the Sinhalese majority are in some way exploited or oppressed by the Tamils, as, for example, the Black majority is in South Africa? Not at all. Within Ceylon the Tamils are indisputably discriminated against by the Sinhalese rulers. What is the source then of this peculiar paranoia from which the Sinhalese masses allegedly suffer? Goonewardene gives this explanation:

"Even though the Tamil people who inhabit Ceylon are a minority in Ceylon, if they are regarded together with the Tamil people who live in South India near the northern boundary of Ceylon, the Tamil people appear as the majority and the Sinhala people as the minority. . . .

"As a result, in the same way as it is necessary to provide special assurance to the smaller nationalities in other countries for building national unity so it is necessary to provide special assurances to the Sinhala people for the sake of building national unity in this country."

It is not hard to imagine what the world would think of a party, in the United States let us say, that advocated disfranchising 50 percent of all Black people on the grounds that their ancestors were brought to the U. S. as recently as the nineteenth century, and furthermore supported a law to forcibly ship these Black victims back to Africa. Such a party's position would hardly be improved by the plea that racism had "sunk deep roots among the majority nationality" and that one must therefore accommodate to it. Even in the United States only the most bigoted Neanderthals will invoke the argument that white chauvinism is justified by the fact that in the world as a whole there are more black-, brown-, and yellow-skinned people than whites, making American Caucasians a "minority."

It is a commentary on how far the degeneration of the LSSP has progressed that its "new outlook" consists entirely of adaptations to the most repugnant features of capitalist society.

CPI in Kerala Helps Jail Socialist Author

By M. Rashid

Chalakkudi, Kerala

After five months of continuous imprisonment, Edamaruku Joseph has finally been released on bail by the Kerala High Court.

Joseph, who is an author, a working journalist, a prominent leader of the Rationalist Association in Kerala, and vice-president of the All-India Atheist Association, is accused in connection with a robbery allegedly organized by Naxalites [Maoists]. In jail, he was severely beaten and tortured by the police. For the first fifty-eight hours after his arrest, they would not give him food and water.

Even if Joseph had been involved in the robbery, which he was not, he would be entitled under Indian law to be treated as innocent until convicted in court. It is particularly shocking that a prisoner awaiting trial should receive such cruel treatment under a state government led by the Communist party of India [CPI—the pro-Moscow CP].

I have known Edamaruku Joseph since 1954. At that time we were co-workers in the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], which is now a partner in the ruling coalition. Inside the RSP, he sympathized with the Trotskyist tendency, with which I was associated.

Disillusioned with the opportunist policies and bureaucratic practices of the RSP leadership in Kerala (now expelled from the all-India RSP), Joseph left that party and joined the Revolutionary Communist party [RCP]. When that party became defunct in Kerala, he became politically inactive.

Later he joined *Malayalam Manohara*, a leading Malayalam daily, and was active in the "rationalist" and "inter-caste marriage" movements.

Recently we revived our contacts with him. A few days before his arrest he wrote to me that he is still a Trotskyist. A person who has even the slightest agreement with Trotskyism could hardly support the individual terrorism and adventurism of the Naxalites. Trotskyists understand that individual terror is a barrier rather

than an aid to the revolutionary movement. The police charges that Joseph is a Naxalite therefore defy all political logic.

When brought before the magistrate in court, Joseph narrated in detail the treatment he had received in jail. Not a single newspaper published a line about his allegations. This is an example of the "objective and honest reporting" of the bourgeois and Stalinist newspapers in the state.

Even the arch-reactionary Yankee imperialist regime gave Caryl Chessman facilities to write while he was under sentence of death. The British imperialists allowed prisoners to write books in Indian jails. The present Kerala Chief Minister Achuta Menon,

Hong Kong

Plantation Conditions in Industrial Society

Hong Kong suffers from underdevelopment, Hans Lutz and Robert Snow wrote in the January 16 *Far Eastern Economic Review*—"underdevelopment in labour relations."

The British colony "has a highly developed industrial economy," but this has not prevented employers from imposing the sort of conditions on their workers that are usually explained as the result of a primitive technology. The average factory worker, for example, receives \$85 a month for a forty-eight-hour week, according to the January 18 *New York Times*.

Lutz and Snow attribute the prevailing low wages to the fragmentation of the working class:

"There is little worker solidarity in Hongkong. It is easy, for a price, to get strikebreakers in all but the high-skill trades. The present system atomises workers."

The "present system" under the British colonial administration is main-

leader of the CPI, translated H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* in the jail of the feudal Cochin state. (Of course, this Stalinist translator deleted what Wells wrote about Trotsky.)

Now Kerala is "ruled" by a "Communist" leader with the help of the daughter of Nehru (who also became an author while in a British jail). But the Menon ministry refused writing facilities to Edamaruku Joseph, a well-known Malayalam writer, who had even at one time been a regular columnist in the CPI's Malayalam literary weekly.

At the time of his arrest, Joseph was giving the final touches to the second edition of his famous and brilliant book, *Christ a Man*. It is suspected that the Christian clergy is behind his arrest.

The entire episode points to the urgent necessity of a broad-based civil liberties movement to challenge the attacks of the bourgeois state. The necessity, unfortunately, is just as pressing in states run by so-called left governments. □

tained in part by government schemes designed to give the workers an illusion of having some power:

"Since 1967, the labour department has encouraged the creation of joint consultative bodies in Hongkong enterprises.

"In these groups, elected labour representatives meet with management representatives to discuss problems which arise in the place of work. Wages and hours cannot be discussed, and negotiating cannot take place. The workers make a 'suggestion' and management acts as it sees fit and explains why at the next meeting."

The system, Lutz and Snow noted, also has an effective means of dealing with strikes:

"It is still below a management's dignity to sit down and hammer-out a working agreement with employees. It is easier, even with Hongkong's labour shortage, to fire the leaders of a strike or even all participants." □

'O Byrokracii'

The key question for the new revolutionary Marxist circles springing up in East Europe is the Stalinist bureaucracy, how it developed, what it represents, and how it can be defeated and eradicated.

Ernest Mandel's up-to-date Trotskyist analysis of bureaucracy in the workers movement, just published in Czech and Serbo-Croat,¹ should be read with interest by these antibureaucratic revolutionists.

Two lectures by Mandel covering all aspects of the problem of bureaucracy in the working class have been translated into Czech and published under the title *O byrokracii* (On Bureaucracy). The first lecture reviews the history of bureaucracy in the workers movement and the attempts by Marxists to analyze and combat it. The second lecture, which deals with the specific question of bureaucracy in the workers states, has been translated into Serbo-Croat under the title *Birokratija u Radnickim Drzavama*.

Even in the isolation imposed by the bureaucratic dictatorship, young revolutionists in the workers states have advanced quickly toward a Marxist understanding of the bureaucracy. The manifesto written in 1965 by two Polish students, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski,² as well as many articles published in both the legal and illegal press in Czechoslovakia during the de-Stalinization testify to this development.

The difficulty of debate, of access to information and much Marxist literature, as well as the lack of contact with the older tradition of revolutionary Marxism, has impeded the development of these groups.

However, as the revolutionary currents in the workers states grow, becoming more and more invulnerable to repression, and as the bureaucratic lid is lifted by mass explosions such

as those of December 1970 in Poland, ideas can be expected to circulate more freely.

The revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist world also tends to bring the lessons, ideas, and example of the direct descendants of the Left Opposition, who have survived outside the Stalinist sphere, to the attention of the antibureaucratic fighters in the workers states.

The introduction to the Czech translation of Mandel's lectures presents the question of bureaucracy as a problem that must be dealt with by the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

"The French revolutionary upsurge of May 1968 showed how essential and possible socialist revolution is in the developed countries. It glaringly revealed the degeneration of the French Communist parties and the big trade-union organizations, their

inability to lead the movement to victory. This revolutionary wave showed the urgent timeliness of certain basic problems. Why did the French Communist party betray? Was its betrayal the result of the Leninist forms of party organization? Does the working class need a well-organized party to take power? Are bureaucratization and degeneration of the big workers organizations inevitable?

"The Czechoslovak process and the Soviet intervention also posed a whole series of basic problems for revolutionists. What is the nature of the regime in the USSR and the workers states? What is the source of the bureaucracy's monopoly of political power in these countries? Is a revolution needed to abolish the power of the bureaucracy and build real socialism?

"This double series of questions raises the problem of bureaucracy on various levels, both in the workers organizations and in the workers states. It seemed useful to us to contribute to the elucidation of these far from simple problems by publishing this pamphlet." □

U.S. Companies Decide

What's Good for Cancer Is Good for Asia

What can a manufacturer do with an antirheumatic drug that in the United States must carry the warning that its side effects include perforation and hemorrhage of the esophagus, stomach, and small intestines; damage to the retinas; sometimes fatal hepatitis and jaundice; acute respiratory distress; loss of hearing; loss of hair; psychosis; coma; and convulsions?

If the manufacturer is the U.S. corporation Merck & Co., it can and does sell the drug in Australia—with a recommendation that it be used for relieving pain after dental surgery.

Bans or restrictions on the sale of dangerous products in the United States often result in the commodity being sold in another country, Stanford N. Sesser reported in the February 11 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, for example, has banned the sale of any food containing cyclamates, the artificial sweeteners found to cause cancer in test animals. Since the ban was imposed, one U.S. company has sold 300,000 cases of canned fruit containing cyclamates in Europe, Asia, and the Caribbean.

The drug Chloromycetin carries a warning in the U.S. that "serious and fatal"

blood diseases can result from its use. The same drug, when sold in Italy, has an insert informing doctors that it is "remarkably without secondary reactions."

The American government not only permits such dumping of dangerous products, but in some cases actively encourages it. While officially discouraging smoking in the U.S., Washington continues to subsidize farmers who grow tobacco, and last year granted low-interest loans to Iceland so the government there could import American cigarettes. The loan, Sesser reported, came to \$7 for every man, woman, and child in Iceland.

Improving the Quality of Life

A Swedish scholar has called for the creation of "suicide clinics" to help people kill themselves "in a neat manner." Professor Ingemar Gedenius said in a television interview:

"It is obvious that only hopeless cases—people who would kill themselves anyway—would get death aid. This would help the family of the suicide candidate. There would be no brutal suicides—people throwing themselves out a window or in front of a train."

1. Available from the Societe Internationale d'Edition, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10. No price listed.

2. *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out (1964-1968)*, Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. \$1.25.