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SPECIAL ISSUE
ON FRANCE



**From Revolt Against Bourgeois
University To Revolt Against
Capitalist Society**

International Notes

By Joanna Misnik

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Table of Contents

International Notes	p. 2
Defend French Revolutionaries	p. 3
Speech by Ernest Mandel	p. 5
Who is the JCR?	p. 10
Letters from Our Correspondent in Paris	p. 13
It Must Go All The Way!	p. 14
Whither France?	p. 16
Which Direction for Antiwar Movement?	p. 22

In this issue

ERNEST MANDEL is editor of the Belgian Socialist weekly LA GAUCHE and author of the scholarly two-volume TRAITE d'ECONOMIE MARXISTE ("Treatise on Marxist Economics") soon to be published in English. He is a popular figure among revolutionary students across Europe and has been acclaimed by such figures as Rudi Dutschke as the man who has had the most effect on radical students in Europe. Mandel has been a frequently invited speaker at rallies on the left in Europe such as the European-wide conference in West Ber-

"We Are All German Jews." This is how the French students and young workers answered the charges leveled by the Gaullists against student leader Cohn-Bendit. And to back them up, students the world over reacted to the revolutionary events in France by launching similar struggles on their home ground, giving standing testimony to the massive and international character of this heightened student radicalization.

These notes will take a brief survey of the major student actions throughout the world that followed the French upsurge. These few examples point dramatically to the new stage in the world student struggle—a stage marked by the emergence of a generation of "German Jews," an international brotherhood of young people who more and more turn to the ideas of revolutionary socialism as the tools for building a new society.

As in the French struggle, students increasingly are seeking to link up with a powerful ally in that struggle for change: the workers who have begun to respond to student initiatives.

Thirdly, as this alliance becomes more threatening, the ruling class around the world lays bare its willingness to use its police in a most brutal fashion in attempting to squash student movements before that alliance can deepen.

(While students here in the U.S. are more than holding up their end of the international youth revolt, this issue of the **Young Socialist** is devoted primarily to the actions of our counterparts throughout the world, and particularly in France. In upcoming issues we will continue our coverage of the deepening student radicalization in this country.)

ITALY: A new wave of protest began in Italy when the students at Rome University occupied their main campus in support of the French students. This university has been the scene of periodic pitched battles between students and police for nearly eight months and the Italian movement as a whole has been engaged in a militant and sustained effort to wrest control over their own institutions from the Government. Following this take-over, a march of 3,000 students and workers on the French Embassy ended in a clash with police as demonstrators attempted to move

Continued on p. 27

lin in support of the Vietnamese Revolution hosted by the German SDS, February 17.

THE JEUNESSE COMMUNISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE (JCR) is a socialist student organization which is in the vanguard of the revolutionary students in France today. This young organization published many leaflets and posters during the course of the struggle in France. In this issue of the YS we have translated and are publishing a few of these historic documents.

ALAIN KRIVINE is a national leader of the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire—Young Revolutionary Communists). He has been in the forefront of, and is one of the recognized leaders of, the students revolt in France.

MARY-ALICE WATERS, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, traveled to France as a correspondent for the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** and **THE MILITANT** during the French crisis. Many of her articles have already appeared in **THE MILITANT**.

RALLY TO THE DEFENSE OF FRENCH REVOLUTIONARIES

Statement by Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

June 14—While de Gaulle welcomes back the neo-fascists, his government has outlawed all the militant student and left wing organizations which have led the mighty mass movement in France. On June 12, as the three-week general strike of the workers tapered off and the national pre-election period began, Premier Pompidou dissolved seven student groups.

These are the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the March 22 movement led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Workers Voice, the anarchist Revolutionary Group, the Maoist Union of Communist Youth (Marxist-Leninist), the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER), and the Liaison Committee of Revolutionary Students.

At the same time it expelled many foreign students who have been active in struggles against the government and police, notably members of the Federation of German Socialist Students (SDS).

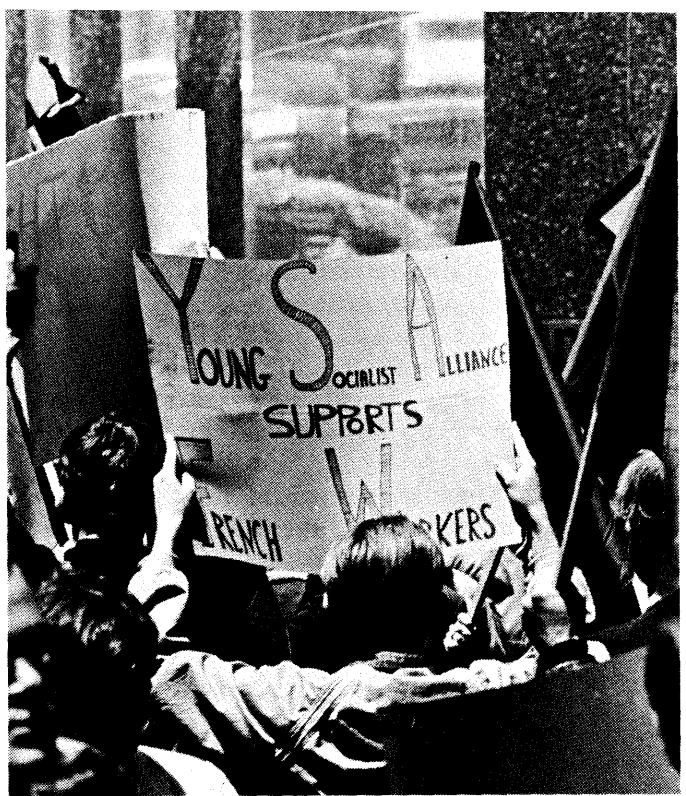
The government likewise prohibited all street demonstrations during the election campaign, which opened June 10 and extends until the June 30 runoffs.

The next day June 13, Pompidou illegalized four adult political organizations: the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International; the Lambertiste Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI); the Maoist Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and an anarchist group.

The official charge against these persecuted or-

The most recent acts of repression undertaken by the de Gaulle government are the outlawing of eleven revolutionary organizations, including Trotskyists, Maoists, and Anarchists, and the arrest and detention incommunicado of revolutionaries—among them Pierre Frank, secretary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, and Gerard Verbizier and Michael Spagnol, both leaders of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR). Because of mounting worldwide protest, the latter two have been released, at least temporarily. The de Gaulle regime has also expelled from France a number of foreign journalists, including Joseph Hansen and Helena Hermes of THE MILITANT staff.

It is essential that all those who stand in solidarity with the French workers and students, along with all those who oppose restrictions on civil liberties, join in an international campaign in defense of victims of repression by the French government.



San Francisco demonstration in solidarity with the students and workers victimized by the de Gaulle regime, June 23.

ganizations is that they organized subversive commando squads, a frameup accusation which they have denied. They are being banned under a conspiracy law, enacted during the Popular Front days of 1936, which is the French replica of the Smith Act in the United States.

It prevents the prohibited organizations from carrying on any of the normal functions of a political group "directly or indirectly." Anyone who in the opinion of the police defies the decree is liable to be tried and faces six months to two years in jail plus fines.

Both the PCI and the JCR immediately issued statements that they refuse to recognize the legality of the ban and propose to fight it in the courts and in the streets.

Guy Mollet, leader of the French Socialist Party, spokesmen for the Federation of the Democratic

and Socialist Left headed by Alexandre Mitterand, and other political, labor and student bodies immediately denounced the government's acts as outrageous violations of civil liberties. A broad protest movement will undoubtedly develop in defense of the victimized organizations both on a national and international scale.

Quite different was the attitude of the French Communist Party. As other organizations on the left voiced their opposition, the Stalinist leaders kept mum.

However, their silence could not conceal their criminal complicity with the Gaullist reaction in inflicting these blows upon the vanguard of the student and mass movements. Under the relationship of forces in the current revolutionary situation in the country, de Gaulle and his Premier would not have dared to undertake such repressions unless they were sure they could go ahead without serious objection from the forces controlled by the CGT and CP bureaucrats.

In fact, the CP leaders have prepared the ground for the government moves by venomous denunciations of the student rebels as ultra-left "adventurers" and their chauvinist attacks on foreigners such as Cohn-Bendit whom *l'Humanite* labelled as the "West German" while the far right press added "Jew."

These slanderous attacks emboldened the Gaullists to make anti-Communism the theme of their election campaign, permit fascists banned after the Algerian war to return, and try to incite a witchhunt hysteria in France. De Gaulle counts on the CP bureaucrats to restrain the workers while his cops and right wing groups try to terrorize the rebel youth and split them from the ranks of labor. Through this "divide and rule" tactic the reactionaries hope to gain time, demoralize the worker militants, and restabilize the shaken supremacy of capitalism. They hope to get away with all this with tacit compliance from the CP.

The government repressions are all the more ominous in view of the coalition with the far right which de Gaulle is hastily cementing to do battle against the workers and students. In his first television campaign speech on June 12 Premier Pompidou appealed for "reconciliation," with a special welcome for the ultra-right conspirators who had opposed de Gaulle's Algerian policy.

Many of the military men who plotted the attempted coup against de Gaulle in April 1961 are being permitted to return to France or are released from prison. After secret consultations with the generals commanding the French forces in West Germany, the President amnestied the neo-fascist Georges Bidault, the former premier who has been living in exile.

At a June 9 press conference after his return to France, Bidault was ostentatiously guarded by a large squad of ex-members of the OAS, the paramilitary conspirators who sought to impose a military dictatorship on the country just before de Gaulle took power in 1958.

In addition to the mobilization of all available military and police forces, extralegal armed Gaullist groups under the misnomer of "Committees for the Defense of the Republic" are springing up under semi-official protection. They are being readied for use against insurgent workers, students and peasants.

These developments expose both the fraud and the folly of relying upon the pending elections to settle the life and death issues posed by the present revolutionary upheaval. The elections are designed to give the capitalist rulers enough time and cover to stave off further advances of the socialist revolution, exhaust the energies of the workers, and, at the propitious moment, proceed to behead and smash their offensive.

The intentions of the reactionaries are one thing; their realization is another. The colossal mobilization of the masses cannot be so easily demobilized or defeated. Although the majority of strikers have returned to work, important sectors are holding out. Some have engaged in bloody battles with the police who tried to evict them from the plants.

The auto workers at Renault and Peugeot have been in the forefront of the struggle. The principal unions, including the CGT, were compelled to call an hour-long general strike on June 12 to protest the deaths by shooting of two strikers who had fought the cops at the Peugeot plant at Souchaux.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance express solidarity with all the victims of repression and especially with our comrades in the PCI and JCR who have been conducting an uncompromising struggle against Gaullism and for socialism.

We add our voices to the spokesmen of those French political, labor and student organizations which immediately denounced these violations of the most elementary democratic rights of free speech and organization.

The dissolution of so many political and student groups in a national pre-election period demonstrates what a mockery de Gaulle's electoral machinations really are.

The SWP and YSA appeal to all student, political and other democratic-minded groups and individuals in this country concerned with civil liberties to make known their opposition to these punitive measures and rally to the defense of all the persecuted organizations and any of their members who may suffer prosecution.

FROM REVOLT AGAINST BOURGEOIS UNIVERSITY TO REVOLT AGAINST CAPITALIST SOCIETY

By Ernest Mandel

a tape recording, and has been edited for minor corrections in style. The translation is by INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS.

The following speech by Ernest Mandel was given at a meeting of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR) in the great hall of the Mutualite in Paris on May 9, the eve of the night of the barricades. The meeting was attended by between five and six thousand student militants and revolutionary youth.

Ernest Mandel is the editor of the Belgian socialist weekly LA GAUCHE and author of the scholarly two-volume TRAITÉ D'ECONOMIE MARXISTE ("Treatise on Marxist Economics") soon to be published in English. The transcript is from

Any analysis of the student revolt must start from one basic consideration: the university explosion. A new social grouping has emerged from the very vitals of neocapitalism, from all that it considers its essential "achievement": the higher standard of living, the advances in technology and the mass media, and the requirements of automation. There are four million

Ernest Mandel speaking at German SDS sponsored conference, Berlin, Feb. 18, 1968.



May 29th demonstration in Paris

Photo by Hermes

FROM REVOLT AGAINST BOURGEOIS UNIVERSITY TO REVOLT AGAINST CAPITALIST SOCIETY

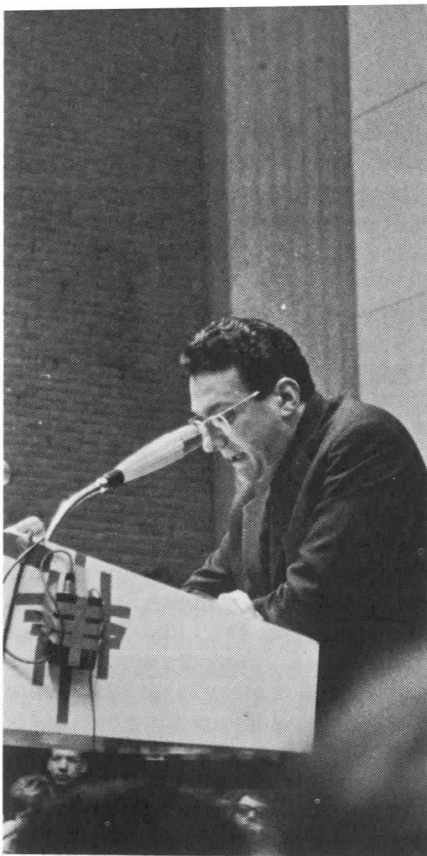
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university students in the United States, two and a half in West Europe, and over a million in Japan. And it proved impossible to integrate this grouping into the neocapitalist system as it functions in West Europe, the United States, or Japan.

The students have not found the necessary material facilities for their studies in the universities. They have not found the kind of education they were looking for. And above all when they leave the universities it is getting harder and harder for them to find the kind of jobs they rightly expected when they started their university education.

Here I must reply to a certain person claiming to be a representative of the Jeunesse Socialiste SFIO (The SFIO Young Socialists—the youth

group of the right-wing Social Democratic Party). This individual wrote the other day in a column in the "Libres Opinions" section of *Le Monde* (this is a guest feature column for the expression of differing viewpoints which appears regularly in this Paris daily) describing "our" society as a "society of abundance," a society in which "everyone" is now guaranteed full employment and a steady rise in his standard of living.

He did not put his glasses on when he read the West European unemployment statistics. He did not see that in the last two winters there were three million unemployed in Western Europe. He did not see that the number of unemployed in France itself topped a half million—and this in the midst of a government-proclaimed economic expansion. He did not notice the large number of young people in this mass of unemployed—to say nothing of the still larger number which the statistics don't include. He did not see that the unemployment rate among the youth in the black ghettos of the United States exceeds 20 percent—which explains a lot of things.

In brief, what he, like innumerable devotees of neocapitalism, failed to see is that this system, far from solving all economic and social problems, has not even remedied the basic evils of nineteenth-century capitalism, while it has added a series of new contradictions that have proved more and more insoluble.

This neocapitalism confronts the student youth with insoluble contradictions not only in the university but also in the economy and in bourgeois society, which is in permanent crisis. (Applause.)

Some people have talked about the inadequacy of the universities and, like good reformists, called for university reform. Therefore, when the students turned their backs on this reform of the bourgeois university, they accuse them of rejecting dialogue. But what the students in revolt rejected was in fact dialogue within the pre-established and supposedly immutable framework of the bourgeois state, of the bourgeois governments in West Europe and Japan.

The students have been told: "The budget isn't large enough to guarantee all of you the university buildings,

professors and assistants, restaurants, dormitories, and above all the high quality education you demand right away. You have to be satisfied with gradually changing the existing situation, which we all agree is unsatisfactory." And when the students are told this, they are a thousand times right to answer: "Stop this bilge about the appropriation for education and the resources of the public bodies. Talk in terms of the economic resources available in this society. Admit that while there isn't enough money for the universities, there is more than enough for advertising and superfluous gadgets. Admit that the reason you can't find the billions needed for a university system fit for the twentieth century is because you're squandering billions for your 'force de frappe' (France's nuclear striking force). Admit that you are stifling in embryo immense productive, technological, cultural, and intellectual forces because you prefer to create destructive forces." (Long Applause.)

In this sense, and rightly, the students "reject dialogue" and reject "university reform" in the context of bourgeois society. For, they have understood the nature of this society. And this awareness in combination with their special situation in society has made them the weakest link in the neocapitalist chain today, the first to crack throughout the Western world.

What the student revolt represents on a much broader social and historic scale is the colossal transformation of the productive forces which Marx foresaw in his *Grundrisse* (Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy): the reintegration of intellectual labor into productive labor, men's intellectual capacities becoming the prime productive force in society.

This is still embryonic and is unrealizable within the framework of capitalist society but it is already powerfully announcing itself. In speaking of a third industrial revolution, of a scientific revolution, many bourgeois, petty bourgeois, or Marxist sociologists and economists have had a presentiment of this. But they have not always drawn the obvious social conclusion about the place of intellectual workers in society.

When we hear pseudo-Marxists talking disdainfully about the students



as "bourgeois youth" and "future bourgeois" we see a threefold error.

First of all, they fail to understand the university explosion which has made these "bourgeois youth" a small minority today in the student world (as the children of workers are also still a tiny minority today). Next, they do not understand that as a result of profound changes in intellectual employment the majority of university graduates will no longer be bosses, or professionals, or even direct agents of the bosses with strictly supervisory functions, but white-collar employees of the state or industry, and thus part of the great mass of salaried workers. Finally, they do not understand the specific character of the student milieu as a special social stratum, into which students from bourgeois backgrounds often assimilate, breaking their ties with their family environment without yet being integrated into the social environment of their professions to be.

And underlying this threefold error is their unwillingness to understand, or accept, a fundamental fact—that man's chief productive force will be his creative intellectual power. (Applause.) This intellectual power is

only potentially productive today because capitalist society beats it down and stamps it out as pitilessly as it beats down the personality and creative impulse of the manual workers.

There is then at the base of the student revolt a high consciousness of a new dimension which neocapitalism has added to the classical alienation of labor produced by capitalist society, produced by all societies based on buying and selling. (Applause.)

We can say that this intellectual labor power is doubly revolutionary and productive today. It is so because it is conscious of the enormous wealth it promises, which could lead us rapidly to a classless society, to abundance. It is so because it is conscious of all the contradictions, injustices, and barbarities of contemporary capitalism, and because the results of its becoming conscious are profoundly revolutionary.

The development of this consciousness occurred first of all among the students for a very simple reason: because the traditional organizations of the workers' movement are profoundly bureaucratized and long since

coopted into bourgeois society. When the workers' movement does not erect multiple barriers against the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the working class, most of the workers succumb, at least in "normal" conditions, to the preponderant influence of bourgeois ideas—as Marx and Lenin never failed to repeat.

However, in the student milieu, a larger minority, precisely because they are in a more privileged social and intellectual situation than the workers, can free themselves by individual thought from the constant manipulation and mental conditioning of the great public-opinion molding instruments in the service of bourgeois society and capitalism. (Applause.)

It is an unquestionable fact that the revolt against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam arose from the students and youth in the United States. It was these American students and young people who set in motion a powerful movement against this war, eventually drawing in masses of adult black workers and now beginning to affect white workers also.

Essentially the same process has

continued on p. 30



Renault workers vote to reject first negotiated settlement between union bureaucrats and de Gaulle Government.



Renault workers vote to reject first negotiated settlement between union bureaucrats and de Gaulle Government.

National Secretary of YSA Speaks to 4,000 at Sorbonne

" FRENCH STUDENTS AND WORKERS HAVE SHOWN THE WAY"

The following is an English translation of the text of greetings from Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, to French students and workers. Mary-Alice addressed a meeting organized by the PCI (Parti Communiste Internationaliste—Internationalist Communist Party) at the Sorbonne, Friday, June 7, 1968.

The meeting of four thousand students that Mary-Alice addressed was reported in THE OBSERVER, June 16, 1968 (London) as follows: "Do not be surprised if barricades spring up in the black ghettos in the United States this summer." Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of America's Young Socialist Alliance, told a cheering audience in the Sorbonne. She was one of the scores of young foreign revolutionary Marxists—including a British contingent—come to Paris to draw the 'lessons of the crisis.' The Trotskyists played the most vital part in sparking off the revolution and provide the most coherent analysis of it."

Comrades: I don't intend to speak for very long; for, if ever in the history of the world the center of the stage belonged to the French students and workers, it is today. The impact of the historical events which have taken place in France in the last weeks is being felt in every corner of the globe. 1968 will go down in history as the year of the May Revolution in France, and I want to say just a few words about the meaning of the events here in France for the revolutionaries in the other advanced capitalist countries of the world, especially in the United States.

Just as, on the night May 10, all of France was listening to transistor radios to follow what was happening here in the streets of Paris, by the same means of modern communication students and workers all over the world were able to learn of, and begin to understand, what was taking place here with amazing



Photo by Hermes

Mary-Alice Waters interviewing Alain Krivine, leader of JCR in Paris

rapidity. All the prophets of doom, who insisted that the speed of modern communications worked against the revolutionary forces and would only hasten the speed of repression, failed to comprehend the reverse side of this process and missed the revolutionary potential of the communications system for unwittingly mobilizing millions of workers and students. Today the entire world knows what has taken place in France and many of the lessons are being absorbed.

In the United States our first reaction as we saw things beginning to unfold was one of caution. We were almost afraid to believe it was really true. But every day as the news came in we saw that the struggle was deepening and spreading with the spontaneous rapidity that is characteristic of any revolutionary situation. It soon became obvious that, at the outset, the Communist Party had no control over the movement of the masses, and would not be able to stop it immediately, and we realized that the question of the

working class taking power was on the agenda of the day.

I don't want to go into all the reasons why the revolution was stopped short—you have more first hand knowledge of them than I, and are in a position to understand fully the implications and results of this latest, historically enormous, betrayal of the Communist Party. All the whys and wherefores will be the main topic of discussion among you—and among revolutionaries the world over—in the months to come.

I want to concentrate on the positive side and just briefly enumerate the implications of a few of the lessons of the French Revolution of May 1968.

In every country in the world in recent years we have seen left-wing intellectuals expound the theory that the working class of the advanced capitalist countries is no longer a revolutionary force. That is part of the establishment—fat, well satisfied, and will never again move. This has been especially true in the United States where the working class is probably less politically conscious



Photo by Hermes

Mary-Alice Waters interviewing Alain Krivine, leader of JCR in Paris

and more quiescent than anywhere else in the world. But as revolutionaries we have always argued that capitalism cannot buy off the workers for an indefinite period of time, and when the explosion comes it will be so enormous and so rapid that everyone will wonder why they didn't see it coming before. Against the example of the French workers in May 1968, few will now be able to dismiss the power of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries and its revolutionary potential.

This will be of particular importance among the black revolutionaries in the United States, who from their own experience see only the high standard of living relative to theirs, and the racist attitude of most white workers, and thus dismiss the working class as an essential—or even potential—ally in their liberation struggle. You can be sure that the lesson of May 1968 will be absorbed by the black vanguard too.

There is one thing you should look for too, and that is the lesson of the barricades. Watch closely this summer, and if you see barricades going up in the streets of America's ghettos, you will know where the inspiration came from.

There is another myth of great importance that has been exploded

by the French workers and students. That is the myth that the working class will not move until there is an economic crisis for the capitalist system which corresponds in depth and severity to the one in the early thirties. The fact that France was enjoying a period of relative prosperity destroys this idea with a single stroke.

The French students and workers have shown the way for the workers and students of every advanced capitalist country in the world. Your actions have ushered in a period which will undoubtedly bring increasing instability to all the capitalist world. You fired the first shots, and you will hear them echoed around the world.

You can be confident that when the time comes the American workers and students will follow your example. But we will have one advantage. We will not have the crushing weight of a Stalinist bureaucracy to defeat before we can march to victory. The explosion of the working class in America will be even more elemental and more rapid than here, but will occur with the inspiration of France's example.

For this the socialist youth of America are deeply grateful and we bring you revolutionary and fraternal greetings.

mese Revolution; we have organized numerous demonstrations in solidarity with the struggle you are waging in the United States against American imperialist aggression in Vietnam. We believe that the struggle we have started in France is the same struggle that the Vietnamese people are engaged in—a struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

In the same manner, the meeting you have organized today is an important contribution to our fight and we thank you for your fraternal help.

The struggle we are now engaged in is different than the struggle that the official working class parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, have been conducting for many years. In fact, very large numbers of students and an important part of the working class have understood that to force capitalism to retreat, and to overthrow capitalism, elections and pacifist demonstrations alone are not sufficient, especially in France where we are faced with a strong state power directed by de Gaulle.

The actions on the barricades, the violent demonstrations in Paris which resemble the direct actions taken by black Americans in their struggle for liberation, have given birth to a new vanguard in Europe, as in the United States, which understands that by direct action it is possible to make capitalism retreat, and even destroy capitalist society.

Today it is very important for us to know that our struggle is not isolated. We have already received material aid from our English, German and Italian comrades which is very important. But for us it is extremely symbolic and politically important to make the struggle of the French students and workers known among the American people who are situated in the citadel of world imperialism. That is why we attach a particular importance to the solidarity shown by the American people for the struggle we are conducting in France. While your material solidarity is important, your political solidarity is even more essential.

We want the reasons for our struggle and the new forms of struggle taken up by the revolutionary vanguard in France to be known among the American people. We hope that they will serve as an example for all people who are today struggling for their freedom and against the capitalist system.

APPEAL TO AMERICAN YOUTH

The following is the text of greetings from the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR) to solidarity meetings in the United States. This was recorded on tape on June 2, 1968 in Paris by Alain Krivine, leader of the JCR and one of the principal leaders of the student struggles taking place in France today.

Comrades and friends, in the name of the JCR we want to thank you for organizing this meeting in solidarity with the struggle of French students. The struggle we have been engaged in for almost two weeks now here in France represents an important component of the international revolutionary movement.

To all those who thought that the

working class no longer exists in Western Europe, to those who thought that socialism was a utopia for the advanced capitalist countries, French students and workers, through the exemplary struggle they have been engaged in for several weeks, have demonstrated that socialism is possible and realizable in Western Europe, particularly in France.

By their combativity in recent days, especially during the three famous nights of the barricades in Paris, the workers and students demonstrated that their willingness to fight for socialism is still an extremely powerful force, and that it is possible to achieve a socialist revolution in our country.

We have been fighting in France for several years now to build a movement in support of the Vietna-

Who are the Revolutionary Communist Youth of France?

By Elizabeth Barnes

In its scanty coverage of the revolutionary events in France, the May 26 issue of *The Worker* picked out for special attack the revolutionary student vanguard which has spear-headed repeated mass demonstrations in the streets. In particular they single out student leader Cohn-Bendit ("Danny the Red") and what they call the "1,000 member organization of Trotskyite university students."

Cohn-Bendit and the Trotskyists are charged with being "dissident elements" and "provocateurs" who want to split the movement.

Again in the May 28 issue, *The Worker* attacks Cohn-Bendit, this time quoting from *l'Humanite*, the French Communist newspaper. Cohn-Bendit is called a "rabble-rouser" who not only has slandered and insulted the French Communist Party, but who has among other things, "insulted the French flag!"

Who is this Cohn-Bendit and who are the 1,000 Trotskyist students to which the French and American CPs are so resolutely opposed?

Cohn-Bendit, who has been a leading participant throughout the present upsurge, is head of the March

22 Movement, a student group named after the date of the student revolt at the Paris University Annex of Nanterre which initiated the entire current wave of student struggles. The student actions in Paris which sparked the general strike originally began as demonstrations in solidarity with the students at Nanterre.

The "1,000 member Trotskyist organization" is the JCR, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (*Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire*). The JCR has been in the forefront of the student street demonstrations and the actions in France from the very beginning, and it has helped give political direction to these actions.

As the May 19 *London Observer* put it, "In Paris, scratch any one of the proliferating Sorbonne student committees and you will find their (the JCR's) man. Their directing hand is at work in the March 22 Movement, the May 3 Movement, and also in the CAL (*Comites d'Action Lyceen*), the secondary school action committees, which are leading the attack on the baccalaureat — and which, if successful, could plunge France into a crisis even graver than the uni-

versity revolution."

By organizing continual mass street actions around revolutionary slogans, the JCR, working along with and through other revolutionary groups, has been decisive in moving the whole workers' upsurge to the left, and for bringing forward the demand for socialism and workers' power.

Most important, because of the lessons being learned in the heat of the struggle by millions of French workers, students and farmers, the JCR is in a position to play a key role in bringing together the forces needed to lead a revolutionary struggle for power in France.

Although the JCR is still a small organization, it has been able to play a role which most people would consider out of proportion to its present size. This is due, in part, to the political education which its members have received in a whole series of struggles over the past years.

The origins of the JCR go back to the late 1950s when a group of students within the French Communist student organization began to organize underground support for the Algerian National Liberation Front, and to build demonstrations within France against the right-wing French Secret Army Organization (OAS).

In order to carry out these activities the students had to go against the Communist Party bureaucrats' stance of giving no aid or demonstrations of support to the Algerians. (In the 1950s the CP went so far as to vote in the French Assembly in favor of appropriating war funds to fight against the Algerians.)

After the Algerian war ended the left wing within the Communist students continued to carry out activities which went counter to the policies of the CP leadership. They rallied to the support of the Cuban Revolution, and did what they could to aid revolutionists from Santo Domingo and other Latin American countries.

When the international antiwar movement grew up against American intervention in Vietnam, it was these



Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) marching in Berlin demonstration of European youth against the war in Vietnam, February 18, 1968.



Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) marching in Berlin demonstration of European youth against the war in Vietnam, February 18, 1968.

growing left-wing forces within the Communist students (and not the CP leaders) which organized the first demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

The fight which grew up over these questions between the left-wing students and the party bureaucrats came to a head in 1965 when the CP decided to support Mitterrand, a pro-capitalist politician, in the general elections. The students responded by distributing a leaflet demanding that Mitterrand state his position on the Vietnam war.

As a result of this leaflet, several leaders of the Communist students were expelled from the Union of Communist Students and the entire Sorbonne section was dissolved.

It was these expelled students who, with the support from other dissident Communist youth, including Trotskyists, formed the JCR. Since its founding convention April 2, 1966, JCR chapters have been formed in over 30 different French cities and the JCR has grown to become the largest socialist youth group in France.

The JCR was the chief organizing force behind the French demonstrations in solidarity with the series of International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war. Members of the JCR helped spearhead the bringing together of socialist youth from all over Europe to the Brussels Conference of Vanguard Youth held in 1967, and the 20,000 strong all-European student demonstration against the Vietnam war held in Berlin last February.

As might be expected, since the expulsions in 1965, the Union of Communist Students experienced a series of splits and fissures which have left it weak and isolated. Thus, when the current upsurge of the students began, it had already lost its influence.

The students involved in the current upsurge cut their political teeth on struggles which demanded an internationalist outlook: support for the Algerian, Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions. They are not interested in the narrow nationalist outlook of the ossified French CP. It is these students who have been most serious about supporting Che's call for "two, three, many Vietnams," and they intend to make France one of these "Vietnams."

While *l'Humanite* has used the fact that Cohn-Bendit is half-German, and not a French citizen, in a chauvanist attempt to discredit him, the students have responded to de Gaulle's call to keep Cohn-Bendit out of the country as an "undesirable alien" with chants of "We are all aliens! We are all German Jews!"

It is this revolutionary and internationalist outlook, and independence from the Communist Party, which have made the students so bold in their actions and such an important

part of the current revolt. As in 1965, when the left-wing students opposed the election of Mitterrand, a growing number of revolutionary students today are resolutely opposed to settling for a government headed by a Mitterrand, or a Mendes-France, or any such capitalist politicians. They want a socialist France. More and more students are joining the JCR so that they can fight for this, and as each day goes by, more and more workers are beginning to agree with them.

... How the British Press Saw It

London Observer—May 26, 1968

The behaviour of the Communists has been fascinating to watch. From the beginning of the crisis they have been more concerned to crush the guerrilla challenge on their left than to overthrow M. Pompidou's Government. The CGT paralyzed the country by a great wave of strikes to wrest the initiative from the student extremists. Georges Seguy, the powerful CGT boss and politburo member locked his workers inside the factories to protect them from the revolution stalking outside. On Friday the party felt forced to match the students' demonstrations with a couple of their own.

The students have made clear that their object is to overthrow the Govern-

ment and in this cause they have battled all night. The CGT does not share these aims. Its immediate objective is the economic betterment of its members. Far from overthrowing M. Pompidou, it agreed to negotiate with him and with the French Employers' Federation.

London Observer—May 26, 1968

With bewildering speed, these political guerrillas have been hurtled into politics by an anonymous surge of student unrest. By taking to the streets, they have set themselves against every organised political force in France. Both Government and Opposition last week tried desperately to



Night of the Barricades



Night of the Barricades

contain them. Both failed.

The guerrillas have introduced a violent, sinister and unpredictable element in French life, and no one at this early stage can be sure what French politics will look like when the fighting dies away. What is certain is that a revolutionary political force is taking shape on the extreme Left which makes the official French Communist movement look as staid and unadventurous as a Victorian tea party. . . .

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the student leader, was last week banned from France as an undesirable alien. The protest was immediate. "We are all aliens," chanted the demonstrators. "We are all German Jews," young Algerians were even heard to shout.

Cohn-Bendit's chief supporters are a small, highly organised and fanatically militant group called the *Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire* (JCR)—a sort of Trotskyist political commando, led by Alain Krivine, a former history teacher, now full-time agitator, and still under 30.

The whole JCR strategy is to mount short, sharp revolutionary operations to jolt society, shock by shock, down the road to socialism. Across this path stand the Communist Party and the Communist-led unions. Last week JCR tactics were to stampede these cautious, lumbering elephants by infecting the younger workers with the virus of rebellion.

They want the students to set an example of militancy which the working class will eventually follow. The irony is that these violent young men have struck a chord of idealism and morality.

JCR buttons 25¢



On orders of 20 or more, 17c each.
Order from: Young Socialist Alliance,
P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New
York, N. Y. 10003

The attempt to head off this Trotskyist challenge has caused a grave malaise inside the French CP, even the threat of a split. From the moment Cohn-Bendit raised his unruly red head, the Communist Party has tried to cut it off. But younger party members—and some on the Central Committee itself—are now violently critical of the timid, blinkered way the party has kept him and the rebellious students at arms length. In similar protest, a leading party member, Andre Barjonet, resigned on Thursday as Economic Adviser to the Communist-dominated Trade Union Federation, the CGT.

London Observer—May 19, 1968

France is in revolutionary ferment. Who is responsible? Who put the spark to the dead wood? in the permanent disorderly festival of the Sorbonne, drunk on weeks of total freedom, all seems confusion and spontaneity. It is hard to believe that anyone is pulling the strings to set this spectacle in motion.

The great solemn courtyard has been taken over by a bedraggled, wild-eyed mob. Decorated with portraits of Mao, Lenin and Marx and Trotsky, Castro and Guevara, festooned with Marxist, anarchist and Vietcong flags, it is sort of a bazaar for trafficking in revolutionary ideas. A dozen extremist groups clamour for attention and peddle their tracts.

The staircases in the upper storeys are blocked with a hurrying, scurrying stream of militant functionaries, some in the red armbands of the *service d'ordre*. Lecture halls, and particularly the central amphitheatre, are packed day and night for a non-stop debate. Confused, wordy, violent opinions are hurled into the microphones. Feverish young women shout slogans like, "Universal suffrage is the most obvious form of dictatorship."

What is going on is an unforgettable and moving chapter of direct democracy. For the thousands of young people taking part, it is a delirious experience, one of the most formative they may ever live through, an instant political education.

Action committees ponder the next objectives. Anxious teenagers with fur-

rowed brows and tobacco-stained fingers spell out revolutionary tracts. Girls, often with more staying power than the boys, type, cut out stencils, cook, make beds in the improvised communal dormitories.

All this fever is not wholly spontaneous and undirected. The organization that is best known to the public is Daniel Cohn-Bendit's Movement of March 22. Cohn-Bendit, short, stocky, 23, with flaming red hair, is a born leader, a mob orator of real talent. He is an ex-anarchist, but at this moment belongs to no political party. His fief is the Paris University annex of Nanterre, his followers students.

A second, less well-known organization is the Movement of 3 May (Like 22 March it is named after a turning point in the recent crisis), made up mainly of rather older militant research students and teachers, often members of the CP [Communist Party]. They provide intellectual stuffing and political experience. Like 22 March, they are also Paris based.

Behind these organizations is the *Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire* (JCR), the French branch of the world Trotskyist movement, under the unified secretariat of the Fourth International. It can claim to have provided the chief inspiration and political direction of the insurrection of the past two weeks, which may justly be described as the greatest success the Trotskyists have ever achieved in Europe.

In France they are estimated to have some 1,000 hard-core members spread over 30 cities. In Paris scratch any one of the proliferating Sorbonne committees and you will find their man. Their directing hand is at work in the March 22 Movement and the 3 May Movement, and also the CAL (*Comites d'Action Lyceen*) the secondary school action committees, which are leading the attack on the baccalaureat—and which, if successful, could plunge France into a crisis even graver than the university revolution.

The JCR believes that revolution is war. Like Trotsky, its prophet, it is fascinated by military strategy. Its members are inflamed by the twin themes of the ills of bourgeois society and what they call 'colonial revolution' like the Vietnam war. They provide the principle French link with the German League of Socialist Students (SDS) led by Rudi Dutschke.

Letters from our Correspondent in Paris

as a reporter for the YOUNG SOCIALIST, MILITANT and INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS. She was among a number of reporters harassed and forced to leave France during the opening stages of the Gaullist repressive moves against the revolutionary organizations in France.

Following are excerpts from letters received by the YOUNG SOCIALIST from Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, while in Paris, May 27-June 15. Mary-Alice traveled to France

"... monumental betrayal of humanity ... by the world Stalinist movement ..."

May 29, 1968
Paris

... I just fixed a batch of leaflets, etc. Some are interesting in and of themselves — others just as examples of what's going on. The whole atmosphere is very exhilarating. The working class feels its strength and everything is going up. Paris is a different city — everyone is friendly, helpful, interested in everyone else. Except for no gas and no transportation, it's just like July 14 (Bastille Day) extended for two weeks.

The demonstration today of over half a million was a powerful thing to behold. Thousands of red flags, the refrains of the "Internationale," chorus after chorus resounding everywhere, union after union marching under its own banners, red flags decorating balconies all along the line of march, not a cop in sight.

And will all that fantastic power and self-confidence and theirs for the taking, what was the slogan of the CGT, chanted by hundreds of thousands of workers?—"Le Government Populaire!" (Popular Front Government). To see something like that makes you realize that there are no words that can really describe the monumental betrayal of human-

ity that has been perpetrated by the world Stalinist movement. You feel it in the pit of your stomach and it almost makes you sick.

The whole crisis of leadership is posed before your eyes. The same workers who shout for a popular government were also taking up the slogans of the left-wing students—"le pouvoir aux travailleurs." (Power to the workers). But there is no one to lead them to power this time. Still by the fact that on Monday tens of thousands of workers joined a student-called demonstration which had been denounced by the CP, and chanted such slogans as "Seguy trahison" (Traitor Seguy) (Seguy is the head of the CGT, which had just announced an attempted settlement with the Government that came nowhere close to meeting the demands) and "Seguy get out," you can see that thousands of workers have learned important lessons in the struggle and the vanguard today is hundreds of times stronger than a month ago. . .

"... collapse of CP in front of de Gaulle is incredible"

June 2, 1968
Paris

Things definitely seem to be slowing down now, but still, contrary to all radio and newspaper reports, there is no big back to work movement. Only peripheral services and some small factories have gone back to work. The trains, Paris transport workers, Renault and many others have voted to continue the strike. The key issue is whether they'll be paid for strike time. The CP is trying very hard to get the workers back on the job, but there is real resistance.

The collapse of the CP in front of de Gaulle is incredible. The senile old dolt called their bluff and they rolled over and played dead. The



JCR Posters at Sorbonne



JCR Posters at Sorbonne

real militants here think that most of the economic demands will be met, but still there will be considerable demoralization among the workers as the gains are wiped out by price rises which have already begun. Also, of course, everyone believed that de Gaulle would resign and when he is still in office it is understood by a large number of workers to be a defeat. . .

"barricades everywhere"

Paris
Tuesday night,
June 11, 1968

I'm sitting in the headquarters [of the JCR] right now waiting for a few more comrades to turn up before I can go home. I just got back from about two hours of patrolling the Latin Quarter. Fights are going on all over.

UNEF called a demonstration for this afternoon at 7:00 at the Gare de l'Est—just a block from here. It was called to protest the death of the high school student yesterday, the other worker at Sciaux, and all the police attacks on factories.

By five o'clock thousands and thousands of cops had virtually occupied the entire area of the city. They stopped everyone under thirty, asking for papers. They stopped every car driven by someone under thirty and searched it, mostly for harassment. Everytime a group of more than one hundred gathered on any corner in a radius of a mile or so, they im-

mediately moved in and broke it up, using tear gas if necessary.

After an hour and a half of that the students began to head back to the Latin Quarter. There were probably 20,000, though it is hard to tell exactly because of the dispersion.

When I got to the Latin Quarter a short while later, there were already fights all over. Small bands, scattered throughout the entire area were beginning to build barricades, burn election bill boards, some cars were burning, and firemen were trying to rush from one place to another.

Again there were tens of thousands of CRS and Garde Mobile. The Quarter was virtually occupied. As soon as a barricade was begun, the CRS moved in with concussion and tear gas grenades. I wasn't trying to defend any barricades, but I had to move fast more than once to avoid a charge. Later as we circled the Quarter, there were fires and small barricades everywhere and I'm sure they'll last most of the night. We got back in the car to drive it out of the way, and once out of the center it was impossible to get back in.

The thing we're really worried about though is that they'll try to take the Sorbonne tonight. They've completely surrounded it, cut the electricity and phone, and pushed all the street fighting to the west of St. Michel, so the entire area around the Sorbonne is entirely deserted. It's like a ghost town. Really eerie. It's a risk for them to try and take it, but they might.

The radio just announced that the Paris firemen got 3,000 calls between 9:00 P.M. and 1:00 A.M., which gives an idea of what's going on. There are also barricades in Tou-

louse in the South and in some cities in the West.

"willing to fight again"

Paris
Wednesday morning,
June 12, 1968

. . . The radio this morning says that the CRS has withdrawn from the Latin Quarter, even though there are still several barricades standing. They give a total of some 72 barricades for last night. Despite that, the comrades say its nothing like two weeks ago and most of the combativity is gone. It all depends on what happens in the factories now really. The students would be willing to fight again tomorrow if they thought they could win, but they all sense, or know, that the CP has broken the strike and prevented the working class from taking up the real struggle. The actions that are taking place in the factories now are really rear guard, with the CP doing everything possible to divide and break them (e.g. They're trying to settle at Renault-Flins before Renault-Billancourt.) The government could go too far and trigger something big again, but it's not likely. The fact that there is as much resistance to armed attacks as there is, is a good sign though. It's a gauge of the fact that the working class doesn't feel completely defeated. They won significant economic concessions, even though de Gaulle has already told them it will all be taken away with inflation. . . .

"IT MUST GO ALL THE WAY!"

The following is an English translation of the full text of a declaration issued as a leaflet May 21 by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth). Tens of thousands of copies were distributed throughout France.

WORKERS, STUDENTS

The red flag of the workers flies over the schools and factories. Millions of workers are occupying

the factories. The so-called apathetic working masses are now on the march.

On May 13, 1968 (the day of the one-million-strong march of the workers and students), they became aware of both their enormous power and of the government's essential weakness. During the ten years of the Gaullist regime, they have seen how impotent are the traditional forms of struggle inherited from the Fourth Republic. Parliamentary skirmishes, piecemeal symbolic walkouts, uninspired

marches, the "National Days of Action" (one-day strikes called by the Communist Party led *Confederation Generale du Travail*—General Federation of Labor), have washed ineffectually against the ramparts of the police state.

Only direct and resolute mass action can force the Gaullist state to yield—this is the lesson that millions of workers have drawn from the victorious struggle of the students. They have spontaneously and massively applied it in tackling their own problems.

Today the center of gravity of the struggle has shifted from the universities to the factories. The challenge to the bourgeois university has been transformed into a challenge to capitalist society. For, make no mistake: the workers have not occupied the factories just to win wage increases. The question of power is posed in the factories and in society. The fate of the system hangs in the balance.

The bosses and the state are stunned. The terrified bourgeoisie is beseeching "the workers' representative organizations" to get the situation back in hand. It knows that in a period of profound social crisis, the reformist working class leaderships represent the best and last bulwark of the capitalist system. Mired in parliamentarism and scrupulously respectful of bourgeois legality, these leaderships know how to divert the fighting spirit of the masses and direct them toward objectives compatible with the survival of the system.

The ruling class is ready to make temporary concessions to preserve its power. It knows how to wait for the upsurge to recede in order to take back with one hand what it gives with the other. The young workers and students in the forefront of the battle do not want their struggle to end like the movements of 1936 and 1945. The mobilization of "unparalleled breadth" today sweeping France must not merely give birth to a mouse.

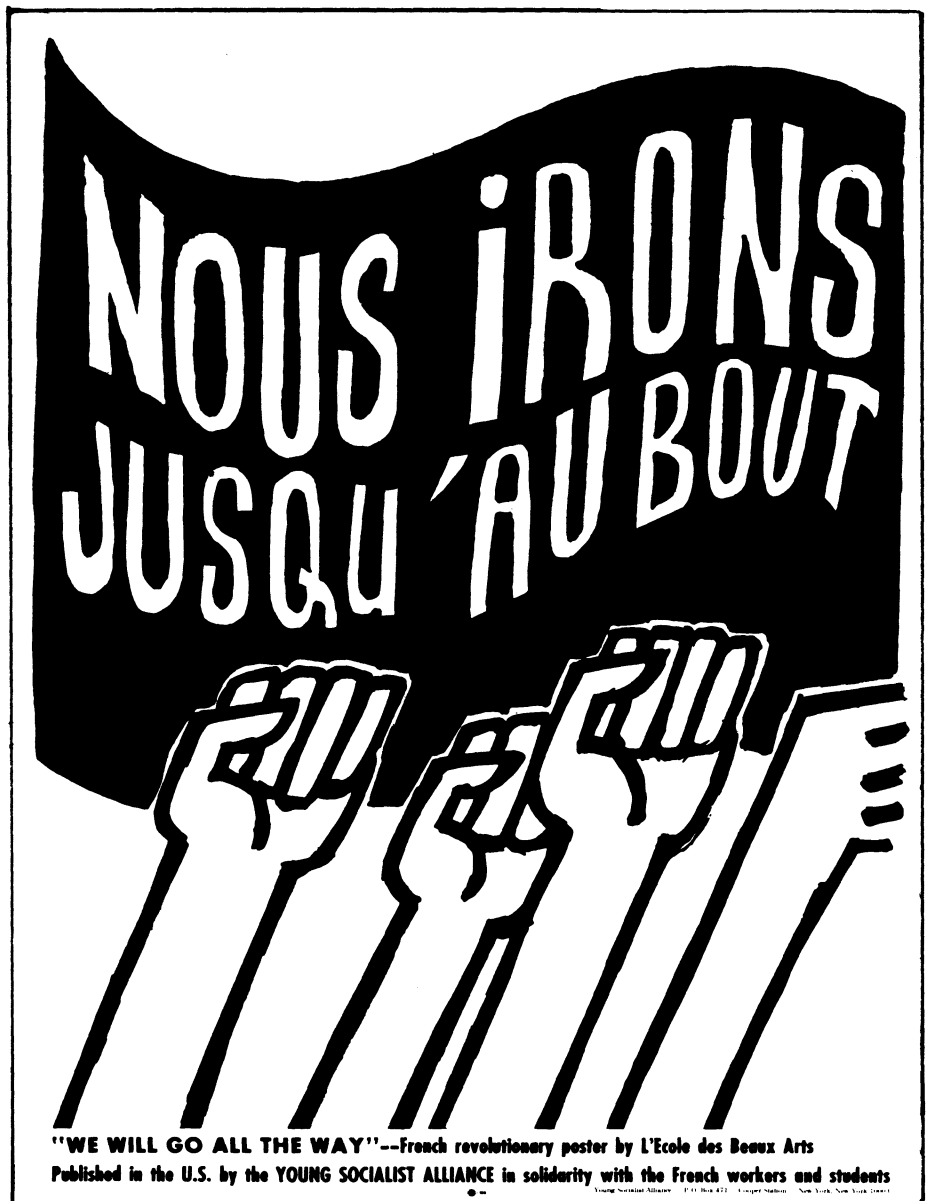
**IT MUST GO ALL THE WAY!
WE ARE OCCUPYING THE UNIVERSITIES, THE OFFICES, THE FACTORIES. WE MUST STAY THERE!**

We must not let bourgeois or social democratic politicians, Mitterrands or Guy Mollets, trade a return to "law and order" for a ministerial easy chair!

We must not let the union leaders trade a return to work for a few concessions—which, even if considerable, would be quickly eroded by inflation and speed-up.

We must take advantage of the relationship of forces that we have established. We must get guarantees and seize key positions.

●We must create rank-and-file Strike Committees in the factories and Action Committees in the universities and neighborhoods that will encompass all the workers in the struggle.



"We will go all the way"—French revolutionary poster by L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. Published in U.S. by the Young Socialist Alliance in solidarity with French workers and students. Available from the Young Socialist for 50 cents each.

●We must force nationalization of the big occupied factories and their democratic operation by workers' committees.

●We must open the companies' books!

●We must establish workers' control over vocational training, the organization of work on the job, and the management of plants!

●We must construct in our places of work committees of popular power counter to, and independent of, the state and administrations of the bosses!

●We must force de Gaulle's withdrawal and the establishment of a workers' government.

The government we want is not simply a leftist government in place of a rightist government.

The government we want has nothing to do with parliamentary deals among capitalist and reformist politicians.

The government we want must institute direct socialist democracy based on grass-roots committees and action committees of the workers and students.

STUDENTS AND WORKERS, WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY, WE MUST NOT LET IT ESCAPE!

WHITHER FRANCE?



French Government Ministers

The following article appeared in Issue No. 4 (June 1, 1968) of *AUJOUR HUI* [TODAY], a supplement to *AVANT-GARDE JEUNESSE* the regular publication of the *Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire* (JCR).

These supplements, which were distributed broadside at meetings and demonstrations, were sent to us by our reporters in Paris.

This article, which we think will be of particular interest to American youth, has been translated by the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*.

The declaration of civil war which de Gaulle flung at the "totalitarian party and its rivals" has received one answer at least in words: the Commu-



May 29 demonstration called by CGT—students singing *The International*.

Photo by Hermes

nist Party denounces this "urge to dictatorial rule" and calls on all left forces to close ranks. A few indignant phrases accompany the general retreat of the official left. The problem of power was beginning to be posed in the factories and in the universities, and now it is reduced to a question of governmental figures. Direct democracy was beginning to take shape but the CP agrees willingly to stick to its preferred ground, the arena of parliamentary democracy.

Blackmail and bluff

The workers who had taken the streets felt the [governmental] power collapsing. The trade unions were talking about the vacuum of state power. De Gaulism suddenly claims to take a stand on the very ground where it had been defeated: the movement born on the barricades had taken the initiative on the arena of the street, seizure of factories begun without the approval of the trade union leaderships had taken the of-



Gardes Mobiles



Workers occupy Renault plant at Billancourt. Red flag hangs on top of the main building and hammer and sickle has been etched on side of the wall.

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Workers occupy Renault plant at Billancourt. Red flag hangs on top of the main building and hammer and sickle has been etched on side of the wall.

fensive in paralyzing economic life. Only the CP leadership was still left believing in the effectiveness of the parliamentary battle.

Today, proof is at hand that the power lies in the streets: when de Gaullism seeks to regain power, it announces its intention to fight on that same arena. De Gaulle's power is no longer a majority of seats in the National Assembly, but the threat to resort to an armed confrontation. One preliminary operation of large scope had shipwrecked: the voting referendum and the package deal to end the general strike. The strikers turned

both down, dealing the government its most serious defeat and in the process inflicting a total repudiation upon the trade union leaderships. De Gaulle then repeats the offense, dissolving the National Assembly and projecting general elections, but this time he starts from the beginning: he issues threats and takes steps to put the real country in order.

De Gaullism had to undergo a far-reaching change in order to make an effective answer to the actions undertaken by workers and students: the "strong state" is not enough in a struggle against demonstrations or

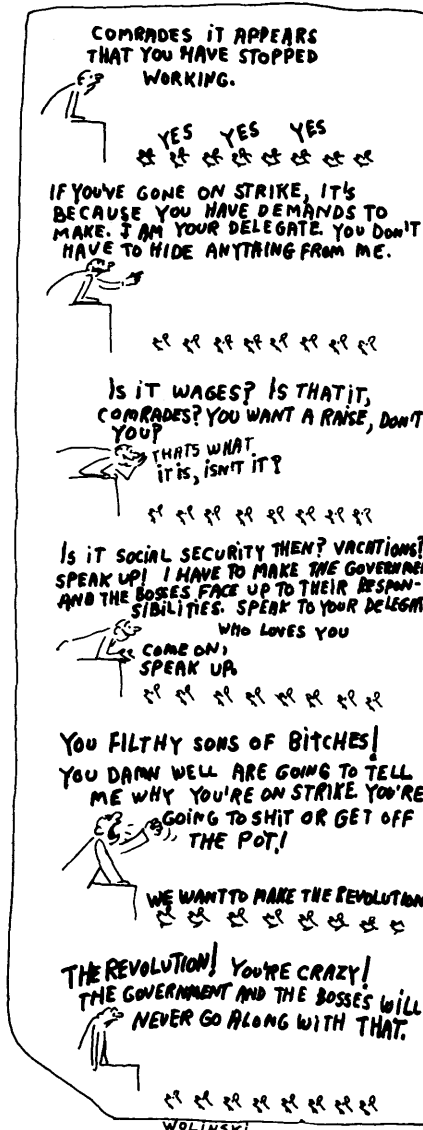
seizures of factories. The police, the CRS [tactical police force] defeated, were proven unable to restore "republican order." A showdown using repression becomes impossible. Everything points to a deep-going malaise now troubling the cop profession to its core. The army? Intervening with the army is a gamble that de Gaullism has no guarantee of winning, despite the consultations between de Gaulle and the military tops (interview at Baden-Baden [headquarters of French military forces stationed in West Germany]).

To answer the violence of the masses the de Gaullist state has to take on fascist colorations, has to find some social element capable of lending some weight to its threats. New Look de Gaullism seeks this social base today in rallying the petty bourgeoisie frightened and hurt by the economic crisis. It tries to whip this traditional reservoir of all fascism into a real organization with fascist leanings, a pale reflection of the big pre-war fascist parties. The "civic action committees," Committees of Defense of the Republic, are imbued with the spirit of the de Gaullist bourgeoisie and constitute the embryos of such an organization.

De Gaulle declares that "civic action must be organized right away and everywhere" in order to stand up to the "intimidation, intoxication, and tyranny wielded by the groups organized some time back." The [right-wing May 30] demonstration on the Champs Elysees is another attempt: de Gaullism wants to make it known that it is ready to take up the fight in the streets. The fascistic nature of this demonstration is only too clearly evident in the burning of red flags and voicing of anti-Semitic slogans ("send Cohn-Bendit to Dachau," etc.).

The far right closes ranks around the tricolor, Tixier-Vignancour and Occident take part in the demonstration. What this operation prepares is the setting up of armed bands made up of veterans of the RPF [defunct de Gaullist movement "Regroupment of the French people"], paratroopers, and thugs given the job of ensuring "freedom to work"—in other words strike-breakers with the job of hunting down militants on the side. Communications Minister Guena is given the job of making the first test case: he

UNION BUREAUCRAT ADDRESSING WORKERS



orders post-office men to set up "back-to-work committees." He has several striking post offices occupied by the police and tactical squads [CRS]. This counterattack is accompanied by armed attacks against strike pickets at Calvi and La Rochelle by "defenders of the republic."

But this test case in the communications sector is a setback for the government. Strike-breaking by violence pays only in a few places. De Gaulleism with its new fascist overtones is still only a very pale imitation of Mussolini's fascism. The demonstration of the Etoile is not a Nuremberg mass meeting; organized fascism is much weaker in France today than it was in 1936, at the time when the petty bourgeoisie was attracted in large numbers by would-be Hitlers and would-be Mussolinis. French fascism is weak, and closer to Petainism than to Francoism.

The whole thing is one gigantic bluff, combined with the core of an incipient fascist tendency. Another part of this bluff is the figures given for the demonstration of the Etoile [May 30 right-wing demonstration marched to Place de l'Etoile], multiplied ten times over by the radio stations again under strict control of the state. De Gaulle threatens to attack in the arena where he is not the stronger at this time; but he knows that his threats will not be lost on the trade union machines and on the wishy-washy politicians.

Two Steps Backward

De Gaulle puts the choice before the CP: either play the election game or get ready to fight it out in the streets. The CP, which has been training its members for "some time back" to consider censure motions in parliament as the highest form of the class struggle, does not hesitate a second. Less embarrassed than the CGT leadership, whose field of maneuvering is restricted by the responsibilities it has to the workers in struggle, the Political Bureau of the French CP declares in answer to de Gaulle: "the truth is that the working class and its organizations have exhibited a remarkable self-control; they developed their struggles while making every attempt to steer clear of all provocation."

The party announces its intention

to bring to a halt any and all actions which could interfere with the elections, and as soon as possible. Put in a difficult situation with respect to the workers (Pravda's situation is no more comfortable: it found it fitting to censor out the anti-communist passages in de Gaulle's speech), whose struggle it is openly trying to curb, the CP leadership still has something to be happy about anyway: de Gaulle's statement has just given it an opening to return to its preferred arena while denouncing, from here on out, any violent mass action as a provocation: "De Gaulle announces his intention to hold new elections." The CP of France did not have to wait for this speech to demand that the floor be given to the people for their word to be heard, with as little delay as possible.

In the adjacent column in *l'Humanite* of May 31, R. Andrieu tried to do it one better: "How de Gaulle would have liked the workers in the factories, the demonstrators in the street, to have set fire to a few cars and erected a few barricades, instead of exhibiting the extraordinary self-control which they did!"

But the CGT faces up to more serious things, after a relatively firm declaration ("The statement by the chief of state cannot intimidate the working class firmly resolved to assert its rights and to advance democracy. . ."): it reaches an agreement with the CFDT and with FO to state jointly that in no case will they stand in the way of holding elections. In



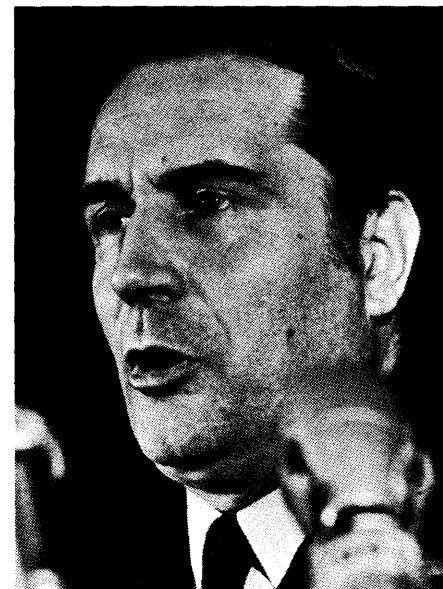
Mendes-France



CP Leader Waldeck-Rochet



Georges Seguy—CGT bureaucrat



Francois Mitterrand

orders post-office men to set up "back-to-work committees." He has several striking post offices occupied by the police and tactical squads [CRS]. This counterattack is accompanied by armed attacks against strike pickets at Calvi and La Rochelle by "defenders of the republic."

But this test case in the communications sector is a setback for the government. Strike-breaking by violence pays only in a few places. De Gaulle with its new fascist overtones is still only a very pale imitation of Mussolini's fascism. The demonstration of the Etoile is not a Nuremberg mass meeting; organized fascism is much weaker in France today than it was in 1936, at the time when the petty bourgeoisie was attracted in large numbers by would-be Hitlers and would-be Mussolinis. French fascism is weak, and closer to Petainism than to Francoism.

The whole thing is one gigantic bluff, combined with the core of an incipient fascist tendency. Another part of this bluff is the figures given for the demonstration of the Etoile [May 30 right-wing demonstration marched to Place de l'Etoile], multiplied ten times over by the radio stations again under strict control of the state. De Gaulle threatens to attack in the arena where he is not the stronger at this time; but he knows that his threats will not be lost on the trade union machines and on the wishy-washy politicians.

Two Steps Backward

De Gaulle puts the choice before the CP: either play the election game or get ready to fight it out in the streets. The CP, which has been training its members for "some time back" to consider censure motions in parliament as the highest form of the class struggle, does not hesitate a second. Less embarrassed than the CGT leadership, whose field of maneuvering is restricted by the responsibilities it has to the workers in struggle, the Political Bureau of the French CP declares in answer to de Gaulle: "the truth is that the working class and its organizations have exhibited a remarkable self-control; they developed their struggles while making every attempt to steer clear of all provocation."

The party announces its intention

to bring to a halt any and all actions which could interfere with the elections, and as soon as possible. Put in a difficult situation with respect to the workers (Pravda's situation is no more comfortable: it found it fitting to censor out the anti-communist passages in de Gaulle's speech), whose struggle it is openly trying to curb, the CP leadership still has something to be happy about anyway: de Gaulle's statement has just given it an opening to return to its preferred arena while denouncing, from here on out, any violent mass action as a provocation: "De Gaulle announces his intention to hold new elections." The CP of France did not have to wait for this speech to demand that the floor be given to the people for their word to be heard, with as little delay as possible.

In the adjacent column in *l'Humanite* of May 31, R. Andrieu tried to do it one better: "How de Gaulle would have liked the workers in the factories, the demonstrators in the street, to have set fire to a few cars and erected a few barricades, instead of exhibiting the extraordinary self-control which they did!"

But the CGT faces up to more serious things, after a relatively firm declaration ("The statement by the chief of state cannot intimidate the working class firmly resolved to assert its rights and to advance democracy. . ."): it reaches an agreement with the CFDT and with FO to state jointly that in no case will they stand in the way of holding elections. In



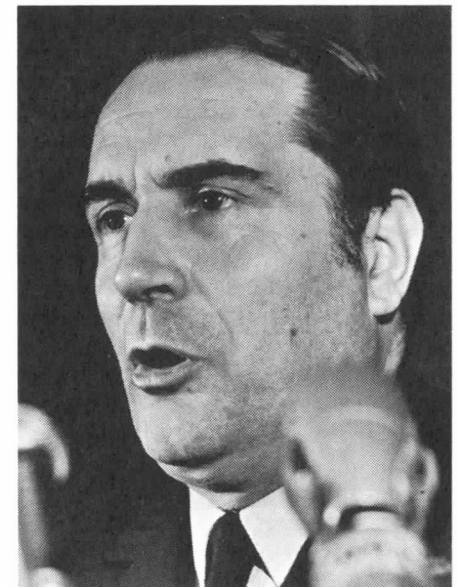
Mendes-France



CP Leader Waldeck-Rochet



Georges Seguy— CGT bureaucrat



Francois Mitterrand

other words, they will find ways and means of ending the strike before the election campaign begins.

The three trade union machines get moving to prevent street demonstrations, whereas the UNEF proposes a demonstration to them, a minimum reply to the [de Gaullist] provocation on the Champs Elysees. The trade unions agree to negotiate with the Pompidou government, to recognize it as the only possible power. Descamps' statement has a bit of spice to it; he seems actually happy to have, after a certain vacuum of power, a "serious opponent" whose weight is reinforced by the threats of the chief of state.

Once again an ultra-left vocabulary is resorted to in order to cover up a complete evasion: after having stated "we will not negotiate with that government," they can still talk their way out by explaining that it is no longer the same government. After having presented the repeal of emergency laws as a prerequisite to any discussions, they are only too happy to refer the problem to the next assembly, all of which should blend in well with going back to work. The upshot is that there were only some misunderstandings of vocabulary and constitutional interpretations between the government and the unions. And soon, ten million strikers can be traded in for several hundred deputies supporting Mitterrand, Mendes-France, and other office-seekers.

A whole series of partial contracts are waiting to be signed, and the unions can count on the strike petering out with workers going back to their jobs industry by industry. At least that is what their strategy amounts to; it remains to be seen how the strikers who have been occupying their factories for two weeks will react, especially with some having already put the factory machinery to work for workers' benefit. In any case, the French CP, as Andrieu continues to assure us, has sidestepped "the traps which the honorable representatives of the Ministry of the Interior had been obligingly waiting to spring on us." And when the chief editor of *l'Humanite* states "The head of state lies when he accuses the Communist Party of preparing subversion," he has every chance of being taken at his word.

"Interpretation" by CPUSA

THE WORKER SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 1968

"... It is considered significant that Mendes-France is acclaimed by students, particularly those students organized in or sympathetic to the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, a Trotskyist formation.

"United States and British establishment media focus attention on Mendes-France, whose lack of a mass base make him particularly amenable to pressure from monopoly, and the Trotskyist led student demonstrations. The latter are credited with being the true revolutionary forces in France, whereas trade unions, particularly those led or influenced by Communists, are pictured as conservative, reactionary and even part of the French establishment..."

What About Mendes-France? - the JCR Position

At this point, the Mendes-France operation comes into its own. This is the bourgeoisie's best, and last, parliamentary card. In a period of intense crisis, the bourgeoisie does not necessarily react as a single entity: for de Gaulle, and for the part of the bourgeoisie which de Gaulle represents, the "politicians on the shelf" (read Pierre Mendes-France and Mitterrand) "would not weigh more (after the victory of the left) than their own

weight, which will not be much." Actually, the reasoning of the Mendes-France wing of the bourgeoisie holds up well: the weight of the CP is not fully felt except in a period of struggle. On the parliamentary arena, the CP is necessarily dragged in tow by its bourgeois partners.

The Mendes-France gambit is a new and complementary edition of the Mitterrand gambit, to entangle the CP in the bourgeoisie's game. It is the more

L'ENRAGÉ

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(The Madman)

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May 6, 1968

astute version in the sense that it is designed to cope with particularly unfavorable circumstances. The operation has to be carried off in the heat of the struggle, right while the workers are experiencing "leftist temptations." The trick is to present Mendes-France as a man sent by providence, free from all taint of parliamentary horse-trading; shame on those who bring up his parliamentary record and his performance as president of the Council of the republic in 1954 and thereabouts.

Since that time, of course, Mendes-France has been on call, on the shelf, as de Gaulle puts it; but not because he hasn't tried to make his comeback. His superiority over Mitterrand is that his absence in this interval has whitewashed him in the eyes of the masses. Another point of superiority is that he is in a better position to deliver on Communist support than Mitterrand, and perhaps even more important he is in a position to deliver on the new left.

PSU and CFDT are less discredited in the eyes of the students and of the young workers than the Communist left. If worse comes to worst, Mendes-France plays the same role, for the movement of the barricades, that Mitterrand plays with respect to the Communists. Mendes-France declares that the government he heads would be open to all the "living forces which have come to the fore with particular vigor since May 3." He was present at Charley, right up front near the

speakers platform. Without ever having directly attacked the government of repression, he still managed to be present at the barricades, coughing and weeping like a common student. Mendes-France's pitch is one of evasive presence: "Look here I am Johnny on the spot, and do I look worried about it?" On parliamentary judgment day, each politician will have to show proof of what he can deliver. Mendes-France will try to show he can deliver the reintegration of the movement of the barricades into normal political life.

At this point, forced to make a step forward, he puts forth a tactical line and a program: "A movement oriented toward a more just and a more socialist society." The precision of Mendes-France's political vocabulary is in inverse proportion to his put-on leftism. The basis of this program is *participationism*. In the logic of the CFDT leadership, the problem is to involve the workers constructively in the functioning of the economy. In other words, to bring together two irreconcilable logics in the management of one plant: the logic of the profit motive and the logic of socialization of the means of production.

"The socialization of profit and the expansion of the means of production" constitute the gist of the participationist mish-mash. With the overall economy still functioning in the usual capitalist mode, the trick is to get the workers, or their representatives in any case, involved at the level of

the individual plant. That is the gist of the program.

The tactical line? Mendes-France states his readiness to play the electoral game. The problem is to know how to transform the lead of the workers' demands for power in the factory into the gold of institutionalized joint management, as Descamps has explained it. How to get the workers to leave the factories they are occupying as soon as the candidates for deputy have promised, have sworn in fact, to vote in a law enabling the workers to come back to work with heads high, as responsible workers in a modern France with a new look. And the good relations prevailing between Mendes-France, the PSU leadership, and the UNEF leadership give this politician on the make some hope that the student movement will let him have his way. . .

In the face of the new de Gaullist initiative, revolutionists can rely on themselves alone. Their responsibilities become overwhelming. To let the trade union leaderships and the political machines have their way would mean to let the movement be crushed. It would mean, if the workers do not repudiate their "leaderships" en masse and for a second time, that de Gaullism would smash the few sporadic outbursts of desperation of a working class abandoned by the organizations to its own devices. And this would be followed by a thorough repression extended throughout "pacified" France. De Gaullism would take its revenge, on the Stalinist organizations as well. On the arena where de Gaulle makes his challenge *now*, we are the stronger. Let us lose no time in organizing ourselves for our tasks.

—June 1, 1968



JULY-AUGUST 1968



May 6, 1968

Right Wing Retreat Threatens Antiwar Movement

Soon after the tremendously successful April 26 International Student Strike a struggle over the future of the antiwar movement broke out in the organization which called, built and led the Strike, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). A section of SMC's New York Working Committee, including pacifists and representatives of the Communist Party, put forward the concept that the war in Vietnam is no longer a central issue for American students, and therefore mass antiwar demonstrations which SMC has been a leading initiator of for over a year and a half need no longer occur. They propose changing SMC into a "less radical than SDS" multi-issue organization, leaving behind its unique role of uniting diverse tendencies in mass mobilizations against the war. Art Goldberg, a new SMC staff member, outlines this perspective in the article reprinted below from the May 30

New York Free Press.

In order to make this change in SMC the Working Committee majority has appropriated for itself the policy-making functions of the open national conferences of the student antiwar movement and has bureaucratically initiated deep-going changes in SMC. Its first step was to move against the Young Socialist Alliance, an organization which has been in the forefront of building SMC into the broad-based, mass action oriented group which it has become, and which stands for continuing and increasing the activities of the antiwar movement until every GI has been brought home. The open move against the YSA took the form of motions excluding members of "political organizations" from participating fully in the work of SMC, and firing Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, YSA members, from the SMC staff.

The second step has been to refuse to heed either the mandate of SMC's

last conference or the demands of SMC groups and builders around the country to call a full national conference which could review and decide SMC's future.

The YSA attitude toward the events in SMC and the future of the antiwar movement is presented here in the answer to Art Goldberg by Lew Jones, National Chairman of the YSA, which appeared in the June 6 *New York Free Press*.

The questions under debate here will be focal points of the discussion at an upcoming meeting of SMC's Continuations Committee in New York City June 29-30. The *Young Socialist* will keep its readers informed of developments in the SMC. The socialist newspaper *The Militant* will have full week-to-week coverage of these events.

June 24, 1968



October 21, 1967 mass demonstrations against the war in Washington, D. C.



October 21, 1967 mass demonstrations against the war in Washington, D. C.

The Direction of SMC:

"Less Radical Than SDS" —Art Goldberg's View

Now that the fervor of the antiwar movement has been undercut by Lyndon Johnson's withdrawal from presidential contention, the start of somewhat tenuous negotiations in Paris (although the war continues with undiminished fury) the Left has time to return to its first love— intramural faction fighting.

Many left-wing groups are holding conferences and conventions during the upcoming weeks, mainly to assess "where we are at" and "where we should go." This type of debate is necessary to any viable movement, but on the Left it is too often filled with acrimony and recrimination.

Internal fratricide however, is characteristic of the Left. Small groups continually slip into smaller ones on points too miniscule for any outsider to comprehend, or even care about. This has considerably diminished the amount of political leverage left-wing groups have been able to exert over the past years.

The crisis developed out of a discussion on what direction the organization should take in the future. Although the strike was successful, there was a good deal of grumbling from campus activists. They felt that Student Mobilization was losing its relevance to local campus groups by organizing mass mobilizations.

Many activists felt that Student Mobilization had neglected the job of organizing students on a campus by campus basis. They have seen no upsurge of antiwar sentiment or the development of any campus base as a result of the strike. Student Mobilization had remained an amorphous collection of individual groupings at the campus level.

It was also felt that not enough emphasis had been placed on the draft and racial oppression, both questions of concern to students. The campus groups felt that there was too much decision-making power in the hands of political groups, particularly the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth group of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers

Party.

What happened was not accidental. At a national convention this past winter, YSAers were told they were to "intervene at every level" in the Student Mobilization Committee.

Surveying the situation, the independents on the national staff, and the New York Working Committee, one of the interim policy-making groups that functions between national conferences, decided to form an "independent caucus" to counter the block voting of the YSA. The group developed four summer programs it felt would enable Student Mobilization to reach down to the campuses more effectively. These were:

(1) A draft counselling and Draft Resistance Program.

(2) GI Organizing— trying to reach GIs and helping them organize within the military.

(3) Intensified antiwar organizing— emphasizing that the war continues. Organizing more local groups on a solid basis.

(4) Organizing projects aimed at combatting white racism— this includes leafletting in the white community and trying to educate National Guardsmen.

The summer programs were passed by a nearly unanimous vote of the Working Committee. Voting for them were representatives from the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union (NBAWADU), the Workshop in Nonviolence, the Student Christian Movement, the Resistance, the DuBois Clubs, almost every campus activist on the committee and all six national officers. YSA did not oppose the program as a whole.

The independents also felt that the programs would eventually get bogged down in political arguments, or would be sabotaged, unless the staff could work together and trust each other. It was felt that the national staff would have to be composed entirely of independents if it were to function at all. A resolution was passed overwhelmingly, (26-6) which stated that until the next na-



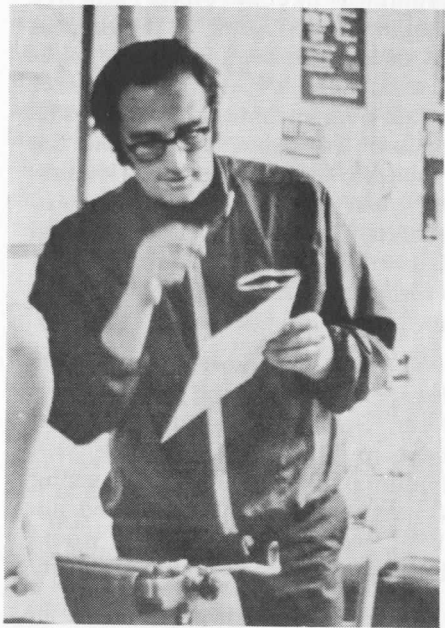
Art Goldberg

tional conference, only independents would work on the staff. Only YSA, one staff member and one campus activist opposed the motion.

YSA claimed that the action was "exclusionary." The antiwar movement has long cherished the principle of non-exclusion. That is, anyone who opposes the war and who subscribes to the basic aims of the movement is welcomed, regardless of his personal political views. This principle has done much to blow away the cobwebs of the McCarthy era, and has rendered the House Un-American Activities Committee and other Congressional witch-hunting agencies virtually powerless.

The independents argued that the motion was not exclusionary. They said the YSA was still amply represented on the Working Committee, on the Continuations Committee and at the National Conference. Kipp Dawson, a YSA leader, would remain one of the six national officers, although she would be obliged to give up her staff position.

continued on p. 24



Art Goldberg

continued from p. 23

A week later, after much discussion and reflection, the independent caucus agreed to move to repeal the original motion. It decided instead to fire the two YSA staff members, Miss Dawson (who again was to remain as national officer) and Syd Stapleton, the editor of the *Student Mobilizer*, the organization's publication. The Working Committee again overwhelmingly approved the action. To prove that it was not "exclusionary" the Working Committee then offered to hire Howard Petrick, YSAer who had organized GIs within the Army, and would be especially valuable on the GI summer organizing project.

YSA said Petrick was not available for several weeks, and to show good faith, Student Mobilization would have to hire Lew Jones, the YSA National Chairman. The Working Committee decided that it, and not YSA, would decide who it would hire and rejected Jones' application.

Jones threatened "total war" if the situation was not worked out to YSA-SWP's satisfaction. The day after the Working Committee rejected Jones' application, a letter was sent out to the entire SMC contact list, (which must have been stolen from the office and copied) to the effect that YSA was being excluded from the organization, and broadly hinted that the Communist Party was behind the whole thing. It was exactly that type of rivalry between political groups that the Independents had been trying to avoid. The letter was signed by Miss Dawson and Mr. Stapleton, and contained numerous distortions and untruths, but perhaps the biggest was the implication that the Communist Party was behind it all. This was decidedly untrue and smacked of the same type of red-baiting YSA claimed it was a victim of.

Meanwhile, the national staff has been greatly expanded. Now that the domination of political groups has ended, temporarily at least, a number of activists have volunteered to work as unpaid staff members. However, while implementing the summer programs, the staff at the same time feels obligated to answer some of the untruths that have been circulated by the YSA. It has taken

up a good deal of time and energy.

According to Gwen Patton, the national secretary of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, Student Mobilization Committee could develop into a real union of students, if it survives the in-fighting. She said her group is willing to work actively with SMC, now that it has instituted a draft program. "I feel that this is one area where black and white can effectively coalesce," she said.

Others too feel SMC has a real future—if it survives. Less radical than SDS, but nevertheless radical,

not liberal, SMC reaches out to students whom SDS cannot, because of its extreme radicalism, reach. If it is able to reflect more clearly the needs of the campus, and if it can organize, as well as mobilize, on a mass basis, it has a good chance of becoming a solid union of American students.

Meanwhile, many people were asking how such a tiny group, with a national membership of 400, had managed to so strongly influence an organization that involved hundreds of thousands of students. But that's another story.



SMC Conference in Jan., 1968, where nearly unanimous decision was made to reaffirm antiwar focus of SMC.

The Direction of SMC:

United Mass Action Against the War

by Lew Jones

Art Goldberg spills the beans on the real essence of the dispute within the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). In the next to last paragraph of his article in the May 30 Free Press he says, "Less radical than SDS, but nevertheless radical, not liberal, SMC reaches out to students whom SDS cannot, because of its extreme radicalism, reach. If it is able to reflect more clearly the needs of the campus, and if it can organize, as well as mobilize, on a mass basis, it has a good chance of becoming a solid union of American students."

This is Goldberg's conception of what the SMC should be—something like SDS, but less radical. This conception is decidedly not the type of organization that has been established at three national SMC conferences, nor does it reflect how SMC has functioned.

When the Communist Party, some pacifists, and Art Goldberg decided they didn't want the SMC as it was, they tried to change it by flaunting the non-exclusion norms of the antiwar movement, behind the backs of the activists, and by refusing to hold a national SMC conference as they



SMC Conference in Jan., 1968, where nearly unanimous decision was made to reaffirm antiwar focus of SMC.

The Direction of SMC:

United Mass Action Against the War

by Lew Jones

were mandated.

(Goldberg piously puts the blame on "leftist intramural infighting." This is simply a cover over the fact that it was he and his cohorts who initiated the fight, forcing the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and other activists to respond to maintain the character of SMC as well as to defend their own rights which were outrageously violated.)

Goldberg's perspective of a "solid union of American students" will probably come as a surprise to most antiwar activists. The SMC was founded in January, 1967 at a conference in Chicago, where it was established as a broad coalition of diverse groups and individuals committed to building a week of antiwar activity, Vietnam Week, which culminated in the massive April 15 protests.

At that conference it was explicitly stated that the SMC was not a competitor with the Students for a Democratic Society, or any other multi-issue or political organization. On the contrary, the SMC's strength was correctly seen in its character as a coalition of groups and individuals to fight the Vietnam war, which welcomed any to its ranks who called for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

The character of SMC was re-affirmed at its second conference which laid plans for the October 21 Pentagon action and at its third conference where the student strike and April 27 were initiated. In fact, at the third conference a motion was passed nearly unanimously re-affirming "that the purpose of SMC is to fight against the racist war in Vietnam."

And now, a group of some twenty individuals (one of whom is Goldberg) suddenly decides another kind of organization is needed. To hold such an opinion is anyone's right, but to ram it down the throats of the antiwar movement via exclusion and bureaucratic functioning is something else again. Such actions are in reality a declaration of war on the antiwar movement, and it is precisely a war that they now find themselves in.

Antiwar activists can legitimately ask who is this Goldberg and by what right does he or any group have to abruptly impose a "new" character on the SMC? Didn't the antiwar movement do away with this undemocratic

and exclusionary method of functioning?

As to the politics, just what does Goldberg mean by "less radical" than SDS? Just exactly what is the program he thinks SMC ought to have? How less radical will it be?

It comes as no surprise to experienced activists in the antiwar movement that the entrance of "peace candidates" and the so-called negotiations in Paris have put pressure on the movement to get out of the streets and to engage in more secure protests, to be more "effective." Goldberg's perspective, of course, is a reflection of this, but how far will he go? Does less radical mean support to Peace and Freedom, Freedom and Peace, McCarthy, or maybe Bayard Rustin's conception of racial "peace?" Perhaps he will enlighten us on this less radical program, that no one has yet heard.

The Student Mobilization's political position is deliberately limited, precisely so that it can unite people—including Art Goldberg—of widely varying viewpoints. But it is not "less radical than SDS." SMC's position on the war is a thoroughly radical one—for the immediate withdrawal of American troops, a demand that confronts the American government sharply, especially when coupled with masses of Americans demonstrating in the streets behind it. It is a stand that coincides with the needs of those waging a revolutionary struggle for the liberation of Vietnam.

The unique contribution of SMC—both to the fight against the war and to the general process of radicalization—has been as a form in which many tendencies and individuals could unite on a non-exclusive basis, to provide national and international mass actions and impetus to local organizing against the war. It has done this job as well as can be expected under the circumstances. And the results have been spectacular—as witness the recent April 26 student strike which involved more students than ever before in U. S. history and brought into motion hundreds of thousands of high school students for the first time.

Student Mobilization, of course, does not solve all the problems, and does not intend itself to be a substitute for more politically defined fully multi-issue organizations. It is not in com-

petition with these, and its activities act as a spur to all such radical organizing.

The New York Working Committee is attempting to make a fundamental change in SMC's character, to de-emphasize the antiwar kernel of SMC, and its mass mobilization aspect, to begin by excluding one organized radical tendency—the YSA—which has wholeheartedly and consistently helped to build the coalition, and to move into competition with the various multi-issue political groups. The political essence of this is a move to the right—as Goldberg blurts out—and a diversion of the SMC from the massive fight against the war, just when that fight is needed more than ever.

As for the question of exclusion, Goldberg's article itself explains that what was intended was precisely to get rid of the YSAers on the staff because of their YSA membership and because they stood in the way of changing the character of SMC by the arbitrary action of a small group in New York without a full discussion and a national conference.

Goldberg charges that the letter of the two fired YSA members "smacked of the same type of red-baiting YSA claimed it was a victim of" because they refer to the recorded vote of the Communist Party representatives in favor of exclusion. This is a real twist. The YSA has always, and still does, stand for inclusion of the CP. The CP voted for the exclusion of the YSAers, not the other way around. Making a point of the position of the CP, and disagreeing with it, is not red-baiting. If it were, then most young radicals in this country, the French students and workers who began the uprising in spite of CP policy, and all sorts of communists from Prague to Peru would be equally guilty.

The war in Vietnam is not going to be ended by the Paris "peace talks" or "peace candidates." It will be ended in the streets of American cities and in the revolutionary struggles in Vietnam and around the world. The fight in SMC is over this perspective. Goldberg and his cothinkers want to drop it, and the YSAers want to continue it. As for the independents across the country, let them decide at a national conference. Since when does Goldberg represent them?

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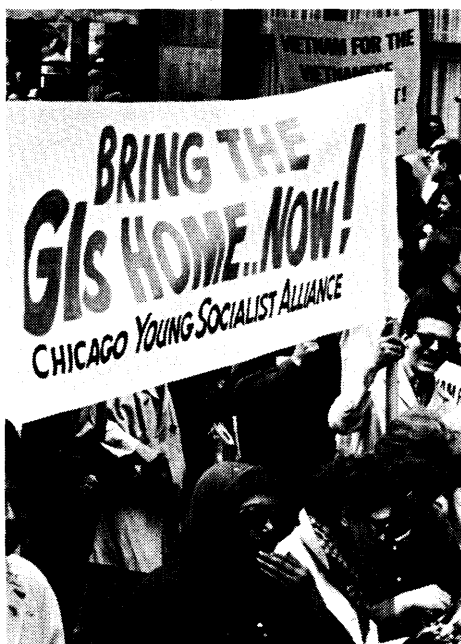
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DELAWARE: Lloyd Summers, 7 Redding Estates, Middletown, Delaware, tel. (302) FR 8-8593

GEORGIA: Atlanta YSA, P. O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Georgia 30308, tel. (404) 872-1612

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- CARBONDALE: Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington, Carbondale, Ill. 62901
- CHICAGO: YSA, Rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, Ill. 60606, tel. (312) 939-5044
- CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: YSA, John Staggs, P. O. Box 2099 Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820, tel. (217) 332-4285
- DE KALB: Tom Getts, 920 1/2 S. 6th, De Kalb, Ill.

INDIANA: Russel Block, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind.

MARYLAND: Taby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS

- BOSTON: YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass., tel. (617) 876-5930
- GT. BARRINGTON: Alec Harper, Simon's Rock, Gt. Barrington, Mass. 01230
- SPRINGFIELD: Stuart Wigam, Box 513, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass. 01109

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- ANN ARBOR: Peter Signorelli, 2075 W. Stadium, Apt. 1939, Ann Arbor, Mich.
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- EAST LANSING: Mike Maniscalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2, East Lansing, Mich.

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- ALBANY: Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany, N. Y. 12210
- NEW YORK CITY: YSA, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003, tel. (212) 982-6051 or 982-6279

... International Notes

Continued from p. 2

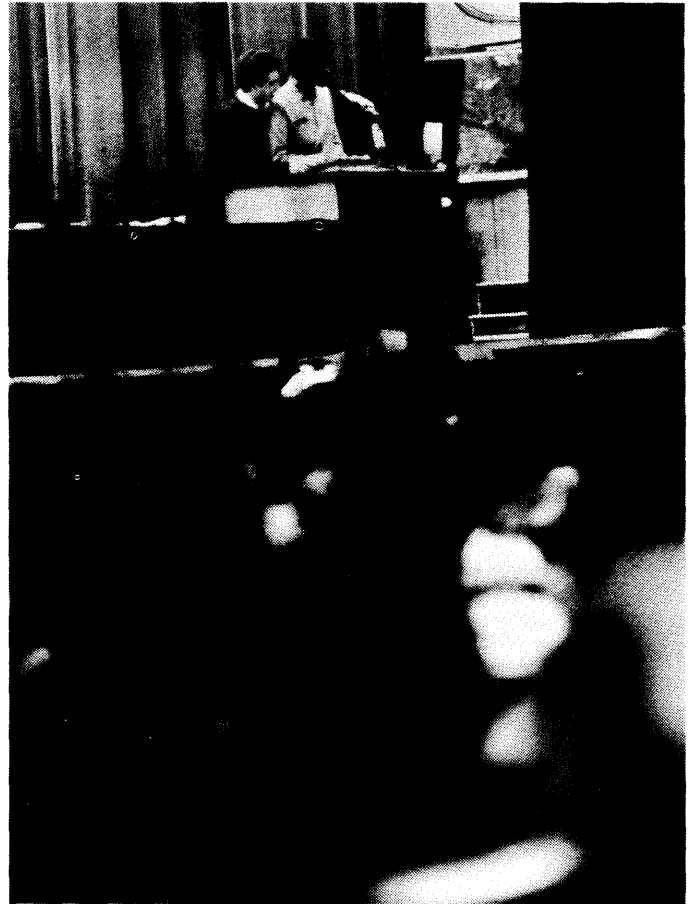
beyond police lines set up to keep them remote from the Embassy. Barricades were found well-suited to narrow Rome streets and the demonstrators succeeded in paralyzing traffic for blocks as they continued to hold their ground against police.

Leading these actions was the Student Movement, a national coalition of diverse radical and revolutionary student groups. Slogans adopted at an open assembly were three: "Arms for the French Workers, "Socialist Revolution," and "France and Europe—Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In a manifesto, the Student Movement declared it had occupied the university to press demands for reform and to protest against the "bourgeois state that keeps in prison workers and students for months."

The upsurge quickly spread throughout Italy. Riot squads were used against striking Turin students who hoisted the red flag of revolution and the black flag of anarchy on the steps of the main building. Concurrent with these student offensives, striking factory workers in Lanciano also clashed with riot police, and a march of local school employees demanding higher wages in Naples was clubbed to dispersion. In Genoa, 1,000 workers and students marched in solidarity with the French revolution. In Florence, 1,500 workers and students, many carrying North Vietnamese flags, staged a demonstration through the town. All universities in the Milan area were closed by students until the government moved in with police to forcibly clear out occupied buildings. During all this, 2,000 students in Rome continued to hold the university despite attempts by right-wing students and police to oust them.

And what does the Italian Communist party have to say to these militant students who have spurred this growing working class discontent through their example of uncompromising struggle against the government? In an official statement released at the height of the student-worker battles, Italian Communist Party theoretician, Giorgio Amendola labelled this student movement "extremist infantilism," among other things. With more than one-fourth of the Italian electorate in its tow, the CP indicated it will not allow itself to be put in a revolutionary situation created by students, a situation which by its "prematurity" would sweep away all the "gains" of the "advance" to socialism.

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA: In the first violent clash in Yugoslavia since the "liberalization"



Paul Boutelle, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate, speaking to audience of 6,000 at Sorbonne in Paris.

that followed President Tito's breakaway from the Soviet bloc twenty years ago, more than sixty injuries were sustained as thousands of Belgrade University students fought to maintain control of their University liberated on June 3. The issues raised in the strike ranged from complaints of inadequate facilities to anger of "fewer and fewer workers and peasant youth at the university." Students also demanded "decreasing social inequities in society, and true democracy in all walks of life."

After two days of battling with police, the government issued a ban on public demonstrations and parades. Students then held an open teach-in where they accused the government of police brutality and of bias in newspaper reportage and demanded freedom of the press. Many factories staged work-stoppages during which meetings were held in support of the students' demands.

The students have renamed Belgrade University the "Red University of Karl Marx." A huge banner draping the Philosophy Building proclaims, "We have had enough of the Red bour-

geoisie." The gains recently made in Czechoslovakia by militant students and workers pressing for democratic freedoms are a subject of intense discussion throughout these actions.

MADRID, SPAIN: "We are not hostages," explained the professor, "but you could say we are in an ambiguous position." This explanation by one member of the faculty caught in the upstairs offices of the University of Madrid building taken over by 1,500 striking students caused the Education Minister to issue an order for police to blow up student barricades if they weren't dismantled within the hour. He further ordered that the papers of all participating students be confiscated which would mean, in effect, a two-year suspension from the University. With this threat looming, students voted to terminate the second wave of protest which began May 30 and followed closely on the heels of the initial wave that had caused the closing of the school until May 6. This renewed outbreak was attributed to the inspiration of the French events. Spanish students, overwhelmingly opposed to the fascist regime, took this opportunity to remind Franco's government that they wish it to suffer the same fate as that of the toppling DeGaulle. It was further spurred by the government's arrest of Pedro Giral, leader of the Student Democratic Union, for his role in the burst of disorders during these past weeks.

ENGLAND: The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, organizing force that has carried out massive demonstrations against the Vietnam war and in solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution across

England during the past few years, staged a May 26 demonstration in Liverpool that resulted in clashes with police. Struggling demonstrators were dragged away after bricks shattered windows of the building housing the American and French consulates. Marchers carried banners in support of Ho Chi Minh and chanted "Victory for the NLF." Students, arms linked, retreated after the encounters pursued by police.

In the wake of intensifying struggle in France, the stolid British institution that is Oxford University was jarred by shouts of "End Proctorial Tyranny" as students rushed an iron gate and attempted a sit-in at a major campus building. The incident was one of several on British campuses following the French outbreak, including protests at Hull University, Hornsey College of Art, Lancaster University, Repton, Keele University, and several other art schools.

SCOTLAND: A group of students were stopped by police as they attempted to march on the French Consulate in Edinburgh to express their solidarity with students and workers in France.

SENEGAL: Students at Dakar University in this former French African colony erupted following the French example and struck in protest of a reduction in student grants. Immediately afterwards, the government was forced to close all schools in this French neo-colony as sympathy protests began to swell nationwide. President Leopold Senghor, also following the example of his French peers, called in his armies to dislodge students and the troops opened fire, killing one

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student and wounding twelve.

Answering a plea by students for worker solidarity, Senegal's labor unions carried out a general strike the next day, May 31. They had already been angered by Senghor's refusal to allow them to stage their annual May Day parade. Later, "rioting" and "looting" broke out in Dakar and police were ordered to shoot all offenders on sight. Senghor agreed to meet with trade unionists soon to discuss grievances.

Senghor, as well as leaders of the other French neo-colonies dotting the Atlantic coast of Africa, retains his position of "leadership" through the graces of French patronage without whose subsidies the false exploitative economies and oppressive governments of these "independent" states would crumble. At this time of trial for the future of the Fifth Republic, the Senegalese are striking a blow against this Gaullism-in-absentia.

BELGIUM: Incensed by the government's refusal to allow Daniel Cohn-Bendit to enter Belgium for a speaking engagement, students occupied the Free University of Brussels on May 23 and announced they would hold control until demands for fundamental changes in the university structure were met. The red flag was hoisted over the main building. Police, fearing a repeat of the Paris battles, refrained from moving in on students. Posters on the walls read: "Get Out of Vietnam, American Aggressors," "This University is Your University", and "Long live the New Power of the Students."

SWEDEN: Hundreds of students carrying red banners and shouting, "We're taking power" marched on the Opera House and the City Theatre in Stockholm on May 25. Police, swinging clubs, brutally dispersed this demonstration to protest inadequate reforms planned by the university.

JAPAN: Students at Nippon University, Japan's largest, have demanded the resignation of the entire board of the university, claiming that 2

million in university funds have been used for unidentified purposes. This flare up is one of an estimated 60 on-going university disputes now raging throughout Japan.

DENMARK: Anti-Vietnam war demonstrators tore down American flags in a march on a U.S. travel agency there on June 4. Windows at the offices of an American oil company were smashed. Protestors moved on to the harbor where bottles were thrown at American ships.

CUBA: The May 24 issue of the Cuban magazine Bohemia carried an article on the worldwide student revolt. The article gives implicit support to the student dissidence in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and features the activities of the French youth. It quotes extensively from dispatches by the Agence France-Press correspondent Roger Geraud who wrote that "the students hope to apply in France the teachings of the Cuban revolution" as well as those of the Latin American guerillas whose main ideologist is Che Guevara. Geraud remarks that the sharp attacks of the French Communist Party newspaper l'Humanite against Cohn-Bendit, which accused him of "adventurism" for leading the students to occupy the Odeon Theater, "recalls those used by the Venezuelan CP against Fidel Castro."

"Nothing will ever be exactly the same," France's Premier Pompidou correctly observed. For comprehensive information on this whirlwind of developments, we urge you to follow unfolding events in the weekly newspaper The Militant (see subscription offer on back of this issue) and in the weekly international labor press service Intercontinental Press. Specializing in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements, Intercontinental Press is available at a subscription rate of \$7.50 for 26 issues. Order from P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

... Young Socialists

Continued from p. 26

OHIO

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PENNSYLVANIA: PHILADELPHIA: YSA, 686 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., tel. (215) CE 6-6998

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**apprenez a chanter
l'internationale !..**

**learn to sing the
International!**

Continued from page 7

also taken place in West Europe and Japan. From among these students and youth emerged the most powerful mass mobilization against the war in Vietnam, which at its outset went beyond the absolutely opportunist and capitulationist phase of movements "for peace in Vietnam" or "for negotiations."

We have seen young revolutionists by the tens of thousands go into the streets of Paris, Berlin, London, Copenhagen, Rome, Amsterdam, and Brussels to launch the only valid slogan—the slogan of full and complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the slogan of victory to the Vietnamese revolution. (Applause.)

In its revolt against the bourgeois university and against the imperial-

ist war, the student vanguard has begun to become conscious of the necessity of rising up against bourgeois society in its entirety. Now it is drawing logical revolutionary socialist conclusions from its development of an anticapitalist consciousness: it is preparing itself for the socialist revolution. For, without a proletarian socialist revolution, there will be no overthrow of the capitalist system, not in West Europe, nor anywhere in the imperialist world. (Applause.)

Another comment must be made on this subject. The "revolutionary" concept, in the proletarian, Marxist sense of the term, has always implied another idea, "internationalism." When—in the epoch in which an Argentinian, Che Guevara, fought in the forefront for the victory of the Cuban revolution, then went to die for the victory of the Bolivian revolution—when—in an epoch in which even the technocrats are talking about the need for a united Europe—a secretary of the French Communist Party dares describe our friend Danny Cohn-Bendit as a "German anarchist," then I say it is Cohn-Bendit who represents proletarian internationalism (Long Applause), and the CP secretary who

personifies petty-bourgeois nationalism. (Long Applause.)

The description that Comrade Ben-said has given us the way in which the March 22 Movement was organized should remind the comrades present here of a striking parallel—the way in which Fidel Castro and Che Guevara began to organize the armed struggle in Cuba.

They also began by saying: "We are going to put aside the tactical differences that divide the different tendencies in the revolutionary movement. Once we agree on the essential thing, on the action to be initiated, on the way to break from the stagnation and backwardness of the traditional movement, on the way to initiate struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy in Cuba by the armed road, we will little by little create a process which will gradually accelerate by its own internal logic, which will make it possible to classify and reclassify the different tendencies by experience." (Applause.)

This attitude is a completely healthy one for all who want to free themselves from empty verbalism, which has done so much harm. After a certain point, the movement can only progress through action, and the absence of action condemns it to sterility





Night of the Barricades

and permanent division.

As all the comrades who have spoken before me have said, there is an urgent task to be done of reintegrating the student movement into the workers' movement. Yes, the workers' movement must win back the student movement, most of all inasmuch as the students are workers. But this reconquest of the students cannot be accomplished through the ossified and bureaucratized structures of the traditional workers' organizations. It is within the working class, rising up in spontaneous struggle against the capitalist system, creating its own new leadership, its own committees, that this reconquest will take place, through action and in action, in their mutual interest and in the interest, the supreme interest, of the revolution.

It will not take place in the traditional organizations, in view of the spirit that today inspires this magnificent new rising young revolutionary vanguard. And if we fight for this reunion—if we fight for this alliance and this convergence between the student revolt and the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Western Europe, it is because we know very well

that neither by virtue of their numbers nor by virtue of the place they hold today in society, can the students alone overthrow capitalist society in the West.

They can and they must play a powerful role of detonator. By playing this role within the working class, especially through the intermediary of the young workers, they can free enormous forces in the working class itself for challenging capitalist society and the bourgeois state. (Applause.)

Today we see on a world scale the rise of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces, an authentic new world revolutionary ascent.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American imperialism, the Cuban revolution, the struggle of the courageous guerrillas in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the struggle of the black masses of the United States for their racial and social liberation are all basically one and the same struggle.

And this struggle of the most oppressed masses, of the masses of the countries of the third world and of the black masses in the United States, is beginning today to get a significant

response in the imperialist countries. This response can be seen in the mass mobilization in these countries against the dirty war in Vietnam; in the mass mobilization of the student movement; in the mass mobilization of the young workers in very arduous strikes and demonstrations in Le Mans, Caen, Turin, and in Bremen and Essen against Springer.

An integral part of this struggle is the struggle of the student and intellectual vanguard in the so-called socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR. Here we send particularly warm greetings to the students and workers in the vanguard of this struggle.

For, as much as we are on the side of the Soviet Union and the "socialist camp" in any confrontation with imperialism or the bourgeoisie, we are on the side of our comrades Kuron and Modzelewski (Polish revolutionary socialists fighting for socialist democracy in Poland), we are on the side of the courageous vanguard workers and students of Warsaw and Poland in their fight against bureaucracy and for real soviet democracy, which can only be a democracy of councils (Long Applause), a democracy based on workers, students, and poor-peasant councils as Lenin taught us. (Applause.)

When this worldwide struggle that is already in progress makes it possible to draw in the adult workers against the incomes policy, against the *economic concertee* (union-government agreement to hold down wages), against the revival of unemployment, against job insecurity, against the integration of the unions into the capitalist state, against the more and more marked evolution everywhere in Western Europe toward authoritarian, "strong states," against NATO and the Atlantic Pact, for a revival of the workers' movement going over into workers' struggles challenging the capitalist system itself, then we can transform today's vanguard into a mighty revolutionary party, marching at the head of the masses.

Then, all together, we will be invincible. Then, all together, we will complete the great work begun 50 years ago by the October Revolution, the victory of the world socialist revolution! (Long Applause.)

Rally to the Defense of French Revolutionaries

The petition printed below has been circulated by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the French Workers and Students, which has also organized protest actions at the French Consulate in New York City.



Photo by Shannon

Petition: In Defense of the French Victims of de Gaulle's Repression

It is with deep concern that Americans have learned that the de Gaulle government has continued and deepened its repression. In the past week (June 9-16) students and workers have been killed by the brutal actions of the specially trained riot police. The government has banned demonstrations and warned that any would be "pitilessly" suppressed.

In addition, the de Gaulle government has banned and outlawed revolutionary student and labor organizations, and arrested some of their leaders. Up to sixty foreign journalists have been expelled from France. The scope and gravity of these actions against the French people are further revealed with reports that de Gaulle is now preparing a coalition with right wing fascist generals.

In light of this deteriorating situation, and the threat to the rights and well-being of the French people, we Americans who solidarize with the just struggle of the French workers and farmers and students and with the victims of the de Gaulle repression call upon the Government of France to:

- 1) Immediately lift the ban on the proscribed political organizations.
- 2) Release immediately all political prisoners.
- 3) Re-affirm the right of free access of foreign journalists to France.
- 4) Immediately end its brutal repression of demonstrations and its attacks on the civil liberties of the French people.

Name	Address	Organization
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A solidarity campaign in behalf of the victims of the Gaullist repression in France has been set in motion in Belgium. The first responses have proved very encouraging and it is expected that the campaign will rapidly be extended to other countries in Europe.

The committee in charge of this work has asked that funds, which are needed immediately, should be sent to Brussels together with signed copies of any petitions circulated and information on protest actions. Checks should be made out to Emile Van Ceulen and sent to the following address:

Emile Van Ceulen
Secretary, Fonds de Solidarite contre la Repression en France
111 Avenue Seghers
Brussels 8, Belgium