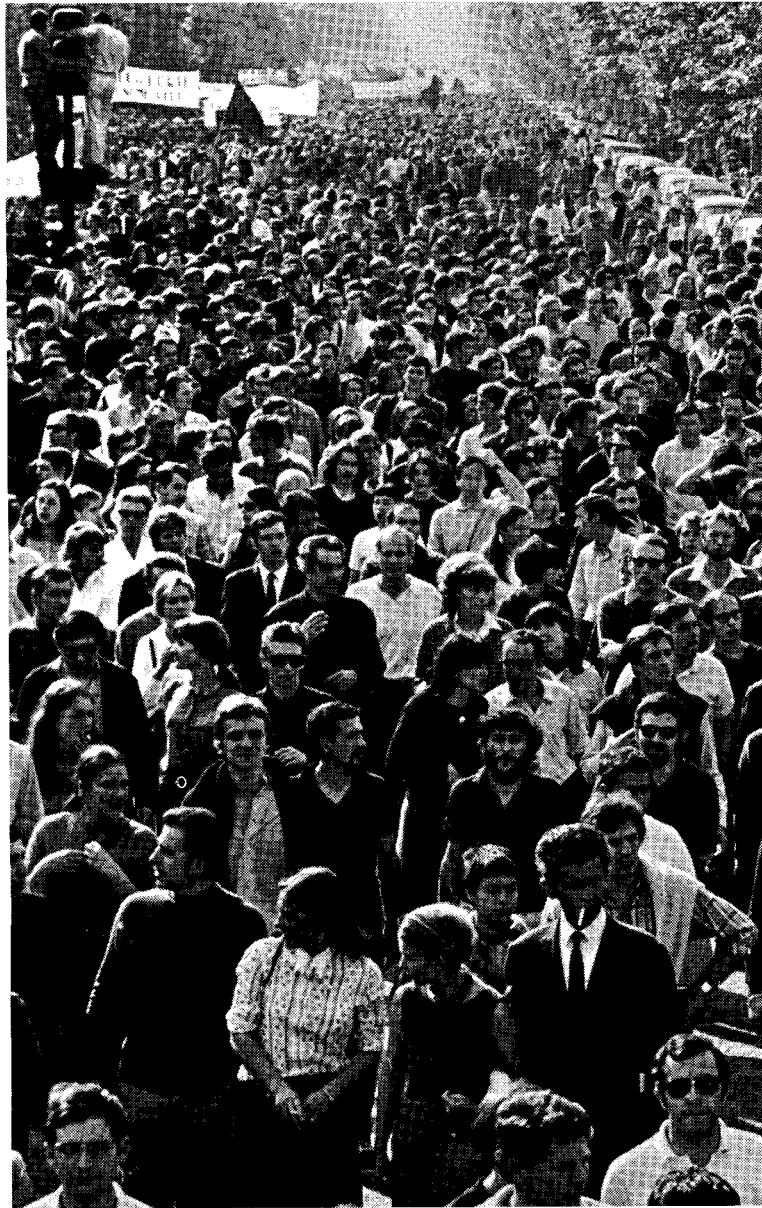


The Second Kennedy Assassination



From Our Paris Correspondents:

De Gaulle's 'Coup'

Paris Students March
Against de Gaulle

French Communist Party
vs. Student Youth

PARIS, JUNE 1. Protesting de Gaulle's May 30 threat of civil war, 20,000 to 30,000 students marched through the Latin Quarter. The militant demonstration took place despite opposition from the Communist party and the CP-led General Federation of Labor.

Political Exclusion in U.S. Antiwar Movement

THE SECOND KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

(A Political Appraisal)

By George Novack

Since November 1963 the United States has witnessed a series of assassinations of personages representing almost every shade of the political spectrum from the ultraright to the revolutionary left. The slaying of President John F. Kennedy in Texas was preceded by the murder of Medgar Evers in Mississippi and followed by those of Leo Bernard of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit; Malcolm X in New York; George Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party, in Virginia; Martin Luther King in Memphis; and, now, Senator Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles. Along with these have been the unpublicized assassinations of black militants such as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activist Sam Young by white terrorists in the South.

This five-year list testifies that political assassination has become standard practice in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Millions in the United States and the rest of the world see a consistent pattern and connection between at least some of these acts which they believe points to the existence of a concerted conspiracy behind them. On one hand, reactionary spokesmen (Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles is the latest example) point to a "Communist" plot; on the other hand, assorted liberals and radicals (like Gus Hall, leader of the American Communist party), allude to a right-wing conspiracy that has to be unmasked.

What does explain this recurrent resort to individual acts of violence in a country that boasts of its commitment to constitutional legality? This question is being discussed all over the land by a shocked American people in the aftermath of the shooting of Senator Kennedy. Marxists must give their answer to it.

It is superficial to refer, as some do, to frontier traditions of vigilante gunplay or the derangement of personalities. The fundamental reasons are not to be found in the American past but in the nation's present, and not in individual psychopathology but in the pathology of a capitalist society which is "sick unto death."

The last half of the twentieth century is a period of transition from one social system to another, from a decaying capitalism to a nascent socialism. During such epochs of life-and-death combat between antagonistic class forces, all social contradictions and political strug-

gles acquire extreme intensity. The basic issues at stake are settled, not by mutual agreement or compromise, but by naked force.

The norms of behavior and morality which regulate differences under more peaceful conditions lose their constraining influence. As social struggles deepen, harsher measures and methods tend to take over and make over political life.

The sharpening of tensions between rich and poor, the black masses and white capitalist society, students and the establishment within the United States, along with the counterrevolutionary belligerence of American imperialism on the international arena during the 1960's, are the main underlying causes for the sudden eruption of assassination as a method of political struggle.

The foremost practitioners and begetters of violence are the U.S. monopolists and militarists who are determined to maintain their power, privileges and profits at all costs and by any means at home and abroad. They have built a colossal and costly death-dealing arsenal, equipped with enough nuclear weapons to wipe out all life on this planet. Ironically, the Kennedy brothers themselves, as president and U.S. attorney general, were by their own admission in case of a showdown during the Caribbean crisis of 1962 ready to release the rain of nuclear death and destruction in order to "save" their system.

Ever present is the violence which Johnson's administration is still inflicting on the people of Vietnam. And it is common knowledge that the CIA instigates military coups and assassination attempts to get rid of recalcitrant regimes and individuals in foreign lands.

No wonder that the historian Arthur Schlesinger, who has himself taken a hand in such affairs as adviser to the Kennedys, could observe June 6: "We are today the most frightening people on this planet."

Official violence is not confined to the foreign field. It is also directed against the Afro-American communities. When the black masses rise up against injustices and indignities, they are mercilessly assailed, bludgeoned and shot down by local cops, state and federal troops.

In view of these facts, President Johnson was full of hypocrisy when, after Robert Kennedy's shooting, he sermonized against "the violence which tears at the fabric of our national life." The counter-

revolutionary crew he speaks for are the most conscienceless perpetrators of large-scale violence in this country and throughout the world. They should not be permitted to escape responsibility for their own crimes and the example they give to friend and foe alike.

In his own fashion Senator Eugene McCarthy pointed a finger at the real sources of guilt when he said that it was not enough to blame the awful event on "one deranged man." The presidential candidate went on to say, it is "in part a reflection of violence which we have visited upon the rest of the world."

Yet Johnson had the effrontery to inveigh against violence without a single word about the war he is waging in Vietnam.

Whatever the facts are in any single case, the cruder theories of a common pattern of conspiracy among the assassinations do not hold water. Nevertheless, great numbers of Americans, and especially Afro-Americans, are convinced that the deaths are the result of a plot against the poor.

James O. Gibson, staff associate at Washington's Potomac Institute, hit the nail on the head when he remarked: "Even if there was not actual conspiracy, there was an environmental conspiracy." That's precisely the point.

The capitalist setup is a remorseless, unremitting daily conspiracy against the poor, the oppressed, the colored peoples. The masses of the exploited feel this and formulate it as best they can.

Who can doubt this at the sight of the current confrontation between the delagation of poor people assembled at Washington and a callous administration coupled with an indifferent Congress. "Here is a Congress literally face to face with an army of poor people pleading for some relief of their misery -- a Congress whose reply is a sneer, a smirk and a warning to keep order," complained the playwright Arthur Miller in the June 8 New York Times.

Two top CBS reporters, Daniel Schorr and Dan Wrother, testified in a broadcast June 6: "The poor think the whole system is a conspiracy against them. They think officials are lying to them." And they are right.

With the malevolent cunning of the ruling class, Washington officials are conniving to turn Kennedy's assassination to their advantage. Under cover of new "crime control" laws, they are hastening to legalize electronic bugging of conversations and justify the beating of confessions out of helpless victims in the back-

rooms of police stations. Some hope to stir up a red-scare and revive the vindictive witch-hunting atmosphere of the McCarthy years.

These moves lend pertinence to the assertion of Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, that the act of assassination "can only serve the forces of reaction. The ruling class is already seizing upon it as a pretext for new legislation and repressive measures aimed against all critics of their basic policies."

However, neither punitive measures nor the commission Johnson has appointed will help solve the urgent social and political problems confronting the American people. They will only serve to evade or exacerbate them.

Since the beginning of 1968 America's rulers have been jolted by three big blows: the military setback in Vietnam following the Tet offensive; the weakening of the dollar; and the continuing confrontation with the black masses in the cities. These difficulties are being compounded by a growing lack of confidence in the capacity of their political agents to insure domestic tranquillity and effectively cope with domestic and foreign problems. This crisis has been intensified by the second Kennedy assassination.

The United States has never experienced a presidential campaign as unpredictable and upsetting as this one. McCarthy's unexpected victory in the New Hampshire primaries, Kennedy's entry into the race, Johnson's withdrawal, and now the death of Robert Kennedy have been the main incidents of this disorder and disarray.

The murders of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy have increased the instability of capitalist rule because these two men were the most prominent upholders of the capitalist system with considerable following among the discontented black and white masses who distrust Johnson, Nixon and others of their ilk. The ruling class urgently needs "lesser evil" figures who can keep the antiwar forces and the angry disillusioned black voters, who have been alienated by the present administration, in the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Kennedy was their best bet.

That is why all the mass media have been busily building up the cult of the multimillionaire Kennedys as the best friends of the poor and the oppressed, although both politicians largely confined their aid to protestations of sympathy and visitations to the slums. When a genuine and uncompromising fighter for the black liberation movement, Malcolm X, was gunned down in February 1965, there was no such homage paid to him by the ruling circles.

In times of social disturbance the influence of personages like Kennedy over the masses is more than useful to the capitalist class. It is indispensable if the insurgency is to be kept within tolerable bounds and held in check. The illusions of identification with such men form a precious part of the political assets at the disposal of the capitalist class under emergency conditions.

A presidential choice, for instance, between Humphrey and Nixon is not one to arouse great enthusiasm among the disaffected.

Bill Moyers, who was formerly press officer at the White House and is now publisher of Newsday in New York, asserted on a TV panel program June 5:

"We're in for a rough time." His apprehensions are well-grounded.

Listen to this wrathful reaction from William Watts, a black veteran from Brooklyn, recorded in the June 6 New York Post: "Democracy is just a word they use. Washington, D.C., is just a monument. What do you get from there? Nothing.

"I served in the war. What have I got? Nothing. You mark my words. There will be a lot of bloodshed from June through August."

"The people are hurt," he concluded. The high and mighty representatives of the rich should "mark the words" of William Watts. He is one of many.

DE GAULLE AND BIDAULT -- AN UNSAVORY COMBINATION

As the hastily called June 23-30 elections in France draw nearer, General de Gaulle is plainly preparing a coalition -- having little to do with votes -- to be used against the mass of the French workers and students. There can be no other interpretation to his decision to amnesty neofascist figures, such as former premier Georges Bidault, who were associated with the Secret Army Organization. Another ominous sign is the proliferation of extralegal armed Gaullist groups under the euphemism "Committees for the Defense of the Republic."

This reconciliation with the ultra-right portends the unleashing of repressive blows at the students and workers should de Gaulle win the election, or the possible threat of a military coup should he be defeated. The London Observer commented June 9 on the possible results of an anti-Gaullist victory:

"Another possible outcome of the elections is an outright victory for the Communists and their Socialist allies. This would make President de Gaulle's position intolerable. He would be driven either to resign or -- a rash move, this -- to assume emergency powers under Article 16 of the Constitution. A Gaullist putsch with army support is not entirely beyond credibility."

Bidault, at a June 9 press conference, ostentatiously guarded by a large force of ex-members of the OAS, denied he had made a deal with the regime for his return from exile. Even the New York Times commented that this declaration "left standing the impression that the regime, in waiving his arrest, was eager to develop further its new support among Frenchmen who broke with it over the question of Algerian independence."

While the majority of strikers appear to have returned to work under pressure from the Communist-party-led General Federation of Labor, important sectors have continued the strike in defiance of their official leadership. The auto industry -- particularly the Renault plants -- remains the bastion of the most militant strikers. At the Renault works at Flins west of Paris, 4,000 workers, joined for the first time by a large contingent of students from Paris, battled riot police for hours for possession of the plant June 7.

The CGT, anxious to restore "class peace," denounced the action as a "provocation" -- on the part of the students and young workers!

The merchant fleet is still on strike, as are Paris taxi drivers and the nation's 600,000 teachers. At Berliet, the heavy vehicle manufacturers, talks have been broken off.

The volatility of the whole situation can be gauged by the fact that the elections were almost canceled June 8 when an unexpected overnight strike of local government clerks and postal workers broke out, holding up the voting papers for the June 23 election.

The peasant movement has not been quieted either. Police clashed sharply with peasants in the Gironde June 8.

The great mass of workers who have returned to work at the insistence of their leadership were not beaten, even though their strike unity was disrupted. They accepted a truce with de Gaulle until the elections. The fundamental question of power will still be decided in the streets.

PARIS STUDENTS ANSWER DE GAULLE IN THE STREETS

By Mary-Alice Waters

Paris

JUNE 3 -- Responding to the call of the UNEF [Union Nationale des Etudiants de France -- National Union of Students of France], 20,000 to 30,000 students marched through the streets of the Latin Quarter in Paris on the afternoon of June 1.

After the speech of General de Gaulle on May 30, and the subsequent Gaullist demonstration of some 400,000 on the Champs-Élysées (the Fifth Avenue of Paris), the students waited for the mass trade unions to take the initiative in continuing the struggle.

But the response of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Federation of Labor] and the Communist party was to assure de Gaulle that they were willing to take the struggle off the streets, out of the factories, out of the universities, and, as they expressed it, accept the electoral challenge. The intention and the effect of the CP line is to demobilize the millions of workers whose struggle in recent weeks has reached such heights that one frequently hears the comment, "not since the Commune has Paris seen such a mobilization of the working masses."

By Friday, May 31, it became clear that neither the CGT, nor the Communist party, nor the FGDS [Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste -- Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left] headed by François Mitterrand, nor any other organization with mass working-class support would call millions of workers into the streets in an immediate and decisive reply to de Gaulle's suspension of even the forms of parliamentary democracy and open threat of military dictatorship. In the absence of such a response the student movement called a demonstration Saturday afternoon. The CGT instructed its supporters to stay away.

For two hours the students marched to loud and spirited chants of "It's only a beginning -- the struggle continues," "We will fight till the final victory," "Workers -- Students -- Solidarity," "Elections -- Betrayal," "The power is in the streets," and "The working class to power."

The chants were intermixed with frequent verses and choruses of the "Internationale," the strength of which indicated that the thousands of students have become familiar with the words since the start of the struggle a month ago.

At the head of the demonstration marched Jacques Sauvageot, vice-president of UNEF, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and Alain Krivine of the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire -- Revolutionary Communist Youth]. Sauvageot and Krivine addressed the rally at the end of the march.

After the rally several thousand demonstrators crowded into the courtyard of the School of Science to listen to half a dozen spokesmen from different political groups call for and discuss the formation of a committee to coordinate the actions of the various revolutionary-minded tendencies in France today. Speaking were members of the JCR; the French section of the Fourth International; Voix Ouvrière ["Workers Voice"]; and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, in addition to J.P. Vigier, the well-known French physicist and leader of the National Vietnam Committee, and J. Coin, former editor of France Nouvelle, the weekly theoretical organ of the Communist party.

The size and composition of the student demonstration unquestionably represented a downturn from the previous demonstration called by UNEF on Monday, May 27. At the earlier demonstration, also denounced by the CGT as divisive and possibly dangerous, tens of thousands of workers rejected the advice of the CGT and swelled the ranks of the demonstration to nearly 150,000. On May 27, as they marched by the offices of l'Humanité, the newspaper of the French Communist party, the demonstrators addressed themselves to Georges Séguy, the secretary general of the CGT and a leader of the Communist party, with shouts of "Séguy -- Resign," and "Séguy -- Betrayer."

On June 1 only a small number of workers joined the demonstration. But, at the same time, despite the loud proclamations of the French radio and many newspapers, the strikers were clearly holding fast on their economic demands and their refusal to return to work without an economic victory. Over the long holiday week-end of Pentecost, negotiations continued in most industries, and results were expected to be submitted to the strikers for a vote in some basic industries on Tuesday morning.

Such a referendum, already conducted in the Paris transport workers union, resulted in a vote of 90 percent for continuing the strike. Similar votes in other basic sections of the economy are predicted even by the conservative press. Clearly, the current crisis for French capitalism is not yet over.

DE GAULLE'S MAY 30 SPEECH

By Pierre Frank

Paris

MAY 31 -- What is the meaning of de Gaulle's May 30 coup and what does it do to the perspectives of the movement that has been developing in France?

The first phase of the socialist revolution, which began May 3, has de-

veloped with remarkable regularity and logic through its own forces, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership recognized by the rather broad masses and despite the fearful, superreformist policy of the leadership of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français] and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail]. First

came the struggle of the students, lasting up to the 24-hour strike of May 13; then the general strike, accompanied by the occupation of the plants, culminating in the agreement on a "protocol" of concessions to be granted which was reached after thirty hours of negotiations between the government, the employers organizations and representatives of the trade unions.

A new stage opened Monday morning, May 27, two hours after the "protocol" was worked out. When Georges Séguéy presented it to the Renault workers, he was unable to reach that part of his speech where he would have echoed the justly famous words of Maurice Thorez in June 1936: "You've got to know when to end a strike."

The workers interrupted him with cries of "Don't sign!" and Séguéy had to make a turn in mid-speech. To the immense surprise of both the bourgeoisie and the trade-union officials, the strike went on with still greater vigor.

The government was pushed aside and negotiations began directly between the bosses and the trade unions at various levels. The question of political power was posed by the situation itself without the leaders of the workers having done anything themselves to pose it. A maneuver to the left that had been rumored for several days was publicly unveiled -- a transition government was being cooked up by someone [Pierre Mendès France or François Mitterrand] who was at bottom a "de Gaulle of the left," although this, of course, is denied by the candidate.

The Communist party did not take to this combination in which, while not being excluded, it could only play a minor role as in 1945-47 under de Gaulle. It put up a de facto opposition, advancing the formula of a "people's government and a democratic union" [gouvernement populaire et d'union démocratique]. For the first time in twenty-five days, the Waldeck Rochet leadership seemed to have given up chasing after the movement, trying to stop it, and to have moved to its head in order to give it a governmental objective.

If the situation is viewed from the government angle, it can be said that it, too, had been unsuccessfully trying to catch up with events since May 3. The concessions granted to the students May 11 came too late; the "protocol" granted to Séguéy in the Rue de Grenelle negotiations was not accepted



DE GAULLE

veloped with remarkable regularity and logic through its own forces, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership recognized by the rather broad masses and despite the fearful, superreformist policy of the leadership of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français] and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail]. First

by the workers; de Gaulle's decision to stage a referendum June 16 was just as unrealistic as was his decision to conscript the miners at the time of their strike in March 1963. Bourgeois circles both of the right and the left not only talked about de Gaulle resigning, everywhere they openly discussed proposals on who was to succeed him.

This was the situation when de Gaulle, his back to the wall, decided to strike. He stated that he was going to stay in power and that he was keeping Pompidou at his side. He dissolved the National Assembly. Temporarily giving up the referendum, he decided to hold new elections. In all these decisions he remained within the "legal" framework. But in announcing his decisions, he attacked the upsurge in terms worthy of a nineteenth-century bourgeois talking about socialism, appealing to all the forces of reaction to save "law and order," declaring without any possibility of being misinterpreted that he was ready to use armed force. This speech divided the country along social lines and threatened civil war.

Nevertheless de Gaulle's plan is much less of a gamble, so far as the immediate future is concerned, than might appear at first glance. De Gaulle understands the true worth of his leftist opponents, including the Communist party and the Social Democratic Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste [FGDS] -- they don't have much character. He knows that they want to come to power through an electoral majority, not on a revolutionary wave. He offers them the appearance of elections, but intends to break the strike beforehand. This is his primary objective.

Since the political and trade-union leaders separated the strike or rather strikes, as they see it (they don't admit the existence of a general strike), along with the immediate strike demands, from their governmental slogan, de Gaulle moved into this terrain, which is favorable for him. He is letting each sector of workers negotiate, here with a single boss, there with a boss's organization, or with a minister in charge of a nationalized industry.

It is certain that he will seek to use bribery and repression to divide the movement to the utmost in an effort to get work resumed in the sectors most vitally involved in keeping the country going (means of communication, etc.), letting the strike be prolonged in other

sectors, essential to production but in a less immediate way (mines, metallurgy, etc.).

Can this plan succeed? The situation is completely unstable and can develop quite quickly (in a few days, at the maximum within two weeks) either in the direction sought by de Gaulle or, contrariwise, in a direction opened by a new thrust forward by the masses.

Once again during this month of May, the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France [UNEF] has moved into the vanguard, appealing to all the trade-union organizations to stage a giant mass demonstration in Paris and in every town and city in France. Will this proposal meet with a favorable response?

The Communist party leadership was happy to announce its decision, immediately following de Gaulle's speech, that it was going to participate in the general elections. This indicates that the CGT will not respond to the UNEF appeal.

The mass movement has shown itself since the beginning to be resourceful, very militant and inspired by an ardent youth. But it lacks an alternative leadership in the plants; it lacks even the beginnings of such a leadership. If the regime commits a mistake this could touch off a new upsurge, but the movement had already reached the level where spontaneity and rank-and-file initiative no longer sufficed.

Will the movement reach new levels or will it recede? Everything seems genuinely in flux. But whatever the immediate outcome, the working class has already taken a giant stride along the road of socialist revolution. French capitalism has been hit in the vitals. Throughout the country spontaneous experiments are being made in which capitalist private property and the capitalist government are challenged. The embryonic elements of dual power have appeared at various levels. The general political level has been raised considerably. A vanguard is shaping up in consonance with revolutionary Marxist slogans and it is gaining in experience with each day.

De Gaulle's coup can have an adverse immediate effect, but it will nevertheless prove to be only an episode in the history of the French socialist revolution.

THE FRENCH WORKERS COME INTO THE STREETS

By Joseph Hansen

Paris

MAY 29 -- Today's massive demonstration of the Parisian workers marked an important qualitative change in the developing revolutionary process in France.

For the first time, the bureaucrats of the Communist party and the unions they dominate permitted political slogans to take precedence over economic demands. Up to yesterday they had sought to contain the general strike by limiting it to a pure and simple trade-union level.

And for the first time, instead of negotiating with the de Gaulle regime, as the CP bureaucrats sought to do up to yesterday, they shifted to calling for de Gaulle's resignation and the formation of a "Popular Government."

The CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Federation of Labor] did not issue the call for the demonstration until yesterday afternoon. How much pressure there was among the rank and file for action like this in the streets can be judged by the size of the parade assembled on such short notice and in face of the complete shutdown of all public transportation.

Estimates of the turnout ranged from 200,000 to 800,000, the most common figure being "at least a half million."

The spirit of the demonstration was another gauge of the mood of the workers. It was a chanting, singing, vigorous march. The demonstrators smelled victory.

For years the parades sponsored by the French Communist party, after due permission from the authorities, have been dull, apathetic affairs in which a small number of workers have dutifully but sullenly carried the tricolor of capitalist France.

In the entire parade today, lasting about four hours, I counted only three tricolors, two of them carried by the Communist youth. So numerous were the red flags, most of them a bright new silk, that they appeared like a red foam on this human river pouring down the boulevard.

Two songs were kept going by the hundreds of thousands of voices. One was the "Internationale" and the other a new song, as yet unnamed, born in the streets. It goes, "Adieu, de Gaulle; adieu, de Gaulle; adieu, de Gaulle." The chorus simply repeats the verse although at times it is shortened to just "Adieu,

adieu, adieu." It is sung in a rather mournful, nostalgic way, accompanied by the waving of handkerchiefs. As yet there appears to be no set number of verses; perhaps fifteen or twenty, all with the same wording. When the end is reached, the song is often begun over again.

The main slogan decided on by the CGT was "For a People's Government and a Democratic Union."

The demonstrators tended to shorten this to "People's Government" [Gouvernement Populaire]. They also showed a tendency to change this to "Power to the Workers" [Le Pouvoir aux Travailleurs].

A chant set up by one group went in the form of questions and answers: "Gouvernement Populaire?" "Oui!" (Accompanied with raised clenched fists.) "Mitterrand, Mendès France?" "Non!" (The clenched fists are brought down.)



MITTERRAND

Mitterrand and Mendès France are the two bourgeois politicians most frequently mentioned as possible successors to de Gaulle and Pompidou in a coalition government that would bring in the Communist party.

The Alsthom factory contingent from St. Ouen carried a banner, "An End to the Promises; Immediate Satisfaction."

The highest political note was sounded by a large contingent of students belonging to the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France [National Union of Students of France -- UNEF] who understood the importance of participating in the CP-CGT parade despite the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the previous period to ridicule and isolate them as "madmen" and "irresponsible elements."

The main slogan chanted by this contingent was, "For the Socialist Revolution!"

A group of a thousand or so used a style of marching that in itself emphasized a point. They halted until the preceding contingent was well ahead. Then they broke into a fast run to catch up. The effect created by a thousand people running with banners and a mass of red flags was greeted with heavy applause from the spectators packing the sidewalks.

Here are some of the placards carried by the students: "No to Capitalism"; "Coordination of the Committees of Action"; "Unity of Teachers, Students, Workers -- in the Streets"; "A Million Workers in Front of the Elysée" [the White House of France]; "The Factories to the Workers"; "Power to the Workers."

The student contingent had a few special slogans for one of their leaders, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who was barred from France by the de Gaulle regime as an "undesirable," branded by the CP as a "German," by the French ultrareactionaries as a "German Jew," and by a CGT official with the sneering remark, "Who is Cohn-Bendit?"

The marchers chanted in reply: "We Are All Undesirables"; "We Are All German Jews" [equivalent in the U.S. to a chant by whites, "We Are All Niggers"]; "The Workers Have No Fatherland"; "De Gaulle Is Banned"; and "Who Is de Gaulle?"

This contingent also added to the songs on the line the fine Italian song, "Bandiera Rossa," and several other workers' songs sung by past generations that have not been widely heard in recent years.

The sidewalks were packed along the whole line of march, which extended from the Bastille to the Gare St. Lazare,

some five kilometers. The spectators displayed no signs of hostility whatsoever. On the contrary, they acted like a reviewing stand, applauding the slogans that appealed to them the most.

People viewed the parade from windows in buildings lining the boulevard, many of them displaying red flags. Some raised their arms in the clenched fist salute and were hailed by the marchers.

In business houses occupied by strikers, the marchers were greeted likewise with red flags and shouts. The huge department stores, Galeries Lafayette and Au Printemps, which correspond to Macy's and Gimbel's in New York, appeared to be engaged in socialist competition. At the Galeries Lafayette, the strikers were lined up on the balcony with red flags. One huge banner appeared even from below to be made of exceptionally rich and heavy cloth -- Galeries Lafayette quality, no doubt. At Au Printemps the strikers had gathered at the rotunda where they waved an attractive display of red flags at the marchers passing below.

A very substantial and conservative-looking bank building, the Société Générale, closed down tight by the personnel, lacked an appropriate display. This was supplied by a demonstrator, who left the line of march with his red flag. He climbed up the balustrade and fixed it in the grill to the applause of all who watched him. When he had completed the job, he remained long enough to give a clenched fist salute while hanging to the bars beside his gift to the bank.

At the end of the parade at the Gare St. Lazare, stewards of the CGT dispersed the demonstrators. There was no rally and no speakers. "Dispersion," was the final order of the CP and the CGT bureaucrats to the masses they had reluctantly finally summoned into the streets.

It was quite evident how much these bureaucrats feared any further action by the masses. After all, the Elysée was not more than ten or fifteen minutes march away.

But merely by permitting the rank and file to engage in this single demonstration with very meager political slogans, the CP may have started more than it can contain.

Even without the participation of the other trade-union federations or the broad sectors of student youth who precipitated the current crisis and who have been in the forefront of the street actions ever since, the demonstration today was a most impressive show of the power of the workers in the Paris area.

They had an opportunity to get the feel of how easy this kind of action is when great numbers are involved. Tonight and in the next few days they will be talking about this and drawing many conclusions going far beyond the wishes of the bureaucratic chieftains.

And this is not confined to Paris alone. Similar demonstrations were carried out today throughout France -- in all the cities, towns and hamlets. The entire country is beginning to change in hue from the washed-out tricolor of the decrepit French bourgeoisie to the warm hue of a proletarian revolution.

INTERVIEW WITH RENAULT WORKERS

By Mary-Alice Waters

Paris

MAY 29 -- While Benoît Frachon, president of the Confédération Générale du Travail [CGT -- General Federation of Labor], and other leaders of the Communist party slander the left-wing students with insinuations that they are reactionary agents trying to infiltrate the working class, there is another process going on among the rank-and-file workers. In large part this explains the vehemence of the attacks on the revolutionary youth.

Over dinner several days ago, I discussed these developments with two young workers from the giant Renault plant at Boulogne-Billancourt on the outskirts of Paris. Their background and evolution in the past four weeks is both typical of many young workers and also very significant.

As they explained to me, when the student demonstrations began in early May, their attitude and that of most others at Renault was hostile. The students were the butt of many jokes about rich kids playing at revolution.

"But there was a decisive change on the night of May 10-11," they said. "When the students stayed and fought on the barricades, we saw they were serious. More than 1,000 were wounded and the police brutality was terrible. That made us sympathetic to the students."

The second important turning point came on May 13, the day of the general strike called in support of the students. They explained that in normal times, if more than nine hours of strike time are lost in a month, everyone's pay is docked by a certain amount for the next three months. And they never received pay for time lost on strike. But on May 13 they received pay for the entire day and they realized that something was different this time.

Two days later the workers at Sud-Aviation occupied the factory and, in a gesture of symbolic determination, welded the plant manager into his office.

Forty-eight hours after that, Renault went out. The occupation of the factory started in one shop, and the men called on the rest of the plant to join them. With 35,000 of some of the best-paid workers in the country, Renault is also the traditional radical center of the French working class. When the Renault workers occupied their plant, all of France soon followed suit, and the general strike began.

"The students started the train rolling and we thank them for that. Once we saw the train was off and running, we climbed aboard."

Bernard and Jacques, the two with whom I was talking, said their first direct contact with the student movement, and with the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth] in particular, came when a delegation of students from the Sorbonne marched eight miles out to the Renault plant to express their solidarity with the strikers.

When the students arrived, the doors to the plant were barred. The head of the CGT greeted them, thanked them for coming, and asked them to leave and not create any disturbances that would provide a pretext for "police intervention." Rumors were started that a handful of the students intended to burn some of the cars parked in front of the factory.

A warning sign was posted on the wall and the special warning to younger workers was underlined: "This warning is doubtless unnecessary for the majority of the workers at Renault who have had past experiences with provocateurs. However, the younger ones should be informed that such elements work for the bosses...every time that the growth in the unity of the forces on the left threatens their privileges."

Despite all such precautions, intended to block contact between the students and the young workers, the attitude of the union bureaucrats was not adopted by the rank and file.

The red flag brought by the students was hoisted over the factory with thanks. "You occupied the Sorbonne with thousands of red flags. Now we have occupied the factories in the same way." The students passed cigarettes through the windows to the occupants who had run out, and many, like Bernard and Jacques, came out to talk with the students and promised to return the visit to them at the Sorbonne. Since then, they and many others have come to the Sorbonne several times to keep in touch with what is happening there.

We talked about some of the aspects of the strike and the reaction of the workers. They began by emphasizing the great difference in militancy between the young workers and the older ones. "It is the young workers who have been pushing and leading all the way. But the strike is still absolutely solid, and the spirit and determination very high.

"Yesterday a meeting was held to vote on the concessions to our demands made by the government and the employers. The union leaders wanted us to accept the settlement and go back to work.

"But Séguy [the secretary general of the CGT] was booed and hissed when he said we would be paid only 50 percent of our wages for the time we have been on strike. We won't go back without full payment for all strike time. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the strike.

"But very few workers are occupying the factories now. The CGT has sent them home because they are afraid to keep them all together in the plant where they will talk and discuss. If they are home with their wives and children they are easier to control."

They also talked about conditions and wages at Renault. The average man on the assembly line earns less than \$200 a month -- if he produces his full production quota. If he falls below the quota, he is docked a substantial amount. For example, if he produces only 90 percent of his quota, he is paid only 71 percent of his salary. They took pains to point out also that a skilled worker gets about \$220 a month, while a riot policeman earns \$400 (plus \$50 for every night on the barricades). Safety conditions are very bad, and among the men who work the huge furnaces, for example, only 0.2 percent reach retirement age.

The last thing we discussed was the call that had just been made by the Renault CGT for a joint demonstration with the students. I wondered how that had happened, considering everything they had described about the attitude of the CGT leaders toward the students.

"It is because the young workers insisted and we have the majority. We called for a meeting of the CGT at Renault and demanded that a joint demonstration be called. We told the leaders that if they were not opposed to the students -- they claim they are not, of course -- then they must show it by calling for a joint demonstration. We won the vote.

"But the CGT did not want the precedent of a joint Renault-student demonstration, so now all the Paris region of the CGT has called for the demonstration."

By then it was after 11 p.m., and as we were getting ready to leave, I asked Bernard how he would label himself politically. He replied that he was the secretary of his Communist party unit at Renault.

FRENCH SOLDIERS SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

[A new feature indicating the depth of the popular upheaval in France is the formation in some areas of committees supporting the revolt among French soldiers. Following is the full text of a leaflet issued by the Soldiers Committee of Vincennes that is being circulated to their fellow conscripts.]

* * *

Soldiers,

The entire people is now rising up against the antipopular Gaullist regime of unemployment and want.

The students are struggling in the streets against the CRS [Compagnies Ré-

publicaines de Sécurité -- Republican Security Companies -- an elite paramilitary security police force]. The workers are occupying the factories. In the countryside, the poor peasants are in revolt against the rural exodus and the monopolizers of farmland.

Soldiers,

You are the children of the people; your place is at the side of the workers, peasants, and students.

The government wants to use you as a repressive force like the CRS. It is going to call on you to occupy the factories and strategic points -- the ORTF [the radio and television network], the PTT

[Postes Téléphones et Télégraphes -- the telephones and telegraph stations], the train stations, etc.

It is also using you (WITHOUT PAY) to undercut the strike in public transport.

It is confining you to barracks in order to isolate you from the people.

You are the sons of the people; your place is at its side.

The government wants to use you

to crush the people's revolt.

You must oppose this.

ORGANIZE.

DEMAND YOUR LEAVES.

Refuse to suppress the people.

All together against this government of repression and want.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE SOLDIERS WITH THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND STUDENTS.

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY'S VIEWS ON STUDENT YOUTH

By Louis Couturier

In April 1947, when the Communist ministers were helping to run the state, a strike broke out in the Renault plants. At that time the slogan of the Communist party and the CGT was "production first" and the strike was considered a "weapon of the trusts." Starting in shops number six and eighteen [of the Paris Renault plant], the movement spread rapidly for a wage increase of ten francs [at that time 350 francs = US\$1] per hour. The CGT leadership violently opposed the strike and the members of the Strike Committee were denounced as "Hitlero-Trotskyists" (that was what they called the "grouplets" then).

During the May Day parade, militants who tried to distribute the Renault Strike Committee's appeal were assaulted by the Stalinists; they were beaten and their leaflets were ripped up.

However, the strike won over the entire factory and reached out to metallurgical plants in the Paris region and the provinces. Realizing that the unrest ran deep and that rather than denounce it it was better to take the leadership so as to be able to control it, the CGT and the CP -- with a nice identity of views -- made a 180-degree turn and took over the operations. They took up the Strike Committee's demands as if they had never thought of anything else but achieving them.

The policy of "production first" was on its way out. The premier, the socialist Ramadier, managed to oust his Communist colleagues [from the government]. Although the crudity and shamelessness of this turn shocked all the militants, the Stalinists hoped that with time their initial attitude would be forgotten.

These events we have just experienced in these last weeks strikingly re-

call this episode in 1947. We hope that the editors of Servir le Peuple [To Serve the People],* who seem to date the degeneration of the CGT from Stalin's last heartbeat, will explain to us why the CGT held this attitude and in what respect it differed from the spectacular turnabout made by the CP and CGT in 1968.

Here also the bureaucrats are counting on their initial position being forgotten. We can even see that some CP members have sincerely forgotten what their organization's attitude was when the events began which culminated in the fantastic strike wave now shaking France.

For several weeks before, l'Humanité had warned against the "leftists." These repeated warnings were a sure sign of concern. Roland Leroy devoted a long part of his report on propaganda to a recent Central Committee meeting to the excoriation of "leftist phraseology" and adventurist acts... Then came the Nanterre events and the closing of the university. L'Humanité of May 3 relegated these developments to the bottom of three columns on the sixth page, quoting very long excerpts from an article by the dean, Grappin, accompanied by the following commentary:

"Thus the activities of pseudorevolutionary groups -- which we have ceaselessly condemned -- have led to a measure which, on the eve of examinations, badly harms the bulk of the students. The great majority of the students in Nanterre want to work in the best conditions. And, a few weeks before exams, their preoccupations have nothing in common with those of the troublemakers. They proved it yesterday when a hundred 'leftists,' en-

* The organ of the Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (Marxiste-Léniniste), or UJCM [Young Communist Union (Marxist-Leninist) -- the Maoist youth group].

sconced in a lecture hall, tried again to stop the class for the 450 other students who were waiting. A UEC [Union des Etudiants Communistes -- Communist Student Union] leader then intervened, supported by all the students. And when a commando of 'leftists' tried to assault him, the students threw the provocateurs out in a few minutes time. And so the class took place."

The same issue of l'Humanité contained a basic line article by Georges Marchais. I must quote some excerpts from it because it became the students' main target in subsequent days. And when tens of thousands of demonstrators shouted in derision, "We are a grouplet!" Marchais' rights to authorship of this formula could in nowise be disputed. The article was entitled "False Revolutionaries To Be Unmasked":

"As always when the union of workers and democratic forces is proposed, the ultraleftist grouplets are kicking up a storm among all elements of the population. They are particularly active among the students. At the university of Nanterre for example we find 'Maoists'; the 'Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire' [Revolutionary Communist youth], which takes in a part of the Trotskyists; the 'Comité de Liaison des Etudiants Révolutionnaires' [Revolutionary Students Liaison Committee], whose majority is also Trotskyist; the Anarchists; and various other more or less exotic groups.

"In spite of their contradictions these grouplets -- a few hundred students -- have united into what they call the 'Mouvement du 22 Mars Nanterre' [March 22 Movement of Nanterre], led by the German anarchist COHN-BENDIT. Not satisfied with the agitation they are carrying on in the student circles -- an agitation which runs counter to the interests of the bulk of the students and favors fascist provocations -- now these pseudorevolutionaries are presuming to give lessons to the workers movement...These false revolutionaries must be energetically unmasked; for, objectively, they serve the interests of the Gaullist government and the big capitalist monopolies...

"The views and activity of these 'revolutionists' are laughable; inasmuch as they are generally the children of big bourgeois, contemptuous of students from working-class origins, who will soon dampen their 'revolutionary flame' to go run papa's business and exploit the workers in the best traditions of capitalism...By spreading anti-Communism, these ultraleft groups serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and big capital...But, obviously, we do not mistake these little ultraleft grouplets kicking up the dust in the universities with the mass of stu-

dents...That is why we must completely isolate all the ultraleft grouplets which, under the cover of revolutionary phraseology, seek to harm the democratic movement."

I have only given a few excerpts from this labored diatribe which faithfully reflect Marchais' thought (?) -- which is a policeman's kind of thinking (there are troublemakers at the university led by a German, please get rid of them). It could even be said that Marchais marked out the path for Roche* and Grimaud** who tried to combat and completely isolate these so-called grouplets. However, they showed no xenophobic feelings in this and the club blows and gas grenades fell alike on natives and foreigners.

No one in the CP seemed to notice the deep-going discontent reigning in the university, the students' desire for genuine action, and their boredom with listening to the dreary routine droning of the traditional organizations. When the Sorbonne was occupied and the police began their brutalities on Friday, May 3 (that is on the evening of the same day of Marchais' appeal against the ultraleftists), the Paris federation of the CP and the Paris sections of the UEC brought out 50,000 copies of a leaflet equating the "ultraleft adventurists" and the government.

Of course, they could see what the agitation of these ultraleftist groups was leading to, these groups "which take as a pretext the government's failures and exploit the students' discontent to block the functioning of the universities and to prevent the mass of students from working and passing their exams...They facilitate the attempts of the government, the press, and radio and television to isolate the students from the population. With their adventurist slogans, their concept of violent action by 'small groups,' they offer no concrete perspective and impede the mass mobilization of students which alone can force the government to retreat. At the same time, they encourage the Occident group's ["The West" -- an ultraright military-political combat organization] intolerable fascist, racist agitation. They create conditions favorable to police interventions and the Malthusian projects of the minister Peyrefitte." (l'Humanité-Dimanche, May 5, 1968.)

After a seven-line announcement that SNES [Syndicat National d'Enseigne-

* Jean Roche, the rector of the Sorbonne. He called in the police against the student demonstrators.

** Maurice Grimaud, the Paris chief of police.

ment Superieur -- National Union of University Teachers] and UNEF [Union National des Etudiants de France -- National Student Union of France] had called a strike, l'Humanité-Dimanche described in detail an oral question which Louis Baillot, a Communist deputy from Paris, put to Peyrefitte [the minister of education]. Its audacity shows the extent to which the Communist leaders had grasped the stakes of the battle. He asked the minister what measures he intended to take to:

"(1) enable the students to study normally and prepare for their examinations under good conditions;

"(2) offer real answers to the legitimate demands of the students (housing, cafeterias, scholarships);

"(3) put into operation an emergency plan for building universities and IUTs [instituts universitaires de technologie -- technical universities] in the Paris region."

With the exception of the first point to which the government had already given an answer on Friday evening through its rector and its police, it will be noted that none of the measures proposed by Baillot were to capture the students' attention in subsequent days. It was not that they were opposed to them but they were not fighting to patch up the existing system: they wanted to destroy the old university system to create a new one.

On Monday, May 6, the turn had not yet been taken and l'Humanité's headline was heavy with incomprehension and sectarian rage: "With Examinations in the Offing, Urgent Steps Must Be Taken for the Sake of the University. The UEC and the Communist Party Denounce the Police Repression, the Role of the Government, and the Ultraleft Adventurers."

l'Humanité came out in clear opposition to the students' and teachers' strike call: "A call for an open-end strike in the universities starting today, loudly approved by the 'Fédération des Etudiants Révolutionnaires,' which comprises several Trotskyist grouplets, has been sent out by the national offices of UNEF and SNES. This strike is to be accompanied in Paris by a demonstration which has been banned by the prefect of police. But the broader student organizations, as well as the professors' union assemblies are still deliberating ..." And l'Humanité obligingly listed the places where the strike would not go into effect.

On Tuesday, May 7, the turn was in effect. The first-page headline was, "The Government Is Responsible!" The emphasis was now put on the brutality of the re-

pression, but the events in the Latin Quarter were still presented in an ill-omened light. Monday evening's violent battles were described by l'Humanité as a confrontation between ultraleft shock groups and police:

"The gardes mobiles [mobile guards] charged. The demonstrators, among whom now the 'shock troops' of the ultraleft grouplets were most in evidence, retreated toward the Rue St.-Jacques, where they erected a barricade...In all several thousand students, the great majority of them shouting slogans against the police brutality...There were more than 10,000 demonstrators who streamed out of the Rue de Rennes...Ultraleft groups armed themselves with iron bars in a workshop where they also seized plastic helmets."

In brief, this report was in the style of a medieval chronicle, with an impartial "observer" describing the battle of the grouplets against the gendarmes [paramilitary police]. It will be noted, however, that even for l'Humanité there were more than 10,000 students in the fight in the Rue de Rennes alone. The few hundred ultraleftists Marchais talked about had multiplied themselves.

The Paris UD-CGT [Union Départementale de la CGT -- the CGT District Federation] in turn denounced the government in the first instance but also condemned the agitation which gave occasion to the repression: "In the face of the students' mounting discontent, and to promote and aggravate this line of development, the government is exploiting the irresponsible agitation of certain ultraleft groups. It tolerates the activity of the fascist elements of 'Occident.'"

Reading l'Humanité in subsequent days was quite laborious. An interest could be discerned in painting up Communist leaders among the demonstrators, and a fear of the party's getting involved in an affair which it could not control. On May 9, they announced the presence of secondary leaders [in the demonstrations]: "The UEC had issued a call for the demonstration, where it was represented by Jean-Claude Dufour, its second secretary ...In the march we noted a group of leaders from the Paris federation of our party, including Comrade Malberg and Communist deputies..., etc...." This is the traditional recognition ordinarily used only by hosts on speakers' platforms or at embassy receptions.

l'Humanité gave rather a limited place to the immense march of close to 50,000 demonstrators which streamed through Paris from the Latin Quarter to the Place de l'Etoile, speaking only of 20,000 demonstrators (a figure closer to that given out by the police department than the truth). It was hard for them to

admit that the grouplets had been able to draw for such an action, when it was not known beforehand whether or not it would be violent, half of what the CGT and CP had brought out for the May Day parade in Paris which proceeded in an eminently peaceful fashion.

On Saturday, May 11, a special edition of l'Humanité on the night of the barricades was given wide circulation. "Stop the Repression!" the first page screamed, "The Government Answers the Anger at the University by Bloody Repression." The immense meeting on the Place Denfert-Rochereau seemed to have CP backing:

"In the marches which converged on the Place Denfert-Rochereau, we recognized among others Jean-Michel Catala, the general secretary of the UEC, Robert Clement, the secretary of the UJC [Union de Jeunesse Communiste -- Young Communist Union], Nicole Menier, general secretary of the UJFF [Union des Jeunes Filles de France -- Union of Young Girls of France],* many Communist deputies, among them Guy Ducolone..., etc., etc.... Then the speakers followed one after the other. Our comrade, Maurice Goldring, a professor and a leader of the Paris Communist federation, was given notable applause..., etc...."

The development of the events which were to lead to the barricades and the police assault was related with an exceptional diffidence and detachment: "Several thousand demonstrators still blocked the Boulevard St.-Michel when, on the initiative of certain groups,** the first barricades were erected."

Then we are presented with the spontaneous mushrooming of barricades, which l'Humanité notes but this time does not protest against. The cops' charge is described in detail, although it is never told that the police set fire to barricades. "Flames leaped up," l'Humanité tells us, or "a barricade is on fire," "near the Place Edmond Rostand a barricade is in flames"... Who did it? No one knows. The igniting of the barricades is as mysterious as their appearance. l'Humanité tells the story "impartially" and protests against the police brutality. Reading these vague paragraphs one might even wonder if the CP had been absent from the night of the barricades.***

* It should be noted that now it was not second-rank functionaries any longer.

** This is a dialectical leap. A grouplet becomes a group when 20,000 students chant in unison: "We are a grouplet!"

*** The CP as a party-- because there were many Communist party members who fought

Fortunately, the regular edition of l'Humanité on Saturday, May 11 (made up on Friday evening), was there to clarify matters:

"It was then that the UNEF and SNES leaders decided to occupy the Latin Quarter, following not always very clear methods. While several thousand students were still blocked off in the Boulevard St.-Michel, certain persons began to tear up wallboards and loosen paving stones for a 'counterattack.' A great many students repudiated them, however, as they reached this point and came on this spectacle."

The CP tried -- and to some extent succeeded -- with the twenty-four-hour general strike and the immense march from the Place de la République to the Place Denfert-Rochereau, to make people forget what its attitude had been in those days when an organization's revolutionary character was measured by its ability to hold the streets in spite of the police.

To conclude this indispensable recapitulation, I would like to heartily recommend to collectors the first page of l'Humanité of Thursday, May 16. The students had just left the barricades and occupied the universities, the Sud-Aviation workers had occupied their factory and taken the management prisoner and in a few hours the Renault plant would raise the red flag. But the event which captured the front page of l'Humanité was the presentation to the National Assembly of the 100,000 signatures against the laws cutting social security benefits. The bundle of petitions was brandished by a CGT leader whose beaming face was the CP and CGT's response to those calling for new forms of struggle against the government.

It would seem that this lesson was not well understood because starting the next day the most fantastic strike movement and wave of factory occupations France had seen since 1936 were to sweep the country. There is a rather acute American saying, "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em," to whose sagacity the bureaucrats yielded.

Given the CP's poor following among the students this about-face was not sufficient to gain it an expanded audience. But its antennae in the working class are numerous and where the rank and file demanded it the trade-union sections were able rapidly to take the lead of the shop occupations so as not to be outflanked.

In order to attempt to dissipate

as individuals or helped in caring for the wounded.

the lamentable effect of Marchais' article (which was even criticized by orthodox cadres), they had to find an intellectual enjoying a certain prestige among the students. Since Aragon had gotten himself roundly whistled at on the Boulevard St.-Michel [the main street of the Latin Quarter] and had publicly rejected all responsibility for anything written anywhere except in Lettres Françaises -- which he edits -- they picked out Roger Garaudy. His role was to cover up the outrageous articles of the preceding period with soothing phrases as well as direct offerings. Since he had been able to reconcile the CP with Kafka, St.-John Perse, and some priests, he was entrusted with the onerous task of dismantling the barricade separating the students from the CP. He lent himself to it with his customary talent:

"Young people of twenty today are of the age of atomic fission and cybernetics. From a social standpoint, their parents were contemporaries of the October Revolution, but they on the other hand came to conscious life on the eve of the Twentieth Congress and the new problems which it posed. They are also of the age of the great movements of national liberation and the revolutions in Asia and Latin America...From this arise stormily their great questionings and their great revolts, their fundamental challenging of their reason for being. Let us say without reticence that this sudden change is a positive sign. We who pride ourselves on belonging to a revolutionary party, far from taking on the role of the mourners of history, joyfully welcome this human ferment. Why? Because it links up with the great revolutionary struggle of the working class and its Communist party. The students' struggle today is not limited to one sector only...The fact that the student movement is troubled by attempts at deception and adventures, and by provocations which divide it, weaken it and facilitate repression, must arouse our vigilance but must in nowise obscure this movement's innate and profound link to the workers movement..." (l'Humanité, May 15.)

"Oh, if only the government had taken Pompidou's tone right away, there would have been no night of the barricades," the champions of "order" sighed. To this melancholy thought was added the plaint of many Communist cadres, "And if we had said on May 3, what Garaudy did on the fifteenth, we would have lost fewer feathers in this affair!" Maybe, but the nature of a poorly de-Stalinized party is precisely not to draw the lessons

of its bitter experiences. For the first time, the CP felt outflanked from the left. Its initial reactions were classical and on the model of those of the bosses and the police when faced with a disorder: they invoked the mischievous hand of provocateurs.

Thanks to its weight and the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard, the CP had up until then succeeded in getting by without too much difficulty when it had problems with students, longshoremen, or miners. That time is gone, however, and the bureaucrats failed to foresee it. Tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of students and workers are ready to struggle against the bourgeois state despite the CP's formal slogans; and they repudiate Stalinist methods in the workers' movement.

Without any doubt the Communist leaders will go into a lot of contortions and somersaults to regain their control of the masses which are influenced by them. Maybe they will attempt reprisals against the "ultraleftists." The crisis which has just opened up in their organization will continue to deepen. For, now it is no longer just the intellectuals that have been troubled by the revelations of the Twentieth Congress, an entire layer of worker and student youth has experienced the CP's opportunism and decrepitude for itself.

While millions of workers are on strike and in practice pose the question of power, the CP contents itself with warnings against provocations and postpones the meeting of its Central Committee because of the gravity of the situation. Georges Ségué (member of the political bureau and secretary of the CGT) responds with a single refrain to all questions on slogans and perspectives: the workers themselves will decide. In other words, there is no need for the party or even for the union.

What a magnificent example of disarray in the face of the breadth of an unforeseen and unwanted movement.

The revolutionary minority which has been strengthened and hardened in the course of the recent struggles now represents a real force and is felt as such by the CP leadership. It can play a considerable role in deepening the party's crisis and in developing a left opposition tendency whose contribution will be decisive for the creation of tomorrow's revolutionary party.

FRENCH TROTSKYIST STAND ON DE GAULLE'S SPEECH

[The following is a translation of a bulletin issued May 31 by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) on the speech by General de Gaulle the previous day threatening the working class with civil war if they persisted in their general strike.]

* * *

In the revolutionary situation created by the powerful mobilization of the students and workers, the action by ten million strikers, rejecting the Grenelle "agreement" reached by the union representatives with the government, wrecked the regime's game, entailing its rapid degeneration.

Unlike the traditional bourgeois democracies, de Gaulle's "strong state" lacks shock absorbers to cushion the anger of the workers. Sweeping aside a National Assembly that was already discredited because of its complete lack of representativeness or power, de Gaulle himself took on the task of dissipating the last parliamentary illusions.

Against the revolutionary thrust of the masses, the bourgeoisie has diverse weapons: the club or a sweeping reformist maneuver (Mitterrand or Mendès France).

It is the club wielders who are now trying to set the atmosphere, relying

on the legalistic and reformist outlook of the workers' leaderships. Once again under the flag of rabid anti-Communism, de Gaulle is trying to rally his scattered troops. It was in vain that the leaders of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français] and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail] did everything possible to appear as "reasonable" intermediaries. Now they are accused of revolutionary subversion!

Comrades,

It is absurd to try to meet the Gaullist challenge in an electoral field dominated by the threat of military violence. The battle is being waged in the plants and in the streets.

● Against the forces of repression and the armed bands which are preparing to attack the pickets.

● Against the dictatorship of the senile Bonaparte.

Let's organize workers rule in the neighborhoods and the plants.

Let's reinforce and federate the elected strike committees and committees of action!

Let's organize workers self-defense!

Forward to a workers government!

THE MISSING LINK IN FRANCE -- A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

[The following article has been translated from supplement No. 29 of La Quatrième Internationale, the newspaper of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International).

[Together with other sectors of the left in France, the Trotskyists have been faced with difficulties in getting out printed publications during the general strike. This is due to a deliberate policy enforced by the Communist party through its control of the unions. The printing of weekly and monthly journals was suspended while the daily press was permitted to continue. This meant appearance of the bourgeois papers was assured, while leftist journals were banned. The CP has a daily paper, l'Humanité, thus it continued to appear, while the anti-Stalinist journals were, in effect, muzzled.

[Under these circumstances, a good

deal of the best material on the revolutionary situation in France has been produced on the mimeograph. Supplement No. 29 of La Quatrième Internationale was printed in this way.]

* * *

The barricades of May 1968 in Paris pronounced judgment on a fable much repeated by the bourgeoisie and the reformists and which they finally came to believe -- that in our modern society revolution was impossible. For the reformists it was impossible theoretically. But for the bourgeoisie -- which nonetheless retained a more acute class consciousness -- revolution had also to be pragmatically impossible. Very broad masses learned abruptly -- sometimes to their cost -- what imposing reserves of grenades, cops, and repressive matériel of all kinds had been accumulated (an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure) in the preceding "quiet" period. Although the universi-

ties were closed, a full course on the nature of the state was administered. Thus, in theory and practice the bourgeoisie was ready. It had a leadership (and even an alternative leadership), which was armed and conscious of its interests.

This was not the case for the working class. It had a leadership, of course. But this leadership did not lead. It did not take the initiative in the struggles; it was unable to give them any political objective other than electoral victories in a referendum or in legislative elections, according to the whim of the regime. This leadership even boasted that it had never called the general strike. In fact, its primary object was simply to control the movement. In order to lead these struggles, it would have had at least to be capable of expressing the aspirations of the masses which challenged the regime; that is, it would have had to have a revolutionary program.

For the situation was revolutionary. The "mass movement of unrivaled breadth" ritually evoked by the CP during its congresses was there. It had swept throughout the entire society with an unheard-of force. It put in question not only the central political authority but all authority. By the tens of thousands, bosses, plant managers, and other local despots felt their positions grow shaky. Millions of individuals who had heretofore passively endured capitalist exploitation and oppression gained a feeling of liberation. This acquisition of consciousness occurred at all social levels and on a scale which may be unique in history.

Already it is clear that there has been a deep-going process which will mark the character of the coming struggles, independently of their periods of ebb and flow.

From an economic and financial standpoint, French capitalism's situation was not catastrophic. There was room thus for an alternative bourgeois solution making it possible to save the essentials: statist monopoly capitalism in exchange for a few structural reforms. This was the general meaning of the Mendès France operation, which was by no means a classical reformist variant. Mendès -- when in power -- would take a much more realistic view of parliament than a Mollet or a Defferre, to say nothing of a Waldeck Rochet.

Furthermore, because of the CP's ultracapitulationist position, the field was wide open to its left. The sweeping maneuver attempted by Mendès was an attempt to exploit, for the sake of this capitalist restructuring, the energy of part of the revolutionary movement standing to the left of the CP.* Later of course he

would have dealt with the CP, but after it was boxed in both from the left and right.

The operation has temporarily failed. It has been blocked essentially because it seemed risky to a large segment of the bourgeoisie, which realizes that, unlike 1936, it has no bourgeois or reformist parties at its disposal with sufficient following to guarantee an effective counterweight to the CP. And it is not convinced that the CP is tamed.

Thus, basing itself on the tens of thousands of individuals who owe everything to it and know that they have nothing to hope for from another government, the Gaullist state apparatus needed only to put on a show of boldness and present the bourgeoisie along with the rest of the population with a *fait accompli* in order to regain its hold to some extent. De Gaulle, finally, called on de Gaulle.

The state apparatus, which was within an ace of falling apart, has reorganized itself. A part of the petty-bourgeoisie, the bosses, and even the police have regained their confidence. After fifteen days of hand wringing, all these nice people went into the streets -- just like the workers. The theme of the mobilization was simple: defense of the established order, of the society's heritage, in short, of privilege. For the time being, de Gaulle's operation succeeded, that is, to regroup on the basis of anti-Communism all those elements disposed to this by virtue of their position in society.

The strike movement is far from ended. The workers' combativity is intact, and there is no doubt that it would explode again at the slightest provocation from the government or the bosses. But it must be recognized that most of the steam has been taken out of the movement. The taking of power is no longer posed through the general strike. The unions, headed up by the CGT, are explaining to the workers: "You have economic demands, continue the strike to win them."

The political parties, headed up by the CP, are saying: "We have political demands, forward to the electoral cam-

ties between Gaullism and Mendèsism. Both are centered around providential figures -- Bonapartes. One of these deliberately bases himself on the most politically backward part of the population. The other seeks to base himself on a segment at least of the workers' movement. Mendès' maneuver is in fact symmetrical to de Gaulle's in 1958. In 1958, de Gaulle made use of an extreme-right movement. Ten years later Mendès is riding an extreme-left thrust.

* A lot could be said about the similari-

paign!" But the element which was really explosive -- the mobilization of ten million workers and students in the streets and factories, who for their part, understood the close relationship between their economic and their political demands, harboring no illusions about parliament -- this element has been weakened.

For more than thirty years all the workers' own demands have been countered by appeals to the interest of the state or to its power. And particularly in the last ten years in France a strong state has been concocted which the bourgeoisie took refuge behind every time its profits were threatened. Thus, experience has taught the workers the ineffectuality of piecemeal, loose-order attacks -- when the bosses are threatened they take cover behind the state, so let's attack the state.

But it was only late and timidly that the Communist party dared to introduce politics, calling for a "popular government" (but who could call for nonpopular government?). All anyone knows about such a government is that the Communists are to participate in it, as in 1945. Nothing is known about how such a government is to be established, nothing about its program.

The general strike has shown the working class its real strength. And at the same time it bared the repressive function of the state,* which in normal times is hidden behind administrative appearances. The strike committees and action committees substituted themselves for the defaulting bourgeois authorities. They were an embryo of workers power.

All revolutions have seen these instruments of independent workers power spring up in the face of a disintegrating bourgeois state. While in a "normal" period only a minority is organized in parties and trade unions, in a revolutionary period the enormous mass of workers feel themselves concerned and these committees serve as their ad-hoc organizations. These committees are not created in opposition to the parties and unions as the apprehensive bureaucrats think -- unless the parties and unions are really in the rear-guard. In 1917, the Bolsheviks were in a minority in the soviets, but they were not afraid to launch the slogan, "All

* This was shown in particularly striking fashion in the administration of "justice." Judges were called out on a Sunday to sentence students on an emergency basis. And a week later they were again hauled out of bed to amnesty them. So much for the independence of the judiciary. It may be noted also that this episode helped by no small bit to demoralize the police.

Power to the Soviets!"

The working-class vanguard cannot transform a revolutionary situation into a revolution by setting abstract propaganda for socialism against the immediate, quantitative demands of the masses. It is not enough to declare that any conquest made by the working class at a given point in the development of the relationship of forces is insecure as long as the capitalist system lasts. It is also necessary for the masses to become conscious in the course of the struggle that the question of taking power is the decisive one.

A 1,000-franc minimum wage? All right, but who is going to guarantee fixed prices? Certainly not the capitalists. The workers, then, must demand price controls. More humane hours and work tempos? Well and good, but who is going to decide the organization of work? Certainly not the workers. The workers, then, must demand control over the organization of work and therefore over the organization of production. But such control cannot be effective in a society where the motive force is the quest for maximum profits. Society cannot operate following two different kinds of logic.

Mass spontaneity has its inherent limitations. It is the task of a vanguard party to advance transitional slogans. But it would be dogmatic to assume from this that the indispensable prerequisite for the advancement of a revolutionary movement is the existence of an already constituted vanguard party. In that case, we might wait a long time for its formation... Today, the students in their way have played this role. This is obviously not accidental.

This phenomenon is found in almost all countries where the revolution is on the rise. The students will have an important role to play in the revolutionary regroupment which is needed and is now possible -- not only because of the place they occupy in the present movement but also because they are the most immediately sensitive to the international context.

It must not be forgotten that the Vietnam war, together with Che's appeal and example, has been at the origin of their politicalization. The violence of their struggle must be seen as a reflection of the systematic violence which the international bourgeois order must employ today to maintain itself.

May 1968 marks the end of the twenty years of capitalist stabilization in West Europe. A new period has opened up of revolutionary struggles and battles for socialism.

POLITICAL EXCLUSION IN THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR

[Following are three documents of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the leading U.S. antiwar organization. The SMC played a key role in building the giant April 15 demonstrations held last year in New York and San Francisco in which more than a half million people participated. Its most recent action was the spectacularly successful International Student Strike held this April 26 in which almost a million students took part in the U.S., and tens of thousands abroad also participated.

[Shortly after this encouraging blow to Washington's imperialist aggression against Vietnam, a sharp division appeared in the antiwar organization. A grouping on the New York-based Working Committee of the SMC moved May 8 to impose a policy of political exclusion on the organization and to divert it from its present course as an organizer of mass student actions against the Vietnam war.

[Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, two leading builders of the antiwar committee, were bureaucratically fired from the SMC staff because of their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary socialist youth organization. The YSA has been a leading builder of the American antiwar movement since the first major antiwar actions in 1965.

[The political purge was carried out by a grouping composed primarily of pacifists and the Communist party. The accidental majority of the Working Committee originally passed a motion that only "independents" could hold staff positions. This motion was voted for by representatives of the Communist party even though it meant dropping their own

representative, Phyllis Kalb, from the staff.

[At a later meeting the makers of the motion, having realized the political liability of such a blatantly exclusionary motion, withdrew the motion, only to confirm the firings. While claiming now that it was simply a question of personalities, the Working Committee nevertheless refused to hire other members of the YSA in place of Dawson and Stapleton.

[The exclusionary group also refused to call a national conference of the SMC as mandated by the last such conference held in January in Chicago.

[Behind the organizational moves lie political issues such as the desire of the Communist party to take the antiwar movement off the streets and into some form of class collaborationist politics. In the case of the pacifists there is an evident frustration in the face of a sharp decline in the number of followers of their nonviolent prescriptions. This makes them very uncomfortable in the broad coalition against the war represented by the SMC. Their desire is to convert the coalition into a narrow "multi-issue" organization based on their program.

[The New York Working Committee, generally very reluctant to print both sides of the dispute, has now published a series of position papers by the six national coordinators of the organization. We are reprinting three: the first is by Linda Morse, executive secretary of the SMC and a well-known pacifist; the second is by Phyllis Kalb, a spokesman for the Communist party; and the last by Kipp Dawson, one of the fired staff members and a spokesman for the Young Socialist Alliance.]

* * *

Position Paper by Linda Morse

The basic question facing SMC right now is will the organization be able to continue playing a leading role in the student movement. For the past year and a half SMC played a tremendously important role in organizing mass actions against the war. The success and validity of such actions is proven particularly by the number of campus groups organized around them. In late 1966 there were perhaps 300 campuses with functioning radical groups. Now there are between 1,000 and 1,500, many of which started in response to our calls for actions and have continued on to become permanent committees.

SMC's relevance in the future can no longer be measured by mass actions alone. The war intensifies daily, Johnson

crowds over "victories" in Vietnam while his ambassador supposedly talks peace, and at home the questions of the draft, university complicity, and racial oppression grow more and more pressing.

SMC has a tremendous responsibility at this point -- a responsibility to seriously organize in addition to mobilization. Organizing means drawing the connections between the Black liberation movement and the war, producing good basic literature, developing good projects for local use and aiding the development of a broader base of radical activists.

Mass actions are vital and must continue; however they are not the be-all and the end-all of the movement. At this time particularly, they should not be the only

thing we do. The hundreds of isolated campus committees must be drawn together and real help -- which has been demanded of us at the last two conferences -- must be given. It is not enough for the NO [national office] to only produce posters and leaflets aimed at a mobilization -- organizing against the war, the draft, etc., continues on the local level for the six months between demonstrations and it's time that SMC realize this and act accordingly. In addition, when Columbias and Louisvilles occur in the U.S., or a situation as in France arises internationally, SMC should be in a position to respond with concrete aid on a national level. For this to occur, communication between the NO and local groups must increase greatly.

SMC is a weird amalgam of organizations and a large number of unaffiliated individuals on campuses across the country. Until now, the national organizations have had a lot more to say about how SMC functions than the unaffiliated campus radicals.

Students have come to SMC because it has sharp antiestablishment demands around the most basic issues affecting them -- "immediate withdrawal" rather than "stop the bombing" or "negotiate"; "Black liberation" rather than "integration" and "an immediate end to the draft and campus complicity." These activists must feel comfortable in SMC, must feel that it's relevant to them all year round and not just a place to get posters, in order for work to increase on these vital issues.

Organizations working within the SMC coalition must feel that our program complements theirs -- e.g., setting up a program of training draft counselors and supplying them with a wide variety of literature will complement the Resistance program as it will reach out to thousands more young men with the alternatives to the draft.

As students become radicalized to the point where they take a clear anti-imperialist position (which SMC does not take as a group), they very often join participating groups with that position, like SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], DuBois [The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs -- a youth group in general political agreement with the views of the Communist party], etc.

Position Paper by Phyllis Kalb

In order for us to discuss the future of SMC at our Continuations Committee this June, it is necessary to assess what it has been in the past. It has been a response to the phenomena of the past two years -- the growth of students' anger against the war in Vietnam, an energet-

(the membership of all has grown a lot over the past year) and continue to work with SMC in that context. SMC should not be viewed as a competing group, but a complementary amalgam.

One of the basic problems at present is that some believe SMC exists on a Communist Party, Young Socialist Alliance, radical pacifist base, and that if these three agree, then "everyone else" will also. This position has been stated very clearly by YSA within the last several weeks. (In reality it's only two groups, since I'm the only radical pacifist around and I'm sure not a base or a group by myself!) To me this is a perverted way of looking at a movement or an organization. It leads to things like "slots" on the staff, veto power by the groups involved, and the situation when Kipp and Syd functioned as YSA members first, and SMC staff members second.

In the past several weeks, members of the working committee, consisting not only of independent campus activists, but of leaders of large national groups like the University Christian Movement, Resistance, War Resisters League, SDS, etc., realized that this assumption existed and decided to function on the basis that no group should have a veto power and that staff should be hired on the basis of merit and not to fill political slots.

YSA then stated that those independents on the working committee are controlled by and represented by the CP. To support this asinine charge, YSA has indicated that they, rather than the independents in New York, represent the independents across the country. Aside from the fact that this is pure bullshit, YSA is stating that pacifists, independents and people representing groups like those mentioned, can't think for themselves. This is an insult to independents in New York, as well as to independents throughout the country.

SMC must really represent, democratically, the desires of the independent campus activists -- as well as organizations -- and carry them out. We can no longer afford to have a situation where two organizations and one person supposedly represent the whole student movement. Everyone must be included, but no group should have a veto power, or "slots" on staff. The movement is much bigger than that and SMC should be also.

ic anger that students have sought to express more powerfully through coordination with other students around the country.

People felt the need and SMC filled it. It was the group that could call together 1,000 people at various conferences

calling for national actions. The different students at the conferences didn't consider themselves members of SMC, nor would local campus activists have organized for the Strike, October 21st, etc., merely on the request of the SMC staff. Activists responded to the authority of the conventions; they could tie into an action knowing that students all around the country would be doing the same. In that sense, SMC was a coalition -- that coalition consisting of those who participated in the national activities.

Yet, it was never able to overcome its two weaknesses: 1) the fact that its organization has never really adequately represented its real base and 2) it was never able to overcome its inability to deal with the student movement between national mobilizations on the war. In the past these have been bothersome; now they threaten to kill the SMC.

Things have changed very quickly in this country. Between the negotiations in Paris, Johnson's announcement that he would not run again, and the entry of Kennedy [this was written before the assassination of Robert Kennedy] and McCarthy, the Pied Pipers of American capitalism, into the presidential race, the radicals in this country are in a strange position. While last October, we were the leadership of the antiwar fight and people in the country who wanted to express their feelings against the war had to follow our initiatives to be heard, now their frustration and their anger has been blunted and they have found new leaders who have a more "realistic" chance of ending the war. They no longer rely on our initiatives. The radicals, many who became so through the antiwar movement, now stand on the outskirts watching this movement.

Clearly then, a mass mobilization is not the next item on the agenda.

The other change is the awakening of the student left to the fact that the war is not the only issue in our society. The student movement that sat by almost completely silent while Black students were shot in the back in Orangeburg, while Huey Newton was framed, and while H. Rap Brown went to jail, has finally opened its eyes to the fact that the fight against racism and against the university as a racist institution has got to be one of the major directions of the student movement. Yet, the six million students in this country are not screaming out "We are angry about the racism in this society. Please, organize us. Give us a chance to express our rage." Here again, it is apparent that a mass mobilization to end racism is not the answer.

All this has a great deal to do with the future of SMC. If it is to con-

tinue as a body whose only function and dealings with local campuses are in relation to mass mobilization, then at this point, in my opinion, it has no legitimacy for existing.

If, on the other hand, it is to switch gears and to reorient itself to fulfilling the new needs of the movement, its structure must be reexamined and altered. In the past SMC has been the staff at the 17th Street office. That staff, theoretically representing the various groups in the coalition, has not been that. Affectionately referred to as the Troika between the Trots, a Red, and a Fiercely Independent Pacifist, the office staff has been able to adequately, although not without a great deal of frustration, manage the tasks of insuring national actions. The most important function it played in the past was supplying buttons, literature, publicity, etc., for mass mobilizations for students all around the country.

The various staff people served with their divergent viewpoints to check each other. I served on staff from the January conference through the week after the Strike. It was clear that everyone expected me (as a member of the Communist Party), to play three roles. First, I was to guarantee the participation of CP members around the country in SMC events. Secondly, I was to do shit work. Thirdly, I was to guarantee that the SMC did nothing that both the Communist Party and YSA couldn't agree upon.

The theory behind this is that if both the CP and YSA, the two most opposing groups, could agree on something, then there would be no one else in the country who could possibly disagree. This could guarantee a "broad" coalition.

What it actually meant was that the office was caught in a hammerlock and could effectively play no role other than the distribution of literature for specific national actions.

While in the past such a staff and organization could function, with the change in the movement and in the country this is no longer possible. Either we put together a staff that is able to function politically and collectively or we dissolve the organization. If SMC cannot adapt itself to the needs of the student movement for program, for means of broadening out the movement, for response to the spontaneous events of the day -- i.e., Columbia, if it cannot put travellers into the field to help service local groups and to help unite the student movement, then it can have no purpose for existing.

Thus, we can no longer have a staff that by its internal tensions guarantees that it takes no positions offending any-

one. We must have a staff that is able to relate to the new needs of the movement. The intent of the Working Committee resolution was not that I, as a member of the Communist Party, have no right to be on staff, but that I, because I am a member of the Communist Party, don't have an automatic right to be on staff.

If over the period of the summer

Position Paper by Kipp Dawson

Mass actions like those previously conducted by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam are now more important than ever. Yet, recent exclusionist and antidemocratic actions in the New York Working Committee endanger the SMC's ability to mobilize youth and even threaten SMC's existence, at a time when its unique function is most needed.

While some in the Working Committee seek to change SMC's central role, the U.S. steadily escalates the war in Vietnam counting on Johnson's "peace talks" to lull the American and worldwide antiwar forces into inaction. "Peace candidates," McCarthy and Kennedy [this paper was also written prior to Kennedy's assassination], and "peace talks" notwithstanding, young men are drafted in greater numbers, the bombing increases, more GIs die, and Vietnamese are killed wantonly and indiscriminately.

The American antiwar movement, and especially the SMC, must now rally its forces more strongly than ever behind the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces. The SMC must not now fall into Johnson's "peace" trap by ceasing to organize massive actions, or move politically to the right via exclusion and bureaucratic maneuvers.

The Student Mobilization Committee's unique contribution, not only to the fight against the war but to the entire process of radicalization in the U.S. and even to a degree abroad, has been its ability to unite and mobilize diverse organizations and individuals in spite of differences on other questions in a coalition that conducts militant, mass antiwar action.

This has been SMC's special and irreplaceable role, its reason for being. The SMC has not been, and should not attempt to become a general student union or a rival to SDS or the Resistance, or a substitute for multi-issue political groups such as the YSA or the DuBois Clubs. To turn SMC in such a direction destroys the organization by destroying its unique quality. But more importantly, it signals a retreat from the fight against the war, a step to the right politically.

It weakens solidarity with the

the new staff is able to begin to rectify the situation, then in a conference in the fall I would be willing to run for office based on my merits, experiences in the student movement, and the quality of my ideas. It would then be up to the SMC who would be its officers and not the various political groups. Until this is done, my serving on staff would be futile and therefore I have resigned.

Vietnamese liberation struggle at a moment of particular need.

The recent actions of the New York Working Committee go in this direction, starting with the exclusion of the Young Socialists. These exclusionary measures are continuously coupled with the desire for SMC to change its direction, to take on activities that rival the contributions of other organizations.

Ignoring the lessons of the successful student strike in mobilizing hundreds of thousands of youth, this right-wing group seeks to turn SMC's attention away from mobilization against the war, to more "secure" protests. The first step in such a process is the exclusion of the left. The next is a maneuver behind the backs of the ranks -- attempts to change the character of SMC through a New York meeting, flouting a previous mandate for a national conference every six months in the midwest where there can be maximum attendance, where democratic decisions by SMC activists can be made.

To reverse this rightward drift, Syd Stapleton and I call upon SMC to live up to its rules. An immediate full national conference of Student Mobilization activists is required where democratic decisions can be made, where a leadership and staff that will carry out those decisions can be elected, and where the exclusionary and bureaucratic actions of the New York Working Committee can be reversed.

The SMC must reaffirm the January 1968 conference decision on its character and adhere to policies and sponsor actions that will continue to mobilize American youth against the war.

We seek to emulate the French National Vietnam Committee, which through its periodic mass actions created a new unity of young radicals and helped pave the way for the nationwide upsurge occurring there. A rising sense of outrage shared by high-school, university and graduate students, from Prague to Paris, and from Columbia University to Louisville, makes the mobilization of a worldwide movement that can end the war a realizable perspective.

In the months ahead the SMC will confront historic tests and opportunities. Among them is the need to understand and link up with the growing opposition to the war among GIs. As a united, nonexclusive coalition the SMC can successfully chart a program of activities to disseminate antiwar information to GIs demonstrating that the antiwar movement is their ally. Such a program, encompassing teach-ins, demonstrations, newspapers, etc., can serve as an organizing tool for a national student action in support of the GIs in the fall, the next logical national major SMC action.

Such a program can complement on-going and accelerated activities against campus complicity with the war and opposition to the draft. We seek a rounded program of antiwar activity that will mobilize ever-increasing numbers of students in anti-imperialist action to bring the war to an end, to unite with similar students throughout the world in their actions, and to help build an international student movement composed of all political tendencies and individuals willing to demonstrate in mass actions their demand to get the GIs out of Vietnam!

NEW MARXIST PUBLICATION IN ENGLAND

A new and welcome addition to the literature of the left is the publication of the first two issues of International, a monthly "survey of British and world affairs." The new monthly incorporates The Week, the familiar mimeographed bulletin that regularly provided reports of radical activities, anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations, and a biting critique of the rightward shift of the Labour party leadership.

International marks a step forward from The Week in several respects. Techni-

cally it has moved from mimeograph to the photo-offset process, which provides for the extensive use of photographs and headlines. The expanded size allows for more probing political articles in addition to the type of material provided by The Week.

International describes its primary aim as "the creation of a firm Marxist core in the Labour movement." Subscriptions are ten shillings [US\$1.20] for six issues, and can be sent to International, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1., England.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
PHOTO: Mass March of Students in Paris Against de Gaulle June 1	553
The Second Kennedy Assassination (A Political Appraisal) -- by George Novack	554
De Gaulle and Bidault -- An Unsavory Combination	556
Paris Students Answer de Gaulle in the Streets -- by Mary-Alice Waters	557
De Gaulle's May 30 Speech -- by Pierre Frank	558
DRAWING: De Gaulle	558
The French Workers Come into the Streets -- by Joseph Hansen	560
DRAWING: Mitterrand	560
Interview with Renault Workers -- by Mary-Alice Waters	562
French Soldiers Support Revolutionary Upsurge	563
French Communist Party's Views on Student Youth -- by Louis Couturier	564
French Trotskyist Stand on de Gaulle's Speech	569
The Missing Link in France -- A Revolutionary Party	569
Documents:	
Political Exclusion in the American Movement Against the Vietnam War	
Position Papers:	
by Linda Morse	572
by Phyllis Kalb	573
by Kipp Dawson	575
New Marxist Publication in England	576

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010  126

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

Martin, Paris 10, France. INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Copyright © 1968 by Intercontinental Press.