

Gaullist Repression of Left Draws Worldwide Protest

One hundred Labour members of Parliament in Britain have appealed to de Gaulle to lift the ban on the outlawed revolutionary groups in France. *Le Monde* and the *International Herald Tribune* report the M.P.'s also demanded the release of the arrested leaders of the left-wing organizations. Among the signers were four members of the National Executive Committee of the Labour party.



DEMONSTRATION in Cleveland, Ohio, June 22 against outlawing of French revolutionary groups.

A 27-Hour Introduction to the French Political Police

by Joseph Hansen

'Sanctions' Against Rhodesia and the British Government

by Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu

Isaac Deutscher on the 'New Left'

PROTESTS IN FRANCE OVER REPRESSION OF REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

De Gaulle's repression of the main revolutionary groups has been vigorously condemned by virtually all the leftist political tendencies in France with the exception of the Communist party, which has abetted the actions of the secret political police either by maintaining silence over the banning of the organizations and arbitrary jailing of their leaders and activists or by leveling slanderous attacks against the rebel students and the demonstrations they inspired.

The Union Nationale des Etudiants de France [National Union of French Students] said the following, as reported by Le Monde June 16-17:

"The government repression is becoming more intense each day. The government has just proceeded to arrest fifteen militants, both students and workers, in their homes, under charges as grotesque as the pretext chosen for announcing the dissolution of eleven student political groups.

"By imprisoning some of these militants, who were among the most active in the student union, the government is aiming at the entire student movement and the UNEF in particular.

"A massive reply from all the unions is becoming more and more indispensable. Thus the UNEF is appealing to all the unions for action of this kind."

Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International jailed by the de Gaulle regime June 14, was released June 24 after a three-day hunger strike.

The Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur [SNESup -- the National Union of Higher Education] said the following as reported in the same issue of Le Monde:

"By deporting foreign students, teachers and workers, whether they participated in demonstrations or not, the government is drawing a distinction between 'natives' and 'aliens,' who are denied the right to participate in political activities in a country where they were not born, but a country which nonetheless continues to profit from their labor. This distinction can easily arouse a tendency to xenophobia. Also these deportations sometimes threaten to turn political refugees over to the police in their own country."

In a joint statement published in the June 14 Le Monde, the Union Nationale

des Etudiants de France and the Union des Grandes Ecoles [High School Union] said that the following points should be emphasized with regard to the banned youth organizations:

"Not a single one of these groups was an armed or paramilitary league. The violence that occurred during the demonstrations, particularly yesterday's violence, was due to the forces of law and order which, even before the rally, carried out arrests and clubbed groups of students trying to assemble.

"The UNEF and the UGE denounce this maneuver and vigorously protest against this attack on the most elementary democracy. We must observe that this is not an isolated incident but is part of an overall policy of repressing the worker and student movements.

"The UNEF and the UGE thus appeal to all their members, to the workers and to the populace to be vigilant and to denounce the government's maneuver everywhere and its possible culmination in a fascist regime in France. The activists of these various political groups, we state in addition, are members of the UNEF or of the UGE, which are democratic organizations, and they retain their freedom of expression within these organizations."

The Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail [CFDT -- the French Democratic Federation of Labor] made its stand clear on the dissolution of the youth groups in a statement published in part in the June 14 Le Monde. It noted that violence occurred only where the police intervened and that where they were withdrawn, calm was at once restored. "Solutions imposed by force," said the CFDT, "whether it involves banning demonstrations or dissolving groups of students, leave the problems posed by the working class as well as by the students still unresolved."

Guy Mollet, vice-president of the Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste [Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left] and general secretary of the SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière -- French section of the Workers (Second) International], said over the radio station Europe No. 1 upon learning of the dissolution of the revolutionary youth groups:

"I certainly do not agree with the youth movements involved. Violence never leads to anything except more violence. I think their methods are wrong. I would certainly not say -- because I don't believe it -- that they are accomplices of

the government. [This refers to the slander peddled by Communist party spokesmen.] No. But, objectively, the violent character of some of their actions serves the government.

"Having said that, which very clearly distinguishes me from their mode of action, I want to say that I don't understand, that I would be incapable of giving my approval to the decision.

"They are invoking a 1936 law, a law dealing with the necessary dissolution of fascist groups, of armed leagues. To attempt to apply that law to these young people -- I am not speaking of some of the leaders, but of those following them -- these young people full of enthusiasm, full of hope, not to old hard-core fascists but to youth dreaming of a new society, that is no answer and it could be very bad."

The PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié -- United Socialist party], a centrist Social Democratic formation, said in the June 14 Le Monde: "Without approving of all the policies of the banned organizations, the PSU affirms its solidarity with them in view of the repression. Through these decisions, the government is trying to evade its responsibilities. The PSU now has very serious reservations concerning the June 23 election. The struggle continues under other forms. The PSU pledges to extend them."

At a protest meeting in the Mutualité June 14, Marc Heurgon, a member of the National Political Committee of the PSU, speaking after a number of adult revolutionary organizations had been included in the ban, said that the PSU was ready to place its press, its headquarters and its members "at the disposition" of the banned organizations.

He scored the Communist party and l'Humanité, "which has not uttered a word of protest against the dissolution of the revolutionary movements." L'Humanité, he added, "is a dishonorable newspaper."

The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme [League for the Rights of Man] declared in a statement published in the June 14 Le Monde that the 1936 law applied only in the case of associations or groups which were proved to have been carrying on the activities specified as illegal in the law. The League demanded that the government "make public, for each of the dissolved associations, the evidence and proofs that would show that this law is applicable."

The Parti Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste de France [Maoist], denounced "the decisions of a fascist character taken by the Gaullist government [against the revolutionary youth organizations].

It denounces the hypocrisy of the regime of the monopolies, which is trying to install fascism in France in the name of an antifascist law of 1936, while the same regime, in face of the immense popular wave of the French people, has itself given the green light to the formation of its own fascist militia baptized 'Committees of Civic Action' as a cover-up or 'Committees for the Defense of the Republic'...

"The only ones capable of applauding the regime's fascist measures have been the revisionist leaders of the PCF [French Communist party], who for weeks have been conducting a systematic campaign of abetting the police against the revolutionary organizations."

The Groupes Marxistes-Révolutionnaires, the small group headed by Michel Pablo, which escaped being banned by the government, "violently denounces the ban hitting the revolutionary organizations. Condemned by ten million strikers, by the university and high-school youth, that is, in fact by the absolute majority of the country, the regime is seeking to reestablish its authority by reinforcing its police apparatus. Against this process a united front is required of all the working-class and democratic forces, condemning without equivocation all the attempts to repress this or that revolutionary workers tendency.

"The time has come to go beyond the first forms of revolutionary action, which no longer correspond to the present needs of the struggle against the regime. While developing the network of committees of action, the organization of the self-defense of the masses must be put on the agenda."

Charles Berg, a leader of the Fédération des Etudiants Révolutionnaires [Federation of Revolutionary Students, the grouping connected with the Socialist Labour League in Britain] and editor of Révoltes, made the following statement to Le Monde [June 16-17]:

"The scandalous decree directed against us is the beginning of the police repression which will strike the working-class movement. In our opinion it could not have been issued if the leadership of the PCF had not battled against us and if the trade unions had not done everything in their power to split up the working class. Today it is us; tomorrow it will be the PCF. The entire working-class movement is threatened. As for us, we will respect the legislation that has been invoked. We are appealing to the Council of State. We will not take to the hills of Paris. [Nous ne prendrons pas le maquis à Fontainebleau.] We are not the 'Che' Guevaras of the Latin Quarter. We are undertaking a campaign for

the defense of civil liberties along with the teachers, the workers movement and the democratic organizations. We will not commit any provocation. We will continue to carry on our trade-union activities. The only possible response to this measure is a mass demonstration organized by all the trade unions."

The newspaper of the Gaullists, La Nation, of course approved the repression of the revolutionary youth groups.

"Paris, like the provinces, wants peace and order in our streets," said the June 13 issue. "Political controversies must be decided at the ballot box and not elsewhere. Bombings, which were thought to be a thing of the past, assaults on candidates in the elections, the burning of electoral propaganda, show that it was the deliberate decision of some people to sabotage the elections. Against this enterprise, the government reacted; it was exactly what public opinion wanted.

"It was easy, of course, to see what the provocateurs hoped for -- to compel the public authorities to use massive force to root out all the revolutionary focal centers and then debate over this measure, aimed at assuring free elections, in order to dispute that they were free...

"The organizations which because of their union character escaped the rigors of the law should be reminded of the urgency of returning to reason. If the

UNEF continues to conduct itself as a motor force for a violent revolution which the country has repudiated, it will have made its own choice and will have to suffer the consequences."

L'Humanité, the official newspaper of the Communist party, came closer to La Nation than to the spokesmen of the left, in indicating where it stood. Without making a direct statement on the ban, an editorial in the June 13 issue said that Pompidou "up to now has found outstanding helpers in the person of certain leaders of the student movement -- including Mr. Sauvageot and Mr. Geismar -- who clearly hold that irresponsibility is a cardinal virtue in politics. It is difficult to side with the imbecility, the unconsciousness or provocation in the appeals and initiatives of the last days. It is clear in any case that the blind violence that presided at the demonstration day before yesterday -- trees cut down, automobiles burned, windows broken, utilization of Molotov cocktails -- had no other result actually -- and Mr. Pompidou's speech was sufficient to prove it -- than to play into the hands of Gaullism. The student movement does not have the leaders it deserves. It is understandable why the regime is utilizing the leftist groups today as a foil in an attempt to frighten public opinion after having utilized them yesterday in an attempt to split the movement of protest against its policies."

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, LAURENT SCHWARTZ, FORM COMMITTEE AGAINST DE GAULLE'S BAN

A group of prominent French intellectuals have just formed a committee to defend civil liberties and oppose the Gaullist repression. Among its founding members are Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz, Alain Renais, Nobel Prize winner Alfred Kastler, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Leiris, Marguerite Duras, and Jacques Monod. The committee's initiators signed the following statement:

"Repression in the most diverse forms is now being instituted in an attempt to crush the vast movement which touched off the student and worker revolt. Eleven far-left organizations or associations have been dissolved by a decree applying a 1936 law. Political activists and even ordinary citizens have been arrested, turned over to the political police, and threatened with prosecution before the Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat [the State Security Court].

"A great number of foreign nationals have been expelled from France without being granted any recourse or means

of defending themselves. Workers have already been hit with penalties for strike actions. Physical violence has been used against political activists distributing their pamphlets or publications. Unless such repression is countered immediately by the determined opposition of the largest possible number of people, it will inevitably be extended.

"This is why the signers [of this declaration] have proceeded to form a committee to defend civil liberties and oppose repression. The committee's objectives are the following: abrogation of the dissolution decree; cessation of all prosecutions resulting from the workers and students demonstrations of May and June 1968; the withdrawal of the expulsion decrees against foreign nationals; struggle against penalties for strike actions; active solidarity with all victims of the repression."

Expressions of support for the committee will be received by M. Laurent Schwartz, 37 rue Pierre-Nicole, Paris 5^e.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES APPEAL ON REPRESSION IN FRANCE

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, condemned the Gaullist repression in a brief statement June 18.

"On June 14, 1968," the statement said, "the French secret police raided the offices of the French section of the International, the offices of their publishing enterprise and the private homes of many militants. This followed by a day the official government dissolution of the PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste -- Internationalist Communist party -- the French section of the Fourth International] and the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire -- Revolutionary Communist Youth.]

"Many comrades were arrested and

held for questioning and their personal papers seized. Most of them have since been released. However, Pierre Frank is still being held."

The statement called for the organization of protests and solidarity actions. It also asked that material aid for the victims of French repression be sent in care of the Belgian Union de la Gauche Socialiste (UGS) at the following address: CCP 9679.36 UGS, Brussels, Belgium. The latter organization has made a public appeal for aid to the JCR through the columns of its organ La Gauche.

The United Secretariat statement declared, "We appreciate this fraternal solidarity that they have extended and call upon all our friends to send their help through this means."

DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST GAULLIST CRACKDOWN HELD THROUGHOUT U.S. AND CANADA

Demonstrations at French consulates and information centers were held all across the United States and Canada June 22 in solidarity with the banned left-wing student organizations in France. Reports are still incomplete as we go to press, but demonstrations of as many as several hundred were held in Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis, New York, Seattle, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Atlanta.

In Canada there were demonstrations in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Most of the protests were widely reported in local newspapers, and over radio and television. In many cities in both countries this was the first mention given in the mass media to the banning of the revolutionary organizations in France.

At most of the demonstrations petitions were circulated demanding, "(1) The immediate lifting of the ban on all the proscribed political organizations; (2) the immediate release of all political prisoners; (3) the reaffirmation by the French government of the right of free access for all foreign journalists in order that the rest of the world may know the truth about France; and (4) an immediate end to the brutal repression of demonstrations and other attacks on the civil liberties of the French people."

The broad sponsorship and participation in these actions included sections of the black movement, antiwar organizations, and the North American left.

In Philadelphia the sponsors included representatives of the Students

for a Democratic Society, Resistance, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Philadelphia Mobilization Committee, Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, Women Strike for Peace, University of Pennsylvania Society of African and Afro-American Students, American Friends Service Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers party.

In Montreal the leaders of the Quebec New Democratic party -- Canada's labor party -- and of the Quebec trade-union movement signed a petition in defense of the victimized organizations.

In other cities in the U.S. a wide variety of organizations sponsored the demonstrations. The Arab Student Association, Black Conscience magazine, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Inner City Voice, a black newspaper, sponsored the action in Detroit. The demonstration in Atlanta, Georgia, was sponsored by members of Atlantans for Peace, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the National Student Association, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Cal State Black Student Union, and other organizations joined in the call for the demonstration in Los Angeles.

In San Francisco June 18 more than sixty young people marched into the heart of the financial district to hold a spirited demonstration and street rally in front of the offices of the French commercial counselor. Called by the Young Socialist Alliance, the action took place at noon, when the sidewalks are crowded with office workers out for lunch. Further solidarity actions are scheduled.

"SCREAMS LIKE NOTHING I HAVE EVER HEARD...."

[The following eyewitness accounts of the sadistic treatment of Paris students by the CRS (paramilitary security police) appeared in the June 17 West German weekly Der Spiegel.]

* * *

Statement of a 28-Year-Old Woman

Along with about ten other people on the night of May 24-25 at about 1:30 in the morning I ran into the entrance of No. 27 Boulevard Saint-Michel. Suddenly about ten CRS cops with screams like nothing I have ever heard and armed with rubber truncheons and shields stormed into the entranceway. We ran up the stairs and knocked on all the doors, but to no avail. Finally, a young man kicked open a door to get his pregnant wife into a safe place. I rushed in after him.

The apartment was unoccupied and there was no furniture we could hide behind. The young couple fled into the bathroom. But shortly afterwards the CRS broke down the door and attacked the couple. I had hidden in another room which by some miracle they did not come into. I heard how the woman screamed, "I'm pregnant." But she was beaten anyway. "You slut, you'll soon find out how pregnant you are." They left the almost unconscious pregnant women lying in the doorway.

Statement of a Medical Student

When we got out of the van, a double row of police received us, making us run a gauntlet of rubber truncheons. Among us were high-school boys and girls who were all around seventeen years old. Although the girls were in tears and completely hysterical, they were mistreated in the most infamous way and beaten again and again. I got a blow in the testicles. Another man got three furious blows in the same place. Because of his pain, he could not answer the increasingly maddened cops.

The girls, who were all very young, were beaten on their sexual organs. The foulest insults were heaped on them. They were threatened with rape. Then we were stuffed in a cell and had to stand tightly crowded together. The air was stifling. There was only one tiny opening...Sweat saturated the air, running down the walls. The stench was unbearable. The toilets were stopped up.

Outside we heard someone say: "Wouldn't it be fun to toss a few tear-gas grenades in there." And: "We should pour gasoline over them and burn them all."

Statement of a Volunteer Nurse
Arrested in an Ambulance

Beaujon was a kind of concentration camp. As we got out of the police van, blows rained on us. After being driven through a gauntlet of CRS cops, I came into a barbed-wire enclosure. From time to time, the CRS vans brought in men and women who had been beaten or were suffering from tear-gas poisoning. Some of them had serious head wounds and broken arms. Chinese, Vietnamese, and Negroes were given especially brutal treatment.

One by one we were taken into different enclosures. A CRS cop yelled at me: "Come here, Goldilocks, and I'll give you a shearing." A CRS sergeant intervened. But I saw that a young girl in front of me had her hair forcibly shaved off.

I was locked in a cell...Through the bars I could see out into the court. A half-naked young man went by, his legs lacerated by club blows. He was bleeding and constantly had to urinate. From a young woman who was with him I learned that the CRS had beaten him unconscious and then spread him out and beaten his genitals until the skin hung in tatters.

Young girls were brought in. Among them was a sixteen-year-old girl who had been arrested by the CRS on the Boulevard Saint-Michel. They had dragged her into a police van where four cops gang-raped her.

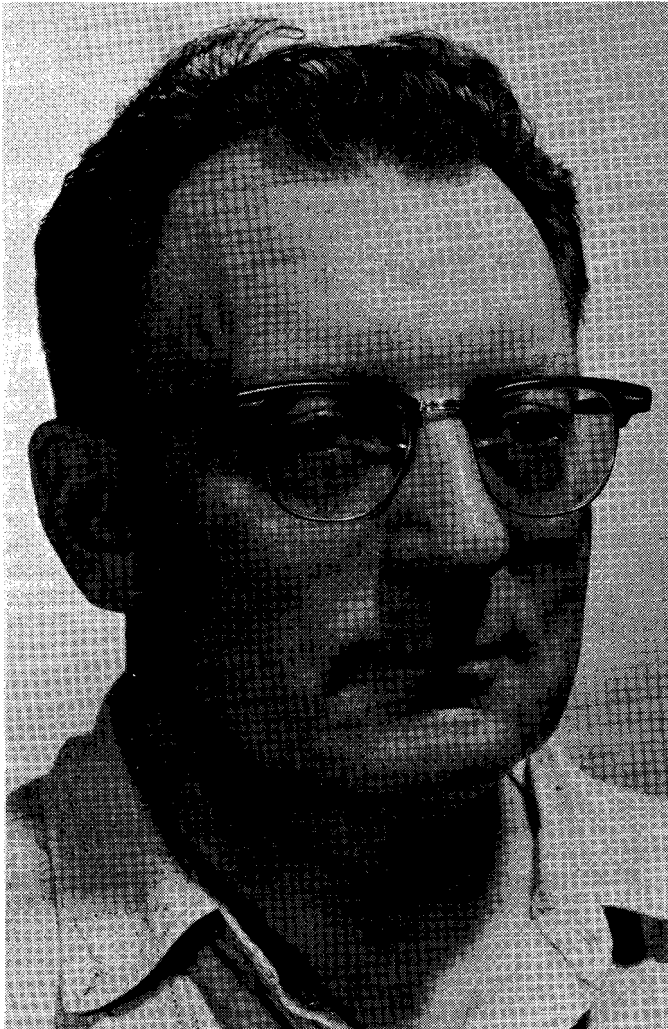
CZECHOSLOVAK MAGAZINE PUBLISHES WORK BY DEUTSCHER, UNDER TROTSKY'S PICTURE

A significant step forward in the course of the de-Stalinization in Czechoslovakia has carried the Czech liberalization beyond any previous such experience. The West German weekly Der Spiegel of June 23 reported: "Literarni Listy [the liberal Czech literary weekly]... (which has a circulation of 300,000) even in-

cluded a picture of a Communist whose name to this day must be pronounced with horror in the Soviet Union: Stalin's enemy, Trotsky. With this portrait, the paper began publication [in serial] of Isaac Deutscher's book, The Unfinished Revolution, which projects a new proletarian revolution for the Soviet Union."

A 27-HOUR INTRODUCTION TO THE FRENCH POLITICAL POLICE

By Joseph Hansen



JOSEPH HANSEN

JUNE 16 -- Yesterday I received a carbon copy of a letter from the Ministre de l'Intérieur, a member of de Gaulle's cabinet, to the Directeur de la Surveillance du Territoire [Director of National Security], ordering him to see to it that I was deported forthwith from France.

I was given the copy of the letter under somewhat unusual circumstances -- in the headquarters of the French government's secret political police -- after having been held in custody for some twenty-seven hours, out of which I was grilled for about twelve hours.

The reason given for deporting me was that my "presence" on French territory was of such "nature" as to be inimical to the public order. The grounds for coming to this conclusion were not stated in the Minister's letter.

However, the main pieces of evi-

dence considered by the police, as I can bear witness, were the two issues of the American socialist weekly The Militant which the police found in my briefcase. One of these issues carried an announcement on the front page reporting that a group of Militant correspondents had gone to France to cover the revolutionary events there. The other issue carried an article I had written under a Paris dateline.

I was honored by having as my chief inquisitor a Commissaire de la Police, working directly under the Minister himself. Should the Commissaire ever wish to have a testimonial from me, I can state that he measured up to the highest standards of his profession.

For instance, he pointed to the announcement on the front page of The Militant as overwhelming proof that I was the "organizer" of a group sent into France from the USA for subversive purposes. When I asked him to show me, he put his finger on the word "organizations" in the sentence itemizing some of the things we intended to report on. The translating department of de Gaulle's political police evidently read this word as "organisateur" [organizer], and put it, conveniently, in the singular instead of the plural, thus correcting what was obviously a typographical error in the original.

Again, this keen-witted Arsène Lupin nailed me with a letter from my wife, Reba. In the first paragraph, she told me about the heavy work in getting out "the issue" (a 32-page issue of Intercontinental Press dealing almost wholly with the French events). This proved, since it was discussing "issues," that the letter was completely political. Now what about the rest?

The author of the missive, the mysterious Reba, mentioned that the begonias were doing well and that, of all things, the cyclamen was putting out another bud despite the heat. This, said Monsieur Lupin, could be nothing but a secret code.

It was not the thing to do in this inner sanctum, I am sure, but I laughed. "There are some people," I said, "who like to grow flowers. Of all countries this should be understood in France."

The translator, at this point a woman, intervened to assure the Commissaire that the letter really was from my wife and it was quite understandable why she would like to grow flowers. The Commissaire came back rather hotly. "I'm asking the questions here, not you. Let

him reply to what I ask." Most of the other cops in the room had smiles on their faces as if they were enjoying what had happened to their superior and he soon dropped that line of inquiry into the "plot."

My inquisitor had already informed me that I was to be introduced to the French equivalent of the FBI, and he continued his introduction from about 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. without a break. But before describing this further, let me tell how I came to be arrested.

Shortly after we arrived in Paris, I happened to meet a young French woman, a student whom I had become acquainted with in the office of The Militant while she was touring the United States several years ago. I mentioned that I was finding it inconvenient to write articles in my hotel room. She at once offered to let me use her parents' apartment during the day, since they were away on vacation. I, of course, happily accepted.

It turned out to be an excellent place to bang away on my typewriter, and I spread my accumulation of newspapers, magazines, leaflets, pamphlets, borrowed manuscripts, notebooks, dictionary -- the tools and raw materials of the writer's trade -- on the long dining-room table pulled out to its full extension.

It was a pleasant place to work, too. On the wall was a poster-size photograph of Che Guevara for inspiration. The library had a considerable collection of Marxist books and pamphlets, leftist publications and Trotskyist literature.

On June 12, the de Gaulle regime dissolved the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire and a number of other revolutionary youth organizations. The Communist party, the most powerful working-class political organization, did not utter a peep of protest. I put together an outline of what had happened and sent it to The Militant.

On June 13, de Gaulle followed up by dissolving the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International, and three other adult revolutionary organizations.

These were witch-hunting measures, clearly part and parcel of a frenzied attempt by de Gaulle to build up the most reactionary wing of French society to offset the revolutionary upsurge of the students and workers.

The events of June 12-13 were under intensive discussion among all the circles I saw during those two days. Some were of the opinion that the repression had already begun. I thought that it was more accurate to call it a witch-hunt;

the next stage, the stage of repression, would begin with political arrests. I must admit that I did not think the next stage would open the very next morning.

During the early hours, the headquarters of nearly all the revolutionary organizations were raided. The homes of leading figures in these organizations were also raided, and many were arrested.

Pierre Frank, the secretary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, I have since been informed, was seized in this way, as was Michel Spagnol, a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, and Gérard Verbizier, the editor of Avant-Garde Jeunesse, the JCR newspaper. (Verbizier is in ill health and it is feared what might happen to him in the hands of de Gaulle's cops, who have moved with extreme brutality against the students.)

None of this was known to me or anyone else generally at 9 a.m. when I went to the apartment to begin work on the half dozen articles I had blocked out for The Militant and Intercontinental Press. As I opened the door, a young plainclothesman pushed inside before I could get the key out of the lock, and in seconds a dozen more had invaded the apartment. They did not show a search warrant or anything else.

In the bedroom they discovered a young man who had evidently used the apartment as a place to sleep. I saw little of him after that.

It was a great haul for these sleuths. They went through books, pamphlets, flipped through the newspapers; broke into drawers; and, of course, went through my bulging briefcase and all the material laid out on the table, and later my pockets which were stuffed with leaflets collected the day before and odd items like receipts, scribbled notes and a map of the metro system in Paris.

Handwritten material seemed to get top priority with these political experts. A short translation of a PCI press release which I had written out in my hotel room was a special treasure. Later in the day the Commissaire kept it in front of him on his desk, picking it up occasionally to admire it like a prime exhibit in a pawnshop holdup.

The first hour was the most uncomfortable for me, since I had asked Helena Hermes, one of The Militant's staff photographers, to come there at 10 a.m. to help me a bit. She also intended to develop some films of pictures taken the day before.

Unfortunately, she had not forgotten the appointment, and the political po-

lice greeted her at the door with the pleasure they customarily display in such situations. Especially intriguing to them was the box of photographic chemicals she had brought along, not to mention the dozen strips of film already completed.

The difference of forty years or so in our ages was the source of much winking and ribald innuendos. You know the Americans!

Thus began Helena's ordeal, or, to put it more positively, the opportunity presented to her to see at close range how a political police operates in the service of a capitalist state.

The grilling given us in the apartment was light compared with what we were subjected to in the inner sanctum of the Ministry of the Interior. We were, of course, kept separated, in rooms quite far apart, and neither of us had any way of knowing what was happening to the other. In each case, however, our inquisitors sought to make out that we were part of an international conspiracy aimed at overthrowing "liberty" in France and establishing a "totalitarian Communist state."

Comparing notes later, we saw that with Helena, they concentrated on "physical" details, such as the automobile we had rented so as to be able to send articles and photographs to Brussels for mailing to the United States as long as the planes and trains remained on strike in France.

With me, they spent more time on the "broader links and ramifications." Their procedure, however, was not completely undemocratic. Occasionally they reversed the emphasis, so that each of us got a taste of what the other was receiving, and also the better to probe for loopholes in our "story" about coming to France just to write articles for an American audience.

My passport showed that I had been in Cuba in the summer of 1967. This became the object of repeated questioning throughout the interrogation, the Commissaire apparently thinking that by temporarily dropping the subject and then returning to it suddenly, he might catch me in a contradiction.

He wanted to know in particular what figures in the Cuban government had seen me. That I had not received any different treatment at the OLAS conference (which I covered for The Militant) from that accorded any of the other 500 reporters and photographers was a very suspicious alibi in his opinion. And I must agree that there was a certain logic to his viewpoint. How otherwise explain the revolutionary explosion in France which the small group from The Militant had

managed to touch off before they even left New York?

Another hot lead in the Commissaire's opinion was the fact that I had returned from Cuba via Prague. How long had I stayed in that capital? What people did I see? My story that I had not even left the airport was utterly ridiculous in his opinion. And again, from his viewpoint, logic was with him. The student unrest in Czechoslovakia was clearly related to the student unrest in France, and since I had been in both places, I was obviously "associated" with its origin.

I was never quite sure, however, in relation to Czechoslovakia what his objective was -- to try to make me out to be an agent of the Czech government sent into France to stir up trouble against de Gaulle, or an agent of the Cubans or The Militant, who stopped off in Prague to see what he could do, in passing, to stir up the campus against former President Novotny.

By 5 p.m. the first day, I gathered from the conversation I overheard among the officials who came and went, and who talked rather freely among themselves because of my obvious incapacity to understand French as shown by the heavy work falling upon the translator, that they had concluded I was genuinely a journalist and that our account about our purposes was true and that we would be released. The final formality was to search our hotel rooms.

In my room, half a dozen plainclothesmen completed the investigation in about three minutes. The stenographer put his typewriter on the tiny table and sat down on the one chair to take dictation from the Commissaire, while the others crowded respectfully around the sink and bidet.

As he dictated, the Commissaire showed that his reflexes were still in very good shape. He flipped back the bed cover, for instance. I don't know if he was looking for guns or bedbugs.

When he dropped down on one knee and looked under the bed, I could not resist asking him if he expected to find somebody there.

"You never know," he said. And then possibly to squelch the smirks on his assistants' faces, he added: "One time I found two Arabs under a bed."

"With the door locked from the outside?" I asked.

The translator had to explain the point to him as the others laughed. It was a small pleasure to see his face redden as he insisted: "Yes, with the door locked!"

We were taken back to the Ministry and the whole affair seemed finished. The Commissaire had even put down the time he finished the investigation, and he said that within a few minutes we would be released.

Then a rather strange thing occurred. The report was returned from whatever office it had been sent to. The stenographer had to rewrite the final page so that the last sentence was made to read that the investigation had been temporarily suspended.

I asked the Commissaire why he had lied to me. He seemed embarrassed. "Men propose but the gods dispose." He gestured, somewhat ironically, toward the heavens. Perhaps not only the Minister, but de Gaulle himself, was interested in this case.

Helena and I were informed we would be given a room where we could sleep overnight.

The room turned out to be an office with four desks and chairs. It took several hours to convert the place into a dormitory. The problem, apparently, was to locate the beds.

These finally arrived -- two folding army cots, each with two blankets.

The plainclothesmen pushed the desks together to widen the aisle, and set up the cots there. We were then courteously invited to make ourselves at home for the night, and we were even allowed to turn out the light.

We took off our shoes and climbed in. It was cold and I kept my coat buttoned under the blanket. A detective brought in a chair and stayed on guard at the door. It was not explained to us whether this was done to protect us from prowlers, or merely to keep our morale down, or perhaps our morals up. In any case, he didn't make it any easier to pass the night, as he seemed to fall out of his chair each time he went to sleep. When he caught himself, he banged against the door.

By the way, I should like to recommend to campers not to buy French folding cots, if the one I tried out is an indication of their quality. They are real backbreakers.

In the morning the interrogation continued. It consisted of going over points already covered and rewriting part of the record that had already been dictated and signed the previous day, to make it look better from a police view. It was interesting to me to see that complaints which I had registered against our treatment and which were noted down in an ex-

purgated way by the Commissaire were now expunged.

Both of us were photographed and finally Helena was told she could go free. As for me, some more technicalities were required which would take about an hour to complete. Although repeatedly invited to go, Helena refused to leave the building until I, too, was released.

The "technicalities" consisted of taking me to the criminal division where my fingerprints, scars, warts, moles, and other means of distinguishing one human being from another, according to police standards, were recorded in quintuplicate.

It was only after all this that I was told that the decision was to deport me and that I would be taken directly to Orly and put on an Air France plane for New York. Helena could do what she wanted.

Something occurred to me. All the time we had been there, we had eaten only three times. The meals consisted of sandwiches which we had to pay for, at a stiff price, too, the cops sending out for them. Would this be the case, similarly, with the plane ticket? Or would the Ministry now suddenly play things in grand style? I asked if I was to be flown across the Atlantic free of charge. I had very little money. But I did have a return ticket through another line leaving from Luxembourg.

This brought about a hurried consultation and a rush to see the Minister. Maybe he checked it with de Gaulle and de Gaulle weighed what to do in relation to his stockpile of gold. The decision was foreordained. The record was altered then and there with a ballpoint pen, and I was given until 1 a.m. the next morning to get to Luxembourg on my own resources.

Helena and I were then taken to our hotel and left to ourselves to check out, naturally with a "tail" to watch our movements from a discreet distance. We recognized two of them.

A final item is worth mentioning for the confirmation it offers on the inner character of the cop as a human type. We were assured repeatedly that all our belongings would be returned to us, and they were, including my typewriter. Among the items were the strips of film taken for The Militant.

The Ministry made contact prints of these and permitted me to look at them. They turned out to contain some very good pictures of the attacks carried out by the police against the students on June 11-12. I put the film in my briefcase along with the other items that were returned just before I was taken away to be fingerprinted. When I opened my briefcase later, how-

ever, the strips were gone.

I would not want to suggest that the Commissaire or the Minister or President de Gaulle ordered them purloined. It was, nevertheless, a neat bit of pickpocketing. Whoever first said it, was certainly speaking from experience when he observed that a cop is at heart a thief who has found a soft and easy racket.

FRENCH CP TELLS STUDENTS TO STAY IN THEIR PLACE

[While de Gaulle deployed thousands of club-swinging police and special "riot" detachments, employing tear gas and concussion grenades, in a systematic effort to put down demonstrating students and crush their centers at the Odéon and the Sorbonne, the French Communist party did its best to facilitate the repressive action. Not one of the CP leaders uttered a word of protest. The official CP newspaper, l'Humanité, likewise held its tongue.

[That was not all. Both l'Humanité and the big guns of the CP echoed the slanderous propaganda in the bourgeois press about "Katangese" mercenaries playing a murky role in the Sorbonne. And they continued their foul attacks on the revolutionary-minded students, labeling them "adventurers" and "provocateurs."

[This was supplemented by a campaign on the "student question" aimed at convincing the conservative bourgeois voters that the CP is a "party of order" in this field, too, and can be relied on to do its part to keep the students in their place. What the students think is immaterial to the CP for the moment -- most students are denied the ballot. The CP emphasized its sordid politicking by including as a key plank in its campaign propaganda: "Bar the road to any adventures or provocations" ("Barrer la route à toute aventure ou provocation").

[A good example of the right-thinking bourgeois tone and sentiments adopted by the CP is provided by the following article, one of a series, which appeared in l'Humanité on June 15, the day after de Gaulle's police drove the students out of the Odéon. The article, by Jean Ellenstein, is entitled "Concerning 'Student Power'" ("A propos du 'pouvoir étudiant'"). Subheadings appear in the original.]

* * *

The importance of the University is growing in the national life both quantitatively and qualitatively. 680,000 students occupy the desks in the schools of the higher institutions. In production, the role of technicians and highly skilled

As for the political significance of this incident in the sweep of events, perhaps it is sufficient to note that on the very same day that the special correspondent of the American Trotskyist newspaper was deported, de Gaulle released the fascist-minded General Salan from prison. The striking coincidence can be taken as one of the signs of the times in crisis-ridden France.

categories is growing and the need for them is going to increase still more. This indicates how much the student movement has become one of the necessary components of the antimonopoly alliance of the working class, the traditional and new middle layers (that is, the intermediary layers) and an important part of the peasantry.

Leaving aside the provocations of those who are trying to lead it astray, it was in the interests of the student movement to have permitted setting in motion forces that up to now have not participated much in the struggles against the regime. Under these conditions it is not surprising that these students, since they are young, thus without political experience, since they come from circles that are often hostile to communism, should prove responsive to both revolutionary phraseology and the most conformist anticommunism, even if it appears in new leftist drapery.

All of this has been systematically exploited by political leaders whose avowed aim is to weaken our Party.

Old Themes

On the ideological level they pick up and develop themes on the revolutionary role of the student youth which they refurbish although they are quite old.

Thus they picture the present society as being featured by a prodigious technical development and by ever increasing consumption, hence the expression, "consumer society," frequently used by the technicians of the student revolt.

All the big industrial countries, without taking into account the differing economic and social regimes, are thus alike and afflicted by the same evils. The workers, caught in the mechanism of this consumer society, no longer constitute the main force struggling against the social order while the supreme hope for an answer remains among student and intellectual circles.

On the basis of correct facts -- technical progress; development of the productive forces; real progress in con-

sumption -- they draw totally erroneous conclusions that hide the underlying features of contemporary capitalist society where private property in the means of production and exchange remains.

"The French are getting bored," Le Monde said a few weeks before the wave of anger in May. "Fortunately," they added soon after that, the students were there!!!

Demagogy vis-à-vis the students then took on unprecedented proportions.

Vanguard of the revolutionary movement (!), they ought to have the right to veto all faculty decisions, said an appeal of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié] in the month of May.

In certain disciplines at the Sorbonne (philosophy, psychology and sociology) one could witness students and a few teachers demanding that professors be nominated by assemblies of students and teachers in which the latter would be in a complete minority. These assemblies would even be empowered to issue the school's diplomas. In short, diplomas would be subjected to student "power."

The Role of the Working Class

Events proved that the working class plays the predominant role.

This does not at all mean, however, that the role of the students in the events should be underestimated. But even if their intervention came first chronologically, at the beginning of May, this did not make it any the less a secondary phenomenon -- limited as to its political perspectives and its impact on French society.

The leading role of the working class is not explained solely by its numbers or by considerations of a moral nature. It is justified above all by the place of the workers in production and by the development of the workers movement which permitted even the student movement to enter into action.

In the United States, in Western Germany, important student movements exist. But they have hardly met with an echo in American or German society because, unfortunately, the Communist parties have only a limited influence there. The Communist party of Western Germany is banned and the one in the United States is persecuted.

A Pernicious Notion

As for the very notion of "student power," the ideological foundations of which we have just examined, it seems particularly pernicious to us from all points

of view.

It tends to pit teachers and students against each other: the line of cleavage is thus placed on an internal level in the university and not at all on the level of class divisions and antagonisms.

As if there were no students holding conservative opinions and no revolutionary teachers in the true sense of the term!

As if there were no Gaullist regime and a monopoly capitalism of the state and an exploited working class!

The students, who have the numbers, would dominate the professors and through this domination they would supposedly play a revolutionary role.

This childish but dangerous theory has its disciples but it is our duty to state what we think about it without any equivocation.

We are for the new university institutions, those that existed before May 1968. We think that students and teachers must contribute to building these institutions which will assure collaboration between them in the future.

Without paternalism vis-à-vis the students, and without demagogy, we are acting in a responsible way in strongly criticizing the very principle of "student power" no matter what its form.

A student in the first or second cycle [high school and first years of college] cannot judge the scientific value of a professor. He can and ought, naturally, to criticize possibly his technique in transmitting knowledge but his criticism must stop there.

By the third cycle things are no doubt different but even there the idea cannot be accepted of challenging basics without extreme caution.

The Necessary Renovation

To raise challenges on the ideological level is good -- and who can rejoice over this more than we who have sought and are seeking to sharply criticize the ideology of the bourgeoisie? -- but to voice a challenge, which is a form of ideological battle (a negative form because there is also a positive form consisting of the development of a new ideology), must not be confused with criticizing a course on a scientific level -- the margin is at times narrow in some of the disciplines like philosophy, but this is not sufficient to justify the existence of a university that engages in disputation and criticism.

Naturally, it is necessary to transform teaching methods, to develop discussion, dialogues, debating seminars.

Naturally, it is necessary to renovate the content of education on all the fundamental and methodological levels.

Naturally, it is necessary to end the Napoleonic corporatism and the strait-jacket of the late nineteenth-century bureaucracy of the republic, but this does not mean going from one excess to the other.

Teachers must frankly agree to conduct a dialogue with their students. They must, and there are many who have already done this, participate fully in the present reconstruction of the university.

As for the students they must re-

ject the very notion and the terrible consequences of "student power." They will repulse the sirens who are trying to draw their ship toward the rocks where it risks being wrecked.

Some of them, taking their wishes for reality, thought that France was undergoing a revolution in the month of May; that is why they were tempted by those who shouted the loudest.

Let the teachers and students realize in this month of June that it is necessary to unite against the Gaullist regime. Let them understand the imperious necessity to unite with the working class.

Thus what was not truly a revolt, nor truly a revolution but an awakening, at times brutal and often confused, can become a real force.

NEW YORK PRIMARY RESULTS UPSET OUTLOOK IN U.S. PRESIDENTIAL RACE

By George Novack

The U.S. presidential campaign, which was temporarily suspended after Robert Kennedy's assassination, has been abruptly revived by two surprising results of the New York primary elections June 18.

The forces backing Senator Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic presidential nomination won over half of the 123 district delegates in New York state to the August nominating convention of the Democratic party. Humphrey received no more than five or six pledged delegates.

The pro-McCarthy Paul O'Dwyer, who was expected to run far behind the Kennedy and Humphrey choices, came in first to win the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator. The Humphrey candidate ran a poor third, despite expenditures of more than a million dollars for TV and radio time.

Everyone acknowledges that dissatisfaction with Johnson's policies, and most of all the Vietnam war issue, was responsible for the upsets. "We've got to read the message the voters gave us yesterday," said one leader, a generally conservative Democrat who asked not to be identified. "The message is that the people are concerned about getting peace." (June 20 New York Times.)

This judgment is confirmed by the outcome of the contest in the Liberal party primary. The leadership of this opportunist third party in New York, which usually backs Democrats, this time decided to throw support behind the "dovish" Republican incumbent senator, Jacob Javits, who is up for reelection. Javits trounced

his pro-Johnson opponent by a 70 percent majority.

After the results came in, Javits remarked: "I believe it is significant that in both the Democratic and Liberal party primaries, the voters of New York have expressed themselves so clearly in favoring an end to the Vietnam war."

The strength of McCarthy's support and the boost this has given his campaign are bound to affect the thinking of the high command of both parties. New York is the key state in national politics and the voters there have unmistakably manifested their desire for a change.

Humphrey and Nixon have been coasting along in the confident expectation that they already have enough delegates sewed up to insure their nominations. And both Eisenhower's and Johnson's vice-presidents have persistently stood for pursuing military operations in Vietnam until the NLF and Hanoi come to terms with the imperialist interventionists.

The uninterrupted sequence of rebuffs to the administration's war policies, given in every primary since the one in New Hampshire this March that led to Johnson's withdrawal, demonstrates that such a belligerent position is a heavy political liability.

How is a warmaker to be elected if the voters are demanding an end to the war in Vietnam? This is the dilemma that the Democratic and Republican representatives of the ruling class will have to try to resolve in the months to come.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER IN AMERICA: THE "NEW LEFT" AND THE "END OF IDEOLOGY"

[In the spring of 1967 the late Isaac Deutscher spent six weeks at Harpur College, University of New York at Binghamton, as Distinguished Visiting Professor of Political Science. The Marxist historian was keenly interested in the development of the student movement in the United States and spent many hours in discussions with student radicals.]

[Fortunately some of these sessions were tape-recorded. Following is part of one such discussion which was transcribed and published in the first number of a student magazine, The New Left Forum, which Deutscher helped to launch.]

[The manuscript has been edited by T.D. Copyright has been reserved.]

* * *

The first point which Deutscher tried to make clear was in what respect the so-called New Left considered itself different from other radical groupings of the past and what is the content of its claim that it adheres to a pragmatic, non-ideological orientation:

Isaac Deutscher: The term "ideology" has different meanings in different languages and in different contexts. Even in English the terminological confusion reflects the mental confusion. A few years ago some writers proclaimed "the end of ideology." What did they mean? When one looked closely at their proclamation one realized that what they wanted to announce was "the end of Communism and Marxism," but as this would sound trivial, trite, and reactionary they used a more respectable formula: the end of ideology. The great aspirations and ideas about the way to change society were old-fashioned and should be discarded, they maintained.

When they proclaimed the end of ideology, they actually proclaimed the end of their ideology, their own quietism and reconciliation with society such as it was. Among those "prophets" were various ex-leftists, ex-communists, ex-socialists and ex-Trotskyists.

We also have to consider the other sense of the term "ideology": one might say that Marx also tried to get away from ideology; but his was quite a different conception: it was the false consciousness, the false ideas, the fetishes which various classes of society make for themselves in order to veil, unconsciously, their own situation, in order to idealize their own position in society. In this, Marxist, sense the watchwords "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" of the French Revolution were an expression of ideology. The reality of the revolution was the crystal-

lisation of a bourgeois order of society. The ideological veil which covered that reality was: Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood.

When your ex-left-wingers proclaim the end of ideology, they say in fact: "I am going back to respectable society. I am no longer storming the fortress of the existing order." Some of you, on the so-called New Left, want to leave behind "all" ideology in favour of pragmatism. This means in fact that you are endeavouring to get away from great ideas about society and its transformation, and embrace pragmatism.

But pragmatism is also an idea. I suggest that you are deluding yourself if you think that by exchanging ideology for pragmatism you are "getting away from ideology." No, you are only exchanging one ideology for another. Pragmatism says: "Practical success, practical benefit -- that is my supreme test of the rightness or wrongness of what I think." But this is an ideological appraisal -- and hence an ideology like any other.

By the way, have you anything to get away from? Have you had an ideology until now which you now want to jettison? If you really are exchanging ideology for pragmatism, why do you call yourselves New Left; what then is "new" in your programme? Pragmatism is almost as old as American philosophical thinking.

It is obvious even to the most casual observer that you call yourselves New Left not because you have a new philosophy, but because you want to be distinguished from the previous generation of Marxists, or Leninists, or Trotskyists; you think, quite rightly, that your elders have done badly and you want to make a new start.

This sounds very tidy: new people make a new beginning and call themselves New Left. But in what sense are you the "new people"? You are young? Young people can be very old if they start with very old ideas and surely this is a more important consideration than the age group to which you belong. I suggest that you have, first of all, to define what is the new idea you stand for. In what way are you opposed to your elders, and to which of their ideas are you opposed. If you just announce "this-is-the-end-of-ideology," you start from their own bankruptcy, and bankruptcy cannot be a starting point.

It is also obvious that what unites you, the New Left, is really an emotional alienation from, and opposition to, this self-satisfied, complacent, well-fed and yet stupid bourgeois society.

Whiteman: This dissatisfaction is

part of a common denominator; so is pragmatism. But the main element is, I think, humanism.

I.D.: Humanism has been for generations seen as the common denominator of all political movements, ideologies, religions, and parties, and this fact alone shows that it cannot be a common denominator. If you ask President Johnson whether he is a humanist, he will surely answer: "Yes, I am." Even Hitler would have considered himself a humanist: he treated only some segments of humanity as subhuman. How do you interpret humanism?

Whiteman: Humanism holds the individual human being as being infinitely precious.

I.D.: This definition is too vague, and much too broad to have any meaning at all. "The individual human being is infinitely precious..." This is not a very new idea: it dates back to old Christianity or to old Judaism, if you like, but surely it cannot be the idea of the New Left. Why don't you call yourselves old Christians or old Jews?

Whiteman: The name was granted us.

I.D.: Excuse me, a political appellation is not a name given at a baptism which, as a baby, you have to accept, and which, incidentally, as an adult you are free to change. "New Left" indicates a political attitude.

Wurtzel: By the term New Left we mean that group in our generation which corresponds to the radical group of the thirties.

I.D.: Here you are establishing a link and a break with the "old" left. You are its equivalent and yet you are different. In what sense is the New Left a counterpart of the radical groups of the thirties? They represented an opposition to the existing social order and an aspiration to overthrow or change that order. Do you want to change your society and by what kind of society do you want to replace it? Do you see in social control and social ownership a principle vital for your and other societies? In a word, are you socialists?

I am aware that the New Left comprises those who consider themselves socialists and those who might be described as nonsocialist radicals. It is politically very important, especially at this time in the United States, that they all should cooperate for certain limited objectives: in their opposition to the war in Vietnam, in their struggle for civil rights. But nevertheless this difference between socialists and nonsocialists cannot be viewed only as a slight dissent.

It is a major division because behind it are two different ideals of the organisation of society. It is quite plain that a socialist will see the question of war and peace in a different context than the nonsocialist. The latter will assume that the racial problems can be solved within the existing economic and social order. The socialist, on the other hand, will say: "We should try even within this social structure to improve as much as we can the lot of the Negro. But ultimately only a different type of society will bring about the disappearance of race discrimination."

The radical will say: "Perhaps another president will adopt a more sensible foreign policy and we shall not be plunged periodically into repulsive, unjust wars at one or another end of the globe." The socialist will say: "As long as you have this social system, no matter what president you choose, you will still have imperialist wars waged by your country." The difference in approach and conclusions of the socialist and the nonsocialist is quite fundamental: it reflects a divergent perspective and aspiration. You are shying away from these questions and this only weakens you: you will have to thrash them out sooner or later.

Wurtzel: The New Left of today tends, perhaps reluctantly, to draw the battle lines at the oppressed minorities -- oppressed racially and economically.

I.D.: What is the meaning of "oppressed minorities"? Does this imply that the majority of this society is not oppressed? Do you consider the majority of the white workers in this country as not being oppressed?

Wurtzel: Yes, but there are different degrees of oppression.

I.D.: In other words you appeal only to those minorities that suffer a kind of a double or treble oppression. Obviously these minorities respond more readily to any call for opposition to the powers that be. But no society has ever been changed when the movement for change could count only on minorities.

Davis: I see that the whole society feels oppressed, alienated, frustrated and dissatisfied with our distasteful and superficial culture.

I.D.: You may not suspect it, but yours is in a way a very Marxist conception. Marx himself says that it is not only the worker's but also the capitalist's thinking and identity that gets distorted by the function he performs in society. There are passages in Marx in which he speaks, almost with compassion, about the capitalists who are also the victims of the system of which they themselves are agents. It is the system which makes both the oppressor and the op-

pressed a caricature of human beings.

It is the basic, material and political interest which causes the possessing classes to defend this system. The working classes may condone it, but they have no interest in maintaining it. They may help in this by a lack of comprehension and false consciousness. However, by not making a difference between the possessing and the nonpossessing classes, between the worker and the shareholder, we are running away from realities.

Professor Leiman: We should perhaps keep in mind that there is an extremely high level of class consciousness in America, not unfortunately among the working class but among the bourgeoisie. Let us assume for the moment that the New Left's aim is to change the present order in the socialist direction -- and in this consists its link with the mainstream of radical thought of the thirties -- there still remains a fundamental difference in the way of thought between the two movements. The radicals of the 1930's believed that the working class, aided of course by the intellectuals, perhaps even led by them, will be the decisive element of the change.

As I understand it, the New Left, which received most of its early impetus from C. Wright Mills, abandoned this notion. And they abandoned it on the "pragmatic" ground that the working class did not seem radically oriented. The whole militancy of the trade unions was directed towards securing higher wages and better conditions: it was a bread-and-butter struggle, not a class struggle.

From this the New Left concluded -- and here I am speaking about the position some ten years ago -- that since reliance cannot be placed on the working class as the main agent of the change, we have to rely on other groups. On which ones? On the intellectuals? Perhaps on the Negroes?

I.D.: I knew Wright Mills very well and my last discussions with him shortly before his death did centre precisely on this issue: which force in society is to give effect to socialism? He did not believe the working class would bring about a socialist society. But Mills's concept of the elite as the main agent of change begged the question.

An elite of what? Of whom? An elite does not exist in a vacuum. It is part of the society, it is part of a class. But Wright Mills had moved very closely to a Marxist position in many respects. And one should not go back, so to speak, to an early Wright Mills instead of benefiting from his intellectual experience and development.

One should start at least from

where he ended, not from where he began. The concept of the elite as the main agent of socialism appeals to you because you think it frees you from the need to analyse the economic and class structure of society. It envelops the whole big mountain in a fog, with the peak -- the elite -- sticking out clearly for you to see.

You maintain that your New Left corresponds in some respects to the left groups of the thirties, but you want to improve on their performance -- and there is certainly room for improvement -- but this does not mean that you have to reject their analysis of society which is valid now just as it was valid in their time.

Davis: This economic and class analysis brings with itself a rigidity which the New Left wants to avoid. In the thirties there was a genuine opportunity for a real social revolution but the left disintegrated as a result of ideological squabbles.

I.D.: Here you are naively mistaken. The whole of history is full of "ideological squabbles." Over thousands of years people "squabbled" over matters of ideology. There is no end to the ideological divisions in Christianity, in the Reformation, in the Catholic Church, in the Moslem religion, in the Jewish religion, and in the political parties.

All human thinking and all human organisation is subject to differentiation. Whether you like it or not, "squabbling" is the stuff of life; do not be so contemptuous of it. What to you is squabbling is nothing else but differentiation in thinking.

You saw that some groups differed in their views and ended in an impasse, and now you want to avoid their fate. First of all you have to consider whether they reached a dead end because they differentiated in thinking or for some other reason. In my view the left reached an impasse precisely because it did not want to debate the divergences in their aims openly and frankly.

The Communist party did not want to "squabble" with Roosevelt, and it supported fully and uncritically the New Deal. From Stalin's viewpoint -- though not from the viewpoint of the American left -- there were good reasons for that "peaceful coexistence." The members of the CP, from Marxists, became Rooseveltians. Then the Communists did not want to "squabble" with Stalin, to criticize his policy, and therefore they allowed themselves to be turned into mere stooges of Stalin's policy. In this way they committed moral and political suicide. They did not want to "squabble" with Stalin, nor with Roosevelt -- and you will not be much wiser if you too shun ideological debate.

Davis: Why do you think there has to be a strict ideological foundation before the New Left can start being active? Can't ideology develop out of action?

I.D.: I'm not saying that you should not be active right now. I started from the assumption that socialist and nonsocialist radicals should cooperate in the New Left for definite purposes. You need not necessarily agree on all the issues with the fellow who marches next to you in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. This we took for granted right at the beginning of our discussion.

Before the Vietnam war we had the Korean war, and the Suez war. Is it not likely that we shall have another war after Vietnam? After all, we are students, so-called intellectuals; we are not interested only in our next antiwar demonstration. We are also interested in principles and prospects?

Whither are we going? In what direction? Korea, Suez, Vietnam, civil rights, racial problems, dissatisfaction with complacent consumer society -- are all these not only part of a much bigger issue with which we ought to be concerned?

I am not a little uneasy about another aspect of the New Left. The New Left is confined mostly to students and intellectuals (and I have much sympathy for students of your age group; I derive great satisfaction from our meetings). Only a few years ago, during my previous visits to the USA, I had no common language with university youth. They were either indifferent to political and social affairs or highly reactionary and chauvinistic.

Today I have much sympathy for students of your age group, but I am worried about the confusion in your mind and about your conceit, and about your shirking the really great issues and also about your isolation from your society.

You sow your wild oats within the campus but you have no missionary zeal to carry your message to people outside the campus. What in fact is the campus? It is only a bus in which you spend three, four or five years; then you take your final exams, you get off, and look round for a job. New people get on the bus. One can, in the company of your fellow travelers on a bus, be very radical. But after all, you are not going to solve the problems of your society on the journey between the two bus stops.

Any political movement which bases itself only on students is characterised by a basic political and moral instability. The students now play a very big role in various countries all over the world. Don't forget that behind the slaughter of

several hundred thousand unarmed and defenceless Communists, men, women, and children, in Indonesia, the driving force were the students.

In this country the students are, from my point of view, on the right side of the barricades. But I remember also a time when the students were in the vanguard of fascist movements in Europe. I remember the students in my native country who vented all their political energy on forcing through segregation of the Jews in the university of Warsaw.

The role of students is transient. They are not a stable element in society; they are, if you allow me to use this despised term, ideologically unstable. Students can be very good vanguards of fascism or very good vanguards of the New Left or even very good vanguards of Communism in some circumstances. I am uneasy because I know your predecessors, those who either favoured McCarthyism, or viewed it indifferently. And I do not know those who will come after you into the same campuses.

I am concerned with moral and political continuity in the development of any given society.

Your present broadly-based cooperation on the campus gives you the illusion of being self-sufficient. How much continuity and stability is there in your opposition to the treatment of the Negroes, to imperialist wars abroad, to the violation of civil rights?

As long as this opposition is not based on a stable class in society (I shall explain what I mean by a stable class in society) it is largely ineffective, no matter how important it is at the present moment. Have you asked yourselves why you are so ineffective? Precisely because you are active within the confines of the campus and during the short spell of your university "bus ride."

You will soon disperse and, so to speak, dissolve in your bourgeois milieu: you will have your families, your jobs, your careers, to look after. Now you are unattached: you are like kites that fly into the sky without any ropes tying them to the earth. Very soon you will feel the rope. You do not express just your own particular moods: you express the mood of your class in opposition to your class. Unlike your parents who are tied down by moral commitments and conventionalities, you are unattached and express strongly, volubly, and loudly all the disgruntlement and frustration which at heart your own parents feel (even if they will not admit it to you).

When you say that you do not believe in the workers being capable of bringing about the change in the present unsatisfactory order of society, you really vent

nothing but your parents' lower-middle-class (or middle-middle-class) attitude towards the workers.

Davis: How can you have anything else but contempt for the workers in America today? The unions are just interested in a ten-cent-an-hour wage increase. The only radical group the New Left appeals to is the lumpenproletariat.

I.D.: Lumpenproletarians don't change society. If the basic classes change society then the lumpenproletarians may follow them. But when I speak of the working class I do not have in mind the trade unions which are only a bureaucratic outgrowth of the working class. I do not even have in mind the older workers who have been corrupted and demoralized by this society and are the victims of this society. They remember how desperately badly off they were in the thirties. Now they are a little better off so they gaze at their television and ride in their cars.

But these crumbs of the affluent society do not satisfy you and they do not satisfy the young workers. Have you tried to talk to them? How do you know that they are not as disgruntled as you are? As disappointed and frustrated as you are, only with far deeper wounds hidden in them?

You start from the premise that because you are on the campus, you are intelligent, sensitive, the Schöngest [subtle intellect] who really sees how bad this society is, and you think the boy who spends his life at the most monotonous dehumanizing job at the conveyor belt does not see this?

You are frustrated by the ineffectual character of your opposition to the things you loathe. Why is your opposition ineffectual? You are intellectuals and your main weapon is the word. Your protest cannot be anything else but verbal, and verbal protest wears itself out by repetition and does not lead anywhere.

In order that a protest should be effective it must be anchored in the realities of social life, in the productive process of a nation. Forty-odd years ago the dockers of London went on strike against the British government and refused to load munitions for the White armies fighting against the Russian revolution. You cannot strike and refuse to load munitions sent to Vietnam.

Here the Marxist concept may be useful in explaining your own position. You are outside the productive process. You are confined to verbal protest -- and this is important: "At the beginning was the word." You should go on with your protest, but it will be effective only if it can pass from the word to the deed.

You are not capable of the deed but the young worker is -- provided you move him -- because he is right in the middle of the productive process that sustains the existence of society. You are effervescingly active on the margin of social life and the workers are passive right at the core of it. That is the tragedy of our society. If you do not deal with this contrast you will be defeated.

Davis: We are all too aware that the campus is not society. But we still need techniques more than we need general overall ideological pronouncements.

I.D.: No one can prescribe "techniques" for you. Try to establish a spiritual and intellectual contact with those young workers who are inclined to think, who can read popular books about social affairs and want to understand what is going on around them. We shall then reopen the discussion on the "agents of change" in your society. In the Russian revolution the students played an important part: they were the messengers who carried the idea of socialism out of the university halls to all classes of society and especially to the working class; and in this they proved both valuable and effective.

My criticism of the New Left is caused precisely by the anxiety that so much idealism, fervour, and good intentions may be wasted if the New Left fails to find its correct way and direction. You have a link and you want to break with the left of the thirties; but you still have a great deal to learn from them. And, first of all, you cannot run away from the fundamental problems of society.

Those very rudimentary Marxists of the thirties learned no more than the ABC of Marxism. Then came Stalin and turned the ABC into hieroglyphs. But Marxism still is a great store of knowledge which you will be ill-advised to ignore.

In the last two or three hundred years of world history was not Karl Marx the most influential thinker? Whose work has had a greater impact than his? All your mass media which work full steam to dull your wits and stultify your mind (and which are so distasteful to you) drum into your head that Marxism is obsolete; and 99 percent of the New Left takes on a supercilious attitude and echoes: Marxism is obsolete.

And yet, if I may paraphrase a popular English saying: never have so many talked so much about a thing they knew so little. You do not have to accept Marx, but before you reject his ideas you should read him, acquire the knowledge and then think independently. And there is no need to be too utilitarian and "apply" Marx to the United States, or to Europe, or to Russia.

Davis: The New Left has the feeling that Marxism was corrupted and this revulsion is caused not only by the Russian experience.

I.D.: It is precisely the Marxist method that will help you in analysing your revulsion against Marxism as it had been "applied" hitherto. Stalinism was not "contained" in Russia; it had its unfortunate impact on the labour movement in your country and it distorted the beginnings of the growth of Marxism here as elsewhere. Your earlier American Marxists were not perhaps as creative and inspiring as those that Russia, Poland, or Germany produced. But if you read their old writings you will still find a great deal of ideas which illuminate the present-day American scene.

America has its own tradition of socialist thought: nothing in history begins ex nihilo and the world does not begin with the New Left. A century ago there were also young people in revolt and you have no lack of revolutionary tradition to link up with. But every reaction against tradition is also linking up with it.

Your predecessors of a half century ago had to contend with a society in

full dynamic capitalist expansion, while you are witnessing a degenerate capitalism which can only expand as imperialism. You are also aware of another paradox of your society: the more it expands economically, the more in a sense it seems to shrink culturally. And you are just as impatient and disgusted with the poverty amidst plenty as you are with the complacency and self-satisfaction of the gadget-minded acquisitive bourgeoisie.

But do not delude yourselves that your aim -- "participatory democracy" -- or as you yourselves put it: "that each individual should have a say in the decision-making process" -- is anything more than a vague and meaningless slogan. It implies that you want to participate in the management of society as it is; but the society as it is excludes you from participation by definition. For this a new form of society is needed.

And when you proclaim the end of ideology you also implicitly accept the dominant ideology of the very society which excludes you from participation, the very society against which you are in revolt.

April 10, 1967

RALPH SCHOENMAN WRITES FROM "UNDERGROUND" IN BRITAIN

[Scotland Yard is hunting Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell, to deport him from Britain for his revolutionary views. Following is the text of a letter he sent to the London Observer, along with a photo, taken by a friend, showing the wanted man at his ease outside 10 Downing Street. An Observer reporter has since interviewed the American-born socialist, but to our knowledge this is the first time the letter has appeared in print.]

* * *

Ten years of my life, approximately one-third, have been spent in Britain. In this period deep attachments and considerable activity have occurred which make evident why it is important to me to retain my ability to live and work in Britain at least part of the time.

It is clear that the Government of Harold Wilson wishes to prevent this for reasons of political prejudice. Harold Wilson abhorred the International War Crimes Tribunal of which I was Secretary General. He opposed the efforts of Bertrand Russell and the Russell Foundation to mobilise mass opposition to the war in Vietnam. I was working in Britain as secretary to Lord Russell and director of the Russell Foundation. I began the Viet-

nam Solidarity Campaign as its first chairman.

I am a socialist and a revolutionary. These opinions are feared by this Government. They are widely held opinions. Indeed, several Liberal and Conservative governments long before universal suffrage was won in Britain permitted a socialist and revolutionary to work and write here for thirty years. That man was Karl Marx. Yet, someone who even James Callaghan would, I trust, acknowledge as infinitely less alarming, is not allowed to return to Britain after ten years residence, to see Lord Russell or to attend to personal affairs.

Arbitrary use of immigration laws and administrative decrees to insulate Britain from those the government in power dislikes for political reasons is the road to tyranny. All governments would prefer their opponents to be silenced, but no free people tolerates this desire. Above all, the attempt to prevent ideas, spoken and written, from being exchanged because the ideas are revolutionary and are opposed to the established order has always preceded the elimination of the civil liberties of others.

I propose to campaign against this personal injustice in the conviction that it threatens the civil liberties of many in Great Britain and in other countries.

INTERVIEW WITH ALAIN KRIVINE ON THE STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

[Following are excerpts from an important interview with Alain Krivine, one of the central leaders of the French student movement and a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth). The interview was obtained by Mary-Alice Waters June 2 and appeared in full in the June 21 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly The Militant.]

* * *

Mary-Alice Waters: To begin with, could you give us some background on the development of the student movement in France during the last few months?

Alain Krivine: The student movement began, in a real sense, on March 22 at the University of Nanterre....On the evening of March 21 there was a demonstration in front of American Express in Paris, and some of the windows of the building were broken by the students. One of the Nanterre students, who is a leader of the JCR, was arrested that night by the police and accused of having organized this demonstration.

He was arrested at 7 p.m., and by 9 p.m. a huge crowd of Nanterre students had assembled at the university. The different student organizations of the far left had set up loudspeakers to inform the students of what had happened. The students agreed upon a new form of struggle never before seen in France -- they decided to occupy the school until the comrade, Xavier Langlade, was released....

The occupation lasted all night, and the next day a new organization developed, again almost spontaneously. It took its name from the day of the occupation of the university -- the March 22 Movement.

In the beginning this movement was almost entirely composed of unorganized students who had never before engaged in political activity. But it also included some political organizations -- the National Union of French Students [UNEF], which at Nanterre is led by the JCR, the JCR itself, and certain anarchist groups which are rather numerous and divided at Nanterre....the Union of Communist Students refused to participate in the movement, characterizing it as ultraleftist and anarchist. The Maoists, in the beginning at least, characterized the movement as "100 percent bourgeois." Later they tried to integrate themselves in the movement.

At the beginning of May there was a second spark which started the movement

going again and led to the thoroughgoing political crisis in France today. On the second or third of May...the fascists of the "Occident" ("West") group decided to clean up the University of Nanterre....In order to meet this threat, the students at Nanterre began to arm themselves with clubs and helmets....The fascists decided to cancel their meeting and to occupy the Latin Quarter in Paris the next day instead....

At that point all the vanguard organizations of the student left, with the exception of the Communists, decided that they should occupy the Sorbonne....

During the next week there were big demonstrations on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, with 20,000 to 50,000 students participating and some young workers joining us....On Thursday night, May 9, the JCR held a huge meeting which had been planned for several weeks. It was decided to turn it into an open forum for all the groups to discuss what to do. About 5,000 participated.

The next day, May 10, all the organizations on the left, with the exception (as usual) of the Communist Students, called for a demonstration in the Latin Quarter at 5 p.m....That evening, the entire massive column of demonstrators who had marched 10 or 15 miles across Paris -- there were probably 20,000 by then, mostly students but also some young workers -- decided to return to the Latin Quarter. That became the first famous night of the barricades....

The Communist Students, using loudspeakers, called on all the students to leave the Latin Quarter, to disperse and go home. The militants of the JCR and UNEF called on the students to remain in the Latin Quarter and occupy it throughout the night....

M.W.: In the United States, as here, the Communist Party has been attacking the JCR particularly, and the students in general, as being ultraleftist, adventurist, and trying to divide the working class. Why are they so fearful of the student movement?

A.K.: It is important to note that almost the whole student movement -- those who participated in the struggle -- is to the left of the Communist Party.... They reject reformist politics, they reject the CP's theory of peaceful coexistence, they reject Stalinism.

There are two main reasons for this. On the one hand, at first, we did not realize the impact that our activities have had in the student milieu dur-

ing the last two years. The principal positions developed by the JCR -- a critique of the CP, of Mitterrand and Company -- have become mass themes absolutely accepted by virtually the whole student movement. The full implications of the long and patient activities of the vanguard groups, the impact of our propaganda, revealed itself during the current upsurge.

Second, the attitude of the CP itself has contributed to this rejection of the CP. Since the beginning of the movement, and even now, the CP has attacked the students very violently, accusing them of being led by ultraleftists, which, of course, only gives additional authority to the leaders....

One can say without underestimation that in the political arena -- that is, among the politicized students -- the CP is only a "handful" in comparison with the organizations of the vanguard. They will continue to have influence in the student milieu of course, but they have suffered a tremendous blow....

M.W.: What are the Action Committees and what role do they play?

A.K.:Since no organization had hegemony over the whole student movement, the students felt the necessity of organizing themselves into committees to give structure to the whole movement. The Action Committees unite all the students of the movement, members of organizations, nonmembers, and they exist in all the various schools of the university.

The Action Committees began at the university, but the second stage opened when hundreds of workers began coming to the Sorbonne...That is, the students served as an example. They played a leadership role when the working class entered the struggle. The workers, very often, came to the Sorbonne asking for advice, asking the students to help them organize themselves.

Thus the students saw the need to create Workers and Students Action Committees. Very quickly the Action Committees extended to all of Paris, to all of the districts. The Action Committees, which were at first led by the students, quickly embraced all sectors of the population, workers and housewives, everyone. In certain districts, Action Committees of 150 to 200 persons, only 10 of whom were students were formed.

There are now about 300 Action Committees in Paris, which group together workers, students, professors; everybody and anybody is in these Action Committees. The Action Committees serve as a kind of infrastructure for the movement.

When the revolutionary movement was at its peak, certain Action Committees developed a much higher level of organization -- that is to say, certain Action Committees, particularly in the provinces, became genuine embryos of dual power....In certain very local places, for example in Nantes, the Action Committees purchased food by presenting only IOU's. Merchants distributed goods, without receiving any money, and in return they received IOU's....

M.W.: In the factories, have there been similar Action Committees or strike committees which have played a vanguard role?

A.K.: In the factories the political vanguard does not have the leadership. The movement in the factories was also started in a spontaneous way by the youth.The CP is opposed to the creation of strike committees. The CP has ordered three-fourths of the workers back home. The strike pickets are mainly composed of CGT and CP members. There is no genuine political life in the factories -- they are almost empty today....

The vanguard workers are even blocked by strike pickets from entering their factories. That is why the most advanced elements participate in the Action Committees of their neighborhoods set up by the students. The genuine political life has shifted from the factory to the neighborhood....

M.W.: What has been the role of the JCR itself in all the events of the past months?

A.K.: In reality, we are the only organization that "survived." The student masses, during the whole crisis, underwent a profound self-criticism. Amongst the student milieu there was no a priori prejudice towards the vanguard groups, only a prejudice towards the CP and the Social Democracy. The student masses subjected each group to an intense scrutiny. During all the general assemblies, as soon as someone took the floor and said something they didn't like, they whistled and stopped the speaker from continuing.

The Lambertists (a sectarian group which broke from the Fourth International) and the Maoists, because of their sectarian positions, have actually discredited themselves among the students. The dynamics of the movement obviously taught them nothing. They were undercut just like that. The JCR was the only organization to be not only tolerated but to enjoy very real and important support. It has a considerable audience at the present moment, especially among the students and high-school kids. But it has also made very important inroads among the workers. Many workers are joining us now; we enjoy

significant sympathy in certain sectors of the working class. For us this fact is one of the most positive results of the struggle....

The authority of the JCR today stems from the manner in which it integrated itself into the movement. At its inception the movement had almost an anarchic character, rejecting all leadership, all organizational apparatus. At first, although the JCR had some sympathy, it was nevertheless looked upon with suspicion -- we were too organized, too centralized, we had too much of a structure and discipline. This aspect of our organization shocked many people.

We understood the movement from its inception. We knew that it would not remain at its embryonic stage. Little by

little, through their own experiences, the students understood the necessity of a political leadership, of an organization....

This makes all the difference between us and Daniel Cohn-Bendit. Cohn-Bendit was in actuality the leader at the beginning. He and his anarchistic ideas corresponded to the realities of the movement as it was then. But now the events have bypassed Cohn-Bendit, unless he changes. His political conceptions regarding the spontaneity of the movement, and regarding certain Marcusean tenets, remained the same, whereas the movement entered a new stage....

We have made mistakes, but we have understood the dynamics of this mass movement. That is decisive.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND "SANCTIONS" AGAINST THE SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA

By Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu

[Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu is editor-in-chief of The Zimbabwe Review, the official organ of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The article below was received before the June 18 "revolt" of the House of Lords over the Labour government's endorsement of United Nations sanctions against the white supremacist Smith regime in Rhodesia.

[In laying bare the real attitude of the British government toward the Smith regime, Ndlovu shows that both the Labour government and its Tory critics are opposed to the right of self-determination for the Rhodesian African majority, which outnumbers the white settlers nineteen to one. What is at issue in the current dispute then is simply the clash between the Wilsonites, who feel impelled to maintain the appearance of opposition to the Rhodesian dictatorship, and the ossified Tory peers who still dream of empire.

[The resolution which became the subject of this "great debate" was adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council May 29. While described as a compromise between the British government and the Afro-Asian bloc, it was clearly authored in the main by the British. While the sanctions it imposed were more severe than previously -- a "complete" trade and travel blockade -- it rejected the use of force against the Smith regime, and included no provision for sanctions against member nations that violate the blockade.]

* * *

"We must resist the temptation to take decisions which can be easily flouted or circumvented. Everything we do must

satisfy that test. We believe that all our proposals do satisfy that test," so declared Britain's chief representative at the United Nations, Lord Caradon, during a Security Council debate on the Rhodesian issue on April 23.

Lord Caradon was speaking about Britain's resolution in the Security Council calling on all nations to place a worldwide ban on trade with Rhodesia.

This resolution seeks to prohibit any country from making investments in Rhodesia, to restrict Rhodesian passport-holders from traveling abroad and to stop all international airlines from operating in and out of the rebel colony.

The resolution falls short of an Afro-Asian demand by excluding the use of force to effect these economic measures and other measures against the Rhodesian fascist minority regime. The British government flatly rejects the use of force to crush the Rhodesian settler dictatorship.

What ZAPU wants to point out emphatically is that the world should not be deceived by Lord Caradon's statement that the British proposals at the UN cannot "be easily flouted or circumvented." In fact, the opposite is exactly what will happen with these sanctions.

In 1965, soon after Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, the British government initiated voluntary economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In 1966, it again piloted a resolution through the UN calling on all UN member-states to apply selective mandatory sanctions against the rebel regime. Now it is comprehensive man-

datory sanctions.

We all know, and so does everybody else, that the first measures failed dismally because they were "flouted" by, mainly, South Africa and Portugal and certain Western countries like West Germany, Belgium, France, the U.S., plus a few others including, predictably, Japan in the East. British firms also "circumvented" these measures by using their contacts or middlemen in Portuguese Mozambique and South Africa. What will stop these countries from "circumventing" the proposed new measures now? Absolutely nothing.

It must also be pointed out that the reason for the failure of these economic measures lies not in the nature or type of sanctions invoked, but in the way they are applied. As long as no force is used to make sure that both South Africa and Mozambique do not "flout" and help other people to "circumvent" them, so long will they continue to fail to topple the Smith regime. The British government knows this and so does the rebel regime.

ZAPU has always maintained that the least step the British government can take to ensure that sanctions are effectively applied is to cut off Rhodesia militarily from South Africa and Mozambique. To pretend that these measures can ever make the rabid Rhodesian racialists and fascists change their political stand without force being used against them is to live in a lunatic's foolish world of make-believe. This is what the British government is presently doing quite deliberately.

Some people, particularly the British, would like the world to believe that South Africa would love to see a political settlement between Rhodesia and Britain even if such a settlement has, as a major provision, the undertaking that there would be eventual African majority rule in Rhodesia.

This British attitude is, of course, utter trash. It is trash because, as Ian Smith said, the Rhodesian settler regime made its UDI [Unilateral Declaration of Independence -- in 1965] after it had been assured of support and active assistance by the South African apostles of oppression and apartheid. What the British government and its propagandists would like the world to believe is the exact opposite of what the South African dictatorship is doing about the Rhodesian issue. Instead of letting Ian Smith stew in his own sauce, this fascist regime is actively giving him massive aid economically and militarily.

The South African racists are doing this because they want Rhodesia to remain under their fellow racists for all time. Many a time they have told the Rhodesian

regime that they will fight shoulder to shoulder with them in their bid to keep southern Africa as a fortress of racial oppression and minority settler dictatorship. They will never leave Smith in the lurch.

The British proposal at the UN is based on Article 39 of the UN Charter. This article states: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

British moves at the UN mean, therefore, that the Rhodesian issue poses a threat to the peace or is a breach of the peace. It is extremely unfortunate that the British government has so belatedly realized this fact. Our national leader, Joshua Nkomo, told them so as early as 1962 but they turned a deaf ear to him.

At any rate, the measures proposed by Lord Caradon are based on Article 41 of the UN Charter. This says: "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

But curiously enough, the British government does not think that the application of a postal and telegraphic ban against Rhodesia would be workable, while, on the other hand, it thinks that a total economic boycott of Rhodesia will be workable. This, to us, is a very unrealistic move.

The only effective measures which should be taken by the UN against Rhodesia are those stipulated in Article 42 of the Charter. This article provides, inter alia, for the use of armed force either by air, sea or land by members of the UN. This is the only article which Britain should invoke at the UN if she is honest about toppling the Rhodesian settler minority regime.

But we, the African people of Zimbabwe, are aware of the fact that the British government's moves at the UN are aimed at bluffing the world. They are surely the last measures she will take before she admits failure.

It is indeed our very strong belief that the British government wants to keep on dragging her feet until she thinks that the international community is sick and fed up with the Rhodesian issue before she

accords the Rhodesian rebel regime de jure recognition. At that stage, a few countries will make a few noises at the UN. But as the Security Council is virtually full of Britain's allies, no effective measures will, at that juncture, be taken by the world body against Rhodesia.

Be that as it may, we have already said many a time that we will free Zimbabwe at any cost. Never will we flinch. Never will we retreat. We are violently determined to escalate the war of liberation until the Rhodesian white minority regime screams and scrams. Blood will flow profusely before we establish a government of the people of Zimbabwe as opposed to the present government of the settlers, by the settlers, for the settlers.

People like Edward Heath [Conservative spokesman] had better realise now that no settlement short of immediate African majority rule in Rhodesia will, or can ever, be regarded as being "honour-

able" by ZAPU and the African people of Zimbabwe. Such statements as are always made by people like Heath about the need to hold discussions between the British government and the Rhodesian regime with a view to getting an "honourable" settlement, seriously underestimate our determination and intelligence. We would rather people like Heath saved their breath for their porridge instead of wasting it by chasing foolish political mirages.

What we want without any delay or apology is our inalienable human right to determine our own political destiny in our own country. We are as human as the people of Britain and see no reason, therefore, why we must live under oppression and in misery generated by people who are as human as we are. We will pump some human sense and feeling into the heads of the Rhodesian white oppressors through the barrel of a gun until Zimbabwe is in the hands of its rightful owners -- the African people.

SUMMER SCHEDULE

With this issue Intercontinental Press goes on its summer schedule. We will publish biweekly in July and will not publish in August. At the beginning of September we will resume on a weekly basis. The change in schedule will not affect subscriptions since these are automatically extended.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
Protests in France over Repression of Revolutionary Groups	610
Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz, Form Committee Against de Gaulle's Ban	612
Fourth International Issues Appeal on Repression in France	613
Demonstrations Against Gaullist Crackdown Held Throughout U.S. and Canada	613
"Screams Like Nothing I Have Ever Heard...."	614
Czechoslovak Magazine Publishes Work by Deutscher, Under Trotsky's Picture	614
A 27-Hour Introduction to the French Political Police -- by Joseph Hansen	615
PHOTO: Joseph Hansen	615
French CP Tells Students to Stay in Their Place	619
New York Primary Results Upset Outlook in U.S. Presidential Race	
-- by George Novack	621
Isaac Deutscher in America: The "New Left" and the "End of Ideology"	622
Ralph Schoenman Writes from "Underground" in Britain	627
Interview with Alain Krivine on the Struggle in France	628
The British Government and "Sanctions" Against the Smith Regime in Rhodesia	
-- by Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu	630

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