

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 6, No. 26

© 1968 Intercontinental Press.

July 15, 1968

50c

Meaning of the French Elections

**Berkeley Students Win
in Solidarity Action
for Banned French Groups**

**Zurich, Too,
Hit by Student Unrest**

'Confined' for Ten Days

by Pierre Frank

First Time in English:

General Giap Forecasts

Vietnamese Military Victory



PETER CAMEJO, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from California and a leader of Berkeley student demonstrations.

THE MEANING OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

By Joseph Hansen

The political meaning of the outcome of the French elections in the two rounds on June 23 and June 30 was indicated by the elation of the Gaullists and the glumness of the top leaders of the Communist party as the voting pattern became clear.

Little change was to be noted in the overall figures in the first round, 22,539,743 voting on June 23 as against 22,902,224 on March 5, 1967 -- about 80 percent of the registered electorate this year compared with almost 81 percent last year. But among the various parties, a shift occurred which, while it was not a great one, was sufficient in the light of the preceding events to be ballyhooed by de Gaulle's partisans as a great triumph for the bonapartist general.

De Gaulle's party, the Union pour la Défense de la République [Union for the Defense of the Republic], received 9,663,605 votes (43.65%) in comparison with 8,448,982 votes (37.73%) last year.

The vote for the Communist party was 4,435,357 (20.03%) this year and 5,039,032 (22.51%) last year.

The bourgeois center parties as well as the Social Democratic Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste [Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left] suffered losses.

The most significant gains, probably, were registered by the Parti Socialiste Unifié [United Socialist party]. In 1967 its vote was 495,412 (2.21%); on June 23 it won 874,212 votes (3.94%). Its success is attributed to the fact that it was the only party running candidates in the election which sympathized with the students who demonstrated in the streets.

A certain polarization was thus evident among the electorate, the PSU gaining at one pole, the Gaullists at the other. While the polarization, in the final analysis, reflected the acute class struggle of the preceding weeks, it should be noted, and noted well, that it reflected that struggle but dimly and with a high degree of distortion, magnifying the size and weight of the reaction and greatly reducing that of the revolutionary forces.

The real relationship of class forces in France was still further distorted by the outcome of the runoff elections June 30. With the official figures not yet available, Le Monde [July 2] noted that in the first round, the total Gaullist vote was around 10,500,000 and that of the left 9,000,000; while in the second round, the Gaullist vote was about 6,700,000 and the leftist vote 6,100,000. Nevertheless under the electoral provisions established by de Gaulle, this difference was translated into a landslide for de Gaulle in the National Assembly.

ELECTION RETURNS IN FRANCE FOR 1967 AND 1968

	<u>March 5, 1967</u>		<u>June 23, 1968</u>	
Registered Voters	28,300,936		28,171,635	
Valid Ballots Cast	22,389,514 (79.11%)		22,138,657 (78.58%)	
Blank or Spoiled	512,710 (1.81%)		401,086 (1.42%)	
Total Ballots Cast	22,902,224 (80.92%)		22,539,743 (80 %)	
Abstentions	5,398,712 (19.07%)		5,631,892 (19.99%)	
<u>Parties</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>%</u>
Extreme Rightists	191,232	0.85	28,871	0.13
Union pour la Défense de la République (de Gaulle)	8,448,982	37.73	9,663,605	43.65
Left-wing Gaullists	821,097	3.66	917,539	4.14
Mouvement pour la Réforme			33,848	0.15
Club Technique et Démocratie			77,378	0.34
Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne	2,829,998	12.64	2,290,165	10.34
Various "Leftists"	319,651	1.42	163,679	0.73
Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste	4,224,110	18.96	3,654,003	16.50
Parti Communiste	5,039,032	22.51	4,435,357	20.03
Parti Socialiste Unifié	495,412	2.21	874,212	3.94

The "orthodox" Gaullists gained 97 seats, bringing their total up to 294, well above the 244 needed for an absolute majority in the 487-member parliament. The "dissident" Gaullists [Independent Republicans] gained 21 seats, bringing their total to 64. Thus the Gaullists of various stripes ended up with 358 seats.

The Communist party lost 39 seats, dropping from 73 to 34. The FGDS lost 61 of its 121 seats and the PSU lost the 3 it held.

The liberal bourgeois party, the Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne, lost 15 of its 52 seats.

To properly understand the meaning of the elections, it is necessary to place them in the context of the May events.

At the height of the upsurge, ten million workers -- two-thirds of the labor force -- were on strike. Occupying the plants, they held the key industries in their hands, along with transportation, the retail outlets and the banking system. They were joined by the employees of the state-run communications system, including the postal workers. The government administration was suspended in midair, and even the police began showing signs of disaffection.

The farmers sympathized with this movement and advanced their own set of demands.

The ranks of the armed forces displayed the greatest interest in the progress of the upsurge, and the generals were reliably reported to have told de Gaulle they could not be depended on to put down the strikers.

Not the least important element in this situation was the students, both high school and university. It was they, in fact, who had precipitated the entire crisis by carrying their struggle for educational reforms to the streets, occupying the schools on a nationwide basis, battling the police sent to put them down, and setting such a militant example in general that they inspired the working class to move into action.

The students indicated again and again through their actions, their slogans, and their press that they understood the key issue was government power and that they were prepared to go through to the end.

Revolutionary action committees began forming throughout the country, constituting incipient organs of "dual power" in opposition to the capitalist state. A bourgeois commentator said that as many as 600 such committees, ranging in size

from thirty to forty persons, were reported to have been formed in Paris alone. A leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth], which was very active in the work of these committees and in helping to extend them, put the figure at between 300 and 400 committees in Paris, but with their size ranging from thirty to seventy persons and in some instances considerably higher.

In a few places, like Nantes, committees of this kind virtually ran the town, the bourgeois government being reduced to impotence.

For about a week it would have been possible for a mass revolutionary party to take power with a minimum of commotion and disorder and France today would have constituted the first industrially advanced country to have gone over to socialism.

But such a party did not exist in France. The Communist party, while a mass party that presumes to speak in the name of communism, is not revolutionary. The groups that stand on revolutionary programs, the most important being the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International, do not have a mass following.

Time was required to gain that following, to organize and extend the revolutionary action committees and to give them national cohesion and structure.

During the crucial week, the capitalist rulers of France displayed panic and even despair. Events appeared to have slipped completely beyond their control and everything they did appeared to have the opposite result from what they intended, serving in each instance to stir up the masses still more. As Le Monde put it in an editorial July 2 warning against overoptimism in judging the triumph of de Gaulle's "authority" in the elections, only a month previously that same authority appeared "to its partisans as well as to its opponents and to the general himself to be hanging by only a thread."

Fortunately for the general and his partisans that thread was not cut. The bourgeois rulers soon determined what the main weakness of the revolutionary forces was -- lack of time to construct a leadership capable of cutting the thread. They regained their nerve, and through de Gaulle set about to recover their mastery.

De Gaulle did three very important things. First of all, under guise of going to his country home to consider resigning, he set off May 29 in his helicopter for conferences with the heads of the army, including the notorious General Massu, who was instrumental in putting

de Gaulle in power ten years ago.

The generals agreed to back de Gaulle by armed force. They at once began deploying troops and tanks in the direction of Paris. This news, while it caught the headlines in the press outside of the country, received but routine attention in the French press where it was pictured as merely part of maneuvers scheduled long before. This way of presenting the troop movements was intended to lull the public so as not to arouse alarm and precipitate action by the masses before the troops were in position to attack.

De Gaulle was reported to have promised his generals to release from prison and to rehabilitate all the ultra-reactionary figures serving time or in exile because of their conspiracy to bring a military dictatorship to power in France ten years ago. These included such unsavory men as Georges Bidault, Raoul Salan, etc.

De Gaulle delivered in accordance with his promise. No real concession was involved in this, however, since de Gaulle had obviously decided to do everything in his power to build up the most reactionary forces in France to counter the unexpected upsurge of the working class.

Such a maneuver is typical of bonapartist figures like de Gaulle, who seek to maintain power by balancing between the class forces. The shift toward the left in the relation of class forces in France threw de Gaulle off balance and threatened to topple him overnight. To rectify the balance from his point of view required drastically strengthening the right.

Thus beside turning to the army, he also called for the formation of "civic action" groups and gave the word to organize a street demonstration in Paris May 30, making it as huge as possible.

It cannot be said that de Gaulle suffers from parliamentary illusions. His entire policy was to organize for a showdown in the streets.

How well this would have turned out had de Gaulle been faced with a mass party fortunate enough to have a leadership of the caliber provided by Lenin and Trotsky for the Russian workers is another question. It is dubious that the forces at de Gaulle's disposal could have done much in face of the mighty power of the French working class with the entire industrial system in its hands.

Now we come to de Gaulle's second important move. He dissolved the National Assembly and ordered new elections to be

held within a few weeks.

The timing was important. All the reactionaries, the right wing of the middle class, the whole kit and caboodle of the forces of "law and order," would still have fresh in their minds the fear they experienced when the capitalist system seemed about to crash. They would thus be inclined to get out and vote and to vote for de Gaulle no matter what their private opinions of him might be.

In the other camp, with luck, some of the workers might feel satisfied with their newly won wage gains and look rather apathetically at the elections which promised nothing new. Others would look at the election as a letdown or anticlimax after the events of May. Still others would agree with the revolutionary groups that approval of the election equaled a betrayal of the revolution.

De Gaulle's most important calculation was to provide the Communist party with a plausible reason for getting the strikers back to work and off the streets -- away from the road of revolution.

Subsequent events showed that de Gaulle understood the bureaucrats of the Communist party to perfection. They were the first to announce that they were accepting the "concession" de Gaulle had made "under pressure" and that they intended to meet his "challenge."* They worked like zealots to end the general strike and get the capitalist system back into smooth running order. Strikes, it is well known, interfere with elections. They worked with similar zeal to end the demonstrations, which are likewise inimical to elections.

And instead of reminding the electorate of how de Gaulle smashed the former electoral system so that the National Assembly was reduced to a body of but little significance in the governmental structure, with representation in that body "readjusted" to cut down Communist party representation in particular, the Stalinist bureaucrats campaigned against the "leftists"

* De Gaulle, it should be noted, also sought to meet the "challenge" of the Communist party, and, more importantly, the entire revolutionary vanguard. In his campaign propaganda, he introduced an "anti-capitalist" note, saying that he stood for a "third way," different from both communism and capitalism. He talked about "participation" by the workers in industry and the students in the universities; and he promised sweeping educational reforms, the precise nature of which he left conveniently vague. This was pure demagoguery, of course, smacking of the kind of demagoguery advanced by Mussolini and Hitler in their time and by Napoleon III a century ago.

and "provocateurs" who wanted to take advantage of the revolutionary opportunity that had been presented to the French people.

The Communist party refrained from calling attention to a point made even by liberal bourgeois voices. Not only were young workers and the hundreds of thousands of youth who had been active in the high-school and university agitation barred from participating in the election because of their age level, but some 250,000, who had come of age since the registration of voters at the beginning of the year, were denied their legal right to vote -- the Gaullist regime refusing to open the registration lists and bring them up to date.

De Gaulle's third important action was to open a witch-hunt. This began with speeches by prominent Gaullists like Pompidou and by de Gaulle himself about an alleged "plot" for a "Communist takeover" in France. Special fire was directed by these orators against the "leftists" and "provocateurs" who had started the street demonstrations and the general strike. The next step was deportation of foreigners, particularly youth, accused of participating in the demonstrations.

Then the revolutionary organizations, both youth and adult, were banned. This was immediately followed by raids on their headquarters and on the homes of their leaders. A number of arrests were made and these political prisoners were held incommunicado, in some important instances until after the first round of the elections.

Thus one of the prominent features of the "free" elections staged by de Gaulle was the muzzling of the revolutionary organizations so that their voice could not be heard. From this it can be judged how unstable de Gaulle considered the situation to be as the country went through the ritual of dropping paper ballots in boxes to determine who should sit in a largely token National Assembly.

This explains, too, why another feature of the "free" elections staged by de Gaulle was the order to have the troops stand by.

The Communist party bureaucrats went along with de Gaulle's game to the bitter end.

They did their best to present themselves as the loyal opposition to de Gaulle, deserving full credit for saving the country in an hour of desperate peril. With breathtaking lack of logic they at the same time explained to members troubled in conscience about the party's failure to respond to a revolutionary situation that actually no revolutionary situation had existed at all.

The main slogan of the Communist party was "For a Popular Government and a Democratic Union." What this meant was not spelled out in detail. The target, however, was the "monopolies"; so that it can be deduced that the Communist party advocated a government of the "liberal" or "progressive" bourgeoisie "with the participation of the Communist party." The content of "participation" was likewise not spelled out. What the Stalinist bureaucrats had in mind, no doubt, was a few posts as in the memorable days of de Gaulle's first regime following World War II when they saved French capitalism from the "threat" of socialism by persuading the Resistance fighters to turn in their guns and the workers to refrain from striking in order not to interfere with production.

This line failed to convince the conservative petty-bourgeois layers whose fears the CP sought to allay. It was a costly line in another respect, for it failed to inspire the working class, to say the least. A study of the concrete voting pattern in key districts shows in fact that the CP failed to gain in predominantly petty-bourgeois districts, while in the famous "red belt" in the Paris area, abstentions among workers who traditionally vote Communist were unusually high. The rightward shift of the CP failed to pay off with votes from the petty bourgeoisie which might have compensated in the electoral arena for the losses on the left among the revolutionary-minded layers who had become convinced through experience that the road to workers power does not run through a bourgeois parliament.

The salient feature of the Communist party's electoral campaign, however, was the fire directed at the rebel students and revolutionary organizations that had dared to try to outflank the Stalinist chieftains from the left. Waldeck Rochet and his lieutenants protested de Gaulle's charges about a "Communist plot" to take over France but that was all they protested. They did not protest the Gaullist slanders leveled against the revolutionary organizations and students who had inspired the demonstrations. They did not protest the deportation of foreigners -- they echoed the ultraright sneers about Daniel Cohn-Bendit being a "German Jew." They did not protest the banning of the revolutionary organizations. They did not protest the police raids on the headquarters of these organizations or on the homes of their members. They did not protest the political arrests carried out by de Gaulle's police.

Just the contrary. They joined in the Gaullist witch-hunt.

The line of the party was expressed succinctly by Waldeck Rochet in the final

brief speech permitted him on television on the eve of the election, in accordance with the rules laid down by de Gaulle. Referring to Pompidou's campaign propaganda about a "Communist plot" to seize power, and an accusation made by a leader of the Parti Socialiste Unifié that the CP had failed to take power when the opportunity offered, Waldeck Rochet answered this "double anti-Communist attack" as follows:

"The truth is that throughout the grave events which we have just lived through, the French Communist party conducted itself as a great party of progress, as a responsible party, conscious of bearing the hopes of millions of Frenchmen.

"All of our activities have been devoted to the service of the people, in the full light of day, within the legal republican framework.

"I affirm that it was the calm and resolute attitude of the Communist party above all which blocked a bloody adventure in our country....

"Anxious to assure the country's future -- and to unite the French masses instead of dividing them -- the Communist party is fighting for a government of democratic union, founded on the cooperation of the parties of the left and the support of the big trade-union organizations composed of workers, peasants, intellectuals.

"The Communists are ready to assume their share of responsibility in such a government."

In an editorial signed by Laurent Salini in the June 23 issue of L'Humanité Dimanche, which was distributed on election day, the "responsible" line of the Communist party was spelled out still more clearly:

"We have never dissimulated and have never hid our hope that the French people will some day adhere to socialism. We carry on our deliberations in the full light of day. Our intentions and our acts are public. Any sectarian spirit is foreign to us. We do not have to proceed as an 'active minority,' because the renovating job we propose is inconceivable without the clear agreement of the immense majority of the people. It is to this majority that we appeal, with which and through which we hope to make a contribution in constructing a new republic. And the severity with which we reject the black flag [of anarchism], with which we criticize the disorders and disturbances, is not a ruse on our part. The repeated incidents in the Latin Quarter, the provocations which the PSU covers up so readily, run against our determination to as-

semble the majority of the people for socialism and democracy. That is why we are so proud of the restraint and the cool-headedness which ten million strikers have shown. This order, this caring for the plants, this calm, is proper to a class sure of its future, sure of its hopes, sure of its national role. And it is infinitely fortunate for France that the authority of the working class has grown still more."

On June 24, stung by the defeat suffered in an election conducted according to the rules of the game specified by de Gaulle, and now faced with the task of explaining to their own members how they came to be mouse-trapped by the 78-year-old general, the Stalinist general staff sought to blame it all on the revolutionary-minded students and the banned organizations that had been involved in the demonstrations.

In a front-page editorial signed by René Andrieu, the June 24 L'Humanité declared:

"It is clear that the blackmail of threatening civil war bore fruit and that it influenced the most backward layers of the population. That was the essential objective of the Gaullist strategy -- in this it succeeded.

"The extravagances, the provocations, the useless violence -- naturally deliberately magnified and expanded in the government's propaganda -- committed by the leftist groups manipulated by the Minister of the Interior, resulted as could be expected. It will doubtless prove interesting for history to ascertain exactly who took the initiative in the 'barricades' of Rue Gay-Lussac, even if some students in good faith let themselves be caught in the police snare. Each barricade, each automobile set on fire turned several hundred thousands of votes over to the Gaullist party. That is the truth of the matter."

A more revealing statement could scarcely be expected. L'Humanité ended up by adopting de Gaulle's thesis that the May events were the result of a plot! Except that the plot was cooked up by de Gaulle instead of the Communist party.

The logical conclusion to this is that in order to grant the strikers wage gains ranging as high as 20 percent, de Gaulle required them to stage a general strike. To get the general strike, he had to stir up the students and get them to build barricades to serve as a "detonator." De Gaulle's trip to Rumania and Pompidou's trip to the Middle East thus constituted a wily ruse to cover up the most crucial days of the conspiracy.

Having exposed de Gaulle's plot to

grant some very impressive economic concessions to the working masses, the Communist party itself stands exposed for what it really is -- a true party of "law and order," standing up "responsibly" against the "excessive demands" of the workers which de Gaulle granted.

L'Humanité's lament over the loss of votes presumably occasioned by each barricade and each "automobile set on fire" is truly pitiful. What did they expect in an election conducted according to de Gaulle's rules? Why did they agree to participate in such a fraud? Why were they so eager to accept de Gaulle's bait?

Worst of all, perhaps, is their assumption that de Gaulle would have abided by the results of the election if they had gone against his expectations.

Outside of the Communist party strategists, virtually all knowledgeable observers of the French scene hold that the current elections solved nothing basic whatsoever in France.

In its postelection editorial of July 2, for example, Le Monde warned the bourgeois world: "Just the same, nothing has been settled. It was not at all due to some 'splinter groups' being caught in a squeeze between the Gaullist majority and the Communist party that such large numbers of youth chose to revolt and the strikes spread everywhere. The same causes normally produce the same effects, the 'events' of yesterday -- to adopt the current euphemism -- can be re-

produced tomorrow with greatly increased gravity if a resolute determination to profoundly modify our objectives and methods is not very quickly displayed."

The truth is that the economic concessions granted under the pressure of the May "events" can be wiped out in perhaps record time -- a jump in the price of bread was permitted by the government within a few days after it reached agreement with the trade-union bureaucracies (principally the Communist party union leaders) on the Grenelle formula for wage increases.

The renewal of the class struggle, if it begins within the period immediately ahead, as seems most likely, will proceed from the political level reached at the close of the May events. This will greatly enhance the chances for a swift success no matter what the machinations of the Gaullists and the Stalinists may be.

The danger remains, however, that the French bourgeoisie will now do their utmost to strengthen the most reactionary forces in the country in order, through repressive measures -- including extra-parliamentary means -- to block a repetition of the scare they suffered in May. This course, however, is filled with pitfalls, for it can have just the opposite result from the one aimed at. The threat of fascism in France, or of a military dictatorship like the one in Greece, can serve to arouse the working class and precipitate a showdown that would signify the doom of French capitalism.

THE VOTE IN PARIS

As the capital of the country, Paris is always of special interest as an indicator of political trends in France. Here are some results in the June 23 election that are being carefully studied by the leaders of all the parties:

De Gaulle's party, the UDR, obtained 40.85% of the votes. Its nationwide average was 43.65%.

The Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste got 7.64% of the votes this year as compared with 11.36% last year. The 1967 vote had been especially encouraging to the Social Democrats of the FGDS, since it represented a jump from a little more than 5% registered in the previous election.

The Communist party was hit rather hard this year, receiving 206,602 votes (18.83%) this year as compared with 262,536 (22.31%) last year.

The Parti Socialiste Unifié made the best showing, winning 7.39% of the votes, which compares with 4.70% in 1967. The PSU was the only one of the electoral parties to express sympathy with the students who touched off the revolutionary events in May and it also expressed solidarity with the revolutionary organizations that were banned by de Gaulle.

The abstentions in Paris amounted to 22.32% as compared with 19.99% in the country as a whole. In the Latin Quarter the abstentions reached 30.07%.

SALAZAR PUTS A STOP TO FREE RIDES IN LISBON

Armed with machine guns, dictator Salazar's police moved against 7,000 tramway strikers in Lisbon July 3, compelling them to run the trams. But the workers re-

fused to collect fares. Salazar's answer to this was to put two cops on each tram. They put a stop to the very popular action of showing solidarity by riding free.

HOW WALDECK ROCHET FARED IN HIS HOME DISTRICT

In the "red" suburbs of Paris, a noteworthy feature of the vote in the first round of the elections (June 23) was the losses suffered by the Communist party and the FGDS [Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste, the Social Democratic bloc with certain liberal bourgeois figures] in the areas where the workers are heavily concentrated.

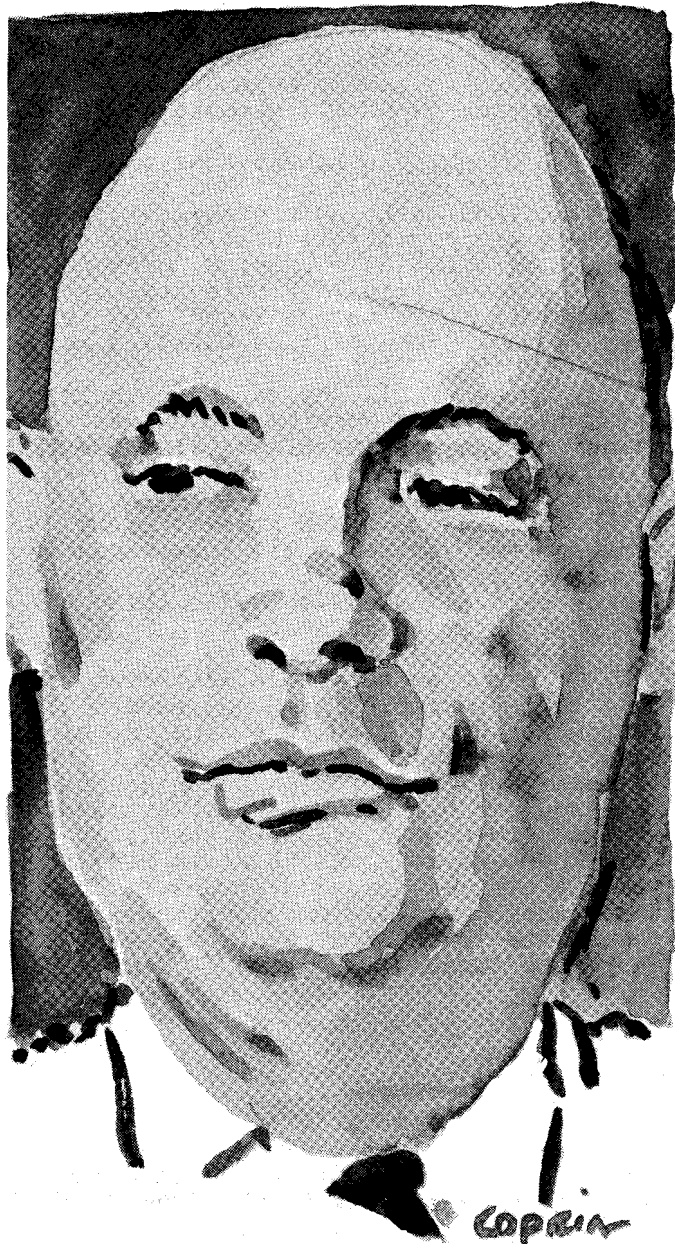
Both the CP and the FGDS opposed the militant student demonstrations. After these touched off the most powerful and sweeping strike movement in the history of the country, the CP and FGDS did their utmost to prevent the upsurge from attaining political expression.

It appears that the Parti Socialiste Unifié, the only electoral party to support the rebel students and to voice sympathy with their demonstrations, won part of the voters who would normally have cast their ballots for the CP or the FGDS.

The table below, showing how Waldeck Rochet, the general secretary of the Communist party, fared in his home district provides a good example of what happened.

Immediately after the first round in the election, the CP blamed those who had engaged in the demonstrations for the setback it had suffered. After the disastrous second round, June 30, it offered another reason. L'Humanité, the official CP newspaper, said that under the election laws established by de Gaulle the working class had been denied the representation it was entitled to. "To elect a Communist deputy requires on the average 135,000 votes. To elect a Gaullist deputy, 27,000 votes is sufficient."

Curiously, the CP chiefs were the first to accept de Gaulle's "challenge" to end the strikes and meet him in the electoral arena instead of the streets.



WALDECK ROCHET

Third Circonscription in Seine-Saint-Denis

	1967	1968	Loss or Gain
Registration	66,976	65,265	-1,711
Actual Votes	55,009	52,163	-2,836
Ultraright	1,239	no candidate	
Union pour la Défense de la République (Marteau, a Gaullist)	15,226	16,264	+1,038
Centre Démocrate	2,554	4,300 (PDM*)	+1,746
Convention - FGDS	4,389	2,289 (FGDS)	-2,100
CP (Waldeck Rochet)	31,106	27,036	-4,070
PSU	no candidate	2,274	+2,274

* Renamed Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne

"CONFINED" FOR TEN DAYS

By Pierre Frank

[The following is a translation of extracts from a letter as published in the June 30-July 1 issue of *Le Monde*. The editors of the Paris daily included the following note: "Mr. Pierre Frank, secretary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Fourth International, Trotskyist), which has been dissolved, sent us the following letter."

[In addition to being the secretary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, which has been "dissolved" under a decree signed by de Gaulle, Pierre Frank is a former secretary of Leon Trotsky. He has challenged de Gaulle's decree banning the PCI and a campaign has been opened for funds to carry the case through the courts.]

* * *

As the secretary of a revolutionary organization dissolved by the government decree of June 12, I was "confined" for ten days on a warrant sworn out by the prefect of police. The warrant was issued in connection with a preliminary hearing for an offense against the national security...

A decision can be made by the prefect of police, that is by an executive officer of the government. Pursuant to this decision, a citizen in full possession of his civil and political rights can be "confined" for two days, followed by another five days, and finally for three additional days by decision of the prosecutor of the State Security Court [Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat], that is by another executive officer of the government.

During these days this person totally vanishes from society. He has no right to see his family or to talk with a lawyer. At bottom this is the same system as the lettre de cachet. * During this "confinement" the person concerned is neither charged, nor indicted, nor even placed formally "under arrest." But he is turned over to the police who subject him to "inquiries" (not to interrogation -- you will note the distinction). No definite complaint has been brought against him. He does not know what his answers might lead to. He has no legal counsel. He does not even have a piece of paper to note down the questions and his answers.

Ten days, that might seem a brief time. But it is by no means so when a person finds himself totally cut off from the world. I was not subjected to any physical violence, but I was placed under intolerable material and mental duress. To my protests the judicial police replied in substance: "We aren't treating you the way the fascists would; in other countries confinement runs for a longer time." What a strange basis for comparison! I was not subjected to fascist methods; but I was caught in a "judicial" system which could lead there without great difficulties -- with the aid, I presume, of a few decrees.

After having refused to answer questions for forty-eight hours, I decided to go along with them to find out what was in my dossier. At the end of the second period, the five-day one, after about ten hours of interrogation, the questions had removed all doubt. My dossier was empty. They held me three more days, not because they had anything against me but because they had nothing. There was nothing left for me to do but refuse to answer all questions and go on a hunger strike.

During these three additional days, I was not even asked to come to an "inquiry." Ten minutes before the legal termination of "confinement," I was notified I was free. I left the Gravelle redoubt without any official papers of release whatsoever. I have not been indicted; I am not a "witness." But the fact is that I was removed from society for ten days. Are there other persons at present in these circumstances? I suspected that there were others confined at Gravelle in another building, but I am unable to say for certain.

I have little to say about the conditions of my existence in those ten days. My keepers provided me with decent food and acceptable living conditions for ten days. Nonetheless, I cannot fail to mention that I was afforded a night in jail as a preliminary; it is an unsanitary place which cannot be justified even for criminals.

I should like to add a few words at this point on the political background of my case. My party was dissolved because it was supposed to have created "combat groups and a private militia" (which nobody has seen yet). I was interrogated in the above-mentioned circumstances for a supposed offense against the national security. All through my interrogation, despite my insistence, I was not asked a single question concerning these so-called "combat groups and a private militia." Why? I presume that the police did not

* A royal order confining persons indefinitely without their being charged or tried.

want to put themselves in a position where they might have to expose an allegation contained in a document signed by the president of the republic, the prime minister, and the minister of the interior.

The questions I was asked dealt with the Trotskyist ideas I have defended for what will soon be forty years, with my trips abroad -- about which I conceal nothing -- about a speech I made at the Sorbonne, the activity of one of my "pupils," about my impressions in walking through Paris, etc. Nothing which had anything to do with a definite offense against the national security. There could have been no error or oversight because the policemen questioning me did not hide the fact that they reported to their superiors every evening and were given new questions to ask the next day.

There is a final point which I think holds some interest. I was notified on June 21 that I would be held for the additional three days of my period of confinement. By that time I was sick and tired of hearing arguments about how criminal it was to want to overthrow by force a government based on universal suffrage. So, I made the following demand in writing: "My confinement does not deprive me of my political rights. Therefore, I ask that provisions be made so that I can exercise my right to vote on Sunday, June 23." It goes without saying

what the effect of this request was. There is no need to say that it brought no result.

Personally, I had no doubt that the prerogatives of the police had priority over a citizen's right to vote. But I was not unhappy to be able to show that the ballot is not the democratic method, the only democratic method. Our great ancestors of the Year I,* the founding fathers of the American republic, which then was not the republic of the CIA and the Pentagon, taught us in famous documents that insofar as democratic methods go there is a time for ballots and a time for paving stones, for popular revolts and insurrections.

I cannot recall a single national holiday that commemorates an election. On the other hand, July 14 in France, July 4 in the United States, July 21 in Belgium, November 7 in the Soviet Union, and July 26 in Cuba...are all anniversaries of rather drastic democratic demonstrations against authoritarian governments. It was well that this lesson was remembered one evening on the Rue Gay-Lussac, even if as a result it cost me ten days of confinement.

* 1793, the peak year of the French revolution and the year the revolutionary calendar was established.

NANTES TRUCKDRIVERS THOUGHT THE SITUATION WAS REVOLUTIONARY

Paris

[The following article, translated from the June 11 issue of Action, the newspaper of the Action Committees supported by the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (National Union of French Students), provides further details on the Nantes committee which assumed such broad powers during the height of the strike movement in France as to become an incipient organ of "dual power" in opposition to the capitalist government.]

[The article is entitled "Des Barrages Routiers à l'Autodéfense" (from road blocks to self-defense).]

* * *

The machine politicians and the "leftists" debated during the last two weeks of May over whether the situation in France was revolutionary or not. It is certain that the debate was much less obscure in Nantes, where the state of the struggle was such that no equivocation was possible for anyone. A concrete ex-

ample is offered by a leaflet signed "UNEF-FO Transport Union" which was distributed May 30:

"CRS AGAINST THE BLOCKADE

"A blockade was set up May 29 by members of the FO [Force Ouvrière -- Workers Force] transport union and students in the Sorinières area around 5 p.m. It was composed of around fifty empty cans guarded by a hundred FO transport workers assisted by some students.

"In agreement with the central strike committee, only trucks transporting perishable goods and provided with an order signed by the central strike committee and private automobiles were authorized to proceed.

"About 10 p.m., four carloads of Gardes Mobiles, five 'scooters,' six motorcycles, not to mention the police cars, came from downtown Nantes. After having called for the person in charge of the blockade, the chief of the forces of 'law and order,' without reading any order to

disperse, ordered the squad to charge.

"A number, including a high-school student, were seriously wounded."

Those who got out the leaflet were in agreement with their readers -- a central strike committee did exist, this committee held power, it decided who had the right to use the road, if anyone in particular wanted to take the matter up, he didn't go to the mayor or the police but to this central committee. If this is not a revolutionary situation, when will there be a revolution? Or the words no longer have any meaning.

In Nantes, in any case, when the truckdrivers went on strike, they didn't pose any subtle questions about the revolution; but they did see clearly that it was necessary to control communications between Nantes and elsewhere. This was the only solution.

The roadblocks around Nantes were put up beginning on Friday, May 24. The striking truckdrivers blocked the main highways with the help of university and high-school students in order to strengthen the manpower at their disposal. After May 26, the FO union -- which is the strongest in the transport industry in Nantes -- acted in liaison with the central strike committee which had just been constituted. The central strike committee was already distributing vouchers for gasoline; it was also in charge of delivering authorizations to truckdrivers which would permit transport only of commodities needed by the peasants or for feeding the strikers.

The idea was a good one, but unfortunately, great confusion reigned at first, due to the lack of organization. In the absence of a competent "transport" commission, the central strike committee distributed authorizations in a bad way. The license number of the truck and the nature of the freight (urgent merchandise or otherwise) was not indicated on the permit. Many truckdrivers did not know at the beginning that a permit was necessary.

The boss of the main sweatshop, Grangjouan, was given a permit because

the central strike committee had not got in touch with the truckdrivers!

Despite all this, control of the highways did take place. The four main entry points were guarded by 500 truckdrivers and students. A few who tried to run the blockade had their windows broken and tires punctured. But there was no looting. On Saturday, June 1, an FO press release denied that any drivers of private automobiles had to pay a toll.

Thus, for several days, an entire town was isolated, the blockades functioning like screens, and even being prepared for armed resistance if the few police still at the disposal of the prefect tried to interfere.

However, the situation has changed since May 31. The alarm sounded by the Gaullist government has given more reality to the threat of police repression. The Whitsuntide holiday, and especially the probable resumption of work in some of the sweatshops, compelled the unions to reinforce the pickets in the plants, that is, by reducing the number on the blockades.

Finally the central strike committee decided June 1 to give up the system of issuing gasoline vouchers (it required a genuine administration of forty persons to handle this) out of fear of losing sympathy among the automobile drivers. In these circumstances, the blockades could no longer be held, and they were taken down during the night of June 1-2.

In order to avoid any bloodshed, it was necessary to shift to another front. As an FO delegate told me June 2:

"If Paris goes back on Tuesday, June 4, convoys of escorted trucks will arrive in mass. It will be impossible to hold the highways! But if our pickets in the sweatshops prevent the trucks from being unloaded, the struggle will continue."

Nantes thus lived for a week in a situation of virtual self-defense, a situation which saw no violence solely because the public authority had disintegrated.

REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS IN FRANCE APPEAL FOR AID

The Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International), two of the revolutionary organizations banned by de Gaulle because of their political opposition to his reactionary regime, have gone to the courts to challenge the legality of the "dissolution" decree. Other groups, similarly

affected, have announced their intention to go to court, too.

An international solidarity fund has been set up to aid in this fight. Contributions should be sent to Emil Van Ceulen, Secretary, Fonds de Solidarité contre la Répression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.



ZURICH POLICE answer student demand that city take over empty department store and convert it into youth recreation center

to be run by youth groups themselves. In reply to clubs and fire hoses, students blocked traffic and threw paving stones.

ZURICH, TOO, HIT BY STUDENT UNREST

Zurich

This staid city, long advertised by the local bourgeoisie as the "Athens of Switzerland" but which, in the European class struggle, looks much more like a stagnant backwater, received a salutary stirring up June 29 when hundreds of youth under the leadership of a broad committee, the Aktion Autonomes Jugendzentrum, occupied an empty department store.

The action was part of a campaign staged by students in Zurich for several months to get the city to take over the department store and turn it into an autonomous youth center.

The student organizations set up a broad committee, began leafleting the city in an intensive way, set up pickets in front of the building and decorated it with slogans and placards in the style of the Sorbonne. A preliminary oc-

cupation was tried in the middle of June.

On June 29, the city authorities mobilized in full force to protect the endangered private property from being appropriated by the youth. Hundreds of club-wielding police and firemen armed with high-pressure water hoses sought to disperse the demonstrators.

Pitched battles were fought at Bellevue, where Lake Zurich empties into the Limmat, and at the Bahnhofplatz, the center of the city. Several streetcars were put out of commission when the students began building barricades and this halted all trams for a number of hours. The crowd at the Bahnhofplatz swelled to some 5,000 or 6,000 persons.

More than 40 persons were injured (including 16 police), and 169 arrests were made, 55 of them being youths under the age of 20.



"FREE SPEECH, FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE HUEY."
Part of crowd of 5,000 in Berkeley, California, July 4, supporting banned French

groups, and jailed Black Panther party leader Huey Newton. Demonstration took place after week of struggle with police.

BERKELEY STUDENTS WIN IN SOLIDARITY ACTION FOR BANNED FRENCH GROUPS

After six days of violent clashes with police in Berkeley, California, more than 5,000 student demonstrators peacefully assembled July 4 to take possession of Telegraph Avenue, the territory they had defended with barricades only a few days before.

The confrontation began June 29 when police moved in with clubs and tear gas against a demonstration of more than a thousand persons called by the Young Socialist Alliance to protest de Gaulle's ban on revolutionary youth and working-class organizations in France. In accordance with legal requirements, a permit had been secured for sound equipment to be used in a sidewalk rally. The cops declared the rally illegal, using the excuse that a few people had sat down in the street.

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from Cali-

ornia and a leader of the demonstration, was addressing the crowd when the police made their move. In an interview that appeared in the July 12 issue of the socialist weekly The Militant, Camejo described what followed:

"I then asked that Mayor Johnson and Police Chief Beale, who were in the crowd, step forward so that we could discuss and work out the situation without a police attack. The mayor refused to come forward, but the chief of police did.

"By that time the monitors were lined up, linked arm in arm, along the street and everyone was on the sidewalk. I pointed this out to the chief of police and asked him on what basis he could attack our demonstration, and to please reconsider. He agreed to that, and...he and several other policemen walked off to discuss it, but when they came back, they

repeated their stand that the rally was 'illegal.'

"Of course, nobody left...When the police started to move against the crowd, the monitors told people to withdraw rather than engage the police directly, but not to disperse or leave the area.

"The police then did something which was new for Berkeley -- they opened up with tear gas. That's when the fighting began. As the crowd began to run, the police ran after them. The demonstrators in some cases began to build barricades to defend themselves, with wood from construction sites or whatever they could get their hands on."

The following day an organizing meeting of 500 voted to return to Telegraph Avenue and hold another rally despite threats by the police. The crowd soon swelled to more than 2,000. When the police moved forward, barricades were hastily built. This time the fighting was much sharper than the previous night.

On June 30 a curfew was declared. That day a group of people from the Berkeley radical community, including Peter Frank from the Peace and Freedom party; Max Sheer, the editor of the Berkeley Barb; and Peter Camejo met with the mayor and other city officials. The delegation demanded lifting of the curfew and the right to hold rallies on Telegraph Avenue, specifically on July 4. The officials refused to concede anything.

Following this meeting a march to city hall was staged and scattered clashes with police erupted as small groups of demonstrators tried to enter the curfew area at various points.

The demonstrators then changed their strategy, calling off all demonstrations for July 1-3, and concentrating all their energy on building a massive demonstration on Telegraph Avenue July 4. An organizing meeting of 1,500 voted to go to the city council and demand a permit for the demonstration. Camejo described what took place there:

"So many people turned out for the council meeting that they had to change meeting places at the last minute...During the council meeting, which lasted eight hours, between fifty and 100 people got up and expressed their views on what was happening, with 95 percent of them being completely favorable to our proposals....The mayor and the council's only defense was that the street had been closed for a brief period, so that the only crime they accused the demonstrators of was that they had temporarily closed the street. For that the mayor and council had thrown the whole town into a state of emergency with the curfews, etc.

"The city council meeting was spectacular in that at no time in the history of Berkeley had there ever been such a meeting where over a thousand citizens came to speak their minds."

The council by a 5-4 decision denied the right of the demonstrators to meet. But when they saw the determination of the students to carry through despite all official threats, the mayor and the council were forced to rescind their ban on the eve of the July 4 action.

At the mass rally on Telegraph Avenue July 4, thousands turned out to celebrate the victory over "city hall." Speakers addressed the crowd, including Black Panther party leader Eldridge Cleaver; Peter Camejo; Jack Bloom, a student leader; Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell, who had just been deported from Britain for his revolutionary views; Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, and Paul Jacobs of the Peace and Freedom party.

Two significant aspects of the week-long confrontation were the fact that it began as an act of international solidarity with the revolutionary students and workers of France, and that masses of students were involved under the leadership of a revolutionary socialist organization, the Young Socialist Alliance. All previous mass actions at Berkeley, from the Free Speech Movement in 1964 to the demonstrations of the Vietnam Day Committee and the antidraft actions last December were led either by unaffiliated individuals or by broad coalitions in which the role of explicitly radical organizations was relatively small.

Peter Camejo described the role of the YSA in the interview that appeared in The Militant:

"Much of the press and the TV and the newspapers played up this whole thing as a purely YSA action. This is inaccurate, and it reflects a tendency on the part of the press to try to red-bait the whole thing. The YSA in actual numbers was but a small fraction of the people involved in the actions. But, throughout the six days, YSAers were extremely active and in many places played the key role in doing the work to build the movement.

"After the original rally initiated by the YSA, we did everything possible to build the protest as big as possible, to broaden its base of support, to work to bring in every group and every individual that could be gotten to participate in every aspect of the work. By doing this, we wanted to keep any group from completely dominating the action."

STUDENT REBELLION SWEEPS TURKEY

According to reports in the Istanbul daily Cumhuriyet, striking Turkish students began to return to classes the first week in July after winning major concessions to their demands. Student strike committees had sprung up spontaneously at universities in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, and Eskisehir, and students had taken over the buildings.

The movement started June 10 when a professor at the University of Ankara announced cancellation of the Latin exams

without explanation. To protest this bureaucratic procedure the students left the building. Other students stopped their examinations and joined them in sympathy. The movement rapidly spread to other universities. On June 18 students from the university marched through downtown Ankara with signs reading: "Nationalize private schools so the poor can go to school" and "No more cultural imperialism." The latter slogan was shouted with special vigor as the students passed the United States Information Service.

GREEK REFUGEE APPEALS FOR HELP AGAINST DICTATORSHIP

Brussels

In the official journal put out by the Greek government, which bears the title "Free World" [!], the following communiqué, together with a photograph for identification, was published last February 9:

"COMMUNIST SOUGHT

"In accordance with a decision handed down by the Minister of Public Order, Mr. Tjevelekos, decision No. 7/67 of the Committee of Public Order in the Attica district has been approved. The decision proclaims Verouchis, Jean Vladimir, to be an anarcho-communist gangster. The son of Stavrou and Maria Antigone, born in Athens in 1931, a lithographer living in Zographou (5 Davaki Pindou Street), his present whereabouts is unknown. A reward of 50,000 drachmas [about US\$2,000] is offered for his arrest, or 25,000 drachmas for information that will enable the authorities to apprehend him."

Like others on whose head the Greek dictatorship has placed a price, Verouchis is a refugee abroad. This has not assured his safety, however. In fact, the reward makes him a tempting target for kidnapping. This is indicated in the following release to the press:

"I was the president of the lithographers union until April 21, 1967. After the dictatorship seized power, I took part in the resistance of the Greek people and more precisely in the Democratic Resistance Committees [DRC]. My involvement was discovered September 4, 1967. I at once went underground. On September 13, in agreement with my organization, I left for Italy in a boat with another member of the DRC (Georges Kotsou). After a 17-day trip we reached southern Italy. On October 4, the Italian government gave us a residence permit (No.

353/67 Soggiorno degli Stranieri in Italia). Since then, as representatives of the network of the Greek resistance, we have visited all the capitals of Europe and spoken continually in the European press about the resistance movement. Now I am in Germany, having been granted a residence permit there. With regard to the communiqué published in the government journal, I have the following to say:

"On the label 'anarcho-communist' I have no comment, since the label is placed on all the members of the resistance movement...

"As to the label of 'gangster,' I reject it, stating that it is nothing but a miserable slander which points up the means used by the generals to strike at their political opponents...

"I have been charged in an indictment of the King's Prosecutor (No. 1,084/1967) with being a member of the DRC as well as with having published underground newspapers. I am supposed to be put on trial in the event I am arrested. I have placed all this in the proper hands...

"The foul label of 'gangster' is systematically placed by the dictatorship on all the democratic activists in Greece. Reacting to information I have given the press in Europe and to my ties with the resistance movement, the dictatorship accuses me of being a gangster. I reject the accusation...

"The announcement published by the government journal was the first of its kind aimed at a Greek democrat abroad and its aim was to terrorize activists both at home and abroad and more particularly to prepare the ground for agents of the dictatorship to kidnap me. I ask all democratic citizens to protect me.

"Thanks,
"Jean Vladimir Verouchis."

MAJORITY OF STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE VOTES TO CONTINUE ANTIWAR STRUGGLE

By Les Evans

An important milestone was passed in the U.S. antiwar movement June 29 at the Continuations Committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the organization that called the International Student Strike last April 26 in which more than a million students participated in the United States alone.

Immediately after the highly successful student strike, a New York-based group which had control of the SMC's Working Committee began a sharp retreat from the organization's policy of building mass demonstrations for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, through a broad coalition against the war. The first act of this group early in May was to fire two SMC staff members who belonged to the Young Socialist Alliance, Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton. Both of them were known nationally.

At the June 29 Continuations Committee meeting this exclusion-minded grouping found itself confronted by a majority determined to uphold the policies on which the SMC had been built. The New York-based minority walked out of the conference and set up a "multi-issue" organization which they named the Radical Organizing Committee.

The Continuations Committee meeting was attended by some 400 delegates and observers from antiwar committees across the country. About sixty-five later attended a meeting of the group that walked out.

The conference had been called to resolve the crisis in the SMC that followed the attempt to exclude the Young Socialists from the staff. The exclusionary group in New York, which called itself the "independent" caucus, was composed primarily of a bloc between a number of pacifists and the Communist party. In addition to the firings, this exclusionary caucus also refused to call a full conference open to all supporters of the SMC in a city in the midwest as mandated by the last national conference in January.

Instead they hit on the device of a Continuations Committee -- a delegated body -- meeting in the city where they were strongest, New York. According to SMC rules, the Continuations Committee is an interim body that meets between national conferences with one delegate from each campus group supporting the aims of the student antiwar organization.

The exclusionary caucus saw to it that all of its supporters were regis-

tered as delegates, whether or not they came from campus committees. When the majority objected and proposed that under the circumstances the fairest solution would be to allow everyone present to vote, the exclusionists walked out. They left on the first afternoon, without participating in the plenary debate on the political questions at issue, and before a single substantive vote was taken.

Following this, the majority, who remained, unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Syd Stapleton and Kipp Dawson that had been endorsed by the student antiwar action caucus. This caucus had met for the first time immediately before the Continuations Committee meeting. It was composed of activists from around the country who decided to organize a caucus in order to fight the mechanical control of the Continuations meeting exercised by the exclusionist caucus.

The resolution contained five points:

"(1) To settle the differences in the Student Mobilization Committee we call for a national conference in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend [August 30-September 2]....

"(2) We demand a demonstrative return to nonexclusion by reinstating Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton to the SMC staff, a repudiation of the exclusionary actions taken in New York....

"(3) We emphatically reaffirm the basic political position of the antiwar movement -- for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The Vietnamese have the right to determine their own future. American imperialism has no rights in Vietnam. It has absolutely nothing to negotiate there.

"The Paris negotiations are being used by Washington as a screen for further escalation of the war. The negotiations are meant to disorient the antiwar movement in an election year....

"(4) It is vital now, more than ever before, to mount increased mass action against the war. We support the August 3 demonstration in New York and the August 10 demonstration in Chicago as the proper type of response to Washington's aims in the negotiations....

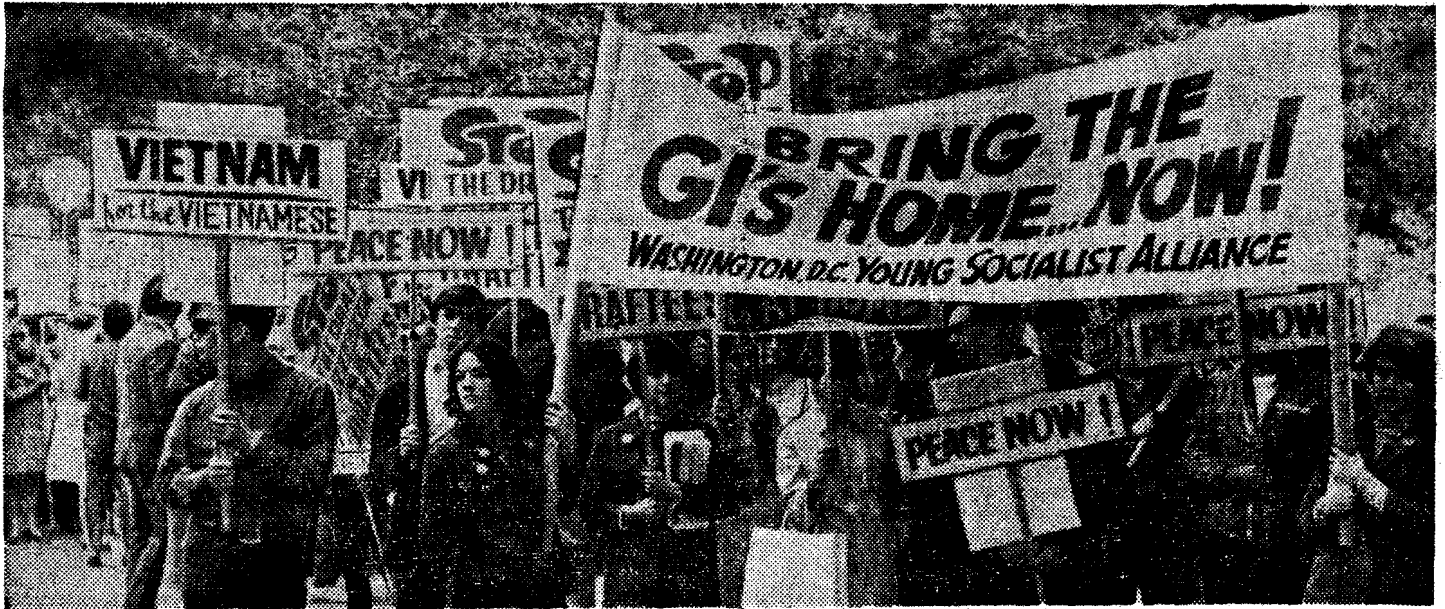
"(5) We call for massive antiwar actions in the fall for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, in opposition

to the policies of both the Democratic and Republican war parties. We call for fall actions instead of a nebulous and politically disorienting demonstration at the Democratic party convention in August proposed by the National Mobilization Committee.

"A demonstration at the Democratic party convention would not be an antiwar demonstration. It would only be interpreted as a pro-McCarthy demonstration.... We favor mass action, independent of the warmaking policies of the Democratic and Republican parties and their nominees. We

can build an effective action by projecting a date in the fall....A national SMC conference on Labor Day should set the date, plan, and organize this antiwar action."

After the walkout of the so-called independent caucus, the meeting adopted the above resolution and set up a provisional Working Committee composed of representatives from various parts of the country, with openings held for all those wishing to join in at a later date. It was agreed that regular officers would be elected at the Labor Day conference.



В Вашингтоне состоялась мощная демонстрация протеста против грязной войны США во Вьетнаме. Сотни демонстрантов прошли по улицам столицы, неся транспаранты с надписями: «Мир сейчас!», «Верните солдат домой!», «Вьетнам — вьетнамцам!». На снимке — участники антивоенной манифестации на одной из улиц Вашингтона. Фото А. Меликяна. (ТАСС).

СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО КРЕПНЕТ

В Москве состоялось совещание ученых и специалистов ряда

СОБРАНИЕ В ПАРИЖЕ

ПАРИЖ, 17. (ТАСС). Торжественный вечер в честь вьетнамской делегации, участвующей в официальных беседах между

PRAVDA views the American anti-Vietnam-war movement. Readers of the official paper of the Communist party of the Soviet Union were in for a surprise when they opened the June 18 issue. There, in the center of the picture reproduced above, was a prominent banner demanding U.S. GI's be brought home, carried by the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization. This advertisement to the citizens of the Soviet Union by the bureaucrats themselves is doubly remarkable considering that merely reading one of Trotsky's books is still an offense punishable by a long prison term in the Soviet Union. Despite this no doubt unintentionally truthful picture

of an American antiwar demonstration, the editors of Pravda took care not to identify the organizations involved or to provide a Russian translation of their names. The caption on the picture reads as follows:

"In Washington a powerful demonstration of protest took place against the USA's dirty war in Vietnam. Hundreds of demonstrators marched through the streets of the capital carrying banners with the slogans: 'Peace Now!' 'Bring the Troops Home!' 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese!' In the picture are participants of an antiwar demonstration on one of the streets of Washington. Photo by A. Melikian (TASS)."

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS

By Dick Fidler

Toronto

Bruised but not battered, the New Democratic party, Canada's labor party, emerged from the June 25 federal general elections with a slightly reduced popular vote, although it gained one more seat than it held in the last parliament.

The party standings in the final returns are:

	<u>Last Parliament</u>	<u>New Parliament</u>
Liberals	128	154
Conservatives	94	71
New Democrats	22	23
Créditistes*	8	15
Social Creditors	4	0
Independents	3	1
Vacancies	6	0

* Ralliement des Créditistes -- a right-wing rural protest party in Québec.

For the first time in six years, the party forming the government has a clear majority of seats in parliament, although the Liberals did not win a clear majority of the popular vote. (A simple plurality is required to elect an M.P.)

The NDP held its own across the country except in the eastern industrial heartland of Ontario and Québec where it slipped somewhat. Only in Saskatchewan, where five members were elected, did its vote increase significantly.

In Vancouver, the federal leader T.C. Douglas went down to defeat in a close contest with the former provincial leader of the Liberal party. In Québec, where the NDP had hoped to make a major breakthrough, the party failed to elect a single member, although it outdistanced the badly faltering Conservatives by coming in second in several Montréal ridings. Its vote across that province, which is 80 percent French Canadian, dropped to 170,000 from the unprecedented 250,000 votes it won in 1965. But this reflected primarily the defection of middle-class English-speaking voters in some Montréal ridings.

For the Liberals, and the Canadian capitalists in general, the election results were heartening. Barely a year ago, the public opinion polls showed Liberal support declining precipitously, with the Conservatives at an all-time low of 25 percent. The New Democratic party had risen to 28 percent.

A growing number of trade unions belonging to the Canadian Labor Congress (the Canadian arm of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) have given political and financial support to the NDP. The labor party now has more than 260,000 affiliated members in 712 locals across Canada, in addition to about 100,000 holding full party membership.

The role of parliament as arbiter and moderator of regional-sectional differences within the capitalist class is tending to diminish owing to the growing power of monopoly capital, the centralization of the Canadian state apparatus, and similar factors. Because of this long-range trend, the Liberals and Tories are finding it increasingly difficult to attract eminent men in business, finance and the professions to public life.

During the past year, both Tories and Liberals have selected new leaders. Pierre Elliot Trudeau of the Liberals is a former law professor, scion of a wealthy Montréal family. Robert Stanfield, of the Tories, who made his fortune in the underwear business, is former premier of Nova Scotia, an industrially-depressed Atlantic seaboard province. Both were virtually unknown to the public outside their respective regions, which was a great asset to them in this campaign. For, from beginning to end, both capitalist parties tried to make it a "personality" contest. Both parties tried to avoid the impression that there might be serious issues at stake in the election.

The NDP leadership responded to the programmatic void by talking up the major issues, including the war in Vietnam, medicare, housing, drug prices, taxation, foreign investment and control of the Canadian economy. And to an extent never before seen, they firmly identified the party with the organized labor movement, and directed their appeal to the working class. But while demarking the party clearly in terms of the issues, they failed to present an alternative program pointing the way to real changes in a socialist direction. And precisely because they did not attempt to expose the real roots of the problems facing the working people, which lie in the inequities of the capitalist system, nor outline the course of action needed to rectify these problems, the party was highly vulnerable to Liberal-Tory charges of pie-in-the-sky promises.

The intensive publicity for Trudeau in the capitalist mass media succeed-

ed in reducing the NDP vote to its hard core, which now stands at some 15 percent of the electorate. Analysts are already pointing to the clear class character of this vote: while depriving the NDP of its middle-class periphery, "Trudeaumania" had little effect on the hard working-class core.

Did the sizeable vote for the Liberals mark a qualitative shift on the part of the voters toward support for capitalist politics? Hardly. The Liberal vote was largely a Trudeau vote. The common denominator of the Trudeau phenomenon is a vague belief -- perhaps "hope" is a better term -- that somehow a Liberal government will be better if headed up by this relatively attractive individual than it has been in the past.

Where class issues played a significant role -- as in Newfoundland, where growing dissatisfaction threatens the twenty-year-old Liberal regime; or Saskatchewan, where the governing Liberals (of the Goldwater school) are doing their best to destroy the medicare plan instituted by that province's NDP government several years ago -- the vote turned massively against the Liberals.

As for the Conservatives, the vote results only furthered their general trend toward becoming a rural party. They were shut out in Toronto and industrialized British Columbia, and elected only one member in 24-seat Montréal, plus two more in the rest of Québec. On the parliamentary plane, most of the party's major spokesmen, including many contenders for the leadership at last September's convention, went down to unexpected defeat. Many of them will agree with ex-Prime Minister Diefenbaker that the results were a "calamitous disaster" for the party.

Moreover, the other capitalist party, Social Credit, which forms the government in the two westernmost provinces, Alberta and British Columbia, lost every seat it held. Its federal leader until recently, Robert Thompson, was elected in Alberta on the Conservative ticket.

The Communist party fielded fourteen candidates. But everywhere its vote was insignificant, the best showing being 800 votes in the Winnipeg area. Although the CP ran candidates against many leading NDPers, including sitting members, its tiny vote in no way affected their standing.

Members and supporters of the New Democratic party viewed the outcome of the election as a defeat. They had expected results more in accordance with the objective possibilities. However, while its failure to present a clear programmatic alternative prevented it from reaping full benefit from the campaign, it did sink new roots in the organized labor movement.

To cite only a few examples: in Victoria, B.C., the labor council for the first time contributed money and personnel to the campaign. In Ontario, the big Teamsters union, expelled some years ago from the Canadian Labor Congress, urged its members for the first time to vote NDP. And in Montréal, the party picked up significant support from the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, the largest nationalist political formation.

In addition, the Montréal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (the French-Canadian labor federation) took the unprecedented step of departing from its policy of "neutrality" by recommending a vote for the NDP.

CORRECTION

A paragraph was omitted in the transcript of a discussion with Isaac Deutscher on the "New Left" which was published in the July 1 issue of Intercontinental Press. The text on page 626 should read as follows (we are including the paragraphs before and after the omitted section. Deutscher is speaking on the potential of the student movement):

"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 effervescently 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.

"The other group of people with whom you work, and should continue to work, the Negroes, are also a minority on the margin of the process of production. Their possibilities are also marginal and verbal -- and I am not sure that they don't talk often in racial terms instead of class terms. Just as the contrast between your activity and the passivity of the white worker is one of the incongruities of your social life, so there is another incongruity between the isolated activity of the Negro and the indifference of the white worker.

"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."

GENERAL GIAP FORECASTS VIETNAMESE MILITARY VICTORY

[The following is the full text of an interview granted by General Vo Nguyen Giap to Madeleine Riffaud in Hanoi at the end of May.

[Besides being the first interview granted by General Giap for a year, the document is of special interest because of the light it sheds on the way the Vietnamese freedom fighters view the military situation at present in Vietnam.

[In passing, it should be noted that Giap still refers to the "national bourgeoisie" as playing a role in the struggle. It is noticeable, however, that he neither stresses this role nor outlines its actual content. In contrast to this, he emphasizes the key role of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which is a workers state and stresses the socialist aims of the freedom struggle.

[The interview has been translated by Intercontinental Press from the June 4 issue of l'Humanité, the "central organ" of the French Communist party, of which Madeleine Riffaud is a special correspondent.]

* * *

Question: During the more than a month I have been visiting Vietnam I have often heard quoted, not just on Radio Hanoi but in my conversations with the people in the street, this phrase from President Ho Chi Minh's December 25, 1967, message: "It is now clear that the Americans have lost the war..."

Answer: In fact, our president correctly said in his message to the nation: "It is now clear that the United States has lost the war." These words now take on their full meaning not only for us Vietnamese but for worldwide opinion. They reflect the great reality of our struggle against the American aggression.

From the first days of this aggression, our people under the leadership of our party with Ho Chi Minh at its head rose up to fight resolutely. And from that day forward we had an unshakeable conviction that the victory would be ours -- that in spite of all its material, economic, and military power the USA would lose the war in the end. We never doubted this.

You yourself have traveled a great deal in the rear, at the front, in the North and South of our country. You have seen what unalterable faith there is in victory and what resolution to fight for the country's independence. You have seen too how unshakeable is the determination to fight for the cause of socialism and peace.

When we rose up against the U.S. aggression, this unalterable faith of our entire people was shared by our brother peoples and countries, the socialist countries. They also believed in our victory. But some in the progressive world were worried. They supported our just cause; they admired our resolute and heroic people. But they were disquieted by the terrible material power, the enormous war machine of the USA that was thrown against us. This sector of progressive public opinion, however, has come a long way over the months and years. In the face of reality, it no longer doubts: the United States is losing the war; the final victory will go to the Vietnamese people.

In America itself an ever larger part of the people think that America has lost the war, and this is recognized by the leading circles themselves. At the outset of the aggression, they thought in the White House and the Pentagon that the USA's formidable military power could turn the situation around overnight. Those were the bright days of official optimism. It was premature.

Toward 1967, after two years of large-scale aggression against the South of our country and against the North, the U.S. leaders began to doubt their ability to solve the Vietnamese problem by force. They began to see that they could not win militarily. But they still believed that in any case they could not lose the war. The view of these circles also had to be brought along by the force of events. The problem has now become how to get out of this war, how to lose the war. That is what they call "without loss of honor" -- the honor of the imperialists of course -- which means preserving the interests of the aggressor.

Our people are fighting for our national cause but also for socialism and for the other peoples in the world struggling for their liberation. The myth of the invincibility of the USA, this colossus supporting itself impotently on the H-bomb, is collapsing irretrievably. No matter how enormous its military and economic potential, it will never succeed in crushing the will of a people fighting for its independence. This is a reality which is now recognized throughout the entire world.

Why did the United States think that it would be victorious? It deployed an enormous war machine in our country. Westmoreland is a general who has found a way to boost the U.S. expeditionary force from 20,000 men to more than 500,000 without offering Washington anything in return but a light at the end of a tunnel. The Americans based their confidence that they would win the war on their superior numbers, their

overwhelming armament, their riches in dollars, and in the tons of bombs they are dropping.

Finding themselves in a more and more difficult situation, they are now accusing their generals of trying to settle things arithmetically -- for example, in the matter of the balance of forces -- while the Vietnamese have a trigonometric strategy. That is not correct. Our strategy is neither arithmetic nor trigonometric. It is quite simply the strategy of a just war, of a people's war. They will never be able to understand that.

Even before the Tet offensive, the USA had increased its forces to a plateau higher than that foreseen for a local war. Moreover, they had already had to raise this plateau several times. For America the battleground in the South is a sinkhole for its soldiers. In spite of that, none of the five goals the Pentagon set in the South has been attained. Quite to the contrary. These objectives were to exterminate the Liberation Army units (it is the American units which have been exterminated), "to pacify the countryside, to blockade the South, destroy the economic and military potential of the North, and consolidate the puppet government."

It was a vital task for American imperialism, which is conducting a neocolonialist war of aggression in our country, to reinforce the puppet army and prop up the puppet government.

Since the Saigon "government" is drowning, the U.S. intervention is a rescue operation. The more the Pentagon increases its forces in South Vietnam, the more the drowning government flounders and sinks, dragging its rescuers with it into the disaster.

This is the most tragic defeat for the Americans. The Tet offensive marked a turning point in this war, as our president said. It burst like a soap bubble the artificial optimism built up by the Pentagon. The U.S. leaders wanted to make 1968, an election year, a year of successes in Vietnam -- which Lyndon Johnson thought could serve his domestic political ambitions.

However, the spring 1968 offensive revealed abruptly to the Americans that the Vietnamese people do not give up easily; that their military strength has not been in any way impaired by the U.S. aggression, no matter what its forms and its cruelty. Gone and gone for good is the hope of annihilating the liberation forces. Gone are the "pacification" projects. They would have to start all over again from scratch. The U.S. troops had to entrench themselves on the defensive, blocked in their positions. The McNamara

line* proved its total ineffectiveness.

Gone also is the hope of refloating the drowned government. The Saigon government showed itself more and more to be a puppet government without any social base whatever. The purported U.S. commitment to support this "ally" has been unmasked more clearly than ever as a fraud, intended only as a cover-up for aggression.

In three years of escalating the air war in North Vietnam the USA has not been able to achieve a single one of its military, economic, or political aims. In these three years, America has lost an important part of its modern air force and the cream of its pilots. You see, no matter how modern it may be, you can take it for granted that air power will never decide the outcome of a war. Our people are more determined than ever to fight against the aggressor. And during this time we have continued to build socialism. The cars and trains are moving, as you have seen. The communication routes remain open, as the American press has recognized.

After these American experiences and these hard-to-make-good losses, it was inevitable that the United States would contemplate dropping the extension of the air war to North Vietnam. Several of its leaders understood that it was time to stop the bombing, which was a military and political error and brought them no advantage.

It was in these circumstances that President Johnson made his March 31 speech. This speech exploited for political purposes the military need to concentrate the bombing on the southern part of our country, of North Vietnam. We never believed in the goodwill of the American imperialists.

After the Tet offensive the Pentagon circles realized that they no longer had a chance of winning the war militarily. Furthermore, they saw that they were losing militarily.

It was in this situation that the problem of "peace with honor" was posed for them. This expression was used previously by the French colonialists before Dien Bien Phu. That the world's greatest imperialist power has been driven to seek such an outcome to a war of aggression is a very bitter thing for the imperialists and a very heartening one for us, for progressive humanity. This said, however, we know that our enemies have not yet, in spite of their failures, given up their aggressive aims.

If our people have succeeded in inflicting these defeats on them, it is be-

*[The blockade line the U.S. has tried to draw to block the flow of men and matériel from North Vietnam. -- IP]

cause our struggle is just. We are fighting for our independence, for freedom, for the reunification of our country, which is a sacred task for Vietnamese.

As soon as the first American soldier planted his iron heel on Vietnamese soil it was the sacred duty of all Vietnamese to rise up and fight to victory. Our president's words have assumed their full meaning: "The task of fighting against the Americans for national salvation is the sacred duty of all our people."

Q: "Of all our people," you said... Let me interrupt you. The name General Giap is bound up with the idea of people's war. This concept which seems like something new to a large part of European opinion...

A: In fact, it is all our people who are waging this war. But the idea of people's war is not entirely new. It has existed since peoples have emerged and taken form, since they have become aware of their fundamental rights and risen up against the invader.

Already in our most remote history our ancestors said, "Our whole country is rising up against the invader." In our literary tradition, the poet Nguyen Dinh Chieu, for example, the blind poet and

singer of South Vietnam, celebrated the struggle of "simple villagers who volunteered for the army out of love of their country," and the delicate, fragile women who because the enemy was upon us "mounted horses, brandished banners, rowed boats, loaded guns, demolished citadels, and scaled ramparts."

Since the October revolution a new era has opened up and, with the higher consciousness of the peoples under the aegis of the proletariat, people's wars have developed, have acquired new content and thereby a new power, an invincible power.

The people's war in Vietnam is mobilizing all the patriotic classes: the peasants, workers, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie -- all classes in every region -- into a very broad front. In the South recently the creation of the Alliance of National and Democratic Forces under the aegis of the NLF proved once again that all the people of Vietnam, including the intellectuals and the well-to-do layers in the cities, are against the Americans. The United States is warring not only against the Liberation Army in the South and the forces of the People's Army in the North. They are facing an entire people. They are warring against an entire heroic people which is fighting under a firm and seasoned leadership -- in the South under the leadership of the



TOTAL MOBILIZATION: Two participants in special North Vietnamese old folks brigade.

National Liberation Front. And this is the reason for the Americans' defeats.

Our generation has had the mission, and for us it is a conspicuous honor, of struggling for some decades against Japanese fascism, French colonialism, and now against U.S. imperialism. It has always been a just war that we have waged, a war of a whole people, a war of liberation.

But this war is a war of our entire people against U.S. neocolonialism and against the aggression of the most powerful imperialist state in the capitalist world. This is why the present people's war has acquired all its power, exalting the heroism of all the patriotic classes to its highest peak. Never in our history have we had such a heroic national war.

Recently, this war has brought in to play new forms of struggle: combined political and armed struggle, struggle in the mountainous regions, in the countryside, in the cities. These forms of struggle are mobilizing ever more broadly the masses of our people against the aggressor.

In the South, our compatriots and the Liberation Army are fighting under new conditions nationally and internationally. Our people is the people that made the August revolution. It has known people's power, and waged a long, hard war against imperialism. South Vietnam is half of a liberated country. The independent, socialist North is an always existing source of encouragement and support for our compatriots in the South. In the North, we all feel that we are the rear of a great front. And the North intends to fulfill to the utmost its duty as the backup of the front.

If in the North we have succeeded in defeating the U.S. air attacks of the most modern, the most powerful air force in the world, it is also because after ten years of socialism our people's determination to be independent is firmer than ever. We are struggling to safeguard the conquests of socialism. Despite all his technical means and all his barbarism, the enemy has not been able to paralyze our economy. To the contrary, as the rear of the front, as you have seen, the North is stronger than ever from the military, economic, and naturally from the political point of view.

From the international standpoint, we are struggling in a world where the socialist system and the national liberation movements are stronger than ever. We have the firm support of our brother socialist countries and that of progressive opinion, even in the United States.

Does the American government want to get out of this war? Well, it has five hundred thousand troops in our country, which are invading our country, sowing

death and ruin everywhere. If America wants peace, let it end its aggression, withdraw its troops. Nothing could be simpler... In Vietnam we also say that we love peace. We also love peace, after twenty years of war. Our people is, I think, one of the world's most peace-loving peoples. But let it be understood, we are talking about real peace, not peace the American way, under the boot of the aggressor.

Q: I have returned from the Fourth Zone, from regions bombed day and night. It is partly thanks to you, I think, that I was able to get permission to go there and film. It seemed to me in fact that the bombing there was more concentrated than at the time of my last trip. Am I right?

A: Exactly, the Americans are continuing the restricted bombing to which they were reduced by their defeats over a very important part of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They have concentrated this bombing on the Fourth Zone and stepped it up. South of the twentieth parallel, they have redoubled their barbarism since Johnson's last speech, as if to prove what must be understood in the USA by "peaceful intentions."

Moreover, the Americans have publicly acknowledged -- with what cynicism! -- that they were intensifying their attacks over this large area of our territory. Every day they commit more crimes against the civilian population of those regions. Every day, furthermore, they are bringing new troops into the South. They are launching new military operations. They are bombing the population of Saigon-Cholon (Saigon, their last refuge...) with B-52's. They are trying to improve the armament of the puppet troops. They are pressuring the governments of Thailand and South Korea to get new contingents of mercenaries. Is all this new evidence of the peaceful intentions of the United States?

Prospective defeats for them are looming up dramatically. They are still trying to turn South Vietnam into a neocolony. Well! The people of the South want none of it. That is why they continue to struggle, and that is why the NLF is calling on the people in repeated declarations to continue the fight until victory.

As President Ho wrote in his recent letter to Nguyen Huu Tho and to the members of the NLF central committee: "While it talks about peace negotiations, the United States is intensifying the war, and that is why our compatriots, our fighters, must firmly join hands, redouble their vigilance, and strengthen their resolve to fight and win."

We want peace and independence -- without the Americans. If they think they can make South Vietnam into a neocolony by talking about peace while they pursue their

aggression, it will cost them dearly. They have already experienced defeat after defeat. They will suffer still more bitter ones. The Vietnamese people are determined more than ever to struggle on until the day the USA abandons its imperialist designs on our country. No peace can be achieved except on the basis of respect for our people's fundamental rights. For us, only one kind of peace is possible, real peace with independence and freedom, a peace which will recognize Vietnam's right to determine its own destiny.

Our people are going from victory to victory. We firmly believe that after the Japanese fascists and the French imperialists, our people will also get the better of U.S. aggression. Already in both the near and distant past Vietnam

has withered the laurels of many foreign generals hungry for conquest and buried many hopes of the invaders' military strategy. This was the case with the Japanese and the French imperialists. And today it is American imperialism's turn.

We intend to carry on the struggle until victory for the independence and unity of our country and for future generations. We are proud in so doing to make a contribution to the cause of socialism, of the national freedom of the peoples, and to the cause of peace in the world.

The final victory will be ours. And it will also be the victory of our brother socialist countries, the victory of all peace- and freedom-loving peoples in the world, the victory of all progressive humanity.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
PHOTO: Peter Camejo	633
The Meaning of the French Elections -- by Joseph Hansen	634
The Vote in Paris	639
Salazar Puts a Stop to Free Rides in Lisbon	639
How Waldeck Rochet Fared in His Home District	640
DRAWING: Waldeck Rochet	640
"Confined" for Ten Days -- by Pierre Frank	641
Nantes Truckdrivers Thought the Situation Was Revolutionary	642
Revolutionary Groups in France Appeal for Aid	643
PHOTO: Zurich Police Attack Student Demonstrators	644
Zurich, Too, Hit by Student Unrest	644
PHOTO: Demonstration of 5,000 in Berkeley July 4	645
Berkeley Students Win in Solidarity Action for Banned French Groups	645
Student Rebellion Sweeps Turkey	647
Greek Refugee Appeals for Help Against Dictatorship	647
Majority of Student Mobilization Committee Votes to Continue Antiwar Struggle -- by Les Evans	648
PHOTO: "Pravda" Views the American Antiwar Movement	649
The New Democratic Party and the Canadian Elections -- by Dick Fidler	650
Correction	651
General Giap Forecasts Vietnamese Military Victory	652
DRAWING: Special North Vietnamese Old Folks Brigade	654

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N. Y. 10010



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

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