

Interview with Renault workers

THE MILITANT

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Statement by Fred Halstead On Robert Kennedy slaying

(The following statement by Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, was released June 6.)

The Socialist Workers Party condemns the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy as we condemn all political assassinations. This act can only serve the forces of reaction. The ruling class is already seizing upon it as a pretext for new legislation and repressive measures aimed against all critics of their basic policies.

Since the shooting of Senator Kennedy, capitalist politicians and commentators, one after another, have taken to the airwaves to demand harsh new restrictions against students, antiwar demonstrators and black militants. In the midst of this barrage of smear attacks President Johnson has appointed a special commission to study ways of dealing with "violent men among us." His entire pronouncement is cloaked in sheer hypocrisy. He tried to divert attention from the real perpetrators of violence, those responsible for spreading an atmosphere of hatred in this country. He did not say one word about the bloodbath which the Washington government has visited upon the people of Vietnam, and its assaults with cops and troops on Afro-American communities. Johnson should have named the ruling powers, including himself, who are responsible for these outrages against humanity, when he said: "We must not permit men that are filled with hatred and carelessness—and careless of innocent lives, to dominate our streets and fill our homes with fear."

In his statement setting up the commission Johnson declared: "We cannot sanction the

appeal to violence—no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievances from which it springs. There is never—I say never—any justification for the violence which tears at the fabric of our national life."

Does this mean that young men are no longer to be torn from their families by the draft; that GIs are no longer to be trained to kill Vietnamese and other revolutionary peoples around the world; that GIs are no longer to be sent to die in wars to defend capitalist profits, investments and future investment possibilities? Does this mean that U.S. generals are to cease wiping out whole villages and even sections of Saigon to the point where it has now become common to hear the statement "we destroyed it in order to save it"? Does this mean that our daily papers and TV broadcasts are no longer to bombard us with gloating reports of body counts? Does it mean the police are going to stop carrying guns, clubs and blackjacks and stop using them on black people? Does it mean the CIA and its coups and assassination plots are to be abandoned? Does it mean the nuclear bombs are to be dismantled?

Obviously Johnson has reference to none of these crimes. He and the rest of the bipartisan warmakers in Washington, in fact, are escalating such acts of violence. At the same time, they seize upon the assassination of Senator Kennedy as a pretext for a new assault on critics of their violent policies and to prepare new repression against the victims of the violence of capitalist society. As Malcolm X used to say: "They try to make the criminal look like the victim and make the victim look like the criminal."

French Workers seek to continue struggle

BY GEORGE NOVACK

JUNE 7—After 20 days the nationwide general strike of the French workers has not yet run out of steam, although by June 7 some sectors of the 10 million strikers had gone back to work.

Under heavy pressure from their union chiefs, the transport workers voted to return on June 5. Work was resumed the next day in the iron and steel industries of eastern France and certain heavy industries in other regions.

The workers in numerous key sectors are still staying out on strike. Among them are the men at the Michelin tire factory near Lyons, the Citroen auto workers, the Air-France navigating crews and the merchant marine. The 23,000 workers at Sud-Aviation, who are building the French-British supersonic Concorde transport jet at factories around the country, will vote tomorrow on what to do.

National radio and television remained closed down as its 14,000 employees continued to insist on greater objectivity in reporting on the government controlled and censored network. The angered communications workers extracted a major concession when the government dismissed the director who had tried to break their strike by bringing in outside technicians.

The most important holdouts were the 35,000 workers at the nationalized Renault auto plant at the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt who had led the way in rejecting the inadequate concessions agreed upon by the government, the bosses and union representatives on May 27. On June 7 there were reports of clashes, involving casualties, between police and the militant workers.

According to press dispatches, the backbone of resistance was the younger workers in the big factories who are suspicious of the CGT and CP bureaucrats and aligned with the students in irreconcilable opposition to de Gaulle.

All of these workers have remained on strike through a third week, in direct defiance of threats of repression against them from President de Gaulle and Premier Pompidou. The premier warned Monday June 3 that it was their "national duty" to be back on the job the next day.

By scheduling general elections for June 23, de Gaulle calculates on switching the struggle onto safe parliamentary rails as the strikers are being split up and their offensive blunted by separate negotiations with each sector of the unions.

The Communist-dominated heads of the General Federation of Labor, who are equally eager to see the strike ended, have fallen in with this plan. Consistently ignoring the political point of the general strike aimed at eliminating de Gaulle's regime, they have treated it from the first as nothing more than an action by workers in distinct industries for purely economic demands.

Thus, in a banner headline, l'Humanite, the CP paper, has hailed the resumption of work by the "united" working class as a "victory." To be sure, the Gaullists did not succeed in intimidating the 10 million strikers or smashing their offensive by armed force, as they threatened. Through their assertion of independent strength the workers have acquired a keen awareness of their own power.

Nevertheless, the strikers have not deposed de Gaulle and have not gained much even

(Continued on page 12)



RENAULT WORKERS. Part of contingent from auto factory in giant May 29 demonstration in France. (See story, page 5.)

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

PARIS, May 29—While Benoit Frachon, president of the Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT—General Federation of Labor), and other leaders of the CP slander the left-wing students with insinuations that they are reactionary agents trying to infiltrate the working class, there is another process going on among the rank-and-file workers. In large part this explains the vehemence of the attacks on the revolutionary youth.

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

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

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

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

and they realized that something was different this time.

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

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

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

FIRST CONTACT

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

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

(Continued on page 8)

Berkeley radical bookshop has front windows smashed

BERKELEY, June 2—At about 5:30 this morning, a right-wing attack occurred on Granma bookstore, a radical center here. The bookstore has become the center of a Bay Area campaign in solidarity with the workers and students of France.

The attackers broke two large plate glass windows in the store. Recently, banners on the store have supported black control of the black communities, socialist candidates, and demanded the release of Black Panther leader Huey Newton.

BERKELEY, June 4—Red flags flew at a street rally today, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, in solidarity with the workers and students of France. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator, and members of the YSA spoke.

The rally was held at the edge of the University of California campus and drew a crowd of about 300, with total attendance about 1,000. About 260 copies of The Militant were sold.

NEW YORK—The Young Socialist Alliance helped build a demonstration of some 300 young people, called by the Columbia Strike Committee, in support of the French workers and students. The demonstration was held June 1 in front of the French Consulate. On June 22, an ad hoc group representing

a wide range of political views on the left will hold a march and rally. The march will assemble at noon in Columbus Circle and march to the French Consulate at 75th Street and Fifth Avenue for a rally at 1 p.m.



GRANMA BOOKSTORE. Rock (foreground) broke radical bookstore's window.

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Workers' committees

—first step to workers' power

France is today in a state of transition, thanks to the profound crisis provoked by the vast popular demonstrations and the unparalleled three-week general strike. It is suspended between two basic political alternatives: a continued domination of the capitalist class, either through de Gaulle's discredited regime or a Popular Front coalition; or else the creation of a new revolutionary power of the working masses.

How can the outworn capitalist rule in its diverse forms be overthrown and a really democratic government of the workers be built up?

The experience of comparable situations in the great mass upheavals of the present century, beginning with the Russian Revolution of 1917, shows the way. The indispensable instrument of struggle for such far-reaching objectives is the formation of workers' committees in the factories and committees of action in other sectors of the anticapitalist movement.

Factory committees may arise out of rank-and-file strike committees set up to conduct the offensive of the workers against the bosses. They may be in fact the durable organized expression of the sit-downs and occupations of the plants that have accompanied the current tidal wave of strikes throughout France.

Many other elements besides the industrial workers have thrown themselves into the mighty mass movement against Gaullism and the capitalist society it defends. These include peasants, agricultural workers, working women, housewives, civil service employees and students. They, too, require some means of democratic representation and direct action for asserting their demands, getting their grievances redressed, and carrying on the struggle in their own way and in their own area of concern.

Committees established by the popular masses themselves can provide such vehicles of action. How would this work out in practice? Each group of citizens in a given neighborhood, village, city, factory or school would have the right to participate in the constitution of their local committee, democratically elect their representatives to it, and engage in its functions. They would agree to abide by its discipline while reserving the right to criticize its practices, recommend changes, and recall their elected delegates at any time. Unlike the ordinary elective bodies of the pseudodemocratic capitalist system, these people's committees would not use talk to defer decisions but would have an executive character. They would themselves carry out their democratically arrived at decisions.

At the present stage in France, for example, a workers' committee might organize defensive measures against the police or managers who might try to evict them from the plants they have taken over. Student committees could plan and undertake a reorganization of the educational system. A neighborhood housewives' committee would see that food prices were kept within bounds and available supplies were equitably distributed. At a far more advanced stage, soldier conscripts might elect their own representative committees in barracks or regiments.

These committees would be broadly democratic. Every shade of political opinion that is on the side of the workers against the bosses, whether organized or unorganized, would be entitled to present its views and proposals for consideration without fear of reprisal. For the first time the masses would acquire an agency under their control which would be responsive and responsible to them.

These committees would be independent of the government and the administration of the bosses. Starting locally, they could be linked together and centralized on a regional and eventually a nationwide scale. They would thus constitute the basis for an authentic government of the people counterposed to the established institutions of capitalist political rule. They would be, so to speak, the Congress of the revolutionary masses, their democratic representation, which would express their will and promote their welfare.

Such committees of action have been proposed by the young Trotskyists of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR) and other Marxist tendencies (see article on page 3). They have already been organized in numerous places.

The Gaullists, reformists and Stalinists all oppose the formation and functioning of such committees because they fear any independent organization or action of the masses which threatens to pass beyond their own control and the boundaries of the capitalist social and political establishment. They realize that the movement for factory committees and committees of action can become the embryo of a dual power in the country that can be arrayed against the capitalist regime and form the framework of a workers' and peasants' government.

For the past third of a century France has swung back and forth between an authoritarian state under Daladier, Petain or de Gaulle and an impotent parliamentary republic. There is only one way in which the workers can get out of that terrible trap and prevent the revival of "all the old crap" under a new Popular Front coalition. That is through the formation of a network of factory committees and committees of action which can organize their combat against capitalism and blaze the trail to a Socialist Republic.

Students hold Delaware college

Afro-American students seize Delaware State

Middletown, Del.

On May 16, the student body of Delaware State College seized the administration building, expelled the entire administrative staff and installed their suspended student government president as president of the college.

The decision to seize power was made following a week-long struggle to have Leroy Tate reinstated. Tate was suspended indefinitely after he led a group of about 100 students in the disruption of dedication ceremonies for the new student center.

As the ceremonies began, the students marched up the stage to the beat of congo and bongo drums, many wearing African dress. When the guest speaker—Del. Governor Charles Terry—began to speak, he was drowned out by a drum roll and chants of "student power."

Tate then took the stage and announced that the program would not be permitted to go on until the president and the board had a conference with the students. After a series of charges and countercharges, the college president announced that the dedication would be postponed. Later he suspended Tate indefinitely.

In the following week, the students presented the administration with a petition demanding Tate's immediate reinstatement. They decided that should the administration fail to act, the struggle should be continued and escalated, basing the escalation on the intransigence of the administration.

The next day classes were boycotted and effigies of Terry, President Mishoe, the board and guilty members of the faculty were burned. Terry, dubbed the "petrified pig," was burned first.

That night it was decided it would be necessary to seize control of the school and hold it until all student demands were met. These included courses in African and Afro-American history and the politics of contemporary Africa, and more objective courses on the subject of communism.

The take-over was extremely well coordinated. At a designated time, groups of men were assigned to capture specific areas of the administration building, expelling all nonstudents. Within seconds, a group of from 350 to 400 students piled into the building.

Within an hour of the siege, from 150 to 200 state police lined the front of the building, and within a few hours more these were replaced by a company of National Guardsmen in battle dress. Even knowing that the virulent racist Governor Terry would jump at the chance to unleash a violent attack, the students stayed in the building until President Mishoe promised to meet them.

The students then gathered in an auditorium to confront Mishoe, but the board backed down and announced that Terry had closed the school. After another few hours of negotiating under police pressure, a committee was set up to consider student demands and the students agreed to the closing of the school provided that all grades be given and that seniors receive their degrees.

Lloyd Summers

McCarthy supporter doesn't like us

Madison, Wis.

I am in sympathy with the minority race problems. (We will have two slum-area black children from Chicago in our home for one week this summer.)

I will support McCarthy for President because I feel we made a mistake in our policy in Vietnam.

I am a compassionate, sensitive individual who is doing more than my share in civil affairs.

But this is the greatest civilization and form of government that modern man has devised. We can and will solve our pressing problems within the framework of this great nation's form of government and we shall do so without destroying this government as you would have us do.

Your answer is the easy one that will solve all our problems.

Please consider the multitude of persons like myself who are capable of solving mankind's many problems and who will fight if necessary violently against those who would destroy our precious heritage.

Your way of solving our problems is not my way. We will not permit you to succeed in your present efforts. We are just as determined as you are, as you will find out.

R. I. A.

Question raised by French events

Philadelphia, Pa.

Why is the revolutionary movement in France and in the United States? What can be done about this? These are two very important questions. As we know, both in France and in the U.S., we students have been responsible for all major revolutionary action of the past two months and before.

For once in this country students have worked together in revolutionary activity. In France the same action has and is occurring, but there is a difference. In France students are aided by organized labor. Here we are not.

What is to be done? In the U.S. there is a fantastic potential for radical change: we students. At Berkeley and Columbia we proved this. What we need to move, however, is a workers' base, not a students' base of power. (True, in France the students began the work, but the workers made it effective.)

We in this nation often forget that the birth of most 20th century radicalism in America was the labor movement. We must employ the masses of workers in any at-

Letters From Our Readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

tempt to change our society. Without the masses, as Lenin and others have said, there is revolutionary action but no revolutionary movement.

We need a strongly organized movement to overthrow capitalism in the U.S. and the workers must be a part of it. We need to concentrate our activities not on scattered marches, but on the education of the workers in this nation as to the true evil that is capitalism.

J. W.

Creeping Trotskyism Hollywood style

New York, N. Y.

A recent fast-buck Dean Martin special, "How to Save a Marriage and Ruin Your Life," is a typically preposterous celluloid assault on the public intelligence. A novel twist, however, is introduced when some mistresses draw up a union contract for their services. Their demands include a guaranteed wage, hospitalization, and a retirement pension. Finally, when one of the men is confronted by the contract, he becomes enraged and denounces it as "socialism, anarchism—creeping Trotskyism!"

It's another sign of the radicalizing times when even the producers of trashy Hollywood "comedies" feel obliged to work in references to left-wing political ideas for a laugh.

Peter Buch

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 522-1632.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

DELAWARE: Lloyd Summers, Box 559, Dover, Del. (302) 674-9842.

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

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, Michael Hanagan, 56 Townsend. (217) 332-4285.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 4300 Springdale Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP,

YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 272 Lark St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Rick Wadsworth, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs 45387. (513) 767-7862.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, James E. Gardner, 607 W. 31-1/2 St. (512) 454-6143.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, Tana Hicken, 15 7th St. N.E., 20002. (202) 546-2092.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: YSA, Ann Montague, 5223 Dryden Hall, Cheney 99004.

Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

The JCR's revolutionary call to French students, workers

(The following is an English translation of the full text of a declaration issued as a leaflet May 21 by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth). Tens of thousand of copies were distributed throughout France. The JCR has been in the forefront of the struggles of the students and young workers.

(See editorial on page 2 for a further discussion of the workers' committees the JCR calls for.)

WORKERS, STUDENTS

The red flag of the workers flies over the schools and factories. Millions of workers are occupying the factories. The so-called apathetic working masses are now on the march.

On May 13, 1968 (the day of the one-million-strong march of workers and students), they became aware both of their enormous power and of the government's essential weakness. During the 10 years of the Gaullist regime, they have seen how impotent are the traditional forms of struggle inherited from the Fourth Republic. Parliamentary skirmishes, piecemeal symbolic walkouts, uninspired marches, the "National Days of Action" (one-day strikes called by the Communist Party-led General Federation of Labor), have washed ineffectually against the ramparts of the police state.

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

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

ories and in society. The fate of the system hangs in the balance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- We must create rank-and-file Strike Committees in the factories and Action Committees in the universities and neighborhoods



photo by Hermes

AT SORBONNE. Revolutionary Communist Youth table in courtyard of university.

that will encompass all the workers in struggle!

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

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

- We must open the companies' books!

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

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

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

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

The government we want must institute direct socialist democracy based on grassroots committees in the plants and in the neighborhoods.

The government we want must spring from the strike committees and action committees of the workers and students.

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

Workers take control of a French factory

(The following is a translation of a May 28 dispatch from Brest which appeared in the May 29 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde. It reports how a strike committee in an electronic equipment plant extended its activities from mere direction of strike activities to control over the management of the plant. The logic of this development is indicated by the fact that the question of displacing capitalist management by workers' management is already being discussed.

("Workers' control" is a transitional measure that appeared as a brief phase in the Russian revolution of 1917. It has long been advocated by the Trotskyist movement.

(The establishment of a committee to exercise workers' control in a plant signifies setting up dual power at this level. Its political complement is dual government, one of the key stages in the development of any deep-going revolution. The establishment of workers' control in the electronic equipment plant in Brest is an isolated instance, but in the situation now developing in France it could rapidly catch on and spread across the country.)

BREST, May 28—A structure for management of the enterprise by the workers is now being worked out at the Brest plant of the CSF (General Electronics Company). Since May 20, the day the strike began, the personnel (workers and around 70 percent of the supervisors and skilled layers) have been considering setting up a new organization.

"The week of work stoppage has been utilized to put in question everything that existed before. We think that the workers' commissions and the factory committee which we have outlined constitute irreversible decisions," said the spokesmen of the CFDT (French Democratic Federation of Labor), the only union in the plant.

"The rupture is complete with the organization, the traditional staff. This is due," the unionists added, "to the preparatory work already accomplished. The CSF-Thomson merger led us to explain to the personnel the mechanism of the economy, of capitalist society, the banks, etc. Our union action had considerable influence not only on the workers

but also on the engineers and supervisors. "The confidence of the personnel in the union action," it was further explained, "has been one of the most important elements leading the personnel to think about the problems of self-management advocated by the union. The demonstrations by the students have also favored this rise in consciousness. People no longer accept being mere cogs."

Beginning with the first day the plant was occupied, groups made up of representatives of the different departments (workshops, laboratories and all the offices) elected a strike committee first of all and then began studying reform of the staff. Some 70 engineers are participating in this work.

What is the strike committee's role? Composed of members and nonmembers of the union, it has democratic powers of decision in the plant. It has complete latitude to oppose the union office. "It's for sure that we're not going to replace the capitalist authority by a trade-union authority," said the leaders of the movement.

The workers' commissions will be set up at the departmental level (workshops, laboratories, offices). They are composed of representatives of the various professional categories. They are competent to handle anything of concern to the workers in their work—classification of jobs, methods of work, working conditions, distribution of jobs, promotions, enforcement of rules permitting all the workers to advance in accordance with their capacities, wage increases, hiring and firing.

"Power" is shared with the management. However, in case of disagreement, a factory committee is projected to play the role of arbiter.

"At this level there could still be conflicts. We have not studied this aspect fully. We will do so in the next week. We have had to work out a body able to undertake important decisions which have been made up to now by management at the top level . . . or by the banks. We no longer want some banker to decide our fate. This is our next objective," stated the members of the CSF.

The Duke and Duchess of Windsor were the star attraction at a big shindig held for capitalists and their kind in Madison, New Jersey, recently. But, reports the New York Times, the Duke wasn't having a very good time.

"The Duke," the Times said, "was distressed about the situation in France. 'It's dreadful, dreadful,' he said."

Are you with the revolutionary socialist youth of France?

Join the same kind of political movement here—the Young Socialist Alliance!

In France, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) has played a central role in the battles on the barricades of the French students and workers.

Here, the Young Socialist Alliance, American counterpart of the JCR, basing itself on the same program, is organizing and fighting for the same socialist goal.

If that's what you are aiming toward—if you support: black power, Cuba, the colonial revolution, Vietnamese liberation fighters, the antiwar movement, the fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, revolutionary socialist candidates, a socialist America

Then you belong in YSA.

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance
P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

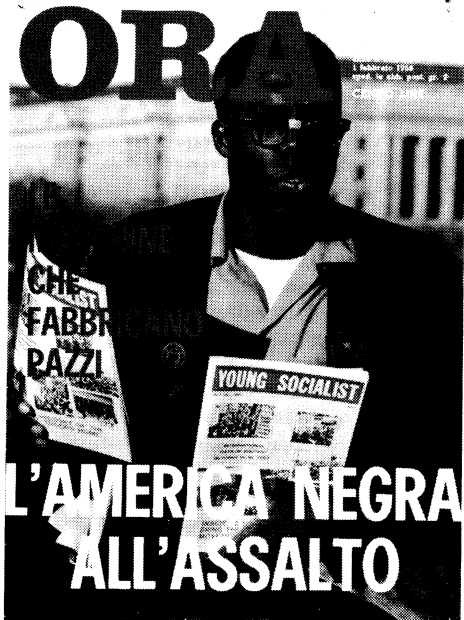
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cover of Italian magazine

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The bankruptcy of capitalism

BY ERNEST MANDEL

(The following article was translated and slightly condensed from the Belgian socialist weekly, *La Gauche*, of which Ernest Mandel is the editor.)

(For some years, various "experts" have developed the idea that capitalism, at least in the advanced nations, has transformed itself into a new system, or neocapitalism, that has solved the crises and conflicts inherent in the "old" capitalism, and that the workers of the advanced countries are no longer a revolutionary force. Mandel takes up this idea in the light of the revolutionary developments in France.)

The workers of Belgium may well claim the honor of having been the forerunners. Everything that characterizes the powerful revolutionary tide presently sweeping over France was already present in our general strike of December 1960-January 1961: the sudden extension of the movement from a minor and regional conflict; the elemental force with which it spread; the defiant challenge it hurled at the bourgeois state and capitalist economy; the barricades that reappeared in the Borinage and in other working-class areas.

EXCEPTION OR RULE?

After the event, the learned sociologists momentarily had the advantage. "You think this strike a sign of the times? You're way off base," they pontificated. "You are mistaking an echo from the past for a presage of the future. This strike is only a reflection of the outmoded economic and social structures of the Walloon area, which are not neocapitalist but predate neocapitalism. The neocapitalist Walloon area of tomorrow will no longer experience such romantic outbursts."

Then along came Greece, which in June-July of 1965 experienced an uprising of the masses outstripping anything seen in that country since the very beginning of the working-class movement. But, once again, the skeptics had a ready-made explanation: "Greece, an underdeveloped country, is an exceptional case in Europe. It can, at most, serve as a model of what will happen in Spain and Portugal, but never as a model for what lies in wait for the most industrially advanced countries of the continent."

Yet here we find the same events repeated in France, that very France with a large nationalized sector, whose "strong State" represented, until a little while ago, a model of stability, the country that typified enlightened and rational neocapitalism. And, irony of ironies, the revolt did not burst forth from



AGAINST GERMAN POLICE-STATE LAW. Demonstrators (right) from all over West Germany marched May 11 to giant rally of 80,000 (left) in Bonn to protest against "Emergency Law." The law gives the West



German government wide police powers in event of vaguely-defined "national emergency." This was largest political demonstration in West Germany since the end of World War II.

some underdeveloped region, some mining area where unemployment is rampant, from the most poorly paid or peasant levels, but precisely from the very towns around Paris that had become the prototype of the "consumer society," from the top-wage Renault plants, the Renault plants of skilled tool-makers and machinists—hardly "prisoners of starvation."

This time it will be absolutely necessary to bow to the logic of events—or else stand guilty of deliberate distortion. It has now been proved that a neocapitalist regime, which eliminates starvation and the most abject poverty of the proletariat—at least in the imperialist countries—and which succeeds in avoiding the most catastrophic economic crisis (at the cost of constant deterioration of its monetary system), cannot in any way eliminate the basic sources of proletarian revolutions.

Remaining intact at the very heart of the regime are all the contradictions of capitalism analyzed by Marx, to which have been added new contradictions. The accumulated explosive materials are such that periodic explosions are not only possible but even inevitable. The task of every socialist and communist who really wants the overthrow

of the capitalist regime is to prepare himself for those days of reckoning, to work patiently and with perseverance so that these opportunities are not lost and so that after the explosion everything doesn't fall back into the same pattern in exchange for a few reforms.

REFORMS AND REVOLUTION

The fighting spirit of the students and vanguard workers; the occupation of factories, railroad stations, electric power plants; the red flags flying everywhere over these strategic points—all express the desire of the masses to have done with the capitalist regime and to take power. The calls for "Workers' Power!" "All Power to the Workers!" "A Socialist Republic!" have been taken up a thousand times at meetings and demonstrations all across France. But there are also objectives foisted on the movement by its official leaderships, who make every effort to bring the movement back into the framework of a "refurbished" capitalist society.

At this point it is necessary to puncture a myth. The leaders of the French CGT (General Federation of Labor—the unions controlled by the Communist Party), the Seguis and the Benoit Frachons, talk as if the "leftists," the "anarchists," the "Trotskyists," in short all those who launched this remarkable struggle, scorn the immediate demands of the workers, that is, wage increases, reduction of the work week, repeal of the laws curtailing social security, etc.

This is utterly false. The criticism leveled by the Left at the CP, the CGT and the social-democratic-led unions is aimed, not at these perfectly just demands but at the act of limiting the objectives of this irresistible tidal wave to such immediate demands.

Anyone with an iota of political sense has been able to perceive the confluence of the efforts of the Gaullist regime and those of the CGT to reduce the general strike to a simple movement for immediate demands.

The tougher Pompidou is with the "rioters," the harder he pushes for negotiations with the unions. The more the union leaders disassociate themselves from the student "provocateurs," the more those leaders seek to accelerate the liquidation of the movement by an agreement negotiated with the Gaullist regime.

Beyond a doubt this regime's days are numbered. It could have been toppled in the streets had the bureaucrats of the CP and the CGT so desired. But that is not the nub of the question. The real question is knowing what to put in the regime's place. If worse comes to worst, a Popular Front government could be substituted for the de Gaulle government through elections. But the capitalist regime will never be overthrown by electoral or parliamentary means.

Now this overthrow, this taking of power, is objectively possible today. The reason it does not take place is that there is not yet a sufficiently influential, organized, unified vanguard, to the left of the CP, that could lead the masses to victory immediately.

Under these circumstances, the aim today must be to seize the greatest possible number of guarantees and key positions—as insurance that this magnificent struggle isn't sold short for a paltry change of bourgeois governments and doesn't lead to a terrible disillusionment of the toiling masses—a disillusionment that would open the way to a dictatorship whose ferocity, as in Greece, would be in proportion to the fear now shaking the bourgeoisie.

TOWARDS DUAL POWER

It is here that the strategy of "anticapitalist structural reforms," transitional demands, assumes all its validity. The masses cannot seize power in the factories and neighborhoods; that calls for a new and centralized revolutionary leadership that does not as yet exist. But the fact that the masses are not yet in a position to seize power does not at all imply the impossibility of winning, right now, demands over and above wage increases.

The workers hold the factories and nerve centers of the nation. These are powerful key positions that cannot, given the present relationship of forces, be snatched from them. They must immediately establish a de facto power that the bosses and the state cannot cancel out once "calm" has been restored, regardless of whether the elections or the referendum take place, or whether a "leftist" government replaces the "rightist" government. This de facto power consists in democratically elected committees which establish workers' control over all production; which regulate hiring and firing; which forbid all factory shutdowns; which open the company books; which eliminate secrecy in banking; which bare all the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation; which calculate and expose the real rate of profit; which uncover hidden profits or profits camouflaged as "amortization," investments camouflaged as "overhead" or as "repairs and maintenance."

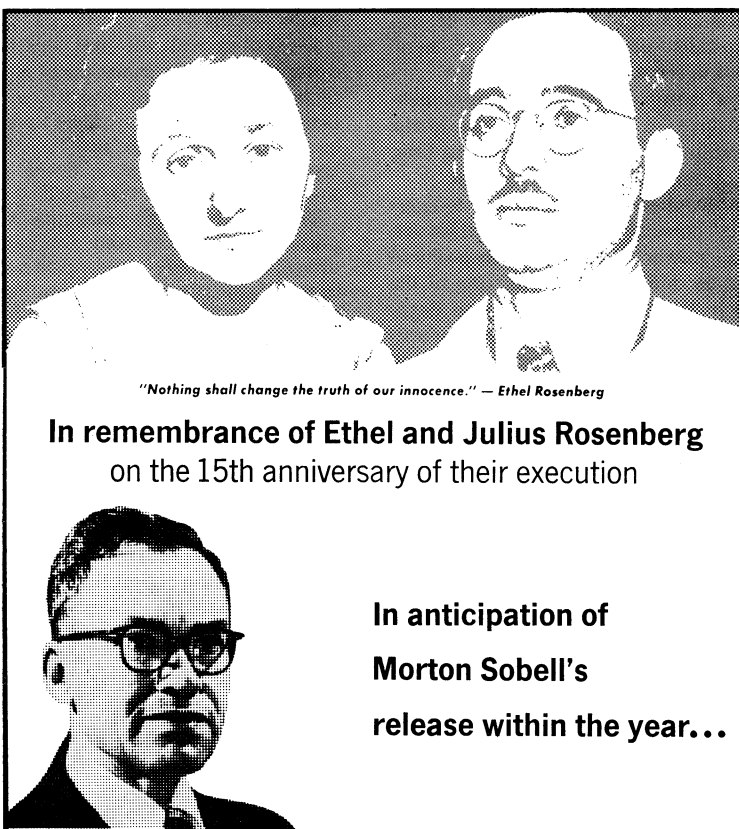
These committees should decide which enterprises would begin operating again, and to what end—that is, exclusively to fill the needs of the working population. They should have veto power over every investment project. They should join together locally, regionally and nationally, in congresses that will begin to construct a plan of economic development for Socialist France, along consumer lines very different from those of neocapitalism.

These committees should establish picket lines and armed workers' defense guards against the violence of the CRS (special police) and of the fascist bands, which must be systematically exposed and broken up.

Thursday evening (May 16) the workers who set type for the reactionary paper *Le Parisien Libere* refused to permit a mendacious headline to appear. This headline made exaggerated claims about a large back-to-work movement. It was a deliberate effort to demoralize and to mislead, and the workers refused to execute it. There we have a concrete beginning of workers' control!

Tomorrow these same workers should open the doors of all the big bourgeois printing plants, so that all revolutionary tendencies may print their papers and their pamphlets and thus finally get opportunities equal to those of the big capitalists to spread their ideas on a large scale. There we have the embryo of socialist democracy!

It is because neocapitalism has made these needs for fairness, justice, equality, liberty still sharper than in the period when the workers of the West were crushed by hunger; it is because neocapitalism is totally powerless to satisfy these elementary needs of the student and worker masses—administration of the factories and universities by those who work in them, by the abolition of all privileges of wealth and academic standing; it is because these needs can be met only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, that the bankruptcy of neocapitalism, which accounts for the explosions of 1960-61 in Belgium, of 1965 in Greece, and of May 1968 in France, leads inexorably toward the socialist revolution.



"Nothing shall change the truth of our innocence." — Ethel Rosenberg

In remembrance of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on the 15th anniversary of their execution



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Worker militancy in big Paris march

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

PARIS, May 29— Today's massive demonstration of the Parisian workers marked an important qualitative change in the developing revolutionary process in France.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ONLY THREE

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

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



photo by Hermes

SINGING "THE INTERNATIONALE." The big May 29 march in Paris was spirited and militant.

it is shortened to just "Adieu, adieu, adieu." It is sung in a rather mournful, nostalgic way, accompanied by the waving of handkerchiefs. As yet there appears to be no set number of verses; perhaps 15 or 20, all with the same wording. When the end is reached, the song is often begun over again.

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

The demonstrators tended to shorten this to "People's Government." They also showed a tendency to change this to "Power to the Workers."

A chant set up by one group went in the form of questions and answers: "Popular Government?" "Yes!" (Accompanied with raised clenched fists.) "Mitterrand, Mendes-France?" "No!" (The clenched fists are brought down.)

Mitterrand and Mendes-France are the two capitalist politicians most frequently mentioned as possible successors to de Gaulle and Pompidou in a coalition government that would bring in the Communist Party.

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

STUDENT CONTINGENT

The highest political note was sounded by a large contingent of students belonging to the French National Student Federation (UNEF) who understood the importance of participating in the CP-CGT parade despite the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the previous period to ridicule and isolate them as "madmen" and "irresponsible elements."

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

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

Here are some of the placards carried by the students: "No to Capitalism; Co-

ordination of the Committees of Action"; "Unity of Teachers, Students, Workers—In the Streets"; "A Million Workers in Front of the Elysee" (the White House of France); "The Factories to the Workers"; "Power to the Workers."

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

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

RED FLAGS

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

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

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

FINAL ORDER

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

It was quite evident how much these bureaucrats feared any further action by the masses. After all, the Elysee was not more than 10 or 15 minutes march away.

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

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

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

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

Black Liberation Notes

Black youth write about D.C. revolt

After the mass revolt in Washington, D. C., which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, black schoolchildren were asked by their teachers to draw pictures and write stories about the events.

A description of the outpouring of reactions appeared in an article in the June 2 New York Times magazine, which quotes liberally from the students themselves.

Here are some samples of what they wrote: Grade-schooler: "I felt happy but I just don't know what it was. They were burning stores down. I went over to the liquor store with my sisters and brothers and I got two fifths of rum and my sister got four cases of beer and my father drank the scotch."

High school girl: "I would like to say that I actually felt good watching my people being so happy . . . I was so happy I could have cried . . . Everyone was helping each other carry things. I never saw and I doubt if I will ever see again such unity as there was among these people."

Grade-schooler: "I was not scared this weekend because I was brown."

Fifth-grader: "A colored person won't bother a colored person. They are all the same colored. Right now I want to be colored."

High school student: "If I were a white man, watching all that stuff on TV, I think I would conclude my ways are wrong."

Grade-schooler: "Right now I want to forget everything that's happened."

Sixth-grader: "Whites don't really care about being a soul brother . . . All white people care about is money."

High school girl: "I am sorry that it took the burning of his store, etc. in order for him to listen, but in my opinion that's the price you have to pay. It's been made clear these past days that the Negro isn't going to let Mr. Whiteman push him around any longer. And I cannot blame this generation the least bit."

Grade-schooler: "I went up to 14th St. and we came back with candy, cookies, food, tools. We saw mothers coming down the street with hats, ham and chicken."

Grade-schooler: "Friday was the biggest day of my life. Children and people from everywhere came looting."

High school student: "A Soul brother is a black person who is proud of being black. He or she is not afraid of Honkies . . ."

School holiday for Malcolm

After the Minneapolis school board gave in to demands from the black community for a school holiday in honor of Malcolm X's birthday, high school students organized a full commemoration program during the day, which included a two-mile march, a mass rally, picnic and dance.

In an obvious attempt to discourage participation, the school board made it necessary for students to bring a note from their parents granting them permission to participate in the "holiday." Despite this, over 2,000 students took part in the activities.

In Chicago there was no such "official"

school holiday, but many black students stayed out of school anyway. Schools reported from 20 to 70 percent absenteeism on May 20. The normal rate is 10 percent.

Burns own store

When a store caught fire in Inkster, Ill., at the time the Detroit rebellion was going on, store-owner Joseph Parkman described it as the work of a "a Molotov cocktail thrown by roving young thugs."

But firemen who rushed to the scene found the doors of the store locked and evidence that the fire had been set inside the store.

As a result, Parkman has been arrested and charged with setting the fire so that he could collect insurance.

According to the May 13 Wall Street Journal, which reported on the case, Parker is just one of many proprietors who are suspected of burning their own stores in order to collect on insurance policies.

Meanwhile, more evidence about the mentality of the white ghetto merchant is coming to light in Washington, D. C. A check by the Washington Post of the high-credit stores burned down during the rebellion there shows that, without exception, no matter how completely the businesses may have been destroyed, the credit accounts are still intact, and the store-owners are still expecting to collect.

Says the Post, "No matter what else they lost, their accounts receivable are in good shape."

— ELIZABETH BARNES



New York Times

Child's depiction of Washington, D. C. ghetto outbreak

SMC purge evokes wide pro

NEW YORK—Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, recently ousted staff members of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), have released copies of a number of letters and resolutions they have received protesting their dismissal.

The protests are directed to the Working Committee of the SMC, the body that dismissed Dawson and Stapleton, and to Linda Morse, executive secretary of SMC.

In releasing these copies, Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton said the response made clear that their ouster was widely regarded as a violation of the principle of political nonexclusion, to which SMC has been committed. Both are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The following are excerpts from some of the letters they released.

* * *

**Bard College,
Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.**

Brothers and Sisters:

It is only with reservation that I use the term 'brothers and sisters' in my greeting. The decision made on May 8 has just come to your attention up here, and everyone is wondering what the hell you think you're doing.

The exclusionary policy against YSA is one of the most absurd, undemocratic and dangerous decisions that the movement can take. What organization is next on your list, Senator?

If your goal is to split the movement, to divide the forces in this country from their common goal, then you are moving on the right track. Saving face by excluding specific YSA members, rather than the organization as a whole, won't do you any good. This doesn't save face, it only plunges you deeper into the grave error you have made.

YSA and I do not agree on many issues, but our goals are in many respects the same. Your goals, too, are in many respects the goals of YSA. What are you afraid of? SMC getting a bad press in The Times? Come on, people, don't be fools. Above all, be democrats. Are you going to ban black people next? Destroy student solidarity and you may find yourself destroying the movement. I hope that isn't your aim.

This decision must be brought up at a midwestern conference, to assure the greatest amount of participation. And that's how it was decided at the last conference. Follow your own rules!

Jeffrey Raphaelson
For the Bard Resistance and
Bard Political Action Council

* * *

Barrington, N. J.

It seems to me that the exclusion of the members of the Young Socialist Alliance by SMC was a rather ridiculous and foolish move. If you were all working for a common cause, which you were, mainly to end the war, I can see no logical reason as to why Young Socialists should be excluded. . . . If representatives of the Communist Party can stay, why not the Socialists? Are there Democrats in SMC? Are there Republicans? Why not Socialists? Because they are a minority party? So are Communists! It seems silly that they should single out one political party

I sure hope that SMC grows up.

Liza Lenard

(The above letter was accompanied by a copy of a petition to the SMC signed by 20 high school students demanding that Dawson and Stapleton be reinstated and that a full conference of SMC be convened in a centrally accessible midwestern city.)

* * *

Wilmington, Del.

Dear Kipp,

I just received your shocking letter and got my mind blown! Seriously, if it wasn't from someone I knew was a good person, I wouldn't believe it

We of the antiwar movement must, above all, struggle for democracy. We fight for democracy in the jungles of Vietnam and in the black communities of a racist America. Now we must fight for democracy in the Student Mobilization Committee.

The disgusting witch-hunt exclusionary policies which you describe in your letter cannot be tolerated. All Young Socialists must stand together and ACT together on this critical issue in the antiwar movement.

David Fine

* * *

Protest undemocratic policy of political exclusion and demand return to decisions of last conference and full national conference in Midwest June 29.

Cleveland State University
Student Mobilization
Committee

* * *

Chicago, Ill.

I have recently received two communications, one from the Student Mobilization Committee and the other from Mr. Syd Stapleton and Miss Kipp Dawson. The communications relate to the dismissal of Stapleton and Dawson from the national staff of the SMC for "insensitivity" and "Trotskyite" dependence. After reviewing

SMC Activist resigns

NEW YORK—Martha Harris, a member of the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee, released the text of a letter announcing her resignation from the staff. She had worked in the SMC national office more than six months. Previously she was chairman of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam and a member of SMC in Minneapolis.

Protesting the exclusion of YSA from the SMC staff, she said it had been her experience in Minneapolis that the disciplined, dedicated efforts of YSAers had made it possible, for example, for the movement there to bring 200 people to New York for the April 15 mobilization last year.

Commenting on her experience in the national office of SMC, she said: "Perhaps it is (because of) my independence of any political organization that I can see with a certain objectivity the potential and necessity of the broadest possible single-issue antiwar coalition; too, I have not failed to observe that the organizational quality and structure of the YSA, which gave the coalition impetus and direction, is now sadly lacking."

Since the ouster of the YSAers from the staff, she continued, she watched the activity of the national office grind to a virtual halt.

Because the national SMC has been reduced to "a shell," she stated, she had decided she could no longer serve a useful function by remaining a staff member.

both sides in the dispute, after talking to some of those involved, and after a period of independent consideration, I find that it is my conscientious duty to protest this action by some elements inside (and, I fear, outside) the SMC

Certain statements have been made concerning Dawson and Stapleton in regard to their "personalities" and their effectiveness as organizers: it has been stated that they are "hard to work with" because they forward the YSA line and not the SMC line. Since I have discovered that the YSA line is to fully support the SMC line of mass mobilizations against the war, racism, campus complicity and imperialism, I am mystified. I can only conclude that there are

elements inside SMC who wish to purge YSA for factional and/or political reasons, who wish to direct the SMC away from its defined policies

I should like to point out that I am not a member of the YSA or the SWP. I am, however, a member of SMC and am very disturbed by these recent events. Unless the above demands are met I will have to seriously reconsider my membership in SMC and my support of the organization. Further, as chairman of the University of Notre Dame chapter of the SMC I will inform our membership of the situation and my decision.

Leonard A. Joyce

* * *

Seaford, N. Y.

Nonexclusion, in my opinion, is one of the most important accomplishments of the antiwar movement. We have made it "legitimate" for progressive movements to include and work with radicals of all persuasions, a great victory over the McCarthyism of several years ago.

The resolution excluding members of "political organizations" is a great step backwards for the student movement. It is so worded that members of the CP, YSA, DBC, SDS, F&P, YPSL, YAWF, etc., etc., etc., would be excluded from the staff solely because of their membership in a political organization.

In a political movement such as the anti-Vietnam-war movement, few activists indeed are not members of "political organizations," and need I remind you that the specific group under attack, the YSA, has made many fine contributions to the antiwar struggle. Staff assignments should be given out on the basis of one's qualifications and work, not political associations or lack of them. To do otherwise is to foster McCarthyism.

Peter Gellert
Cochairman, Long Island
High School Mobilization
Committee

* * *

Philadelphia, Pa.

Not being a member of the YSA and being active in the antiwar movement on the Penn campus, I know how hard it is to work with them in an open atmosphere. They have always been one of the worst organizations for factional infighting on any national gathering, and never give up if you don't adopt their line. Nevertheless, unless Dawson and Stapleton are flagrantly abusing the English language, it appears the Working Committee has flagrantly abused its privileges.

If in fact the committee voted on May 8

BERKELEY BARB FEATURES CAMEJO ACCOUNT OF SMC

BY PETER CAMEJO

The following article is reprinted from the May 31 issue of the Berkeley Barb, the widely read Bay Area underground paper. Camejo is former national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and candidate of the California Socialist Workers Party for U.S. Senator.

* * *

Less than two weeks after its astoundingly successful national student anti-war strike, the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) is in a state of crisis. The crisis was initiated at a meeting of the New York National Staff's Working Committee where Syd Stapleton and Kipp Dawson were voted off their staff positions. The Working Committee "majority" decided that no one could work in the SMC office who belongs to a political group like the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Communist Party (CP), etc. Both Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton are members of the YSA. Another staff member representing the CP voted for the exclusion of herself along with the two YSA'ers.

Behind this organizational exclusionary move are political differences over the future course of the SMC. A debate on the issues is gradually developing and will hopefully be resolved at a future SMC convention. The majority in the New York staff are unfortunately anxious to win the debate without an open discussion and without a democratic convention. This was revealed when Linda Morse (leading pacifist on the SMC staff) refused to allow Stapleton to include his viewpoint in a mailing on the firings. And although the previous convention of the SMC voted to hold another convention after the April Strike, the N. Y. staff majority has so far refused to call for a convention.

What are the political differences? The main fight revolves around the present SMC "single-issue" orientation. The YSA is associated with the "single-issue" position while others want a "multi-issue" orientation. Those who want to change SMC from its present

course argue that the "single-issue" period is over, that the movement has grown and must move into new areas. They argue that you can't change society or even understand the war in Vietnam with a "single-issue" approach.

The main problem with this argument is that it poses the wrong question. The real question before the movement is whether we want an anti-war coalition. Why is this the real question? Because the people involved in this discussion all have a multi-issue perspective of the world, the war, and every other political question, but they cannot agree on which perspective is best. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) members, YSA'ers, DuBois Club members, SNCC'ers, pacifists, and a host of other groups and individual views participate in the SMC. All of these people, in spite of their differing views, have been able to agree on specific actions against the war in Vietnam and have carried out mass actions together within the SMC. The real question before the SMC is whether it should continue as such a COALITION or dissolve.

If we had no differences we could dissolve SMC and form one happy, multi-issue organization. But, unfortunately, we don't agree. Take electoral activity, for instance. Some pacifists oppose participation in elections on principle (e.g., Dave Dellinger). The Communist Party supports McCarthy. Some people support PFP. The YSA supports Halstead, the Socialist Workers candidate. Some SDS'ers don't think that electoral politics are relevant. Could a single-issue coalition be formed around electoral activity? Obviously not. Should SMC "adopt" a position on the elections? Not if we want an organization that can unite this wide range of people to work jointly in anti-war actions. (This doesn't mean that those groups which have the same views on electoral activity can't get together. The SMC isn't the only coalition possible.)

Another pressing issue today is that of American racism. A few years ago, the Com-

munist Party and most liberals considered Malcolm X a "racist." The CP, referring to the Muslims under Malcolm X, actually used the term "neo-fascist." The SWP at the same time considered Malcolm X the greatest living Afro-American revolutionist. Some groups can form a coalition on the question of racial oppression; others will find it impossible. To suggest that the SMC be a coalition COORDINATING ANTI-WAR WORK is simply to be realistic if you really want to see MASS UNITED ACTIONS. Such a position does not mean rejection of importance of other issues such as racism or electoral activity.

So the real question is: do we want future mass united anti-war actions? If we do, we need a single-issue coalition apparatus. That is the role the SMC has played and that is the role it can continue to play. If it tries to become "multi-issue" it will either result in an endless fratricidal war between the different factions or it will be "captured" by one viewpoint and thus become isolated.

A good example of the value of a single-issue, coalition organization is the recent April anti-war actions. SDS, which has been very reticent about participating at a national level in anti-war coalitions, called for "Ten Days To Shake the Empire." The SMC seeking to coordinate its activity with SDS called an international student strike during the "ten days." It is estimated that 1,000,000 students participated in the SMC Strike nationally. In New York City alone, the official Board of Education figures show that some 200,000 high school students participated. SMC worked with all groups, especially the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union which made a joint call with the SMC. With a few sporadic exceptions, all student groups in the country coordinated their plans with the SMC and not with SDS or any other specific group.

Why do some want to end the single-issue coalition orientation of SMC? Invariably, it stems from a desire not to have the kind of mass united actions which the SMC has built,

such as the Student Strike and the April 27th marches. Some are openly opposed to such actions, such as Progressive Labor (which along with some SDS'ers at the last SMC convention introduced a motion to dissolve SMC). Others are only interested in their specific actions against the war. For instance, many pacifists prefer moral civil disobedience projects, oriented towards individual actions rather than mass demonstrations.

At present, however, the main opponents of the SMC orientation are those who feel that street actions should be de-emphasized or put aside in favor of involvement in the McCarthy or Kennedy campaigns. The SMC's existence—with contact and support throughout American campuses, independent of the power structure, the Democratic Party, or any of its candidates—appears to them as a block to the reorientation of the anti-war forces into these electoral campaigns.

Without exception, those who oppose the SMC approach reflect their own failure at building an organization around their "multi-issue" views. The DuBois Club, for instance, has declined steadily during the growing radicalization of the anti-war movement. The so-called pacifist "peace" organizations have been by-passed by the new young activist. The Jerry Rubin, Hippie-oriented types have failed to build anything comparing to the coalition actions. The same goes for SDS or really any other group.

As revolutionary socialists, the YSA'ers have their own views around which they are building the YSA. But the YSA does not try to impose its views on SMC. Instead it favors maintaining an SMC coalition in order to make united actions possible. The YSA believes such united actions are essential if we are to maintain and build a mass anti-war movement.

Mass anti-war actions help to involve new people, to get people started thinking about all kinds of questions related to the war. In other words, mass actions which are only possible through a coalition are helpful in

protest

to exclude staff from "political organizations," later rescinded that motion, but fired them anyway, then I am disgusted. We—the Peace Movement—don't need that kind of crap; it will only destroy the SMC's credibility with the nonaligned students, like myself.

I am sure the YSA's version is not all that could be said, as happens in all factional fights. So what is your version? Part of that version should be the complete minutes of the May 8 meeting. Unless you are willing to release them, I must accept the YSA's version of the story . . .

Daniel Finnerty

Detroit, Mich.

. . . As a former chairman of the University of Wisconsin's Committee to End the War in Vietnam and as a presently active member of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the change in the SMC is a vital concern to me.

I have supported the SMC in the past because it was not multi-issue, sought to involve ever increasing numbers of people in the efforts, and stressed the importance of large demonstrations on the streets independently of either major party. And my judgment is that the results this united front approach achieved were exemplary. Although I am not in the YSA I understand it was that group along with a number of independent radicals which put forth this organizing tactic.

It therefore makes sense to me that a deviation from a united front into a multi-issue group would necessitate purging the YSA from the leadership. This you have attempted, and I might add, rather crudely, to do. You are making a disastrous mistake. The country does not need another multi-issue unprogrammatic radical grouping; certain parts of SDS find themselves in that role. Are you proposing to compete with SDS? Had you left things alone, SDS would have continued successfully recruiting people from the independent antiwar movement.

Moreover, without active support from the YSA you do not have a chance of ever organizing again a coordinated mass demonstration . . . Since these demonstrations are a tremendous radicalizing force (they were instrumental in precipitating the French upsurge), the Communist Party tacitly opposes them . . .

The movement to support the Vietnamese by calling for immediate withdrawal must continue to be built. Support for black self-determination must be built. The new SMC does neither effectively and therefore a blow



THEY ALL AGREED. Scene during vote at January 1968 Chicago conference of Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It was unanimously agreed to continue centering efforts on mobilizing mass opposition

to racist Vietnam war. Now a small group in committee's national office is trying to scrap convention mandate by excluding those who adhere to it from committee's staff.

has been dealt to the left unless it is immediately dissolved and reconstituted along its old lines.

Michael Smith
Attorney, Neighborhood
Legal Service Center

Berkeley, Calif.

I have been shocked to hear the results of the recent Working Committee of the SMC, in excluding people who are members of other political organizations. This is a serious mistake which could destroy the antiwar coalition which the SMC is. SMC should be open to all antiwar people regardless of their political affiliation. Leave the red-baiting to the reactionary, witch-hunting congressional committees.

James A. Ogden
Peace Caucus, Local 1695,
American Federation State,
County & Municipal
Employees

Wilmington, Del.

. . . After reading carefully the different position papers and after speaking with the antiwar movement people in this area about this issue, I cannot but condemn the anti-YSA actions in the Working Committee of SMC. It is quite clear that at the bottom of this issue is a very political struggle over the character of the SMC. This is not surprising and should not be suppressed and passed off as a problem of personalities or some vague statements about loyalties.

Struggle among tendencies in the antiwar movement is essential for its health and growth. Any suppression of any of these tendencies will be disastrous to the movement as a whole. And apparently this is what is happening. The undemocratic action of the Working Committee, with absolutely no consultation or mandate from the rank and file of the antiwar movement, if not corrected immediately, will bear the responsibility for the weakening of the movement at the very moment when it must be the strongest possible.

You and the others who have entered into this ruinous alliance will have to bear the responsibility for this abandonment of the Vietnamese people and the American GI . . .

Mark Zola
Staff, Wilmington
Antiwar Committee

San Francisco, Calif.

I worked with the April 27 Mobilization Committee here in San Francisco as a sort of de facto press secretary. This was my first political or antiwar activity in this country, but I have worked with the student movement in Korea, and I think I know something about how such a movement operates.

I was highly impressed with the operation of SMC and April 27. I was even more impressed with the results. We had a contingent of active-duty GIs leading the march. We had very deep participation of High School students, as you did in New York. It was obvious to me that the antiwar movement in this country has strong roots, and that it was such groups as SMC and NMC that built them.

And now you want to throw all that away. Can you tell me why? . . .

Whatever the reasons, SMC can only suffer. The policy of excluding some will not stop, I assure you. Once it begins it does not end until the organization is destroyed . . .

George H. Johnson

Minneapolis, Minn.

We strenuously object to the May 8 decision of the Working Committee of SMC that

its staff shall be composed entirely of independents, and we reaffirm the principle of nonexclusion as necessary for building the antiwar movement.

We also object to the decision to call a Continuations Committee meeting in New York June 29 . . . In order that these and other questions might be thoroughly and democratically discussed and resolved, we strongly urge that a national conference of SMC be called . . .

Minnesota Mobilization Committee
Executive Committee

Oakland, Calif.

As an active member of the High School Mobilization Committee and the High School Strike Committee in Berkeley, I'm appalled with the course the Student Mobilization Committee has taken.

The expulsion of political groups is frightening, since the antiwar movement has always been proud of the fact that it held a nonexclusionary policy. Without a nonexclusionary, democratic SMC the actions carried out by high school students will be null. High school students were the most eager to build the April 26 strike and participated in huge numbers. However, this could not have occurred if the SMC had an exclusionary or undemocratic policy.

High school students are well aware of political differences in SMC and respected it because of this. We high school students are not afraid of being honest and, if we need be, blunt about our feelings. This is why in the Northern California area we are telling everyone about the policy change. We don't sit back and let others, who believe they know what's best for us, make the decisions . . .

Linda Richardson

Warwick, R. I.

Dear Kipp,

. . . I do hope that Syd Stapleton and yourself are restored to your rightful position on the SMC staff. I shall circulate the petitions you sent me among my friends. This morning I sent another letter to the SMC pointing out the irregularities of their "Correction" and again demanded that you and Syd be restored to your rightful positions. As of yet I've heard no response from them to my last letter of over a week ago. If you can, please send me a few more copies of your petition . . .

Nick Stevens

Detroit, Mich.

Upon hearing the news of the decisions made by the Working Committee on May 8 and 16, our membership voted unanimously to protest the expulsion of Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton. We were surprised to learn that the so-called nonexclusionary SMC had red-baited two of its staff members right off the staff. Such an obvious contradiction of the policy guidelines laid down by the last national SMC conference can have nothing but a detrimental effect on the international struggle to end the war . . .

Dave Chamberlin
Chairman,
Detroit Committee
to End the War
in Vietnam

Philadelphia, Pa.

I have just received a very interesting letter signed by Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, recounting what had transpired at the meetings of the Working Committee of SMC on May 8 and 16. The viewpoint expressed by these gentlemen may be biased; however what they stated about the proceedings of the

above-mentioned meetings does, indeed, smack of "exclusionism and witch-hunting" directed, seemingly, only at members of YSA . . .

I, personally, would have strong reservations about supporting an organization whose policies have the effect of infringing upon the civil liberties of a certain segment of its membership. In light of your urgent plea for funds (to which I was about to respond when I received the letter from Mr. Dawson and Mr. Stapleton), I urge you to distribute immediately the minutes of both meetings of the Working Committee, along with statements of both supporters of, and dissenters from, the Committee's decisions. . . . Let me state for the record that I am not a member of YSA.

Linda Olivenbaum

Berkeley, Calif.

Today I received a letter from Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton stating they have been fired from their posts in the national office of SMC. Their letter indicates that they were fired for their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance. At first I could hardly believe it.

I became active in the Student Mobilization Committee here in Berkeley last fall. I worked full time in the SMC office here since last November and since last December I have been the office manager. I headed the strike committee here at U of C as the staff coordinator.

The strike committee was a coalition which included all tendencies and we were able to work together on the basis of the SMC convention decisions in coalition projects.

I have noticed that YSAers are among the hardest builders of the SMC and are for nonexclusion as a matter of principle. Partially because of their role in the SMC, I myself joined the YSA this spring, in March. I suppose now you'll want me fired from the post of Berkeley Office Manager . . .

Michael Maggi

Detroit, Mich.

Today, May 25, the regular weekly meeting of the Detroit High School Student Mobilization Committee was held. The news about recent actions of the Working Committee was discussed. The DHSSMC membership voted to condemn the actions of the Working Committee in regard to Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton and in regard to structural disputes.

We wish to demand therefore that Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton be immediately reinstated and that a full national convention in the Midwest be held over the weekend of June 29, in accordance with convention mandates (a convention, you will recall, is the highest body of the SMC) . . .

Officers, DHSSMC

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

VETERANS AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.
Speakers: J.D. Lee and Ted Milkoff of the Veterans for Peace. Friday, June 14, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th Street. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

SUPPORT THE FRENCH WORKERS AND STUDENTS.
Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; Charles Hightower, staff writer for the National Guardian; and a member of the Columbia Strike Committee. Friday, June 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway near 18th Street. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

OF SMC FIGHT

creating an atmosphere where other radical issues can be discussed and where socialist views can grow. The YSA sees no conflict between its own orientation and coalition actions.

In fact, it would be a terrible blow to the anti-war forces and the left in general in this country if the SMC coalition were broken. It would weaken opposition to the war precisely at a time when it is of paramount importance to continue mass action in the streets against the war. The thousands of independents who have actively worked against the war in Vietnam would be deprived of an organization which can unite their efforts without imposing any specific ideological view. And last, but not least, we should remember the international impact of united mass actions. The Vietnamese themselves on more than one occasion have indicated the inspiration the achievements of the American antiwar movement and the SMC in particular have given them.

If some in the coalition are not satisfied with the SMC "limits" they are free to organize any activity they want. Why do they have to destroy the SMC in order to engage in their particular program of activity?

Unfortunately those who want to change the policies of the SMC are trying to do so through organizational manipulation rather than through open discussion and a democratic process.

We urge all those who have participated in SMC activities and are concerned with its future to demand three crucial steps from the national staff. 1. That a national convention be called. 2. That all viewpoints be included in mailings, or the SMC publication the Mobilizer, in the pre-convention discussion. 3. That the two YSA'ers Syd and Kipp be reinstated pending a decision at the convention regarding the composition of the staff and election of leadership. Communications to the SMC national office should be sent to, Student Mobilization Committee, 17 E. 17th St., N. Y. C., N. Y. 10003.

Steel negotiations begin with local issues unsettled

On June 3, I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and his negotiations team began top-level meetings with representatives of the nation's 11 major steel corporations, headed by United States Steel Vice President R. Conrad Cooper. The atmosphere was all sweetness and light. Before the first session Abel told a news conference:

"During the last eight years the relationship between the union and the industry has not been marred by any strikes or lockouts.

"We of the union prefer to continue that kind of relationship."

Behind Abel's contentment lies quite a different story. His 400,000 steel workers are angry. The 1965 steel agreement, imposed on the union after two 80-day government edicts, brushed aside all of the local issues, the most important of which is the question of incentive pay coverage and an increase in the rates of this speedup operational method used in most mills for production workers.

In fact, locals at the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, Inland Steel Company, and Pittsburgh Steel had demanded that their units be removed from the industry-wide bargaining because their problems are particularly acute. However the international executive committee rejected their demands immediately.

In the current bargaining, three levels were established in an effort to bring the top-level bargainers to the table with only main issues—money and fringe benefits—to be discussed.

To that end Stage I began on April 15 at the local plant and union level. Here each plant management and local union leadership were supposed to settle so-called minor issues—such things as dirty washrooms and toilets, lack of parking space, bad lighting, and lack of safety devices. But when those many meetings began, 10,000 demands were dumped on the bargaining tables by the union negotiators and most of those multitudinous demands involved incentive pay!

While the local plant managements were perfectly willing to talk about dirty toilets, they were not ready to talk about anything as basic as money. One of them is quoted in the June 3 Wall Street Journal as saying: "When it comes to a matter of broad principle that's liable to cost you a lot of money for a long time, prudence tells you to take a damn good look at what you're doing."

Stage II of the negotiations was to begin

The National Picketline

on May 15 and involved home office personnel of each corporation and district-level union negotiators. Any local issues not settled were to be referred to these meetings. As of the day top-level meetings began in New York, both Stage I and Stage II bargaining was still going on, with what the newspapers termed "remarkable progress"—undoubtedly for a while at least sanitary facilities may be a bit cleaner, lighting a little better and even a few extra parking spaces may be provided. But what has happened to the incentive pay and increased coverage questions? Nobody says.

In a New York Times story on June 4, I.W. Abel set forth the demands the union is making on basic issues. In the order he listed them they are:

- Substantial wage increases to meet the increased cost of living, including the new expected federal tax increase. (BLS statistics show that the cost of living has gone up 8.8 percent since 1965.)

- Further increases to maintain proper relationship among varying jobs and skills.

- Protective contract provisions to prevent erosion of earnings of incentive workers.

- Improved pensions and liberalization of eligibility requirements.

- Expanded hospital and medical surance.

- Increased supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) and an increase in the time paid.

- A comprehensive severance pay program.

- Longer vacations.
- Reinstatement of the cost-of-living escalator clause to provide for upward adjustments in the rising cost of living.

After a few days of preliminary talks in New York City, the top level negotiators will adjourn to the end of June, with a hope that bargainers at Stages I and II will have cleared up the many local issues. However, none of the news media covering the steel situation express much hope on that score.

Events may show that the steelworkers don't share Abel's buddy-buddy sentiment toward the corporations.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

... Renault workers

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

YOUNG WORKERS

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

"Yesterday a meeting was held to vote on the concessions to our demands made by the government and the employers. The union leaders wanted us to accept the settlement and go back to work. But Seguy (the secretary-general of the CGT) was booed and hissed when he said we would be paid only 50 percent of our wages for the time we have been on strike. We won't go back without full pay-

ment for all strike time. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the strike.

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

They also talked about conditions and wages at Renault. The average man on the assembly line earns less than \$200 a month—if he produces his full production quota. If he falls below the quota he is docked a substantial amount. For example, if he produces only 90 percent of his quota, he is paid only 81 percent of his salary. They took pains to point out also that a skilled worker gets about \$220 a month, while a riot policeman earns \$400 (plus \$50 for every night on the barricades). Safety conditions are very bad, and among the men who work the huge furnaces, for example, only 0.2 percent reach retirement age.

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

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

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

By then it was after 11:00 p.m., and as we were getting ready to leave, I asked Bernard how he would label himself politically. He replied that he was the secretary of his Communist Party unit at Renault.

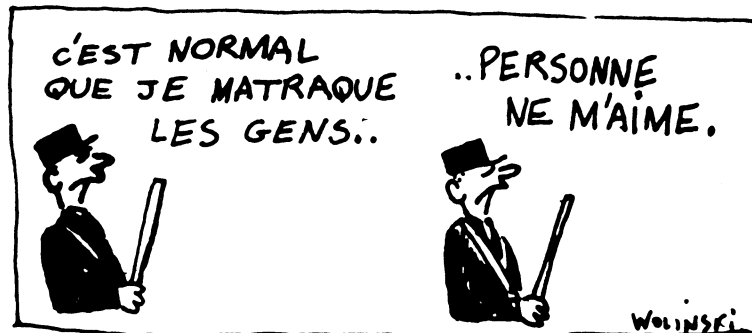
L'enragé ("The Madman")



A reprint of a cartoon magazine put out by French students (Action Committee No. 1) on the revolutionary developments there. This edition, published by Berkeley, Calif., radical bookstore "Granma," contains English translations and explanations.

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From revolt on the campus to revolt against capitalism

(The following is the last section of a speech given by Ernest Mandel at a meeting called by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth). The meeting was held May 9, in the great hall of the Mutualite in Paris, and was attended by between five and six thousand student militants and other revolutionary youth.

(It was the following day and night when the forces of the special police surrounded a large student demonstration and attacked it. The students erected barricades, and the bloody clash of the night of May 10 resulted from the police action. It was after this battle that the workers came into the struggle.

(Ernest Mandel is the editor of the Belgian socialist weekly, *La Gauche*.)

... It is an unquestionable fact that the revolt against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam arose from the students and youth in the United States. It was these American students and young people who set in motion a powerful movement against this war...

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

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

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

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

UNITY OF ACTION

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

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

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

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

It will not take place in the traditional organizations, in view of the spirit that today inspires this magnificent new rising young revolutionary vanguard. And if we fight for this reunion—if we fight for this alliance and this convergence between the student revolt and the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Western Europe, it is because we know very well that neither by virtue of their numbers nor by virtue of the place they hold today in society, can the students alone overthrow capitalist society in the West.

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

A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT

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

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

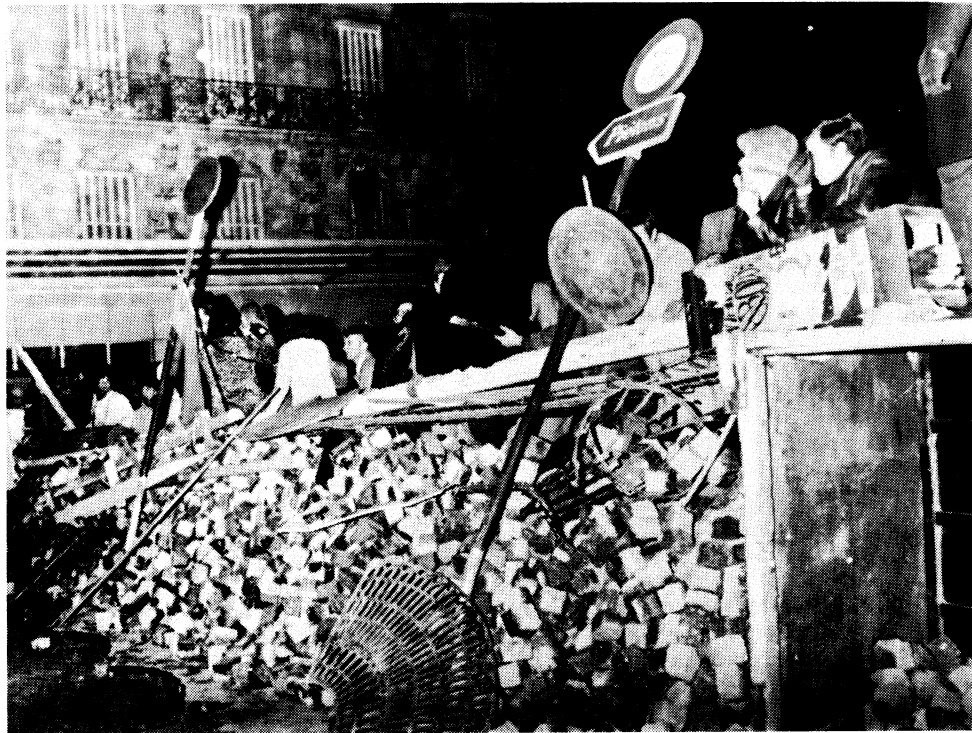
And this struggle of the most oppressed masses, of the masses of the countries of the third world and of the black masses in the United States, is beginning today to get a significant response in the imperialist countries. This response can be seen in the mass mobilization in these countries against the dirty war in Vietnam; in the mass mobilization of the student movement; in the mass mobilization of the young workers in very arduous strikes and demonstrations in Le Mans, Caen, Turin, and in Bremen and Essen against Springer.

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

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

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

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



NIGHT OF THE BARRICADES. Students prepare for police attack night of May 10.

Inside the Sorbonne -a firsthand account

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

PARIS, May 30—The political atmosphere in all of Paris is tinged with revolutionary fervor. There is an explosive feeling of solidarity and freedom everywhere as old norms, customs and rules simply cease to be relevant. The red flag flies from windows and flag poles scattered over the city.

Perhaps one of the more interesting places in all Paris at the present time, though, is the Sorbonne and the various institutes which make up the University of Paris.

As you enter the Latin Quarter you meet people hawking political literature of virtually every shading and you notice a sharp increase in the number of posters and leaflets plastered on the walls. By the time you reach the courtyard of the Sorbonne you are well prepared.

At almost any time of the day or night hundreds of students fill the courtyard, talking, reading, arguing vehemently, or just relaxing.

Dozens of literature tables stand near the walls, representing groups ranging all the way from the Italian Students' Action Committee, and the Committee for Solidarity with Struggles in the Third World, to the Communist Students, Workers Voice, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the Fourth International, and others. Nearly every organization has been cleaned out of literature as the desire to read all different points of view has soared. When a new stack of leaflets or newspapers arrives on the scene, distributors are mobbed as students rush to get their copies.

The walls are covered with huge banners designating the various organizations, leaflets announcing meetings, and political comments of all sorts. All tendencies who support the occupation of the university have the right to post their material, and this right is strictly observed. Portraits of Trotsky, Lenin, Mao and Marx have decorated the court for weeks, and no one has torn them down. Red flags and black flags fly from the cupolas of the buildings. Even such slogans as "The CP Is a Social Democratic Party" remain untouched on the walls.

ADMINISTRATION CENTER

On the second floor of one wing an ad-



REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH. JCR corner at the Sorbonne.

MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

Articles by Paul Boutello, George Novack, Joseph Hanson, and Clifton DeBerry

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The dynamics of revolution in France

BY GEORGE NOVACK

The breathtaking events in France give the present generation an unrivaled opportunity to observe the dynamics of a great revolutionary mass movement from its moment of birth. They can see how the class struggle in modern society, which ordinarily operates at low intensity and in slow motion, and often in a disguised way, can pick up momentum and unfold in an explosive manner.

They can learn, not from books but from life, how a fresh initiative from below releases pent-up forces and recasts the consciousness of social layers which has been shaped by long-standing conditions. Finally, they can note how in a revolutionary upsurge changes take place, not, as they used to, by small, gradual steps, but by leaps and bounds that upset and surpass customary measures of aspiration and achievement.

In the preface to that monumental textbook of Marxist theory and strategy, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Leon Trotsky explained that "the dynamic of revolutionary events is directly determined by swift, intense and passionate changes in the psychology of classes that have already formed themselves before the revolution . . . The swift changes of mass views and moods in an epoch of revolution thus derive, not from the flexibility and mobility of man's mind, but just the opposite, from its deep conservatism. The chronic lag of ideas and relations behind new objective conditions, right up to the moment when the latter crash over the people in the form of a catastrophe, is what creates in a period of revolution that leaping movement of ideas and passions, which seems to the police mind a mere result of the activities of 'demagogues.'"

The French working class needed an external stimulus to emerge from the moods of discouragement and absorption in daily concerns engendered by their setbacks over the past two decades. The new fillip to their energies was imparted by the clashes of the rebellious students with the authorities. The repercussions of these encounters roused the ranks from their lethargy. Forcing a reluctant agreement from their officials, the workers rallied to the side of the students with a giant demonstration and one-day general strike in Paris May 13.

This spontaneous assertion of independent strength against both their own bureaucrats and the government of the bosses opened broader vistas to the workers. What had seemed only a short while before impossible, and only a few days before unlikely, now all of a sudden appeared within reach and capable of realization. Their audacity increased and their horizons expanded as the movement ascended stage by stage and scored one success after another.

The explosion was detonated May 14 by the sit-down strike at Sud-Aviation in Nantes. The workers at this aircraft plant, whose initiative set off the chain reaction, confessed that they were astounded by what they had started. So was the rest of France and the whole world.

Millions of workers imitated their example in a colossal demonstration of power which in a few days shut down all industrial activity in the country. No one planned, ordered or organized this nationwide general strike. It was a genuine self-mobilization of an entire

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1968

Renault Auto Workers Harden Their Demands

By LLOYD GARRISON
Special to The New York Times

BOULOGNE-BILLANCOURT, France, May 29 — There is a marked change in atmosphere at the Renault factory here, and it is summed up in the two words of a sign over the main gate: "Worker power!"

The sign symbolizes the new realization among the rank and file in this southwestern suburb of Paris that striking workers throughout France may be capable of forcing not only sweeping economic changes, but political ones as well.

Twelve days ago, when the worker occupation at Renault began, strikers spoke only of specific grievances with management. No one dreamed of toppling President de Gaulle.

Owned by Government

Now the idea of forcing his resignation and bringing to power a popular-front government of the left has caught fire. "We think a clean sweep is not only possible but probable," said one middle-aged worker, who added:

"When we struck, none of us had any idea how fast the occupation movement would spread. We thought we'd be lucky to get half of what we were asking for."

Today, the strike has crystallized politically and economic demands have intensified as well. There is no talk of bargaining or compromises.

Twelve days ago, the mood was one of defiance, but with no real confidence that the future promised concrete rewards. Too many strikes had sputtered out in long-drawn-out negotiations that changed little and only hardened worker

Limited at First to Economic Grievances, They Are Now Shifting to Political Field

frustration with traditional union tactics.

Government ownership of Renault lends to the strike here an added political ingredient that is absent from worker-management confrontations in privately owned concerns.

Yesterday, the 35,000 workers at Renault and at the nearby Citroën plant flexed their new muscle in rejecting a tentative package deal hammered out over the weekend by national union leaders in negotiations with the Government. The deal included a 35 per cent increase in the minimum wage, a gain considered visionary before the worker-occupation movement began.

The Renault workers not only turned down the agreement. They booed the union leaders who had negotiated it.

The Renault plant produces the popular, low-priced Renault 4. The workers are members of Communist, Socialist and Roman Catholic unions. Of the three, the Communists have the most followers.

Despite the ideological divisions that separate the three groups, there have been no visible cracks in the solidarity of the movement. In fact, morale has soared despite the pinch all workers now feel in making ends meet.

New signs hang over the plant entrances, where the once-makeshift barricades have been reinforced and heightened, giving the factory a fortress-like air.

"We're here to stay!" says

one sign. Others proclaim: "Workers stand fast" and "Socialism to power."

A new list of demands has appeared: a 40-hour week, full strike pay, a guaranteed cost-of-living increase, retirement at 60 for men and 55 for women. At the end of the list is the slogan: "Down with de Gaulle."

Early last week, Jean-Tomase, a soft-spoken representative of the Communist unions, shrugged off suggestions that the nationwide strike had political overtones.

"We are on strike, not to make a revolution, but for long-standing grievances," he said. "The students can tear up the streets, but we are on strike for specific aims."

Today he was a different man.

"We have demonstrated that worker power is a force to be reckoned with, just as the students have in the universities," he said. "We want political change. There is an old saying: The rich man eats the cow and the poor man gets the bird. That must change."

Mr. Tomase and others were pressing the national union leadership to demand yet another 35 per cent increase in the minimum wage, bringing it up to a total of more than \$200 a month.

As Mr. Tomase spoke, a Catholic member of the joint strike committee interrupted.

"Here it is," he said, volunteering some papers. "Here's the latest summary of the support people have given us."

It was a detailed list of donations received from the local populace. It included \$257 in cash, 2,300 bottles of wine, 281 cans of food, 133 packets of rice and spaghetti, and 78 bars of chocolate, many of them given by children.

class. Its scope and speed were unprecedented in the annals of the advanced capitalist countries.

The unparalleled dimensions of this magnificent improvisation transformed the outlook of the entire nation. It created a totally new relation of forces which was as favorable to the working masses as it was alarming to the big propertied interests. This fact quickly registered itself on the workers' minds.

Their self-confidence was enhanced and reinforced by the broad backing they received from other sectors of the people that entered the struggle: farmers, state employees, technicians and professionals. Neither the Gaullist government nor the devious CP bureaucrats correctly gauged the extent of these changes in the depths of the working masses.

This was shown by the miscarriage of the deal they cooked up the night of May 26 to calm the strikers and get them back on the job in a hurry. For their part the workers wanted to make up at one bound for lost time. They wanted all the back pay they had been cheated of as well as satisfaction for many other demands they had been denied since de Gaulle took power in 1958. After

submitting a bill of payment for arrears, they were determined not to be short-changed again. So on May 27 they rejected the paltry settlement out of hand.

The CP leaders meanwhile maneuvered to confine the proletarian movement within the framework of immediate economic demands. They endeavored to impose the narrowest limits upon the upsurge.

They met with such strong resistance because the political sights of the workers had been raised along with the magnification of their economic grievances and social demands. The calculations of the workers went through three stages.

Before the May eruption, though many yearned for a change, few anticipated any new governmental setup in the near future. No sooner had the workers passed over to the offensive, however, than they exclaimed in one voice: "Ten years of Gaullism is too much; his authoritarian regime must go with-out delay!"

This raised the question: What kind of government should come after de Gaulle? From a socialist standpoint the exigencies and possibilities of the new situation called for a tenacious struggle directed toward the transfer of power to the workers. At this juncture those workers under the influence of the Communist or Socialist parties turned — or were turned — toward a revival of the Popular Front coalition with the left bourgeois representatives as the ultimate in attainable political options.

Then, as more of them sensed the magnitude of the power they had generated and the manifest weakness of the class enemy, as their mood became more aggressive and uncompromising, their vanguard transcended reformism and coalitionism to insist on the need for "workers power."

This psychological transit from economic grievances to the perspective of political revolution was prominently and powerfully evidenced among the workers of the Renault factory at Boulogne-Billancourt. This nationalized auto plant located in a Paris suburb — comparable to the Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit — holds a special place in the history and hearts of French militants. In past decades it has been the scene of many vanguard actions.

As their offensive mounted, this key detachment of the French workers expanded their expectations from specific economic grievances to the conquest of power for socialism. (For a vivid depiction of this process see the

article reproduced in full on this page from the May 29 New York Times.)

With de Gaulle's threat on May 31 to use the army against the workers and students, his cancellation of the proposed national referendum, his dissolution of the National Assembly, the scheduling of general elections for June 23, the reopening of negotiations with the unions and the acquiescence of all the opposition parties in the electoral merry-go-round, the immediate outlook of the workers has been modified again.

Considerable political confusion, fostered by the CP, prevails in the minds of many. They still fail to distinguish between a Popular Front combination with radical-sounding and leftward-shifting bourgeois opportunists like Mitterrand and Mendes-France and a genuine workers' government, based on and responsible to a national federation of workers' action committees and neighborhood committees, as the promoter and guarantor of their own class power.

Further intensification of the struggle in the period ahead, along with the open confrontation of contending tendencies, programs and proposals for action within their ranks, will be required to clarify the irreconcilable opposition between these two modes of rulership. The one is reactionary and pro-capitalist, the other revolutionizing and oriented toward socialism.

The new political cycle set in motion by the spring flood of demonstrations and strikes has as yet only passed through its early phases, however dramatic and tumultuous these have been. It will keep on unfolding at a feverish though uneven tempo. Not a single one of the fundamental issues posed by the confrontation of the contending class forces has been conclusively settled.

First of all, despite the cries of "So long, Charlie," de Gaulle's detested regime has still to be tossed into the junkpile where it belongs. Above all, the crucial question of who is going to dominate and direct French society, the capitalists or the working class, remains in suspension. The changed political period opened up by the May events will not be concluded until and unless this question finds a definitive answer one way or the other.

Whichever path France takes from now on, it is undeniable that, in the span of several weeks, the whole outlook of the present masses underwent a profound and abrupt transformation from adaptation to the status quo to heated debate over the chances of becoming the supreme power in the land.

The glorious May Days of 1968 have reconfirmed the truth of the historical law that the chief characteristic of a revolutionary situation is, as Trotsky wrote, "the direct intervention of the masses in historic events." The extreme sharpening of class conflict resulting from this collective act accelerates all political processes and advances the understanding of the people at top speed and under high pressure.

The startling turn of events in France should burn this lesson about the dialectical course of development in our age of permanent revolution into the consciousness of all militants.

June 1, 1968

Julius Lester's views on French situation

In the June 2 Guardian, SNCC leader Julius Lester points to the French events as proof that the working class is key to the revolutionary process.

"The recent events in France have clarified, like reading can't, just who holds power in a country," he said.

"The present upheaval in France began with the students, and they definitely took care of business on a scale which should teach us a few things. However, it was the workers who had the capacity for closing the country down and did so. The students did not have this capacity."

Lester comments that the term, working class "hangs a lot of us up, because it smacks of the 'old left' and Marxism, both of which the present radical movement are anxious to repudiate." But, he says, "the concepts embodied in those words . . . should not be ignored simply because we don't like the words . . ."

"A country cannot function if its workers refuse to work. A revolution cannot succeed unless the workers are on the side of the revolution."

Lester points out that although in the U. S. at this time it "is the wildest of fantasies to expect that the radical movement could get the support of the AFL-CIO and the military . . . without the worker and the soldier on our side (to the greatest degree possible), revolution is impossible."

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Heaviest GI death tolls as U.S. escalates the war

BY DICK ROBERTS

Two months have passed since Lyndon Johnson said he would negotiate with Hanoi, promised to de-escalate the bombing of North Vietnam and stepped down from the 1968 presidential campaign. Negotiations have been going on in Paris for nearly one month.

But facts and figures make it crystal clear that the U.S. is continuing the war, and on an escalated scale. The slaughter of South Vietnam's civilian population by U.S. forces is increasing. The end of the war appears no closer than it was two months ago.

Two of the eight weeks since Johnson's speech have seen the heaviest American casualties of the war. As of May 18, the total number of GIs killed in Vietnam had reached 23,500 and the total wounded 143,676. These combined casualty figures exceed those of the Korean war.

**6-week toll after
Johnson's negotiations offer
2,809 GIs dead
13,466 wounded
(April 1 - May 18)**

The Pentagon has not stepped down its combat operations. It has escalated them. In a "leak" to the New York Times, May 26, the U.S. military command revealed that it had ordered an "all-out" offensive three days after Johnson's negotiations offer.

In the area around Saigon, these massive "search and destroy" operations have included two campaigns numbering over 50,000 men each and one numbering over 100,000. These are also record figures for the war. At the same time, bombing of North Vietnam remains intense, if restricted to a certain area.

While it has been intensifying its war effort, the Pentagon has redoubled its effort to keep

the truth about the war out of the news. In fact, the generals are making even more preposterous statements about the war now than they were several months ago.

The April 21 New York Times, for example, carried the following dispatch from Saigon: "High-ranking American officers [are] saying that such an offensive [by the National Liberation Front] will probably not come before late May or early June."

And the Saigon dispatch continued, "As a result the U.S. strategy has been to mount a number of ground offensives and to increase air strikes in areas where the enemy is thought to be regrouping."

The only trouble with this is that the revolutionaries opened a powerful offensive in Saigon a week later, which continued throughout the month of May and is still going on. Washington has responded to this "second Tet offensive" in Saigon the same way it did the first time: bombing and strafing the area held by guerrillas.

Here's what the New York Times reported May 11, in the second week of this new guerrilla attack: "Allied jets, helicopters and artillery crews pounded a half-mile stretch of slums for hours yesterday . . ."

The result has been huge increases in the number of South Vietnamese civilians killed and bombed homeless. On the Senate floor May 19, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) made the alarming revelation that "in Saigon alone, more than 100,000 persons were made homeless during the last Vietcong offensive against the capital city."

Kennedy continued: "Since early 1965, some 3,000,000 persons have been officially registered by the Saigon Government as refugees . . . But the official register is only part of the picture. At least 2 to 3 million additional persons displaced by the war are not recorded on the government's rolls—but are found in the slums of Saigon and other cities, and in the squatter towns which dot the countryside and the outskirts of provincial and district capitals throughout the country."

That means, according to Kennedy's own figures, 5 to 6 million South Vietnamese refugees have been made homeless by Washington's invasion. Five million persons is nearly one-third of the total South Vietnamese population of 16 million. Nearly



Pierotti in the New York Post

one-third of the population has been routed by Washington's war!

Every day that Washington's bombers continue to pound the Vietnamese countryside, every day that American soldiers are thrown into bloody combat operations, these refugee figures will increase, and more and more GIs will fall.

It is also clear that this aggression is failing. The National Liberation Front is gaining in strength and support, and has succeeded in placing U.S. forces and the

Thieu-Ky regime on the defensive.

A soldier told New York Post reporter George McArthur: "Most of the guys couldn't care less what happens in Paris. They know it won't affect anybody here for a long, long time."

That soldier has a clear idea of what is going on. So long as U.S. armies remain in Vietnam they are there for only one purpose—to continue the long war against the Vietnamese people. And the only way to end that war is to get the U.S. troops out—Now!

Two third parties founded in New York conventions

BY JON BRITTON

NEW YORK—Two separate and competing groups here, one calling itself the "Peace and Freedom Party" and the other the "Freedom and Peace Party," have held their founding conventions. The "Peace and Freedom" parley, held May 25-26 at New York University, was attended by about 350 people, most of whom were voting delegates. At the "Freedom and Peace" confab, held at the Hotel Diplomat in New York June 1-2, 534 people registered, including 324 voting delegates.

Both groups claim to be independent permanent third parties providing "political expression" for the antiwar and black liberation movements. Both plan to seek a place on the New York state ballot for national, state and local candidates.

The Freedom and Peace delegates voted by acclamation and without discussion to "draft" Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mrs. Coretta King for President and Vice-President respectively. Dr. Spock is the noted pediatrician and antiwar figure currently being tried on charges of "conspiring to counsel, aid and abet young men to refuse to serve in the armed forces." Mrs. King is the widow of the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

The convention nominated Herman Ferguson to be the Freedom and Peace candidate for U.S. senator. Ferguson is an Afro-American teacher and faces charges under frame-up indictments for "criminal anarchy" and conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP.

Ferguson in his acceptance speech stated that he viewed his candidacy as basically an educational campaign in which he would call for: bringing all black GIs home from Vietnam immediately; support to black draft resistance; freedom for all political prisoners; and black control of the black community. He also stated that black people should seriously consider withdrawing their children from the public school system and sending them to schools like those set up by the Nation of

Islam if drastic steps aren't taken to remedy the conditions and quality of education in the black community. He also suggested that possibly black workers should establish an independent black union cutting across all job lines. Finally, he stated his opinion that the ultimate solution to the problems of black people was the establishment of an independent black nation.

The Freedom and Peace convention adopted 16 points of a platform that the state committee, elected at the convention, was empowered to "fill out" after holding "public hearings."

Blyden Jackson, campaign manager of Communist Party leader Herber Aptheker's 1966 congressional campaign in Brooklyn, and Karl Bernhart, former chairman of Long Island "United for Peace," were selected to be the cochairmen of Freedom and Peace. Ossie Davis, the actor, and Dagmar Wilson, of Women Strike for Peace, were elected honorary cochairmen.

The Peace and Freedom convention, held the weekend before the Freedom and Peace convention, did not name a slate of candidates. Instead a statewide meeting is to be held in mid-July to take up this question.

This convention was almost entirely taken up with a bitter factional dispute over "structure" between an "Independent Caucus" led by the "third-camp" Independent Socialist Club (ISC) and a "Democratic-Left Coalition" led by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The dispute reflected a power struggle between the two political tendencies for organizational control of the new group. The ISC proposal called for a somewhat looser, more fluid structure than the PLP proposal. It was carried 195-133 with one abstention.

Aside from minor structural amendments, the only other motion passed at this convention was a motion to "collaborate with the California Peace and Freedom Movement." There was no discussion of political program at this "founding convention."

The Great Society

WE APOLOGIZE—We had suggested in previous items that Senator McCarthy is a bit of an opportunist on the race question. We noted that he wore an "I had a dream" button in predominantly black Gary, Ind., and discreetly removed it in the racist areas of the state. We also reported he had gotten through the state of Florida without mentioning the rights issue. But the good Senator has come out four-square on the issue. Speaking in Watts, he conceded that the idea of black power is not un-American. It's just a question, he said, of how you use it.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS—"Westmoreland Tells Johnson That Foe Nears Desperation."—Headline in May 31 New York Times.

HARD TIMES IN THE COUNTRY—"If you absentmindedly put a book down just anywhere, it simply disappears. You can spend 18 months looking for it . . . The amount of time we spend looking for things is quite unbelievable."—The Duke of Argyle on the difficulties of life in an 84-room castle.

EQUAL RIGHTS DEPT.—A recent arrival in Minneapolis opened an account at the Northwestern National Bank and received a letter advising her, "If you are not aware of our women's department, we would like to extend a personal invitation to you to come in . . . We have women tellers who always give you crisp new money." And in ample quantity, we trust.

KEEP 'EM-ZIPPED CODE—A U.S. Civil Service Board in San Francisco upheld the firing of a postal worker for living with his girl friend without legal sanction. "Moral standards," the board opined, "have not yet reached the level where such goings-on can be countenanced." Maybe if they concentrated on getting the mail delivered the public might obtain the information necessary to reach such a level.

INDIGESTIBLE—Reader's Digest, a principal purveyor of Our Way of Life, ordered Funk & Wagnalls, with which it recently merged, to cancel publication of "The Permissible Lie," a critical study of the advertising industry. The book had already been publicized and 5,000 copies printed. The author, Samm Sinclair Baker, said, "I was told that Reader's Digest believes that advertising is good for business and that business is good for the country."

SAVES WEAR AND TEAR—The new see-through blouse may prove a body blow to the corset and bra industry, but the cosmetics people see it as a new field to expand into. For instance, a spokesman for the Estee Lauder company suggests the worth of their leg makeup on bare bosoms. The stuff is realistic, she said, and it won't rub off.

BEST TEACHERS AVAILABLE—Coeds at Colorado College are taking a course in "dirty alley fighting" from their local police department.

—HARRY RING

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L.A. Mexican-Americans protest against jailings

BY DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES— Nearly 2,000 Mexican-Americans turned out for a demonstration here June 2 after 13 leaders of the Chicano movement were indicted on charges of "conspiracy to commit a disturbance."

All of those indicted were active in the high school strikes in March, when 5,000 Chicano students walked out of the schools in a struggle against the racist and inferior educational system in East Los Angeles.

The demonstration, which completely surrounded the block on which the police station is located, was predominantly Mexican-American, although many black people and Anglos participated.

A leaflet distributed to demonstrators by the Black Youth Alliance said, "The power structure is becoming afraid of mass action against inferior schools. We must rule our schools."

A young girl strode up and down the line, shouting "Let Our Brothers Go!" The line took up the slogan and added "Now!" The girl was Patsy Sanchez, 11, the daughter of Pat Sanchez, who is believed to be one



AT LOS ANGELES POLICE HEAD-QUARTERS.

'Counter-Commencement' held by Columbia seniors

BY ROBERT GEBERT

NEW YORK— Graduation Day at Columbia University represented a sharp break from a 200-year tradition. But it was not a break from the school's new, improved tradition, adding one more to some six weeks of nearly continuous demonstrations against the university's complicity with U. S. counterrevolutionary wars, racism and repression of political dissent.

Feeder marches, organized by the militant

...French workers

(Continued from page 1)

on the purely economic level. For example, the government has refused to accord the 35,000 Renault workers the same benefits as it conceded in other state enterprises.

The CGT has assailed the government, which employs 3 million in the nationalized sector, as "the worst of all employers." It is more than that. It is the worst of all regimes. Yet the CP and CGT chiefs have maneuvered with might and main to restrain the working masses from toppling this discredited and detested support of capitalism.

Whatever the immediate outcome, writes the French Trotskyist leader, Pierre Frank, from Paris May 31, "the working class has already taken a giant stride along the road of socialist revolution. French capitalism has been hit in the vitals. Throughout the country spontaneous experiments are being made in which capitalist private property and the capitalist government are challenged.

"The embryonic elements of dual power have appeared at various levels. The general political level has been raised considerably. A vanguard is shaping up in consonance with revolutionary Marxist slogans and it is gaining in experience with each day."

of the 13 under indictment.

The demonstration was followed by a rally where representatives from the Delano Farm Workers, the Black Panther Party, the Black Congress and the Peace and Freedom Party spoke.

Among those arrested were Sal Castro, 34, a teacher at predominantly Chicano Lincoln High and leading counselor for the high school strikes; Eliezar Risco, 31, editor of La Raza, a militant Mexican-American community newspaper; David Sanchez, 19, Prime Minister of the Brown Berets, a Chicano defense organization; and Moctezuma Esparza, a leader of the United Mexican American Students, which has units on many of the colleges in this area.

Also arrested were Joe Razo, a member of the La Raza editorial group; Cruz Olmeda, chairman of the Brown Berets; and Carlos Munoz, California state chairman of United Mexican American Students.

Risco and Razo were both arrested at the La Raza office, which was ransacked by police who stole the entire subscription list.

Bail was set originally at \$12,500 each, but after the demonstration it was lowered to \$250 for all prisoners except David Sanchez of the Brown Berets, whose bail was lowered to \$1,000.

Despite the jailing of three members of the editorial group of La Raza, the supporters of the paper continued to put out the paper.

They worked long after midnight on the day of the demonstration in order to put together an issue so that it could be sent to the printers the next day.

Between taking calls and working on the paper, some of those assembled in the office talked about the arrests and massive Chicano reaction.

One person commented on the growing militancy in the community reflected by the picket line that day. There were probably a number of people on the line who had never been on a demonstration before, he said.

Sharing an office with La Raza is the Chicano Defense Fund. A leaflet passed out at the demonstration called for legal aid to be sent to the fund c/o La Raza at 2445 Gates Street, Los Angeles 90031.

Strike Coordinating Committee, began at the site of Columbia's Institute for Defense Analysis, from the Harlem park where it was planned to build the new school gym, from the School of International Affairs, the construction of which caused hundreds of local residents to be evicted, and from the home of District Attorney Hogan, who is prosecuting 1,000 Columbia rebels.

After a big rally near the official Commencement—held indoors this year because of the certainty of demonstrations—the marchers proceeded to the campus. They were led by some 300 robed seniors who had walked out of the commencement, plus others who never went in. (For the sake of "unity" President Grayson Kirk, for the first time, piously declined to address the ceremony.)

At the campus, the demonstrators were joined by the moderate Students for a Restructured University. They held a Counter-Commencement at which prominent speakers addressed several thousand seniors, parents and supporters of the movement. (Most non-graduating students had already left for the summer.)

The campus was covered with amateur photographers, proudly snapping their off-spring against the backdrop of the biggest demonstration on this campus in recent memory.

Intercontinental Press, an international weekly press service edited from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, is publishing extensive stories and full texts of documents relating to the French events.

For those who would like this material, plus the regular extensive international coverage provided by Intercontinental Press, a one-year subscription is \$15 (single issue, 50c). Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.



photo by Shannon

AT OXFORD. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the West Indian Student Association. The meeting was held at Ruskin College, Oxford. Boutelle is presently touring England. (See story on Tariq Ali, below.)

Cop attack deepens revolt at ghetto school in N.Y.

BY ELIZABETH BARNES

NEW YORK— During a successful boycott at Brandeis High School here June 6, 1,000 black and Puerto Rican students gathered in the school auditorium to protest the beating and arrest of four student leaders, and to put a series of demands before school officials.

Although the meeting was held in the school auditorium, no teachers were in sight. The students had demanded that they leave.

The boycott and rally grew out of a series of events which began when school authorities refused to allow H. Rap Brown to enter the school on June 4 after he had been invited to speak.

The next day, after school officials refused to meet with students who wanted to discuss Brown's exclusion, the students attempted to inform the student body about what had happened by means of the public address system.

When they were prevented from doing this by a number of cops who grabbed the mike, the students decided to fan out through the school, going from class to class, to spread the word about what was going on.

When Wilber Colon, one of the leaders of the protest, was in one of the classes, the school's full time cop came into the room. At that point Colon decided to leave, but as he tried to go out the door the cop prevented him from going.

Then two teachers held Colon as the cop clubbed him on the head. The resulting wound required nine stitches.

When a Militant reporter talked with Colon the next day his head was in bandages, and he recounted how he passed out after being taken to the principal's office.

British revolutionary urges vote for SWP

Tariq Ali, prominent British antiwar leader and militant antiracist, told a Washington Post reporter that if he were a U. S. citizen he would vote for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket.

Ali's vigorous opposition to British complicity in the Vietnam war led one Labor government official to demand his deportation to his native Pakistan. Popular among the British youth, Ali's revolutionary views have become a subject of interest to the mass media. In his statement to the Washington Post, Ali said:

"You ask me who I would vote for if I were an American. I tell you that I am a black man—and one who believes in revolutionary socialism. My place would be with the black people of America; I would work side by side with Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panthers. I loathe capitalism in all its forms and I think that McCarthy and Kennedy (the statement was prior to the assassination) represent clever diversions . . .

"However, if I had to vote, I would vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle—as the only revolutionary alternative. I would also demand that the Establishment accede to Halstead's request to visit some of his constituents in Southern Vietnam!"

Even after he had lost consciousness, he was not taken to a hospital, but to the 20th precinct where he was held for an hour and a half. He was refused both a lawyer and doctor. It was thus almost three hours between the time he was hit and the time he reached the hospital.

Then, as a result of the conflict with the cop, Colon was booked on charges of felonious assault, criminal mischief, and resisting arrest.

When students met the next day to protest the police action, they cheered as speakers called for full support for Colon and three other arrested students. In addition, they put forward a series of demands including the resignation of Patrolman Bernstein, the school cop, the teaching of black and Latin American literature and history, and a student council which would help run the school.

Trial of 'Queens 17' Opens in N.Y.

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK— The trial of two members of the "Queens 17," Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris, has begun in a charge-filled atmosphere designed to railroad these Brothers to jail. The two are accused of conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

"Justice" is being administered by a white judge, a white prosecuting attorney, and a jury composed of 14 white males.

The trial started on June 4, and it is scheduled to last for two weeks.

The chief witness for the prosecution is a Negro undercover cop by the name of Edward Lee Howlette. Three years ago, he infiltrated the Black Brotherhood Improvement Association, an organization headed by Ferguson. His undercover work over the next two years led to the indictment of Ferguson, Harris, and 15 others in June 1967. Because of his work in the BBIA, Howlette was promoted from patrolman to detective.

When defense attorney Mrs. Gene Ann Condon made a motion to drop all indictments against the two because they were not being tried by a jury of their peers, black people, the judge, Paul Balsam, simply denied the motion.

Throughout Howlette's testimony, Mrs. Condon made repeated objections to the malicious way in which it was presented, and each time the judge overruled these objections. Because his testimony is patently inflammatory, even alluding to President Johnson and Robert Kennedy as possible assassination targets of the BBIA, defense attorney Condon made a motion for mistrial. This was promptly denied by the judge. In such a poisonous atmosphere, it is impossible for the jury to deliberate the case objectively.

All possible support must be built for Harris and Ferguson. Get the word out and send funds to: The 17 African-Americans Accused, c/o The Allied Federal Savings and Loan Association, 115-02 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, New York.