

# Special: interview with leader of banned French movement

The following exclusive interview with Alain Krivine, one of the central leaders of the French student movement and a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth) was obtained by Mary-Alice Waters on June 2.

On June 12, the de Gaulle regime outlawed the JCR, along with six other youth groups.

Mary-Alice Waters and Joseph Hansen are presently in France covering events there

for The Militant, along with our photographers, Helena Hermes and Brian Shannon.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** To begin with, could you give us some background on the development of the student movement in France during the last few months?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** The student movement began, in a real sense, on March 22 at the University of Nanterre, a new school built

only a few years ago. Most of the students there come from the most upper-class district of Paris. Until recently there has been no political tradition at Nanterre, not even a strong student union (UNEF), partly because it's a new university, and partly because the students are there only for their first few years of study. They go directly from the high schools to the University of Nanterre.

The student movement was touched off by an incident. On the evening of March 21 there was a demonstration in front of American Express in Paris, and some of the windows of the building were broken by the students. One of the Nanterre students, who is a leader of the JCR, was arrested that night by the police and accused of having organized this demonstration.

He was arrested at 7:00 p.m., and by 9:00 p.m. a huge crowd of Nanterre students had assembled at the university. The different student organizations of the far left had set up loudspeakers to inform the students of what had happened. The students agreed upon a new form of struggle never before seen in France—they decided to occupy the school until the comrade, Xavier Langlade, was released.

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Alain Krivine

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# French revolutionists outlawed

BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

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

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

At the same time it expelled many foreign students who have been active in struggles against the government and police, notably

members of the Federation of German Socialist Students (SDS).

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

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

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

It prevents the prohibited organizations from carrying on any of the normal functions of a political group, "directly or indirectly."

Anyone who in the opinion of the police defies the decree is liable to be tried and faces six months to two years in jail plus fines.

Both the PCI and the JCR immediately issued statements that they refuse to recognize the legality of the ban and propose to fight it in the courts and in the streets (see page 12).

Guy Mollet, leader of the French Socialist Party, spokesmen for the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left headed by Alexandre Mitterrand, and other political, labor and student bodies immediately denounced the government's acts as outrageous violations of civil liberties. A broad protest movement will undoubtedly develop in defense of the victimized organizations both on a national and international scale.

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

However, their silence could not conceal their criminal complicity with the Gaullist reaction in inflicting these blows upon the

vanguard of the student and mass movements. Under the relationship of forces in the current revolutionary situation in the country, de Gaulle and his Premier would not have dared to undertake such repressions unless they were sure they could go ahead without serious objection from the forces controlled by the CGT and CP bureaucrats.

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

These slanderous attacks emboldened the Gaullists to make anti-Communism the theme of their election campaign, permit fascists banned after the Algerian war to return, and try to incite a witch-hunt hysteria in France. De Gaulle counts on the CP bureaucrats to restrain the workers while his cops and right-wing groups try to terrorize the rebel youth

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## Protest ban on French left!

NEW YORK—A call has been issued for nationwide demonstrations at French consulates and information agencies June 22 in solidarity with the French workers and students and to protest de Gaulle's outlawing of revolutionary organizations and his ban on public demonstrations. A broad ad hoc formation of individuals and organizations is sponsoring a march on the French consulate in New York that day.

The New York demonstrators will assemble at Columbus Circle, Saturday, June 22, at noon, and march to the consulate at 74th Street and Fifth Avenue. There will be picketing there from 1:00 to 2:30 p.m.

A partial list of sponsors include Lew Jones of the Young Socialist Alliance, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, Dixie Bayo of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement, James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployed Center, Linda Morse of the Student Mobilization Committee, Tito Nolasco of the Dominican Patriotic Youth, Robert Kirkman of the New York University SDS, Wendy Fisher of the New York High School Mobilization Committee, Norma Becker of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and a representative of the Columbia University Strike Committee.

There are French consulates or information offices in major cities.

## Historic opportunity for socialist victory betrayed by French Communist leaders

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

PARIS, June 7—The headlines in the bourgeois daily press proclaim that the situation in France is rapidly reverting to "normal." The metros and buses are again operating in Paris, the trains have begun running, the post office has opened, most of the industries—with a few stubborn exceptions—are resuming production, or are about to, and the few weeks in which it seemed that at any moment the country could go socialist are now receding like a "nightmare" which can promptly be forgotten or left to the historians and sociologists for leisurely analysis.

The central organ of the Communist Party, l'Humanite, is not much different from the other daily papers. In banner headlines it boasts that the workers are hurrying to end their strike and rushing back to work, conscious of the "great victory" they have won. The triumphant shouts of the French CP leaders make a harmonious counterpoint to the great sigh of relief from all sectors of the capitalist ruling class in France. For the bosses and the Stalinist bureaucrats alike, the situation has been saved—at least temporarily.

However, for the revolutionary vanguard, which has greatly increased in size in the past month, the return to "normality," when a socialist victory was so tantalizingly close, does not seem normal at all. They are still living the days when the working class took fire from the sparks cast by the students, when consciousness expanded and deepened, when years of ordinary existence were compressed into days and even hours, and when the nearness of a new order, the coming order

of socialism, was so close that everyone could catch a glimpse of it. These days were felt as the genuinely "normal" life, or at least a taste of it.

How could this opportunity for an immediate socialist victory, the most promising in all history, be lost and dissipated within a single day? This is the question now preoccupying the French vanguard as it assesses the events.

BEFORE DE GAULLE'S SPEECH

The facts are absolutely clear. On May 29, the entire French economy was paralyzed by the most solid general strike ever witnessed in the country. Ten million workers, two-thirds of the working force, had occupied the plants. Not a wheel was turning in public transport. The workers stood by at the switch of the public power system—and they pulled the switch occasionally to show their readiness to stop this most vital service.

The distribution system was similarly frozen tight, all the big stores being occupied. Food supplies were under strict control of the unions.

The farmers, solidly behind the general strike, set up their own barricades here and there to indicate how they understood the situation.

The students had already taken the lead. It was their battles on the barricades in Paris, in fact, that had electrified the workers. Throughout France, universities and high schools were shut down, many of them occupied by students.

A liaison had been set up between the students and the young workers in the plants, despite obstacles placed in their way.

Strike committees and broader Committees of Action were mushrooming on a national basis. In many places they began to take over public functions, resembling nothing so much as the broad representative councils, soviets, that were formed at the beginning of the revolutions in Russia in 1905 and again in 1917.

The capitalist ruling class, reeling from the speed of events, floundered helplessly. Their daily press, printed only by courtesy of the Communist Party, openly described the situation as "revolutionary."

The de Gaulle regime was caught in a deep crisis, many of the government figures preparing like rats to abandon ship. Premier Pompidou, upon rushing back to France from a trip abroad, was said to have told the police that the situation at that point was "prerevolutionary."

Everything that the ministers did seemed wrong. Measures which in "normal" times would have worked, now seemed only to make matters worse, concessions as well as repressive measures only heating up the rebellion still more. De Gaulle's offer to hold a "referendum" was like throwing gasoline on a fire.

Disaffection began to appear in the very ranks of the police, and the army was uncertain.

BIG CGT MARCH

On May 29, against this background, the Communist-led unions staged a giant demonstration in Paris. At least 800,000 workers belonging to the Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT—General Federation of La-

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Friday, June 21, 1968

## 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.

A nonprofit project published in solidarity with the revolutionary students of France.

16 pages **50¢** two colors



Order from: **Granma Bookstore** 2519A Telegraph Berkeley, Calif. or **Merit Publishers** 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

# Black Canadian shot in U.S.

## Ted Watkins slain in Calif.

Toronto, Canada

This is to inform you that on June 2, 1968, our chairman Ted Watkins was slain and his brother Clifford was wounded by a white store owner and a white clerk, in an alleged liquor store holdup in Stockton, Calif.

We are not yet in possession of the full story of the circumstances of our Brother's slaying, but we do have intimate knowledge concerning his character and financial status that proves any story about "robbery" or "attempted robbery" to be an obvious lie.

We in the Afro-American Progressive Association refuse to accept the initial report from the white racist news media of the U.S. and Canada. We cannot believe that a man who earns between \$10,000 and \$15,000 per season as a professional football player would resort to "liquor store holdups" even had he been uptight financially. Further, such a man would not travel nearly 3,000 miles to rob a liquor store in California when the liquor stores in Ontario are amply stocked with both money and liquor.

We mourn for our Black Brother and chairman, but our mourning will take the form of action rather than weeping. We are demanding an investigation by the Canadian government and we are having a public memorial for the Brother June 9. We are preparing for other actions as the details of the slaying reach us and the need for more definitive action arises.

Also, we are asking all of our Brothers and Sisters in the U.S. to act in unity with us by investigating the slaying, publicizing it and if possible holding a joint memorial on Sunday, June 9, and to give any other support possible.

**JOSE GARCIA,**  
SECRETARY,  
AFRO-AMERICAN  
PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION

## USSR pressures

### Cuba on oil

New York, N.Y.

I saw something on TV last night that added to the reports about Cuba having to ration gasoline because Moscow says it can't increase the amount it sells to Cuba. Not only did the USSR exceed its oil production quota last year but it seems to be stepping up its sales in Western Europe.

Last night they showed gas stations in London which are doing a brisk business with reduced-price gas imported from the Soviet Union.

Can there be any question that the Soviet refusal to sell Havana the oil it so desperately needs is nothing but crude economic pressure? They disgrace the word socialism.

H. C.

## Lenin: SLPer?

New Haven, Conn.

In reply to J.R.'s letter (May 10 Militant), I would like to say that the Socialist Labor Party, for 78 years, has been ceaselessly distributing leaflets, pamphlets, and literature to all. We don't have to ask permission of anyone; members can, at any time, give any piece of literature to anyone.

We have not been idly speculating on some ivory-tower plan for the future, either. We show, as anyone who reads the Weekly People would know, the defects and irreconcilable defects in capitalism; we expose the faulty logic and defective principles involved in all attempts to reform capitalism; and finally, we give Daniel De Leon's plan of the Socialist Industrial Union which will enable the workers to take and hold the means of production.

This plan, said Lenin, must eventually be the form of administration in Russia. Lenin also called De Leon the only one to have

added anything to Marxism. [1—Editor]

The People does print letters of opposition and answers to them.

We prefer to debate the parties of capitalism, because before we show that the Socialist Labor Party represents true socialism, we must first show capitalism to be evil and archaic and socialism to be its opposite. Also, we have been too often associated with the Communist Party, the SWP, the SP, and so on. Surely, when the vital question finally comes to who represents socialism, we will debate other parties in the "left."

PAUL SANDAHL

## Likes Guardian coverage better

Riverside, Calif.

I received the May 17 issue of *The Militant* plus subscription forms for it and the ISR. I am writing this to let you know that I am not interested in subscribing to either one. I find that I get better coverage in the *Guardian* than I do in *The Militant*. Your paper seems too skimpy in its reporting and does not deliver the kind of "extensive" analysis that you claim it does.

May I make a few suggestions to improve the paper? First of all, I think you should broaden the scope of your reporting of the colonial revolution to include reports on what's happening in Africa and in other parts of Asia besides Vietnam. In fact, I think it would be a good idea if you had a regular section in your paper devoted to the colonial revolution, similar to the *Guardian's* "The World in Revolution."

Second of all, I think you should expand the section of your paper called "Black Liberation Notes" to report on the struggles of other nonwhite minorities for liberation and also the struggles of poor whites in such places as the South, the Appalachian region, and in Chicago.

Third, I think there should be detailed reports on what sections of the power structure are doing in response to the growing movement against the war and for black liberation and for an end to imperialism and reports that expose the power structure, e.g., the role

## 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.

of American corporations in Africa, Asia and Latin America in determining U.S. policy in those areas, the role of the CIA in foreign policy, the role of universities in the cold war. There should also be a serious attempt to really analyze these events, not in terms of vague generalities but a concrete perspective from which a concrete program of action can evolve. I think it would be good if you had an opinion section where guest editorials could be written.

C. C.

## Trotsky writes on elections

New York, N.Y.

I have just been reading *What Next?*, a pamphlet written by Trotsky in 1932 on the rise of fascism in Germany, and came upon a section which seems to me particularly applicable to the events in France today.

Trotsky asks whether votes in bourgeois elections accurately assess the real power of the working class: "That's a trick mirror," he writes:

"In parliamentary representation the strength of an oppressed class is way below its actual strength and contrariwise: the representation of the bourgeoisie even the day before its downfall will still be a masquerade of its supposed strength. Only revolutionary struggle tears away all the covers from the actual relation of forces."

L. E.

## 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 Hannagan, 56 Townsend. (217) 332-4285.

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

**Indianapolis:** Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

**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.



# Eldridge Cleaver released; Panthers still face charges

BY ELIZABETH BARNES

An important victory in the fight to defend the Black Panther Party of Oakland, Calif., was won June 12 when Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver was released from jail on \$50,000 bond.

Cleaver has been in prison ever since his parole was suspended April 7, the day after the now famous confrontation between Black Panthers and police in which Panther treasurer Bobby Hutton was murdered by the cops.

The court order which called for Cleaver's release went so far as to admit that the cancellation of his parole had been politically motivated. While setting Cleaver's bail, Judge Raymond Sherman called the Panther leader a model parolee, and said, "The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals—goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries."

Cleaver was accused of three parole violations: (1) possession of a gun; (2) association with people of "bad reputation"; and (3) failure to cooperate with the parole agent.

At a May 28 press conference in San Francisco, Kathleen Cleaver, wife of the imprisoned man and director of the International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver, explained why all three charges were invalid.

She pointed out that the charge of associating with individuals of "bad reputation" was "merely a political opinion"; that the charge of possessing a gun had not been

proven and was "a matter for the court to decide"; and that "to say that he did not cooperate with his parole officer is just a lie."

For the past two months a nationwide effort has been organized to defend Cleaver and the eight other Panthers indicted on trumped-up charges of attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon.

The International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver has been collecting thousands of signatures on a petition to Governor Ronald Reagan and the California Adult Authority demanding the immediate reinstatement of Cleaver's parole.

Many prominent writers and academic figures have responded to the defense committee's appeal to send letters and telegrams to the California Adult Authority urging that the parole suspension be revoked.

An added pressure in favor of reversing the decision was the wide circulation of Cleaver's powerful new book, *Soul On Ice*, which has received many favorable reviews. Advertisements for the book have appeared in papers and magazines around the country bearing a picture of Cleaver with the caption, "This author is in jail."

Now that Cleaver has been released, the defense effort for the Black Panther Party will continue. Funds are needed for court expenses and to bring the facts about the harassment of the Black Panther Party to increasing numbers of people.

Send contributions to the International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver, P. O. Box 2967, Customs House, San Francisco, Calif.

## Black Liberation Notes

### Bobby Seale on probation

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Party, was sentenced May 23 to three years probation on a frame-up charge of "smuggling" a shotgun into the Oakland jail.

The charge was based on a law passed in the 1880s.

Seale's arrest and sentencing under this obscure law is another blatant example of illegal harassment of the Black Panther Party by Oakland police and courts.

In an interview in the June 1 *Guardian*, Seale describes how it happened:

"On May 22, 1967, I was on a public sidewalk, leaning against a retaining wall of the Oakland police station with a shotgun. I had just left the bailbondsmen's office to post bail for some members (Panthers) who were in jail. I had told another Panther to pick me up at this location.

"Waiting there, about 10 pigs vamped in on me and grabbed my weapon. They unloaded the weapon and after some discussion gave it back to me. They didn't arrest me and they left. The very next day I was arrested and charged under this old law even though the pigs knew I wasn't trying to smuggle that gun into the jail."

Seale's probation stipulates that he cannot "own, possess or carry any dangerous weapon, or associate knowingly with any person carrying a dangerous weapon" in his presence.

Seale said he would abide by these conditions, but that he plans to appeal. He also stated his intention to remain active in the Black Panther Party. "It is a political party," he said, "and under the constitution I have a right to political affiliations."

### Sports revolt

Bill Russell, basketball star and coach of the Boston Celtics, says he is in favor of the boycott of the 1968 Olympics.

Russell also sympathizes with the black student athletes who have been organizing protests on many campuses around the country this spring.

Says Russell, "The only reason that universities give scholarships to black athletes is to exploit them . . . The schools don't care if they take the right subjects or even pass, because all they want them for is to fill the stadiums and arenas."

Many of the schools that have seen protests by black athletes this spring are universities where athletics is a big money-making affair. These include the University of Oklahoma, the University of Texas, Michigan State University, the University of California, Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis., and the

University of Washington.

### Bonnie and Clyde

There was only one dissenter in the South African parliament when a vote was taken recently to approve the official banning of the film, "Bonnie and Clyde." The legislators seemed to feel that the picture is "too decadent" for South African society.

Other banned films include "Guess Who's Coming To Dinner," "The Graduate," and "In the Heat of the Night."

James Kruger, a member of the ruling party, recently told the parliament that "In the Heat of the Night" portrays "a dumb white detective and a smart black detective who always makes the white cop look stupid." This, Kruger said, "could be detrimental to race relations."

### Students occupy high school

Approximately half the student body at Parker High School in Chicago staged a sit-down strike in the school corridors June 4. The strike was led by members of the Afro-American Organization.

Students surrounded the door of the main office and sat down, vowing to remain until demands for improvements in school facilities and curriculum were met.

### Militancy pays off

According to John H. Johnson, president of the firm that publishes *Ebony* magazine, the general shift in the tone of the magazine from "moderate" to "more militant" has been profitable for the company. Sales for the magazine have doubled in the last five years.

— ELIZABETH BARNES



Bobby Seale

# Who causes violence?

BY ALEX HARTE

In an article discussing student activists at Columbia University, Nan Robertson writes in the June 10 *New York Times*: "The radicals have learned different lessons from the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy than some. The most extreme seem to see no connection between the violence and unreason that struck him down, and the tactics that provoked violence on their own campus."

Nan Robertson is astonished that the students do not feel, as she obviously does, that their protests against a repressive university administration and society—protests that are dealt with by police violence—are somehow the cause of the violence that killed Kennedy.

The theme that those who protest—antiwar demonstrators, black people, students—are responsible for the climate of violence in this country has been heard from Congress, from the White House and from a number of writers in the capitalist press since the assassination.

This inverted reasoning holds that those who struggle against repression and for a more sane and just society are guilty, while the ruling powers actually responsible are innocent. "They try to make the criminal look like the victim and make the victim look like the criminal," Malcolm X used to say.

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

Ever present is the violence which Johnson's

administration is still inflicting on the people of Vietnam. And it is common knowledge that the CIA instigates military coups and assassinations to get rid of individuals and regimes in other lands which the U. S. State Department disapproves of.

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

In view of these facts, Johnson was mouthing sheer hypocrisy when, after Robert Kennedy's death, he sermonized against "the violence which tears at the fabric of our national life." He had the gall to inveigh against violence without mentioning a single word about the war he is waging in Vietnam.

With the cunning of the ruling class, Washington officials are conniving to turn Kennedy's assassination to their own advantage. Under cover of new "crime control" laws, they are hastening to legalize electronic spying and justify the beating of confessions out of helpless victims in the back rooms of police stations (see article below).

On June 10, the Supreme Court made a reactionary ruling, legalizing "stop and frisk" actions by the cops. The court thus put its stamp of approval on the police practice, largely aimed at harassing black people, of stopping and frisking anyone they wish—and without the "probable cause" mentioned in the Bill of Rights.

These moves lend pertinence to the assertion of Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, printed in last week's issue of *The Militant*, that the act of assassination "can only serve the forces of reaction. The ruling class is already seizing upon it as a pretext for new legislation and repressive measures aimed against all critics of their basic policies."

## 'Crime control' bill gives cops green light in ghetto

BY DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 11—Twisting the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy to its own purposes, the U. S. House of Representatives rammed through the Senate version of the "Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968" in less than two days of floor debate. This is the most repressive law that has come out of the 90th Congress, and its aim is to "legalize" police violence and oppression.

The two key sections of the law permit bugging and wiretapping by federal, state and local police agencies in a vast number of "suspected" crimes, and overturn Supreme Court decisions protecting the rights of "criminal suspects." There is also a "gun control" section, which Johnson declared is too weak.

Although the White House now hints that it might veto the bill, Lyndon Johnson bears direct responsibility for its creation. It stems from the President's state of the union message in 1967. In that speech, Johnson answered the crying needs of the black communities with a call for federal funds to reinforce the cops and beef up their arsenals. The White House drafted appropriate legislation.

From there, the bill went into the Senate Judiciary Committee, which added one piece of reactionary legislation to the next. It borrowed the idea of "gun control" from Senator Dodd—remember him? "Gun Control" legislation, ostensibly aimed at criminals, is actually aimed at overturning the constitutional rights of the citizens to bear arms, at disarming the black people and workers generally, while the armaments of the cops are increased.

In debating the bill, the Democratic and Republican politicians made long speeches about "gun control." Their oratory had a dual purpose. On one side it drew attention away from the real source of violence—the war-making, racist capitalist system—and falsely put the blame on the victims of repression. On the other side it served as a cover for legislation sanctioning further official violence and repression.

The key sections of the bill are Titles II and III. Title II reverses landmark Supreme Court decisions concerning the constitutional rights of arrested persons. Although these high court decisions by no means guaranteed the safety and legal protection of an arrested person once he is in the cops' hands, they were progressive and they had been won from the Supreme Court through years of civil rights and civil liberties struggles.

Under present court decisions, the law holds

that a person arrested must be given notice of his constitutional right to remain silent; he must be warned that any statement may be used in court against him; he must be told that he has the right to have a lawyer. Further, the arrested individual is supposed to be taken before a magistrate or other judicial officer for arraignment "without unnecessary delay." If police fail to take these steps, a confession obtained from the prisoner may not be admitted in court.

The bill throws these protections out. It empowers any judge to extend the time a defendant is held in custody without arraignment. It explicitly forbids the Supreme Court from reviewing state court rulings which have admitted confessions "found to be voluntary." This means the police can arrest and question any "suspect" indefinitely, and enter any "confessions" beaten out of him into state evidence. It gives the congressional stamp of approval to the third degree, to whatever extent it had been hindered by previous Supreme Court rulings.

Title III of the bill authorizes extensive wiretapping, bugging and the use of electronic "eavesdropping" equipment by federal, state and local authorities. It is the first legal sanction of the use of evidence obtained through such police-state means in courts. Since 1934, the Federal Communications Act has outlawed "eavesdropping" devices. Although these have come into more and more widespread use by government police agencies under White House decree, their use as evidence has been barred in courts.

With little wonder the viciously antidemocratic bill lingered for months in the Senate. The job of obscuring its real meaning was momentous; it was buried in pages and pages of testimony about "crime in the streets." But when it finally came up for vote, only four Senators opposed it: Republicans John Sherman Cooper and Hiram L. Fong; Democrats Philip A. Hart and Lee Metcalf.

The bill's fate in the House was somewhat different. In the two days following the Kennedy assassination, it was rushed through under provisions which prevented amendment and in an atmosphere bordering on hysteria.

Waving the flag and screaming about the spread of violence, the congressmen voted a law which provides a half-billion dollars to police agencies to buy better guns, encourages the cops to brutalize their victims and sanctions using electronic spying equipment against the people anytime the forces of the state so desires.

# Do the negotiations mean Vietnam war is ending?

# ...May

BY DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 12—The June issue of Analysis, bulletin of the War Resisters League, asks the question "Is the war over?" And it answers, "It is unlikely that Washington and Hanoi, having finally sat down together, will break off negotiations and engage in a new escalation of the war.

"Despite the fact that Johnson has said on many occasions that he would never, under any circumstances, 'abandon' the government of South Vietnam, it seems clear that he is now preparing to do precisely that."

This opinion reflects the thinking of a number of people in the antiwar movement (see page 9), but in our opinion it cannot be squared with the facts and it flows from a misunderstanding of Washington's real purposes in the Paris "peace" talks.

In his final round of public statements as commander-in-chief of U.S. forces in Vietnam, Gen. Westmoreland repeated many of the lies which have been coming out of the Pentagon since the war began. But he also offered fresh proof that Washington's strategy in Vietnam is just the opposite of de-escalation.

Westmoreland assured us that "the enemy is being defeated at every turn . . . Our side is getting stronger whereas the enemy is getting weaker." The former commander shrugged off the sustained guerrilla offensive in Saigon with the comment that the NLF "is frustrated to the point where he is desperate. The attack on Saigon . . . is an example of his desperation."

"AT ITS HEIGHT"

The general denied completely that the U. S.

## CP intellectuals protest French party's stand

PARIS—The June 5 issue of l'Humanite, the central organ of the French Communist Party, reported that during the May upsurge, "a certain number of Communist intellectuals" sent a letter to the party leadership. On June 1 and again on June 3, a delegation of the Central Committee met with the authors of the letter to discuss the criticisms they had raised.

The editors of l'Humanite did not publish the text of the letter submitted by the intellectuals. However, the document had come to the knowledge of Le Monde, France's leading bourgeois daily, and it published the letter in its issue of June 6, noting that the letter was dated May 26.

The following is a translation of the letter as published by Le Monde:

"The Communist signers of this document state that they are in political solidarity with the movement which, starting with the students, galvanized millions of workers, the youth in the factories and high schools, the great majority of intellectuals. Their rallying together in a common action against the Gaullist regime put in question the very foundations of the present social system.

"In attempting at the beginning to put the brakes on this exceptional impulse, the leadership cut off the party from a great force of socialist renewal.

"Fifty thousand demonstrators at the Gare de Lyon shouted in anger against the government decision violating the amnesty by banning Cohn-Bendit from French territory. Many Communists were there. The party was not. This facilitated the regime's ability to use provocations in its aim to isolate and even crush the student movement. Yet, without this movement which catalyzed the determination of the masses to struggle, the factories would not have been occupied, the barriers of the SMIG (Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel Garanti—France's minimum wage law) would not have been blown up and other perspectives, in which the role of workers' battles is decisive, would not have been opened up.

"The fissure between the Communists and the mass of students and intellectuals can have tragic consequences. A dialogue must be opened at once.

"The debate imposed by events on the orientation, structure and future of the revolutionary movement cannot now be avoided. A frank analysis of the reality, coupled with audacious political initiatives, must be undertaken at any price to establish links with the new forces that have become revealed in the struggle for socialism and freedom."



THE WAR ESCALATES. GIs and Vietnamese know Washington has intensified war since negotiations began.

had toned down its military effort since the negotiations began. "At this time our military posture is at its height since our commitment. We are now capable of bringing major military pressure on the enemy. This we are doing and the enemy is beginning to show the effects."

The man who gave orders for U. S. bombers to destroy large sections of South Vietnamese cities during the Tet offensive and for helicopters and planes to blast Saigon slums one month ago declared that if Vietnamese resistance continues, things "may be reaching a point where it is a question of destroying the country . . ."

Ignoring the fact that American casualties have increased more rapidly than ever before in the war, Westmoreland stated, "Look at the number of enemy destroyed and weapons captured while our losses are relatively small."

However arrogant, Westmoreland's assertions should dispel any illusions that Washington is de-escalating the military offensive during negotiations. The climbing death figures for American soldiers show that the U. S. is stepping up its military aggression. And this escalation by the imperialists has been paralleled of necessity by stiffening combat resistance on the part of the revolutionaries.

"The enemy continues to hold the offensive in many parts of the country," the New York Times admitted editorially June 11. "South Vietnamese desertions have jumped sharply while enemy defections have markedly decreased."

If the attack on Saigon should be taken as lightly as Westmoreland suggested, one wonders why Washington intends to protest it at the Paris talks and has even hinted it will offer a bombing de-escalation in return for suspension of the Saigon attack.

A closer view of the realities of Washington's tactics than that given by the War Resisters League was presented by I. F. Stone in his biweekly newsletter June 10. Stone relates that "a high (and hawkish) Pentagon official told a friend of mine recently, 'The purpose of the partial bombing pause and the talks in Paris is to reduce the fighting to a level the American people will tolerate for a long time without giving up our basic aim,' i.e. an 'independent' south Vietnam."

### ATTEMPT TO GULL PEOPLE

Stone bolsters this contention by quoting a June 2 dispatch from New York Times White House expert Max Frankel: "It was primarily to buy time at home to keep waging the war's military and diplomatic battles abroad that Johnson accepted the dovish counsel of at least a partial halt in the bombing . . . So far the tactic has worked better than he dared to hope. The bitter controversy has abated and the political candidates have been muted."

Washington's fundamental purpose in the negotiations is to "buy time" to continue the military assault on the Vietnamese. It was forced into this tactic by the massive and rising tide of domestic opposition to the war. But from this it does not follow at all that Washington altered its military strategy in Vietnam when it entered negotiations.

On the contrary, Washington hopes to use

the negotiations as a cover for further escalation. Its basic strategy remains what it has been from the outset: to impose imperialist domination over the people of Vietnam and to crush the popular revolt against its puppet regime in Saigon. Any "abatement of political controversy" over U. S. war policy can only give the imperialists a freer hand in their genocidal aggression. That is precisely what Johnson sought to achieve by beginning the negotiations.

This is why it is dead wrong for the antiwar movement to have any illusion that the opening of negotiations in Paris in any way signals an early end to the war. It cannot be emphasized too often that the negotiations in Panmunjom, Korea, lasted two bloody years before a cease-fire was achieved; then as now Washington used the negotiations as a cover to step up its combat operations. In Korea as in Vietnam today the opening of "peace talks" was immediately accompanied by a sharp increase in U. S. casualties. In Korea more GIs were killed after the talks opened than before they began. The same thing could be expected now in Vietnam, except that the present rate of increase in casualties during negotiations already exceeds that of Korea.

The opening of negotiations in Paris did not signal a de-escalation of the imperialist war in Vietnam and it should not be taken as a signal for the de-escalation of the antiwar movement in this country. There is need for intensified opposition to the war. Now more than ever it is necessary for the movement to build a mass following and to conduct mass demonstrations that show it means business about getting U. S. troops out of Vietnam forthwith.

## French soldiers' committee urges solidarity with workers, students

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

\* \* \*

Soldiers,

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

The students are struggling in the streets against the CRS (Compagnies Republicaines de Securite—Republican Security Companies, an elite paramilitary security police force). The workers are occupying the factories. In the countryside, the poor peasants are in revolt against the rural exodus and the monopolizers of farmland.

Soldiers,

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

(Continued from page 1)

bor) paraded from the Place de la Bastille to the Gare St. Lazare. Even this march was a limited one, the CP leaders having repulsed the other big labor federations and the students, and they ended the march without a rally.

Yet this march brought the movement to a new level politically. The marchers demanded an end to the "scarecrow" de Gaulle regime and the workers expressed what they wanted by carrying thousands of red flags and singing the Internationale. The demonstration had an enthusiasm and a fervor that required little to transform it into the clinching action that would have brought down the regime and opened the socialist revolution in France.

That was how things stood on May 29. The next day the "scarecrow" government pulled a surprise. The 77-year-old de Gaulle made a four-and-one-half minute speech over the radio. His words abruptly altered the situation.

It was as if the French working class had risen like a giant, stretched out an arm to sweep away the scarecrow in its way, and then, hearing a recorded voice coming from the bundle of rags, had fallen back in confusion.

The bourgeois statesmen throughout the world gave thanks with a fervor unusual for people so long accustomed to restraining their enthusiasm for de Gaulle. The consensus among them was that the unexpected outcome was due to the "magic" of de Gaulle's personality and his understanding of how to choose the right psychological moment.

The true explanation is more complex.

The revolutionary outburst, as is generally the case in social upheavals of such scope, caught everyone by surprise. Above all the French capitalist class. In view of France's relative prosperity, to them it appeared completely incredible that a revolutionary situation had been brewing in the country.

Even more incredible to them was the fact that the chain reaction leading to such an explosion had been touched off by students.

Unable to understand what had happened, relying on devices that had become worn out during the 10 years in which the bonapartist de Gaulle regime had held power, the government lost control of events. It seemed but a matter of days until it would be swept aside.

Threshing about for ways and means to gain time as the regime foundered, sectors of the French bourgeoisie sought to put together a "transition" government, a government that would seek at least a brief life by making major concessions to the social forces in revolt. If time could be won or bought, a more lasting solution might then be found.

The key problems for the bourgeoisie were how to get the strikers to give up the plants, return them to the capitalists, go back to work, and transfer their struggle from the factories and streets into parliament where it could be safely channeled and eventually reduced to harmless proportions.

The bourgeoisie by itself was incapable of accomplishing this. The parliamentary machine along with the parliamentary parties had been eroded by Gaullism, which itself had now reached the point where the clamor for the general's resignation was universal.

### THE CP AS CAPITALISM'S SAVIOR

Only the Communist Party, the party with the largest backing in the working class—some 500,000—was capable of solving these

The government wants to use you as a repressive force like the CRS. It is going to call on you to occupy the factories and strategic points—the ORTF (the radio and television network), the PTT (Postes Telephones et Telegraphes—the telephones and telegraph stations), the train stations, etc.

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

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

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

The government wants to use you to crush the people's revolt.

You must oppose this.

ORGANIZE.

DEMAND YOUR LEAVES.

Refuse to suppress the people.

All together against this government of repression and want!

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



# revolution betrayed by CP

problems in the interests of the French bourgeoisie; only the CP bureaucracy could save French capitalism in its hour of dire need. With Waldeck Rochet in the lead, the French Stalinist bureaucrats responded in a way fully up to the standards of the school they were trained in.

In the beginning, when the student movement first began to take on size and momentum, they sought to block it by slandering its leaders and aims and thus prejudicing the workers (and the Communist Party rank and file) against it. They refrained from backing the students against the ferocious attacks of the police. The student demonstrations were described as "provocations." The most militant tendencies were labeled as "anarchist" (in the bourgeois sense), "Maoist," and "Trotskyist." The student leader, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, was sneered at as "a German."

When the police brutality reached levels not seen since the torture of captured Algerian freedom fighters in the 1954-62 period, the CP leaders had no choice but to participate in the protest demonstration and one-day strike that was organized in Paris May 13. But that was as far as they wanted to go. The last thing they had in mind was the mighty upsurge which the May 13 demonstration and the occupation of the universities by the students then touched off.

As always, the workers began by presenting their grievances against the system in the form of immediate demands relating to the job—pay, hours, vacations, conditions . . . These grievances had been accumulating for 10 years and were therefore considerable. In this they paralleled the students, who were also moved into action by the pressure of daily existence under long outmoded conditions.

The movement rapidly developed toward a political expression of these demands. The students above all raised the question of the regime and the capitalist system as a whole. Their understanding of what ought to be done had every chance of quickly permeating the ranks of the strikers occupying the factories.

### CP SPLITTERS

The Communist Party bureaucrats did everything possible to block this. Repeated efforts by the students to talk with the workers in the plants were turned aside by the CP through their control over the CGT. The student efforts to form a united front in action with the workers were either received very coldly or rejected outright as "provocative" or as playing into the hands of the government.

Very consciously and very deliberately, the CP strategists sought to prevent the radicalized students from uniting with the workers. They sought to keep the movement divided. They played the role of professional splitters.

Meanwhile they frantically sought to keep up relations with the de Gaulle regime while at the same time making a show of being in opposition. Thus they pushed a motion of "censure" in parliament against de Gaulle even as they negotiated with his lieutenants on the concessions that were required to buy time for French capitalism. And in l'Humanite they clamored for "haste" in making the concessions.

After meeting behind closed doors with the representatives of de Gaulle and the bosses,

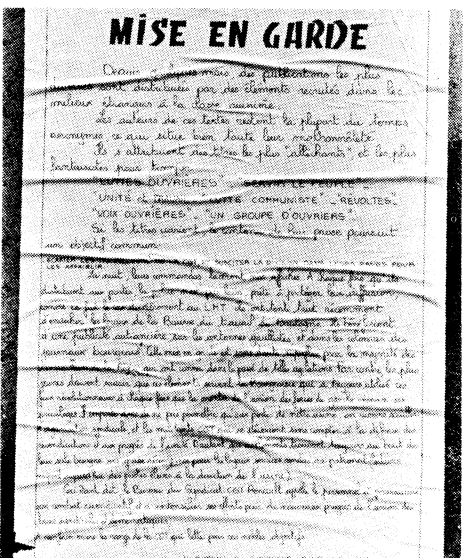


Photo by Hermes

WHICH SIDE ARE THEY ON? The poster above, put up in French Renault plants by heads of Communist Party-led General Federation of Labor (CGT), slanderously attacks radical student organizations: "They must not be allowed in our factory gates to defame our union. . . After their dirty work these elements always get a fat pay-off for loyal services rendered to the bosses." Many of the student organizations named by this poster have just been outlawed by de Gaulle regime.

the CP bureaucrats brought a package deal to the strikers. At the Renault plant where Seguy presented this "proposed" settlement May 27, he was shouted down before he could even finish.

Much worse than the low price for which Seguy and his fellow bureaucrats were willing to settle was their insistence that the strike movement was merely for economic demands—that it had nothing political about it although it had shaken the country to the bottom and the regime was ready to topple.

Very consciously and very deliberately, the CP strategists sought to prevent the upsurge from becoming political, from moving toward power and the establishment of a workers' state in France. They refrained from calling the general strike a general strike, proceeding as if the concerted strike action consisted of scattered and unrelated involvements.

### ONLY WORDS?

Their concern about terminology in this instance was well motivated. To have admitted that what was involved was a general strike (which they never initiated and never wanted) would have implied a general settlement. But this in turn would have at once posed the question of government power since only the government could lay down the terms of an overall settlement. And only a workers' government could make it possible to really meet the demands of the workers and the students.

Despite the CP, the question of government power came more and more to the fore. The bourgeoisie themselves talked openly of dumping de Gaulle. This made it increasingly difficult for the CP to maintain the framework of dealing with the de Gaulle regime as if it were something so sacrosanct that no other framework could even be imagined within which to settle the great social conflict that had erupted.

When the bourgeoisie became specific and began talking in terms of a "transition" government headed by Mendes-France or Mitterrand, the CP bureaucrats had to shift, too. If a new regime was being prepared, then they had to put in their bid for a place in it. The demonstration they called in Paris May 29 had this purpose as well as the objective of remaining at the head of the masses and preventing the burgeoning revolutionary vanguard from outflanking them from the left.

But demonstrations in the streets have a logic of their own. The new dynamic leaders among the students and young workers were being brought increasingly to public attention. They were gaining invaluable experience at an extraordinary rate. The masses were becoming more and more fired up. A revolutionary union between the students and the workers was inherent in the situation. The capitalist structure both socially and politically, it was plain to see, was a most rickety structure despite the chrome trimmings of the "society of abundance."

### DE GAULLE'S OFFENSIVE

This was when de Gaulle moved. He flew first to consult with the heads of the army to get assurances from them that they would obey his orders. Troops and armored forces were put into motion. Then he went on the air.

He stated that he was not resigning. He was keeping the despised Pompidou, too. He postponed his previous "concession" of a referendum. He dissolved the National Assembly and called for elections.

He threatened the use of force and he appealed to all the most reactionary elements in the country to mobilize.

On the same day, May 30, the Gaullists staged a demonstration to give point to the speech. This had been well prepared, participants being brought to Paris from other areas to give it greater size. Among the key components were former Algerian colons and similar riffraff. The tone of the demonstration can be judged by the slogan, reported in Le Monde and also in the London Guardian (June 3), "Cohn-Bendit a Dachau" ("Send Cohn-Bendit to Dachau"—the Nazi extermination camp).

How the armed forces would have acted had the revolutionary struggle become still more intense is, of course, speculative. It is nevertheless significant that the generals, according to the press, told de Gaulle that while they would remain loyal to any "legal" regime, the troops could not be depended on to break the general strike.

The CP bureaucrats made the record with some indignant remarks about de Gaulle's attack on Communist "totalitarianism" and his allegations about a plot for a Communist takeover in France. Within a few hours after the speech, however, they revealed their true sentiments by accepting with both hands the proffered new election.

The election gave them exactly what they needed—no doubt as de Gaulle had divined or been informed—in the way of fuel for a back-to-work movement and the transfer of



Photo by Hermes

"POWER TO THE WORKERS." So reads the large banner on the left, carried in May 29 demonstration called by the CGT.

the struggle from the streets and plants to the safe confines of parliamentary politicking.

In short, in return for 10,000,000 workers on strike, de Gaulle offered the CP leaders the opportunity to roll up 5,000,000 votes in an election. They snapped to attention and saluted the tri-color. Yes, by all means, the French Communist Party was accepting de Gaulle's generous offer.

This meant, of course, also accepting de Gaulle as long as he cares to stay in office. And Pompidou, too.

The bourgeois hero, Mitterrand, much admired by the CP, who had been suggested as the head of a "transition" government, at once retired back into the wings, as did his rival, Mendes-France.

### QUICK ON THEIR FEET

The CP bureaucrats were equally quick on their feet. They stopped the nonsense about demanding de Gaulle's immediate resignation. L'Humanite is campaigning now on something much better—the preparations to meet de Gaulle's "challenge" on the electoral level. To help the preparations for the electioneering and parliamentary horsetrading, the CP daily is stepping up the pressure to get everyone back to work.

The CP has gone about this, naturally, with the customary Stalinist finesse, playing up the gains made by the workers in the form of concessions from the government and the bosses. To be noted, however, is the formula advanced by the CGT. The workers in any bargaining unit are to go back whenever they feel that their demands have been "satisfied." Everything is split up and divided so far as the workers are concerned, and the government and the bosses are given maximum opportunity to bring pressure to bear on the weaker or more backward sectors to end their strike.

In addition, l'Humanite is running daily warnings about "provocateurs" who are said to be trying to prolong the strike action.

The bosses have become so emboldened that they are now testing out the use of police to break strikes. At the Renault plant in Flins, early in the morning of June 6, between 3,000 and 4,000 CRS (Compagnies Republiques de Securite, the special riot police) were brought in. They forced out the strikers guarding the plant during the night.

The CFDT (Confederation Francaise Democratique du Travail—French Democratic Federation of Labor) which also has members in the plant, called for a protest demonstration in Paris the same evening. Not only did the CGT leaders refuse to join in this demonstration, they denounced it as "adventurist" and implied that it was a "provocation."

The extent of the betrayal committed by the French Communist Party bureaucrats must be gauged in relation to the extraordinary opportunity for a socialist victory in France made possible by the massive mobilization staged by the students and workers themselves. But it would be a serious error to conclude from this that nothing was won in the battles of the past weeks.

### GAINS WON

Pompidou, for instance, issued a decree making the minimum wage in France three francs an hour (about US\$.60). This signified a 35 percent jump for industrial workers in Paris, 39 percent in most of the provinces, and 62 percent for the agricultural workers.

Wage gains are running generally from 10 percent to 20 percent. In some instances (railways, public utilities) full pay has been

granted for the days lost on strike. For some categories, the workweek has been reduced a little.

The gains are actually modest since wages were below those in other major countries in Europe. The reduction of the workweek from 48 hours to 40 hours at no loss in pay, one of the primary demands when the general strike began, was not won.

But there is no doubt that the French workers feel a new self-confidence as a result of what they did win, despite an abysmal leadership, through their concerted action.

It seems certain, too, that the grip of the CP bureaucrats will turn out to have been loosened by the upsurge. The workers are well aware that the gains they made resulted from their own initiative and not that of the union brass, who functioned mainly as messenger boys, and largely as messenger boys for the de Gaulle regime.

This rise in consciousness now becomes a permanent new element of instability for French and European capitalism. It will not be easy, for instance, to take away the wage gains through inflation without setting off fresh convulsions.

The main gain in the upsurge is the shake-up in the political field. On the capitalist side the crisis has just begun. Whatever breathing spell is granted the de Gaulle regime, it is clearly doomed. The construction of a bourgeois alternative is no easy matter.

On the side of the workers, a fresh perspective has opened. A new revolutionary force numbering in the tens of thousands, composed mainly of students and young workers, has appeared on the scene. This is centered at the Sorbonne where activity is seething. In this "soviet" the most varied tendencies are debating and discussing and organizing into tendencies that have yet to become clearly delineated but which are running in the general channel of revolutionary socialism.

### REVOLUTIONARY MARXISTS

The Trotskyist movement, particularly as represented by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth) and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI—International Communist Party), the French section of the Fourth International, has won great prestige and is listed on all sides as one of the sources of revolutionary inspiration that helped touch off the entire May movement. The size and influence of the Trotskyist movement in France and Europe are bound to increase at an impressive rate in the immediate period ahead.

What the next turn in the situation may offer can scarcely be predicted. The upsurge in France is so deep-going, however, that not even the CP with its decades of practice in betrayals can deflect it for long. In fact, one of the first coming developments may well be a shattering crisis in the CP itself.

In the rest of Europe and, for that matter, the rest of the world, the repercussions have only begun. What the French students and workers have done is to again put on the agenda for consideration by revolutionists everywhere the problem of the proletarian revolution as something actual.

The colonial revolutionists, too, who have been looking to the peasantry in recent years as the prime source of movement, will now, one may well assume, want to make a closer examination of the revolutionary possibilities in the cities in their countries. The French events certainly offer lessons that can be applied in those social powder kegs.

# ...interview with French Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

They occupied the university; they occupied the office of the rector; and they stayed there for several hours. The comrade was released during the night, and when he arrived at Nanterre the students decided to put forward other demands and to continue the occupation. This was completely spontaneous in the beginning. They began to challenge the structure of the university, the problem of the capitalist state, police repression, in fact, everything that is related to the repression of students and workers by the bourgeois state.

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

In the beginning this movement was almost entirely composed of unorganized students who had never before engaged in political activity. But it also included some political organizations—the National Union of French Students, which at Nanterre is led by the JCR, the JCR itself, and certain anarchist groups which are rather numerous and divided at Nanterre.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** Daniel Cohn-Bendit is the person who has been most frequently linked with the March 22 Movement. Did he belong to one of these groups?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** Daniel Cohn-Bendit was a member of one of the anarchist groups, the Anarchist-Communist Youth (JAC), but he quit that group a year ago. He now belongs to no political organization. On the ideological level he's rather close to anarchism.

The movement was a spontaneous one which very rapidly took on the character of a united front, bringing together the organized political militants and a large number of unorganized students. From that point on, they permanently occupied the university. They didn't stop classes from continuing, but they decided they would use the lecture halls whenever they wanted to use them for political discussions, to challenge the courses and the educational forms of the university.

This movement raised an enormous storm throughout France because it was the first time students had ever taken over a university. They occupied the classrooms, held political discussions, stuck posters all over the walls inside and even painted slogans on the walls.

There were permanent "general assemblies" where hundreds and hundreds of students discussed all sorts of political topics, usually in an extremely serious manner. It was not at all anarchistic, as the press described it. The movement organized all sorts of study commissions—on the workers' states, on Stalinism, on the relationship between the workers' and students' struggles, on sexual problems, on student problems—a whole series of commissions which were very conscientious. They finished their work by presenting their reports to a general assembly which voted on the resolutions. The general assembly grew from 500 to 800 to 1,500 students.

For instance, there was a resolution of support for Modzelewski and Kuron (Polish revolutionary socialists who are fighting for socialist democracy), which was unanimously carried by the general assembly.

The government was, of course, very unhappy about the whole thing. The police arrived and stationed themselves around the university, but they never dared enter the university itself. The movement went on like that for several weeks, despite the reactionary bourgeois gentlemen and all the extreme right-wing groups that were saying the commandos should be sent in to clean out the university of Nanterre which had been infested by the scum of society and by bolshevism.

At Nanterre, the Union of Communist Students refused to participate in the movement, characterizing it as ultraleftish and anarchist.

The Maoists, in the beginning at least, characterized the movement as "100 percent bourgeois." Later they tried to integrate themselves in the movement.

At that point, the movement didn't spread to the other cities of France. There was widespread student discontent in France and for several weeks we watched the situation closely to see if the Nanterre movement was merely a local phenomenon or if it would become a national phenomenon.

## NEW INCIDENT

At the beginning of May there was a second spark which started the movement going again and led to the thoroughgoing political crisis in France today. On the second or third of May, I don't remember exactly now, the fascists of the "Occident" ("West") group decided to clean up the University of Nanterre. They decided to have all their supporters from the provinces come in and to hold a big meeting at Nanterre. In order to meet this threat, the students at Nanterre began to arm themselves with clubs and helmets. They called on the Paris students for help, and several hundred helmeted students assembled at Nanterre to protect the university and prevent the fascists from entering.

Faced with that situation, the Dean decided to stop all classes at the university, which has never happened before in France. This produced a tremendous uproar.

The fascists decided to cancel their meeting and to occupy the Latin Quarter in Paris the next day instead. They announced they would hold a demonstration in the Latin Quarter, the area near the Sorbonne. At that point all the vanguard organizations of the student left, with the exception of the Communists, decided that they should occupy the Sorbonne. It's an old tradition that the Sorbonne is a bastion which no fascist has the right to enter. All the vanguard organizations decided to send their defense guards to protect the Sorbonne. The courses weren't stopped, but from the morning of May 3 on, the courtyard of the Sorbonne was occupied by about 500 militants from the vanguard organizations, all armed and helmeted.

In addition to the 500 militant activists, however, there were hundreds and hundreds of kids who joined us. That was something no one had expected. There were meetings of 1,000 or 1,200 throughout the day in the courtyard.

The fascists began to organize a demonstration on the Boulevard St.-Michel, with the intention of forcing their way into the Sorbonne. At that point we began to get the defense squads ready. Everyone started putting on his helmet and picking up clubs and bottles, and that set off the incident.

## CALLS IN THE COPS

The dean of the Sorbonne asked the police to surround the Sorbonne, which they did, armed with guns and billy clubs and helmets. Then the dean gave the cops the right to enter the courtyard, which is also absolutely unprecedented in the annals of the history of the universities in France. The police have never had the right to enter the university.

Several hundred CRS (special police) encircled the Sorbonne and came into the courtyard. They decided to arrest all the 600 or so students who were occupying the courtyard. But they didn't have enough police cars to arrest all 600 at once.

When the mass of students learned that the police had invaded the Sorbonne, several thousands of them came to the Blvd. St.-Michel. When the first police van full of arrested students came by they began to throw rocks at the vans and tried to free the students inside. It was completely spontaneous because virtually all the activists were imprisoned in the courtyard of the Sorbonne.

The cops were so harassed that they couldn't continue to arrest the students in the courtyard of the Sorbonne. They didn't have enough forces, and the students remained imprisoned in the courtyard for over three hours, the time the police needed to clean out the Latin Quarter.

Then all the students were arrested and taken to police headquarters. During the next week there were big demonstrations on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, with 20,000 to 50,000 students participating and some young workers joining us. On some of the demonstrations we marched all over Paris.

On Thursday night, May 9, the JCR held a huge meeting which had been planned for several weeks. It was decided to turn it into an open forum for all the groups to discuss what to do. About 5,000 participated.

The next day, May 10, all the organizations on the left, with the exception (as usual) of the Communist Students, called for a demonstration in the Latin Quarter at 5:00 p.m.

But from 11 a.m. the Latin Quarter was occupied by the police, and thousands and thousands of students, completely spontaneously, as on the night before, also occupied

the Latin Quarter and began to fill the Blvd. St.-Michel.

Thus a spontaneous demonstration began to take place long before the hour of the official demonstration. Thousands fell into line as the march moved through the Latin Quarter and finally, into the main streets of Paris. There were probably 10,000 who marched through the heart of Paris shouting, "Down with police repression," "Free the imprisoned students," and demanding that the police get out of the Latin Quarter.

That evening, the entire massive column of demonstrators who had marched 10 or 15 miles across Paris—there were probably 20,000 by then, mostly students but also some young workers—decided to return to the Latin Quarter. That became the first famous night of the barricades.

About 7:00 p.m., when the immense demonstration arrived at the Blvd. St.-Michel, it was blocked by the police. The leaders of the



Photo by Hermes

**JUNE 1 DEMONSTRATION.** Alain Krivine, with megaphone (at right), was one of the leaders in front of the large student demonstration (see article, page 11).

demonstration asked the students to encircle the police who were surrounding the Sorbonne and to stay there throughout the night. When the radio mentioned this occupation of the Latin Quarter by the students, more students began to arrive.

## TWO CALLS

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

Without any instructions or directions, completely spontaneously, the first barricade appeared. The students began digging up the cobblestones. It was a defensive barricade set up just in front of the police barrier.

At that point all of the revolutionary organizations, especially the JCR, far from trying to stand in the way of the movement, on the contrary joined in building the barricades. The word went out to build barricades all over the Latin Quarter, in an area of several square kilometers, in order to disperse the police forces. They were defensive barricades at the outset.

In all, there were about 65 barricades built all over the Latin Quarter, especially in the street which everyone has talked of, Gay-Lussac. There were six or seven very imposing and very high barricades in that street alone. They were built all along the length of Gay-Lussac.

During this time we had been talking with the police chief, using the two-way radio, asking him to withdraw the police from the Latin Quarter, explaining that the students would not leave as long as the police remained in the Latin Quarter. He refused, and without any warning, at 2:15 in the morning, they gave the order to the CRS and the other special police to take the barricades.

## COURAGE IN BATTLE

That is when the battle began and it was extremely violent. The police utilized hundreds and hundreds of tear gas grenades, phosphorous grenades, illegal kinds of gas grenades being used in Vietnam, and they succeeded in taking the barricades one after another.

The students fought with an extraordinary courage, never before seen among students in France, fighting meter by meter, throwing pounds and pounds of paving stones. Every-

thing they could lay their hands on was thrown at the police, and many of them were wounded.

Large numbers of students were also wounded, because usually the students didn't want to retreat even when the barricades were half taken. There were red flags on the barricades; the students sang revolutionary songs; there was an extraordinary enthusiasm. Usually before leaving the barricades gallons and gallons of gas were poured on them and they were lighted to prevent the police from taking them too rapidly and to give the students time to retreat behind the next barricade.

The struggle ended at 5:15 a.m., almost three hours after it started. There were somewhere around 1,000 students wounded and probably three deaths, one girl and one boy and one CRS. But the deaths were covered up by the police who told the parents—in the two cases we know of—that they were killed in automobile accidents.

After that there were other nights on the barricades, other violent demonstrations. One of the most important things to take note of, however, is the extraordinary support given by the people of Paris. Parisians are not noted for their love of violence. There were more than 1,000 cars burned, most by phosphorous grenades, but others by gas and fire on the barricades. But on May 10 in the middle of the night all the people were at their windows helping the demonstrators. They tore up their sheets so the demonstrators would have masks against the gas; tons of water were thrown upon the demonstrators, from all the apartments, to counteract the gas and let the demonstrators wash their faces.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** It was after this first night on the barricades that the strikes began to develop and the working class came into the struggle. What has been the relationship between the student struggle and the workers' struggle?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** On the first night of the barricades, thanks to the radio, there were probably several hundreds of young workers who, completely spontaneously, decided to come help us. They were very helpful in the technical construction of the barricades; afterwards we got the habit, but at the beginning we were not very well equipped. Earlier the student leaders had made contact with union officials, and the officials of the Communist Party, to ask them for aid, to ask them to send people. Only one official political organization, the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist Party) sent out a call to help the students. It didn't bring many results, but it was politically important. They urged all their militants to join the students at the barricades.

The next day, the Communist Party press and the union leadership had a rather ambiguous attitude: that is, they simply gave information concerning the barricades, but without taking a position, without supporting and without condemning the student movement. They stated that there were many ultra-leftists involved, and that the leadership was ultra-leftist; but they were nevertheless obliged to denounce the police repression. They charged that the police repression was the result of the irresponsible activities of a handful of ultra-leftists.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party was

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# Revolutionary Communist Youth leader

obliged to call a general strike to protest such excessive police repression. At that time there was no official liaison between the students and the workers. There were never any meetings between representatives of the student organizations and the Communist Party or the unions. The night of the barricades had a very important impact in the factories, above all among the young workers.

They were not so concerned with the demands of the students because, after all, the police occupation of the Latin Quarter is not very symbolic for the workers. But, given the social discontent that has existed among the workers for a long time, it was the example of the barricades that made a considerable impact on the young workers. They saw there a form of struggle, of direct action. Day after day the number of workers who came to the Sorbonne and the Latin Quarter swelled by the hundreds.

The police were obliged to retreat and the government accepted the three demands of the students: the Sorbonne was reopened, the police left the Latin Quarter, and all the students were released without a trial. Those who were still in prison were immediately released by the police. Thus the workers recognized that for the first time the Gaullist government had retreated. They saw that even to make the government retreat, barricades, not petitions, were needed.

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

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** It is important to note that almost the whole student movement—those who participated in the struggle—is to the left of the Communist Party. At the present, except for the organized vanguard, these students do not have a program, but they agree on a number of points in regard to the Communist Party. They reject reformist politics, they reject the CP's theory of peaceful coexistence, they reject Stalinism.

There are two main reasons for this. On the one hand, at first, we did not realize the impact that our activities have had in the student milieu during the last two years. The principal positions developed by the JCR—a critique of the CP, of Mitterrand and Company—have become mass themes absolutely accepted by virtually the whole student movement. The full implications of the long and patient activities of the vanguard groups, the impact of our propaganda, revealed itself during the current upsurge.

Second, the attitude of the CP itself has contributed to this rejection of the CP. Since the beginning of the movement, and even now, the CP has attacked the students very violently, accusing them of being led by ultraleftists, which, of course, only gives additional authority to the leaders. But there are extremely perfidious attacks. For example, at the time of the barricades, the CP accused us of infesting the Latin Quarter with "la pignore," the scum of society, and with all the buffoons of Paris—a word-for-word repetition of Pompidou's accusation. I must say that this only leads to a more open-minded atmosphere among the students.

The Communists have a table in the courtyard of the Sorbonne; but they are endlessly besieged by hundreds of students who attack them politically. The result of all this will be that the CP, for a very long time to come, will lose all political prestige among the students. One can say without underestimation that in the political arena—that is, among the politicized students—the CP is only a "handful" in comparison with the organizations of the vanguard. They will continue to have influence in the student milieu of course, but they have suffered a tremendous blow. They exposed themselves to the students, day after day, as the events unfolded, and it will be difficult for them to salvage much in the student milieu.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** What are the Action Committees and what role do they play?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** Well, the Action Committees were created more or less spontaneously, although there were political militants heading them. The vanguard groups had never been able to mobilize more than seven to eight thousand students in the Latin Quarter, notably for Vietnam demonstrations.

On the barricades, which is, after all, a more rigorous experience, about 15,000 students participated, and then there were 50,000 on the Champs-Elysees. But we ourselves recognized that three-fourths of the students who were there were completely apolitical, if not conservative two months earlier. The former leader of FNEF (The National Federation of French Students), an extremely right-wing rival organization of UNEF, is

participating in the movement and is advancing socialist ideas, fighting for a socialist revolution, criticizing the CP from the left. It's a spectacular reversal for the student movement!

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

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

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

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

When the revolutionary movement was at its peak, certain Action Committees developed a much higher level of organization—that is to say, certain Action Committees, particularly in the provinces, became genuine embryos of dual power.

Today there is a real shortage of some products in Paris. There is not enough sugar and coffee. There are no cigarettes, and there is not enough gasoline. In certain very localized places, for example in Nantes, the Action Committees purchased food by presenting only IOUs. The merchants distributed goods, without receiving any money, and in return they received IOUs. The Action Committees blossomed into genuine embryos of dual power.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** In the factories, have there been similar Action Committees or strike committees which have played a vanguard role?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** In the factories the political vanguard does not have the leadership. The movement in the factories was also started in a spontaneous way by the youth. An example I can give is the Renault plant—an example which was multiplied many times.

The movement started off with 150 youth, spread out in three workshops, for the most part unorganized. They closed the workshops and decreed an unlimited general strike; carrying a red flag, they marched through the factory calling for a general strike. The unions were completely outflanked. Much later, after long deliberation, the CP called for a strike.

The workers did not anticipate this movement; no one anticipated it. The workers have never been educated in what socialist strategy is. The CP has kept the movement under control, although they have been contested.

The CP is opposed to the creation of strike committees. The CP has ordered three-fourths of the workers back home. The strike pickets are mainly composed of CGT and CP members. There is no genuine political life in the factories—they are almost empty today.

There are some strike committees, but they are often simply trade-union liaison committees at the union brass level. In certain factories where there are vanguard militants, there are genuine strike committees, democratically run, having elections, etc., but this is extremely rare.

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

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** The press has talked a lot about UNEF; could you explain exactly what UNEF is and what role it plays?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** UNEF is a student union of about 80,000. It is not a political organization; it is a union that has always been headed by left-wing militants, generally of the PSU, but a few times by the CP. It played an important role during the Algerian War in directing the struggle against the war. But for the last three years, for a number

of reasons, UNEF has been in complete decline. There is no more internal life; today it is more name than anything else; there are no more militants in UNEF. When UNEF organizes a demonstration, the monitors of UNEF are in reality the JCR monitors. We are all members of UNEF, but that only means we have a membership card.

But if UNEF has played an important enough role as regards the press, this is due to the nature of the movement. The movement is extremely heterogeneous; there is no organization that has hegemony. There are political organizations like the JCR, which plays a predominant role as a political organization, but the totality of the movement is not politically organized. Given this very great heterogeneity, UNEF was able to play a unifying role by calling demonstrations, etc., but it has no following in and of itself in the student milieu.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** Yesterday there was a meeting called by an organizing committee for a revolutionary movement, that the JCR and the PCI and several other organizations which consider themselves Trotskyist participated in. Could you explain this "re-groupment" process a little and what you think it will bring?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** The revolutionary vanguard is very strong among the students. On the organizational level, the student milieu already has its vanguard organizations. The influence of this vanguard has extended beyond the Latin Quarter and has had an important impact on the workers, not so much organizationally, but more as a political current, as a tendency.

One symptom of this impact is that, besides the workers who have come to the Sorbonne, 50,000 persons, of whom 40 percent were workers, attended the meeting at Charley on May 27, organized by the students. It had

been condemned by the CP, condemned by the CGT, and the militants had been ordered not to go there. However thousands of workers participated in the demonstration, marching under our slogans, which were revolutionary slogans.

This vanguard movement, going far beyond the organized groups, exists at the present time. We are trying now to give it a structure and a precise revolutionary, and not center-left, line.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** What has been the role of the JCR itself in all the events of the past months?

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

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

(Continued on page 8)

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On April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration

# "Blood spattered on walls, floor"

PARIS—One of the things that triggered the May 13 general strike and massive demonstration of the workers in Paris was the brutality with which the riot police (CRS—Compagnies Republicaines de Securite) handled the rebellious students in the Latin Quarter, first when the CRS invaded the Sorbonne on the invitation of the rector, Jean Roche, and again on the barricades in the famous battle of May 10-11. It might be thought that after seeing the way the workers rallied to the side of the students, the Paris cops would be more cautious in their use of extreme brutality. This does not appear to be the case, however. They are continuing to act in the style of the infamous Nazi SS.

A graphic eyewitness account of how the CRS are still acting was published in the June 1 issue of *The Guardian*, the respectable London daily.

Andrew Mack, a second-year sociology student at the University of Essex, joined a large parade in Paris on May 24. Caught in a gas attack, he became very sick and started back to where he was staying. Within a few yards of the Sorbonne, he was cornered by some police and took refuge in a friend's apartment. Two hours later, at about 2 a.m., he started home again.

A police officer told him that it was safe to continue but he ran into a platoon of CRS at the next corner.

"I showed my passport, and said I wanted to go back to my apartment," the British student said. "The men seemed disposed to let me through but then an officer came up and said he understood I was an American. I said I was British and was immediately smashed in the mouth."

He was taken to police headquarters in

the Fourth Arrondissement. "The scene inside was rather unnerving. It was a large room, and a youth of about 18 was being systematically beaten by the CRS, using fists, boots, and truncheons, in one corner. There was a lot of shouting and screaming both from the boy and the officers. Another youth was standing bleeding quietly, and a large amount of blood was spattered on the walls and the floor.

"By this time the officers who had brought me in had disappeared. I asked why I had been brought in. There was no reply but I was then punched in the stomach and kicked in the groin for about two minutes. Compared with others, I got off very lightly."

After this, Andrew Mack was put in a cell with about 30 other people. They were packed in tightly. "A lot had been badly beaten. They had hair matted with blood, split lips, eyes closed, and one or two had broken fingers."

A doctor arrived around 3:30 a.m. He advised the police to act in more gentle fashion and ordered the door of the cell to be kept open and the prisoners to be allowed to go out to get a drink of water. After 10 minutes, the doctor left and the cell door was again closed by the police.

At 4 a.m. the prisoners were taken to the Hospital Beaujon, which is apparently a police training center. Among its facilities was a barbed-wire compound about 50 yards square. About 600 prisoners were packed into this enclosure.

"I saw one youth in only his underpants, socks, and half a shirt," Andrew Mack continued. "He was bleeding from the groin and from about a dozen other places: his body was covered in welts. Members of the CRS were standing beside him, pulling out tufts of his hair. He was about 17. There must have been about 80 foreigners in the pen, a lot of Americans."

To add to the misery of the prisoners, it started to rain.

As people were taken out of the stockade throughout the day, they were forced to go along a corridor lined with CRS. "As people went through they were rabbit-punched and hit with truncheons. It was the most horrific time of all, as by this time they were not angry: it was pure sadism. After about an hour one of the Paris police told them to stop."

At 5 p.m. the British sociology student was taken out of the stockade and released the following morning after being interrogated.



Photo by Hermes

POSTER AT SORBONNE. Identifies French special police (CRS) with Nazi SS troops.

## ...talk with JCR leader Alain Krivine

(Continued from page 7)

This sympathy is due to the following fact: the militants of the JCR did not lose themselves in the Sorbonne. Either working with the Action Committees, or as JCR militants, they went to the factory gates and to the different neighborhoods to discuss politics. Their activities were oriented toward the working class.

I think the JCR will come out of this experience very much reinforced. The capitalist press does not delude itself—it frequently speaks of the JCR, not out of sympathy, but because it represents a genuine political current.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** You hear quite a bit of talk about the threat of fascism as the current upsurge subsides. What is your opinion on this?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** The fascist groups were very weak and very ineffectual during this crisis. They did not have more than 100 members in the Latin Quarter, organized in squads, and under military discipline. Up to now, or even now, I don't think there is a real fascist danger; but there is a real danger of repression. Although a strong state apparatus prevailed up to now, it did not appear as such, because the working class was not in motion. Now that it has entered the struggle, the strong state will show its true colors. It will try to employ goons to suppress strikes; already individual militants have been attacked. The government has set up Committees for Civic Action, which are genuine goon squads.

The farmers and the petty bourgeoisie were beginning to follow the workers, but now, because of the betrayal of the CP, they find themselves without a leadership, without an alternative offered by the workers' movement. As unemployment rises they will either follow de Gaulle or under extreme economic difficulties (without really speaking of a fascist

danger) they might follow the leadership of the nationalist organizations. The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, terrified by the revolutionary potential, marched 500,000 strong at a pro-Gaullist demonstration on the Champs-Elysees on May 30. Their slogans were fascist in character, like: "Cohn-Bendit to Dachau," etc.

**MARY-ALICE WATERS:** What has been the international student response to the struggles here in France?

**ALAIN KRIVINE:** Internationally, the movement snowballed. We worked here month after month to organize demonstration after demonstration in support of the students' struggles in Germany and Italy. We never thought that our turn would come so soon. The movements of solidarity in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium, as well as in Rome, where thousands of students marched under the slogan of "two, three, many Parises," had a great impact on us; we feel part of a vast movement. I think this fact will help to reinforce the revolutionary vanguard.

During the strike we didn't have the time to make much contact internationally, but since the beginning of the struggles there have been numerous delegations from the revolutionary student organizations in Italy, Germany, Belgium and England. They want to discuss with us, they want to learn from our experience, they want to aid us financially. Since the Berlin demonstration in February, all these student organizations have participated in struggles in their own countries and are putting up a fight. We will all come out of this with a much richer experience.

The authority of the JCR today stems from the manner in which it integrated itself into the movement. At its inception the movement had almost an anarchic character, rejecting all leadership, all organizational apparatus.

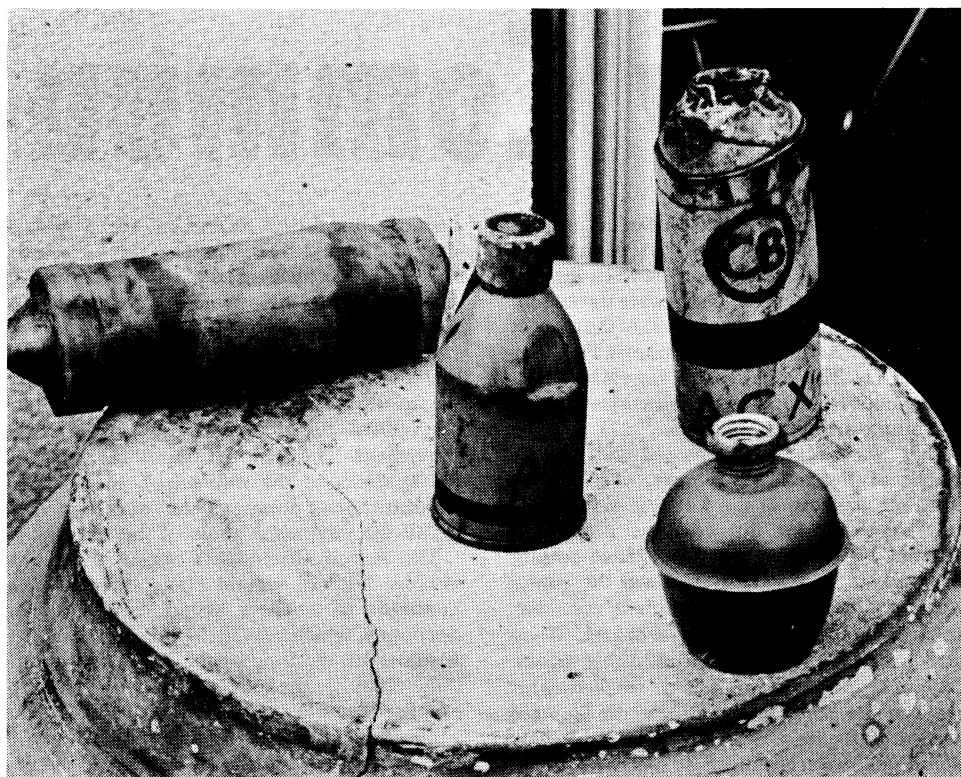


Photo by Shannon

GAS GRENADES. These cannisters were picked up by students after police attack. Left is a tear-gas cannister, center is CN cannister, right rear is CB cannister, and one in foreground is not identified.

## Commission of Inquiry into brutality of French police

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

PARIS, June 7—One of the most serious undertakings organized by the Paris students in the last month has been a Commission of Inquiry studying the exceptional brutality used against the students by the police.

I talked with two members of the Commission, one a medical student at the University of Paris, and the other, Dr. Francis Kahn, a well-known Paris physician who traveled to Vietnam last year as part of an investigation team for the International War Crimes Tribunal. They discussed the results of the Commission's work so far.

During the night of May 10-11 in the Latin Quarter, and later in street battles in numerous areas of the city, the CRS (a special elite force), employed several types of chemical grenades as their chief weapon.

The first type of chemical grenade was standard tear gas. The other two types are popularly known as CN and CB (or CS). Both have been widely used in Vietnam. CN affects primarily the eyes and lungs,

causing irritation and watering, coughing and bronchitis. In large concentrations it is particularly dangerous. If it penetrates to the interior of the eye, it can cause blindness. At the Joie de Lire bookstore of Francois Maspero, the CRS fired six to ten cannisters of CN into the shop. As a result four or five persons may be totally blinded. Dr. Kahn knew of approximately 20 others who had suffered severe eye damage from CN.

CB is the most dangerous of the gases used. It causes vomiting, dizziness, and in heavy doses a total inability to function for a period of time. It can cause kidney and liver damage, and in high concentrations produces a deep coma. Dr. Kahn knew of at least one case where severe brain damage had occurred.

In some areas about 25 yards square, as many as 50 to 75 gas grenade cannisters were collected after the night of May 10, and it was weeks before the "gas pockets" in the Latin Quarter were completely dispersed by the wind.

In addition to the gas grenades, the CRS also used phosphorous, concussion, and fragmentation grenades.

The Commission of Inquiry has also been attempting to trace missing persons and determine the number of deaths directly attributable to police violence.

Hundreds were missing after the night of May 10, many of whom did not return to their home simply out of fear. But on June 6 there were still 17 persons known to be missing. In all these cases, the Commission has been unable to prove any deaths, although they told me they suspect that 10 or 12 demonstrators have been killed, and about five CRS troops. In several suspicious cases, they found the medical files of the person mysteriously "missing." Several deaths have been officially reported as "traffic accidents."

The one proved death, admitted by the police, was recorded as a death due to knife wounds. But the information gathered by the Commission indicates that the young man died of shock after a severe beating, and that the knife wounds were inflicted after death.

Among the people the Commission is trying to trace is a person released from one hospital to be transferred to another, but never arrived. Another case is of a man whom eyewitnesses saw the CRS throw against a store window, which broke and cut the man's neck most of the way through. There is no trace of this man.

While the police give a figure of 1,000 wounded, the Commission estimates at least 3,000 for the period from May 3 to May 25. On the night of May 24, for instance, the police reported 500 wounded in all Paris, while there were 500 at the Sorbonne infirmary alone.

In order to treat the large numbers of wounded, more than 30 medical centers have been established, the most important of which are at the Sorbonne, the School of Medicine, and the Curie Foundation. All the supplies have been donated by sympathetic doctors or other individuals, and each of the centers is directed by a doctor who supervises the work of medical students.



# DuBois, pacifist documents shed light on SMC fight

BY HARRY RING AND LEW JONES

Recent documents by the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and the War Resisters League shed important light on some of the political thinking behind the attempt of the Communist Party and a group of pacifists to fasten a policy of political exclusion on the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The crisis in the student coalition erupted last month when the Working Committee of the SMC bureaucratically fired two leading staff members—Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton—because of their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and refused to call a national conference as mandated. Since then the exclusionary faction has sought to impose a "multi-issue" program on the SMC that would deflect it from organizing mass opposition to the Vietnam war and would shift it politically to the right.

An Organizational Report prepared by the Executive Committee of the New York W. E. B. DuBois Clubs for a June 8 DuBois conference makes clear that this group is out to either rule the SMC or wreck it. Meanwhile, a War Resisters League document reveals that at least a sector of the pacifist movement believes that Washington is "phasing out" the Vietnam war and that the pacifists must begin seeking new areas of activity.

This view was also echoed in the May 30 New York Free Press by Art Goldberg, a 33-year-old public relations man who has emerged as a voting member of the Working Committee of the student organization and a principal spokesman for the exclusionary faction.

Opposition to mass demonstrations against the Vietnam war is also expressed by a Communist Party spokesman and others in recently published SMC position papers.

Previously, we had noted that the Communist Party and DuBois Clubs had always been reluctant members of the coalition that formed the basis for SMC and that they considered participation in it as contrary to their sectarian political interests. This is confirmed by the DuBois Clubs Organizational Report.

The report attempts to cope with "unbelievable and deep-seated weakness" in the DuBois Clubs.

"There are three basic reasons," the report states, "why even in this period of expanding DBC activity and influence we still lead a very precarious existence."

One of these reasons is, "Lack of a well-rounded program—including educational, social and cultural activities as well as action-oriented programs."

Another is, "Anarchistic structure, lack of leadership and lack of clearly defined lines of responsibility."

The reason listed as number one, however, is:

"Overinvolvement with coalitions, especially the 'peace coalition.'"

Under this section, the report cites the experience of the Queens College DuBois Club chapter, which, it said, sharply declined as a result of, among other things, participating in too many coalitions.

## STUDENT STRIKE

It continues with a discussion of the DuBois role in the April 26 student strike organized by the Student Mobilization Committee.

"We should be more aware of the fact," the report states, "that the approach which killed the Q. C. DBC (Queens College DuBois Club) has also had a detrimental effect on most of the other DBC's in the New York area. Few DuBois Clubs maintained an independent organizational identity within the strike coalition. While we generally gave excellent leadership to these committees. . . we nevertheless did not reap the organizational growth which usually accompanies such intense activity."

Explaining further why, as far as it is concerned, the massive April 26 strike was a setback, not a victory, the report adds:

"During the time of the Student Strike we practically ceased all independent DBC activity (as a matter of fact, only one college club has even met since the strike—this is an indication of the seriousness of the crisis we are in)."

Of course, the reader is assured, "We are not saying that we should not get involved in coalitions."

"But," it continues, "we have to be more critical of which coalitions we enter and how many we enter at a given time." Nowhere is it indicated that the needs of the Vietnamese people might be a factor in determining which coalitions to enter. That's apparently secondary.

The DBC should enter, the report explains, coalitions which have "breadth." Since SMC

is studiously not mentioned by name even once, we assume it is not in this classification.

The report also sheds light on the real, and thoroughly bureaucratic, attitude the DuBois Clubs has toward the independent activists for whom it is presently expressing such pious concern in the SMC. (They voted for the motion that only "independents" should be permitted on the SMC staff. Unlike the YSA, which has always insisted on the right of the DuBois Clubs and Communist Party to participate as a matter of principle, they don't seem concerned with the issue of exclusion.)

The report explains that what the DBC needs is to form "broad coalitions" among "already existing organizations." And, it emphasizes such a formation must be structured "so it is a coalition of representatives of different organizations, including the DBC." (Emphasis in original.)

Underlining its real attitude toward independents, the report adds:

"In areas where we are the only or main organization on campus, we should carry out the action in our own name."

In other words, in such a situation, if independents want to act, they are offered no choice but that of joining under the banner, program and control of the DuBois Clubs! And they have the nerve to assert that the YSA, which was instrumental in drawing so many independents into SMC, is "insensitive" to the wishes of the independents.

There is no valid reason why a youth movement that is genuinely socialist—that is, one based clearly on a revolutionary Marxist program and not on a "broad" nebulous reformist one—need pay a price for supporting a radical antiwar coalition.

This is demonstrated by the YSA which has really poured energy into building SMC and its actions (far, far more than the DBC). As a result of its efforts, the YSA is not declining, but is enjoying its most significant period of growth in influence and membership.

If the DBC is losing ground as a result of participating in such coalitions as SMC, its members should examine what this may suggest is wrong with DBC politically, not join in trying to purge and scrap the SMC.

Nor can it be argued that the DBC suffered setbacks because it subordinated its program to that of SMC. In those committees it dominated it imposed its own particular program in a thoroughly sectarian way.

This is testified to by the situation at Hunter College, where, the report states, the DBC organized and led the strike committee and where after the strike the DBC disappeared. "Not seeing any difference between our organization and the Strike Committee," the report says, "they [the members] decided to end their membership in the DBC."

## WAR IS OVER?

Meanwhile, some people in the pacifist movement are explaining why they think the Vietnam war is coming to an end and why they won't have to continue suffering the penalty of being part of a broad coalition.

A four-page printed brochure published June 1968 by the War Resisters League offers an analysis of the present situation. An introduction explains:

"This analysis is not an official statement of the War Resisters League but is offered by the staff and officers of the WRL as a position paper which may be helpful to WRL members."

The fact that the statement is by the staff and officers of the organization does, we presume, give it some status. We will quote some of its significant parts.

"It is unlikely that Washington and Hanoi, having finally sat down together, will break off negotiations and engage in a new escalation of the war. In our view the U. S. is phasing out the war. Despite the fact that Johnson has said on many occasions that he would never, under any circumstances, 'abandon' the government of South Vietnam, it seems clear that he is preparing to do precisely that."

Aside from simply asserting this, the analysis does not even attempt to offer evidence to bolster this incredible thesis. Their thesis flies in the face of the actual U. S. moves of military escalation—moves that make clear that for Washington the negotiations are intended only to gull the American people and, hopefully, to one day formalize at the bargaining table what it intends to extract from the flesh of the Vietnamese people by ever-increased military might.

The WRL analysis does acknowledge that even while "phasing out" the war, the U. S. is still killing Vietnamese and that "pressure must continue to be exerted (by the antiwar



High school students in New York antiwar march April 27.

movement) against the government."

But this is not a serious declaration. The very next sentence states: "If [a mighty big 'if'] draft calls drop, the number of young men directly confronted with the draft will also decrease. If the war de-escalates then the pressure that drives young men toward direct confrontation with the government will lessen. It is possible that by the end of the year the period of The Resistance will be largely over."

The WRL leaders offer The Resistance the "tribute" that their efforts brought McCarthy into the campaign, which brought Kennedy in, which forced Johnson out—"a lesson of the power of civil disobedience." It does add a chaste reminder on the need to "be wary of letting our full energies be 'co-opted' into that process." (Emphasis added.)

Two conclusions flow from the estimate that the war is ending, state the WRL leaders.

"First, many of the ad hoc committees that were formed to protest this war will vanish."

The second result of an end to the war, we are advised, is that pacifist groups "will become more, not less, important."

Like the DuBois Clubs, the pacifists have found the growth of a mass antiwar movement very unprofitable.

"In the past two or three years," the analysis states, "the antiwar movement has become so large that the pacifist movement has become almost peripheral to it. Where the WRL was once the group which organized peace demonstrations in New York City . . . the organization of mass demonstrations has passed into the hands of a broad coalition of forces of which the WRL is only one element."

Like the frog who preferred the small pond, the analysis adds: "Now, however, as the peace movement diminishes in size, the role of the pacifists in that movement increases in importance."

While not all of them would necessarily voice agreement with the "war-is-over" theme, leaders of the exclusionary bloc in SMC echo the conclusions derived from it.

"SMC's relevance in the future can no longer be measured by mass actions alone," declares SMC executive secretary Linda Morse in her position paper.

Coordinator Leslie Cagan, also an exclusionist, advises in her position paper that despite the growth and development of the student movement, "we have come to see the growing irrelevance of the SMC to students across the country."

Why? Because, "we have, in fact, devoted our time, money and energies into building mass mobilizations." (Emphasis in original.)

"For a while," she concedes, "the massive parades and rallies served a very real function . . ." But now, "students have moved from a mobilizing mentality to a student mentality."

She doesn't explain, in light of all this, why a million students responded to the SMC's April 26 strike call. Or why, for example, the student contingent was the biggest one by far in the massive April 27 antiwar parade in New York.

Phyllis Kalb, from the Communist Party, does blurt out a bit of the political consideration driving the CP to oppose a single-issue antiwar coalition.

"Things have changed very quickly in this country," her position paper states. "Between the negotiations in Paris, Johnson's an-

nouncement that he would not run again, and the entry of Kennedy and McCarthy, the Pied Pipers of American capitalism, into the presidential race, the radicals in this country are in a strange position. While last October we were the leadership of the antiwar fight and people in the country who wanted to express their feelings against the war had to follow our initiatives to be heard, now their frustration and their anger has been blunted and they have found new leaders who have a more 'realistic' chance of ending the war. They no longer rally on our initiatives." (Kalb must think it was McCarthy who brought out the million student strikers!—H. R. and L. J.)

"The radicals," she continues, "many who became so through the antiwar movement, now stand on the outskirts watching this movement. Clearly then, a mass mobilization is not next on the agenda."

Those with a knowledge of the actual political line of the CP will understand what she's driving at.

It comes down to this: The bulk of the antiwar activists, the CP contends, are now in the camp of the capitalist politicians who profess to oppose the war. They no longer follow the antiwar movement. What to do? Educate them? No. Join them. In fact help them get there.

That's the whole meaning of the CP's persistent promoting of the ruinous "lesser evil" line. That's the meaning of its dictum on the need for "progressives" to work "inside and outside" the Democratic Party. That's why you'll find CPers sporting McCarthy buttons and ringing doorbells for him.

The CP, in short, opposes mass mobilizations for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam because it cuts across the formation of "broader coalitions," particularly with forces like those led by McCarthy, since the good senator is quite strongly opposed to the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

In the present situation—that is, under the pressure of the elections and the Johnson negotiations—all those of a reformist and opportunist bent find themselves veering rather sharply to the right.

This was quite evident in the May 30 New York Free Press article on the SMC fight by Art Goldberg. This adult adviser began that article with the assertion:

"Now that the fervor of the antiwar movement has been undercut by Lyndon Johnson's withdrawal from presidential contention, and the start of somewhat tenuous negotiations in Paris . . ."

And further, ". . . with the start of negotiations, and a generational disagreement on civil disobedience and militancy versus picketing and symbolic parades [read mass demonstrations, which Brother Goldberg hastily assures us he's not against], signs of stress are beginning to appear."

A bit less agile than his CP allies in expressing the bloc's right-wing orientation, it was Goldberg who blurted out that he saw a great future for SMC if it "reaches out to students whom SDS cannot, because of its extreme radicalism, reach."

It's the attempt to put over that kind of a reformist line that is behind the campaign to drive the young revolutionaries of the YSA out of the Student Mobilization Committee and to bureaucratically change its character.

# UAW, USW sign aluminum pact; AWIU calls strike

According to the June 2 issue of Business Week, the National Mediation and Conciliation Service announced that contract rejections by the rank and file have dropped from a high of 19.3 percent in June 1966 to 11.6 percent in the first eight months of 1968. However, these statisticians may have to revise their figures very shortly.

Although the United Steel Workers and the United Auto Workers announced on June 3 that they had arrived at acceptable contracts with the Big Five in the aluminum industry, the Aluminum Workers International Union, representing approximately 14,000 workers, rejected essentially the same terms and called strikes in 12 plants of the Alcoa and Reynolds operations.

Cleveland UAW Local 1050 also rejected the pact and continued a strike it had called on May 31 when the old contract expired.

The USW rank and file do not have the power to vote on their contract. That is the prerogative of a council composed of all local union presidents—who hurriedly ratified the pact. UAW members still maintain at least that much democracy in their

## The National Picketline

union, so the Cleveland local used their rights to express their dissatisfaction. How the vote went in other locals has not been reported.

According to the daily press, the UAW-USW aluminum contract provides straight wage increases of 20 cents per hour for the first year, 12 cents the second and 13 cents the third, with 1 cent per hour in pay differentials between job classifications. Another 2.7 cents is spread for upgrading about 45 percent of the jobs to higher classifications.

A new feature in the contract is a \$30 per week vacation bonus for each week of regular vacation time. Unemployment supplemental benefits (SUB) were increased, as were pension benefits. One new holiday was added and improvements were made in life and surgical insurance, major medical coverage and shift differentials. Industry claims the whole package costs 97 cents per hour per employee.

### actors say no to pact

Scarcely had the ink dried on the USW and UAW contract than most of the aluminum industry announced stiff price increases on ingot and sheet aluminum.

The second incident relating to contract rejections occurred in New York City, when Actors Equity members angrily turned down a proposed new contract with the League of New York Theaters. The union leadership had recommended the ratification of the pact.

Under the rejected agreement, wage minimums would have gone up from a low of \$130 to \$145, and to \$165 over three years. The actors had demanded an increase to \$200 a week, higher pay for out-of-town work, increased rates for rehearsals, etc.

The union granted the industry a one-week extension of the old contract during reopened negotiations.

One spokesman for the actors said it was his opinion that, unless the owners capitulated on basic issues, a strike was inevitable in view of the "strong disapproval" of the League's proposed terms, voiced by the Equity membership on June 7.

### black workers' conditions worsening

The Bureau of Labor Statistics issued a new set of unemployment figures along with its regular April report.

For the nation as a whole, unemployment dropped to 3.5 percent, equaling the rate for January 1968, and is a post-Korean War low.

But in poverty neighborhoods the jobless rate was more than double the national figure.

Black worker jobless rates were higher than white worker rates, both in ghetto areas and in other neighborhoods—8.7 to 5.7, and 6.5 compared with 3.1

Teenage employment, it was noted, "faired poorly" in poverty neighborhoods where 20 percent of them were unemployed compared with 11 percent in other urban neighborhoods.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# Moscow, Peking, Havana: views on France conflict

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Each of the main political forces in world communism, Moscow and its followers, the Maoists, and the Cubans, have taken attitudes toward the French events characteristic of their general strategic orientations.

The Soviet spokesmen have shared the vindictive hostility toward the student revolt exhibited by the French CP. They first tried to dismiss the youth coalition that was to the left of the CP as insignificant "grouplets," composed of a handful of anarchists, adventurers and provocateurs, who were taking advantage of the "political immaturity" and lack of discipline in the student milieu.

At no point has the Soviet press acknowledged the crucial catalytic role of the student movement in touching off the French tinderbox.

When the student actions could no longer be ridiculed or ignored, Pravda concentrated fire on Daniel Cohn-Bendit. It depicted him as "the West German" who had become "the newly cooked-up leader of the 'madmen' group of Parisian students." Its May 24 issue slandered Cohn-Bendit as a provocateur. On May 28 it approvingly reported the French Stalinists' reasons for refusing to support the protest demonstrations against de Gaulle's moves to exclude Cohn-Bendit from France.

Pravda inveighed against three horrors that were raising their heads in France: Trotskyism, anarchism and Maoism. On May 30 it added a fourth in a blast by Yuri Zhukov entitled "Werewolves—on the False Prophet Marcuse and His Noisy Disciples." This epithet can take its place beside the "monsters and demons" that the Maoists see on all sides in China.

The same line is echoed in Communist circles in Warsaw, Rome and New York. Writing in the weekly Rinascita, theoretical organ of the Italian CP, on June 6, Giorgio Amendola declared that "the idea of a revolution initiated by students on the barricades, and which would supposedly develop into a frontal encounter, revives old nineteenth-century images."

In an article on the French events in Kultur, the official Polish Communist monthly literary magazine, entitled "What Will Come Out of the Chaos?", Jacek Fudkiewicz not only assailed the embattled students but poisonously suggested that the CIA, Zionist rightists and a number of foreigners had a hand in instigating their actions. Gomulka's regime has been well-disposed toward de Gaulle.

Just as the Maoist-inspired students have been participating militantly though erratically in the French struggle, so Peking has aligned itself with the French strikers and students. Massive demonstrations in solidarity with them have taken place in China.

The June 11 Hsinhua castigated the revisionist French CP for helping the government "sabotage and disrupt the fighting solidarity of workers and students." It also denounced the CP-dominated CGT for a statement on June 7 warning strikers at the Renault auto plant in Flins against playing into the hands of student provocateurs. Paris students had rushed to Flins to fight side by side with the workers against the police.

May 24 Hsinhua stated with a straight face that "the vigorous upsurge of the progressive student movement in West Europe and North America is inseparable from the

great impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution" guided by Mao's thought. It reported that "some students put up Chairman Mao's portraits in the campus of the university of Paris."

This is so. However, it did not report, as did the June 9 Intercontinental Press, that at the end of the first day of the student demonstrations strong protests forced the pro-Chinese students to take down the picture of Stalin they had put up.

Despite the militancy shown by the Maoist youth in France, the masthead of the May 31 issue of the pro-Peking French paper, La Course du Peuple, proudly proclaimed itself as the "journal of the Popular Front"—echoing the political line of the CP.

As for the Cubans, the May 24 Bohemia carried an article on the worldwide student movements which implicitly approved the student dissidence in Poland and Czechoslovakia and featured the revolt of the French youth. It quoted extensively from dispatches by the Agence France-Presse correspondent Roger Geraud, who wrote that "the students hope to apply in France the teachings of the Cuban revolution" as well as those of the Latin American guerrillas whose main ideologist is Che Guevara. Bohemia implied that the Latin Quarter has become a sort of "foco" for the student guerrilla fighters.

Geraud remarks that the sharp attacks against Cohn-Bendit by l'Humanite, which accused him of "adventurism" for leading the students to occupy the Odeon Theater, "recalls those used by the Venezuelan CP against Fidel Castro."

## Lukacs: Put Trotsky back in history books

Under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucrats, any favorable reference to Leon Trotsky and his role in the Russian revolution has been tabooed in the Soviet bloc. Now two of the most prestigious Communist writers of East Europe have openly and bluntly protested his conversion into an "unperson."

One is the celebrated Marxist philosopher Georg Lukacs of Hungary; the other is Jan Prochazka, recently restored deputy chairman of the Czech Writers Union and one of the most militant spokesmen for the liberalization movement in that country.

In an interview published in the April issue of Kortars, Lukacs wrote: "What will a man of the West say of a party history in which 1917 is discussed without mentioning the name of Trotsky and his functions at that time? This is an impossibility. I am really far from sympathizing with Trotsky. But to deny that Trotsky played a great role in the events of 1917 would mean that henceforth anything we say would not be given credence in history."

Earlier this year Prochazka published a magazine article in which he asked Vaclav David, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, why Trotsky's assassin had been given a Czech passport and a plane ticket to Prague by the Czech embassy in Mexico eight years ago. The agent of Stalin, known as Jacques Mornard, entered Czechoslovakia in 1960 following his release from a Mexican prison after serving the maximum 20-year sentence. (His present whereabouts and activities are unknown.)

Prochazka declared that this official step compromised the good name of Czechoslovakia.

These two public statements in behalf of Trotsky by such prominent intellectuals indicate the extent of the anti-Stalinism surging through East Europe today.

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

FRANCE—WHAT NEXT? Speaker, Patrick Kelly. Fri., June 21, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

FRANCE—COULD IT HAPPEN HERE? Speaker, Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL Saturdays 11:30 a.m. & 4 p.m. June 22, Permanent Revolution; July 13, The Workers' States; July 28, Cuban Revolution; Aug. 10, Fascism; Aug. 24, Black Nationalism. 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

### LOS ANGELES

FRANCE ON THE BRINK OF REVOLUTION. Speaker, Theodore Edwards, S. Calif. chairman SWP. Fri., June 21, 8:30 p.m. (rescheduled from June 7). 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

A DEBATE—What's Behind the Crisis in the Student Mobilization Committee. Speakers, Lew Jones, nat'l chairman, YSA, Linda Morse, exec. sec'y, SMC. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 873 Bdw'y. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### SAN FRANCISCO

THE CONVERGENCE OF WORLD REVOLUTION—A Panel of socialist candidates discuss Cuba, France, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, Black Power and Student Struggle. Fri. June 21, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Contrib. \$1 (students, unemployed 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Young Socialist class—Lessons of France. Sundays, 8 p.m. beginning June 23. 2338 Market St.

### SEATTLE

REFORMS IN EASTERN EUROPE—FORWARD TO SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY OR BACK TO CAPITALISM? Speaker, Will Reissner, Nat'l Comm. member, YSA. Fri., June 21, 8 p.m. 5257 University Ave. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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## Our special 12-page issues

For the past several weeks, and including this one, we have been publishing special 12-page issues instead of our normal eight pages. This has been done to give greater space to our coverage of the momentous events in France.

Although it is an added financial burden, we plan to publish several more 12-page issues during the present developments. (Any contributions to help defray this added cost will, of course, be appreciated.)



# French students march in reply to de Gaulle

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

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

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

But the response of the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail—General Federation of Labor) and the Communist Party was to assure de Gaulle that they were willing to take the struggle off the streets, out of the factories, out of the universities, and, as they expressed it, accept the electoral challenge. The intention and the effect of the CP line is to demobilize the millions of workers whose struggle in recent weeks has reached such heights that one frequently hears the comment, "Not since the Commune of 1871 has Paris seen such a mobilization of the working masses."

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

## "THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES"

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

The chants were intermixed with frequent verses and choruses of the "Internationale," the strength of which indicated that thousands of students have become familiar with the

words since the start of the struggle a month ago.

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

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

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

On June 1 only a small number of workers joined the demonstration. But, at the same time, despite the loud proclamations of the French radio and many newspapers, the strikers were holding fast on their economic demands and their refusal to return to work without an economic victory.

Clearly, the current crisis for French capitalism is not yet over.



STUDENTS MARCH. View of French student march on June 1 in reply to speech by de Gaulle challenging French workers, farmers and students.

## French Trotskyist youth answer U.S. 'The Worker'

(The June 2 issue of The Worker, organ of the Communist Party, USA, carried an article which continued the paper's attack on the revolutionary youth in France. Among other things, the article said: "It is considered significant that Mendes-France is acclaimed by students, particularly those organized in or sympathetic to the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, a Trotskyist formation.")

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

("The French Communists see this as an attempt to split the unity of the workers.") (The following answer to The Worker was written by Gerard Verbizier, editor of Avant-Garde Jeunesse, magazine of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, JCR.)

PARIS, June 8—In its June 2 issue, The Worker published an article on France which slanders our organization, the JCR. They write that Mendes-France, a representative of the capitalist class who hopes to replace de Gaulle, is acclaimed by the students and especially by those who are members or sympathizers of the JCR.

Their barefaced lie actually refers to a mass meeting of more than 50,000 people held at Charlety, a huge sports stadium in Paris, on May 27. This mass meeting followed a demonstration of more than 100,000 that had been condemned by the Communist Party.

For a long time the French CP has been wooing Francois Mitterrand, head of the FGDS (Federation de la Gauche Democratique et Socialiste—Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left). In fact, some of the present leaders of the JCR were expelled from the Communist Party and from the Communist student organization for refusing to support Mitterrand, a procapitalist candidate, in the 1965 elections. Recently Mitterrand has been considerably discredited, and the bourgeoisie, aside from the Freemasons, no longer give him much support.

In this situation, Mendes-France, pushed to the fore by the CFDT (Confederation Francaise Democratique du Travail—French Democratic Federation of Labor) and the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifie—United Socialist Party), as well as by other pseudorevolutionary formations, appeared as a possible candidate to replace de Gaulle. The massive demonstration of May 27 in Paris was supported by neither the CP nor the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail—General Federation of Labor—the CP-dominated trade unions). The PSU and the CFDT hoped to utilize the demonstration to publicize Mendes-France. However, it did not work out that way.

When the meeting at Charlety began, the JCR militants took the floor, explaining the perspectives of the socialist revolution in France. As the inheritors of the Bolshevik

tradition, this was obviously our responsibility. With every reference to the establishment of a socialist society, the atmosphere of the meeting became very militant, almost electric. The CP, in accordance with its Stalinist tradition, rejects such a perspective and found this meeting very embarrassing. But they were not alone. In such a situation, Mendes-France, with his capitalist perspective, decided not to risk being hissed off the stage by the masses present at Charlety. He decided not to take the floor. The French CP, which opposes Mendes-France (not because he is a capitalist politician, but because they support his capitalist rival, Mitterrand), decided to try to utilize this situation to fabricate, in the minds of their followers, an amalgam between the revolutionary organizations dominating this meeting and Mendes-France, thus smearing the revolutionary youth.

But why does the paper of the American CP print such obvious slanders? Probably to attempt to undercut the campaign of solidarity that our sister organization in the United States, the YSA, is carrying out.

But, in so doing, The Worker in reality admits that the meeting at Charlety was politically to the left of the CP, and that it created a real danger for them. The Worker, as well as the French CP, recognizes that the JCR was one of the principal revolutionary forces involved in this meeting—despite the fact that the JCR is still small in numbers in comparison to the French CP.

It is just one more slander against the French revolutionary movement of May 1968, from which the American CP is certainly far removed politically—it has a different line. Didn't the CPUSA support Johnson in the 1964 presidential elections? And in the revolutionary struggles in Latin America they stand with the right-wing Communist Party leaderships opposed to the Cubans.

To the mediocre, paper-shuffling bureaucrats of The Worker, we say: We do not recognize you as qualified judges of our revolutionary activities. We do not recognize you as the true Communist Party of America. You are miserable agents of the counter-revolution cast in the same mold as your French counterparts, who have exposed themselves so clearly in these past weeks.

Our confidence and our solidarity go entirely to the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the true inheritors of the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. The CP remains only the sad inheritor of the unspeakable Stalin.

**A Young Socialist Class  
on  
Revolution in  
France**

**Friday nights, 6:30**

**873 Broadway near 18th St.  
New York, N. Y. 10003**

## The Great Society

**A HELPING HAND**—Of New York's many outstanding social services, no doubt the leader is its Youth Counsel Bureau. This kindly agency intervenes on behalf of youth facing criminal prosecution. Where possible it arranges to have the charges dropped and places the youth in a job. Cooperating with agencies of equal social concern, the bureau has been very successful. Last year alone it placed 3,000 young men, 70 percent of its caseload, with a single employer—the U. S. armed forces.

**FOR MORE LABOR**—An Opposition Labor member of the Australian parliament demanded the government protect baby carriage manufacturers from the effects of birth control pills. He said a manufacturer in his constituency had advised him that carriage sales had been "gravely affected" by the pill. Maybe they could do something like make half the pills ineffective.

**THAT BERKELEY IMAGE**—Student dissenters at the University of California in Berkeley are giving the place a "distorted image," according to Vice Chancellor William Boyd. He says a good third of the students attend because they aim to be "well off financially" and that such students "regard the university highly because they find it highly efficient for their purposes." Which certainly couldn't be precisely what's bugging the other two-thirds.

**LEFT IN A HUFFMOBILE**—Australian Prime Minister Gordon had to face an Australian newsmen at a Saigon press conference who had the temerity to suggest that Australian troops in Vietnam didn't seem to be doing well and even questioned the quality of their military equipment. "I would like to make it perfectly clear," declared the PM, "that the progress and capacity of the Australian military forces will not be questioned in my presence." He thereupon terminated the news conference, departing in a huff.

**THEY'RE TOO DAMN LOGICAL**—"I don't think kids now are worse than they used to be. They have better education now, but there are many without opportunities. This is where the trouble starts. They wind up blaming the system, then they try to change the system."—Senator George Aiken of Vermont.

**RAVAGES OF REVOLUTION**—"The French Revolution of 1968 has not exactly forced New York gourmets to tighten their belts, but it has obliged them to muddle through without some of their favorite delicacies. Brie cheese, turbot and fraises de bois are some of the specialties usually received two and three times a week by New York luxury restaurants. The general strike that has paralyzed industry as well as shipping and postal service in France has cut off New York restaurateurs from their source of supply."—The New York Times.

**WRONG TRACK**—Manuel Cohn, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, takes a dim view of the advertising used by some security companies. Some ads for securities, he said, "are not unlike comments found in a horse racing tout sheet." But this would suggest that security investors, who rank among our most solid citizens, can be approached as though they were common gamblers.

**NERVOUS TENSION**—The following correction appeared in the June 6 New York Times: "As a result of a typographical error, a headline in some copies of the first edition of the New York Times Sunday said that a flow of 'terrorists' into France was resuming as tension eased. The headline was subsequently corrected to say that it was a flow of tourists into France that was resuming. The Times regrets the error."

—HARRY RING

# ...FRENCH LEFTISTS OUTLAWED

(Continued from page 1)

and split them from the ranks of labor. Through this "divide and rule" tactic the reactionaries hope to gain time, demoralize the worker militants, and restabilize the shaken supremacy of capitalism. They hope to get away with all this with tacit compliance from the CP.

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

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

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

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

These developments expose both the fraud and the folly of relying upon the pending elections to settle the life and death issues posed by the present revolutionary upheaval. The elections are designed to give the capitalist rulers enough time and cover to stave off fur-

## PCI: 'We will emerge stronger!'

(The following statement by Pierre Frank, secretary of the French Internationalist Communist Party, was issued June 13. The Militant received it via telephone from Paris.)

I learned from a press agency that the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) has been placed on the list of organizations whose dissolution has been decreed by the Council of Ministers. I have had no official notification of this measure but it does not surprise me.

The PCI, it should be remembered, was built in the underground during World War II through the fusion of various Trotskyist groups of that time. It has been active in public life since the liberation. Among other things, since 1946 it has run candidates in legislative elections many times.

Our members were persecuted and arrested during France's war with Vietnam and again in the war with Algeria. The government measure, which has struck at various revolutionary youth organizations along with us for allegedly organizing commando groups, is a completely arbitrary administrative directive. The government does not dare to present its case in the courts, where it would have to formulate exact charges and present evidence.

The government move coincided with the frenzied campaign which the leaderships of the PCF (French Communist Party) and the CGT (General Federation of Labor) are conducting against the "leftists." These leaderships have not protested at all against the repression which can turn in their direction in the future.

We are studying the legal aspects of the measure and are reserving our right to challenge it. We are confident that many labor and civil liberties organizations will speak up against the dissolution measures taken by the government against a series of vanguard organizations, and will struggle against these decrees until they are abrogated. In any case, the Trotskyists, who have undergone many repressions before, will emerge from this attack stronger than ever.

ther advances of the socialist revolution, exhaust the energies of the workers, and, at the propitious moment, proceed to behead and smash their offensive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cable protests to Premier Pompidou in Paris. Hold public solidarity meetings. Support the call (see page 1) to hold protest demonstrations before French consulates and information agencies throughout the United States on June 22.

## Poor People's project is beset by difficulties

BY BERTA GREEN

RESURRECTION CITY, Wash. D. C., June 12—From an overflow population of more than 3,000, the Poor People's campaign at Resurrection City has dwindled to less than 800.

Mud, confusion, disorganization, bureaucracy, and mismanagement seem to be the most noticeable characteristics of life at Resurrection City. Despite all this, many of the participants still seem to maintain an unquenchable hope.

Those who have the greatest determination to stick it out "until they give us something" are the people from the South. Typical of these is a 27-year-old Afro-American mother of three children from Selma, Ala., who told me she was ready to stay at Resurrection City "forever" if necessary, although it means sacrificing her welfare checks.

One woman, a middle-aged white sewing machine operator who supports her parents on \$53.50 a week, told me she was staying because she feels she has no alternative. "I can't go back to that life," she says. "I'm just too tired."

Among the Northerners participating in the campaign, there seems to be a feeling that not much can be accomplished at Resurrection City except a dramatization of the existence of poverty in this country.

One young black woman who came all the way from California told me she had done so mainly because she wanted a chance to participate in the exchange of ideas which she thought would be going on during the campaign. She was "tired of this society" and wanted to learn how to change it.

Members of the Milwaukee Commandos, the NAACP youth group led by Father Groppi, complained that they did not come

## JCR: 'Struggle continues!'

(Following are excerpts from a June 12 statement by Alain Krivine, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, which The Militant received via telephone from Paris.)

What "combat groups" are provoking armed demonstrations in the streets? There are such groups—the CRS (Compagnies Republicaines de Securite—special police forces), the Gardes Mobile, to say nothing of their "private" counterparts, the AC (Civic Action) and the JDR (Committee for the Defense of the Republic) . . .

If the French Communist Party and General Federation of Labor do not defend these first organizations to be victimized by the repression, who will stand up to the next move of the Gaullist government? Will the ballot safeguard all workers' organizations tomorrow? All organizations that stand for democratic rights and civil liberties?

The choice is not between de Gaulle and Mitterrand, but between the bourgeois elections and a socialist revolution. The power of the workers is in the streets, not in the ballot box. The government understands this perfectly. . . .

Today, for having objected to the Gaullist armed bands in the streets, for having participated in the general strike, for having supported the strike which is still continuing, the JCR has been dissolved by the government.

But the revolutionary movement cannot be dissolved. The socialist revolution remains on the agenda. The need for action has already moved to the formation of action committees. It is only the beginning. The struggle continues.

looking for "big speeches and no action." If "we don't get anything," they said, "maybe we'll turn Carmichael loose." They then went on to explain how they viewed non-violence as "only a tactic."

A member of the Oakland Black Panther Party is taking part in the campaign, "because I'm poor too and I'm willing to try anything once." But, "I'm for self-defense," he said, "but I'm not causing any trouble here."

The rank-and-file participants in the campaign to whom I talked seemed to know very few details about the headline-getting dispute between SCLC leaders and Bayard Rustin. Bayard Rustin had agreed to head the large-scale march planned of June 19, but withdrew from the campaign when SCLC leaders attacked him for watering down the demands.

It is clear that the people of Resurrection City are simply not involved in the decision-making process there, including decisions on questions as important as what the demands of the campaign should be.

Thus, the leaders have had to face numerous small revolts, perhaps the most significant of these being the refusal of the Mexican-Americans under the leadership of Reies Tijerina to move into Resurrection City until certain guarantees are met that they will not be "pushed around" by the marshals.

The Mexican-Americans are some of the most militant participants of the Poor People's campaign. When, after the assassination of Robert Kennedy, a march on the National Rifle Association headquarters in favor of gun-control laws was held, Tijerina's group led a contingent to the State Dept. to seek a meeting with Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

I talked with a number of the leaders of both the United Latins for Justice and the Mexican-American Student Association of California.

They told me that, "If all the young people get together we can shake up this country and do as the French students did. If we want a real change, there's got to be a revolution."

## Resist attacks on Blacks in Louisville

(FROM THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND)

LOUISVILLE, KY.—City officials are using the recent uprisings in this city as an excuse for victimizing black militants. However, action is being taken by both black and white activists to beat this effort. Already the city has been forced to cut bail bonds for three black leaders, from \$175,000 to \$25,000.

The three were accused of plotting to dynamite oil refineries and gasoline-storage tanks in the West End, where most of Louisville's 100,000 black people live.

Those charged were James Cortez, Washington, D. C., a volunteer worker for SNCC, and Sam Hawkins and Robert Sims Kuyu, officers of the Black Unity League of Kentucky. Kuyu and Hawkins also work for Vista.

Cortez, Kuyu, Hawkins and Charles X of the Muslims spoke at a street-corner rally on May 27, the day the uprising began. The rally was called to protest the reinstatement of Patrolman Michael Clifford, who had been dismissed earlier from the police force for punching a black man in the face.

The Police Department fired Clifford, but the Civil Service Commission ordered him back to work. Mayor Kenneth Schmied had the power to reject the commission's action, but he delayed.

About 500 people were peacefully leaving the May 27 rally when three police cars roared into the intersection with red lights flashing. A bottle hit the windshield of one of the cars, and six policemen leaped from the cars, waving pistols in the air. Soon six more police cars arrived. More bottles and some bricks fell, and police began firing into the air.

Then people began tearing up sidewalks to get bricks to throw, breaking store windows, overturning police cars and setting them afire. The rebellion then spread over the West End and into the downtown section of the city. Gov. Louie Nunn sent the National Guard into the city within two hours.

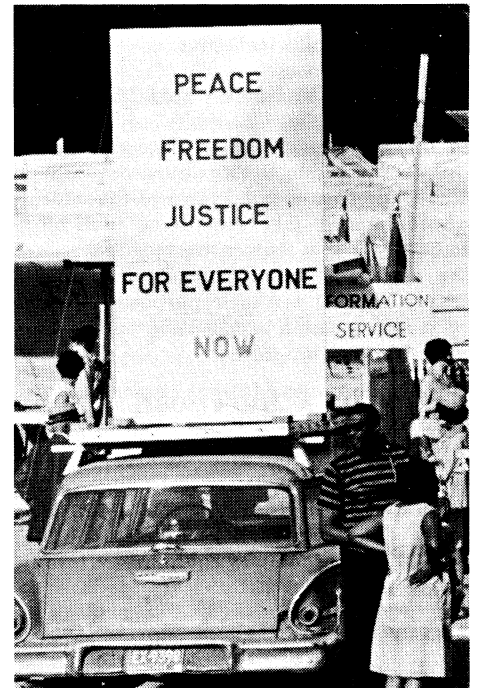
The next day a group of 50 white people went to City Hall to demand the removal of the Guard, amnesty for people arrested, and action by the city to provide jobs, decent housing, better schools, and the firing of Clifford. They said the presence of troops was a main factor in keeping the rebellion going.

The mayor locked the protesters out of City Hall and police headquarters. Seven were arrested for picketing.

Within three days, two black youth had been killed, one by a cop and the other by a white store owner. In addition, 20 people had been shot by police and more than 400 people arrested. Bonds were set so high that few could be released.

White activists formed the White Emergency Support Team (WEST). Its aim is "to act immediately and effectively in support of the black community as crisis situations develop."

WEST reached thousands of white people with the truth about the uprising through television, radio, newspapers, leaflets and picketing in the downtown section.



At Resurrection City

### Notice to subscribers

Changing your address for the summer? Send us your new address, including zip code, right away.