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Arch A

P R E F A C E

The tracts which poured out of the occupied universities were a potent weapon in the revolutionary movement. Produced at high speed, they were not meant to be literary masterpieces of philosophic speculation, but propaganda to keep the struggle going and to persuade workers and passers-by to make their own efforts to build the revolution. The emphasis was not on exhortation, or even explanation, but to outline the concrete aims and achievements of the workers and students, and encourage others to act on their own initiative in the same spirit.

The Manifesto and pamphlet which follow are both concerned with the beginning of the movement, when the students fought for their rights against police repression and as a result gained the solidarity of the workers, to whom they opened the faculties they had occupied.

M A N I F E S T O

Since Friday 3 May, tens of thousands of students, high school children, faculty members, and young workers have been engaged in a new type of struggle, in the street as well as in the faculties.

Having begun at the Faculty of Nanterre by questioning the content and methods of the bourgeois University through using direct action, and movement now poses the question of the overthrow of the Gaullist regime.

HOW HAVE WE GOT THIS FAR?

The steely determination brought out by the attempts of the government and university authorities to shatter by force the agitation that was slowly developing has reasons which it is important to examine and understand. The resistance and fighting spirit of the students brought forth a sort of admiration for people who dared to resist the CRS, Gardes Mobiles, and other police. Certainly the workers were horrified by the brutality of the police repression, but what was new was seeing the students not behaving like sheep but actually fighting and resisting.

Since Monday the 6th, by the end of the day, young workers have begun to fight alongside the students. The bitterness and cold fury that has been smouldering for years at what the police made people do, as well as their daily provocations, finally made things explode. The repression used against the strikes, the CRS inside the factories, the police raids on young people in the suburbs, all this daily evidence of a State founded mainly on the power of its police, brought things to the boil. The beginning of the actual fighting was a tremendous release for many people who came to join the students "against the cops". Amongst the many vulnerable points of a regime that has lasted ten years and which symbolises at one and the same time the completely conservative spirit of the French bourgeoisie and its feeble attempts to "modernise" the exploitation of the workers, it was the hatred of the police and of repression that proved the principal motive for action. Something to think about!

THE PRESENT UNCERTAINTY

3000 on 3 May, 15,000 on the 6th, more than 10,000 behind the barricades on the 10th, and on the 13th, for the general strike, we were more than a million. And yet... since the 13th there has been a malaise which has been growing. The "death" (of the movement) and "recovery" (by the parliamentary parties) have been preached constantly. It is widely feared that the tardy and reserved help given us by the trade union leaders will be nothing but a stab in the back. The Faculties are occupied, the Sorbonne is occupied, but nothing is settled for all that and Pompidou is playing the role of "saviour returned from far-off lands".

This time of uncertainty is the natural consequence of two basic characteristics of the movement: its lack of organisation and weakness in planning. While these are our guarantees against rigidity of thought and the sectarianism that distinguishes the extreme left, unless we are careful these two elements could lead to the body of the movement being swallowed up.

TWO CURRENTS

In effect two currents emerge from the many discussions of these last three days. On the one hand there are those who want to take advantage of the "university crisis" to make the present government put "university reforms" into practice. These are often the same people who are quite happy to see the occupation of the Sorbonne turn backwards to the absurd archaisms of folklore. On the other hand there are those whose hopes for revolutionary action were spurred by the week of the barricades. These people want the overthrow of the regime more than "student power", an alliance with the workers more than an alliance with the professors who yesterday declared themselves against us and today put on the charm. Tuesday morning's occupation of the factory at Rhodiaceta and today's occupation of the factory at Rhodiaceta and today's occupation of the Sud-Aviation factory at Nantes are pointers to the future.

It is not a matter of opposing point by point every university demand and every demand on a general political level; it is a matter of their order of importance.

PUT POLITICS FIRST

These two currents split when it comes to action. On one side there are those who are happy to bury themselves in the faculties in order to have a "better" normal life. On the other are those who want to transform our recaptured faculties into bases of action aimed at the outside world. When we were facing the cops we had to shout "The Sorbonne belongs to the students". Now that we are in possession we must shout "The Sorbonne belongs to the workers". We must use the faculties we hold as revolutionary bases from which to organise the movement, from which to send out the propaganda groups to go to the suburbs and the working-class areas where every day the cost of the struggle is paid. Now we must

APPROACH THE WORKING-CLASS

Not to organise them ourselves, but to take advantage of the audience which gave us courage and explain the necessity of overthrowing the regime. In the suburbs we must renew the validity of our struggle and say why we are against capitalism. There we must also learn the genuine truth of what we only know from books: the exploitation of labour. Now, finally, we must again take to the streets, because it is there that the confrontation takes place which joins us to the workers.

THE SORBONNE IS OUR BASE, NOT A BATTLE-GROUND

There are three viewpoints on the question of organisation. The first only wants to profit from the present situation to buttress its own little group, without understanding that if the mass isn't behind it it isn't only because of their wishy-washy politics, but because it refuses to take part in their sectional fights or their parliamentary opportunism. Another viewpoint holds that the movement must keep to the absolute minimum of organisation in order to safeguard its creative spontaneity. These comrades are also mistaken because they don't understand that while it is possible to spontaneously organise 500 people to build a barricade, it is quite impossible to overthrow the regime using such methods. We must organise from the grass-roots, through action and for action.

ACTION COMMITTEES EVERYWHERE

They can take diverse forms: based on agreement, districts, work-places, etc. But they have this in common - that they are very small units, of 10 to 30 people, since if they are made for discussion they are above all made for action. When you get an assembly of 200 people, divide it into 10 Committees!

- Each Committee meets every day or two.
- Each Committee sends a delegate to the daily Co-ordination Meeting at 2 o'clock, Staircase C, 1st floor, in the Sorbonne (at 6 o'clock for those who can't come at 2).

- Each Committee keeps in touch with neighbouring Committees (e.g. all The Committees of the 15th Arrondissement, or all the teachers' Committees, or all the scientists' Committees, etc.) in order to establish a co-ordination network.
- Each Committee decides what it can do best and makes this known.
- Each Committee gives its opinion on future policy and publicises it.
- An individual does not wait to be given instructions; he organises his friends and then makes contact with the Co-ordination centre.
- The members of the Committee take part in the debates in the lecture halls, and in the commissions, but they do not confuse this with taking part in the activities of their own Committee. These debates serve to raise the general intellectual level by discussion on any subject without restrictions, but that's all. They do not take the place of organising for action.

NO TO UNIVERSITY REFORMISM AND TO APOLITICAL FOLKLORE

LET US OPEN THE WAY TO A REVOLUTIONARY CONFRONTATION WITH

THE REGIME

The Co-ordinating Centre of the Action Committees

AUTOMANAGEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITIES - C O M B A T G A S
USED AGAINST PARIS STUDENTS and CIVIL POPULATION,
INCLUDING TOURISTS, SPECTATORS, AND JOURNALISTS.

PARIS STUDENTS WISH TO INFORM TOURIST ON FACTS THAT
HAVE BEEN SUPPRESSED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT
CENSORSHIP

(Please, be aware that the distributors of this might be
arrested)

In last week's streetfighting the following means were
used by C.R.S. (the French Ministry of the Interior's
dreaded riot police) to repress the demonstrators:

- + PERCUSSION GRENADES (also: "thunderflashes")
- + INCENDIARY GRENADES (burning eyes and skin)
- + C O M B A T GASSES "CN", "CB", composed of
chloride and bromide derivates, as being
employed by U.S. troop in Vietnam, causing
suffocation and death, and for which there
is no anti-toxic in the whole of France
(Hospitals were not warned)
- + INCAPACITATING GASES acting on the brain
and nervous system.

These weapons, besides others, have been abundantly used
all during the past week in Paris' Latin Quarter to
regardlessly attack PUBS, TUBE-STATIONS, PUBLIC-BUSES,
STORES, and FLATS.

SO FAR WE KNOW THAT THERE WERE (a WHITE BOOK is being
carefully prepared)

- + WOUNDED, who were beaten when carried away
on Red Cross stretchers
- + DOCTORS BEATEN and deprived of their most
essential medical kit by C.R.S.
- + wounded to whom POLICE REFUSED MEDICAL CARE
for more than 24 hours

- + some 1,200 hospitalised students and population ARRESTED IN THEIR HOSPITAL BEDS of whom no trace can be found up to now
- + several hundred families still searching desperately for traces of their student children
- + at least one MORTAL case of a student whose THROAT WAS CUT when police forced him intentionally onto the frame of a broken window at 24, rue Gay-Lussac.

THE OUTRAGEOUS HAPPENINGS OF LAST WEEK have induced many doctors and hospital personnel to co-operate in the establishing of the facts despite the fact that authorities tried everything to pressure them into silence for reasons of "Medical Ethics". The doctors of St. Antoin Hospital spontaneously held a press conference, as well as fifty doctors who had rushed to the fighting scene to help.

THIS IS THE REASON WHY THE STUDENTS ARE ASKING FOR THE RESIGNATION OF THE PREFECT OF PARIS'S POLICE, Grimaud, AND THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, Fouchet, under whose exclusive orders the C.R.S. TROOPS stood and still stand.

+ Paris' Students refuse to have talks with cold-blooded murderers. In order to escape the manipulation of irresponsible politicians and parties of whatever brand they are, they DEMAND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AUTONOMY OF THE UNIVERSITY COMPARABLE TO THE FORMAL STATUS THE SORBONNE ENJOYED IN THE MIDDLE AGES OF FRENCH HISTORY, which they hope to be able to fill with new enthusiasm and creativity. They are convinced that AUTOMANAGEMENT (meaning also the administration of an autonomous budget) combined with IMAGINATION and GENUINE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES really lived through and experienced during the events of the past week, will, on the grounds of this historic campus return the FRESHNESS and COMPETITIVENESS which modern society is asking for. They insist that they are

not ready to give up the practical and political ground won at the price of so much bloodshed and their friends' lives. + Most of the Paris campuses have followed the example of occupying and defending the campus grounds against whichever police, or political, force might tempt to gain hold on them; they are ready to give whatever sacrifice this could demand. Universities all over France's provinces have done the same. + Seminars are taking place permanently day and night to determine the general and specific practical course to be followed in automanagement; they will continue until the most effective and applicable solution to the rising problems have been determined; students are aware of the enormous responsibility they have taken on themselves and do not want to rush into lighthearted and erring decisions. For the moment they consider as derisory the continuation of instruction matters other than those immediately helping them in their scientific and democratic fact-finding though they will only too happily return to their regular studies under a new system when the principals of automanagement have been established on a scientific base taking into consideration the Human condition. RECENT BLOODY EXPERIENCES HAVE TAUGHT THE STUDENTS THAT THEY CANNOT TRUST THE MOST SOLEMN STATEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, and they therefore have to rely on their own strength in building a more efficient and more humane university giving equal chances to those so far, for material reasons, barred from higher education.

The students are convinced that they will, despite formal conciliatory statements of untrustworthy politicians, be once more attacked by the C.R.S. troops, who, though withdrawn to a large extent from the immediate surroundings of the Sorbonne, have been concentrated on strategic points inside the metropolitan left bank from where they could reach within minutes the Latin Quarter. Silent arrests of students at their homes and in the streets are still continuing, to what extent is not yet known

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The workers have begun the struggle at Caen and Redon, and those of SUD-AVIATION at Nantes are occupying their factory. Everywhere the students are on their side.

The workers are for free union activity and freedom of the press inside their workshops.

The students are for freedom of expression inside the University and for political discussion within its walls.

The students are for the end of capitalism, the watchword they took from the worker's movement itself.

The society that the students want is in every way the same as every militant and every worker has always believed in.

All this unites us.

Under the old university regime the students were trained to be like cops in your factories. They wanted the students to become the oppressors of the workers.

From now on they refuse to play that role. Now it is essential that students and workers come together and understand each other if they want to work out some common objectives together.

We no longer want to trust our demands to professional politicians.

But such an objective can only be beneficial if there is a lively and concrete exchange of information every day between workers and students in permanent, human contact.

Workers, the students will go into your factories and your districts.

Workers, the Universities are open to you.

MEETINGS PARIS SUBURBS, FRIDAY AT 6
GET DETAILS

Worker-student action committee

Student-worker contacts were established as the workers' occupation of their factories took place. These bridged the information gap between each factory and helped the co-ordination of the strikers' efforts. They were also deeply concerned with the condition of the foreign workers, who were ignored by the trade unions.

FOREIGNERS!

A committee for foreigners has been created at Censier, room 410. The aims of this committee are:

- a) to fight to obtain the foreigners' political rights in the society in which they are being exploited.
- b) to abolish the present statute of foreigners and their segregation on all levels.
- c) To make known by means of the press the scandal which the present situation of foreign workers and students in France constitutes.

The committee does not give out political instructions. Each one of you will participate in the struggle in the french organisation which suits him best.

The committee will provide secure medical and legal aid for all foreigners suffering from police threats concerning their activities in the events.

EXTRACT FROM A CALL TO FOREIGN STUDENTS:

Last week, in the streets, several thousand demonstrators shouted:

YOU ARE ALL CONCERNED

You know that a considerable number of foreign students have been arrested. You cannot remain unconcerned by what happened to your comrades. All your french comrades are on strike. Express your solidarity by attending the public meetings organised every evening at the Sorbonne.

In case anyone thought that the workers had nothing to protest about:

- THE CITROEN PRISON-LODGINGS -

Engaged in the same fight as the Citroen workers, a group of doctors and nurses has been able to penetrate clandestinely one of the lodging centers where the Citroen management attempts to consolidate the physical and moral enslavement of the workers as it does in the factories.

WE DENOUNCE:

- THE INHUMAN MATERIAL CONDITIONS

- The exiguous and unhealthy rooms, whether they be in modern blocks as in Villejuif, or in shanty-towns as in Chatenay Malabry.

- The barrack's furniture, superposed bunks, six chairs for the twelve workers, insufficient lighting, leprous walls.

- The insufficiency and irregularity of the heating which stopped functioning for a month in the winter of 1967 at Chatenay Malabry

- The insufficiency of the sanitary installations (twenty seven showers, eleven out of order, for four hundred and thirty people at Chatenay Malabry, 13 showers for 360 people at Villejuif, open only two days a week, no hot water in the communal sinks.

- The under-nourishment; before leaving for the factory at five o'clock in the morning, the workers only get black coffee, no sugar, no bread. Only at eight o'clock, during a short break, can they buy a snack.

Lunch costs four to five francs, the break lasts half an hour but you sometimes have to wait 20 minutes at the canteen. The supper at the center is composed of a very thick soup, some boiled potatoes and for instance a piece of omelette; one obviously insufficient piece of bread; there is no wine. The even more ludicrous Sunday night meal is always cold.

- The absence of infirmary and even first aid. The sick, whether contagious or not, are taken care of at their own expense in the rooms.

- The complete absence of distractions apart from the television, which is only switched on according to the chief of the center's whim.

- Finally as there is no organised transport for these centers situated in the suburb, two or three sleep or leisure hours are lost in travel.

BUT ABOVE ALL, to live in one of these barrack-prisons you must pay a fee, and Citroen takes advantage of these lodging-camps to get back 130 francs a month from the salaries of the least privileged.

WE DENOUNCE:

- The intolerable empeachment on human dignity
- Any VISIT, even from the family, is FORBIDDEN
- There is a DAILY INSPECTION OF A MILITARY NATURE which forbids the presence of any personal objects, and verifies that the beds are perfectly made.
- In the Nanterre center, it is FORBIDDEN TO SPEAK at the table.

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- Political NEWSPAPERS, leaflets, even discussions are FORBIDDEN.

- One cannot take photographs.

- All claims are PUNISHED: the signatories of a petition demanding sanitary installations were excluded from Meudon.

- SPYING, REPORTING, bullying are brought about by the chiefs of the centers recruited among ex-legionnaires.

- Teams with different time tables are put in the same room: some go to bed at midnight and others get up at four o'clock in the morning.

AGAINST BERCOFF'S CONCENTRATIONIST SYSTEM
AGAINST THE CAPOS OF CITROEN
AGAINST THE CRUSHING OF MEN IN THE FACTORY
AND OUTSIDE THE FACTORY.

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE

Then came De Gaulle's speech of 24 May when he promised a referendum on participation when he said he would leave if the vote went against him. That same night there were violent demonstrations all over France (including the setting on fire of the Paris Bourse), and the brutality of the police repression surpassed all previous boundaries. So violent was their action that the Chief of the Paris police, M. Grimaud, who had been publicly backing his men all along, was forced to send round the letter which follows

LETTER FROM Mr. GRIMAUD
(Prefect of the police; equivalent
to the English Commissioner*)
TO THE POLICEMEN OF PARIS

Paris; the 29th May 1968.

I am speaking today to all of you: including all men and all officers, and I want to speak to them on a subject which we have no right to ignore: the excesses of the use of forces.

If we do not explain ourselves very clearly on this point, we may win the battle in the street, but we will lose something much more precious: our reputation. I know that the great majority of you condemn these methods. I also know, and you know as well, that certain things took place which no one can accept.

Of course, it is deplorable that the press has not revealed the amount of abuse and blows the police suffered while remaining calm and simply doing their duty. I have been at the bedside of some of our wounded and I can testify as to the savagery of some of the aggressions which range from cobble stones thrown straight to the head to spurts of chemicals intended to blind or to cause dangerous burns.

All this is sadly true. This is why I understand the frequent violence of their action when men are thus attacked for long moments and receive the order to clear the streets: But, once the inevitable shock of the contact with aggressive demonstrators which one has to repel is passed, the men of order that you are should immediately regain all their self-control.

To strike a demonstrator who has already fallen on the ground amounts to striking one's self by appearing in a light which harms the whole function of the police. It is even more serious to strike demonstrators after they have been arrested and when they are taken to police premises to be interrogated.

I know that what I am saying here will be misinterpreted by some of you, but I know that I am right and that deep down in yourselves, you recognize this.

If I speak like this, it is because I am answerable for you, I have said so before and I will repeat it: everything the Parisian police does concerns me and I will not remove myself from it in the responsibilities.

This is why we must be equally answerable to each other in the application of the instructions on which, I am convinced, the future of the "Préfecture de Police" depends.

Bear this in mind and repeat it around you: every time unwarranted violence is committed against a demonstrator it means that a number of his comrades will want to avenge him.

De Gaulle's speech and the demonstration on the Champs Elysées prove it: the Gaullist bourgeoisie has decided to make its answer where the main danger threatened it, where we had concentrated the fighting right from the beginning - in the "real" country, the country of the streets and the factories, and no longer on the parliamentary stage.

One can see the signs of the new Gaullist resolve: the threats of M Guena (Minister for Communications) calling for the breaking of the strike and the formation of back-to-work committees; the formation of "civic action committees" or "committees for the defence of the republic" - these are all attempts by Gaullism to provide extra-parliamentary troops for itself. It is providing the famous "social basis" which it lacks in order to resemble a true fascism: groups recruited amongst the petit-bourgeoisie of the extreme Right, or amongst the "barbouzes" (ex-soldiers and legionaries etc) and other gangsters who constitute the government's "armed gangs". This is what ~~what~~ de Gaulle's speech announcing the "restoration of order in the republic" means - the use of force because "civic action must be organised". Where the police and the army - which will be used if needed - are neither dependable nor effective, a fascist organisation becomes necessary.

De Gaulle's speech is of course to a large extent bluff: this army of strike-breakers has not yet been formed. And the other side is still less ready for battle: accustomed to fighting back on the parliamentary field, the communist party suddenly finds itself under attack on a terrain where its militants had grown unfamiliar with organising action. The barricades, the occupation of the factories executed without instructions from the union leaders - these alone provided the answer to the new Gaullist attack. How ludicrous the Mendés-France solution looks today - the last parliamentary card of the bourgeoisie!

The Gaullist government is remaining in place and reinforcing itself. De Gaulle offers the communist party this choice: accept the election game - and therefore stop the strike and the demonstrations - or else prepare yourselves for war in the streets. The unions are left with only two solutions: to negotiate with the Pompidou government and try to stop the strike, or to organise a counter-attack. They seem to be going neither one way nor the other, but simply waiting to see what will happen: the workers will decide. But thanks to the unions the workers, who are determined not to give in, lack the combat weapon which they now need: a parallel system of government organised for active self-defence, truly elected and coordinated strike committees, an infrastructure enabling the strikers to live and organise the problems of transport, food supplies, and armed defence if need be.

The situation demands these parallel structures to give the masses a framework for their struggle, and to organise the counter-attack to the announced Gaullist offensive.

We have already reached a point of no return: the capitalist economy has been too seriously damaged to be able to resume "normal operations" and make concessions to the workers - international competition no longer permits that possibility. The political system has been so powerfully shaken that the reestablishment of the status quo is becoming impossible. There are only two ways in which the crisis can end:

either by smashing the working class and its organisations through the capitulation of the unions, and repressing the revolt of the workers who act on their own: such a defeat would weigh for years on the French working class;

or by an organised counter-attack by the working-class. It is the only means left to us: let's use it.

Let's make the action committees into centres of propaganda and organisation of this counter-attack. ~~But~~ Let's make them an example of how to draw on the power of the workers. If we do not immediately force the workers' organisations to take this road, Gaullism will re-establish by force a rule that will only be disturbed by the hopeless jolts of isolated centres. Once order has been restored, Gaullist power, vengeful and turned fascist in the struggle, will carry out a merciless repression.

AVANT-GARDE MILITANTS, ACT QUICKLY!
YOU HAVE VERY LITTLE TIME TO LOSE!

Let us constitute everywhere - in the universities, in the districts, in the factories - Revolutionary Action Committees, instruments of the people's own system of government and of the self-defence of the masses!

Jeunesse Communiste Revolut-
ionnaire

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OLD AGE IN POWER

"How sad and tragic it is that old age is so disastrous, that faults are so magnified by years! Why could he not relinquish office at the right time? Unfortunately at his age one does not relinquish anything, one holds on. Ambition has taken hold of that empty shell of past glory.

"He is now an old man dominated by egotism and addicted to cunning. He will tell all manner of lies. He loves power. He is flattered because they came to pull him out of retirement and put him back in the saddle. It is only human. But while preparing himself he kept silence.

"His attitude is not as disinterested as he claims. It is the attitude of an old man who wants to take hold of the reins. This is why he is dishonouring himself in this adventure."

CHARLES DE GAULLE - 1940 (Extract on PETAIN)

DeGaulle had said that elections could be held if the strikes were over. This was not what the workers desired, but the French Communist Party, and its industrial arm the CGT, wanted to improve the Parliamentary position. The reaction of the workers and students was immediate.

ONLY KNAVES OR FOOLS....

" ONLY KNAVES OR FOOLS COULD BELIEVE THAT THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD FIRST GAIN A MAJORITY BY TAKING PART IN ELECTIONS ORGANISED UNDER THE YOKE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE YOKE OF WAGE SLAVERY, AND THAT THEY SHOULD ONLY SEIZE POWER AFTERWARDS.

- THIS IS THE HEIGHT OF STUPIDITY, OR OF HYPOCHRISY, AND IT IS TO SUBSTITUTE VOTING UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM FOR THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE REVOLUTION...

- THE PARLIAMENTARY CRETINS WILL FORCE A VOTE AT ANY COST - A VOTE ORGANISED AT ANY PRICE BY THE BOURGEOISIE - TO GAIN THE SYMPATHY OF THE WORKERS.

- BUT THIS IS ONLY AN ARGUMENT ADVANCED BY PEDANTS, DEAD MEN, OR CLEVER CROOKS! "

LENIN Message to the Italian, French, and German Communists.

The students' position on the elections was very clear:

"Whether the elections give a majority to right or left, power will always be based on the same structures; in either case the electors will have to put their trust in, and submit themselves entirely to the good will of, their parliamentary representatives. But the movement of May has been precisely opposed to the idea that the professional politicians should assume control of the will of the citizens without their having a say in the matter".

After the June 3rd Communique both Mr. Mitterand and Mr. Mendes-France, the first personally, the latter through an emmissary hurriedly got in touch with one of the most advanced and most significant

group of students in France, which is the one at the Centre Censier Libre and who publish their own journal, "THE MOVEMENT".

The students rebuffed the attempts and issued the following

PUBLIC STATEMENT

REFUSAL TO COLLABORATE

According to the press, M. Mitterand is supposed to have several contacts with the students.

In the course of denouncing this manoeuvre of electoral recuperation, we have had a chance to realize the extent to which M. Mitterand is mistaken as to the Movement's real opinion of him.

In fact it has been made clear that M. Mitterand feels isolated, that he is completely ignorant of the Movement's intentions, and that he does not know whether it has adopted a position concerning the Electoral Campaign or not.

M. Mitterand's ignorance is of course absolutely unimportant. The important thing is the manoeuvre itself, and M. Mitterand's claim to have gained the support of the Movement.

We therefore declare:

- 1 - that we formally refuse to take any part in the electoral racket, or to give support to any party or political organisation whatsoever.
- 2 - that we denounce all manoeuvres tending to suggest that we are in any way connected with M. Mitterand or any other politicians.
- 3 - that any member of the Movement who has anything to do with politicians on any account will ipso facto exclude himself from the Movement.

This is a double warning:

a - to political circles

b - to such members of the Movement as may wish to advance their own interests and make use of the Movement.

During the electoral campaign, the trade unions used any means to end the strike so that elections could take place. The following pamphlet asks some questions: (issued by the students' & workers' action committee)

WHY did the union headquarters telephone the order to return to work to the LILAS depot before it has received the results of the voting in the depot?

WHY did the trade union delegates at the meeting at Denfert on Tuesday 4 June announce, before the vote, that at Massy 250 comrades against 2 voted to sign the agreement, but "forgot" to mention that a second vote was taken of 246 against 6 to have a 48-hour strike in support of their SNCF comrades?

WHY did 50 workers, amongst them several CGT unionists and members of the PCF, who went in a delegation at 3 o'clock on Wednesday 5 June to rue Charlot in order to find out the results of the voting and of the meeting of all the unions, find themselves beaten, kicked, and forbidden entry to the union headquarters, which belongs to all workers?

WHY were those comrades who remained clam despite provocation faced with a categorical refusal to their demand for information?

WHY was the CGT's money used to celebrate the victory by buying special wines for certain factories rather than to help a striker?

WHY did L'Humanite crow about the "victorious return to work"? Wasn't it the victory of the bosses? And of De Gaulle, whose threatening speech forced the end of the strike and the capitulation of the proletariat by blackmailing them with repression by the army?

De Gaulle appealed to chauvinism in his campaign, but the unions had been doing so for years, and especially during the strike. They divided native from immigrant workers, and had no concern whatever for the latter. For example immigrants were denied canteen and information facilities, and they were not allowed to serve in strike pickets. De Gaulle was therefore capitalising on an emotive issue, in the same way as Enoch Powell did in England. The following tract illustrates this.

RACISM AT THE SERVICE OF THE MANAGEMENT

May 1968, ten million strikers.

Among them, the overexploited immigrant workers took an enormous part in the movement along-side the French workers to conquer the rights and the dignity which the capitalist regime denies them (equal work, equal salary, stable employment, union rights, decent lodgings....)

In order to do this, they had to overcome their fear, their insecurity, the segregation in their working and living environment, they had to revolt against the pressures and inadmissible blackmail which they suffer from the management and the police. They demonstrated solidarity with the French workers by foiling the manoeuvres to divide the working class which have been performed for years by our common exploiters and they have refused to break the strike under the pretext of "freedom to work", freedom which they in fact never obtained.

May 1968, thousands of foreign students have supported the revolutionary movement directed against capitalist power, participating in the struggle against world-wide imperialism in the name of internationalism. Since then, the repressive apparatus struck the most vulnerable elements first: the foreigners; multiplying arbitrary expulsions (150), often handing them over to the fascist police force of their countries of origin or consigning the workers to their homes in order to prevent them from mixing with the strike pickets ...

But this was only the first step; it is the whole of the students and workers who are under fire from the slanderous attacks directed against the foreigners and designed to set off xenophobic and racist reactions in the midst of public opinion :

- claiming that the movement was due to a few foreign leaders directed from outside, in order to misrepresent its depth in the country (thus the bourgeoisie can regain a clear conscience with regard to their sons by qualifying them as irresponsible).

- attributing to the immigrant workers the responsibility of the increasing unemployment which is an economic necessity in the capitalist regime, and doing this in order to divide the working class which is united against the management, by creating an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and even hostility - divide to exploit better.

- attributing the crisis and its consequences (aggravation of living conditions) to "exterior subversion", and thus making the electorate assemble by reflex around french capitalism for the "defense of the republic".

These methods are those used by all reactionary regimes from Hitler to Salazar, from the Iranian Shah to the fascists of Indonesia.

We immigrant workers and students have understood that repression and exploitation know no boundaries, that the real boundary is the one which separates the exploited from the exploiters.

Faced with the intensifying oppression against our comrades, we appeal to the French people to affirm their solidarity, to react against the racist provocations, and to re-enforce the unity of the struggle against the capitalist profiteers who are the common enemies of all workers and all oppressed peoples.

ANYONE IS A FOREIGNER IN A CAPITALIST REGIME

Comité trois continents, 26 June

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE FRENCH UNIVERSITIES

CHARTER

Preamble:

Article 1: The student movement is not merely an answer to the police repression, nor a reaction against the insufficient tuition or a lack of sufficient job possibilities after University. It contests a University that prevents it from participating to the conflictual nature of social relations: after having put in question the University, the student movement joins the refusal of a certain kind of society: It has acquired its real dimension in uniting with the worker's struggle against capitalist society.

Article 2: The social reality; and the role the University is supposed to assume towards it, are bound to a permanent critic and contestation: We must deviate the whole of the university institution from the functions the leading class and the internal repressions have destined it, and we must make it a place where critical comprehension and reality expression means will be elaborated.

Article 3: In this irrevocable situation, this charter which expresses a common will, affirms the following principles:

Article 4: Together, manual workers and intellectual workers denounce the capitalist exploitation. There is no privileged geographical situation for this struggle, it is declared and organized in all the places where, through any of its forms, oppression is exercised.

Article 5: The University does not withhold an abstract and neuter position in relation to the society of classes: it is intentionally inserted in it through the social function it assumes. Teachers and students contest the nature and the mechanism of this insertion: form and content of the knowledge diffused, university recruitment, management modalities.

Article 6: It is not in a sclerotic form that knowledge must be transmitted. Research puts in question all knowledge and renews it. It must be a critic of the assimilated knowledge, of the economical and social aims of life, of the dominating ideology.

Article 7: Access to studies obeys, at any level, to three fundamental principles of democratisation:

- 1 - Release the students from all economical constraint, by total financing of their tuition, by society.
- 2 - The liberation from cultural restraint, which is the heritage of a society of classes; transmitted by the family and the environment, by means of a basic theoretical preparation and a continuing learning process:
- 3 - The refusal of all selection based on so-

cial differences and on short or long term economic needs.

Article 8: The teaching profession is based on

- the acquisition of knowledge
- effective research
- the possibility of transmitting knowledge

The mobility and the coordination of these three elements are the only criteria in the challenging of this profession. Therefore, the teacher's recruitment will no longer be made according to university degrees or nationality but only on their competence judged on the above criteria.

Article 9: (Autonomy). The free exercise of all liberties and the practice of direct democracy at all levels gives its true value to challenge.

Article 10: The total structure of education is independent of all power and of all pressure groups. Contestation guarantees and provides to the autonomous system the right of existence it does not possess by itself.

Article 11: The exercise of all liberties (political, trade unions) is assured by the provision of place and means (printing, poster sticking and financial support) to all groups and persons, whether they belong to the University or not. The University grounds are inviolate.

Article 12: Direct democracy must preside over all the University's means of functioning: at every level, authority belongs to the entire general assembly. The right of initiative is vital. The system of delegates is only an expedient. The representatives can be removed.

Article 13: Elected by a unique college and including all groups, the management bodies are mixed bodies; this enables to substitute to the hierarchical opposition of the bodies a base unity which is essentially defined by its work in common.

Article 14: The University is enlarged by the inclusion of all the establishments with the same vocation of teaching and research.

This text has been voted on June 22nd, at the Council Room of the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines of Nanterre; 143 voted for; 9 against and 8 abstained themselves.

The régime thought that by closing the universities the student movement would be defused. However the student militants move from faculty to faculty, keeping up their work, and even when the CRS occupy every educational institution, the militants will find a place to continue their work and carry out their plans both for the summer university and the extension of the struggle. The initiative is still ours!

Despite the fact that the repression got worse and eleven militant groups were dissolved, the militants decided to continue with their activities:

APPEAL OF 18 JUNE 1968

The men who, since 13 May 1968, have been in command of the French armies, have formed a government. On the grounds that we have been defeated this government has contacted the heads of the OAS to force us to give up the struggle.

It is true that we have beenm as it were, inundated by the enemy's command of superior machines, of land and air transport, and of the airways. Overhwlemed by their superior numbers and weight of material, we have had to retreat in front of the trampling of their jackboots through the TV screens, and the massive intoxication campaign by the Press and radio.

What surprised us and left us in a position that we are now in was their open conspiracies and the speed with which they resorted to repression. But has the last word been said? Must all hope vanish? Is the retreat final? NO.

We are speaking to you knowing very well what we're saying, and we say thatfor the revolution nothing has been finally lost.

We still have numerous ways of bringing about the eventual victory: ~~through~~ through the overhwleming majority of the working class. With them the students can make themsleves into one body to rally and continue the struggle, We, students and workers together, can direct and use the immense productive capacities of the factories and places of education.

This revolution is not limited to our country. This revolution will not stop at the events of May. This revolution is a world revolution. All the mistakes and delays will not alter thte fact that there are to hand all of the means with which we can crush our enemies.

Today we are suffering from the slightness of the mechanisms and apparatuses at our disposal. But in the future we will be able to win by our superior revolutionary strength. The future of the whole depends on it.

The Movement of 22 March asks all revolutionaries, whether workers or students, wherever they find themselves in France, to gather and organise themselves with or without Arms.

Whatever happens the flame of the people's resistance must and will not be put out.

Tomorrow as now, we will have lots to say.

Movement of 22 March.

SATURDAY 29th OF JUNE. IT IS OUR TURN TO SPEAK.

It is the turn to speak of all those who have faced the government since the third of May, from the Sorbonne to Flins and Sochaux, via the OMTF (equivalent of the BBC) .

Today while the regime is moving back in, with elections based on fear, organized by the repression, we will keep on speaking.

The Gaullist majority is a fighting management, it is the cops assassinating in Flins and Sochaux, it is militants arrested arbitrarily, the Gaullist majority is a fighting management, deported foreign workers, the cops at the door of the Universities. The Gaullist majority dissolves the revolutionary groups calling them "para-military" groups, and lets the C.D.R. (Committees for the Defense of the Republic, right-wing fascist groups) arm themselves and shoot in Saint Lazare Railway Station.

We will not let them confiscate our right to speak and to act in exchange of illusory salary concessions, by a Power of intimidation and repression.

Saturday 29th of June, it is still for us to speak up, for us the students, the strikers of Citroen, of Rhone-Poulenc and of Flins.

From 7p.m. to midnight we will hold a public forum with films and four free news bulletins, organised with the help of the O.R.T.F. strikers.

- The arbitrary management decision at Citroen.
- The experience of the strike in Nantes, which set off the general movement.
- How a basically active strike was organised in the workshop committees of Rhone-Poulenc.
- How the students and the workers faced the government's offensive against the strike in Flins:

IT IS OUR TURN TO SPEAK, LET US SPEAK.

Halle aux Vins, Saturday 29th of June, 7 p.m. to 12 p.m.

THE ACTION COMMITTEES