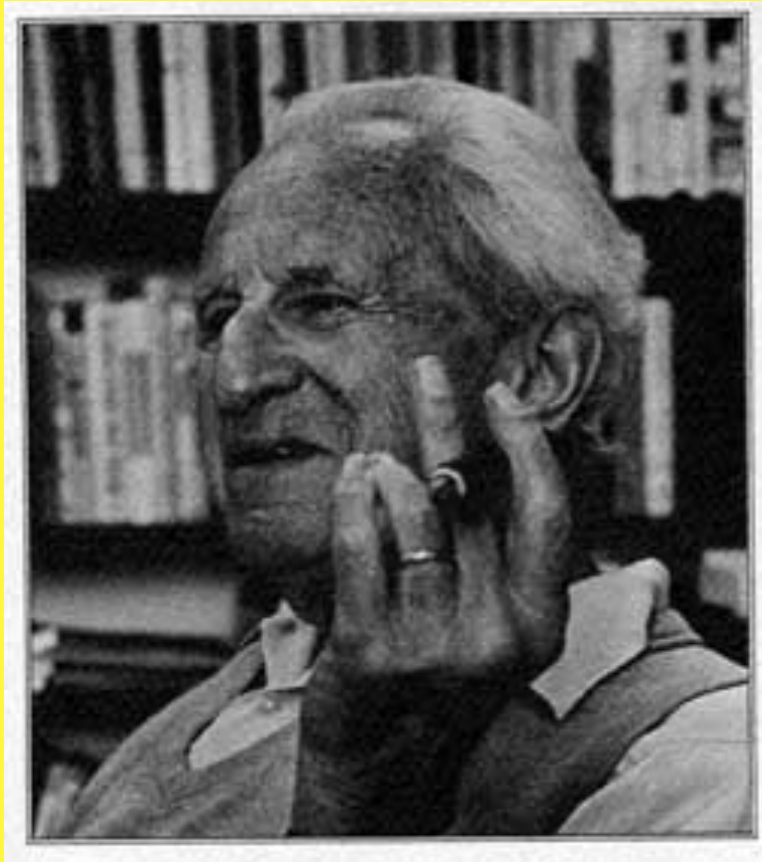


May 1968:
A New Kind of Revolution?

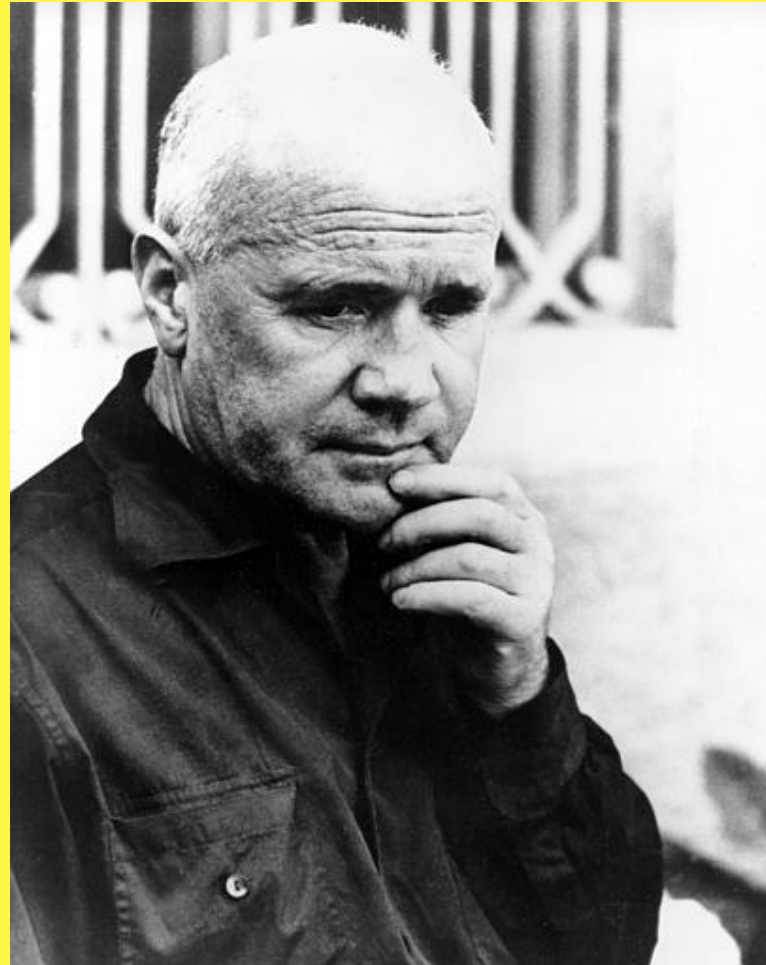
George Katsiaficas

Herbert Marcuse



Soyez réalistes,
demandez l'impossible

Be realistic, ask
for the impossible.



Jean Genet

On achète ton bonheur.

Vole-le.

Your happiness is being bought.

Steal it.



Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir

July 14, 1789



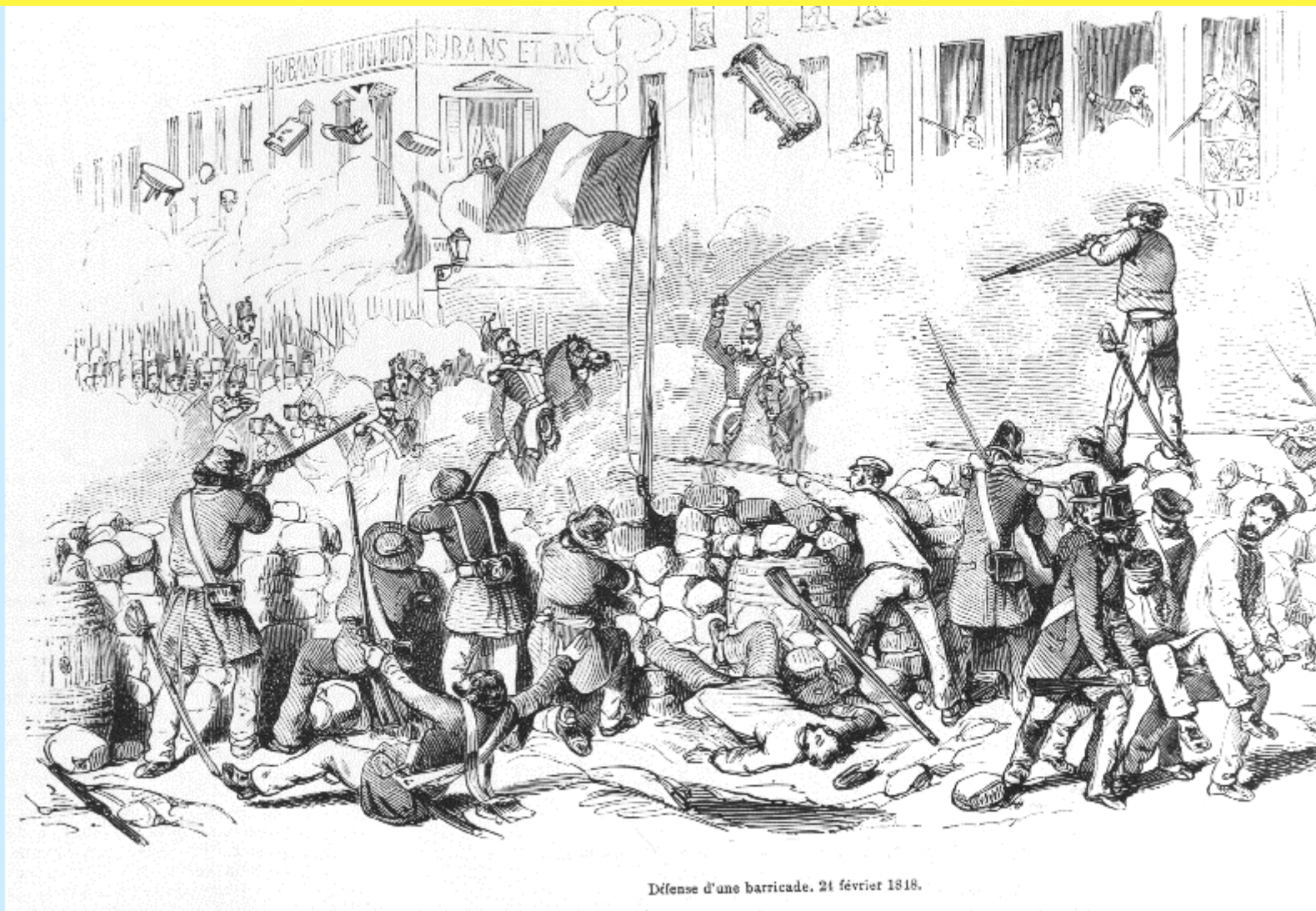
Liberty leading the people



Eugene Delacroix 1830

1848





Défense d'une barricade. 21 février 1848.

Barricades - Février 1848

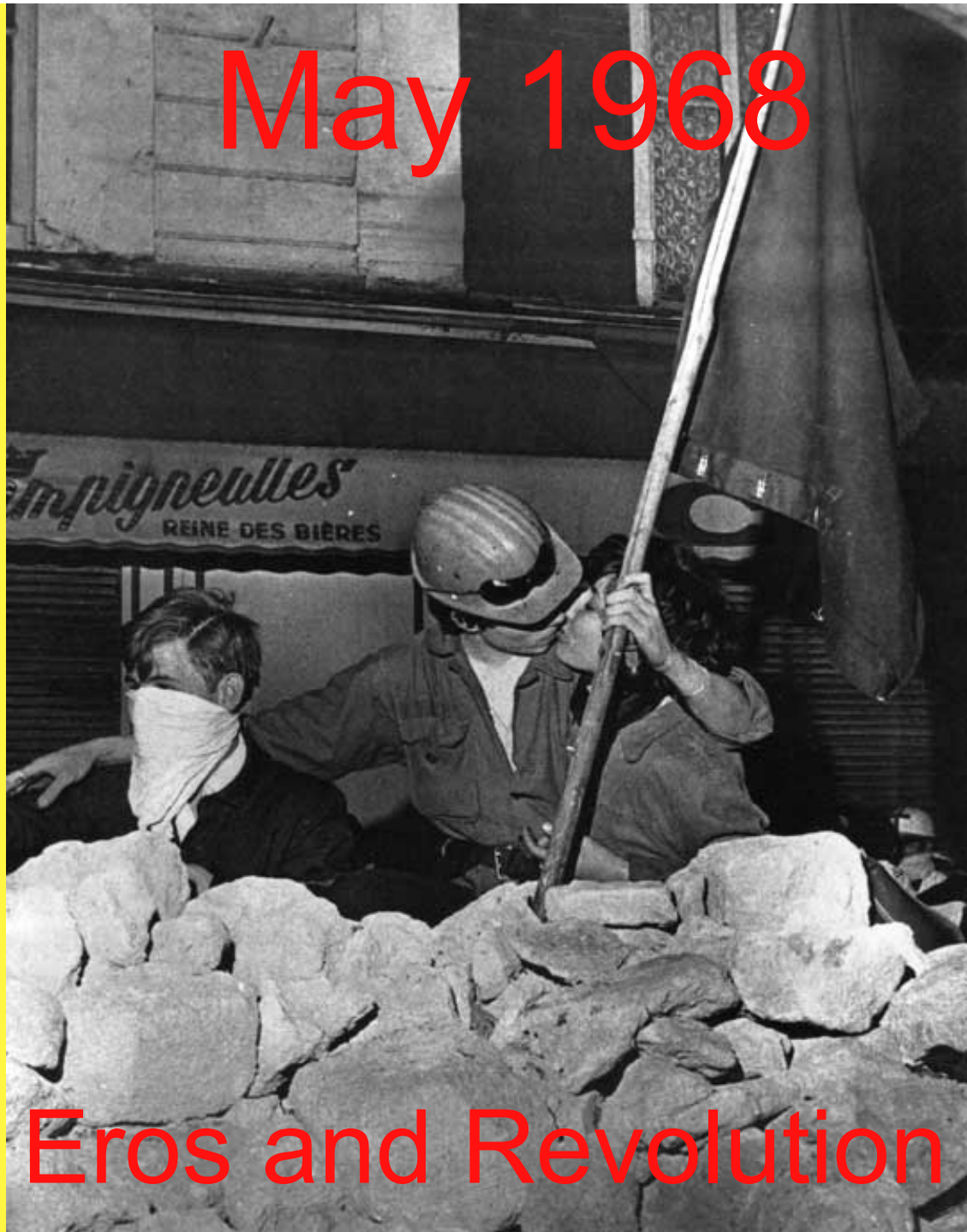
Paris Commune 1871





Paris, 29 mai 1871.
Lendemain de guerre
civile. Les premiers
d'exécution se font entendre, au
du Luxembourg et
l'École militaire. Ailleurs
ruines des bâtiments
incendiés et barricades
encore dressées.

May 1968



Eros and Revolution

1776-1848-1905-1968

Chart 1

The Development of World-Historical Social Movements

	1776-1789	1848	1905	1917	1968
Ascendant Revolutionary Class(es)	Bourgeoisie	Urban Proletariat	Rural Proletariat	Urban and Rural Working Class	New Working Class
Emergent Organization	Representative Assemblies	Insurrectionary Parliaments and Political Parties	Soviets/ Councils	Vanguard Party	Action Committees/ Collectives
Vision/ Aspirations	Formal Democracy; Liberty Equality Fraternity	Economic Democracy; Trade Unions; Democratic Constitutions	Universal Suffrage; Unions; Freedom from Empires	Socialism as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; Land, Bread and Peace	Self-Management All Power to the People/ Imagination
Tactics	Revolutionary War	Popular Insurrections	General Strike	Organized Seizure of Power	Contestation of Public Space/ Everyday Life

1776-1848-1905-1968

〈도표 1〉 세계사적 사회운동의 발전

	상승하는 혁명적 계급(들)	조직형태	전망/열망	전술
1776년 ~89년	부르주아지	대의제적 의회	형식적 민주주의: 자유, 평등, 박애	혁명전쟁
1848년	도시 프롤레타리아트	혁명적 의회와 정치 정당	경제적 민주주의: 노동조합, 민주적 헌법	인민봉기
1905년	농촌 프롤레타리아트	소비에트/평의회	보통선거권: 노동조합, 제국으로부터의 해방	총파업
1917년	도시와 농촌의 노동계급	전위당	프롤레타리아트 독재로서의 사회주의: 토지, 빵, 평화	조직적 권력 장악
1968년	새로운 노동계급	행동위원회/집합체	자주관리: 민중에게 권력을! 상상력	공공영역/일상 생활에 대한 도전

1776-1848-1905-1968

Chart 1
The Development of World-Historical Social Movements

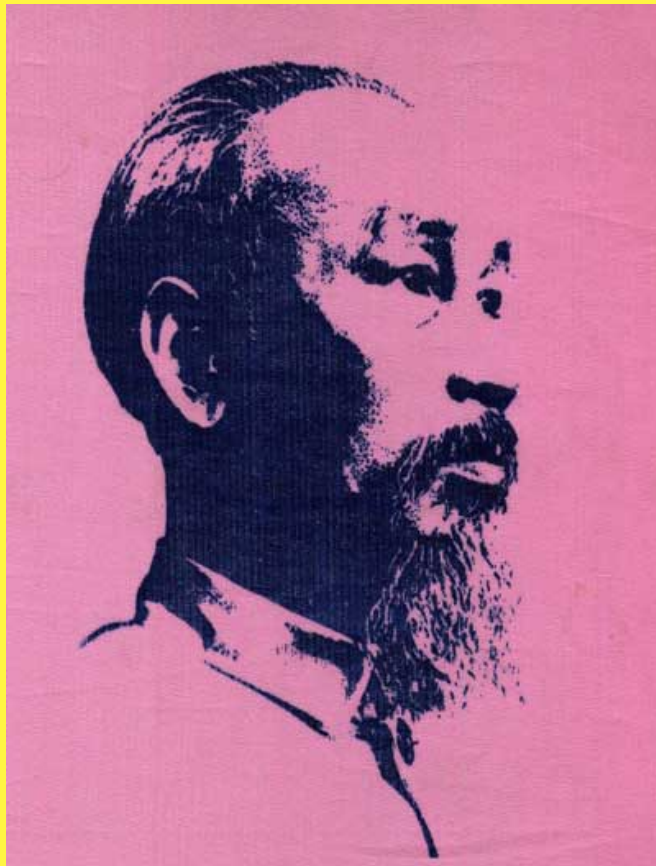
	1776-1789	1848	1905	1917	1968
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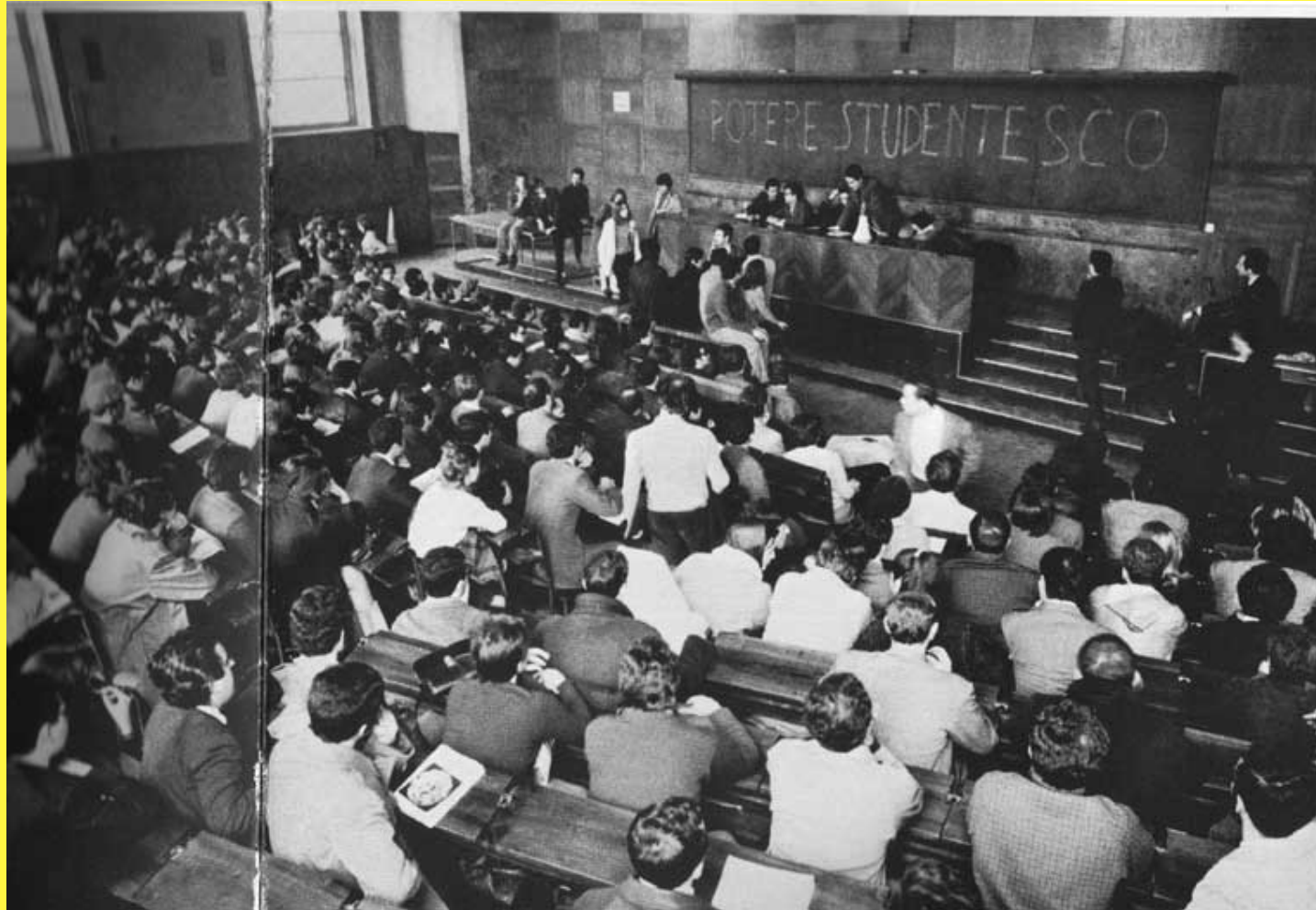
A Surprise for All

- “It is truly with confidence that I envisage, for the next twelve months, the existence of our country...in the midst of so many lands shaken by so many jolts, ours will continue to give the example of efficiency in the conduct of its affairs.”
- --Charles de Gaulle
- New Year's Broadcast, January 1, 1968

International Connections

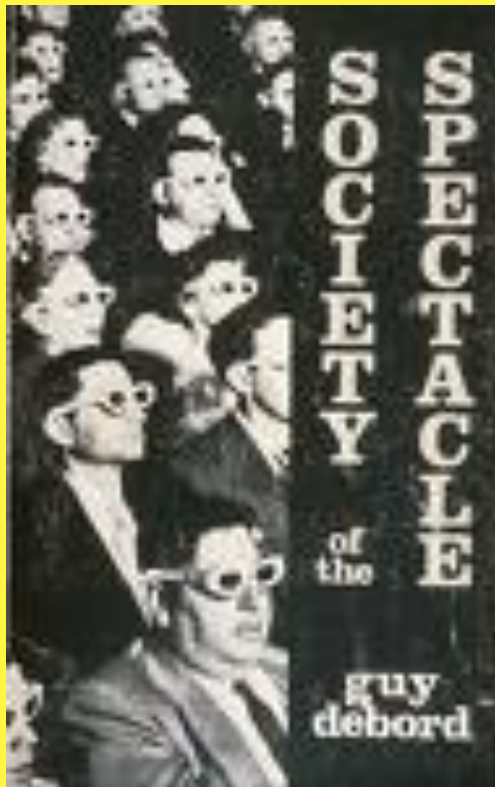
France's movement was inspired by international leaders including Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung





Student Power in Italy

Situationists



Lisez moins, vivez plus.	Read less, live more.
L'ennui est contre-révolutionnaire.	Boredom is counterrevolutionary

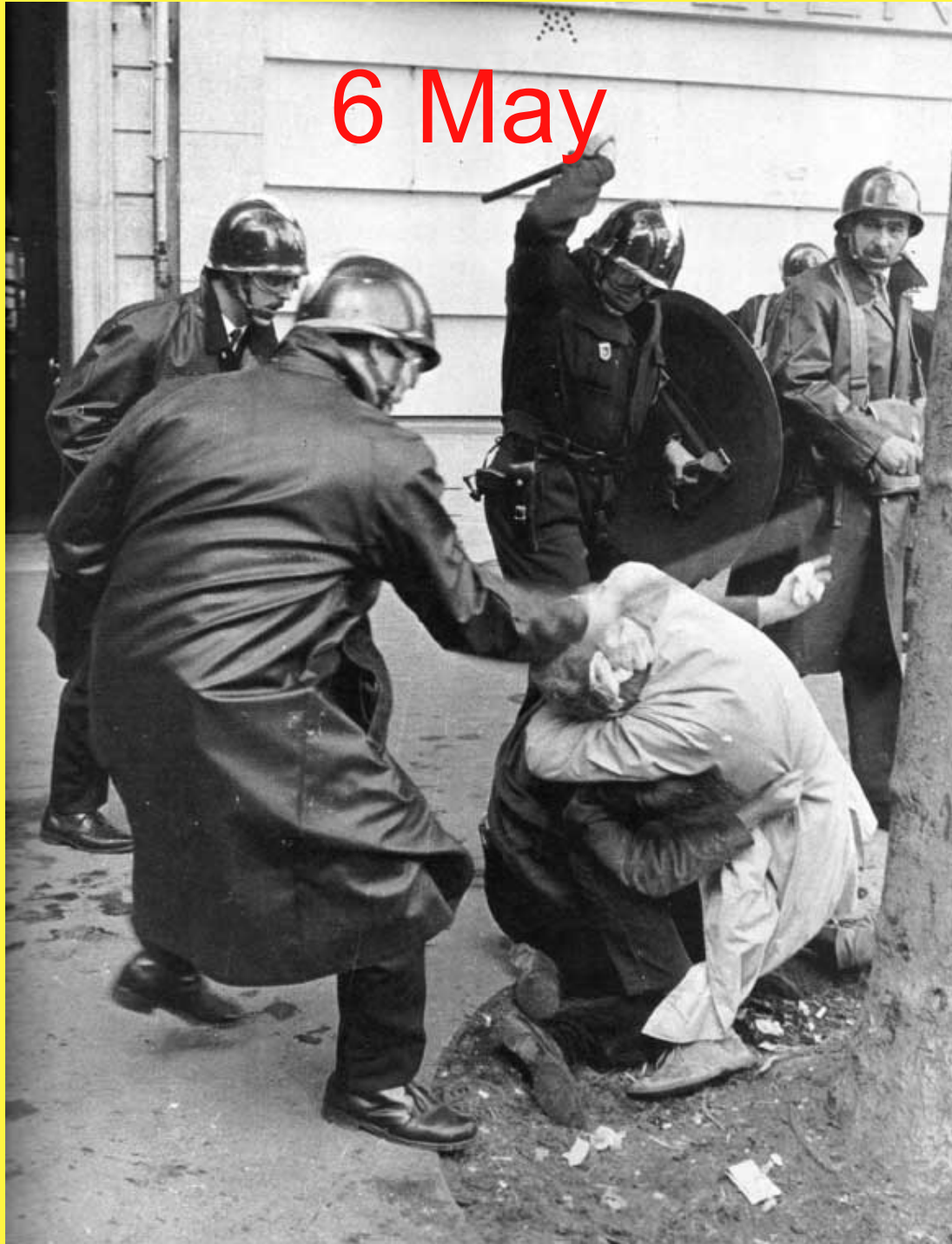
Nous ne voulons pas d'un monde où la certitude de ne pas mourir de faim s'échange contre le risque de mourir d'ennui

We want nothing of a world in which the certainty of not dying from hunger comes in exchange for the risk of dying from boredom.

Nanterre's Spark

After several men spent the night in a women's dormitory, police beat many students, including in a crowded lecture hall. Student protests cascaded, and the public sympathized with them.

6 May





**Boulevard Saint Germain
May 6 1968**



7 May



May 10

The “night of the barricades” won a victory: the police were withdrawn and amnesty granted to all arrested.

The next day, the University of Strasbourg was occupied and became one of the centers of the movement.
(Situationists)



Barricades Medicine Faculty



Barricades May 11 morning

La Rue Gay
Lussac, le
matin du
11 mai.



11 mai 1968 : la nuit des barricades.



13 May

Gare de l'Est



Student Soviet at Sorbonne



May 13: After 800,000 workers and students peacefully marched in Paris, the Sorbonne was occupied and became the epicenter of the revolt.

May 16



Cannes Cinema Workers



May 18

23 May





Millions of
workers joined
the movement



30 days

- Within a month, France was brought to an abrupt halt. More than ten million workers and students were on strike, tens of thousands of people were battling the police for control of the streets of Paris, and the government appeared on the verge of collapse.

Depuis 1936 j'ai lutté pour les augmentations de salaire. Mon père avant moi a lutté pour les augmentations de salaire.

Maintenant j'ai une télé, un frigo, une VW. Et cependant j'ai vécu toujours la vie d'un con. Ne négociez pas avec les patrons. Abolissez-les.

Since 1936 I have fought for wage increases. My father before me fought for wage increases.

Now I have a TV, a fridge, a Volkswagen. Yet my whole life I've been a chump. Don't negotiate with the bosses. Abolish them.

- Le patron a besoin de toi, tu n'as pas besoin de lui.
- The boss needs you, you don't need him.

- Travailleur: Tu as 25 ans mais ton syndicat est de l'autre siècle.
- Worker: You are 25, but your union is from the last century.

Odeon



Artists lead the Movement

L' Ecole des Beaux-Arts



24 May



Grenelle Settlement

- Seeking to placate the workers, the government negotiated with the trade unions and reached an astounding settlement: 35% increase in the minimum wage (in agriculture a 56% raise); shorter work week; lower retirement age, more family benefits. To top it off, strikers were to be paid half wages for their days of occupation!



Settlement Rejected

- At the Renault plant in Boulogne-Billancourt, George Seguy (CGT) was booed, jeered and had lunches thrown at him by the 25,000 workers whom he had gathered to announce the “victory” of the settlements. Around the country, union members rejected the agreement.

If not Reform, then Revolution?

Knowing the situation was out of control (insaissable), De Gaulle left Paris on May 29 and assembled his top Generals in Baden-Baden Germany.







Pas de replâtrage,
la structure est
pourrie.

No replastering, the
structure is rotten.



SALAIRES LEGERS



CHARS LOURDS

Patriotism and Internationalism



PAYSAN!



**SOLIDAIRE
DE TES FILS
OUVRIERS
ETUDIANTS**



Dans une société qui a aboli toute aventure, la seule aventure qui reste est celle d'abolir la société.

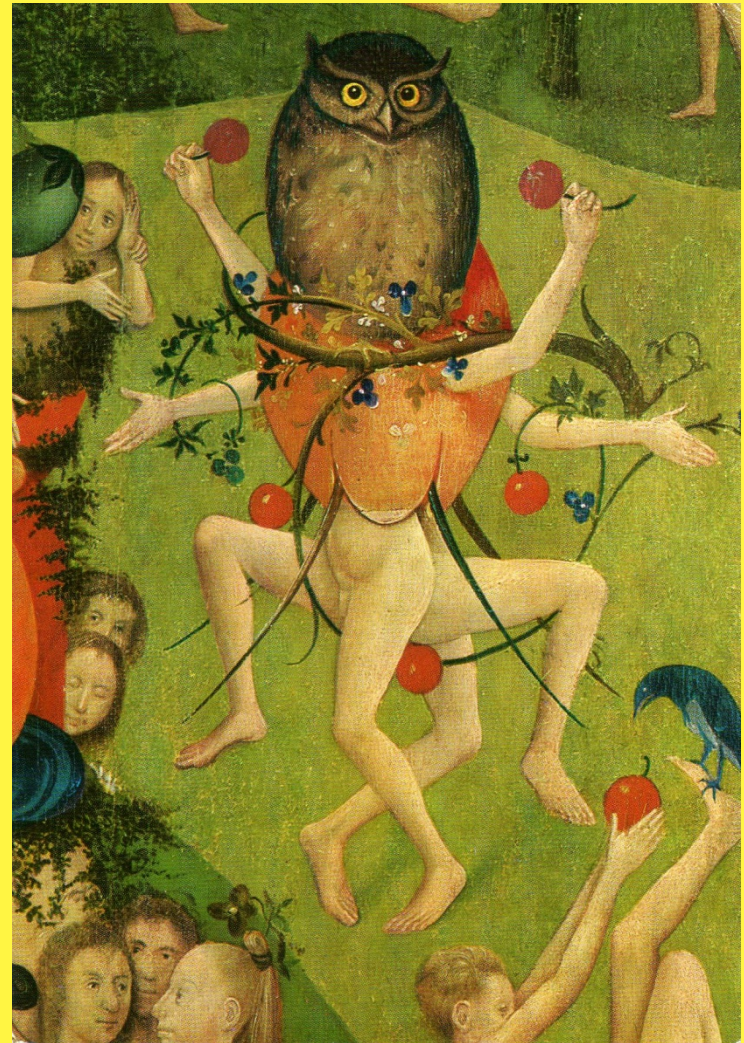
In a society that has abolished all adventures, the only adventure left is to abolish society.

**FRONTIERES
=
RÉPRESSION**



Authoritarianism and Autogestion (Self-Management)

The collective
wisdom of the
people far
exceeds that of
entrenched elites



Ni Dieu ni maître !	Neither God nor master!
Comment penser librement à l'ombre d'une chapelle ?	How can one think freely in the shadow of a chapel?

LA POLICE VOUS PARLE
tous les soirs
à 20h.





L'émeute en province : Nantes...



...Bordeaux, Lyon.



Gaullist Electoral Mandate-- the End of de Gaulle





LE VOTE
NE CHANGE
RIEN
LA LUTTE
CONTINUE



Cooptation

- Je participe
- Tu participes
- Il participe
- Nous participons
- Vous participez

• **ils profitent**

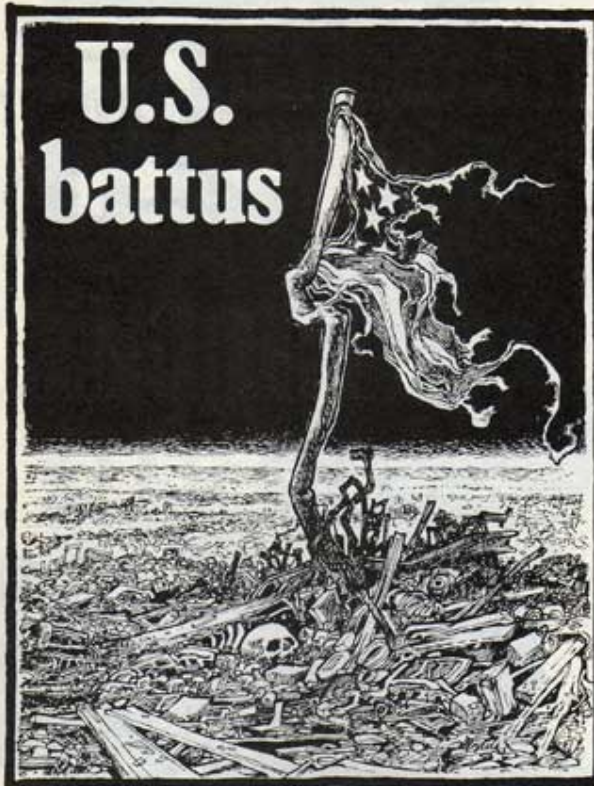
I participate
You participate
She participates
We participate
You participate

They profit

ACTION

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**U.S.
battus**





Greens





Segolene Royal



In 2008, many celebrations of 1968 occurred

Professor K was interviewed on US public television's show
Democracy Now!

- http://www.democracynow.org/2008/5/14/1968_40_years_later_student_worker

Global New Left' s Key Characteristics

1. Opposition to racial, political and patriarchal domination as well as to economic exploitation.

“All Power to the People” NOT “Dictatorship of the Proletariat”

women' s liberation autonomy minority leadership

2. Concept of freedom as not only freedom from material deprivation but also freedom to create new human beings.

Che' s “new socialist human” MLK' s “new Negro”

3. The extension of the democratic process and expansion of the rights of the individual, not their constraint.

participatory democracy rotation of leadership positions self-management

4. Enlarged base of revolution.

new working class lumpenproletariat women minorities

5. Emphasis on direct action.

bottom-up eros effect don' t wait

Global Synchronicity

- In May 1968, there were significant demonstrations of solidarity with French students and workers in Mexico City, Berlin, Tokyo, Buenos Aires, Berkeley, and Belgrade
- Students and workers in Spain and Uruguay attempted general strikes of their own
- Massive student strikes in Italy forced the prime minister and his cabinet to resign
- Germany's experienced its worst political crisis since World War 2
- A student strike at the University of Dakar, Senegal led to a general strike of workers

1968: World Historical Events

- Tet Offensive in Vietnam
- Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.
- May events in France
- Democratic National Convention riots
- Soviet invasion of Prague, Czechoslovakia
- Hundreds killed before Olympics in Mexico

A New Kind of Revolution?

- Questions of power in everyday life
- Power won by past revolutions
- Goal: decentralization of power (not its seizure); international solidarity; self-management