

## PART I

RG: So I will start please, Sir, by asking you for your name and then your place and date of birth

TG: So I was born on May 19, 1939, in Paris in the 17th

RG: The 17th. And can you tell me something about your family, social, political, religious

TG: My family... eh is a family resulting from, say, two branches, finally paternal and maternal. The paternal branch were Jews from Belfort who did not want to become Germans at the time of the war in 1870

RG: Yes

TG: and so they left for Brazil. My grandfather was president of the French community in Brazil

RG: Oh yes, okay

TG: And he had set up a business to import French products in Brazil, mainly glassware, porcelain, household items, perfume

RG: Yes

TG: and which was called Casa Grumbach in São Paulo. So my father did all his primary and secondary studies in Brazil

RG: Yes

TG: and he came to France to do his military service like all French people, my grandfather was very patriotic, and

RG: It was towards which year who did his military service

TG: Boh I don't know anymore

RG: No but before ...

TG: Yes before the war of course, before the world war. But then he met my mother and so he stayed in France and he also served in the army during the war of 39. Finally he was mobilized during the war of 39 yes, and here is

RG: Okay, he was taken prisoner or?

TG: No, no, no he was demobilized and then he found his family and then events being what they are, he discovered himself Jewish - because he was a very secular family

RG : Yes

TG: who had no religious roots, at least not from Brazil. He was first French and exclusively French without any religious attachment. On my mother's side, it's a family of half Bordeaux origin, Jews from Bordeaux. Consequently from the Portuguese community, Portuguese Jew from Bordeaux, which itself came from Portugal, and then at the time of the Inquisition. So this is the Mendes-France family

RG: Yes

TG: and my therefore maternal grandmother is from Strasbourg, and so here it is, and therefore my mother is therefore the sister of Pierre Mendes-France as you probably know

RG: Yes

TG: There you go

RG: Okay. But your family got into trouble under the occupation?

TG: And well like all Jewish families, they were in hiding of course, and they survived with false papers throughout the war, going here and there and, with false papers, entrusting my brother and me to us. in the care of people who hid us throughout the war

RG: So you personally were hiding in, in which region?

TG: in the Eastern Pyrenees, in Font Romeu, in a children's home run by two very exceptional women, with whom I kept in touch until they died

RG: Okay. And you had other people in your family who were deported or ...

TG: Ah yes, yes, part of, part of the family was deported and died in the camps of course like any family of this origin, both on my father's side and on my mother's side

RG: Okay , but do you have a rather good feeling for the French who helped the Jews at that time?

TG: A good feeling?

RG: Yes

TG: (laughs) Well that goes without saying... I mean...

RG: Yes, but no there were also denunciations,

TG: Well yes, my mother was denounced, she was indeed able to act. come out with great luck. I can't tell you all about that, because all this is known first and then well it's, it's my parents' life, it's not mine, so yes, yes they were ...

RG: No, but it's also your story

TG: Yes, it's my story, but anyway I...

RG: Or your memory

TG: Yes but hey

RG: Okay, so for studies, how did it go?

TG: Well the studies, I did, I was very bad student, until the first one. Then I passed my baccalaureate, I became a student I studied Russian, at Languages Orientales, and then economics in Paris I, Paris I which was not called Paris I at the time, economics at the Paris law faculty. But from high school I entered, in political activity against the Algerian war

RG: But just a moment on teaching, were you in high school?

TG: At the Lycée Janson de Sailly in the 16th district, there was an anti-fascist committee that I joined very early on, so I was one of the leaders

RG: Yes

TG: with, I don't know if you questioned someone like that, with Seniks

RG: Yes, yes André Senik

TG: So one of the leaders of this committee was André Senik, there was in the Régis Debray high school, there were, well, all kinds of others who then were more or less activists of the movement, of the movement in general, either as a communist or as something else. Jean-Paul Ribes also

RG: Yes

TG: and others, well who...

RG: It was towards

TG: was in high school at the time-

RG: Ok, it was around the years...

TG: C 'was the anti-fascist committee which was the melting pot, in addition we were in a far-right high school, well, very, very

RG: It was in the 16th

TG: the 16th, with a preparation for Saint-Cyr, a Polytechnic preparation, a preparation for the Naval School, very preparations for military schools at the time, and well it's true that the Algerian war created very strong tensions in high school

RG: Yes

TG: And so good there, the beginning of the political culture was made there, in the antifascist committee, which was a good, I was going to say, a good melting pot of education because there, there was no Christian bigotry. That, progressive or communist Christians, progressive Christians is a formulation today but at the time, Christians, young people of the YCS or students, Catholic high school students whose commitment often came through the fact that they had a brother, someone who was interested in the Algerian war in an existential way, by the presence of a brother, a cousin, a friend in the army, that they knew somewhere a little what was happening in Algeria. So they were sensitized as we were by torture, by the search for peace, by the recognition of the Algerian identity somewhere. There were also Algerians in high school so

RG: Really?

TG: Yes of course

RG: Yes, yes

TG: Algeria was French so...

RG: Yes, okay, okay

TG: But the Algerian Muslim bourgeoisie sent their children more easily to high school in France than...

RG: But the Algerians who were against the war or who were for French Algeria or...

TG: Ah well no, no there were necessarily Algerians for French Algeria, they were in the majority in high school, not Algerian Muslims

RG: Okay

TG: Those who were, who naturally have been in contact with

RG: There was also the question of military service

TG: A little later, for the older ones, but it started very early for the fight, I think the anti-fascist committee must have started in 56 or something like that, so very early on, I was very, very young...

RG: But in general, people who were studying had the right to a reprieve

TG: Of course

RG: They did not do their service at 20

TG: That's less in high school than in college

RG: Ok

TG: so yes there were probably some among them, I was not in the preparatory classes so it touched me less, it touched me in college, as soon as we were actually supposed to all, as soon as we were old enough to go to the army

RG: Okay

TG: 'Am I going to the army, am I suspended, under what conditions, and then if I go do I go, do I not go, desertion, rebellion? '. All these questions were posed to us as they were posed to the vast majority of young people of that time. Since the big problem of the young people of that time which is difficult to understand for the young people of today was the war in Algeria - 'I'm leaving, I'm not leaving, what am I doing?

RG: Yes, yes

TG: How long? ' Well that's what explains the mass mobilization against the war in Algeria, is that the youth were mostly against. Not necessarily for political questions, also for existential questions, the length of military service, 27 months, the dangers, good etc, and then one in the other. This could lead to a political awareness, which others had - the family, the families of people who had lived through the war, whether they were young Communists by their parents, or the Communist ideology, or whether they were young people. Jews, or young Gaullist sons of resistance fighters, were naturally politically inclined to torture, it was

RG: Yes

TG: It was torture that was the great political revealer of the unity of this youth, for those who were, who became politicized through the iconography of the fight against Nazism and what it represented. Even though we obviously spoke less of the camps at that time, and of the Shoah, we spoke a lot about the Resistance, the resistance fighters, torture, Nazism, Nazi bestiality etc ... And to learn that somewhere French activists could use means that our parents had either suffered or denounced, etc., was intolerable for these young people

RG: Yes

TG: that the existential side obviously of this period which was very long, which explains that the young people ... I often say we were lucky to have a long war in Algeria which educated us politically, it is a horror to say that...

RG: what luck, yes...

TG: We have had seven years of revolt, of understanding, of studies, of readings, of indignation, of demonstration, of learning of the activist practice and. ...and then unity, the ability to unite with people who did not think in the same way, for an objective which was that of the peace of the Algerian people

RG: And you therefore had the feeling that France had denied its resistance past?

TG: No because this youth was patriotic. I have always been a patriot, I have never, no ...

RG: There was an article at that time on 'Your Gestapo in Algeria' by Claude Bourdet

TG: Yes but those were people who were much older than us

RG: Yes

TG: I knew Bourdet well afterwards since we were in PSU together but... No not, you ask me, these are visions that do not go through our own existence - that Bourdet wrote that it is possible - but and then even we ourselves, but the revolt did not start from there, it did start, on the contrary in my opinion of a patriotic reaction, France does not have to do that

RG: okay

TG: the French army cannot do that, the... people, there was not somewhere in the mobilization, in the consciousness of the people an anti France, anti France vision in quotes of course, it was almost Conversely, it was us who carried the values, and when we were told that we were anti-France we did not understand

RG: Okay

TG: Not at all, so afterwards obviously, when we started to campaign...

RG : But you...

TG: at 14, then he had it all...

RG: You were for a certain idea of France, a France of human rights or...

TG: Not even, there are words of after

RG: Ok

TG: These are good words according to

RG: Ok

TG: Because even human rights, we did not know what it was, well who, finally in René Cassin, nobody knew. I mean, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, well we were kids. When I see today what 14-year-olds are like, I started to campaign when I was 14

RG: Ok

TG: and it never campaigned, and it never has, but I was anyway a kid

RG: Yes

TG: But the kids who had read illustrated books. You have to say to yourself that in 1954 it is only ten years after 44, it is as if you questioned a young person of 78 out of 68, what is there about the war? illustrated

RG: Yes

TG: that it reads

RG: Yes

TG: in which resistance fighters are tortured by Nazis in SS costume. We read this extraordinary comic called The Beast is Dead

RG: Yes

TG: I do not know if you see. Well, we were all in there, we are in a ... remember in La Bête est Morte, the resistance fighters are little rabbits, and then there you go, we have this idea of the resistance's resourcefulness, of the horror of torture, etc., and good human rights and all that is, it is not for 14 year old kids

RG: No agree

TG: I tell you I started to militant is 14 years old, and surely what mobilized my imagination, it is on the one hand that I had an uncle who was in politics and who was my mother's brother, it plays

RG: Yes, yes

TG: Obviously, and who was fighting for peace

RG: Yes of course

TG: and both who had been important in the struggle for peace in Vietnam and then, and afterwards in a perspective of liberation of the peoples of South Africa. North. At the time in a vision of association of North Africa with the French people and not in a ... well it's complicated the way things were done, but it is not him who me directly influenced I mean

RG: Lon

TG: The position, not necessarily that influenced me, that's what I meant. But after when I was in high school and, I could know what he was saying and what was going on in high school and what we were discussing between us. Would have to cross my testimony eventually with this des, of Senik but it was like that. We were, we couldn't take it anymore, so Senik was much more built because first he was a little older than me, he was elected in preparation for khâgne, he was already doing philosophy

RG: Yes

TG: and, but in high school that was not what we were discussing, we were discussing because we got beaten up by the fascists as soon as we said peace in Algeria ... well the fascists, the, the young people who were preparing Saint-Cyr, etc. We were discussing, at the same time the young Catholics, 'are you coming with me?', Since I was a Catholic, very Catholic in this period, finally I was a Catholic

RG: Oh okay

TG: 'Is are we going to the pilgrimage to Chartres, are we going to Chartres?' But speaking of the Algerian war, and 'where do we go in Chartres like that only on a religious basis?' What is, well all kinds of discussions of that age, at the same time we were talking about girls, we were going to play table football, it is not, 14 years old

RG: Yes okay

TG: We were small, small, but at the same time we searched, we went to demonstrations, all that is not, it is the rationality that comes after, not the conditions in which we lived. Because as I tell you it starts in 54, I no longer remember, because the real, real, real mobilization that is starting to become political is Sakiet Sidi Youssef, that is to say the moment when. It must be 57 if I remember correctly but I'm not sure. Finally I know that for me it is the event...

RG: What event I did not understand?

TG: Sakiet Sidi Youssef. It is the bombardment by the French air force of a FLN camp in Tunisia which killed quite a number of the civilian population... in my memory it is my first demonstration where we leave high school, all

RG: Yes

TG: And we are going to join a student demonstration in the Latin Quarter



RG: Okay

TG: And that, I think, takes place through communist students and the beginning of a linkage of a network that will be formed, since you are talking about a network, or there will be Jean-Jacques Porches, Jean-Paul Ribes, me, Milène Dubois, a few other very, very young people who are not Communist students, and who are students or high school students very mobilized in Algeria

RG: Did this network have a name?

TG: No, no, it's high school networks, that, well there are those of the Lycée Janson, there are those of, I think there was Buffon, well

RG: Yes

TG: why is this being done. So there is the history of the radical youths of the time, of the young people who were mendesists, therefore who, who, but who were already much more radical than the PMF party because there were ... young people who join, who support the PMF at the time

RG: Yes

TG: Think radical youths, or radical students, there is an association called LAPERS, the Parisian Association of Radical Socialist Students, and ... So here we are starting to get to know each other between high school and young students who are not not communists. All will follow roughly the same route, from LAPERS to the Autonomous Socialist Party, from the PSA to the PSU, and from the PSU to many other things. But there is a small one, a small one, if you speak of the network, it is surely like that and these young people very, very quickly are often more radical in the sense of American radicalism

RG: Yes

TG: and not of French radicalism. Because the confrontation with which the Algerian war forces them

RG: Okay

TG: They are more to the left somewhere than the Communist students and the Communist high school students. They are more revolted somewhere because the ethical background is powerful

RG: Yes

TG: and that they do not have above them the cope of the Communist Party which at the time is 'peace to them'. When we go to demonstrations we yell "peace with Algeria". It's a

little later, to give you the difference, we often get beaten up because they yell "peace in Algeria", which is not quite the same thing

RG: Yes, okay

TG : So the Communist Party considers that when we say 'peace with Algeria', we are not in the line

RG: Ok

TG: and that means that we are already much more radical and they do not like it not

RG: Okay, okay

TG: And then this network of youth committees for peace in Algeria is set up in high schools and in neighborhoods which will then become the base of the anti-communist far left, far left , extreme left anti-communist, I say it well. The far left, which at the same time realizes that the Communist Party at the time is pouting on the knees, does not do all the anti-imperialist work that was expected, lets down the leaders of the Communist Youth who refused to leave to the army since that is what happened after all - since the leaders of the Communist Youth who refused to go to ... including Alban Liechtenstein and others, they were imprisoned, left for prison and the Communist Party did not really defend them

RG: Oh yes, okay

TG: So there is a kind of awareness of these young people, I believe it is massive, which will affect hundreds of young students and high school students, and which will then explain - we can see that in May 68 that is going, it will grow, that is to say that from the war in Algeria, in high schools, in universities, for the youngest of the universities and in certain working-class neighborhoods, in youth associations, we will find young people who believe that the Communist Party is not doing everything it should do for peace with Algeria, and for solidarity with the people of Algeria

RG: Okay

TG: and that, all these young people, well we will find explanations. Since in high schools, well we will find Krivine's education, since it also comes from there, the anti-fascist committees in high schools. Well there is a whole magma of elected officials in which nobody knows who is Trotskyist, we are not talking about Trotskyists, we are not talking about Maoists, we are not talking about anything

RG: Okay

TG: We are talking about the fight for peace and the means, the means that must be implemented to fight against the war in Algeria. So some find it will be fine, obviously afterwards there are people who will get involved in the radicalism of aid to the FLN, others

who will take care, who will be more oriented towards helping the military, and finally others who leave, finally after there is a whole huge palette

RG: Yes

TG: which you have probably seen is going to happen, how to put it... concentrate on what we called the meeting in the rue du Havre, which must be in 1960. I don't know where you are in your study, if I tell you things that are...

RG: No but I can always verify them...

TG: But you are aware of that

RG: no, the meeting in the rue du ..

TG: Havre, which is held in one, in a Protestant temple, rue du Havre, where they will be there for the first time, I think it's in 1960, brought together all the youth movements fighting against the Algerian war

RG: Yes

TG: There is the Communist Youth, there are Christian youths, finally there is the JEC, there is everyone, everyone, all associations, we must meet at 80 people I think roughly

RG: Yes

TG: all the organizations are there, well all those that matter, and this is the first meeting in France, which is held on French soil with a delegation of youth from the FLN and the FLN

RG: Okay

TG: and so that's a huge scandal since after this meeting anyway. General Intelligence eventually found out, and three of us were arrested - so friends closest to me at the time, Jean-Jacques Porches, Milène Dubois, and Jean-Paul Ribes. So all the press at the time talked about this meeting, France Soir, etc. It was betrayal, the meeting of betrayal. But at the same time there was the UNEF of course, you have to see the importance of this meeting, the UNF, several GAs of the UNEF, the Communist Youth, well everyone, but it's a meeting that demonstrates, because I believe that it is in 60, that the organizational capacity of this youth. That's why I'm telling you that we were lucky ... to have such a long education,

RG: Yes

TG: So very few, four, four I forgot the name of the fourth, it's the, the ... There is one who gave the name of the other three - so I forgot him his name, whatever, history won't remember him because uh I'm not going to say that he was a bastard...

RG: Yes, yes

TG: I'm not saying that, I finally forgot, to the moment I forget his name, and then he was not one of my own close friends. Let's say that also explains why, is that the other three were really my complete friends

RG: Yes

TG: at the time, moreover, they are all three, they will come to Algeria, as well Milène as Jean-Paul, Jean-Jacques he will also come quite a bit. So for us our life is Algeria and this meeting, if you will, is important in the sense of the demonstration precisely - if you who work on the networks, of how these networks were constituted

RG: Yes

TG: during the Algerian War, completely independent of the Communist Party

RG: Yes

RG: It is not the Communist Party which is organizing this meeting, the grand organi, have you met Jean-Jacques Porches or not?

RG: No, not yet, no

TG: Okay, I think, I'm not going to tell him, that I'm not telling you

RG: Okay

TG: I do not know what he does with his past there today - well here we are between us - he is the organizer of this meeting, it is surely done outside the Communist Party, it is then done with using networks when they are older than ours, which I would not tell you about because that does not interest me

RG: Yes

TG: but which draw their history much further in the history of international communist movement, or in the history of the anti-imperialist movement. So it's true that there is support, there are things happening. But it's really an organization that comes all the same from young people, and the idea was, I don't know who had it, well I know but... it is that we enter this meeting with armbands of

RG cyclists : Yes

TG: and so even when we know each other we don't call each other by our names, we call each other by our numbers

RG: Okay

TG: and yet there are many who know each other since they militate together, in the street etc.

RG: Ok

TG: So when the guys, the guy who broke, he gives the numbers, but he gives the names of three people he knows, both the numbers and the name

RG: Yes

TG: So the fourth one who gave the numbers and names

RG: Okay

TG: But the other three didn't give anyone

RG: Okay

TG: So that in the end there were only three arrested. You will see in the press of the time if you find, what a scandal it was, I give that simply in relation to the fact that from that moment, this organizational capacity of the youth movement is very powerful, that it will come to UNEF because there is also UNEF, there are the two factors, there is the organizational capacity of those who are really against the Algerian war and who, and then there is the UNEF in as a mass organization of student youth of the time

RG: Yes

TG: which is also against the Algerian war, which gives us an even greater organizational capacity

RG: Okay

TG: Jean-Jacques was Secretary General of the Federation of Science Students. The Faculty of Letters, the Federation, the FGEL, General Federation of Letters Students gave an incredible number of executives to the movement of May 68: Péninou, Kravetz, uh what he is called, a number and then of extraordinary women, Dominique , I do not remember , well, well

RG: Yes

TG: The FGEL was an incredible cradle of cadres of the intellectual movement and the political movement, whether in 1968 or after. All that, these are people who learned, who were the executives of May 68, obviously Krivine and many others, of his, of his sensitivity. So there you have it, this education at the same time from high school, from college when we are a student, from the Algerian war etc., makes us radical intellectuals

RG: Yes

TG: 'young radical intellectuals', 'intellectuals', I put a lot of quotes because militancy makes us rather atypical intellectuals, because pff, very few in the books

RG: Yes

TG: Very few in books, a lot in action

RG: Okay

TG: activists, of, of, very little in theoretical reflection and a lot in...

RG: You weren't Sartrean at the time?

TG: No, no, if I read Sartre like everyone else, but finally the novels. Well, I was nothing at all to tell you the truth

RG: Yes

TG: I was like many others, I was a youth activist, very quickly Heaven did, I say Heaven because, he has just died ... that I met a comrade who s' Charlot Dusnasionxxxx called, see how the school will bring chances

RG: Yes

TG: with Senik. There were the youth committees for peace in Algeria, in high school so that I can date well since it is 1957 since it is close to Saddiq Sidi Youssef, I suppose, I am an activist in high school, I do a lot of things with the others, with my high school friends, from high school, and I think it was Senik who had to propose me to be part of the high school delegation to the World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957, which is the big one. para-communist organization of the

RG International : yes

TG: good, and so I'm going, I'm leaving in 1957, my father and my mother being completely afraid of that, I already have a little autonomy that I conquer vis-à-vis the family, and I go to Russia in 1957 for the World Youth Festival and I meet Charlot Dusnasion who is a worker activist, a young worker activist of the CGT... who has just died there...

RG: Yes

TG: I'm going there, soon to see his wife in Nantes. So we remained friends until, the last day of his life, and which will be for me the one who taught me everything, and who makes me return very quickly, so from 57 in, 58 since from 58 we will be activating together until, 58 until his death a few weeks ago, finally last December. And there is a considerable

network which is the network in which I built my political and militant life, which is called the CLAJ, the Leisure and Youth Action Clubs, I do not know if you have heard of it

RG: Yes

TG: Well, at the time, it was called Jeunesse Camping, and which was to be the crucible of my militant and intellectual life with the workers' movement. It's okay, if I hadn't met Charlot I don't know what I would have become

RG: is it you ... how is his last name written?

TG: Dusnasion, DUSNASIO

RG: Okay

TG: So that in all my political life, I was considered a worker by some. This makes me laugh a lot today but well, back then and in my whole life a lot less. Since I have always campaigned with - although intellectual - I have always campaigned with young workers first, and worse with workers when he was growing up like me. And I stayed very, very close to this core team which is a very, very fascinating story of far left activists. And it's a story that draws on the Resistance which is the story of the, of, of the Cathos who joined the FTP, of the worker priests, of...

RG: Oh yes, okay

TG: of the extreme left , of the Catholic Workers' Action, the CLAJs coming from this framework, but secular, after having largely secularized

RG: Catholic, is it a bit like the CFDT or?

TG: No, no, no much more to the left

RG: Much more to the left, okay

TG: Yes, yes much more, well much more to the left, including on the theological level. It is, it is the worker priests, it is... the theology of liberation, say in France, but it is activists who were registered, well who were worker activists in, in companies, and therefore ... But that's another story, well it's both my story but

RG: No, no because I'm trying to identify you a little because, you did not go through the Union of Communist Students ?

TG: Yes, if after, after, after my return, coming back from Algeria, but it's much later for me. I have already been trained differently, I trained differently than at UEC, like other

RG: Yes, okay

TG: Those who were trained by the Algerian war, they were able to go to UEC but they were there at the start, at a later stage. But initially their training, even if Krivine was in the Communist Youth, it is not in the Communist Youth that he learned in my opinion, that he became a mass leader, it was in the struggle. high school student, then the creation of the Front Universitaire Antifasciste, then, well, that's her story, it's not mine

RG: Yes

TG: But anyway there were quite a few of us back then who weren't trained in mass political action or political action well, in the, in the weft, I was going to say, from the leadership of the Party to the masses, well on the contrary in the mobilization of a certain number of young people at the base

RG: Yes, yes

TG: from the bottom up and not from the top down, to go quickly

RG: Okay, there are people like Senik who was in the UEC who say that they were against the Party apparatus

TG: of course

RG: were against the Party etc.

TG: But him...

RG: while being a communist

TG: Of course because they were already in the Union

RG: Yes

TG: Yes, for those who weren't there either young Christians, or young people like me and many others, it is not in the Party apparatus, it is in the ... because , those who were trained in what we have called networks, after networks carrying suitcases, I was not, the, all one, I do not know how to put it to you, a whole network of different methods of work for peace in Algeria

RG: Yes

TG: This was the case in the CLAJ of course, the CLAJ were very, very, very committed to the struggle and solidarity with the Algerian people. There were comrades at the CGT like that, there were comrades at the CFTC like that, who had, the CFTC at the time, who did not expect from the Communist Party any instructions to engage in the

RG struggles : Alright Alright



TG: It's as if you were telling me, then we did not wait for the FTP for some, and finally or the Communist Party for some to join the Resistance, there was, moreover, the underground movement, I don't know if you've had Hurst, Jean-Louis Hurst, haven't you met him?

RG: No

TG: Finally the great underground youth movement is, is, is called Jeune Resistance

RG: Yes

TG: and Jeune Resistance, uh, and, of course, it doesn't bring together tens of thousands of people, far from it

RG: no

TG: a few small hundreds, although I don't know anything about it because I have never been in Jeune Resistance, in any case. Finally, I was very, very friends in Algeria with Jean-Louis Hurst and others - there are now some who are dead so it's more difficult to find them - but well, it was my comrades for long enough, and these young people never waited for the Communist Party to organize themselves

RG: Okay

TG: and to learn, learn and...

RG: Okay

TG: and when afterwards we more or less joined the Communist Party at such and such a such moment. I returned from Algeria in 65, early 65, and I did not return directly to the UEC. But also there is the whole history of our presence in Algeria ...

RG: Where did you do in Algeria?

TG: Like the other red feet, we called it the red feet, we also left a small, small cohort of a few hundred, a few hundred - when I say it's one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, I don't don't know, I have trouble, there are books, there are no books on red feet, I don't think so, there is no, but finally it is the logical continuation. Me it's a bit of luck since I left for three days in Algeria to carry medication and then finally I stayed three years or so, well two and a half, three years, uh like others, and there also there was political education. That's where we met, I was lucky to meet Che Guevara. I went to Cuba with Che, who brings us back. Anyway, there is all history, industrial self-management, agricultural self-management, the assumption of responsibility in the beginning of the war of the Algerian independence which makes that we are educated young people, enthusiastic young people. We came there as part of, of, and we have a lot of Algerian friends who, who

RG: Yes

TG: So we live in an enthusiasm, there is Cuba, there is Algeria, it is, we passed, we thought anyway, I thank heaven for that, I have had three or four years or I, including part of 68, or we thought we could make the revolution, and so we were very happy. Me, I, I lived...

RG: Because at that moment the revolution had to start from Algeria?

TG: No, no, it's...

RG: Algeria had to make a revolution...

TG: No, no, no I'm not talking to you ... I'm not rationalizing, you ask me I'm telling you, but the feelings, I tell you, we lived the happiness

RG: Yes

TG: incredible happiness, like perhaps some of the militants in 1945 at the Liberation, like the Algerians who lived in July in 62. We lived, we were lucky, a few, a few hundred privileged, young people who had militated for peace in Algeria, one: to see that there had been peace in Algeria

RG: Yes

TG: that there was a revolution that called itself socialist, secular at the outset, which welcomed all the revolutionaries from all over the world, South Africa, Cuba, everything, which was fraternity. I organized the camps, international youth camps where all these young people of 68 met, the camp of Sidi xxx as we talked about at the time, so it was I who had taken the, the initiative and responsibility, and there we will find all the young people who are doing 68, finally all the executives

RG: Ok

TG: they went there, the Italians, the Germans, the, uh the, since it was a camp international, those that we will find in the Lotta Continua, those that we will find in the German students...

RG: Oh, okay

TG: there is a place like that in Algeria where at some point it is closer than Cuba, and we hope that from there, fraternity between peoples will take place. But there is not in, in ... why it was so happy and that it seems so far away, is that, we don't say 'you're a Muslim', we don't say 'you're catho ', we don't say 'you're Jewish '. There are young Israelis who can meet from everywhere, there is at the time an Algerian activist who is the grandson of the emirate Abdel Kader, who was, who is in the FLN, and who is pro-Zionist

RG : Okay

TG: it is a universal movement, magnificent, fraternal and everything in which we are happy, men, women, happiness, love all that, it exists, a great, great, great moment, and where everyone world is there. After, after Boumedienne's coup, things change, and hey, I came back before Boumedienne ben's coup for both personal reasons but also because there is a bit of politics. , Algerians are starting to be wary of us, no ... well me, for example, my comrades ask me to take Algerian nationality and I don't want

RG: Yes, okay

TG: I say I am not Algerian I am ... There is a beginning of, of, of Islamization, a beginning of, of condition in which religion begins to take a step on internationalism, nationalism. Well there are the Algerian executives, finally....

RG: who begins in mysticism who ends in politics, right?

TG: yes that is to say that there is a moment of internationalism and brotherhood that will play including with the Cubans, and then there is a moment in which Arab nationalism becomes Islamic nationalism going up, well, it doesn't happen overnight, it's

RG: okay

TG: at the time, Algiers, people, activists, they go to cafes, they drink, there are extraordinary artists, Isi Aquem, Senak, well there is, it's a big, big city, it's magnificent, Algiers 62-63-64 is sublime. And there you have it, there are lots of people who meet there like we were supposed to meet somewhere, not in the same way, in Moscow in the 1920s

RG: Yes

TG: it's more the same, it's young people, etc. And then there is South Africa, we begin to show solidarity with South Africa. There is solidarity with the people of Angola etc., there is a whole, Angola, there is all that, there is ... And then, and then it is, the young people who come in Algeria from all over Europe do not feel, do not look last their backs to see that there is a bearded man, there is no bearded man

RG: Okay

TG: They are, they are, they are comrades the Algerians

RG: Okay

TG: and...

RG: And so there you returned to France, you have...

TG: and there, after , finally after various small things and clashes with the PC, I return to the UEC. So I am already in the opposition, I am in the opposition, when I return to the UEC I

am already oppositional to the Communist Party, that is to say I join the Communist Party by being already oppositional, basically

RG: Yes

TG: because it carries values ... But then the Communist Party is a little hesitant, it is more hesitant than .... we must, normally there must be the festival of the youth in Algeria, it is planned

RG: Yes

TG: that was planned before Boudienne's coup d'état, and when I return, the young people of the FLN with whom I have worked a lot, the FLN youth who are largely infiltrated by the Algerian Communist Party - well, well drowned, I don't like the term

RG: No

TG: because it doesn't, no it could be

RG: Yes

TG: but that's not it, it didn't happen like that. There are many young people from the FLN, from the FLN youth who joined the Algerian Communist Party. It's not quite the same thing, it's not the French Communist Party, the Algerian Communist Party at the time. And so young executives who had fought in the war, FLN and all that, and who had no communist training, and other young communists who had been imprisoned - I am thinking of Bouelem Makouf and others - well make a sort of fusion there and then, then the Algerian youth, the JFLN is very influenced by the Algerian Communist Party

RG: Okay

TG: and I work with them, that's it, with this radical youth. And so when I return to France, I am tasked by them to be the organizer, technical all that. Since it is also my first job since I had worked in popular tourism, and in Algeria I was a little involved in popular tourism. I was secretary general of, of, I founded, finally somewhere, ONAT, the Algerian National Tourist Office

RG: Yes

TG: and therefore, they ask me to help them in France, to be a bit of an organizer, with the communist youth, finally a technical organization of the Communist Youth of France, which is called - since it no longer exists - which was called how, Loisirs et Vacances de la Jeunesse, LVJ, and to organize, organize materially, travel, logistics to bring all the people from around the world who will meet in Algeria. And the festival will be canceled because the coup d'état

RG: Ah yes, okay

TG: but normally it should be in August 65, and well there will be no youth festival because of the coup d'état

RG: Okay

TG: and the arrest of the communists in Algeria is from, from the beginning of the oppression which will be set up against the political parties of the extreme left including obviously the Algerian Communist Party, ban of Republican Algiers, well all that, was part of history, so just what I want to tell you, that is before my work at UEC

RG: okay

TG: and when I arrive at the UEC, I am already the bearer of an image in my sector of Guevariste, we are the ones who translate the texts, so that poses a lot of problems with the Party, we make the translation of the texts of Guevara's speech in Algiers, so it's a discourse of rupture with the Communist Party, with the Soviets rather, and that will do ... If you want when we talk about the UJC (ml), the UJC ( ml), was the merger between a collective Guevaro / anti-imperialist thing, and what we called the circle of Ulm - but hey, some say the Ulmards, but we say that today, we did not say not quite that at the time, and the circle of the UEC, well the Althusserians as we said - and the UJC (ml) was created like that, that is to say on the one hand a collective resulting from, say, Althusserian theoretical practice

RG: Yes

TG: and a collective rather stemming from the activist practice since there are eight at the start, seven or eight I do not know any more, to found the UJC (ml), which we do not first call the UJC (ml) but the Center, its first word, its first term, it will be the Center. And the Center at the beginning only works with the UEC to try to constitute a larger collective, will later become the UJC (ml)

RG: So was there a tension between people like you who had a militant practice in Algeria and elsewhere, and the intellectuals of the rue d'Ulm

TG: Of course, of course, but a positive tension not a negative tension

RG: Okay

TG: tension, the tension you have to see how what we call tension, a completely creative tension, pff, of us who were sorely lacking in training, me in particular

RG: Marxist?

TG: I would say of training, not even Marxist, of intellectual training

RG: Ah good

TG: Well I mean, it is not because we read Franz Fanon that ... our readings were very readings, how say, we ... - I don't know how to put it to you - our reading at the time was linked to our political commitment

RG: Yes

TG: in a way, but with a very instrumental vision of these readings, very instrumental, not, my meeting with Robert Linhart for example which is very important since it took place in Algeria

RG: Ah yes

TG: since they have all been, they all came to Algeria

RG: So that I did not know

TG: ah yes, Feruge, Lerouscan in particular, Krivine, Weber all that. All these people came, the Italians who then did other things, which made me ... I met Robert in Algeria, which immediately fascinated me. So I actually worked not only in the youth as an activist but my job was more the training of those in charge of, of the management of self-managed industrial companies

RG: Yes

TG: with others, not me who did that, I was a young person, with others, well we were in an institute ... the conditions in which, I no longer know what I was telling you, I have a hole ...

RG: Your meeting with Linhart

TG: Ah yes with Linhart, when we decided ... So it was in my activist practice to say, 'well we are going to do this camp', this JFLN camp, with this objective a little if we are capable of that. We can do the World Youth Festival, a kind of preparation for an international camp

RG: Yes

TG: from European youth, where came young people from Egypt, Syria, young people from Latin America, young people from everywhere, well, young people from South Africa, but who was smaller. It's a thing where we took an installation, which is to say an installation of the French army and we have, a parachute camp, which we transformed into a youth camp, with the logistics that were ours, which was actually quite weak at the time. And we made it through this camp, everyone who was there thought it was a really good thing. And Robert himself when he came for this thing, instead of staying there, he went to the countryside and he started studying. So we already find what we will find in our common Maoism, to him and to me and to a few others,

RG: Yes

TG: That is to say, Marxism is at the same time, Marxism - ours in any case and then that has not changed for me, although I no longer know, I don't know if I'm a Marxist, but it's because we don't do, we don't do politics like that, we go into the field, we study, we make inquiries, then we mix it up, 'take ideas from the masses, systematize them and return them to the masses', Mao will say. This is a bit like what Marx had about 'concrete analysis of the concrete situation', not just telling anything, going into the field, do the investigation in a scientific way, what does that mean, what is the method of the investigation, the objective analysis of the facts, not the ideological analysis, the real situation

RG: Okay

TG: and that's what Robert Linhart will do, and that's what we became, so he lived with me, we became comrades

RG: Okay

TG: more than that, comrades and friends. But, and he's the only one of all these young people, and that's probably why we became brothers at that time, which I found in this desire to, to work in the field. And they simply had the Ulmards - since we are talking about that, the tensions - they had a theoretical practice, that is to say, a work on the texts of Marx around Althusser, of philosophical reflection. But they didn't have, for the most part except Robert, that ability to go on the field, well, and so the tension is that

RG: Okay

TG: It is... us, well us, me, I speak for myself - others were perhaps more cultivated, me who was really bad - well who had an economic formation, well, in any case a vision certainly of reading and studying very insufficient, when we talk about that yes there were those who really wanted to be in the activist practice, the action, that the action is very important, that we cannot not just stay studying, you have to get out of university, you have to go see people

RG: Yes

TG: in relation to the CLAJ, with the studies of the CLAJ, with the work that we have done, with the young workers, with this with that, well, well, all kinds of capacity to go out. So a positive tension that I think gave all its credit to the UJC (ml) which from the moment we, this collective and them merged, they became much more militant

RG: Yes

TG: they started to put a hand to the paw, and we began to say. 'but wait, we suck, we have to go out into the field, make inquiries etc.'. Hence the investigative work of the UJC (ml), 'who did not do the investigation does not have the right to speak', going to factories, working on immigration, well everything this considerable sociological work which did not exist at the time

RG: Yes

TG: on immigration, the role of immigration, youth, layers of new social categories, what was really happening in reality. But all this seen in a more way, at the beginning more ... in any case not the ideological readings that I had had before, that is to say there is a book of, of, I take Fanon because it has been very important in our life, Fanon ben here it is useful for the fight

RG: Yes

TG: and I had not been to verify myself or to take part in what after we called the surveys of actions, that is to say at the same time to do the survey, to see the people, to try at the same time as we do the investigation to organize them, to pose problems with them, to live with them, to share their life, well all kinds of things that have made UJC (ml) become, had a different image than the Ulmards

RG: Yes

TG: the UJC (ml) if it worked, it was because she was also with her hands dirty, it's not just the Marxist-Leninist notebooks

RG: Okay

TG: it's the demonstrations of solidarity, eh that's all we did, on February 21, the UJCML is at the source of this restitution of February 21, the international day that the Communist Party had abandoned, which was the anti-imperialist day, and the anniversary of Manouchian's death. So we find our patriotism

RG: Oh yes

TG: both Manouchian, the struggle of immigrants in France for their liberation, and the liberation of France, not nothing like an image, so the, there we will find Pierre Goldman, we will find many others, namely immigrants in France. It's not just people who are being hidden, it's people who have been at the forefront of the patriotic struggle and the FTP, so they play a role - the anti-imperialist days, the Vietnam committees of base, the People's Struggle Support Committee. No, the UJC (ml) is not what we, the image we want to give today, of a purely theoretical vision, of people who are Althusserians. Otherwise the youth would never have followed us and the influence of the UJC (ml) would not have been as powerful

RG: Ok

TG: as it has been

RG: When you say 'we', the people who came with you, who were not rue d'Ulm, who do you mean?



TG: I think there are, but I think of Gérard Dahan and his wife, Annie Dahan. Gérard is unfortunately dead, who was the Faculty of Science, er an absolutely extraordinary boy, and Annie who is still alive scientists. There was - but there I no longer have - a young person called, there was Emanuele, there was, well, well, I don't really want to give you names here because , wait, I'm telling you that

RG: No, it's more for the transcription

TG: Don't give these names because, there are lots of people, I'm going to tell you what really appeals to me is that, there are many who have done things

RG: Yes

TG: very important, very generous, very etc., which we no longer hear about

RG: Yes

TG: there are some that I still meet in militant life

RG: Yes

TG: So there they speak for themselves, but there are some who have made particular careers, sometimes intellectual, extraordinary for some, but who no longer claim their past at all, it belongs to them, it does not belong to me

RG: Okay, okay

TG: that is, what we can say is that within the UEC gradually, different sectors of the UEC have come together because somewhere, first the right sector, it is the one where was, first the right sector since it is the first who made the UJC (ml) it was right sector, there were three including me

RG: Yes

TG: three or four I don't remember, three or four, four if I remember correctly, I don't remember if they were there at the very beginning. That's why I don't know if there were seven or eight, well four from the right sector, four from Ulm, of which out of the three from Ulm, three are now dead, finally dead, two are dead, one is intellectually dead it is Robert Linhart

RG: Yes

TG: Really unfortunately, intellectually since he's still alive. Two others therefore, two others died. There is only one who survives and I don't know what happened to him to tell you the truth, and then that doesn't interest me so much... so good these people, when one says afterwards. Yes for that it is enough to look at the newspapers to see it, yes gradually the science sector, the fine arts, groups of important high school students who were khagheux,

finally people of the hypokhâgne or in khâgne, therefore students of letters , history students too, facing Krivine. So the ... there was a development that meant that afterwards I ended up with all these people, and some will enter the direction of the UJC (ml)

RG: Okay, okay agreement

TG: and will become at the same time, well then you have to see the very, very, very strong imprint that Robert Linhart had on everyone

RG: Yes

TG: a little, with a little difference between the two of us, c 'is that I had known him before, so we were in somewhat different fraternity relations

RG: What year did you meet him in Algeria?

TG: Robert, long before he created the UJC (ml) since

RG: Yes

TG: came to Algeria in 64 the Sidi camp is in 64, I don't know if it's 64 or 63 , I do not remember any more, no it is surely 64, I do not know any more, I do not know if it is 63 or 64 the year, I have trouble finding my way

RG: Okay, that's where it is... and then can we go back to 68, because it went a bit badly for the UJC (ml) is that it?

TG: Ben...

RG: This is what we say

TG: This is what we say yes

RG: Do you agree?

TG: I don't know anymore, no I don't know anymore because, because.... No I don't know if I agree anymore, I was, I thought it went wrong but, we always make history from the present, the history of the present of the years 69, 70 is not the one that I prefer today so like others I thought that we had messed up in 68 , I'm not so sure we messed up

RG: Ah, how crashed?

TG: Well it's complicated, it's complicated, in the sense, if we look at the results, history by these results .... The student movement of 68 did not leave ... political frameworks likely to shed light on the way ... The only one who floats since Robert unfortunately - who could surely have given an immense leader, close to people by this practice of, to go and see, to put his nose where it is necessary, to listen - the only one Who floats is Daniel Cohn-Bendit,

whose objectives I do not share but who retains this freshness, this capacity for analysis, of the present

RG: Yes

TG: and to draw, some ... After that we don't agree, well, but I have immense respect for him because of that. First, because he said things after 68 which remain essential and which we do not say. He says that he is more or less the only one to say publicly and that when, one cannot compare, one cannot look at what is difficult for the historian at the time, but he says with rightness, he wrote that between the writings of March 22, ours even worse, of the UJC (ml) and our practices, there is an incredible gap ... That is to say that our writings are Stalinist, neo-Stalinists, Leninists, today unbearable. We can not imagine the language of wood we used, so that, I am not ashamed of it but hey, when I see how we wrote things, the poverty of our language, the semantics,

RG: You were serious, serious people

TG: No, no...

RG: You weren't involved in sexual liberation?

TG: Wait, that's you saying that

RG: No but it's a question, it's all a question, no but...

TG: The question is not, because that is, it is to fail, I am simply telling you, I am going back to what Cohn-Bendit said

RG: Yes

TG: I am also taking it on my own, between this poverty and the richness of the relationships that existed between us

RG: Yes

TG: there is a incredible gap, and our initiatives, and the enthusiasm and the way we did a number of incredible things. So knowing that 68 for us it starts in 66, and for us it goes until 75, it is not

RG: Yes

TG: May 68 it is, it does not mean anything

RG: no, I agree

TG: so it starts long before and it continues long enough, at the latest 75, more probably 73. But anyway there are still brands, the whole history of the Lip and many other things that

happened afterwards highlight the fact that the movement was not dead. But after a certain point it's dead and buried

RG: But for you...

TG: but wealth is that... So afterwards when we say, I take for example, I know the certainty, I am, I put my head to cut when we formed the UJC (ml), we were anti-Stalinists

RG: yes

TG: complement, the eight, the eight who were there were against Stalin, we were good, after we put on, uh out of opportunism, so it's there or, to have the, how to say, to have the anointing of the Chinese Communist Party....

RG: But the Chinese Communist Party was not Stalinist, was it?

TG: But he had the photo of Stalin

RG: Yes

TG: It's, it's all complicated in the ... We, we had experienced the Cultural Revolution as an anti-Stalinist revolution

RG: Yes

TG: and we believed what the ... we believed what the Chinese were saying, that is to say that, between what we are told, that's why the language of our publications compared to our experience has nothing to do eh? When we did our training, we used the texts of the Cultural Revolution by saying the Cultural Revolution is heir to the Paris Commune

RG: Yes

TG: storming the sky. It was the most total romanticism, 'fire against the headquarters', 'fire against the Party apparatus', we used everything against the French Communist Party as a pressure structure

RG: Yes

TG: Well that's the beginning, but then there are the Albanians, the Chinese themselves they have an opportunist policy - well, opportunist they have their policy - and then we will discover that it is an internal policy, a Party clique against another Party clique, but that we were unable to see at the start of the Cultural Revolution

RG: Of course

TG: I had been in China before the Cultural Revolution

RG: Ah good

TG: I was in sixties ... what year was I in China? I don't know anymore... in a somewhat complicated collective, organized including with Porchez, all that, because hey yes, if we look at all the networks that we set up at that time, it is very complicated to unravel. But my job was, before I left for Algeria, I worked in a travel agency called Voir et Connaître, and Voir et Connaître was a travel agency which actually financed the PSU and which had financed our work during the Algerian war also

RG: Ok

TG: or there were plenty of former resistance fighters of the FTP and of the, even Gaullists, of the BCRA, of the former of the BCRA, and therefore of the Gaullist secret services. It's a thing, the left Gaullists who were a bit on the far left in London, who were at the BCRA had a network that worked very well

RG: Yes

TG: that I can say

RG: Ok

TG: very , very good, which they had kept, so they took young people like us that they found good, and they trained us in a technique which was tourism, very useful

RG: Ah okay

TG: as communism had done the same thing for good ... So you can clearly see what we can do with tourism, so I joined this agency as an employee ... I didn't do anything revolutionary there, nothing at all

RG: Yes

TG: but we could have, I have to, we used it for a lot of other good things, whatever. And when I left for Algeria and I stayed in Algeria, it was Jean Jacques Porchez who took my place

RG: Ok

TG: when I came back from Algeria, it was he who technically organized our trip to China where many oppositional Communist militants came without going through the Party, to meet the Chinese Communist Party

RG: Okay

TG: and we met the Chinese Communist Party, but there at the time we were not at all Maoist, we were anti-imperialist, well I was anti-imperialist

RG: Yes

TG: those who accompanied me also, it was guevariste etc., we would like to understand what is the rupture between the Chinese and ... we wanted to meet the Chinese at high level and we met them elsewhere so that they explain to us the Sino-Soviet rupture, we did not understand in France, we did not have the elements, we did not know good, therefore we were....

RG: And were you impressed?

TG: Yes of course, of course impressed. We visited lots of things, they made us feel very welcome, but we were young French Communists - not just young people, there were also old people - who were very, very, they did not appreciate the Chinese at all. our way of doing things, since this group was made up of people who were already critical of the PC device. So they were asking questions including annoying with the Chinese

RG: Okay

TG: So when we left each other, we didn't leave each other very well. We had, well I was in charge of the collective with, our last meeting, but that was before the Cultural Revolution, it on the contrary confirmed me in the idea since we left badly, they do not did not answer our questions well, there was the same language as with the PC. There were very, very good things that they were telling us but there were things that we didn't like, we felt that good etc., and the collective did not go pro-Chinese at all

RG: Ok

TG: He was questioning and very critical, he was very questioning vis-à-vis the Russians, very questioning vis-à-vis the Chinese, and he was not at all pro-Chinese, he came back enriched

RG: Yes

TG: eh enriched since they had told us things but not at all pro-Chinese, and when I saw the, then obviously, that, that, compared to the UJC (ml) well, that did not change a lot. Finally, what was coming since, well, we remained a little in this anti-imperialism in which the Chinese, the Chinese played an important role and that the Sino-Soviet break made sense

RG: Yes

TG: in what you say, it is- that is to say in this anti-imperialist vision in which, quite close to Stalinism than, from the fact that the peoples of the world and their revolt would emerge a new architecture of the relations between...

RG: yes

TG: well, that's true that at that time it played a role in our vision of business, but then when the Cultural Revolution came it was enthusiasm since it was precisely the fight against the device

RG: Ok

TG: it was the struggle to regenerate a Party that became bureaucratized like the Soviet Party, so we believed in it

RG: Yes

TG: We believed in it a lot

TG: and above all that, remember that their first texts were really in reference to the Paris Commune. We found for me all that was romantic in the Paris Commune, patriotic, bearing the fact that France was not a small country but, in the sense eh, I have always ...

RG: the revolutionary tradition

TG: revolutionary tradition, but global, humanist, transversal, fraternal, and for xxx of the French, really I mean, good all those who want, is French who wants, it was our idea of the Paris Commune, is French who wants. As soon as you carry the universal values of brotherhood and the fight against oppression, you are French, that was what we saw, and the Chinese told us that, the Paris Commune ahh that obviously (laughing RG and TG) we were proud, there was something, so here is

RG: but to come back to 68, in your anti-imperialist vision a little workerist, the student movement was not for much, is that what you meant?

TG: after inside the UJC (ml) there were several criticisms, I will not go back to the history of the UJC (ml), it is in a lot of books

RG: yes

TG : you know her like me and, but we made several successive movements of criticism, which resulted in what was called the establishment campaign, and the first movement it was that did not do the investigation. does not have the right to speak, that is to say the fact that we had to get out of ideology and that we could not penetrate, since all the same the UJC (ml) already saw itself as the Communist Party new

RG: Yes

TG: We were completely stupid, no but, we really thought we were going to make a new Communist Party, not alone, that after none of us thought that, not crazy enough, I finally thought that the small starting collectives, with its intellectual capacities and very quickly its mass influence

RG: Yes

TG: It was when very, very quickly for the UJC (ml)

RG: Yes

TG: Nobody can imagine today since everyone only talks about the Trotskyists. But then we were amazing, the journalists from around the world, everyone wanted to talk to us, everyone wanted to meet us, everyone wanted to see us. And we were quite clando anyway, we were very careful, not going out too much and all that, so we thought that with others we would be able to rebuild a new Communist, revolutionary, far-left party, good

RG: Yes

TG: I think that we believed in it, that frankly we believed in it, in any case I believed in it, we also had executives. Robert was an exceptional, exceptional framework, well I have rarely encountered of this level of my life, generosity, of, of, fraternity, listening... also with many faults... of course, but a true framework

RG: Yes

TG: a true executive... knowing how to unite. So when we have made all these movements, well, I am not going to talk about Robert again, but when we have made all these movements one after the other, there is first this desire to go into the investigation, then there is there was the establishment

RG: Yes

TG: so what was the objective of the UJC (ml), it is not the objective of the student movement at all

RG: No

TG: You ask me the question, the objective of building a Communist Party with the workers, and with a bit of a Gramscian vision which was, while good nobody was talking about Gramsci at the time, at least not in our ranks - it was that, which was completely against the culture of the French Communist Party, of the alliance of intellectuals and workers, to find philosophical workers. I had mine, Charlot Dusnasio, so I have always seen mine so, who became Mao, well, so there too there is a somewhat complicated story, it is that the CLAJs had been in China in 55, after the, the...

RG: yes ok

TG: and therefore the, the movement, we also found ourselves on, but with another vision of, of ... anti-imperialism with the Algerian war had in addition brought us together very strongly with, well me with the CLAGS and others, other friends who had done that with me, we met when there was the Cultural Revolution, them in a way, not the same as ours, but



we our idea was that we needed philosophical workers and working intellectuals, and that therefore the merger could only go through the immersion, the immersion of our executives in the working class, hence the establishment

RG: yes

TG: and I think that more than the influence of the Chinese, it was the Vietnamese influence, the Vietnamese Communist Party which had written about it on, incredible besides, if we read them again

RG: ah yes agree

TG: in which many cadres of the Party, the National Liberation Front, the FNL, the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese Communist Party

RG: It was the mass line, it was called

TG: the mass line but it was ... already they had a policy of establishment which was, they sent executives into the countryside, well there where there was no ... and we told, so we we thought it was great, uh today I, we can xxx the shame but finally, I no longer know a framework who had his teeth sawed to be ... since there was I no longer know among the Maos or I do not know which tribe, to work with the Americans, well, there is one who was sawn off, to share his life. I have always kept a quote from Chairman Mao that I continue to like very much, and that I always say, moreover, everywhere is, 'There are those who cross the field and do not see the roses, and there are those who stop the horse to look at the roses,

RG: Ah ok

TG: and us, that was our idea, it was smelling the scent of roses

RG: Yes

TG: it was always being with, and the roses for us were the workers

RG : Okay

TG: it was the working class, it was the people, so living among the people, working among the people, that was the essential

RG: Yes

TG: So hence the establishment , the establishment in factories, so for us, the UJC (ml) of the time

RG: Yes

TG: what interested us was to build what we called the class struggle CGT, eh so you read, you will see that in ... you saw it, and from where, today we can say it, our work in certain factories, the factory number 1, it is quite funny being the Perrier factory of Vergèze in...

RG: In the Gard

TG: thus made like the Chinese there, there where we had the 'immolation in a communist cell among the workers, tac it was factory number 1, factory number 2, good with workers' struggles etc., reconstituted from 1966, there are radical workers' struggles in France therefore well before 68, in Chausson, in Cléon, finally in certain factories and in which our intervention is not completely in vain

RG: Okay

TG: We meet a membership of the working youth who do not recognize themselves in the old CGT

RG: Ok

TG: and who is already in the revolt, another revolt than that of the student movement but a revolt of the working youth

RG: Yes

TG: And so when May 68 develops, everything that has been called the ideology of the conspiracy, developed by Robert but which was there in the development phase of the disease So me also by our responsibilities vis-à-vis -vis of him, that is to say that apart from me, there were very few people who argued with him, me because I had been lucky, not because I was more courageous than the others, to know him before because it played a role

RG: yes

TG: and then I was older too - there was a question of age - much older, and then they respected my experience somewhere. Anyway we had a little different reports, but you see this .. uh, shit I haven't been changed my, I have to go put parts

RG: You want to pause a bit?

TG: I'll finish that and then we'll put some money in my car

RG: Yes

TG: So we our, at the moment, at that moment, this conspiracy ideology is, he incorporates it into a megalomaniacal vision

RG : Yes

TG: megalomaniac, but he incorporates it in the idea, in his idea that he will find a certain audience with us

RG: Yes

TG: that the movement is made to move us away from this construction of the party, that it is the petty bourgeois who ... and that we are in the factories, we are the party under construction, we who are 'we are in this development of the people's support movement. You have to see that there was also the MNCP and La Cause du Peuple born there, the newspaper La Cause du Peuple

RG: Yes

TG: it is not the newspaper of the UJC (ml), it is the newspaper of , from the movement in support of the people's struggles, which takes over the acquis is Basic Vietnam Committees

RG: Okay

TG: but transforms it into the fight in France. It is the same methods of mass organization, the same work etc., but instead a little, we will find it in a very nice article, the last I believe that Robert Linhart did in the world, which is calls 'A barge for', or 'A boat for, a boat for'... ah the eel I think, 'A barge for the eel compared to a boat for Vietnam', it is at the time of, of I forgot the title of this article which was very good, after May 68

RG: Yes

TG: who said, well wait, there is no need to build a boat for Vietnam, we have to go to the defense of Eastern steelmakers

RG: Yes

TG: from the basin of France Well, it must be a boat for the eel or something like that, a barge for, I do not know any more... so good there, and that, that covered a reality with us which was that the he set of forces that were on the move could not be distracted from the front that we considered essential, which was establishment and construction. So first of all it was bullshit when I said megalomaniac, I attended the last session and I'm the only one who had a fight with Robert. He told me, he sent me a letter afterwards when he was well, to thank me for my fraternity towards him

RG: Yes

TG: but because there was already the cult of personality, how democratic centralism and its incredible perversity rolls from the political office, from the home, we thought we were. But frankly, I had been brought back to the base for lots of reasons, I'm not going to go into the whole story of all this, but I was no longer in the political office at the time, and so I was not yet established, if I was established, I was already established sorry

RG: Yes

TG: I was established, but I was no longer in the political office, but I was in a direct relationship with them since for The Cause of the People. And then I was a former leader and everyone thought of me as a leader, and I too, I thought of myself as a leader somewhere... So this, how to say, this orientation linked to megalomania for a while has been happening. is not seen, except when we saw that he was only saying bullshit. Finally I, there was a side of, of a word... unable to be, to self-censor, to self-criticize, we had lost all this idea 'Who did not do the investigation does not have it. right to speak '

RG: Yes

TG: We no longer reflected on the fact that it was the young workers who came to the Latin Quarter, etc. However you tell me now, how we think, I remember immense things that we did in May 68, during May 68, and in particular the only mass demonstrations that there were in the suburbs, we are the ones who organized them

RG: Yes

TG: I remember a great demonstration in St Denis or the UJC (ml) to train thousands and thousands of people in St Denis

RG: Yes

TG: with red flags and all, with the, in, then you know why because eh the history of the French Communist Party, Doriot, Renaud the social fascist, well and all we want. But hundreds and hundreds of workers coming out of factories who saw these red flags, who saw etc. It was beautiful, in addition we had a connection to aesthetics which was still not bad, that we have always had, that we will find in Vive la Révolution. This is the contribution of the friends of the Fine Arts, it's Castro, that's all that, so a relationship with the beautiful, which has always been very strong in the UJ and then in, to Vive la Révolution , we really did things that no one, no, no other organization has done

RG: Okay

TG: So you're asking me today what's left, there aren't many executives left, uh pff... anyway, whatever the deep respect I have for Krivine is a failure, the Revolutionary Communist League, besides, it's Besancenot who represents it, I mean, it's something else Besancenot, it's another, good

RG: Yes

TG: So I don't know if Besancenot is a failure, but it is not, when you see what they took with the presidential elections, even if they are more numerous, it is a small shit started... Good Castro, Long live the Revolution, he could also have been a great leader, he had all the capacities, the imagination etc., but... he was not. I'm talking about famous people, Weber is

really who is in the Communist Party... none... there is no leader, well, leader in the sense... it is not the taste of the leader, it is the leader which is not within the framework of democratic centralism

RG: Yes

TG: leaders who have emerged from the combat

RG: Yes, okay

TG: I am not saying the leaders trained by the apparatus

RG: Yes

TG: Why is it that in reality Danny still has this influence, is that he is not worn by any device, he is carried by the story of May 68, even though he left that story, as his tone of criticism, his freedom of speech, his freedom of tone

RG: Yes

TG: his capacity for criticism is, at least me what I think, has remained intact

RG: Yes

TG: He is immensely sympathetic

RG: Yes

TG: compared to all devices

RG: Yes ok

TG: but who are the leaders? There are none, currently in France. There is only one person who came from the struggles, it is Thibaut at the CGT, nobody else

RG: Yes

TG: We cannot find any of the people from the struggles, and the movement of May 68 left no leader from the struggles who has authority over, a moral authority, political as it could, good even if it has been crushed by the Communist Party, I think of Tillon, good who have ... Tillon, he just had to go to a corner of France, (??) and do what he wanted, there was everything following the hundreds of guys who were ready to welcome him, because the history of FTP is a huge story

RG: Yes, yes

TG: Good, but it is not the device that made Tillon

RG: No

TG: it's the action, it's the way, etc ... I'm talking about our generation, but our generation of May 68 did not succeed in creating leading executives capable of coming out like the were indeed a number of leaders of the PCF after the war because they had, and who were not those of the apparatus

RG: Hm

TG: Why they were all eliminated, Tillon, Casanova, all those , all those who ended up either in the Spanish Civil War or in the leadership of the FTP were liquidated one after the other as natural rulers

RG: Yes

TG: carriers of an action, even, finally good, Lecœur. Anyway, all those who had done things, who had been recognized for what they did and not, not for anything. Well, they've all been wiped out by their device. May 68 did not finally bring any of those executives who are able to be recognized for what they have done more than for what they say

RG: Okay

TG: except somewhere I find Danny Cohn-Bendit, which is not my prospects, so it brings us back when you tell me today is the UJC (ml) ML she went deceived, I say yes, because of megalomania. But I'm still saying who remained among the workers we contacted at the time, probably among their children. Finally when I say children it can be either biological children, or children who have followed a libertarian trail like that ... a powerful libertarian trace, which in my opinion still exists in the mass movement, we have seen it a little with the Confédération Paysanne, with Bové

RG: Yes

TG: not so much Bové as Bové but the Confédération Paysanne

RG: Yes

TG: how it succeeded in being a mass organization, we see it in certain organizations, I think that the union to which I attached my life afterwards, the union of lawyers in France has carried and still bears libertarian traces, surely the magistrate's union, aspects in emergency medicine. Finally there are traces, there are no leaders, but there are traces of organizational and libertarian ideas

RG: Yes

TG: of the extreme left libertarian but not of an extreme Stalinist left or an organizational extreme left . But I was going to say there are places, there are plenty of places where the ideas of May 68 are still very present, although they are not leaders of 68 and leaders of 68

RG: Yes

TG: That's what's stupid

RG: Yes

TG: So now was it right to go towards that? I say yes, since that's what remains, then in VLR when we said, since at the time of the dissolution of Vive la Révolution the slogan proposed by Castro but I think he has it. not himself pushed, it was 'to settle in the city, to settle in life'. Well, there were a lot of friends who did that

RG: Yes

TG: I think I am and still others, many others, and the way in which they have established themselves in life means that there are traces much stronger than they say

RG: okay

TG: and that those who claim to speak today because they have been in the media for years and years like the veterans of May 68, well it's more of the fighters of May 2008

RG: okay

TG : I think there are still a few thousand combatants from May 2008 or their direct child, their ideological child

RG: yes

TG: or their political or organizational child, and I see them everywhere

RG: okay

TG: so yes we were certainly wrong, because of this organizational megalomania, the history of which we can perfectly explain, including the setting of the political office of the UJC (ml) on the Party, the parties with a tradition of centralism democratic. But, but for the rest I think that when I speak with young people of forty years today that, that I knew like that, finally them, I find that having, we have good heirs

RG: Yes. Can I ask you a question about VLR?

TG: Yes but we're going to go, so maybe I wouldn't like to have...

RG: Shall we take a break?

TG: Yes we take a break if you want

RG: Yes

## PART II

RG: Well, you used the word libertarian, at a certain point and I wonder if the birth of VLR was something, much more libertarian than

TG: the UJC (ml)

RG: than the UJC ( ml)

TG: Yes of course, I think very quickly we ... For some of us we said we were a libertarian communist yes, in any case all the previous experience was, before the UJC (ml), of some 'between us, in any case of me, was a militant experience which had taken place outside the structures

RG: Yes

TG: and in this capacity to organize from the base, that it was during the war in Algeria, that it was in Algeria even elsewhere, around, at the beginning of the UJC (ml) certainly, well after the period it is finally quite short in my life, the period of UJC (ml)

RG: Yes

TG: It's PCF-UJC (ml) I was going to say, because I nevertheless joined in the Party also during this period, a Bet from elsewhere which at the time moved, moved more than it did afterwards under the rule of Waldeck-Rousseau, of Marchais

RG: Yes

TG: There were still leaders we were talking to. We managed to discuss with Roland Leroy, equal to equal, for the UEC I mean. But even in my cell and in my section we debated. Finally, then there were people, it was not just me, it is true when there are people who have a little political experience, it debates, it does not mean that it is t was easy but hey, me, my section, my cell never excluded me despite the requests for expulsions that were made afterwards. No I left without being excluded, uh, no it's yes it is clear that very, very quickly ... So after it was Mao-libertarian, it was Mao-spontex, it was libertarian communist, it depended a little of our areas of intervention because the way in which Vive la Révolution was born, but that others have already told it is in many books

RG: Yes



TG: it is the small groups which ... did not accept, at the time of the dissolution of the UJCml, the way in which Benny Lévy took the direction of, of a part of the UJ which was ultimately the minority party but relied on the 'military apparatus' in quotation marks. But hey there are a lot of quotes, the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist fighting apparatus, of militants who were more armed in terms of combat sport, let's say. It was done all the same in a very violent way this taking of, with a lot of insults

RG: Takeover even?

TG: Yes, yes everything was done violently, well, very violently. Today it makes me laugh when I see them, what his name is... the great philosopher there who is going to see Mr. Sarkozy, what is his name, Glucksmann

RG: Glucksmann, yes

TG: all these guys, even after those who had taken Serge July on March 22 and all that... they were not in the history of UJC (ml). Finally all those of the UJC (ml) who passed under the rule I was going to say of, of Benny Lévy... was finally violent, it was hard, painful, full of insults, full of violence, full of threat... threat with people that we had, for some people very much liked, like comrades, with whom had campaigned for a lot of time, not huge, me finally

RG: but it was a question of personality or of strategy or of ideology or what?

TG: pff I don't know, I haven't, I've never had much sympathy for Béni-Lévy so that has me, a lot of sympathy, it's complicated, it was a very, very special one, I will tell you say that because for me that, the only time in my life where I wanted to kill myself, it was following an intervention by Benny Lévy

RG: Ah good

TG: at the political bureau of the UJC (ml), we had very strong shouts about in particular, about my workerist tendencies and my relationship with the CLAJ who were considered populist .... opportunist .... And he had this sentence who really upset me, who really both upset me and then... upset me yes, and then who me, who made me question myself - it was before 68 - and who put me in , anyway, on the side then and then I was wondering what I was doing. So I got on the contrary, how to say, stunned by the militant work after for, for a period that made me feel that I was not really in the reflection, it's a terrible sentence that says, 'we other communists we are the functionaries of correct thought. And that sentence for me then, uttered, was a moment when he, Robert was present, no he was ill, it was the moment of the passage of, Robert had returned from, from, from a period of illness where he had been - already before 68 - removed from the management because he was ill, but we did not didn't know what he really had. By the time he returned Benny Lévy had replaced him without it being, it was a temporary replacement and without things appearing as, having to be him, the leader. He had changed his nickname I already believe, his name was already Victor, Pierre Victor... .and... and, so he had this sentence, that's not

really what terrified me, it's the silence of the others , well if it was already that, the sentence for me it was, the complete negation of what I believed that we were, surely not 'functionaries of the correct thought' ... and the silence of the others, among those who remained then,

RG: Yes

TG: So it's true that I was reluctant, well after in May 68, I have it quite a bit, when he was in hiding, I walked him around a lot, in hiding, transported, found hideouts and all, but... well, I don't know, he's a character... I never believed... that he liked roses...

RG: Ah good

TG: Yes

RG: Ok

TG : I never thought that his vision, how to put it... Robert like me had a passion for the history of France

RG: Yes

TG: on the history of our people, we had a certain number of, all that, that we maybe, that also held us with Pierre Goldman, we had for the FTP one, a very, very strong admiration, for a certain, in any case for the whole epic of ME surely, but for other also... of the history of, of... well I will not go into full details because it is...

RG: But it had, he did not have French nationality so, I was told that he could not go out in the street, that's it, so he's an intellectual at home, that's it, that 'is part of the problem

TG: Did that prevent Manouchian from leading the fight, no, but that's...

RG: But it's a choice

TG: It's a choice but

RG: He made a choice to stay at home, right?

TG: No, but hey, I don't want to talk, he died in addition

RG: Here is

TG: the only one I would say is this sentence, because this sentence has me ... He died, I wanted , I said to myself ... you are embarrassing me, I had forbidden myself to write before 60 years old, I am soon 70, when I settled in Mantes-la-Jolie, we had talked about it with, what we called the friends of my unit, and then with Françoise [Picq], with others, I would not write before 60 years, nothing, on the past

RG: Yes

TG: Why? because that past was very strong and I don't think you can be... judge your own past like that. Well, probably moreover I see things better today, but even though I speak about it very rarely, the you pull out all the stuff but... and then after the I was lucky to meet Gorz, it is he who has me, it is a huge chance in my life, there are two men who surely formed me, it is Charlot Dunsasio and Gorz, the two, I met a big brother, a true intellectual

RG: Yes

TG: a sublime intellectual... anar like us, finally a libertarian communist I think, finally anar I do not mean anar

RG: How is his name written?

TG: Gorz, don't you know André Gorz?

RG: No I don't, it's the first time I've met his name

TG: well he's a great theo, he has just died there too

RG: GORC

TG: Z

RG: Ah

TG: But he had several names, Michel Bousquier, sometimes known as Michel Bousquier, and his name is no more André Gorz than me since his real name was still a third name

RG: Ah, okay

TG: But he's a great French theorist, he's the, even everyone is rereading it, we're re-editing stuff, well he's one of the greatest intellectuals in this country, huge intellectual, which leaves a mark in the United States, in France, in Germany, everywhere finally. Well, it's one, it was for us, for all of us, at least for the band, called FGEL, I think Kravetz, Peninou, Bouguereau, I was looking for the name of Bouguereau, uh Marie-Noel Thibaut finally and many others. Really Gorze was the other great intellectual voice, Sartrean, but at the same time Sartre involved in workers' struggles, in, in, in society, well he is a huge theorist, I am surprised that you do not know him no

RG: No

TG: Well he is there, he must, he must, and I recommend his latest book which is absolutely beautiful, he has just come, he has just committed suicide, you did not hear that,

RG: No

TG: with his wife

RG: Ah yes that tells me something

TG: L'Être à Deux, his last book

RG: Yes, yes, okay

TG: at the moment he commits suicide, it is a magnificent testament

RG: There you go good that tells me something now

TG: well finally he's an immense, immense man, immense in his generosity, immense in his

RG: and you met him at that moment?

TG: I met him when I was at VLR, yes he came to join us, because we did like the Italians from Lotta Continua, we did what we called door work at VLR, well in my, my work at VLR was that, it was the automobile,

RG: Yes

TG: the auto workers, and he came to see us at, because he could see that something was going on and we did some quite so exceptional and great things at that time at VLR, in that segment. Castro did others, we did what we did, who was, of which I am still so proud and not ... I have nothing to be ashamed of everything we did at this time -la, on the contrary ... uh, and he came to see us, he came to see us because, so instead of doing a journalist's thing, he came a bit like Robert, to smell the roses, to meet the workers with whom we worked, discuss with us our work, politics, with the workers, outside the CGT, and our mass influence which was important at that time among the auto workers, finally in the basin of the,

RG: Yes

TG: Until that time I think, until I met Gorz, I didn't sign virtually any of the articles I wrote, whether in VLR or whatever ... whether in the VLR review, Vive la Révolution, whether in the newspapers, none. I have no signed paper with my hand, I know what I wrote but we were in an era at the UJ like at VLR we did not sign

RG: Yes

TG: and when I have, the meeting is powerful enough for me to sign, and so I wrote two articles in Les Temps Modernes, so I can say that if it hadn't been there, I would never have written them, that is to say that, the idea of the responsibility of the intellectual, it comes to

me from Gorz, that is to say that the fact that one does not have the right not to sign its texts

RG: Ok

TG: We don't have the right not to be responsible for its writing, and that the only democratic way to be controlled by the people with whom we militate is to sign, to be identified to what we write, for precisely. So if we take, which is very difficult in the history of the UJ and the history of VLR from the beginning, it is precisely the texts are not signed

RG: Okay

TG: and that it's easy today or difficult to say, well it's easy for some to say, 'I wasn't the one who wrote that', whatever criticism we can do Serge July, Glucksmann and all that. Well at the beginning they signed, all the same signed their text, which means that we have the fairly easy capacity to criticize them. Roland Castro in my opinion at the beginning neither did not sign and then he started to sign, in any case me it is the meeting with Gorz which for me, leads to this intellectual revolution in any case for me, which is to from that moment on. Except the texts that we then really write collectively, where there is a real collective writing, uh then there which also imposes a lot more work, a lot more time, a lot more difficulties, which is something else.

RG: Yes

TG: in any case then, in any case my meeting with Gorze, it changed my relation to, to the fact of accepting myself as an intellectual, I think that until before I did not accept myself as a intellectual, I saw myself as a militant, I dare not say a revolutionary. Finally at the time I had to think that, uh pf I do not even know, yes finally

RG: I found some of your texts at the BDIC

TG: hmhm

RG: There is also, I did not check in Les Temps Modernes, there is another text that was to be published by Lotta Continua that's it, that I found at the BDIC

TG: I don't know

RG: it's marked for, I don't know not, but that brings me back a bit, does?

TG: My archives, our archives, to Françoise and to me, most of them were given to Hamon and Rotman and to the BDIC

RG: Yes

TG: So to Hamon and Rotman, they never returned my archives to us. So there's a whole part that, I don't know where they are

RG: Yeah

TG: the Algerian archives, I gave them to a friend who was supposed to write a book, who unfortunately died, so I don't have my Algerian archives, which is a shame... And, so I don't know this text. is, for a good while I wrote a lot of it that's for sure, but the fact that it's not signed means I don't even know what. Finally I know, there are texts that I wrote in Vive la Révolution which are not signed I know very well that they are mine. Besides that is because there is a style which is not terrible, not very well written ... but hey I think of the work that he forced me to do, because really, forced me - I hear at the level of the fraternity

RG: Yes

TG: We will not release this, it's not good, you rewrite it, once, twice, three times, four times

RG: Yes

TG: Well he forced me to have this confrontation with writing, which was ' wait, what you say is porridge, we talk, what you say is interesting, but it is written it is null complement, rewrite '. So he played this role of this confrontation with writing which is nevertheless a not simple thing, and which is a democratic necessity, that is to say one cannot be a responsible if one does not write

RG : Yes

TG: and if we don't transmit, then the socialization of knowledge still happens through writing. Today with computing, it poses a lot of problems I must say, of a different nature from those we had known at that time, in the popular movement in any case, today computing plays a difficult role. to define, but in any case here, I can you, everything is difficult for me because I was not responsible for it, I think that it is really the, the, the friends around Roland Castro who can talk about it well, I can just say that our unit, that is to say the workers base, of Flins

RG: Yes

TG: Good was a bit in the VLR, the workers' branch, many considered me, Roland probably still today would tell you, excesses for them which were still excesses of papa's communism

RG: Castro and the others, it was rather on the side of, of the sexual revolution all that

TG: No, no I, of Roland I would not say that, not at the beginning, certainly not, no of the analysis, rather of the meeting with the analysis, of the meeting with Freud, finally in a general way, with Lacan

RG: Yes

TG: with, yes by this means there, but, Roland was not the lighthouse, there were others who were

RG: No of course

TG: who were, good Hocquenghem and all that, good is that, but hey the story of VLR is very complicated, because today there are a lot of people who claim to be VLR when I think that ' we were never more than 50, well what we called the assembly. Françoise said 40, I said 50, I don't know - the assembly that made VLR, which was the impetus collective of Vive la Révolution, it's very small, small, it's 50 people I think maximum. But everyone was responsible for an action, so people can say they were in VLR but they had no influence on the political leadership of VLR, the political leadership was very collective

RG: Yes

TG: in this Assembly 40 or 50, people who generally knew each other from the UJ, from the UJC (ml), who had all been to the UJC (ml) or almost all of them. But who had for various reasons been in contradiction and with the UJ at the time xxxmené, therefore each with his experience, the way he was ... I took care of the printing, the release of our duck, Serving the people, the Red Guard, all that in short, I had a rather, very, very material function, to take out the leaflets, to take out the newspapers every day, night and day when needed

RG: Yes

TG: So I was a bit, I was going to say, at some point in my madness at the time, I had a bit of the same function as Stalin, in the sense - not Stalin of, Stalin of ... d 'after - but to take out the organization's propaganda material, whether it be The People's Cause, whether it be something else. And hey I did it and then in the, when I had finished this job, I went to the demonstrations, I did etc. And I had the chance to work in an anarcho-syndicalist printing press where all the workers were not on strike, which was the

RG printing press : it was in Mantes

TG: no, no, no it was in Paris, in May 68 it was in Paris, I arrived in Mantes in 69

RG: Ok

TG: and which was, therefore, the bookseller, the printing press which was in the 20th arrondissement. I have a blank memory for the name of the friend who was a former La Voie Communiste, so Voie Communiste is the communists breaking with the Communist Party during the Algerian war

RG: Yes

TG: I don't know if you know the story of La Voie C, La Voie Communiste, and ... and so there was this friend who was a printer and who was already very useful during the Algerian war, who had this printing press which was in the 20th arrondissement - I would have to

find its name - well, therefore, which was a difficult comrade but courageous and generous, exceptional. And so his printing works in May 68, we did not go on strike. I was a worker at that time, and I was a worker why, to have a real work certificate allowing me to settle in Citroën or Renault, well at the time I did not know if we were going. So I worked about eight months in this printing house, I don't remember the time very well

RG: Yes

TG: six or eight months, to have a real work certificate, real pay slips, to be able to then go to one of the factories where we were established

RG: because in 68 you were

TG: Then I was at Citroën 15th

RG: Yes

TG: in Javel, where I was made redundant ... obviously, but uh, what was I saying, yes so in May 68 that's it, after in our unit you have what emerges from, from this position of, from the workers 'base of Flins, we had, first there were several workers' bases

RG: Yes

TG: We started at the 15th workers base. When I was made redundant, two of us went to Flins, a worker friend, who was a worker, who has always been a worker, who was, at the time we worked in pairs, an intellectual, a worker

RG: D '

TG agreement : therefore Jean-Marie Consic, who was a worker and who was made redundant. We both went to Flins, he got hired by, to be a worker, he was, he was really established in the sense that he was really a professional worker and he accepted to be, to establish themselves as a skilled worker to do the work

RG: Okay

TG: militant therefore

RG: Yes

TG: and, and then me to do the door work, as we used to say. But that's exactly the same as Lotta Continua with the whole history of VLR on this door job which has been very, very important and well, high quality. We militated with lots of people, well, broad, democratic, mass. A bit of what I was telling you about the anarcho-syndicalist with an influence on hundreds of young

RG: Yes



TG: and who made Gorz come to us like that to find out what we were doing. And there is one, by the way, I found, there is someone who gave me a poster, a first page of Christian Testimony which is really incredible, from May 1st, of what year, 72 or 73? I no longer know, I have this photo on my computer, where we see the two May 1st, finally May 1st of the CGT and May 1st of the extreme left

RG: Yes

TG: and the photo of May 1 from the far left is from Base Ouvrière de Flins, the soundtrack as we said at the time, with all the worker friends who were there at the time, obviously with ... J ' I'm there, and with other friends, and so it's true that it was an important thing, so in VLR what, in Everything !, I mean the, in relation to everything the only thing we have had it was indeed, it is number 13 eh Françoise

Françoise: what?

TG: the thing about the sexual liberation of the FHAR, 12, is the discussion in, inside, of our collective, of the Base Ouvrière, uh how we disseminated this issue of Tout! who was talking about homosexuality

RG: Yes

TG: and therefore, because we sold them out of the factory, Everything!

RG: Yes

TG: the others they didn't do that, the others they finally sold, we sold all the issues of Tout! at the Base Ouvrière

RG: Ok

TG: inside, we had a discussion but hey, obviously I was the most modest, I was quite against it being broadcast. Rather, it was the fellow workers who agreed to broadcast it, and we broadcast it, uh we broadcast it. So I was against it, yes, if it was broadcast. And we met young intellectuals, young homosexual workers (Françoise says something in the background). Yes, if we released it, but we didn't release it. We played it hand-to-hand at the factory, we didn't release it, yes you're right, we didn't release it when it came out, but it was released inside. And we were surprised to meet young homosexual workers... That was the number, it's the only one that got us... everything else we broadcast them very well, others, the young people found them very well, we sold a lot of them, that's it. What perhaps, what brought the Base Ouvrière de Flins à Tout !, is, now I don't even know if in Everything! it exists, this is the, the Dupont affair, have we reported, have we reported or not? Finally, if you want there are two things brought about by the end of Tout !, the end of the Workers' Base, it is on the one hand a strike that we have initiated, a mass strike, therefore without the PC, without the CGT, without anyone, where there was, I think there was, we said 3000 but finally. Well, I think there were several thousand employees who left.

So a leftist group that manages to organize a mass strike in a factory like that had never been done so it is, now I do not even know if in Everything! it exists, this is the, the Dupont affair, have we reported, have we reported or not? Finally, if you want there are two things brought about by the end of Tout !, the end of the Workers' Base, it is on the one hand a strike that we have initiated, a mass strike, therefore without the PC, without the CGT, without anyone, where there was, I think there was, we said 3000 but finally. Well, I think there were several thousand employees who left. So a leftist group that manages to organize a mass strike in a factory like that had never been done so it is, now I do not even know if in Everything! it exists, this is the, the Dupont affair, have we reported, have we reported or not? Finally, if you want there are two things brought about by the end of Tout !, the end of the Workers' Base, it is on the one hand a strike that we have initiated, a mass strike, therefore without the PC, without the CGT, without anyone, where there was, I think there was, we said 3000 but finally. Well, I think there were several thousand employees who left. So a leftist group that manages to organize a mass strike in a factory like that had never been done so it is on the one hand a strike that we initiated, a mass strike, therefore without the PC, without the CGT, without anyone, where there was, I think there was, we said 3000 but finally. Well, I think there were several thousand employees who left. So a leftist group that manages to organize a mass strike in a factory like that had never been done so it is on the one hand a strike that we initiated, a mass strike, therefore without the PC, without the CGT, without anyone, where there was, I think there was, we said 3000 but finally. Well, I think there were several thousand employees who left. So a leftist group that manages to organize a mass strike in a factory like that had never been done so

RG: Yes

TG: and there, that led us to self-dissolution

RG: Because the strike ...?

TG: Because the success has overtaken us, and we were on the same slogan as Lotta Continua, we are all delegates, therefore completely anarcho-syndicalists. And so we organized this strike, very well, I think our friends inside the factory are doing the job, too. Finally it went well, that's the same thing as Lotta Continua, it's door work, classic, well classic, it no longer exists but that Lutte Ouvrière was also doing but we did it much better, among the Trotskyists, that is to say to be in contact with the workers. We had a line that we called "Bonjour Monsieur, Bonjours Madame", we didn't distribute our leaflets like that, we said hello, we saw people, we went to see them in cafes, in the, well, we got to know them, we had a mimeo in hand, we saw people at 6 am. We went into the woods, we pulled our leaflets, we took them out when they came out, well, we told their story, we did poetry, they were very, very different leaflets obviously from all the other organizations

RG: Yes

TG: which broadcast. They were beautiful, there were stories, there were poems, there were all kinds of things, well, not bad. They were very popular, very, very popular, and we did, we did an investigation, so you see all the investigative work, basically on what we called the Flins hiring scandal, which had, which allowed, to verify that there was a bunch of

bastards in the factory which then sold the papers what to immigrants, and the certificates finally the capacities to have a work permit. And they were selling that for the equivalent of 1000 francs at the time, which was still a huge sum. And so we finally have this hiring scandal, through our contacts with workers and by immigrant workers in particular, we ended up identifying it. We did a very,

RG: Ah yes, okay

TG: and therefore as everyone knew that it was true in the factory, finally the immigrants knew it as well the Africans as the Magrebins

RG: It is the business of Meulan

TG: This is the business of Meulan

RG: Yes

TG: There you are, and so these are the two events that have us, which have led to something being stopped. One, clear success I mean this strike - we were completely taken aback by the fact that the workers asked us to lead them, well I was known as the white wolf and others, not just me, well, friends inside the factory and a lot from outside, and so they said to us, when they came out, "well now what do we do?" »

RG: Bui

TG: "well, you are the delegates, what do we do, you know it". And it was at that moment when they said "no" because the working class, the BO - because everyone said the BO at the factory - the BO is the third union, there is at the CGT, there is the CFDT and the BO. "So what do we do now, where are we going?" "And hey, we hadn't foreseen that, so in this story of" we are all delegates "when we saw to what extent they had a demand for a workers' organization, official, lawful and that all our work was essential. understood by a mass of young French workers

RG: Yes, okay

TG: So that was it, young French workers, and female workers, and then the young immigrants from the factory, including our buddies inside - we had an anarcho-syndicalist buddy who was an absolutely amazing guy, well good we had friends all the same in it who were real agitators, and good ones - we found ourselves completely decompensated, that is to say unable to react to this pressing demand from the workers who was there, there in front of us

RG: D 'agreement

TG: and with "Tiennot what do we do?" because hey, I was known at the time, "Where are we going, what are we ...". And luckily we came across a formidable militant of the CFDT, who is a Christian, Paul Rousselin, who got us out of, shit, because obviously the guys from

the CGT were hitting us rather at the time, and this Paul Rousselin managed to speak again behind us, without cutting himself off from us

RG: Okay

TG: So, and managed to organize a delegation, to go see the management to make the demands, in a mass unionism, but hey, and Paul Rousselin is still alive, I can still see him, of course, and therefore, and from there, our friends entered the CFDT, which made the CFDT of Flins stay very close to the extreme left for 20 years

RG: Ah ok

TG: Finally from an extreme- libertarian left not, of an extreme left not at all linked to the Trotskyists or all that. Anyway today they lost a lot of influence, but the CFDT of Flins played a very important role, not only because of our doing, but also because there was another established, of which you perhaps had heard of, who is called Daniel Richter, who is, was a former executive of UNEF

RG: Yes

TG: who was, who was an engineer at Flins. and who played a formidable role in the history of the CFDT de Flins. So this conjunction between this Daniel Richter meant that there was a prosecution - he was from the PSU - and our friends returned, the young immigrants who worked with us like the few young French people who remained, returned to the CFDT and we have stopped our work on Flins. And then the second aspect was the repression following the Meulan affair

RG: Yes

TG: That is to say the two questions came together since from there obviously, the situation was more delicate, three of them between us who were in jail, from the

RG collective : You too?

TG: Huh?

RG: You included?

TG: No, no not me, not me, no, no, Nadja Ringart

RG: Yes

TG: Marc Hatzfeld, and the third one I have a blackout, and, that's how I became a lawyer. It was to try to go see them in the prison to be able to speak with them

RG: oh yes, that's the question I was going to ask you, that's why you have ...

TG: Yes, this is what I had related because he had a lady who asked me for an article, "How has May 68 changed the profession of lawyer?" ". Me really it is, if I had not been in jail I think that I would never have been a lawyer

RG: You were in jail when?

TG: Me not, it's these three

RG: These three, so it was to help them

TG: Help them no, see them

RG: See them, ah good

TG: Touch them, them, talk to them

RG: Because you had a doctorate in law or in, what do you have like

TG: I had a third cycle yes in law yes finally good, more or less, I had to, I did not know the law

RG: How long does it take to ...?

TG: No, I had an equivalence with economics, I had the equivalence of the law degree which allowed me to take the exam to enter as a lawyer. And by chance, this year was 72, there was the reform of the legal profession. So that all the students including me - but it lasted me two days - crammed on the reform of the legal profession and we had a subject of philosophy of law. I was 16, but that had nothing to do with law, which was philosophy, I came home I became a lawyer like that in a really unexpected way. And very quickly of course, the connections I had, since that's how I registered as a lawyer in Yvelines, since that's where Flins was there

RG: Yes

TG: And, well very quickly all the connections that I had with the, the young workers of the region made that, well the firm started up immediately, very strongly. But in criminal law, which I stopped very quickly to focus on labor law for the reasons stemming from this vision, that we have to stay close to workers. And so hey it has become a labor law firm, for other reasons which, it would be a little bit to explain to you here, on these bands of young people, how it works, the structures and all that, well well, but I more or less told that in Les Temps Modernes, a long time ago, I don't know when it is, in sixty...

RG: In which year?

TG: Pff I don't know, Françoise who is a memory of, I don't know 76-77, it's, well it's articles

RG: I can find that

TG: Yes, yes, yes

RG: At the BN

TG: I made two in a row which must be called ... one that tells the story of the Base Ouvrière, one sort of assessment of the Base Ouvrière, and the other a little on the establishment in my life, and on how we saw things at the time. I haven't read them again, I don't even know what's in them, I might have to read them again to find out if it's who is complement stupid, which is likely

RG: And you also have , you defended Pierre Goldman

TG: Yes, but that's the same. I became a lawyer, by chance Pierre, knowing that I had become a lawyer, because Pierre was ... Pierre's first arrest, the first time that the police arrested him in his life as an activist, it was after a fight where we were against the fascists together, with Alain Krivine, him and me, all three, in front of the premises of the Union of Communist Students. And there is a band of New Order fascists who came to attack the premises and the people who were there, the students and the permanent who were there. They got scared, and they closed the Iron Curtain

RG: Okay

TG: from their ... And the three of us stayed in front, blocked. They were inside, they were afraid they didn't open the door to us, they sent us. Fortunately we had bottles of beers that we had taken out, cases of empty Kronenbourg beers. And so we threw that both, well all three since there was Alain Krivine too. And then, and then we had fewer and fewer bottles, because the others would send us one by one into a little hole like that. But they were afraid of ... I don't know what went on in their head. And finally the police came, and instead of barking the fascists they ran into us, and I was stopped there. And Pierre, who was a brave guy, very, very courageous physically, came to get me out of the hands of the police. So I managed to extract myself, finally there was a team who was shooting me, the police who were shooting me on one side and Pierre and Alain who were shooting me on the other, and suddenly, poor man, they fell on him because he was hitting at the same time. Finally, he still knew combat sports well.

RG: Yes

TG: he did it every day. So after a while he was more efficient than me and Krivine together on his own, so they ran into him and he was arrested. This is his first and only arrest. When I became a lawyer, he learned from a friend who was also a lawyer, who was one of our old friends from ... during the Algerian war, who is a sublimely beautiful girl as well. And he took her as a lawyer to speak, well like he did for me, and she told him that I was a lawyer. So he took me, he took me as a lawyer but it was, like me I wanted to do with my friends, it was to talk

RG: Yes

TG: to talk politics, to discuss, to tell him what was going on outside, for, much more than as a professional lawyer. Well then, of course, she like me studied the file, but this ... that's another story. But his choice was not linked to the fact that he thought me a professionally valid lawyer, he had chosen me as a comrade and a friend

RG: Ok

TG: and not like, not as a carrier of defense capacity

RG: And, finally a last question on your trajectory. So you have remained a lawyer professionally since then?

TG: With this characteristic that you ... do not understand ... is that I have only defended employees in my life, I have never defended a boss

RG: Okay

TG: never defended a mackerel. I don't see why if we don't defend the bosses, we should defend the pimps. And that our firm was a firm, and it stayed until I retired, which I took on so December 31, '74, and I do, uh 2004, and I do today the same. That is to say, I continue to do the same job but without getting paid, so here I am in the, in a report to the

RG: and apart from this work, you got involved in other fights, others ...?

TG: Yes, but there in the establishment, in my life, that is to say there is one, we have Mantes-la-Jolie a whole series of friends who have stayed. They are now grouped together in another collective with many young people, which has a very important political influence on the region of Mantes, which continues, which participates in life. I was elected from the extreme left libertarian, finally from the extreme left critical of the Union of the Left in the municipal council with others, of Mantes-la-Jolie, I was in the municipal council of 'a left-wing municipality as a left-wing critic

RG: Ah yes

TG: but it follows our itinerary in the Mantes region and the fact that ... So I'm not there much anymore because the job of lawyer had taken hold of me, consumed my life for a long time. But others of our collective at the time devoted themselves to municipal life and they continue to have a very important influence in Mantes, even in Mantes-la-Ville. They entered the municipal council, one of us, finally one of our friends was a candidate in the last cantonal elections. Anyway, there are friends in the municipal list. There remains a libertarian trace, so for the most part they are Greens or, finally they have a collective which exceeds the Greens besides, finally Green of the left what, in the left tendency of the Greens, and, no there is an influence which has maintained itself of one, of friends who are not, and of girlfriends,

RG: Oh okay

TG: who are very good, and who do lots of things in the city. So the trace of, of, since there were several sedimentations of teams today, there were people who came from different groups, and today those who were more or less Trotskyist we don't care. who cares, which ones were more or less. And there was the Revolution group, well, a lot of things came. That, 68 is far, since we have come a long way

RG: We have almost finished

TG: who is from my union, after there was the union, there was the union of lawyers where we have several

RG: I think we can end there

TG: Yes, yes

RG: We have worked very well, thank you very much Tiennot Grumbach

TG: Very well.