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Pompidou Bids Voters Back de Gaulle

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 23 — Former Premier Georges Pompidou, in a televised appeal to the nation tonight, urged a "yes" vote in the referendum Sunday in the name of "common sense" and "fidelity to General de Gaulle."

The voters are being asked to approve constitutional reforms creating new regional governmental organizations and transforming of the Senate into a consultative assembly.

But in fact the voters will cast their ballots for or against President de Gaulle, who announced 10 days ago he would retire if the reforms were rejected. Polls since then have shown that his leaving or staying has become the only real issues in the minds of most voters.

Mr. Pompidou impressed those who watched him tonight as a remarkably skilled campaigner, and his contribution to the Gaullist campaign was thought to have been highly effective.

Mr. Pompidou, an avowed candidate for the Presidency in or post-de Gaulle era, did not say if he would refuse to run if the Government lost the referendum and General de Gaulle stepped down. The former Premier has been under strong pressure from the Gaullist leadership to make such a statement.

His contribution to the campaign came at a crucial moment.

For the first time, a public opinion poll showed the Government trailing. The poll is by Sofres, one of the country's

leading opinion samplers. It will be published in the late editions of Le Figaro tomorrow.

The poll is understood to put the vote of the opposition at about 53 per cent against 47 per cent for the Government, with a large segment of the electorate, however still undecided or intending to cast blank ballots. The poll was taken Monday and Tuesday.

If accurate, it means a dramatic reversal for the Government. A poll published Saturday had put the "Yes" vote at 52 per cent and the "No" vote at 48. Private Government reports from the provinces over

the weekend indicated an even split between "Yes" and "No."

Mr. Pompidou's effect on the campaign is viewed as double-edged. As a Gaullist campaigner calling for a large "Yes" vote, he is one of the Government's best assets.

But as a potential Presidential candidate, he is believed to be cutting into the Gaullist's strength. A good many voters are saying that they may be tempted to vote "No" and thus to hasten General de Gaulle's exit, because the reassuring figure of Mr. Pompidou is waiting in the background.

Mr. Pompidou will speak again tomorrow at a rally in Lyons.

NEW YORK TIMES, Friday, 25 April 1969

Couve Says Defeat Of Gaullists in Vote Would Peril France

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 24—The principal speakers for the Gaullist regime and for the opposition today reflected expectations of a close outcome in Sunday's referendum by focusing their campaign on the possible consequences of a Government defeat.

Premier Maurice Couve de Murville devoted most of his last nationwide television address before the voting to a warning that an opposition victory would be followed by a "period of adventures" and the rise of the "totalitarians" of the left.

The referendum asks the voters to approve Constitutional reforms creating new regional governmental organizations and transforming the Senate into a consultative assembly.

Senate Head Reassuring

But Alain Poher, the President of the Senate, declared himself a guarantor of peace and order in the country in the case of an opposition victory and declared that he and his colleagues had full trust in the institutions of the country and the patriotism of their countrymen.

Mr. Poher would become interim President if President de Gaulle stepped down from the presidency, as he has said he will do if the Government's proposal for Constitutional reform is rejected.

Tonight marked the end of the official campaign on the Government-owned television network.

President de Gaulle will address the nation on television tomorrow. His address is not counted in the total time allotted the Gaullists.

Text of de Gaulle's Appeal to Nation

PARIS, April 25 (AP)—*Following, in unofficial translation, is a transcript of the address delivered by President de Gaulle on radio and television tonight:*

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen: You, to whom I have so often spoken for France, you must know that your reply Sunday is going to determine her destiny because first of all it is a question of bringing a very considerable change to the structure of our country.

It is a great thing to bring about the rebirth of our old provinces, improved for modern times under the form of regions: to give them the necessary means for each one to settle its own affairs while at the same time playing its role in our national whole; to make centers where initiative, activity and life blossom.

It is a great thing to reunite the Senate and the Economic and Social Council in a single assembly, deliberating with priority and publicly all bills instead of, each one, on its own, being reduced to obscure and accessory interventions.

It is a great thing to associate the representation of productive activities and the vital force of our people with all the local and legislative measures concerning its existence and its development.

'Destiny of France' at Stake

Your reply is going to determine the destiny of France because that reform is an integral part of the participation which the equilibrium of modern society henceforth demands.

To refuse it is to oppose—in an essential domain—this social, moral, human transformation, without which we will go to disastrous upheavals.

To adopt it is to make a decisive step on the road which would lead us to progress in order and agreement, in profoundly modifying the relations among French people.

Your reply is going to determine the destiny of France because if I am disavowed by

a majority of you, solemnly, on this capital subject, and whatever might be the number, the ardor and the devotion of the army of those who support me and who, in any case, hold the future of the country, my present task as chief of state would obviously become impossible, I would immediately stop exercising my functions.

Then, how would be mastered the situation resulting from the negative victory of all these diverse, disparate and discordant oppositions, with the inevitable return to the play of ambitions, illusions, machinations and treason in the nation connection that such a rupture would provoke?

Would 'Carry Out Mandate'

On the contrary, if I receive proof of your confidence, I will carry out my mandate, I will carry out, thanks to you, through the creation of the regions and the renovation of the Senate, the work undertaken 10 years ago to give our country the democratic institutions adapted to our people, in the world where we find ourselves and at the time when we are living, after the confusion, the troubles and the misfortunes that we have passed through for generations.

I will continue, with your support, to act so that, whatever happens, progress should be developed, order assured, the money defended, independence maintained, peace safeguarded, and France respected.

Ultimately, at the end of the regular term, without rupture and upheaval [I shall] turn the last page of the chapter that I started in our history some 30 years ago [and] I shall hand over my official charge to the man whom you will have chosen to carry it after me.

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen, in what is going to become of France, never has the deci-

sion of each one of you weighed so heavily.

Vive la République! Vive la France!

DE GAULLE URGES VOTERS GIVE HIM MANDATE TO STAY

In TV Appeal on Tomorrow's
Ballot, He Restates Intent
to Quit if Reforms Fail

MANY ARE UNDECIDED

Latest Poll Puts President
Behind, but Final Speech
Is Expected to Help Him

The text of de Gaulle speech
is printed on Page 2.

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 25—President de Gaulle, in a last appeal to the voters, asked the French nation tonight for a "show of confidence" that would enable him to serve out his term and finish his "30-year chapter" in French history.

In a nationwide radio and television address, he restated his determination to step down immediately if the voters in the referendum Sunday rejected the Government's proposals for constitutional reforms.

Voters are being asked to approve the creation of 22 new regions and a change to make the Senate a consultative body.

A poll published as the general spoke gave the odds to his opponents. It said that as of last night 51 per cent of the voters who said they had made up their minds intended to vote no and 49 per cent yes.

General 'Gains Votes'

However, a large but unspecified part of the electorate remained undecided and, as one Frenchman said, "Whenever the general speaks, he gains votes."

Speaking solemnly and with great intensity, but without the pyrotechnics of which he is occasionally capable, the 78-year-old President said:

"Ultimately, at the end of the regular term, without rupture and upheaval, I shall turn the last page of the chapter that I started in our history some 30 years ago [and] I shall hand over my official charge to the

man whom you will have chosen to carry it after me."

In conclusion he said: "Never has the decision of each one of you weighed so heavily."

No Hint of Succession

The general had never before stated clearly that he would retire at the end of his seven-year mandate, which ends in 1972. He had also avoided giving any hint of whether he would throw his personal support to an "heir apparent" of his choosing.

Several ministers are reported to have urged him to make a reference to the issue of succession.

The President stressed each syllable of the two words when he said that it was "obviously impossible" for him to stay in office if he was disavowed by a majority of the voters.

An opposition victory, he said, would be a triumph of "negative" and "discordant"

forces, with an inevitable resurgence of the "play of ambitions, illusions, machinations and treason" that would shake and disrupt the nation. How would it be possible to master such a situation? he asked, leaving his question ominously unanswered.

After the speech was videotaped this morning, the President drove to his country house in Colombey-les-Deux-Englises, some 140 miles southeast of Paris. He will vote there Sunday.

On television, he sat behind a brilliantly shiny desk, leaning forward, gazing straight into the camera and speaking even more deliberately than is his habit. His only gesture was an occasional clapping and unclapping of his hands.

The voters will be asked a single question: "Do you approve of the draft law concerning the creation of regions and the renewal of the Senate?"

Would Alter Constitution

The draft is a 10,000-word document that, if adopted, will change roughly one out of three articles of the French Constitution relating to mainland France.

The reform would create 22 new regions, including Corsica, along the demarcation lines of the historic provinces and would change the Senate from a second legislative chamber into a consultative assembly.

One objection of the opposition to the project is that a single question requiring a single answer is being asked even though many Frenchmen who favor regional reform are opposed to a change in the Senate.

President de Gaulle declared that the vote would determine the destiny of France for two reasons: because of the magnitude of the proposed reform and because he could not stay in power if he were repudiated.

According to the polls, the majority will cast their ballots

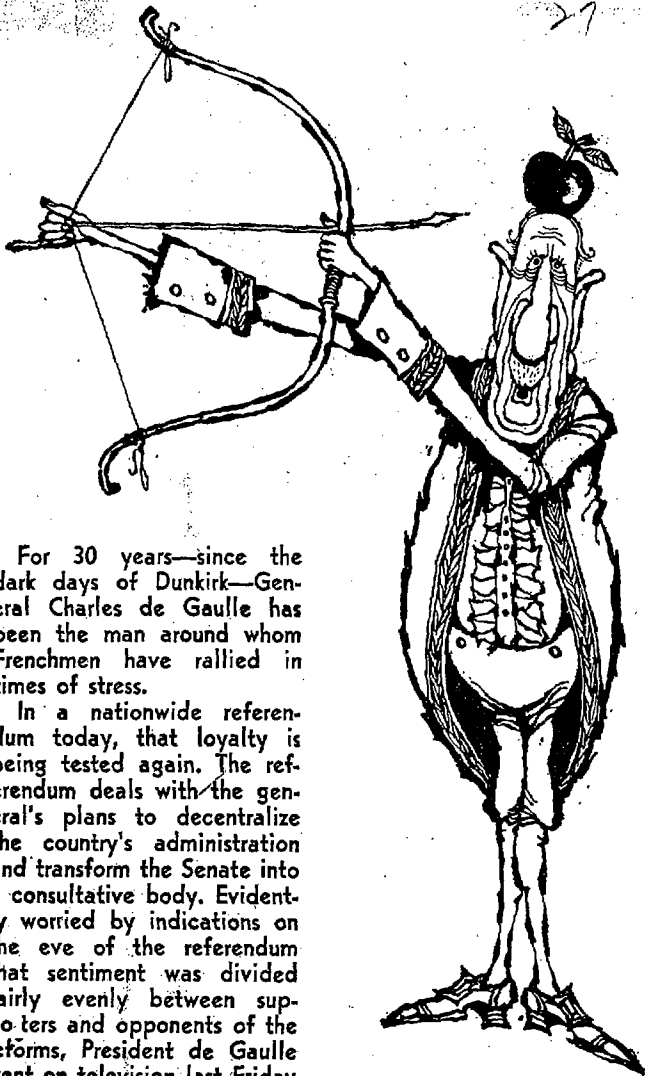
for or against him rather than for or against the reforms.

The poll published today in France-Soir was conducted by IFOP, one of the two leading French polling organizations. The last poll, a week ago, had given the Government 52 per cent, to 48 per cent for the opposition.

Another poll, by Sofres, published in Le Figaro yesterday, gave the opposition 53 per cent, to 47 per cent for the Government. A Sofres poll 10 days ago had given the Government 55 per cent.

Private Government reports had also produced evidence of a dramatic recent rise in opposition strength.

New Test for de Gaulle



Karlsson in Affonbladet, Sweden
"Ultimatum"

For 30 years—since the dark days of Dunkirk—General Charles de Gaulle has been the man around whom Frenchmen have rallied in times of stress.

In a nationwide referendum today, that loyalty is being tested again. The referendum deals with the general's plans to decentralize the country's administration and transform the Senate into a consultative body. Evidently worried by indications on the eve of the referendum that sentiment was divided fairly evenly between supporters and opponents of the reforms, President de Gaulle went on television last Friday night to warn that if the proposal were "disavowed by a majority among you . . . my present task as chief of state would obviously become impossible and right away I would stop the exercise of my functions."

General de Gaulle also said—for the first time without equivocation—that he would retire when his term as President expires in December, 1972, no matter how to-

day's ballot turns out. Or, as he put it in his best oratorical style: "At the end of the regular term, without rending and without upheaval, turning the last page in the chapter of our history which I opened 30 years ago, I will transmit my official charge to the one that you will have elected to assume it after me."

De Gaulle's Gamble

Charles de Gaulle is a hard man to beat in a referendum. But never in the past decade has he taken a greater risk for less purpose than he is taking today.

The balloting appears so close that, for the first time, the French President has pledged himself not to seek a third term in 1972 if the country upholds him now. Instead of insisting on a massive victory, his usual threat to resign will be activated this time only if he is actually "disavowed by a majority."

Polls show almost a third of the nation undecided or planning to abstain. With a single "Oui" or "Non" to govern a 10,000-word reform modifying at least twenty articles of the French Constitution, the referendum reduces the democratic process in France to an absurdity—while pretending to increase popular participation in government. But the greater irony is that the reform itself is neither urgent nor important.

Decentralization of government will remain a myth even if France's 96 departments are grouped into 22 regions with regional assemblies. The 22 regional prefects named by Paris will each have more executive power than the 96 who run the provinces now. The taxing power will also remain centrally controlled.

Replacement of the Senate by an even weaker consultative assembly may also eliminate its anti-Gaullist majority. But the existence of this hostile majority in one chamber has only meant a delay of a few weeks in some legislation until the Senate vote could be overridden by the Gaullist-controlled National Assembly.

The third reform would make the Gaullist Premier, rather than the anti-Gaullist Senate President, interim Chief of State in the event of Presidential death or disability. But that tenure would be limited to the 20 to 35-day election campaign that would ensue. Few of de Gaulle's supporters feel this to be vital. Since last June's election the Gaullists have had an absolute majority in the National Assembly, the first one-party majority in French history. With their control of the government assured for the next four years, they see little reason to risk an upheaval now.

The unrest exposed by the strikes of students and workers last year will not be appeased by any of the current reforms. In any case, violence has not erupted again this spring. On the contrary, it is the referendum that has stirred up discontent, instead of easing it.

Even some Gaullists may vote "Non," especially young people who feel the general has overstayed his time and would be better replaced now.

In these circumstances, the referendum shapes up as an act of authoritarian bravado. President de Gaulle announced one during last year's strikes, but postponed it when defeat appeared likely. The election which was called instead was essentially a Pompidou victory. Now the general is insisting on a personal vote of confidence. His eleventh-hour television appeal Friday may yet win it for him. But the atmosphere in France today prompts many observers to quote the Biblical saying: "Pride goeth before a fall."

De Gaulle Puts Fate to Vote Today



Associated Press

Paris taxi drivers debate the referendum, in which President de Gaulle asks a vote of "oui."

By JOHN L. HESS
Special to The New York Times
ORLEANS, France, April 26 — "I have a blind faith in de Gaulle," said Mrs. Blot, "but I don't know why he had to have a referendum. Politics, I suppose."

If there is such a thing as a typical Gaullist, it is this wispy widow in black, keeper of a boarding house. Her worry reflects a wide belief that President de Gaulle faces a difficult test tomorrow, even in Gaullist Orleans.

A curbside survey of this prosperous commercial city on the Loire found that the issue on the ballot—regional reorganization and Senate reform—was virtually the least among the preoccupations of voters.

For those leaning toward a "no" vote, the overriding concerns were taxes, the cost of living and the survival of small business.

On the side of a "yes" vote, stability and the stature of the President—who has made the referendum a confidence

vote on his continued tenure—outweighed the possible merits of greater regional autonomy.

The poll also found a sharp division of outlook according to class and age, except that a general feeling of dissatisfaction cut across all lines. "De Gaulle is right," said an anti-Gaullist intellectual, "when he talks about a social malaise."

At the depot, a young railroad worker said: "I've no con-

right than that? After all, he's as "business" vehicles, for the an aristocrat—de Gaulle. How owners, who thus avoided paying the taxes themselves. Ironically, however, few factory owners are known as staunch Gaullists.

In the Rue Ste-Catherine in Orleans, a young couple talked in tones of despair as they tended a little open-front butcher shop. The Government "whatever the Government is," the woman said, "we're just the odd wheel."

"Nobody cares about us," said her husband, tying a roast. "I'm 28," he said, "and I've got to pay \$350 a year for my retirement tax."

"We break our necks for a customer," his wife said. "And suddenly we don't see him any more." She nodded toward the big new supermarket-department store on the corner.

"They're exempt from five years of taxes," she went on. "It's the cars, too. People spend all their money on cars. On the food business suffers."

Deficit Spending Cited
One said, with a smile: "We let those who broke the whip warm up the foreman's seat. More grimly, an auto reviewer: "De Gaulle is

The Taxes on His Car
"We didn't strike," he said. "Why should we pay the taxes?" Warming up the foreman's seat. More grimly, an auto reviewer: "De Gaulle is

Boarder Charges Stand
The three young boarders who remained over the weekend in Mrs. Blot's pension found a bank clerk, a stiver, and a real estate salesman—all had voted Gaullist in the past. This time, however, the salesmen, Finance Minister, 24

U.S. 'Backs' de Gaulle
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., April 26 (Reuters)—The United States said yesterday that it would be as appropriate for a

United Nations Committee on Colonialism to celebrate the birthday of General de Gaulle as that of Lenin.

It was responding to a proposal by Poland and Bulgaria that the Special Committee on Colonialism celebrate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth next year.

Seymour M. Finger, senior adviser to the Permanent United States Mission, said it would be just as suitable to celebrate the birthday of the French President, "who gave independence to many African countries."

The Twilight of Charles de Gaulle

In effect President Charles de Gaulle had submitted to the people of France the proposition that they could not live without him (or, in the spirit of an earlier ruler's phrase, "*L'état, c'est moi*"). The answer, despite de Gaulle's domination of the country's TV facilities and other propaganda instruments, was "*Non*" by a majority clearly decisive enough to smother any talk of a recount.

It is hard to believe that de Gaulle viewed the elaborate, complex and, in many respects, peripheral constitutional reforms he had urged as crucial to French survival. Rather he appears to have felt the moment had come for a final massive reaffirmation of faith in the mystique of his rule. Indeed, in this lonely aftermath of defeat, he may still cherish the notion that ensuing discord and disorder will once again prove him indispensable and invite a grand, climactic return to power.

But while the explanations advanced for his defeat are a combination of varied discontents, there is an aspect of some finality in the results. He imparted that tone to the event by his pledge—quickly

and tersely fulfilled—to renounce his office unless his wishes prevailed. Beyond inflation, taxes, youthful revolt and adult malaise, the issue was de Gaulle—national hero and legend. He chose to draw it that way.

Amid all the uncertainties of the immediate future, what most read as a vote of no confidence in the longtime, 78-year-old leader may curiously express a certain rebirth of self-confidence among Frenchmen.

Clearly many of them—including some of his most dedicated past adherents—no longer believe that France is doomed to civil war and national disaster without his omniscient presence. There may even be a sense that "Papa's" long reign has stifled the emergence of younger leaders and fresh approaches.

While yesterday's news contains the elements of tragedy always associated with the decline of a strong, proud man, it hardly portends the fall of France. Many species of demagogue will seek to fill the vacuum. But his departure may also set the stage for new, affirmative political beginnings in a time of worldwide ferment.

The Boston Globe

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MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1969

De Gaulle goes under

"Dix ans ça suffit," read the graffiti on the walls and sidewalks of Paris last week. "Ten years, that's enough."

The words were at once an expression of political opposition to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, president of France since 1958, and an accurate prophecy of things to come.

Last night De Gaulle resigned as it became evident that the proposed constitutional changes on which he had staked his political fortunes had gone to defeat at the hands of the voters of France.

Historians of the future may suggest that De Gaulle, at 78, was finished politically even if he had not called the referendum — that his regime would have toppled one way or another within a short time — for France was unquestionably awash with discontent over his domestic policies.

Yet there was tremendous irony in the fact that he went down to defeat over proposals which had little of the grandeur for which he was justifiably renowned.

Last Spring, in the wake of student and labor violence, De Gaulle promised the nation "a society of participation" in which, he implied, the influence of the bureaucratic central government would be greatly diminished in favor of greatly augmented regional power. But the constitutional alterations offered to the voters Sunday did not actually go very far. They would have left the all-important taxing power firmly under the control of the central government, and would actually have vested greater power in the proposed 22 Paris-appointed regional prefects than the heads of France's present 96 departments, or regions, enjoy.

Moreover, a companion change

proposed by De Gaulle would have reduced the anti-Gaullist Senate to the status of a consultative assembly — scarcely a measure to enhance "participation."

And since votes of the Senate can already be overridden in fairly short order by the National Assembly, which is firmly under the control of the Gaullists, the general had no pressing need for this proposed change.

Last night de Gaulle's chief lieutenant, Premier Maurice Couve de Murville, sorrowfully told the nation that "a new chapter had been opened in France's history." And so, barring a political miracle, it has. The man who engineered France's historic disengagement from Algiers and just a year ago restored order to a grievously divided nation has seemingly reached the end of the political road.

De Gaulle said before the balloting that the French people would act out of "recklessness" if they voted against his proposed constitutional changes. Couve has now echoed this statement with the prediction that France is in for a "difficult period, perhaps a period of trouble." He could very well be right, notwithstanding the response of Socialist leader Guy Mollet that "if there are disturbances in the street, we shall know from whom they come."

In any event, as the nation proceeds with the task of finding a successor to "Le Grand Charles," Couve's assessment of this colossus of French history will not be successfully challenged:

"Gen. de Gaulle was at the center of our political and national life, re-establishing peace, restoring the state, affirming the stability of power."

Colombey Is Awaiting a Retirement

By LLOYD GARRISON

Special to The New York Times

COLOMBEY-LES-DEUX- EGLISES, France, Monday, April 28 — As General de Gaulle received word that his referendum had lost, there was no question in France as to where he would settle down.

The 18-room house on a small, walled-in estate here has been his base and political retreat for more than 30 years. It is here that he will retire, most probably to devote himself to writing a new and final installment to his memoirs.

The vote stunned Colombey, a quiet farming community of 380 people about 180 miles southeast of Paris. Although no one here could say that they knew him well, older residents remember the general's unescorted walks through the town and neighboring fields when he was a young, pre-World War II army officer. In those days Mrs. de Gaulle used to do her own shopping in town. Since

the war she has ordered by phone, or has sent her housekeeper to Colombey's only grocery.

While General de Gaulle's home town was almost solidly behind him, the slight decrease in the number of those voting for him here offered an early indication of trouble.

The de Gaulles voted in the small stucco town hall shortly before noon. The general wore a gray suit and Mrs. de Gaulle a bright, plum-colored spring dress.

The general stumbled at the top of the narrow wooden stairs leading to the voting hall on the second floor, then recovered his balance with the help of an aide and promptly cast his ballot. He walked out three minutes later, waved to reporters and photographers, and drove with his wife back to his house.

Just about everyone of voting age was on hand in the hall at 6 o'clock last night when the ballots were counted. Ten minutes later,

the results were called out by a clerk:

Oui: 158.

Non: 21.

General de Gaulle's chauffeur, Paul Foltemil, jotted down the figures, rushed out without emotion and drove up the hill with the news.

Despite the percentage of those voting "oui," there were official frowns all around. One Colombey official kept insisting to newsmen: "Remember, Colombey is not France."

A few years ago, the only people in Colombey who voted against the Gaullists were the town's four Communists. Then after the May student rebellion and general strike, 14 voters cast their ballots for anti-Gaullist candidates in the National Assembly elections last July.

At the bottom of the hill, 41-year-old Pierre Grépen, owner of one of Colombey's two cafes, was disconsolate.

"It's only the young who don't like the general," he said, pouring himself his third glass of the local wine.

An Unusually Somber Paris Says 'Adieu'

By JOHN L. HESS

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Monday, April 28 — Frenchmen were finding it hard to believe early this morning that they had voted by a majority to retire President de Gaulle.

Paris was unusually somber. More people than usual had stayed home to vote, and weekend traffic was well below normal. But neighborhood bars were largely deserted last evening, and the few customers kept their own counsel.

In a tour of the city, only one small sidewalk crowd was found discussing the election. This was on the Champs-Élysées, which otherwise had far fewer strollers or cafe sitters than normal.

At 10 P.M., two hours after the airwaves had reported a definite "non" trend, a large group in the crowd was insisting that the returns were not yet final.

The students, who started it all a year ago, seemed to have deserted the Latin Quarter early in the evening, although they gathered later and clashed occasionally with the police.

Near the Sorbonne, in a cafe that received many a tear-gas grenade last May, a bartender glowered at a reporter who asked him how he felt. "I'm glad," he said grimly.

"France is not made for a dictatorship. It's Monsieur Moi who is going. Who will come in now? A centrist, I suppose. I don't think he'll be any better. But anyway he won't be under the domination of an emperor."

A bearded young actor, the only customer at the bar, agreed. "It's perfect," he said gloomily. Asked why there was no celebration, he replied, "because there's nothing behind it—nothing on the right, nothing on the left, nothing in the center."

Even in the ornate Luxembourg Palace, seat of the Senate, hardly a smile was to be seen. Under the Gaullist reform, the Senate was to have lost the last vestige of its legislative rôle and become an advisory council on economic and regional planning.

A few Senators and conservative politicians gathered to meet the press in the lobby and to talk politics with Alain Poher, the Senate President, who had sprung into prominence because he would be interim president of the Republic.

In the lobby, a woman asked Senator André Colin of Brittany, who, like Mr. Poher, is a member of the conservative Center Democrats, whether he thought there was a danger of a Gaullist coup d'état.

"I exclude that altogether," the Senator replied.

"I think the campaign has created a new fact," he said, "the unity that built up from Giscard to Duhamel to a great number of radicals."

He referred to the opposition to the referendum posed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, head of the Independent Republicans; Jacques Duhamel, head of the Center Democratic bloc, and the Radical Socialist party, formerly allied to the Socialists.

Mr. Poher is widely mentioned now as a candidate of a conservative-center bloc in the Presidential elections to be held about a month from now.

Hundreds of youths gathered in the Latin Quarter early this morning and began marching up the Boulevard St.-Germain toward St.-Germain des Prés. As they went, they chanted "Adieu de Gaulle" and "It is only a beginning — we continue the struggle."

Some flare-ups occurred between the police and demonstrators, but by 3:30 A.M. the authorities reported that the situation was in hand. Officials said that about 70 demonstrators had been taken into custody and that 5 policemen and about 50 demonstrators had been taken to hospitals.

New Pressures on the Franc Are Expected in Paris Crisis

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 27.—The resignation of President de Gaulle, new French Government was expected to lead to renewed pressure on the franc and perhaps a devaluation of 20 United States cents.

A new government generally likes to start with a clean slate when it inherits a weak currency, monetary specialists said. President de Gaulle resisted devaluation during a currency crisis last November against the counsel of some of his advisers and even with optimum conditions he was never given more than a 50-50 chance of waging a successful defense.

Though still at relatively high levels, the French reserves are now only half what they were a year ago. Recent losses have been at a higher rate than the French authorities considered acceptable, qualified sources said.

Large business corporations have been depleting their franc deposits, while individual Frenchmen, despite tough exchange controls, have been smuggling banknotes out of the country.

Confidence has declined because of continued deficits in the French balance of payments since general strikes last May and June that brought a rise in wages and the cost of living.

New wage agreements still have to be negotiated, and there is some concern whether these can be held down to the modest levels the Government thinks necessary without a new round of general strikes.

Finance Minister François-Xavier Ortoli told the Common Market finance ministers recently that he expected the French balance of payments to shift into the black by early next year. Currency speculators, however, rarely take official predictions too seriously.

One of President de Gaulle's aims in resisting devaluation of the franc was to maintain pressure on the West German authorities for an upward revaluation of the mark.

Now, the President's resignation may hasten the West German currency action. General de Gaulle felt that Western Europe's currency troubles resulted in large measure from an undervalued mark, which he considered responsible for huge West German trading surpluses.

Despite pressure from France, Britain and the United States, the Bonn Government refused to revalue during the crisis last November. Reports from West Germany in recent days, however, indicate that the resistance has been weakening. Thus, the pressure on the franc may make the pressure irresistible.

Resignation Stirrs Hopes For West European Unity

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Monday, April 28.—Initial Western European reaction to the resignation of President de Gaulle was an expression of hope for a new opening toward unity in Europe, mixed with fear of the unknown.

Despite all the public opinion polls of recent days, the resignation came as a shock. The politicians and officials who have had to deal with General de Gaulle over the years had come to feel that there was a kind of invincibility about him.

Washington officials had no public reaction to General de Gaulle's resignation. Officials began preparing for allied consultations on European unity although no immediate shifts in French policy were foreseen. Page 13.

There was no official comment from the British Government when the news of General de Gaulle's resignation came after midnight. Spokesmen for Prime Minister Wilson said that he would have nothing to say during the night.

Privately, those who have worked to bring Britain into the Common Market—and have been stymied by General de Gaulle's successive vetoes—felt an evident exhilaration. At last there was at least a possibility of change in the frozen French position on the issue of British entry into the Common Market.

No one here deceives himself that any successor will instantly open his arms to Britain. But the removal of General de Gaulle from the scene—if he really is gone—must nevertheless be reckoned the most important event in Western Europe for years.

British feelings, mixing excitement and apprehension, will be duplicated to a large extent in Brussels, headquarters of the European Economic Community. Gaullist opposition to political unity in Europe has slowed progress within the community.

But even his severest critics expressed some uneasiness about the short-run effects of President de Gaulle's departure. The concern is financial: the possible effects on the stability of European currencies.

Financial Concern

The pound with its long history of speculative attacks, tends to come under pressure whenever any other leading currency looks weak. Treasury and Bank of England officials nervously awaited the opening of the foreign-exchange markets later this morning.

In recent weeks the pound has held up strongly in the markets despite disappointing foreign trade figures. Officials expressed confidence privately that they could handle any short-term side-effects of a run on the franc.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Roy Jenkins, flew to the United States this weekend for talks with Secretary of the Treasury, David Kennedy. He will undoubtedly use the occasion to consider joint measures. Both the United States and Britain—and the other countries of Western Europe—would want any devaluation of the franc to be by a relatively modest amount, first agreed upon in discussion.

Bonn Issues Statement

The one European Government that issued a formal statement by way of reaction early today was West Germany's. Günter Diehl, the chief spokesman in Bonn, said that General de Gaulle's decision removes a great statesman from the international scene. He added:

"West Germany is in debt to Charles de Gaulle because he established West German-French friendship, independent of the change of majorities and governments, as an elemental ingredient of the common European policy of peace."

German financial circles expressed one opinion that will be shared widely in Washington, London and elsewhere: The French situation will increase pressure for an upward revaluation of the mark.

Last year, when the franc was in trouble, finance ministers and central bankers of the leading western financial powers met in Bonn. The West Germans came under strong urging to raise the mark's value but resisted it.

Instead, the Bonn Government agreed to certain tax changes to discourage exports. But the West German trade balance continued to be so favorable that the countries with continuing deficits still feel the mark should be revalued to make West German exports more expensive.

MORE FLEXIBILITY IN FRANCE IS SEEN

U.S. Officials Expect Gain
for European Unity

By PETER GROSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Monday, April 28—The Nixon Administration started preparing yesterday and early today for quiet consultations among the Western European allies about future moves toward European unity with a post-de Gaulle French Government.

No immediate shifts in French policies toward the United States or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are expected as a result of President de Gaulle's resignation.

But United States officials believe that, with the general in retirement, even loyal Gaullists will gradually show more flexibility toward Britain and other countries seeking closer economic and political relations with the European Common Market.

There was no immediate official reaction from the White House or State Department on the outcome of the French referendum and President de Gaulle's subsequent resignation.

A Period of Transition

After the coming few weeks of political transition in France—and diplomats here are braced for what they believe may be a stormy election campaign—the Administration intends to explore gently in various allied capitals to discover any new avenues toward the elusive goal of European unity.

General de Gaulle's personal predilections have long been considered the main roadblock to British participation in the Common Market. While other leading Gaullists, notably Georges Pompidou and Michel Debré, have adopted their leader's reasoning in their public remarks, analysts here believe that they will gradually move into a less rigid posture.

This may come about, according to this analysis, as a deliberate attempt by a new French Government to establish its own identity and not appear as a pale after-image of General de Gaulle's regime.

Reforms Were Popular, But Raised Side Issues

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 27—The defeated French plan to distribute some of the power of the central Government among the regions of France was a popular one. But in detail, as submitted to the citizenry, it raised issues that cost the Government votes.

The city of Nancy, a Gaullist stronghold, voted 30,307 against the reform to 20,698 in favor—possibly because a rival city, Metz, had been designated over Nancy as capital of the region of Lorraine. Metz voted for the reform, 24,966 to 17,322, but the regime suffered a substantial net loss in the dispute.

The complex reform measure could have been submitted to the overwhelmingly Gaullist National Assembly, where it would have been approved with little opposition. President de Gaulle, however, insisted that it was a measure of great importance that should go to the voters.

Proposals Not Expected

United States officials do not expect President Nixon to rush in with new proposals from Washington for the future organization of Europe. This, they feel, would only invite criticism of unseemly meddling in European affairs, and could even be cited as justification for General de Gaulle's oft-stated belief that Western Europe was in danger of falling into an American "hegemony."

Moving much more slowly and subtly, Administration officials expect to encourage other European governments to take their own initiatives toward reviving the momentum of European unity, which President de Gaulle had successfully stalled.

The chances are considered good that by the fall signs of a new French attitude will be visible.

After years of ill feeling between the French and American Governments, the general's departure comes at a time when cordial personal rapport between the French and American Presidents has been restored.

Mr. Nixon's European tour in February had been largely designed around his eagerness to build a personal relationship with the 78-year-old general. Subsequent comments on both sides made it clear that this effort had been successful.

But United States officials believe that the improvement in French-American relations is based on much more than personal rapport at the top and that in fact this improvement was starting to evolve as long as a year ago.

The heat had been taken out of two major irritants between the two capitals—President Johnson's strategy in Vietnam and President de Gaulle's brusque withdrawal from NATO's integrated military command ceased to be relevant grievances in Paris and Washington.

Thus the resignation of General de Gaulle, which would have been greeted with delight in Washington two or three years ago, now seems to provoke neither great satisfaction nor great concern.

The 11 Years of de Gaulle: Stable Despite Periods of Chaos

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 27—The French government was in chaos when Charles de Gaulle assumed power 11 years ago, and so was France.

In those 11 years there was brief and violent outbreak of 1968 last May and June when the students and workers fought the Gaullist regime near collapse. But once more, the Gaullist magic worked and order was restored in the wake of a landslide victory in national elections.

It can thus be said that a major distinction of the general's regime was that it gave the country stability.

In the five years before the general's return, France had four governments. In half a century France had been devastated by World War I, hurt by a depression, overrun once more in World War II and rained thereafter by prolonged wars in two colonies—Indochina and Algeria.

Her population, 40.5 million, was the same in 1958 as it was in 1914.

The stability of Gaullism in historic perspective can be seen in a rare period in which France had peace and prosperity and a growing, if controversial, role in world affairs. The situation may have been unnatural.

Algeria Roused Him

It was the war in Algeria that brought Charles de Gaulle out of retirement at his country home in Colombey-les-Deux-Églises. He had withdrawn from active political life in 1947 after 4 months as head of the post-World War II coalition government and an aborted effort to gain power in the newly constituted parliamentary Government that followed.

In the spring of 1958 he was summoned to put down the

crisis in Algeria. French Government offices in Algiers had been seized by European settlers there, aided by the military.

On May 19 he declared at a news conference, "I stand ready to take over the powers of the Republic." And two frantic weeks later—on June 1—he was installed as Premier.

It is still debated in France whether his resumption of power was brought about by an organized right-wing plot—in effect, a coup d'état—or was an inevitable response to the needs of the moment.

Whatever the origins of his power, it was complete from the start. As Premier he was vested with authority to rule by decree for six months, during which a new republican Constitution—France's fifth—was to be prepared.

The new charter was the legal foundation of the de Gaulle regime. Above all, it established a powerful presidency, effectively reduced the National Assembly from governing body to rubber stamp and all but extinguished the Senate.

The terms were dictated for Charles de Gaulle by Charles de Gaulle, and under its terms he was promptly elected for a seven-year term, and re-elected for another term in 1965.

The other significant development of the brief premiership was a monetary and economic reform that culminated in devaluation of the franc at the end of the year and laid the foundations from which General de Gaulle was later to open his attack on the dollar. It was the fifth devaluation of the franc after World War II.

Algeria a Preoccupation

Algeria was to be the preoccupation of the early Gaullist years until late 1962. But one other matter intruded, the

development of French atomic power, marked by the general's frustrated bid to enter into a "directorate" with the United States and Britain and by the detonation of her first nuclear device in the Sahara in February 1960.

With the 1962 accords at Evian les Bains which gave Algeria independence and ended the war, Gaullism was freed to turn to other business.

The first item was a change in the method of selecting a President, by direct popular vote instead of by "grand electors." General de Gaulle proposed that the people themselves vote on this change, by referendum, thus skirting the National Assembly's constitutional prerogative of amendment.

The Assembly, infuriated, voted to censure the new Government under Georges Pompidou and threw it out. General de Gaulle retaliated by calling a new election, which returned a majority. In the meantime, he had also won the referendum on direct presidential election.

Mixed Relations

General de Gaulle had not failed to stir up his international relations in the earlier years—refusing, for example, to pay United Nations assessments for the peace-keeping force in the Congo. But he had received President Kennedy warmly in 1961, and had publicly supported the United States position in the Cuba missile crisis of 1962.

His stand on Cuba was always cited by him and his supporters as proof that in a genuine crisis France would side with her historic allies—but it was the last important evidence they could cite.

General de Gaulle's first big shock for the world after Algeria was his veto of British

membership in the European Common Market in January, 1963. He followed quickly with negotiation of a treaty of cooperation with France's traditional enemy, the Germans.

In the same year he refused to sign the treaty banning all but underground nuclear tests, rejected the United States proposal to integrate allied military forces, and began his attacks on the United States for the war in Vietnam.

He opened 1964 with recognition of Communist China.

In that year he suffered his only known hospitalization, for a prostate operation, and set out a month later for a long tour of Latin America that would have exhausted a much younger man.

An Annoying Streak

He was then 74 years old. De Gaulle watchers, including the Central Intelligence Agency, looked for signs of senility. But all they could find was his obviously falling eyesight, which had become so bad that sometimes he shook hands with his bodyguards while plunging his pear-shaped hulk into crowds of cheering Brazilians or Frenchmen or other hosts.

His trip to Latin America, a separate trip to Mexico, and the celebrated "Vive Québec Libre" trip to Montreal for Expo 67, were consciously made to flex French muscle near the United States.

His travels were part of his major foreign policy objective—to deflate the overpowering "hegemony" of the United States and to restore some lost glory to his own country.

He went around the world in 1966 and, from Cambodia, loudly attacked the war in Vietnam.

There was an annoying streak in General de Gaulle's diplomacy, annoying to the smaller

allies as well as to the United States. He could not be faulted for trying to improve East-West relations. Nor did his Common Market partners think he was all wrong in vetoing Britain's first membership bid.

But he always seemed to seek out the most offensive possible modes of action. And no acts were more offensive to the United States than his raid on the gold stocks at Fort Knox and his ouster of United States forces from France.

De Gaulle's entire foreign policy could be summarized this way: Withdrawal from the military organization of the Atlantic Alliance; creation of a French nuclear force designed to protect the country from "all directions of the compass," condemnation of American policies in Southeast Asia; insistence on a return to the gold standard; opposition to American investments as undermining European independence; rejection of British membership in the Common Market; and overtures to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

All this, Gaullists say, was not directed against the United States, only against its "hegemony."

People Not Offended

Most of this foreign policy failed to offend the French people. In all probability, the masses gave them little thought.

The offenses of Gaullism to the mass of Frenchmen were the unending stringency of the government's economic policies. The French economy needed and still needs an intensive effort to bring it up to date.

President de Gaulle's domestic achievements are especially modest if one considers the fact that he had a free hand with "no interference" for 11 years—apart from the opposition of last May and June.

France was prosperous before he came to power but her currency was weak and there was inflation. After he devalued in 1958, the franc long was one of the world's strongest currencies.

An Early Setback

General de Gaulle suffered a highly unexpected setback in 1965 when he failed to win on the first ballot in presidential elections. He fought back desperately. He changed his tactics.

He decided to step down from his hero's pedestal and he became for the first time in the campaign a politician and a figure of human dimensions. He almost flaunted his age; he even discarded his makeup for television appearances.

There was a second, even more dramatic setback in May of last year when, behind his back, he was on a state visit to Teheran; the students took over the streets of Paris and a general strike paralyzed most of the country.

It took two stern addresses by the general over radio and television, a huge Gaullist demonstration along the Champs-Élysées, and a nationwide threat of radical revolution to swing the tide back to General de Gaulle with the election triumph of June.

But in the words of former Premier Georges Pompidou, "Things would never be quite the same again."

The myth of Gaullist infallibility had been shaken, triggering first flight of capital, then a run from the franc, forcing the Government into budget cuts and highly unpopular restrictions.

In the campaign for today's referendum General de Gaulle again spoke twice. He had staked continuation of his term on the outcome of the vote. At 78 years of age, the magic failed him.

Interim Successor to de Gaulle

Alain Emile Louis Marie Poher

By ANDREAS FREUND

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Monday, April 28—Alain Poher, who under the French Constitution succeeds General de Gaulle as the president of France pending new elections, was hardly more than a name to most Frenchmen until April 17.

On that day, Mr. Poher's 60th birthday, French television viewers discovered that he

Man in the News had a face, a personality and a voice. The voice, very softly, said

"No." It was a "No" to General de Gaulle, pronounced firmly but without passion by a quiet Frenchman on the country's television screens.

Frenchmen, having had in General de Gaulle a giant for so long, have built up a measure of wistfulness for a more life-size leader. Mr. Poher may fill that bill.

That quiet Frenchman began moving into the limelight last Oct. 2, when he was elected to the presidency of the Senate. In the job, he succeeded a much better-known figure, Gaston Monnerville, an amiable black lawyer and amateur flute player from French Guiana, who had headed France's second chamber for 21 years. Early in the Fifth Republic, Mr. Monnerville, a liberal, fell out with the President, and General de Gaulle with him.

When Mr. Poher's election became known, observers shrugged their shoulders. Obviously, they said, Mr. Poher, elected as he was with Gaullist support, would be the general's man and play ball with the regime.

On that television program, which opened the campaign for a national vote on regional reform and transformation of the Senate, the country discovered Alain

Emile Louis Marie Poher (the name is pronounced po AIR.)

It was a low-key performance, all the more so as Mr. Poher appeared on the screen after Premier Maurice Couve de Murville. And Mr. Couve de Murville, who is basically shy, tends to be solemn and somewhat stilted.

Mr. Poher appeared both self-assured and modest, a naturally nervous man, yet totally at ease just chatting with friends. While Gaullist orators, as the general does, disdain recourse to notes, Mr. Poher even afforded himself the luxury of occasionally fingering his.

As if with regret, Mr. Poher said he could not approve General de Gaulle's planned reforms and that he would vote "No" in the referendum. Other Frenchmen, he suggested mildly, should do the same.

Typical Educated Frenchman

It would be difficult to find a more typical middle-aged educated Frenchman than Mr. Poher. He is on the small side and rather plump. He has a thin mustache and wears his dark hair slicked backwards. He has puffy jaws and slanted eyes behind big glasses which he puts on, and off, and on again while he talks, and he talks fast, so fast at times that words stumble over each other, while he stresses points with Gallic gesture of arm, hand, and eyebrow. He exudes benevolence and shrewdness, and petulance and humor.

Mr. Poher has the Harry Truman touch, an American suggested. To many Frenchmen, he was reminiscent of such other average Frenchmen as former Premier Antoine Pinay, the bourgeois idol, and the well liked late President René Coty.

According to the Constitution, Mr. Poher's interim

presidency would last a maximum of 35 days, within which he would have to organize new presidential elections. But there is nothing in the Constitution that does not allow the interim President to run himself.

Privately, Mr. Poher has referred to his presidential possibilities as the third stage of a rocket he is riding. The possibilities as the third stage first two stages went off without a hitch, he considers. They were his election to the Senate in 1946 and his promotion to the Senate presidency last year.

Mr. Poher, a mining engineer holding degrees in law and political science as well, was propelled into politics by war and occupation. One of the leaders of the resistance movement in Paris, he joined the Christian-Democratic Popular Republicans of Robert Schuman at the end of World War II.

As chief of the personal staff of Mr. Schuman, then the Finance Minister, in 1946, Mr. Poher was enthused by his superiors dream of a united Europe, which was to materialize with the six-nation coal and steel pool a few years later.

As a promoter of European unity, Mr. Poher spent years commuting between Paris, Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg and Rome, so much so that the Pohers—he has been married to the former Henri-spend all their vacations at ette Tugler for 30 years—home, for a change. Home is at Ablon-sur-Seine, near Orly Airport, of which Mr. Poher is Mayor.

He has three hobbies: play with his three grandchildren, the children of his only daughter, Marie-Agnes Jous-saint; collecting books on French history, particularly the middle ages; and postal stamps.

De Gaulle's Defeat

General de Gaulle's resignation brings to a tragic end an extraordinary era in French history. A leader who saved his country twice—from the disgrace of military defeat in 1940-45 and from civil war in 1958—has been repudiated at the polls after eleven years of authoritarian rule.

Historians may compare his ouster with that of Konrad Adenauer, who overstayed his time, or that of Winston Churchill, who was dismissed at the peak of his powers. But the ironies of de Gaulle's departure from office in some ways are greater.

Undoubtedly, he had overstayed his time, as the May-June strikes last year demonstrated. But, with his incredible resilience, he had rebounded and elected the first one party majority to the National Assembly in French history. He had long feared that his mental powers would deteriorate in office and that none of his supporters would have the courage to tell him. In the event, he went down with his faculties unimpaired, fighting a quixotic battle he need not have undertaken, a battle for marginal political reforms demanded neither by the nation nor by his followers, but only by his own pride.

The very sense of mission and hauteur that enabled him twice to take the country in hand, and to identify himself with Joan of Arc and with France itself, are what, in the end, brought him down. The device—the referendum—that he inserted into the Constitution to assure plebiscitary rule should a traditionally divided France fail to provide him with a Parliamentary majority, became the weapon that tripped him up when, possessing a Parliamentary majority, he employed it unnecessarily.

The question now is whether Gaullism goes out with de Gaulle or whether the impending Presidential election will return a Gaullist successor anyway. Theoretically, the General could run again himself to seek vindication. More likely, former Premier Georges Pompidou will become the Gaullist standard-bearer. But the General's rule was so personal that it is a misnomer to talk of Gaullism without de Gaulle. Whether Pompidou or an opposition leader is elected, a new period is opening that cannot fail to bring fundamental changes both within France and in the French role in the world.

DEGAULLE QUILTS AFTER LOSING REFERENDUM; SENATE LEADER TO SERVE PENDING ELECTION

NEW YORK TIMES, Monday, 28 April 1969

VOTE WEEKS AWAY

President, in Office a Decade, Will Leave at Noon Today

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Monday, April 28—Charles de Gaulle stepped down early today after more than 10 years as President of France. He acted after his regime suffered a numbing defeat in a referendum.

In a statement issued by his office at Elysée Palace, the 78-year-old President said: "I cease to exercise my functions as President of the Republic. This decision takes effect today at noon."

The announcement was made a few minutes past midnight (7 P.M. New York time). The general was at his country residence at Colombey-les-Deux-Églises, where he traditionally votes.

Most Votes Counted

Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin announced at 1:20 A.M. that with all but 470,000 votes accounted for, the Government's bill for constitutional reform had been rejected by 52.37 per cent of the voters casting valid ballots. The bill was favored by 47.13 per cent.

Paris received the news of the voting and the resignation quietly, until students and the police clashed in the Latin Quarter and "fight-wingers" staged brief demonstrations on the Champs-Élysées.

Premier Maurice Couve de Murville conceded defeat shortly before 11 P.M., less than three hours after the polls closed.

Looking drawn and tired, but keeping his cold voice under the tight control for which he was noted during 10 years as Foreign Minister, Mr. Couve de Murville said:

"A majority of the French people has pronounced against the reforms that were submitted to it with all the

political consequences that rejection entails.

"Beginning tomorrow, a new page will be turned in our history."

Alain Poher, President of the Senate, will become interim President of the republic upon today's resignation.

Dictatorship Feared

This is the line of succession under the Constitution. A bitterly contested feature of the Government's defeated constitutional reform was that the interim Presidency would go to the Premier, who is appointed by the President. The opposition feared this could mean a giant step toward dictatorship.

Mr. Poher's task will be to organize presidential elections to be held no sooner than 30 days or later than 35 days from today.

The interim President's powers are limited. He cannot dissolve the Government or the National Assembly and he cannot ask for a vote of confidence in the Assembly.

Premier Couve de Murville and his Cabinet will remain in the caretaker government for this period.

It was the President's personal decision to call the nation to the polls. Several of his Cabinet ministers and leading Gaullist politicians had advised strongly against it.

But the general has frequently felt the need to get new proof of confidence from the nation's voters.

Paris newspaper France Soir, Jean Farniot, said last week: "The general needs a new coronation every two or three years."

Although the real issue in the voting was President de Gaulle, the technical issue was an ambitious reform of the Constitution.

Under the proposed constitutional reforms, the new French regions would have grouped the existing 96 departments of Metropolitan France into units of common historical tradition with new regional assemblies handling local social and economic affairs instead of the prefects who now represent the central Government in each department.

The Senate, the country's second legislative chamber, which is now composed of 274 members chosen individually by "grand electors," was to have been transformed into a consultative council representing the proposed new regional assemblies on the national level. The 487-member National Assembly was to have remained unchanged.

President de Gaulle was under no compulsion to hold the referendum. He could have sent the reform bill to the Assembly, where the outcome would have been favorable to the Government, since the Gaullists hold an overwhelming majority of seats.

In a last appeal Friday night, the 78-year-old general asked his countrymen for a show of confidence that would permit him to serve out his term, which would have ended in 1972.

"If I am solemnly disavowed by a majority of voters, I will cease to exercise my functions immediately."

Before he spoke, there were rumors that he might anticipate defeat and declare two nights before the vote that he would step down. This would have been his last chance of a voluntary grand exit.

The general's resignation was primarily to France's one-man foreign policy under President de Gaulle.

The general, the last surviving Allied leader from World War II, has had such towering personal stature that France spoke with more than the weight she would normally have as a country of 50 million. Whatever his personal inclinations, the new President, lacking this stature, is apt to be more pliable to France's allies.

Many Frenchmen, both here in the provinces, seemed numbed. The defeat of the regime and the resignation of the President were events of such magnitude that most Frenchmen had doubted that they could occur.

"Voting against de Gaulle to force him to step down is like patricide for most of us," a Frenchman said before he voted. He said that for 11 years he had voted for the Gaullist regime, often with misgivings.

"This time I'm voting 'no'—and I'm voting with conviction for the first time," he said.

But he mumbled and changed the subject when he was asked whether he would vote "no" if he knew that his vote would be decisive in forcing President de Gaulle out.

Many Frenchmen would give these reasons for the general's defeat.

"The student and worker rebellion of last May was 'the beginning of the end,' many Frenchmen felt. The events that month showed for the first time a crucial flaw in the solidity of the regime and of the President.

For more than a week he remained silently in Elysée Palace and his Premier, Georges Pompidou, fought the battle for the Government. When he came out of his isolation, the President was able to call the nation to order in one angry speech, but his power was never the same again.

Time and aging were also factors. Although the President's seven-year term ran until 1972, gradually more and more Frenchmen had accepted the thought that some time soon the country would have to do without him. The issue of succession thus lost much of the terror it had held for the general's followers.

A Gaullist successor has been waiting in the wings for the first time. Mr. Pompidou announced in January that he would be a candidate for the Presidency. In subsequent statements he disclaimed any intention of wanting to nudge General de Gaulle out of office prematurely.

Mr. Pompidou is a solid

figure eminently acceptable to many members of the middle class and the business community. The President thus found it difficult in this campaign to assert that the only choice was between him and catastrophe. This statement had been effective in several votes. Many, perhaps most Frenchmen have been unhappy with the state of economic affairs since last fall. Prices have gone up steeply. The unions were blocked by the Government on

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wage increases. Small independent merchants have felt discriminated against since the regime introduced a turnover tax on business transactions. Twice this month small merchants staged nationwide strikes.

On the plane of presidential politics, the first "Committee for the Election of Georges Pompidou" was formed in St-Nazaire, Brittany, this morning even before President de Gaulle had announced his resignation.

the referendum to the Assembly, where the outcome would have been favorable to the Government, since the Gaullists hold an overwhelming majority of seats.

In a last appeal Friday night, the 78-year-old general asked his countrymen for "a show of confidence" that would permit him to serve out his term, which would have ended in 1972.

"If I am solemnly disavowed by a majority of you," he told the voters, "I will cease to exercise my functions immediately."

Before he spoke, there were rumors that he might anticipate defeat and declare two nights before the vote that he would step down. This would have been his last chance of a voluntary grand exit.

Given his personality, political analysts consider it inconceivable that, having resigned, he may return once more as a candidate for the presidency.

The Premier pledged that his Government would continue to do its duty during the interim, but he predicted a difficult period, with possible social unrest.

"The magnitude of this event for France and the world will soon become apparent," Mr. Couve de Murville said.



Joseph Kraft

Fall of President de Gaulle Is No Tragedy for France

NAPOLEON, asked at the zenith of his power what the reaction would be when he fell, replied: "They'll say 'Oof.'" And "oof" seems about the right reaction to the fall of General de Gaulle.

It is an event filled with the stuff of normality—not of tragedy. It marks a return to routine and regularity. It closes a parenthesis, to use one of the General's favorite metaphors, on high drama.

France now resumes anew the dreary search for a French mode of self-government. Western Europe picks up again the labor of achieving more cohesion. And in the United States, the Nixon Administration loses one more of the divertissements that has tended to keep it from addressing its truly serious business.

Providing the first nervousness over the franc can be got over, the outlook for France is not at all bad. General de Gaulle had ruled by a tactic of moral terrorism. "Me or chaos" was the choice he regularly offered the French people in elections and referenda.

When the peril was supreme, they accepted the General overwhelmingly. Thus in 1958, with the colonels from Algeria threatening a military takeover of France, the General won 79 per cent of the vote in a national referendum.

elections last year. A machine, a political machine, has been created to do what in the past could only be done by The Man. And the maker and manager of that machine, former Premier Georges Pompidou, now comes forward as the leading candidate to succeed de Gaulle as President in the election next month.

No doubt the vicious and chaotic in-fighting characteristic of French politics will assert itself in time. But for the immediate future, there is a right-center majority in France—particularly if M. Pompidou can strike an alliance with former Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. And for the long run, as the Communist part becomes more and more domesticated, there is even the possibility of a regime built around the alternation of a few—and maybe even two—major parties.

With respect to European cohesion, the departure of de Gaulle is an evident pick-up. Good Europeans all over the Continent—forced into hiding by the General's attitude—will now take a new lease on life. In France the trend towards a politics of interest, and away from a politics of personality, will inevitably yield a more friendly attitude toward the other western nations.

THE FIRST efforts at more cohesion are apt to be small. Grandiose plans for federation are not going to surface for a long time—if ever. But a joint effort to help France over the present financial troubles seems

diversion. With his departure, the President will have that must less reason for not boring in on the mess that comforts him—peace in Vietnam and arms control talks with the Soviet Union.

People who like to have history in our time, will no doubt miss General de Gaulle, and lament the reversion to the boring, old problems of yesterday. But how bad would it really be if the tired lull that has marked the first hundred days of the Nixon Administration were internationalized. But maybe the time is right for practical solutions to concrete difficulties—bread, not circuses.

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De Gaulle's Departure Is Badly Timed for Moscow

By Anatole Shub
Washington Post Staff Writers

MOSCOW, April 28—The Soviet Union maintained a stiff upper lip over the departure of General de Gaulle, but most foreign observers agree that it could not have been more badly timed for the Kremlin.

There was no official comment here, and Soviet news media confined themselves to reporting the facts and echoing statements being made by the French Communist Party and affiliated groups in Paris.

However, Kremlin policies in several areas are expected to be adversely affected in the relatively near future.

News Analysis

future, especially if next month's presidential election should be won (as Paris observers consider likely) by Georges Pompidou or a centrist figure.

Fairly rapid change in France's posture toward the Middle East is expected after the election. Pompidou and other Gaullists, as well as the centrist and socialist parties, were critical of de Gaulle's sharp turn against Israel in the wake of the June, 1967, war.

The change may result in the renewal of French arms aid to Israel and will speed-

ily affect the four-power talks on the Widesat at the United Nations. These talks, ironically, were suggested by de Gaulle and only accepted by the Kremlin when it appeared they might offer a format for influencing the United States to exert pressure on Israel. French return to the pro-Israeli stance that existed in Paris between 1950 and 1967 would tilt the balance of the talks to the disadvantage of the Soviet Union and its Arab clients.

The timing of the election will also indirectly affect Soviet behavior in Czechoslovakia and plans for the world Communist movement.

The French election will fall between a May 23 preparatory meeting of Communist parties and a summit conference recently rescheduled for June 5. The election will spotlight the French Communist Party at a time when it is delicately poised between the pro-Moscow camp and such independent parties as the Italian and Finnish, which have been critical of Soviet conduct in Prague.

Should the French Party be compelled by electoral considerations to display a more independent stance, agreement on anything meaningful at the June 5 meeting would be impossible.

without major Soviet concessions. The Italians have called openly for the restoration of full Czechoslovak sovereignty.

The election of Pompidou or almost any non-Communist candidate requiring the votes of the "European" moderate center may also be expected to produce greater French receptiveness toward international monetary cooperation, British entry into the Common Market and other issues involving the cohesion of the Western community. On each of these issues, the Kremlin has regarded General de Gaulle as a useful "spoiler" of pro-

jects and plans backed in Washington, London, Bonn and other Western capitals.

With the prospect even before de Gaulle's defeat that France would play a more normal and cooperative role in the West, the Kremlin would seem to be emerging from its ten-year courtship of the general with few real gains beyond some commercial credits and cultural a major political deal during de Gaulle's June, 1966, visit to the Soviet Union.

On that occasion, the Kremlin chiefs insisted on recognition of their East German regime as an artificial product of Soviet occupation and the Berlin

Wall as unnatural and monstrous.

The Soviet and French Communist leaders are also open to criticism from the Chinese and other ultra-leftist Communists because of their refusal to exploit last May's student riots and general strikes in France in a serious bid for power. Most disinterested observers believe such a bid would have been crushed by the French Army and the conservative majority of the population, but that will not prevent pro-Peking and New Left groups from accusing both Waldeck Rochet, head of the French Communist Party, and Moscow, of historic betrayal.

Action concerns Arabs

Israel jubilant over de Gaulle

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

Consternation in the 15 Arab countries and jubilation in Israel marked the news of President de Gaulle's resignation.

Diplomats here were concerned that the veteran French leader's disappearance from the world political arena would seriously weaken the four-power talks on the Middle East in New York.

Holding the talks was a de Gaulle idea and a French initiative. General de Gaulle had morally and materially backed the Arab side since the June, 1967, war in which he considered Israel to be the aggressor.

But in the councils of the Big Four he had wanted France to play a medial role between what appeared to be complete Soviet support to the Arabs and unqualified United States backing for Israel.

A weak or hesitant French successor government might abandon this strong intermediate role, diplomats here feel.

In Cairo, United Arab Republic Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riyad said his country and the Arabs in general "regret infinitely and profoundly" General de Gaulle's withdrawal.

Lebanon, amidst its own political crisis over whether or not to support Arab Palestinian guerrillas, was especially concerned.

French embargo on arms

French governments and especially General de Gaulle have kept a friendly and protective eye on this former French dependency, where French culture is ascendant among educated people.

After Israel's Dec. 28 attack on Beirut Airport, General de Gaulle imposed a total embargo on French arms shipments to Israel. And offered what amounted to firm security guarantees against future Israeli action.

Publisher-Editor Ghassan Tuani of Beirut's influential independent daily newspaper, Al Nahar, said those Frenchmen who are happy over General de Gaulle's defeat "should understand that we in Lebanon and the Arab world look at de Gaulle's loss as our own."

The conservative paper, Al Jarida, described the general's resignation as "a painful Arab defeat."

Israeli broadcasts and newspaper comment purred with what the Tel Aviv socialist paper, Davar, called "satisfaction." Other Israeli commentaries accused General de Gaulle of "continuous anti-Israel and anti-Semitic positions."

Advocate of talks

France formally proposed the present four-power talks on the Middle East last November after President de Gaulle had advocated such meetings for many years. It sought four-power talks as a way to demonstrate to both Arabs and Israelis that there could be other Middle East solutions than those put forward by either Washington or Moscow.

Since the start of this year, de Gaulle spokesmen say, French policy was aimed mainly at avoiding further United States-

Soviet polarization in the Middle East.

French experts in the Quai d'Orsay were ordered to study possible solutions to the Palestine question. The new emerging de Gaulle position has been that since Palestinian Arab nationalism is at the heart of the conflict, November, 1967, United Nations Security Council resolution has become inapplicable because it does not deal with this except as a question of "refugees."

French efforts, therefore, were aimed at drawing new and secure frontiers in the former Palestine area, now controlled entirely by Israel.

The French view has been that these should include both Israel as a Jewish national entity and an Arab Palestinian entity as in old projects drawn up in 1936 and 1945 in the time of the British mandate in Palestine.

The result would be not far from the present demands of the Palestinian Arabs: a multisectarian, bicultural new state in the Middle East.

Here, Arabs of both Moslem and Christian faiths could live in peace and security with Jews. Some Gaullist publicists have pointed to the parallel between this and Lebanon's multisectarian system and have called it the "Lebanonization" of Palestine.

The Latin Quarter Is Openly Gleeful

By GLORIA EMERSON

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28—He was too old, he squandered French money on Arab and African countries, he made a good leg of lamb for Sunday cost too much, he lost the initiative, he took too much initiative, he chased away the rich American tourists, he was deaf to the grumbles of students and of workers, and his dreams for France had begun to bore the French.

Parisians talked endlessly today of the defeat of Charles de Gaulle, and why they had brought it about. Their reasons ranged from the leg of lamb to the conviction of the working class that the general did not care about them. People talked cautiously, quietly and calmly. Some showed fear, others relief.

Artists and Students

But only in the Latin Quarter—the district of Paris where artists, nonconformists, Sorbonne students and strollers on the Boulevard St.-Michel have always created a different France of their own—was there elation and open triumph.

At the Sorbonne, students spoke of last May, when they built barricades in the streets and fought the police. The students took credit for igniting a countrywide wave of discontent, strikes and chaos that had doomed the enemy de Gaulle.

"Everything begins now," a brown-haired girl said, handing out mimeographed handbills. "To fight the bourgeoisie, become a Communist," the handbill said. Her

pale, thin face gleaming with a sense of importance, she gave a 20-minute speech to two listeners on the new Communism that she said France needed.

In the l'Ecritoire Cafe, near the Sorbonne, young couples squeezed together on the brown plastic banquettes sharing the newspaper Le Monde. For some of them, General de Gaulle is already a very ancient figure.

"He was anti-social; his awareness was stunted," Michele Lucas, age 20, said, flipping her waist-long blond hair.

The middle-aged who work and live in the Latin Quarter did not grumble about any betrayal of their ideals. They spoke of centimes, of francs, of rising costs and taxes.

"More than 10 years in power and France is in bad shape," the well-fed barman at the Cafe La Fourchette said. "We have nothing to thank him for."

But, like many others in the neighborhood, he could think of no one man, nor of one political party, that he preferred. It does not trouble him either.

Little Regret in Rouen

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

ROUEN, France, April 28—Etienne Gervais, a 21-year-old engineering student, stabbed a finger at a patina-green Napoleon on a rearing horse in the middle of Place du Général de Gaulle, the hub of this port city on the Seine River.

"Fortunately, like Napoleon, de Gaulle now belongs to history," he said.

"Or, like The Maid," a girl

with a blond ponytail cut in, giggling.

"The Maid" is Joan of Arc, who was burned at the stake in the nearby Place du Vieux-Marché in 1431. Linking General de Gaulle to the national heroine and patron saint is a local joke, because he is credited with a mystical sense of mission like hers.

"De Gaulle shouldn't have tampered with his own Constitution," a long-haired art student said. "One simply has become tired of his caprices."

A Remote Figure Already

These and similar remarks today seemed to indicate that young people in Rouen already regarded the former President as a remote figure.

Nor could much regret for the end of the de Gaulle era be detected among half a dozen middle-aged residents who were interviewed in this citadel of centrism, the middle-class opposition to the former President.

These older voters discussed the possible candidates to succeed the general. Rouen has a potential candidate in its Mayor, Jean Lecanuet. Once labeled the "French Kennedy" for his youthful good looks and moderately progressive views, Mr. Lecanuet unsuccessfully ran against General de Gaulle in the 1965 presidential election.

The 49-year-old Mayor, who is also a senator, vigorously campaigned for a "non" vote in the referendum yesterday.

Mr. Lecanuet has not committed himself publicly, but his entourage clearly expects him to play a major role in efforts to set up a middle-of-the-road post-Gaullist regime.

At Colombey, a Platoon Is Still on Guard

By LLOYD GARRISON

Special to The New York Times

COLOMBEY-LES-DEUX-ÉGLISES, France, April 28—The bells of the church clock tolled noon today, the hour President de Gaulle's resignation took effect, and a platoon of blue-jacketed gendarmes marched away from the de Gaulle estate, a country retreat that has been the family home for more than 30 years.

Television cameramen filmed the guards' exit as a symbol of General de Gaulle's transition from President to private citizen.

But seconds later another platoon marched up the hill and took its place along the wall surrounding the 18-room house, one man every 100 paces.

There was no other hint in

this sleepy farm town of 380 people today of any change in the general's official status. Down the hill his helicopter stood ready on the ramp behind the huts that house the gendarmerie detachment.

General de Gaulle remained behind the wall throughout the day and received only two visitors of note. His aide-de-camp arrived in a black Citroën, about 10:30 A.M. with Jean Sicurani, secretary to Jacques Chaban-Delmas, president of the National Assembly.

"I've got a letter for the general from Mr. Chaban-Delmas," said Mr. Sicurani as the car paused for the gates to swing open. But he never had a chance to deliver it himself. After a word with the aide-de-camp, Mr. Sicurani handed him the letter, the car swept on, the gate closed, and

Mr. Sicurani was left standing outside the gate in the rain visibly humiliated. He left for Paris in the same Citroën six minutes later.

Mrs. de Gaulle's brother, Jacques Vendroux, who resigned today from presidency of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission, paid a visit shortly before noon, followed by the family gardener, who carried a pail of leeks. "It's for soup for supper," he said.

At the parish house, the Rev. Eugene Dronot, a plump, balding man with rimless glasses and a broad, infectious smile, was asked how he thought the general would now occupy himself. "Oh," he replied with a self-assured smile, "he'll write the fourth tome of his memoirs. He's probably hard at it right now."

Gold Soars, Franc Falls; Quick Devaluing Doubted

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28—Political and monetary uncertainties touched off by the resignation of President de Gaulle brought renewed currency agitation today and a strong demand for gold. Most observers doubted that there would be an immediate devaluation.

The price of gold rose to a record, the equivalent of \$49.09, or 40 per cent more than the official price of \$35 an ounce. Gold coins were selling in some cases at more than twice the value of their gold content. Gold closed at \$49.06 an ounce, up 94 cents.

In a pattern reminiscent of the monetary crisis last November, the French franc and the British pound weakened while the West German mark strengthened.

Frankfurt bankers estimated

that \$200-million poured into the country. At the end of the day, the West German central bank announced technical measures, including a 100 per cent reserve requirement on foreign funds, to try to discourage the flow.

During the day, the mark, worth 25 American cents, rose to its highest permissible rate against the dollar, while the franc, worth 20 cents, retreated to within a shade of its floor.

Under the international monetary system established a quarter century ago at a conference in Bretton Woods, N.H., currencies fluctuate within fixed rates and Government central banks buy or sell dollars to maintain these rates. If a country's economy is shown

to be too competitive in world markets by accumulating successive trading surpluses, or shown to be not competitive enough by recording trading deficits, the authorities may decide to change the relationship of the currency to the dollar.

The prevailing view was that the franc was not in immediate danger of devaluation. Alain Poher, the Interim French President, is unlikely to take any drastic monetary action, financial experts feel, and the French reserves and borrowing facilities are big enough to withstand any new speculative assault.

The big question was what will happen when a new Government takes over and has to face the problem of trading deficits, new wage increases, and steady losses of gold reserves.

There is the belief that France, may then be forced to devalue, while West Germany may be forced to revalue its currency upward.

This was the issue last November when President de

funds available to Britain, though perhaps with even more strings attached.

Dr. Karl Blessing, president of the West German central bank, said today that France would not have to devalue provided she could prevent the flight of capital and keep wage increases at modest levels.

This may prove to be difficult. The confidence of Frenchmen in their currency has weakened steadily over the last year, and despite rigorous exchange controls, funds are still seeping abroad.

Hectic activity in the Paris gold market and the demand for securities on the Bourse today showed the lack of confidence.

As for Dr. Blessing's second condition, French workers, seeing the spiral in living costs, are loath to scale down their wage proposals. These are running this year three times over what the de Gaulle Government said it was prepared to offer.

Dr. Blessing, who spoke to

heavily involved in export trade, which would be hurt by revaluation, were sold.

A higher value for a currency leads to higher export prices or reduced export profitability. A devaluation means lower export prices or increased profitability.

So heavy was the flow of funds into West Germany today that the central bank reduced its buying rate for dollars on four occasions. The rate is now 3.9825 marks to the dollar. The floor for the dollar is 3.97 marks to the dollar.

The Bank of France reduced the rate at which it sells dollars in support of the franc to the lowest permissible level of 4.9740. The franc closed at 4.9725.

The pound fell sharply in early trading but recovered some of its losses to close at 2.3889, a drop of 12 points.

**CAUTIOUS REACTION
VOICED IN MOSCOW**

Special to The New York Times

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Britain and Italy Pledge To Seek European Unity

Comment on France Omitted

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, April 28—Britain and Italy formally pledged today to work together for greater European unity.

Their declaration came during a state visit here by the Italian President, Giuseppe Saragat. But the coincidence of timing made it an implicit expression of Britain's attitude in the wake of President de Gaulle's resignation today.

In Bonn, the general's decision was met with a mixture of relief and apprehension over the outlook for Europe. Sources in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said that the most likely result would be expansion of French military cooperation with alliance forces in Europe and the Mediterranean.

British officials took the utmost care to avoid any appearance of exultation at the fall of the man who has barred the door of the Common Market to Britain. The word was that officially there would be no

action, no comment, no speculation.

Instead, everyone will try to maintain a dignified affirmative attitude without reference to France's internal situation. The British commitment to membership in the European Economic Community and to unity in Western Europe generally, will be reaffirmed at every opportunity.

No one believes that Britain can now bounce into the market, or really think of winning acceptance from any French Government for years. But at least the automatic implacable "No" is gone and there may be a chance for reason and diplomacy.

General de Gaulle's likely successor, Georges Pompidou, is regarded here as no great advocate of a British role on the Continent. But the belief is that he would be unable to ignore the views of his allies in so Olympian a manner as the general.

Talks Start At Noon

President Saragat arrived at 10 Downing Street for talks with Prime Minister Wilson at noon today—the hour at which President de Gaulle's resignation became effective. Later, in an address to the two houses of Parliament, Mr. Saragat said that Italy hoped for "full participation by your country in the establishment of the new Europe."

The Italian Foreign Minister, Pietro Nenni, and Britain's Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, signed what Mr. Stewart said was "an important joint declaration of policy."

It said the two countries "believe the common interests of the Continent, its security and its prosperity, demand union." They pledged to "work for this aim together with other European governments which share their ideals."

The declaration dealt with the French argument that enlargement of the Common Market much beyond its present membership of six would change its character. The

declaration said enlargement would not alter its nature but insure its fulfillment. Besides France and Italy, the members are Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and West Germany.

France again boycotted today another routine meeting of the Western European Union, which includes Britain and the six. She has been doing so because of Britain's move to use the union for political discussions.

New Era Foreseen in Rome

Special to The New York Times

ROME, April 28—President de Gaulle's defeat was seen here as the beginning of a new era for France and European unity, but there were also predictions of stormy days ahead.

The general feeling was aptly expressed by the Socialist Minister of Labor, Senator Giacomo Brodolini, who said: "I don't see much Gaullism without de Gaulle."

The Government's attitude was reflected unofficially in a statement by Deputy Flaminio Piccoli, secretary of the Christian Democratic party, who said the general's retirement would result in "incalculable political developments."

He said that the defeat showed again the "impossibility of confronting political problems in the elementary terms of power or personal prestige."

"One thing appears certain," he said. "The defeat and resignation of de Gaulle open a new period, in all probability very troubled for France and Europe."

Relief Expressed in Bonn

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

BONN, April 28—West Germany, whose destiny is closely tied to that of France, reacted to the fall of President de Gaulle with an odd mixture of mild relief and slight jitters.

"Thank the Lord," a senior official remarked. "His time was up and there was nothing more to expect from him. A great man can be a great burden, also for his neighbors."

"Under de Gaulle the French tried to hold us in tutelage," he said. "Perhaps now they will act more in concert with the rest of Europe and pursue a policy that corresponds more to their possibilities, for instance by cutting down their military expenditures."

In Government circles the belief is strong that West Germany may end up having to foot the bill for France's troubles, either by extending large financial credits or by revaluing the deutschmark, or both, to bolster the franc.

At the regular Monday afternoon news conference, the assistant spokesman for the Government, Conrad Ahlers, expressed Bonn's "thanks to de Gaulle for all he has done for German-French friendship in past years."

Foreign Minister Willy Brandt issued a statement shortly after noon saying:

"Our hope is that our French neighbors will find a good solution to their internal problems. At the same time we hope that the coming period will make it possible to achieve new progress in European policy. German-French cooperation remains, therefore, an indispensable element."

"General de Gaulle wrote his name in the book of history more than once and those who sometimes had different views than he will maintain their respect for him as a statesman of historic rank."

Military Role Foreseen

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28—The expansion of French military cooperation with North Atlantic alliance forces in Central Europe and the Mediterranean was seen by NATO sources today as the most likely strategic result of President de Gaulle's resignation.

Covert cooperation among ground and sea forces of the alliance and France has developed in the last 18 months. Until now, fear of the general's displeasure has inhibited French commanders from more extensive joint planning and training.

Alliance sources said that French troops would be readily welcomed back as a military member of NATO. General de Gaulle ended French military cooperation in 1966 but France continued as a political member.

The arrangements made by the North Atlantic Council, the alliance's executive group, when France withdrew from military cooperation, left the door "wide open" for her eventual return, one representative said.

It will be possible, he added, for any French Government to return easily to military cooperation without "eating crow."

At the moment, NATO and Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, are more interested in an early extension of military cooperation whether or not the French Government takes such a step formally.

The two French divisions, about 30,000 men, now stationed in West Germany would be "welcomed" to join NATO maneuvers, a military source said.

The alliance's ability to count on the use of the two divisions in a crisis would add weight to any response to a threat of Soviet aggression in central Europe.

Similarly, allied commanders hope for more extensive and open French cooperation in arrangements for the air and sea defense of the Mediterranean.

Recent reinforcement of the Soviet fleet there has underlined the importance of what was termed "a comprehensive naval and air effort" by all four alliance members bordering on the Mediterranean—France, Italy, Greece and Turkey.

After de Gaulle

End of Era Seems Certain to Bring Fundamental Shifts in Foreign Policy

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28—Charles de Gaulle, who wrote about France like a lover of his bride and a monk of his madonna, has left the scene and remains silent in his little village.

Frenchmen today seemed surprised and a little awed by the magnitude of the collective deed they committed yesterday in dismissing him.

Many today reflected on the "in-gratitude" of the nation and the "tragedy" of the lonely old hero. But a young white-collar worker savagely disclaimed any feeling of guilt. "The cemeteries of the world are filled with irreplaceable men," he said.

There are certain to be fundamental changes in French foreign policy as a result of General de Gaulle's downfall. While no successor is likely to take it on himself to change the basic policy of independence, that is General de Gaulle's proudest achievement, it is expected that France's partisan policies in the Middle East will be changed in due time, that the new regime will eventually accept devaluation of the franc, opening the door to a general realignment of currencies, and that the problem of British entry into the Common Market will be discussed seriously at last.

Impact of His Leadership

It is clear that some of the most important events in Europe during the last 10 years would not have happened, or would have happened differently, if the general had not been President of France.

The Atlantic Alliance, for one, would be different. France would still be a member of the integrated allied military organization. It is safe to say that no other French leader would have thought of asking for the withdrawal of American forces or would have had the power to bring it about had he wished to do so.

No other Frenchman would have been welcomed to Moscow in such triumph as de Gaulle was in 1966. Talk of "détente" between East and West as a result might not have become as respectable as it is, in spite of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In Western capitals, including Washington, today.

No French leader would have formulated his veto of British entry into the Common Market as bluntly as General de Gaulle. There would be no embargo on French arms deliveries to Israel, and France almost certainly would not have voted for a United Nations condemnation of Israel as an "aggressor."

Only General de Gaulle could have ridden so imperiously between Montreal and Quebec and then accomplished what he called his "sacred" mission by crying "Vive le Québec libre!"

Harsh in Criticizing U. S.

Only General de Gaulle could have denounced the United States so savagely about Vietnam.

No other leader would have spoken so lyrically about the "perennial . . . universal and inalterable" qualities of gold and no one could have put as much weight behind the French drive for a basic change in the international financial system and termination of the role of the dollar and the pound as reserve currencies.

All this amounts to one thing: his personal power, his fierce nationalism, his aggressiveness, his imagination and "panache,"

talk about "bringing Europe" though not necessarily more action.

Whoever the new President is, he will stress the need for a "modern" society, for technological progress, perhaps even for the need to learn from the example of American technology. Georges Pompidou, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Mr. Poher, Jean Lecanuet—practically all nonleftist contenders—have made statements to this effect.

General de Gaulle was a man of the great dramatic moments of history, of the struggle between great powers and of political-military strategy based on permanent geographical factors.

In domestic affairs his attention too went to the great issues. His contributions were the new Constitution of 1958 and the election of the President in universal suffrage.

The Path to His Downfall

Until recently he had shown little interest in the technical and economic domestic issues, such as roads, the tax system, distribution of the national wealth, education, and agricultural and industrial structures. His concept, often repeated, was "l'intendance suit"—roughly translatable as "the baggage train always follows."

Not unnaturally, his downfall came when it began to gra-

ple with these domestic issues. Gaullism boasted that it had brought stability and prosperity to the country. There was much objective truth in its boast, but many citizens thought differently. Many, rightly or wrongly, felt left out.

The extent to which the regime had failed to satisfy the bread-and-butter demands of its citizens became dramatically clear in May last year. After 10 years in office, the regime suddenly found it was despised and defied by 10 million strikers and hundreds of thousands of students.

General De Gaulle called the nation to order. And the nation, in extremis, obeyed—less out of allegiance to him than out of fear of a takeover by the Left. The crack in the general's armor was never repaired, but he pressed on.

He has always seen himself as the lonely giant whose fate it is to assure the well-being of his country even if he is unappreciated by the masses.

Less than a year ago, just after the regime barely survived the student and worker upheaval, he spoke about this with unusual poignancy in a television interview.

He listed his foreign policy moves from decolonization to the beginning of the liberation of the French-Canadians.

Then he said:

"Every time I acted, I saw

around me a tide of incompre-

hension, complaints and some-

times furor. That is fate. So

much so that one of my friends

—and I do have some friends—

speaking about this tide told

me of a primitive painting that

showed a crowd being led to-

ward hell by devils while a

poor angel was pointing in the

opposite direction.

"The people, in the crowd

had their fists raised not against

the devils but against the angel.

And my friend said: 'There

should be another painting next

to this one showing the crowd

on the point of falling into the

chasm, breaking away from the

devils and running toward the

angel.' That's symbolic and fig-

urative art, but perhaps never-

theless, there is some truth

in it."

—The New York Times Staff

Nixon Praises de Gaulle

By PETER GROSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28—

President Nixon bestowed official and personal praise on Charles de Gaulle today, then expressed his belief that the "effective dialogue" established between the two Presidents could be maintained with the next French Government.

In a personal letter, written within a few hours of General de Gaulle's resignation early today, Mr. Nixon told the former President that he was "certainly welcome to come to the United States" as a private citizen, and be received just as Mr. Nixon was received in Paris when he was out of public office.

Visit Was Scheduled

As President, General de Gaulle had been scheduled to pay a state visit next December or January.

The French Ambassador, Charles Lucet, kept a previously scheduled appointment at the State Department this morning, pursuing the series of discussions on the Middle East that have been conducted here parallel to the four-power meeting at the United Nations.

Diplomatic sources indicated that the interim Government in Paris would not suspend these talks. Some United States officials believed that the next French Government might relax General de Gaulle's embargo on arms shipments to Israel.

Mr. Nixon's official message to General de Gaulle said:

"It is with deep regret that I have learned of your resig-

nation as President of France. I have greatly valued the frank and comprehensive exchanges of views it has been my privilege to have with you, both as a private citizen and as Vice President and President of the United States. Nor shall I forget the courtesy of your welcome and the wisdom of your counsel during my recent visit to Paris. Our talks proved the occasion for a new departure in friendly cooperation between our two nations.

"We in the United States will not forget what you have done for France, both at home and abroad, and for the world, both in war and in peace.

"Mrs. Nixon joins me in sending you and Madame de Gaulle our warm personal regards and best wishes for the future."

The text of the personal letter was not made public, but White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said it contained the invitation for a private visit to the United States.

Mr. Ziegler said:

"The President feels we have re-established an effective dialogue with the French Government, and we are looking forward to maintaining this communication in what the President has referred to as this 'new era of consultation.'

"President Nixon, I am sure, will see the new President of France at a time and place when it is convenient."

Reports from Paris point to former Premier Georges Pompidou as the most likely successor to General de Gaulle after the special presidential election that is to take place no sooner than 20 days or later than 35 days from today.

On this basis officials here expect a gradual softening of the anti-Israel sanctions that General de Gaulle imposed after the war in June, 1967, and the Israeli raid on the Beirut airport Dec. 28.

Israeli Public Delighted, But Officials Are Silent

Special to The New York Times

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, April 28—Israelis expressed delight today with the news that President de Gaulle had resigned.

The afternoon newspaper Maariv said: "The world, including Israel, has been saved from the obstinacy of a stubborn, vindictive and vengeful man."

Newspapers reported spontaneous celebrations in some Tel Aviv nightclubs and late-hour restaurants when the news reached here after midnight.

Israeli officials were tight-lipped, however. One press official said: "I have been instructed not to react, so I am not reacting." He was smiling, however.

An overseas telephone operator in Tel Aviv, informed of the resignation by a London operator putting a call through to Jerusalem, said: "That's the best bit of news I've heard all day."

The predominant view was that any change in French leadership would have to be an improvement as far as Israel was concerned except, perhaps, if France elected a Communist in General de Gaulle's place.

The general had become public enemy No. 1 in Israel, exceeding even the Arab leaders as an object of scorn since the Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967.

Not even the Soviet leadership, regarded by the Israelis as having been responsible for setting in motion the events that led to the war, suffered

the abuse heaped on President de Gaulle by Israelis.

The basis for this bitterness was found in President de Gaulle's switch from his role as one of Israel's closest allies and her major supplier of arms to that of an implacable foe and a supporter of the Arabs.

Regarded as Betrayal

Israelis regarded this as a cynical betrayal of a friend by an aging leader who was seeking to curry Moscow's favor in the struggle against the United States.

The turning point came with the 1967 war, when Israel disregarded General de Gaulle's warning not to fire the first shot. He imposed an arms embargo as punishment.

Fifty Mirage jets, paid for by Israel, remain undelivered in France nearly two years after the war. Israeli leaders may now nourish the hope that the embargo will be lifted, although few here believe that there will be any immediate change.

CAIRO, April 28 (Reuters)—The official Government spokesman, Dr. Mohammed H. el-Zayyat, today described General de Gaulle as "a man who lived by his principles."

Dr. el-Zayyat said that the United Arab Republic always held the General in high esteem and added that "he should be a shining example for statesmen everywhere."

Observers said the resignation of the French President was bound to be viewed here with mixed feelings and a certain degree of apprehension.

The Essence of Gaullism as Policy, in the Words of General de Gaulle

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28.—As France entered the post-de Gaulle era today, her citizens were debating the central question engrossing all Europe: How long will General de Gaulle's policies and philosophy of government endure. Here, in some of the general's own remarks, is the essence of Gaullism:

France's Role

In the occidental world of which we are a part without being confined to it, we must take a place of our own, conduct an action which is our action. (In a radio address, June, 1958.)

France has chosen once and for all to be France and I invite everybody to adjust to this. (Address, September, 1960.)

The Nature of a Policy

A policy is an action, that is an ensemble of decisions one takes, of things one does, or risks one takes on, and all of it with the support of the people. (News conference in July, 1964.)

Europe

I intended to assure France's predominance in Western Europe, to cooperate with East and West and, if need be, contract the necessary alliances on one side or the other without ever accepting any kind of dependency. (From General de Gaulle's memoirs.)

One of France's goals is

the union of all of Europe through the practicing between its west, its center and its east of détente, entente and cooperation. (Address, December, 1967.)

We do not want a supranational Europe. Nations exist. There is an Italy, a Germany. They have existed for thousand years, for two thousand years. Those are not entities that can disappear like that. There is no possibility that they could be welded together. To create a supranational Europe for us would be to disappear. For Europe, a confederation, yes, but not a fusion. (1965, quoted by André Passeron in "De Gaulle Speaks.")

Britain

In brief, the nature, structure and situation peculiar to Britain differ profoundly from those of the others on this continent. . . . The idea of joining the British Isles with the economic community formed by the six continental states arouses wishes everywhere, which are ideally quite justified, but the question is whether this could be done today without tearing apart, without breaking up what exists. (News conference, 1967.)

Germany

In truth, Germany and France by seeking to impose on each other their domination in order thereafter to extend it to their neighbors, were pursuing, each for his own account, the old dream

of unity which, for some 20 centuries, has been haunting the souls of our continent. . . . It was a great cause which was . . . at the root of our quarrels. (July, 1962.)

Atomic Weapons

No country without an atom bomb could properly consider itself independent. (From Alexander Werth's "De Gaulle.")

A country that has an atomic armament is capable of having at its mercy a country that doesn't. (News conference, July, 1964.)

France's modern armament not only constitutes an incomparable guarantee for her security but beyond that introduce into a dangerous world a new and powerful element of sagacity and circumspection. (News conference, July 6.)

Soviet Union

Russia is in effect in all respects the principal power in the part of the world where she is situated. On the other hand, she appears to France as an interlocutor with whom understanding and collaboration are eminently natural. This is a political and emotional reality as ancient as our two countries, which is because of our history and geography, and because no fundamental contestation ever opposed them. . . . In brief, since the point is to have the international situation evolve in the right direction, Paris,

to talk to the East, necessarily addresses itself to Moscow. (June, 1966.)

Israel

After attacking, in six days of fighting, Israel captured the objectives it wanted to reach. Now it is organizing in the territories it has taken the occupation that cannot occur without oppression, repression, expulsions, and a resistance is forming against it which, in its turn, it is describing as terrorism . . . a settlement, unless the United Nations themselves tear up their own charter, must be based on the evacuation of the territories taken by force, the end of all belligerency and the mutual recognition of each state involved by all the others. (News conference, November, 1967.)

French-U.S. Relations

It is frequently said I am anti-American. But, ever since I have been associated with national acts, that is since 1940 . . . I have always found myself being attacked as anti-something. . . . In fact, who has been America's ally from beginning to end if not de Gaulle's France? . . . In the case that misfortune should occur and the freedom of the world be in the balance, who would be automatically the best natural allies if not France and the United States, as they have been so often in such an event? Besides, I do not say that the Americans are anti-

French. And yet . . . in 1914 we were at war with Wilhelm II, and the Americans were not there. They arrived in 1917, and they did well to do so, for themselves and for all the world.

In 1940, they were not there and we were submerged by Hitler and it was in 1941, because the Japanese sank part of their fleet at Pearl Harbor, that the United States entered the war. Far from me to belittle the immense service they rendered themselves, the world and us . . . I am not saying they are anti-French because they were not with us always. . . . I am not anti-American for presently not always being with the Americans. . . . (Televised interview, December, 1965.)

Gold

One does not see that there really could be a criterion, a standard, other than gold. Well indeed, gold, which does not change its nature, which can be indifferently cast as ingot, bar, or as coins, which has no nationality, which is perennially and universally taken for the inalterable credit value par excellence. And for the rest, whatever in the middle of the immense trials that we have all gone through one may have imagined, or said, or written, or done, the fact is that to this day no currency has value except through direct or indirect, real or supposed relation to gold. (Quoted by John L. Hess in "The Case for de Gaulle.")

POHER IN DE GAULLE POST FOR PRE-ELECTION PERIOD; POMPIDOU FAVORED TO WIN

GENERAL LAUDED

Interim President, on
TV, Calls on France
to Maintain Unity

By JOHN L. HESS

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28 — Alain Poher, President of the French Senate and a conservative opponent of Gaullism, who is an advocate of European unity, became Interim President of France at noon today.

Without oath or ceremony, he took over from Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who honored his promise to step down unless a majority of voters approved his proposals for regional and Senate reform. More than 52 per cent voted no yesterday.

In a brief broadcast tonight, Mr. Poher, who was virtually unknown to his countrymen a month ago, expressed regret over the 78-year-old general's decision, paid tribute to his "outstanding services of the past" and called for national unity in respect for the law.

"We must above all, and all together, save the unity of this nation," he said.

Fair Election Pledged

He promised a fair election of a new President "in a few weeks," but did not set the

date. The election of 1969, was shattered by the student and worker troubles of last May and the Gaullist election triumph that followed. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was another blow.

The Communists appealed to the Socialists today for a common election program, but a section of the Socialist party and the Radical Socialists, who are moderates, looked with interest toward the possibility of a centrist bloc.

The election date most often mentioned is June 1. If no candidate wins a majority, as seems likely, the two leaders will meet in a runoff two weeks later.

Guy Mollet, the Socialist secretary general, said that if the runoff pitted Mr. Pompidou against Mr. Poher, the Socialists would back Mr. Poher. If the second candidate was a Communist, he said, they would back the Communist.

The effective contest shaped up as one between two conservative candidates, one Gaullist, one not.

Cabinet Member Quits

Significantly, René Capitant, a leading left-wing Gaullist, resigned today as Justice Minister. He was the only Cabinet member who refused to serve in the caretaker government under Mr. Poher and Premier Maurice Couve de Murville.

Mr. Capitant, a wartime comrade in arms of General de Gaulle, was an open critic of Mr. Pompidou, whom he accused of having sabotaged the Gaullist program of increased local participation in government—which was to have been crowned by reforms giving newly defined regions more autonomy.

Mr. Pompidou, a former Rothschild Bank official well regarded in conservative circles, canceled a public appearance this evening, but friends in the provinces began forming committees to back him.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, leader of the Independent Republicans, made it clear that his personal break with the Gaullist regime in the referendum applied also to Mr. Pompidou. He called for the nomination of a figure not involved in recent political maneuvering.

Final No Vote Is 52.4% Of 22.8 Million Ballots

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 28—Following are the results of the national referendum yesterday, complete except for the vote from Polynesia:

YES	10,892,196	47.6%
NO	11,989,559	52.4%

The total voted counted, 22,881,728, represented 80.17 per cent of registered voters.

Polynesia, with 62,000 registered voters, opposed the regime for the first time, by a margin of 53 per cent, but the exact figures were not available.

franc, which declined today as the price of gold soared, as the only possibly critical problem before the Government during the interregnum. The regime's ability to act decisively is limited by an ambiguity in the distribution of powers.

Unlike a regularly elected President, the interim chief of state may not dissolve the National Assembly or dismiss ministers, although he may assume full powers in an emergency. The Cabinet remains in office, but it may not call a referendum or demand a vote of confidence.

A dispute between the Interim President and the Cabinet would be difficult to resolve. They seemed to be tacitly agreed to avoid any such confrontation. The Wednesday Cabinet meeting, normally presided over by General de Gaulle, was canceled.

The passing of the regime came with a minimum of drama and ceremony. It was a brilliant spring day, and Frenchmen generally went about their business as if nothing had happened.

Packing Up the Papers

General de Gaulle kept his solitude in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. At Elysée Palace here, aides began last night to pack his personal belongings and papers into trucks for shipment to his country home.

By midmorning, the palace appeared deserted. In the Salle des Fêtes, scene of many of General de Gaulle's great receptions and major conferences,

Council, a nine-man board of appeal on constitutional questions, acknowledged receipt from the Premier of General de Gaulle's note of resignation. The council declared the interim presidency in effect, and the election interval begun.

Mr. Poher showed no haste to assume his new prerogatives. He arrived at Elysée at 3:05 P.M., received a small cheer from a crowd of perhaps 200 onlookers and took the salute of a platoon of the Presidential guards, in blue and red.

While General de Gaulle's chief aides were gone, a protocol officer, bodyguards and other staff members remained to serve his successor. A group from the Senate President's office in the Luxembourg Palace arrived later.

After a 40-minute conference with Mr. Couve de Murville, Mr. Poher made his one ceremonial gesture, a trip to the Arc de Triomphe to lay a wreath of red roses at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The wreath identified the donor as the President of the Senate.

He was so introduced on television this evening. He opened with the familiar "Françaises, Français," and closed with the "Vive la république! Vive la France!" But the contrast with his predecessor was striking.

When he wears his steel-rimmed glasses, Mr. Poher rather resembles Herbert Hoover, who, like him, began his career as a mining engineer. He doffed the glasses to deliver his two-minute talk in a grave, low-keyed tone.

POHER'S ADDRESS

Following, in unofficial translation, is the text of Mr. Poher's address:

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen. The President of the Republic, General de Gaulle, has decided to cease acting as President.

On the evening after that decision, which I regret, I want above all to express to him the respect of all those who, in the difficulties of the present, will never forget his outstanding services of the past.

Required by the Constitution to assume the interim presidency, I am addressing myself to all of you, my dear fellow countrymen, whether

he took over from Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who honored his promise to step down unless a majority of voters approved his proposals for regional and Senate reform. More than 52 percent voted no yesterday.

In a brief broadcast tonight, Mr. Poher, who was virtually unknown to his countrymen a month ago, expressed regret over the 78-year-old general's decision, paid tribute to his "outstanding services of the past" and called for national unity in respect for the law.

"We must above all, and all together, save the unity of the nation," he said.

Fair Election Pledged

He promised a fair election of a new President "in a few weeks," but did not set the date; the law requires that the vote be no less than 20 and no more than 35 days from the resignation. At a news conference he also declined to say whether he would be a candidate.

Former Premier Georges Pompidou surged to the fore as the so far unchallenged candidate for the Gaullist nomination and a favorite to win. Mr. Poher, who is 60 years old, emerged as a leading candidate of non-Gaullist conservatives and moderates.

The Left, which provided the bulk of the nearly 12 million votes that defeated President de Gaulle, was given no chance of electing his successor. The fragile united front of Communists, Radical Socialists and Socialists, born in the presi-

under Mr. Poher and Premier Maurice Couve de Murville.

Mr. Capitant, a wartime comrade in arms of General de Gaulle, was an open critic of Mr. Pompidou, whom he accused of having sabotaged the Gaullist program of increased local participation in government—which was to have been crowned by reforms giving newly defined regions more autonomy.

Mr. Pompidou, a former Rothschild Bank official well regarded in conservative circles, canceled a public appearance this evening, but friends in the provinces began forming committees to back him.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, leader of the Independent Republicans, made it clear that his personal break with the Gaullist regime in the referendum applied also to Mr. Pompidou. He called for the nomination of a figure not involved in recent political wars. The definition could apply to Mr. Poher or to former Premier Antoine Pinay, who has been mentioned but said he would run only "to avoid a catastrophe."

With procedure for nomination relatively simple—100 signatures of citizens holding elective office in at least 10 departments or territories—there may be six or more candidates during the first round. The important ones are expected to be no more than four—the Gaullist, an anti-Gaullist centrist, a Socialist and a Communist.

Trade union leaders, who had advocated a "no" vote in the referendum, expressed grim satisfaction at the outcome. They leaned toward a policy of continued abstention from strike action to avoid provoking a "fear" vote against the Left.

This left the state of the

terim President and the Cabinet would be difficult to resolve. They seemed to be tacitly agreed to avoid any such confrontation. The Wednesday Cabinet meeting, normally presided over by General de Gaulle, was canceled.

The passing of the regime came with a minimum of drama and ceremony. It was a brilliant spring day, and Frenchmen generally went about their business as if nothing had happened.

Packing Up the Papers

General de Gaulle kept his solitude in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. At Elysée Palace here, aides began last night to pack his personal belongings and papers into trucks for shipment to his country home.

By midmorning, the palace appeared deserted. In the Salle des Petes, scene of many of General de Gaulle's great receptions and news conferences, Bernard Tricot, his chief aide, told the staff of some 200 that the general regretted not being able to bid them farewell.

"All our life," he said, "it will be an honor to have served General de Gaulle."

At the Hotel Matignon, residence of the Premier, Mr. Couve de Murville met with his ministers. It was not immediately known who would assume Mr. Capitant's functions, which are similar to those of the United States Attorney General.

Mr. Couve de Murville read to the Cabinet a message from General de Gaulle thanking them "from the bottom of my heart" for their services. The Cabinet adopted a resolution declaring "The Government will assume the responsibilities falling to it under the Constitution."

At midday the Constitutional

rather resembles Herbert Hoover, who, like him, began his career as a mining engineer. He doffed the glasses to deliver his two-minute talk in a grave, low-keyed tone.

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On the evening after that decision, which I regret, I want above all to express to him the respect of all those who, in the difficulties of the present, will never forget his outstanding services of the past.

Required by the Constitution to assume the interim presidency, I am addressing myself to all of you, my dear fellow countrymen, whether you reside in Metropolitan France, overseas or in foreign countries.

Beyond the divergencies disclosed in yesterday's voting, you feel as deeply as I do, I am sure, that we must above all, and all together, save the unity of the nation.

We will succeed through scrupulous respect for the law, which is the duty of the Interim President of the Government, which remains in operation, of the elected assemblies and of all Frenchmen.

After a loyal comparison of men and programs, you will, in a few weeks, fully informed, choose your new President.

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen—the future of the fatherland is in the hands of all of you.

Long live the republic! Long live France!

Israel, NATO Policies Helped Defeat DeGaulle

(Second of a Series)

By THOMAS F. RYAN
Staff Writer

Charles deGaulle came back to power in France in 1958 as a messiah. He was forced to resign in 1969 because the day of the messiah was over.

It is strange that he who had foreseen so

many things long before anyone else, had failed to see this. There were clearly visible signs — not only in the elections of 1965 but also in the student riots and the strikes of workers and farmers in May of 1968.

There were clearly audible stirrings of discontent over his anti-Israel policy, his anti-NATO policy, his intervention in the Quebec controversy and even his Common Market policy. Not that any one of these issues was enough to topple him but the accumulated resentment against them could well have been a factor.

To push his nuclear weapons program he had cut the Army budget to the bone and there was bitterness over this among the generals. Yet it was to the generals he had to turn in May, 1968, when the Sorbonne riots and the strikes brought fear of civil war.

The tragedy of his rejection by the people in so humiliating a fashion is emphasized by the fact that during many of the years of his "second reign" he had accomplished so much. When he came back in 1958 France was in chaos.

The army in Algeria was in a state of rebellion. Gen-



DE GAULLE THE MESSIAH
... speaking in Senegal, West Africa, during a tour of French colonies.

tral authority at home was practically non-existent. The war in Algeria was getting costlier and uglier by the hour. The economic situation in France was that of a nation threatened with bankruptcy.

DeGaulle got the army under control. He gave the country "in seven days a government stronger than it had been in seven years." He ended the war in Algeria and gave that colony its independence. Thirteen French possessions in Africa became sovereign nations. He put the franc on a sound footing and in five years turned the country from bankruptcy into boom. He established cordial relations with Germany and improved relations between France and Russia as well as with the other nations of Eastern Europe.

He put through reforms that made the presidency a powerful executive office with the President elected by direct popular vote. And he himself became president of France.

Having achieved these things it is no wonder if Charles de Gaulle was convinced that he was approaching the realization of what he considered to be his great mission in life — the restoration of France to its

former honor and glory. The thought that he was unceremoniously repudiated at a time when he was — in many respects — at the height of his career must be a cause of anguish for him in his current isolation at Colombey-les-Deux Eglises.

The messianic complex of Charles deGaulle developed at an early age. He was born Nov. 22, 1890, in the industrial city of Lille in the north of France. His father, Henri deGaulle, was a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and had been wounded in the conflict during the siege of Paris. The defeat of France by Prussia left scars on the soul as well as on the body of Henri deGaulle and his feelings were indelibly impressed on his son Charles.

The general would later recall the visits he, his father and his brother would make to the scene of the battle where the elder deGaulle had been wounded. Memorial had been erected there in the form of a broken sword carrying the inscription:

"The sword of France, broken while in their valiant hands, shall be forged anew by the descendants."

Even as a boy Charles deGaulle determined that he, one of the descendants of those valiant men, would one day forge anew the sword of France.

He Gave JFK

A Good Tip

De Gaulle is reported to have advised President John F. Kennedy in their Paris meeting: "Listen to nobody but yourself, my friend".

Boundless Love For One

Charles de Gaulle is reputed to be a cold man. He is not one to show affection in public at least. But his youngest child, Anne, was retarded. She was a mongoloid, weak in body as well as mind.

To her, de Gaulle showed boundless affection. He spent hours holding her on his lap, trying to comfort her. She died in 1948. The general and Madame de Gaulle established a home for retarded children in her memory.

Charles deGaulle was born in a family that included soldiers, scholars, civil servants and nobles of the Church. He had a grandmother who wrote romantic novels and biographies. Among the latter was "the Life of Daniel O'Connell", the Irish statesman. One of the deGaulle ancestors fought at Agincourt and another was a secretary to Marie Antoinette.

As a child Charles deGaulle was tall, skinny, awkward and arrogant, a description that applies, in part at least, to the great man of today. He was one of five children — three brothers and a sister. He was a brilliant pupil and had a phenomena memory. Even now at 78 his memory is something to marvel at. Before those famous appearances on television he writes out his speeches and commits them to memory. Invariably he delivers them without a slip-up.

His full name, by the way, is Charles Andre Marie Joseph deGaulle. His nickname, given to him by his classmates while he was in his late teens, was "The Big Asparagus". Even then he was six feet, four inches tall.

He developed a taste for reading early. He read much and even wrote (a little) poetry. He liked philosophy and became a devotee of Henri Bergson. It has been said that in later life as a military theorist and a practicing politician his ideas and actions showed the influence of Bergson's philosophy.

But above all he read history, particularly the history of France. It was from his study of history that he derived the concept of nationalism that was such an important factor in his life.

Charles de Gaulle prepared for the famous military school of St. Cyr by studying at the Ecole Sainte-Genevieve, a school catering only to the most brilliant students. He passed the exams to St. Cyr at 19 but first — according to French law — had to serve a year in the army as an ordinary draftee. He spent two years at St. Cyr, graduating among the top 10 in the

class. Graduating with the highest honors was the future Marshal Alphonse Juin who would play an important part in de Gaulle's future.

When, after graduation deGaulle went back to his old outfit in the army, his commanding officer was Col. Henri Phippe Petain. DeGaulle came to idolize this man and Petain was of service later in advancing the career of deGaulle. Years later when the break between them came it was in the darkest hour of French history, Petain's government later found deGaulle guilty of treason and he was condemned to death in absentia.

Two years after deGaulle returned to the army, war broke out. It was the First World War. deGaulle's

Israelis See Better Ties With France Eventually

By Alfred Friendly

Washington Post Staff Writer

JERUSALEM, April 29—Thoughtful Israeli officials believe that the principal immediate gain their country can count on from the political demise of General de Gaulle is the presumed adverse psychological effect on their Arab enemies.

Arab leaders, it is pointed out here, saw de Gaulle—accurately—as responsible for ending the once close politico-military relationship between France and Israel, a change climaxed by de Gaulle's embargo on the shipment of 50 Mirage fighter planes immediately before the Arab-Israeli war in June, 1967.

While no reflective Israelis expect that embargo to be ended suddenly, or even for a long time, they believe that it—and France's general official animus toward Israel—resulted entirely from de Gaulle's personal views.

They think, therefore, that the situation should now change markedly, particularly France's defense of the Arab position on terms for settling the Middle East conflict. They believe the Arabs will read the results on Sunday's elections the same way.

Effects Seen

If so, the resulting Arab disappointment could have important consequences in modifying Arab policies or so the Israelis hope.

With de Gaulle's resignation, analysts here declare, the Arabs no longer have the assurance that France will continue to withhold from Israel the all-important fighter planes or the certainty of French backing on Arab settlement terms.

On their part, the Israelis are obviously delighted to see a man they disliked intensely removed from the leadership of France. But they point out that it will be this fall at least before any major changes in policy toward Israel can be expected.

If de Gaulle's successor is

Georges Pompidou, officials point out, he is not likely to affront his old boss needlessly by a sudden rescinding of the embargo.

Slow Change Expected

Even if the new President is a non-Gaullist, any such policy change would come gradually, if at all, they believe, and would be dependent on interim developments in the Middle East.

Analysts here insist that the turn of events inimical to Israel stemmed entirely from de Gaulle, partly from pique, when Israel refused to heed his enjoinder not to fire first in the six-day war; but mostly, and as early as 1965, from de Gaulle's decision to posture France as a great power. This meant that he felt he had to stand apart from the United States and free himself from commitments that would impede his playing a middle role between the United States and the Soviet Union.

One of those inhibiting commitments, as he saw it—or as the Israelis think he saw it—was the extraordinary French role, from 1955 to about 1965, of military ally and principal arms supplier to the Jewish state.

Change Foreseen

No prospective successor to de Gaulle is likely to entertain either his pique toward Israel or his pretensions as holder of the balance between the two superpowers, Israelis argue.

Therefore, they continue, France can be expected to resume the attitude the Arabs beg of the United States: a bit more "even-handedness."

If France does, its official opposition to negotiating a preferential treaty with Israel in the Common Market should give way as a matter of course. Second, Israel hopes, France's posture in the four-power Mideast discussions is not likely to be so firmly on the Russian-Arab side.

The Post-de Gaulle Era

The most dramatic aspect of the first days of the post-de Gaulle era is that nothing dramatic has occurred. The chaos the French leader always warned would follow his fall gives no sign of materializing. General de Gaulle came to power after a coup and ruled like a monarch, but he left office like a democrat.

Political conflicts and turbulence, even serious crises, may come in the months or years ahead. But for the time being France's good fortune is that the general fell on an issue that engaged neither passion nor commitment on either side. The country was not aroused by the comparatively minor constitutional reforms involved in the referendum. The nation contemplated the prospect that the 78-year-old President would resign if defeated—and gave a Gallic shrug.

The question now is whether ex-Premier Georges Pompidou, as the Gaullist candidate, can assemble enough votes to win the Presidency. The Gaullists as a political party have always been a minority in the country, obtaining between 32 and 38 per cent of the popular vote. General de Gaulle himself obtained only 44 per cent of the vote in Metropolitan France in the first round of the December 1965 Presidential election.

If Mr. Pompidou is elected he should be able to name his own Premier and govern without serious challenge until the present Assembly expires in 1973. But if an anti-Gaullist wins the Presidency he will undoubtedly dissolve Parliament and call new elections. In that case, an opposition victory would mean significant changes in French foreign policy. But the likelihood is that similar changes would be instituted gradually—and perhaps even rapidly—by a Pompidou regime. With de Gaulle repudiated, a Pompidou government would have an interest in quickly establishing a new image of its own.

Mr. Pompidou yesterday indicated a shift toward a policy more favorable to West European unity, especially British entry into the Common Market. Friendlier relations with the United States and closer cooperation with NATO, without formal entry into the integrated military command, would also be likely. These would be popular moves in the country, as would a return to traditional French policy in the Middle East. The unpopular embargo on arms shipments to Israel would probably go quickly. The pro-Arab policy in Big Four talks on the Mideast would undoubtedly go with it. French participation in disarmament negotiations could be expected at an early date.

Even the future of the franc, despite the temptation of a new government to devalue quickly, is likely to be settled in agreement with the other major monetary powers. Here lies what will probably be the chief characteristic of French foreign policy in the post-de Gaulle era. With its proud, prickly, prestige-oriented President gone, France is likely to turn away from unilateral action and disregard of others toward closer cooperation with friends and allies in the West.

Charles de Gaulle: America's Regret and Relief

By JAMES RESTON

America has taken the resignation of Charles de Gaulle with a mixture of regret and relief. We made love to him and he turned us down. He taught us that we were not omnipotent and then made the mistake of thinking he was. Yet our regret at his going, at least in personal if not in political terms, is greater than our relief.

The reasons for this are fairly obvious and sentimental. He was the opposite of what we have now. He was a man who knew what he wanted and not a committee giving us a "consensus." He was the last of the great political figures of the two World Wars in the Western world who could write and speak. He never smiled, never pretended that the people or the press had any sense, and in a world of grinning, pretending and back-slapping political mechanics, this austere and even contemptuous attitude, expressed in verse-like prose, was interesting, even when he was talking nonsense.

No doubt he was a great man in the history of his own country. The individuality and variety of France, which are polite words for selfishness, are both its glory and its problem. It has always gone through great periods of personal creativity leading to alarming periods of political instability, followed by

tumultuous battles—until some individual or movement brought it back to sanity and unity.

Accordingly, the great crises of French history are usually identified with the names of unusual personalities, families or assemblies. In French history, Charles de Gaulle's place is secure. He was the unifying force in the latest crisis of French disunity during and after the last World War, and thus takes his place with the other heroic figures and institutions of his country: the Capetians, Joan of Arc, Louis XI, Henri IV, Richelieu, the Convention, and even Napoleon.

Maybe this is giving him too much, even in terms of French history, but in world history his place is quite different, for he chose the past and not the future, and debased the ideal we had about France in the Western world.

The French Ideal

"Our special quality," said Paul Valéry, the French poet, analyzing the character and destiny of the French nation, "is to believe and feel that we are universal."

He thought the problem of the world was the crisis of the mind, that nationalism was a curse, and that we could not have a league of nations until we had a league of minds, which France, with her intelligence and variety, had a better

chance of encouraging than any other nation on earth.

America's criticism of de Gaulle is not that he failed France but that he failed the Western world. We regarded him not as a national but as a world figure, the last of the Western political men who had the ability to express the idea of the unity and tragedy of the human family, but he let us down.

The Tug of the Past

He talked of the grandeur of France when the world, hungry for vision, wanted to hear about the unity of Europe, and he appealed, in the end, not to compassion but to selfishness and to everybody's nationalistic prejudices rather than to their ideals.

That great Frenchman, Jean Monnet, fighting for the unification of Europe, used to argue for de Gaulle. "Don't judge too quickly," Monnet used to say. "It is the living de Gaulle who speaks, but it is the dead de Gaulle who acts. In the end, he will clothe himself in the robes of history."

It is probably right for French history. He restored the pride of his country, which was a great achievement, but the pride of nationalism has been the tragedy of Europe, and this is the point he missed.

Paul Valéry thought the variety of France and the unity

of France could be reconciled. And that the variety of Europe, with all its national differences could produce a league of minds and a powerful political coalition, independent of both Russia and America.

But de Gaulle denied it. Napoleon thought on the scale of the world, but he was ahead of his time and failed. The tragedy of de Gaulle is that the time was right for him to think on the scale of the world and the coming age, but he thought only of France and the past.

Still, he has his consolations. He is undoubtedly the best writer in world politics today. And he still retains the quality of "mystery" which he has always regarded as a source of power.

"There can be no power without mystery," he wrote in *The Edge of the Sword*. "There must always be a 'something' which others cannot altogether fathom, which puzzles them, stirs them, and rivets their attention. . . . Nothing more enhances authority than silence. It is the crowning virtue of the strong, the refuge of the weak, the modesty of the proud, the prudence of the wise, and the sense of fools. . . ."

Anybody who can write like that is not likely to remain silent at Colombey. His capacity to govern has run out, but his time to write remains.

Foreign Affairs: The Last Giant

By C. L. SULZBERGER

TOKYO—The French are highly individualistic and ungovernable and the extraordinary thing is that, although they project great leaders about once a century, those leaders rule effectively but bequeath chaos.

Louis XIV constructed a great, unified France but strained the nation and, their marrow eroded, the French entered a century of disastrous war and revolution. Napoleon pulled his people from the ashes yet in turn left disaster.

What de Gaulle's legacy will be is impossible to say and one cannot forecast whether the able but jealous lieutenants created by his Fifth Republic will manage to coalesce around one man and resurrect the old majority. For, despite their talents, there is no giant among them. Years ago the general assured me: "The age of giants is over." He was the last.

Mistaken Resolution

I saw de Gaulle just before Nixon's February visit to Paris and he seemed resolutely determined to force through internal reforms based on labor-capital "participation" and administrative decentralization. But the manner in which he set about this program and his mis-

judgment of the national temper doomed him in a needless referendum.

Once I asked the general what he considered the greatest success and failure in his eventful life. "How do you define success or failure?" he wondered. "Only history itself can define these terms. In reality life and action are made up of a series of successes and checks. Life is a combat and therefore each one of its phases includes both successes and failures."

De Gaulle on Success

"And you cannot really say which event was a success and which event was a failure. Success contains within it the germs of failure and the reverse is also true. Certainly France suffered a terrible failure as a nation in 1940. It was catastrophic, but what occurred in 1940 merely reflected what had really happened before inside France. Nevertheless, that was a failure without precedent" [although scarcely his own].

"And now France has been notably re-established both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world. How far that will continue into the future, of course we cannot foresee. But the comparison between France

in 1940 and now is very evident, very striking. That was a success for France and I think I have participated in this success, but no one can predict where it will all lead."

The Sophoclean Evening

De Gaulle always cautioned that one couldn't measure a man's worth until his career had ended. "You must remember," he observed, "people grow in stature. One speaks of giants when it is all over. Sophocles said that one must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day was; that one cannot judge life until death."

Nevertheless, regarding his own life, he told me: "I was much influenced by Bergson, particularly because he made me understand the philosophy of action. Intellect alone cannot act. The intelligent man does not automatically become the man of action. Instinct is also important, yet even instinct plus impulse are insufficient."

"Bergson showed me that action comes from the combination of intellect and instinct, working together. All my life I have been aware of this essentially important explanation. Pure intellect cannot by itself produce action and impulse can-

produce folly if it alone serves as guide."

And now, perhaps because he heeded instinct or impulse incautiously, de Gaulle retires into the Sophoclean evening. He will live at his country estate but he will write no more memoirs. He will converse with his grandchildren, see a few friends, watch television and listen to music. He says:

"I am very fond of music and I often listen to it both on records and on the radio. I do not pretend to have a very accurate taste. Certainly I like Beethoven more than Mozart—although I can say I am surely fond of Schumann and Schubert. Also there are moments—I say moments—when I like Wagner. I crave music but I am not creatively competent."

Not Like Churchill

Shortly after he returned from Churchill's funeral I asked de Gaulle an admittedly lugubrious and impertinent question: Had he made similar personal plans for a great historical spectacle?

"No," the general answered. "I have thought about it a great deal but my funeral will be the opposite of Churchill's. There will be no spectacle. There will be no spectacles for de Gaulle."

Comments by French Leaders Reflect Sorrow, Exultation and Apprehension of a Nation

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 29—President de Gaulle's resignation Sunday night brought sorrow to his followers and open exultation to a few adversaries. But today most Frenchmen were looking to the future, and their mood was one of hesitation. Following are the comments of some well-known Frenchmen:

ALAIN PEYREFITTE, head of the National Assembly's Commission for Education, a Gaullist—"Great sorrow is silent. All those who for so many years followed and supported General de Gaulle in his lifework of redressing the nation feel grievously with him the blow he has been dealt. . . . He had formulated the wish of serenely turning the last page of the chapter of history he has written; unfortunately it now has been torn up."

JACQUES CHABAN-DELMAS, President of the National Assembly, a Gaullist—"Historians, in the future, will doubtless write that nothing was missing in the grand destiny of General de Gaulle, not even being paid with ingratitude."

JACQUES SAUVAGEOT, one of the three radical leaders of last year's student revolts—"The defeat of the referendum is not due directly to an offensive by the people but to the present hostility to General de Gaulle of a part of the



Chaban-Delmas

bourgeoisie. It is thus the defection of a part of big capital that explains the Gaullist defeat. One now witnesses the take-over of [another] wing incarnated by Pompidou and Poher.

"The victory of the 'noes' thus is not a victory of the working class. One may even ask whether, in a situation of increased contradictions within the bourgeoisie, the workers are not in the process of becoming an auxiliary force for various bourgeoisie."

DR. ALFRED GROSSER, professor of political science:

"The success of Gaullism stemmed from the fact that General de Gaulle could say he was incarnating both tradition and the future. He was History without being the past, since the past was the Fourth Republic. He wanted both that France espouse its era, but also that France remain . . . what it was."

"The Gaullists, thus, were both these modernists' intent on changes in industry and agriculture and the 'old guard' clinging to the general, as if to a protector against threatening change."



Sauvageot



Giscard d'Estaing

"Changes in personnel and majorities are as such without value . . . except in relation to the problems posed to a society. . . . To forget this, as one is about to do here, means heading toward explosions bringing about, amid confusion, change that is unforeseeable and improvised."

VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING, former Finance Minister, leader of the Independent Republicans, part allies, part foes of the Gaullists—"France needs a candidacy of appeasement. . . . To take the reins over from an excep-

tional man, a man of experience is required who has not been engaged in the political fights between majority and opposition."

HUBERT BEUVE-MERY, publisher of *Le Monde*—"Among General de Gaulle's partisans as well as his adversaries, numerous were those who questioned themselves about the reasons for such a risky initiative [as calling for a referendum]."

"Did Charles de Gaulle mean to mask a feeling of impotence and of defeat that for a moment became visible last May and which, step by step, may have overwhelmed him? An audacious gambler, long lucky and suddenly against the wall, was he not deliberately running the risk of a theatrical sortie, of a kind of political suicide by Russian roulette, without a thought to the 'disastrous upheavals' he had not hesitated to predict [in the event of his departure]?"

JEAN-JACQUES SERVAN-SCHREIBER, publisher of the weekly news magazine *L'Express*—"For the first time in the life of a man of my generation, one may be proud of one's country. What France has just done, no country, ever, had done before her. To reply 'no' in a plebiscite is, without historical precedent. And this victory over itself—the most difficult of them all—which our country has just won



Servan-Schreiber

should, at last, efface from our consciences the memory of so many defeats, collapses, renunciations, which had not ceased to leave their mark on us since 1939.

"Now the question is to propose to the French as successor to Charles de Gaulle a statesman determined to exercise power and not to dissolve it."

GEORGES BIDAULT, right-wing former Premier—"I am hostile . . . to the ignorance in which the regime which has just collapsed has held the French. . . . However, it is necessary that one draws

a balance sheet and that it become known how things happened: concerning Algeria, concerning Europe, concerning finance, concerning the force de frappe, concerning the shifts in foreign policy. "In the immediate future, [national] reconciliation begins with vigilance."

WALDECK ROCHET, Secretary General of the French Communist party—"The defeat of Gaullism in the referendum is a striking testimony to the rise of the power of workers and democrats whose vote make up the hard core of the 'noes'."



Bidault



Rochet

"The victory of the 'no' and the resignation of the President of the Republic underline the necessity and urgency of agreement on a government program established jointly by the political groupings of the Left and the trade union and professional organizations."

"Such a program should indicate clearly the bold economic, social and political measures a government of the union of democratic forces would take in order to establish in France an advanced democracy opening up on socialism."

A Frenchman Needs No Party to Run for President

By JOHN L. HESS

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 29—The making of a President in France — an exercise now under way following the resignation of General de Gaulle—is quicker than in the United States and it is more of a battle royal. It is also less costly, in time and money.

Anybody over 23 years of age who has been a French citizen for at least five years may enter the race. All he needs to do is post a forfeit of 10,000 francs (\$2,000) and the signatures of 100 sponsors from at least 10 departments or territories. The sponsors must be elective officials—deputies, mayors, departmental councilmen — but there are 38,000 of them, and it is not difficult for a determined man to find enough signatures.

If the candidate fails to obtain 5 per cent of the total vote in the first round, he loses the forfeit. But if he gets 5 per cent or more, he collects 10 times that sum, or \$20,000, for his campaign expenses.

Gets Equal Time and Space

In addition, he is entitled to an equal share of radio and television time and equal space on election billboards.

Technically, political parties do not nominate candidates. In fact, of course, the most serious contenders are designated by the high commands of the leading parties.

A major consideration in their tactics is the fact that a candidate must receive a majority to be elected on the first round. If none does, the two candidates with the highest results in the first round meet in a runoff two weeks later — unless one of them should withdraw in favor of the third-place entrant.

In the last presidential elections, in December 1965, there were six candidates. General de

De Gaulle Reform Plan Got 47.6% in Balloting

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 29—The final results of the French referendum Sunday on the de Gaulle plan for constitutional and regional reform were as follows:

Registered	29,394,456
Abstaining	5,832,452
Voting	23,562,004
Valid ballots	22,910,423

	Total	% of Valid Ballots
Yes votes	10,905,453	47.69
No votes	12,004,970	52.40

The final results were the total of the votes in Metropolitan France and the overseas territories.

The two last overseas areas to report were the Comoro Islands, in the Indian Ocean, and Polynesia, in the South Pacific.

Gaulle, Francois Mitterrand, Jean Lecanuet, Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignacour, Raymond Marcellin and Marcel Barbu.

Mr. Mitterrand, head of the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left, had the endorsement of the Communists, who provided more than half of his first-round votes. Mr. Lecanuet was the candidate of the Center Democrats; or con-

servative anti-Gaullists. Mr. Tixier-Vignacour represented the extreme right. The two other candidates were "folk-lore."

Following are the results of the first round:

	Votes	%
De Gaulle	10,828,523	44.64
Mitterrand	7,694,303	31.72
Lecanuet	3,777,119	15.57
Tixier-Vignacour	1,260,208	5.19
Marcellin	415,018	1.71
Barbu	279,683	1.15

The four defeated candidates did not give their supporters any clear advice on how to vote in the second round. As it happened, these voters, generally moderate or conservative, split evenly among the two leading contenders. The results were:

	Votes	%
De Gaulle	13,083,699	55.19
Mitterrand	10,619,735	44.80

The great news of the first round was that General de Gaulle had received only a plurality of the total vote; the news of the second round was that a large number of conservative citizens had voted for a candidate who ran with Communist support rather than vote for General de Gaulle.

Observers have pointed out that General de Gaulle's performance in Sunday's referendum—47.6 per cent—was better, after all, than his first-round performance in 1965, although the tests were not strictly comparable.

The more or less united left made further gains in the legislative elections of 1967, but

its unity was shattered by the upheavals of May a year ago and the legislative elections of June, which were a debacle for the left.

Left Federation Split

Mr. Mitterrand has persisted in preaching a united front of the left, while the radicals and many Socialist leaders lean toward rebuilding a "third force," ranging from moderate conservatives to Socialists.

The traditional conservatives are split among three blocs: Gaullists, Independent Republicans and Center Democrats. The Independents have in turn been split between those loyal to the regime, including several Cabinet ministers and a majority of the party's Deputies, and those who have broken with it, including the party chairman Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

De Gaulle's Resignation Stirs Dismay Among Arabs

BEIRUT, Lebanon, April 29—Arab reaction to General de Gaulle's resignation has been a mixture of dismay and hope that his pro-Arab policy will not be discontinued by the new French regime.

French diplomats in the Arab capitals have been going out

of their way for the last two days to assure Arab officials that French friendship will endure.

Informed sources here believe that the French assurances to Arab governments is meant to check any adverse effect that the general's resignation may have on France's economic and trade relations with the Arab countries.

EAST HOPES FRENCH WON'T SHIFT POLICY

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, April 29 — Press comments today indicate that Eastern Europe hopes for the victory of a leftist candidate in the French presidential elections so that General de Gaulle's independent foreign policy will be continued.

Articles in Polish and Hungarian newspapers, representing the hard-line Communist

view, as well as in the more independent-minded Yugoslav press, appeared to suggest rising concern that even a victorious Gaullist candidate might gradually lead France back to active participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

A theme running through all the Eastern Europe comment today was that General de Gaulle was defeated because of France's internal problems.

FRENCH INDICATE A SHIFT ON NATO

Chief of Staff Proposes a
Strategy Like Alliance's

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 29—The French Chief of Staff has proposed a policy of graduated action in cooperation with the Atlantic alliance against enemies from the "east."

In an article in the authoritative Review of National Defense, Gen. Michel Fourquet, an air force officer, put forth proposals that would virtually align France with the strategy of flexible response to Soviet aggression adopted by the alliance after France's withdrawal from the military organization.

General Fourquet's proposals moved significantly away from the doctrine of instant nuclear retaliation.

The strategic ideas outlined in the article are regarded by qualified military sources as an indication that President de Gaulle was easing his opposition to cooperation with the alliance before he resigned.

De Gaulle Approval Seen

The revision of French military thinking outlined in the article could not have been written, they said, without the general's approval. Articles in the review are written weeks before the review appears.

General Fourquet suggested that France abandon the "all or nothing" strategy of employing a nuclear striking force at the outset of hostilities and should adopt a strategy of testing the enemy with conventional ground and air forces. French forces in this event should coordinate their operations with those of the alliance, the general wrote.

A dispute over the point at which the alliance would use tactical nuclear weapons to compensate for a numerical inferiority in the event of a Soviet attack was one of the issues leading to France's withdrawal of her forces in 1966. General de Gaulle wanted assurances of their early use.

French sources reported that General Fourquet recently asked Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, at what point the alliance would provide France with tactical nuclear weapons.

General Lemnitzer told the French that in the event of an attack and French military cooperation, tactical nuclear weapons would be provided when they became necessary.

POMPIDOU IN RAGE RECEIVES SUPPORT OF GAULLIST PARTY

Chances of Former Premier
Are Considered Good—
Defferre Likely to Run

MAY DAY PARADE IS OFF

Union Group Cancels March,
Saying It Fears Clashes
if Students Join In

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 29—Former Premier Georges Pompidou today announced his candidacy for the succession to General de Gaulle and immediately received the endorsement of the Union for the Defense of the Republic, the Gaullist party.

The National Assembly heard a glowing but sad tribute to General de Gaulle by Jacques Chaban-Delmas, its Speaker. Most of the Deputies rose in a long, subdued ovation to the general. Only the Communists and some other Deputies of the left remained seated, their arms folded.

The Communist-led General Confederation of Labor, France's largest union group, announced that it had canceled the traditional May Day parade in Paris "to avert a serious provocation" planned by Gaullist opponents and extreme left-wing student organizations. [The National Students Union said on Wednesday it would go ahead with plans to hold a May Day rally in Paris, Reuters reported.]

Chances Considered Good

Mr. Pompidou is regarded as a formidable candidate who has a real chance of winning the election.

His opponents have until May 15 to declare themselves.

In the evening the leadership of the Socialist party gave its tentative endorsement to the candidacy of Gaston Defferre, the Socialist Mayor of Marseille. [The Socialist party's endorsement would await the nominations made by allied parties of the non-Communist left and Center.]

Georges Bidault, former Premier and Foreign Minister, a follower of General de Gaulle turned bitter foe, also hinted that he might run. He would be a candidate of the far right. He broke with the Gaullists over Algerian independence.

Indications in Campaign

Senate President Alain Poher, the Interim President, gave no hint today whether he would be a candidate.

During the campaign for the referendum on Sunday that caused General de Gaulle to resign, Mr. Poher indicated several times he might run. Although he belongs to the political center, his decision is believed to depend to a large extent on what happens on the non-Communist left.

The endorsement of Mr. Defferre by the Socialist leadership, for instance, constitutes a setback for Mr. Poher. Mr.

Defferre is an acknowledged anti-Communist. He would seek votes not only on his left, but on his right—in Mr. Poher's Center territory.

The Socialist leaders coupled their endorsement of Mr. Defferre with a slap at the Communists. The party leader, Guy Mollet, announced that the party had decided against accepting a Communist offer for discussion of a possible joint program.

A Presidential election, Mr. Mollet said, is no occasion for such coordination.

Mr. Poher, a small rotund man who has cast himself in the reassuring role of a modest, unimportant Frenchman, today continued to work in his Senate office. He still occupies his apartment in the Senate building, the historic Palais Luxembourg on the edge of the Latin Quarter, where Richelieu and Napoleon lived.

He has made it known that he will not move into the Elysée Palace before Friday. General de Gaulle's resignation took effect at noon on Monday, about 12 hours after it became clear that the French electorate had rebuffed the plan for regional and constitutional reform on which he had staked his future.

On Friday also Mr. Poher will preside for the first time at a Cabinet meeting. The Government on that day will announce the date of the Presidential election.

June 1 is being mentioned as the most likely day for the first round, with a runoff two weeks later if no candidate obtains a majority. The runoff would be between the two top runners.

Mr. Pompidou acted with characteristic speed in announcing his candidacy this morning, just before the parliamentary group of his party was to meet.

Associates explained that in doing so he remained true to General de Gaulle's concept that the decision to become a candidate is a personal act, not related to party or other political formation.

Mr. Pompidou's announcement was terse. It said:

Andorra, in Two Days, Loses Its Two Princes

Special to The New York Times

ROME, April 29—Andorra—population 14,408, area 179 square miles, principal industry smuggling—lost its second chief of state in two days today.

The tiny principality at the border of France and Spain is under the joint sovereignty of "co-princes," the French President and the Bishop of Urgel, Spain, who hold joint veto rights over the Andorran Council's decisions.

Yesterday "Prince" de Gaulle resigned. And today Pope Paul VI accepted the resignation, for reasons of age, of the Most Rev. Ramon Iglesias Navarri, Bishop of Urgel. He is 80 years old.

Until the French electorate and Pope Paul provide two new princes, the Andorrans must make do with one temporary one, Interim President Alain Poher, of France.

"After the decision of President de Gaulle to renounce his mandate and in the uncertainty that prevails in the country today, I have decided to go before the French electorate."

"In doing this, I feel that I live up to my duty, to the determination to maintain continuity and stability and to hope in preparing for the future."

Many politicians and observers voiced surprise at the terseness of his reference to General de Gaulle.

In the caucus of his party, however, Mr. Pompidou was reported to have spoken feelingly of his "deep sadness" at the general's departure.

Mr. Pompidou received the endorsement of Foreign Minister Michel Debré, who is regarded along with Culture Minister André Malraux, as one of the "purest" old-line Gaullists, whose loyalty has always been to General de Gaulle the man, rather than to the political leader.

Mr. Pompidou appeared assured also of the support of

many members of the Gaullist party, the Independent Republicans nominally headed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former Finance Minister.

Four out of five Giscardist deputies were reliably reported to have endorsed Mr. Pompidou. Since he and Mr. Giscard d'Estaing are old enemies, this could only be interpreted as a disavowal of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing broke with the Gaullist main force during the referendum campaign.

Students Affected Parade

The Confederation of Labor canceled the May Day parade after extreme leftist student organization served notice that they planned to march alongside the workers. This would almost certainly have led to scuffles and perhaps to bloody clashes as it did on a few occasions a year ago.

The anarchist student groups regard the Communist party as their worst enemy, and vice versa.

But the Paris chapter of the confederation also accused the Gaullists of planning to foster clashes. The chapter said that it had received "specific information" showing that the Gaullist "civil" committees that were formed last year planned to infiltrate the parade.

The committees, set up in all cities and major towns, were the Gaullist infantry during the referendum campaign. Their members served as security squads at Gaullist rallies and faced left-wing groups in nightly clashes as both sides sought to put up their posters and tear down the other side's.

The unions and other opposition groups that campaigned against President de Gaulle are determined to thwart Gaullist predictions of unrest.

Cancellation of the traditional march from the Place de la République to the Place de la Bastille, in the heart of the old working class district, is a major political decision for the country's largest union to make—especially two days after the left participated in an opposition triumph at the polls.

CURRENCY JITTERS HIT EUROPE AGAIN

Speculators Drive Franc to Lower Limit and Mark Near Allowable Peak

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 30—Fresh speculation buffeted Europe's key currencies today as market talk of inevitable parity changes intensified.

There were unconfirmed rumors in the London financial district that the French and West German Governments were already engaged in delicate currency negotiations.

Frankfurt banking sources reported continued heavy foreign buying of marks, which brought as much as \$200-million into Germany, lifting estimates of the inflow since Monday to \$500-million.

It was Sunday's referendum defeat for French President de Gaulle and his resignation on Monday that touched off the new round of currency worries.

The franc, protected by stringent exchange controls, came under pressure Monday, recovered somewhat yesterday with central-bank support, and fell today to its lowest permissible level under the international currency rules. At 4.9740 francs to the dollar, the rate is at a level unseen since the November franc-mark crisis, when the French and German Governments resisted pressure for parity changes.

The mark, on the other

hand, pushed closer to its upper limit in relation to the dollar. German officials are now conceding that they have an undervalued currency, but they stress they will not revalue upward unilaterally. At 3.9710 marks to the dollar, the closing rate was only 10 points above the permissible high.

Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss has gone so far as to cite specific figures—8 to 10 per cent—if a rate change comes. He has said the German Government wants to act in concert with other nations.

Currency jitters also affected the pound, although opinion is divided as to whether it would change in a general European realignment. The pound weakened to \$2.3855. Its lowest permissible level is \$2.38.

French reserves are continuing to bleed away. In the week ended April 24, they fell by \$42.6-million to \$3,772,000,000, the twelfth successive weekly loss. French prices, which rose by nearly 6 per cent last year, are up again at an annual rate of 6.4 per cent in the first three months of 1969.

Pompidou's Drive Is Backed by Rival

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 30—Former Premier Georges Pompidou's campaign for the presidency picked up speed today.

He won the endorsement of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, an old rival who was forced to scrap, or at least shelve, his own presidential ambitions.

It also appeared less likely that Alain Poher, the Interim President, would become an active candidate. Mr. Poher, a middle-of-the-roader, would be one of Mr. Pompidou's strongest opponents. His departure from the race would vastly improve the former Premier's chances.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's decision followed the defection of many leading members of his

party, the Independent Republicans.

In making his bid for the endorsement of the Gaullists and the Independent Republicans yesterday, Mr. Pompidou, according to some of his listeners stressed the theme of continuity and underlined his fidelity to basic Gaullist policies, especially in foreign affairs, while at the same time hinting at some changes.

On foreign affairs, he is understood to have indicated keen interest in the future of Europe and greater flexibility on British entry into the Common Market.

On domestic policies he was said to have stressed his intention to give priority to economic issues. He is reported to have sought to reassure the business community by repeating his known misgivings about "participation" of workers in management of enterprises, an avowed goal of President de Gaulle.

As late as yesterday evening, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing made it plain that if he was not a candidate, he would prefer Mr. Poher or Antoine Pinay, a former Premier, to Mr. Pompidou. But Mr. Pinay said in effect that he was not interested and Mr. Poher remained silent, while many leading Independent Republicans openly supported Mr. Pompidou.

Having no trump cards left, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing declared this morning that he would "not be a candidate," and this evening his group came out unanimously for Mr. Pompidou.

Mr. Poher's aides, meanwhile, said today that the interim President was not now thinking of entering the race and wanted to concentrate on his present tasks while leaving all his options open.

Small and round, relaxed and unheroic in appearance, Mr. Poher has belied, at least until now, the image that hostile newspaper cartoonists have drawn of him.

One showed him eagerly trying to climb up into a presidential chair made for a man twice his size. Another showed him standing in front of a mirror trying on General de Gaulle's far-too-large dress uniform.

But a front-page drawing today in *Le Canard Enchaîné*, the bitterly anti-Gaullist satirical weekly, pictured Friday's Cabinet meeting, at which Mr. Poher will preside for the first time.

It shows the Cabinet members, from Premier Maurice



The New York Times

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

Couve de Murville down, standing stiffly at attention as Mr. Poher enters the room, smiling and smoking a cigar. The caption is: "At ease," implying that, after 11 years of General de Gaulle, more civilian-minded times have finally arrived.

Today, Mr. Poher called in Pierre de Leusse, the head of the commission that supervises the government-run radio and television network and is understood to have pressed sharply for greater objectivity in political reporting.

Programs Are Suspended

Later, the network announced that several programs that had been under attack for a partisan Gaullist approach would be suspended until after the election.

Also today, the Interior Ministry, banned all May Day parades and political demonstrations in Paris tomorrow.

Yesterday, the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor canceled its traditional May Day parade from the Bastille to the Place de la République. The union said it was doing so because it had "precise information" that both Gaullists and anarchists intended to provoke clashes.

Other groups, including the French Student Union, followed up today by canceling their parade plans.

The students, however, criticized the Government's ban and called a meeting at the Cité Universitaire, an international campus of dormitories on the southern outskirts of Paris, "to discuss the political situation."

MAY DAY VIOLENCE MISSING IN FRANCE

Unions Hold Rallies Indoors
—Police Out in Force

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 1 — Post-de Gaulle France passed a test today as May Day, a potentially dangerous time, came off without major violence anywhere in the country.

The achievement was due to tacit cooperation between left-wing union leaders and a man they hate—Raymond Marcellin, the Interior Minister of the lame-duck Gaullist Government.

The unions refrained in nearly all major cities from staging their traditional May Day parades and held small indoor rallies instead.

Mr. Marcellin, an outspoken and tough enforcer of law and order, deployed police in demonstrative strength wherever there was a threat of trouble.

The only disturbances were caused by small bands of anarchist and other revolutionary students who made quick appearances here and there in the capital, brandishing red and black flags and shouting slogans against both the Gaullists and the organized Left. The students quickly dispersed when the police arrived.

Reasons for Cancellation

The unions canceled their parades after it became clear that the small revolutionary student groups were determined to join the marchers, raising the threat of ugly clashes. The Communist-led Confederation of Labor, which was the first to decide on cancellation, also charged that Gaullist commandos planned to infiltrate the march.

The unions, along with all the other political formations that voted "no" in Sunday's referendum, bringing about President de Gaulle's resignation, have a supreme interest in showing that Gaullist predictions of social turmoil were unfounded.

Mr. Marcellin, acting after the unions had made their decision, banned all May Day demonstrations in Paris, thus making it impossible for the extremist students to parade alone.

May Day is normally a time of rejoicing and brave war cries for the Left. From the Bastille to the Place de la

République, where hundreds of thousands of workers had marched every year since the end of World War II, the air should have been filled with the strains of the "Internationale."

Left's Weakness Reflected

Today's quiet on the empty boulevards was a measure of the disarray and the weakness of the French Left.

The left-wing parties have not been buoyed by the unexpected victory of the Opposition over General de Gaulle. This victory, in fact, was far less due to the Left than to the middle-class, middle-of-the-road voters who deserted the general after having supported him for 11 years.

Two more members of the Left announced their candidacies for the presidency today. Neither has a serious chance, but each will help to split the leftist vote.

One was Alain Savary, a 51-year-old dissident Socialist, whose resistance record during the war was so brilliant that he was named a member of the very select order of General de Gaulle's Compagnons de la Libération.

The other was Michel Rocard, 36-year-old head of the United Socialist party, a small group appealing mainly to intellectuals who despise what they call the petit bourgeois character of the Socialist party and the bureaucratic totalitarianism of the Communists.

Defferre Also Candidate

The first left-wing figure to announce his candidacy was Gaston Defferre, the Mayor of Marseilles. A Socialist, he received the endorsement of the Socialist party but has yet to negotiate for the support of other non-Communist leftist groups.

Mr. Defferre is an avowed anti-Communist and his presence in the race would preclude the possibility that Communists and non-Communists could unite behind a single candidate.

The Communists would then have to put up a candidate of their own. They are reluctant to do so, it is believed, because they are apt to fare worse in a presidential election than they normally do in legislative elections, in which they are assured of about a fifth of the total votes on the average.

Guy Mollet, the leader of the Socialist party, today underlined the split between the Communist and non-Communist left by rejecting—for the second time in three days—a Communist proposal for elaboration of a joint program.

French Will Vote June 1 On de Gaulle's Successor

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 2—The French Cabinet, meeting today for the first time under the chairmanship of Interim President Alain Poher, fixed June 1 as the date for the presidential election. If no candidate obtains a majority, a runoff will be held two weeks later.

The atmosphere at the meeting was "cold and glacial," in the words of one minister, with Mr. Poher sitting in the chair that had been occupied for more than 10 years by General de Gaulle.

Maurice Couvé de Murville, the Premier, sat in his usual place opposite the president. And two stalwart Gaullists, the Foreign Minister, Michel Debré, and the Culture Minister, André Malraux, flanked Mr. Poher.

The tension between the Interim President and the 30 Gaullist ministers was clearly expressed in the official texts that were published.

Mr. Poher first spoke of the "great Frenchman" who had preceded him in the presidential chair. He noted that the transition so far had been "without the slightest difficulty," contrary to "excessive" statements—an allusion to predictions of turmoil by Premier Couvé de Murville and virtually all the ministers present, during the campaign leading to last Sunday's national referendum.

Then, in what sounded almost like a warning, he said he was "duty-bound to advise" the ministers that his prime function as Interim President was to assure the Government's impartiality in the forthcoming election.

Mr. Debré, in a report on foreign affairs, said: "The week's only notable event on the international scene was the departure of General de Gaulle."

French ambassadors almost everywhere were reporting "deep and sincere regret," he said, adding that only the enemies of France were rejoicing. "To sum it up, France suffered a defeat last Sunday," Mr. Debré told the ministers and Mr. Poher, who had been a chief architect of the Gaullist upset.

The text of Mr. Debré's statement was made public.

Rebuke From Poher

In a sharp rebuke later in the day, Mr. Poher's office issued a statement saying that the Interim President had been under the impression that the deliberations of the Cabinet were secret and could not be disclosed by the ministers.

For a decade, Gaullist ministers had always kept strict silence, at least in public. The Information Minister would issue an authorized report to the press—after first checking with President de Gaulle on what could be made public.

Some of the ministers expressed their bitterness today in statements to reporters as they left the Elysée Palace.

Philippe Dechartre, the bearded State Secretary for Housing, said: "When General de Gaulle presided at a Cabinet meeting, history was always present. This is not the case today."

The Minister of State, Roger Frey, shook his head and spread his arms as he said: "What can I tell you that you can't imagine?"

Mr. Poher drove to the Elysée Palace for the Cabinet meeting. He still lives and works in the Luxembourg Palace, the seat of the Senate, of which he is president.

Praise for Pompidou

Former Premier Georges Pompidou, meanwhile, was hailed today for his views on free enterprise by Le Nouveau Journal, a financial newspaper that reflects the business and financial community's attitudes.

Under a four-column front-page headline, "The Credo of a 'Liberal' Pompidou," the newspaper reprinted long excerpts from a speech Mr. Pompidou made last February before an audience of business leaders. This was in effect his first campaign speech, the newspaper said.

It quoted him as having defended the "law of profit," and as having said that "there can be no social policy except to the extent . . . that the companies have already earned money. In France a company that is making money is often a priori suspect. It is in the general interest that our concerns increase their profits."

"French taxation has reached the limit of what is bearable," the newspaper quoted Mr. Pompidou as having said.

The Gaullist candidate also called on "the state to loosen its hold on the economy, instead of constantly seeking to direct and control it."

The business community, on the whole, is believed to favor Mr. Pompidou's candidacy.

French Socialists Choose Defferre as Candidate

Marseilles Mayor Is Selected After a Party Reversal

PARIS, Monday, May 5 (Reuters) — The French Socialist party early today chose Mayor Gaston Defferre of Marseilles as its candidate for the presidential election June 1.

The decision—which came at the end of a long and at times chaotic meeting—was carried by 2,032 votes, with 227 against Mr. Defferre. The vote followed the decision of Alain Savary to withdraw from the contest.

The selection came after the party voted 1,574 to 1,567 to consult with other left-wing groups before naming its candidate immediately.

As soon as the results of second vote on consulting with other leftist parties were announced Mr. Savary withdrew his candidacy.

The second vote on consulting with other leftists had come as a result of a demand by Mr. Defferre, who had complained that the first vote was irregular. He had said that if the second vote echoed the first one he would withdraw, but on the second ballot delegates voted 1,815 to 1,500 to select a candidate immediately. There were 176 abstentions.

The marathon session, which began yesterday morning, had been expected to select either Mr. Defferre or Mr. Savary.

The decision to pick a candidate came after François Mitterrand, who won 45 per cent of the vote against President de Gaulle in the last presidential election in 1965, announced yesterday that he would not be a candidate this time.

Mitterrand Won't Run

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 4—François Mitterrand attacked some of his fellow leaders of the French left today in announcing that he



Gaston Defferre

Mitterrand Won't Run for President in June 1 Vote

Periodically, representatives of the two groups left their respective congresses to drive into Paris and discuss the possibility of backing the same presidential candidate. By late evening it appeared that the negotiations were fruitless.

The Socialists today changed their name, and will be known from now on simply as the Socialist party. Up till now their full name was Parti Socialiste S.F.I.O.—the initials standing for Section Française de 'L'Internationale Ouvrière. The party was founded in 1905 under the Second International.

The idea of a broadly based new Socialist party was first put forth last summer, after the devastating defeat of the left in the legislative elections. The hope was to form one strong non-Communist leftist party. So far, this hope has failed to materialize—only a few small splinter groups declared their adherence today.

Mr. Mitterrand, from the other side of town, denounced the new party as "nonexistent" and said his group would not join.

would not be a presidential candidate.

The attack emphasized the division and disarray among the French left. The division was even geographically apparent.

Mr. Mitterrand's small Convention party held its congress in the modest residential suburb of St. Gratien just north of Paris. The Socialists met on the southeastern fringe of the city, in the working-class suburb of Alfortville.

French Reds Select Duclos to Oppose Pompidou

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 5 — The Communists today named Jacques Duclos, a 72-year-old party functionary, as their candidate for president of France.

The choice and the way in which it came about illustrates the disarray into which the French Left, both Communist and non-Communist, finds itself a week after participating prominently in the opposition's victory over General de Gaulle.

The Communist party's central committee announced its move immediately after abor-

Gaulle in 1965, still is pushing for such a compromise.

But a compromise is so unlikely that *Le Monde*, France's leading newspaper, conceded victory today to Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate. The question is no longer whether Mr. Pompidou wins the election, but "whether he wins it in the first round," wrote Pierre Viansson-Ponté, the paper's leading political correspondent.

It is not only the division of the Left that plays into Mr. Pompidou's hands but also the

absence, so far, of a moderate nonleftist candidate who would compete with him for the vote of the middle classes.

Alain Poher, the interim president, could be such a candidate, but he appeared to be reluctant. He announced today he would make his decision at the end of the week.

Mr. Poher would be a dangerous opponent for Mr. Pompidou. His reluctance to run is based on the fact that Mr. Defferre, though a Socialist, is an avowed anti-Communist and

will necessarily have to look for votes on his right—namely in the center of the political spectrum where Mr. Poher's strength would be. Mr. Poher is hemmed in, on his left by Mr. Defferre and on his right by Mr. Pompidou.

No other Centrist politician is showing any desire to enter the race. Most of the Centrist leaders, like Jacques Duhamel, appear to be maneuvering for a Cabinet post or other awards in a future Pompidou regime.



Associated Press

Jacques Duclos

tive last-minute negotiations with the Socialists on a possible single candidate for the entire Left.

Mr. Duclos is regarded as a candidate who was chosen for his appeal to faithful party members only. He is not likely to win the Communists any votes either among leftist intellectuals and white-collar workers or among non-Communist workmen.

"A candidate of resignation, perhaps consolidation, but not of electoral conquest," an expert in French Communist affairs called Mr. Duclos.

Mr. Duclos's entry means that the votes of the Left, which accounts for the bulk of the opposition to the Gaullists, will be split between Mr. Duclos and Gaston Defferre, the Socialist Mayor of Marseilles, who received the endorsement of his party early today.

The deadline for registration of candidates is still a week off, theoretically giving the Communists and non-Communist leftists time to agree on a candidate who would represent the entire Left. François Mitterrand, who won 45 per cent of the vote as the Left's candidate against President de

Europe After de Gaulle

Prime Minister Wilson struck the right note at the twentieth anniversary meeting of the Council of Europe. He reiterated Britain's determination to join the European Community and projected a larger, stronger Western Europe, speaking with "a more united voice in the affairs of the world."

Some of Britain's continental allies had hoped Mr. Wilson would go further on this occasion and demand early admission to the Common Market, but such a plea might have backfired. It would have seemed too patent an effort to take advantage of President de Gaulle's exit and the resulting time of uncertainty and adjustment for France.

The better strategy for Britain is to continue to prove itself a "good European" in every possible way, while awaiting a signal from its European allies, and preferably from France, on the right moment to renew an active bid for Community membership. Mr. Wilson's emphasis on European unity and influence is a good beginning. Another is Britain's bid for private bilateral talks with France on Europe's future—a bid made before de Gaulle's departure.

The best sign that Britain's wait may not be overlong came from former Premier Georges Pompidou in his first statement to the Gaullist party as a Presidential candidate. He said the question of British membership "should be re-examined." No other serious Presidential candidate will seek to maintain General de Gaulle's bar to British entry if the Gaullist nominee himself shows new flexibility on the question.

If Britain is right not to make demands on France in this period, so will Washington be well advised not to move overswiftly toward resurrecting any variant of John F. Kennedy's "Grand Design" for Atlantic cooperation or toward reintegration of French forces in a NATO alliance still under American leadership if not domination.

The fact is that even before General de Gaulle's departure, France's defense policy had undergone a dramatic reversal—away from go-it-alone reliance on massive nuclear retaliation back toward priority for a graduated response to any Soviet blow at Western Europe "in the closest coordination" with the NATO allies. If France wishes at any time to move from "closest coordination" back to integration, the initiative should come from Paris.

Washington can help most by concentrating on discreet moves to shore up the alliance. In doing so it might bear in mind that when General de Gaulle spoke, as he sometimes did, of a "European Europe" standing as an equal partner of the United States, he struck a responsive chord even among Europeans implacably opposed to most of his policies.

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1646 : NIGHTLEAD MIDEAST (CHANGING DATELINE):

BY REUTERS

(UNDATED). . . JORDANIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES TODAY (MONDAY) EXCHANGED FIRE IN THE NORTHERN JORDAN VALLEY AS ISRAELIS AND EGYPTIANS SHELLED EACH OTHER ACROSS THE SUEZ CANAL.

THERE WERE NO JORDANIAN CASUALTIES IN THE JORDAN VALLEY DUELS FOR MILES SOUTH OF THE SEA OF GALILEE AND IN THE AL-MANSURIYA AND AL-BAQOURA AREAS, ACCORDING TO A MILITARY SPOKESMAN IN AMMAN.

HE SAID THE ISRAELIS INITIATED FIRING IN BOTH CASES.

A MILITARY SPOKESMAN IN CAIRO SAID ISRAELI FORCES OPENED UP TANK AND SMALL ARMS FIRE MONDAY AGAINST EGYPTIAN POSITIONS AT VARIOUS POINTS ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL.

ONE ISRAELI SOLDIER WAS WOUNDED DURING A BRIEF EXCHANGE OF FIRE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND SYRIAN TROOPS IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, HE SAID.

LEBANESE POLITICAL LEADERS MET MONDAY WITH PRESIDENT CHARLES HELOU TO THRASH OUT A POLICY TOWARD PALESTINIAN COMMANDOS WHO USE LEBANON AS A SPRINGBOARD FOR ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAEL.

THE GOVERNMENT OF PREMIER RASHID KARAMI RESIGNED FRIDAY AFTER CLASHES BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND DEMONSTRATORS WHO WANT AN END TO GOVERNMENT RESTRAINTS ON THE COMMANDOS.

AT LEAST 15 PERSONS WERE KILLED IN THE CLASHES AND A STATE OF EMERGENCY WAS DECLARED FROM WEDNESDAY UNTIL MIDNIGHT SUNDAY.

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X X X. SUNDAY.

FRENCH PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE'S RESIGNATION MONDAY RAISED A LARGE QUESTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS ABOUT THE BIG FOUR MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

U.N. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S., RUSSIA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE ARE SCHEDULED TO CONDUCT THEIR SIXTH MEETING TUESDAY AT THE SOVIET MISSION.

OBSERVERS SAID THE COURSE OF THE SESSIONS WAS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE AFFECTED BY DE GAULLE'S DEPARTURE.

REUTERS (AHD) RC/WP

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WORLD ROUND-UP OF REACTIONS TO REFERENDUM RESULTS, LE MONDE
PUBLISHERS UNATIONS CORRESPONDENT COMMENT QUOTE AMONG THOSE
WHO REGRET THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL DE GAULLE, ONE CAN INCLUDE
SECRES U THANT FOR WHOM THE PRESIDENT OF THE

P2

REPUBLIC HAD BEEN OVER THESE LAST YEARS AYE PRECIOUS ALLY
UNQUOTE. SAME ARTICLE RUNNING UP REACTIONS PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVES SAYS ARAB REPRESENTATIVES ARE DISAPPOINTED AS
ARE SOME FRENCH SPEAKING AFRICANS. ON THE OTHER HAND, NIGERIANS
AND GUINEANS ARE SAID TO HAVE REGARDED DE GAULLE AS QUOTE
FRIEND OF SOUTH-AFRICAN RACISTS

P3

UNQUOTE. SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVES ARE DESCRIBED AS NOT
CONCEALING THAT THEIR PREFERENCE WOULD HAVE GONE FOR CONTINUING
DE GAULLE IN POWER. MOST DIPLOMATS AT UNATIONS, PHILIPPE GER

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POLICY. SOME OF THEM CONFINE COMMENTS TO ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
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MURVILLE QUOTE REGARDED HERE AS CLEARLY PRO-ARAB UNQUOTE WOULD
HAVE DONE HIMSELF. ELSEWHERE LE MONDE DISCUSSES STATUS OF 1967
CEASE-FIRE IN MID-EAST AND QUOTES ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER TO
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ALL COMMENTATORS THIS MORNING ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REFERENDUM AND DE GAULLE RESIGNATION. ALL AGREE THAT TODAY MARKS THE END OF AN EPOCH IN FRENCH HISTORY. JOURNAL DE GENEVE STILL WONDERS WHY DE GAULLE RISKED SUCH AN =

P2 =

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P3 =

BRING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLITICS. WILL THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE TAKE HIS SEAT IN THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE QUESTIONMARK. WILL FRANCE ADOPT A NEW ATTITUDE VIS-A-VIS THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS QUESTIONMARK. PARA ON MIDDLE EAST, BASLER NACHRICHTEN EDITORIAL VERY PESSIMISTIC SAYING SITUATION WILL CONTINUE DETERIORATE SINCE =

P4 =

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P15/14 =

KOREA MAY MAKE IMPOSSIBLE FOR NIXON EVEN PARTIALLY WITHDRAW FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA. ENDALL +

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CONTINUE TO COMMENT EXTENSIVELY ON FRENCH POLITICAL VACUUM
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IS NOTED WITH SYMPATHY BY ALL COMMENTATORS AND LA SUISSE WRITES
THAT IF POMPIDOU SUCCEEDS QUOTE THE GAULLISME AFTER DE GAULLE
WILL DIFFER=

P2=

~~ONLY BY NEW ANSWERS, FROM THE GAULLISME WITH DE GAULLE UNQUOTE.~~

PARA NATIONAL ZEITUNG SAYS QUOTE IN BONN EVEN THE MOST VOCAL
CRITICS OF THE GENERAL'S POLICIES ARE SURE THAT SINCE DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS WILL BE IN THE FOREGROUND IN FRANCE DURING COMING MONTHS,
IT WOULD BE SENSELESS=

P3=

TO CONFRONT PARIS WITH GERMAN INITIATIVES IN EUROPE AT PRESENT
TIME UNQUOTE. SAME PAPERS JERUSALEM CORRESPONDENT
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P4/28=

MIDDLE EAST UNQUOTE. NEYE ZURCHER ZEITUNG SEES RESIGNATION
AS OPENING THE WAY FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WEST GERMANY'S
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE IN EUROPE. OMNIPRESS GENEVA
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