

THE MILITANT

S.F. students urge solidarity actions

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— See page 12 —

Students on hunger strike in Mexico City's prison

— Page 4 and below

AN APPEAL FROM MEXICAN STUDENT PRISONERS

The following manifesto was issued by the Mexican students, believed to number 100, who have been conducting a hunger strike in Lecumberri prison since their arrest, Dec. 13. For details, see news story page 4.

* * *

To All Students of the World!

We students, workers, teachers and fathers unjustly imprisoned in the Mexico City preventive prison urgently appeal to students throughout the world to demonstrate their solidarity with our movement.

On July 23 the Mexican students began a valiant struggle in defense of democratic freedoms. These students have been the object of one of the world's bloodiest repressions.

The authorities in this country have not hesitated to use bazookas to shoot down the doors of schools or to send more than 10,000 soldiers backed up by

tanks and heavy artillery against the university and other educational centers. They did not hesitate to open fire on a peaceful gathering, killing more than 500 people and wounding an undetermined number.

Monster trials have been initiated against the students arrested. These students have been savagely tortured. Their family and friends have been threatened. In Mexico City alone the number of students imprisoned now exceeds 2,000 and they are charged with crimes carrying penalties varying from 15 to 100 years in prison.

Exercising the rights which the constitution of this country grants them, the Mexican students have carried out a series of mass demonstrations. These demonstrations expressed the Mexican people's desire to win back their freedoms, which have been ever more trampled under foot, especially

in the terms of the last presidents.

So long as there was no intervention by the repressive forces or shock groups organized by the government, these demonstrations were orderly and peaceful. Hundreds of thousands of citizens participated in them.

On July 26 the government began a whole series of provocations aimed at justifying its repression. Schools were machine-gunned. There was an attempt to organize the workers against the students. Through an intense campaign of slander in all media of communication, the government tried to turn national and international public opinion against the students. But once these attempts and the customary repressive tactics (which for some time in Mexico have included use of the army) had failed, they resorted to mass murder.

(Continued on page 4)



July 26 Mexican student march touched off original police attack

Our red-ribbon 40th anniversary fund

By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

The Militant enters 1969 with the reassurance of an impressive vote of financial confidence from its supporters who have given the sum of \$44,056 to its 40th Anniversary Fund. This is the largest amount of money ever raised through a single campaign in the paper's history.

"The entire staff interprets this demonstration of support as a mandate for us to step up the improvements we have been making," said Militant editor Harry Ring. "The recent 16-page issue with its reportorial and photographic coverage of

the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Chicago is a preview of what the over-subscribed fund will enable us to do in the coming year."

Eleven of the areas from Boston to San Diego either fulfilled or surpassed their quotas. The three who fell short have set timetables to complete payments early this year.

Although individual receipts have been sent to the separate donors, this final message would be incomplete without a general thank-you to the scores of readers throughout the USA (and even one from Alberta, Canada!) who responded to our letters

and weekly appeals. Their contributions, ranging from \$1 to \$250, accounted for \$1,361 in the last scoreboard.

* * *

The campaign was propelled over the top thanks to the eight munificent charter memberships of \$1,000 each taken in the Lifetime Militants Club. Six of these donors were individual and two collective. Both the Twin Cities and Boston supporters, believed that our 40th birthday deserved an extra effort. In addition to their allotted quotas, for each raised an extra \$1,000 for a Lifetime membership.

Kitty Cone of Chicago was the sixth

person to join the Club. "I'm sending this \$1,000 check," she wrote, "to honor those comrades in Latin America who are giving much more than money for the cause of human freedom. I particularly have in mind the Marxist peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, now serving 25 years in Peru's El Fronton Prison and our imprisoned Mexican comrades, Daniel Camero and Carlos Seville."

Our last word of appreciation goes to that anonymous supporter who sparked the Lifetime competition with his exceptionally generous matching offer.

Venceremos!

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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Vol. 33—No. 1



Friday, January 3, 1969



CUBA'S REVOLUTIONARY DEFENSE. As we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution on Jan. 2, we salute the militia members, the workers, peasants and students and members of the armed forces whose support of their revolutionary government has held U.S. imperialism at bay for these ten years. Coming issues of *The Militant* will feature first-hand reports from Havana of the celebration there.

College head gags student press

'Unhealthy situation' at Cheyney State

Cheyney, Pa. I am a student at Cheyney State College. At Cheyney, we, the students, have a very unhealthy situation.

Our president, Wade Wilson, has expelled nine members of the Black Student League unjustly. He has not allowed student views to be published in our so-called newspapers, and the radio stations will not broadcast the truth.

After reading *The Militant* for some six months, I find it one of the only papers that tells the real truth. Do you think you can help the Cheyney students by publishing the true facts about Cheyney and its Hitler-like president?

L. O.

The Dec. 20 issue of *The Militant* carried a report on the situation at Cheyney State College. We will continue to cover this story as it unfolds. — Editor.

Trade-union activist appreciates paper

Long Island, N. Y.

Continued success with your excellent paper and especially the "National Picketline" column.

As my job is now threatened by the company for union activities pending arbitration please don't use my name until this case is settled.

Reader

Wants more coverage of minority struggles

Denver, Colo.

Having faithfully read *The Militant* for the past several months, I have come to the conclusion that the only national struggle *The Militant* covers over and over is that of the Black Panthers. What about the valiant struggle of the Mexicanos of California, the Reyes Lopez Tijerina struggle in New Mexico, the Crusade for

Justice in Colorado and, last but not least, the growing movement of my Indian brothers?

How about more and better coverage of the real minorities in this country?

D. M. S.

The Militant does not at all underestimate the importance of the struggles of the oppressed non-Afro-American minorities. Our coverage of these struggles, while not insignificant, is limited by the availability of information. We want to expand this coverage and appreciate all reports of these struggles sent in by readers. — Editor.

'No better source' on black struggle

Halifax, Nova Scotia

Thank you for sending me *The Militant*. I received several copies of your paper the other day and was so impressed that I had to subscribe. I have found no better source for keeping in touch with the American scene and especially the black people's struggle.

I feel almost guilty about only being able to send the bare minimum for a four-month subscription, but my means as a student limit me from helping such a worthy paper.

Thank you again for your interest and information. I really liked the articles on the Black Panthers and the Mexican situation.

K. M.

The public servants

New York, N. Y.

We've always argued that Democrats and Republicans agree on fundamentals, regardless of certain superficial or tactical differences which may deceive some people. A headline in the Dec. 5 *New York Times* gave fresh evidence of the fact that on the central issues even those who seem to be the greatest rivals really see eye to eye: "Johnson to Ask Raise for Nixon and for Others in High Offices," is what the headline said.

C. G.

Letters from our readers

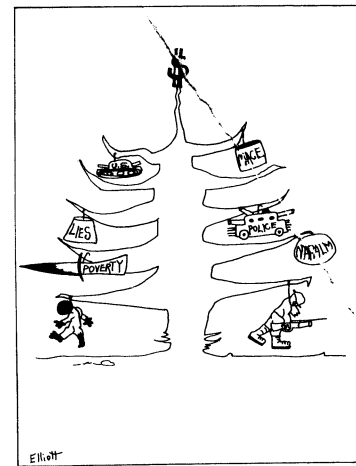
This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Can't do without it

Philadelphia, Pa.

Today I received your letter concerning the renewal of my subscription. From your letter I got the idea that you felt I had become disillusioned with the type of news coverage your paper gives. My feelings toward your paper are quite the contrary. In the past, your way of reporting the news has proved to be unbiased and in complete contrast to other newspapers. The news concerning the Black Panthers and the black struggle has especially interested me. Your paper has caused me to become more involved and up to date on the black struggle. Enclosed is \$3 to renew my subscription. As you can see, it is one of the things I cannot do without.

K. W.



Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: YSA, 187 14th St.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

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

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

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

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brade, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French,

194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: Portland: c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S.W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105. (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

S.F. State strike

-- new stage in the student struggle



S. F. State's cop-calling Dr. Hayakawa.

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike called by the black students at San Francisco State College represents a new stage in the student movement.

During the past few years, as the radicalization of the young people of this country developed, students have attacked the university as an agent of capitalist society.

Student demonstrations against the complicity of the university in the crimes of capitalist society have taken place all over the country, reaching a high point last spring at Columbia. Most recently, the students at Kent State University protested the use of campus facilities for recruitment by the Oakland police department.

But at S.F. State, something new has been added. Not only are students saying that the school should not function as a tool at the service of big corporations, but they are demanding that the school function in the interests of the people—particularly black people.

The 15 demands of the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front represent a conscious attempt to make the school take on the role of aiding and furthering the struggle for the liberation of oppressed nationalities instead of persisting in its present role of training

technicians and bureaucrats to run the corporations.

The black students are demanding a department of black studies free from interference by the college administration. As proposed by Dr. Nathan Hare, this department would grant a B.A. degree based on a 36-unit program including such courses as Black History, Black Politics, Black Leadership, and International Revolutionary Consciousness.

Such a program would not be in the interests of the corporations. On the contrary, the program that is being proposed will fill the needs of an oppressed national minority striving for self-determination.

Another student demand is that all non-whites who apply be admitted to S.F. State in the fall of 1969. This demand for preferential admissions for students from oppressed nationalities strikes at the pattern of systematic exclusion of minority students from higher education that prevails under the present admissions system.

In the San Francisco Bay Area over half the students at the high-school level are nonwhite. But at S.F. State more than 90 percent are white. This is due to the fact that in California, as in the rest of the country, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, and other minorities make up the bulk of capitalism's reserve army of the unemployed. Those who are employed get the lowest paying, most menial jobs.

These conditions are perpetuated by the present college admissions' policies in California. Preferential admissions for minority students would be a step in the direction of dealing with this situation.

What is taking place at S.F. State is a struggle to bring alive the long talked about concept of the "black university"—a university run and staffed by black people which would serve the needs of the black community as a whole.

The concept of the "black university" parallels the plans of students in other countries, notably France, for the creation

of a "red university," that is, a university which would serve as an organizing base for working-class tendencies which are struggling for the socialist transformation of society.

Just as the concept of the "red university" grew up in France during a general radicalization of the working class, it is the deepening liberation struggle within the black community which lays the basis for the "black university." This can be seen concretely in the impressive sympathy and support which the S.F. strike has had in the black community.

The ultimate concern of those fighting for the black university is to make the university of use in advancing the struggle for black liberation.

As a woman from the Hunter's Point ghetto said when she spoke at a strike rally, "As this college stands now, it's nothing but a nigger-producing machine. We want this college to begin to relate to the daily lives of our kids in the community."

Norman Thomas dies at 84

By George Novack

One by one the venerable figures of American radicalism over the past half century go down. The latest is Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party leader and its six-time candidate for President, who died Dec. 19 in Huntington, New York, at the age of 84.

Thomas's father and grandfather were ministers, and he himself remained a clergyman until 1931. He entered American socialism with the same evangelical fervor against social evils that New England abolitionists brought to the antislavery movement and with which progressive intellectuals indicted "the malefactors of great wealth." He joined the Socialist Party in October 1918 because of his Christian pacifist opposition to the first world war.

In the late 1920s Thomas succeeded Eugene V. Debs as the recognized head of the party and for the next 40 years was its most prominent spokesman. If Debs embodied the proletarian revolutionary element in native American socialism, his replacement represented the strain of middle-class moralism and reformism, which wavered between a break with bourgeois society and partial conciliation with it.

It was the fate of Norman Thomas to preside over the decline and disintegration of the party of the Second International in the United States. From the first he played the role of arbiter among the contending tendencies within the heterogeneous SP, shifting to the right or toward the left to keep its forces in balance and hold the organization together. However, he failed to forestall or blunt any of the factional battles or splits which tore the party apart. At his death it barely clings to life as an insignificant appendage of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Trotsky once remarked that "Norman Thomas called himself a socialist as a result of misunderstanding." Underneath his socialist convictions he was essentially a militant liberal who aspired to change capitalism bit by bit until it became a just and humane society. This spokesman for one sector of the Old Left rejected Marxism and Bolshevism more vigorously than some partisans of the New Left. He especially opposed their teachings on the necessity for intransigent struggle by the working class, culminating in the revolu-

tionary overthrow of capitalist rule.

He opposed Stalinism from the standpoint of right-wing social democracy, characterizing the Soviet Union as state capitalist and refusing to defend the existing workers states against imperialist aggression. He was hostile toward the Yugoslav, Chinese and Cuban revolutions.

The most positive side of Norman Thomas was exhibited in his consistent and honorable record in the civil-liberties field. Together with Roger Baldwin, he founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and remained continuously active on its board of directors for the rest of his life.

He was invariably ready to join a picket line or protect the rights of a victim of injustice. For the past third of a century, I collaborated with him in numerous such cases, from the court appeal for the Scottsboro Boys in the early 1930s to the defense of the three Young Socialist Alliance members indicted for sedition in Bloomington, Indiana, in 1963.

I cannot recall a single instance when Norman Thomas failed to respond to our request for assistance in such matters, even where he had serious, even irrecon-

cilable, differences with the defendants. He helped expose the Moscow Trial frameups in the 1930s, participated in defending the SWP leaders indicted under the Smith Act in the early 1940s, and aided the legless veteran James Kutcher in his victorious fight against the loyalty purge in the 1950s.

Through his personal intervention with the Washington authorities, he saved the Minneapolis teamster leader Karl Skoglund from deportation to Sweden after immigration officials had already placed him aboard ship. Thomas likewise distinguished himself from most of his fellow Social Democrats by defending the rights of persecuted members of the CP during the Cold War.

He best displayed his mettle as a civil libertarian in such incidents as the fight he waged against Mayor "I am the law" Hague of Jersey City in 1938 when he braved the onslaught of the local cops and eventually secured a federal-court ruling protecting free speech in the bailiwick of that would-be fascist.

Following a spasmodic leftward swing in the mid-1930s, this exponent of gradualism gradually adapted his positions more and more to the status quo. His basic sympathies were disclosed when he approved the expulsion of the Trotskyists and most of the youth members from the SP in 1937 for their revolutionary views. He and his party gave "critical support" to Roosevelt's administration after opposing U.S. entry into the second world war. He backed Washington's imperialist intervention in Korea under the UN banner. His condemnation of America's military action in Vietnam did not deter him from voting for Johnson in 1964 and Humphrey in 1968.

The *New York Times* obituary writer noted that Norman Thomas had achieved "general toleration, even acceptance and respectability" by the close of his career. It should be added that, as he gained the esteem of the Establishment, this dissenter of yesteryear forfeited any following among today's rebel youth. If they respected his moral rectitude and personal decency, they spurned the political positions he and his party held in the final decades of his long and energetic life.



Norman Thomas

Student strikes spread in L.A.

By Della Rossa

At the center of a growing number of high-school and college protests in Los Angeles is Fremont High School—a 3,300-student school which is 95 percent black.

The Black Student Union at Fremont initiated the protest with a student strike Dec. 10 after the suspension of four students charged with "cursing teachers" at a faculty meeting. Rickie Ivie, head of the BSU and one of the four students suspended, said that the situation was caused by "insensitive teachers" and had been developing for over a year.

Robert Malcolm, the school principal responsible for the suspensions, is white. As the struggle to reinstate the four students grew, the demand to replace Malcolm with a black principal became the main issue in the protest. The students also demanded that the students and the black community have the right to choose their own principal.

The parents, organized into the Black Board of Education, supported these demands as well as other demands of the students for more black teachers and a black studies course. And as a result of the protest, which included mass meetings and a number of angry confrontations, the superintendent did appoint a black principal to the school. But it wasn't the person the students and parents had requested, and the struggle is continuing for the right of the community to name the school principal.

Allen Sebastian, area superintendent of schools, commented, "The Fremont High demands are similar to those at San Francisco State College, where the first demands led to more demands. We can't expect this to be settled quickly."

A demonstration in support of the students at Fremont was held by 200 students at Hamilton High in West Los Angeles. At another high school in South-Central Los Angeles, 300 students hauled down the U.S. flag and burned it.

Students at Nanterre stage new protests

By Mary-Alice Waters

After numerous delays, French university officials made halting attempts to start a new academic year in December, but they found themselves embroiled in a new test of strength with left-wing students.

On Dec. 12 the students at Nanterre called a strike to protest the arrest of Regine Martinez, a student accused of involvement in the bombing of several Paris banks the previous weekend. Eight other students were also taken into custody for questioning. Nanterre is the suburb an extension of the Sorbonne where militant demonstrations sparked the French revolt of last May-June.

The strike continued on Dec. 13. On Dec. 14 the government threatened to expell any students involved in organizing strike actions. The general assembly of striking students at Nanterre voted to continue the strike.

On Dec. 15 the government threatened "all necessary measures" to suppress the student activity. The Nanterre campus was ringed with police, and only those with student ID cards were permitted to enter.

On Dec. 16 Premier Maurice Couve de Murville made a special television appearance, in an attempt to assure the jittery French bourgeoisie that the government had things well in control—regarding both the monetary crisis and the student movement. He proclaimed that "no occupation of any sort can be tolerated any longer."

However, the strike continued at Nanterre, and threatening outbursts occurred at several other universities. At Toulouse, the following day, students demonstratively defied the Premier's threats and occupied the administration building, withdrawing only when the riot police arrived.

In Paris, scuffles occurred between police and students in the Latin Quarter who were reportedly attempting to build new barricades in rue Gay-Lussac. The Lycee Chaptal, one of the most radical of the Paris high-schools, was closed by authorities who announced it would not be reopened until the beginning of January. The National Union of French Students declared Dec. 18 to be a national "day of action."

Then, on Dec. 18 the government decided it had gone too far. The students had obviously not backed down as expected. Rather than risk a new explosion the government retreated. The police were withdrawn from Nanterre and the next day the Lycee Chaptal was hurriedly reopened.

At the same time, however, it was announced that the scholarships and military deferments of striking students would be cancelled, and leading high-school activists were threatened with expulsion. Also the State Security Court sentenced seven Bordeaux students, members of the Revolutionary Peoples Front Group, to prison terms of 2-4 years, for activities during June and July. The very stiff sentences were meant as a warning to others.



A SPECTER? Morning after the May 10 Paris "night of the Barricades." Are more gestating?

Ky's trip back home—did Washington crack whip?

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 24—Saigon Vice President Ky's attempt to stall the Paris talks is not entirely bluster. It is partly a case of the puppet talking back to the puppeteer, as Malcolm X described a similar rift between Saigon and Washington almost four years ago.

Ky and Thieu undoubtedly have reasons for worrying that their own regime may become negotiable at some future point of the Paris talks. They aren't likely to accept any steps in that direction—real or imagined—without a fuss.

Although Washington and Saigon are in

fundamental agreement about what needs to be done in South Vietnam, it is another question how they appraise the success of this effort. Both want to utilize any concessions they might wrest from Hanoi to escalate the attack on guerrilla control of the South Vietnamese countryside.

According to *The Economist* of London, Dec. 21, "One American guess is that the communists have elected committees in 1,325 of the 5,000 villages in the countryside . . ."

"Now that some North Vietnamese regiments are back in their sanctuary areas across the borders, the Americans are devoting an increasing number of troops to rooting out the Vietcong infrastructure.

"The American battalions are not merely searching for communist main-force units but are hunting out Vietcong provincial battalions, village guerrillas, tax collectors and propaganda agents."

But this, of course, has always been the main objective of imperialist "pacification" in South Vietnam.

The fact that Washington found it necessary only last week to warn about the possible opening of a new major offensive against Saigon shows that it is an open question just how successful this "pacification" has been.

In such a situation, it is hardly surprising to find Ky, who suddenly made a return trip to Saigon, thrashing about for solutions to his own problems.



PROTEST ACTION. During student strike last fall, Mexican youth staged this "march of silence" protesting press lies about their movement.

Hunger strike protests new Mexican jailings

By Ricardo Ochoa

MEXICO CITY—There are at least 100 students participating in a hunger strike at Lecumberri prison as a result of arrests Dec. 13. (For the full text of the manifesto of the imprisoned students, see page 1; for a background of the Mexican student struggle, see page 5.)

El Dia, which prides itself on being the most serious and responsible daily of the city, reported that only 35 students had been sent to Lecumberri prison, Dec. 15. But the following day it reported "The prosecutor said that 56 students were jailed in connection with the events of Friday, Dec. 13."

For all involved in the student movement, it is clear that about 100 students have been arrested, not counting those still held because they did not pay fines the day of arrests.

[The Paris daily, *Le Monde*, reported from Mexico City that children of seven and eight were among those jailed. Ed.]

The Dec. 13 demonstration was held by Mexico City students to express their unity in support of political prisoners. The march was to start out from the University of Mexico campus south of Mexico City and end up at El Casco de Santo Tomas after completing an eight-mile route through heavily populated districts of the city.

Not included in the march itinerary was the political and commercial center of the city around the Zocalo.

Very early Dec. 12, the army surrounded

the areas around the polytechnic schools in Zacatenco and Santo Tomas. On the 13th, the avenues leading to the University of Mexico campus were occupied by numerous contingents of police, predominantly granaderos [heavily armed riot police], who were later joined by military units.

The student leaders of the National Struggle Council, as the former National Strike Council has now renamed itself, had planned for the march to leave the campus at 11 a.m. After circling the university grounds once, close to 25,000 students began to move out from the campus.

They did not get 200 yards before the soldiers blocked their path. The infamous General Hernandez Toledo himself, who directed the Oct. 2 massacre in Tlatelolco, advanced toward the students.

The students decided to disperse. However, in groups of 1,000 to 1,500 they began to stage demonstrations right under the noses of the troops and granaderos.

The repressive forces moved in arresting thousands. Until 3 p.m. that afternoon, the entire length of the Avenida Insurgentes was paralyzed by spontaneous demonstrations of small groups of students who refused to heed the orders of the army and the police.

About three thousand students were taken to various police stations. The following day the press reported that most of the students picked up had been let off with fines equivalent to \$40 to \$80 for minor infractions.

...Mexican student appeal

(Continued from page 1)

After the cowardly massacre of Oct. 2 in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas of Ciudad Tlatelolco, the government pretended that it sought a solution to the conflict through negotiations. It imposed a whole series of conditions on the students, ranging from the truce during the Olympic games to the return to classes which began this week.

Once again demonstrating their desire for a peaceful solution to the conflict, the students accepted the government's demands and fulfilled their agreements to the letter. However, all this turned out to be just another maneuver by the government for the purpose of continuing and intensifying its repression.

Dec. 13, when the students held a new demonstration in support of their imprisoned companions, the government again resorted to repression, imprisoning several thousand students.

Under these circumstances, we students, workers, teachers, and fathers in the Mexico City preventive prison decided to launch a hunger strike which we will not break until we have won restoration of the constitutional order violated by the government and in particular the following points:

1) Unconditional release of all those imprisoned as a consequence of the student and people's movement throughout the country.

2) Cessation of police and military re-

pression.

3) Respect for the rights of individuals and citizens.

We call on all students struggling throughout the world for a more just society to join in the protest and struggle of the Mexican students, the bravest of whom have not hesitated to sacrifice their blood and their liberty for the victory of the cause of all the world's youth.

For a World Student Strike in Support of Mexican students!

Freedom or Death!

Ever Onward Until Victory!

December 14, 1968



CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY, now weekly by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Mondays, 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesdays, 10:15a.m. KPFK(90.6FM)

PHILADELPHIA

CELEBRATE THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION! A gala YSA-SWP New Year's Eve affair. Cuban food, Cuba films, spirited surroundings. BYO. Contrib. \$4. 686 N. Broad St. CE 6-6998.

The Mexican student revolt

— a participant's analysis

Introduction

Following a brief lull in its bloody repression of Mexican students in September and October, the Mexican regime of Diaz Ordaz has opened a new attack on students. Hundreds have been reported to be under arrest in Lecumberri Prison.

A number are conducting a hunger strike demanding unconditional release of political prisoners, cessation of all police and military repression, and guarantees of personal liberties provided in the Mexican constitution which have been consistently violated by government forces.

As a background for this new outbreak of repression, we are publishing the following Intercontinental Press analysis of the first stage of the Mexican student struggle by Ricardo Ochoa, a participant. We regard it as a particularly cogent study of this important development and worthy of study by the student movement and its allies everywhere.

Ochoa's analysis of the Mexican events and comparison of this struggle to the May-June uprising in France traces developments through the first week of October. On Oct. 2, Mexican police and armed forces opened machine-gun fire on a massive demonstration of students and other civilians, killing over 300. Thousands were arrested.

The infamous Tlatelolco massacre, Ochoa states, opened a new stage in the Mexican struggle. Since Ochoa's article was written the National Strike Council—renamed the National Struggle Council—has declared that the students must move from the level of campus strikes to a new level of struggle.

This means the involvement of "all currents struggling to increase democracy in our country, all currents struggling for the application of the Constitution and a society in which all our fellow men would be able to express themselves and develop themselves fully as men and citizens," a Struggle Council manifesto declared Dec. 5. This declaration concluded:

"The Mexican government must realize clearly that in view of its systematically closing all democratic channels, it cannot expect the people to remain eternally passive and submissive. It must realize that its attitude toward the demands which the people are about to raise will be the fundamental factor determining the road they will take to achieve real democracy.

"But no matter what road is taken, every Mexican struggling for democracy will act with the responsibility history demands of him.

"WE WILL WIN!"

* * *

MEXICO CITY (IP)—Some comrades from the French communist action paper *Rouge* have asked me to write an article explaining the salient features of the student movement which began in Mexico July 26. I want to do this by comparing the Mexican movement with the student revolt in which they were involved in France. This is essential because the Mexican student movement owes much spiritually and politically to the great student upsurge in France last May.

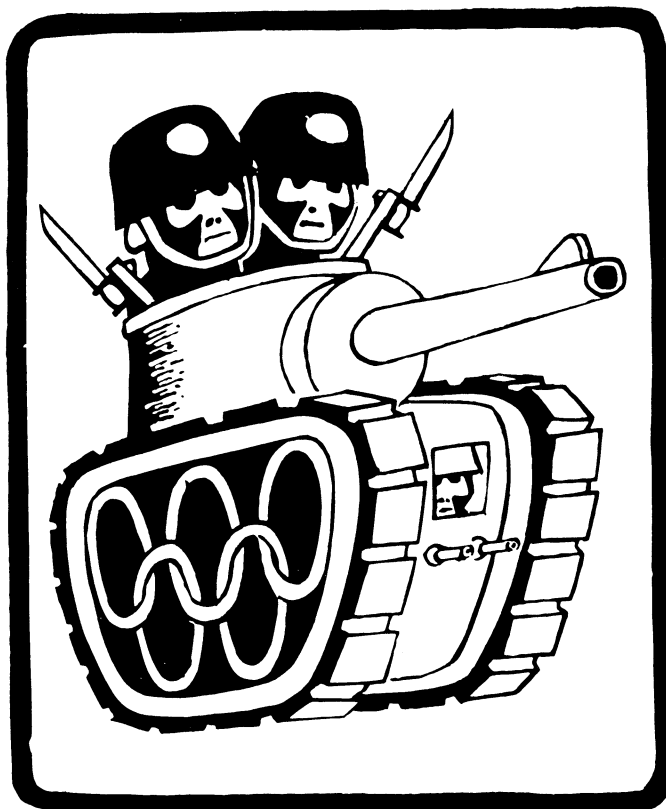
The French "May revolution" decisively influenced the Mexican student vanguard groups. Both Marxist and non-Marxist student leaders at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico (UNAM) as well as the Instituto Politecnico Nacional (IPN) could see in the light of the French experience what enormous importance students can have as the spokesmen of profound conflicts.

Of course, the students' role of spokesmen for popular struggles has been well known in Latin America for decades. But France showed these student leaders the highest form of this phenomenon. It showed them the extreme lengths which a student rebellion could lead to. It showed them in practice that a student rebellion can be the prelude to a socialist revolution.

The first thing that appears clearly when you analyze the Mexican student rebellion is its political character. The now forgotten origins of the crisis, which go back to July 23, lie in a common, ordinary student grievance. On that day, students from a preparatory school affiliated with the UNAM had a run-in with some students from Vocational Schools 2 and 5 affiliated to the IPN.

To this day the bourgeoisie and the government in Mexico have promoted an artificial division between the two most important bodies of students in the country, the UNAM and IPN students. This division reached the ridiculous extremes of football rivalries in the U.S. where the students of these schools viewed each other as real enemies, often going as far as full-scale mass battles. However, on July 23, an incident, unimportant in itself like many others, sparked a major conflict. What induced this qualitative leap was the brutal intervention of the police.

The Consejo Nacional de Huelga [National Strike Council], the leading body of the movement, even succeeded in formulating a draft "Program for a Worker-Peasant-Student Alliance," which was in essence an embryonic program of transitional demands. But the severity of the repression prevented the CNH from bringing it into application.



MEXICO '68

The main objective of the savage repression of Oct. 2 was to destroy in the bud the new stage of development opening up after all the government's previous repressive measures had failed. The mass murder which the government of President Diaz Ordaz committed in the Tlatelolco district was supposed to teach an unforgettable lesson. And this operation also aimed at capturing the main leaders of the Consejo Nacional de Huelga at any cost.

It is obvious that the Tlatelolco massacre did not affect only the 20,000 students, workers, and people in general who were in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas that day. The social and political consequences of that bloody repression have been very great. The level of violence employed by the government terrified the people of Mexico City.

It was the harshest repression since the revolutionary period. Hundreds were killed and thousands wounded in the massacre in which the army fired point-blank at a peaceful and defenseless crowd. And all this occurred right in the center of the cosmopolitan city which was soon to be the scene of an event of worldwide prominence—the nineteenth Olympic Games.

Oct. 2 definitively concluded an entire period of Mexican history. A line of blood divides two historical stages. The student movement had already accomplished the major part of its task of politically arousing an entire people to the harsh social and political realities of the Mexican capitalist system.

The jails are packed with many more political prisoners. The movement has far from achieved the main point in its list of demands—freedom for the political prisoners. However, the demonstration of the students' audacity, courage, and political clarity constitutes an unquestionable victory which will have historical repercussions for the Mexican people.

The Mexican capitalist system has exposed itself and in disclosing its ugly repressive face to the entire people it set in motion processes which will politicize and radicalize the working masses of the country.

Under the conditions prevailing in Mexico, this amounts to as big a victory as winning the students' six demands. I think the bourgeoisie also feels this. For the first time it has seen its power challenged.

The French student revolt was led by cadres trained in revolutionary communist organizations, especially in the JCR, and in the democratic framework of the Action Committees. The politically more advanced groups also had the UNEF as an arena for discussion and mobilizing the students.

The Mexican students had nothing like this. Of course the most important leading cadres without exception had Marxist training. In most cases it was acquired in the PCM, of which a large number had been members, or in the various pro-Chinese, Guevarist, or Trotskyist groups on the revolutionary left. But the Mexican revolutionary students had not succeeded in organizing a group similar to those in the French universities when the May crisis broke out.

This is the main reason why, although

its influence was greatly weakened, the PCM has not been eliminated from student politics. In fact, it was the only organization that had a national student organization, the Consejo Nacional de Estudiantes Democraticos (CNED). However, it was concentrated more in the high schools than in the universities and its influence lay in the outlying states and not in the Federal District.

When general assemblies in every school or college of the University of Mexico and the Polytechnic Institute called the strike, they elected Comites de Lucha [Struggle Committees] made up of the best known and respected representatives of the students. These Comites de Lucha then elected two delegates each to a central committee which became the Consejo Nacional de Huelga, the movement's leading body and one of the most interesting organizations the Mexican masses have yet produced. From the start, this student "soviet" gave cohesion to the struggle, gaining a prestige and authority which made it the target of the capitalist repression.

In France the political tendencies directly confronted each other in the Action Committees thrown up by the masses in their spontaneous revolt. But these committees did not form anything like the Consejo Nacional de Huelga, which in terms of the French movement would have been a sort of central Action Committee.

There is no doubt that the discussion in the French Action Committees was on a higher Marxist political level than the discussion in the Consejo Nacional de Huelga. But there is no doubt either that the Mexican CNH played a centralizing and organizing political role that made it qualitatively superior to all the uncentralized French Comites d'Action from the standpoint of political action.

The CNH was the most important creation of the student movement, even though it was always hampered by the low political level of most of its members (whose political experience went back only to July 26!). Hours upon hours were wasted in sterile discussions on the most inconsequential topics. But the CNH was the crucible in which the revolutionary leadership of the most important mass mobilization in Mexico since the 1930s was forged.

Democracy within the CNH was somewhat restricted as a result of the political inexperience of most of its members, who were anxious above all "to act, not talk."

Every more or less experienced revolutionist knows what easy prey politically naive activists are for clever opportunists. As a consequence, for the whole first phase of the movement ending in mid-August, the leaders who were most radical in action made a shortsighted alliance with those who were most opportunistic, who were totally uninterested in broadening the nature of the movement.

After Aug. 27, the movement's imposing power forced its most conscious leaders to pay more attention to the admonishments of the left wing (represented by the humanities schools of the University) that the workers and peasants had to be drawn in on the basis of their own immediate demands.

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Towards counterpower

The CNH won the allegiance of all the students; and the government lost the battle in this sector. But the experiences following Aug. 27 showed that the CNH was the embryo of a counterpower to the government, at least in the Federal District.

The government office workers were brought out on Aug. 28 in a mass demonstration for the government and against the students who were supposed to have desecrated the Mexican tricolor. Thousands of these workers, who are traditionally dyed-in-the-wool supporters of the regime, protested bitterly against being used against the students.

This demonstration against the "desecration" of the nation's flag turned out to be counterproductive for the government, because the students infiltrated it and turned it in their favor. The troops intervened and repressed the office workers. Immediately leaflets in support of the CNH began to circulate, signed by the government office workers themselves.

The most politically conscious workers—those in the electrical workers, oil workers, and railroad workers unions—began to come to the CNH in groups. Finally, the peasants around Mexico City began to come to the CNH. The most notable experience was in Topilejo, a small peasant and worker village near the University of Mexico campus. A dispute flared there with the bus lines. Several inhabitants were injured or killed in an accident. Knowing that in such cases the students had resorted to taking over buses to guarantee fair compensation, the peasants went to the students for help, which the students immediately gave.

This unity in action beginning to be forged between the students and the people won mounting prestige for the CNH. Conscious of its responsibility, the CNH tried to shape its strategy and tactics to accord with its new range of activity.

Ceasing to be purely student in character, the movement had to take into account the lower consciousness of the workers and peasants. The students continued to be the leading political force but they were no longer the only participants in the movement.

The silent demonstration and the demonstrations that followed it testified eloquently to the fact that the CNH leadership was politically mature enough to wage not only a student struggle but a popular struggle against the government.

The CNH called for a silent demonstration on Sept. 13 to counter the claims that the students were primarily interested in merely shouting insults; and the committee banned red flags and pictures of Che to deprive the anti-Communist press of any arguments. Instead, Mexican flags (the Mexican flag is also tricolored) and pictures of the heroes of the war of independence, the reform, and the revolution abounded in this demonstration.

The ban on red flags and pictures of Che was not very popular with the students, above all those from the University of Mexico. But the political arguments for this measure won a majority. The CNH sought

to become the representative of the nationwide interests of the broad working class strata which were still politically very backward in comparison with the students. If the students wanted to be a real vanguard, they had to pay a certain price. And they accepted it.

The next demonstration organized by the CNH in its increasingly powerful challenge to the government was the "people's fiestas" on the anniversary of Mexican independence, Sept. 15. More than 100,000 persons took part in these fiestas on the University of Mexico campus and in various striking Polytechnic schools (including in the Tlatelolco district). There could hardly have been a bigger turnout in the Zocalo, where Diaz Ordaz staged the official ceremonies.

But the CNH did not confine its activities to organizing mass demonstrations. During the times when these great demonstrations were not going on, the student movement used another method to approach the masses—it set up political brigades. These groups were made up of from five to thirty students depending on the circumstances. Their function was to "inform" the people as to the real course of events.

This work succeeded in effectively countering the distortions of the bourgeois press. But the brigades step by step began to take up other tasks. Organizational brigades, medical brigades, peasant brigades (Topilejo and nearby towns) arose.

The brigades were nuclei in which hundreds, thousands of students found the concrete political education they needed in order to understand clearly what the Marxist vanguard groups had been telling them for years—that great social movements of workers and peasants were shaping up in Mexico because the revolution had failed, because it did not give power to the masses of workers in the countryside and in the cities.

Thousands of students were able to strengthen their ties with the workers, learn the problems of the working-class neighborhoods. They discovered a whole world—a world in which they were received fraternally, in which they were listened to and met with respect and which looked to them for political orientation and education. Immediately the students rose above their narrow interests to become the spokesmen of the historical objectives of the broad Mexican masses.

Thus, we come to one of the most notable differences between the French and Mexican student experiences, a difference which arises essentially from the different contexts represented by the imperialist system in France and the distorted and dependent form of capitalism that exists in Mexico.

At the climactic point in their struggle the students who participated in the May rebellion openly adopted a revolutionary socialist position. The red flags in their demonstrations were the symbolic expression of their program—socialism in France.

Although many of them did not understand at the beginning, nor as yet, that the universities cannot be substantially changed until the system as a whole is changed, in May they were objectively supporting a revolutionary socialist transformation of the system.

Of course, a large section of the French students, trained in revolutionary Communist politics, are fully conscious of the nature of the problem. In any case, the revolutionary character of the French student actions was fully expressed both in the content and forms of the struggle.

Quick military repression

In Mexico something very different happened. The student struggle quickly ran up against a military repression which could not be defeated without the support of other sectors of the population. The level of consciousness of the Mexican people, the experience of its previous struggles, and the bourgeoisie's monolithic political monopoly clearly indicated the democratic level of the people's struggle.

The Mexican revolution has far from accomplished the democratic tasks. Today, Mexico is on the verge of a new gigantic struggle for the elementary rights of the people. When the revolution of 1910 failed and stopped at the point of a bourgeois liberal regime (with some populist tinges

as in the period of President Cardenas), the people's gains were trampled under foot and sabotaged by the new bourgeoisie which sprang up in the footsteps of the revolutionaries.

In 1968, the Mexican working people find themselves facing a situation essentially like that of 1910—although now the development of the productive forces is on a much higher level that will permit a real resolution of the uncompleted bourgeois democratic tasks.

The influence and dominance of imperialism is far from eliminated. Mexico is completely tied to U.S. imperialism, bound economically, politically, and culturally to the imperialist forces.

Far from giving the land to those who work it, the Mexican revolution of 1910 created a new landlord system in which 3 percent of the landowners own 87 percent of the arable, privately held land (leaving out the "ejidos," the communal farms).

Far from solving the problem of the Indians on the margin of capitalist society, today 10 percent of the population (almost five million "Mexicans") are as illiterate and poverty stricken as they were in 1910.

As for the workers, democratic tasks as elemental as freeing the trade unions from government control are yet to be achieved.

The right to strike is far from respected. The working class has no political representation. The official party controls the working class through the CTM and other unions with gangster methods.

As in 1910, the president is a virtual "constitutional" dictator. The deputies and senators are under his thumb. The judges follow his will blindly so that all those jailed for political opposition have to wait years in prison before being tried and sentenced.

This is the case with Raul Ugalde, Victor Rico Galan, and their companions. Although they have been held in prison since 1966, they have yet to be sentenced; and their trial is endlessly postponed and postponed.

The cops are all-powerful. Far from checking into the charges against political prisoners, the judges always take the "word" of the cops as sufficient evidence to lock them up. Mexico is still a barbarous country despite the tourist image it wants to sell to the world.

Since the Mexican democratic revolution occurred during an epoch of capitalist growth, it could not triumph with the weak Mexican bourgeoisie of 1910 as the leading class. Today, with a stronger national bourgeoisie, Mexico needs a democratic revolution directed against the vital positions of this same national bourgeoisie that has closely allied itself with U.S. imperialism.

This is the difference between Mexico and France. In Mexico the democratic tasks still have to be achieved, although we are in the middle of the twentieth century. But it is clear that these democratic reforms can only come through a profoundly revolutionary struggle.

The great Marxist teachers of the twentieth century, the Bolsheviks, taught us that in the age of imperialism it is essentially revolutionary socialists who fight for democracy. In an age when the bourgeoisie internationally is abandoning the best historical traditions of its class, the proletariat must defend the bourgeois democratic conquests.

But, of course, the revolutionary force of the working class cannot be confined to holding up a system which its own creators are abandoning. In struggling for democracy, the working class and its allies are paving the road for socialist struggle.

In this epoch struggle for democracy cannot be realistically conceived except in conjunction with socialist struggle.

The students of Mexico had to struggle for the democratic gains represented by the Constitution of 1917, which has been systematically violated by the government. But their democratic struggle was a revolutionary one. It was a struggle in the streets in which they demanded democracy and did not plead for it.

The people respond

The Mexican people responded to this call. It could not be otherwise. In the process of mobilizing and deepening mass action, the students little by little understood

that a victory for democracy would be a tremendous blow to the capitalist system. They understood that the bourgeois system could not tolerate democracy. They understood the fundamental weakness of a system that could not stand up against the student thrust.

They understood that the students on their own shook the system. And the conclusion drawn by great sectors of the population on Oct. 2 was that "if we want democracy in Mexico, we will have to overthrow this system and create another."

The masses' objective need for greater democracy in the political life of the country will inevitably engender a process pointing toward the socialist transformation of Mexican society. In order to facilitate the development of this struggle it will be necessary to provide the masses with two-edged slogans which raise democratic objectives while preparing a transition at the same time to a new socialist system. In short, the Mexican masses need a transitional program suited to their specific problems in 1968.

Finally, what are the short-range perspectives? No crystal ball is required to forecast a strengthening of the more reactionary militarist tendencies. This would bring Mexico into the current that has been apparent in Latin America since 1964—spreading military dictatorship.

Most recently the military coups in Peru and Panama have evidenced this tendency. Many wonder whether these last two coups d'etat presage a new Latin-American "Nasserism," a kind of "neo-Peronism." The only evidence for this is the expropriation of the Peruvian oil resources which Belaunde sold to foreign companies.

But the most superficial examination of



SCENE OF STRUGGLE. Mexican student gathered in the plaza of the Aztec pyramid ruins which border off the infamous October 2 massacre of Diaz Ordaz.

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what "Nasserism" means enables us to exclude such an alternative in Latin America. The primary characteristic of Egyptian Nasserism has been the support Nasser enjoyed among large sectors of the masses, a support won not only by demagogy but by a real (although obviously limited) anti-imperialist posture, as was demonstrated in 1956 and to a lesser extent in 1967.

Because of their oligarchic origins and close ties with the Pentagon, the Latin-American military officers will never be able to assume a real anti-imperialist posture like Nasser. Of course, they seek popular support through maneuvers such as the Peruvian officers' recent measure.

A series of factors explain the Peruvian officers' momentary audacity. Belaunde was discredited precisely because of his scandalous deals with the oil companies. The imperialist patrons of the officers were divided on both foreign (Vietnam) and domestic (elections) policy, which gave the Peruvian "gorillas" a greater margin for maneuver and demagogy, etc.

But the deeper tendencies point to a hardening of the military governments and repression against the reformist and revolutionary desires of the peoples of Latin America, whether in Brazil or Guatemala, Argentina or Panama, Bolivia or Colombia . . .

The reformist or bourgeois liberal alternative must also be excluded as a real possibility. Both international and domestic circumstances stand in the way of an opening in the political arena for new Goulart's, Belaunde's, Frei's, Leoni's, Llera's, Paz Estensoro's, etc. In any case, these regimes always pave the way for "gorilla" governments.

In the face of the grim outlook of an institutionalized repression on the continent, the only real hope is the triumph of the revolutionary struggle.

In 1968, for the first time in ten years, Latin America saw an upsurge of urban masses. The cities are beginning to catch up with the lead taken by the peasants. This fact presages great developments. The students' struggle in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Mexico has shaken all the capitalist structures on the continent. And this struggle is a prelude to the mobilization of other urban sectors, especially the workers.

Latin America is experiencing a radical turn and with nothing halfway about it. This is the time of Jose Marti and Che Guevara's furnaces. It is Camilo Torres' "zero hour." The most conscious vanguard of the Latin-American peoples, the students, have understood this. According to Vladimir Palmeira, the 23-year-old leader of the Brazilian Uniao Nacional dos Estudantes, the student movement in his country is struggling against the military dictatorship, seeking "a people's regime like the Cuban one." The Mexican students agree with their Brazilian companion—"a people's regime like the Cuban one . . ."

No institution in Mexico more faithfully reflects the corruption of the regime than the police. The police are hated and despised by everyone. And because of their brutality against the workers and the people, they are also feared.

The attack of July 23 might have been no more than another in the constant police attacks, it might have been one more link in the constant chain of repression which goes to make up the day-to-day class struggle in capitalist society; but it turned out to be the last straw.

The granaderos [elite security troops], called to "restore order," ferociously assaulted the Polytechnic students who defended themselves with rocks and anything else they could get their hands on. Very soon the police began beating everyone who crossed their path whether they had anything to do with the original student brawl or not. What specifically aroused the students' ire was that even the teachers and students inside the vocational schools were attacked by the police.

On July 26 the IPN students forced the Federacion Nacional de Estudiantes Tecnicos (FNET) to call a protest demonstration. On that same day the Central Nacional de Estudiantes Democraticos had scheduled a celebration of this very symbolic date for the Latin-American revolution. This celebration involved primarily university students. The two demonstrations projected following completely different routes in order to avoid coming together.

Government controlled

The FNET was totally controlled by the government, its leaders were completely corrupt. It had dominated the IPN for 12 years, since 1956, when the government occupied the IPN with troops to destroy a student movement that favored reorganizing the country's higher educational system. Its political and police control over the 75,000 IPN students prevented the development of any Marxist tendency in the Polytechnic schools throughout this entire period.

Only recently did FNET's monolithic control begin to loosen. In 1967, as a result of a conflict in the country's agricultural schools, FNET began to be outflanked politically by newly developing currents. The 1967 IPN strike in support of the agricultural schools began to slowly raise the political consciousness of the students.

Rank and file pressure forced the FNET to call the July 26 protest demonstration if it did not want to be totally driven out of the IPN. Moreover the May rebellion in France had encouraged the revolutionary Marxist students in the UNAM and in the Polytechnic Institute to get together seriously for the first time to discuss forming a joint organization. The FNET began to be challenged from the left.

Against the wishes of the student rank and file, the FNET chose a route for the demonstration bypassing the center of the city, the Zocalo, the square where the National Palace is located. The more radical section of the demonstration broke

off to head toward the center of the city where the other anti-imperialist demonstration in support of Cuba and Vietnam was being held.

The monitors of the IPN demonstration clearly expressed the FNET's anti-Communist character. Once they realized that their march was going to converge with the university demonstration they told those who wanted to join it: "We don't want to have anything to do with the Communists from the university."

Despite attempts to achieve a joint demonstration, the march which moved toward the Zocalo and was ferociously broken up there was composed primarily of IPN students. The clash resulted in several deaths which the government still refuses to acknowledge.

Immediately after this clash, the students joined ranks for the first time in their history and the FNET ceased to exist as a political force in the Polytechnic Institute. On July 26 the revolutionary power of the never-before-united Mexican students was unleashed for the first time.

In contrast to the French students, who had a united organization in the UNEF [National French Student Union], the Mexican students lacked a common organizational framework before July 26. On that date they began an eminently political struggle in the streets whose intensity forced them to form a united organization.

This factor explains another, The Mexican students went directly into the streets with political demands aimed at the overall system of repression in Mexico and not just against the conditions in the schools. The Mexican students took up a popular struggle for the democratic rights of the people. This was what the slogans "Release the Political Prisoners" and "Repeal the Unconstitutional Law Against Social Dissolution" certainly meant to them. They took up a struggle for the Constitution violated by the government; they took up a revolutionary struggle to democratize the country.

When the French students began their struggle their objective was to transform the outmoded Napoleonic university. The dynamics of their struggle, however, enabled them bit by bit to become the forerunners of a mass mobilization which plunged the entire capitalist system into a crisis. The Mexican students began their struggles with the well-defined objective of changing the basic structure of the prevailing political system.

The University of Mexico (and to a lesser extent the Polytechnic Institute) had won considerable academic and administrative autonomy, to say nothing of the legal "autonomy" which the government violated on July 29 and Sept. 18.

In contrast to the French students, the Mexican students at the UNAM enjoyed great political and academic freedom. In fact one of the most important factors encouraging the government's repressive measures was the oasis-like character of UNAM in contrast to political life in the country at large which was exclusively controlled by the government and its official party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI).

The University, unlike the Polytechnic, has seen a proliferation of revolutionary left groups in recent years. Five years or so ago the dominant tendency among the left students at UNAM was the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM).

But both international and domestic developments progressively undermined its influence in the university in a process similar to that suffered by the PCF [French Communist Party] in the French universities. But unlike in France, the decline of the Communist Party in Mexico did not automatically result in a strengthening of the left communist currents. The systematic repression to which the revolutionary groups were subjected was the principal reason for the absence of a revolutionary communist group among the students.

Repression of left

A brief history of the repression since 1965 shows this clearly. In September 1965 an initial guerrilla nucleus in Chihuahua, including the Gamiz brothers and Professor Pablo Gomez, was butchered. In early 1966 the Posadista Partido Obreiro Revolucionario (Trotskista) [a tiny ul-

tra left group originating in 1962 when J. Posadas and his followers left the Fourth International] was suppressed. Eight of its members, including three Argentinians—Adolfo Gilly among them—were jailed. Later, in August of the same year, the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo headed by Raul Ugalde and Victor Rico Galan was suppressed. In October, the military occupation of the University of Morelia produced another crop of political prisoners, this time students.

In 1967 also the revolutionary groups on the left suffered hard blows. At first it was again members of the Posadista group and University of Mexico students who were arrested. In the middle of the year,



coinciding with the OLAS Conference in Havana, a politically heterogeneous group of 14 persons was arrested with sensational fanfare on the charge of attempting to "foment guerrilla warfare." At the end of the year another group of 14 persons was jailed on the same charges.

Of course, the imprisoned activists were mostly members of the revolutionary left groups and especially student members of these groups.

Previous student struggles had won respect for the right of revolutionary opposition to the government in the University within the limits of organizational and propaganda work by the revolutionary groups. An important milestone of this struggle undoubtedly was the 1966 movement. That year a strike broke out against the rector Ignacio Chavez. Initially arising from wrangles among high government officials, once this movement extended to the students it became a weapon against the method of higher education.

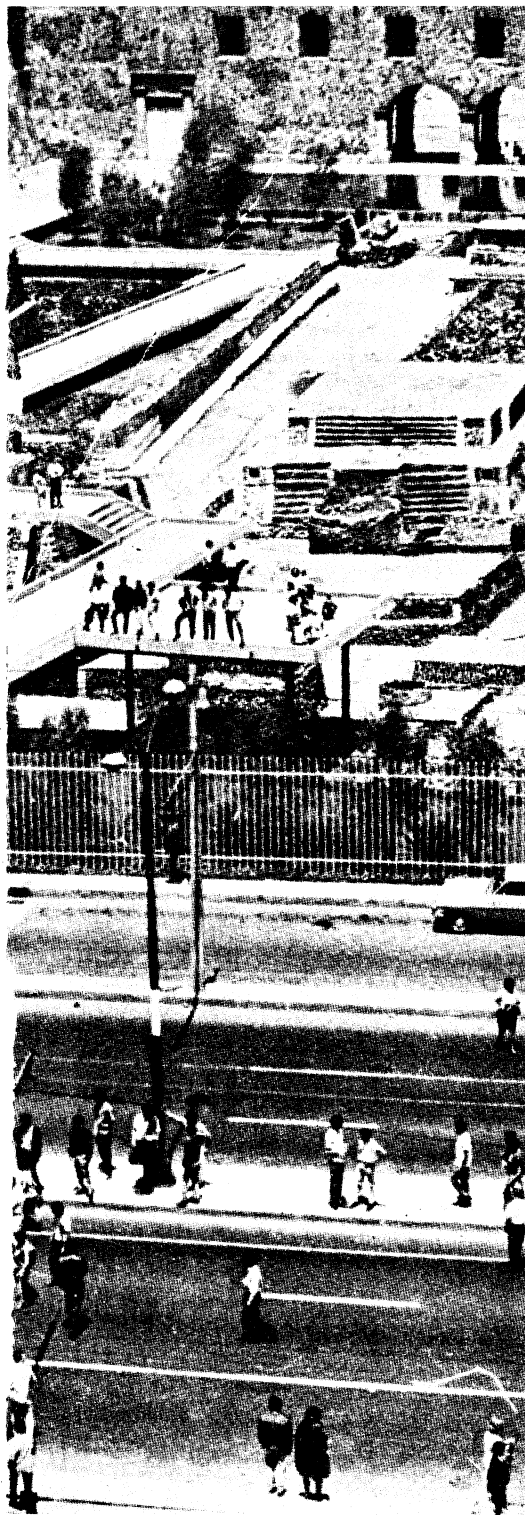
A struggle was taken up for "university reform," whose aftermath was very important in establishing the new level from which the 1968 student movement started off. Everyone in the university world interpreted "university reform" in their own way. Everyone from the rector and the higher authorities to the most radical group in the School of Philosophy and Letters or Political Science talked about "university reform." And of course these two words were given very different meanings depending on who used them.

One thing, however, was more or less clear for large sectors of the students, and that was that real university "reform" could not be realistically envisaged unless the surrounding society also underwent a profound change. The problem was not the structure of the university but of society.

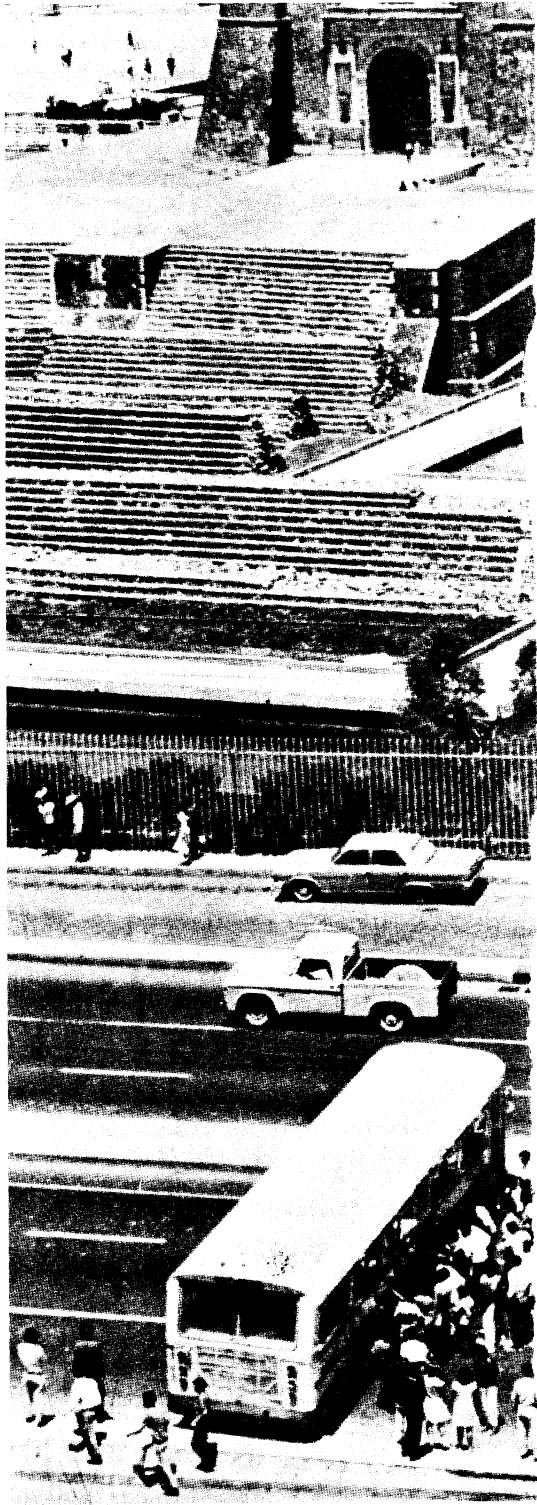
The evolution in the Polytechnic was the most surprising. Starting from a much lower political level, the IPN students rapidly grasped the obligation of the students to espouse popular struggles. In action, they unquestionably took the lead of the movement. The unity among the students produced by the July 26 events immediately became a revolutionary force.

Another difference which directly determined the special development of the French student movement, setting it off from all the other student movements throughout the world and especially the Mexican movement was the reaction of the working class. The French student movement forced the workers' Communist leadership to change its attitude toward the movement from one of hostility to one of reluctant support, mainly because once the student movement had shown its firmness and effective-

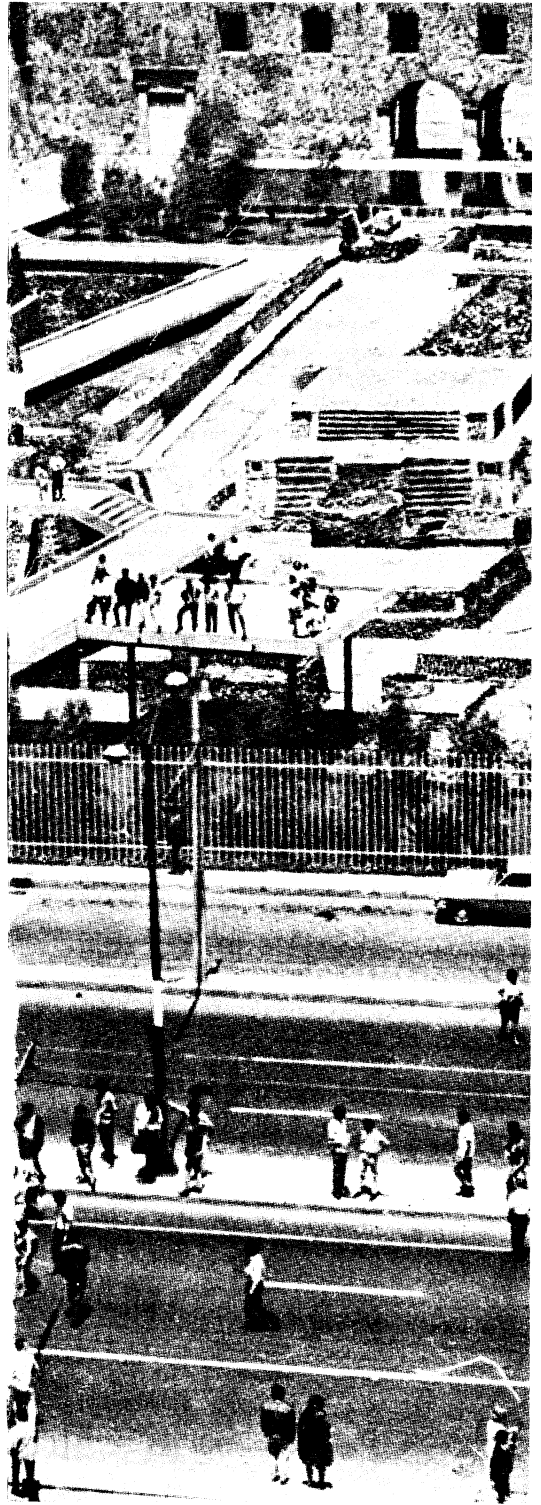
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SCENE OF STRUGGLE. Mexican students and workers gathered around a bus in the foreground. In the background are the pre-Columbian pyramid ruins which border one side of the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, scene of the infamous October 2 massacre of 1968 by the troops of Gen. Díaz Ordaz.



...seize bus. In the background are the pre-Columbian ruins of the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, scene of the infamous October 2 massacre of 1968 by the troops of Gen. Díaz Ordaz.

'Once again repression had failed'

(Continued from Page 7)

ness the workers themselves were anxious to support it.

In Mexico the working class is not led by a Communist party independent of the government and reflecting in a reformist way, as in France, the real interests of broad sectors of the proletariat in the arena of trade-union and economic struggles. The Mexican workers have no mass party, either revolutionary or reformist, to unite them. Their trade-union organization, the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (CTM) is led by a group of corrupt, gangster functionaries bound body and soul to the Mexican government and to the U.S. government, which maintains permanent representatives in it.

Gangster methods

These bureaucrats retain their places not only by gangster methods but even by bayonets, as in 1959 when the army intervened in the railroad strike. These characteristics of the Mexican workers movement have decisive importance for the development of the student movement.

A society such as we have in Mexico—where the government controls the masses by corrupting the mass organizations, physically coercing any kind of popular movement, resorting to systematic illegal measures and police intimidation against any form of opposition not sanctioned by the regime—must turn with increasing frequency to repression as the only means to maintain the political framework required for "normal" functioning of the system.

A firm, revolutionary mass student opposition could not help but shake the Mexican political structure from top to bottom. The Mexican students constituted an "extraparliamentary" force like their French counterparts, but unlike them they exercised their opposition in the streets of a society which does not permit even a real "parliamentary" opposition.

This explains the ferocious repression the student movement suffered on the night of July 29, three days after its start. After the students defeated the police, the government brought in the army, which violated the UNAM's autonomy with its now famous use of a bazooka [to shoot down the door of a preparatory school affiliated to the University of Mexico] and arrested thousands of students.

Lacking the political preparation of the French students, the Mexican students had to face up to a military repression which the French bourgeoisie did not dare resort to even in the worst moments of the revolutionary crisis of May.

The ferocity, savagery, and blindness of the repression which the bourgeoisie resorted to in Mexico shocked the entire world. This ferocity, however, was nothing

new to the Mexican people. The Mexican bourgeoisie, which boasts so much of its "revolutionary" origins and which paints up the "reformist" Mexican system, exposed itself internationally in 1968.

But the Mexican people already knew the repressive character of this ruling class, which will stop at nothing. For example, what other Latin-American country has held a trade-union leader in jail for nine years for leading a strike? Demetrio Vallejo, imprisoned since 1959, was charged with "social dissolution" for calling a railroad strike. Where else have we seen massacres of peasants like the one in Acapulco in 1967, in which hundreds of copra-plantation workers were machine-gunned by "trade-union leaders" in the pay of the government?

In what country have more universities been occupied by troops than in Mexico, where the University of Morelia was invaded in 1966, University of Sonora in 1967, and the University of Mexico and the Polytechnic Institute in 1968? The government of President Diaz Ordaz brought the tendencies shaping up in the regime of the "reformist" president Lopez Mateos to their culmination.

In colonial and semicolonial countries many social movements develop simply as a natural response to systematic repression. Of course, the 1968 student movement has been affected by a whole series of social and economic forces blocking the traditional bourgeois alternatives and forcing the bourgeoisie to resort more and more frequently to repressive methods. The most important of these are the country's declining economic growth and the mounting government debt, which have pinched off the resources devoted to "social necessities" like education.

But institutionalized repression is evoking a response. Although its objective is to silence rebel voices, its ultimate result is to make them more numerous; inasmuch as the repression exacerbates social tensions, it makes them more intolerable.

This is the experience of the last decades in Latin America. Repression can partially smother rebellion. However, since it does not eliminate the causes of popular discontent, it can only stimulate a more dynamic resurgence of the oppressed people's revolutionary desires later on.

The brutal repression visited on the student movement produced four mass demonstrations in August such as had never been seen before in Mexico City. The last one, on Aug. 27, brought out as many as 700,000. On that same day the military struck once more against the movement. As on the previous day, it only produced a new deepening of the movement, which began to extend to sectors of the peasantry and the workers.

By Sept. 13, the day of the silent dem-



STUDENT STICKER: "Visitor: Would you like to get acquainted with Mexico? Visit the Jails."

onstration, it was obvious to the whole country that the government had been politically and morally defeated by the popular movement led by the students. After almost two months of struggle and endless provocations, after confrontation with the army, after the sinister threats Diaz Ordaz made in his Sept. 1 report, and after an unprecedented campaign against it in the press, on the day of the silent demonstration the movement emerged victorious and stronger and more popular than ever.

A forerunner

It was clear to the bourgeoisie that the students' victory was the forerunner of other popular struggles, most particularly by the workers, which might overturn the system. This was why the bourgeoisie had to escalate its repression to a higher level. It was the outstanding victories of the student movement that brought the bourgeoisie to move to a higher level of repression.

By Sept. 13 the student movement was already setting a bad example for the people of Mexico; it was stimulating a mobilization of the workers in Mexico City. The student movement, on its own, had already won. The entire student population was mobilized. As a purely student affair, the movement could go no further.

Sept. 13 marked the turn of the movement from a student movement to a popular one. But the bourgeoisie could not allow this stage to proceed. At that moment it decided to send in the army to occupy the University of Mexico campus.

The bourgeoisie took great risks, but it would have run still greater ones if it let the student movement draw in the workers and peasants who had come to its aid.

There is a marked difference here between the Mexican and French student movements. In France, influenced by the Stalinist bureaucrats, the workers were generally distrustful of the students, "the future bourgeois." In Mexico, on the other hand, as is common in Latin America, the students are viewed as the most faithful standard-bearers of popular struggles. From the start, an overwhelming majority of the people were in sympathy with the students. Therefore, the attempted repression of the movement was answered by a deepening of the resistance.

The occupation of the university campus opened the most violent and decisive round in the conflict. From Sept. 18 to Sept. 25 all the areas of Mexico City near the educational centers were occupied by the army.

The harsh reality of tanks and motorized units appeared before the eyes of the people of Mexico City, who were totally unaccustomed to such a display, which they

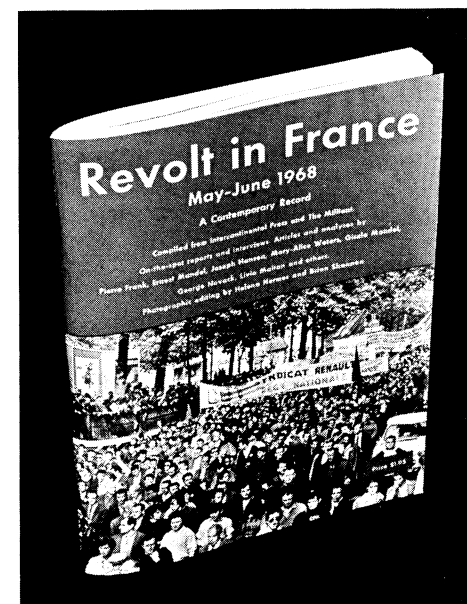
thought belonged to a remote epoch of the revolution.

Frequent clashes occurred between the army and the students, and the dead began to be counted in whole groups. The occupation of the university campus was counterproductive. It discredited the government and increased sympathy for the students. The students' reaction was powerful enough to balk the repression; and the movement began to move into the phase of an open political offensive. It emerged from this test with fresh strength and with extraordinary prestige. Once again repression had failed.

The week of Sept. 25 to Oct. 2 was crucial. Far from intimidating the movement with its repressive measures, the government had made it tougher, more resolute, and more revolutionary. It had forced the more backward sectors to understand the urgent necessity of an organized alliance with the workers and peasants.



STUDENT STICKER: "People, unite! Don't let them rule you with tanks and speeches."



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Indianapolis Panthers target of cop attack

By Richard Congress

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—An attack on the Indianapolis office of the Black Panther Party by federal marshals and local police may signify the opening of a police attempt to wipe out the Indianapolis Panthers, BPP minister of information, Joe Martin told this reporter.

Three BPP members were arrested during the Dec. 18 raid. An Indiana Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party has been established to build support against this police repression.

The federal marshals and Indianapolis police broke into and ransacked the BPP office at 8 a.m. Dec. 18.

The marshals had a federal warrant to search for illegal unregistered weapons. The police claimed they had a complaint that a shipment of automatic weapons had gone into the office the day before the raid. No store of weapons was found.

Panther members Michael Cannon, 19, and Dan Ginns, 18, were in the office on security duty at the time of the raid. The security guard had been established after repeated threats from right-wing groups.

Cannon, the officer of the day, refused to allow the marshals to enter until so instructed by a superior officer of the BPP.

The police then fired three canisters of tear gas into the office, smashing the front window. Cannon and Ginns were arrested on federal charges of drawing a deadly

weapon on a federal marshal and obstructing a federal marshal in the performance of his duty. A preliminary hearing set bond for Cannon at \$20,000 and Ginns at \$5,000.

L. C. Roberts, Panther minister of finance, was arrested by the Indianapolis police outside the office for disorderly conduct and interference with arrest. He is free on \$3,250 bond.

Although no cache of weapons was found in the Panther office, it was completely wrecked. Six hundred dollars in cash was found missing from the Panther treasury.

The Panthers have filed suit against the police, county sheriff and prosecutor's office in federal court. The suit cites illegal threats, and acts of intimidation and harassment of the Panthers by the police and asks for a restraining order from the court.

Joe Martin, Indianapolis BPP minister of information, told *The Militant* that he expected more attacks. Martin said that he was in touch with the BPP national office in Oakland, Calif., concerning the Indianapolis situation.

A demonstration was held Dec. 23 by the Indiana Committee to Defend the BPP in front of the police department. Present were representatives from the Clergy and Lay Concerned about Vietnam, Draft Project, Citizens Defense League, Purdue Peace Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party and several community organizations.



U. S. professed "surprise" and "dismay" about clampdown

Black Liberation Notes

Newton restricted to jail cell

In an interview with a local newspaperman, Panther leader Huey P. Newton commented on his imprisonment at the California Men's Colony in San Luis Obispo. "Prison with solitude gives you time to use introspection to crystalize your philosophy," he said. "I treasure becoming a revolutionary, evolving to the new man, the revolutionary man."

In the interview, which was reported in the Nov. 29 *Chicago Defender*, Newton discussed his ideas about how the country would be run if the Panthers' program were carried out. "Each group in the country would be reflected in the constitution," he said. "Minority groups would have their seats allotted in Congress, and their needs and welfare would be reflected too. Profit would be out."

Asked about his attitude toward "communist philosophers," Newton said, "I don't think I have any disagreement with Marx, Lenin or Trotsky."

"I disagree with the Russian brand of Marxism. That's not socialism but state capitalism, which cares about bureaucracy instead of people."

Newton is confined to his jail cell and cannot go to the prison library or to any other prison areas (except at mealtime or to see visitors) as a result of his refusal to work at the prison.

Demand

Mexican history

Sixty Mexican-American high-school students won a victory in court Dec. 18 in Brownsville, Tex., a town in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. The judge ordered all 60 students who were expelled from school for participating in a high-school boycott, reinstated.

The boycott was organized after school officials refused to discuss a list of 15 demands drawn up by the students, including the right to speak Spanish on the campus and to include Mexican history and culture in the school curriculum.

Still fighting

According to the Dec. 20 *Muhammad Speaks*, the school boycott in Swan Quarter, N.C., is continuing despite the fact that

on Dec. 10, 25 high-school students were sentenced to four months in jail or an alternative of a \$100 fine. (The average yearly income in Swan Quarter is \$700.) During the trial 17 other high-school students were arrested for refusing to stand at the close of the court.

Another high school protest in Twin Cities

A protest has broken out at Central High School in St. Paul, Minnesota, and students are using sit-ins and walk-outs to push their demands. Two different student committees are negotiating with the principal, one all-black group and another which is both black and white. Central is one-fourth black.

Naming the virus

Rap Brown has come up with the obvious alternative name for the "Hong Kong" or "Asian" flu—the "Honkie flu."

How the Times looks at it

In an article discussing the increase in what they call "disorders" in the high schools, the Dec. 16 *New York Times* commented that "although high-school student rebellion is generally welcomed with as much enthusiasm as greets a boy with shoulder-length hair and a pocketful of marijuana, it is hard to find anyone who doubts that it is present and growing."

Help needed

in Ferguson appeal

Thousands of dollars must be raised for appeals in the case of Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris, the two militant separatists who were framed in Queens, N. Y., on charges of conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins. They face the maximum sentence for conspiracy—three-and-a-half to seven years.

To help raise funds, the New York area Black Students Union is sponsoring an affair for the defendants at Long Island University at 2 p.m., Jan. 26.

All those interested in helping with the defense should contact the National Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 821, Jamaica, N. Y. 11431.

Elizabeth Barnes

Brazil's gorillas in new dictatorial clampdown

DEC. 23—The military dissolution of the Brazilian congress brings the third outright military dictatorship to Latin America this year. The other two were in Peru and Panama in early October.

According to the Dec. 22 *New York Times*, there has only been one year in the last 25 without a military coup in Latin America—1967.

Outside of the fact that a number of Brazilian political leaders were arrested, heavy press censorship makes it impossible to know the real extent of the repressive measures undertaken by the regime which came to power Dec. 14.

The Economist of London described this as a "press censorship severer than anything Brazil has known since the toughest days of the Vargas dictatorship in the 1930s."

What precipitated President Costa e Silva's move to the right was apparently a speech by Marcio Moreira Alves, a deputy to the now-dissolved congress from Rio de Janeiro, who condemned the military authorities and urged people to boycott the celebration of "independence" day.

Clearly Alves speech only capped the

Two new attacks by the guerrillas of Venezuela

Two attacks by Venezuelan guerrillas Dec. 19 constitute the biggest guerrilla operations in the region of Venezuela's capital, Caracas, in the last seven months, according to a Dec. 19 Reuters dispatch from Caracas.

The guerrillas were apparently units of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

In one attack, five machine-gun-armed guerrillas reportedly killed a police chief and an official of the ruling Democratic Action Party and took two rich cattle ranchers hostage, in the village of Tapatapa, 35 miles south of Caracas.

And in Acurigua, 25 miles from the capital, 15 guerrillas disarmed three policemen and controlled the village for seven hours. They then withdrew with provisions for 10 days.

According to the Reuters report, military sources in Caracas "showed surprise at the efficiency of the two operations and the number of guerrillas who took part."

popular antagonism to the military regime, which has been spurred by a year of student protests and demonstrations. It was seized as a pretext for banning the congress and obliterating all forms of criticism of the government.

One indication of the character of the regime before the coup has been the persistent comment in the financial press that whatever was wrong with it, the military succeeded in cutting the inflation rate from around 90 percent in 1964 when it came to power, to about 25 percent in the last two years.

A *New York Times* Brazilian "source" explains that though inflation had been curbed "there had not been corresponding social advances, either in a more equitable distribution of the rising national income or the broadened public participation in Brazil's affairs."

That simply means the government launched an all-out attack on jobs and wages. "But inflationary pressures have been building up recently under the indecisive rule of Costa e Silva," *Business Week* asserted Dec. 21. "The tough new government line could induce a return to strict economic discipline . . ."

Business Week added "For Washington, the shift to undisguised military rule in Brazil raises no immediate policy problems. The U.S. has been backing the Brazilian regime heavily with economic aid totaling more than \$1.1 billion in the past four years.

"But the lame duck Johnson administration is in no mood to put any pressure on Costa e Silva to liberalize his rule."

CHE GUEVARA

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An Israeli socialist replies to a left Zionist critic

By I. Faraj

The following was written in response to Yehuda Krantz's "Arab Israeli conflict: a different view," which appeared in our letters' column Dec. 13.

Some of Krantz's points to which Faraj specifically replies are:

1. The Zionist "Hire Jewish" policy created a Jewish proletariat in Palestine and thus prevented the development of a typical colonial society while benefiting Arab as well as Jewish workers by raising all wages.

2. All discriminatory laws against Israeli Arabs, which were originally enacted for security reasons, have been repealed, largely through the efforts of the Mapam party.

3. The Israeli economy requires foreign assistance because of the Arab military threat and the Arab trade boycott.

4. Israel opposed the Algerian revolution as "the price of arms." Cuba and Israel maintain diplomatic relations.

5. Socialists should support demilitarization and neutralization in the Middle East. "Terrorism" strengthens reaction; peace is necessary for the "crystallization of a socialist revolution."

I would like to give Y. Krantz a point-by-point reply.

1. Instead of organizing both Jewish and Arab workers in unions and labor parties and fighting for higher salaries for both, the Zionist Left preferred to discriminate against Arab workers and to organize the workers along purely religious-nationalistic lines, which were in those years also racial. It is obvious that had the Arabs and Jews been protected by a common union, the Jewish capitalists would have no reason to hire exclusively Arab labor.

Under the "Marxist" Borochovist banner, "Create a Jewish proletariat," every crime against the Arab proletariat and peasantry was justified. Under the "Jewish Productions" banner of the Zionist Left, the agricultural products of the Arab peasantry were taboo for the Jewish population.

It is true that the Jewish colonization of Palestine was in this respect different from other known colonizations. By creating a new "normal" nation, the Jewish colonization destroyed the normal economic structure of the existing Palestine nation. The Arabs were forced to work only on the nonindustrial jobs in government offices, agriculture, civil service, and others. This weakened the political force of the Palestine people and helped Israel, Jordan and Britain forget the existence of the Palestinians in 1948.

2. Even Mapam—which by the way is on its way to unity with the Israel Labor



OUSTED FROM HOMES. Jordanian refugees make their way from west bank of Jordan river to Aman. After the cease-fire in Mideast war, Israeli soldiers forced them from their homes.

Party—used to say that the martial laws were not a security necessity but an oppression necessity. It is a lie that the laws were repealed. As a matter of fact, not a single martial law was repealed. (Many of these laws were inherited from the British colonial law and also from the Ottoman empire.)

Only the responsibility of their implementation was passed from the hands of a special agency of the army to the hands of a special agency of the police. Mapam used this administrative change to congratulate herself before the world's Left. But Arab members of opposition parties were arrested en masse under these laws during the June, 1967, war, a year after this administrative change took place.

3. It is true that as long as Israel oppresses the Palestine people she will need weapons to defend herself, and no Arab country (even after a socialist revolution in the Middle East) will stop boycotting Zionist Israel.

Israel severely damaged her rights in the Suez Canal after she helped Britain and France to restore "law and order" in the canal zone in the 1956 Suez war. Before 1956, when the canal was under British control, Israel had never raised her voice too high in demanding her rights.

4. Moshe Dayan, who was correctly labeled a "neofascist" by Yehuda Krantz, is held by the head of Mapam, Yaari, as suitable even for Prime Minister of Israel.

Yaari repeatedly referred to him with admiration after the Six Days War (see the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* of Nov. 8, '68). Of course, we don't forget that they both—the neofascist and the "Zionist-Socialist" Yaari (together with reader Yehuda Krantz) are members of one and the same Socialist-Zionist party or "bloc"—the Labor Parties Bloc of Israel. They appear together before the Israeli voter, and have common delegations in the Israeli Senate.

5. Why did the Israeli government oppose the South Yemen revolution? Does Yehuda Krantz have another consistent explanation? Why did she abstain from voting on the South African issue? Why did she vote time and time again against a resolution to bring China into the UN? It is true that Cuba retains diplomatic relations with Israel. But it is equally true that Cuba has been opposed to every single diplomatic move of the Israeli government.

In conclusion, with regard to Krantz's closing "peaceful" remarks on neutralism and demilitarization: A socialist is never neutral between oppressed and oppressors and will never disarm himself until the last of the capitalist countries has become socialist. "Terrorism" is the term used by the American press to refer to the fight of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, but a socialist considers every fight of a people under conquest as a fully justified war of resistance.

Ft. Knox GIs hold Louisville teach-in

By David Bliss

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—GIs at Ft. Knox held a teach-in here Dec. 14 on the war in Vietnam and the rights of GIs in the Army.

The teach-in represented the forging of a new link between the GIs and the civilian antiwar movement. It was organized by a group of GIs on the base itself. At the invitation of the GIs dozens of civilian antiwar activists came from all over Ohio and Kentucky to participate and help to build the teach-in.

On the afternoon of the 14th, antiwar students drove out to Ft. Knox Army base and passed out leaflets announcing the teach-in that evening. They received a warm welcome from almost all of the GIs they met. When the GIs realized that these were leaflets drawn up by some of the GIs themselves, they were anxious to have a copy. Some took batches to pass out and post in their barracks. Only a few were afraid that the Army would punish them for taking the leaflets.

Many asked about the teach-in and who they could get in touch with on base if they couldn't make it to the teach-in.

After several hours of confused deliberation, the brass handed the students letters telling them not to come back again. As the MPs escorted the antiwar students off the base, the GIs made "V" signs for victory to show their solidarity.

At the teach-in, the atmosphere was similar to the campus teach-ins of two years ago with one exception: It is more difficult to find supporters of the Vietnam war among the GIs now than among students two years ago.

Among the speakers were attorney Conrad Lynn, Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University, Andy Stapp of the American Servicemen's Union, and Bill Ruscoe, an ex-GI who related his personal experiences in Vietnam and told what caused him to change his mind about the war.

Discussion ranged from historical analysis of the war in Vietnam to questions about the rights of GIs in the army. These rights are particularly important to antiwar GIs who want to reach their fellow soldiers through newspapers and meetings about the war.

After the teach-in many GIs joined the Ft. Knox antiwar organization, FTA, which puts out a regular newspaper by the same name. Copies of Task Force and other GI newspapers were taken, read and stuffed into pockets. Amid a general aura of enthusiasm, plans were made to build the Dec. 27-29 GI antiwar conference in Chicago.

YSA bugs used book dealer

By Karl Meyer

CHICAGO—The ten individual signers of the telegram below are all part of the ownership and top management of the Follett College Book Company, a textbook firm which does most of its business with students. A copy of the telegram was posted on a company bulletin board.

Follett College Book Company is the largest in the used textbook industry. When its representatives appear in the spring at colleges all over the country to buy textbooks from students, the posters claim, "We pay top prices for used books." When the time comes to sell the books back to students in the fall, the ads scream, "Come to Folletts and save. Used books at low prices."

But discriminating students seem to discern in the whole operation a classic formula for capitalist success: buy low; sell dear. And profits have obviously been good. Starting from a base as a wholesale distributor of used textbooks, in recent years the company has acquired a chain of 20 college stores.

It was evidently a story in the Chicago Tribune of Nov. 28, which touched off Follett's telegraphic intervention. The Tribune story pointed out that the SWP, the "parent organization" of the YSA, has been cited by the United States Attorney General's office as a "subversive and communist group." Despite protests by State Senator John Lanigan, the Cook County Ameri-

can Legion, and the Illinois Manufacturer's Association, the YSA was allowed to hold its convention at the U of I Circle Campus.

Mary-Alice Waters, identified as the "national director of the YSA," was quoted by the Tribune as saying that "the convention is being held to complete our revolutionary plans. We don't believe any of the problems in this country will be solved until it becomes a socialist country."

Yves Saless, a French student who spoke at the convention, was quoted as saying, "We will have to decide on an international strategy to fight American imperialism."

All this proved too much for the Follett magnates, and they fired off their desperate telegram to Dr. Henry, hoping he could be their leader in a "vacuum of apathy."

A message from Follett

The following is the text of a Nov. 29 telegram sent to Dr. David D. Henry, president of the University of Illinois, by 10 executives of the Follett College Book Company. See story this page.

As citizen taxpayers of the State of Illinois and as men who believe in the democratic principles that made this country great we strongly object to the University's position in allowing any organization avowed to the overthrow or undermining of our government the use of University facilities to further their cause.

Specifically we refer to the University's willingness to allow the Young Socialist Alliance to hold its international convention at the Chicago Circle Campus when the leaders of this group indicate that the purpose of the YSA convention is to decide on international revolutionary strategy to fight American imperialism.

Take a firm stand, Dr. Henry. You will find that the vast majority of citizenry will back your position. We are all desperately looking for leaders in today's vacuum of apathy.

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Denver cops in attack on Panthers

By Mark Kramer

DENVER (Liberation News Service)—The Denver police are imitating storm troopers this month in their attempt to destroy the local Black Panther Party. They have succeeded only in increasing Panther militancy and community support of the group.

On Saturday, Dec. 7, 43 cops raided and ransacked Au Naturel, the Panthers' headquarters, causing an estimated \$9,000 in damage. The cops had a warrant and claimed they were hot on the trail of a

large cache of weapons. Afterwards they reported finding four guns. Newspapers praised the cops, saying that they had been informed that the arms were moved out just before the raid.

A member of the University of Colorado SDS, an eyewitness to the raid, gave this description: "The pigs ripped off the wood paneling, pulled out light fixtures, tore up posters, smashed a display of black art, battered down the walls between the offices and mutilated the faces on drawings hung around the place. They broke into coke

and pinball machines and the cash register, tore out a stage, smashed chairs, tore up the basement and destroyed boxes of children's toys the Panthers had collected for neighborhood kids. The place looked like a bomb had hit." The Panthers report that the cops stole \$137 from the cash register and \$20 from the coke machine.

The raid took place just after 100 guests left Au Naturel. They had been celebrating the wedding of Panther leader Lauren Watson. Watson had received earlier threats from the police, assuring him that his wedding would never happen. An armed Panther guard stood on a balcony throughout the reception.

In response to the outrage of the black community and a portion of the white community, a commission was formed to investigate charges of police vandalism. The commission was headed by none other than Police Chief George Seaton. He found the cops innocent.

Seaton theorized that the Panthers had done the damage themselves, to tarnish the good reputation of the police department. He said the cops carried out an "ordinary search." Mayor Currihan criticized the Pan-

thers for "doing a great disservice to the community" by "libeling" the cops.

The cops did not limit themselves to destroying property. Earlier on the wedding day they arrested James Young, a Panther leader, claiming that he stood outside the headquarters with a shotgun and "threatened to shoot a cop, then ran back into the house." But Young was busted outside, unarmed. He was charged with "assault on a police officer" and locked up for two days in Denver County jail. At the time of the arrest Young was out on bond from a previous charge of sniping during an outbreak in Denver's black community last summer. The cops roughed up Young's wife and charged her with "creating a disturbance." It is reported that this charge has been dropped.

Lauren Watson was also arrested last summer and charged with "conspiracy to commit arson." His trial started Dec. 16, and if he is found guilty, he can be sentenced to a maximum of 20 years in jail.

Several other Panthers have been followed and busted on technical traffic violations, such as not stopping behind the white line in an intersection.

Federal probe demanded of Kentucky bomb attack

PIKEVILLE, Ky., Dec. 17—Alan and Margaret McSurely have asked for a federal investigation of the dynamiting of their home near here Dec. 13.

The McSurelys and their year-old son, Victor, narrowly escaped death when the dynamite bomb missed their bedroom window. It hit the side of the house instead.

The McSurelys charged in affidavits filed with the U.S. district attorney that the dynamiting was a part of a conspiracy against them on the part of coal operators and politicians in Eastern Kentucky. They said the conspiracy, designed to prevent organization by the poor, started with their arrest under a state sedition law in 1967; the law was later declared unconstitutional.

The dynamiting came a week after the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) held another in a series of hearings here. The McSurelys are field

workers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which has been under attack by KUAC.

Mrs. Anne Braden, associate director of SCEF, sent telegrams of protest to Gov. Louie B. Nunn and State Sen. Scott Miller, Jr., chairman of KUAC.

She charged that "this criminal act (the dynamiting) was provoked by the fear and hatred generated by your Committee. In Eastern Kentucky, this Committee is serving only the interests of the coal operators."

The McSurely bombing was the latest in a series of dynamitings and violence against black and white residents of Kentucky. Five churches and a pharmacy were bombed in the summer and fall in various parts of the state. The pharmacy bombing resulted in injury of four persons, including the pharmacist, a leader in the NAACP.



BOMB TARGET. Mr. and Mrs. Allen McSurley and their one-year-old son escaped injury Dec. 13 when a bomb exploded inches below their bedroom window.

The Great Society

A LITTLE SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE—Proposed new pay scales being drawn up at the Pentagon would provide a thumping increase in a recruit's salary—boosting it from \$109.50 a month to \$119.40. And apparently as a bonus for their brilliant victories in Vietnam, the chiefs of staff will get a bit of an increase too. Their wages will go from about \$30,000 a year up to an even \$50,000.

PROTESTS AID MARKET—For a while Corning Glass was stuck with the shatter-proof windows it was turning out for the aborted bomb-shelter fad a decade ago. Now they're being used by schools with unhappy students.

THE ULTIMATE—In case you've been wondering why you should fly Eastern instead of Line X, your flight stewardess will soon be providing full-size silverware and, if desired, a box for your wig!

SOUNDS REASONABLE—Prior to the record-breaking underground atomic blast in Nevada last week, a protest was lodged by Utah scientists because of the grave risks in the area. An AEC official philosophically observed: "We don't know for sure what these tests will do, otherwise we wouldn't be doing it."

MINISKIRTS UPHELD—The shorter a girl's skirt, the less likely a target she is in nighttime traffic, according to the president of the Netherlands Safe Traffic Association. "The more leg, the earlier a driver sees someone," he explained.

THE SILVER LINING—Plane companies are rubbing their hands at the prospect of federal legislation which would pay as much as 75 percent of the cost of helicopters and helicopter training purchased by local police agencies. Wide participation in the program is assumed.

SOMETHING TO WORK TOWARD—We were quite pleased with our new \$6.95 Timex even though you do have to peer a bit to figure out what time it is. Then we saw that Bergdorf Goodman is offering a watch "for men on the move" with a "large, easy to read dial." \$500.

THANK YOU NOTE—Season's greetings to all and thanks to those whose clippings help keep this column going. May your tribe increase (clipping-wise).

— Harry Ring



Gen. Westmoreland, \$50,000 man.

Fund Scoreboard

| Area | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|--------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Portland | \$ 150 | \$ 190 | 126 |
| Boston | 1,200 | 1,375 | 115 |
| Allentown | 150 | 155 | 103 |
| Los Angeles | 4,400 | 4,508 | 102 |
| San Diego | 300 | 303 | 101 |
| Chicago | 1,950 | 1,950 | 100 |
| New York | 7,200 | 7,200 | 100 |
| San Francisco | 2,300 | 2,300 | 100 |
| Philadelphia | 1,300 | 1,300 | 100 |
| Detroit | 2,000 | 2,000 | 100 |
| Seattle | 300 | 300 | 100 |
| Twin Cities | 2,200 | 2,200 | 100 |
| St. Louis | 100 | 97 | 97 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 2,000 | 1,600 | 80 |
| Cleveland | 1,800 | 1,200 | 67 |
| Other Areas | 650 | 1,361 | 209 |
| | \$28,000 | \$28,056 | 100 |
| Lifetime Militants | \$12,000 | \$16,000 | 133 |
| Totals | \$40,000 | \$44,056 | 110 |

clip and mail

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San Francisco student call

SAN FRANCISCO—Supporters of the strike at San Francisco State College from over 30 high-school and college campuses in California met here Dec. 21-22 to plan support actions for the strike.

Following is the text of the call issued by the Strike Support Coordinating Committee, Dec. 22. It begins with a statement by the Third World Liberation Front at S. F. State.

* * *

"The Third World Liberation Front and Black Student Union demands stress our human right to self-determination according to the needs of our community and not of the military-industrial-political complex that controls the education of this nation.

"No longer must we or you put up with the psychological genocide that is called education. We must stop them from making us into 'sophisticated slaves' with highly developed skills. We must attack from all levels those institutions and persons that have kept us fighting with each other and forgetting the real enemy.

"We must come back to our 'grass roots' understanding that we are all brothers and sisters and extensions of our communities."—San Francisco State Third World Liberation Front.

The state-wide Strike Support Coordinating Committee with representatives from more than 30 California high-school and college campuses has called for a national WEEK OF SOLIDARITY with the struggle at San Francisco State College.

This week of solidarity, Jan. 6-13, is based on support for the principle of self-determination of oppressed national minorities. We support the 15 demands of the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front.

We realize that the racist power structure has united to crush the strike at San Francisco State hoping to make it an exemplary defeat for Third World peoples as it has sought to repel the tide of Vietnamese self-determination.

Understanding this we have united to meet such an unleashing of repressive power by defending the San Francisco State students in their struggle.

We will not allow intimidation to isolate and defeat the just demands of the striking students. We will mobilize our entire communities to defend the right of Third World and black students to determine and control their own education.

Send us your telegrams of solidarity. Hold support rallies on your own campuses. Join us in mobilizing on every campus to bring students to San Francisco State beginning with Jan. 6 and continuing until the following Monday, Jan. 13.

AN ATTACK AGAINST ONE CAMPUS IS AN ATTACK AGAINST ALL CAMPUSES!

Antiwar GIs fight move to send them to Korea

By Guy Miller

CHICAGO—The Ft. Sheridan brass has moved to smash the latest attempt by GIs to express their views on the war in Vietnam. Eleven antiwar GIs are being scattered to bases in Korea and the U.S. as punishment for their opinions on the war.

The eleven GIs were involved in the publication and distribution of *Logistic*, the newest addition to the growing list of underground GI newspapers. Lt. Col. Edward F. Keevan, Ft. Sheridan information officer, called the paper, "detrimental to the objectives and mission of the army" but piously claimed that "none of the transfers are considered punitive."

Since the transfers clearly are punitive and a violation of the GIs' First Amendment rights, two of the GIs, Sp/4 Wayne Morse and Pfc. Gary Wisby, decided to file suit against secretary Stanley Resor of the Army, Defense Secretary Clark Clifford and Ft. Sheridan base commander Col.

Edwin Nichols. Wisby and Morse, along with the American Civil Liberties Union, filed a writ of habeas corpus to restrain the Army from transferring them.

In a special night session of the U. S. District Court, Judge James B. Parsons ruled against the two GIs, claiming that the case did not indicate "cruel and inhuman punishment." However, ACLU attorney David Goldberger is determined to press the case and file an amended complaint in order to stop the transfers.

Pfc. Wisby said that the GI paper did not encourage servicemen to disobey military regulations and added, "We are just trying to express our opinion and give them (the GIs) a chance to express theirs, pro and con."

Logistic developed out of the Oct. 26 GI Rally held in Chicago. The rally was sponsored by the Chicago GI Weeks Committee, a coalition of the Student Mobilization Committee, Chicago Vets for Peace, the Chicago Peace Council and others.



TIMELIER THAN EVER. Slogans at 1967 New York peace demonstration.



Aaron Dixon

Seattle jury clears Black Panther leader

By Sharron Coontz

SEATTLE—Aaron Dixon, Seattle Black Panther Party captain, won a major court victory on Dec. 17. He had been tried on a trumped-up charge of grand larceny by possession because an allegedly stolen typewriter was found in Black Panther headquarters. After less than four hours of deliberation an all-white jury of 10 women and two men returned a verdict of not guilty. The trial was part of a concerted police drive against the Panthers.

The prosecution maintained that Dixon was seen carrying a typewriter into the Panther office on the evening of July 18, 1968, the same evening a typewriter had disappeared from the Legal Services Center about a mile away. The missing typewriter was found at Panther headquarters on July 29 when the police entered and searched the office and arrested Aaron Dixon.

The state's case rested mainly on the testimony of Detective Sanford of the Seattle Police Department, who said he observed the Panther office from an unmarked police car on the evening of July 18. On several points his testimony at the trial contradicted his earlier sworn statements.

He originally indicated he had seen Dixon enter the headquarters about 9 p.m.; at the trial he testified it was closer to 8 p.m. At the trial he testified for the first time that he had been using binoculars; earlier he had indicated he was simply watching. He also changed the position of the other police officers in the car, and changed the position of the car itself.

When asked to explain these and the other differences in testimony, Sanford suggested that the official court record of his testimony was incorrect and also that he hadn't read "word for word" the affidavits he had signed.

Two defense witnesses swore that Dixon was at their apartment from 8 p.m. until about 9:20 on July 18. Dixon's mother testified that he had been home between about 9:30 and 10:30.

A series of photographs of the Panther headquarters were introduced as evidence, taken under conditions similar to those which prevailed at the time Detective Sanford said he saw Dixon with the typewriter. The photographs taken from the alleged position of the police car showed numerous obstructions to the view of the Panther headquarters.

A major part of the defense case rested on the testimony of an electrical engineer. On the basis of light meter readings, he testified to the dim light just before sunset on July 18, and other equally important details.

The final witness for the defense was

Aaron Dixon himself who described the events of July 18 and his arrest on July 29.

The sum total of the evidence against the Seattle cops' case was so convincing that even the Superior Court judge commended the jury's verdict of not guilty.

Police swarm over campus at San Mateo

By Dianne Gannon

SAN MATEO, Calif.—The college of San Mateo is an armed camp. The state spends \$8,000 a day on salaries alone for the more than 300 cops daily stationed on the campus.

All cars coming onto the campus are searched, all rallies are banned. But the demands raised by the Third World Liberation Front, a coalition of the Black Students Union, the Brown Heritage Club and the Oriental Club are still unanswered.

At a rally Dec. 13, the TWLF explained the history behind their 12 demands. Essentially, they demand self-determination for a Third World studies division; the removal of armed cops from the campus; the appointment of a Third World person as financial aid director; and the lifting of a trustee ruling which sharply curtails recruiting Third World students to the campus.

After the rally, students began a march around the college with the intention of presenting their demands to the administration. A non-demonstrator threw a brick through a building and that touched off a series of fights and rock throwing. The administration has used this event as a pretext for attacks on student leaders, issuing 40 arrest warrants.

Though claiming they will save the tutorial program, the administration intends to dismantle student control over the curriculum and tutorial counselors. Two staff members, Robert Hoover and Gene Wirth, have been ordered off campus until further notice.

At a community support meeting Dec. 18, Mrs. Jackson, a mother of a student, issued a call to all parents to get involved by marching up to the campus on Friday, Dec. 20.

Following the example of Dr. Hayakawa at San Francisco State College, San Mateo President Ewigleben postponed the demonstration by closing the college down for the holidays a week early.