

# U.S. Rulers Launch Spring Offensive Against Black People



Members of Republic of New Africa after the police attack on their Convention in Detroit.



*Black and White, Unite and Fight for a*

## WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 11, No. 6      April 3, 1969      TEN CENTS

### Bflo. Rail Workers Defy Bosses, Courts, 'Leaders'; Students Help

BUFFALO, April 1 — A strike of 700 South Buffalo Railway workers continued today despite company, court and union pressures on the men to go back to work. At a stormy mass meeting, 500 workers turned down a company proposal and elected an independent committee — Men for Workers' Rights — to represent their interests in the strike.

The South Buffalo Railway is a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and services the huge steel plant. Steelworkers have already begun sympathy slowdowns, and there is widespread rank-and-file sentiment at Bethlehem to join the strike.

Support for the trainmen, members of the United Transportation Union, has been spreading since students from the University of Buffalo and families of the strikers began manning the picket lines, after the company got out a court injunction barring union pickets from the steelplant gates. At today's union meeting, a New York Central worker as well as steelworkers came to express their sympathy with the strike.

The dispute began as a lockout two weeks ago when the men refused to work on unsafe equipment. It quickly turned into a strike, and 14 workers have been arrested for contempt of court.

This morning, 50 workers and students picketed the Federal building in Buffalo during a hearing on the injunction. Judge Henderson ordered marshals to disperse the protest. "Move them, break them up now. Arrest them if necessary" were his words. But even after the pickets were moved across the street from the court building, their chants could be clearly heard in the hearing room: "Henderson's a Tool of Company Rule!"

A decision on the injunction, and the fate of the 14 arrested strikers, was postponed until April 3 because the union and company lawyers thought they could get the men to agree on a settlement of the strike. However, at



Dan Bentivogli, YAWF activist at U.B., burns restraining order against student protests. (Story p. 3)

this afternoon's union meeting the men were vehement in rejecting the company proposal, labeling it "blackmail."

The union leaders tried hard to sell the company's offer, which completely ignored the men's grievances. Safety questions (one worker was burned to death last year) and the fact that the men have worked for eight months without a contract are the main issues. The company's proposal dealt with none of this. It promised amnesty for most of the men currently out, but insisted that two of the 14 arrested be fired.

One trainman with 33 years' seniority told the meeting that the proposal was nothing but a snow job and that he was ready to put his job on the line for his two union brothers.

After completely rejecting the company "deal," the men went on to add clauses on safety practices and amnesty for all workers to their demands. One worker proposed a resolution giving heartfelt thanks to the students for their help in the strike. The union leaders hastily adjourned the meeting in the middle of his speech. But the

### Attacks on NYC Panthers, Detroit Meeting, Nixon's Method of "Law and Order"

The U.S. imperialist ruling class, through its racist cops and courts, has launched a "spring offensive" in the war against the black liberation movement. This offensive is part of the "Law and Order" program that Nixon promised his conservative backers he would carry out. Most recent victims of this coordinated attack have been the Black Panthers in New York and friends of the Republic of New Africa meeting in Detroit. The attorney for the Panthers put it bluntly when he said this was "an attempt by the federal, state and local authorities to wipe out the Black Panther Party."

These black militants have been hit with everything the rulers have in their arsenal of repression: armed police attack, brutal beatings and, in the case of the Panthers, fantastically high bails (\$100,000 each for 14 of the defendants!). The attacks amount to a brutal and frantic admission by U.S. capitalism that it has no solution to the desperate social problems it has created for black people. Despite the volumes of liberal rhetoric promising an end to racist oppression, the only concrete move by the authorities has been greater police terror and a widening of the war against Black America.

The Panther frame-ups, on charges of "conspiracy," follow a pattern favored by the police in recent years. The so-called "plot" to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the "conspiracy" used to break up RAM in Philadelphia and the case of the 15 Afro-Americans Accused in Queens — all have in fact been conspiracies by the police and higher authorities to destroy black political groups. No act has been committed or even alleged; nothing is needed but the word of a police informer to throw black militants in jail with heavy sentences.

The attack on the Detroit church where the Republic of New Africa was meeting also follows a pattern. No one in the black community can forget the murderous night in Los Angeles when cops launched a full-scale military assault on the Muslim Temple, killing one man and wounding many more.

Since then, black militants have widely advocated and organized for self-defense. This is the most elemental right of all oppressed people, but nowhere is it a more crying need than in the black community, which is directly under the gun of ruling class police terror.

This nationwide offensive by the reaction is timed to coincide with a drastic attack on the living conditions of the poor. Public institutions such as schools and hospitals are coming apart at the seams, robbed to pay for the aggression against Vietnam. An intensification of exploitation in the plants has sparked rank-and-file rebellions in many areas. The masses are responding with demonstrations and

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men ignored them and went on to pass the resolution. (See background story, page 3.)

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The Oakland 7 and the Chicago 8

The Oakland Seven were declared not guilty of conspiracy by a West coast jury last week, after months of protests and class-struggle-type battle against the frame-up on conspiracy initiated by a hysterical California ruling class in the aftermath of Stop the Draft Week, which had been led by the Seven and others in that area. Rallies, picket lines and big mass actions punctuated their militant trial.

Now eight leaders of the demonstration at the Chicago Democratic convention last August are being framed and prosecuted on practically the same charge, only in this case the added wrinkle of "crossing state lines" to effect the "conspiracy" may increase the possible penalty, if the frame sticks.

While one or two of the eight may be more acceptable to the ruling class than the others, in a general way, there is no doubt that the Nixon Administration and the Chicago authorities are very serious about presecuting them all. Moreover, one of the eight is Bobby Seale, chairman of the revolutionary Black Panther Party and long a target of the racist establishment.

It is urgent for all sections of the movement to close ranks behind these intended victims and mount an ever

more effective struggle to defend and free them.

The method of struggle used in the case of the Oakland Seven is certainly what is called for here. Sympathetic columns of praise for one or another of the more "responsible" of the eight by the ruling class liberals will not do the trick. But mass struggle and defiant exposure of the courts will.

Oddly enough, the political aims of the Chicago demonstrations were mild indeed. Even the most revolutionary of the demonstrators intended only to expose the assembled Democratic politicians and let them know that the people were fed up with them. The more reformist were expecting to influence the party to change its ways and perhaps even to help Eugene McCarthy convince the delegates that he was The man.

But the ruling class turned it into quite something else. And every one of the eight who now faces charges is facing the continuation of the reactionary wrath that was unleashed by the rulers at that time. That is why it concerns the whole Movement.

Let the methods used by the Oakland Seven be used and extended to defend the Chicago Eight.

Ho Chi Minh's 1969 Tet Message To American Foes of U.S. Imperialism

On the occasion of New Year 1969, I would like to extend to you my most cordial wishes for peace and happiness.

In the past year, the U.S. Government had to stop unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. That is a great victory common to the whole Vietnamese people, the progressive people in the United States and the peace-and justice-loving forces in the world.

However, the U.S. ruling circles still indulge in acts encroaching on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In South Viet Nam, they intensify the war of aggression, impelling over half a million young Americans to massacre the civilian population, committing monstrous crimes. But the more obdurately they cling to South Viet Nam and maintain in power their Saigon puppets, the more they impair the interests of the United States, increase the number of young Americans sent to a useless death on the Viet Nam battlefield, and cause sufferings to many families in your country.

For the United States, the way to an honourable solution is to withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs in accordance with the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, without any foreign interference.

The Vietnamese people, having gone through over twenty years of uninterrupted war, deeply desire peace, a peace in genuine independence and freedom. But so long as their country is subjected to aggression, they are determined to fight on till total victory. With the invincible strength of their national unity, and the warm support of their brothers and friends in all continents our people are sure to attain their objectives: to liberate the South, to defend the North, to proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, thereby contributing to the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world.

I warmly hail the courageous struggle of our American friends whatever the colour of their skin, to demand that the U.S. Government stop the aggressive war in Vietnam; that is a struggle which, while supporting our people's resistance fight, defend the interests and honour of the American people and safeguard the life of their boys.

I wish you further successes in this just struggle.  
Good health and good luck for the new year.

HO CHI MINH

Militants Angered at O'Dwyer

NEW YORK — The anti-war march this Saturday, April 5, promises to be well attended all over the country. It is designed particularly to emphasize the plight of the American GIs caught up in the monstrous Vietnam war.

But one important feature of the march in New York City has raised grave doubts among the anti-war activists and, in fact, actually enraged the more serious and dedicated.

This feature is the apparent attempt by prominent elements of the Democratic Party here to take over the march and, as Eugene McCarthy tried to do with the anti-war movement, make it a part of the Establishment's own loyal opposition.

Paul O'Dwyer, unsuccessful Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator last fall, held a press conference here on April 1 and led 50 other prominent New York Democrats in calling for support of the April 5 parade. Alex Rosenberg, a Manhattan district leader for the Democrats, announced from the chair of the conference that these Democratic politicians would lead a large contingent, indicating this might be at the head of the parade.

O'Dwyer "opposed" the war last year, too. He flatly and strongly opposed Hubert Humphrey, one of the most active war leaders. But he ended up by supporting Humphrey, as did his chief, Eugene McCarthy.

Even the most radical Democrats take an ambiguous position on the war, supporting as they do the imperialism that makes the war and refusing to break with the political party that virtually initiated the war.

Workers World asked O'Dwyer at the press conference: "How would you stand on an immediate and complete U.S. troop withdrawal?" And O'Dwyer

answered: "Since we have nearly a million South Vietnamese regulars and irregulars armed with U.S. weapons, we ought to be able to begin withdrawing now." (Our emphasis.)

With more than 10,000 GIs dead since the beginning of negotiations last year, as the O'Dwyer camp itself emphasizes, this position is a betrayal of the GIs who are marching this Saturday and a ten-fold betrayal of those GIs now dying and still to die in Vietnam and other imperialist ventures.

Furthermore, the idea that "we" are now powerful enough in Vietnam and do not "need" the GIs there is a concept totally opposite to that of the vast majority of the people in the parade, who have no desire to defeat or oppress the Vietnamese people.

If they truly understood the attitude of these Democratic politicians, they would never allow them even to march, much less to attempt to lead the march.

The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, which formally sponsored the event last April, invited New York's Mayor Lindsay (and he accepted) to speak at the anti-war rally in Central Park. As a result, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF, Youth Against War & Fascism and other militant organizations boycotted the event and held a spirited action in Washington Square at the same hour.

Anti-war militants in the movement were particularly aroused by the invitation to such a highly placed imperialist politician last spring and are expected to be even more disturbed by the attempted takeover of the movement here by the Kennedy political machine which started the Vietnam war in the first place.

TEACH-IN : Arab Liberation

A teach-in on the Arab liberation struggle featuring Arab and American speakers will take place at Columbia University on Friday, April 18. The meeting is sponsored by a number of organizations, including the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation (CSMEL), the Arab Students Association and the Iranian Student Association.

Among the speakers will be two editors of Arab World, Randa Khaldi El-Fattal and Prof. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, and Rita Freed, Chairman of CSMEL and author of "The War in the Mid-East."

The meeting is called for 7:30 p.m. at Harkness Theater in Butler Library on the Columbia campus.

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Venceremos, fighters of liberated territories of Mozambique.  
Chicago Challenge, police riot 1967.  
Columbia Revolt, Community Control  
Ham Rong Bridge, organizing against U.S. aggression.

Dostal, Gass Defense Continues

CLEVELAND, Ohio, March 17 — Supporters of Ted Dostal and Dave Gass, anti-war, anti-racist fighters, protested the frame-up of victims of police brutality. Today's demonstration was against the high-handed action of City Court Judge Green, who denied an injunction which would have held up the police frame until court action on a counter-suit filed by Dostal and Gass.

Hearings were scheduled today on a motion for an injunction to halt criminal proceeding against Ted Dostal, Midwest organizer of Workers World, and Dave Gass, chairman of Cleveland Youth Against War & Fascism, pending a decision on a suit brought by them against the city and its police force under the Federal Civil Rights Law for violation of their civil rights and liberties.

The hearing never took place. Three days ago the injunction was denied. Dostal and Gass, who were beaten along with several others by the cops at an anti-Wallace demonstration here on October 5, 1968, were then singled out for arrest because of their militant roles as organizers. The two militants were then charged with assault. Dostal and Gass contend that had there been an open hearing "some very embarrassing facts about police

violence that occurred at the demonstration would have been brought out."

The Committee to Defend Dostal and Gass is working on Cleveland State University campus with those who are supporting Professor Sidney Peck of Case Western Reserve University. Peck was beaten by the Chicago Police at the Democratic National Convention last August and is now being brought to trial there.

The Cleveland State University Committee to Defend Gass, Dostal, and Peck issued the following statement when they joined forces. "The growing use of the police to stifle and intimidate dissent is a matter deeply disturbing to all Americans concerned with protecting the civil liberties of all our citizens.... We object to the beatings and to the subsequent frame-up charges."

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The International Press Institute, which has its headquarters in Zurich, was founded in 1951 by the imperialists for the purpose of infiltrating Asia and Africa in order to obstruct the building of an independent national press system in the developing countries. Last year, the Ford Foundation alone granted the I.P.I. \$150,000, and the Rockefeller interests also made substantial contributions.

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## Why South Buffalo Railway Workers Rebelled

# RR Men Strike for Safety, Contract; Call in Student Aid

BUFFALO, March 31 — The revival of militant trade unionism in the Buffalo area may well be on its way. This seems to be the message in the current strike of 700 employees of the South Buffalo Railway, a subsidiary of the powerful billion dollar Bethlehem Steel Corporation. This strike has an added dimension which makes it even more threatening to the bosses, that is that the workers have asked for assistance from militant students from the University of Buffalo.

The men, members of Locals T-758 and E-668 of the United Transportation Union (UTU) have been locked out since Wednesday, March 26. The company's high-handedness against the workers has forced them to take positive action and the lockout has turned into a strike.

The railway men have been working without a contract for the last eight months, while the company has been putting on more and more pressure. The men complain bitterly that the bosses are using "big brother" tactics — company spies and cameras on the job. In the words of one worker, "all this plant needs is machinegun emplacements to be a prison." The secret police tactics are used to intimidate those men who refuse to use unsafe equipment or unsafe practices on the job.

### Worker Burned to Death

The safety issue has been uppermost in the minds of the men since a union brother, Bobby Hamilton, was killed on the job last year while moving an overloaded, crippled slag pot — an open railway car carrying 20 tons of molten cinder from the blast furnaces.

Hamilton had nine kids. His death was so obviously due to the company's negligence that the settlement for compensation was the quickest in Bethlehem's history. But the conditions that caused the murder of Bobby Hamilton have not been changed. Far from it.

While the workers have been simmering for a long time, their temperatures hit the boiling point on Wednesday, March 19. On that day, the company pulled two crews of about ten men and a yardmaster out of service. Already short-handed with not enough men or time to work safely, the workers balked. At 6 o'clock on Thursday, 95 per cent of the second shift went on sick call. Most of the third shift didn't report at all.

On Friday, the union leadership called a meeting. They told the rank and file to go back to work, assuring them there would be no reprisals from the company. The third shift then went back, but the men made sure that they would only work "safe" — on safe equipment using the accepted safety procedures.

Then on Wednesday, March 26, the South Buffalo Railway pulled an engineer out of service for enforcing safety rules. A bunch of the men went and demanded medical attention. They were refused and threatened with dismissal. The general yardmaster then ordered all the workers off the Bethlehem Steel property, and locked out the third shift.

### Lockout Turns Into Strike

Since the lockout began, Bethlehem Steel has taken over the operation of the railroad. One hundred and thirty scabs have been flown in from Baltimore.

As soon as the men decided that they'd resist the company's lockout

with a strike of their own, the bosses moved in with a court injunction. Twenty-seven workers received restraining orders, and 14 were arrested for contempt of court. Restrained from picketing, the union rank-and-file then appealed to students from the University of Buffalo and to their own families for help.

Since Friday, March 28, the picket lines have been manned three times a day — at 6 a.m., 1 p.m. and 9 p.m. — by students and the wives and children of the railway men. Kids of steelworkers living in the neighborhood have also joined the line. Federal marshals are there too, taking motion pictures of pickets and workers. And then there are the company cops, also taking photos of the workers from on top of the roof at Gate 4. The lines are being respected by the steelworkers who ordinarily use Gate 4, the entrance to the strip mill and storage department.

The company's tactic of trying to break the strike through a court injunction seems to have backfired. Instead of intimidating the men, it has led them to seek allies. They turned to the

students because these young people had made it clear they were willing and able to fight.

At a joint meeting between workers and students on Sunday, this new-found solidarity was found to reach deep into the feelings of all. The students are also under an injunction, enjoining them from carrying out any militant activity at the Buffalo campus. These two injunctions have helped sharpen the realization that both railwaymen and students face the same enemy.

There are other issues on which they have common ground to struggle. The workers are demanding amnesty for the men locked out and all those who refuse to cross the picket lines. The students are seeking amnesty for draft resisters and those arrested demonstrating in their defense.

Even on the question of the war in Vietnam, which has sparked the greatest struggle on the campus, the workers are beginning to express themselves. As one railway worker, whose son is in Vietnam, put it: "The company and the U.S. government put my boy in Vietnam."

## The Line Is on Both Sides of the Street

You've got to get the picture. It's ten degrees above zero. This is Gate 4 of the Bethlehem Steel plant. Tall smokestacks can just be seen standing against the midnight sky, their evil-smelling vapours blown over the town by the icy blast from the lake.

A group of over a hundred railroad workers stand across the street from the plant. They are cheering, stamping their feet to keep warm, ferrying back and forth with brown paper bags of coffee and doughnuts.

But the picket line is on the other side of the street by the plant gate. The workers can't join it because they are under an injunction. The cheers and coffee are for the pickets — young, fresh faces, not yet bleached gray by long years of factory work. Some are girls, their shiny hair caught by the wind.

Students and Workers, Unite and Fight! they chant. There are more than 125 of them, and they are covering the third shift, which changed from

10 to midnight. A bus pulls up, and more students pile out to join the line. The workers raise another cheer. They understand. This is no picnic, not an adolescent whim. The campus is far away, in another suburb at the other end of the city. Yet the students have come, some travelling an hour and a half on several busses, to spend two icy hours on the picket line. They are brothers.

A sign, crayoned on a sheet of muslin, is draped on the bus shanty. It reads, "If you want to get it done, U.B. is the one." It was put there by the workers.

The workers' families are there too. For a long time, a 10-year-old daughter of one of the unionists leads the chanting with a strong, clear voice. Her sign reads: "My Dad Is Not a Scab."

The plant, the road and the blocks around are all dark. But the picket line glows from the light of many railroad flares. The wife of one striker has a railroad lantern. Just inside

the gate, a spur line runs along. Each time a cab comes clanking by, she shines the intense light of the lantern on the faces of the scabs doing her husband's job.

"No Contract, No Work" is the issue that has brought worker and student together on this night. But they are both thinking of a lot more as they catch glimpses of each other across the intervening road. "One, two, three, four — The union's going to win the war," shout the pickets.

Yes, it's a war I've been in all my life, think the workers. And here are friends, allies.

And now the line finishes for the night, until the next shift change at six in the morning. The students leave the line and cross the street. As they do the crowd of workers spills off the sidewalk and comes to meet them.

With pride in each other, brother greets brother. Steel bosses beware! Some heavy and muscled, others young and eager, the clenched fists are raised high in the air.

## Students Burn Injunction; U.B. Pres. Withdraws Threat

BUFFALO, April 1 — Student activists at the University of Buffalo scored a singular victory today when the University Administration withdrew its request that the State Supreme Court issue an injunction against all the students. The injunction would have applied to anyone disrupting the "orderly processes of the University," in effect prohibiting, under threat of contempt of court, any and all forms of protest.

School officials may have had second thoughts about obtaining such an all-inclusive restraining order after students last week defiantly burned several temporary restraining orders which the University had served against 100 students during the seizure of the administration building March 19. At a rally several days after the takeover, Dan Bentivogli of Youth Against War & Fascism began the action by burning his restraining order. Others followed suit in a show of determination to carry on their struggle against racism and militarism on campus.

In a move unprecedented on any campus, President of the University Martin Meyerson went to the State Supreme Court for the restraining orders in an attempt to halt weeks of militant student activity which had culminated in the occupation of Hayes Hall by 500 students March 19.

(On the same day, during a demonstration at the Federal Court Building, Gerald Gross, a leader of YAWF, was

arrested and later booked on trumped-up charges of "possession of a dangerous drug.")

Student activity at U.B. has been at a high pitch since mass support was mobilized around the trial of four of the defendants in the Buffalo 9 case in February. On March 19, 600 angry demonstrators marched through downtown Buffalo after draft resister Bruce Beyer was sentenced to three years on an assault charge. The demonstrators later took Hayes Hall, renaming it Bruce Beyer and Martin Sostre Hall.

During the demonstration, Gerald Gross, one of the Buffalo 9, was dragged out of a car by cops as he was driving past the Federal Court Building. Gross, who is chairman of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee and of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism, was at first held on "suspicion of having stolen an automobile." When the cops saw that this phony charge couldn't stick, he was charged with "possession of a dangerous drug" which police claim they "found" in the car. (The car was immediately impounded.)

According to a leaflet issued by the U.B. chapter of YAWF, "Jerry was thrown into a cell at the Michigan Station where cops from other precincts and well-known right-wingers appeared throughout the afternoon to view (in the words of the cops there) 'the one working for Sostre' and 'the n-----r lover.'"



U.B. students demolish construction shanties at site of "Project Themis," a Defense Department research program in underwater warfare.

This latest frame-up of a leading activist in Buffalo who, the leaflet points out, "has worked hard and long to expose the frame-up of Martin Sostre and who manages the Afro-Asian Bookshop in Exile, only further exposes the original frame-up of Sostre. It shows the corrupt and desperate tactics (the Buffalo authorities) will use to try to stop or slow down the growing support for Sostre in Buffalo."

University officials, in a development related to the student struggle here, announced on March 27 that work on campus construction projects would be resumed. Construction was halted for a week after student strikers demanded that the University employ a

fully integrated work force. The lily-white construction unions now on the job are very much like feudal guilds, tightly restricting entrance into the trade.

The moratorium on building was lifted after a week of empty negotiations brought no real promises of full representation for black workers. Undoubtedly, the University Administration is hoping that the injunction will prevent students from demonstrating again for the rights of black and other minority group workers. Out of the occupation of Hayes Hall also had come the demands for a workers' college, abolition of ROTC and an end to all Defense Department contracts with the University.

# Black Workers on the March; DRUM Idea Spreading Fast

By D. Stacey

MARCH 25—The struggle to organize black workers must be both "revolutionary and consistent," said an activist in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers from Detroit today. John Watson, one of the founders of DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and an editor of South End since he was fired from the plant, was addressing a Columbia SDS teach-in on the night of the one-day campus strike. Later, he spoke to this reporter about the development of a new revolutionary consciousness among black auto workers in Detroit.

DRUM, and its allies FRUM(Ford), ELRUM (Chrysler Eldon Avenue axle plant) and JARUM (Chevrolet Jefferson Avenue) have certainly been proving through struggle that they are both revolutionary and consistent. They have had to do so against the combined opposition of the auto industry giants and the UAW bureaucracy.

These black revolutionary workers have also found that the predominantly white and so-called Marxist parties in Detroit have offered them little solidarity. In some cases, they have been openly hostile. This leaves the job of trying to influence white workers (or at least to neutralize them), on the question of black liberation almost entirely up to young radicals—many of whom are still groping for an ideology themselves.

## Black Community Backs DRUM

DRUM started in the Dodge assembly plant in Hamtramck, a mainly white suburb completely surrounded by the city of Detroit. Of its 10,000 workers, 70 per cent are black. Many of them are young, hired since 1963 when the economy picked up and more blacks were hired into the auto plants.

Discrimination in the plants against black workers, and the failure of the union to come to their defense, had been going on for years. With an influx of younger, more militant workers who were enthused by the teachings of Malcolm X and other black revolutionaries, the grievances of the Afro-Americans crystallized into the need for an organization of their own that would really represent them.

Building such an organization wasn't easy, for with the UAW leadership hostile to them, DRUM organizers could quickly be fired from the plant for

any "unauthorized" activity. While their primary emphasis is on organizing the workers in the plants, where they feel their concentration and strategic emplacement gives them the maximum strength, DRUM and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers enjoy a great deal of support in the community. When it has been necessary, they have drawn on that support in their efforts to organize the plants.

An example of this was given by John Watson in his talk to the Columbia students. He told how in the early stages of setting up DRUM, the organizers couldn't expose themselves publicly for fear of getting fired. And so, for eight weeks, black high school students were at the plant gates at 5 a.m. every Tuesday morning passing out copies of the DRUM paper.

Watson himself is now serving as editor of South End, the official daily student paper of Wayne State University. Watson was elected to the post by the previous staff in a kind of coup at this overwhelmingly white college. The paper has been under constant attack by the Detroit Estab-



John Watson, a founder of DRUM, speaking at Columbia University.

lishment, who are horrified that a student paper would concentrate on community and working class issues. The revolutionary line of the paper is immediately obvious. On the masthead are two black panthers and the slogan, "One class-conscious worker



is worth 100 students."

In April of 1968, DRUM brothers led a walkout that succeeded in closing down the Hamtramck plant, also known as Dodge Main because it is the largest Dodge assembly plant in the country. It happened while all the union bureaucrats were attending a convention in Atlantic City. The company took this opportunity to try to speed up the assembly line, which was already moving so fast the workers could barely keep up with it.

The company might have figured that with the shop stewards and others out of town, the men would be more docile. They won't make that mistake again!

The lid blew while the workers were on their lunch break. A bunch of the black militants decided they had had it with the speed-up and weren't going back to work. They went to the plant gates, linked arms in front of them, and urged the other workers to stay out until the company ended its speed-up. The walkout then spread to the second shift.

The next day, high school students, Black Panthers, black nationalists from the community and other supporters manned the picket lines. This tactic kept the strike going while the company couldn't single the leaders out for discharge.

## How the Police Ran UAW Election — With Clubs

After this incident, the auto barons began to take DRUM seriously. They started a campaign of terror and intimidation, and they easily enlisted the cooperation of the Reuther bureaucracy.

## Everybody Sweats in the Auto Plant But Black Workers Catch Most Hell

Detroit's auto industry has vastly revolutionized the production of cars since the days of the Model T, but the giant monopolies haven't done much to lessen the danger or ease the strain on the workers who turn out the shiny new cars. An auto worker may take home \$130 per week, but he may also risk his health doing it. And he'll also have to put in compulsory overtime at the bosses' say-so.

Conditions for black workers, who make up a majority in several of Detroit's auto plants, are particularly harsh. Jim Jacobs of the Detroit Organizing Committee wrote in the Movement of April, 1969, "All the worse jobs—foundry work, body shop, engine assembly—are predominantly black. Blacks will be found wherever a job requires hard physical labor or subjection to tremendous noise or dirt. This is especially true for black women who are given many difficult jobs."

Afro-Americans not only get the worst jobs, but they are also kept at the lowest levels through racist promotion procedures. At Ford, about 600 black workers are fired every week. Usually these workers get the boot on their 89th day, just a day before attaining seniority. Not only hasn't the UAW objected to this procedure, but they regularly collect the union dues from these workers, raking in hundreds of thousands of dol-

lars from workers whom they don't protect. Black workers hired at Ford under the poverty program are forced to endure any jobs they may be given or face firing.

In addition to the racist policies of the bosses, which are often assisted by the union bureaucrats, the speed-ups in the auto industry are fierce. For example, a spotwelder on the line must work bent over backwards to make spotwelds on the cars as they go by. A worker may have to do several spotwelds on each of the cars, which go by at a rate of about one every ten minutes. This backbreaking job must be kept up for the entire day, with time out only for lunch and two breaks.

Medical care for the workers, who are subject to numerous injuries, is also criminally lax. One black woman at Chrysler's Eldon Ave. gear and axle plant died several weeks after she was run over by a forklift. The company doctor had given her a superficial examination and sent her back on the job after she was injured.

The auto barons are reacting to the growing rebellion in the plants the same way the ruling class has reacted to rebellion in the streets. It is reported that at Dodge Main, company guards have been given MACE just in case the workers decide to try to improve their lot.

## Racist Officials Split Union, Try to Blame Black Workers

The UAW Reuther bureaucracy, after having abetted and encouraged racist practices in the auto plants for years, is now accusing black workers of "dividing the union along racial lines." This is nothing but a bald-faced lie. The real splitters are the bureaucrats.

The International Executive Board of the UAW has sent out a letter to 350,000 auto workers in the Detroit area viciously attacking DRUM and its brother groups. Key to the significance of the union's betrayal of these men is a sentence beginning, "The UAW will not protect workers who resort to violence and intimidation with the conscious purpose of dividing our Union along racial lines..."

What Reuther's bureaucratic machine is saying, in effect, is that they have combined forces with the auto barons to witchhunt black militants out of the plants. They are suspending any form of union protection—guarantees that have been won by the workers, many of them black, in innumerable hard-fought battles—for workers that the IEB decides are "racists."

Since when has this mighty union ever decided to cancel union protection for white racists in the plants? On the

By July, organizing had proceeded to the point where DRUM was able to call a two-day strike which was 70 per cent effective (they didn't try to stop white workers from going in). In reply, Dodge Main got out an injunction prohibiting DRUM from picketing any Chrysler plant in the world!

But the success of the walkout, which the black workers had been demanding, meant a surge of membership for DRUM. DRUM leaders decided that, although they don't consider themselves a black caucus within the UAW, they would be flexible in tactics and run a candidate, Ron March, in the union election for trustee. March won in the preliminary vote, getting 653 votes to 521 for the next runner-up.

But the run-off was another story. Cars with March posters were ticketed and kept away from the polls on election day by the Hamtramck police. Cops attacked black workers in the bars near the union hall. And when about 50 black workers went to the Local 3 union hall to talk about what was going on, a UAW official called the cops. They invaded the union hall and used mace and axe handles against the black workers.

March lost the run-off, but only because of this kind of outright terror, plus the fact that the union brought out for the election 1,300 white retired workers no longer in the plants.

## From DRUM to ELRUM

Meanwhile, the movement was spreading to other Detroit auto plants. At the Chrysler Eldon Avenue Gear & Axle plant, the only plant in the world making Chrysler axles, 60 per cent of the workers are black. The building

(Continued on page 9)

contrary, racism exists among many workers because the unions have never waged a real campaign to combat it.

This infamous letter comes hard on the heels of mass firings and disciplinary actions by the auto companies against black militants who had participated in various job actions. At the Eldon Avenue plant of Chrysler, for instance, 25 workers had been fired and 86 disciplined after a walkout, affecting about half the plant, was called by ELRUM (Eldon Ave. Revolutionary Union Movement.)

When the union failed to take any action in defense of these workers, ELRUM picketed "Solidarity House," the international office of the UAW. All the union would say then was, "The union has been processing the grievances and if there is any need to intensify our efforts, that will be done."

The UAW has "intensified its efforts," all right, but only to blame the black workers for the sell-out leaders' crime of splitting the union.

It is not black workers but the Reuther leadership that is guilty of splitting the union along racial lines. Given its intransigence toward the grievances of black workers and its tolerance of white racism, it is only to be wondered that organizations such as DRUM were not formed long ago.



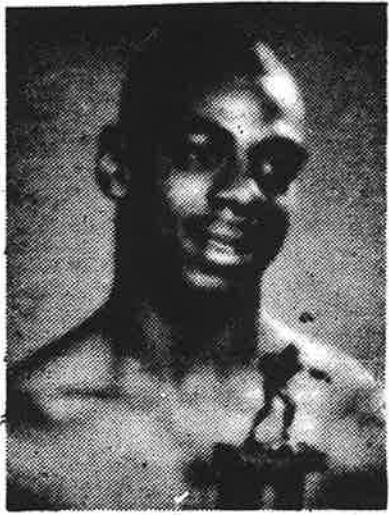
## New Pamphlet

## Kangaroo Court-Martial of

William Harvey

and

George Daniels



Two marines who got 6 and 10 years for opposing the Vietnam war.

Available for 10¢ from the Committee for GI Rights, P.O. Box 448, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011

## Review: Two Oppose War, Get 6 and 10 Years

### "Kangaroo Court-Martial."

George Daniels and William Harvey, Two Black Marines Who Got 6 and 10 Years for Opposing the Vietnam War. 16pp. Available from: Committee for GI Rights, Box 448, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Ten cents.

A few months ago, Seaman Dennis Ciesielski, now out of the Navy but at the time confined to Portsmouth Naval Brig for a year for refusing to board a ship bound for Vietnam, was attending a prison lecture on the presidential election. The positions of Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace were explained by the chaplain in charge of the class, but when Ciesielski said that there were other candidates running—specifically, Dick Gregory and Eldridge Cleaver— and why weren't their platforms included, the officer begged off, claiming no one knew these candidates well enough to argue their positions.

A black Marine stood up. He explained that he was very familiar with the ideas of Eldridge Cleaver and would like to explain them to the class. The officer told him to sit down. The Marine remained standing, and finally a number of others joined him in a silent protest. They were all put into solitary confinement.

That black Marine was George Daniels. He is serving 10 years in the brig for "disloyal words," along with a co-defendant, William Harvey, sentenced to six years on similar charges. The remarkable story of their trial is now available for the first time in "Kangaroo Court-Martial."

Marines are supposed to be 100% gung ho -- patriotic as hell, ready to do the bidding of the officers on a moment's notice, trained to growl "kill!" from the pit of their stomachs, the shock troops of American reaction around the world.

And the training designed to break down a young guy's personality and turn him into the "perfect soldier," a cog in the Green Machine, is often successful. But the Brass have a great big contradiction on their hands. Most guys go into the Marines as a way of escape -- from poverty, boredom, a dead-end future, the racist U.S. They are mostly workers' sons looking for a way out.

The story of Harvey and Daniels and the extreme panic and vengeance wreaked by the Marine Corps on these two young men are proof that the antagonisms many guys are trying to escape from—and especially black youth—by joining the service just multiply once they are in uniform. And this pamphlet also shows another thing—the Brass are supremely conscious of this. They pushed the panic button when they found out that the guys were talking about the Detroit rebellion, the "white man's war" in Vietnam and other forbidden topics. Before these men even had a chance to do anything, they had been brought up on charges stemming from their barracks conver-

sations and railroaded to jail.

Harvey and Daniels were arrested in the summer of 1967. It was months before any word leaked out about their case. Finally the story broke in The Bond, the paper of the American Servicemen's Union—to whom we also owe the account from ASU member Dennis Ciesielski, by the way.

In their trial, the prosecution compared their conversations with other Marines and their general attitude toward the military to a "wildcat strike." This was long before the ASU began organizing servicemen. But even then, the Brass most feared that the men would turn their conversations, their common feelings, into common action against the machine they had come to hate. So, in order, as the prosecutor said, to "set an example," the most ferocious punishment was meted out to the two black Marines.

"Kangaroo Court-Martial" should be read by everyone who is interested in a closer glimpse into the workings of military injustice, and for its portrait of two young black men who, like tens of thousands of their civilian brothers, are finding the strength to speak out against the most oppressive and racist institutions of this society.

## Ft. Dix GI to Brass

## "You Are My Enemy!"

A guest article by Bill Smith, Vietnam editor of The Bond  
"We must organize our brothers. It is a hard fight at times, but above all it is a necessary fight if we are to be free men."

That statement written by two American Servicemen's Union organizers was smuggled out of the Ft. Dix Stockade on March 7. It is one of many militant reactions from the stockade prisoners since the first Presidio lynching in February, and it accurately expresses the feelings of most of the GIs in confinement there.

In the last two months there have been several work stoppages, two hunger strikes and a food riot. Four ASU organizers are at the moment in solitary confinement and two of them are on bread and water because they have defied attempts to keep them silent and isolated from the other prisoners. The two on bread and water are prominent GI resisters, one of whom just recently joined the union. He is Bill Brakefield, who was given sanctuary at CCNY last fall. The other is Terry Klug, who returned from France on January 17 where he was active with RITA (Resisters Inside The Army) and the ASU.

In another letter smuggled out of the stockade and addressed to Andy Stapp, Chairman of the ASU, Bill Brakefield wrote, "Terry is two cells down from me. John Lewis is in the middle between Terry and I, and Robert North should be moved in here tonight. The Major has tried me three times in cell block 60 (C-B 60 is where they keep all of the 'hard core' political prisoners) and has had to move me back to the steel cells each time. He also told me this, 'Brakefield, I don't want to happen at my Hotel what's going on at the Presidio.'"

Bob North and John Lewis both received long and tumultuous ovations from approximately 150 fellow prisoners when they stood up alone at two separate classes on the code of conduct and addressed themselves to officer-instructors. At one class John Lewis said, "You are my enemy. You talk about how 'free' this country was after the revolution of 1776. You tell this to the 50 or 75 Black prisoners in this room and knowing that their forefathers and mothers were slaves in 1776. You're a liar and a fascist."

The men of cell block 83 pulled off the first successful work stoppage on January 18. Thirty men from that cell block were selected for 18 hours



Bill Smith (R.) with Sgt. R. Rucker, one of the Ft. Hood 43 (see story page 6).

of KP. Twenty-five of them got together and refused to work any longer after they had put in ten hours. They were all threatened with mutiny charges, but they stood firm and eventually they were brought back to the cells.

At least 85 per cent of the men in the stockade are there for AWOL, and according to Bob North, they all morally or politically object to the Vietnam war. Fifteen to twenty men are court-martialed a day, and at the end of the week 75 per cent have been given the maximum sentence.

Recently, word came to the Ft. Dix Brass that there might be some kind of congressional investigation of the stockade. Although Major Cashman, the stockade commandant, didn't have much to worry about from the results of some phony politician's giving the white wash to his "hotel," he decided it was necessary to pretty things up just for the sake of appearances. In order to clear out some of the overflow in the grossly crowded stockade, he ordered all prisoners facing trial for minor infractions immediately court-martialed. All were found guilty (of course), the white guys getting suspended sentences, the blacks, including Vietnam refuser and ASU member, Henry Mills, sentenced to time at hard labor.

"OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW IS FREEDOM." That bit of military mentality is inscribed over the entrance of the Ft. Dix Stockade, but the GI prisoners inside have a different conception of what freedom is; and once again the ASU proudly salutes a group of servicemen who show the kind of courage and heroism it takes to defend such ideas.

## A Day in the Life of a GI Union

9:30 a.m.—Bob LeMay, Vietnam vet, opens up Room 633, 156 Fifth Avenue, office of the American Servicemen's Union. There is a pile of mail on the floor, letters from GIs. Six letters contain subs to The Bond, the union's newspaper. Four enroll new union members. They're from Okinawa, Vietnam and bases all over the states.

Bob starts to sort out the mail and do some of the routine office work — making up new union cards, entering subs and money receipts.

The office is small, jammed with letter files and supplies of all sorts, but surprisingly well organized. A couple of large bulletin boards add color: an officer's broken swagger stick is taped up on one, a memento of a press conference where Mark Rudd told how he'd help organize the Army if drafted; cartoons sent in by GIs; a copy of Andy Stapp's undesirable discharge (Andy is the head of the union); a poster on Vietnam; a letter from the head of the Navy, Admiral Moorer, refusing a request that the ASU be admitted to the Pueblo investigation as an interested party.

10:30 — The phone rings. It's an AWOL GI in Detroit looking for help. Bob will call him back with numbers of people to contact. Bob tries to keep going on the office work, but the interruptions are more frequent now.

11:00 — A GI from Ft. Dix who just got out of the stockade comes in. He spends about half an hour talking about what's happening with the guys on the inside.

12:00 — Second mail arrives, more of the same.

1:00 — Andy Stapp and John Cat come in from work. They get the latest news from Bob, look over some of the letters and discuss what has to be done in the afternoon.

1:30 — The husband of a WAC calls from San Antonio. His wife has been in a severe state of depression but can't get admitted to Fort Sam Houston Army Hospital. A union medic had referred him to the ASU.

2:00 — Third mail delivery come in with a batch of letters from Vietnam.

2:30 — A union sailor calls from Virginia. His ship is due

to sail to Guantanamo on Monday. Some of the boiler men are talking about going over the hill because they feel the ship is unsafe. Andy advises they contact an ex-sailor in the area. He can help them get out leaflets opposing the sailing of the ship, demanding that necessary repairs be made. He suggests that the leaflet compare the disregard for the men's safety with the brass' attitude towards GIs in Vietnam.

3:00 — The buddy of a fellow refusing induction drops in for a stack of Bonds. He is going to distribute them at the induction center.

Almost at the same time, the mother, sister and brother of a Puerto Rican GI arrive. He is thinking of refusing to go to Vietnam. Bill Smith, Vietnam editor of The Bond, talks to them about how the union can help.

Meanwhile, Bob is calling back the GI in Detroit with numbers of attorneys.

After the Puerto Rican family leaves, Bob gives Smith the Vietnam mail. Dick Wheaton, another ex-GI who joined the ASU while stationed at Ft. Sill, comes in after work, checks out all the letters to see what he can use on the next letter page of The Bond. LeMay is just leaving when Richie Richardson, managing editor, steps in. He discusses assignments for the coming issue, then picks up some copy already written by Bill Smith.

Andy Stapp calls from the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, where he is checking out steps they are taking to file a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of Isaac Barr, a black GI forced on board a plane to Vietnam against his will. NECLC is demanding his return.

5:30 — Everybody is squeezed into the office for a while, and it's pandemonium. But soon, the "day shift" has left, and Wheaton and John Cat settle down to answering letters. Andy has gone to an SDS meeting on a demonstration for May Day. One of the demonstration's demands will be the release of GI political prisoners.

10:30 — The last shift goes home. It's been a busy day. But no busier than tomorrow will be.

# Viet War Is Hell, GI Jails Too

## Brass Clams up on Danang, Longbinh Revolts

Protest against the war and military oppression is most difficult in Vietnam itself. Yet, intolerable conditions at military prisons in Vietnam led to at least two rebellions last August.

At the Danang brig, marine prisoners burned down a cell block on the night of Aug. 16 and took control of the compound for 20 hours. Their anger had exploded at overcrowded conditions, long pre-trial confinement, bad food and having to say "sir" to brutal guards. Military police with shotguns were called to crush the outburst, reportedly wounding seven prisoners.

Two days later, when brig commander Lieut. Col. Joseph Gambardella ordered 70 trustees and parolees to move out of the barbed-wire surrounded compound, the 228 other prisoners began to "agitate." They ignored orders to stop, and 120 MPs were sent in firing tear gas.

The Director of Marine Public Relations refused to disclose the names of the prisoners involved or what was being done to them when he was contacted at the Pentagon days afterwards.

On Aug. 30, the Army's largest stockade in Vietnam was the scene of an even bigger outburst, ruefully called by the capitalist press "the worst recorded riot of American prisoners in the war" (New York Times, Sept. 1, 1968). At the crowded Longbinh jail (known as the "LBJ"), MPs who moved in to break up a fist fight among prisoners were rushed by other prisoners who then stormed through a gate to the administrative building and jail mess. These were burned, and all prison records were destroyed in

the fire.

"One prisoner was killed and 24 others hospitalized during the rampage, in which flak-jacketed military policemen sprayed the rioters with tear gas and charged into the compound with bayonets fixed," according to the same Times article.

Three weeks later, 12 black GIs were still holding out in one part of LBJ. They were the last of 200 black prisoners who refused to obey any orders after the rebellion and were put in the separate section.

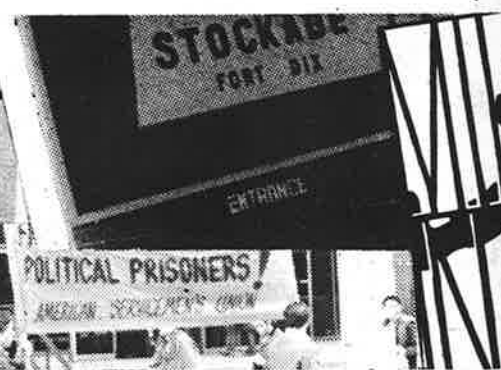
### Brass Shifts Blame

Trying to blame the black soldiers for the Army's crimes, the Brass charged six Afro-American prisoners with the murder of the inmate killed on Aug. 30 or with conspiracy to commit murder. But the Pentagon will not reveal either their names or the date and place of courts-martial for the six intended scapegoats.

This racist frame-up has been the only apparent result of the military "investigation" into the LBJ revolt. The overcrowding and harassment of prisoners goes on.

In a letter smuggled out of the stockade early in October, seven men asked supporters "to bring to the attention of GIs all over the world the many injustices, inhumanities perpetrated on servicemen by the U.S. Govt. Armed Forces judicial system." One case cited was that of a badly wounded infantryman whose records had been lost and who was sent to prison for missing formation after he had been refused continued medical treatment. Another man got six months hard labor for taking a peanut butter and

(Continued on page 8)



## Battle of Ft. Bragg Stockade

In July of 1968, 238 prisoners took over the Ft. Bragg stockade and held it for three days. The story didn't get out until over three months later, when an AWOL GI from Ft. Bragg seeking sanctuary at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology told the details to Andy Stapp, ASU chairman.

The rebellion was sparked by the brutal beating of one of the black prisoners. This Pvt. Johnson was serving a 20-year term for fighting back against the commandant of the prison, a Major, who had spit in his face and taunted him. He had been put in solitary—a room 7-by-11 feet—for three months, and on this July 23, Johnson had had it. When the guards hustled him back into his hole after having gone to the latrine, the black soldier resisted and climbed up the bars. The Major ordered him blasted off with a fire hose. The impact of the water knocked him to the ground, breaking several fingers.

It was when one of the guards then began beating in the dazed Johnson's teeth with a pistol belt wrapped around his fist that the other prisoners just couldn't take it anymore. About six who had been watching from behind a fence on the other side of the compound went right over it and rushed the guards. They were followed by dozens more, who tore the fence down completely.

That's the way it began. Within minutes, these GIs had thrown the master switch opening the doors to all the cells. The MPs fled, including even the armed guards in the towers at the four corners of the compound. The prisoners couldn't find the key to the administrative section of the stockade, but they threw mattresses over the gate onto the rolls of concertina wire on the other side, then scaled the wall and seized that part of the prison. Fifteen minutes after it had all started, the Major had left in undignified haste and the men were in control of the entire prison.

The men prepared for the counterattack. They sawed mop and broom handles into three pieces to use as clubs. Wrapping white towels around their necks for identification and stuffing cigarette filters into their nostrils to counteract tear gas, they formed a semi-circle around the inside of the gate where the MPs were massing for an attack.

The main entrance to the stockade was only wide enough for two men to walk abreast—evidently a precaution against a mass break. But this boomeranged against the Brass. Because when the MPs rushed the gate, the first two were pulled quickly inward, the next two off to the side. The

rest of the MPs retreated, and the prisoners had captured four tear gas masks, four helmets and four billy clubs. The stripped MPs were then ejected promptly.

All afternoon the MPs charged through the little gate two at a time, until by dark the guys had captured 15 gas masks and other paraphernalia. The Brass weren't any closer to breaking the rebellion than they had been six hours before. That night the men burned some of the more decaying buildings. They also ate well—from the officers' larder—for the first time in months.

At dawn the next day, they found they were facing a battalion of the 82nd Airborne. They were told they had 24 hours to surrender. But on the following morning—the 25th of July—the men were still holding out. Five hundred paratroops attacked, coming through larger entrances on opposite sides of the compound. The men were prepared for them, even though they were outnumbered two to one. The fighting continued unbroken from 7:30 in the morning until 12:30 in the afternoon. After five hours of bitter fighting, the paratroops pulled back.

Then a colonel stepped forward and read through a bullhorn that he had received authorization from Washington to shoot to kill anyone who blocked the entrance to the stockade. Only then did the men surrender. They had held off the entire power of the Ft. Bragg Brass for three days.

### Philippines 1945



GIs demonstrate, demanding to come home—W. W. II.

## The Historic

On August 23, 1968, over a hundred black soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, held an all-night demonstration on the huge army base to let the world—and the brass—know that they would not participate in the suppression of their brothers in Chicago. This was during the Democratic National Convention, and thousands of Fort Hood troops were on the alert, or had already been airlifted, for "riot duty" in Chicago.

As Afro-American soldiers from the First and Second Armored Divisions gathered at an intersection on post to discuss Chicago and many other grievances against the army's racist practices, Fort Hood's high-ranking officers got very nervous. First, two colonels, then, a general, spoke to the GIs. Promises were made to improve the situation for blacks, even to make Chicago duty "optional," if they would only go back to their barracks.

When promises failed to get the desired results, MPs were called to break up the demonstration. They arrested 43 men and later beat many of them in the stockade. The lone black MP later wrote to The Bond, a GI newspaper, and to Muhammed Speaks about the brutality of the military police, who beat the prisoners, including wounded Vietnam veterans, with the consent and encouragement of the officers.

Within hours of the arrests, the American Servicemen's Union at Fort Hood had obtained the names of the 43 and began organizing legal support as well as publicity for the men accused of "willfully refusing to obey a legal order to disperse."

For men under the discipline of the military dictatorship, this demonstration was a gigantic step. It reflected not only the courage of individual participants, but also the power of the Black Liberation Movement. Coming two months before the more widely known Presidio sit-down "mutiny," it was the first highly conscious mass protest action by servicemen since the end of WW II.

Soon after, American Servicemen's Union chairman Andy Stapp went to Fort Hood with two other union organizers and members of the Committee for GI Rights to meet with a number of the black GIs who had been labelled "ringleaders" by the Brass and singled out for more punitive general courts-martial. A general court-martial can hand down a five-year sentence as contrasted to the maximum six months in a special court-martial.

Officials in the base town, Killeen, who work hand in hand with Fort Hood brass, had Stapp, Dick Wheaton and Bill Smith (both recently discharged GIs) arrested on vagrancy charges—this





Presidio sit-down; above photo was taken and smuggled out by a stockade guard. Liberation News Service Photo

# "I Guess I'd Do It Again"

## 4 More Presidio GIs Sentenced for Sit - Down

The U.S. imperialist army is held together by terror and oppression of the rank and file, which the Brass likes to call "military discipline." So when 27 GIs at the Presidio stockade in San Francisco demonstrated against the murder of a fellow prisoner and the inhuman conditions in the stockade, the Brass was determined to use all the terror at its disposal to make an "example" of such a breach of discipline. The 27 were charged with mutiny.

After months of protests against the severe repression of the Presidio 27, the Army has been forced to change its tactics slightly. It is now trying to con the people into believing that it is going easy on the young men. In reality, it is moving ahead with the frame-ups, and behind the scenes last week sentenced another GI to six years. Whether or not the sentences are somewhat reduced, it is important to remember that the only just resolution to the case would be the complete vindication of the 27 GIs and the indictment of the real criminals, the Brass.

On March 18, the Judge Advocate General's office in Washington, in an unprecedented move, reduced the sentence of Pvt. Nesrey Sood, which was originally 15 years to two years. The Pentagon reduced Sood's sentence only three hours after Lt. General Stanley Larsen, the Commander of the 6th Army who had decided to try the men for mutiny, had already cut the sentence from 15 to seven years. The Brass hats were tripping all over each other in an attempt to get the credit for this false show of "leniency." Two other defendants' sentences of 14 and 16 years, however, still stand.

The Army was put on the defensive

not only because the charge of mutiny was so outrageous, but also because the case brought to light the criminal conditions in the Presidio stockade which the 27 GIs were legitimately protesting.

### Stockade Brutality Exposed

On October 11, Pvt. Richard Bunch was murdered by a guard in the stockade. Bunch was known to be emotionally unstable and suicidal, and had practically begged the guard to kill him. Three days later, 27 GIs sat down in the Presidio, chanting and singing in protest. Walter Pawlowski read their demands that guards be changed every 30 days, prospective guards be given psychiatric examinations, shotgun work details be ended and racist treatment of black prisoners be stopped.

During the preliminary hearings into the case, Atty. Terrence Hallinan, representing 14 of the GIs, was able to expose some of the atrocious conditions prevailing in the stockade. Up to 146 men are jammed into the stockade built to hold only 76 prisoners; armed guards are often drunk or high on drugs while on duty; two prisoners in addition to Bunch have been shot on work details; 30 attempted suicides by 21 prisoners have been reported recently; "segregation cells" for so-called troublemakers are black iron cages, 4 1/2 by 5 1/2 by 8 feet, where men are fed lettuce, celery and water; Afro-American GIs are held in isolation cells without beds, tables or toilets; rats, mice and roaches abound in the cells and mess hall.

For protesting these conditions, the first three defendants got 14, 15 and 16 years. The Brass responsible for the murder of Bunch and the criminal

(Continued on page 8)

## Ft. Hood 43



At Ft. Hood during their court-martial, (l. to r.) Pfc. Frederick, Sp/4 Royal, Pfc. Smith and Sp/4 Henry.

despite the fact that they had \$300 and were registered at a Killeen motel. At their trial the next day (it was broadcast over the local radio station) the three were duly convicted and fined \$200 each.

In a more serious political frame-up the same week, PFC Bruce Petersen, editor of the Fatigue Press, an anti-war paper at Hood, was arrested and framed-up for possession of marijuana. Similar charges had also been used to harass the manager of a coffee house for GIs in Killeen.

Petersen, who is white, has since been court-martialed and sentenced to eight years on charges so contrived that the Army admitted destroying the so-called "evidence" while analyzing it.

Courts-martial of the 43 black GIs began in the fall, with the attention of Afro-American and anti-war soldiers focused on them. Many attended the trials to show support. Because the black men were strong and refused to be intimidated into testifying against each other, the brass had to retreat.

Thirteen of the 43 were fully acquitted—a very high proportion for military courts where convictions run about 95 per cent. Twelve were convicted by special courts-martial, with most receiving the full six months. But in the general courts-martial where men faced five-year sentences, the brass were fearful that maximum punishment would lead to a larger rebellion. So there were bad conduct discharges, short unconfined terms at hard labor, and several stockade sentences, the longest being 11 months. Civilian defense lawyers obtained by the ASU also helped throw the officer-stacked courts off balance.

The officers would have loved dearly to mete out "justice" of a much harsher kind to the black GIs who defied them. But the defiance was not just a one-night protest, and the historic action of the Fort Hood 43 is sure to be repeated by many others in the future.

## Ft. Jackson "GIs United"

Ft. Jackson, S.C., has a developing history of anti-war activity among GIs. This past January the Brass was so terrified of militant anti-war feeling among GIs ordered to Vietnam that they had an entire battalion taken under armed guard to be shipped to the war zone. The night before, 60 soldiers had gone AWOL. It is also the base where in 1966 Capt. Howard Levy refused to train special forces soldiers to carry out war crimes against the Vietnamese people.

At the beginning of this year too, groups of black and Puerto Rican GIs began to get together, listening to tapes of Malcolm X's speeches and talking over the war, racism and in general the oppression in the Army. Out of these sessions grew a group called "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam." They hit the newspapers nationwide last month when they began to circulate a petition demanding the right to hold a meeting on base to discuss the war.

The Brass, after continued harassment of the organizers of GIs United, came down on March 25 with charges against nine Ft. Jackson soldiers who are among the leaders of the anti-war struggle there. The charges, including breach of peace, disrespect toward a superior officer and failure

to obey an order or regulation, allegedly stem from a meeting of GIs United held on March 20. About 100 soldiers had gathered that day on a barracks lawn in response to a call from the GI group to talk about the war. During the meeting, several officers harassed speakers, but did not break up the gathering. The next day, however, four of the leaders of the group, Pvts. Joseph Cole, Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder and Edilberto Chaparro, were taken to the stockade on charges of "inciting to riot," "disturbing the peace," and "disrespect to an officer."

One of the nine defendants under charges by the Ft. Jackson Brass is Pvt. Tommy Woodfin, an activist in GIs United who was acquitted by a summary court-martial March 18 of charges of "circulating an illegal flyer on base." The "flyer" referred to was the GI petition. The brass has also harassed soldiers involved in anti-war activity by imposing restrictions, transferring leaders off the base, imposing extra work duties and threatening to give out bad conduct discharges. One black GI, Pvt. Lawrence Hart, was framed-up on a charge of "assault" and got six months at hard labor. Several other black soldiers have also been convicted on phony "assault" charges.

The petition, which has been signed by several hundred GIs, reads in part:

"We, as GIs, are forced to suffer most of all in the Vietnam fiasco. Many of us were drafted into the Army against our will—nearly all of us are kept in its grasp against our will—all in order to carry out this illegal, immoral and unjust war. We are fighting and dying in a war we did not create and in which we do not believe. Many black GIs are becoming increasingly aware of the hypocrisy of fighting against another people of color who are struggling for the same rights of self determination as we are."

When a delegation of two soldiers presented the petition to Lt. Col. Paul R. Stickel in front of Post HQ on the evening of March 3, he rejected it outright, saying, "The Army does not recognize a collective bargaining unit representing members of the Army." At Ft. Jackson, as elsewhere, the Brass is intent on not recognizing demands of GIs who have gotten together to collectively challenge the racist military machine.

The struggle of anti-war GIs at Ft. Jackson has already outrun the simple civil libertarian demand raised by the petition for the right to hold a meeting to discuss the war. In fact, many such meetings have already been held by soldiers who don't want to just talk about the war, but who are growing determined to fight to end it.

### Seattle 1969



275 GIs turned out for anti-war march and rally.

## Black GI Speaks His Mind

# "The Black Liberation Army Is The Only Army I'm Interested In"

Reprinted from Muhammad Speaks of February 21, 1969, by Joe Walker, New York editor.



Pvt. Henry Mills

NEW YORK — "Hell no, I won't go," is becoming a more frequent response from Black youth facing the draft and an increasing number of Afro-American GIs who get orders for Viet Nam. One such young man in the latter category is 20-year-old Pvt. Henry Mills of New York City.

"I don't see no sense in my doing to the Vietnamese people what the United States has done to us and still continues to do, declared Mills to this MS reporter before he surrendered to Army authorities earlier this month after being AWOL (absent without leave) since last November. He was due to report to Oakland, California and embark for Viet Nam.

After receiving 16 weeks of intensive infantry training, Mill's whole company received orders for Viet Nam duty. Almost to a man his unit, which was about half Black and Puerto Rican, opposed the Viet Nam war and their involvement in it. So when they got leave before their shipment date, a couple headed for Sweden, a few braced themselves to face court-martials and confinements and others prepared to stick it out and hope for the best.

Mills went AWOL and has returned to face the music. He doesn't consider his act brave but a necessary one. He believes it will take revolution to resolve the Black man's predicament in the United States and "the Black liberation army is the only army I'm interested in," he said.

He speaks deliberately and chooses his words carefully. "Before I was drafted I had made up my mind that I wouldn't go to Viet Nam," he said. Mills takes inspiration in his position from the stands of Muhammad Ali, the Fort Hood Three and the Black GIs who refused riot duty in Chicago during the Democratic Party's national convention.

His advice to other draft-age Black and Puerto Rican youths opposed to the Viet Nam war: "If I had to do it over again, I would make my stand before

being drafted. If you are going to stand up, you may as well avoid basic." He described military life during basic training as a time "when you slave 24 hours a day and put up with all kinds of trivial inspection and beating by the sergeants."

The Viet Nam war is the terrible thing now, but Mills won't be surprised if one day U.S. forces are sent to maintain the status quo in South Africa, as they have been sent to the Congo and elsewhere.

One of his three brothers, who frequently attended one of Muhammad's Mosques, introduced Henry Mills to MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. That was in 1965, and he has read it ever since, interested most in the UN Report and the news from Africa and Third World countries.

At an anti-war coffee house outside the Ft. Jackson post, he read copies of The Bond, organ of the American Servicemen's Union. He has subsequently joined the ASU and the union had arranged for legal counsel to defend him in his inevitable court-martial for refusing to go to Viet Nam.

justified. Most of the GIs who will come to trial April 7, defended by Hallinan, still feel strongly about challenging the military's charges and want to fight it out to the end to get all the mutiny charges reversed. Liberation News Service of March 22 reported that when one of the prisoners, William Hayes, was urged by a fellow defendant's mother to say he was sorry and get a lighter term, he replied, "But ma'am we were right. And if it came right down to it again, I guess I'd do it again."

## - GI Jails Are Hell

(Continued from page 6)

jelly sandwich from the mess hall. "We feel a great need and desire," the prisoners wrote, "for this to be published.... If this is possible it would be appreciated by every man in the Longbinh Stockade both black and white."

In another instance of opposition to the Brass, Wilfred Burchett reported that "three thousand U.S. troops stationed just north of Saigon demonstrated against the war" on Dec. 27.

"The troops — members of the 25th Division at Dong Du base in the Cu Chi district — were supported by thousands of South Vietnamese base employees." Placards called for ending the war and repatriation.

American troops sent to break up an anti-war demonstration by Vietnamese four days later reportedly refused to do so after seeing signs in English saying "peace in Vietnam."

## POLITICAL PRISONERS OF U.S. BRASS

The following GI prisoners have voiced their opposition to the war in Vietnam and racism at home. The list, although compiled from several sources, is still only partial. In most stockades, prisoners can receive letters or at least cards. However, they cannot reply except to a few close friends and their immediate family. Please express your solidarity in whatever way you can, wherever you are.

### Fort Devens Stockade

Ft. Devens, Ayer, Mass. 01432: Michael O'Connor, Raymond Kroll, John D. Rollins

### Fort Dix Stockade

Ft. Dix, N.J. 08640: Edwin Arnett, Fred Bazemore, Bill Brakefield, David Clark, Philip Goguen, Peter Hallonmen, William Hayes, Terry Klug, Edmund Kujawa, Henry Mills, Rudy Pau, Jeremy Tupper, Donald Williams

### Fort Hood Stockade

Ft. Hood, Texas: Eric Anderson, William H. Avery, Leo J. Bradley, Thomas J. Dominick, Carlos Duarte, Curtis Evans, David Haracz, Howard Harris, Thaddeus Juscak, David Marines, Melvin Martin, Alfred Miller, Daniel Muniz, James R. Niles, Michael Patterson, Bruce L. Petersen, Joseph Richmond, Tollie L. Royal, David Salisbury, Danny Servey, Arthur L. Smith, Glen Vega

### Fort Jackson Stockade

Ft. Jackson, S.C.: Joseph Cole, Ronald Fogelman, Andrew Pully, Joseph Rudder

Ft. Jackson, S.C.: (Arrested March 25) Edilberto Shaparro, John Huffman, Delmar Thomas, Dominick Duddle, Curtis Mays, Tommy Woodfin

### Fort Monmouth Stockade

Ft. Monmouth, N.J.: Joe Rittenauer, Eric Rutan

### Fort Ord Stockade

Ft. Ord, Calif. 93941: Steve Anderson, Felix Chavez, James Seymour

### Fort Riley Stockade

Ft. Riley, Kansas: Victor Bell, Russell Maline, Tom Sincavitch

### Indiantown Gap Military Reservation Stockade

Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Anneville, Pa.: Sidney Koelling

### Long Binh Stockade

Long Binh, S. Vietnam: R.C. Brown, J.A. Epriam, Dave Landry, Tommy McDonnel, Michael Rouch, Brien Schulik, Marcy Schuman

### Millington Naval Air Station Stockade

Millington Naval Air Station, Memphis, Tenn. 38053: Paul Collins Williams

### Naval Correctional Institute Stockade

Naval Correctional Institute, Portsmouth, N.H. 03801: Robert G. Cruickshank, George Daniels, William H. Harvey, Dale Herrin, Henrick Hudson, William Kidd, John Morgan, John Robinson, O.L. Scott

### Newport Naval Brig

Newport Naval Brig, Newport, R.I. 02840: Alan Loehner

### Presidio Stockade

Presidio, San Francisco, Calif.: George Davis, Daniel C. Guirkins, Hays, John Wells, Steve Graham, plus the 27: Richard Duncan, William Flayer, Gentile, Michael Mareno, Roy Pulley, Reidel, Stephen Rolland, Allen Kupert, Larry Sales, Frances Schiro, Danny Seals, Buddy Shore, Randy Stevens, Ernest Trefethen, Vaino, Danny Wilkins, Patrick Wright

### Fort Lewis Stockade

Ft. Lewis, Wash.: Richard Dodd, Murphey, Swanson, Yost

### Sheppard Air Force Base Stockade

Sheppard AFB, Wichita Falls, Texas: David Kopp

### Treasure Island Stockade

Treasure Island, Calif.: Paul Howard

### Fort Knox Stockade

Ft. Knox, Ky.: Mike Devine

### U.S. Disciplinary Barracks (Leavenworth)

U.S. Disciplinary Barracks, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas 66048: Douglas Bash, Michael Brachter, David W. Brown, John Carr, George Davis, Duane Ferre, Thomas Goggin, Melvin D. Hoit, Chuck Jones, Terry Kent, Alan Killfoile, Thomas Kostas, Melvin Lindsay, Ronald Lockman, Bruce Magee, Marshall Miller, Dale Noyd, Stanley Quast, Butch Scott, Donald Tidemann, John Wells, John C. Wilson, Daniel Amick, Robert Bender, David Clark, George Dounis, Mike Patterson, Jos Rittenour, Kenneth Stolte, Jr., Colip, Oszczepinski, Nesrey Sood

### Lewisburg Penitentiary

U.S. Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pa.; 17837: Howard Levy

### Fort Polk Stockade

Ft. Polk, Leesville, La. 71459: Barry Barton

### Camp Pendleton Brig

Camp Pendleton, Calif.: Mark C. Harford, Bernard Jillson

### Fort Carson Stockade

Fort Carson, Colo.: George Bartley, Brett Manlove, Thomas Now, John Pope, John Roller, Robert Snyder

## — "I Guess I'd Do It Again"

(Continued from page 7)

beatings and tortures of the prisoners was slightly embarrassed by the case but went scot-free. The harsh sentences handed down began a wave of protests across the country. In San Francisco about 6,000 civilians staged a demonstration in March outside of the Presidio walls demanding freedom for the heroic Presidio 27. And on February 16, 3,000 marchers in Seattle, including 275 GIs, listened to speeches condemning the vicious prosecution of the men.

Meanwhile, three of the defendants escaped from the stockade to Canada. Among them was Walter Pawlowski, who had read the demands of the 27. It was expected that the Army would try to come down particularly hard on Pawlowski, charging that he was a leader of the protest.

On March 28, four more defendants were convicted at Ft. Lewis, Wash., where the courts-martial have been moved to avoid the mass civilian support in San Francisco. The sentences ranged from nine months to six years at hard labor. Pvt. Edward O. Yost, a Vietnam veteran, got nine months; William Hayes, 22, got two years; Harold J. Swanson, 19, got three years; and Ricky Dodd, 21, six years.

### Brass Comes Down Hard

Since the trials began, the Army has brought a tremendous amount of pressure to bear on the GIs to apologize for their actions and cop a plea. A few have succumbed to the constant threats of long prison terms. Yost, who got the lightest term so far, was the only one of the four defendants who did not insist that their action had been



# District 65 Rank and File Push Leaders Toward Break With Racist Pro-War Policy

By A Delegate

A ringing indictment of the ultra-reactionary, racist, pro-war leadership of the AFL-CIO and the pledge of an all out drive to organize amongst the most oppressed sections of the working class resounded at the 12th Convention of the 26,000 member District 65. Some 30 locals, from garment, textile, directmail and corrugated workers to the newly added and high-salaried salesmen, were represented at the Convention held at the Laurel Country Club in Monticello, New York, last week.

District 65 has withheld its monthly per capita tax to the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO since November and declared that it will continue to do so until our four demands are met. The demands are

1. The creation of genuine partnership in the leadership of the international union as set forth in the original merger agreement.

2. Action on the reconstruction of the leadership of the international to change its lily-white character in accordance with the Osman (founder of 65) statement of May 1968 (which hit hard at racism in the labor move-

ment).

3. Action on the Wholesale Department in accordance with the resolution dated November 29, 1968 (this would allow 65 to chase the ever increasing number of runaway shops).

4. Adoption of a policy which permits such a department and individual locals to cooperate with the UAW and the Teamsters.

(Militants hope such an alliance will give them more flexibility to fight for their position as against being dominated by the openly racist Meany-controlled AFL-CIO apparatus.)

The Convention reiterated this policy by unanimous vote of its 170 member Executive Council and with only 4 votes against in the nearly 1,000 member General Council. RWDSU President and longtime Meany lackey, Max Greenberg had refused to appear at the Convention to defend his reactionary, racist policies, giving as his excuse the presence on the platform of Teamster leaders Joseph Terotola and Harold Gibbons and UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse, all of whom were greeted by warm applause by the 65ers.

Strong denunciations of the Meany-

Greenberg labor fakery by 65's President David Livingston, Secretary Treasurer Cleve Robinson and numerous rank-and-filers were wildly cheered. Perhaps the sentiments of most delegates and 65ers back in the shops, were put best by Local Officer Clay Stout who said that like most black workers he had only contempt for the AFL-CIO leadership and felt that 65 would be in a much better position to organize if freed of that tag.

Of course, little was said of the reasons for the once militant 65's initial ties (15 years ago) to the RWDSU, when the leadership bent badly under the red-baiting attack of that period. Some self-criticism of the delay in breaking was made by Brother Robinson, but many felt it didn't go far enough. Nevertheless, the present turn was well received by all and it was clear that the rank and file were firmly united, and most indeed anxious, to get the hell out of Meany's plantation. There was a unanimous vote to use the nearly \$200,000 that would have gone down the rat hole of RWDSU affiliation to launch an all out organizing drive. This was a sure sign of the serious resolve of 65.

As of this writing it is indicated that RWDSU will neither expel nor suspend the charter of 65, but intends to go into the bosses' courts to sue the union which is 45 per cent white, 35 per cent black and 20 per cent Puerto Rican. Nevertheless, the break seems but a matter of time. General indications at the Convention were that 65 would become independent at first, but that there was strong sentiment for an eventual tie to the Teamsters, who have always respected 65 strikes,

some of which (such as last year's shoe strike) saw sweet-heart locals of the RWDSU act as scabs.

While considerable support for 65 was evidenced amongst many RWDSU out of town locals, in particular those in the south, Local 1199 (which was organized largely with the support—financial and physical of 65ers) and the United Department Store Workers Union (headed by ex-65 Vice President Bill Michelson) failed to show solidarity. Both leaderships, despite (in particular that of 1199) past troubles of their own (in which they got 100 per cent support from 65) with Greenberg, were believed to have close ties with New York City AFL boss Harry Van Arsdale.

65ers proved the militancy is not just talk and have already begun an all out drive to see that no 65er, regardless of job, makes less than \$100 a week and that all jobs in our shops are fully covered by the 65 contract by Labor Day. We also made plain that our union is at war with racism, wherever it rears its head and that we intend not to allow sweetheart unions to stand in our way.

The importance attached to this 26,000 multi-racial union was seen in the appearance of political big-wigs from Mayor Lindsay, to Borough President (Bronx) Badillo, to the first black woman to sit in Congress, Rep. Shirley Chisholm. Mrs. Chisholm, with her strong attack on the racist war in Vietnam and poverty at home and her defense of the student-youth upsurge, really brought the delegates to their feet cheering.

While 65ers were rejoicing in the "new militancy" of their leaders, we also left Monticello with the full conviction that the militant program we adopted can only be carried forward by a real rank-and-file drive. Here, on the shop level, we win or lose. We intend to win!

## Labor and Anti-Labor

### Penn. Gov. Sends Cops to Protect Birchite Boss

Armed Pinkerton guards and imported scabs from six states and Canada converged on Somerset, Pa., last month to help the pro-Birchite boss of Coleman Co. there break a strike by nearly 300 workers.

In the third week of a strike which began at the end of February, the workers of newly chartered Local 7494 of the United Steelworkers of America were still holding strong against the massive use of scabs by Coleman Co. Gov. Raymond P. Shafer of Pa., in collusion with the manufacturer of sporting goods, provided Coleman with a daily escort of State Police patrol cars and troopers for the buses and cars full of scabs. Coleman also had State Police at his plant to terrorize the strikers, and Pinkerton detectives stationed on top of motels near the plant photographed the workers on the picket line.

Of the 300 workers at the Somerset plant, all but six hit the bricks in a strong show of solidarity when Coleman refused to recognize a union shop provision, tried to deny workers seniority rights and in other ways attempted to strip the new local of its powers to protect the workers. Andy Koban of the Johnstown office of the USWA was quoted in Steel Labor of March, 1969, as saying that the company's tactic "follows a long-standing policy of Coleman to either destroy unions representing employees, or to make them ineffective."

Company President Sheldon Coleman is a notorious financial supporter of the pro-fascist John Birch Society. According to the Steel Labor article, "he had made available the auditorium of his plant for the monthly meetings of the Wichita (Kansas) chapters of the Birchers."

Naturally, Coleman's vicious anti-labor tactics go along with his Birchite connections. The company, using imported scabs at its Culver City, Utah plant, succeeded in breaking a strike and not recognizing the workers' union. At the Coleman plant in Toronto, Ontario, the bosses only agreed to negotiate after a hard-fought, nine-month strike by the Steelworkers, according to Steel Labor.

Coleman wants to break the union at Somerset, Pa., so bad he was willing to pay for motel accommodations and transportation for scabs from as far away as Kansas, Utah, Ohio, Kentucky and Toronto, Ontario. Better to pay for the scabs temporarily than to pay for decent wages and benefits for the workers permanently is the bosses' thinking.

To add to the anger of the workers in their struggle against the company, Coleman boasted only two weeks before the strike that sales had jumped by \$10 million to \$79 million in 1968.

### N.J. School Strikers Fined; Where's AFL-CIO?

Last fall when the UFT called three successive strikes against the black communities of New York City, the white leadership of the AFL-CIO and the Central Trades and Labor Council, without the consent of the many black and Puerto Rican rank and file workers, clamored to the defense of the racist walkout under the false issue of "due process." AFL-CIO labor fakers even came forward in an unprecedented gesture of solidarity with the racist leadership of Albert Shanker and offered to pay the UFT's fine. The issue was racism. What happens when the issues are legitimate workers' demands? Here's an example.

Buried in a tiny article in the New York Times on March 27, is the news that five leaders of a teachers strike in Jersey City this January were fined \$500 each, placed on probation for a year and got 30-day suspended sentences. The union teachers were convicted of contempt of court on March 17 by Superior Court Judge Eugene Lora for ignoring a court injunction ordering them back to work.

The severe penalties were handed down to the five teachers for their leadership in a strike that began January 23 in Jersey City and shut down the city's 35 public schools. The teachers were demanding better pay and working conditions. On the first day of the strike, in defiance of the strike-breaking injunction, 700 teachers and parent supporters picketed school buildings. The teachers were demanding a salary scale of \$8,000 to \$12,800. They were then getting \$6,200 to \$9,750.

While the UFT strikers in New York City had carried vicious signs like "End Mob Rule," referring to the black community and hurled racist epithets at black parents who kept the schools open, these New Jersey teachers' slogans were "Get Rid of the Roaches" and "We Want Up-to-Date Textbooks"—demands in the interest of the teachers and community.

From the beginning of the strike, the Board of Education threatened to bring contempt charges against the leaders. But the teachers struck for over a week, and even rejected a Board offer on January 27, by an overwhelming vote of 639 to 151. There are no labor bureaucrats now coming forward with money in solidarity with union leaders who waged a genuine struggle against the bosses. And the AFL-CIO, which idolized UFT head Shanker, has not made the slightest effort to support the president of the Jersey City Education Association, the vice president of the union, the strike chairman, and two members of the union's board of directors, who are now the victims of a harsh crackdown on workers' rights.

## —DRUM Idea Spreading Fast

(Continued from page 4)

is old and the working conditions are especially bad.

Racism was rampant, particularly on the lower managerial level. Black workers charge that one foreman known as "Maddog Larry" has been responsible for the firing of 100 Afro-Americans. The local union leadership is almost all older whites, and they have ignored the grievances of the black workers—while the UAW nationally makes a big display of mourning Martin Luther King's death, etc.

ELRUM got organized in November, 1968 and worked closely with other militant elements in the black community. It built its strength at first through the distribution of a four-page newsletter that spelled out the injustices against black workers in the plant. ELRUM named names—of foremen, managers and often union stewards who abetted the company's discriminatory policies.

On January 22 of this year, ELRUM decided to take some of the grievances directly to Local 961. About 300 workers went to the union hall while an executive committee meeting was being held and demanded that these grievances be resolved. The union leadership refused to give any definite answers, stalling the men as long as possible. A number of the men who stayed at the union hall missed the evening shift. The next day Chrysler fired two of these workers and penalized others for missing work while attending the meeting. The union refused to defend them.

ELRUM decided to call for a one-day strike on January 27. About half the men on all three shifts refused to cross the picket lines, which were manned by people from the black community, many of them Panthers. ELRUM had shown its strength. But the next day, the company fired 25 workers and disciplined 86 more.

The UAW is doing a major job in carrying out the bosses' dirty work for them against these revolutionary black workers. Just when the auto monopolies are cracking down the hardest, firing DRUM-ELRUM militants, disciplining others and getting the cops to attack them, the UAW decided to send out a letter attacking this black movement to 350,000 auto workers in

the Detroit area (see accompanying article).

### Black Workers Can't Wait

As John Watson tells it, the revolutionary union movements see their role not as one of building black caucuses within the UAW, but as constructing independent black worker organizations with a perspective of developing nationwide links to workers in other cities and other industries. He talked about the concept of the general strike, and pointed out that in many ways the great Detroit rebellion was like a general strike, not only in its effects within the black community, but in its impact on the auto plants as well, which were forced to close down. The black anger and consciousness which led to the rebellion affected the auto companies in the same way that a rise in class consciousness among all workers would.

Watson also made it very clear that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers understands the role racism plays in capitalist society. He spoke of it as a tool to divide the workers, but pointed out that since the objective fact is that white workers are already deeply infected with racism, and the division between black and white is a reality, the role of his group must be to go ahead with the organization of black workers. While the position of all workers, black and white, will be strengthened by real class solidarity, black workers cannot be held back until white workers overcome their chauvinism. On the contrary, the struggles of the black workers are one of the conditions that will help whites to overcome the racist poison instilled by this system.

Mr. Watson remarked during his speech that the importance of the black working class is understood by Ford, GM and Chrysler a lot better than by some so-called revolutionaries. He particularly singled out the Progressive Labor Party, which has attacked DRUM in a recent issue of Challenge. He noted that a photo of DRUM pickets carrying signs reading "Black Workers Power" had appeared in Challenge with the lettering on the signs altered to read "Black Workers Organize." This was apparently to make the slogan conform to PL's extreme antagonism to black nationalism.

# Nixon Administration Pressing Soviet Leaders To Sell Out Arab People in 4-Power Pact

By V. Copeland

The diplomatic representatives of the billionaire U.S. oil companies—that is, people like Charles W. Yost, United States delegate to the United Nations—are moving rapidly to set up a Four Power Conference to impose an unfavorable peace settlement upon the Arab people.

Mr. Yost said on March 28 that there would be such a conference—of the Soviet Union, France, Britain and the U.S. “in the not too distant future.” And the Soviet delegate, Yacov Malik, did not contradict him.

Naturally Mr. Yost did not describe the kind of “peace” he hoped would be imposed, other than to imply that it would be agreed to by all the “Big Four.”

Since Israel has expressed antagonism to the idea and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has greeted it favorably, there has arisen some confusion in the public mind as to what this is really all about.

## June 6 Capitulation

The Soviet leaders, it should be recalled, capitulated to the imperialists on the Mideast cease-fire on June 6, 1967, after the Israeli demolition of Egyptian planes and consequent victory in the “June war.” They capitulated by dropping their demand for Israel to retreat to her pre-war borders as a condition of the cease-fire.

And ever since that day, in spite of giving new arms to the Arabs, the Soviet leaders have constantly flirted with the U.S. over the question of “peace” in the area. Needless to say, any “peace” the U.S. oil companies would agree upon must be one in which their interests are firmly protected, and therefore the Arab masses’ interests neglected or seriously damaged.

## The Bonn-Tel Aviv Love Affair

# You Know Them By the Company They Keep

By Naomi Goldstein

Axel Springer, the arch-reactionary West German publishing magnate, was in Jerusalem March 24 for dedication ceremonies of a three-story library and auditorium wing of the Israel Museum which he financed. During the ceremony, reported the New York Times March 25, “a few dozen Hebrew University students outside stood in silent protest. They carried banners reading ‘Springer out’ and ‘We denounce the reactionary alliance between Springer and his Israeli friends.’”

While a handful of Israeli students were protesting against Springer (as thousands of militant West Germans had done last year), the Israeli government was rushing ahead with deals for closer ties to the nazi-ridden government in Bonn. In fact, since the June war Israeli-West German relations have warmed considerably. It is an irony of history, but not at all surprising, that Bonn, as the tool of U.S. imperialism in Europe, was among the staunchest supporters of Tel Aviv, the tool of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast, in the war against the Arab people.

In December, 1967, the Israeli government announced that it was going to buy 70,000 tons of steel from a West German consortium to build the Elath-Ashkelon oil pipeline which would bypass the Suez Canal. This \$12 million deal was concluded with West Germany, according to the New York Times of December 23, in return for “West Germany’s extensive economic aid to Israel and an understanding that Israel would spend some of the funds in West Germany.”

The Times on December 31, 1967 also reported that Israel and West Germany had increased cultural contacts in direct violation of a 1961

Regardless of whether the immediate concessions come from the Israeli-imperialist side or the Soviet-backed Arab side, the fact that the U.S., British and French imperialists are all willing to sit down and carve up the territory in the interests of “peace” at this particular time is an ominous sign. It is a sign that they are preparing a deal at the fundamental expense of the Arab people, although the Israeli opposition indicates that some mild concessions will be required of Israel to give an appearance of even-handedness.

## Afraid of Revolution

Any such pretense of impartiality has already been blasted, perhaps inadvertently, by some of the same people who are helping to perpetrate the fraud.

Juan de Onis of the New York Times said on March 30:

“The change in the United States position is that the Nixon Administration agrees with the other major powers that the Middle East situation is drifting dangerously toward a new explosion which could begin internally in Arab countries, if a peace settlement with Israel is not advanced...”

“The Nixon Administration seems to be concerned not so much about any present threat to Israel’s security from the Arab states, as by the revolutionary potential of the Arab commandos and frustrated populaces against leaders such as King Hussein of Jordan and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, who offer at least some possibility of reaching negotiated agreements with Israel.”

The Arab revolution, in other words, is becoming stronger and more dangerous to the oil billionaires of the U.S. and Britain and the would-be billionaires of France.

This goes far to explain the rela-

tively sudden development of the Big Four Conference idea. The imperialist oil exploiters of the West are alarmed at the emergence of the revolutionary Al Fatah, the guerrilla revolutionaries, and are extremely anxious to outflank them by a deal with the Arab moderates.

And they calculate that the Soviet leaders will be satisfied with this and be willing to overlook, if not openly sabotage, the needs of the dispossessed Palestinian people and the revolutionary aspirations of the Arab masses.

## Publicity Ploy

The supposed shift of U.S. policy “against” Israel in the past few weeks is only a ploy to stop Israel from taking

quite as much as imperialism had intended for Israel to take in the first place. And it is also part of a publicity campaign to soften up the public whom they had propagandized completely in Israel’s favor to now accept a slight relative setback for Israel’s territorial ambitions in the interest of a deal which is really aimed against the Arabs.

If the Soviet leaders act as party to such a deal at the Big Four Conference, the UN Security Council, or anywhere else, they will have again sold out the interest of the Arab revolution and the world revolution as they did on June 6, 1967. And they will have further endangered the existence of the Soviet Union as a socialist country.

The forces of the Arab revolution, however, may prove too powerful for them to accomplish this, and the Soviet leaders themselves may yet be compelled to refuse the deal and denounce the imperialist dealers. This has happened before, and—given the extremely sharp and tenuous political situation in the Mideast and especially the pushing, expansionist, arrogant nature of the imperialist governments—it can happen again.



Israeli occupation troops in Gaza kick open a door, hunting an Arab guerrilla.

According to the Foreign Affairs Bulletin published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic (March 5, 1969, Vol. 9, No. 7), some 20,000 nazi war criminals in West Germany are still free and many of them (with the aid and consent of the U.S.) are in the government.

“Some of the pillars of the Hitler dictatorship who are making neo-nazi politics and ideology in Bonn today are: 20 members of the Federal cabinet and state secretaries; 189 generals, admirals and officers of the Bundeswehr or in leading NATO (posts) and officials in the Bonn war ministry; 1,118 high judicial officials, prosecutors and judges, 244 leading officials of the Foreign Ministry, the Bonn embassies and consulates....

“The representatives of the mightiest arms concerns like Flick, IG Farben, Siemens, Bosch, Oetker, the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Commerz-Bank today again hold the leading economic and political positions in the Federal Republic. Thirty years ago they financed the murders of the SS and called themselves ‘Himmler’s Circle of Friends.’ Today they are financing Kiesinger, the CDU/CSU and the neo-nazi NPD.”

The Foreign Affairs Bulletin article further reveals that “in the

period from 1960 to 1967 the GDR gave the files with 156 death sentences of (52) hanging judges of Hitler to the West German judicial authorities. Not one of the seriously incriminated criminals have been accused to this day by West German courts, to say nothing of being convicted....

“A wave of trials is flooding the West German Federal Republic. The 20,000 war criminals who are still unpunished are not in the dock. Not Accused before the courts today stand 3,000 democrats and socialists, students, anti-fascists and war opponents. In the dock and behind prison walls sit young workers, students and pupils who are rebelling against the rotten ... capitalist order.”

Recently Abba Eban bitterly complained that many people throughout the world are “mistakenly” glorifying the Arab commandos and regarding their struggle as one for liberation. This, the Israeli leader contends, is a terrible mistake. But if one were to judge the Israeli leaders and the Arab guerrillas by the company they keep—the Israelis with German nazis and U.S. imperialist butchers, and the Arab fighters, who identify with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the anti-imperialist liberation struggles around the world—any friend of the oppressed people would immediately know which side to choose.



# Roots of Pakistani Struggle: Autonomy and Workers' Power

By P. Meisner

With the 10-year old Pakistani regime on the verge of collapse, Ayub Khan declared absolute martial law on March 25 throughout Pakistan, and stepped down as president in favor of military dictatorship. Mass student rebellions and strike after strike within the last five months in both East and West Pakistan against the oppressive policies of the Ayub government forced Ayub Khan himself to resign or risk an imminent revolutionary upheaval bringing down bourgeois rule altogether. The cry of "Down with Ayub!" has spread all over Pakistan, just as army and police repression has increased throughout Pakistan.

The industrial development of West Pakistan and the simultaneous denial to develop East Pakistan on a similar industrial level has been the major cause for East Pakistan's rebellion and demand for autonomy. The disparity of the two Pakistans is best illustrated in the fact that starvation still exists in East Pakistan, while in West Pakistan it does not. The inequality is further aggravated by the fact that East Pakistan produces three-quarters of Pakistan's total exports.

But the industrialization in West Pakistan has only been beneficial to Pakistani businessmen and their creditors, mainly the giant U.S. banks via the U.S.-dominated World Bank. This startling admission was made by no less than Pakistan's Planning Commission when it stated in a recent report:

"While industrial production soared by 160 percent in eight years, real industrial wages actually declined."

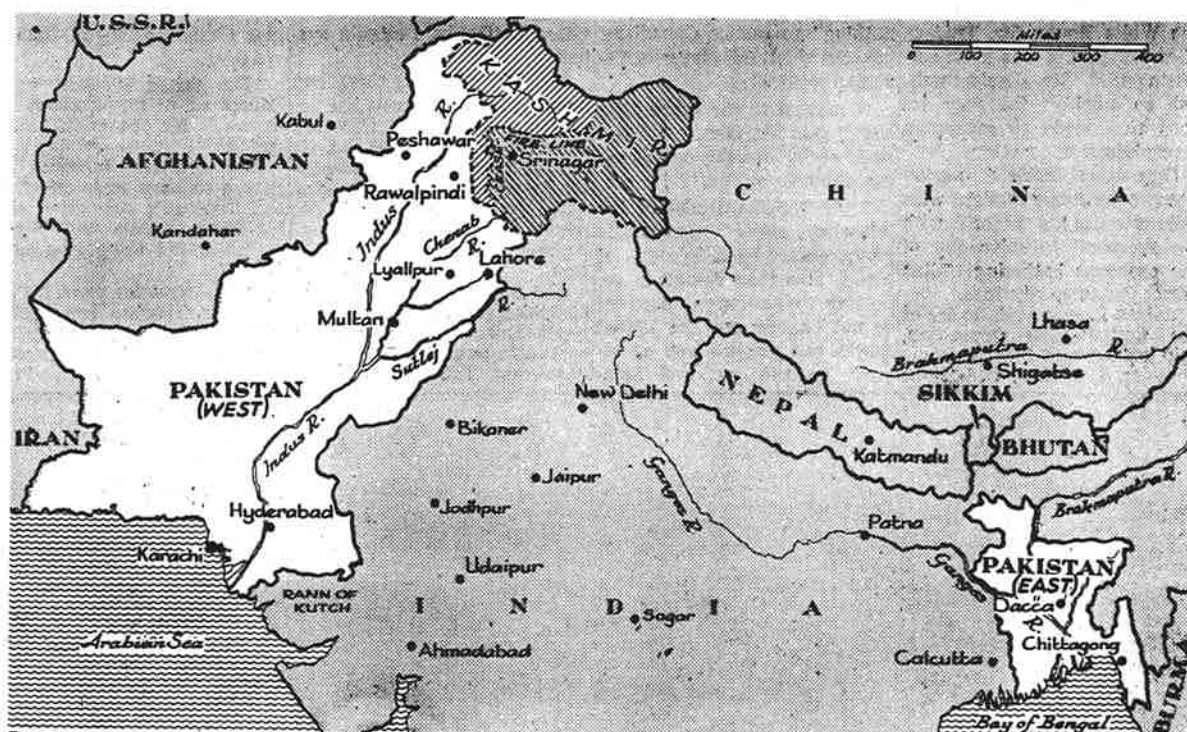
Also a major factor in the current crisis, and never mentioned in the U.S. imperialist press, has been Washington's policy to maintain Pakistan in both SEATO and CENTO, both known in Pakistan as reactionary military pacts aimed against China and the USSR. The U.S. has become hated by many Pakistanis, and especially East Pakistanis, for this policy, since Washington has kept Ayub Khan's regime in power for the last 10 years under the guise of giving SEATO military aid.

## West Pakistan Rebellion

The current crisis began in November when students in West Pakistan rebelled in every major city and called for the ouster of President Ayub. On November 27, students in Peshawar, West Pakistan, attacked a USIS library during a protest against the detention of political prisoners. A wave of strikes and demonstrations began to sweep throughout East Pakistan in early December. In Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, with a population of four million, auto-rickshaw drivers went out on strike and were soon supported by a city-wide solidarity strike on December 7.

On December 13, a general strike in East Pakistan brought workers out into the streets to battle all day with the police. Over 2,000 workers and students were arrested or detained, while many were injured, and at least two persons were reported killed by police bullets in the port of Chittagong on East Pakistan's coast.

Students at Dacca University fought with police for almost a week from January 17 to January 24.



## Background to the Pakistani Struggle

At the root of the current crisis in Pakistan is the super-oppression of East Pakistan by a government dominated by West Pakistanis originally trained and schooled by the British imperialists, who colonized Pakistan until 1947. East Pakistan, although much smaller in territory than West Pakistan, has a population of 73 million people compared to 55 million in West Pakistan. Besides the fact that East and West Pakistan are separated by more than 1,000 miles, the two areas have strikingly different national, cultural, and economic characteristics. The creation of Pakistan was, of course, the work of the British Empire, when in 1947 various nationalities and territories were artificially assembled into what are known now as India and Pakistan. The two countries were created by the British colonialists, after having deliberately incited hostility between Moslems and Hindus, in a classic case of imperialist "divide and conquer." (It must be pointed out, however,

that the struggle for Moslem separation from the Hindu-dominated Indian sub-continent was a just struggle, despite British imperialism's forced creation of two very different Moslem states into one Pakistan.)

West Pakistan is mostly inhabited by Punjabis, who have very little in common with East Pakistan's Bengalis, except for their common Moslem religion (no one would ever think that Spain and Ireland should be made into one nation just because of their common Roman Catholic religion). Also, East Pakistan has a climate more like that of South-east Asia (East Pakistan borders on the east with Burma), while West Pakistan's climate is similar to that of Central Asian states.

West Pakistan's agriculture produces mostly wheat, and also cotton and sugar. Livestock is raised for hides, meat and wool. On the other hand, East Pakistan's "monsoon" climate produces rice and fish, the two main foods for East Pakistanis.

Hundreds were injured and several students were again killed by police firearms. Another general strike was called for January 24 which completely paralyzed Dacca's international airport, schools, transportation, and businesses. Ayub Khan was then forced to call out the army to enforce curfews so as to maintain any kind of control over the city.

## Ayub Loses Complete Control

Student uprisings and strikes spread throughout West Pakistan as well, as city after city was put under military rule. By January 28, in West

Pakistan, the cities of Karachi, Peshawar and Lahore, and in East Pakistan, Dacca and Khulna were all under military rule.

A general strike on February 14 shut down almost every factory in West Pakistan. The rebellions continued to spread in East Pakistan as students burned down several government buildings in Dacca on February 16.

Having lost effective control of both East and West Pakistan, Ayub announced on February 21 that he would not run again for president in the scheduled elections of 1970, as the masses throughout the two Pakistans were shouting ever louder for Ayub's downfall. On the very same day, workers and students smashed every window of the U.S. consulate in Dacca, as it represented a symbol of Western imperialism, the creator of the Ayub government.

## "We Will Take Over the Mills"

The first three weeks of March saw the fiercest battles take place in Dacca between police and East Pakistani students and workers. More than 40 persons were reported killed by police and government-hired goon squads. However, the revolt was so sweeping that several left-wing political leaders were liberated from government jails, further inspiring the masses throughout all of East and West Pakistan.

The regime's crisis reached revolutionary proportions on March 17 when over 2.5 million workers in West Pakistan went out on a general strike demanding the right to strike, to form trade unions, higher wages, lower prices and better housing conditions. Workers in Dacca also responded to a strike call on the same day, organized by the National Awami Party as a protest over attempts at political assassination of their party leader, Maulana Bhashani, a native of East Pakistan, in a city in West Pakistan. The Dacca workers again demanded complete autonomy for East Pakistan. In Karachi on the day of the general strike, Bhashani told a huge rally of workers and students:

"If labor's demands are not met within two months, we will take over the mills and factories." He also said later:

"Feudalists, capitalists and industrialists have been exploiting labor, but now the working class has awakened, and it will not rest till its demands are accepted."

Just a week later the Ayub government declared martial law for all of Pakistan in a desperate attempt to save the oppressive regime from its inevitable downfall. But the masses of East and West Pakistan are in tremendous revolutionary ferment and will not be halted—even by a right-wing military dictatorship.



Karachi students and workers demonstrate in support of general strike demanding right to strike, form trade unions, get higher wages, lower prices and better housing conditions.



# Cuba Recognizes the NLF

The following article is reprinted from Granma, the Cuban English language weekly, March 23, 1969.

On March 4 at 9:30 a.m., somewhere in liberated territory of South Vietnam, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cuba to the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation, Comrade Raul Valdes Vivo, presented his letters of credence to the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the NLF, Dr. Nguyen Huu Tho.

The ceremony took place in a room made with the silk of captured U.S. parachutes and adorned with portraits of the glorious Major Ernesto Che Guevara; martyr Nguyen Van Troi; and heroine Vo Thi Tahn, who was recently sentenced to 20 years in prison. All these portraits were done by artist-combatants of the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF). The Cuban

Ambassador, standing at the door of the room set up in the middle of the jungle, reviewed the honor guard, which was made up of soldiers who have participated in the current victorious offensive against the Yankee occupation forces. Following the playing of the Cuban National Anthem and the NLF Anthem, a high officer of PLAF and a protocol official escorted the Ambassador into the room, over the entrance of which were draped the flags of Cuba and the NLF.

Following a speech by the Cuban Ambassador, Dr. Nguyen Huu Tho received his letters of credence and answered with words stressing the close comradeship in struggle of the peoples of Cuba and Vietnam.

At the conclusion of the historic ceremony—Comrade Valdes Vivo is the first Ambassador to the NLF—the Cuban Ambassador and Dr. Nguyen Huu Tho conversed in an adjoining room



Somewhere in liberated territory of South Vietnam: Cuban Ambassador Raul Valdes Vivo, presents his credentials.

decorated with a painting depicting the general uprising in Saigon during the Tet offensive of 1968.

After posing together with the President for several photographers and cameramen, the Cuban Ambassador went to the Cuban Embassy, located

somewhere in the jungle. The preceding evening, at 7:30, Professor Nguyen Ngoc Thuong, acting on behalf of the Commission of Foreign Relations of the NLF of South Vietnam, had received the copy of the letters of credence and welcomed Comrade Raul Valdes Vivo.

## Neither Integration Nor Community Control But Oppression

The New York State Assembly voted on March 26, by 104 to 41, to ban busing of students to do away with segregated schools. While the struggle for busing to achieve equal education for black children may have been superseded in some areas by the struggle in Afro-American communities for control over their own school system, the vote against busing by the reactionary legislators was clearly a racist decision worthy of any hard-bitten segregationist politician. For the state assemblymen didn't reject busing in favor of real community control for the black people—they're against both! What the vote proved above all is that the legislators don't want equality through separation or integration. They want oppression of the black nation.

The vote in Albany simply confirmed the fact that the ruling class is not only

totally uninterested in the demands of the black people for self-determination in the running of their own communities, but also not serious about even the most modest demands for educational equality. One black assemblyman from Buffalo, Arthur O. Eve, said after the debate, "It is hard for me to believe that I am standing in the chamber of the Assembly of the Empire State and not Alabama or South Africa."

The bill prohibiting the State Education Commissioner or local school boards from assigning students on the basis of race to schools to integrate them was sponsored by Assemblyman Joseph J. Kunzeman, a Queens Republican. Kunzeman, in arguing for the segregationist measure, denounced "orders imposed on local communities from outside," according to the New York Times, March 27. Rep. Van Cott

of Mount Vernon added the threat that if busing was implemented "whites won't stay in Mount Vernon."

The same ruling class stooges who were busy denouncing "outside force" however, were not talking about local control for black people—they were talking about local control in exclusive white suburban areas, the kind of control that would deprive black children of equal education.

It was almost a year ago, in June of 1968, that then State Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen, ordered the total integration of black and white elementary school pupils in Mount Vernon by busing half of the children. This was to go into effect by September of 1968. White parents' groups, demonstrating under such racist slogans as "We work hard to pay our taxes which support our own schools," along with

local authorities have blocked any such improvements.

Now that the black people are demanding community control, the legislature's reaction has been equally racist. Wrote the New York Times last October 13, "The majority sentiment in Albany last year was hostile to decentralization (i.e., even before the struggle in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, ed.) and the result was a watered-down plan...." After the racist UFT strike of last fall, the "lawmakers" have made abundant excuses for "safeguards" and "tight controls" over any decentralization plan that may come up in order to leave the ruling class securely in control.

The fact remains that the ruling class representatives were already planning to emasculate any black demands for significant self-determination before September, 1968. The very first experimental school in New York City, I.S. 201, was already being blasted by the legislators over a year ago and cited as a reason for their vote against black community control.

## Step Up Cleveland Defense As Ahmed Evans' Trial Begins

CLEVELAND, March 27 — The first eleven jurors have been selected in the trial of Ahmed Evans who is charged with seven counts of murder in connection with the death of a black youth and two cops during a police invasion of the black community here last July 23.

Wilbur Grattan, a militant in the Circle of Afro-American Unity, is chairman of the July 23rd Defense Committee. In a statement issued at the beginning of this trial the committee asks: "Who were the murderers on July 23rd?"

The statement continues: "The fact that Brother Ahmed and his co-defendants are made the 'aggressors,' rather than that which they really are, the 'victims,' of the brazen police attacks on the Black Community on July 23rd, must be exposed."

"Why were the cops lurking in the area two to three hours before the shooting began? Who fired the first shots?"

"The charges against these Black

Brothers are a part of a relentless campaign on the part of the police to keep the Black Community in chains. Who killed Earl Chapman, the 22-year-old black youth who was supposed to be helping the cops?"

"What is the Masotti Report? It is a report of the Glenville 'Incident.' It allegedly brings out the truth of what happened during July 23rd to July 28th. So, why is it being suppressed? The charges against Brother Ahmed and the four co-defendants are a fraud and must be exposed. Does the Masotti Report have valuable information to expose this fraud?"

The committee demands: "Free the July 23rd Victims of Police Aggression. Expose the Murderers of Earl Chapman. Release the Masotti Report. Jail the Murdering Police."

Contributions should be sent to: Kelly Zanders, July 23rd Defense Committee, P.O. Box 91277, Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

## — Govt's "Law and Order"

(Continued from page 1)

protests, and it is largely black people who are spearheading this new wave of militancy.

The U.S. ruling class also notes with alarm that in the black community there is a high level of opposition to U.S. imperialist oppression abroad. Black people are siding more and more with the liberation movements, especially the Vietnamese and Arab peoples, against Wall Street domination.

These two latest acts of massive Gestapo-like repression are proof that the corporate rulers of the U.S. will

bring home the same tactics they have used against liberation movements in the rest of the world.

Workers World Party calls upon all revolutionary and progressive elements in the United States to rally to the cause of the black liberation struggle which is under immediate attack, and to demand the release of the recent frame-up victims, as well as all the political prisoners jailed by the racist courts. We support the right of black people to achieve liberation by whatever means are made necessary by their oppressors.

## It Took October Revolution to Get First Unconditional Abortion Rights

By Elizabeth Ross

Now that the controversy over whether to amend or abolish U.S. abortion laws is in full swing, it should be remembered that one of the first acts of the Bolshevik government in 1917 was to legalize abortion.

There were no qualifying clauses to the new law. No board of physicians or sociologists passed judgment on the mental, physical or moral fitness of an applicant. If any woman did not desire a particular pregnancy, she had the legal right to terminate it.

Undoubtedly a more humane and economical solution than abortion, if that had been possible at the time, would have been widespread organization of contraceptive techniques. But such organization and technical know-how has taken five decades to establish, and is still available to only a small part of the world's population. The Bolsheviks, however, established the principle that women have the right to freedom of choice.

Considerations of a "population explosion" were completely absent from the Bolshevik decision. Then, as now, the Soviet Union, was, if anything, underpopulated.

The sole reason for the Bolshevik law was to help end the material basis for the inequality of women. And the primary concern of Lenin's government was for women of the working class and the peasantry, who traditionally bore six, a dozen or even 20 children in their reproductive years. (Even in backward countries, most wealthy and influential women have always found the means to limit the size of their families.)

For the first time in history, working women were given a choice, with the full force of the law on their side. Instead of being treated as sneaking criminals for choosing to end an un-

wanted pregnancy, Soviet women were legally emancipated from the age-old imperative. And they were told for the first time that this was their right — that every child born to a Soviet woman should be a wanted child.

A great howl arose in the press and pulpits of the Western "democracies." The Bolsheviks were destroying the sanctity of the family. Soviet women, free of the fear of pregnancy, would resort to prostitution and promiscuity. And worse — their example would infect the "good" wives and mothers of the God-fearing nations.

(The howlers knew quite well, but didn't mention the fact, that the illegal abortion industry flourished throughout the Western world in every town and village and that thousands of women who couldn't afford the industry's high fees resorted to self-abortion. Doctors knew that every hospital kept beds for women who had unsuccessfully aborted themselves, that the beds were usually occupied and that frequently women died in them, in great pain and anguish.)

To the surprise and vexation of these critics, prostitution in the Soviet Union declined in the next decade — not directly because of the abortion law, but because women for the first time found employment in industry for the same wages as men. Nor did the population decline. Fewer babies were born, but more lived.

When, under the pressure of internal and external forces, the Russian Revolution took a step backward and a bureaucratic caste gained power, many of the liberating measures taken by the Bolsheviks were annulled. Legal abortion was one of them. Presently, despite the reactionary liquidators of Marxism who head the USSR, this fundamental right of women has been restored, at least, in word.