

Black and white, unite and fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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Workers and students will unite against war and racism

The war in Vietnam is a war against the American workers, just as surely as it is a war against the workers of Vietnam and against the freedom and self-determination of a struggling, poverty-ridden people.

It is the workers who pay for the war in inflated prices; it is the workers who will pay much more if the war is enlarged still further, while their bosses will coin still greater profits.

It is the workers' sons who fight the war and die in it. The banker-generals, as is well known, die in bed. Chase Manhattan Bank and the Bank of America have established themselves in Vietnam and so has First National City Bank of New York. They now own mortgages on homes, businesses and farms in South Vietnam. But the worker-GIs do not own one acre of Vietnamese land and have nothing to fight for besides the interests of the U.S. bankers.

The nineteen, twenty, and twenty-one-year old GIs who die with monotonous regularity so Chase Manhattan can stay in Southeast Asia are the sons of working people and very poor farmers here in the USA.

The students who protest against the war are acting in the interest of these worker-GIs and the working class in general.

The students who were killed in Kent, Ohio died in behalf of the working people. Some of them were the children of workers. They died in a political struggle against the bosses' war, but they belong among the workers' martyrs just as surely as if they had died in a labor struggle. The National Guardsmen who shot them down had just been transferred to Kent from Cleveland, where they were getting ready to shoot down striking Teamsters in behalf of the chiseling truck companies and the scabs.

The students who protest the war and smash the

Reserve Officers Training Corps centers could take advantage of their education and become officers, get a better break than the worker-GIs, lord it over them and perhaps get out of fighting altogether.

But instead they fight against the warmakers. Instead of bucking for some desk job in Washington, they demand that the GIs be brought home. That is fighting for the workers' real interests, exposing the war aims of big business and pinpointing the real enemy of the working class at home.

The GIs themselves—especially those in Vietnam—are in no position to protest easily. Not because the NLF would shoot them if they did. It's because their American officers would shoot them. The officers could call it mutiny if the GIs demanded to come home—as they all want to do.

The fathers and mothers of the GIs are not in a good position to protest either. If they take time off from the factories where they work, they could lose their jobs. Because they have less freedom to act independently, they find it much more difficult to think independently, especially on complicated questions of world politics. The rulers offer them the "comforting" thought that their children are being sacrificed for a worthy cause. But all the more terrible will be the workers' wrath when they find out that they have been betrayed, and that it is the government itself that has betrayed them!

The students fight for these mothers and fathers too, although many of these parents are still opposed to the students and think the protests are too violent (not understanding that the police and the National Guard consciously and deliberately shoot down the protesters, just as they consciously and deliberately shot six Black youths in the back at Augusta, Georgia and two others at Jackson State).

The student struggle against racism is another

essential step toward building working class solidarity. Racism has always been a tool of the bosses to divide the workers. There can be no emancipation of labor without tackling this enormous problem. The students have found that in fighting the war machine and the government that controls it, they are fighting the biggest racists. The white workers will also find that they cannot advance their own interests against the rapacious monopolies without recognizing the rights of their Black brothers and sisters.

The student protesters are fighting for the working people. And in fact they, the students, are in reality the first small thunder of the great working class storm that will come later and sweep away the warmakers altogether. They may seem alien to the workers in their beards, blue jeans, ponchos and long hair. But the future giant is not recognized in the gangling adolescent, either. If the working people could clearly see their own interests behind the smokescreens set up by their bosses and their sell-out union leaders, the war could not last a single day. But since it is impossible to find out the truth without long and bitter struggle to reach the mass of the workers with the truth and organize them to fight for their own lives, it can only be a gradual, sporadic, and finally earth-shaking upheaval by which the workers will join the students and finish the task the students have so courageously begun.

And no one should worry too much lest the great mass of the eighty-odd million American workers will imitate the action of the construction goons in New York City. On the contrary, when the impact of the war really hits the workers and they understand what hit them, they will deal swiftly and harshly with the warmakers—and they'll know what to do with any "hard hats," civilian or military, who get in their way.

Editorial comment

Lest we forget "the other war"

An alarm bell of warning must be sounded to the anti-war movement about the conflict in the Middle East. This "other" war is growing, becoming more ominous day by day.

The stakes in the Middle East for U.S. imperialism are enormous. The imperialist ruling class has much greater investments there than in all Southeast Asia. Until recently, it relied on national divisions created by the colonial powers and the complete subjugation of the masses by colonial puppets to maintain its empire of oil over the Arab world.

But the winds of socialist revolution and national liberation are sweeping the world, and the Arab masses are mastering the art of revolutionary politics and people's war. This strikes panic in the hearts of the imperialists, who are

beginning to fear for their very survival. They are capable of wild adventures, as can be seen in the Cambodian and Laotian escalations of the Indochina war. It seems highly possible at the present time that U.S. imperialism, with Israel acting to all intents and purposes as a second military arm, will unleash some new aggression against the Arab people.

There has already been the invasion of Lebanon—almost overlooked because it coincided so neatly with the invasion of Cambodia that absorbed the attention of the world.

The U.S. ruling class is united behind the Mideast war. Many of the doves on Vietnam are the most virulent hawks on the Mideast—precisely because they feel that the latter war is much more in their interest. In fact, many

are opposed to the Vietnam war because they feel that the U.S. will not be able to wage other wars like the one in the Mideast while they are "bogged down" in Vietnam.

Nowhere are the failings of the official anti-war leaders more apparent than on this question. Used to tailing behind the criticisms of the Vietnam war raised by dissident members of the Establishment, they have shown no concern for the "other" war. They cannot act independently of the liberal capitalist Establishment. Their strictly non-struggle orientation on Vietnam confirms this in a positive way—but their refusal to take up the Middle East war shows it in the most dangerously negative way.

Three long years ago, just after the June War, the Chairman of Workers World Party, joined by a representative of Youth Against War & Fascism, brought a resolution condemning U.S.-Israeli aggression before the National Mobilization Committee. The NMC refused to even discuss the war, and tabled the motion—where it has remained while more jets, ships, napalm and tanks have been rushed to the Mediterranean to be used against the Arab people.

It was criminal to table discussion of the war then. It is even more criminal now to suppress this issue when three more years of bloody conflict have made it clearer than ever that the question in the Middle East is essentially the same as that in Vietnam: the right of oppressed people to liberate themselves from the tentacles of U.S. finance capital.

The failure of the anti-war leadership to take a position on the Mideast war and their refusal to rally the anti-war masses is not simply a betrayal in the abstract. The practical dangers

of suppressing discussion on this issue are enormous and frightening.

The New York Times has already asserted in an editorial that the Mideast war is more dangerous than the Vietnam war. The possibility of a surprise attack against the Arab people by U.S. imperialism grows greater with each passing day.

Should the Israeli puppets be unable to carry on the war alone, U.S. imperialism would certainly intervene (as they were ready to do during the 1967 war). Such an event would catch the entire population, no less the anti-war masses, entirely unprepared to resist. By refusing to rally the people against this war, the anti-war leadership is leaving the movement totally disarmed in the face of a potential disaster which could overcome, disorient and ultimately destroy the anti-war movement itself.



The Committee to Support Middle East Liberation picketing the Israel Discount Bank. Called by the Committee to observe Palestine Solidarity Day, the demonstration was supported by members from YAWF.

(WW Photo/Ed Collins)

Quote of the week

Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli ambassador to the U.S., on Israeli television: "There is no connection between U.S. actions in Cambodia and the situation in the Middle East. Nevertheless, if the Americans will be successful in their Cambodia action, things will be easier for Israel. If not—credibility in America's striking power will suffer, which in turn will influence events in the Middle East." (Zohar Dorech 5/13/70)

Milwaukee WWP organizer, unionist gets 60 days

MILWAUKEE, May 8—A 48-year-old trade unionist was given 60 days and a \$200 fine in County Court here today for his part in protesting the conviction of the famous Chicago Eight on February 20.

Four students in the same demonstration were given similar sentences by the judge, Louis J. Ceci. The charge against all of them was "unlawful assembly," and the conviction is being appealed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Al Stergar, the trade unionist, has worked for the past eleven years at Rose Steel Fabricators in this city as a set-up welder. He is Recording Secretary of Amalgamated Local 1092 UAW-ALA. And before he worked at Rose, he was a chief steward at the American Motors plant, also UAW. Earlier he was editor of a local union newspaper at Wisconsin

Motors, served on strike committees and was delegate to several UAW conventions.

He is chairman of the Workers World Party branch in Milwaukee and has defended student protesters on several previous occasions as he participated in their actions.

Before sentencing, which could have been for up to 12 months, Stergar made the following address to the court:

"I stand here in this courtroom in front of the bench where so many others have stood. I know how they felt. How angry they were with the judge, the prosecutor and the jury. The judge and the prosecutor are doing what they do because they have decided that they want a bigger piece of the pie. They have accepted the system and they are part of it. They know that they could fight for justice and against racism and suffer

for it, or they can be part of the oppressive system and be rewarded for it.

"People like us, in the eyes of the court are fools. We don't know on which side our bread is buttered. We believe that we can and should only improve our conditions by lifting and aiding our fellow human beings.

"How could the jury rule other than they did? They have been indoctrinated with racism. They believe that progress is made somehow and somewhere else. They don't understand it is made by human beings and is made—or will be made in our time just as it was made by others in their time.

"How could this court, this jury, this prosecutor understand the Boston Tea Party and the American revolutionaries? They would find Sam Adams guilty. How could this court understand John Brown?

"How do you think chattel slavery

was abolished? Did men like John Brown lead the way or did the courts?

"We follow the example of John Brown.

"I have worked in factories all my life with my hands. I have worked in machine shops and as a welder. I'm skilled and proficient in my trade. I have been an active unionist and been for many years a union officer. When we began to organize the plant, the company told me if I didn't like the wages and working conditions I could quit. When we persisted, they fired me. Their message to me was 'shut up.' If you open your mouth, if you try to cut into their profits so as to improve the working people's conditions, you will be punished.

"The lesson of this trial is 'shut up.' If you dare to demonstrate against war and racism, against court injustices, you will be punished. That is why we have been found guilty."

The other four defendants were Nik J. Santilli, 19; George J. Wagner, 23; Dennis M. Schaefer, 24; and David J. Goldberg, 26.

All are currently free on \$1,000 bond a piece.

NYC YAWF teacher fired

NEW YORK, May 14—A young math teacher, David Schechter, a member of Youth Against War & Fascism, was fired today for joining with his students in striking for the three demands that were formulated at New Haven: (1) End political repression especially against the Panthers and Bobby Seale, (2) stop the war in Indochina and (3) end university complicity with the military.

On Tuesday, May 5, a group of students and the teacher arrived at their high school, Julia Richman, with leaflets explaining the demands and flags of Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. For the next two days, the school had almost nobody in it during the after-

noon sessions. Many other high schools whose students were enraged by the Kent State massacre were also closed down throughout the city.

By Friday the city's rulers were so afraid that they went into "mourning" and closed the schools in the city in hopes of cooling off the students. At Julia Richman, this maneuver worked fairly well, for there was little action the next week, and when David Schechter tried to resume his job, he was informed that he was fired for "dereliction of duty" and "conduct unbecoming a teacher." It would seem to some that mass murder is "becoming" and striking against it is not.

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SCENE OF THE CRIME: JACKSON, MISS.

"defeat" Wallace by taking over nine tenths of his program, it is no wonder that the move to legalize racism, by overturning the 1954 desegregation decision, has been carried even further by Nixon than it was by Johnson. The ruling was seen as a move to weaken the stranglehold of racism, but it ended up as little more than petty legal harassment to the Southern ruling class. Now Nixon and Mitchell are moving to formalize the burial of the Warren court's ruling and give carte blanche to the old Southern regime.

Racism, class interest of ALL imperialists

The war against Black America and the war against Indochina are both genocidal wars waged against a colonized people. But while there is a "loyal opposition" within the imperialist establishment to the war in Indochina, there is no such opposition to the war at home. Where were McGovern, Goodell, Fulbright, Lindsay, McCarthy, Kennedy, et. al, when the bullets cut into the backs of the Blacks in Jackson and Augusta? Certainly, these murders are as vicious as the murders at Kent State. But these "liberals" didn't call a press conference to denounce the murders. They didn't run to be photographed with the grief stricken Black families or ask Black people to come to Washington. They didn't call for any dialogues with the Blacks or open the halls of Congress to them. These lily white racists don't want to run on an election platform opposing the war against Black America. They want to limit their "loyal opposition" to the war in Indochina—a tactic that they hope will get them votes.

For similar motives these "doves" cynically used the murders at Kent State for their own political ends. They saw the storm of mass opposition coming and they understood that if they, the loyal opposition, could harness the storm into non-violent channels, it could be used as a bargaining point with the Nixon administration. And so they shed crocodile tears and called for an end to the violence—but they didn't call for an end to the violence or the cops, the storm troopers of the ruling class. They did not call for an end to the violence in Augusta or Jackson, or for that matter for an end to the ruling class' violence in Vietnam.

Why? Because there is no loyal opposition to the war against Black America—it folded up after the civil rights movement, when the ruling class decided that they were not going to give the Black people equality, because the class interests of the imperialists were too intimately tied up with racism and the subjugation of Black people. The evaporation of the loyal opposition, replaced with an upsurge of fascism against the Black community is the outgrowth of an extended, unpopular, imperialist war abroad and the development of a revolutionary Black liberation struggle at home.

The liberal bourgeoisie will complain about the "excesses" in the relentless war against Black America, but only when there is the threat of revolution—such as exists today. When three Black students were shot in the back and killed in Orangeburg, South Carolina a few years ago, there were no words of outrage from these liberals.

But when the Black moderates begin calling for armed self-defense and when there is a successful boycott of all white businesses except the gun stores, the liberals suddenly cry out in mock horror and compare the deaths at Jackson State to those at Kent State. But there is no real division in the ruling class when it comes to the war against Black America—only an occasional difference in tactics. This was made clear, when despite demands by the Mississippi United Front, Attorney General Mitchell refused to call off a scheduled meeting with the Delta Council, a group of white, southern businessmen often compared to the White Citizens' Council. This refusal is nothing less than a deliberate provocation of the Black community, and as such is typical of the move towards fascism that has become the hallmark of the Nixon administration. It further underscores the correctness of the decision taken by the United Front on the question of how to defend their rights.

Mississippi Black United Front vows armed self-defense

By EMILY TARASOV

In the wake of the cold-blooded police murders of six Black men in Augusta, Georgia and two Black students in Jackson, Mississippi, a coalition of some 30 civil rights and anti-poverty program leaders have declared their determination to defend their people by establishing armed self-defense units in the Black community. Dr. Aaron Shirley, co-chairman of this coalition, the Mississippi United Front, said "We are determined that from now on when we suspect that law enforcement officers are hell bent on killing some Black folk, they'll be doing it at some risk to their own lives."

This is the only possible response to the genocidal attack being waged against Black America, and it must be defended by all those who support the right of oppressed people to self-determination.

These murders are not isolated attacks by rabid racists, but the natural outgrowth of the Nixon administration's fascist policy of giving the Southern slavocracy a completely free hand to exercise a terrorist dictatorship over Black people.

Victims shot in back

On Sunday, May 10, white racist guards tortured and beat to death a mentally retarded 16 year old Black youth in an Augusta jail. When word of this vicious murder hit the streets, the ghetto exploded. A white police captain, well-known in the Black community for his gestapo mentality, was sent in to "handle" the situation—and that meant "shoot

to kill."

Each of the six men killed was shot in the back from two to nine times. James Stokes, 19, was in a grocery store with his friends, when a pig car drove up and a cop fired into the store. The cops ran in to examine the results of their terrorism. They kicked the lifeless body of James Stokes, yelling, "Get up, nigger, you ain't dead." But the nine bullets in his back had done their job.

Just a few days later, the Mississippi Highway Patrol, which had been putting down minor racial disturbances in the area, went to the campus at Jackson State University and started shooting at a women's dormitory. Just before the shooting began, an officer was overheard saying, "If they stick their heads out of the window, shoot 'em." After the shooting, two lay dead, others lay wounded. Well over a hundred bullet holes were counted in the dormitory and dining hall.

These murders are the latest attack in the ruling class' 400 year war against Black America—a war equal in its ruthlessness to any of the genocidal attacks carried on by the capitalists since the birth of imperialism.

Nixon out to outdo Wallace

Nixon and Mitchell are the present day flag bearers of the so-called Southern strategy, which is nothing less than a counter-revolutionary attack on the Black liberation struggle. With Agnew the Strom Thurmond of the White House, and Nixon trying to

IN MEMORIAM Albert Baker

A lifelong socialist died at the age of 81 on April 18. Born in Russia, Albert Baker came to this country when he was 16 and was active in progressive causes for many years. A supporter of the Cuban revolution, he made several trips to Cuba. He was a devoted partisan of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed people and supported their struggles consistently throughout his life. He never lost faith in the socialist future of mankind.

Over 200 people attended a memorial for Albert Baker held at the Community Church on May 4.



(WW Photo/Ed Collins)

YAWF organized protest May 18, against racist murders in Augusta and Jackson.

Operators tell Ma Bell — pay up or go to hell!

at the East 37 Street office. On Sunday, May 10, the Telephone Traffic Union (a company union) called for a one-day work stoppage. The one-day action was called by TTU only because of the tremendous pressure that was building up from the ranks of women operators. The TTU leadership (the current president of TTU at the 56th Street building was appointed by Ma Bell over 35 years ago) hoped that this move would just let off some steam with a minimal loss to the company.

The women workers were too angry to be taken in by this crude maneuver, and genuine leaders from the rank and file emerged to organize the picket lines and spread the strike throughout the city. The day after Mother's Day, workers from three more buildings walked out and set up picket lines.

"Sisters, join us"

The rebellion spread to other districts in the city, including Brooklyn. The repressive attempts by the company, in at least one case, provoked non-striking workers into joining the wildcat. At the West 50th Street office, a large group of operators walked out when a delegation of striking workers from other

buildings entered and explained the walkout to them. When Ma Bell management called in the cops to arrest the delegation of strikers, over 400 workers walked out and rows and rows of switchboards were deserted.

"No money, no work"

The company has started threatening the women with loss of their jobs if they continue to stay out. The fighting spirit of the operators has aroused many of the workers in the Plant Department, who would like to see a united action of all telephone workers.

The Plant Department workers were told by their Local 1101 (CWA) officials to cross the operators' picket lines. This went against the workers' feelings, and, in fact, many of them refused to cross the line. The question of unity is primary for the telephone workers, who are split up into different unions by craft and by sex and fragmented by all sorts of barriers erected by the company. This is one of the biggest weaknesses of the telephone workers.

In one of the leaflets issued by the operators, they wrote, "Last November the Plant Department refused to discuss a similar Company proposal and (Continued on page 7)

By A TELEPHONE WORKER

"Hey Ma Bell, we're mothers too!"

With that slogan, hundreds of New York rank-and-file long distance telephone operators, most of them Black and Puerto Rican, took to the streets, Mother's Day, May 10, beginning a militant wildcat strike demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

That slogan was also a demand that Bell Telephone recognize that telephone operators are people, women who must support themselves and their families. At this writing 7,000 women, some mothers with four and five children, are out on the streets.

Bell Telephone has always been one of the most notorious exploiters of women, rigidly segregating them into the most menial and low paying jobs. Even the unions are set up as to divide the workers, craft from craft and men from women.

The walkout itself started among the clerical workers in the Accounting Department on May 6. Their picket line was the workers' response to the company's miserable wage offer.

Operators' starting salary is \$84 and inches up to a top of \$113.50 after 5 1/2 years. The company "offer" would raise the top pay to \$117. The operators are demanding \$140 top pay.

By May 8, the action spread to include operators

19th century conditions in a space age sweatshop

1. In order to split the women from each other, the company has set up an intricate hierarchy. There are many different ranks, TOMs (Traffic Office Managers), ATOMs (Assistant TOMs), supervisors, and all these have their corresponding "acting" rank. To further increase the division, only supervisors and up receive sick pay. If a woman is in a training program, she can be dropped for being out one day.

2. The operators are always supposed to face their boards, never looking to the side or to the back. They may not speak to their neighbor; when an operator has to speak to a supervisor for any reason she turns a light on overhead and the supervisor plugs in to her line.

3. Operators must ask permission to go to the bathroom. If permission is granted (and it isn't always), the time allotted is only three minutes.

4. The operators must use the vernacular of

the telephone company when speaking to a customer. They must never vent their anger on a customer no matter how abusive he or she may be. They may show no emotion whatsoever to a customer or to another operator while on the line. This is enforced by the supervisors, ATOMs and TOMs plugging in unannounced at any time.

5. The ATOMs control whether the workers can go home if they are ill. One woman died at the switchboard after being refused permission to go home. The company's callous answer was "Well, mistakes can be made." The ATOMs may also call an operator into their glass-enclosed offices and lecture them on anything, including body odor, their jewelry, their dress, anything.

6. The switchboards are very old, and the operators often receive had shocks. An article in Tooth and Nail from California reveals that there are lice in the switchboards there, and the women are constantly being bitten.

Women's rally marches to support striking sisters

By SUE DAVIS

NEW YORK, May 13 — A noontime crowd of about 200 people, mostly women, gathered at 36th Street and Sixth Avenue to take part in a street rally sponsored by the New York Women's Liberation Center, a newly formed center for women's liberation activities maintained by individual women and numerous groupings. The rally was organized to show that women are rising up angry and speaking out against the government's policy of repression here and abroad.

And speak out they did!

About two dozen women condemned the U.S. imperialist war in Indochina, the massacres of the four Kent State students, the murders of six Black men in Augusta, the jailing of the Panthers; they spoke from personal experience of the oppression they suffered because they are women: the inequities on the job, the drudgery of housework, the limitations imposed on them by childcare. All demanded an end to U.S. aggression, repression at home, racism and male supremacy.

Women speak out against repression and oppression

The women rapped spontaneously, using an open mike as a way to encourage their sisters to join in the liberation struggle. It worked—several women off the street talked of their support for the growing women's movement. Roz Baxandall of the Day Care Collective, Carol Grossberg of the Rat and Anne Doubilet, among others, ran down the reasons why women need to organize themselves. Bev Grant sang a few of her songs of women's liberation.

Two members of the Women's Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism, Sue Davis and Mary Jo Wuetrich, spoke on the necessity for struggle in the liberation of women. Sue ended her remarks by saying, "The fight of women for day care centers is really another front in the battle against the bosses who are profiting from the war in Vietnam."

Mary Jo, who had just returned from the Venceremos Brigade in Cuba, reminded the audience that Cuban women were not handed free day care centers, free and open education in any field, equal employment opportunities and pay scales on a silver platter. Cuban women fought in the Revolution, overthrew their ruling class and worked to institute socialism in their country. In the process they eliminated

the economic basis for male supremacy.

Throughout the entire rally, the spirit of the women was very high, so high in fact that neckling was at a bare minimum. And those who did heckle were treated to a public answer over the loudspeaker. This intimidated the heckler and raised the spirits of the women in the crowd.

March to support striking women

After an hour and a half of militant speeches, the women felt that some action was needed to cap off the rally properly. About 100 marched, chanting all the way, to the 36th Street building of Bell Telephone where the telephone operators were out on strike. (For a full account of the strike, see the accompanying article.) When they reached the picket line, the operators, mostly Black, joined in chanting "Bell Tel, go to hell, power to the sisters." The strikers carried signs explaining that even after 40 years of work they would make a top pay of only \$113.50 before taxes. As one woman said, "There isn't anything left after you pay the rent and the baby sitter."

The strike line was very spirited, with constant chanting and singing. One of the most popular songs went: "We ain't gonna answer no phones today, we ain't gonna answer no phones, we didn't get any money today, so we ain't gonna answer no phones." Some of the chants were "Ma Bell, go to hell" and "Twelve days a week and you still can't eat."

The women from the rally felt a tremendous solidarity with the women on the line not only because they knew that their sisters at Bell Telephone are among the most exploited, work under the most torturous of conditions and receive notoriously low pay, but also because they know these sisters are super-exploited because they are women and especially because they are Black women.



(WW Photo/Rita Mullins)

Telephone workers picket on 36th St.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Counter-insurgency experts may meet rebels firsthand

When the Pentagon experts and their businessmen friends were arranging a hush-hush conference on counter-insurgency to be held in Columbus, Ohio, on May 19, 20 and 21, they probably did not provide for putting their theories into practice right outside the conference hall.

Battelle Memorial Institute, the innocent-sounding site of the meeting, is just across the street from Ohio State University in Columbus. It was at OSU that students fought police and National Guard last month—before the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent massacre—during a strike sparked by Black students against the racist, repressive policies of the university and its involvement with the Pentagon and war-profiteering corporations.

The Third World Solidarity Committee on campus called for demonstrations to expose the fascist nature of the government's plans to suppress liberation struggles all over the world when it got hold of the program for the counter-insurgency conference. The code name for the conference is CIRADS IV.

Every branch of the military is represented on the conference agenda and the CIA is undoubtedly there under a different name. Some of the corporations, universities and "institutes" represented will be ITT, North American Rockwell, Hughes Tool (Aircraft Division, Grumman Aerospace), the Vertex Corporation, Westinghouse, Avco, the RAND Corporation, Institute for Defense Analysis, Advanced Research Projects Agency, University of California and Stanford University. The program reads like a Who's Who of the military-industrial complex.

Among the better known individuals (known outside CIA circles) who will address the CIRADS IV gathering are Robert Komer, former head of "pacification" in South Vietnam, and Sir R.G.K. Thompson, the British lord and supposed expert on guerrilla tactics who claims the U.S. is winning in Vietnam.

50 varieties of counter-revolution

A sampling of the subjects to be discussed includes "Insurgency and na-



Insurgent Ohio students toss tear gas back at police during Columbus demos.

tional authority," "Field experimentation and the future of military systems analysis," "A feasibility study of four special-use weapons," "The challenge and rewards of pacification," and "Important neglected tactical problems in counter-insurgency."

Those attending the conference must have Final Secret security clearance and will receive a special photobadge identification to enter the auditorium. Briefcases are barred from the auditorium and note-taking is discouraged with the warning that "any notes taken will be the full responsibility of the taker."

The conference schedule is a mas-

terpiece of organization with presentations and discussions precisely timed to allow almost 50 various aspects of counter-insurgency to be covered in three days. Special buses have been arranged to whisk the conferees from the hotels to Battelle and back again. The plans have all been made to advance the "science" of combatting liberation struggles which threaten the profits of the ruling class.

Columbus, Ohio, may have appeared to be the perfect place for such a conference when it was organized four, six or eight months ago. But the struggle has changed Columbus and it could change the neatly drawn plans for CIRADS IV also.

Boston cops riot in Back Bay

By PETE DONNELLY

In the early morning hours of Monday, May 11, 150 members of Boston's Tactical Police Force (TPF) went wild in the streets while breaking up a block party on Hemenway Street near Northeastern University. It was the third night in a row that Northeastern students and street people had staged impromptu parties in this area. These arose, it would seem, from an excess of spirit at Northeastern, generated by the National Student Strike. The spirit was unexpended, however, due to the general low-key character of the action at the school.

On the first night, the police, in an effort not to draw attention to the strike at the usually conservative Northeastern, sealed off Hemenway Street to traffic and allowed the party to continue. On the second night about 30 "TACS" broke up the party with a minimum of violence.

Early Sunday evening, people began gathering on Hemenway again, banging drums and dancing in the street. During the course of the evening there were several minor incidents, including the stoning of a police cruiser. Towards midnight about 30 street people sat

down at the end of Hemenway Street, blocking traffic. Sometime after midnight, 150 TPF, formed at the corner of Westland Avenue and Hemenway Street. At 12:40 they charged down Hemenway, five abreast, clubbing heads at random. After regrouping, they charged a second time, shouting "The pigs" and "Here come the pigs." What followed was described by the bourgeois press as "the worst police overreaction in the history of Boston."

These pigs, alone and in groups, clubbed everybody in sight; they ran through plate glass doors, without breaking stride, into lobbies of dormitories, beating students and dorm officials indiscriminately; they entered dorm rooms and private apartments, trashing stereo equipment and televisions and beating the occupants; cops got up on rooftops and threw rocks on the people below; they smashed windows on Hemenway and on adjoining streets and fired at least one gunshot at people on a rooftop on Symphony Road.

There was sporadic but disorganized resistance as people threw bricks and bottles and chanted to vent their anger and frustration. The toll was 20 people and three pigs treated for injuries: no arrests.

The battle of Hemenway Street

marks a new phase in the struggle in which revolutionary youth have learned that referenda and other non-struggle activities which only serve to validate the oppressor's role are of no use when faced with the clubs of that pro-fascist fighting force known as the police. In order to resist these attacks, it is necessary to mount massive struggles to maintain the spirit of the youth against the attempts of liberals and opportunists to co-opt it into exercises in bourgeois parliamentarism and pacifism.

An account of the attempt to restore capitalism under cover of "liberal reform."

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INDONESIA

The second greatest crime of the century

By Deirdre Griswold

75cents 96pages

This pamphlet recounts the savage bloodbath of close to a million people in Indonesia after the fascist military coup of 1965. It delves into the clandestine but critical role played by the United States government, through the CIA, over a number of years culminating in the "ultimate pacification program" of 1965. The pamphlet also deals with the question of why such a powerful left movement suffered so overwhelming a defeat, and the lessons that must be learned by serious revolutionaries everywhere.

WORLD VIEW PUBLISHERS

46 West 21 Street New York, N.Y. 10010

Fascism in workers' clothing

By NAOMI COHEN

They came from four directions; organized and coordinated with almost military precision. A flying wedge (typical tactic of New York's police) descended on the Wall Street rally of young, unsuspecting, anti-war demonstrators. The police lines, supposedly protecting the rally, suddenly parted before the mob of American flag wavers. With the cops standing by, grinning and egging them on, hundreds of assorted construction workers, rightwing goons and businessmen beat scores of youths and many shocked bystanders. The mob then marched, unopposed, to City Hall, stormed the steps of the building and smashed windows and furniture at Pace College nearby, beating more students on their way.

Friday, May 8, was just the beginning. The next week, almost every day, saw crowds of construction workers, longshoremen and assorted rightwing groups march up and down Wall Street to the delight of the many reactionary elements among the financiers and high-paid office workers in the area. The crowds of well-dressed, "respectable," Wall Street parasites cheered as the storm troopers beat people over the head with the flag, punched a man in the face for flashing the V-sign and spat on a woman who accurately called them Nazis.

Volumes have been written in New York's press since the infamous assault on May 8, but the true character of the event has been unanimously hidden by New York Daily News jingoists and New York Times liberals alike. In the citadel of U.S. finance capital an organized fascist assault was launched, as always, in the name of patriotism, the flag, God and country.

The capitalist press was falling all over itself to try to give the impression that the construction workers' action spoke for the feelings of the entire working class. This approach was conveniently adopted in an attempt to drive a wedge between the workers and the students who are protesting war and racism. The possibility of such an alliance on the basis of struggle is a nightmare for the ruling class.

Construction scabs do bosses' dirty work

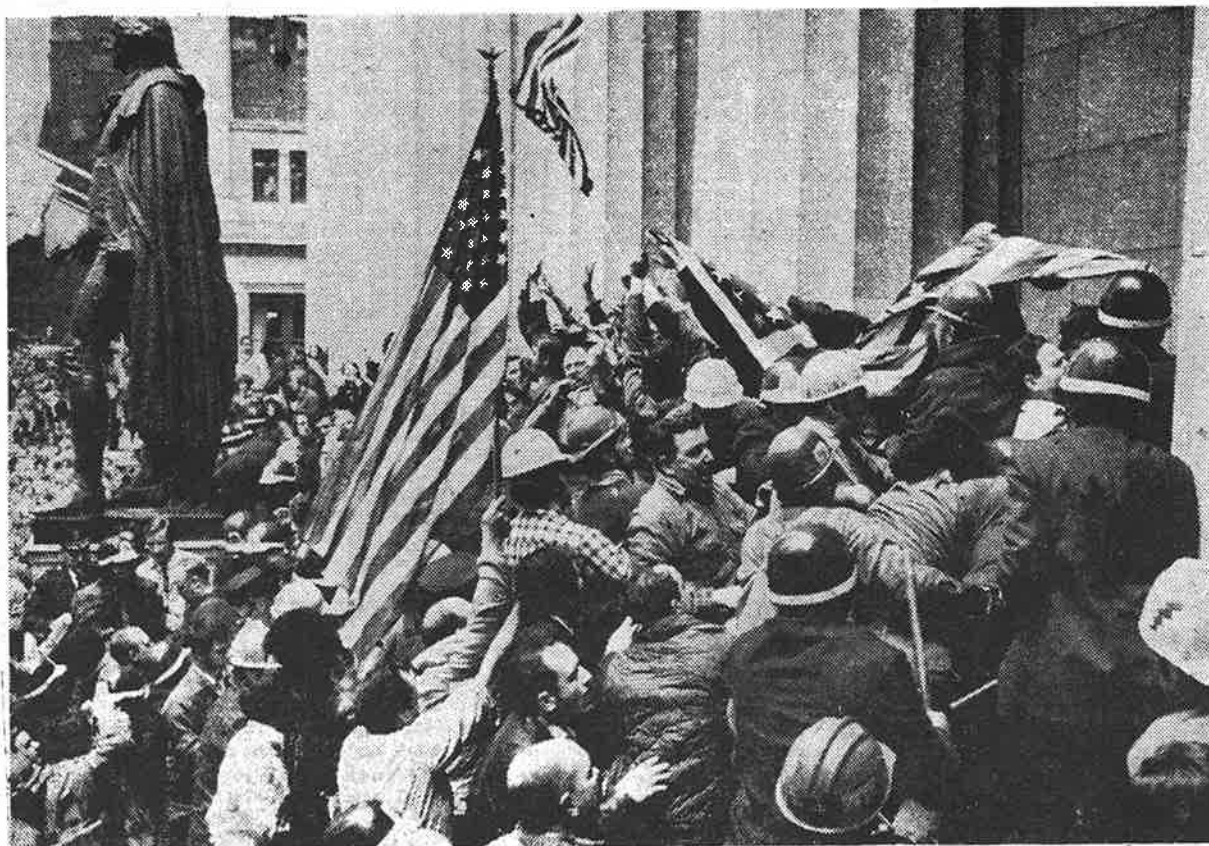
What the attack in fact represented was a tiny section of the working class which belongs to unions whose leaders are thoroughly corrupt and bribed and are in league with the most racist, reactionary section of the ruling class. The unions themselves have fought to keep the extra crumbs which the bosses throw them strictly for their own members to be passed on to their children.

The building trades unions have degenerated almost into craft guilds of the medieval sort whose purpose is only partly to organize the workers against the bosses. Their main thrust recently has been to preserve the status quo and exclude more oppressed and exploited workers from their ranks. This hostility to oppressed workers, particularly Black workers, at home is the social basis for construction workers becoming the vanguard of an incipient fascist movement—organized by rightwing, pro-fascist elements with the full cooperation of the bosses and police.

Not all the construction workers went on the rampage, but those that did were following the orders of their bosses—they were offered 5 hours off at wages of \$10 an hour to go "beat some heads," according to one construction worker unsympathetic to their cause. (Many of the workers who did not go along with the attack, however, refused to give their names, for fear of their lives.) In doing this, the construction workers acted as nothing but hoodlums of the bosses—scabs!

Among the hundreds of workers who took part in the assault, there was not a single Afro-American worker. The 300 to 400 Black construction workers were deadset against the action. Why? Because they know all too well that the foundation of the reactionary attitudes of the white workers is racism.

Not long ago white construction workers went on another rampage. That one was against Black workers in Pittsburgh, Chicago and elsewhere, who were demanding entry into the closed building trades union. The racist hysteria fanned by the labor leaders then, has formed the basis for the construction workers to carry signs as they did in a march down Wall Street on May 11—"We support Nixon and Agnew. God bless



the establishment."

Strikebreaker-Nixon

It is the height of irony for any working person to carry such a slogan—particularly after the Nixon-Agnew Administration recently showed its true anti-labor colors when the president called out troops to break the postal workers' strike. Only a scab would parade under a sign "God bless the bosses." The fact is that these fools have joined the political camp of the bourgeoisie—although they still have to work for a living while the bosses clip coupons.

In the face of a coordinated police-rightwing offensive what did Mayor Lindsay do? What all liberals do—collapse! He went on television to tell everyone that New Yorkers had "witnessed a breakdown of the police as the barrier between them and wanton violence." After making a lot of noise, he went on to deliberately cover up the organized collaboration between the fascists and the cops by saying that the police had been "stretched thin" by the need to cover many demonstrations in the city. While the mob was using wrenches and crowbars, Lindsay confined himself to a few verbal reprimands. The crowning insult was Lindsay's order to Police Commissioner Leary (whom he went out of his way to praise) to "investigate" the incident. Once more we see the criminals appointed to investigate the crime!

Witnesses to the May 8 attack testified over and over that the police stood by as the rightwingers attacked anti-war demonstrators and bystanders. One youth who was kicked and beaten told a New York Times reporter that after he was beaten to the ground a cop picked him up and told him to "beat it." Anyone who was young or long-haired was suspect. "Kill the commie bastards," was the cry of the cowards

who ganged up on one person at a time, striking with wrenches, crowbars and helmets, then kicking their victims in the face and back as they went down.

Rightwingers, police coordinate attack

Other witnesses saw men in business suits (wearing the special lapel pins used by plainclothesmen to identify each other during demonstrations) shouting orders to the workers. One known rightwing publisher, Ralph L. Clifford, was seen speaking to the crowd on Wall Street, May 8, with a bullhorn supplied by the police. He later told a New York Post reporter that his hero was Senator Joe McCarthy.

Police complicity was further exposed when it was established that the Police Department and City Government knew all about plans for the bloody attack in advance. Warnings from various sources, including some construction workers who refused to be part of the action, were called in to the police. Yet Leary later claimed that the Police Department had "no reason to anticipate major violence or disorder."

What the rightwing, the police and the ruling class bosses behind them were hoping for was that a fascist attack on the anti-war movement would intimidate the youth and permanently alienate them from the working class. But the young militants never seem to learn the lesson that the bosses want them to learn. Kent State brought a nationwide outpouring, not a frightened silence. And the Wall Street assault has taught the youth the absolute necessity of self-defense measures. Worst of all (for the capitalists, that is), the anti-war movement is turning more and more to the working class, in the recognition that it is the only class in society which has the power to decisively end the war and bring down the whole system of exploitation.

Wrapping yourself in the flag

"The last refuge of a scoundrel"

"Patriotism," said Dr. Johnson in one of his best epigrams, "is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

At that time (about 1780) he probably didn't mean that patriotism itself was so bad, but he certainly did mean that people who hid behind it were no good.

Today, patriotism is itself implicitly reactionary in an imperialist country. And any time it expresses itself violently—as in Vietnam, Augusta, Georgia or Wall Street, New York—it is explicitly reactionary and fascist.

Today, in the age of imperialism, patriotism itself always comes down to being patriotic to the imperialist ruling class and not to the "country" in the sense of the great masses of people being the country, or in the sense that progressive traditions like that of the Civil War are the country.

Advanced and informed as one has to be to fully understand this point, there are millions of people who subconsciously feel it even if they do not understand it and would never, never wave the flag and beat up people who were fighting for a new and better country, no matter how little they understood the struggle.

Only the scoundrel—or in modern phraseology, the fascist—uses patriotism to conceal his belief that all men are created unequal and that he is superior to foreigners and Black

people and that it's a good thing (for somebody else) to go and die to make the world safe for U.S. big business.

Fascism and patriotism go hand in hand. Fascists are always flag-wavers—and they usually shout about God, Home and Mother, too.

The protesters who burn the U.S. flags are being logical as well as honest and bold in doing so. The flag is the symbol of the worldwide exploitation of U.S. big business and the drive to make that exploitation complete.

But the great masses who will eventually replace that flag with the red flag of socialism will most probably come to doing this by a different route than by burning U.S. flags today. In their ignorance and confusion, they may even carry the U.S. flag into battle against the fascists and the government—as some of the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord still carried British flags at the time they were making a revolution against Britain.

(It is not accidental that "My Country 'Tis of Thee" was written to the tune of "God Save Our Gracious King.")

This is no reason for the Movement to stop burning flags. But it is a reason to differentiate between the fascist scoundrels who wrap themselves in the flag and the ordinary, everyday working people who still have all their illusions about the flag.

Points to remember on the nature of the working class

By V. COPELAND



Fascists carry sign; translated it means, "Down with the working class. God bless the boss."

Not all construction workers joined the fascist attack on the anti-war protesters in New York's Wall Street section two weeks ago. But it has to be recognized that the most aggressive sentiment among these high paid "aristocrats of labor," the white majority of them, at any rate, was the super-patriotic one of chauvinism and hatred of almost anything progressive.

This immediately raises the question with some people: Aren't the workers, as such, reactionary? And isn't the working class hopeless as a force for revolutionary social change?

Actually, this phenomenon of backward "bourgeoisified" workers (the word was coined by Frederick Engels) appeared as early as the 1890's in England. Lenin spoke of a section of "reactionary" workers and of whole masses of workers in a "reactionary mood." And Adolph Hitler proved that there were some fascist workers, too, although the majority of the working class in pre-Hitler Germany was Communist.

But the middle class radicals' lack of confidence in the workers was fortified in their own mind, at least, by the fascist actions in Wall Street.

To people who never worked in a sweatshop or a big factory the construction workers often seem to be the whole working class, or at least to be fully representative of it. They are the most visible of workers, especially in New York and other large cities, where buildings are always being built or torn down to make way for other buildings.

But construction workers are not the working class and not even a fair sample of it. They have seldom identified themselves with factory workers. And how could they? They make \$7.00 to \$8.00 an hour and with overtime often get \$350 to \$400 a week.

The average wage for factory workers in the United States is barely \$3 an hour and one-third of all workers in New York City make less than \$90 a week.

Lower-paid white workers are not necessarily more progressive or more anti-war than the construction workers are—or less prejudiced against Black people. But they are the first to be hit by the costs of war (always excepting the super-oppressed Black people themselves)—the costs in the blood of their relatives and the rise in their cost of living.

The lower-paid workers of both races are the ones who must fight back against the high prices, low wages, harder work and speed-up, on the pain of further oppression if they do not. They are seldom idealistic as young students can be idealistic, seldom motivated by the intellectual understanding of U.S. foreign policy and knowledge of its brutalities, or by the hatred of a government they have been taught to honor, revere and die for.

But they are in turn more determined and more powerful when they do move in the defense of their own class interests than any other section of the masses can be. They defend their interests usually without breaking with mental patterns dictated by their bosses. This confuses some students of labor, who conclude that strikes can never be turned into revolutions—because the workers are not "revolutionary."

But the workers can only actually oppose the government when they are about ready to over-



Lindsay covers for Leary, who covers for fascists.

throw it—or have already done so. Such is the contradiction between what people think and what they actually do, when they are indoctrinated with the ideology of their bosses.

On the other hand, workers, high-paid or low-paid, sometimes act against their own class interests and scab on their fellow workers, just as the construction men scabbed on the anti-war movement and on their own sons who they said were in Vietnam and by their action condemned to stay there.

But scabbing is not and cannot be the normal way of life for the working class. Normally, the workers must fight to live. It is the job of politicals and professional revolutionaries—many of whom today are still students—to find a way to lead the workers to the logical conclusion of their struggle to live: that is, to the socialist revolution.

The scabby action of New York construction workers has made it much more difficult for the moment to teach such students how to reach the workers. But the dialectic of history—which in this case means the new blows against the workers now being prepared by the capitalists and their system—will come to our aid all too soon and perhaps suddenly.

Penna. steelworkers' rep. supports anti-war resolution

BETHLEHEM, PENNA., May 5 — During last week's city council meeting here, steelworkers, college and high school students, presented an anti-war resolution to the council condemning the government's policy in Indochina. A representative of over 3,000 retired Bethlehem area steelworkers jumped up and voiced 100 per cent support for the resolution and said, "There is obviously something wrong with this system; it needs to be changed." After a short debate, the council members voted and returned with a 7-0 decision in support of the anti-war resolution. The town is almost entirely controlled by the Bethlehem Steel Company; the bulk of the people are steelworker families.

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Women's wildcat spreads

(Continued from page 4)

took work action which finally led to a strike! What did our unions do then?

"They said 'CROSS THE PICKET LINES, THIS IS NOT OUR ISSUE!' Many of us in the other departments could see that it would be better to make a united fight, but we weren't organized to do this thing. What the Plant Department did get, it fought for. What it didn't get, was a direct result of our not fighting alongside them. Their fight was our fight. Their loss, our loss."

In this struggle, the men must unite behind the demands of the women, must understand the special conditions of exploitation imposed upon the women and must back them 100 per cent. This is the only correct thing to do from the point of view of class solidarity against Ma Bell, and it will strengthen both women and men in all future struggles.

A great many of us are aware of this, and understand that it is impossible to defeat the world's richest corporation (AT&T has stated assets of over \$43 billion) without solidarity on all fronts. The sell-out leaderships of the various unions which represent the telephone workers try at every turn to block this.

The telephone operators' wildcat is a rebellion against the company and the company-picked union bureaucrats, and is a step toward their victory. As the operators summed it up in their leaflet, "The operators at E. 37th and E. 56 St. and other buildings where women have walked have guts. They would rather make a stand than take the Company's insults any longer. NOW IT IS UP TO US!"

For further information on the strike:

Kathryn Justice
Constance Calhoun
May Pemberton
212-BA7-1487.

Reaganfeller's cops open fire on Buffalo students



(Photo: Graphics Collective)

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

The week of May 4 saw the student struggle at the University of Buffalo enter a new stage. As at Kent State and a number of Black colleges, the police brutally escalated their repression of the student movement from beatings and tear gas to gunfire.

The shootings into the student union came after other efforts to intimidate the students had failed. Despite injunctions, dozens of indictments, arrests and beatings and finally the massive use of tear gas, students on strike at Buffalo had taken their struggle into the surrounding community and had united with other colleges in the area.

Before the invasion of Cambodia, a heavy series of grand jury indictments for anti-war activities earlier in the year had come down, especially against the leadership of Youth Against War & Fascism, and the repression seemed to paralyze the campus for a while (see accompanying story). But the escalation of the Indochina war, the continuing repression of the Black Panther Party and finally the murders at Kent State led to a new explosion.

Three days of battle

Three days of battle began on Tuesday, May 5. Over a thousand students met in a rally to decide

how to answer the murder of their comrades at Kent. The feeling was stronger than ever not to keep the protest bottled up on campus. As Joan Marquardt, the last speaker, talked on the repression against the Panthers and the indictments that had come down at school (her husband Dan faces the heaviest charges), the crowd began chanting "Main Street, Main Street!"

A YAWF banner reading "Free Bobby" led the march to the main artery in the city. The students got as far as a viaduct just above one of the main high schools; there the police were massed in strength to stop the march. Within minutes, the enterprising marchers had erected a three-foot high barricade that stretched completely across the road under the viaduct. They grabbed tires, poles, rocks and other objects from the sides of the embankment.

The barricade was set ablaze and there was a long period of standoff between the students and the cops. Then the marchers decided to return to campus, where they marched around and trashed windows in the ROTC building. A discussion was held at the original rally site whether to return to the streets; after some debate, one group returned to Main Street and was soon joined by the others. After some

more marching, the police broke up the demonstration with tear gas—a first for Buffalo, but by no means for the last time.

Cops beat foreign student

That night, the police showed their fascist nature even more clearly. A student from Formosa, in this country only three months, was stopped by a police car as he walked home alone from the library. A cop got out without saying a word, beat him to the ground with his club and then drove away. Robert Chou was left with a broken arm.

The next two nights, the students held more rallies and continued to return to the streets, trying to bring the message of their anger and militancy to the community. Things also began moving on the other big campus in Buffalo, State Teachers College. On Wednesday at noon, a march to Canisius College from UB was planned. Canisius is a Catholic school and traditionally very conservative. Students from State Teachers who were also marching to Canisius were teargassed as they assembled for the march. The three colleges did join together, however, and marched all the way to City Hall—many miles—and then back to Canisius and the University of Buffalo, which is on the city line! The students who might not yet have been ready for fighting the police were showing their determination by sticking with this all-day trek. And they were accepting militant slogans like "Free the Panthers! Free Martin Sostre!"

That evening at UB the basement and third floor of the ROTC building were burned. As the evening demonstrations wore on, several bank windows were selectively broken—a fact noted by the small community tradesmen whose shops weren't touched.

The teargassing was getting heavier all the time. Once the cops shot a cannister onto the roof of a private home, where it started a substantial fire. But the students were learning how to handle the gas attacks, and many cannisters were thrown back at the pigs.

Thursday evening was the biggest gas attack yet. The cops came right on campus with the gas and shot it into Haas Lounge of the student union. The union was full of gas until the afternoon of the following day, and burn marks from the gas cannisters could be seen on the floor of the hallway.

Gas screens barrage of birdshot

The students had erected a barricade outside the union. First they were gassed, and then through the haze of the tear gas came shots—the police were shooting at the students! Meanwhile, it became clear that many plainclothes cops dressed like students had been infiltrated onto campus. They were making arrests when they could get students isolated from the main crowds.

A second barrage of what seemed to have been birdshot was directed at the student union later in the evening from an unmarked police station wagon and a police car that parked right in front of Norton Union. The police, of course, are denying the shootings, but the holes from the shot are visible in the windows, several students were treated in nearby hospitals for gunshot wounds, and dozens of witnesses have since signed affidavits that they saw police do the shooting.

This latest outrage in Buffalo will only stiffen the resolve of the students to organize more tightly and militantly against their enemy. The struggle is broadening out to encompass more colleges, the high school students are both joining in the campus actions and initiating their own struggles, and the day is not too far off when the battle against the imperialist bosses and their fascist apparatus of repression will inevitably be joined by the industrial workers of Buffalo whose meager gains are being whittled away with each passing day.

DAN BENTIVOGLI ON THE MOVEMENT

Letter from Erie County Jail

FROM: Dan Bentivogli

Cell No. C-23 Date: 5/13/70

Dear Key:

The events of the past few weeks—the U.S. move into Cambodia, the brutal murder of the Kent State students and the attempt to murder the leadership of the Black Panther Party—all serve as a crucial test to the strength and survival of the anti-war movement in this country.

As militant and revolutionary as the struggles against the ruling class have been in response to the Cambodian invasion, they are slowly becoming co-opted again by the bourgeois liberal "established" anti-war leadership. This misleadership is responsible for attempting to delude the broad masses of anti-war progressives with their non-struggle ideology and more importantly, failing to provide the progressive movement with a firm understanding of the racist, expansionist nature of U.S. imperialism which is the cause of the war and the real enemy of all oppressed people.

The failure to understand imperialism fully explains the failure of the masses of people to respond to the vicious racist war against Black America and the BPP in particular. This "radical" mis-leadership, especially the SWP and the CP, have purposefully attempted to lead the Movement away from the defense of the Black Panther Party.

The war against Black America is waged with the same racist intensity as the war against Southeast Asia and must be protested just as vigorously. It is treachery of the worst kind for these so-called radicals to do otherwise and to hide behind the phony smokescreen of a "one issue" Movement. America's wars of imperialism abroad and colonialism at home are the same issue, waged by the same ruling class enemy and cannot be separated.

It is precisely these "radical" mis-leaders, in conjunction with their "liberal" friends in Congress and the rest of the imperialist establishment who have attempted to water down and divert the progressive movement and leave it open to ruling class co-optation. The one issue

Following is a letter written by Dan Bentivogli, chairman of Buffalo YAWF to Key Martin, National Chairman of YAWF.

the rulers can't divert, can't give in on one inch and can't sneak around is the issue of freedom for the political prisoners of the Panther Party. And despite the events in New Haven, this is the issue that the official anti-war leaders have pushed from sight. Nowhere in their official propaganda can one find even a word about the BPP except for a hollow, weak-kneed phrase mentioning "judicial repression." The one issue that would show the Movement as clearly anti-racist, anti-imperialist has been ignored!

As imperialism intensifies its campaign in Southeast Asia and in the Black and Latin communities here at home, the need for direct and forceful mass action has never been more clear. The leadership of the Movement must be wrenched from the grasp of these phony "progressives" and a true anti-imperialist campaign started.

The concept of People's Assemblies is the one sure way that a broad-based, fighting anti-imperialist movement can be assured. We must establish an organ to educate and carry out the will of the broad mass of people in this country for only the organized, united action of the people will be able to put an end to imperialist war and exploitation once and for all.



MAY 21, 1970

Sostre wins landmark decision against solitary

By ELLEN PIERCE

From a 6-by-8 foot solitary confinement cell where he was locked up for over a year, where he was starved, frozen, denied sunlight or contact with other human beings, Martin Sostre fought a hard, long battle which has tremendous significance for every victim of the prison system in this country.

On May 14, Judge Constance Baker Motley, the only Black woman on the federal bench, ruled that Sostre's 372-day solitary confinement was "cruel and unusual punishment" in violation of the Constitution, as Sostre had claimed. She also awarded Sostre \$13,020 in damages and ordered prison officials to credit him with 124 days of good time which he lost in solitary.

The money for damages and the restored good time alone are of limited significance to the Black political prisoner who is serving 31-41 years on a narcotics frameup which stemmed from his ownership of the Afro-Asian Bookshop in Buffalo where the books and ideas of Malcolm X, Che, Mao and other revolutionaries could be found. More important are the changes in prison practices which Sostre's struggle has forced.

Precedent-setting ruling

Judge Motley ruled that no prisoner can be put into solitary confinement or denied good time without written notice of the charges against him, the right to a hearing by impartial officials and the right to have legal counsel at such a hearing. Even in cases of serious infractions of prison regulations, she noted, solitary confinement would have to be limited to 15 days to remain constitutional. New York State prison officials were given 90 days to submit rules for solitary confinement procedures to her. This federal ruling

can be used as a precedent in other states as well.

Also significant for all prisoners, and political prisoners in particular, was Judge Motley's order to the Commissioner of Corrections to include in the rules procedures for political activity and the dissemination of political literature in the prisons. In his suit, Sostre had challenged the censoring of revolutionary and Black nationalist books and newspapers.

Finding that Sostre had been sent to solitary "because of his legal and Black Muslim activities" during a previous prison term and "because he is, unquestionably, a black militant who persists in writing and expressing his militant and radical ideas in prison," Motley said prison officials had acted in bad faith in claiming that he was put in "segregation" for practicing law without a license when he tried to mail his attorney a letter regarding the case of his co-defendant. (Framed-up with Sostre was Geraldine Robinson, a young Black woman with five children. She is now in jail on a one-year sentence which she got in addition to 7-15 years suspended.)

Sostre's suit had also charged conspiracy against the Black and Spanish-speaking majority of the prison population on the part of Commissioner of Corrections McGinnis, the warden of Green Haven (where he was put in solitary) and Governor Rockefeller. This part of the suit was dismissed by Judge Motley on the grounds the although discrimination is evident in the prisons, Sostre had failed to prove a conspiracy existed among state officials.

Prisoner indicts jailers

The 66-page decision by Motley, called "sharply-worded" by the New York Times, came six months after the suit went to trial in the federal

court. That trial was unusual in many ways. The defendants were wardens, commissioners, a governor. Their accuser was a Black prisoner who had just been released from solitary weeks before.

When Sostre was told to raise his right hand to be sworn in as a witness, he raised his clenched fist. Exchanging smiles and clenched fists with supporters, discussing legal points with Victor Rabinowitz and Kristin Glen, his lawyers, turning the baiting questions of the government attorney into a revolutionary assault, Sostre constantly showed the courage and determination that made it impossible for the racist prison authorities to crush his spirit.

What became clear during the trial was that Sostre had been isolated from the rest of the prisoners in every jail he was sent to, that he was thrown into solitary in Green Haven, not as punishment for alleged infractions of prison rules, but because the authorities feared that his revolutionary outlook, his understanding of the struggle for Black liberation and his powerful quality of leadership was a threat to the very foundations of their racist concentration camps.

On the stand Sostre described the beating of a prisoner who later hanged himself because of the pain and terror inflicted on him. He told about the "meatballs" made mostly of bread and peanut butter that runs because so much corn oil is added to it; of 17 hours a day without food because "dinner" is at 3 in the afternoon and breakfast not until 8:00 or 8:30 the next morning; of the guards who wake prisoners in the "box" every half hour during the night; of being allowed to shave or shower only once a week; of having to strip and submit to a rectal examination for the "privilege" of one hour's exercise in the yard.

Self-taught revolutionary

Martin Sostre has spent a third of his 46 years in the ruling class prisons—of this racist country. He became a self-taught legal expert in those concentration camps and spent four long years in solitary confinement because of his legal work to enable Muslims to practice their religion in the prisons. Released from Attica prison in 1962, Sostre went to work in the Buffalo steel mills. Although he left the Nation of Islam when Malcolm X did, he continued to live frugally. His savings all went toward the goal of



opening a store where revolutionary literature would be available to the Black community. He also planned to publish a newspaper for the community. This paper was almost a reality when rebellion swept the country—and Buffalo—in the summer of 1967. The charges against Sostre and Geraldine Robinson originally included inciting to riot and other political accusations as well as the crude narcotics frameup. But the riot charges were quickly dropped in order to mask the highly political nature of the case.

No lawyer in Buffalo would touch the case, and when he went to trial, Sostre acted as his own attorney. Like Bobby Seale, he was bound and gagged when his defense against the railroading went beyond the courtroom legalisms and into the nature of racism and imperialism.

Today Sostre is in Wallkill prison, where he was transferred after being released from solitary at Green Haven. He is publishing a paper—Black News—which is printed and distributed by the Martin Sostre Defense Committee and other supporters on the outside, and runs a lending library called the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile of books on Black history and politics.

No wonder the ruling class wants Martin Sostre behind bars for the rest of his life. If he can wage a legal struggle from solitary and publish a revolutionary newspaper from prison, how much more he could do on the outside!

That, along with the most elementary demand of justice, is why Martin Sostre must be freed.

More felonies piled on Bentivogli and Blackford New repression against Buffalo YAWF

Dan Bentivogli and Kevin Blackford, leaders of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism, continue to be singled out by the authorities for repression in connection with militant demonstrations at the State University. A grand jury, which has been meeting secretly for about a month, handed down sealed indictments last week charging the two YAWF activists with assault on police during the "Month of Rebellion" that rocked the campus in March.

These charges are in addition to a whole list of frameups (Bentivogli already had a dozen counts against him and Blackford at least six others) that the authorities have concocted to make it appear that these two political leaders, one white and one Black, are personally responsible for the militancy shown by thousands of students.

Kevin and Dan are being held in Erie County Jail,

since with these new charges their bail was raised to \$6,500 and \$20,000, respectively. In jail with them is Don Sherman, an active duty GI who spoke at the campus for the American Servicemen's Union and was arrested shortly thereafter.

They were joined this week by some thirty other students who were arrested during the current demonstrations against the invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent State. These students were held on \$500 bail and most were able to get out fairly quickly when money was raised by their "affinity groups." Some were badly beaten in prison, however, and at least one Black youth suffered a broken arm.

The grand jury continues to meet in secret, and it is possible that more indictments will be forthcoming. Many of the charges so far have been for

"conspiracy," but these star chamber proceedings make it clear where the real conspiracy is—it is among the bankers and merchants of Buffalo, their administrative stooges at the university, and the corrupt and brutal courts and police. They are conspiring to stop the students and their allies in the community from waging an effective struggle against the militarism and racism of the ruling class and its academic institutions.

Dan (who faces more time than any white revolutionary in the country) and Kevin need and deserve the support of the entire movement against this attempt to railroad them to jail. The rulers must be shown that their attempts to crush the movement will only bring the storm of revolution around their heads that much more quickly and surely!

UB frightens SWP

Students from the University of Buffalo who went to Washington on May 9 got a good taste of what "moderation" is all about. A delegation approached Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party (which claims to be revolutionary), asking him as chairman of the rally to give them time to announce the shooting of Buffalo students.

He told them, "No, that would incite the people."

Later, when Buffalo students entered the massive, but passive, rally with banners, Halstead warned from the platform, "I see Buffalo is here. Let's cool it, fellows."

If the bourgeois press hadn't itself been unable to suppress the news of the Kent State massacre, we wonder if Mr. Halstead would have mentioned that fact or if he would have decided not to tell us of the murders in the interests of "cooling it"?



(Photo: Graphics collective)

Liberating a freeway in Seattle



Thousands of demonstrators pour onto Seattle Freeway, blocking traffic in wake of Kent murders.

By TOM WARNER

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON — Immediately after the murder of the students at Kent State a strike was called at the University of Washington. Four demands were presented to the administration of the school yesterday. One that ROTC should be barred from campus, another that relations should be severed with Brigham Young University (a long-standing demand of the Black Student Union), also a firm guarantee that police or the National Guard would never be brought onto the campus of UW, and full pay for striking faculty and staff of the university.

The noon rally May 5 which formulated these demands was attended by perhaps 10,000 students who marched over to confront university President Odegard with them. Of course, the administration head could only respond with a mealy-mouthed expression of

"sorrow" at the deaths at Kent State and the reading of a telegram to Nixon that the U.S. policy in the Far East was causing extreme turbulence on his campus and a wish that it would be explained better. To the express demands of the striking students there was a diplomatic but firm NO.

8,000 tie up freeway

The students, enraged by the unresponsive behavior of the president, then voted to conduct a march off campus to show the rest of Seattle how strongly they felt. Spirits were extremely high as the marchers took to the streets and marched up University Way chanting peace and revolutionary slogans.

As the lively procession of 8,000 neared the intersection with 45th Street, cries went up of "TO THE FREEWAY"

becoming more insistent as the march came closer to this entrance to the Interstate freeway which is the main traffic artery for Seattle. At the critical moment the American flag borne by the Mobe leaders turned right, away from the freeway, but the march followed behind the placard of the FREE MARTIN SOSTRE collective of the Seattle Liberation Front toward the freeway, and the Yankee flag bearers had to run like hell to become the "leaders" of the march again.

Traffic was backed up for six miles in both directions by motorists who by and large solidarized themselves with the marchers with V signs and good natured honking of horns.

The march was finally driven off the freeway by 27 Seattle pigs with the aid of the Mobe "leaders," but continued downtown blocking traffic and exhorting workers to join their strike.

Mobe-YSA leaders booed

On May 6, 20,000 to 30,000 people once again marched downtown in the

streets without a permit to the mayor's office, where they booed the officials and then the YSA spokesman for the Mobe, and again took to the freeway 5,000 strong. Here they were eventually met by cops with tear gas and mace. About a dozen people were arrested before the demonstrators were finally cleared off the road.

The next day was devoted to tightening up the strike, stopping those classes which were still functioning and barricading entrances to campus trucks and other vehicles. These actions eventually led to running battles with the pigs in riot gear. That night two banks and the applied physics lab on campus were trashed.

On May 8, the campus was officially closed by the Administration as "a day of mourning" for those killed at Kent State and the express lanes of the freeway were "given" to the marchers by the city to protest the war and the shipment of nerve gas to the state of Washington where it is being shipped from Okinawa.

Seattle is on the move.

Mellon stockholders picketed

It's a tough life for coupon clippers!

PITTSBURGH, April 29 — The annual meeting of Gulf Oil stockholders saw this multi-billion dollar corporation and the Mellon family which controls it (and most of Pittsburgh) denounced, picketed and exposed as exploiters of 50 countries.

More than 300 people demonstrated outside Carnegie Music Hall where the meeting was taking place and then led a "corporate tour" of the "Mellon patch"—a dozen Mellon-owned businesses, buildings and banks. These included the Mellon Bank (4.4 billion in assets), the Alcoa Building, Oliver Plaza #1 (which houses the Consolidation Coal Corporation, owners of the West Virginia mine in which 78 men were killed a year ago), Koppers Building, Presbyterian Hospital, Carnegie-Mellon University, Gulf Building, Mellon Square, Mellon-U.S. Steel Building, and nauseum.

The protesters entered a Mellon

Bank branch to pass out leaflets and chant anti-war slogans; they tried to storm the doors of the "exclusive" (i.e.—racist, anti-Semitic, male supremacist) Dusquesne Club and entered the Gulf Oil Building chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is going to win." Eight people were arrested during the course of the march.

Inside the meeting demonstrators who had gotten in with stockholders' passes nominated leaders of the liberation movements in Angola and Portuguese Guinea to Gulf's board of directors to protest the company's policies in Africa. Gulf, the third largest oil producer in the world, and its subsidiary, Cabinda Gulf, pay millions of dollars to the Portuguese government to operate in its African colonies. Their \$20 million in rents and royalties is used by the Portuguese to suppress the anti-colonial struggles in Africa.



The Free Martin Sostre Collective of the Seattle Liberation Front holds sign, "Avenge the Kent State Four" during student demonstration at University of Wash.

People's trial finds U.S. Army guilty of war crimes

By RICHARD CORDEN

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. May 16 — The imperialist Armed Forces of the United States went on trial here today. The site of the trial was the Champaign campus of the University of Illinois. The jury was comprised of 13 active-

duty servicemen from Ft. Knox, Champaign Air Force Base, and Grissom Air Force Base. The charges were war crimes, crimes against the civilian populace of the U.S. and military injustice against the low ranking servicemen in the military.

Prosecuting the case was Andy

Stapp, national Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union. This was a people's trial. There were no black-robed judges, no paid informers, no cops to "keep order in the court room." Just 13 enlisted men and about 500 students crowded into the auditorium who had come to listen and cheer. In short it was a rehearsal for the day when the people would hold the real power and put their tormentors from the ruling class on trial.

have to serve) while ASU member Mitch Smith got the same six months (which he will have to serve) for merely not saluting an officer. Stapp summed up by pointing out the importance of the Armed Forces to the struggle for social justice.

"Guilty on all counts!"

"If the people have the allegiance of the masses of servicemen it will go a long way to assuring the victory of the people's forces. If, on the other hand, the reactionary brass has complete control of the rank and file GI, the possibility of a Fascist victory is greatly increased. In short, it is a question of revolution or counter-revolution," Stapp said. He continued, "The verdict is up to the rank and file servicemen." Stapp then turned to the enlisted jury, "You are the rank and file. You have heard the charges: war crimes, crimes against the Black people, the workers and students of America; repression within the military. I am going to ask you for a decision."

The jury rose, looked at one another and sat down. The foreman of the jury stood with the men around him holding their fists high. "Guilty on all counts!" he shouted in a loud voice. And looking at the audience he added, "The verdict must be carried out by the people here."

Witnesses testify to crimes

Stapp called the witnesses to the stand to testify. Prof. Herb Schiller testified on the role of corporations in controlling foreign policy to insure greater profits for their companies. Mike Connell, a Vietnam veteran testified about the devastation that the U.S. expeditionary force had loosed on Southeast Asia. Lauri Macarthy spoke on the way working class people are manipulated into the military and then given the hardest and most dangerous jobs. Rod Reeves, a veteran, testified about the psychological methods the brass use to force rank and file GIs to submit to their authority.

Also testifying was Susan Fox, who documented the role the U.S. military has played in repressing the peoples' struggles here at home, from the railroad strikes in 1877 to the use of paratroopers against the Black masses of Detroit in 1967 to the murder of the Kent State students. Herb Semmel, another veteran, testified about the 6th Army command's brutal suppression of the sitdown strike in the Presidio stockade in 1968.

Stapp indicts brass

Stapp stepped down from his role as prosecutor to testify about the military's denial of rights to its own rank and file. He pointed out that an officer like Lt. Duffy could get a six-month sentence for the torture murder of a Vietnamese (a sentence he will never

YAWF action after Kent massacre



In the above picture Dave Axel of YAWF speaks to hundreds of sympathetic commuters as thousands of demonstrators occupy Grand Central Station, protesting the Kent State murders and the invasion of Cambodia. They marched over to the Port Authority where hundreds more listened to a rally, despite police efforts to hustle the spectators away.

(WW Photo/Ed Collins)

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U. Wisc. students nab cop car



At the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, students striking against the Kent State murders and Cambodian invasion surround a campus police car which tried to "escort" delivery trucks through the picket lines. The four captive cops were not released until students got a promise that city pigs would be kept off the campus. Part of the sign obscured reads: Avenge the Murders of Fred Hampton (etc.).

Return to Ft. Dix

FT. DIX, New Jersey, May 16—Over 3,000 demonstrators merged at the entrance to Ft. Dix to show support for the anti-war GIs on Armed Forces Day, the Brass's day—a day for the Brass to parade the GIs through the cities, towns and military bases of America and to show off their guns, tanks, planes and other weapons used in Southeast Asia, Black America—wherever the ruling class wants to crush the struggles of the oppressed. Ft. Dix was only one of over 24 military bases closed to the public today because of anti-war demonstrations.

The demonstration was called by the Coffee House Collective. Unlike last October, when thousands invaded the base to protest the trials of the Fort Dix 38, today's rally was planned by the Coffee House to take place two miles from the post. But when militants centered around the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF) joined the demonstration the site was changed to an intersection across from the gates of Ft. Dix where GIs would be able to see and hear them.

Off the Brass!

The militant contingent marched into the demonstration chanting "GI Po-



GIs get reading matter.

wer to the GI People! All Power to the Oppressed People! Off the Brass." Maryann Weissman, National Coordinator of YAWF, then spoke from atop a car, demanding freedom for the anti-war and anti-imperialist GIs and freedom for the Panther political prisoners.

"Demanding freedom is one thing," she said, "but no one has gained freedom unless they and their comrades have fought for it. And that's our fight. If there are 25,000 GIs stationed at Ft. Dix then there are 25,000 brothers enslaved by the military."

The demonstrators were militant and well prepared—everyone had either gas masks or wet cloths as protection from the expected tear gas. The demonstrators, chanting "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die," led by ASU and YAWF banners, surged across the intersection to the main gate. The front ranks were separated from the fixed bayonets of specially trained riot troops flown in from Ft. Meade, Maryland, by hastily unrolled 4-foot high coils of barbed wire. One hundred feet behind the riot troops were the Ft. Dix troops called up for special duty. These were the men the demonstration wanted to meet.

After a standoff at the main gate, the demonstration headed down the highway that lines the base. A line of State Troopers, backed up by another busload, stood blocking the road. For about twenty minutes there was a touch-and-go situation. The chanting demonstrators tried to break through the pig line. Some of the demonstrators began to move into the woods to go around the cops, while the rest massed closer to the cops. Others outflanked the State cops on the base side of the road. The Ft. Dix 759th MP Battalion was moved up. Suddenly a bus-load of gas-masked pigs fell into line, shooting pepper gas into the demonstrators. Other cops ran into the woods. One girl was carried out with blood streaming from her head.

With the road to Wrightstown cut off, many of the demonstrators approached the Meade troops circling the main entrance to the base. An ASU organizer, Bob Butler, was attaching the BOND, the newspaper of the ASU, onto the GIs' raised bayonets when he was suddenly pulled across the barbed wire by some Meade



troopers. He was later released.

At the same time, a rally was being held at which Hugh King from the Coffee House read a letter from a GI. He was followed by Robert Webb, a Black Panther. Tom Doyle, an ASU organizer, then spoke. Tom faces up to six years on phony assault charges stemming from his distributing the BOND on base. He was followed by John Lewis of the ASU who urged the rally to move over to the entrance to the base and join the others in rapping with the GIs.

GIs--We're on your side

As hundreds of demonstrators began talking with the gas-masked GIs, many reading the ten demands of the ASU to them, ASU and YAWF members with the aid of a loud speaker reached over the heads of the special riot troops to the Ft. Dix GIs who were being held as back-up troops. For over an hour the demonstrators repeated the message—"We're here to support you. Who are you protecting? Your family? Most of you come from working class homes—is your family gaining anything from this war? It's their sons who are sent to die and its their pay checks that feel the squeeze of the war. Do the sons of the rich have to fight in Vietnam? No! So who are you protecting now? Who are you protecting when you stand guard at the stockade? It is the Brass, who live in airconditioned billets, and their cronies on Wall Street who need you to protect them from the people. That barbed wire you threw down isn't just keeping us out—its keeping you in."

"We are not asking you to turn your guns around now, today," said Maryann Weissman, "...not as indi-

viduals but to realize your power to organize turning the guns around in mass. No one stands alone in resisting. The last weeks have shown this."

Brass knows strength of the ASU!

It was clear from the smiles, the winks, the quickly flashed V signs, clenched fists and even the tears in one GI's eyes, that the words hit home. It was also evident from the bombers that suddenly began circling over head in an attempt to drown out the message of the ASU that the Brass feel the threat posed by the thousands of GIs who have already organized against the war, the military and the imperialist monster under whose flag they are being forced to fight.

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Managing Editor: Fred Goldstein

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Misusing GIs' struggle to push election politics

AYERS, Mass., May 16—About 300 GIs and civilians attended a rally outside Fort Devens to hear speakers discuss "Cambodia and Free Speech for GIs" as actions were being held in and around military installations all over the country today to stop the usual "Armed Forces Day" celebrations.

The American Servicemen's Union, an organization of rank-and-file GIs which fights against the dictatorial rule of the Brass and the imperialist wars of the ruling class, was invited to send a speaker to the rally called by the "Student Mobilization Committee." When Gene Weixel, an ex-GI and ASU organizer arrived, however, he found out that he was not a scheduled speaker, since SMC was reneging on its invitation. He was only permitted to speak after the "regular" speakers were finished and the mike was opened

to "irregular" GIs and veterans.

The first scheduled speaker, a Vietnam veteran, talked about the fact that most GIs in Vietnam oppose the war. He urged GIs who were punished for expressing anti-war views to contact SMC so they could publicize their cases.

The main speaker was Pete Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts. Instead of the main speaker focusing on the GI's struggle against the brass and against being forced to fight in imperialist wars, this "socialist revolutionary" took the opportunity to plug his election campaign and talk about a YSA petition drive to get the issue of Vietnam on the ballot in a referendum.

While GIs were wallowing in the rice paddies of Indochina and Cambodians were being slaughtered by the U.S. Government, while that same government was holding Bobby Seale in pri-

son and attempting to have him murdered, while students and Black youth were being teargassed and shot at across the country, Camejo only found time to attack "plateglass revolutionaries." He didn't find the time to mention the war against Black America or the need for GIs to organize to protect their interests and their very lives.

Once the mike was open (to non-SWP members), the ASU spokesman talked about the need for low ranking enlisted men to build their own organization to protect themselves from the officer caste. "The officers have an organization called the chain of command. GIs need to organize to break the chain of command which enslaves them." For GIs, Indochina is a matter of life and death.

Weixel also talked about the need for the movement to defend its right to

demonstrate by dealing with fascist violence directly. "You don't ask the pigs to protect you from the fascists and you don't petition them," He described how ASU Marines in Hawaii had dealt with a brass inspired K.K.K. on their base. "One morning these 'Klansmen' found nooses hanging over their bunks." That marked the end of that Ku Klux Klan.

Unlike previous speakers, the ASU organizer called attention to the war against Black America, political repression and the frame-up of Bobby Seale. He asked why there hadn't been the widespread anger evoked by the murder of four white students in Ohio when police and National Guard murdered six Black youths in Augusta and two Black students in Mississippi.

After Weixel and three other GIs spoke, the rally was asked to disperse since the Provost Marshall (Chief M.P. officer) had reneged on his promise to the trusting YSA organizers to allow civilians onto the base to "talk to GIs."

This rally demonstrated the SWP-YSA's cynical use of the GI's plight to bring young people into petition campaigns, election campaigns and "peaceful" rallies as opposed to class conscious militant struggle.