

The new turn in U.S.-China relations

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Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

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beaten....p.2*

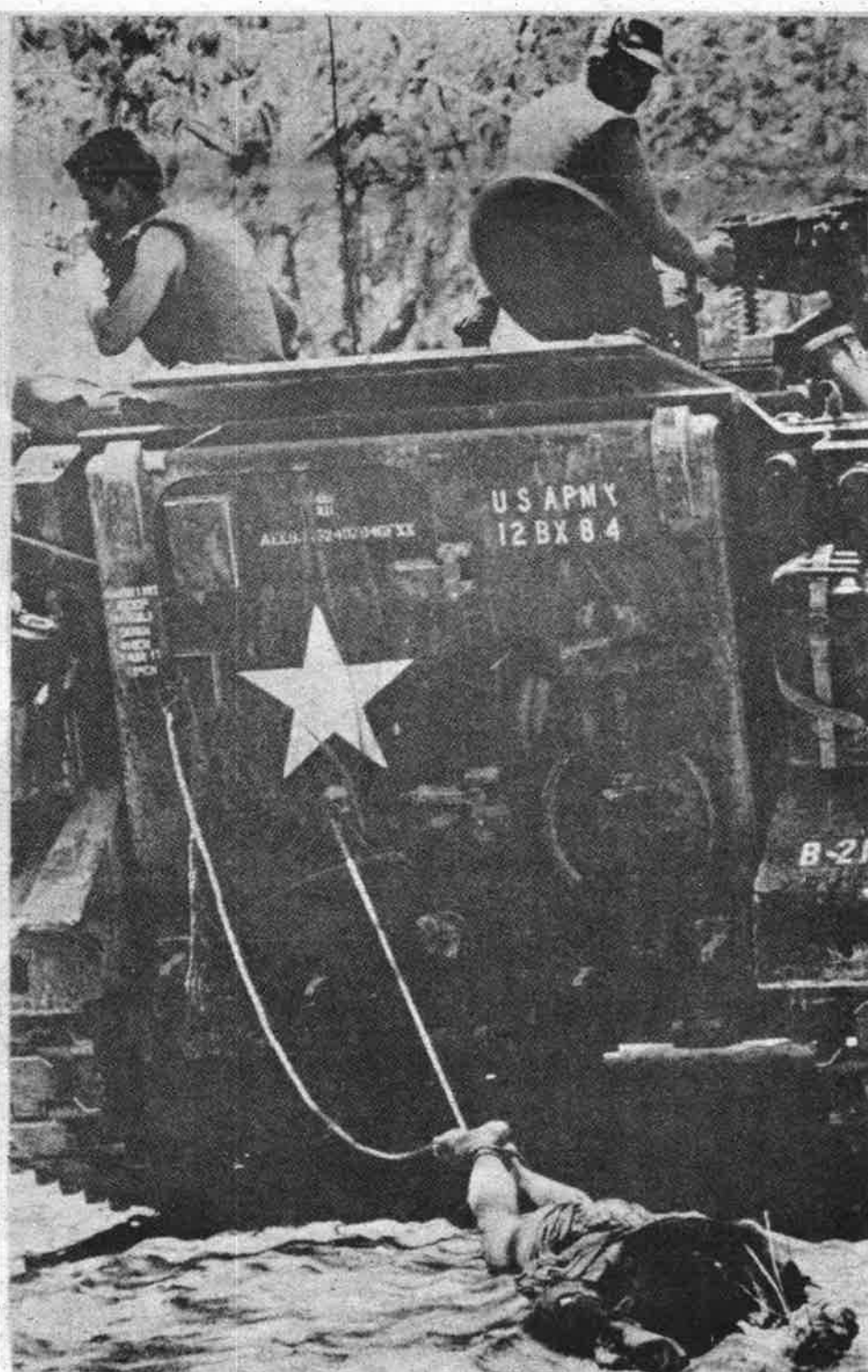
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Two fronts in the SAME war

BLACK AMERICA...

...VIETNAM



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War crimes at Auburn, N.Y.

Guards use tear gas torture on prisoners in solitary

(From the Prisoner's Solidarity Committee, Youth Against War and Fascism)

Dachau's hell has been resurrected in upstate New York. Only the name's been changed -- Auburn Prison. There, on April 18, while visiting mothers and relatives could only weep in horror, racist prison officials launched beatings and a vicious tear gas attack against prisoners trapped in their cells. When the attack finally ended 16 1/2 hours later, the prisoners were left in their cells to die.

The attack was the Rockefeller state government's response to the peaceful visit of 33 relatives of the Auburn prisoners. A chartered bus, organized by the Prisoner's Solidarity Committee of Youth Against War and Fascism, arrived in Auburn with the relatives early in the morning full of hope and happy to see their imprisoned friends and loved ones. Governor Rockefeller's prison office had promised the relatives at least one hour of visiting with the prisoners. Rockefeller lied.

Instead, when the relatives arrived, they were forced to wait in the cold outside along the sidewalks for three to four hours, barred from the waiting room inside. The guards then told them that they wouldn't be

let in. It didn't work. The relatives stayed until finally the guards were forced to let them in, one by one, over a period of another 2-1/2 hrs.

One of these visitors was Virginia Dorset, five months pregnant. She wanted to see her brother, Sharean (Michael Lewis). Sharean had been singled out by the guards as the scapegoat leader of the November 4 Auburn rebellion. He had not seen his sister in over three years. While his sister asked to see the Captain of the guards to request an extension of the one-hour visiting limit, Sharean walked outside the visitor's room to ask the same of a guard. As he did, relatives in the visiting room heard a scuffle. The guards were answering his request with a beating and gassing.

Toward the latter part of the afternoon another prisoner was brought down. He informed his mother and sister that Sharean had been beaten on the way up to his cell. After Virginia was informed of the beating and tear gassing, she demanded to see her brother, if not to talk with him -- just to see that he was alive! Despite the possibility that she might get hurt, she stood firm and stated that she would not leave the prison until she had seen her brother. She spent from 9 a.m.

to 5:30 p.m. behind the walls of Auburn Concentration Camp, but she never saw her brother again.

News of the beating spread among the relatives. At 4 p.m. some of the mothers came out of the waiting room weeping, as Mrs. Hicks began to cry, "Now they'll probably beat William" (her son).

Aki (Earl Moody) never did see his relatives who had travelled hundreds of miles. The prison officials refused to allow his relatives to visit, claiming that Earl was being denied his visit because he refused to shave his beard. From 8:45 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. his relatives waited -- and waited -- while Earl was never told why he couldn't see them.

Another relative, the father of Clarence Nivens, Jr., discovered through his visit that the prison had amputated Clarence's finger against his will. As a result, Clarence is unable to move the rest of his fingers. Now the prison authorities tell him that they will release him from Auburn's house of horrors if he signs his release papers. If Clarence signs, then Auburn Prison is cleared of any responsibility for his illegal amputation. If Clarence refuses to sign, then he'll have to max out (serve his maximum term) past August and suffer the rest of his sen-

tence behind the walls of Auburn.

Meanwhile, Sharean had been put through a living hell. Angered over his beating, he had refused to enter his cell. The guards, enraged over his defiance, threw him into the gallery to which his cell is adjoined, along with those of Kareem (Robert Clark), Hassan (Harold Johnson), and Leon (Leon Hill) and twenty-two other prisoners. Locking the gallery, the guards began rolling in exploding cannisters of tear gas, attacking not only Sharean, but also Kareem, Hassan and Leon.

The guards then told them that the attack would end when Sharean re-entered his cell. As gas filled the gallery, Sharean crawled into his cell, but the guards only intensified the attack. A total of ten cannisters were exploded, gas also being sent through the ventilators. Trapped in their cells, the prisoners had to endure the gas attack for 16 1/2 hours, from 8 p.m. Sunday night until 12:30 p.m. the next afternoon.

Left to die sprawled on the floor, Sharean was finally taken to the prison hospital on demands of a visiting YAWF organizer, Maryann Weissman. He was in an oxygen tent for three hours. The prison, however, has refused to give medical aid to Hassan and Kareem, both of whom were also badly gassed. Hassan, meanwhile, is losing his voice.

Auburn Prison and Rockefeller's government attempt to discourage the relatives, many of whom had never been able to visit the prisoners before, from coming up hundreds of miles -- but their attempts have failed. Relatives who called Auburn were told that their first visit had to be made on a weekday instead of a weekend. This arbitrary rule is a conspiracy against working people who cannot afford to take off from work. Through public transportation, it costs at least \$28 for a round trip to Auburn from New York City. And some prisoners have been transferred to more isolated prisons such as Attica, Greenhaven and Dan amora at the last moment without the relatives' notification.

The relatives spent over 14 hours for the Auburn trip and yet their visits were limited to one hour, except for the Moody family who got no visit at all. Furthermore, all visits are screened and censored so that relatives and prisoners cannot talk freely. As a result of these atrocious conditions, relatives are rising up against the discrimination against non-white peoples, against poor people and against working people.

As a first step, they have called for a press conference outside the Department of Corrections to demand an end to the conspiracy against prisoners their relatives and all oppressed people.

The walls of Auburn are under siege.



Panther leader murdered: comrades held in frameup

by NAOMI COHEN

NEW YORK, April 19—Deputy Minister of Information and editor of the Panther newspaper, Big Man, is being held here along with seven other Panthers and one white supporter on trumped-up charges of possession of dangerous weapons. The defendants were arraigned today and bail was set ranging from \$500 to \$2,500. The case is another in a long history of police persecution of the Black Panther Party.

The cops originally arrested the nine yesterday in connection with the assassination of Panther Sam Napier. Napier, 32, was found by firemen Saturday, April 18, in the burning Corona, Queens Panther headquarters. His hands and feet were bound, his mouth gagged and he was shot six times or more in the back of the head, neck and shoulders. He had been working here as distribution manager for the Black Panther

newspaper put out by the party on the West Coast.

At first it appeared that the police might try to frame up the nine arrested in connection with Napier's murder. However, since all of them are connected with the Oakland party under the leadership of Huey Newton, and were close comrades of Sam Napier, it became clear that the charges would be too obviously fraudulent. The cops are now holding the nine for alleged possession of four guns and a supply of ammunition. Attorney William Kunstler is defending them.

One of those arrested, Gwen Dolores Morton, along with William Johnson, is being held without bail as a material witness. Press reports indicate that she was tied up in the Panther headquarters along with Napier, but managed to escape

from the burning building. Johnson is said to be one of the last persons to have seen Napier alive.

According to Jailbreak, newspaper of High School Youth Against War & Fascism, a high school member of YAWF saw Sam Napier at the Corona Panther office just the night before he was killed. (YAWF was there to pick up Panther newspapers from Napier.) At that time, Napier told the YAWF member that the Panthers were planning to set up a free breakfast for children program in a few days.

Many of us on the WORKERS WORLD staff knew Sam Napier. He often came up to our offices to use our equipment and get aid in putting out Panther literature. Sam Napier was a dedicated revolutionary who devoted all his time and energy to the Panther Party and the cause of Black liberation.

The new turn in U.S.-China relations

by SAM MARCY

The People's Republic of China has been in the forefront of the world revolutionary movement ever since the victory of the Chinese Revolution and the ouster of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. No socialist state since the death of Lenin has been such a mighty fortress of the socialist revolution as has the People's Republic of China. It has been an inspiration and an example to all the liberation movements of the world.

By its very existence, as well as by its general political policies, it has been a source of incalculable political, moral and material support in the struggle against imperialism. The PRC, however, has had to fight for its very existence ever since it established itself as the People's Government of China. Throughout these many long and difficult years U.S. imperialism and its satellites has been China's main and fundamental opponent.

U.S. monopoly capital has never, ever for a moment, let up in the struggle to overthrow People's China. By every conceivable military, political and diplomatic means Washington has sought to contain, isolate and, if possible, wreck the PRC. The fact that China has survived it all, and has surmounted all the obstacles put in its way is eloquent testimony to the strength and durability of its new social structure. People's China has become a world power of such tremendous importance that the U.S. can no longer pretend to ignore its existence. Faced with terrifying domestic and international crises of an unprecedented character, it was inevitable that the U.S. ruling class would make an overture to People's China by choosing to accept at this time the invitation extended to the table tennis team.

This in a large measure explains some, but not all, of the reasons behind the recent turn in the relations between the U.S. and China. The PRC initiated attempts at diplomatic relations with the U.S. as early as 1950 and sought recognition for China on the basis of its full sovereignty, which includes the restoration of Taiwan as an integral part of the People's Republic and the seating of China in the UN instead of the quisling Chiang regime.

Apprehension in revolutionary movement

In the light of the continuing ascendancy of revisionism in the international communist movement, a considerable section of the revolutionary movement here is apprehensive that the new turn in the relationship between China and the U.S. may herald a retreat from revolutionary principle. Capitalist, revisionist and social democratic propaganda on that subject is very strong, naturally. However, many sincere and revolutionary friends of China are also apprehensive. Only subsequent developments can ultimately dispel this apprehension. In the meantime, there is no objective evidence whatsoever that would give these fears any solid foundation.

Ever since the table tennis team got its invitation to visit China the capitalist press, its social democratic lackeys and the revisionists have let loose a torrent of speculation over the alleged motivation behind China's offer to begin the normalization of relations with the U.S. These speculations boil down to this: that China's bid to normalize relations with the U.S. is calculated to aid Nixon in Indochina just at a time when the U.S. has suffered a catastrophic defeat in Laos; that it is also an attempt to counteract the growing Soviet influence in the Mideast and to pave the way for a U.S.-China alliance against the USSR.

Bourgeois speculation on

China retreat on Vietnam unfounded

The Chinese People's Republic has absolutely no interest whatsoever in giving any aid to Nixon in his mad adventure in Asia. There is not an iota of evidence to sustain this charge. We have every reason to believe the statement of the

Vietnamese spokesman at the Paris Peace Conference who answered this precise allegation by categorically stating that China's foreign policy in relationship to Indochina is "invariable" and its support "unlimited."

Everything that China has said and done during these many years in relationship to giving fraternal aid and assistance to the Indochinese people in the fight against U.S. imperialism is incontrovertible proof of China's loyalty to the Indochinese liberation struggle and underscores the statement of confidence made by the Vietnamese. Any illusion on this score in the camp of the bourgeoisie and its satellites will soon be dispelled.

The Soviet revisionist position:

Kosygin backed overthrow of Mao

The Soviet revisionists are the ones who are most dismayed by the whole development. They think that this may be the beginning of a block against the USSR. Even if that were true—and it is as yet a long way from it—they would have no one to blame but themselves. An alliance, to the extent that it exists, is still between the U.S. and the USSR against China.

Do these people think that the world has forgotten the long, vicious campaign by the Moscow leadership to overthrow the revolutionary leadership of Mao Tsetung? Can anyone have forgotten that it was only a few years ago that Kosygin, the Prime Minister, in a visit to London, openly proclaimed his solidarity with Liu Shao-chi and virtually called for the overthrow of the Mao regime. So brazen were Kosygin's remarks that the New York Times asked wistfully "Are you calling for an alliance against China?" and virtually answered "we're going to play it coy."

"We are aware there are today in China," said Kosygin during a visit to London in January-February, 1967, "in the Communist party of China, and in the Chinese Government, people who are struggling against the dictatorial regime of Mao Tsetung." And then he added, "We sympathize with them."

The New York Times, commenting upon this remarkable statement editorialized early in February, 1967: "Mr. Kosygin spoke in his capacity as Premier of the Soviet Union while in the capital of a 'capitalist' nation....His point could scarcely have been registered in more arresting fashion if he had said the same thing in front of the White House with President Johnson at his side."

The attacks by the revisionists against the PRC for trying to normalize relations comes in bad grace. Their denunciations are entirely actuated by reactionary considerations—since the USSR leaders have been promoting an accommodation with the U.S. for years in order to isolate People's China. The relationship between Moscow and Washington has become truly scandalous. How can the Soviet leaders turn around now and say "Don't do it," when they themselves have been and still are doing it.

Naturally the revisionists cannot conceive of having normal diplomatic relations with an imperialist country without engaging in class betrayal. In this they are trying to impute their own practices to the Chinese leaders.

Of course U.S. imperialism has always tried to play off the USSR against China and China against the USSR and always will. This is one of the cornerstones of imperialist foreign policy in the epoch of the emergence of socialist states. It is this policy, aided by the growth of revisionism in the USSR, which is objectively responsible for the split in the socialist camp in the first place.

That being the case, all the more is it incumbent upon the Soviet leadership to abandon its policy of class collaboration with imperialism and return the Soviet Union to a policy of proletarian class collaboration with China, the other revolutionary socialist countries and the world

revolutionary movement. Only in that way will the machinations of U.S. imperialism be frustrated.

The SWP position

Another voice—a neo-social democratic tendency in this country which has been violently opposed to revolutionary China—is that represented by the SWP. In their publication the Intercontinental Press of April 19, they characterize China's attempt at normalization of relations with the U.S. as a "timely assist for Nixon." The SWP too is trying to discredit Chinese attempts to normalize relationships with the imperialist West. They too are arguing from utterly reactionary and counterrevolutionary considerations.

SWP, revisionists both attacked

Cultural Revolution

One should ask these people, who now throw revolutionary phrases at China: "What was your role during the Cultural Revolution—the revolution which saved China from bourgeois restoration? Which side did you take? Did you not join with the revisionists and give objective aid and assistance to the counterrevolution, although giving different arguments?" The true test of a revolutionary was the position on the Cultural Revolution. Both Moscow and Washington, including all their liberal social democratic allies in this country, were dead set against that revolution. Now suddenly these neo-social democrats are denouncing China for not being revolutionary!

At the time when the social democrats of all hues, including Moscow revisionism, were attacking the Cultural Revolution we wrote the following in Workers World of January 20, 1967:

"The cardinal fact that emerges from the sum and substance of the dispute is that the Chinese CP may be fighting the crucial battle for socialism, which, if lost, would set the proletarian and liberation movements of the world back for decades. The alternative to the present leadership and its political line, it must be faced squarely, is a neo-bourgeois restorationist regime. That is what really is at stake in the cultural revolution in China." Our article was headlined: "The Stakes in China's Internal Struggle: Revolution vs. Restoration."

Normalization of relations

correct in principle

But is the approach made by People's China to the U.S. correct in principle? Yes. China is trying to normalize its relationship with the imperialist West—with the U.S.—and this is perfectly correct.

It is correct for a socialist government to enter into a diplomatic agreement with an imperialist country for purposes of maintaining normal commercial, trade and social exchanges. The criterion as to whether these agreements are proper and appropriate is the manner in which they affect the international class struggle against imperialism. If they blunt the class struggle, if they make the struggle against imperialism more difficult or confuse the masses of the people on the true character and intentions of the imperialists, or materially affect the course of socialist construction—then they are counterproductive from a proletarian class point of view and in the long run harmful to the socialist government in question. These are some of the questions that are raised every time a socialist country negotiates with an imperialist country.

Based on the above criteria, there is nothing in the conduct of China in its normalization efforts with the U.S., so far as anyone can see at present, which is improper or harmful to proletarian and socialist class interests.

editorial

Self-determination for Bangla Desh . . .

The U.S. government itself is deeply worried that the mighty sweep of the Bangla Desh rebellion, which was really a rebellion of the people in spite of the bourgeois nationalist leadership on top, will ultimately turn into a revolutionary socialist upheaval. This would completely cut Bangla Desh's ties to imperialism and establish another socialist republic. So the U.S. hastened to get in on the ground floor, see that the rebellion didn't go "too far," and steer it into "proper" bourgeois-imperialist channels. At the same time Washington has kept its ties to the West Pakistan government just in case the rebellion is completely smashed.

All of this, however, is no reason for anyone not to support the Bangla Desh people in their just struggle for liberation. Their struggle must be supported in spite of U.S. efforts to encroach upon the Bangla Desh people and destroy their efforts to obtain freedom and genuine independence.

The right of oppressed people to self-determination is an elementary democratic right. The national oppression of small nations by imperialism has become particularly aggravated in the present epoch. Imperialism often comes out in words for self-determination, while in deeds it practices genocidal war against all oppressed nations who attempt to liberate themselves from the yoke of monopoly capitalism.

Only if the U.S. imperialists, along with Indian reaction, became the principal factor and the issue of self-determination became submerged in a larger struggle could this question be viewed in any different light.

. . . and Newark

When the Black people of Newark rose up in rebellion in 1967, they defined their situation to the world: Newark is a Black city that is owned lock, stock and barrel by the white capitalist class that has bled the people dry.

That historic uprising raised the question of self-determination for the Black people from a discussion to a life-and-death struggle. In the just concluded 11-week Newark teachers' strike, this question again became the primary focus of the struggle in Newark.

Regardless of the validity of the teachers' demands seen in the context of a strike against the bosses (the city administration), the overriding question in Newark was that of the oppressed peoples' right to take over the institutions that oppress them and run their lives.

Whites have all privileges

The teachers' union is two-thirds white in this 30% white city. This fact alone speaks volumes on the teachers' function in the overwhelmingly Black schools, which are so much like prisons in every city. To change the schools into real places of learning, where oppressed children can learn how to fight their oppressors and how to serve their people—these are the goals of the Black liberation struggle.

The Black people were not against a just contract: they were not against a union; they were not for strike-breaking—but they wanted to show that they, the majority, have the right to decide how the educational institutions are to be run.

What the Black community was demanding was a modicum of political equality, the right to exercise some political control over their own lives and reverse the imbalance by which whites have access to all the privileged jobs that are barred to Black people.

In reality, the right to self-determination is only the most elementary political right. Without a corresponding upheaval in property relations, it is but a token thing. Yet even this formal concession has been denied the Black people of Newark!

Self-determination means the right of an oppressed people to decide their own destiny and take advantage of any and all situations to do so. There cannot be genuine working class solidarity until the workers of the oppressing nation understand and recognize this right.

The remarks of Comrade Sam Marcy, Chairman of Workers World, made

(Continued on page 6)

"We petitioned; They discarded"

The following is a letter from prisoners in the Branch Queens House of Detention to prisoners in the Tombs.

Power Brothers:

We the members of the Branch Queens 8 wish to acclaim our solidarity with you. Your plight is our plight. The injustices you suffer are the same injustices we suffer. You have been subjected to 24-hour lock-ins, so have we. You are forced to sleep on bed clothing that aren't changed in weeks, we too have the same bed clothing. You go without shaves and showers for days; we too are in the same condition. You are served food that isn't fit for human consumption; we too are treated to the same kind of food.

All the repressive measures handed to you by the mad "Racist Fascist Dog Pigs" are received by us also. We received these repressive measures because we sought to change the deplorable conditions we were confined in. There were times we saw three and four people placed in cells built for one. The windowless jails where the air is hot, stale and mucky, lungs become congested, you were vulnerable to

all kinds of diseases. Rats, roaches, crawling in your bunks at night. What in hell did they expect us to do! We petitioned and petitioned, and they discarded and discarded.

So in August you gave them a sample of what was to come, but they did not believe you, no, they allowed things to get worse, they brought more people into an already over-crowded jail. We were reduced to the state where we were not only treated like animals, but began to act and live like ones as well. Something had to be done, and done fast if we were to retain our human decency.

On October 1, 1970 the Branch Queens House of Detention exploded, the jailed became the jailers. The entire building was taken over including seven hostages, but two days later you brothers in the Tombs showed us your spirit; you would not be outdone. No, you secured the 12th floor of the Tombs and captured an amazing twenty-odd hostages, indeed a great feat....

Then the politicians came with their broad smiles and sense of compassion. The bigwig Pigs Lindsay and McGrath, they too came to negotiate and we you/us negotiated. We you/us negotiated in good faith and to show our good faith we you/us let a few hostages go, but we were duped. They made us promises, they promised us that our demands would be met! They promised us no reprisals, but as soon as all hostages were set free and safely back in their hands a reign of terror began.

We were beaten like dogs with axe handles and baseball bats! We were

(Continued on page 12)

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Popular front counterrevolution in Ceylon

With all the outcry in the U.S. imperialist press against the massacres in Bangla Desh, there is a conspicuous silence over the atrocities in Ceylon. A revolutionary movement has lifted the liberal mask of the reactionary Bandaranaike government and a major revolt throughout Ceylon is in full swing.

But the regime in Colombo, supposedly a Popular Front government which includes groups calling themselves Trotskyist and Communist, has come down with a more brutal repression than in Bangla Desh. The hypocrites in Washington are backing the Bandaranaike regime to the hilt.

The Ceylon regime has killed an estimated 6,000 rebels, which is a greater percentage of the population than in the Pakistan massacres. The breadth of the Popular Liberation Front's support can be gauged in the government's estimate that 80,000 have participated in the rebellion, which succeeded in capturing many police stations around the island.

Provocation against North Korea

Whatever the so-called leftists in the government coalition may call themselves, by taking cabinet posts in a bourgeois, reactionary government they have in practice renounced revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. So conciliatory has the regime been that to this day, the head of state of Ceylon is still officially Queen Elizabeth of Britain, and her governor-general appoints half the Senate! No wonder British and American imperialists were so quick to fly in arms and try and crush the rebellion.

In an obvious effort to hide its failures behind charges of "foreign subversion," the Colombo regime has expelled North Korean diplomats from the country. It must also fear the example the Korean people have set in consistent revolutionary struggle to free themselves from the coils of imperialism—an example that so contrasts to the broken promises and subservient status of the Bandaranaike coalition.

All those supporting the Ceylon regime—Washington, London, India and Pakistan, and Moscow too—must be condemned.

HOOVER AND THE FBI

A change of face is not enough!



by KENNY LAPIDES

Suppose J. Edgar Hoover was fired?

Suppose, in response to the liberal establishment critics, Hoover was "retired" and a younger, more rational man took over the gestapo FBI.

If this had actually happened a couple of years ago, what meaning today would this have for the American people?

Would Angela Davis not be in jail, with her life in the balance? Would Fred Hampton not have been murdered? Would Bobby Seale not be framed-up in New Haven? Would the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and other oppressed people be free from infiltrators, provocateurs and assassination? Would the FBI still be organizing and coordinating the government's nationwide murderous assault against the pro-liberation aspirations of all oppressed and exploited people?

Would the elimination of J. Edgar Hoover change the character of the FBI as the chief counter-revolutionary, secret-police organ of the state?

The liberal congressmen who are now attacking Hoover dare not answer these questions. In fact, they

would never raise them. Muskie, Boggs, and the others are basically in sympathy with the gestapo functions of the FBI just as they are absolutely loyal to the system of class rule which the FBI defends.

The senators and congressmen who are urging Hoover's replacement are attempting to win for themselves a following among the masses who do have genuine contempt for Hoover and the FBI and the system of oppression and war which it protects. The liberal establishment hopes to cash in on this progressive sentiment for its own electoral gains, and at the same time to deceive the people that the demise of Hoover (which cannot be long off) is a victory against reaction and repression.

The truth is that when these liberals talk "reform," they really want a trade-in on the FBI's aging apparatus for a more advanced model, one with more precision and power. The liberal critics consider Hoover's crudity not only publicly embarrassing, but inefficient from a tactical point of view. If anything, their objective is a more sophisticated secret-police system.

The capitalist state, of which the FBI is a part (along with the courts, the prisons, the police and the army),

exists solely to preserve the rule of the capitalist class. It is an instrument of violence to maintain a system of violence.

When Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano or other oppressed peoples organize to defend their community and to improve the conditions of their lives, the FBI—along with the rest of the capitalist state—will infiltrate these organizations, will assassinate their leaders, will frame-up and railroad to prison their leading cadres. The FBI will, in short, attempt to smash any movement that challenges the rule of the imperialists. (Note the recent disclosures of FBI surveillance of groups ranging from anti-pollution to anti-war causes.)

The FBI is also a leading instrument of the bosses in their war against the working class. Union busting, strike-breakings, frame-ups and assassinations are used to defend the present system of wage-slavery. The capitalist state stands ready behind every corporation, every boss and exploiter, to rescue their profits, their properties, their rule.

The capitalist state is so fundamental to the preservation of capitalist rule that it stands above individuals and personalities. But now, a handful of liberal politicians, who knew about and condoned secret-police activity all along, hope to persuade the masses that replacing Hoover, that is, to change the face of one individual within the state apparatus, will be a basic reform of the state itself.

Our hope does not lie in changing the face of the executioner, of "reforming" an instrument of pure terror and violence. It must be destroyed.

Part IV

The story of Tricky Dick Nixon

The rise of the bankers' boy



by F. O. RICHARDSON

Last issue: Big business picks ambitious Lt. Commander Nixon to be their representative.

On the phone Perry asked, was he interested in running for Congress? He was.

They sent him money to fly back to California from Baltimore where he was stationed to talk it over and make plans.

The then-representative of the 12th District was Jerry Voorhis. Voorhis was a New Dealer and his record about par for the course.

Voorhis was from a rich family but he'd considered himself a socialist for a while during the depression. He'd run for Congress with the backing of union workers led by honest militant guys, some of whom were Communists. Voorhis had talked well. He had promised great things to workers; he would fight for the people's needs, he said.

As it turned out, he had backed liberal reforms then slid backward with the rest of the New Deal to a more and more conservative position, finally putting through a bill that aimed at crippling the very union leaders who had helped him win. The Voorhis anti-Communist bill required that these American worker-leaders who wanted workers to run their own country would have to register as "representatives of a foreign power."

It was aimed at weakening unions so that businessmen who backed Voorhis could make more money.

With friends like this, election day might seem like a good day to go fishing.

Yet in spite of Voorhis' double-cross of workers, the bankers and other big businessmen of the district wanted him out. He had backed some trifling banking control laws; he was for public power and cooperatives and federal control of tidelands oil—which meant the oil companies could not write their own tickets in exploiting this oil. In short, while he was no real friend of workers, he got in the way of business interests.

The bankers of the 12th district wanted a man who would lead the charge for them, hand over the tidelands oil, end any kind of legislation that interfered with profits and certainly wanted a man who would help them smash down on these "goddamn red workers" who cut into profits and raised all sorts of problems demanding their rights in a world that should be one of subservient workers and juicy business deals.

Nixon was their man.

But he had to win an election and a lot of workers vote, and though they might not be too excited about Voorhis, why should they and other people

vote for Nixon?

So young Nixon had to be coached.

They introduced him to their professional campaign manager, Murray Chotiner. Chotiner, a lawyer himself, was a machine age Machiavelli. He had written a 14,000 word description of campaign tactics (for insiders only) which told in cynical detail how you went about conning people into voting for your man even when he was actually out to steal them blind.

Chotiner's methods were the most up-to-date refinements of the old political game. You made people think your candidate was being "drafted by the people." You packaged him. Made him look and smell good. You never talked about the real issues because naturally the real issue was to get into power so that you could make yourself and your friends richer.

In place of issues you found a way to smear your opponent.

Nixon caught on fast. He was young, looked good and he proved that he'd lie, cheat or steal or slit throats if it would get him ahead.

In fact, he was a beautiful candidate—for bankers and oil men who formed the "Committee of 100."

Next issue: Nixon rides the anti-communist wave.

Company town 1971: mayor is head scab

by Bill Allen

The Textile Workers of America has sent R.L. Cooper and Tom Barker (one Black, one white) to Hemingway, South Carolina to organize the employees of Wellman Industries Inc.

Wellman left Massachusetts in 1954 because the unions were forcing them and the other textile giants to pay living wages. With the promise of "cheap" (unorganized) labor, these beasts closed down their northern plants—throwing many thousands of women and men out of work—to move south, to super-exploit the working people there.

From 1954 until recently, Wellman Industries Inc. went relatively unchallenged.

But last October there was a National Labor Relations Board representation election. In the few days before the election, John G. Wellman, President of the corporation sent a letter to all the workers. It was quoted in part in the TWUA's newspaper Textile Labor, of March 1971.

Bosses threaten workers

"The Textile Workers of America wants to give you a sound dose of tranquilizers and turn you into puppets....They want to make it impossible for me to supply you with the means of better production and greater future....I want to make it perfectly clear that legally this company has no obligation to grant the union a single thing....This company has the legal right, if the strike is over wages, hours or working conditions, to replace permanently every single person that goes out on strike with no obligation to take them back....This company...will never sacrifice one principle that it believes in for the benefit of outside agitators....I must impress upon you that for the good of your and my future that you vote no in the voting booth.

With Very Best Personal Regards,
Jack"



Union-busting cops at work for Southern mill bosses. (TWUA photo)

In the face of "Jack's" best personal regards, the union lost the election by only 22 votes—398 for the union, 420 against. The NLRB is holding hearings to determine whether six workers were fired for their pro-union activities. A favorable NLRB decision could result in their reinstatement and a new election. (The average wage in Wellman's plant is \$88 per week.)

Fearing this possibility, the company and the local rulers have stepped up their already vicious racist anti-Union campaign.

An article in the Wall Street Journal of April 13, 1971, told of the company's tactics to harass distribution of union literature. The article states, "Since the organizing drive started, the company has erected powerful searchlights outside the plant." Meaning "powerful" enough to see and photograph any night-shift workers accepting union literature.

Police harass organizers

Day or night literature distributions at the plant always draw the Johnsonville, S.C. police cars to the scene. They prevent workers from stopping their cars to accept the union material. When the union charged the cops with intimidation—the plant is not within the Johnsonville city limits, therefore outside their jurisdiction—police chief G. Cooper said, "...that is all a misunderstanding. We were more or less just spectators. I pay highway taxes just like anybody else, so I got as much right out there as anybody else."

This right "to be out there" was ordered by the Mayor of Johnsonville, his boss. The Johnsonville mayor is also a member of the Wellman plant security force.

The local ruling business circles of Hemingway and Johnsonville (the towns where most of the plant workers live), have enthusiastically joined Wellman in this campaign.

Cooper and Barker (the TWUA organizers) have been subject to every kind of harassment. As in every city, the politicians and the businessmen not only have the same interests and loyalties, but are sometimes the same people.

Merritt Morris, undertaker and owner of Hemingways' only motel, found it necessary to evict the TWUA organizers for breaking hotel house rules. They were making phone calls after 11:00 p.m. This same Morris is a powerful member of the local school board. The school gym was the location of a highly publicized (announced at pulpit of First Baptist Church, leaflets given to school children by teachers), anti-union meeting. The school gym has not been available to other groups. Morris is also president of the Hemingway Development Corporation, an organization with the goal of "luring industry to Hemingway, a place with cheap and plentiful labor."

"No union clients here"

When the union attempted to purchase time on the local radio station, WKYB, the owners said quite candidly, "We're not taking any time spots for union clients."

After Cooper and Barker had been kicked out of the motel, and were unable to get served in the local restaurants, they rented a trailer at a local trailer camp. In a very short time their trailer had no water or electricity. The camp owner even erected a fence around three-fourths of the trailer, leaving it only accessible by jumping over a broad muddy ditch.

The TWUA's article in the union newspaper came close to the truth of the situation. They said: "For those who believe that the age of enlightenment has come to labor relations, the vicious tactics used by Wellman and his allies—which include state and local police, so-called community leaders, town merchants and school and church officials—are a vivid reminder that union organizers in the South still work in the climate of the 1930's when they were viewed as subversives and agitators."

Yes, in the face of this, the TWUA organizers and the heroic women and men workers at Wellman must be supported and encouraged. Encouraged to treat bosses who have a 1930 approach to labor, with the audacity and militancy of the workers in the 1930's, a time when workers in this country won some of their most important victories in the steel, rubber, auto and textile industries.

(Continued from page 4)

—Self-determination for Newark

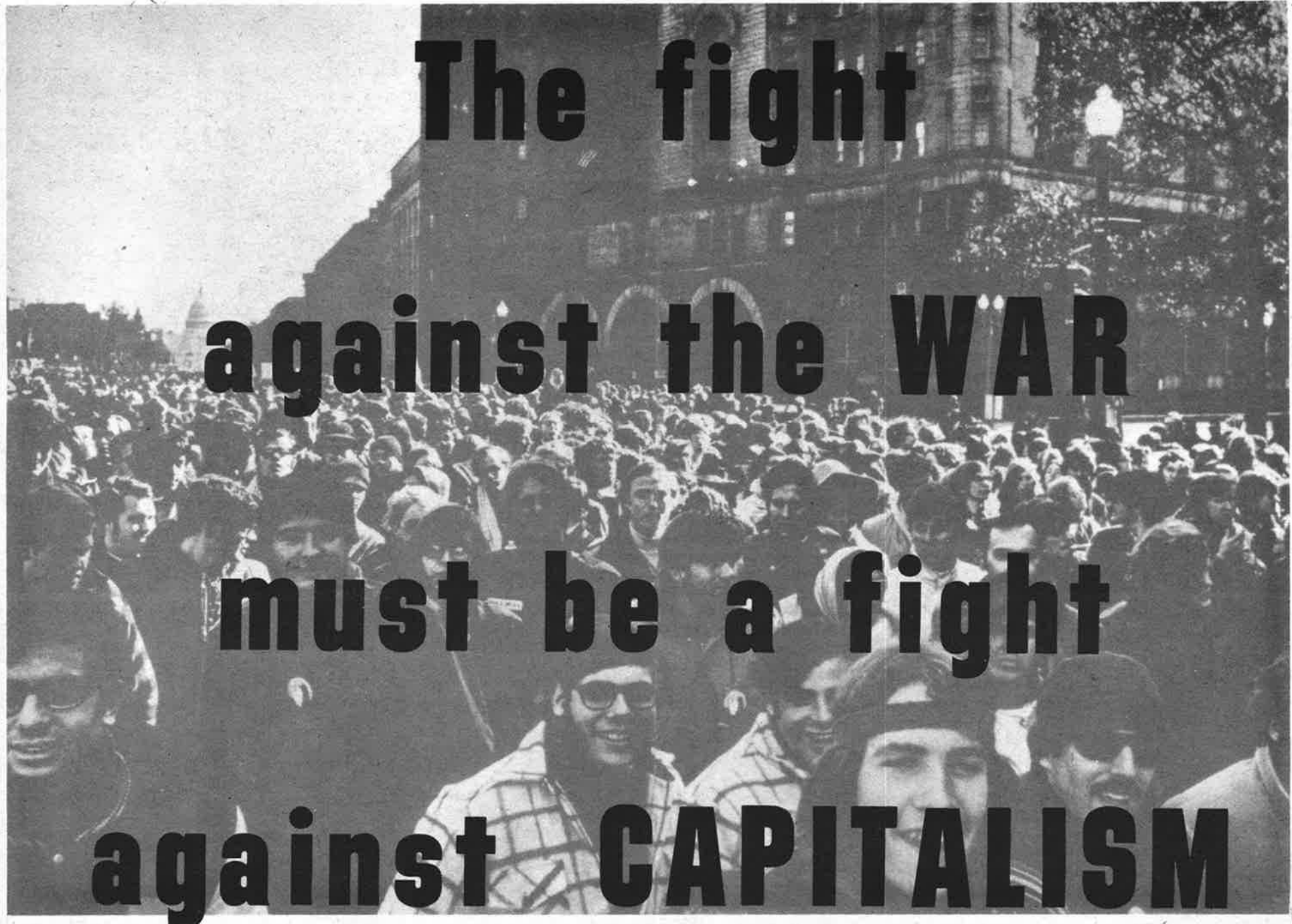
at the time of the first New York City teachers' strike in September 1967, bear repeating today:

"(Oppressed people) have the right, not only to seize the schools, but all other facilities and properties in their community. They have the right to do this without any restriction whatsoever.

"The exercise of this revolutionary right is part of the political struggle for liberation. In these circumstances it takes precedence over the economic demands of white employees in the Black communities, whether they be teachers, janitors or other employees.

"They have a right to do this (take over the schools) before a strike, during a strike and after a strike. The issue is not the strike but the right of the Afro-American people to run their own affairs.

"The white teachers and other whites in the Black community must subordinate their demands to the elementary right of human dignity of the Black people. Only on this basis can there ever be genuine working class solidarity against the capitalist class."



The fight against the WAR must be a fight against CAPITALISM

Statement from the National Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism on the April 24, 1971 anti-war demonstration

ACTIVIST

REPRINT

April 24 marks a greatly welcomed renewal of the upsurge of the people against the war. Nixon has been on television too many times. The people do not trust him. We know that we must come out and show our strength on the streets. We know that unless we show the government the wrath of the people, the Administration will feel free to procrastinate and delay and search for new opportunities to escalate the war.

The demonstration is especially timely. It comes just on the heels of the total collapse of Nixon's policy which died an ignominious death on Route 9 in Laos. It can be a blow to the war-makers. It can aid the heroic peoples of Indochina.

It is also an answer to the ultra-right mobilization behind the low-ranking war criminal, Calley, who is being used to shield the high-ranking master war criminals in the Pentagon, the White House and industry.

Youth Against War & Fascism has therefore mobilized its forces all over the country and urges every progressive and revolutionary individual and group to be counted in Washington or San Francisco on April 24.

To aid in the mobilization of a mass demonstration is one thing, however, and to support the political leadership of the demonstrations is another. And here we feel that it is imperative to call attention to some very serious errors in the political organization of the April 24 demonstrations. These errors must be discussed frankly, especially by working people and all progressive and revolutionary people if the anti-war movement is not to wind up in a blind alley.

The main slogan of an anti-war demonstration is inadequate if it does not insist that the U.S. get out of Indochina completely, including guns, planes, ships, money and puppets. We must make absolutely clear that we are not, like Nixon and the rest of the Establishment, merely in favor of a tactical withdrawal of U.S. ground troops. If we are opposed to the war itself, if we want the Vietnamese people to be free to

carry out their own national liberation without fear of the U.S. military machine or puppet forces—then our slogans must say so unequivocally!

The first thing which must be pointed out is the deficiency of the single slogan decided upon by the organizers of the demonstration. There is, of course, nothing wrong with the slogan "Bring the Troops Home" by itself. Bringing the troops home immediately and unconditionally is indispensable to peace in Indochina and must be absolutely insisted upon by the anti-war movement. (In fact, YAWF was the first organization to bring this slogan into the anti-war movement in Washington in 1965 over the violent objection of the organizers of the April 24 demonstrations.)

Everyone, but everyone, says that they are for bringing the troops home—the entire Establishment, from liberals to out-and-out right-wingers, say that they are for bringing the troops home. Nixon himself claims to be doing just that.

Liberals supported the war — until it was lost

Having confined the demands of the demonstration within limits acceptable to the Establishment itself, the organizers then turned the leadership over to the liberals by inviting Senators to sponsor and be featured speakers at the rally. This is a deceitful measure calculated to make the anti-war masses into a captive audience for electorally ambitious and totally insincere representatives of big business.

The shame of it all is that these liberal "doves," to the last one, have the most ignominious and bloodstained record in relation

to this very war in Vietnam. Muskie, McGovern, Hartke, Fulbright and the rest all signed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution authorizing President Johnson to "take any measures necessary" to wage war in Vietnam. They each signed. Now they claim that they were "fooled."

If these so-called anti-war Senators felt that they had been duped by Johnson in the matter of the Tonkin Resolution, they had six bloody years filled with bombing, burning, pillaging and other war crimes in which to reverse themselves. While Vietnamese and Americans were dying, while thousands of people were demonstrating, being beaten and jailed for protesting the slaughter, what were Muskie, Hartke, McGovern & Co. doing? If all the war crimes, all the butchery, all the immorality and illegality of this war was so distasteful to them, so upsetting to their "consciences," the course to follow was simple and unambiguous. They didn't have to risk one hair on their heads by demonstrating or one penny of their lush salaries. All they had to do was vote against the funds for the war—use their legal right and obligation as Senators to deprive the Pentagon and the Administration of the means to wage this unconstitutional war by merely raising their hands and saying NO!

Muskie, Hartke, Fulbright, McGovern, Kennedy and Co., voted for every single, solitary major appropriation for the Vietnam war! They did not even have enough hesitation about this carnage to have abstained or to have contrived to be absent from the vote!

(Muskie, whom we are supposed to revere most of all on this April 24, actually ran for vice president with Humphrey, the warmaker, only two and a half years ago!)

Fulbright, Hartke agreed to Laos invasion

If any further proof of the hypocrisy and treachery of the liberals is needed, then let

us cite their role in the recent U.S. disaster in Laos. The truth is that the liberals agreed in advance to the Laos invasion! This operation which took so many thousands of lives was worked out with them in advance. They agreed to keep quiet about it—unless the U.S. lost. They knew and they would not tell the people what was coming.

Let us quote an editorial in the New York Times of April 6.

"Senator Fulbright has reported that the South Vietnamese forces failed to reach most of their major objectives and were forced, under heavy North Vietnamese attack, to withdraw more than a month before schedule. (The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was briefed privately on the allied military objectives at the start of the operation by Secretary of State Rogers and the director of the Joint Staff, General Vogt. The committee's informal pact with Mr. Rogers to withhold public comment until the battle was over has muted its critical reaction, which now is beginning to emerge.")

By their deeds the liberals are as responsible for the war as President Kennedy, Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Nixon and Laird—not in a passive way, not by so-called crimes of silence, nor even by cowardice, but by actually working to make the war possible.

Now that all the people are against the war, now that the war is lost for the U.S. big business, now the liberals come as knights in shining armor to lead the anti-war movement as though they had been opposed to the war from the very beginning. They are imposters. They deserve not to be hailed but to be indicted for complicity.

The difference between a Muskie and a Nixon is that Muskie is out of power and using anti-war demagoguery to get in. In power Muskie, Hartke or any of the other capitalist liberals will carry out whatever war plans are decided on by big business.

Every single member of the liberal Establishment has expressed belligerent eagerness to go to war in the Mideast to protect the giant oil monopolies against the Arab people—to keep 100 million people from taking possession of their own resources.

These liberals, if in power, would not hesitate to plunge the people into a Mideast war or a war anywhere else in the interests of U.S. big business.

A great deal of the blame for permitting the liberals to take over must fall on the so-called radical organizations, the SWP and the CP. Although they are not now the principle organizers of the demonstration, nevertheless after they initiated the protest they invited the bourgeois liberals to take it over and are doing all the footwork for them.

Liberals hide imperialist character of the war

Another unmistakable sign of the fundamental loyalty of the liberals to the warmakers is their refusal to point to the cause of the war—their refusal to call it what it is, an imperialist war. The liberals will call the war immoral, illegal and criminal. Of course the war is immoral, illegal and criminal. But that leaves out the basic problem—the class roots of the war.

The Vietnam war is the bosses' war. In these past ten years the very process of the war, the supplying of the military, has enabled the giant corporations, working in collusion with government officials, to amass untold billions in profit. Not only do the corporations make money from the war itself, but their war aims are purely profit-seeking.

The monopolies aim to conquer the Vietnamese people and support a puppet government which will permit U.S. big business to have a free hand to gouge the wealth and exploit the labor of the people. U.S. oil companies are drilling off the coast of Vietnam, U.S. mining interests have been waiting to get the bauxite, the tin, the iron ore and mineral wealth of the Mekong Delta. Chase Manhattan and Bank of America implanted themselves in Vietnam at the very beginning of the war.

Workers get death, taxes, inflation and unemployment

What have the working people and the poor, the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano people gotten from this war in ten years?

First of all, they have been dragooned by war criminals into fighting against the workers and peasants of a country fighting for liberation. American youth have been trapped into fighting their fellow workers, who are even poorer than they are, into fighting their class brothers and sisters in the interest of the capitalists—their class enemies.

The sons of the American workers and oppressed have been killed and wounded. Those who live through the war return to the U.S. and can't get jobs from the very capitalists who sent them there in the first place. The bosses have raised prices without mercy to increase their profits. The government has raised taxes without mercy to pay the war profiteers, while it lets schools, hospitals and every other basic service decay. Unemployment lines are getting longer and longer. This is what the workers and oppressed people have gotten out of ten years of war.

Capitalists start the wars; workers do the fighting

Who started this war of conquest which made the bosses rich and the workers suffer? Wasn't John F. Kennedy a member of a ruling class dynasty worth hundreds of millions of dollars? Wasn't Dean Rusk from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller-owned Chase Manhattan Bank and Standard Oil? Wasn't McNamara from the Ford Motor Company, a great imperialist corporation with huge foreign and domestic assets. Johnson himself was originally a creature of the Texas oil millionaires and cattle barons. He retired several million dollars richer, with a banking and communications fortune. And Nixon, Mitchell and Rogers are three Wall Street lawyers connected to the largest corporations in the U.S. Nixon was put into politics by the Bank of America.

Government a committee of the capitalists

The government in Washington is really nothing more than a committee to manage the common affairs of the huge capitalists—and those affairs include seeking new spheres of exploitation by any means, including coup d'etats, bribery, subversion and war.

It was the capitalists who started the war for profit and the workers who had to fight and die in it. This is what should be brought out at an anti-war rally.

But the liberal spokesmen will never touch on that. They want to hide the class origins of the war because they work for the class that started the war—the same class that told them to vote for the Tonkin Resolution and the billions of dollars in Vietnam war credits.

The majority of the ruling class now feels that it is useless to keep U.S. troops in Vietnam any longer. So they, through the mouths of the liberals, are demanding that Nixon bring the troops home.

Defeat for the bosses' war helps the workers

The working class wants the troops home, too. After all, the troops are workers, not bosses. But the interests of the workers, both Vietnamese and American, require far more. The U.S. must get every person, every gun, every dollar out of



Vietnam. It cannot be permitted to continue the war by other means.

Recently, Secretary of War Laird stated unequivocally that the U.S. intends to keep the Navy and Air Force in Southeast Asia even after the ground troops are withdrawn. This means that the U.S. military is retaining its warmaking ability in the area and that at any moment they are liable to launch a new conflagration. Their very presence in Asia is a provocation and is inimical to the Asian masses and American working class and oppressed people. They must be removed, totally!

Colonial profits mean more money to fight the workers

Furthermore, all U.S. corporations must get



out of Indochina because everywhere big business goes, the military, in the long run, goes also to protect their profits.

As long as the U.S. companies can go on exploiting and oppressing the colonial people, these companies also increase their stranglehold over the working class and oppressed people at home. With the super-profits the capitalists extract in the colonial areas, they have more money to resist strikes, more money to buy up anti-labor congressmen, senators, judges, lawyers, scabs and journalists. As long as the corporations can exploit workers abroad they will have more money to bribe labor bureaucrats and the labor aristocracy, to betray the rank and file working class; more money to strengthen their political machinery; more money to pay more cops and National Guardsmen to occupy the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities; more cops to break strikes, more labor spies. Colonial profits strengthen the capitalists against the workers. Conversely, a victory for the Vietnamese people weakens the capitalists and strengthens the workers at home, provided they are ready to unite for struggle.

These are truths which must be told at any anti-war rally. These are truths which must be told to the working class. But the capitalist liberals of the Muskie, Hartke variety will never bring this up and the social democrats of the SWP and CP variety would never want to "embarrass" their liberal allies by bringing up such questions.

Workers must speak with their own voice

The lesson of it all is that the working class must have an independent voice in politics. It must formulate its own policy in the anti-war movement — a policy which will reflect its class interest and its class point of view.

Above all, the bourgeois liberal politicians, with the aid of their social democratic camp followers, have tried to suppress a discussion of classes and class interests in the anti-war move-

ment. They have perpetuated the idea that the workers and the oppressed people should blindly and obediently follow any liberal politician who merely talks against the war. The workers should not ask whether this politician represents a class whose interests demand war, exploitation and oppression, whether he is just covering up for the warmakers and whether he opposes one war in order to make ready for another. But it is precisely in the anti-war movement that a discussion of class responsibility for war is vitally necessary.

Workers' interest opposed to all wars of enslavement

The liberal bourgeoisie can be tactically opposed to a particular imperialist war which they fear will bring only disaster; but they can be wholeheartedly in favor of a war which they feel will help the corporations.

The interest of the working class is opposed in principle to any and every war waged by the capitalists and their government. A victory of the capitalists, whether in Vietnam, the Mideast or Latin America can only result in a defeat for the workers.

Therefore, it is a matter of life and death class interest for the workers to stay out of the hands of false anti-war liberals who will vigorously and enthusiastically drag the workers into some new military adventure to protect U.S. big business — if they think they can get away with it.

This does not mean that working class organizations cannot bloc with the liberals at an anti-war rally. Of course it is desirable to unite large forces for the struggle against the war. But in order to bloc with the liberals, the workers must be able to speak with their own voice, must be able to preach against the war from an anti-imperialist point of view and must be able to do it under favorable circumstances and have the full freedom to mercilessly criticize and expose the bourgeois liberal politicians for covering up for the warmakers.

Dissent is not enough

Furthermore, the forms of struggle against the war cannot be restricted to mere dissent in the style of the loyal opposition. There are numerous forms of struggle: militant mass struggle in the plants, on the streets and other methods available to the working class. Just as workers do not confine themselves to mild dissent in a strike against the boss where a contract is at stake, they should not limit themselves to mere protest in the struggle against a capitalist war of aggression and plunder where the fate of their whole class is at stake.

All workers in every shop, mill, mine or factory know, from the day they begin to sell their labor to the day that they retire, that their principal enemy in everyday life is the boss. They are constantly alert to any move by the company to injure their interests and above all, they would never willingly permit the company or anyone connected with the company to represent their interests. In short, the class struggle never ceases.

The perpetual war against the workers does not end in the shop. Political policy of any section of the capitalist establishment — "liberal" or reactionary — is nothing more than an attempt to express the political and economic interest of the capitalist class as a whole. The class war of the bosses against the workers is merely generalized in bourgeois politics. The workers should never under any circumstances let a bourgeois liberal speak for them on the question of international war or peace any more than they would permit a "friendly" boss to speak for them in the shop!

The Indochina war has been waged by the government of the bosses for the benefit of the bosses and to the detriment of the workers and oppressed people on this continent and in Asia. And the struggle against this war should be carried on in the spirit of the class struggle.

The capitalists started the Indochina war. Only the working class and the oppressed have a fundamental class interest in putting an end to the Indochina war and all wars of enslavement and only they have the power to do it. They can — and once they know the class truth and organize independently — they will.

Down with the imperialist war!

CANADA CONFERENCE

Indochinese women inspire their anti-war sisters

by YAWF WOMEN

"American advisors very often gave instructions to the Vietnamese torturers. All the shackles they chained us with had the markings 'Made in USA.'" These are the words of Dinh Thi Huong, 46, a woman from South Vietnam who spent six long years in four different prisons, including Con Son prison of tiger cage fame.

To look at Huong, one would never think that she had withstood the most brutal torture imaginable, surpassing the crimes of Nazi Germany. Her story left many of us who heard it in tears — tears of admiration for her fantastic courage — tears of utter hatred for her torturers.

"I didn't belong to any organization when they arrested me," she said. "But as soon as I got out of prison, paralyzed for many months, I joined the National Liberation Front.... The prisons are schools for my people."

solidarity that the Indochinese women felt toward us was evident not only in their words but in their smiles and warm embraces.

Kampheng Boupha, 47, and Khemphet Pholsena, 29, both primary school teachers from Laos, addressed a plenary session of the conference. Both women, along with their interpreter, Mr. Soubanh Srithirath, had walked 200 miles for three months to come to the conference! The main thrust of all the speeches was the fraud of Nixon's pacification programs and the brutality of the war. Over and over again the Indochinese women repeated the importance of the American people's resounding demand for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

In a movie shown on Sunday night, made in 1970, the 25th anniversary of Laos, Kampheng

of South Vietnam.... From the mountains to the plains, women, irrespective of age, are taking part in the revolution" from making weapons to setting booby traps and fighting on the front lines. She said that there are all-woman battalions, women commanders — a chief of staff of the NLF is a woman. And in 1969, four women were representatives in the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

Hien spoke the feelings of all the Indochinese women when she said, "The only way for women to gain equality is to fully participate in the revolution and to liberate all classes, both men and women."

When Sister Hien finished, all the Indochinese delegations got up to sing "Liberate the South."

Vo Thi The, 50, a professor of Literature, University of Hanoi, and Nguyen Thi Xiem, 40, Vice President of the Women's Union of Hanoi and an obstetrician-gynecologist, represented the Women's Union of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Mr. Nguyen Tri, 50, was their interpreter. There was a particularly poignant yet simple drama during a workshop when a pregnant Third World woman became ill and the Vietnamese physician, sister Xiem, immediately got up to take care of her.

During the conference many women asked questions about the role of women in Vietnam and Laos. The North Vietnamese women explained that the Women's Union, with a membership of four million, is a major organ of the government with a system of organization from the central committee down to the villages. Through its contacts on the local level, the Women's Union is responsive to the needs of all the women. There are committees for the protection of mothers and babies, for the protection of women in factories, committees of welfare, education and research, of the self-determination of national minorities, committees to study the different problems of women and to raise them to the government. There is also a committee called Directives of Government set up to train women and promote them to take charge of society.

It has been the Women's Union along with the courts which have laid the groundwork for the liberation of women by enacting in 1960, a new marriage law based on free choice in marriage without parental pressure, monogamy and protection of children. Divorce is easily obtainable, especially for women, as are abortions. By providing free medical care, day care centers and job opportunities, women are freed to take an equal role in the work force and in politics which has broken the old economic dependence on the family and has provided the groundwork for liberation and equality.

The spirit and revolutionary love shown by the Indochinese women made the conference both moving and exciting. It was even more remarkable if we remember that at the very moment of the conference, U.S. blockbuster bombs, napalm and herbicides were raining down on their country. The Indochinese women imparted to the conference an unforgettable feeling of solidarity with us as women to resist the U.S. imperialist war of aggression.

Join YAWF in the struggle

NEW YORK CITY, National Office, 58 West 25 St., New York, N.Y. 10010. (212) 242 9225, 675,2520, 989-3932

DETROIT, 2515 Woodward, Detroit, Mich., (313) 962-4979 (OR) P.O. Box 08141, 15th & Grand River Station, Detroit, Mich., 48208.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc., 53202, (414) 273-8089

SAN FRANCISCO, 1380 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.

BOSTON, Room 205, 595 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass., (617) 661-0345. (OR) P.O. Box 8875, Boston, Mass. 02114.

BUFFALO, 939 Mai St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14203, (716) 882-1112, (OR) room 5, Norton Union, SUNY at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York, 14214, (716) 831-3207.

CHAMPAIGN, P.O. Box 61, Champaign, Ill., 61820, (217) 359-3365.

CHICAGO, 4520 N. Greenview, Chicago, Ill., 60640, (312) 561-2723.

CLEVELAND, Box 2576, East Cleveland, Ohio, 44112, (216) 231-8456.

SEATTLE, Frank Little YAWF, 4408 Corliss Avenue N, Seattle, Wash. 98109, (206) ME3-0291.

WILMINGTON, P.O. Box 972, Wilmington, Del., (302) 652-1469, 656-9125.

Be in touch with the YAWF chapter in your area. If you are especially interested in any of these special areas of activity listed below contact the National Office in care of one of these YAWF subdivisions:

WOMEN'S CAUCUS (Publishes Battle Acts Magazine).

PRISONER'S SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST LIBERATION (Also P.O. Box 948, N.Y., N.Y. 10027)

HIGH SCHOOL CAUCUS (Publishes Jailbreak Newspaper).

LABOR CAUCUS

For those interested in GI organizing, we strongly recommend that you read The Bond and contact The American Servicemen's Union at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 (212) 675-6780.

A delegation of YAWF Women met and heard Huong at the Anti-Imperialist Women's Conference in Toronto, Canada, April 9-13 where about 200 women from the Women's Liberation Movement and 100 Third World Women met six heroic sisters from Indochina. Huong was one of the six women. They came from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Patriotic Front of Laos.

The Women's Liberation and Third World Women's section of the conference began April 9. (The week before, Women's Strike for Peace had held another conference with the Indochinese women.)

The conference was held as a demonstration of international solidarity of U.S. and Canadian women with Indochinese women against U.S. imperialism. The sisterly love and feelings of

Boupha's words took on added dimension. The movie depicted how the society in the liberated zones functions and is developing a socialist society. Everything from textile factories to foundries and truck factories to nurseries and schools have moved into caves for protection from the merciless U.S. bombing. Women are shown participating in every aspect of society. In fact, the Laotian women had brought with them, as gifts, rings made from the 1,000th U.S. plane shot down by the Laotian women!

Phan Minh Hien, 31, a teacher and Dinh Huong, 46, who spent six years in prison, represented the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam. Mr. Trinh Van Anh, 33, was their interpreter. Sister Hien, an incredibly vivacious woman, opened her message by saying, "Coming from the battlefield, we bring you warmest greetings from the fighting women



PROF. VO THI THE
University of Hanoi, Literature Dept.



DR. NGUYEN THI XIEM,
Women's Union of DRV



PHAN MINH HIEN
Teacher, South Vietnam



DINH THI HUONG
Women's Union, South Vietnam

Center for United Labor Action

THE place for union militants to be

Following is an interview with Mike Tilli, Chairman of the Center for United Labor Action, 167 West 21st St., New York, N.Y.

Mike Tilli, 21, is a rank and file member of District 65, Direct Mail Local. He has worked as a stock handler for the last two years and is now the chairman of the Center.

* * * * *

WORKERS WORLD: Would you tell us what the Center for United Labor Action is?

TILLI: The CULA was formed at the beginning of this year—1971—to fight around the issue of trade union struggles and other economic demands and needs of the masses of people. It brings together militant trade unionists from a number of unions in New York City and across the country.

We have representatives from the Teamsters, Communications Workers of America, District 65, Hospital Workers Local 1199, municipal workers, etc. Basically, we came together to fight for the rights of the working people of this country so that we can strengthen the real fighting union principles that are the heritage of the American working people.

WW: What actions has CULA taken?

TILLI: One of our first actions was to aid the duPont workers. There was a strike in Niagara Falls of 1,000 duPont chemical workers. It was a struggle to organize effectively into a national union to break the company union that has been pushed onto the 100,000 duPont workers in this country. Only a handful are represented by national unions.

We organized two demonstrations at the New York offices of duPont in the Empire State Building. Both times we went into the duPont offices—in force—and confronted the duPont executives with the demands of the workers and the demand that they negotiate in good faith. We also had a rally of over 100 people in front of the building during rush hour at which a number of trade unionists, shop chairmen and stewards denounced duPont.

Another action we had was on the Bell Telephone rate increase in which we saw the classical situation—inflation is blamed on the workers. We went to the so-called Public Service Commission's hearings and demanded first that they be held at a time when working people could attend. We denounced the executive who inferred that the workers were to blame when the fact is that the horrendously bad service at New York Telephone is the product of mismanagement and old equipment. We brought out the fact that it wasn't just Bell Telephone that was asking for the rate increase, but AT&T and that AT&T has assets of \$47 billion.

WW: In the U.S., bourgeois media push the idea that in America everybody is middle class. Do you think you are on the right track with your organization? Do you think there is really a working class in America and who is in it?

TILLI: That reporter or editor or analyzer, as he sits at his desk and writes the words that get out to millions of people, he writes on paper that is printed and distributed by workers who are organized in a highly centralized productive process. When he sits there is his \$200 suit—that is made by workers, his desk is made by workers, his shoes are made by the workers—he doesn't want to admit that the working class exists.

But it does exist and in America it is indeed the most important segment of society because

it is workers who produce all the wealth in this country and control the greatest power, even if they don't know it. In America there is a large middle class, but the point is that the industrial working class is the most important.

A large segment of workers are Black and very oppressed. Among industrial workers they comprise 20 per cent and in some great industrial centers such as Detroit and Cleveland, they comprise a majority of the workers in many of the basic industrial processes like the foundries.

Role of Black workers

WW: How do Black workers differ from white workers and what problems of racism do you have to deal with?

TILLI: Wherever there's a steel mill, wherever it's the hottest, you find the highest concentration of Black workers; wherever the work is most demanding and physically exerting, lowest-paying and most back-breaking. But this oppression places the Black worker in the very backbone of U.S. industry.

It's coming about that the racism of white workers, who often work right next to the Black worker, breaks down when they see that the strongest, most determined and militant union members are Black. And when there is a strike or a struggle they are the ones who suffer most to achieve the objectives and the common good of all the union members.

WW: What about the black caucus movement, then?

TILLI: We support it all the way, help and encourage it. Black workers are subject to racism and misunderstanding from their white fellow workers at the very same time they are most oppressed by their bosses. The process of white

undeniable logic of that situation is coming home to them.

It's true that a year ago the most conservative and reactionary-minded construction workers did attack anti-war demonstrators. But look at the most recent demonstrations of the construction workers. Are they attacking students, anti-war people? No, they're attacking Nixon now.

What made them so patriotic last year was that they were the highest paid, the aristocrats of the working class. This gave them a sense of privilege or superiority. But it's this privilege that Nixon is trying to move against, to stop, in the form of a wage-price control.

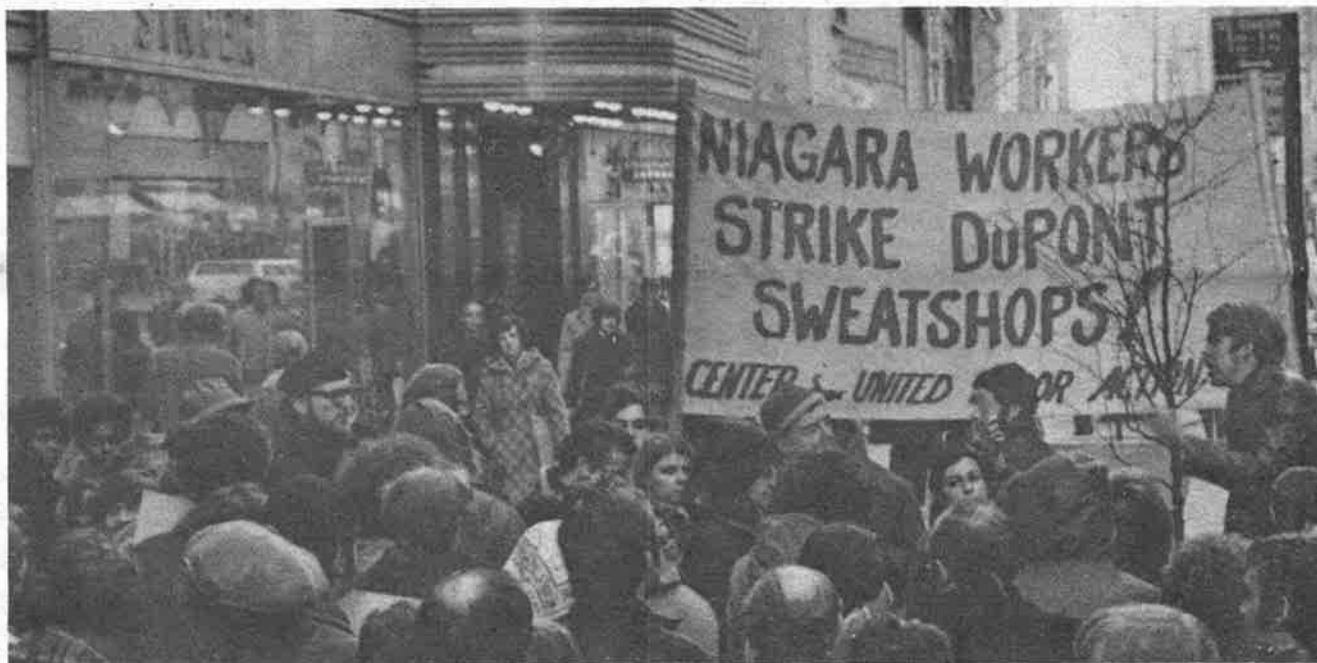
During a recent telephone wildcat, in the morning workers fervently pledged allegiance to the flag. But several hours later they were down on Wall Street in a pitched battle with the police, calling them pigs. They were attacking the headquarters of the world's largest monopoly, AT&T.

WW: Do you feel it is possible for revolutionaries to work within the trade union movement as it is today?

Union bureaucracies

TILLI: The working people represent that segment of society that no revolution can be achieved without in modern times. You have to remember that the unions were created by workers in long, protracted and bitter struggles at the turn of the century and in the 1930's. Workers died to create unions; they needed unions for their day-to-day survival.

In the last 25 years in particular, a bureaucracy seized control of even the most dynamic industrial unions, but that is not the essence of these unions. The bureaucracy is a parasite on the union. With-



Mike Tilli, Chairman of CULA, addresses rally against duPont.

workers overcoming their racism is a very sporadic one and much too slow to bring about genuine equality without the self-organization and if necessary, complete autonomy, of Black workers struggling separately against their bosses.

On the other hand, the Black caucus movement in the long run may prove to be the strongest weapon possible against racism within the unions, even if it temporarily arouses more hostility from backward whites.

WW: Are you doing anything about the plight of working women?

TILLI: Almost half the workers in America today are women. They often work in situations where they are also viciously exploited. The bite of inflation and trying to maintain the standard of living has forced women to get a second job, other than the one in the home, often to survive in poverty situations where the viciousness of poverty has broken up their families. We fight for equal pay for equal work and no job discrimination against women. We already have the beginnings of a women's caucus in one large union in New York City. And we will do much more, for example, in the area of demanding childcare centers, maternity leaves, etc., for working women.

Workers fight the war

WW: How do workers feel about the war?

TILLI: It's the working people in this country who have the most reason to oppose the war. It's the working people who are sent into that war to die, it's their brothers, their sons. The working people bear the brunt of the war and the

in the unions the bureaucrats must be eliminated and the unions changed back again to what they really are—the vehicle through which working people struggle for economic liberation.

WW: Do you feel that demands for wages and conditions are reformist?

TILLI: Demands that the workers make for wages and conditions are exactly what motivate them into struggle. Workers are forced to spend many long hours in overtime just to get the real wages in terms of buying power they had a few years back. Even if they want to stay on the job, want to be quiet, they are forced to come out and fight.

And when they fight, they fight like no other grouping can because they're fighting for their very existence. And this can transform a reformist demand into a revolutionary struggle. They struggle for it with a strike and in every strike there's an embryo of a revolution.

WW: What is your perspective for the future of CULA?

TILLI: Our perspective is to align ourselves with the most militant trade unionists, who on every level are struggling to gain their rights in the shops and factories of this country. We specifically plan on working to aid the strikes and struggles that are brought about by the speed-ups and abominable shop conditions and the desire of the workers for a decent wage in this inflationary depression period. We will also fight to end unemployment by spreading the work out with shorter hours and higher pay per hour. Naturally, we oppose the slashing of welfare benefits and all the other vicious attacks on the people's standard of living.

Koreans warn of U.S. war plans

We petitioned...

(Continued from page 4)

beaten with a ferocity not equaled by the Ku Klux Klan. In Branch Queens grown men were shackled and made to stand on their knees with heads bowed, as if to pay homage to a divine master. Is this what they call no reprisals?

Now to add insult to injury we you/us are indicted on a variety of charges with kidnapping heading the list. Their contention is that we (seven in Manhattan and eight in Queens), a small minority, conspired and instigated the rebellions. What a joke! What a farce! A conspiracy? Yes, but we are not the conspirators, no—no. The conspirators are the courts that denied us due process of law, the conspirators are the prison authorities who forced us to live in the most barbaric conditions conceived by man....

We say, let the people decide and we do not mean the people who control the courts. No, we mean the Poor People, Black People, Puerto Rican People and all oppressed peoples. Let our trials be a People's Trial. Let the People judge our guilt or innocence, and to you our beloved brothers in the Tombs, we say,

Prison, Where Lies Thy Victory!
The Branch Queens 8

ago."

Both the DPRK Vice Premier and Major General Han Yong Ok, head of the North Korean delegation to the Military Armistice Commission, believe that the U.S. is following a strategy similar to that being utilized in Vietnam, according to Burchett.

"Once the puppets have built up their armed forces to a level which is considered adequate," he wrote, "they will be ordered into action against the North like the Saigon troops are being used in Cambodia and Laos, with the U.S. directing the operation from outside and giving all possible support short of committing its ground troops."

It is clear from Burchett's report that although the U.S. may be unable to commit ground troops for an invasion of North Korea at this time, it is still using its Seoul puppets to provoke a renewal of the fighting. Tens of thousands of U.S. troops have been based in the South ever since the armistice and are a constant threat to the revolutionary government of the socialist North.

told Burchett, "but the reality is that we are in a prewar situation in which it is unknown at what moment a shooting war may start."

Speaking of the growing unrest in South Korea, Pak said, "The whole country is seething with discontent, which is one of the reasons why the Republic of Korea dictatorship is preparing to invade the North. Nothing is left of democracy in the South. An outright fascist military regime is trying to divert discontent to justify fascist measures on the absurd pretext that we are intending to invade the South."

Burchett relates the tremendous step-up of violations of the DMZ described by Pak. "During October 1970 in the western sector alone," Burchett quotes Pak as saying, "there were 11 times more shells and bullets fired than in the first 13 years of the armistice.... There were 640 violations in 1970 in which over 220,000 shells and bullets were fired (into the North of the DMZ-ed.). The tempo increased continuously in the first quarter of 1971. Had we responded to such provocations war would have started long

"I found the whole situation in Korea tenser than ever since the armistice. The North is firm and not responding in kind to the intolerable provocations while it is determined to hit back with maximum strength if an invasion is actually launched."

These are the words of well-known journalist Wilfred Burchett writing from Pyongyang, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Guardian of April 17. Burchett's article, headlined "Prewar situation in Korea," warns of the stepped up U.S. provocations against North Korea and the possibility of a renewal of the war there. "Standby essential industrial establishments are already underground," wrote Burchett, "and the country is physically and psychologically prepared for the worst."

Burchett interviewed Vice Premier Pak Chung Sul of the DPRK on April 9. The Vice Premier warned at that time that the U.S.-backed Seoul government was making preparations to attack the North.

"We are pushing ahead in the building of socialism under peaceful conditions," Vice Premier Pak

Women march on the warmakers and...

NLF flag flies over the Pentagon

by Ellen Pierce

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 10—"I wish my sisters in Vietnam could see the Vietnamese flag waving in front of the Pentagon," Lin Tu, a Vietnamese woman, told the women who had marched right up to the front steps of the Pentagon today to show solidarity and sisterhood with women around the world who are fighting for liberation. As she said this, people looked around at the red, blue and yellow NLF flags that dotted the crowd and realized the meaning of her words. The flag of the Vietnamese people was flying before the walls of the hated Pentagon, the very symbol and substance of murderous imperialism.

That moment was the climax of a day of spirited struggle in which 2,000 women marched from the "Justice" Department, through the heart of official Washington, and over the Arlington Memorial Bridge to the Pentagon.

Describing the death and destruction that the Pentagon means to her people, Lin Tu reminded the women that it means "strike-

breaking, scab lettuce" to farm workers in this country and "repression and torture" in Greece. "We must defy this death machine and the structure of this society which maintains this death machine," she concluded, raising her fist into the air. The crowd, which had seated itself comfortably on the doorstep of the Pentagon, jumped up like one woman with fists waving, chanting, shouting, screaming—"Hey, hey Madame Binh, the NLF is going to win!"

Messages of support

A number of statements followed Tu's speech. Ericka Huggins sent her greetings of solidarity from the concentration camp at Niantic, Conn., where she has been imprisoned for over a year on frameup charges of murder. Kathy Powers and Sue Saxe (two women on the FBI's ten most wanted list) and prisoners in the Women's House of Detention in New York also sent messages of support which were

warmly received by the women. A WAVE (Navy women), in uniform, denounced the Pentagon and its war to the cheers and encouragement of her sisters.

A number of large posters showing women who have led the struggle for liberation were held aloft and a few words were said about their lives. Posters of Angela Davis, Ericka Huggins, Afeni Shakur and Joan Bird, Bernadette Devlin, Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Bernardine Dohrn, Mme. Binh and Ida Brayman (a young garment worker murdered during a strike), as well as unknown Vietnamese and Palestinian women were all there.

NLF flags on helium balloons were sent into the air and carried over the Pentagon by the wind, bringing cheers from the women and sending the pigs on the rooftop scurrying after the flags. Songs and guerrilla theater ended the rally and the crowd dispersed feeling strong.



Vietnamese woman addresses Pentagon rally. LNS/ photo

The march to the Pentagon had been a long one, but chants and songs were heard almost constantly on the way. "Free Angela, free Ericka, stop the war against Black America" was one of the most popular. Although the permit gave us only the sidewalk, at one point the women had to go around some repairs on the sidewalk and stayed in the street from then on. Women's symbols, slogans and rifles were spray-painted on buildings and sidewalks along the way; a few pig cars were re-decorated this way too. A billboard announcing the D.C. Cherry Blossom Festival "Parade of Princesses" was covered with, "This exploits women" in short order. None of the women was arrested.

Despite the length of the march, the sight of the five-sided heart of imperialism sent women running down the grassy slope and up the front ramp to gather right on the doorstep of the Pentagon for a rally that won't be forgotten for a long time.

On the organizing front

San Francisco

Anti-war protesters catch Packard

by BOB McCUBBIN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 9—Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard spoke here last night to 600 fellow war criminals, members of the Western Electronics Manufacturers Association. The speech was originally scheduled for presentation in Palo Alto, site of Packard's own war profiteering company, Hewlett-Packard Corporation, but had to be moved on several hours' notice to San Francisco.

Militant groups in the Mid-Peninsula area had made it clear that they would not allow this prime enemy of the people to speak. That this was no idle threat was clear since the Palo Alto based Venceremos organization had successfully disrupted war criminal Henry Cabot Lodge's speech at Stanford University on January 11 of this year.

Packard's attempt to avoid a demonstration by moving the meeting to San Francisco on short notice was completely unsuccessful. By 7:30 p.m., the time Packard was scheduled to begin his speech in the Hilton Hotel here, several hundred people were already picketing across from the hotel. Venceremos and other groups had driven up from the Mid-Peninsula area to remind Packard that he had not escaped them.

Bay Area Youth Against War & Fascism was there with a large orange banner which read, "Packard Profits Off GIs' Blood." The tone of the picket line was extremely militant. Demonstrators called for the arrest of Packard and the freeing of all other political prisoners. The chants and songs of the demonstrators expressed solidarity with the Vietnamese and all oppressed people

against U.S. imperialism and fascism.

Inside the hotel, Pig Packard was "spelling it out" for his cronies. Because of the frankness with which he spoke (Packard is noted for his bluntness in stating ruling class opinion) no reporters were allowed at the meeting and no recordings were made of the talk. Some of his statements were reported in the S.F. Chronicle today, however. "They want to destroy everything our country stands for. The David Harrises, the Jane Fondas and all those that support them are your deadly enemies. They want to destroy you and me."

Outside, the S.F. Tactical Pig Squad was repeatedly attacking the picket line in a futile attempt to disperse the demonstrators. After each foray, the demonstrators reformed the picket line, the chanting growing louder and more militant each time. Finally, after several hours of provocation, the police made an all-out assault on demonstrators and passersby alike. Seven people were busted on phony charges. Most of the bourgeois news media covered the demonstration and many reporters were obviously outraged at the unprovoked attacks. This was made clear in some of the coverage.

This demonstration was a lesson for both anti-war activists and the rulers. It showed us that even a few hundred determined people can hold their own against police attacks if they are disciplined and strong. And it showed the rulers that they are not safe in this city, even on two hours' notice!

Milwaukee

Movement to aid prisoners begins with demo to "tear down walls"

WAUPUN, Wisc., April 17—This afternoon about 40 militants demonstrated at the gates of the state prison in this small Wisconsin town. The demonstration, sponsored by the Wisconsin Prisoner Solidarity Committee (WPSC), was protesting the inhuman treatment meted out to the inmates and demanded that all prisoners be freed and that "the walls be torn down."

The demonstrators demanded in particular that Booker T. Collins and Jesse White, held at Waupun and Green Bay prisons respectively, be freed. These two prisoners are members of the Black Panther Party who were framed up in Milwaukee on an attempted murder charge (of a policeman).

The police and the prison officials were extremely frightened at the prospect of a demonstration in front of their dungeon. All during the week suspicious calls were made to WPSC asking whether there would be any violence. At the demonstration itself the sheriff of Dodge County told the protestors that no sound equipment could be used in front of the prison. This pig said that if the demonstrators used the right of freedom of speech, he would arrest the speakers for "disorderly conduct." The Sunday before, Booker Collins was put in solitary and the day of the demonstration, without any form of notice to the relatives of the prisoners, all visits were cancelled.

When the Wisconsin Prisoner Solidarity Committee heard of this outrage, it demanded that they be allowed to see the warden. A delegation of three was allowed, including Mike Braun, a member of the 27th Street Peoples' Health Care

Center; Benita Orzoco, a Third World member of Youth Against War & Fascism; and Jim Miller, Milwaukee Chairman of YAWF. Warden Cady told this delegation that he cancelled visits and wouldn't allow sound equipment because he feared a rebellion.

The demonstrators carried three banners of the WPSC — "Prisons are concentration camps for the poor," "Tear down the walls—free the prisoners" and "Free the Milwaukee 3, Booker Collins and Jesse White." (The third member, Earl Leverette, has escaped.) Also many signs were carried proclaiming support for all political prisoners including Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and Jimmy Hoffa.

Although the demonstration ended, it was merely a beginning for the Wisconsin Prisoner Solidarity Committee. The Committee was formed a few weeks ago by the 27th Street Health Center, some former Milwaukee 14 people (anti-war fighters who went to jail for burning draft files), Youth Against War & Fascism and independents. WPSC saw this demonstration as a first step toward building a mass movement that would eventually "tear down the prison walls."

Soon free transportation to the prison will be provided for inmates' relatives, many of whom were forced on welfare when their husbands or fathers were sent to jail. And an all-round agitational campaign, which started with the thousands of leaflets passed out for the Waupun demonstration, will continue and will expose the racist nature of these concentration camps.

— S. Arthur
Milwaukee YAWF

Cleveland

300 students reject

Calley lawyer's whitewash attempt

CLEVELAND, April 13—Richard Kay, attorney for William Calley, was forced to cut short his speech at Case Western Reserve University here today, because of the strong opposition to his racist, right-wing ideas.

When Kay, a staunch Wallace supporter, started to speak, he was confronted by a group of demonstrators who were determined to expose the propaganda surrounding the Calley case. Kay, who could hardly hear himself over the chants

of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," asked if one of the protesters wanted to speak. Rick Kover of Cleveland YAWF, the organization that led the demonstration, immediately proceeded to the microphone and exposed Kay and Calley.

"The most important thing to realize about this whole Calley affair is that the rightwing, the forces of reaction, are using this man Calley to build their own movement. They want to cloud over the real issues of the guilt of Vietnam. The real guilt goes straight up the chain

of command, right to the commander-in-chief."

When Kover ended his remarks, Alan Roth, also from YAWF, grabbed the microphone from Kay and told the audience, "GIs are sick and tired of being sent to Vietnam to kill Asians, not in their interest, but in the interests of men like David Rockefeller....It was men like this (pointing at Kay) who were standing here a few years ago, telling us to get in, get in (to Vietnam), and now they're asking for sympathy for this guy Calley, who is nothing more than a vicious murderer of the Vietnamese people."

This statement received loud applause from the 300 students in attendance.

Still unable to speak because of the constant yelling from the demonstrators, Kay asked if they were for freedom of speech. "No, not for fascists," someone yelled out. At this point, two members of YAWF

march to the front of the hall and unfurled a giant (6x10 foot) NLF flag, receiving rousing cheers from the crowd.

Then Kay tried to absolve Calley of all guilt saying, "Calley was a very moral young man. He was an average American man." And to top it all off, Kay began to speak about American law and jurisprudence, about how he asked no legal fees from Calley. The crowd challenged him on this point, asking if he would have defended Ahmed Evans on the same basis. The demonstrators answered Kay's silence with chants of "Free Ahmed Evans."

After about 30 minutes of exposing this racist warhawk, someone shouted, "We've heard enough of this guy and his racist war policies; let's get out of here!" Within 10 minutes the audience had left, leaving Kay looking like a whipped pup.

—Cleveland YAWF

MARTIN SOSTRE VINDICATED!

**Prosecution witness confesses:
cops made him lie in 41-yr. frameup**

by DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

"He did not give or sell me any drugs." This sworn statement of ex-addict Arto Williams has cracked wide open the Buffalo Police Department's frameup of Black revolutionary Martin Sostre. Sostre's attorneys have already filed motions for a new trial for the ex-proprietor of the Afro-Asian Bookstore, who has served four years of a 41-year sentence.

Arto Williams was the state's key witness against Sostre, and testified that he had bought a packet of heroin at the bookstore. Now in California at a drug rehabilitation center, Williams has confessed that he went along with the police frameup of Sostre in order to beat a felony rap.

The coordinator of Tuum Est (Latin for "It's Up To You") notified Judge Constance Motley and Black reporter William Worthy of Arto Williams' startling change of heart. Mr. Hollis Candy Latson, a Black man who is himself an ex-addict, read an article by Mr. Worthy entitled "The Anguish of Martin Sostre." He encouraged Arto Williams to make a full confession of his role in the frameup.

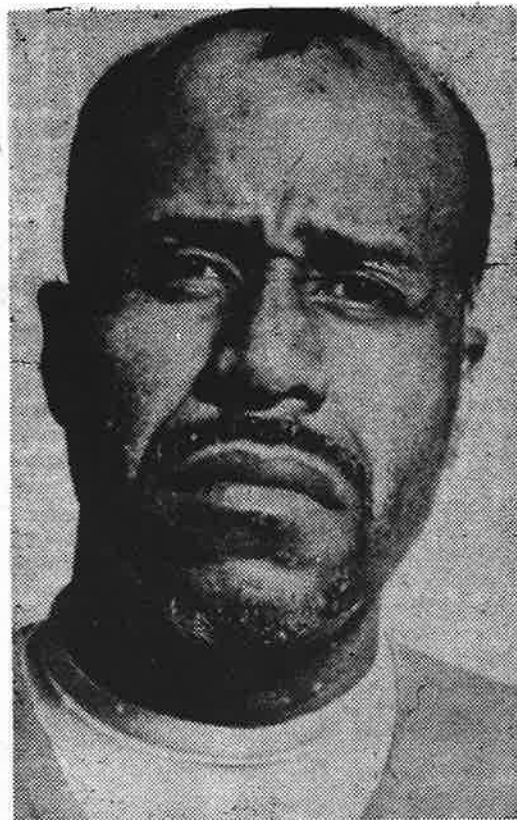
Kristin Glen, attorney for Sostre, flew to California and took down a 5-page sworn affidavit, in which Williams told in detail how he

cooperated with the Buffalo police and particularly Michael Amico, now Sheriff of Erie County, in arranging the phony "purchase" of heroin from Sostre.

In return for his service Williams was given some money which he used to get drugs for his own habit, and was released from prison, where he had been serving time for a second felony conviction.

WORKERS WORLD was the first newspaper to expose the vicious frameup of Sostre, which went to such hideous lengths as gagging and chaining him in court and holding him in solitary confinement for over a year. His arrest came just days after a rebellion in the Black community of Buffalo in 1967. Local police and FBI had been harassing the proprietor of the Afro-Asian Bookstore, which became a focal point for young militants attracted by the works of Malcolm X, W.E.B. DuBois, Mao Tsetung and other contemporary revolutionary leaders.

Sostre himself has been responsible for several landmark court decisions in the many years he has spent in jail. As a younger man he prepared the suit that brought Black Muslims the right to practice their religion in prison. Since the Buffalo frameup Sostre won several important rights



Martin Gonzales Sostre

for prisoners in a decision by Judge Motley, a Black woman Justice, which were later reversed by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Sostre's co-defendant, Mrs. Geraldine Robinson, who is still in jail on an assault conviction for coming to Sostre's defense when he was himself assaulted by the arresting goons, has been separated from her five children by this calculated conspiracy on the part of the racist ruling class.

100,000 out of work in Seattle Unemployed Union tells Senators: "Work or wages"

Frank Little YAWF

"We're not going to listen to any more of this bullshit. You have nothing to say to the unemployed."

With that statement, the Union of the Unemployed disrupted the U.S. Senate Economic Development subcommittee of the Public Works Commission which was holding hearings in Seattle April 14.

The hearing was on a bill co-sponsored by the state's Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, of SST fame, that would provide 1,000 jobs in September in Seattle. Considering the fact that there are over 100,000 out of work (that figure excludes most people not originally eligible for unemployment compensation), 20,000 of whom have already exhausted their second and last exten-

sion of benefits, and that Boeing continues to lay off 1,500 workers a week, the bill was almost meaningless.

The hearings were scheduled to be even more meaningless. Magnuson was to be the first speaker, followed by Congressman Brock Adams, Mayor Wes Uhlma, Governor Dan Evans (who was responsible for instituting heavy welfare cuts early this month), the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the president of Seafirs Bank and a vice-president from Boeing. The only "community organizations" scheduled to speak were Intertec Assoc., a group of former Boeing engineers with a plan for an all-male CCC with women having jobs

in the office and as cooks, and the Central Seattle Community Council, a group of white people claiming to represent the Black community, funded by Model Cities and UGN.

The Union of the Unemployed didn't intend to let this hearing go on. About 100 unemployed and welfare recipients packed the hearings.

After about a half hour of mutual compliments from one Senator to another, Magnuson began to give his incorrect statistics and people began to heckle. With banners and sound system prepared in advance, Stan Skjeie from the Union and YAWF rose to demand that the people be heard. He made it clear that we were demanding jobs for everyone who wants to work now and a decent living standard for everyone. As he spoke, the Union opened banners that read, "30 hours' work for 40 hours' wages," "Work or Wages, Power to the People," "Jobs for Women and Minorities," and "Let the People Speak."

Senator Montoya, the chairman, adjourned the hearings but the committee stayed seated while staff members scurried around trying to placate the people. Meanwhile, the people's hearings continued. We testified to what it was like to have no income or only half your income, what the problems of working women are, who often make too little or are in jobs that don't allow them to qualify for unemployment, and tenants talked about coming evictions by Safeway.

A welfare mother whose check had just been cut, spoke. She talked about starvation and then noticed that the pigs weren't even pretending to listen. "You'd better listen," she screamed, "because if you don't start listening the people are going to start shooting. People are starving and that leads to shooting."

After about 10 speakers, the Union read its demands: 100,000 jobs; unemployment compensation be increased to full wages, and paid until a person gets a job; Black people, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asians and other minorities to have their fair share of the jobs; women to have equal jobs, equal opportunities, equal pay; jobs to pay prevailing wages; no union busting; community control of all public works projects.

Six more speakers for the people from Welfare Rights, the United Construction Workers (which represents Black construction workers), from CSCC and from the Union took the floor later on in the proceedings.

Only after the people spoke was Governor Evans allowed to testify, and every time he said something, the crowd brought up the welfare cuts, or unemployment, or the fact that 25 per cent of the state's budget will be spent on highways. Finally toward the end of his testimony, the people began to sing:

Wall Street, Wall Street
Mightiest Wall of all Street
Trick or treat
The corporate elite
Up against the Wall Street.

Montoya tried to gavel it down, but he couldn't. They had to sit there and listen.

The hearings were adjourned until the afternoon, and the people, having had their say, and having to deal with the pressing problems of survival, went home. The pigs put on their show in the afternoon and the next day, without serious interruption. The show, which had already been played in Appalachia and Nevada, moved on to Alaska.

But Seattle's unemployed left them a message. "People are starving, and that leads to shooting."



Union of the Unemployed makes itself heard at Senate subcommittee hearing in Seattle.

Vol. 13, No. 7.)

Maryann Weissman, who served a six-month prison term for aiding the first public opposition to the war by GIs themselves, related how an organization such as the ASU, based on international solidarity, can directly challenge the military which carries out imperialism's war crimes.

Andy Stapp, chairman of the ASU, pointed out that resistance among rank-and-file GIs has grown to the extent that U.S. military commanders can no longer rely on most of the soldiers to carry out their brutal "search and destroy" missions. Stapp said:

"We in the ASU have no doubt that this decadent ruling class which has brought so much misery to the workers, the Black people, the Chicano people, the Puerto Rican and Indian people, the Vietnamese, Indonesian and African peoples, and to the GIs themselves—that this hideous ruling class will someday be brought into court and will receive the sentence they deserve for the crimes they have committed."

Anti-war fighters hold meeting:

Not just Calley, ruling class guilty

by SHIRLEY JOLLS

NEW YORK, April 9—Over 250 people attended a meeting held by Youth Against War & Fascism at the Hotel New Yorker this evening to hear an analysis of the Calley court-martial by rank-and-file GIs, draft resisters and anti-war activists. The meeting enthusiastically supported the verdict of the speakers that Calley is both guilty and a scapegoat—that he is indeed a mass murderer, but only one of all the war criminals who should be tried.

The speakers were Andy Stapp and Terry Klug of the American Servicemen's Union; Deirdre Griswold, a co-editor of WORKERS WORLD newspaper, and YAWF leader Maryann Weissman, both of whom helped to organize the 1967 International War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm; and Sam Marcy, Chairman of Workers World Party.

Draft resister Tom Comar read a statement from YAWF leader Joel Meyers, who is currently serving a 3-1/2 year prison term for refusing the draft. Comar also told of his own conviction for burning a draft board, for which he served two years in jail.

Tom Soto of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism read a statement from Eddie Oquendo, a Black draft resister sentenced to five years. Excerpts of his statement are printed below.

The speakers showed that Calley was court-martialed not for the crimes he committed but only in an effort to whitewash the full measure of U.S. war crimes and divert opposition from the military and government officials who are just as responsible as their "trigger man." But will Calley be punished, now that he is convicted? And, if he is actually jailed, how will the military treat their officer-prisoner?

Terry Klug, a national organizer in the ASU who served two years in Leavenworth for refusing to be sent to Vietnam, pointed out that there are only seven officers confined there and all receive special privileges. Klug said of the treatment accorded Calley:

"When Lieutenant Calley was convicted of mass murder he was sentenced to life imprisonment and then taken to the Fort Benning stockade and housed in two air-conditioned rooms in the chapel. Thirty-six hours later he was released by his partner in crime, Richard Nixon.... I served two years on a three-year sentence for refusing to commit war crimes, I spent one year of that time in a 6- by 8-foot steel solitary confinement cage."

Regardless of the eventual disposition of Calley's case, the speakers indicated, others may be sacrificed by the U.S. ruling class in its efforts to save itself. Sam Marcy cited the example of the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals after the Second World War:

"Why were the Nuremberg trials held? It was a way for the German capitalist class, the imperialist class that built up Hitler—with the help of a lot of American financiers—to say to Hitler: you lost the war, now we treat you as a war criminal. But finance capitalism goes on. The German imperialists lost nothing by the trials. The class itself should have been held responsible, not just a few individuals."

The meeting demonstrated that the ruling class will be brought to trial, not through contrived, scapegoat trials like Calley's but through the struggle of all the oppressed. Deirdre Griswold cited the International War Crimes Tribunal of 1967 as the kind of court which could probe the depths of U.S. imperialism's full guilt. (See her account, "We Tried Johnson for War Crimes," in the previous issue of WORKERS WORLD,

Black draft resister denounces U.S. war crimes

The following is excerpted from a statement by Eddie Oquendo, a Black draft resister sentenced to five years, and a member of Youth Against War & Fascism, which was read at the meeting on Calley, April 8.

In October of 1966, I was faced with a notice from the local draft board in Brooklyn to report for a physical examination. About two weeks before the scheduled date, a picture appeared on the front page of the New York Times that was unmistakably an outrage and an atrocity. The photograph was of a U.S. tank dragging a Vietnamese man behind it on the road. The man was tied to the tank by a rope around his feet and legs.

On the date of the physical examination I appeared instead at the offices of the local board and in a written statement told them that I conscientiously could not have anything further to do with them as they were clearly implicated in war crimes against the Vietnamese people.

Can there be any question of the brass encouraging atrocities when sentences run less for killing Vietnamese than for Soledad Brother George Jackson who has already served ten years for an alleged \$70 robbery? The military authorities are part of the chain of guilt of war crimes. Brothers Harvey and Daniels served two and a half years in the same Portsmouth prison for expressing anti-war views in a bull session under a tree. Comrade Joel Meyers (of YAWF-ed.) has been in Lewisburg and other penitentiaries for the past year and a half. He hasn't killed anyone. It is certainly the people who have jailed them who are the real criminals.

Racist Wallace went to visit with Calley and expressed confidence that the chief elected representative of big business would do the right thing with regards to Calley before it was all over. To me that means letting this convicted murderer of men, women and babies go free with a medal and a ticker tape parade. Much the same way that pigs in the Black Community have been given awards for their bravery in murdering Blacks at random and in premeditated cold blood. Along with the My Lai massacre may well go the massacres of Black people in Watts, Orangeburg, Detroit, Newark, Jackson State and the massacre of students at Kent State.

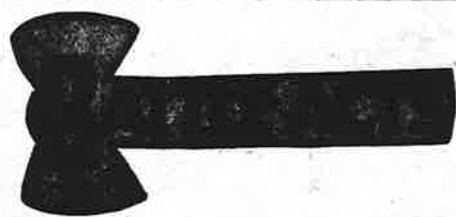
Victims of the system are confined to the worst scumholes of concentration camps and held in ran-



Eddie Oquendo

som before ever going to trial—such as the Black Panthers in New York and almost every other major city, and political prisoners all over America. The prison walls are bulging with the poor and the oppressed while the real criminals walk or ride the streets in their limousines scot-free. Their man Calley, a convicted murderer, is merely placed under house arrest.

This imperialist system and the conspiracy of those who run it have dealt a tremendous defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese have carried a heavy burden in the lives and the blood of their people in the fight for liberation. We have to bring their verdict of liberation home. We pledge ourselves to carry out the judgment of the oppressed—the Black, the Brown, the white and the working class against these criminals. We must bring them, crowd them all without exception into the docks and then to the gallows!



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Mayday: born in U.S.A.

In April of every year for more than a decade the President of the United States announces that the first of May is being officially declared "Law Day U.S.A." Why does the government go to such trouble to promote "Law Day"? Why do all sorts of respectable, reactionary organizations and individuals (this year it's the American Bar Association and actor Gregory Peck) get into the "Law Day" act with spot ads in the press, radio and TV?

The reason for all this "Law Day" talk is to stamp out every last thought or memory in the minds of the American people of May Day.

May Day is the working people's day. Born out of the struggle for the eight-hour day, it has been marked all over the world for the past 85 years wherever working men and women fight for better conditions on their jobs, combat repressive governments, unite against imperialism or celebrate the seizure of power by the working class.

Contrary to all the efforts by the capitalist government and press to portray May Day as something tainted, foreign and "un-American," May Day originated here in the United States.

Strike for 8-hour day

On May 1, 1886 nearly half a million workers across America held

strikes and demonstrations to demand an eight-hour day. The largest of these demonstrations was in Chicago, where 80,000 marched. It was Saturday—a work day—but many of the factories, warehouses, stockyards and construction sites were quiet and empty as workers stayed off their jobs to take part in the parade.

The Chicago industrialists—Swift, Armour, McCormick—mobilized their police, National Guard, special deputies and private Pinkerton detectives to try to intimidate the workers and their families. But the demonstration went as planned and after the speeches in English, Polish, Bohemian and German, the crowd, composed of people of all races and nationalities, dispersed.

But three days later, the workers were again called into the streets, this time to gather at Haymarket Square to protest the massacre of six strikers at the McCormick Harvester Works. The six had been slain as police opened fire on the crowd at the plant gates.

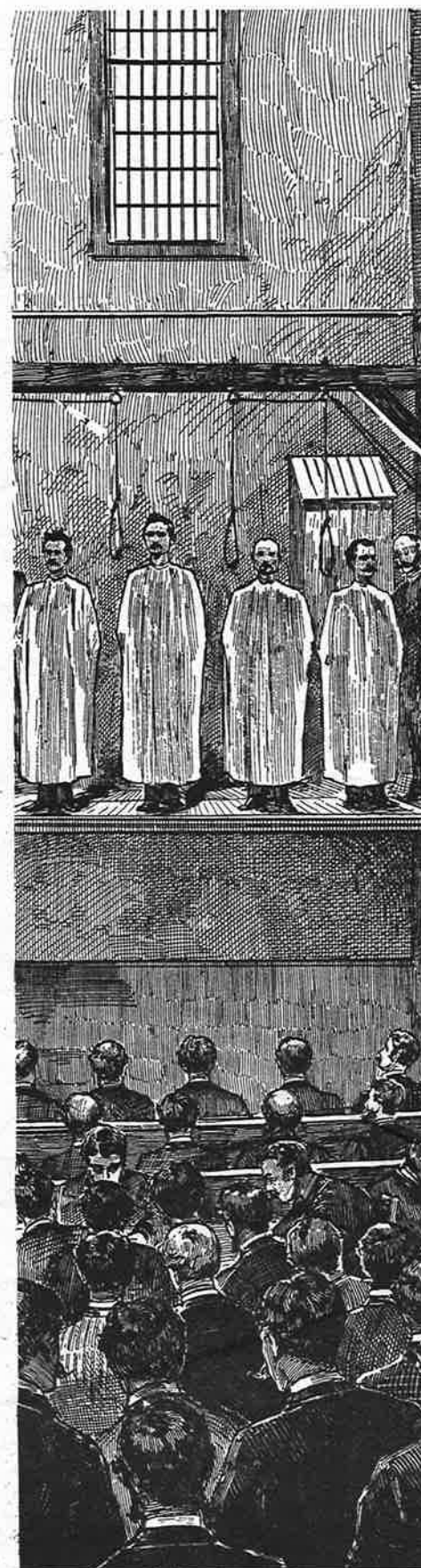
The Haymarket rally was almost over when 180 police marched into the crowd in formation and ordered the people to disperse. A bomb—later shown to have been thrown by a hired agent-provocateur—landed in the midst of the police, killing

or fatally wounding eight. In the hysteria that followed—whipped up by the anti-labor press—labor organizers, socialists and anarchists throughout the country were arrested, beaten and jailed.

Workers' leaders hanged

Seven working class leaders were framed-up on charges of murder so flimsy that the prosecution changed its case midway through the trial to assert that even if the seven had not had anything to do with the bombing, their words had inspired the act. On November 11, 1887, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, George Engel and Albert Parsons were hanged. Two of their co-defendants had their sentences commuted and one committed suicide or was killed in jail.

But neither May Day nor the eight-hour day died with the Haymarket martyrs. The International Association of Workingmen in Paris designated May 1, 1890 as a day for worldwide action by workers for the eight-hour day. Since that time the traditional celebration of May Day as the working people's day—be it a holiday in socialist countries or a day of struggle in capitalist states—has continued. Long after "Law Day" will have become a sorry joke, May Day will still be celebrated by working men and women all over the world.



Framed on conspiracy charges, four labor organizers were hanged after the first May Day.

El Barrio

explodes over

welfare cuts

by SHARON CHIN

NEW YORK, April 15—They were out there in the streets. Welfare mothers, children, old people, young people, protesting the recent 10 per cent cut in welfare allotments. The demonstration which took place on 3rd Avenue at 116th St. here today was called for and organized by local community people and an organization called MEND (Massive Economic Neighborhood Development). There were about 200 people participating in the militant march for welfare rights.

When the people moved out into the streets stopping traffic, the police quickly closed in, pushing and shoving the people onto the sidewalks. The cops drew their guns and fired six warning shots in the air to try to scare the people away. However, this action only brought more people running to the scene.

One Puerto Rican man was beaten by the cops, thrown to the ground and arrested. The local youths started to pick up rocks and bottles and toss them at the police. Six more people were arrested (leaders of the demonstration) and one brother, Ramon Morales of the Young Lords Party, was badly beaten by three cops and taken to the hospital.

After the arrests, the enraged people marched on the police station and demanded that those arrested be set free. The crowd was in no mood to accept a "no" answer and 40 minutes later all 6 were freed.

The people of El Barrio have said that this is only the beginning. There will be more demonstrations to demand decent housing, jobs, medical care and a 20 per cent increase in welfare. They want things which every human being should have but which they are deprived of because they live in a racist society based

on the exploitation of man by man. The people have shown their determination to continue to take to the streets until their demands are met! All power to the people! Todo poder al pueblo!

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