

WINTER ★ SOLDIER



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AGAINST THE WAR / WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

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PEOPLE FIGHT V.A. CUTBACKS



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LOCAL ADDRESS

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EDITORIAL

January 27, 1975 is the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris Agreements. That date marked the end of one stage in the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people--they had defeated the military power of the US government by forcing the withdrawal of US combat troops from Vietnam. It also marked a victory for the US people who, through mass actions which brought hundreds of thousands of people into the streets, demonstrated to the US government that it must finally abide by the demands of the Indochinese and American people and sign the agreements.

On January 27, 1973, while we were joining in celebration of the victory, we were also warning that US involvement in Southeast Asia would not end with the signing of the Agreements. The past two years have proved that prediction all too true--the US government continues to prop up the corrupt regimes of military dictators in Cambodia and South Vietnam, regimes that would have collapsed long ago if it were not for US government support. The final victory of the Indochinese people is still waiting fulfillment. And, for the people of Cambodia, South Vietnam, and Laos, the fighting is still a daily part of their life.

January 27, 1973 also marked a change in the anti-war movement which had been growing in its resistance to the war. Many of us who were in the middle of that struggle have seen some of the errors which we made--that the anti-war movement often failed to identify the real enemy as the imperialist system which lay behind that war, not just the war itself. As a result, we did not mobilize the masses of people who were opposed to the war into the larger struggle against that system.

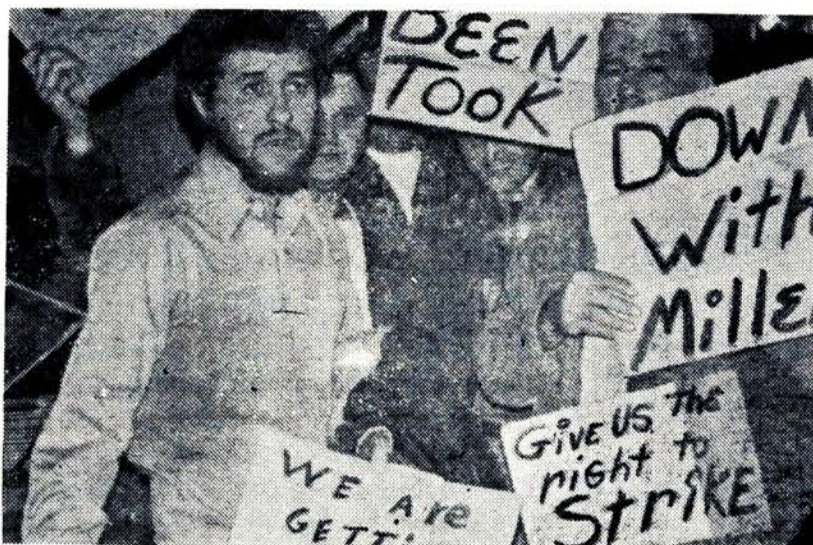
January 27, 1975, when VVAW/WSO chapters around the country will be carrying out actions to mark the anniversary of the signing of the Agreements, is one more opportunity for us to bring to the American people the message about the nature of imperialism: a system which makes wars like the Indochina war inevitable and, at the same time creates unemployment, exploitation and repression here at home. As we build for January 27th actions in our daily work, we reaffirm our unity and solidarity with the people of Indochina in the struggle against the enemy which oppresses us all: US imperialism.



UNITY-STRUGGLE-VICTORY

WINTER SOLDIER

CONTRACT FALLS SHORT COAL MINERS



Rank & File Coal Miners Protest Contract

After a 25-day coal strike, miners slowly began returning to work on Dec. 6th. The recent strike marked the expiration of a 3-year contract between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association -- the bargaining group which represents most of the major coal producers. With a long history of "No Contract -- No Work," 120,000 miners went on strike on Nov. 12th. This strike deeply affected the production of 3/4 of the country's coal.

Though the new UMW contract was ratified by a slim majority of rank-and-file miners (56%), there has been much out-spoken opposition to the final package negotiated by Arnold Miller (UMW President) and the coal owners. One of the demands of the miners was for a pay increase -- an increase that would meet the financial problems resulting from the current economic crunch. An 18% wage increase for the next 3 years was negotiated, but it still won't cut it as far as the miners are concerned. As one 25-year-old miner said, "We got a 20% raise last time and only 18% this time, with inflation getting worse. Sure, they say fringe benefits will bring it over 60%, but I'm young--I need money now." Based on the wage provision in the new contract, if inflation continues at its present level for the next 3 years, miners will have received only a 5% wage increase by Nov. 1977. Also, the 8% ceiling on the cost-of-living escalator is totally unrealistic. By the government's own statistics, the cost-of-living is rising over 12% a year.

The major criticism by rank-and-file miners of the contract is the absence of a right-to-strike clause, allowing miners to walk off the job over unsafe working conditions. The right-to-strike was the primary demand raised by the miners with regard to safety and decent working conditions. On Sept. 3rd Arnold Miller said, "The lives and safety of American coal miners are not negotiable items to the UMW." However, Miller changed his tune and ended up selling out the demand which has be-

come basic to life in the coal fields. Under the new contract, miners still do not have the right to strike and disputes over conditions in the mines will still be settled by government inspectors or arbitrators. If these officials decide the miners do not have a legitimate grievance, the miners will be "subject to appropriate disciplinary action." Based on the government's practice, this will mean that officials will move quickly to try to penalize safety-conscious workers so as to try to stop the tide of dissent over working conditions and prohibit miners from uniting together and rising up against the often deadly mines.

There were some improvements in the new contract that did not exist in the 1971 agreement. There are improvements in retirement benefits, medical coverage has been extended to cover disabled miners and widows, there is better sick pay and accident benefits. Improvements in these areas of benefits were necessary to help insure the welfare of the miners, but they don't stack up when compared to the lousy wage increase and the lack of a right-to-strike clause. As one miner put it, "With coal profits up 181%, it's just not good enough."

So, the struggle of the miners continues. Demands for decent working conditions were not met in the recent contract strike, so we can bet that the miners will resort to the only means left to them to protect themselves -- the "illegal" wildcat strike. The new 3-year contract is not going to really help the miners meet the basic necessities of life, and though there are gains in the new contract, the struggle to stay alive in the mines and to protect the only way they have of winning demands -- their right to strike -- has not yet been won. The people of this country have a responsibility to continue to support this vital struggle of the coal miners -- a struggle which is important in terms of the living and working standards of all people.

JANUARY '75

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Cutbacks Planned-

VETS FIGHT V.A.



Building Solidarity With VA Patients In Milwaukee

In the face of the current economic crisis in this country, vets from New York to California are fighting back against the government's inability to deal with their vital needs. Even as President Ford was vetoing the current GI Bill increases, vets were taking direct action to protest the inhuman treatment forced upon them by the Veterans Administration. In Los Angeles, one vet found it necessary to hold three hostages at gunpoint so he could get to talk to a VA doctor. In Chicago another vet barricaded himself in a VA office, broke windows and set a fire because the VA would not find a doctor to talk to him.

On November 18th, approximately 300 angry veterans went to Washington DC to demand that Ford sign the GI Bill. These veterans marched down the middle of Pennsylvania Avenue without permits, toward the White House despite attempts by the weak-kneed organizers and police to keep them on the sidewalks. Demonstrations have occurred in city after city by VVAW/WSO chapters in organizing veterans and non-veterans into the fight for decent benefits for all veterans and for a single-type discharge.

VETS GET CRUMBS FROM GI BILL

Last month Congress passed a new GI Bill that would increase payments for fulltime institutional training for vets. The increases would include raises in the monthly payments from \$220 to \$270 for single veterans, \$261 to \$321 for veterans with one dependent, \$298 to \$336 for two dependents and an additional \$22 for each other dependent. The Bill also would allow vets to borrow \$600 per year for school tuitions, while at the same time extending school payments from 36 to 45 months.

President Ford, showing utter contempt for all veterans, vetoed the Bill saying that it was inflationary. Congress overrode the veto and the bill became law. But while Congress will fall over themselves saying they are the friends of the veterans, the bill, which increas-

es the payments by 22.7%, is totally out of line with the Bills passed after World War II. The present GI Bill would have to be increased by 300% to match post WWII payments. And even as this bill was passed, another bill was in committee, which would, for the first time, put a tax on the payments given to disabled veterans of all wars!

Not even the recently passed bill increasing pension payments for veterans is adequate given the crisis in the economy. Although this increase would be by 12%, that is also the rate of annual inflation, which means that next year vet pensions will be falling behind again. It won't even give vets on pensions time to breathe before it again begins to bite into their pockets.

THEY SAY CUTBACK...

While the situation facing veterans is bad enough, the government is cutting back on payments to others as well. Recently Ford proposed cutbacks in payments to the elderly; unemployment compensation is being cut back; there are cuts in food stamp payments and other services. As the crisis of imperialism deepens, these cutbacks will fall on the heads of the working people.

Some of these cutbacks are being directed towards the VA facilities. While the patient-to-staff ratio is one of the lowest in the country in VA hospitals the VA plans to begin layoffs of part-time personnel beginning on January 1st. Already it is known that the Woods VA Hospital in Milwaukee will be letting go 13 part-time workers. These layoffs, coupled with the policy of not hiring people for vacated positions in the hospital will cause an already disastrous situation to become even worse. These cutbacks are seriously threatening the safety of the VA patients. At the Woods Hospital, for instance, the hydro-treatment facility has been reduced from about 5 workers to one. Several nurses and therapists' assistants were laid off leav-

ing two full-time therapists. When one had a stroke, it left the facility with only one therapist who must take care of 43 patients a day. In many instances these patients must remain in the whirlpool baths unattended as this one worker is also responsible for taking the patients to the elevators. In the event that something happened during his absence, it could result in the death of a patient. And the administration at Woods won't hire anyone to help the therapist and the patients, because to do so would put the hospital in the 'red', according to the VA Administrator.

As the economic crisis deepens, the system will try and pit VA workers against veterans, blaming layoffs on the 'inflationary' increases in care for vets. It will do the same elsewhere to all workers, blaming layoffs on striker's demands, etc. But this will not work.

WE SAY FIGHT BACK!

Recently in Chicago, about 300 veterans angrily questioned a panel of people including representatives of the city office of Manpower, the VA, a State's Attorney, the Red Cross and the American Veterans Committee. The vets wanted to know why they couldn't get their discharges upgraded, and why they found it almost impossible to get loans through the VA. One speaker on the panel who is a banker also, told one vet that he wouldn't give him a loan because the VA only guaranteed 90% return on the loan. This response thoroughly exposed the sham of the presentation to a great majority of the vets. The officials had no answers and were afraid of the angered vets. All the officials could say was to have faith in the system. The vets knew that they were being handed a bull story and the answers didn't change any real problems in their daily lives. Many walked out.

Armed with the knowledge that the system doesn't work and understanding that the fight for decent benefits for all veterans must be linked up with a demand for no VA workers layoffs, veterans, VA workers and others can unite to win these demands. VVAW/WSO chapters around the country have begun to seriously take up the struggles of all veterans. The struggle of veterans is a very real thing, that effects the lives of millions of vets and their families. It is a struggle against the imperialist system; the system that is responsible for inadequate medical care, massive layoffs, wars of aggression and domination in Indochina and the Middle East. It is a system that will try and split vets from VA workers, as it will try and split blacks from whites. The only real chance that people have is to unite to fight the system. As shown by the spontaneous demonstrations and the outrage of the vets in Washington DC and Chicago, and the support for the countless demonstrations of VVAW/WSO chapters, people are fighting for real -- around the struggles of all veterans.

DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS!

TWO SYSTEMS

VVAW/WSO has been saying that the system of imperialism, because it is based on the insatiable drive for profits for the rich few, can never meet the needs of the people, and that this system will be in one crisis after another. The current crisis that the US is undergoing firmly demonstrates that this view is right. The inevitable had to happen: overproduction and inflation dovetailing into a recession has put the crunch on.

Once again, the system of imperialism presents the American people with bitter contradictions--a great picture of real abundance on the one hand, with commodities of every kind and description locked away in warehouses; while, on the other hand, masses of able-bodied men and women, laid-off from their jobs, are shoved down into poverty, going from unemployment to welfare to charity. Cities across the country are reporting a sharp increase in applicants for welfare, food stamps and other relief as the unemployment rolls mount and benefits are exhausted. Lines outside welfare and food stamp offices are stretching for many blocks, and hundreds are being turned away for lack of office staff to handle them. Even charity organizations are reporting huge lines at their soup kitchens.

How large is this glut of unsold production? The auto industry, one of the basic industries in the country, paints a graphic picture of abundance versus sales. Time magazine published a photo of the vast Michigan State Fairgrounds that showed it carpeted from fence to fence with unsold automobiles from 1974 lines. Production had been running at over 8 million units per year up until the massive layoffs started, and now it is down to 5.4 million units. That leaves a surplus of 3 million cars that nobody can afford to buy.

The whole of industry is in a similar state. Business Week, a major voice for corporate interests, in its



Food Prices Skyrocketing In US



Abundant Food & Stable Prices In China

November survey of consumer demand, noted that the demand is shrinking, not growing. Goods are not moving off the retail shelves (being priced out of reach); retailers slow down orders to wholesalers; wholesalers cease ordering from manufacturers; and manufacturers stop buying materials, parts and machinery from each other. At the same time, industry has overproduced in an effort to cash in on high prices. The US has the productive power to feed, clothe, and house the entire population of the US, with jobs for everyone, while still leaving a surplus, but is incapable of doing it while run for the profits of the rich.

In deep contrast to the US current economic problems stands the Peoples Republic of China. This country of over 800 million people, industrially far behind the US, has had stable prices for over 25 years, while feeding, clothing, educating the entire country. The People's Republic inherited an economy rampant with inflation from the earlier Chiang Kai-shek regime--several hundred percent a year. Yet they brought this under control in a few short years and they have kept prices down ever since. Any changes that have taken place, apart from some seasonal variations of some food stuffs, have been downward.

The sharpest reductions have been in the costs of medicines, the prices of which average only 20% of what they were in 1950. As part of the national policy of raising living standards in the countryside, and encouraging agricultural production, the state has several times increased the prices it pays for farm and sidelines products (non-agricultural goods produced by commune members) and at the same time reduced the prices of such production aids as farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, pesticides and diesel oil. The prices paid by the state to the communes for cereals doubled since 1950 while retail prices have remained stable.

In the US, people are inclined (and encouraged) to view inflation as inevitable. How has China solved the problem? First and fundamentally, by socialist planning and socialist production. Output quotas and prices are set and adjusted to meet the needs of the people and of the developing economy. Both industrial and agricultural production have soared in the past quarter-century, and this growth has provided a solid material foundation for a stable currency and stable market prices.

The national budgets are balanced, with small surplus, permitting careful regulation of the amount of currency in circulation. Reflecting the peoples' confidence in its stability, bank deposits by individuals have grown tremendously. The domestic economies of many other countries are at the mercy of foreign trade, but China, while promoting trade with some 150 countries, has insulated its domestic market. Imported consumer goods are sold at prices comparable to those of Chinese-produced goods, while exports are sold at world market prices.

Even though wages and living standards are behind those in the US, China is a developing country, moving ahead to match the needs of its people. But the Chinese have what working people everywhere wish they had: assurance of the necessities of life while producing some of the not-so-necessary.

Comparing the two country's economies clearly points out the difference between a system run in the interests of the masses of people and one that leaves its people at the mercy of profit-seeking companies whose only interest is in getting richer. As long as imperialism exists, this can never change for the people of the United States.

(Thanks to China And US, a publication of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association for some of the material in this article.)

RESISTERS' BOYCOTT IS GREAT SUCCESS

When asked why the Ford clemency program is not working, Charles Goodell, chairman of the Presidential Clemency Board stated, "I don't understand it. Those who are eligible under our program have nothing to lose by applying." Those who are eligible, in fact, have everything to gain by not entering the sham program. The Ford clemency is designed as a punitive measure against those who correctly resisted the imperialist war in Indochina and the racist and repressive conditions of the military. As war resisters have committed no crime, they have no reason to submit to this clemency program. Recognizing this, the exile community, along with many organizations in the US, has called for a boycott of the plan as part of the overall struggle for universal and unconditional amnesty.

And the boycott is working! The government's own figures make this point most clearly. The Selective Service System states that there are 6,000 draft resisters under indictment. Only 123 have entered the program. The Defense Department says that there are now 12,500 military resisters. Only 1,450 have applied. Most of these people that have entered the program have done so by surfacing from living 'underground' in the US. The number of draft and military resisters that have come from exile abroad number fewer than 150.

The single largest group of people in need of universal and unconditional amnesty are the veterans with less-than-honorable discharges. There are 588,321 such discharges. The government states that of these only 40,000 are eligible for the clemency plan; those vets that received bad discharges due to being charged with AWOL over 30 days. The second largest category of war resisters are those in the US that are civilians who resisted the war and were convicted of crimes against the state. Of these two largest categories, veterans and civilians who have done time in jails, stockades and/or received bad discharges for being AWOL, only 800 have applied.

The government is desperately trying to sell the Ford plan. They are resorting to all sorts of figure games and deceitful tactics. For instance, because of the small numbers of returnees, they are trying to mislead people by giving out a lower number of those eligible. On August 19th, when Ford announced at the VFW convention in Chicago that he was planning to give clemency to war resisters, he stated that there were 50,000 deserters and draft resisters. Today, the government claims that there are 18,000 who fit into these categories. The discrepancy in three months time is 30,000 resisters! What happened to them?? Commander-in-Chief Ford

should be stripped of his command for losing the equivalent of two full divisions of soldiers!

In another deceitful tactic, James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, is sending letters to families of resisters urging them to urge the resisters to accept the Ford program. The letter tells the families that the resisters won't have to wear uniforms, get haircuts, or "otherwise subject themselves to normal military routine." Such benevolence from the government!

The most truthful utterance from the government about the clemency has been offered by Attorney General Saxbe who stated, "Many draft evaders are highly suspicious of the Justice Department's motives."

The real reason for the failure of the clemency is because resisters know that their actions were correct in fighting against the imperialist war in Indochina and the racist and repressive military. The Ford plan would try to force resisters into falsely admitting that they have committed a crime, when the real criminals are the big businesses, the government officials and their enforcer arm, the military, who waged the war in Indochina for their own profit.

The boycott is working -- and all resisters should continue to fight for universal and unconditional amnesty!

CONTINUE THE BOYCOTT !!

AMNESTY TOUR



Steve Grossman Speaking At Wash., D.C. Rally

(We received the following communication from Steve Grossman, a draft resister who recently toured the Northeast. Steve spoke in 13 cities to the need to continue to fight for universal and unconditional amnesty. He came to the US to speak during the 15 day grace period in the Ford clemency. Steve refused to accept the plan and returned to Toronto on Thanksgiving Day where he will continue to work with AMEX-Magazine and the Toronto American Exiles Association.)

"The tour deepened my own understanding of the amnesty question and the necessity for strong unity among all groups in need of amnesty - those who believed the lies that surrounded the war or were forced by unemployment and poverty to fight it, and ended up resisting the war or the military's racism and oppression from INSIDE, and those who resisted by going AWOL or refusing to be inducted.

"The first group is now punished for their right and necessary resistance with a punitive less-than-honorable discharge. The others face civil and military charges. We are also joined by thousands of civilian resisters in prison or with records - they need amnesty too.

"The tour reminded me of the need to keep our demand for a single-type discharge up front in all our amnesty work. Getting rid of the present punitive discharge system will remove one of the most repressive weapons the government has for controlling resistance to genocidal, imperialist wars. The single-type discharge will move us far forward in our fight for the right to resist unjust wars - that right is the very meaning of universal and unconditional amnesty.

"The tour offered me the chance to travel to 13 cities throughout the Northeast. Starting in Louisville, Kentucky where I had the opportunity to meet with representatives from the nationwide amnesty movement through 12 other cities where VVAW/WSO arranged public meetings and media presentation I had the chance to see the REAL grassroots strength of the movement for universal and unconditional amnesty."

multi-racial unity forged

GI'S STRIKE IN BERLIN

Following on the heels of a rapidly escalating struggle against military haircut regulations, 27 Black, White, and Chicano soldiers of C Battery, 94th Artillery, Berlin Brigade, went out on strike on November 25th. Their action came as a solidarity action for Black haircut resister Rufus Thompson and in protest against steadily worsening working and living conditions in their battery. At 8 AM on the 25th, they refused to fall out for formation and assembled in the snack bar. When their battery commander, Cpt Louis Trevathan, arrived on the scene at about 8:30, they presented him with a list of 15 demands and a statement about their reasons for striking. After reading through the statement and demands, Trevathan looked at the men and asked, "Okay, so what's the problem?"

During the course of the morning, one of the battery officers, LT Linski, read the men the mutiny act and said they could all be hanged. Shortly thereafter about 7 men decided to go back to work. One of the remaining 20 commented later, "I've already been hanging around here long enough. I just hope they use a new rope when they hang us this time." Unknown to the strikers at the time, a busload of MPs had been put on alert to move in on them and six carloads of MPs were waiting at a nearby NCO club as a back-up force. Charges were being drawn up and a lawyer from JAG (military lawyer), Cpt Carl Meyer had been called to the Battery to read the strikers their rights. However, by the time he got there he was told that he was no longer needed. By now the press had picked up word of the strike and that, combined with the resoluteness of the strikers not to return to work forced the brass to back down.

The men were ordered to return to their rooms at about 11:15, where NCOs kept watch on them. They were even escorted to the latrine and brought their lunch in the barracks to keep them isolated from the rest of the battery and from the rest of McNair Barracks. They were still on strike. The command, on the other hand, was putting out the story throughout the day that the men had gone back to work. The GI Counselling Center (a GI project near McNair), which was in contact with the strikers after they returned to their rooms, was able to set the lie straight and give the press the true story.

Around 1 PM the now 17 remaining strikers, were told that an "Investigating Board" had been set up by the brigade to hear their grievances and demands. To this the GIs responded by each going in and reading their statement:



Berlin Brothers collect 1200 signatures on support petition.

"Rufus Thompson, the only Black GI involved in the haircut struggle in Berlin, has been pressured and threatened to make him end his involvement in the struggle. This has been a racist tactic by the Brass to make the struggle an all-white, segregated movement. He resisted, so they dropped all charges in order to kick him out of Berlin and remove him from the support he has here.

"We have come to the last possible action on our part to change the conditions under which we work and live. We are human. We have minds to think with, but our thoughts and feelings are constantly abused by our "superiors." We are tired of being abused. We are tired of being ignored. We will make ourselves heard one way or another.

"We have tried every avenue of approach to this problem and gone through almost every channel. These avenues and channels are too slow and unreliable, we have discovered. First we turned around and asked our commander what was going on--no answer from him. We asked him to stop or at least try to stop manipulation of EMs in our unit. He ignored us, probably because he is the main manipulator. We tried JAG, but we found out that they were making deals behind our backs, so we couldn't trust them. We couldn't contact Congress since the communication between here and Congress is very slow and very, very poor for the EMs. We have only one alternative. That alternative is to STRIKE! "

Now the strikers face military punishment and several were being court-martialed (Winter Soldier has not heard the outcome of these trials as yet), but the demands they have raised are being taken up by others throughout the Berlin Brigade. These demands go way beyond haircuts. Besides the demand that SP/4 Thompson not be transferred and all charges against him be dropped, the de-

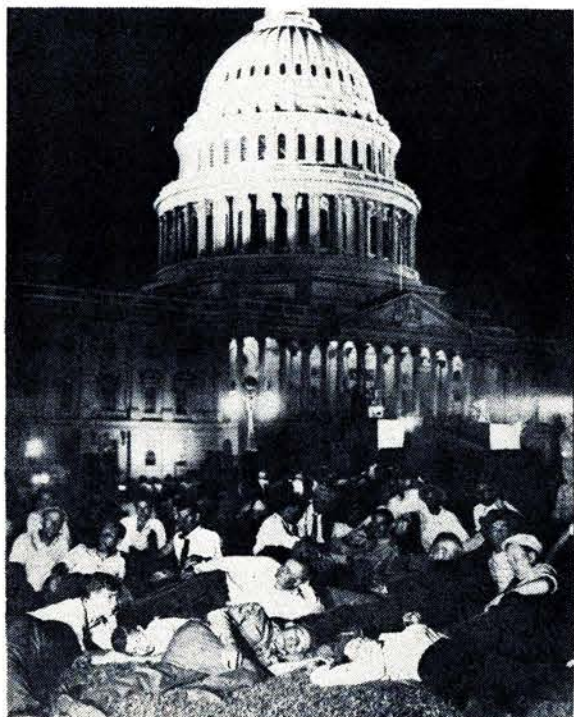
mands include: there be no transfers in the unit without the knowledge and approval of the men in it; a Morale and a Race Relations Council be set up whose members would be elected by the EM themselves and not appointed; days off be given out by the section chiefs to their own section; there be only one inspection a week and only one standby inspection every other week; there be more privacy in EMs rooms (room arrangements, posters, etc); EM be able to lock their doors when sleeping; all married personnel have means of getting housing and transportation for their families, and that all personnel involved in the protest not be prosecuted. They also had demands around EM removing leadership they felt to be unfit or racist.

The men of C/94th are tight. Blacks Whites, and Chicanos are standing together. And it is this unity that has been one of the basic keys to their strength and success; a fact that has not gone unnoticed by the Brass which is doing all it can to try and divide them. The unity shown by the EM has defeated the Brass and the militance of the men is spreading throughout the military. Hair reg struggles have started in Hawaii and Okinawa and over 1200 Berlin GIs signed a petition to end the regulations. The day following the strike, a sister unit of C/94th refused to come to attention at morning formation. This type of militance has the Brass on the run and the GIs will not be defeated.



PART 4: VETS MOVEMENT

VETS FLOOD CAPITOL



Part of 25,000 vets in DC to demand bonus-camping on Capitol grounds.

In the spring of 1932, while veterans all across the U. S. were mobilizing and pushing their way towards Washington, DC to demand their bonus pay for World War I service, the nation's leaders were busy preparing to try and deal with them. They used every dirty trick they knew to head the vets off before they could reach DC: lies, deception, threats and open force. When this failed, the government tried to co-opt the movement, divide it, and negate its real purpose. By the time the main body of Bonus Marchers reached DC, the government had set up a full-blown "pacification" program to destroy their movement.

Until the U. S. Army took over the job and routed the vets in a bloody attack on July 28th, the visible spearhead of this "pacification" program was DC Police Chief Pelham D. Glassford, a former Army General. Glassford's plan was to capture the leadership of the Bonus Marchers, keep them harmlessly cooling their heels in a camp he set up for them in Anacostia flats and convince them to leave DC at the earliest possible date. The first few dusty Bonus Marchers pulled into town on May 23rd. Three days later, the few that had made it to DC (the larger contingents of vets were still on the road) got together in an initial meeting and formed themselves into the Bonus Expeditionary Force (BEF). Although there would be other groups, the BEF was the largest single group of Bonus Marchers. In a pre-planned set-up, Chief of Police Glassford was selected

as the BEF's new "Secretary-Treasurer." The travesty was complete. The head of the police force that was under orders to destroy the Bonus March was one of its major leaders!

Glassford found willing allies in the original "leaders" of the veterans as they arrived in DC. Primary among them was W. W. Waters, head of the contingent leaving Oregon in early May. Waters, with the help of Glassford, was soon named "commander in Chief" of the BEF. W. W. Waters and others like him were scared silly of the strength and militance of the thousands of vets pouring into Washington and were more than willing to go along with Glassford's gameplan.

Glassford and his buddies were able to get away with their ruse by playing on the naive faith the vets had in the American system and by labeling anyone who disagreed with them as "reds." Most of the Bonus Marchers arrived in Washington without any real organization or leadership. With the notable exception of the work done by a fighting rank-and-file vets group, the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League (WESL), the Bonus March was basically a spontaneous action. And it was precisely this spontaneous, unorganized character of the Bonus March that made it, initially, such easy prey for its enemies.

The WESL had sent out a call for a major demonstration on June 8th. This demonstration was something Glassford couldn't stop: most of the vets knew about it and expected to have it. Since Glassford and Waters knew they couldn't let the Bonus Marchers get involved in a real demonstration led by the fighting WESL, they decided to try and split them up into two camps. Three days before the WESL's demonstration, the "leaders" of the BEF decided to call another demonstration for the night of June 7th. Helped out by the press (which tried to distort who had actually called for the June 8th demo in banner headlines screaming "Radicals 'Usurp' Demonstration"), Glassford ballyhooed his demonstration as a "red, white, and blue" parade as opposed to the "red" parade of June 8th.

As part of this divide and conquer plan, Glassford and the rest of the Washington officials manufactured a vicious "red scare" smear campaign long enough to confuse people and break up the chances for the WESL's June 8th demo coming off. At one point, he issued a press statement saying that "more than 1,000 communists, fully ar-

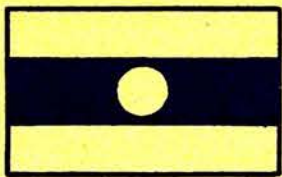
med, were descending on the Capitol from Philadelphia." Later he charged that the WESL had ordered a riot for the 8th of June. Rather than allow the split to develop any further than it had already, the WESL cancelled their parade and called on all vets to march in the June 7th parade in a show of mass unity.

While the parade the night of the 7th was certainly imposing, with over 8,000 vets marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, it definitely wasn't what it could have been. It was, as per design, a pacification effort geared to let the vets feel like they were doing something without letting things get the least bit out of hand. The marchers were utterly segregated from the thousands of cheering supporters that lined the route of march, funneled through a gauntlet of cops and steered safely away from what should have been their primary targets: Congress and the White House. It was a march consciously set up to avoid winning any real victories for the vets. While all the WESL and BEF members marched together, the divisions created by Glassford and Waters kept them from really consolidating their ranks.

Back in the BEF camp in Anacostia, a special BEF "MP" squad meted out beating and floggings to any "red" who dared to disagree with the way things were being run. Most were then simply chased out of camp; a few were found floating in the Potomac river. The only rank-and-file leadership available was the WESL. Yet, to even get its newsletter, "Bonus Flashes," into camp was a dangerous smuggling effort. The divisions between the two camps were fiercely maintained. The largest body of Bonus Marchers was firmly under the control of the cops and con artists. But in the 10 hectic weeks that were to follow, this would dramatically change.

By the 15th of July, there were 25,000 vets and their families camped in DC with thousands more on the road. In Washington, some seized abandoned buildings to stay in. The larger body went to the muddy flats of Anacostia to live in crude tar paper shacks, tents, caves or to sleep on the ground. An angry tide of humanity was pouring into DC in response to the crushing economic depression that no amount of treachery or trickery could stop.

(Next: The Bonus March Continues)



VICTORY TO THE

While the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have had national differences through the centuries, they have united in their struggle against a common external enemy, whether that enemy was French colonialism or its replacement, US imperialism. No matter which foreign power was trying to exploit their countries, the peoples of Indochina have demanded and heroically fought for freedom from exploitation, for existence as independent countries free from foreign domination and interference, and for the rights to use the resources of their countries for their own peoples. As the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris Agreements on Vietnam (and, a month later, the Agreement on Laos) approaches, the peoples of Indochina continue their struggle against imperialism, no longer the brutal military power of the US government, but the many schemes and devices used by the US government to prevent the Indochinese from achieving liberation.

Much of this struggle goes on in the small villages and hamlets of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam where, in the large liberated areas people are working to repair the damages of decades of war and meet the immediate needs of their people. Healthcare, childcare, decent housing, schools, hospitals all have been a major part of the peoples' struggles during the past year though they have gotten little public notice, particularly in the US. The way in which the governments and the people of the liberated zones work to meet the needs of the people, in contrast to the way in which the Thieu and Lon Nol governments scramble to hold on to their vanishing power, points to the essence of the liberation struggle.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Though President Thieu and his tottering government are not the only problems facing the people of South Vietnam, Thieu represents the main enemy. Isolated from the people, confronted by setbacks and unsolvable problems on every military and domestic front, Thieu and his cronies try, with the substantial help of the US government, to maintain their narrow perch of power.

*On the battlefield, Thieu's forces continue to lose ground and men. In early December battles were taking place in Ba Xuyen Province, deep in the Mekong Delta. This rice rich area, with the capability of producing three separate rice crops a year, has long been a food source for Saigon. Victories by the Liberation Forces there will intensify the economic crisis which has already reached disaster proportions in Thieu's capital stronghold. The provincial capital of Tay Ninh, 65 miles northwest of Saigon, has also come under increasing pressure from Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) forces. According to statistics from the Saigon government (which means they are distorted to make Thieu look good as possible), there have been well over 2000 casualties among the Thieu forces just during the early December fighting. US-supplied planes, bombs, and other military hardware have been in heavy use, but the PRG forces continue to move forward as Thieu's followers grow more and more isolated inside the large cities.

*On the domestic front Thieu is under mounting pressure; thousands of people are demonstrating in the streets for an end to his corrupt regime. Despite government bans on open demonstrations, there have been almost daily marches and rallies, many of them in cities and towns outside of Saigon and therefore seldom even mentioned in the US press.

Three newspapers which printed statements dealing with the corrupt practices of Thieu and his family were charged with "defaming" Thieu; but the trial of these papers is consistently delayed by the government for fear of sparking greater resistance. Rallies and demonstrations followed the initial charges against the papers, protesting censorship of the press as well as the corruption in the government. In response the government banned all demonstrations.

In a perfect example of repression breeding resistance, this government action caused more demonstrations. As reported by one newsman who found himself in the vicinity of one "banned" demonstration, "First we were surrounded by Vietnamese children--someone had shouted 'CIA bastards. Surround them.' One of us spoke Vietnamese and assured them that we were journalists. The teenagers smiled and one of them yelled 'Down with Thieu.' We asked if the police had them barricaded in, but they said No, the people have the police barricaded inside." In their barbed-wire shelter the riot police were being bombarded by rocks.

*Economically the Thieu regime is in deep trouble, and that trouble will only get worse with increasing military pressure. Inflation, unemployment--all the problems which affect a country whose economy is tied to US imperialism--are present. For Thieu and his government, however, there are special problems which have grown out of the US presence. In 1960, 15% of the population lived in the cities; when the Agreements were signed, that figure was up to 45%. Some of this mass migration was the result of US bombing; some was the result of government programs designed to try to remove the population from the rural centers of PRG liberation activity. The government has been wholly unable to deal with the problem, most noticeably in Saigon where there are growing neighborhoods of shacks built on stilts above the canals and marshes. According to Thieu's Minister of Public Works, "Right now we do not destroy any slum area. We leave them there, we forget them. We do not provide them with water or power--we forget them." This "concern" for the people stands in sharp contrast to the liberated zones where the PRG and the people work together for their common needs, rebuilding areas destroyed by the US and building anew to improve their common existence.

*US aid, the glue which holds the Thieu govern-

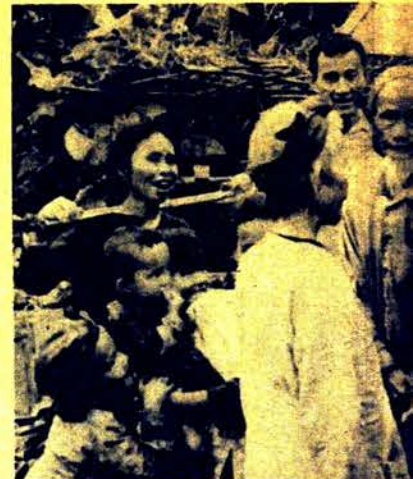
ment together, has been cut off by the American people work. Thieu's Saigon terror police use tear gas to put down the demonstrators. Restless, discouraged, morale is low. Supplies of things like ammunition are not available.

Since the US government has given Thieu completely free hand in passing laws and dollars to Thieu and his gang, he has used other devices to maintain his power. The resistance to Thieu, especially in the cities, has been coming from the Thieu government of people from different strata of society. They are potential allies in a government which could bring about the Paris Agreements consistently. Thieu. This Third Force which was behind many of the actions in September and October. Individual leaders, Rev Tran Dinh Thuan, a Catholic anti-corruption leader, have called for Thieu's resignation. He has tracked on that demand. Reactions have been conducted courses in anti-corruption for the Saigon Army; now, in the face of the US government, he has slowed the growing resistance.

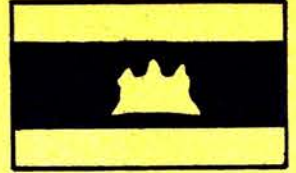
But all the US maneuvers have been unsuccessful. The people of Vietnam have decided already that they are not going to accept domination of US imperialism. Duc Tho, the Democratic Revolutionary Front's negotiator at the Paris conference, said the Thieu administration try to maintain power aimed at corruption, oppression of the Paris agreements, and the people's struggle against the oppression of the Thieu regime. The Thieu regime is unsuccessful."

LAOS

A year after the signing of the Paris Agreements, "Restoring Peace and Achieving National Unity in Laos" (which took place on January 23, 1973) the Provisional Revolutionary Government was formed in Vietnam, the US government has agreed to subvert the implementation of the Paris Agreements and recognizes the Lao Patriotic Front.



THE INDOCHINESE



cut as the mass pressure works on the US Congress, police no longer have enough demonstrators. His troops are morale is bad--limitless ammunition are no longer a-

ment no longer has a coming out the taxpayers doling, it has had to turn to Thieu in power. Much of especially in the cities, the Third Force, a number strata of the Vietnamese essentially the neutralist government about the implementation of consistently violated by ce whose aims are supported many of the demonstrations er. Suddenly one of the in-ran Huu Thanh, the leader nption group, called for ans. And, though he had ear-ieu's ouster, he also back- Rev Thanh had at one time anti-communist indoctrination ow, in collusion with Thieu he temporarily confused resistance inside Saigon.

nevers are not going to be e of Vietnam have demonstra- e not going to accept the do-ism. As expressed by Le ic Republic of Vietnam nego-erence. "The US and the y to sabotage all movements ppression and for the applica-ments. . . . The South Vietnam against exploitation and op-egime will certainly be suc-

ACG signing of the "Agreement of chieving National Concord ace on Feb 21, 1973), a co-ormed in that country. As ernment has attempted to tion of the Agreement which riotic Front (LPF) as the

legitimate government of the liberated zones (80% of the country), gives the LPF equal representation in the government, and gives the LPF control of half the city administrations, police forces, and defense forces of the country's two largest population centers. CIA activities continue in Laos (particularly in the form of economic manipulations), and mercenary Thai troops are still in evidence, especially in areas of the country still controlled by the right-wing elements in the Vientiane Royal Lao Government. While the US could not prevent the formation of the coalition government because of the overwhelming strength of the LPF (supported by some 95% of the people), the Agreements also call for an election and, when the LPF wins such an election, the US will have to resort to the attempted CIA coup as has been done in the past.

Recently there has been a series of strikes by government employees; in addition to demands for better pay, one of the issues consistently brought forward is the removal of foreign bosses or supervisors from government departments. Clearly the people of Laos see the necessity for relying on their own strength in the struggle to attain final independence for their country.

CAMBODIA

Ever since the US-led and organized coup in Cambodia where the neutralist government of Norodom Sihanouk was ousted by the current dictator Lon Nol, the people of Cambodia have been increasing their struggle to liberate their country and make it independent of foreign domination. The liberation forces, because they have the complete backing of the people, have freed most of the territory and the overwhelming majority of the people from the yoke of US domination. The Lon Nol government is isolated, perched atop a crumbling army and a collapsing economy.

Diplomatically, the US has tried to suppress every effort in the United Nations to have the current dictatorial government ousted and rightfully replaced by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNC), the real representative of the country. Last year, the US was able, through parliamentary trickery, to table the vote on Cambodia. This year it was even more difficult, but through applying pressure on countries dependent on US aid, it was again able to delay a vote on the question until next year. Using parliamentary pro-

cedure as a weapon, the US (through Thailand) proposed a series of amendments to resolutions, then condemned some of the amendments. This led to a vote that essentially ignored the ousting of Lon Nol, giving many representatives an out--they could give in to US pressure without having to explain to their own people why they voted against the legitimate government of Cambodia. Instead, the General Assembly passed a totally worthless resolution on "conciliation between the two Cambodian parties."

There is no point to talk of conciliation. The Cambodian people clearly want to have GRUNC as their government. The only reason that Lon Nol and his corrupt government still stands is through massive US military aid. There are 4,000 US advisors in Phnom Penh, the major area of Lon Nol's control. The US ambassador, John G. Dean, practically runs all the policy meetings of the small circle of generals still close to Lon Nol. Dean even travels around the country to the other isolated areas under Phnom Penh control to check up on the situation and pass along orders.

The economic situation in Phnom Penh is beyond hope. The official currency, the riel, has been devalued by the increase of paper circulation. The official rate of exchange between the dollar and the riel is 2800 riels to one dollar. Before the coup which put Lon Nol in power, the rate was 50 to 1. Oil has jumped from 10 riels per liter before the coup to 600 riels. Rice, the main staple in the peoples' diet, costs more than the majority of people can afford, causing food riots and raids on government storehouses. Even the troops in the capital have joined the rioters and looters, since many of the soldiers have not been paid for months at a time.

The US government has continually tried to hide the war in Cambodia from the American people. As when Nixon ordered secret bombing of then neutral Cambodia, the Ford Administration has again and again pushed for an expanded role for the US in the war. Why is the government so persistent in conducting this war, and the war in all of Indochina, if everyone says that it was a mistake? The answer is obvious. The war and its continuation was and is not a "mistake." It is not in the interests of profits to end US involvement. There is oil there and tin and other valuable resources. Imperialism can never let these potential profit-makers fall into the hands of the people who own those resources because the Cambodians would then use them for their own development. This is what GRUNC wants for the Cambodian people--the right to use their own resources to improve their own lives. And their fierce struggle over the years, and the success that the struggle has demonstrated up to this point, indicate that the Cambodian people will be free of domination whether by the US directly or through a puppet such as Lon Nol. While the Cambodian people push forward, the American people also have a responsibility: only when the American people realize that the imperialist system and its inherent drive for profits is the real culprit, will US imperialism be ended. When this system is taken apart at the seams, then the people of the world will see the end of US imperialist aggression. Militant support for the struggles of the people of Cambodia and Laos and South Vietnam is one way in which to help reach the goal that the American people share with the people of Indochina: to be rid of US imperialism.



LAWTON TRIAL SET-JAN. 6

The third trial of Gary Lawton (member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization) is to begin on Jan. 6th. Lawton, a black man, is charged with the murder of two Riverside, California policemen who were ambushed in April, 1971. The 2 previous trials on these charges resulted in hung juries, with a majority of jurors voting for acquittal.

Since the conclusion of Lawton's second trial in Nov. 1973, there have been many developments surrounding this case. Charges against Gary's co-defendant, Zurebu Gardner, were dropped in Oct. 1974, because the District Attorney stated (after 3 years!) there was a lack of evidence. Though this dropping of charges is a real victory, other charges have been brought against members of the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee. In March, members of the RPPDC and VVAW/WSO were at the Riverside courthouse to show support for another RPPDC member, William Palmer, who was on trial for assault on a police officer. While at the courthouse, Chukia Lawton (Gary's wife), Zurebu Gardner and Rusty Bronaugh were brutally attacked by police. Gardner was beaten by 7 cops, Chukia was choked unconscious and all three were arrested. Since then, Rusty and Chukia have undergone a 3-week misdemeanor trial which ended in a hung jury. A retrial is set to begin on Jan. 13th.

The third trial of Gary Lawton began on Nov. 12th, but a shooting near the courthouse led to the most recent

postponement of the trial until January. On Nov. 13th, Jerald Monroe was stopped by police about two blocks from the courthouse. He shot and killed Officer Larry Walters, and in turn, Monroe was killed by other cops on the scene. Because this shooting occurred near a parking lot, some of the prospective jurors for Chukia and Rusty's trial witnessed the killings. Gun fire was heard in the jury room and discussed by prospective jurors for Lawton's trial. The defense felt that this shooting of a Riverside policeman would prejudice the jurors against Lawton, as would the news coverage of the killings. Walters is the third Riverside policeman to be killed in the line of duty in 28 years. The others are Christianson and Teel, whom Lawton is accused of murdering.

The continued frame-up trial of Gary Lawton and the repression in Riverside is not separate or isolated from the rest of the country, but is part of the increased nationwide attacks against Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian and white working people. There was Operation Zebra in San Francisco, where every Black man was stopped and searched by police. There is the continued attempt by the government, Teamsters Union and growers to smash the United Farm Workers. There was the murder of Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth who was gunned down by police in California's Bay Area. There are the decade-long trials of Ruchell Magee in California and Martin Sostre in New York.

These are not isolated government attacks, but part and parcel of an overall attack on minority people in particular, and poor and working people in general. At the same time, as the crisis in the economy increases, the burden for keeping high the profits of the corporate owners will more and more fall on the backs of the people of this country. The government knows this and will try its best to intimidate people into submissiveness and a fear of fighting back against their oppression.

One thing that has been learned through the four-year struggle to free Gary Lawton is that there is no justice in the Judicial system; that the state is not a neutral bystander insuring equality; and that one needs more than a good lawyer to beat a trumped-up charge. Another thing that has been learned as to why the struggle to free Lawton has come as far as it has is because of the mass struggle and support of the people of this country. This is what will free Gary Lawton! Today, that support is needed more than ever as the third trial approaches. For the much needed contributions and for more information, contact: RPPDC, PO Box 244, Riverside, California 92502.

FREEDOM FOR ONE IS NOT ENOUGH— FREE US ALL, SAY ON!

VVAW/WSO
827 w. newport av.
chicago, il 60657
312 935-2129

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- I am currently in prison
- I am enclosing \$ _____ to support your group
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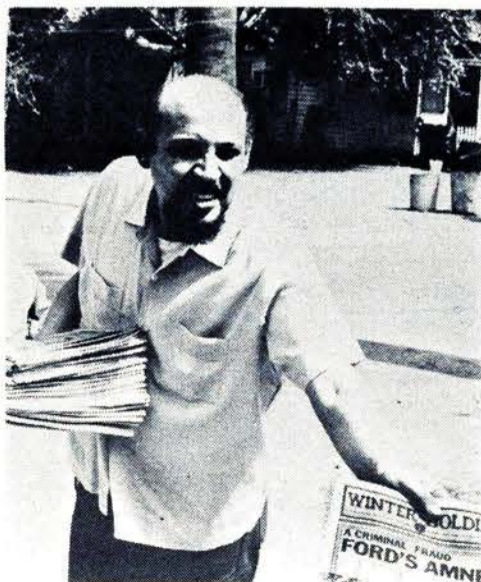
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Trial Ends In Victory

LEAVENWORTH



Armando Miramon (top)

On Nov. 22nd, Armando Miramon was found not guilty by a jury in Wichita, Kansas of four counts of kidnapping and one count of assault on a guard. Miramon was the last of the Leavenworth Brothers to face charges in a court as a result of the July 31, 1973 rebellion which occurred in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary as prisoners united and rose up against the inhuman and repressive conditions within the prison. The trial of this Chicano brother began in late October, as did the trial of Jesse Lopez. All kidnapping charges against Lopez were dropped earlier in the trial because the government had failed to produce any evidence to warrant the continuation of the trial. An earlier trial of four black Leavenworth Brothers charged with assault and in-

citing to riot ended with a conviction of the brothers by an all-white jury.

The charges that Miramon was acquitted of include the allegation that during the Leavenworth uprising, four guards were held hostage by William Hurst and Miramon. (Hurst was the only white brother to be indicted. He never made it to trial because he found hanged in his cell in the Wyandotte County Jail earlier this year). The 4 hostages were released unharmed after Leavenworth's warden agreed to meet with a prisoner grievance committee and after Warden Daggett promised that there would be no reprisals.

This trial in Wichita was heard by an all-white jury composed of 7 women and 5 men. These jurors listened to testimony from a psychiatrist stating that on July 31st, Miramon was suffering from "sensory deprivation psychosis," a condition Miramon developed as a result of spending many months in the "hole" of Leavenworth. These men and women also sat through several weeks of testimony concerning the conditions within Leavenworth. It was

these conditions that led to the taking of hostages as the only means left to the prisoners struggling against the brutality of their lives.

When this jury returned a verdict of not guilty, many of them broke into tears and each of them stood to shake the hand of Miramon. As Miramon's attorney said, "The jury told us point blank that if they had not been presented with evidence of the inhuman prison conditions and the types of behavior which the conditions cause, there never would have been a chance for acquittal." Because of this, the verdict of this jury can mean only one thing -- a re-affirmation of the right to rebel against oppression. The repressive and exploitive conditions of prisons in general are under attack and, in essence, a jury in Wichita has just passed judgment on that system. They have decided that it was the conditions inside Leavenworth that are responsible for the rebellion of last year. Because of this, the people forced to live under those conditions had the right to rise up and make their demands known in the best and only way open to them. The outcome of this trial will have an effect that will penetrate the entire prison system and the movement of prisoners struggling against it. But even more than this, the victory in Wichita is a victory for all people fighting their oppression. Though bars may divide us, the struggles going on behind prison walls belong to us all.

TRIAL UNDERWAY

BOB HOOD

The trial of Bob Hood began on Dec. 2nd, but thus far, little progress has been made. Hood, a member of Oakland, California VVAW/WSO, was attacked and brutally beaten by Oakland PD Officer Ted Burrows on Feb. 6th. He was then arrested for "assaulting"

Burrows with a deadly weapon; a 3" pocket knife that was found in Bob's pocket after he had been handcuffed.

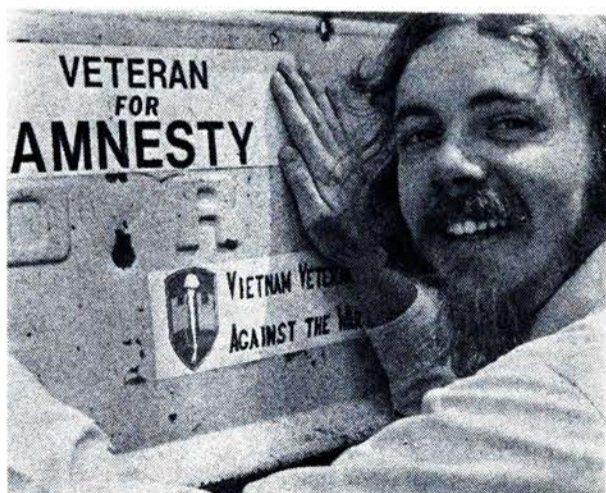
Though the trial has officially begun, the defense has already rejected two judges and is awaiting a superior court decision to get rid of a third. The first judge was pre-empted by the defense and stepped down. The second judge granted a motion for a mistrial and was thus disqualified from the case. The mistrial was granted as a result of a defense motion asking that the government not be allowed to introduce hear-say evidence concerning the SLA. The judge agreed to grant this motion if the defense would not introduce information concerning the past record of Officer Burrows. (Eleven citizens complaints have been filed against Burrows in the last 4 years -- eight of which were for brutality). Since the information concerning Burrows is crucial to Bob's defense, this was not accepted and the defense moved for, and was granted, a mistrial.

Now Bob's defense is trying to deal with the third judge appointed to hear the trial. The defense has challenged him because he had previously tried to get Bob's attorney thrown out of law school and prevent him from being admitted to the bar. As this third judge has refused to step aside, the matter has gone to the appeals court to be resolved. If the appeals court rules against Hood, the trial will probably begin the following day. If it rules in favor of Hood, a new judge will have to be selected and a new trial date set. Regardless of which judge hears the case, it looks as though the government will be allowed to use hear-say evidence concerning the SLA to prejudice the jury against Bob Hood.

The intent of this attack on Bob and VVAW/WSO is clearly to try and harass or destroy the organization in Oakland. But as Bob has pointed out, they have utterly failed in their efforts. Not only has the chapter survived the 11 months of harassment, but it has doubled its membership and expanded its work within the community.

(For more information contact: VVAW/WSO, 4919 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609. Tel. (415) 658-7806).

THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER
BE DEFEATED!



Bob Hood

PRISONS FOR PROFIT

When 43 inmates at McAlester Prison in Oklahoma burned down the "Rock" on October 19th (the "Rock" was the isolation unit, described by one prisoner as "a medieval chamber of horrors"), the State officials had a "solution" besides their normal brutality and repression. According to the Board of Corrections chairman, "Until we have work incentives to give an inmate a chance to prove himself worthy of being released into society, they are going to continue to pull stuff like this. Idleness breeds mischievousness.... This means even if we have to bring in a mobile industry to put these hands to work," Acting Warden Roy Sprinkle immediately began advertising for bids on a new garment factory to make uniforms for guards and prisoners, and to rebuild the laundry and dry-cleaning factory along with the traditional license tag production.

Have prison officials decided to go all out for job-training and rehabilitation? Have they given up on their usual prehistoric methods of trying to beat prisoners into submission? Not at all. It's just that today, profits are talking!

A time-tested technique of the factory owner has been to pick up his factory and move it, especially when faced by militant workers. Often, this runaway shop has gone to the South where there are fewer unionized workers, and where wages are lower. More recently, the shop has run away overseas to places like Hong Kong or Taiwan or South Korea where workers can be paid almost nothing in comparison. The reason for this is simple: every penny less paid to the workers means one more penny for the owner to stick in his bulging profit pocket.

But, with growing liberation struggles overseas making foreign exploitation more difficult, the industrialists and corporate businessmen are also beginning to find that the US prison system is another target to exploit. While they can't yet move large factories into the prisons, they are more and more using slave labor which exists in prisons around the country. For the factory owner, the best possible situation is one where workers are supervised and controlled as tightly as possible on and off the job, where workers cannot strike, and where they are paid as little as possible--and prisons are perfect. Prison wages vary: at Attica they remain a straight 25¢ per day. In the state prison in Kentucky, a recent memorandum noted that the pay scales of \$3, \$5, \$7, and \$10 per month "will be a broken down scale of 15¢, 25¢, 35¢, and 50¢ per day." There are reports of wages as high as 47¢ per hour in some prisons!

Prisons--federal, state, and local--provide a workforce large enough to be worth the time and energy to exploit: all told, there are some 600,000 men and women prisoners (according to government figures). Around \$165 million worth of goods are produced yearly by prison labor. Federal Prison Industries



Prisoners picking cotton on Parchment Farm, Miss.

(with George Meany as one of the directors) admits to profits of between 11% and 17% per year. At the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, 900 prisoners produced \$18 million worth of products, with a clear profit of \$4 million. Needless to say, none of this profit goes to the prisoner/workers.

These figures are just a small part of the actual value of work done by prisoners. Thousands of labor hours are spent in jobs which pay nothing at all--services to prison officials (cleaning, gardening, cooking, waiting tables, etc) farmwork, highway construction, forestry projects. As Winter Soldier was told by one prisoner in Louisiana who was transferred to a "work facility," "Now this institution isn't a prison that I was in, merely a boarding station for the State Police Division. Actually, it is the state police headquarters, and they set up a barracks there to keep inmates that help to maintain the equipment. By doing this, the state can get away without paying high bills and fees to free people to work these jobs--instead they just send to the State Penitentiary and get a few inmates and give them the job at a fee of 2¢ per hour."

Prison administrators, as in the case of McAlester, see work programs as a vital part of their program: not only do they have the convenient cover of "rehabilitation," and pick up on all the free services forced out of prisoners, but in many states they can lease out prisoners to private contractors for a fee--which goes directly to the administrator, never to the prisoners who do the work. In addition to the blatant corruption involved, work programs can often be used as the carrot by which to "reward" an obedient prisoner: even though wages are pitiful, they are better than nothing. And, because there are sometimes extra privileges involved, jobs can be held out as a temptation to convicts who inform or who stick to the official program. Leaders of militant prison resistance or organizing are, in many cases, never even considered for these jobs.

Prison industry is profit and free

services and pacification; one thing it is not is "rehabilitation." Ancient equipment, jobs like making license plates, personal services to guards or wardens, none of these provide the skills which lead to employment on the outside. What they do is take wages from workers who would be making the license plates or the clothes or whatever on the outside--why pay workers a minimum wage if prisoners can be forced to make it cheaper? And while prison industry does not now compete directly with outside industry (most prison products go to the state--military low quarters shoes, for instance, which are made at the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas), clearly the business world is looking more and more closely at the tempting profits to be squeezed from prison labor. Even now, that labor is often used instead of the workers who can least afford it. Throughout the south, prisoners do farm work in place of the migrant farmworkers, already one of the most miserably paid segments of American society. Yet, even their low wages can't compete with prison wages, nor can their work be enforced with whips, guns, or gas, all common at prison farms.

But the prison administrators are caught in a bind; while many of them would like to just lock up prisoners 24 hours a day (that's the simplest way to deal with prisoners who might otherwise rebel), that would mean no profits for the administrator or for the corporate financier of prison jobs. So the wardens put the prisoners to work. But work means that people are getting together, that they can talk with each other, that they can unite to fight their common oppression. It's no coincidence that several recent prison rebellions have taken place in the industrial areas of the prison--the garment factory in Starke, Florida; or the shoe factory in Leavenworth. Getting together means unity, and unity means struggle against the enemy--and to prisoners around the country, that enemy is clearly the system which makes profits from prison labor, and which needs those prisons in order to continue to exist.



Vietnam Veterans Against the War

Winter Soldier Organization

Objectives



1. To struggle for an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, advisors, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia. We support as a basis for the cessation of these hostilities the various peace proposals of the people of Southeast Asia based upon their right of self-determination and actual control of their own destinies.
2. To struggle for the immediate termination of all other operations by the United States government, its agencies, and American business interests that are designed to suppress the rightful struggles for liberation and self-determination of the people of the world. This includes the creation and maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination and the theft of the natural resources of this and other countries.
3. To struggle for the goal that all military people (Active-duty, Reserve and National Guard) be afforded their constitutional rights which are denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. We condemn the use of the National Guard, Reserves and Active-duty personnel as strikebreakers, and we support the efforts of servicepeople in the struggles against military repression. We oppose the use of the military as an oppressive and policy-making force domestically and overseas.
4. To struggle for universal unconditional amnesty. This will include a single-type retroactive discharge for all vets, and amnesty for all persons in prison, underground, or in exile as a result of their resistance to the imperialist war machine as well as the clearing of all their resulting civil and criminal records.
5. To struggle for decent benefits, full medical care (including the recognition of Post Vietnam Syndrome as a service-connected disability), and productive employment for all veterans with parity for all war resisters. We demand an end to discriminatory corporate hiring practices based on Vietnam-era service or Special Processing Numbers or descriptions, and the exploitation of veterans as a tool to divide the working class.
6. To struggle against racism which is historically used as a tool of U.S. imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people and justify the oppression and exploitation of third world people at home and abroad. We

must fight this dehumanizing tactic which divides us, and strive to build unity between all people.

7. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status upon women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling, lower paying jobs which are servile in nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a double standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially defining servicewomen as subordinate and thoroughly subjugating them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within ourselves.
8. To struggle for the right of all workers to organize and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We support progressive struggles aimed at improving working conditions.
9. To struggle against the use of the criminal justice system (police, courts, prisons, grand juries) as a tool of political repression, recognizing that this system now serves the interests of the rich and powerful while suppressing the majority of poor and working people. We will fight for the freeing of all political prisoners.
10. To dedicate ourselves to these principles and objectives which directly relate to the imperialist suppression of the People of the World by the United States government. We understand this war is imperialist in origin and affirm that the membership of VVAW/WSO is not only concerned with ending this war, but with changing the domestic, social, political and economic institutions that have caused and perpetuated its continuance.

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UNITY-STRUGGLE-VICTORY

OPERATION 'TAR BABY'

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa, a country with an overwhelming black population, has been ruled by its minority whites for over 100 years. It is one of the most racist countries that exists today, making an official policy of apartheid -- racial segregation. The black people, whose land was occupied by the forefathers of the current white rulers, are subject to brutal policies that have left them no political rights whatsoever. Every black must carry a pass and ID card that is checked at numerous police check-points. Black workers cannot form unions and are subject to arrest for trying to organize, while they are forced to work at practically slave conditions. Hundreds of black people have been killed by the racist regime in its efforts to see that the whites stay in power, and blacks have no say in the government.

It is against this backdrop that one of the U. S. government's most dispicable plans was uncovered. Called "Operation Tar Baby," this secret plan lays the basic guidelines for U. S. policy in Africa and clearly reveals the intentions the U. S. has towards Africa and the African peoples' struggle for liberation. For years, government officials had been putting forward that the U. S. backed the self-determination of African people and was against the sale of arms to the South African government.

This "public" policy was outlined in a speech before the United Nations, when the U. S. ambassador said, "All of us sitting here today know the melancholy truth about the racial policies of the government of South Africa. Our task now is to consider what further steps we can take to induce that government to remove the evil business of apartheid... In the absence of an indication of change, the U. S. will not cooperate in matters which would lend support to South Africa's present racial policies... The U. S. has adopted and is enforcing the policy of forbidding the sale to the South African government of arms, and military equipment, whether from government or commercial sources, which could be used by that government to enforce apartheid..." This is the public stance Washington is taking.

Behind the scenes, however, Operation Tar Baby reveals the real stance that Washington has had since 1969. Developed by Henry Kissinger and presented to the National Security Council, "Tar Baby" represents an extension of the same type of thinking used by U. S. strategists in the Vietnam war. Specifically, it is based on the assumption that "The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive



50,000 Mine Workers Strike In Durban, S. Africa

change can come about is through them. There is no hope for Blacks to gain political rights they seek through violence." Now the policy is to "Enforce the arms embargo against South Africa but with LIBERAL treatment of equipment which could serve either MILITARY or civilian purposes." It also allows for U. S. Naval forces to port there, showing strength and support for South Africa's racist government.

On the difficulty of the U. S. maintaining even covert support to racially repressive countries in the face of international opinion, the memorandum coolly calculated, "our interests are clearly worth retaining at their present political costs. These interests include access to air and naval facilities for which alternatives are expensive or less satisfactory, a major tracking station, and significant investments and balance of trade advantages."

Since the implementation of Tar Baby, US investments in South Africa have doubled. The US has broken the United Nations sanction on Rhodesia (the next-door neighbor of South Africa and also apartheid), and is largely responsible for propping up the Rhodesian economy. The US has over \$2.4 billion invested in the region, and needs military security and allies in the area. A regular stream of top-level advisors shuttles back and forth between South Africa and the US at a rate higher than any time in the last 30 years. Military advisors have visited the US and have talked with such diverse people as Gerald Ford, Edward Kennedy and Thomas Bradley (the black mayor of Los Angeles) in an effort to get the US to agree to establish a naval base at the South African port of Simonstown.

The rising tide of African liberation struggles and the great victories that have been won by them are making the designs of the Kissingers and Fords increasingly tenuous. The people of Mozambique, a country which borders both Rhodesia and South Africa, finally won independence from Portugal after hundreds of years of colonialism. The US had backed the Portuguese in their attempts to put down the fight for independence and now has come out on the short end of the stick. In Angola, the Portuguese, after overthrowing their own fascist government, are negotiating with the liberation fighters to free that country.

The revelation of the Tar Baby documents has clearly exposed US imperialism and its attempts to dominate the political and economic situation in Africa. All the business interests that US corporations have built up over the years face expropriation by the peoples of Africa who want to use their own resources for themselves, not for the profit of imperialism. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller has almost \$700 million invested in South Africa, and it is people like him and his fellow imperialists who stand to lose the most from freedom for black Africans. It is the duty of the American people to expose the corrupt plans of the US government and to support the struggles that the African people are waging. As long as the US dominates other peoples lives, there can be no real freedom at home.

UNITY-STRUGGLE-VICTORY

G.I.S STRUGGLE

Baby's Death Sparks Protest

Rhonda Pervis, a WAVE stationed at Pearl Harbor, has started a campaign against lack of medical care in the Navy. Medical care has always been a problem for enlisted people in the military and it's especially bad if you're a woman. Last month, Rhonda was placed on a strict restriction for Unauthorized Absence. She was six months pregnant at the time. Regardless of this condition, her Commander, Capt. F.W. Benson, Commanding Officer, Naval Station, Pearl Harbor, ordered her confined to the duty room in the barracks and allowed no visitors. Under Navy regulations, no person can be restricted or confined when they are medically unfit for such restriction.

Rhonda began having complications with her pregnancy and went to a military medical officer. He recommended to Capt. Benson that Rhonda be sent to Tripler Army Hospital for prenatal care immediately. Rhonda renewed her request to be released from restriction to get proper medical attention. Capt. Benson ignored the doctor's recommendation and refused Rhonda's request. Two days later, Rhonda lost her baby.

Since she lost the baby, she has seen a civilian doctor. He stated, "In my opinion, it is detrimental to her mental health to be on restriction. I strongly advise that the restriction be lifted and that she be discharged from the Navy as soon as possible." On Dec. 5th, Rhonda again filed to be taken off restriction and to be discharged -- she has not yet received a reply.

The GI organizing project in Hawaii, LIBERATED BARRACKS, has been working with Rhonda to try to get her released as well as to fight the lack of

decent medical care and the outrageously callous treatment of women in the military. The project has been circulating a petition calling for:

1. We demand the health care that was promised us when we enlisted. Our health is a right that should not be denied. There is no excuse for this kind of negligence.
2. We demand a Congressional investigation. The officer involved in this case should be investigated and punished as directed by the UCMJ.
3. We demand that Rhonda Pervis be immediately taken off restriction and honorably discharged.

For more information and copies of the petition, contact: Rhonda Pervis, c/o LIBERATED BARRACKS, 525 N. Kalaheo Ave., Kailua, Hawaii 96734.

END THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY!!!

wire tap evidence uncovered:

HAIR RESISTER FREED

(Heidelberg, West Germany) -- Louis Stokes, who has been in prison for more than two months for refusing to get a haircut, has been set free because the Army "discovered" that it had tapped a conversation about him by his lawyer. At the court-martial, where Stokes was sentenced to four months in the stockade, the Army testified that there had been no wire taps.

The Army's chief of intelligence in Europe, Brig. Gen. Thomas Bowen, submitted an affidavit to the court-martial which said in part, "I have determined that no such telephone or electronic monitoring has been conducted." In a memorandum that was released to Stokes' lawyers and to the press on December 4th, the Army said, "It has subsequently come to the attention of headquarters USAREUR that on one occasion, a conversation was legally intercepted." The memo went on to say, "In the interest of fairness and justice this conversation should be set aside."

All this Army doubletalk around the Stokes trial is part of new disclosures that the Army in Europe has been wiretapping groups that they consider "subversive." The Lawyers Military Defense Committee, which provides legal help for GIs, and a GI organizing group in Germany, FORWARD, have been fighting the wiretapping for about a year; now, the Army has been forced to admit at least some of their activity. In addition to the wiretapping, the Army has also been employing informers to spy on these groups. The LMDC, with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, has filed a suit against the Army for their illegal activities as well as the Army's attempt to cover these activities up.



LABOR LEADER BACKS GI STRIKE

William Nuchow, a Teamsters union official, WWII vet and self-described "hardhat," has recently left for West Berlin to testify on behalf of 17 GIs being court-martialed for going on a 24-hour strike against command racism and for the right to wear long hair and beards. Nuchow, the father of Robert Nuchow, one of the 17 GIs of C/94th Arty (Berlin Brigade) charged with mutiny as a result of the strike, said he stands "100%" behind his son.

The senior Nuchow is Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 940 and feels that all soldiers should have the right to wear long hair and beards if they so choose. Regarding a recent phone call with his son, Nuchow commented: "He said, 'Dad, you might not like this because you are sort of a hardhat type guy but I'm still standing up for my principles.' Sure, I'm a hardhat type but I still can't imagine this happening in 1974." The maximum sentence for mutiny according to the UCMJ regulations is death by hanging.

Nuchow, a veteran of the 5th Army that served in Italy during WWII, pointed out the vast support the haircut resisters have in the Berlin Brigade as evidenced by the 1200 GIs that have signed a petition of support for the haircut struggle. "And Robert has a lot of support among the Local 940 membership too," he said. "There are a lot of long haired veterans of Korea and Vietnam in Local 940 who are behind us."

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