

Key role of Black student revolt

— see analysis page 10

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34—No. 26

Friday, July 3, 1970

Price 15c

Behind the Newark elections p. 3

SCLC and independent politics p. 6

PL and the antiwar university p. 8

Black women's liberation p. 12

Antiwar parley maps mass action program



Photo by Howard Petrick

THE EYES HAVE IT. Scene at Cleveland antiwar conference as gathering voted by overwhelming majority in favor of action program designed to involve labor and Third World communities in massive demonstrations to win immediate U. S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Conference had broadest labor sponsorship and participation of any held so far. For special coverage see pages four and five.

W. Coast hardhats, students avoid clash

Santa Barbara confrontation ends on different note

Los Angeles, Calif.

A threatened confrontation between 150 construction workers and 5,000 students at the U of California at Santa Barbara ended without incident and perhaps with a rapprochement, according to the *Los Angeles Times*:

"The workers, many wearing hard hats, had planned to march one mile to the university football stadium where radical Jerry Rubin was to speak to a large sun-warmed crowd. . . .

"But in appeals made from the rear of a flat-bed truck, top law officials, a construction contractor, several union leaders and moderate students dissuaded the workers from marching.

"The workers laid down their placards ('Jail the rioters,' 'UCSB belongs to us—we built it with our hands, paid for it with our tax dollars').

"And then they began to 'rap'—conduct 'dialogs' with the group of 25 students which had come to the assembly area off campus to try to prevent the sort of violent confrontation that occurred between hardhatters and students recently in New York City. . . .

"And while sharp disagreement predominated, not one threatening voice was heard. . . .

"Several of the discussions ended in handshakes. Students obtained phone numbers so they could arrange to appear at union meetings to explain student positions."

F. R.

An inquiry

Evanston, Ill.

I would be very pleased if you could provide the address of the Israel

Letters from our readers

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

League for Human and Civil Rights so that I may write to receive their bulletin.

J. T. W.

[The Israel League for Human and Civil Rights has begun publication of a series of bulletins documenting the Zionist state's violations of elementary democratic rights. The League's address is P.O.B. 20178, Tel Aviv, Israel. — Editor]

A criticism of terminology

Boston, Mass.

I would like to offer a criticism on the article "Right-wing hooligans attack Arab spokesman in New York" in the June 5 *Militant*. I was disappointed to see such terminology as "hooligans," "goons," and "toughs" used in covering the attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization. Such terminology denotes an emotional rather than intellectual response.

I found little to no political analysis in this particular article and therefore could only view it with scepticism.

Since the Palestinian position gets enough misrepresentation in the bourgeois media, I think it is crucial that we refrain from accepting articles which use similar reactionary rhetoric. For then we may appear to be playing the same misguided game and lose sight of our political goal, i.e., to give political direction toward the development of revolutionary socialist consciousness.

Kathy C.

[Hooligan (definition number 2): "a person that as a representative of some special interest (as a political or racial philosophy) attempts to override the legal and human rights of other people." From *Websters Third New International Dictionary*. — Editor]

Wants more anti-Zionist articles

Highland Park, Mich.

Keep up the good work, and keep those anti-Zionist articles coming. Nixon will have us in the Middle East before long, to add to his already long list of crimes.

M. S.

Protests treatment of Brazil's Indians

Berkeley, Calif.

The alleged mass murder of Brazil's Indians has received very little notice in the consciousness of the American people. This is partly due to the lack of publicity by U. S. publications. The Indians live on and legally own jungle land that is rich with minerals and rubber resources. As a result they have been systematically slaughtered with the full compliance of the government's Indian Protection Service.

In 1968, the government promised that the officials responsible for the genocide would be properly dealt with, yet several months ago a Swedish documentary showed that the accused officials were still free and the massacres continuing unabated.

Let us not allow the same gruesome and inhumane mistakes to be repeated. It happened in this country, it happened in Germany. Organize and protest to the Brazilian consulate, and spread the consciousness.

Harriet Kane

Renews

St. Louis, Mo.

Here is my renewal subscription. I have really enjoyed the paper through the past few months, as have my roommates and most of my friends.

S. M.

Two conclusions from Army stint

New York City

Opposing a proposal to select members of courts-martial by lot from all service personnel on a given post, Col. James A. Mounts Jr. of the Army's judge advocate's general office commented: "Most enlisted men can take orders well, but they don't have the maturity to make sophisticated decisions about the law."

I am reminded of two conclusions I reached after some months of observation and reflection during a two-year stint in the United States Army immediately following the Korean war. One, an empirical generalization: Rank in the armed services is inversely proportional to ability. Two, a theological inference: God exists, and he is an American patriot. For in the absence of divine intervention, no army officered as is the American could ever have won a war.

R. L.

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$13.50, all other countries, \$20.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34



Number 26

Friday, July 3, 1970

Closing news date—June 24

For the most complete selection of the speeches and/or writings of:

Che Malcolm Trotsky

Antiwar, Antipollution, Arab, Native-American, Black, Third World, & Women's Liberation Fighters; Ernest Mandel, James P. Cannon, George Novack, Evelyn Reed, Rosa Luxemburg, Marx, Engels & Lenin.

ATLANTA:
Militant Bookstore
1176 1/2 W. Peachtree St.
876-2230

BERKELEY:
Granma Bookstore
2509A Telegraph Ave.
841-9744

BOSTON:
Militant Labor Forum
295 Huntington Ave., Rm.307
491-8893

LOS ANGELES:
Modern Book Shop
1702 E. 4th St.
269-4953

MADISON:
Che Guevara Bookstore
202 W. Gilman St.
256-0857

MINNEAPOLIS:
Labor Bookstore
1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin)
2nd Fl. 332-7781

NEW YORK:
Militant Labor Forum
873 Broadway (near 18th St.)
2nd Fl. 477-9506

PHILADELPHIA:
Socialist Workers Party
686 N. Broad St.
CE 6-6998

SAN FRANCISCO:
Pioneer Books
2338 Market St.
626-9958



It takes Revolutionaries.

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BROWN LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA,

Join the YSA

CLIP AND MAIL TO: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N. Y. C. 10003

I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION

I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA

NAME PHONE

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Meaning of the Newark elections

Why Kenneth Gibson was elected mayor

By NAT LONDON

NEWARK, June 16—Last November a Black and Puerto Rican Convention, attended by some 3,000 persons, was held here in order to nominate a slate of eight candidates for city office. Today, Kenneth Gibson, one of the candidates nominated at this convention, was elected the first Black mayor of a major northeastern city.

Three other Convention candidates were elected to the city council: Rev. Dennis Westbrooks from the Central Ward; Sharpe James from the South Ward; and Earl Harris for councilman-at-large.

Newark elections are formally non-partisan, with a primary held in May. If no one wins a majority, the two top contenders enter a run-off election in June.

Of the eight original candidates (the Convention did not enter candidates in two wards) only Alvin Oliver was defeated in the May primary. Oliver was the only Convention candidate openly associated with the Democratic Party.

Three other Convention candidates were defeated in a very close race for councilman-at-large in this week's run-off election.

The role of the Convention distinguished this campaign from those run by Hatcher, Stokes, and a number of other Black mayoral candidates. Nearly 1,000 official delegates from Black and Puerto Rican churches, community groups, youth organizations, etc. assembled and nominated a slate of candidates to represent the Black and Puerto Rican people of Newark. Through these delegates, tens of thousands of people were involved in the nominations. In this sense, the campaign slogan, "the Community's Choice," had real meaning. Gibson's opponents in the mayoral race, as well as some of his half-hearted supporters, recognized this as a danger to the status quo. The opponents launched a vicious but unsuccessful campaign in an attempt to force Gibson to renounce his nomination by



On guard during Newark's July 1967 rebellion.

a Black and Puerto Rican conference.

The only way to really understand the Gibson campaign is to first view it in its historical context and then look at the issues involved in the campaign itself.

In the summer of 1967, a Newark policeman dragged a Black cab driver from his car as a crowd began to gather. Ten days later, 26 Blacks had been killed and much of the Central Ward leveled in one of the most massive Black uprisings that this country has ever seen. Thus a great watershed was created from which virtually all contemporary politics in this city flow.

Today, the reverberations from this mighty explosion are tearing gaping holes in the extensive political machinery carefully nurtured over the years by the Newark Chamber of Commerce.

The Black Democratic machine

Newark is nearly 60 percent Black and 10 percent Puerto Rican. The white middle class is practically nonexistent. As early as 1954, the Central Ward was 51 percent Black. At that time, however, the Democratic Party leadership was a strictly all-white affair. Obviously aware of the dangers involved, the insurance companies, which keep a tight rein on Newark politics, determined to make room for a Black political structure which could safely be controlled by the Democratic Party.

The Negro Labor Council, organized inside the Democratic Party and led by Eulis Ward, took over the party in the Central Ward. Irvine Turner, an independent Black city councilman at the time, also joined the new machine. This became one of the firm pillars of the Addonizio administration, which has ruled the city for the last eight years.

These Black Democrats proved to be among the first casualties of the Newark rebellion. It is almost hard to believe that just a short while ago Mayor Addonizio was considered "progressive" and received overwhelming support from the Black community. Today, Black Democrats like Calvin West, a councilman, cannot even speak in the Central Ward. In the recent elections, West was forced to give racist speeches in the North Ward to the white supporters of George Wallace, Anthony Imperiale, and Addonizio. ("This is your community . . . don't let them take it away from you.")

It is true that Eulis Ward still runs his Democratic Party fiefdom, but every one of his candidates has been defeated by candidates of the Black and Puerto Rican Convention. Right now he stands as an embarrassing obstacle to the Chamber of Commerce. Thus, it is not too surprising to find both Calvin West and Irvine Turner, the two Black city councilmen, as co-defendants with Mayor Addonizio, being prosecuted for Mafia-linked activities.

New leaders have arisen to take their places, and the Chamber of Commerce has made a complete about face in the hopes of reaching an "agreement" with these new forces.

The trial was the opening shot in the attack on Addonizio. Suddenly, with the open encouragement of Prudential Life, Fire Commissioner John Caufield broke with Addonizio and declared his candidacy for mayor as a liberal Democrat. This split Addonizio's vote and gave Prudential significant weight in controlling the

Native-Americans press rights fight on Coast



Alcatraz jam session

Photo by Steve Shames/LNS

By HERMAN FAGG

Calif. SWP candidate for governor
SAN FRANCISCO—The General Services Administration and U.S. Coast Guard are engaged in what they undoubtedly consider "subtle" moves to force the Native-American brothers and sisters on Alcatraz off the island.

The gas and water to the island have been turned off by order of the commandant of the Coast Guard, according to tribal councilman Al Miller. This, coupled with threats not to renew the operator's license of the boat captain who has been bringing supplies to island inhabitants, is designed to starve the Indians out. As of this writing, the captain, much to his credit, has not given in to the government's persecution and is still hauling supplies to Alcatraz.

An interesting note to this persecution is that by turning off the power to Alcatraz, the Coast Guard doused the lighthouse, which had been a navigation aid for many years. The city administration of San Francisco and the Coast Guard have claimed that the lighthouse really served no purpose. However, one maritime union official pointed out there would only be buoys in the Bay, leaving shipping in peril. Recently, a generator was provided by an editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, enabling the beacon to function again. So far, government officials have not directly challenged this.

Brother Miller pointed out that this petty harassment represented nothing new to Native-Americans. "Most Indians on Alcatraz are from reservations where the land is just as unproductive as the 'Rock.' Fresh water is inadequate, and certainly electricity and phone service are rare. As a matter of fact, it is somewhat better than

giving Indians small-pox-infested blankets."

If the present campaign against the Indians goes unanswered by the public, Miller was certain that the government will next try to re-occupy the island. The Tribal Council has called a meeting of all tribes to determine their response to this latest design to destroy their movement for self-determination.

Meanwhile, the Pit River Indians are reclaiming over 3.5 million acres of their land in Northern California. A small group of Native-Americans and their supporters recently set up a homestead at a recreational site "owned" by Pacific Gas and Electric Co. in Shasta County. This particular site is part of a parcel of land which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1959 had been illegally seized from the Indians. The government then tried to buy off the brothers and sisters. But they refused the token and demanded the land. This stalemate remained for 11 years until the rightful owners set up their campsites in early June.

The response of PG&E was to call in the cops to "evict" the Indians. Over 30 people were arrested in this blatant case of continued abrogation of Indian rights.

Unwilling to roll over and play dead, the owners answered efforts to take away their land by slapping a \$5 billion law suit against PG&E and the local authorities. PG&E and Shasta County officials—county D. A. Robert Baker, Sheriff John Balma, and Justice of the Peace Bill Covert—are charged with conspiracy to violate the Civil Rights Act. To stop further arrests or persecution of those already captured, the Pit River Indians' attorney Aubrey Grossman is preparing a restraining order.

swing vote in the election. Whoever got into the run-off election would have to bid high for Caufield's support. Prudential hoped that Caufield himself would get into the run-off, as he would probably beat Gibson easily. But the odds were clearly against this, so Caufield would be used to keep Gibson "in line."

In the May 12 election, Gibson got 42 percent of the vote and Addonizio placed second with 20 percent. City councilman Anthony Imperiale, a George Wallace supporter and a leader of the racist North Ward vigilantes, received 14 percent—all of which would go to Addonizio. Caufield got 13 percent, which could go to either Gibson or Addonizio.

Gibson won the run-off by 12,000 votes, which, by coincidence, is exactly what Caufield received in the primary.

In the run-off, Donald Tucker and C. Theodore Pinckney, the two Black

and Puerto Rican Convention candidates most closely associated with the nationalist playwright Ameer Baraka (LeRoi Jones), lost their city councilman-at-large races by a few hundred votes each, an indication of how close the mayoral election would have been without Caufield's active campaigning on Gibson's behalf.

Ramon Aneses, the Puerto Rican Convention candidate for councilman-at-large lost by a couple of thousand votes.

But it was the decisive intervention of the Black and Puerto Rican masses through the Convention that lifted Gibson to victory.

The Convention

The thread of events that led up to the Convention go back to an independent campaign run in 1966.

George Richardson, who had been in and out of the Democratic Party and had been carrying on a running

(continued on page 18)

Parley maps antiwar program

By DAVID THORSTAD

CLEVELAND — An antiwar conference here June 19-21 laid a solid basis for a viable new antiwar coalition capable of relating to the sectors of organized labor and the Third World communities now moving into active opposition to the war. The conference had broader labor sponsorship and participation than any previous similar gathering. A program of summer and fall activity culminating in a series of mass antiwar demonstrations Oct. 31 was agreed on.

Apart from gatherings of the Student Mobilization Committee, which was a key participant in this gathering, this conference was also the first to be convened on the basis of a clear-cut political perspective of mass action against the war, and that perspective won the support of the overwhelming majority. Labor participants expressed the view that such mass actions were the only basis on which they could realistically project drawing fellow unionists into antiwar activity.

The total registration for the National Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War was 1,447. Participants came from 240 colleges, 73 high schools, and 30 states. More than 50 different organizations

were represented, including student strike committees, trade unions, and local antiwar coalitions.

The proposal adopted by the conference was submitted by Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC), and James Lafferty, cochairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now. It projected ways for the antiwar movement to reach out and involve the trade union and Third World movements in antiwar action (see text of resolution this page).

The conference was initiated by CAPAC when, following the invasion of Cambodia, the New Mobilization Committee leadership continued to refuse, as it had for months, to call a national conference to decide upon a future course for the antiwar movement. Rather than seek to project a course of action designed to involve the new massive forces now ready to act against the war, the remnants of the Mobe proclaimed the need for concentrating on a program of civil disobedience which could serve only to narrow rather than broaden the movement.

The major focus of discussion throughout the conference was the Gordon-Lafferty proposal for linking up with labor and other antiwar forces through the vehicle of mass antiwar actions.

The discussion on this was carried through despite efforts by a group of some 200 Progressive Labor Party-SDS factionalists to disrupt and des-

troy the conference. Although they came to the conference in declared opposition to its aims and purposes, they were accorded full democratic rights. Yet they persistently sought to disrupt the proceedings by interrupting speakers with chanting, booing and hurling of epithets. Only a well-organized marshal system prevented them from trying to physically break up the conference.

After a full two-day debate in plenary sessions and workshops, the final vote demonstrated that the Gordon-Lafferty proposal had the support of the overwhelming majority.

An ultraleft hodgepodge resolution offering nothing in the way of an antiwar program of action was presented by the PL-SDS forces but failed to win any support apart from its previously committed partisans. Several other proposals for differing programs of action were put forward, but none won significant support.

The opportunities for involving the Third World communities and especially the forces of organized labor in the fight against the war dominated the weekend's proceedings.

"This is a new alliance, a new coalition I see developing," said John T. Williams, vice-president and business agent of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208, at a conference demonstration of more than 2,000 against Vice-President Agnew in downtown Cleveland Saturday evening.

Williams chaired a labor workshop of more than 200 persons. Most in



Photo by Howard Petrick

Jerry Gordon, chairman, Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

attendance were agreed that to involve organized labor in the struggle against the war it is essential to plan massive, legal demonstrations.

Sam Pollock, president of Cleveland Local 427 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, pointed out that even those workers who would be among the most militant on the picket line or in a strike situation would be "turned off" by the senseless "confrontation" tactics proposed by some.

While the overwhelming majority of the participants in the conference greeted the growing support of labor for the antiwar movement with enthusiasm, the PL-SDS caucus reserved its choicest epithets ("sellouts," "creeps," "punks") for unionists who participated, whether they were union officials or rank-and-file workers.

Their venom was particularly reserved for Teamster leader John T. Williams, whom they slandered as having betrayed an unauthorized walkout by Los Angeles Teamsters. Williams had in fact been jailed in the course of the walkout and presently faces damage claims from the bosses and possible prosecution.

He came to the conference along with Carlos Valdez, a Local 208 shop steward who was an activist in the walkout. Their trip from the coast was financed by contributions of rank-and-file unionists. When these facts were presented to the gathering, Williams was given a thunderous standing ovation.

In the plenary sessions and in the various workshops there was extensive discussion on ways and means

(Continued on page 5)

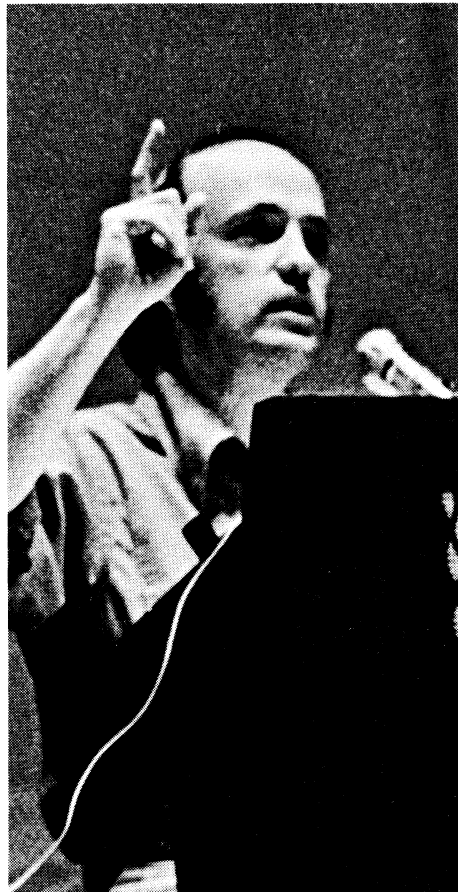


Photo by Howard Petrick

James Lafferty, cochairman, Detroit Coalition to End the War Now.

A 'Peace Action' proclamation

CLEVELAND — An official proclamation by Mayor Carl Stokes designated June 19-21 "Peace Action Days" in this city in honor of the Emergency Conference Against the Cambodian-Laos-Vietnam War. Noting that the purpose of the conference was "to plan antiwar demonstrations and other activities of the most massive kind on the crucial issue of withdrawal from the war," the proclamation asserted that "in this historic crisis for humanity it is imperative that the American antiwar movement be a beacon light for the millions of Americans who will join the struggle to end the war, if given leadership."

Prominent figures heard at opening of conference

CLEVELAND — The broad range of speakers who keynoted the opening session of the National Emergency Conference reflected both the new forces now coming into the antiwar movement and the wide support for the conference.

The tone for the weekend was set by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee. "The kind of pressures that produced explosions in the student population are at work in the other sectors as well," she said, and urged the conference to decide upon actions that could reach out to join with those new layers that are now ready to act against the war.

Highlights of the evening were greetings from the trade union figures. "I challenge this war as constituting a threat to the well-being of our trade unions," said John T. Williams, vice-president and business agent of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles. He declared the need for labor to call a national work stoppage "to stop profits, stop killings and stop this war." An effective labor-student coalition, he said, would be able to do that.

Paul Silver, international representative of the United Auto Workers and Commissioner of Wayne County, declared that he brought greetings "from the men and women who work in the auto plants in the Detroit area." During his speech the shouting and booing of the PL-SDS clique reached a virtual frenzy. In a strong declaration against divisive forces within the antiwar movement, Silver stressed that there were powerful forces in the country who were hoping to see the conference break up and urged, "Let's not do their job for them!"

"The whole world is looking at you," Silver stated. "Workers in the shop are looking at you. Let's not walk out of here fragmented. Let's walk out of here united."

Other speakers addressing the meeting were: Dr. George Traicoff, Dean of Community Services, Cuyahoga Community College; Ruth Gage-Colby, member of the national board of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Tom Hill, Ohio legislator from Cleveland; John Gergen, vice-president, Council of Churches of Christ of Greater Cleveland; Jose Irrizary, general coordinator in the U.S. for the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI); Katie Baird of Cleveland Women Speak Out; Rosalio Munoz, chairman, Chicano Moratorium Committee; and Abe Schwartz, an active-duty GI.

Following the scheduled part of the meeting, an SDS-PL representative was given time to address the meeting. She took the position that the SMC and just about everyone else present, except PL-SDS, were "sellouts."



Photo by Brian Shannon

UAW official Paul Silver

NLF and PRG send greetings

CLEVELAND — Among the greetings received by the National Emergency Conference were telegrams from Nguyen Van Sao for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and Ly Van Sau for the Paris delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Both messages hailed the conference for focusing on the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and welcomed the growing solidarity of the American and Vietnamese people in the fight for peace.

... Cleveland conference

(Continued from page 4)

of relating the war to such key issues as racism, poverty, repression, women's liberation and GI rights.

The new antiwar coalition decided on the name Peace Action Coalition and will initially be based in Cleveland.

It was agreed that the presiding committee of the conference, which had been drawn from the list of initiating sponsors, would form the nucleus of an ongoing continuations committee. Representatives of other groupings will be added to the committee on the basis of agreement with the general perspectives of the coalition.

Among the presiding committee members were: Floyd Smith, president, Cleveland Local 500, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Katie Baird, Cleveland Women Speak Out; Jerry Gordon, chairman of CAPAC; Shalom Lebowitz, Chicago Veterans for Peace; Sam Manuel, Georgia State University Black Student Union; Murray Scharfstein, New York Vietnam Moratorium Committee; Don Gurewitz, SMC; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party; Auda Romine, secretary-treasurer, Cleveland Meat Cutters

Local 500; Jack Powers, Boston Beacon Hill Support Group; Ozzie Edwards, president, National Federation of Social Service Employees; Geoff Mirelowitz, Chicago High School SMC; John T. Williams; a representative of the National Chicano Moratorium; Diana Sugg, Atlanta women's liberation; Dan Siegel, president, Associated Students at the University of California, Berkeley; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Norman Oliver, chairman, Detroit SMC Third World Committee; Rick Brown, Berkeley Strike Coordinating Committee; Bill Stone, Vermont Total Involvement; Prof. Ernest Benjamin, Wayne State University; Orrie Chambers, chairman of the Black Caucus, Local 481, Newark Federation of Teachers; Spec/4 Dave Cortright, Ft. Wadsworth.

Initial coordinators of the PAC are Jerry Gordon, James Lafferty, Don Gurewitz, Ruth Gage-Colby and John T. Williams.

Information about the Peace Action Coalition, including future meetings and activities, may be obtained by writing the PAC at 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

In photo, top right, John T. Williams, business agent of Los Angeles Teamster's Local 208, leads conference labor workshop. At right is scene at antiwar rally protesting Agnew presence in Cleveland. On platform (left to right) are Rev. E. R. T. Osburn of SCLC; his aide; Jerry Gordon, chairman of CAPAC; Ruth Gage-Colby, veteran peace activist; and Carlos Valdez, a Los Angeles Teamster's union shop steward. Demonstration drew 2,000 people.



Photos by Howard Petrick



Text of antiwar coalition's action program

1. *A summer of intensive organizing and educational work.* The prospects are now very good for involving sectors of the trade union movement in the demonstrations and other ongoing activities of the antiwar movement. Realization of this prospect should be a special focus of a summer of intensive organizing and educational activity.

This can be done in a variety of ways. Union officials should be approached to endorse and speak at antiwar demonstrations. Union locals should be requested to endorse such demonstrations and seek to involve their membership in them. Where feasible, representatives of the antiwar movement should seek to speak before union meetings to discuss why unions should participate in such activity.

Unions can be requested to contribute funds for the organization of antiwar actions. They can be asked to sponsor or join in sponsoring newspaper advertisements publicizing such actions. Publicity for these actions should be sought in union publications. Where official union endorsement is forthcoming this should be publicized by the antiwar movement in literature designed for distribution at plant gates and places where workers gather.

In addition to seeking union support for antiwar demonstrations, special efforts should be made to win active labor involvement in campaigning to put antiwar referenda on the ballot in various areas and then in bringing out a big vote for immediate withdrawal. Such referenda are already being organized in San Francisco and Massachusetts and can be pressed for in many other areas.

Significant labor involvement in demonstrations and other antiwar action will give a major boost to the

The accompanying text is the program for action adopted at the conference. Also adopted was a political rationale for such a program, which included the following points:

The response to the invasion of Cambodia showed that the potential for involving massive numbers of unionists and Third World people in action with students was never greater, but it can only be mobilized if the correct programs for action are put forward by the antiwar movement. Those forces will be alienated by confrontationist tactics which, moreover, obscure the fact that the responsibility for violence rests with the rulers.

The antiwar movement welcomes all who oppose the war, irrespective of their affiliations or views on other questions. It demands immediate withdrawal and supports as a matter of principle the right of the Indochinese people to self-determination.

Although mass demonstrations alone will not end the war, they are indispensable in providing ways for new forces in the movement to register opposition to the war. Mobilizing, organizing and educating tens of millions will hasten the day when those with the power—labor, GIs, Black and Brown people—use it decisively to end the war.

To maintain unity in action, the antiwar movement, as a coalition, must remain nonpartisan and not support any political candidates. United political action is possible, however, around placing referenda for immediate withdrawal on the ballot. Wherever feasible, this should be done.

Periodic mass, decision-making conferences open to the entire movement are indispensable to maintaining democracy within the movement.

movement and constitute a heavy blow to the warmakers.

It is also important to develop a body of educational material on the war—its history, its relation to racism, inflation, poverty, growing unemployment, and all the other burdens now weighing so heavily on the American people—problems that are intensified and made more acute by the war.

Using these materials, the hundreds of thousands of students who joined in the May antiwar upsurge can be involved in an intensive campaign to reach out to new constituencies, with the antiwar message. In addition to special efforts to reach such specific constituencies as the unions, GIs, and the Black and Brown communities, there can be broadside distribution of educational antiwar material, which also advertises specific demonstrations and other activities, at shopping centers, theaters, churches, ball games,

travel centers, etc.

2. *Local antiwar demonstrations on August 6-9, the period from Hiroshima Day to Nagasaki Day.* On this 25th anniversary of the atom bombings, the antiwar movement should draw public attention to the fact that nuclear weapons were first used on a nonwhite Asian people by the United States and are now an ever present threat in the U. S. war policy in Indochina. We should show our solidarity with the Japanese peace movement which is currently struggling against continued U. S. bases on Okinawa and the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty.

3. *Support for the August 29 Chicano Moratorium.* Recognizing that the fight against racism today is intimately related to the fight against the Vietnam war, the National Chi-

cano Moratorium will hold a massive antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles August 29. The entire antiwar movement should do everything it can to support this action of the Chicano people.

4. *A day of nationally coordinated massive antiwar demonstrations on Saturday, October 31.* Centered around the political demand for immediate U. S. withdrawal from Indochina, a key feature of these mass demonstrations should be the expanding breadth of antiwar sentiment which they can represent. Americans from all walks of life will be urged to participate, particularly students, GIs, labor, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed people. As emphasized in point one of this proposal, opportunities are now especially great for involving labor in antiwar actions and this should be one of the central focuses of the October 31 actions.

To this end, the demonstrations would be held in major urban centers all over the country, including regional centers such as San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland or Columbus, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Denver, Atlanta, Austin or Houston. These demonstrations should relate the war to the issues of racism, inflation, poverty, unemployment, political repression, GI rights, and women's liberation.

Work should begin immediately in organizing these demonstrations. However any new major escalation of the war and the increasing involvement of new groups and constituencies may necessitate flexibility at a later time in choice of date and location.

Lack independent perspective

Ga. SCLC in major party contests

By DOUG JENNESS

ATLANTA, June 19—One-half hour before the June 10 filing deadline for candidates in Georgia's 1970 elections, Hosea Williams, a prominent leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), paid \$2,125 to qualify in the Republican Party primary for the office of secretary of state.

At a press conference two days later, Williams told newsmen, "I intend to take my philosophy from the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, my forefather. The philosophy of the Republicans isn't bad, it's just the implementation by Nixon, Goldwater and Thurmond that's bad. . . .

"Nobody's said anything against white folks in both parties. So what's wrong with Black folks in both parties?"

Williams continued, "Black people were tricked into the Republican Party in the eighteen hundreds by whites who wanted the Democratic Party lily-white. The time has come for Blacks, namely Hosea Williams, to reenter the GOP structure and save it . . . the nation . . . soul."

Williams has been in the forefront of many direct-action struggles in Georgia and throughout the South. Recently he has lent his efforts to help build support for struggles of Blacks in Sandersville and Perry, Ga., and for the city employees' strike in Atlanta.

What does his entry into Republican politics mean? Is it a put-on or is he genuinely serious about reforming the Republican Party? Some political pundits here have been saying that Williams is obviously trying to capitalize on the straight ticket voting for Republican slates.

Other analysts say that Williams is trying to embarrass the Georgia Republicans who are faithfully trying to carry out Nixon's much-discussed "southern strategy"—which scarcely includes an outspoken Black man on their slate.

These may be the tactical considerations on Williams' part. However, the real reason lies in the political dead end that organizations like the SCLC face.

For 15 years the SCLC has par-

ticipated in mass actions throughout the South and in a few major northern cities like Chicago. Under Martin Luther King Jr.'s tutelage, SCLC became identified with direct action movements, particularly in the integration movement but also in the anti-war and labor movements.

King and his followers were well aware that their struggles and demands came into conflict with local, state and federal government and that political action was necessary. Their tradition has been to channel struggles that they lead into support for liberal Democratic Party candidates.

In 1964, for example, SCLC was one of the six civil-rights organizations that called a moratorium on demonstrations during the election campaign so as not to embarrass "lesser evil" LBJ.

With the rising sentiment in the Black community for running and supporting Black candidates, SCLC has also stepped up its activity in this area. Last summer and fall SCLC played a very active role in the campaign of Dr. Horace Tate, prominent Black educator in Georgia, who ran for mayor of Atlanta.

The significant support that Tate received in the mayoralty race led to the formation in November 1969 of the Black Leadership Coalition, a loosely knit group that includes the Georgia Voters League, the NAACP, SCLC, the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, Black Democratic and Republican clubs, church groups and professional associations.

The central purpose of this organization is to endorse and campaign for Black candidates. Among the candidates it has endorsed in the current elections are: C. B. King for governor, Andrew Young, SCLC executive secretary, for U. S. Congress; D. F. Glover for lieutenant governor; Juanita Williams for comptroller general; and Hosea Williams.

With the exception of Hosea Williams, they are all running in the Democratic Party primary. In addition, Julian Bond, who is rerunning for the State Assembly, is helping to



Photo by Meg Rose

SCLC-called demonstration in Atlanta, May 23, protested murders in Augusta, Jackson State and Kent. SCLC has always attempted to orient its following toward support for liberal capitalist politicians.

raise funds nationally to support these candidates.

Although the leaders of the Black Leadership Coalition correctly drew one lesson from the Horace Tate campaign, that is, that there is widespread support in the Black community for Black candidates, they failed to draw a second important lesson. Tate won a sizable vote, which was over 95 percent Black and nearly placed him in the runoff, in spite of the fact that he was not backed by any section of Atlanta's ruling class nor by either the Democratic or Republican party machines.

In fact his campaign was not supported by most of the established Black Democratic Party leaders in Atlanta.

This should have been sufficient evidence to give serious consideration to the idea of running an independent Black slate, or better yet, launching an independent Black party.

Blacks make up nearly one-third of the population of Georgia and although their voting strength is proportionately somewhat less it is growing fast. Years of discrimination, segregation and urbanization have brought large numbers of Georgia's Black population closer together both physically and psychologically. It has created the basis for bringing Blacks together politically.

Political unity among Blacks is necessary to fight effectively for better housing, adequate schools, more jobs, higher pay and for Black control of all institutions in the Black community.

The necessity of political unity flows from the total inability of the Democratic and Republican parties to fulfill these demands. They have not done so yet despite mountains of promises.

Hosea Williams, when he was asked how he could justify running in the party of Strom Thurmond, Spiro Agnew and Richard Nixon, replied that the basic ideas are good and valid but the leaders unresponsive. "Besides, Eastland, Russell, Talmadge and McMillan [South Carolina representatives] are the real rulers of the Democratic Party," Williams said.

Williams correctly points out that both the Democratic and Republican parties have influential reactionaries among their leaders. What he fails to point out is that both parties also have liberals, many of whom are influential, and that the liberals' policies and deeds are scarcely different from those of the reactionaries.

John Lindsay, mayor of New York and a prominent Republican, threatened to call out the National Guard against the sanitation workers' strike in 1968.

Atlanta's mayor Sam Massell ran as a friend of Black and poor people in the city elections and savagely tried to break the city employees' strike here this spring.

Carl Stokes, Black mayor of Cleveland, won office as a liberal Democrat, and now supports the frame-up trial of Black nationalist leader Ahmed Evans.

Liberal or reactionary—it makes no difference in the Democratic and Republican parties because both parties are committed to defending and preserving capitalist rule. Both parties are run by and in the interests of the capitalist ruling class. Historical experience confirms that their basic character cannot be altered by reform or opposition from within.

Even from the limited standpoint of putting pressure on the other candidates to win a better bargaining position for Blacks, an independent Black party would have been more effective than running in the Democratic and Republican primaries.

However, even more important things could have been accomplished. A Black party or slate could:

1) help expose the reactionary character of the Democratic and Republican parties and the inabilities of these parties to solve the problems of Black Americans;

2) help mobilize mass demonstrations for Black control of public housing projects in the Black community, Black control of Black schools, and Black control of federal and state funds allocated to the Black community;

3) reach thousands of people on radio and television, in newspapers, through street meetings and leaflets, with a program for Black liberation;

4) upset the traditional labor-Black coalition which supports the Democratic Party, possibly forcing the labor movement to consider the formation of a labor party;

5) set an example for Black Americans all over the United States.

Capitalist politics is a dead end whether it is the road of the Democratic Party or the road of the Republican Party. SCLC and the other groups in the Black Leadership Coalition are doing a disservice to the Black community by continuing to foster illusions in this con game.

Black Voices From Prison

by Etheridge Knight

In self description, Etheridge Knight has written: "I died in Korea from a shrapnel wound and narcotics resurrected me. I died in 1960 from a prison sentence and poetry brought me back to life."

Stories, articles, and poems written by Knight plus a number of pieces (including a play) by fellow inmates whom he encouraged to write. The subjects include prison life, the position of blacks in American society, their future, autobiographies, and case histories. The volume is revelatory of life behind bars and the black experience—so much of which in the U.S. has been a prison experience.

192 pp., cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Why the Senate can't curb Nixon

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 20—Is President Nixon surrounding himself with "yes-men," or is he "liberalizing" the administration? Is the White House "too strong"? Should more power be delegated to Congress?

Speculation on these questions was touched off by Nixon's shifting of Labor Secretary George Shultz to the White House June 10. There, Shultz and John Ehrlichman will be Nixon's top advisers on domestic policies. Their role will be comparable to that of foreign-policy adviser Henry Kissinger.

But not too much can be made of the shifting of one individual within the top echelons of Executive power, and this is not the main question increasingly worrying a number of capitalist politicians and the sectors of the ruling class they represent.

What set in motion discussion of Executive power was the Cambodian crisis—the way Nixon made the decision to massively attack Cambodia and the immense repercussions of that decision in domestic politics.

And in this connection questions have been raised about the entire process of presidential decision making and the evolution towards increasing Executive power that has taken place in the post-World War II epoch. That history has been hotly discussed and debated in the long Senate wrangle over the Cooper-Church amendment.

But this Senate debate also makes clear the inability of the Senate to reverse a process that is deeply imbedded in the necessities of U.S. imperialism. In fact, for all their oratory, the sponsors of the Cooper-Church amendment have done nothing to "tie Nixon's hands" in any way.

It is evident that the decision to invade Cambodia was made by a small circle of administrators. *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Robert Keatley described the "official photograph" of Nixon's top policy-making committee on Indochina policy, June 17:

"Next to President Nixon, predictably, was Henry Kissinger, senior White House adviser on national security affairs. Also attending the recent San Clemente meeting were the Pentagon's top two civilians plus (in mufti) two admirals and two generals. But no foreign policy expert from the State Department was invited."

There are indications that the Pentagon's top civilian officials did not have as much say on Cambodia as the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "Mr. Laird has already crossed swords with the chiefs about Cambodia," Keatley reports. "Some of their invasion plans

Congress, and for a decade have been a member of the Central Intelligence Agency Subcommittee, and for close to a decade of the Foreign Relations Committee.

"And I say to the Senate, without reservation, that I knew nothing about the attack on Cambodia until our troops were in that land.

"Yesterday, the able and distinguished Secretary of Defense testified before the Foreign Relations Committee, and he stated that details had been given him by the Central Intelligence Agency months ago as a reason for this adventure, invasion—whatever the word would be. . . .

"None of that information ever came to the committees on which I sit, including the committee supposed to supervise the Central Intelligence Agency. I do believe the growing tendency toward secrecy in government . . . is perhaps the greatest danger of all to the survival of the Nation." (*Congressional Record*, p. S7388.)

But the Cooper-Church amendment would not restrict Nixon at all.

In a move to compromise with the White House last week, a provision was added to the amendment stating that "nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to impugn the constitutional powers of the President as Commander in Chief."

And then on June 21, with Nixon supporters still unsatisfied, the Senate overwhelmingly passed a further amending statement sponsored by former KKK organizer Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia. This statement added to the above, "including the exercise of that constitutional power which may be necessary to protect the lives of U.S. armed forces wherever deployed."

Does one need to recall that it was "to save American lives" that Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia in the first place?

Debate on the history of ever more centralized Executive power to make war has centered on the concept of the so-called "undeclared war." Gale McGee, Wyoming Republican, observed May 15:

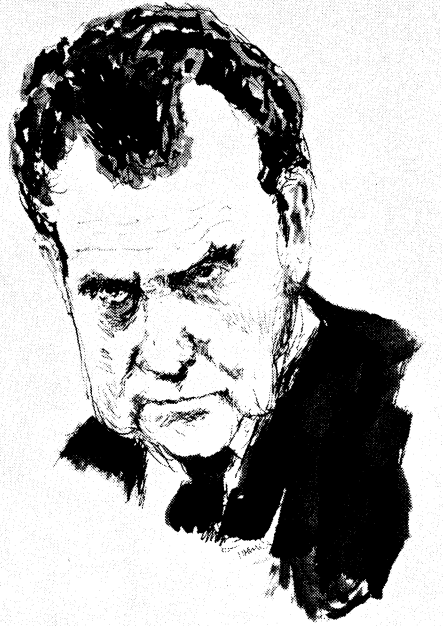


Senator Cooper

went directly to the White House, by-passing the Pentagon boss. . . ."

Concern about this concentration of power in the hands of the president and his highest military advisers has been strongly expressed by backers of the Cooper-Church amendment.

"What worries me today about this latest situation is the secrecy involved," Senator Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.) remarked May 19. "I have been a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee since the first day I came to



Nixon

"I can recall well how, in the first critical test of our role as leaders of the world in the 1950s, those of us in the liberal community were groping for some middle ground in exercising our responsibilities. . . .

"It was then that we felt crowded into a position of at least weighing the dimensions of a limited, undeclared war." An alternative to the holocaust of nuclear warfare was needed, McGee explained. "That alternative was a limited war without declaration." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 7246.)

But it is precisely "limited wars"—also called "police actions"—whether on the scale of Southeast Asia, or on the more "limited" scales of a Santo Domingo, a Congo, or a Guatemala or Bolivia, that require extraordinary centralization of the military and intelligence apparatus.

Can one imagine the world repercussions if the U.S. Senate had publicly debated, with the national and international news coverage this would have received, the CIA's machinations to murder Che Guevara?

Or could the Senate really have held a debate on the existence or lack of existence on the so-called sanctuaries in Cambodia before Nixon ordered the attack?

But these were not accidental or exceptional necessities of U.S. imperialism. They tend to become the rule.



Senator Church

by Robert S. Browne
and Robert Vernon

A Symposium: Should the U.S. Be Partitioned Into Two Separate and Independent Nations: A Homeland for White Americans—A Homeland for Black Americans

Robert S. Browne is assistant professor of economics at Fairleigh-Dickinson University in New Jersey and author of the *Ramparts* article, "The Case for Black Separatism." He was a member of the advisory committee of the 1967 Newark Black Power Conference.

Robert Vernon is a contributor to *The Militant*, author of *The Black Ghetto* and coauthor of *Watts and Harlem: The Rising Revolt in the Black Ghettos*.

50c

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Suit by fired postal worker

'Subversive' list challenged

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK—A suit filed June 16 in federal court in Washington, D.C., will test the legality of the U.S. Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations. The suit is being brought by Duncan Gordon, a San Francisco postal worker who was fired from his job in December 1969 because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and by the SWP.

The Attorney General's List goes back to the early days of the post-World War II witch-hunt. In the summer of 1948, President Harry Truman, without any kind of congressional approval, directed the attorney general to draw up a list of "subversive" organizations to be used by federal departments in determining the eligibility of individuals for federal employment. There were no procedures provided by which organizations could appeal the listings. One hundred ninety groups including the SWP were placed on the initial List. Many of them were defunct even then. Individuals who belonged, or had belonged, to the stigmatized groups were virtually barred from federal employment and from many jobs with private companies that did business with the government.

In 1953, President Eisenhower very democratically directed his attorney general to revamp the List, this time with the provision of an appeal procedure. But when the SWP attempted to get a hearing under this appeal procedure, the attorney general suddenly discovered certain technicalities that blocked any review.

One of the earliest uses of the List—and one of the most important legal assaults on it—came in connection with the attempt of the Veterans Administration to fire James Kutcher, an SWP member who had lost both legs in combat in World War II. Kutcher began his fight for his job in 1948; finally, in 1957, the case ended in a definitive victory for Kutcher—and for civil liberties.

But the list itself remained and continued to be widely used by government departments and private employers. Although only five groups on the list are still in existence, witch-hunting officials still appeal to it, as the Gordon case shows.

The suit filed June 16 asks that the List and the Executive Order establishing it be declared illegal and that no further such lists be issued. The basis of the suit is that the List violates the First Amendment to the Constitution by censoring organiza-

tions on the basis of their views. It violates due process by imposing sanctions and invading rights on the basis of indefinite, subjective criteria, which can be interpreted to apply merely because of the attorney general's prejudice.

The Socialist Workers Party was originally placed on the list on the grounds that it purportedly advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government by force or violence. This, of course, is a fraudulent claim. The SWP seeks to convince the majority of the American people that socialism is necessary and desirable. At the same time, it warns that, on the basis of all past history, the U.S. ruling class will resort to the most extreme violence to try and prevent a democratic transition to a socialist society, and that the majority of the people will have to be prepared to defend themselves against this violence.

Gordon started to work for the Post Office Department as a substitute carrier in Dale City, Calif., in October 1968. In December 1969, after months of appeals and denials of appeals in the Post Office Department's bureaucratic apparatus, Gordon was fired. The suit file June 16 is the first time he has had an opportunity to have his case heard in court.



Photo by Allen Berman

Masses of students at University of Illinois Circle Campus saw opportunity to use the campus facilities in intensifying the drive against the U.S. invasion

of Southeast Asia. PL's foresight doesn't stretch this far.

PL and SDS miss mark in attack on antiwar university strategy

By CAROLINE LUND

For the millions of students who participated in the antiwar upsurge after the invasion of Cambodia, one of the key tasks now is to analyze the significance of what happened during May on the campuses in this country. It is important to draw the lessons of this experience and apply what has been learned to developing a strategy for continued struggle.

Progressive Labor Party (PL) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), led by PL, have come out with a position squarely opposed to the strategy that was followed so effectively by many of the largest and best-organized schools during May: transforming the universities into centers of antiwar organizing.

The program put forward by PL and SDS is: shut down the university; strike against the university administration first and foremost, rather than the policies of the Nixon administration; build "militant and obstructive picket lines"; and concentrate on fighting for specific demands of campus workers.

Before considering the merits of this program, it's worth stepping back and looking at just what happened during May. How did the struggle evolve?

In response to the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of the Kent students, a student strike began spontaneously and then spread like wildfire, reaching immense proportions. It was the largest student strike in world history.

The strikes were called by mass meetings of students, which then proceeded to elect broadly representative strike councils or coordinating committees. In most cases the faculty too, through its organizations, supported the strikes.

The mass of enraged students clearly saw the need for organizing all the students to participate in antiwar activity, and so mass meetings occurred

regularly, often daily, with more and more students joining the strike and volunteering their services to the struggle against the war.

Strike headquarters were needed, and the obvious place to go was the student union, or some other university center. A strike newspaper was needed to build the strike and speak for the strikers, so the student newspapers were turned into organs of the strike committees.

Since masses of students—literally tens of thousands on many of the big campuses were participating in the strike and offering their help in the antiwar movement, the logical step was to decide to open up the universities under strike-committee control, to use the university as a base for continuing antiwar activity, for reaching out to other layers of the population.

For instance, a mass meeting of 15,000 students and faculty at the University of California at Berkeley voted to strike, and at the same time decided "to reconstitute the university as a center for organizing against the war in Southeast Asia."

On May 7 the Student Mobilization Committee made a call to all strike councils to open up the universities to antiwar organizing around the three strike demands: immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, freedom for all political prisoners, and an end to university complicity with the war.

As students gained control over different kinds of university facilities, they used their newfound mass power to strike heavy blows against all the varied aspects of university complicity. On campus after campus, faculty and administration bowed to student demands to eliminate ROTC, secret military research contracts, and similar war-related activities.

What happened during May was that the student antiwar movement moved to a qualitatively higher stage. While before the Cambodian invasion students had been in the forefront of building mass antiwar demonstrations and fighting against university complicity with the war, in May they went a step further and began to actually take control of the universities and use those facilities for antiwar struggle.

PL cries "sellout"

This strategy of the antiwar university, which evolved in the course of the May upsurge, is vehemently op-

posed by PL and SDS as a "sellout." In the June 1970 issue of PL's newspaper *Challenge*, PL asserts: "It [the university] trains scientists, technicians, and ideologues to serve the bosses' rotten system of imperialism, racism, and exploitation of all workers. IT CANNOT DO ANYTHING ELSE UNDER CAPITALISM."

Challenge continues: "The only thing that will make the universities stop screwing workers and students is the violent overthrow of the bosses' government by the working class and the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

This view, that the universities are so firmly under the control of the capitalist rulers that they can never be taken over by the students—even in part or for a limited time—short of a victorious socialist revolution, is directly contradicted by what actually happened during the May 1970 upsurge (to say nothing about what has happened during student strikes elsewhere in the world in recent years).

At the University of Illinois Circle campus, for example, students took control of the key facilities of what is a multimillion dollar university complex. Through negotiations with university officials, strikers were able to win the use of telephone lines and printing facilities. Thousands of posters were produced at the Art and Architecture Institute and plastered all over Chicago. The audio-visual department transmitted the strike steering committee meetings over closed-circuit TV throughout the campus. Special leaflets were produced, oriented to GIs at a nearby base, to workers at area factories, and to high schoolers. University telephones were used to get strike information around the country and to appeal for international support actions from antiwar groups in Europe and elsewhere.

Actions similar to those at the U of Illinois were repeated at hundreds of universities on strike. Do PL and SDS really consider that the U of Illinois, at the height of the May struggle, was a counterrevolutionary instrument of the capitalist class? On the contrary, the antiwar universities, mobilizing masses of students in antiwar action and reaching out to all layers of the population, were in the vanguard of the struggle against the war in Southeast Asia.

At the height of the struggle, "closing down the universities" was exactly what the ruling class preferred. Gov. Ronald Reagan, for instance, ordered the entire University of California complex closed down after the strike began spreading. He was obviously much more conscious than PL and SDS of the potential power that masses of students could have if they took over the universities.

Similarly, the entire Georgia state college system was closed down by the board of regents.

The aim of the government and school administrations in closing down the schools was to divide the students and ultimately to disperse them.

PL and SDS call for "militant and obstructive picket lines" to keep everyone out of the university. Such a tactic is grossly in error on two counts. First, it concedes the university and its facilities to the administration. Students realized that this was stupid. They, along with the professors and campus workers, *are* the university, and they have a right to take control over it and make it into a force for human progress rather than an instrument of support for wars and destruction.

Secondly, PL's approach divides the students, who are in their vast majority against the war. There are thousands of students who would not join in "militant and obstructive picket lines," but who would be ready to throw themselves into what they see as constructive antiwar activity—canvassing communities, passing out leaflets, speaking before church groups, trade unions, building mass demonstrations and rallies against the war.

The key question for antiwar activists to consider is what is the best way to mobilize masses of students in antiwar struggle and to draw other sectors of the population into the struggle. In this regard, the impact of the May upsurge itself proves the correctness and power of the strategy of creating antiwar universities.

Complicity

One of the dishonest aspects of the position taken by PL and SDS is that they imply there is a contradiction between the strategy of the antiwar university and fighting university complicity with the war.

The concept of the antiwar university means stopping all university support to the war effort—ROTC, war research, military recruiters, etc.—but goes *beyond* that—to turning the university into a center for struggle against the war.

Many gains were made in ending ROTC contracts and other university complicity during May precisely because of the power of the masses of antiwar students using the universities as their base for struggle. Just imagine the problems of a war industry recruiter trying to set up shop on the University of Illinois campus during the May upsurge!

PL and SDS are also wrong in their contention that students should center their fight against the university administrations *rather than* use the university to build the antiwar movement. It is an error to counterpose these two perspectives.

Students should, of course, encourage campus workers to enter the antiwar movement, and support them in their struggles. But this should not be seen as a *substitute* for also reaching out and trying to win support from the masses of noncampus workers, GIs, women, the Black and Third

(Continued on page 18)

LA RAZA!

Why a Chicano Party?
Why Chicano Studies?

A Symposium 30c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

A New Merit Pamphlet

PROBLEMS OF CIVIL WAR

By Leon Trotsky

40c

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Pace set by New York victory

Ballot restrictions on minority parties challenged nationally

By DAVID THORSTAD

JUNE 20—An important legal victory was won on June 18 when a three-judge federal court ruled in favor of a suit challenging the constitutionality of the New York election law. The suit was filed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and was combined with a similar one handled by the American Civil Liberties Union for the Socialist Labor Party.

The court invalidated two especially discriminatory sections of the law requiring a minimum of 50 valid signatures on nominating petitions to be collected from each of the state's 62 counties and prohibiting a voter from signing such a petition unless that voter was registered at the time of the preceding general election.

"It is clear that the effect of these provisions," the court stated, "when considered with other sections of the election law, is to deny independent minority parties . . . an equal opportunity to win the votes of the electorate."

The state plans to appeal the ruling at a hearing set for June 23.

Wide support for the SWP challenge had been won in recent weeks by the Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York. The coalition has a number of well-known figures as sponsors, including Paul O'Dwyer, senatorial candidate in the Democratic primary, Eric Bentley, author and critic, and many others. The day before the court's ruling, WOR-TV in New York took an editorial stand supporting the challenge to the state's election laws.

The New York suit is part of a nationwide assault on discriminatory election laws initiated by the SWP.

While individually these laws may seem devoid of any pattern, taken as a whole they amount to a conscious attempt to exclude third parties from the electoral process.

The other states where challenges are being brought are California, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Georgia,

Ohio and Washington. Broad-based "committees for a fair ballot" have been formed to aid in this struggle in California and Pennsylvania, as well as New York.

Wherever the SWP challenges succeed in eliminating these discriminatory laws, the beneficiary will be not only the revolutionary-socialist movement, but all parties seeking to pose a political alternative to the capitalist two-party system, such as a Chicano party, a Black party or a labor party.

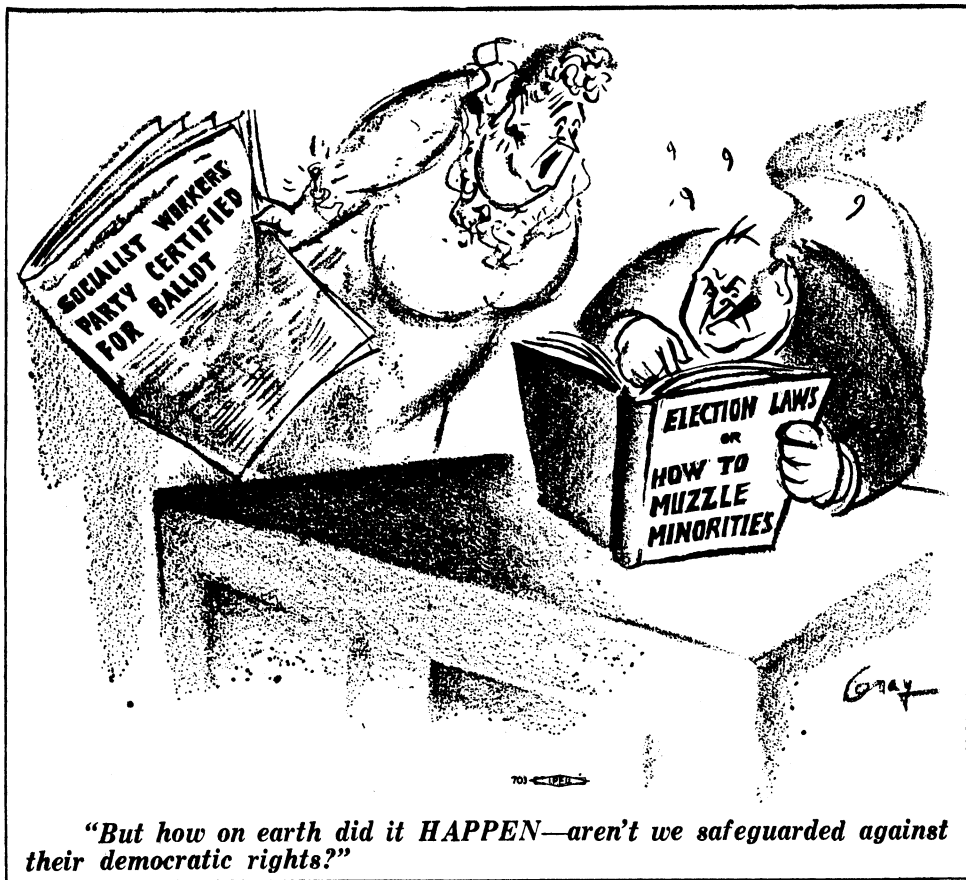
When the SWP won its challenge last year to eliminate the discriminatory filing fees in the Atlanta city election, 37 candidates qualified without paying a penny. Most were Black and would otherwise never have been able to run. Similar gains, but on an even larger scale, could result from the nationwide challenges now underway.

The current fair ballot campaign really began when the Michigan State SWP won a suit last October to declare the Michigan "distribution" requirements unconstitutional. As a result, today instead of collecting signatures on nominating petitions in a specified number of different counties, they may be gathered anywhere in the state.

The suits being initiated by the SWP challenge a whole series of discriminatory provisions. These vary from state to state in accord with the lack of uniformity with which the capitalists govern the often arbitrary geographical regions they call states. They must therefore be challenged separately.

Most frequently involved are the regulations regarding petitioning to achieve ballot status. In some states, these require exorbitant numbers of signatures, in others an unreasonable distribution of this total amount throughout the state, and in some cases both. The SWP is challenging such requirements in Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, California and Georgia.

Although restrictions making it difficult or impossible for minority parties to gain ballot status exist in near-



"But how on earth did it HAPPEN—aren't we safeguarded against their democratic rights?"

Cartoon by famed Militant cartoonist Laura Gray, Sept. 28, 1946. Then as today minority parties had to wage a constant struggle to defend their basic democratic rights.

ly every state, one of the most blatantly restrictive states is California.

To place a new party on the California ballot, the signatures of more than 660,000 registered voters must be collected, or more than 66,000 registrants must be enrolled in the party. This herculean task must be accomplished 135 days before the primary elections—almost one year before the general elections and at a time when the "major" parties ordinarily have not had to select their candidates.

Should one choose to run as an independent and not as a member of a party, the required number of signatures is somewhat less—a mere 367,000. While this may be a quantitative difference, it is hardly a qualitative one. Moreover, all of these signatures must be gathered within only a 25-day period, and signers must not have voted in the primary. (Even Sen. Eugene McCarthy, despite widespread support, was unable to accomplish this when he lost the primary in 1968. Had he succeeded, however, his supporters would still have had to challenge the provision explicitly prohibiting primary losers from then running as independents.)

In two states, the SWP is seeking to have restrictions on using the party's name on the ballot declared unconstitutional. California discriminates against candidates who do not achieve ballot status through participating in the primaries, by preventing their party's name from appearing on the ballot. They can use only the designation "Independent."

Pennsylvania law forbids more than one party to use the word "socialist" in its name on the ballot. Both the SWP and the Socialist Labor Party participate in Pennsylvania elections.

The SWP has also filed suit to have the loyalty oath provision of the Pennsylvania law declared unconstitutional.

Prohibitive filing fees are being challenged in Georgia and Washington.

The Massachusetts suit, which will be filed in July, will also challenge a "grandfather clause" permitting parties on the ballot in 1920 to retain their status by winning a small vote in each gubernatorial election and making it virtually impossible for other parties to achieve such status. The ACLU has agreed to take the case.

Rulings are expected from the courts at any moment on the suits in Georgia, California and Pennsylvania. A ruling should be made in the Ohio case within a week or so. The Washington suit is still to be filed.

The opportunities that exist for dealing blows to these reactionary, if capricious, laws become clear in view of the context in which they are occurring.

A number of congressmen have pointed in recent months to the lack of standardization in the election laws as an obvious impediment to the eventual direct election of the president by popular vote.

The last three Congresses have seen introduced, respectively, 26, 61 and 55 joint resolutions amending the Constitution to establish a nationwide voting age of 18 or 19. Finally, on June 17, the House sent a bill to President Nixon to lower the voting age to 18 in all federal, state and local elections beginning in 1971.

These are signs of the growing pressure for change and democratization of the election laws. Many congressmen themselves are beginning to question their constitutionality.

If even capitalist politicians are becoming more concerned about these matters, it is less out of idealism than out of self-interest. They too can be adversely affected by these laws.

Even "major" party candidates (not only "dissidents" like McCarthy) have been kept off the ballot in the past. Lincoln was refused ballot status in 10 states. Harry Truman and the Democratic Party were not on the ballot in Alabama as recently as 1948. The crisis in the Democratic Party created by its Dixie wing has given birth in some quarters to new pangs of concern over existing inequities in the election laws.

This uneasiness within the capitalist parties provides part of the background to the current SWP assault on these laws. The major support for the ballot challenges, however, will come from those sections of the population who stand to gain most from decisions to declare them unconstitutional, not from the very capitalist politicians who in the past have passed and upheld these laws in order to prevent electoral challenges to their rule.

In order for the newly politicalized social forces in the United States to be able to pose an effective political challenge to the capitalist parties and their system, the flagrantly undemocratic barriers must be struck down which today prevent them from presenting themselves to the masses of the American people as a serious alternative in the electoral arena.

The SWP fair ballot campaign is in the forefront of that necessary assault.

Leon Trotsky:

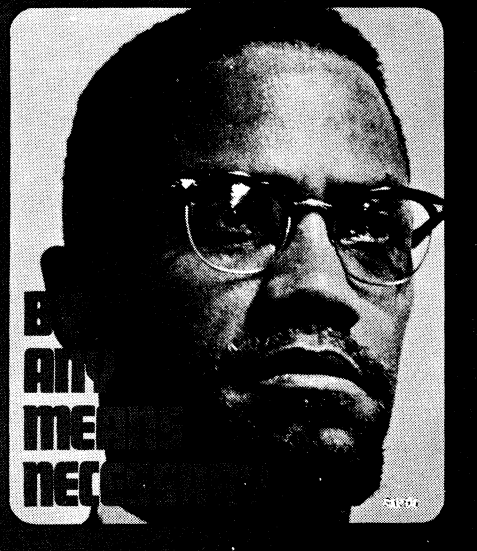
Stalinism and Bolshevism

35¢

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Malcolm X



By Any Means Necessary

Malcolm's speeches were first presented to the public in *Malcolm X Speaks*, collected and edited by George Breitman from material then (1965) available. *By Any Means Necessary*, also collected and edited by Breitman, is a companion volume and presents new material, not previously available or even known to exist. These speeches constitute important source material for the study of the black liberation movement and provide documentation of the development of Malcolm's ideas and program of struggle.

192 pp., cloth \$5.95
paper \$1.95

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 BROADWAY NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

The fight for Black universities

Vanguard role of the Black

By JOHN HAWKINS

The following speech was given by John Hawkins, Michigan Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state, at a May Day celebration in Detroit. The speech draws together a much needed balance sheet on the Black student revolt—the drive for the Black university. In connection with the Black student movement, Brother Hawkins discusses the organization of the total community—the building of a Black political party. The speech should be of special interest to those attending the June 26-July 5 national conference in Detroit under the auspices of the National Association of Black Students.

One additional point is worth mentioning as it has been brought into relief by the recent student explosion following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent Kent State, Augusta and Jackson State massacres—all of which have occurred since this speech was given.

As the most massive student strike in world history spread across the campuses of the U.S. this spring, the students rapidly moved to open up the universities under their own control and began to use them as centers for organizing the antiwar movement both on campus and off. At the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago, Wayne State University in Detroit, the University of California in Berkeley and elsewhere, "antiwar universities" were created.

The strategy followed by the antiwar students was clearly parallel to that used by the Black and Third World students in recent years in their struggles to establish Black and Third World universities—institutions relevant to and based on the needs of the Black and Third World communities. The vanguard role of the Black and Third World students and the example they set for the entire student movement is clear.

Just as the campus protest initiated in 1965 against the war in Vietnam helped prepare the way for the Black student revolt in '67, '68, and '69, so the Black student struggle and the quest for the Black university paved the way for the antiwar university. In the former case, as developed by Brother Hawkins, the university becomes an instrument by which the Black community deepens the struggle for self-determination. In the latter case, the university becomes the tool by which the people of this country intensify and extend the struggle against the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

Recently Vice-President Agnew has taken to attacking university presidents. A few days ago he criticized Kingman Brewster, the president of Yale University, for recognizing the fact that students have the democratic right of assembly and free speech—even if they assemble and speak in defense of Bobby Seale and other railroaded members of the Black Panther Party.

Only a few weeks before his latest attack, Agnew attacked Robben Fleming, president of the University of Michigan, for concluding a just agreement with the Black Action Movement and the striking students there, calling the agreement a callow retreat from reality. In both cases, while the seeming target of his attack was a university president, Agnew's real mark was the Black community.

In his attack on the Yale students' defense of the victimized Black Panthers, Agnew not only voiced the Nixon administration's position on the Black struggle and that of both the

Democratic and Republican parties, but joined in the nationwide attack on the Panthers that both parties have initiated and condone.

Agnew's attack on the Black Action Movement and the agreement to admit more Black students to the University of Michigan is also an expression of the policy of both the Democratic and Republican parties. For neither party, despite its rhetoric and its occasional use of Negro politicians as pacifiers in elections, supports the right of Black people to control their own lives.

Whether faced with struggles in the Black community or by Black students on college campuses, the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties respond in the only language they understand—the language of force. It's not by accident, or without their consent, that police are used to intimidate and disrupt peaceful demonstrations for Black studies or increased Black and Third World enrollment in the colleges. It's not by accident that university administrators fight so hard at the bargaining table and renege on agreements once they are concluded.

The struggle for a Black university calls into question the basic foundations of this system—its economic, political, and ideological foundations—and as such it is impossible for those who control this system of government and production, and for those whose job it is to perpetuate this system, to support the struggles of Black students and their supporters.

The concept of the Black university if implemented would begin a process that could totally undermine their system of racism and exploitation.

Even if strictly limited to the chronicling of the true achievements of Black men and women in Africa and the Western Hemisphere, a Black studies department would challenge the lies taught and perpetuated in the educational system of this country. The study of the past struggles of Black people for emancipation on a worldwide scale and the study of the social system that condoned private property in the form of human beings would point the way ideologically toward



Black student leaders of the San Francisco State strike in winter 1968-69. The strike gave major impetus to the Black student movement on the question

forms of struggle necessary for complete emancipation today and toward the root cause of the subjugation of the Black nation here in America.

Yet, the struggles that have erupted across the nation for a Black university have been over demands far beyond the mere teaching of the true history and achievements of Black men and women.

The demand that has been raised for an autonomous Black studies department—under the control of the Black students and faculty—challenges the authority of the university administration to dictate curricula and requirements as well as the relationship of the university to the Black community.

A truly autonomous Black studies department would be a university within the university, drawing all the various fields of education, especially the social sciences, under its roof. For instance a Black studies department organized in this fashion would not limit itself to "history" but would include courses in economics (as it relates to the needs of Black people), psychology (as it relates to the needs of Black people), and sociology (as it

relates to the needs of Black people). Such a department would turn out teachers, social workers and other Black professionals imbued with a sense of responsibility to the Black community rather than with a slavish, servile allegiance to the white ruling class in this country.

Such a Black university would have as its goal the education of Black students for the liberation of Black people in this country. It would turn out each year capable political organizers and administrators, political educators and writers dedicated to the total emancipation of the Black nation in North America.

Organizing center

The type of autonomous department that Black students and their supporters have fought for across the country would itself serve as an organizing center. The facilities of the Black university would be open to all Black groups and individuals. Such a university could provide aid and assistance as well as much needed direction to the struggles of the larger Black community. It would provide the broader population of the Black community with needed information which has historically been more accessible to university students and professors. It would also teach more advanced techniques on how to wage struggles.

A good example of how an autonomous Black or Third World studies department would intervene in the struggles of the community is the action of the Latin-American studies department at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., in reference to a high school strike by Chicano students there. Because the students and faculty of the Latin-American studies department had forged links with the Chicano community, the students, when they went on strike in the high schools, came to them for assistance. The Chicano studies department opened its doors to the striking high school students and held a day-long teach-in on Chicano history and on the relationship of the high school students' struggle to other struggles against this government.

A Black university along the lines of the Latin-American studies department at Merritt would be an invaluable aid in the continuation of the struggle for liberation in the community as a whole.

Open admissions

The demand raised across the country by Black and other Third World students for open admissions to the universities is as much a thorn in the sides of the university administrations and the Democratic and Republican



In spring 1969, Black and Puerto Rican students seized City College in New York, renaming it the University of Harlem. This action paved the way for other struggles that heightened consciousness of need for community control.

le of the Black student



Black student leaders of the San Francisco State strike in winter 1968-69. The strike gave major impetus

to the Black student explosion. It focused attention on the question of who actually controls universities.

student revolt



lent explosion. It focused attention of who actually controls universities.

party politicians as the demand for an autonomous Black studies department.

This demand is part and parcel of the struggle for a Black university and most often must be won before it is possible to realistically wage a struggle for an autonomous studies department. At City College in New York last year, the students seized a section of the campus and held out for over a week demanding an autonomous studies department and open admissions for Third World students. The community rallied to the support of the students, bringing them food and other necessities during their occupation.

It's easy to understand the response of the community to the action of the students. All parents want to see their children have the best, and the chances of Black and Third World students getting a university education are very slim in this country.

The people who rule this country need a source of cheap, readily available labor that they can employ when they need it and lay off when they don't.

Black and other Third World people provide the bulk of this cheap labor force. The perspective of the owners of big business in this country and their political henchmen in Congress is that Black and Third World people will continue to provide the bulk of this cheap labor.

Now if Black and Third World people are going to be a cheap, available labor force they don't need a university education. As a matter of fact, university education for a large portion of Black youth would be an obstacle to keeping Black people in the status of a cheap labor force.

Even if the rulers of this country and the university administrations were to grant admissions to all Black and Third World youth who wanted to attend college, they would be faced with the problem of employing all these college graduates. And when they couldn't do it they would be faced with another struggle on their hands.

Aside from the problems the rulers of this country would face if open admissions were granted to Black and Third World students and autonomous ethnic studies departments established, is the actual fact of the Black community beginning to assert itself over these demands.

Neither Black studies departments nor open or increased admissions will be granted without a struggle. A Black university, open to the community as a whole and responsible only to the community, will be won through struggle. Its very existence would be a brilliant example to all in the Black

community of how to begin to take hold of their own destiny. Consequently, such a successful struggle would begin to undermine the authority and sanctity of the ruling class and its political henchmen.

It is for this very reason that they oppose so violently the struggle for a Black university and sabotage at every turn the gains Black students and their supporters make in struggle.

San Francisco State

At San Francisco State College, the Third World Liberation Front successfully waged a struggle for open admissions and a Third World studies department. The struggle that took place there in 1968-69 is a good example of the power of the Black student movement when adequately organized. The picket lines at the college were respected by the majority of students, Third World and white. White oil workers from the Richmond, California, Standard oil refineries were on strike then, and in return for student assistance on their picket lines, some of them participated in picket lines at the university. By the action of the students they came to see the common enemy they both faced, and they acted accordingly.

But most importantly, the Third World Liberation Front appealed to the community for support and was able to mobilize large numbers of Third World people to support their demands. High school students and adults from the community were on the picket lines every day making it more difficult for university president Hayakawa and the city fathers to unleash their police.

At the conclusion of the bitter strike—the longest student strike in American history—the students had won their demands and an autonomous Third World studies department was formed.

Immediately the college administration and the state legislature began a process of undermining the gains the students had made. Professor Nathan Hare and others in the department have since been fired or forced to resign. Control of the department was taken out of the hands of students and faculty and ultimately the courses within the department were redistributed throughout other departments. The once autonomous studies department was totally emasculated by this move and could serve no longer as an organizing center nor even as an educator for Black liberation, not to speak of producer of leaders for the struggles of the Black community.

This action on the part of the San Francisco State administration was condoned by the state legislature, by the very politicians that Black and Third World people had helped elect the year before.

The legislature here in Michigan, and the board of regents and administration of U of M are no different from those in California. They will do all they can to sabotage the gains made by the Black Action Movement. The very same politicians that will be going from campus to campus and throughout the Black community of Michigan making election speeches and handing out campaign promises will do all they can to undermine the measure of control Black students have won at U of M.

The Black university cannot survive for an indefinite period without assistance and support from the broader community. The struggle at San Francisco State was won by the decisive intervention of community people. The legislature of California and the San Francisco State administration were successful in their attempt

to undermine the Third World studies department there because the Third World community was not sufficiently organized to respond, and the community had no control over the legislature.

An independent Black party

Just at the time when the struggle had to be carried to a higher plane, the apparatus to do so was not available. Had there been a Black political organization that was capable of uniting the whole community in action, Hayakawa and the California state legislature would have thought twice before moving against the studies department.

Such a party that united the broadest possible sections of the Black community would be capable of defending the gains made by any section through mobilizing the whole community. An organization of this sort could be an educator of the Black community, exposing the two-faced politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties; it could coordinate and lead struggles on the campuses and in the community—rent strikes, boycotts, demonstrations for jobs and for control of decent schools, for day-care centers and nurseries, against police brutality and military aggression against colonial freedom fighters like the Vietnamese and Cambodians.

Such an organization would run its own candidates for office, and where Black people are a majority would control the government. A party of this sort could combine activity in the electoral arena with massive mobilizations of the community in its own interest and thereby begin the process of educating and organizing the masses of Black people into a cohesive force able to take control of the Black community.

The struggles of Black students are an integral part of the struggle for Black control of the Black community. It is for this reason that Black students

have been able to involve the broader community in the struggle for a Black university. Not only does this involvement of the community increase the chances of victory, but it also helps educate the community as a whole on how to wage a successful struggle.

The struggle for a Black university can further educate and lead the Black community along the road to a decisive break with the Democratic and Republican parties. By running independent candidates for student government and university boards of trustees, the Black student movement can begin to show all in the Black community the effectiveness of independent electoral action and the necessity of breaking with the two racist capitalist parties and forming an independent mass Black political party.

A party of this sort would serve as an alternative acceptable to the masses of the Black community at their present level of consciousness. For despite the uprisings in the Black communities across the country during the sixties, the majority of Black people still believe in elections and prove it by turning out to vote for crooks of the Democratic party.

The formation of an independent Black party deeply rooted in the masses of the community would spell the end of the two-party shell game. Such an independent party would be an inspiration to other sectors of the American population to organize politically in their own self-interest. But most importantly a mass Black political party could begin the process of struggle, organization, and education needed to sweep the Democrats and Republicans and the system of racism and exploitation they uphold out of the Black community. It is only through such a party that the vanguard role Black people are destined to play will be realized, not only in the struggle for control of the Black community but in the struggle for revolutionary change in this country and in the world.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

	Cloth	Paper
By Malcolm X		
Autobiography of Malcolm X	\$7.50	\$1.25
By Any Means Necessary	5.95	1.95
Malcolm X Speaks	6.95	.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History		1.00
Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
Two Speeches by Malcolm X		.40
By George Breitman		
The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary	4.95	1.95
Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas		.35
How a Minority Can Change Society		.35
Black Nationalism and Socialism by George Breitman and George Novack		.50
The Assassination of Malcolm X by George Breitman and Herman Porter		.50
By Robert S. Browne and Robert Vernon		
Should the U.S. be Partitioned		.50
By Rev. Albert Cleage and George Breitman		
Myths about Malcolm X		.50
By Harold Cruse, Clifton DeBerry, George Breitman		
Marxism and the Negro Struggle		.65
By Etheridge Knight		
Black Voices from Prison	5.95	2.45
Other Works on the Afro-American Struggle		
A Transitional Program for Black Liberation		.25
The Case for a Black Party, Introduction by Paul Boutelle		.35
The Black Uprisings, Newark, Detroit 1967, Introduction by Paul Boutelle		.35
The Black Ghetto by Robert Vernon		.50
Why Watts Exploded by Della Rossa		.35
Harlem Stirs by Fred Halstead		2.50
Freedom Now: New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation, 1963 SWP Resolution		.25
Black Nationalism and Self-Determination by Leon Trotsky		.95
Murder in Memphis: Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle		.25

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

Black women and the struggle for liberation

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

The author is a member of the New York Young Socialist Alliance and the Black Woman's Alliance. Her article is based on a speech given at a class on women's liberation.

In the early part of the sixties, social scientists became more and more interested in the family structure of Blacks. Unemployment and so-called crime among Blacks was increasing, and some of these "scientists" decided that the problems of the Black community were caused by the family pattern among Black people.

Since Blacks were deviating from the "norm" — more female heads of households, higher unemployment, more school "dropouts" — these pseudo-scientists claimed that the way to solve these problems was to build up a more stable Black family in accord with the American patriarchal pattern.

In 1965, the U.S. government published a booklet entitled *The Negro Family—The Case for National Action*. The author (U.S. Dept. of Labor) stated, "In essence, the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole."

According to this theory, the institution of slavery led to a breakdown in the Black family and the development of a so-called matriarchy, in which the Black woman was "dominant." This "matriarchal" structure was held responsible, in turn, for contributing to the "emasculatation" of the Black man. In other words, as these people would have it, the oppression of Black people was partly caused by the chief victims of this oppression, Black women!

This myth of the Black matriarchy has had widespread influence, and is even widely believed in the Black community today. It is something we have to fight against and expose. To show just how wrong this theory is, let's look at the real condition and history of the so-called "dominant" Black woman.

Under slavery, once arriving on

American soil, the African social order of Black people was broken down. Tribes were separated and shipped to different plantations. Slaves underwent a process of desocialization and had to adopt a new culture and language.

Up until 1840, Black men greatly outnumbered Black women. Sociologist E. F. Frazier indicates, in his book *The Negro Family in the U.S.*, that this probably led to "numerous cases of sex relations between Negro slaves and indentured white women." The "marriage" rate between Black men and white women became so high that interracial "marriages" were banned.

Prior to this time, Black men were encouraged to "marry" white women in order to enrich the slavemaster's plantation with more human labor. The Black man in some instances was able to select a mate of his choice. However, in contrast, the Black women had little choice in the selection of her mate. Living in a patriarchal society, she became a mere breeding instrument.

Just as Black men were chained and branded under slavery, so were Black women. Lying nude on the slave ship, some women gave birth to children in the scorching hot sun.

There were economic interests involved in the Black women having as many offspring as she could bear. After her child was born, she was allowed to nurse and fondle the infant only at the slavemaster's discretion. There are cases of Black women who greatly resisted being separated from their children and having them placed on the auction block even though they were subject to flogging. And in some cases, the Black woman took the life of her own children rather than submit them to the oppression of slavery.

The master's household

There are those who say that because the Black woman was in charge of caring for the slavemaster's children, she became an important figure in the household. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Black woman became the most exploited "member" of the master's household. She scrubbed the floors, washed dishes, cared for

the children and was often subjected to the lustful advances of Miss Ann's husband. She became an unpaid domestic. However, she worked outside as well.

Still today, many Black women continue to work in households as underpaid domestics. And as W. E. B. DuBois stated in his essay *The Servant in the House*, "The personal degradation of their work is so great that any white man of decency would rather cut his daughter's throat than let her grow up to such a destiny."

In this way arose the "mammy" image of Black women — an image so embedded in the system that its impact is still felt today. Until recently, the mass media has aided in reinforcing this image of portraying Black women as weighing 200 pounds, holding a child to her breast, and/or scrubbing floors with a rag around her head. For such a one, who was constantly portrayed with her head to the floor and her behind facing the ceiling, it is ludicrous to conceive of any dominant role.

Contrary to popular opinion, all Black women do not willingly submit to the sexual advances of white men. Probably every Black woman has been told the old myth that the only ones who have had sexual freedom in this country are the white man and the Black woman. But, in many instances even physical force has been used to compel Black women to submit. Frazier gives a case in his book where a Black woman who refused the sexual advances of a white man was subdued and held to the ground by Black men while the "master" stood there whipping her.

In some instances, Black women stood in awe of the white skin of their masters and felt that copulation with a white man would enhance her slave status. There was also the possibility that her mulatto offspring would achieve emancipation. Her admiration of white skin was not very different from the slave mentality of some Blacks which caused them to identify with their master.

In some cases, the Black woman who submitted herself sexually played a vital role in saving the life of the Black man. If she gave the master a "good lovin'," she could sometimes prevent her husband from being horse-whipped or punished.

"Emancipation"

The myth that is being perpetrated in the Black community states that somehow the Black woman has managed to escape much of the oppression of slavery and that all avenues of opportunity were opened to her. Well, this is highly interesting, since in 1870 when the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed citizens the right to vote, this right did not apply to the Black woman.

During reconstruction those Blacks who served as justices of the peace and superintendents of education, and in municipal and state governments, were men. Although the reconstruction period was far from being an era of "Black rule," it is estimated that thousands of Black men used their votes to help keep the Republicans in power. The Black women remained on the outside.

To be sure, the Black man had a difficult time exercising his right to vote. Mobs of whites waited for him at the voting booth. Many were threatened with the loss of jobs and subjected to the terror of klan elements. The political activity for the Black man was relatively ephemeral, but while it lasted, many offices for the first time were occupied by them.

The loose ties established between



Photo by Howard Petrick

Maxine Williams

Black men and women during slavery were in many cases dissolved after emancipation. In order to test their freedom, some Black men who remained with their wives began flogging them. Previously, this was a practice reserved only for the white master.

In the later part of the 1860s and early 70s, female heads of households began to crop up. Black men who held jobs as skilled craftsmen, carpenters, etc., were being driven out of these occupations. Since the Republicans no longer needed the Black vote after 1876, the "welfare" of Blacks was placed in southern hands. Black men found it very difficult to obtain jobs and in some instances found employment only as strikebreakers. Black men, who were made to feel "less of a man" in a racist oppressive system, turned toward Black women, and began to blame them for the position they occupied.

The Black woman, in some cases left to herself with children to feed, also went looking for employment. Many went to work in the white man's kitchen. DuBois in the same essay mentioned earlier, *The Servant in the House*, gives a vivid portrayal of the exploitation of domestic workers. He speaks of the personal degradation of their work, the fact that they are still in some instances made to enter and exit by the side door, that they are referred to by their first name, paid extremely low wages and subjected to the sexual exploitation of the "master."

All of this proves that because the Black woman worked, it did not make her more "independent" than the white woman. Rather she became more subject to the brutal exploitation of capitalism — as Black, as worker, as woman.

The "free" labor market

I mentioned earlier that after emancipation Black men had a difficult time obtaining employment, that after emancipation he was barred from many of the crafts he had been trained in under slavery. The labor market for Black women also proved to be a disaster. Black women entered the needle trade in New York in the 1900s, as a cheap source of labor for the employers, and in Chicago in 1917, Black women, who were willing to work for lower wages, were used to break a strike.

There was great distrust between Black and white workers, and in some cities white workers refused to work beside Black women and walked off their jobs.

The Black woman has never held high status in this society. Under slavery she was mated like cattle and used as a mere breeding instrument. Today, the majority of Black women are still confined to the most menial and lowest paid occupations — domestic and laundry workers, file clerks, counter workers, and other service occupations. These jobs in most cases are not yet unionized.

Today, at least 20 percent of Black



Photo by Sid Sattler

Women demonstrating in New York march demanding repeal of state abortion laws, March 28.

women are employed as private household workers, and their median income is \$1,200. These women have the double exploitation of first doing drudgery in someone else's home, and then having to take care of their own households as well. Some are forced to leave their own children without adequate supervision in order to earn money by taking care of someone else's children.

Sixty-one percent of Black married women were in the labor force in 1966. Almost one-fourth of Black families are headed by females, double the percentage for whites. Due to the shortage of Black men, most Black women are forced to accept a relationship on male terms. In Black communities there sometimes exists a type of serial polygamy — a situation where many women share the same man, one at a time.

Black is beautiful

As if Black women did not have enough to contend with—being exploited economically as a worker, being used as a source of cheap labor because she is a female, and being treated even worse because she is Black, she also finds herself fighting the beauty "standards" of a white western society.

Years ago it was a common sight to see Black women wearing blond wigs and rouge, the object being to get as close to the white beauty standard as one possibly could. But, in spite of the fact that bleaching creams and hair straighteners were used, the trick just didn't work. Her skin was still black instead of fair, and her hair kinky instead of straight. She was constantly being compared to the white woman, and she was the antithesis of what was considered beautiful. Usually when she saw a Black man with a white woman, the image she had of herself became even more painful.

But now "Black is beautiful," and the Black woman is playing a more prominent role in the movement. But there is a catch! She is still being told to step back and let the Black man come forward and lead. It is ironic that at a time when all talents and abilities should be utilized to aid in the struggle of national liberation, Stokely Carmichael comes and along and declares that the position of women in the movement is "prone."

And some years later, Eldridge Cleaver in referring to the status of women said they had "pussy power." Since then, the Black Panther Party has somewhat altered its view, saying "women are our other half."

When writing their political statement, the Republic of New Africa stated they wanted the right of all Black



Photo by Michael Hardy

New York welfare mothers displayed combative spirit last fall in demonstrations against Rockefeller's welfare cutbacks.

men to have as many wives as they can afford. This was based on their conception that this is the way things were in Africa. (In their publication *The New Africa* written in December 1969, one of the points in their Declaration of Independence seeks "to assure equality of rights for the sexes." Whether this means that the Black woman would be allowed to have as many husbands as she can afford, I have no way of knowing.)

Abortion and birth control

So today, the Black woman still finds herself up the creek. She feels that she must take the nod from "her man," because if she "acts up," then she just might lose him to a white woman. She must still subordinate herself, her own feelings and desires, especially when it comes to the right of having control of her own body.

When the birth control pill first came into use, it was experimentally tested on Puerto Rican women. It is therefore not surprising that Third World people look at this example and declare that both birth control and abortion is a form of genocide—a device to eliminate Third World people.

However, what is at issue is the right of women to control their own bodies. Enforced motherhood is a form of male supremacy; it is reactionary and brutal. During slavery, the plantation masters forced motherhood on Black women in order to enrich their plantations with more human labor.

It is women who must decide whether they wish to have children or not. Women must have the right to control their own bodies. And this means that we must also speak out against forced sterilization and against compelling welfare mothers to accept contraceptive methods against their will.

There is now a women's liberation movement growing in the United States. By and large, Black women have not played a prominent role in this movement. This is due to the fact that many Black women have not yet developed a feminist consciousness. Black women see their problem mainly as one of national oppression.

The middle-class mentality of some white women in the movement has also helped to make the issue of women's liberation seem to be irrelevant to Black women's needs. For instance, at the November 1969 Congress to Unite Women in New York some of the participants did not want to take a stand against the school tracking system—fearing that "good" students thrown in with "bad" ones would cause the "brilliant" students to leave school,

thus lowering the standards. One white woman had the gall to mention to me that she felt women living in Scarsdale were more oppressed than Third World women trapped in the ghetto. There was also little attempt to deal with the problems of poor women, for example the fact that women in Scarsdale exploit Black women as domestics.

The movement must take a clearer stand against the horrendous conditions in which poor women are forced to work. Some women in the movement are in favor of eliminating the state protective laws for women. However, poor women who are forced to work in sweatshops, factories and laundries need those laws on the books. Not only must the state protective laws for women remain on the books, but we must see that they are enforced and made even stronger.

Women in the women's liberation movement assert that they are tired of being slaves to their husbands, confined to the household performing menial tasks. While the Black woman can sympathize with this view, she does not feel that breaking her ass every day from nine to five is any form of liberation.

She has always had to work. Before the Emancipation Proclamation she worked in the fields of the plantation, as Malcolm X would say, "from can't see in the morning until can't see at night."

And what is liberation under this system? Never owning what you produce, you are forced to become a mere commodity on the labor market. Workers are never secure, and their length of employment is subject to the ups and downs in the economy.

Women's liberation must relate to these problems. What is hampering it now is not the fact that it is still composed of mainly white, "middle-class" women. Rather it is the failure to engage in enough of the type of actions that would draw in and link up with the masses of women not yet in the movement, including working and Third World women. Issues such as day-care, support for the striking telephone workers, support for the laws which improve working conditions for women, and the campaign to free Joan Bird are a step in the right direction.

I don't feel, however, that white women sitting around a room, browbeating one another for their "racism," saying, "I'm a racist, I'm a racist," as some women have done, is doing a damn thing for the Black woman. What is needed is action.

Women's liberation must not isolate

itself from the masses of women or the Third World community. At the same time, white women cannot speak for Black women. Black women must speak for themselves.

The Black Women's Alliance has been formed in New York to begin to do this. We felt there was a need for a revolutionary Black women's movement that spoke to the oppression of Black women as Blacks, as workers, as women. We are involved in reading, discussion, consciousness raising and taking action.

We feel that Black women will have a difficult time relating to the more bitter anti-male sentiment in the women's liberation movement, fearing that it will be a device to keep Black men and women fighting among themselves and diverting their energies from the real enemy. Many Black women realize it will take both men and women to wage an effective struggle. However, this does not negate the necessity of women building our own movement, because we must build our struggle now and continue it after the revolution if we are to achieve real emancipation.

When the Third World woman begins to recognize the depth of her oppression, she will move to form alliances with all revolutionary forces available and settle for nothing less than complete destruction of this racist, capitalist, male-dominated system.

GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Ft. Jackson 8

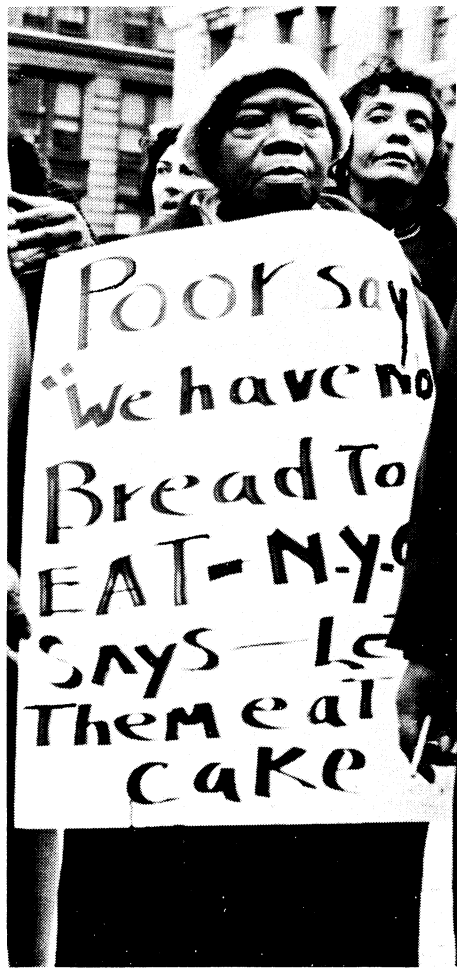
cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.75

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM
By Doug Jenness 35c

GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR
By Mary-Alice Waters 25c

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS
By Caroline Jenness 25c

PATHFINDER PRESS
(formerly Merit Publishers)
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003



Why British Labour Party lost

By GERRY FOLEY

In an extraordinary upset of the forecasts of the pollsters, the Conservative party won the June 18 British general election by a margin of thirty seats in the 630-member House of Commons. Nearly all the preelection public opinion polls had indicated that Labour would win by from 2 to 8.7 percent.

Voter apathy was the apparent cause of the Labour defeat. Despite the fact that young people from eighteen to twenty were given the vote for the first time, the percentage of abstentions was estimated to be as high as 31 percent, instead of the 25 percent that had been expected. Lack of interest in the election issues seems, as usual, to have cut most deeply into the working-class vote.

Ironically, Wilson's Social Democratic advisers thought that a dull campaign would favor Labour. "The campaign has been marked by large amounts of apathy," Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New York Times* magazine of June 14. "With Mr. Heath [the Conservative leader] railing at high prices but not saying what he would do about them, and Mr. Wilson puffing his pipe into the cameras, public indifference is not too surprising. Labour strategists figure that should help them, in the light of Mr. Wilson's personal hold on the voters: if unaroused by issues, they should vote for him."

Wilson's smoothness and polished platform presence were admired by nearly all the bourgeois commentators.

"Paradoxically, the Labor Party—socialist in origin and supposedly still socialist in theory—has emerged as the party of the status quo, heralding no drastic changes, planning no innovations, threatening no upsets to what, on the surface at least seems like a placid, demi-prosperous, no venturesome society," Alfred Friendly wrote in the June 18 issue of the *Washington Post*.

Neither Wilson's pointing to Britain's improved trade balance—the result of devaluation of the pound and austerity policies—nor Heath's warnings about inflation and an economic decline around the corner seem to have gone over with the voters.

"He [the British voter] has become rather cynical, for both parties have records of stodgy [economic] growth, sharp inflation, crisis and restraint [a euphemism for austerity]," correspondent John M. Lee wrote in the June 15 issue of the *New York Times*.

Wilson timed the election to coincide with a high point in the economic cycle and a mood of complacency. For the first time since 1967 the polls showed a lead for Labour. The devaluation of the pound, cuts in so-



Ex-Prime Minister Wilson

cial benefits, and attempts to limit the right to strike had previously produced a strong tide against the Wilson government.

The timing of the election must be seen in terms of Wilson's long-term objective. Like other Social Democratic leaderships, the Labour politicians are concerned about maintaining their reputation as trustworthy managers of the governmental affairs of the capitalist class. At the same time, the Social Democrats must retain their working-class support in order to maintain their usefulness to the ruling class.

The Social Democrats' ability to achieve both aspects of their contra-

dictory objective depends primarily on the economic cycle and the speed with which economic changes are reflected in the popular mood. Wilson relied on the bourgeois pollsters to determine the right time for going to the people.

The results of the elections show that class-collaborationist fakers do not yet have the benefit of exact science for executing their maneuvers. The bourgeois "technology" of opinion sampling, apparently, does not take into consideration the dynamics of social classes—namely that workers are reluctant to take the trouble of voting unless they think they have a material interest in the outcome.

A significant increase in racist demagoguery was registered in the election.

When Enoch Powell began making racist speeches two years ago, Heath considered it necessary to dismiss him from the Tory leadership. In the present election, although Powell escalated his demagoguery, Heath refused to disavow him: "The overwhelming impression of observers is that the Conservative leadership has deliberately decided not to offend supporters of Mr. Powell in this election," Anthony Lewis wrote in the June 12 issue of the *New York Times*.

Powell seemed to reach his peak in Birmingham June 13: "Britain at this moment is under attack," he said. "It is not surprising if many people still find that difficult to realise . . . When we think of an enemy, we still visualise him in the shape of armoured divisions or squadrons of aircraft, or packs of submarines.

"But a nation's existence is not always threatened in the same way. . . .

"This country is today under attack by forces which aim at the actual destruction of our nation and society as we know or can imagine them."

Powell did not name the "enemy," but he gave examples of the enemy's supposed activity: "We have seen the universities of America being destroyed. These institutions . . . only exist and are administered upon terms dictated by the enemy . . . we have seen the same enemy in his student manifestation not only terrorise one European city after another, but bring down one of the strongest European governments. . . .

"Civil government itself has been made to tremble by the mob—in its modern form, the demonstration. The actual policy and administration of the United States has been altered, and altered again by the fact or the fear of crowd behaviour."

The key force in the "enemy's" strategy, according to Powell, is the non-white population of Britain: "'Race' is billed to play a major, perhaps a decisive, part in the battle of Britain, whose enemies must have been unable to believe their good fortune as they watched the numbers of West Indians, Africans, and Asians concentrated in her major cities mount toward the two million mark, and no diminution of the increase yet in sight."

In listing the "enemy" forces, Powell did not fail to include what the bard

of British imperialism, Rudyard Kipling, once called "England's oldest enemy"—the nationalist population of Ireland. "In Ulster we are told that the deliberate destruction by fire and riot of areas of ordinary property is due to dissatisfaction over allocation of council houses and opportunities for employment. It is nonsense—manifest arrant nonsense; but that has not prevented the Parliament and government of the United Kingdom from undermining the morale of civil government in Northern Ireland by imputing to it the blame for anarchy and violence."

The Tory victory inspired joy in British financial circles. "Champagne corks popped in some London brokerage offices today as financial markets gave Britain's new Conservative



Racist MP Enoch Powell

Government a huge vote of confidence," John M. Lee wrote from London in the June 20 issue of the *New York Times*.

The *Financial Times* industrial share index scored an almost unprecedented rise of 22.6 points in the first hour of trading.

"Let's face it," one dealer told Lee, "The City [London's financial market] likes the Tories a lot better than the Socialists. . . . Harold Wilson improved, but he was never really trusted."

Intercontinental Press

Texas abortion laws ruled unconstitutional

By LAURA MAGGI

AUSTIN—A U. S. district court in Dallas ruled June 17 that the Texas abortion laws are unconstitutional because "the fundamental right of single women and married persons to choose whether to have children is protected by the Ninth Amendment through the Fourteenth Amendment." The court also ruled that the Texas abortion laws are "unconstitutionally overbroad."

While abortion laws in other states have been declared unconstitutional for various causes, the Texas ruling is the first to assert that women have a basic right to control their own childbearing functions.

The three-judge panel ruled on a suit originally filed by a pregnant girl, a married couple and a doctor who was facing two criminal abortion charges. Dr. Paul Trickett, director of the Student Health Service at the University of Texas at Austin, filed an affidavit in support of the suit.

Women's liberation activists across the state had supported the case, through petitioning, informational fact

sheets and picketing in support of the case at the Dallas courthouse. Members of women's liberation groups were generally pleased at the ruling, but disappointed that an injunction against the enforcement of the unconstitutional law was denied.

The state is appealing the case, but Gov. Preston Smith has stated that a liberalized abortion law along the lines of California's will certainly be introduced at the next session of the Texas legislature—which will meet before the higher court has ruled on the appeal.

Austin Women's Liberation members will be drawing up the "ideal abortion law," and circulating it around the state in an effort to gain support for the complete repeal of the Texas abortion laws. Projected plans for the group in the fall include a statewide conference sponsored by the Abortion Law Committee of Austin Women's Liberation, demonstrations, picketing and more petitioning.

As one Texas woman said, "The court case was a start; it certainly isn't enough."

Kent State YSA functioning

KENT, Ohio—With the resumption of school at Kent State University, the Kent State YSA is back in operation. It can be contacted by writing: YSA, P. O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240, or phoning (216) 672-3976.

Attend classes on women's liberation & revolutionary socialism

Saturdays 2-5pm
873 Broadway (near 18th)
New York City

June 27 Is socialism the answer to women's oppression?

July 11 Is there a contradiction between an independent women's liberation movement and the revolutionary party?

.50 per class

Child care Available

SPONSORED BY WOMEN'S LIBERATION COMMITTEE FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS 1970 CAMPAIGN; YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE.

While Nixon talks on recession deepens

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 20—President Nixon's June 17 speech to the nation on "Inflation and Economic Policy" was apparently designed to soothe fears about the future of the economy by announcing no measures to deal with it.

Nixon maintained that "We are trying to do something that never has been done before—to avoid a recession while we bring a major inflation to an end."

But the Gross National Product has already declined for two quarters in a row—the definition of a recession that had generally been accepted by economists before last March. Unemployment and prices continue to climb.

In May, prices rose nationally at an annual rate of 6 percent, as they had in April. This meant that the six-month price climb from November to May of 3.1 percent was considerably higher than the price rise in the previous six-month period, May to October 1969, of 2.4 percent.

Another economic indicator reported this week also suggested that the recession is still deepening—the total personal income of all Americans de-

clined in May. It was the first time this has happened in five years.

As families have less money to spend, business can be forced to cut back production, and more workers are laid off.

Nixon promised in his speech to help those who are unemployed, through the Manpower Training Act which he submitted to Congress almost a year ago. But job-training programs even when they are funded by the government (which is unlikely in this case) cannot help workers when there are no jobs to train for.

Many thousands of workers who were trained in such programs during the latter half of 1968 and 1969 have already lost their jobs as a result of the economic slowdown. They were trained for the least skilled, least needed jobs. These were the first to go.

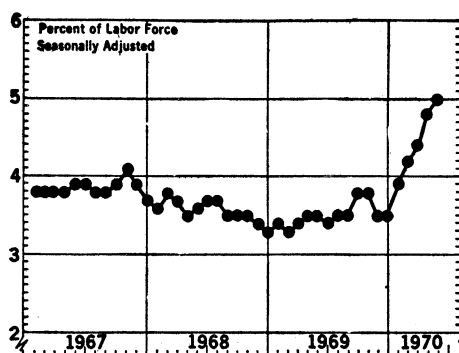
It is unlikely that any substantial funds will be provided for economic relief because the White House is cutting back federal spending as part of its program "to combat" inflation. Especially now that Nixon has escalated the war, and unbalanced the budget, we will hear more, not less, talk about cutting back government spending.

What is most significant about Nixon's speech is his repeated objection to wage and price controls. The new upsurge of labor militancy, marked by such strikes as the long battle against General Electric last winter and the postal workers walkout in the spring, has convinced the administration that it can't make wage controls stick at this time.

Before making a direct attack on wages, Nixon hopes to further bolster the propaganda that wage raises cause inflation. That is the point of his "Inflation Alert" panel, also proposed in the speech. Its job will be "purely educational" Nixon says.

The "education" involved here will be more lies about the myth of the wage-price spiral.

Unemployment Rate Up



UNEMPLOYMENT rose in May to a seasonally adjusted rate of 5% of the labor force from 4.8% a month earlier, the Labor Department reports.

Supreme Court extends definition of CO status

By RANDY FURST

In a major ruling handed down June 16, the United States Supreme Court significantly expanded the definition of "conscientious objector." The court declared that men who oppose war on moral and ethical grounds can be exempted from military service.

Prior to the June 16 ruling a CO applicant had to hold "religious" beliefs in a supreme being in order to escape the draft.

The court held that the Selective Service exempts "all those whose consciences, spurred by deeply held moral, ethical, or religious beliefs, would give them no rest or peace if they allowed themselves to become part of an instrument of war."

The 5-to-3 decision offered a clear indication of the social pressures on

the high court. Hundreds of thousands of youth have had their CO applications rejected, and mass hostility among youth to the Army and the Vietnam war has never been higher.

Selective Service director Curtis W. Tarr rapidly issued new guidelines to the country's 4,087 draft boards stipulating that men asking for conscientious objector status must "have consulted some system of belief," and that their objections to military service must be "the result of some rigorous kind of training."

In its decision, the court overturned the conviction of Elliott Ashton Welsh 2nd, 29, of Los Angeles.

In another major decision, the Supreme Court ruled that Draft Board 47 in Louisville, Ky., was wrong in refusing to reopen the case of Joseph Mulloy, an organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Mulloy's draft board refused to consider Mulloy's request for classification as a CO, and proceeded to order his induction. By a vote of 8 to 0, the court set aside Mulloy's five year sentence and \$10,000 fine for refusing induction.

SCEF and Mulloy had charged that the local board had refused to consider Mulloy's CO application because he had been involved in a fight to halt strip mining of coal in Kentucky.

Socialist scholars focus on women's liberation

NEW YORK—The high points of the sixth annual Socialist Scholars Conference here June 13 and 14 were panel discussions on women's liberation. Four sessions of the conference were devoted to questions concerning women's struggles, and women came from a number of different areas to participate, including California, Kansas, Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania, New York and Boston.

But the tone of the SSC was also marked by new and more explicit rejections of Leninism by a variety of "new left" speakers. These included Raymond Franklin (Queens College), Paul Buhle (*Radical America*), and Stanely Aronowitz (*Liberated Guardian*).

A discussion of the present status of women was presented by Margaret Benston from Simon Fraser University in Canada. She enlarged upon her previous analysis of women's role as domestic slaves ("The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," *Monthly Review*, Sept. 1969) by dealing with women's second, more hidden role as an integral part of the labor force.

During another session, Evelyn Reed, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and author of "Problems of Women's Liberation," dealt with the roots of women's oppression from a historical standpoint. She traced the connection of the development of male supremacy with the rise of private property, classes, the family and the state.

She criticized the analysis of women as an oppressed class or caste, saying that such analysis can lead to a wrong strategy. According to Evelyn Reed, women are oppressed as a sex, but belong to all classes. The strategy of the women's movement must be to build a mass independent women's liberation movement and also to ally themselves with the struggles of all other oppressed layers of men and women workers, Blacks, Chicanos, Native-Americans and other oppressed national minorities.

Marlene Dixon (McGill University) took on the argument that the independent women's movement is "divisive" and just a bunch of "man-haters." She pointed out that people who hold this view "want to deny women the right to rage," and that this rage against oppression is the basis for all revolutionary movements.

On the other hand, she said, it is fruitless for the women's movement to center its energies on fighting against male chauvinist attitudes; rather we must fight against the institutionalized forms of women's oppression.

One of the most important questions to come up for debate was what demands the women's liberation movement should fight for. For example, Roxanne Dunbar, who appeared on the same panel with Evelyn Reed, maintained that the movement around

the abortion issue was racist because women in the Black community consider forced birth control and sterilization to be genocidal and also because abortion reform is favored by some sections of the ruling class.

Her proposals on this issue were for the women's movement to set up clinics to perform illegal abortions, and to encourage women to practice sexual abstinence to prevent pregnancy.

Other women, including Evelyn Reed, defended the abortion issue as one arising out of burning needs of women. It was pointed out that just because some people favor abortion reform for the wrong reasons doesn't mean we shouldn't fight for it, and that the women's liberation movement must inject the correct approach to this issue: The correct demand is that women must have the right to control their own bodies, and free and legal abortion on demand must be linked with the demand to elimination of forced sterilization and birth control.

During panels on topics other than women's liberation, Raymond Franklin presented a thesis long espoused by James Weinstein, formerly of *Studies on the Left* and now an editor of *Socialist Revolution*. The idea is that the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs' time presents the organizational model for a radical party in the United States.

Franklin especially rejected what he called the "elitist" conception of Lenin that socialist consciousness must be introduced into working class movements by a party "outside" the working class.

When Robert Langston (*The Militant*) asked Franklin how socialist consciousness could be brought to the working class organizations—which clearly do not have socialist consciousness right now—except from "outside" those organizations, Franklin had no answer.

A panel headed by Karl Klare (Adelphi College) and Ruth Meyerowitz defended a paper written by Klare, Meyerowitz, Frank Brodhead, Edward Greer and Amy Kesselman, all former SDSers. The paper called for a "cultural revolution," rejecting the struggle for state power as the central task of revolutionists, and rejecting the Leninist combat party as the necessary organizational form to lead the struggle for state power.

Aronowitz praised the paper to the skies, saying that it "saved Marx from the Marxists." In the course of rambling comments, Aronowitz also rejected the CIO as a necessary stage of the American working-class struggle. He attacked Trotskyists and Stalinists for supporting the formation of the CIO.

Several older socialists who had participated in the mass struggle to unionize basic industry in this country took strong exception to Aronowitz's latest fancies.

"Now, Remember — It Must Be a Conscientious and Deeply Held Objection . . ."



Back in Print

THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM
and the
TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
By Leon Trotsky

48pp 50 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

In In B In Br In Bri In Brie In Brief

By RANDY FURST

ANTIWAR OFFICERS: Two Navy lieutenants holding top intelligence jobs in Washington, D. C., have been relieved of their positions for antiwar activities. The Pentagon reported June 6 that Lieutenants (jg) Gordon Kerr and James Pahura were under investigation "because of their association with the Concerned Officers Movement." One officer told *The Militant* that the group now numbers more than 50. "We meet at least once a week," he said. The antiwar organization, said the officer—who asked not to be identified—includes a Lt. Colonel.

HARLEM RALLY: Opponents of the mass unemployment and poverty in the Caribbean have planned a rally in Harlem June 28 at 2:30 p.m. The rally site is Harlem Hospital Auditorium, 135th St. and Lenox Ave. Main speaker is Dr. Jan Carew, recently returned from a visit to his native Guyana and the Caribbean. Dr. Carew currently teaches in the Black Studies Department at Princeton University. The Caribbean may be a tropical paradise for a few, says the Committee for Caribbean Freedom, which is sponsoring the rally, but for the masses it's a hell hole. For information on the rally, contact the committee at 243 West 125th St., Rm. 16, New York, N. Y. 10027. Phone: 212-666-1719. . . . **STATE ASKS DEATH:** The state—to no one's surprise—will ask the death penalty for Los Siete de la Raza, the seven Latinos charged with murder in the death of San Francisco policeman Joseph Brodnik. Jury selection is underway.

EPTON REPORTED PURGED: Bill Epton, long-time Harlem activist and prominent Progressive Labor Party spokesman has not been visibly associated with PL for a number of months. Queried on current reports that he has been expelled from PL, Epton declined public comment on the issue.

OVERTURN PRESIDIO CONVICTIONS: The United States Court of Military Review has overturned the convictions of four men court-martialed after the sitdown demonstration at the Presidio Stockade in San Francisco in October 1968. The court found Pvt. Nesrey Sood, Pfc. John Colip, Pvt. Louis Osczepinski and Pvt. Lawrence Reidel innocent of mutiny. The court ruled that there was "insufficient evidence that they intended in concert to overthrow military authority." Chief attorney Terence Hallinan told *The Militant* that he expected that the other 24 Presidio prisoners would also have their convictions reversed. "It was not only a great victory for them," said Hallinan, "but it was a great victory in a legal sense because it takes away that power to declare any refusal to obey in concert a mutiny." The Presidio 27 staged the sitdown after a fellow prisoner was shot in the back by a guard.

McCann recovering from eye operation

CLEVELAND—John McCann, the antiwar activist who was beaten by Progressive Labor Party-SDSers, was operated on here for a detached retina June 17. While the final outcome of the operation is not yet known, doctors say he has a good chance for complete recovery of vision in the eye. McCann was injured when PL-SDSers tried to invade a May 24 national steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee.

N. J. PRISON SITDOWN: Some 350 prisoners—half of them Black—refused to leave the auditorium at the Bordentown Reformatory in New Jersey June 21. According to the reformatory superintendent, Dr. Ira Mintz, the prisoners laid out five demands: better food, less censorship of reading material, more movies that deal with social issues, more literature by controversial Black authors and lower prices in the prison canteen. "They don't want to deal with the inflation problem," grumbled Mintz in an interview with *The Militant*. He said that more than 100 state troopers were ready to move in if the prisoners had failed to vacate the auditorium.

GROPPI APPEAL GRANTED: The Supreme Court said June 15 that it will hear the case of civil rights leader Rev. James Groppi. The Milwaukee priest was convicted in 1968 of resisting arrest during an open housing demonstration. . . . **McREYNOLDS QUILTS:** David McReynolds told this reporter that he has resigned from the Socialist Party—after a split at the SP's June 19-21 convention failed to materialize. He indicated in a press release that his decision was due to the SP's continued drift to the right and pro-Vietnam war position. He assailed the Socialist Party's alliance with "The Daley-Humphrey-Goldberg-wing of the Democratic Party." He did not indicate what his position would have been had the SP aligned itself with the "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party. McReynolds campaigned for McCarthy in 1968. In 1964 he supported Lyndon Johnson against Goldwater.

ARRESTS IN D. C.: Nathaniel Pierce, co-director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, reports that 98 persons including 26 juveniles were arrested during "masses for peace" conducted by his group June 15-19 at the Pentagon. Charges were dropped against the juveniles. . . . **OAS PROTEST:** Radicals are reported organizing protests at the Pan American Union in Washington, D. C., June 25 to July 4, where the Organization of American States is planning a conference. . . . **FARMWORKERS RECOGNIZED:** Roberts Farms in California has signed an agreement with the United Farmworkers. Roberts Farms employs over 4,000 workers. During the five and a half year strike, the owners used convict labor, Native-Americans, braceros, and Mexican laborers in an effort to break the strike. The agreement, signed June 10, includes recognition of the union, an increase in wages, a health fund, and a promise that the company will not use DDT and other pesticides harmful to the pickers. Abatti Brothers, growers of grapes and melons, also have signed.

KUNSTLER ATTACKED: A right-wing group called the Edmund Burke Society rushed the stage at Convocation Hall in Toronto June 23 and scuffled with William Kunstler, defense attorney for the Chicago Eight. Back in the states, Kunstler explained what happened in a telephone interview. "About 20 of them were in the audience," said Kunstler. "They began to heckle like mad. I said, instead of heckling, come up and use the microphone. So a group came up led by this one man, 21 or so, and when he came to the microphone, I gave him a glass of water. He immediately poured the water down my front so I emptied the pitcher of water on him. That caused a kind of melee. He was eventually knocked out. Another guy jumped on the stage and tried to get me and I just grabbed him and both of us fell down and he was taken out and the rest of the right-wingers left and then I gave my speech. There are two



Latest developments in election law fights

A partial victory in an SWP suit challenging the Georgia election laws was won June 22 when a three-judge federal court ruled unconstitutional the \$2,125 qualifying fee for each of three SWP candidates. The court, however, upheld the discriminatory provision requiring more than 88,000 signatures to gain ballot status and set a Sept. 1 deadline for the SWP to collect these signatures. This will be immediately appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The decision was carefully worded and timed so no candidates other than those of the SWP could benefit from it in the current elections.

At a widely covered news conference, SWP gubernatorial candidate Linda Jenness pointed to the significance of the decision for future elections in both Georgia and other states. At the same time she sharply criticized the deliberate attempt to restrict participation by Black and working-class candidates in whose interests the SWP had filed the suit in the first place.

Meanwhile in another victory, on June 23, a three-judge federal court in New York refused to grant a request by the state attorney general for a stay of its June 18 decision striking down sections of the state election law. The state sought a stay pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

For a background story on these and other SWP suits challenging the election laws, see the article on p. 9.

warrants out for me in Toronto. One is for assault for causing personal injury. The other is for common assault. They are both apparently misdemeanors."

NEW HAVEN TRIAL: Jury selection continued last week for Lonnie McLucas, first of the New Haven Panther 8 to go on trial. Defense requests for a mistrial were rejected. Five jurors have been selected so far. . . . **RUBIN IN JAIL:** Jerry Rubin began a 30 day sentence June 23 for disorderly conduct during the demonstrations at the Pentagon in October 1967. . . . **PANTHERS CALL CONVENTION:** The Black Panther Party has called for a new Constitutional Convention. "It had best be understood, now," said David Hilliard in a prepared statement, "that the power we rely upon, ultimately, as our only guarantee against Genocide at the hands of the Fascist Majority, is our strategic ability to lay this country in ruins, from the bottom to the top." Other speakers included Gerald Lefcourt, Mrs. Artie Seale and Ossie Davis.

McSURELY TRIAL: Alan and Margaret McSurely asked the court to dismiss their contempt-of-Congress indictments during the first day of the trial in federal court in Washington, D. C., June 22. The McSurelys, antipoverty workers, refused to turn over radical documents and papers to the McClellan subcommittee in 1969. . . . **YSA NEWSPAPER:** The *Young Socialist Organizer*, bi-weekly publication of the YSA, is available to nonmembers for \$2.50 per year. The newspaper, a combination news bulletin and strategy sheet, is free to YSAers. Write for a sub to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. . . . **WOULD USE WEAPONS:** "Would you use weapons to secure your rights back home?" a *New York Times* reporter team asked a cross-section of Black American soldiers currently stationed in Vietnam. 49.2 percent of Black enlisted men answered yes; 31.4 percent of Black officers said yes; 43.8 percent of Black combat troops said yes; and 55.8 percent of Black support troops answered yes.

AGNEW PICKETED: About 1,000 people protested the appearance of Spiro T. Agnew at a \$100-a-plate GOP fund raising dinner in Detroit June 15. The picket line outside Cobo Hall was backed by a broad number of organizations including the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now, the Student Mobilization Committee, United Farm Workers, the Brown Berets and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. A main speaker at the rally was Paul Silver, international UAW representative from Region 1B. Cleveland attorney Jerry Gordon also spoke.

Contributors to this week's report include Keith Jones, Washington, D. C.; Norman Oliver, Detroit, and Liberation News Service, New York.

National picket line

Fear of postal strike spurs action in House

By MARVELL SCHOLL

On June 18 the House of Representatives passed its own original version of the Post Office Reform Bill. A similar bill has already been reported out of committee in the Senate, but the Senate still has to act.

The new bill grants postal workers an 8 percent increase in wages in addition to the 6 percent they won by strike last March-April. The increase is retroactive to April 16. It also provides that the new public corporation being set up to operate the postal system will bargain collectively with the postal workers, and reduces the time span from starting to maximum salaries from 21 to 8 years. Other conditions—health, welfare and pension plans, vacation and sick time, etc.—will be subjects for negotiations after the new post office corporation is set up.

The passage of the House bill marked a decisive defeat for both President Nixon and AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Actually, this congressional action and the history which preceded it provide a valuable lesson for all of labor concerning the role of those mighty mice who control and strangle the entire labor movement—the bureaucracy, especially as exemplified by George Meany.

When last spring's postal strike held tight—despite injunctions and the use of federal troops to move the mail—a temporary settlement was arrived at between Nixon, George Meany and Post Master General Blount. The workers were granted a 6 percent immediate increase with the promise of an additional 8 percent, retroactive to April 16, once the postal reform bill was passed by Congress.

In another completely secret meeting between Nixon, Meany and Blount, a deal was made wherein Meany traded off the retroactive pay increase for the promise of exclusive bargaining rights for his seven AFL-CIO craft unions in the trade.

This would have frozen out all of the independent unions—particularly the National Postal Workers Union—which hold contracts in many cities.

When the House version of the reform bill was presented, it provided for the promised pay raise retroactive to April 16, the right of workers to collective bargaining, but not the right to strike, and the compression of time between the minimum and maximum wage levels from 21 to 8 years.

The bill scarcely had its first reading when a substitute bill was introduced by Rep. Udall (D.-Ariz.) and Rep. Derwinski (R.-Ill.) containing all the features of the secret agreement between Nixon and Meany. Meany wrote letters to all the legislators urging them to support the substitute bill.

On June 16 the House gave both Meany and Nixon the back of the hand by voting, by a huge majority, to refuse to consider the Udall-Derwinski bill.

Prior to the time either bill had been introduced, members of the AFL-CIO National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 36, Manhattan and the Bronx, gave their "leader" Gustave Johnson a bad time when, in a meeting on June 12, he proposed that the strike vote scheduled for July 1 be put off until July 6. He had to be rescued from a large dissident group by his police escort—down the fire escape!

On June 11, James H. Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, announced he had called his executive committee to Washington to authorize him to call an immediate strike if Congress had not acted on the postal reform bill by June 19.

When the House bill was presented, followed quickly by the Udall-Derwinski bill, Rademacher threatened to call a strike unless this *substitute* bill was passed.



Congressional moves seek to avert repeat of last spring's strike by militant Post Office workers.

Moe Biller, president of the New York branch of the Postal Workers (independent) immediately held a televised press conference where he said his union would strike if the House did not pass its own *original* version of reform.

Even though the House Post Office Reform bill has passed, containing at least the major demands of the workers, the men and women who work for the largest employer in the country are still angry and apprehensive. They know that they may still have to strike because the bill faces two hurdles—the Senate and the president's possible veto.

All these workers want is enough money to keep their families above the poverty level (some postal workers in New York with large families

either moonlight or get supplemental public relief), decent working conditions, better health, welfare and pension benefits, *and the right to choose their own union.*

In the fight for this right they not only face the U.S. government and whatever new bureaucracy it sets up to handle the mail, but their own so-called leaders.

In his July 17 televised message on the state of the economy, Nixon warned labor, employers and the Congress that "it is time to do some political arithmetic."

It is long past the time when the organized labor movement did some "political arithmetic" too, and kicked out those "labor statesmen" whose specialty seems to be making scurvy deals with capitalist politicians.

♀ Women's liberation notes

The business world is becoming increasingly concerned about the impact of women's liberation on "business as usual." For example, the June 20 *Business Week* carries a column advising businessmen on how to cope with the growing revolt of female secretaries against their traditional roles as secretary-slave.

"A top man who needs a private secretary may run smack into the women's liberation movement," the article warns. And "Women's Lib, with its egalitarian psychology, is bigger than you may realize."

The article suggests that those who want a "really top-notch" secretary should be prepared to limit the purely mechanical work they do, and increase the "real" responsibilities, for example, "giving the girl (!) a chance to contact customers, sales people, management staff and maybe even travel."

Another item, in the June 15 issue of *Time*, reports that advertisement agencies have found that women's liberation "militants" are gaining "wide support" for their attacks on the dehumanized image of women in advertising. "Agency executives are understandably concerned," *Time* points out, "partly because women are by far the biggest buyers of packaged goods."

A more important indication of the pressure being brought to bear by women's liberation is a series of bills which have been introduced by state senator Mervyn Dymally into the California state legislature dealing with equality for women in education.

Among other things, the bills call for hiring of more women professors

at state colleges and universities, requiring that the number of women in the student body of each college and university reflect the number of women in the population as a whole, and the setting up of child-care centers on all campuses. Another hotly debated bill calls for ending the use of stereotyped images of women in textbooks.

New women's liberation newspapers continue to pop up around the country. In the Los Angeles area, women's liberation supporters should subscribe to *Everywoman*, a paper which carries reports on movement activities, articles on the nature of women's oppression, women's history, etc. Send \$2.50 to *Everywoman*, 6516 W. 83rd St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.

Another new publication is the "Women's Liberation Newsletter," now being put out by activists in Austin. If you want to receive news about the women's movement in Texas, or would like to send a news item or a contribution to the Newsletter, contact Judy Walther, 6090 Oakland, Austin, Texas.

Correction: Two weeks ago, *The Militant* carried an article on the feminist literary magazine *Aphra*, listing the subscription price at \$4.00 a year. The correct rate is \$3.50. A subscription to *Aphra* can be obtained by writing Box 355, Springtown, Pa. 18081.

The campaign being waged by the clothing industry to maximize profits by manipulating skirt lengths is now in full swing.

If anyone has any doubts as to the conspiratorial nature of this full-scale

effort to persuade women to discard last year's short dresses in favor of the midi, consider the following revelations from an article by Bernadine Morris on the fashion page of the *New York Times*.

According to Morris, their strategic plan is to first break down women's resistance by selling her a long coat. "The feeling is," she reports, "that most women will be tempted by the midicoat. After all, it's likely to keep them warm. And having acquired the proper coat, women will more likely buy a long dress, the theory goes."

Another ploy is to get rich women who can better afford it to switch first to the midi on the grounds that the rest of us will follow. Stores catering to the wealthy—Bonwit Teller, Lord & Taylor, etc.—are stocking no short skirts.

The advertisers are even attempting to pacify those who are worried that women won't be as effective as sex objects if they wear the longer lengths. An ad in a recent *Times* magazine announces: "Leg watchers relax. . . . The midi may well be the sexiest skirt ever. Leg-conscious designers are slitting it [skirts] up the front or sometimes up the side—thigh high."

And there is still another angle. At Bonwit Teller all sales women are *required* to be wearing the midilengths by Aug. 3.

Chauvinist quote of the week: "Women are marvelous. I love 'em. But they don't belong in this club."—A member of the all-male National Press Club, which is now holding a referendum on whether to let women join.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

WHICH ROAD FOR ISRAEL—IS A JEWISH-ARAB STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM POSSIBLE? Speaker: Arie Bober of the Israeli Socialist Organization. Fri., July 3, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1 (hs'ers 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...meaning of Newark elections

(continued from page 3)

feud with the party hierarchy throughout the early 1960s, put together a slate of Black liberals to run for city office, including Kenneth Gibson for mayor. Robert Curvin, later the chairman of the committee that put together the Black and Puerto Rican Convention, was active in this campaign.

Gibson entered this campaign at the last minute and placed a surprisingly strong third. He refused to endorse either candidate for the run-off.

The following year saw the Newark uprising. The coalition of liberal Blacks began to fall apart under the pressure of the increasingly radical Black masses. Richardson rejoined the Democratic Party and was elected state assemblyman. Gibson and Curvin refused to follow the latter into the swamp. They were already looking toward an alliance with a new phenomenon that had appeared on the scene soon after the rebellion: the nationalist electoral campaign being run by Ameer Baraka and his United Brothers.

In 1968, one year after the Black uprising, the United Brothers, through their strength in the local antipoverty program, ran three candidates for city council. All were defeated, but they attracted a good deal of attention.

Out of this campaign came the alliance between two forces: Ameer



TURNING POINT. The fierce rebellion which exploded in Newark's Black community in 1967 proved to have deep and far-reaching political implications, leading to the election of the city's first Black mayor.

Baraka's United Brothers and the independent Black liberals centered around Gibson. These were the two forces that built the Convention.

When the Convention was held last November, close to 1,000 delegates were invited. Some 300 community organizations, church groups, youth groups, etc. were invited to send two delegates each. One hundred "notables" were invited. And 150 Republican and Democratic Party officials were invited, but few attended, on the grounds that whites were being excluded.

Of the eight candidates chosen at this Convention, two of them—Tucker and Pinckney—had run on the United Brothers slate. Gibson and Earl Harris were well-known liberals. Alvin Oliver, was a Democratic Party official. The other three candidates—Westbrooks, James, and Aneses—had no record of previous political activity.

The program which was approved attempted to duck every major issue. No mention was made of the war in Vietnam. A call for "community control of the schools" was very obscure. Other proposals included enforcing the law that all city employees—including the police—be Newark residents; updating property taxes; a police review board; and taxing the one-third of Newark's land area controlled by the Port Authority.

This program tended to give each candidate a free hand in elaborating

his own ideas without regard for the campaign of his fellow candidates. The "slate" was really a series of eight almost totally separate campaigns. Gibson's headquarters, for instance, did not carry statements issued by the other candidates.

This situation came to a head around the Newark teachers' strike in February of this year. Of the close to 4,000 teachers represented by the Newark Teachers Union, 30 percent are Black and form part of the leadership of the NTU.

Ameer Baraka made the mistake of announcing on television that he was working with the roundly-despised board of education to crush the strike. The reaction in the Black community was so bad that the next week he was forced to announce he was against the board, but still against the strike. He was suddenly for "community control."

Gibson first came out for binding arbitration and later, at a Black student conference, for the arrest of the teachers because they were violating the law. The problem with the school system was not the lack of community control, but "bad administrators." "People are the problem, not the structure," he explained.

A third view was brought in by Donald Tucker. "The teachers union is wrong—not in seeking higher wages—but in allowing itself to be separated from its natural allies," the Black community. He posed the alternative of a joint struggle of the union and the

Black community for community control of the schools and better wages and working conditions for the teachers. Such a struggle would certainly have been massive in its scope, involving the overwhelming majority of the population, and without a doubt it would have accomplished sweeping changes.

The teachers' strike brought out the Achilles heel of the Convention, that is, its lack of a real program. Gibson, Baraka and Tucker were campaigning for the same slate.

Whereas the sentiment of the Black masses is for control, Black control, the Convention produced no corresponding program. This gap will surface again when community mobilizations for control take place during the Gibson administration.

In addition to lacking a program of Black control, through which the masses could exercise influence over the elected candidates, the Black masses of Newark also have no organization through which to fight.

A convention lasts but a few days. What is needed is an organization that will operate 365 days a year, i.e., a Black political party, controlled by the masses.

In an interview in the April 24 *Muhammad Speaks*, Ameer Baraka stated, "A Black national party? We hope in the Northern part of New Jersey that we have a national party designed to get more consciousness to Black people. . . ."

Such an organization must pass from words into reality. Only through the building of a Black party with a program of Black control of the Black community will Black people exercise control over those whom they elect. Such a party would bring the action at the ballot box into line with the action in the streets.

Berkeley-Oakland

EAST BAY SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL

Berkeley, Calif.
2519-A Telegraph Ave.,

Phone: 848-9337

- The Revolutionary Political Party begins Sat., June 27, 11:00 A.M.
- The Method of Marxism begins Sat., June 27, 2:00 P.M.
- How to Make a Revolution begins Tues., June 20, 8:00 P.M.
- The American Labor Movement begins Wed., July 1, 8:00 P.M.
- The Chinese Revolution begins Thurs., July 2, 8:00 P.M.

Series on CP to be resumed

In our June 19 issue *The Militant* published the first of a number of articles dealing with the Communist Party's recent attacks on Trotskyism. The second article, taking up the popular front in Spain during the 1930s, will appear in our next issue.

...the strategy of the antiwar university

(continued from page 8)

World communities, and high schoolers.

Again, the May events demonstrated the potential of the student movement to have an impact on much broader layers than campus workers alone. Thousands—even millions—of students are ready and willing to help reach out and win support for the antiwar movement.

Students can offer speakers to trade unions, church groups, women's groups, demand space in the mass media, use the university newspapers to reach out to the community, countering all the lies in the daily newspapers. They can offer high school students an organizing center and open the university to community antiwar groups, women's liberation groups and Black and Third World organizations.

No mistake should be made. To turn the universities into massive organizing centers against the imperialist war in Southeast Asia is one of the best ways to expose the university administrations and boards of regents

made up of multimillionaire corporation owners.

Many university presidents were forced to capitulate to the student strike and give the university facilities over to the antiwar movement, and this was due to two factors.

First, it was a sign of the overwhelming antiwar sentiment on the campuses. And secondly, it was a reflection of the deep split within the ruling class itself on how to proceed with the war.

Through building antiwar universities, the student antiwar movement is best able to drive a wedge into that split and widen it—to put the university officials on the spot and often force them to capitulate to the student movement. The value of splitting and weakening the forces of the enemy is a concept even those trained by Mao-tsetung Thought should be able to comprehend.

At Columbia University the students succeeded in forcing President Cordier to call an official university convocation which formally decided to give the university facilities over to the antiwar movement. This was a signifi-

cant victory for the student movement. To label this convocation a "sellout" because Cordier spoke, as PL and SDS do, is either blindness to, or distortion of, the obvious essence of that convocation, which was that Cordier was forced by the students, professors and their allies to capitulate to the antiwar movement and to aid it.

What lies at the bottom of the PL and SDS opposition to the concept of the antiwar university is contempt for the student movement in general and an inability to comprehend the radicalizing dynamic of the antiwar struggle itself.

The American May events followed on the heels of a whole series of international student upsurges which have brought some countries to the brink of revolutionary situations—the Mexican student revolt, the French May events, the events in Argentina and Pakistan. The American May events are still another striking confirmation that the student movement through mass mobilizations based on the universities can be a powerful force in the vanguard of anticapitalist struggles.

The great society

You're bloody right, General!—Sidestepping animal blood poured on Pentagon steps by antiwar protesters June 11, Lt. Gen. L. B. Robertshaw declared: "Disgusting. These people are not even intelligent. They show a lack of appreciation for what this country is aiming to do in the world."

Shopping hint—In case you're concerned about the present price of hamburger, you'll be pleased to learn that California pheasants, which authorities feared were loaded with mercury, have been pronounced safe for human consumption.

Hearty American fare—Always concerned with the consumer, the federal government demands that chicken noodle soup contain at least 2 percent chicken before it can be labeled "chicken noodle soup." Anything less must be called "chicken flavored."

What sick society?—Dr. Robert Franklyn, a Hollywood plastic surgeon, says teflon is the greatest yet for enlarging women's bosoms. "It's the softest, most natural sythetic imitation of body fat ever discovered and once inserted it will last 300 years," he enthused. Bosoms expanded by a shot of teflon, he added, "move, shake, are pliable and have all the attributes of the natural ones."

Just more of the same—The State Department said it recognized the new military dictatorship in Argentina as the legal government, explaining that "the change of leadership does not give rise to a question of recognition as there is no basic discontinuity in the military government of Argentina."

Truly qualified—We've never voted for a capitalist candidate yet, and don't intend to begin now, but we must confess being impressed by Anthony O. Calabrese, Democratic contender for lieutenant governor in Ohio. A former night club bouncer, Calabrese once reportedly declared in a speech: "I've been close to mental retardation all my life."

Can't win for losing—While Dr. Ernest Dichter, the headshrinking market analyst, is helping the sock industry to motivate men to use more, an uncooperative shoe company is promoting "Nosox," a "soxless shoe for revolutionary new foot freedom."

Besides they can't think as clearly as their elders—In a letter to the June 14 *New York Times*, Watkins F. John, M.D., explains why 18-year-olds should not be given the vote: "An 18-year-old is a potential mine of emotional explosive, subject to detonation by ideational stimuli. We cannot expect such an organism to react with the wisdom and judgment that will develop over the next three or four years subsequent to experience, integration of thought and neurohumoral sophistication."

— HARRY RING

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

'The Cage'

A brutally frank prison drama

THE CAGE, a one-act play written by Rick Cluchey. Produced by a company of ex-felons, the Barbwire Theatre.

Cluchey was an inmate of San Quentin when he wrote *The Cage* in 1965. It was first performed by inmates who were members of the San Quentin Drama Workshop.

The Cage is a brutally frank prison drama which exposes the dehumanizing and debilitating effects of prison upon inmates. The play is so candid that when it was first performed the setting had to be shifted to France and the title changed to *Le Cage*. "Critiquing French prisons and gendarmes was OK," Cluchey remarked.

The Barbwire Theatre is now touring the United States and Europe to bring to public attention the conditions of prison life and, as a self-help program for ex-felons, to assist them by providing temporary employment and a means of reentering society.

The play shows how the brutality and isolation of prison life destroys the inmate's sense of identity and dignity, drives him to homosexuality and insanity rather than rehabilitating him.

The plot is simple: a young student, Jive, is thrown into jail on charges of murder; he tries to distinguish himself from the other three prisoners in his prison cage by maintaining that he is innocent and that he will be released in two days. Jive's speedy integration into prison life proceeds in three episodes among the prisoners in which certain basic moral institutions are satirized: The Army, the Church, and the Courts. The main character, Hatchet, is an insane man

who, with the assistance of two other inmates (sometimes involuntary) assumes at various times the roles of the General, God, and the Judge.

In the last episode, Hatchet holds court. The defendant Jive is bound and blindfolded. The judge assumes the defendant's guilt from the outset. The prosecution proceeds to manufacture bizarre "evidence" to slander the accused. At a climactic point where the defense attorney turns to the judge for his rebuttal he states, "Defense rests!" When Jive cries out in protest, the judge shouts, "Shut up or I'll cite you for contempt!" The scene is chillingly suggestive of Bobby Seale's treatment in Judge Hoffman's court in Chicago.

Of course, Jive is "convicted." In the



Barbwire Theatre photo

Scene from "The Cage"

—PATTI HIYAMA

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Pamela Starsky, P.O. Box 750, Tempe Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Fullerton: YSA c/o K. W. Jeter, 132 W. Valencia, #F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel. (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: Alan Standliff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: (714) 296-4029.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, c/o Michael Klein, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415 Denver, Colo. 80218. Tel: (303) 333-7936.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullane, 257 Paulette Pl., Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46825.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K. C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd. Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 665 Washington Ave., 2nd floor, Albany, N.Y. 12206.

Annandale-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Bader, 30 Carpenter Ct., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Steve Sluchen, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Carol Kershner, 2635 S.W. Hume St., Portland, Ore. 97219.

end Hatchet strangles Jive and cries out to the audience which represents the jury and society, "I've done your will!"

Jive's death represents the death of all convicts in the prison system. The meaningless regimen of prison life removes the inmates identity and turns him into a mere number that awakens at a bell, eats at another bell, exercises at a guard's command.

The play itself is a descriptive indictment of the prison system and certain institutions which support it. It is in the second half of the production, the "confrontation" session between actors and audience, that an analysis and alternatives are posed.

In the question-answer period, the actors back up their searing criticism of the prison system with shocking statistics. In California there are about 28,000 convicts, over 50 percent of whom are Black. The average age is 26, the average education is sixth grade. Rick Cluchey explains, "Criminals aren't born, they are created by this society," which creates and perpetuates poverty, unemployment, crowded and poor housing conditions. The cast describes everything about capitalist society without actually naming it.

The cast also explodes the myth that prisons "rehabilitate" the inmates. For example, San Quentin boasts of 23 training programs, but can accommodate only 8 percent of its total population in these programs. Nationally, as one result of "rehabilitation," over 80 percent released from prison are returned.

Barbwire Theatre is touring college campuses, and requests for the fall from student body associations and other campus groups are now being accepted. Contributions and requests should be sent to: Barbwire Theatre Inc., Two Fair Oaks, Suite Number Three, San Francisco, California 94110

Special to New Readers

THE MILITANT

3 months for \$1.00

\$4 for 1 yr. regular subscription/For GIs: \$1 for 6 mo.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Cambodians fight U.S.-led invasion

JUNE 23 — As the June 30 deadline approaches for President Nixon's promised withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Cambodia, it is evident that few in Pnompenh believe the military regime can survive without continued massive U. S. support.

New York Times reporter Sydney H. Schanberg describes the situation in Pnompenh June 21. The one place he could find any optimism about the prospect of the Lon Nol government was in the U. S. Embassy.

There, the opinion is that "the Cambodian Army, whose primary mission before this war was building roads, can be turned into an effective fighting force in six months or a year."

But Schanberg finds that, "It is difficult to regard this view as anything but pure pollyanna, considering the facts of life in Cambodia these days — which are gloomy and getting gloomier. . . ."

"Last week all major surface routes — rail and road — were either cut by Communists or were under severe harassment. Transport of fuel and other crucial supplies was threatened. Communications also were disrupted; the only connection between some parts of the country was through military

radios, and there were precious few of those."

The Lon Nol regime is steadily losing control over the country despite widespread heavy bombing by the U. S. Nixon — although he has twice lied about it in national television addresses — apparently gave the order at the very beginning of the April 30 U. S. invasion of Cambodia for extensive bombing of that nation, beyond the 21.7 mile limit he claimed to set.

"Reliable military sources disclosed today that U. S. fighter-bombers and gunships, which have been restricted to flying a maximum of 21.7 miles into Cambodia in support of ground operations, have been ranging much deeper into northeast Cambodia for nearly two months in raids on new enemy infiltration routes," *New York Times* correspondent William Beecher wrote from Saigon June 21.

"The raids began at the time of the U. S. and South Vietnamese ground assaults into enemy sanctuaries starting on April 30."

In a dispatch written a day earlier, Beecher, whose assignment is to report the opinions of top U. S. military officials in Saigon, cast serious doubt on the ability of Saigon troops to continue fighting without U. S. ground combat support:

Pulley tour to cover countries of Far East

By SHARON CABANISS

SAN FRANCISCO, June 20 — Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California's 7th congressional district, left today on a two-month tour of the Far East. He will be visiting India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Hong Kong, Japan and Okinawa.

The main purpose of the tour will be to help strengthen the international antiwar movement and to publicize the action proposals adopted by the National Emergency Antiwar Conference in Cleveland. Meetings and demonstrations are being organized in every country with a large action already scheduled in New Zealand. Pulley will be speaking about the recent upsurge in the U. S. following the invasion of Cambodia, the development of antiwar universities, and the increased GI and Third World participation in the antiwar movement.

Pulley will be speaking to GIs in Australia, the Philippines, Saigon, Japan and Okinawa.

As a former organizer of GIs United Against the War and one of the nationally known "Ft. Jackson Eight," Pulley has a long and impressive record in the antiwar movement. He was threatened with court-martial for speaking out publicly against the war while in the Army, and was finally discharged as a result of mounting public indignation and protest.

Pulley will also be speaking about

developing struggles for Black and Third World liberation within the U. S. in which he has been deeply involved.

In Japan Pulley will be a delegate to the Congress Against A & H Bombs (Gensuiken). He will attend conferences in Tokyo, Nagasaki and Hiroshima. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki he will participate in the 25th anniversary demonstrations against the atomic bombings, bringing messages of solidarity from the demonstrations scheduled in the U. S. August 6-9.

Patricia Iiyama, SWP candidate for secretary of state in California, will join the tour in Japan in order to participate in the many antiwar conferences and demonstrations there. She is a well-known antiwar student activist and was a leading figure in the reconstitution of the Third World departments at the University of California at Davis in May.

Contributions to help finance the tour are urgently needed. The campaign is appealing to all those who want to see an immediate end to the war in Indochina and are striving to help build a truly international antiwar movement.

Those interested in having one or both of these candidates speak about their far-eastern trips and the developing antiwar and socialist movements there should contact the California SWP Campaign Committee, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, California 94114. The candidates are scheduled to return around August 20.



Photo by Robert Hodierne, East St. Gallery/LNS

Vietnamese displaced by U. S. aggression.

"Since American support for these troops, in the form of combat advisers, close-support aircraft and logistics helicopters, is to end on June 30, the South Vietnamese have little choice but to end their Cambodian operations shortly thereafter, analysts say." But pressure from military sources to continue both U. S. and South Vietnamese operations in Cambodia will clearly continue to mount as June 30 approaches.

Meanwhile a revealing glimpse of the deep-seated hatred the Cambodian people feel toward Americans as a result of the attack Nixon ordered came in an article by Richard Dudman, the well-known *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter, recently a prisoner of the liberation forces in Cambodia.

When Dudman and two other correspondents had first been captured, they were being pulled along blindfolded by a motorbike. "Several hun-

dred villagers had gathered and the motorbike pulled us through their gauntlet. Fists and hands hit and shoved us from both sides. 'Beat the Americans to death!' the people shouted angrily."

Later, a military official told the prisoner that the Cambodian peasants hate all Americans because of the invasion and bombing, that they tend not to make distinctions between "good" and "bad" Americans

That doesn't square with the line emanating from Washington about how U. S. forces were going to "save Cambodia" from the "North Vietnamese invasion." But Dudman doesn't seem to agree with the Washington line.

And the precipitate collapse of Lon Nol's control in Cambodia suggests that the vast majority of Cambodians don't agree with Nixon either.

Faculty members protest firing of Angela Davis

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES — On June 19, the University of California Board of Regents voted not to rehire Angela Davis as acting assistant professor of philosophy at UCLA. The vote was 15 to 6.

The ostensible reason the regents gave for firing Davis was four speeches she made at campuses in California.

The real reason is her admitted membership in the Communist Party. The controversy arose over her hiring by the UCLA Philosophy Dept. last fall. It was charged that she was indoctrinating her students with her political philosophy.

In view of this, Chancellor Charles Young appointed an ad hoc committee of senior faculty members to review Angela Davis' academic performance and determine her qualifications for continued employment.

After studying the assistant professor's teaching record, her scholastic attainment and also her off-campus speeches, the committee recommended that she be rehired for the 1970 term.

Chancellor Young was prepared to act on this recommendation and to reappoint Davis, when the board of regents told the chancellor not to concern himself with the question any further. They would determine whether Angela Davis would be hired or fired.

This arbitrary and illegal action by the regents was not unexpected. For years the big-business-dominated

board has been seeking to achieve ever-tighter controls on the university. They have been meeting with ever-stiffening resistance from the academic community.

The UCLA faculty sees in the Angela Davis case the most serious threat yet to academic integrity and freedom. They have laid out a strategy for a bitter-end fight.

On June 1, when it became clear that the regents would usurp the faculty's traditional right to hire and fire teachers, the UCLA faculty senate voted 186 to 4 to defy the regents if they should fire Angela Davis.

The senate proposal declares that the faculty would provide Davis with her salary, a place to teach on campus, and academic credit for students, if the regents should fire her.

In a mail ballot later to the full 1,900 members of the senate, the proposals were endorsed 629 to 594.

Another move to counter the regents' illegal action is the threat of censure by the American Association of University Professors. This would mean blacklisting the university, under which no professor would accept appointment to the faculty.

This militant stand reflects the increasing belief that what is at stake is not just Angela Davis' right to teach but the right of the university to run its affairs free of political domination.