

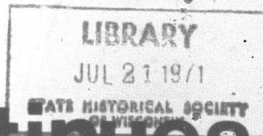
Acquisitions Section  
State Historical Society  
816 State Street  
Madison, Wisc. 53706

# Workers' Power

international  
socialist  
biweekly

No. 25    Nov. 6 - 26    1970    20¢

formerly International Socialist



## Auto: The Struggle Continues



Seattle Conspiracy Trial  
Ali / Quarry · Mini / Midi · Quebec  
The UAW and Women's Rights

# Hands Off the Panthers

Detroit is the scene of the latest Panther-police confrontation. Before Detroit, it was Toledo, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, and New York; the bloody trail goes on and on. Anyone who follows it has to conclude that someone, somewhere, is trying to liquidate the Panthers.

Detroit's face-off began with a minor incident. Late in the afternoon on October 24, police approached youths selling the Black Panther paper two blocks from their headquarters. Told they were "blocking the sidewalk," the vendors refused to leave. Detroit police try to deny Panthers the right to street-hawk their paper; just this year Panther salesmen have been given 24 tickets for "obstructing pedestrian traffic."

People stopped to watch, and after the cops slammed one youth into the side of their car, the crowd stepped in. One cop was beaten, but the other managed to radio for help. Within minutes, at least two other police cars were homing in on Black Panther Party headquarters.

When the reinforcements arrived, the crowd was already leaving. Pulling their guns, the police ordered the crowd to disperse. The answer was a shower of rocks. Then the cops started shooting over the heads of the crowd. But someone shot back, wounding one policeman in the hand. A few in the crowd ran into Panther headquarters, drawing fire after them. Down the street, two houses away, one policeman was shot and killed. Neither of the shot policemen were in sight of the Panther headquarters, but police claim the shots were fired from a window in that house.

100 police were summoned, complete with tear gas and an armored troop carrier, and the entire area was cordoned off. The siege ended nine hours later, when Detroit officials and black community leaders persuaded those inside to surrender. All 15 were charged with first degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Police officials admit there is little chance the Panthers will be convicted. The evidence indicates that the shots couldn't have come from Panther headquarters.

Whatever the facts of the shoot-out, the 15 people inside had good reason to expect a police attack. Throughout this year, tension between police and Panthers has been building. Just a month ago, Detroit's out-going police chief was called "soft" on Panther "punks" by the man who replaced him. Eight other black groups joined the Panthers in forming a mutual self-defense group, realizing this might be the start of the long-awaited crackdown.

One week before the shooting, police raided and searched two Panther buildings. Both were empty. And on October 24, when the "officer in trouble" call was sent out, police naturally assumed the Panthers were behind it, and descended on their headquarters.

**Detroit is nothing but the latest way-station on the long trail of repression. It**

is only the most recent government attempt to destroy the Panthers as a political force. The months-long pattern of conflict and tension in Detroit has been repeated in every city along the way. Toledo is an example. There police plastered a Panther headquarters with gunfire after a cop was shot nearby, although there was no evidence that the gunman was a Panther.

Any excuse to attack the Panthers will do. Short of murder, the government arrests Panther paper salesmen and confiscates the newspapers, to limit the Panther audience and deny funds to the Party. Offices are raided and closed, while money, supplies, and files are stolen. Members are burdened with high bail and court fees. Harassment like this makes it more and more difficult for the Panthers to act as a political group.

Not even a whisper of protest has been heard from the liberal community. In Detroit, after a shoot-out caused by police interference with the most basic of liberal rights — the right to publicize one's views — the vacationing Mayor returned to show solidarity with the police. Nationwide, the liberals used up their quota of indignation when Illinois Panther Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered in bed last December. Since then, they have been almost silent.

Yale's President Kingman Brewster made headlines by saying he was "skeptical" that black revolutionaries could get a fair trial. But that was in May, when Brewster had to keep the indignation of Yale students from turning against his administration. Since then Brewster hasn't said a word. The American Civil Liberties Union is silent. Liberal politicians like Hubert Humphrey, Senator Muskie, Eugene McCarthy, New York's Mayor Lindsay, are silent.

The moderate black organizations have been silent since the Hampton murder last year. Murder in bed — and the threat of rioting in Chicago's black community — caused Jesse Jackson and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to emit a moderate peep of protest. Murder of Panthers on the streets and in the courts leaves them silent.

**All these moderates know well that the Black Panthers stand for revolutionary ideas. Every one of them — from ACLU to Humphrey and Lindsay to Jackson and SCLC — place their own loyalty to the capitalist system above even the moderate rights they claim to stand for.**

The International Socialists have supported the Black Panther Party since it was formed. We support the basic ideas of the party — the ideas of armed self-defense, the right of self-determination for the black community, more recently the idea that socialism is the only solution to the needs of black and white in America — even when we do not support particular policies or tactics of the party. We have opposed the Panthers' strong-arm tactics within the Movement;

*[continued on page 14]*

## Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 a year; Supporting Subscriptions: \$5 a year; Foreign Subscriptions: \$5 a year; Bundles: 10¢ a copy for ten copies or more; Introductory Subscriptions: \$1 for three months.

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ Please send me a \_\_\_\_\_ subscription to *Workers' Power*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan 48203



## No. 25

Copyright © 1970 by the International Socialist Publishing Company.

Editor: Kit Lyons. Editorial Board: James Coleman, Joel Geier, Kit Lyons, Jack Trautman, Art Editor: Lisa Lyons.

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Foreign subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 10¢ per copy. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

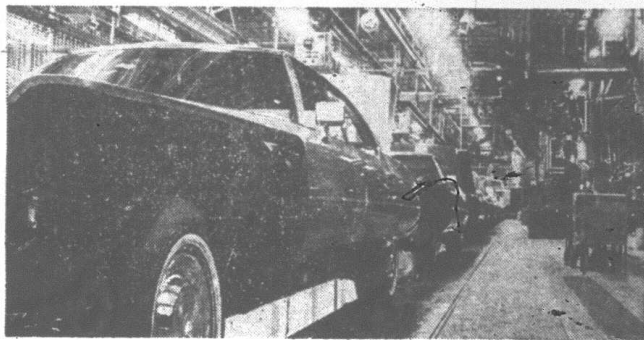
Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August by the International Socialist Publishing Co. at 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to *Workers' Power*, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

*Workers' Power* is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and a subscriber to Liberation News Service and G.I. Press Service.



# Auto: The Struggle Continues

Karl Fischer



After eight weeks of strike, the UAW leadership reached a "tentative national agreement" with the General Motors Corporation on November 11 in Detroit. It was accepted by the UAW GM Council, although 20 percent voted against, and the contract now goes before the rank and file of the union's GM workers. The proposed contract is wholly inadequate in virtually every area of importance; it should be flatly rejected by the GM ranks.

## Vote No

The need for a rejection becomes clear when the contract is given a careful examination. The main issue, of course, is money. By the end of the strike, Woodcock had cut the union's wage demand almost in half; from the 91 cents originally demanded in September (while union militants were demanding \$1.25), down to the final settlement of 51 cents an hour (49 cents for most production workers, 55 cents for most skilled workers). Since this 51 cents includes the 31 cents already owed to workers because of losses due to inflation in the past three years, it really represents only 20 cents an hour in new money, or only 5 percent the first year and only 48 cents during the life of the contract.

As a result, the settlement would still leave most auto workers far short of the minimum income level of \$11,000 a year needed to maintain a family of four at a minimally decent level (U.S. Government figures). The situation is clear. GM is unwilling to pay its workers a living wage; Woodcock is unwilling to fight for it.

The major victory of the strike is the restoration of the cost of living clause. It is on this basis that the union leadership will try to sell the contract to the ranks. In reality, the gain only means a return to what conditions were in 1967, when the union traded away

COLA precisely at the moment it was most needed. It's a neat trick for the bureaucracy, if it can get away with it: You bargain it away in '67, get it back in '70, and claim a major victory.

In fact things aren't even as good as they were in 1967 — the COL allowance will be computed on a yearly basis through the first two years of the contract, instead of quarterly as before. This could mean a loss of \$100 per year, or more. In addition, the union gave up its demand to have increases computed on the basis of an extra 1 cent for every 0.3 percent rise in the consumer price index. Instead, the contract calls for 1 cent for every 0.4 percent rise. While there is no longer a cap, there still is no full COL protection.

The other so-called victory is even more hollow. Woodcock went to the bargaining table in September demanding retirement after 30 years of service at \$500 a month. He called this demand the key issue in the whole situation. GM countered with an offer which conceded the principle, but none of the actual content; they agreed to retirement after 30 years but at age 58; a worker retiring before this age would suffer a large drop in the amount of his pension. Woodcock flatly rejected this proposal in September. But in November Woodcock accepted a retirement plan that is even worse. It does lower the age limit to 56 during the last two years of the contract, but there are numerous gimmicks attached which are bound to keep workers in the plant longer. For instance, now there is no cut in the pension at 62 when social security benefits start. Under the new contract there will be. Also, there now will be, at 65, a cut of 4 percent for each year before age 62 that a person retires. And if you retire before 58, there is an 8 percent cut for each year. To call this winning 30 and Out in principle, or setting a precedent, etc., is another of Woodcock's frauds.

## Working Conditions

The biggest blow is the union sellout on working conditions. The union bureaucracy knows that to fight for decent working conditions means a daily struggle on every factory floor, necessitating an active, involved rank and file. That however is the thing the union bureaucracy most fears. For over 20 years the UAW leadership has been trading off working conditions for wage gains, hoping the rank and file would be apathetic and passive in return for higher wages. Working conditions in auto, always poor, have become intolerable. No contract, even with economic gains much better than this flimsy Woodcock settlement, would be acceptable unless it improved the prisonlike conditions of the Big 3.

Instead the demand for an end to compulsory overtime was dropped without comment. Nothing was done to

oppose the rampant speedup of line speeds and production standards on the shop floor. Nothing was done to oppose the deterioration of safety conditions. Nothing was done to improve the steward representation system or to improve the hopelessly inadequate grievance procedure.

We demand a steward for every foreman, so that the ranks have adequate representation, with stewards who are close to and controlled by the ranks, that line speed and quotas be subject to negotiation with rank and file vote, as it was in the '40's, that grievances be automatically settled in favor of the workers if not resolved in 30 days, that the workers are innocent until proven guilty, that GM stop polluting the atmosphere and stop polluting its workers health. To settle for less would be to waste all the sacrifices we made over the past 8 weeks.

## Sellout

Everything about the way the settlement was reached smacks of a sellout. About a week before the agreement, GM head negotiator Earl Bramblett announced a "self-imposed deadline" of Tuesday, Nov. 11 as the latest that a settlement could be reached to allow GM to begin production before the first of the year. All indications point to the conclusion that UAW President Leonard Woodcock and his aides collapsed in the face of this deadline to prevent the strike from running into the new year.

An unnamed UAW official, quoted in the *Detroit News* (Nov. 12, 1970) said as much: "If this strike had gone through (Christmas), no matter what the eventual terms were, the workers would have been bitter and it would have been reflected in the plant. But if this can be put together in the next week or so, things will be OK."

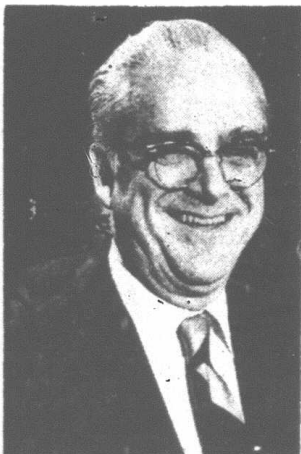
Woodcock, in short, played a very tight game. He kept the strike going

just long enough to exhaust the strike fund, and for workers to begin feeling the pinch, but not so long as to produce hardened feeling of bitterness in the ranks. Jack Wagner, president of UAW Buick Local 599 in Flint and a key leader in the 30-and-Out movement, described the situation quite well (quoted in the *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1970): "This is an old game. They keep you out eight weeks and they think you're going to buy anything."

The Woodcock approach gets results. On the day the agreement was announced, the *Detroit News* interviewed several workers at the GM Tech Center in Detroit, and reported a general weariness with the strike. One worker commented: "I don't care what they offer — I'll settle for anything."

This demoralization in some quarters is in no way accidental. It is the result of a deliberate policy pursued by Woodcock during the eight weeks of the strike to keep the ranks uninformed, uninvolved, and divided. Rank-and-file workers received no information from their union leaders on the progress of the talks; their only source of information was the press, and during the final push Woodcock eliminated that by imposing a news blackout. Nothing was done to build morale on the rank-and-file level; Woodcock made it clear that he considered the ranks to be passive bystanders to the whole affair, to be seen (occasionally) but never heard. The result, quite predictably, was large-scale frustration and demoralization.

However, indications are that the ratification of the contract might not come as easily as Woodcock would like. Already there are signs of growing opposition to the proposed contract. On November 12, the UAW GM Council — a group of 350 delegates mostly hand-picked by the leadership — met to consider the contract. As expected, they gave it their endorsement. But fully



GM after the settlement



Woodcock (right) and Bluestone leave the bargaining room

20 percent of the delegates — over 70 of them — voted against, after only 20 minutes of discussion.

More than this, opposition is growing in many key locals. The day the settlement was announced, over 200 members of GM Local 160 picketed in Detroit to emphasize their opposition to the contract. Local President William Carr publically condemned the settlement. Pete Kelly, the Vice-President of Local 160 and the chairman of the United National Caucus, commented: "It's a grossly inadequate settlement. We didn't get enough for being on strike for two months."

### Organize to Win

Strong opposition is also expected to come from the proponents of the 30-and-Out movement, a demand which Woodcock seriously compromised at the bargaining table. The main leader behind this demand, Jack Wagner of Buick Local 599, flatly stated that he would ask his local to reject the contract. Many regional directors stated that they expected to come under fire from the ranks because of the sellout on 30-and-out (New York Times, Nov. 12).

Further, the Detroit News (Nov. 12) reported that "UAW skilled tradesmen also may mount a challenge to ratification...under the union's constitution, separate ratification votes are taken for skilled and non-skilled members. One group or the other can reject the total settlement...serious consequences could result if opposition among skilled trades-

men grows."

This hopelessly inadequate contract now goes before the ranks for acceptance or rejection. They should reject it. But tough-talk isn't enough. The contract won't be rejected or a better one won, unless the rank and file organizes to fight. That's how the Teamsters did it. Their union originally negotiated a \$1 per hour raise. The Chicago rank and file felt this was inadequate, rejected the contract and won \$1.65. They weren't afraid to fight. That's why they won.

If the contract is rejected, a real fight will have to be waged in order to make sure that auto workers aren't presented with the same contract later on. The present strategy which has resulted in the tentative settlement must be changed, and a more militant struggle waged. This means shutting down the entire auto industry to bring the full muscle of auto workers into play, holding mass demonstrations throughout the country, organizing boycotts of all car dealers, and trying in other ways to bring economic pressure to bear to force the auto makers to meet our demands.

### Struggle Committees

On the other hand, if the contract is ratified at GM, despite everything, the battle is not over. Many local agreements are yet to be concluded; many of these include important issues involving working conditions, shop floor rules, etc. Beyond that, Woodcock must still

peddle his sellout to workers at Ford and Chrysler. It remains to be seen whether Woodcock can survive the whole process with any of his prestige intact.

Now, more than ever before, the need for rank-and-file committees of auto workers at the local and shop-floor level is clear and critical. Auto workers in large numbers have placed their trust in their official leadership, and that trust has been rewarded with a wretched sellout. The only way out for auto workers — as much for any other workers in America today — is to build their

own rank-and-file organizations to fight for their real needs, organizations which can pressure the bureaucracy and fight when and where the bureaucracy refuses to fight.

The present contract shows such shop-floor committees should have been organized long ago. Auto workers can still do this if they start now and start now. Only our own rank and file organization, and our fighting solidarity with other workers, can win. There has never been any other way. ■



About 200 pickets urged the GM offer be turned down

|  | WHAT GM OFFERED   | WHAT THE UAW SOUGHT   | WHAT THE AUTO WORKERS NEEDED  | THE SETTLEMENT   |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| <b>WAGES</b>                               | 9.8% or 38c<br>12c next 2 years   | 61.5c first year<br>unspecified after that                    | at least \$1.25/hour  | 51c first year, 14c second & third year (only 20c new money or 5%), wage differential for new workers now 20c instead of 10c   |
| <b>COST OF LIVING PROTECTION</b>           | 28c ceiling, 16c minimum  | unlimited COL, based on 1c for every 0.3% rise                | unlimited; computed quarterly; received each pay check  | unlimited; computed annually 1st 2 years and quarterly 3rd year; 1c for every 0.4% rise  |
| <b>PENSIONS</b>                            | retirement at 58 with 30 years seniority; 500/month                                       | unrestricted 30-and-out \$500/month                           | 30-and-out; \$500/month; COL on pensions  | out at 58 with 30 years; at 56 2nd and 3rd years; penalty for early retirement 8%/year; cut in Social Security after 62; 4% cut after 65 for each year of retirement before 62 |
| <b>HEALTH</b>                              | Auto workers pay for part of existing plan  | family dental plan  | family dental plan and other improvements   | NO CHANGE  |
| <b>HOLIDAYS &amp; VACATION</b>             | 1 extra-holiday during Christmas  | 3 extra holidays & longer vacations                           | more holidays and longer vacations, esp. for younger workers  | 2 extra holidays; 4 weeks vacation after 20 years  |
| <b>SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS</b> | 2c added per hour for each worker when SUB half depleted                                  | Greater SUB funding<br>more restrictions on GM's use of funds | SUB for all workers; voluntary inverse seniority on layoffs   | UNKNOWN  |
| <b>SHOP COMMITTEE</b>                      | reduce representation   | NO CHANGE   | One steward for every foreman   | UNKNOWN  |
| <b>GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE</b>                 | weaker grievance procedure; drop grievances and line speed disputes after each model year | NOTHING SAID  | speed up procedure; automatic settlement in workers favor if not settled in 30 days   | UNKNOWN  |
| <b>WORKING CONDITIONS</b>                  | 10 day quit reduced to 5 workers to lose more vacation-days for absenteeism               | NOTHING SAID  | Right to strike over safety, line speed, racism, noise, air pollution control, air conditioning; innocent until proven guilty; line speed negotiable; no loss of vacation for absenteeism | UNKNOWN  |

# Quebec: A Spectre of Liberation

Jack Trautman

The French Canadians are an oppressed national minority and Quebec is an oppressed nation within Canada. A history of hundreds of years of subordination, dating from the English victory over France in the New World, is behind this oppression.

Today, the average French Canadian earns \$1,000 less than the English Canadian; in Quebec, the French Canadian homeland, he earns \$1,755 less. Out of 14 ethnic groups in Canada, the French Canadian is twelfth on the economic ladder; only Indians and immigrant Italians are worse off.

In Quebec, which is about 80 percent French, a unilingual English Canadian earns more than a bilingual English Canadian who earns more than a bilingual French Canadian who earns more than a unilingual French Canadian. *It pays not to know French in Quebec.*

## Quebec Au Québécois

These kinds of facts lie behind the struggle for self-determination that has come to a head during the past few weeks in Quebec.

When the nationalist movement began in the early 60's, it was very tiny. But it has grown rapidly since then. Within the last year, the tempo of political development accelerated. Support for separatism has been growing by leaps and bounds. The English, and their French Liberal Party front-men, like Trudeau, began getting jittery.

Unemployment had risen to almost 10 percent by the April 1970 elections; by now it has reached 12 percent. In-

flation is increasing, and the number of strikes and their level of militancy has also increased. Resistance to English domination has stiffened.

A bill introduced in the Quebec parliament, "Bill 63," guaranteed English an equal status with French in the schools of Quebec. This, given the influx of immigrants who would certainly have opted to learn English because that would guarantee them better pay, would have meant the gradual swamping of French culture and language. Demonstrations were organized in Montreal and elsewhere. 30,000 marched on the Quebec parliament in opposition to the Bill.

Michel Chartrand, head of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, predicted that bombs would be planted at English-speaking schools if the Bill passed. For this, Chartrand was brought up on charges of sedition. But the government was unable to convince the jury of its case.

Huge demonstrations, running as large as 20,000, were held in a campaign to convert the upper-class, English-speaking McGill University into a French-speaking university run by and for workers.

## Panic On Top

In the last election a new party entered the scene, the Parti Québécois, whose main plank was independence for Quebec. Three smaller organizations had merged to form the party and it was headed by Rene Levesque, a former cabinet minister. It set itself a goal of winning 20 percent of the electorate



in the election. Its program called for independence and nationalization of a few industries. It was not particularly working-class oriented. On the contrary, the party's campaign was directed primarily to professionals and middle class Quebecois. Most of the party leaders ran in those districts.

But, the spectre of a separatist party making a serious challenge for power evoked a panic response from the government and the financial institutions. Jean-Pierre Goyer, a Liberal MP from Quebec and a Trudeau confidant, threatened military intervention by the federal government if a unilateral decision to secede were made by a victorious Parti Québécois. A large investment firm leaked a letter to the press in which it advised all clients to withdraw their savings and capital from Quebec until after the elections because of the unstable situation.

This campaign heated up when a poll showed the PQ getting 35 percent of the vote two weeks before the elections. The Royal Trust Co., one of the largest in Canada, organized a caravan of heavily-armed Brinks trucks to move large amounts of stocks and bonds to Toronto as requested by their clients. Of course, the event was heavily covered in the press.

Nonetheless, the PQ was endorsed by the CSN and got 24 percent of the vote — the majority of it coming from working class quarters. Because the districts were gerrymandered, only seven PQ deputies were seated — all from working class districts. The party itself has 30,000 members, making it the largest party in

Quebec. Undoubtedly, these facts did little to contribute to the sense of ease of the government in Quebec. There has been some speculation that by the next election the PQ might win a majority.

As a result of the elections, which indicated a depth of working class support until then unsuspected, the Montreal Central Council of the CSN put its support behind the formation of a Montreal political party, the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), to contest in the municipal elections. The party ran on a minimal program of opposition to the ten years of uncontested single-party rule in Montreal; decentralization of control; and using taxes for the people of the city instead of businesses.

## The FLQ

A few weeks before the municipal election, on Monday, October 5, armed men showed up at the home of James Cross, British trade official, and forced him to leave at gunpoint. They soon put forward their demands for his safe return: the release of 23 political prisoners; \$500,000 in gold; safe passage out of the country; the rehiring of a number of workers who had been fired after a bitter strike and the reading and printing of the FLQ manifesto over the radio and in the newspapers. The manifesto described the oppression of the French-Canadian population and ended with a call to the workers to seize control of their factories and places of work — to take them over and run them for themselves.

## Law And Order In Black And White

William Jackson

The government is very big on Law-and-Order except when blacks are the victims and police the lawbreakers. For example: the recent report on the killings of black students at Jackson State University by policemen.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, headed by the respectable Republican William Scranton, issued a special report. They said that every member of the local police force lied to the FBI. The police all denied that they had fired their weapons — claiming that it had been the highway police. Even the racist Hinds County grand jury, which justified the murders, said that the police stories were "absolutely false."

There is a Federal False Claims statute under which anyone who lies to any agency of the US government may be fined \$10,000 or jailed for 10 years or both. This law has been used against Federal employees who were charged with being "reds" and also against "left-

wing" labor leaders in Taft-Hartley act prosecutions. Will this law be used against the lying right-wing police killers? Don't hold your breath waiting.

By the way, do you remember the most famous "campus riot" of 1962? It was bigger and more violent than anything since. It was at Old Miss, the lily-white University of Mississippi, and it was against the registration of James Meredith. White students and friends not only threw rocks and cursed at Federal marshals, but also used shotguns. 25 US marshals were hurt — one seriously, by a shotgun. 13,500 troops and National Guardsmen and 400 marshals were used. Now this is what is interesting: NOT A SINGLE STUDENT WAS KILLED. The black students at Orangeburg (1968) or Jackson State, the white students at Kent, were not killed because of the "violence." They were attacked by the government for opposing racism and imperialism.



The primary demand was that for the liberation of the 23 prisoners. In one communiqué the FLQ even said that they would not sacrifice Cross' life for money. The government in Ottawa held firm and refused to negotiate. The provincial government in Quebec wavered and attempted to gain time, but at last agreed with Ottawa, and, just before the deadline the FLQ had set, brushed aside all demands and merely offered the kidnapers safe conduct out of the country. The FLQ response was the kidnapping of LaPorte on October 11, and the reiteration of their demands.

In the meanwhile, the government had embarked on a campaign to link the whole separatist movement and the left with the FLQ in an attempt to discredit it. James Roberts, Premier of neighboring Ontario, predicted a crackdown on "dangerously militant dissidents." "We've allowed some of our beliefs and institutions to come under attack and now we're paying for it." Predictions were being made generally that the kidnapers would deal a serious blow to the Quebec separatist movement.

The government did not stop at words. People were being rounded up. Police were breaking down doors of suspects and friends of suspects; reporters were being interfered with and arrested; police seized material to be printed in the next issue of *Quartier Latin*, the student publication at the University of Montreal; a FRAP printshop was closed down and literature confiscated.

### Go On and Bleed

Trudeau launched a campaign of intimidation against the press, accusing it of giving too much publicity to the FLQ. Police and combat troops were appearing all over the country armed with shotguns and machine guns. There were huge troop movements to places around Montreal; the government called them "routine," but it was obvious that they were anything but that. Canada was already coming to resemble a police state.

When Trudeau was asked by a reporter if he intended to make a general attack on civil liberties, if the disruption caused by the FLQ meant that no one would be safe from the government, Trudeau responded:

"Yes, I think the society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies the elected power in this country and I think that goes to any distance.

"There are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don't like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is go on and bleed, but it is more important to keep law and order in the society than to be worried about weak-kneed people."

How far he would be willing to go, one could only guess — but already there was talk of the need for special powers to deal with the situation.

With all this it must have come as a surprise to the government when the FLQ and its manifesto began to receive

widespread support in Quebec. The Montreal Central Council of the CSN issued a statement: "The executive committee supports, without reservation, all the objectives in the FLQ manifesto." The statement said that recent arrests made it "quite clear that the government is no longer in control of police forces. This can jeopardize the current negotiations between the government and the FLQ and only confirms the risk faced by Quebec of becoming a police state."

Chartrand added, that the central council would provide bodyguards for FLQ leaders Vallières and Gagnon, who had been threatened. "If a hair of a French-Canadian is hurt by some vigilantes then we will start the ball rolling. We are fed up."

The FRAP also endorsed the FLQ manifesto, as did several student and professor groups. An appeal for the release of the 23 prisoners was signed by the leaders of the CSN, the Quebec Federation of Labor, the Quebec Teachers Corporation, and the Catholic Farmer's Union, which have a combined membership of 600,000. The statement was also signed by Rene Levesque, Claude Ryan, editor of the respectable nationalist *Devoir* newspaper, and Alfred Rouleau, the head of the very sizeable cooperative movement.

Students began organizing strikes and demonstrations in support of the FLQ demands and in opposition to the government crackdown. Chartrand, Vallières, and Gagnon spoke at rally after rally, urging a boycott of classes. On Thursday night, October 15, a rally was scheduled at the University of Montreal, but that night school officials, afraid of repercussions, canceled it. Thousands of students showed up and now had nowhere to go. They drifted to the site of a rally being held that night by the FRAP and it turned into a huge demonstration of about 5000.

That night, also, the government made its final offer to the FLQ: the early release of five prisoners who were shortly due for parole. The offer was hastily rejected by the FLQ negotiator, who then went to the rally. There, Chartrand, Vallières, Gagnon and others addressed them, urging them to support the FLQ. They urged people not to attempt to fight with the police but to go out and build support for the cause. As the *Toronto Globe* and *Mail* put it, "The crowd was good-natured and peaceful." The rally ended at 3:00 a.m. and people went home.

### War Measures Act

At 4:00 Trudeau announced the invocation of the Emergency War Measures Act. The Act permits the arrest without warrant of persons suspected of being in some way connected with the FLQ. They can be held up to 21 days without being charged and are subject to five years in jail. Offenses include, belonging to the organization, or speaking in advocacy of it or its goals, or advocating or promoting the use of force in causing change in Canada.

Legally, in order to invoke the Act



there must be a war, an invasion or a state of insurrection, real or apprehended. What was it? Take your pick. Trudeau chose the last and claimed there was a state of "apprehended insurrection." He was not, as capitalist politicians are never when their power is threatened, in a mood to quibble about details.

What was the "apprehended insurrection?" One minister claimed that the FLQ had infiltrated into high places and had control over all decisions made throughout the nation. Another claimed that there had been planned a series of dynamitings and bombings of public buildings. A third gave what is probably the most truthful answer. Justice Minister John Turner said the evidence which persuaded the government to invoke the War Measures Act may never be made public. He said the public would have to have continued confidence — even to the next election or beyond — that the administration had acted properly. "That's part of representative government" he asserted in what is probably the most candid statement of his career.

A Liberal MP stated that the Act was invoked because of the widespread support for the exchange of the 23 prisoners. He said such support tended to give leadership in the direction of eroding the will to resist FLQ demands.

The government ministers couldn't decide exactly why they had to invoke the Act, they only know that there was a threat and it had to be crushed. The real reason was to give the government the opportunity to crack down on the separatist movement as a whole — to try to drive it underground as a force in Quebec politics, and to destroy dissident elements generally.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported on Saturday: "In a wave of early morning raids across Quebec, 154 suspects of various political hues were picked up for questioning. By last night the number of arrests had reached 250, and none of them had been released. Army units variously estimated at 3000 to 5000 strong backed the 10,000 policemen." Within a week those rounded up were over 400.

They included several trade union leaders, among them Michel Chartrand and other officials of the CSN, Theo Gagne, an official of the United Steelworkers, and several others. Members of the Parti Quebecois and of FRAP (including candidates), doctors, lawyers, journalists, actors, singers, as well as members of all the left political organizations, were arrested in the middle of the night and not allowed to make telephone calls. No one knew who was gone unless the arrest happened to have been witnessed.

Newspapers were intimidated. The CSN-backed *Quebec-Presse* condemned the government actions and was threaten-

ed with confiscation of all its copies. It became illegal to print the FLQ manifesto, and the Attorney General warned that any newspaper "expressing support, issuing propaganda, creating dissension or causing a disturbance on behalf of the FLQ would be liable to persecution."

Of course, the government was playing with the lives of Cross and LaPorte. By its crackdown they were setting the stage for the murder, possibly even forcing it. But they had earlier announced their commitment to "law and order" even over and above the lives of two such "esteemed men." It is interesting that, whereas the authoritarian dictatorships of Latin America have vacillated for years and usually given in to political kidnappings, the "democracy" of Canada was able to decide in a few short days to get tough and accept the consequences.

### Backfire

The murder of LaPorte had the predictable consequences. A wave of reversion swept across Canada. Opposition to the War Measures Act collapsed in English-speaking Canada. A rally of 3000 was held at York University in support of the government. In other places attempts to oppose the Act were met with boos and catcalls. The government had been successful in selling the notion to the English that the separatist movement was just a few terrorists, and that the invocation of the Act had been necessary to guarantee public safety. This sentiment was fed by intimations leaked to the press that there was evidence that LaPorte had met a "grizzly" death at the hands of sadists, which was untrue.

In Quebec people were stunned by the murder and the FLQ lost much support. The act of a few terrorists to "raise consciousness" had backfired. It is clear that only a mass movement controlled from below can confront the power apparatus of the government.

The correct response to the repression would have been a General Strike — to paralyze the operations of the province, at least. The response to the governmental Emergency Act should have been labor's Emergency Act. No business as usual should have meant no business at all until the troops got out, the prisoners were released and the Act was repealed.

The unions, radical though they are by U.S. standards, did not call a General Strike. They had talked about it, but felt they did not have sufficient support among the workers — especially after the killing of LaPorte. But they also did not indicate that they had some program to build support for it in the future. Chartrand, instead of running around to student rallies, should have called meetings of workers and attempted to win them over to strike. The impact would have been much more profound.

Still, the unions became the main



ball-carriers. A joint meeting on October 19 of the leaders of the CSN, the OFL and the Quebec Teachers Corporation denounced the "military regime of the kind found in Banana republics ruled by military juntas." They denied that Quebec was a place of anarchy and chaos where democracy had failed and the people could be manipulated. The union leaders said they wished to mark a "third path between the status quo and the FLQ — but not a centrist group, for we are committed to social change. That is why we did not make the usual statement condemning one extremism and then the other."

The three unions were driven together, and for the first time intend to attempt to put together a social program and fight for it. There was speculation that this might result in the formation of a labor party.

The next day the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, the most radical of all the labor organizations in Canada, stated that "Quebec will never emerge from this state of perpetual crisis except by accession to political sovereignty and the implementation of a society where wage earners are in power." When questioned about it, they said that political independence was not enough. There would still be subjection to American capital; workers would still be exploited. The only solution was a state controlled by workers.

Other groups have followed suit and made a call for resistance. As the horror over the death of LaPorte subsides, the commitment to separatism is remembered and the military occupation and censorship reminds Quebecers of the power that stands over them. The government is coming under criticism for using such a heavy hand, and plans to replace the War Measures Act with simple repressive legislation. The effect will be the same, but some people will not notice it.

### La Lotte Continue

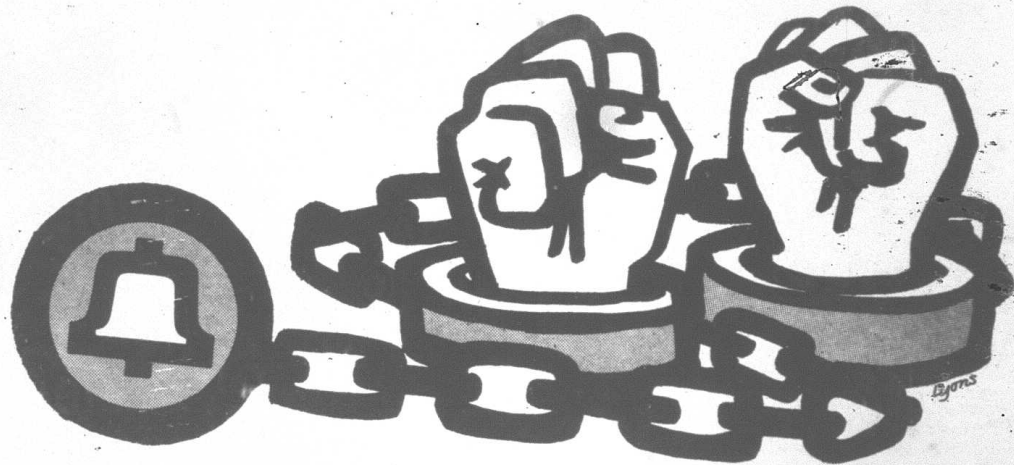
Canada will never be the same again. The struggle for an independent Quebec is just beginning. It will not be won by acts of terror which allow the government an excuse to use draconian measures to smash the movement and isolate its most militant elements. A mass struggle must be organized.

The ability to carry that struggle through to the end rests with the Quebecois working class. It is on their shoulders that the outcome rests. The labor leaders in Quebec have set a shining example, in words, of what a labor movement should be like. If they wish to carry it through, they will have to go beyond mere words and organize to put some muscle behind them. ■

[Jack Trautman, a member of the Workers' Power editorial board, has just returned from occupied Quebec.]



Michel Chartrand



# Union & Disunion

## Ma Bell in New York

Clinton McCain

Everyone who works for New York Telephone, for Western Electric, for ATT Long Lines, or for any of the other subsidiaries of the Bell System knows what it is like to try to win even the slightest benefits from the largest corporate conglomerate in the world. It seems that every time we struggle to improve our own positions we end up fighting some other group of telephone workers almost as hard as we have to fight ATT.

Divide and conquer has been the company's strategy for beating its workers out of decent wages and working conditions, and so far that strategy has always worked. Right now we find ourselves divided into various companies, into clerical, commercial, plant and traffic employees, divided by race and by sex, by craft and by geography. ATT has created some of these divisions; others, that already exist in the society outside of the company, it has perpetuated and played on for its own profit.

The only way we as telephone workers, and our unions, will ever be able to win significant gains against this strategy will be to bridge these divisions ourselves, to create one union for all telephone workers, so that when we have to shut Bell down we have the force to shut it down. We need an industry-wide union in telephone.

### Petty Hierarchies

The problem is that instead of being that kind of force our unions are only another weapon used against us. All the divisions and rivalries which warm the hearts of ATT's directors are reflected in the way we are organized under so many rival, petty union hierarchies. Some of these are "national," others are "independent," some represent only one locality or even one department in one locality — and many of these are in reality merely company unions.

In New York and elsewhere the Communications Workers of America, the largest of the telephone unions, is claiming that it should represent all telephone workers. Local 1101, waging a campaign to organize New York operators into the

local, is currently getting involved in a three way designation election between itself, District 65, and the company union which presently "represents" the operators.

The CWA argues that the operators need unity with the craftsmen in order to fight the company effectively. The CWA is right about this; however, only last spring when New York operators wildcatted, demanding among other things a break with their company union, Local 1101 President Banker urged craftsmen to break that strike!

Unity? Banker's message is now clear: unity on the bureaucratic level is what telephone workers need; any unity on the rank-and-file level, any attempt by telephone workers themselves to bridge the divisions between them is strictly forbidden.

Banker's opposition to rank-and-file unity entails more than simply trying to subvert and coopt the operator's struggle into a few dues base for 1101. It also entails a frontal assault on union democracy.

The last "membership meeting" is a good case in point. Called on a payday, and in a room too small to accommodate the newly raised quorum of 10 percent, the meeting could not perform its function of making decisions for the local, and it became a question and answer session. Questions, of course, could only be submitted in writing so that the bureaucrats could choose which they preferred to answer, and the power to the floor mikes was carefully controlled at the podium.

Why all the precautions? Well, if you were a local president, you would know that it just won't do to have some lowly rank and file asking embarrassing questions like: why did you double your own salary, or, why did you raise dues 50 percent and eliminate stewards meetings, and why are you appointing officers without approval and giving them credit cards on top of their expense accounts. Such questions might disrupt your meeting and, besides, what the hell does the rank and file know, anyway? In your own words, they're "the

sound and fury signifying nothing."

The reason our bureaucrats can get away with this kind of hypocrisy and manipulation is that the level of rank-and-file unity and organization in 1101 has been pretty low in the past few years. The way to stop that manipulation is to reorganize that unity ourselves and force the bureaucrats to shape up.

We must demand that they stop playing games with the operators' organizing drive and start seriously working with the rank and file operators toward the creation of an organization which will be able to speak and fight for the operators themselves, not simply create new dues payers for some local. We must demand that, before our contracts expire in the spring, the CWA work to eradicate the divisions in the telephone workers ranks, in order to confront ATT with one, strong, industry-wide force and not several, disparate, weak ones.

### It's Up to Us

Will the CWA move in these directions? Maybe, maybe not; but the crux of the matter is not the bureaucracy, but us. Will we move to smash the divisions that are holding us back? The strength of any union movement lies in its rank and file, and the strength of the rank and file lies in its unity.

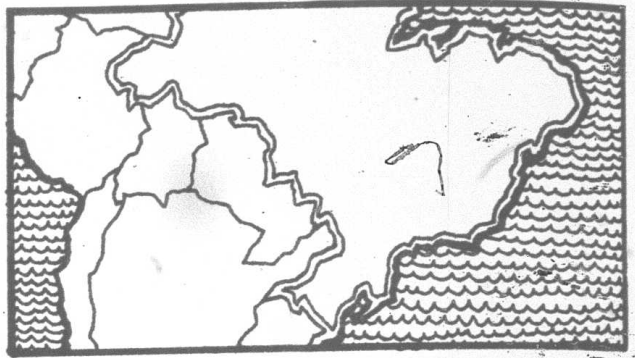
We are the rank and file of telephone. If we can unify ourselves, operators with craftsmen, Western with Bell with Long Lines, on a rank-and-file level, then whether the bureaucrats like it or not, we can create a movement that can force the bureaucracy to change or be changed, and that can win from ATT the satisfaction of our needs.

Such a unified rank-and-file movement can forge out of our numerous atomized unions the one industry-wide union telephone workers must have to win the wealth we produce and the dignity we deserve. ■

[Clinton McCain works for New York Telephone and is a member of Local 1101 of the CWA and International Socialists.]

# Making Brazil Safe For American Business

Derek Briscoe



Brazil's government of "experts" and generals, headed by Army General Garastaza Medici, is firmly in power, six-and-one-half years after the 1964 military coup which overthrew populist President Joao Goulart. The only organized opposition is made up of small "urban guerrilla" groups who hold up banks and occasionally kidnap a foreign diplomat.

European and U.S. newspapers cover Brazil once in a while and report charges of torture of political prisoners, the killing of Brazilian Indians, and urban guerrilla activities. They give the impression that Brazil is about to break out in violent political and social turmoil. It isn't. Most of the opposition groups are small, made up of students and ex-students (it is these groups that have pulled off the bank robberies and kidnappings). They exist in relative isolation. The torture and authoritarianism are real, but the working class, in the cities and the country, while bitter, is quiet; the peasant movement was crushed, while the middle class is still enjoying consumer goods — refrigerators and TV sets — for the first time, and are too busy "making it" to form a really determined opposition. Temporarily, the dictatorship has stabilized its rule.

## Outside Control

Ever since the first occupation of Brazilian territory by Europeans, Brazil has lived by selling a few crops and raw materials in foreign markets. Today the biggest such export item is coffee. The rise of coffee was followed, however, by the development of some heavy industry in the triangle formed by the cities of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte.

The rise of domestic industry has begun to transform Brazilian society. However, it has hardly affected the dependence of Brazil on outside control. More and more of Brazilian industry is controlled from abroad, especially the largest and most technologically complex companies. Under the military regime, still more companies have fallen into foreign hands.

The military government is making Brazil safe for foreign — especially U.S. — capital. The mass arrests, firings, interventions in unions, the stripping away of political rights of opposition leaders without charges or trials, restrictive electoral legislation, periodic closing of Congress, and finally censorship and torture — all had a common purpose, to consolidate the rule of big foreign industry over the Brazilian economy, to create conditions for more foreign investment.

At the same time the "gorillas," as the ruling military are called, have taken major steps toward streamlining government in the interests of the growing industrial capitalists of Southern Brazil — more and more of whom are big U.S. companies or local companies that are

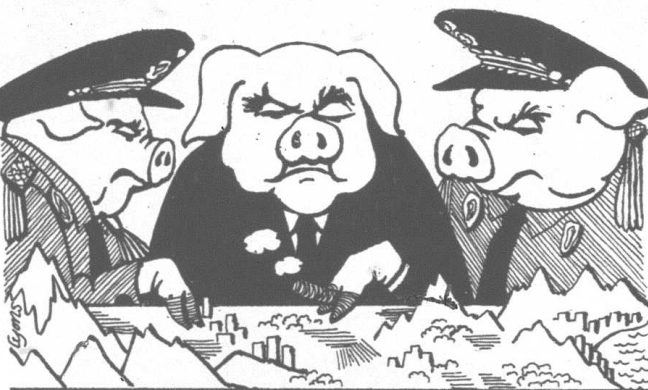
agents for U.S. firms.

In particular, the generals had to control the rampant inflation, reform the state machinery, keep labor quiet and purge populist and left-wing nationalists from politics because they had some real popular support.

Brazil has suffered from chronic inflation for years. Toward the end of the Goulart years the cost of living doubled in one year. As result of a balance of payments deficit (more imports than exports) and government budget deficits, the inflation was really a tax on the poor; it also made it harder for the Brazilian government to get foreign loans, and for capitalists to make plans for their businesses.

The largely government-controlled labor unions were forced to call frequent

strikes for wage increases. These strikes, the growth of peasant groups demanding land and fair treatment, and student unrest frightened both the capitalists and the military. The generals took power in 1964 to put a stop to it all.



ample, over 200,000 civil servants were enjoying *disponibilidade remunerada*; in other words, they were being paid for not working, but for remaining "at the disposition of the government" for future reassignment.

Political patronage was one of the main ways politicians got elected. Only people with the right family connections or political protection were able to use government services. Even getting a drivers license required pull. If you didn't have it, you had to pay an agent who did.

Since the government owned much of the economy (highways, railroads, most telephones and electricity, oil, some steel, many banks), inefficient government meant an inefficient economy. For a while it was ok for the govern-

ment to be inefficient as far as the capitalists were concerned — the capitalists operated in the profitable parts of the economy — but as the economy grew, this inefficiency cut down on their ability to expand. And government deficits, such as those from the railroads, helped increase the inflation and undermine the money.

The generals decided to run things more efficiently, and brought in technocrats, "professionals" and "experts," to run things. For much of the time, there were no elections. One-by one, the most popular political figures, even on the right, were purged.

The state companies were run on "business" lines — the market, profit and loss, determined policy, not political protection as in the past. Hundreds of money-losing railroad lines were cut out. The docks, where there was once a militant union and also a great deal of theft, saw the union leadership smashed and corruption reduced.

All this was done in a way that made things more efficient for capitalism but harder for the people. The government used to subsidize things like bread and public transportation. These subsidies were done away with. Controls of rents,

utility rates, and fuel prices were eliminated or liberalized, so investors, now sure of a profit, would put their money into them.

For example, telephone service had been terrible, because the government kept rates low, and the company would not put money into expanding a losing business. The generals let the company jack up rates and force new customers to buy stock to finance expansion. The phones work now, for those who can afford them.

At one time workers with seniority could not legally be fired without receiving indemnification from the company. Now they can be. Instead, companies put money into an investment fund in which every worker has an account. The fund is supposed to finance housing construction — mostly for civil servants and the middle class.

The regime hasn't made much of a dent in the basic problems of Brazilian society. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, the government is spending millions to widen Copacabana Beach, where all the tourist hotels and luxury apartments are. It has built big highway viaducts and begun work on a bridge over Guanabara Bay and a subway line — but the construction workers still go to work barefoot.

In the interior of the impoverished Northeast, tens of thousands have been forced to flee or to seek help from Federal make-work projects, because another drought has left them with nothing, and shown once again how poor the Northeast is even in a good year. Under capitalism, some regions go forward while others decline and their people are forced to migrate in search of work. The Brazilian Northeast is like Southern Italy, Highland Peru, or our own Appalachia. But even in the more prosperous cities of the Brazilian South, millions live in shantytowns, often within a few feet of the modern luxury apartment houses of the rich.

## Memories and Vision

The left, meanwhile, has remained glued to memories of the past. Only a few have tried to fight, through student demonstrations — now crushed — or romantic guerrilla actions. These serve to keep alive the idea of opposition, but in isolation from the working class they really serve only as desperate symbols. Brazil has a long history of struggle, of slave rebellions, peasant uprisings, visionary religious movements; and so on. But the country has entered a new period. Economically, culturally and politically, Brazil is becoming urban and industrial. Today's real Brazilian revolutionary movement, the workers' movement, has yet to be born. ■

[Derek Briscoe teaches courses on Latin American society and culture at a large state university.]



# Seattle Conspiracy Trial

Danny McGowan



Two days before the mass anti-war march in Seattle this spring, J. Edgar Hoover announced the indictment of eight young activist organizers from a group called the Seattle Liberation Front. The charges stemmed from a demonstration at the Federal Courthouse in Seattle on February 17, protesting the jailing of the Chicago Conspiracy defendants and lawyers on heavy contempt charges and the racist treatment of Bobby Seale. Police fought the demonstrators for three hours, and windows in the courthouse were broken. The "Tac Squad" clubbed fallen demonstrators, bystanders, and anyone else within reach.

All eight defendants have been charged with "conspiring" to destroy federal property. Five have been additionally charged under the "Rap Brown Act" with crossing state lines (or in one case, with making an out-of-state telephone call) with the alleged intention of inciting a riot. A "riot" is defined as an assembly of three

or more persons, at which one or more persons harms a person or thing. "Conspiracy" in legal practice means any attempt to organize which the government disapproves of; conspiracy laws have been used against labor militants for 150 years. The first recorded "labor relations" legal case in this country was in 1806 when a group of journeymen shoemakers in Philadelphia were indicted, convicted, and fined when they "did combine, conspire, and confederate, and unlawfully agree together...that they... would not work...but at certain large prices and rates."

### A State of Mind

The "anti-riot" law is more recent: a legislative enactment of the "outside agitator" theory of popular unrest. Inspired by the uprisings in the black communities, it is a natural for future use against drives to organize workers. Together, the two charges add up to an explicitly political attack on the freedom to speak and organize.

The government is not even accusing the defendants of causing any illegal actions. Only that a number of particular acts, including playing a tape recording, addressing assemblies of persons, making statements a week before the demonstration, each one clearly protected under the First Amendment to the Constitution, add up to having a certain intention, a certain state of mind; it is with this that the defendants are charged.

### Strategy of Repression

The indictments did not originate in Seattle, but in Washington, D.C., in the Justice Department of John Mitchell, and they were announced by J. Edgar Hoover himself. This move fits in with an overall Nixon Administration strategy that is not shallowly "Southern," but truly national in its aims. The Administrations manifesto is *The Emerging Republican Majority*, written by Kevin Phillips, key aide to campaign manager John Mitchell — and still with him now, in the Justice Department.

The strategy outlined there aims toward building an independent conservative-reactionary coalition, repudiating the bi-partisan liberalism so discredited in the eyes of the American people in the course of the past four administrations. The geographic stronghold of this program is not just the traditional South, but the Florida-Texas-Southern California "Sun Belt." The political basis is the upsurge of racist, patriotic, law 'n' order sentiments spawned by the liberals failure to deal with the deepening domestic and imperial crisis.

Agnew has been assigned the task of winning over George Wallace's popular support. Young and black insurgents are written off and the Justice Department now becomes the key political position in the Administration. The threat of a move toward the left and toward political independence on the part of the working class is to be fought by characterizing the growing radical movement as exclusively crazy, window-smashing, anti-working class terrorists. To the extent that they remain isolated, black and left-wing militants can be dealt with by intimidation, jail, and death.

How does this strategy apply to Seattle? Washington was the only state that carried for Nixon in 1960 and against Nixon in 1968 — a bad sign to vote managers like Mitchell and Phillips.

This year the Seattle economy is rapidly disintegrating. Unemployment is among the worst in the nation. Seattle is probably the biggest company town in the country, and Boeing has cut back its work force from 110,000 to 45,000 in the past year. One out of ten persons in the Seattle area is presently on welfare, and an additional 70,000 in the Puget Sound area are drawing unemployment. When the 39-week limit on unemployment runs out, the effect on the rest of the dependent economy will be even more severe.

### Seattle Powderkeg

Other sparks are also flying around the Seattle powderkeg. The police department is going through a top to bottom shakeup following the exposure of a vast payoff and corruption network. A black veteran, two months home from Vietnam, was set up in a phony bomb plot by a police agent and shot by two plainclothes policemen. This was apparently an attempt to establish a scapegoat for the recent rash of unsolved bombings. Schools, hospitals, and the transit system are desperate for funds amid a taxpayers' revolt against extreme regressive sales, household, and property taxes in the area.

In this situation, the potential for a movement that could speak to the real interests and needs of the working class has become clear. Many elements within the Seattle Liberation Front were pushing for an outward turn toward the working class.

One program initiated by this tendency was the anti-war tax initiative, a petition drive to put a measure on the ballot which would: (a) eliminate state taxes on persons making under \$10,000 per year; (b) stop state citizens from serving in foreign wars and protect them

from federal prosecution; (c) forbid any corporate war contracting; and (d) withhold all federal tax revenue, and spend it in the state for reconvertng war industry to production for human needs, and for expanding education and social services.

There are obvious limitations to this plan to put far-reaching changes on the ballot without a movement to fight for them. It is meant as a focus for educational work and organizing. Nevertheless, this petition was a step towards developing a program linking the interests of women, black people and the anti-war movement, with the working class as a whole.

### Dual Purpose

The conspiracy/riot charges serve a dual purpose. The defense will take vast amounts of time, money, and energy away from outward-oriented activity, no matter what the verdict. More importantly, the government will use the trial as another opportunity to dramatize their "senseless violence" caricature of the radical movement.

It is Nixon's hope, in Seattle as elsewhere, that "conspiracy" trials will divert the increasing dissatisfaction of working people whose living standards are under attack from all sides.

The conviction of the defendants for their speaking and organizing activities would jeopardize the rights of everyone, especially working people whose very living is dependent on their own right to organize.

A struggle must be waged to defend the basic rights of free speech, assembly and organization against this challenge in the courts.

But no real victory over repression can be consolidated within the framework of the courts, which have a built-in bias in favor of the status quo. The key to victory lies in building a new kind of movement — in uniting the manifold cracks in American society into one great chasm, a chasm which will swallow up both Nixons coalition of reaction and his liberal counterparts as well.

[The Seattle Conspiracy Defense desperately needs funds to meet the high court costs, estimated to be near \$65,000. Please send contributions to: Seattle Conspiracy Defense Fund, Box 1984, Seattle, Wash. The trial also needs press coverage. On November 9, the day the trial begins, call up your local radio and TV stations and newspapers demanding to know what is happening in Seattle and insist that they cover the trial.]



# The UAW & Women's Rights

Laurie Landy

The UAW bureaucracy's support for the Equal Rights Amendment before the United States Congress is but the latest episode in its record of collaboration with the employers and professional women's organizations to repeal state protective legislation which working women fought so hard to win.

The question of the Equal Rights Amendment is not a new one for the UAW. At their 1957 convention the Women's Department had the following to say about the amendment:

*"The so-called Equal Rights Amendment (which should be called the Unequal Rights Amendment) if enacted would jeopardize if not actually destroy all protective benefits women have gained through the years."*

However, in the past decade, UAW policy has completely reversed itself, to oppose all protective legislation for women. The UAW leadership presently opposes all legislation, irrespective of its content, which singles out women.

The 1968 convention resolution (which was reiterated in 1970) is quite explicit on the question:

*"That on the state level UAW repudiate so-called 'protective' state laws which unjustifiably treat women as a separate group and support updating, uniform application and strict enforcement of state laws which protect both men and women from unacceptable work practices."*

The UAW leadership is putting the cart before the horse (and consequently going backwards) by insisting that all laws which treat women as a separate group should be repealed before standards of humane working conditions can

be applied to everyone. With this stance, the UAW leadership is in fact becoming henchman for the employers in depriving women of the little protection they presently have.

The reality of the state laws which deal with work conditions of women is that a small portion are blatantly discriminatory, allowing employers to deprive women of both jobs and promotions (for example a law forbidding a woman to become a bartender), and should be repealed.

However, the larger portion of laws establish minimal standards of safety and welfare and should be, in fact, extended to everyone, male and female. Furthermore, the few laws which do exist which apply to women's particular responsibilities in this society, such as maternity and child care, are totally inadequate and must be extended and deepened.

## General Attack

The campaign to remove these laws must be seen in the context of the general attack upon working conditions by the employers which has intensified steadily in the last decade.

At the beginning of 1968, a controversy arose when the Michigan Occupational Safety Standards Commission issued an order repealing a state law which set 54 hours in six days as the maximum hours a woman could work. Taking full advantage of the workers' vulnerability, Chrysler Corporation instituted a compulsory work week for women of 69 hours, seven days a week — ten hours for six days and nine hours on Sunday.

As a response to the employers' onslaught, women workers organized "The Committee to Prevent the Repeal of Protective Legislation." This new organization included many rank and file UAW members. At the same time, the UAW leadership at Solidarity House was organizing and leading the campaign for the end of this protection, together with the employers and professional women's organizations.

One member of "The Committee to Prevent the Repeal of Protective Legislation," Stephanie Prociuk, filed a suit to prevent the repeal of the fifty-four hour work week limitation. Stephanie Prociuk is a shop steward and committee woman with thirty-three years seniority, who works on the line at the Hamtramck Dodge Assembly plant. She testified that during the period of late fall and winter 1967-68, when the company was forcing women to work overtime, women collapsed from fatigue and exhaustion daily and had to be removed by stretchers.

Other UAW women workers supported her testimony and added further that they were forced to neglect what this society defines as their household responsibilities as a consequence of the longer work week. Nor could they afford housekeepers, nurses for ailing parents, or child care arrangements. For those women who were "heads of families," and thus had sole responsibility for the home, the burden was even more unbearable.

The suit brought by Stephanie Prociuk was successful, but the victory was short-lived: in December 1969 Michigan's Attorney General ruled State Pro-

tection Legislation null and void on the basis of its alleged conflict with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in hiring on the basis of sex.

Only the current recession, for the moment, prevents the repetition of the sunrise against workday. However, when an economic upturn comes, it is highly probable that a seventy-hour work week will not be uncommon for women in the auto industry, just as has been the case for men.


During the interim period when the fifty-four hour work week for women was temporarily reinstated, the UAW officialdom, in its zeal to again see it repealed, sent a letter to all employers with whom it had contracts covering women, which concluded:

*"You have indicated a desire to attempt to convince the Attorney General to reconsider his opinion. We stand ready to give you whatever assistance we can in that endeavor."*

Clearly, the UAW bureaucracy no longer sees things from the vantage point of the workers it represents. It extended its hand to the bosses, in opposition to its own rank and file, to wage a joint struggle with the employers under the false banner of "Woman's Equality" — which could mean nothing else than equality of mistreatment!

Although the UAW leadership talks of fighting for protection for both men and women from inhuman work conditions, it has done little else than give lip service to the demand. For example, the 1970 convention resolution calls for an end to compulsory overtime for both

## Women Workers The Forgotten Third of the Working Class



**IS BOOK SERVICE 15¢**

## State Moves Against Farm Workers

An attempt to head off any more successful farm strikes in Washington State, and perhaps in the nation, has been launched by that State's head of the Department of Agriculture.

This fall there were brief, but victorious, strikes at the height of the hop harvest, led by a new organization known as United Farm Workers Association (see *Workers' Power* no. 22). Yakima Valley and other Washington growers clearly want no repetition. So their representative, Agricultural Director Donald Moos, is on the attack.

"We need to get something on the lawbooks to prevent jurisdictional disputes and the Cesar Chavez-type boycotts so effective in California," he wrote to the Rural Affairs Task Force. "If we adopt a wait-and-see attitude until we lose the major part of our apple, asparagus, or soft fruit crop, we as agricultural governmental leaders will have failed in our obligations." Moos' main concern is prevention of strikes during the harvest season.

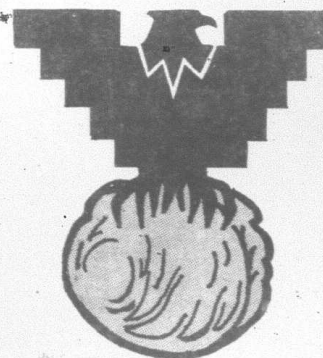
His proposed solution is state — and federal — legislation to cover farm labor. Moos is urging that a bill be drafted for the 1971 state legislature, and he per-

suaded the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture to adopt a resolution calling on Congress to pass national farm-labor legislation.

While farm workers in many ways need the rights which farm-labor legislation might grant them; it appears that any legislation drafted will in fact be reactionary in content. For years there's been a struggle for such legislation. The only reason it's being considered now is to bring an end to farm workers' gains through strikes and boycotts. What Moos and others who represent the growers want is an end to the successful boycotts, and a guarantee that if unions like the Teamsters sign "sweetheart" contracts with growers, it will be difficult for the farm workers to interfere.

A ban on harvest-time strikes is another projected growers weapon. Farm workers, low-paid, often transitory, with no strike funds, have power primarily because they can strike at strategic times. Scab labor has proved ineffective in harvesting delicate crops like hops quickly and efficiently. Any restriction of harvest-time strikes would be a serious blow to the growing farm workers' movement.

## BOYCOTT



## LETTUCE

men and women. But since negotiations have actually commenced, this resolution, along with a whole slew of others which concern working conditions, have been soft pedaled.

Furthermore, even if the UAW leadership could win protection for its members it would be sacrificing the vast bulk of women who are not organized (about 85 percent) and for whom, as thin a shield as it may be, protective legislation forms the only bulwark between them and employers.

The UAW leadership has extended the "logic" of its position of opposition to any laws which apply to women only (irrespective of the consequences for women) to the Equal Rights Amendment.

Caroline Davis, head of the UAW's Women's Department, in August of this year at the UAW Region 4 Women's Conference called for a campaign for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. She also called for a legislative campaign that would protect both men and women from long hours, admitting that at this time only a few workers have such protection in their contract. Four months earlier, Olga Madgar, the UAW's only woman vice-president, optimistically had told a Senate committee hearing:

"It should be stressed that with the enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment benefits such as a minimum wage or guarantees of seating facilities would automatically be extended to men."

Despite Miss Madgar's fantasies, there is no reason to believe that these benefits would automatically be extended to men. In fact, given the experience of the last few years, there is every reason to expect the opposite, that this amendment will not improve the working conditions of male workers, but in fact will

be used as a tool by the employers to worsen the working conditions of both men and women.

Furthermore, although work conditions are hazardous to the health and well-being of both men and women, and many of the provisions in the state laws which apply only to women should be extended to everyone, it is still the case (despite the UAW bureaucracy's notion to the contrary) that women have special needs because of their added burden of family responsibilities. The need is for more protective legislation for women. For example in the area of maternity protection and benefits, many women lose pay, seniority, and jobs when they take off for maternity reasons.

It is ironic that a proposed amendment to establish "equality for women," which as an abstract proposition is certainly unquestionable, can be used to worsen the actual working conditions of women. This stems from the fact that laws in our society are not neutral but in fact serve the interests of the employers.

### Rank and File Struggle

Our answer must be to organize, at the rank and file level, a struggle for a real amendment of equality which not only extends to men the "benefits" applicable to women but also deepens the protection which now exists for women given their responsibilities in the society. At the same time this struggle must be linked to a larger struggle of men and women against the current assault against working conditions and wages.

For example, overtime must become optional and not compulsory, but at the same time it must also be tied to a struggle for a shorter workweek at equal pay (which the UAW is not fighting for).



Otherwise, with rising prices and higher taxes, the choice of overtime will not be any choice at all.

Already, organization is beginning in the UAW shops against the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, as it did around state campaigns to repeal protective legislation. On August 26, celebrated nationally as "Woman's Strike for Equality Day," 80 women auto workers from Carter Carburetor and GM Fisher Body in St. Louis marched in opposition to the proposed Equal Rights

Amendment. They were counter-picketing a pro-Equal Rights Amendment demonstration sponsored by NOW (National Organization of Women).

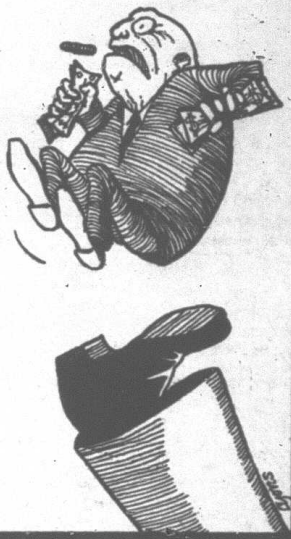
It is interesting to note that NOW, which is composed largely of professional, business and other women from the affluent sectors of society, had as its first secretary-treasurer, in 1966, Caroline Davis, head of the UAW Women's Department.

The struggle over the Equal Rights Amendment also demonstrates something about the so-called "friends of labor," the very people the UAW bureaucrats depend upon to "legislate" decent working conditions. It is the liberal wing of the Democratic Party (supported in part by the workers' dollars which go to COPE — Committee on Political Education) who are the driving force behind the Equal Rights Amendment. This Amendment, far from helping the vast majority of women workers (as distinguished from the small minority of professional and business women) will be in fact an attack upon the working conditions of all workers — male and female. ■

## NEW ARISTOCRACY?

The following is from an ad in *The American Way* magazine (Aug. '70). *The American Way* is not a patriotic publication as you might think, but some busy-reading material for passengers on American Airlines. It is obviously written for businessmen:

"*The New Aristocracy*. There is a new aristocracy in America. Its peers are plainly titled, like the barons, viscounts, earls, marquesses and dukes of old. If you are a vice president, you are an earl. You are halfway to the top of the greasy pole. And if you are the President, you are there. You are a duke. Your castle is the corporation. Your code is hard work. Your plague is ulcers. You are the most powerful aristocracy in history. You decide what two hundred million people will eat, ride in, wear, laugh at, live for." The ad goes on to make a pitch for Carey chauffeur-driven cars. Unfortunately they forgot to mention the serfs. And serfs have been known to revolt...



## Mini/Midi

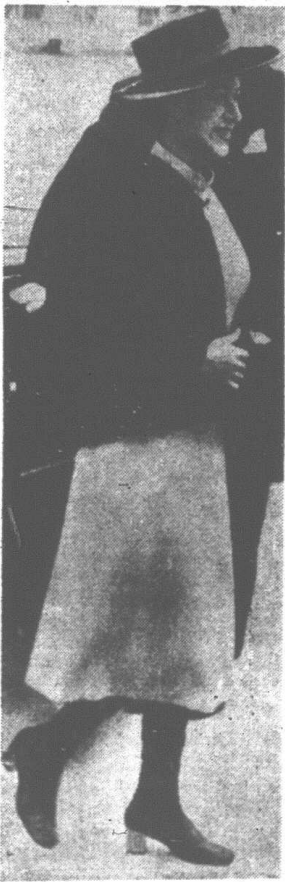
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

revival — of the long sleeping woman's movement. It is this revival which the "feminine revival" is out to stop.

More generally, as the attitude of politicians like Nixon and Agnew clearly demonstrates, Establishment figures had hoped that the midi could play a part in the development of a new climate of repression in the U.S. They link the mini to nudity in movies, turmoil in the schools, opposition to U.S. imperialism, uprisings in the black community, and unrest among younger workers in the shops — all of which the ruling class needs to wipe out.

As it has happened, however, the currents of opposition that have spread among many sectors of U.S. society have emboldened women to hold out against the fashion autocrats. It is women's liberation which seems to be helping to kill the midi, rather than the other way around.

Despite all the pressure to buy the long skirt, there has been tremendous resistance. There is little doubt that the presence of an independent women's liberation movement has changed consciousness enough to take a great deal of the credit. As the Associated Press put it, "Some observers believe that the women's liberation movement helped set the mood for the midi revolt." Many women have simply decided they will no longer be dictated to, and that they will at least have some choice on something



Princess Margaret in midi

like the length of their skirts.

In England and France, women remain much more fashion conscious and started wearing the long skirt without any opposition. This was due, in part, to the fact that a large and vocal woman's movement has not yet developed in Europe; not enough women have organized in revolt against their position in society. In the absence of this consciousness, changes are accepted more passively. (One of the authors of this article spent a year in England and succumbed to the pressures; she is the sheepish owner of a long skirt.)

[Of course, not all support for the revolt against the midi is on behalf of women's freedom — to choose and not to be manipulated as objects. One man wrote angrily to *Woman's Wear Daily*, the most persistent promoter of the look: "How any newspaper can push the Longuette look as you have, is beyond our comprehension. You are cramming this look down the throats of all women, against their will." Don't cheer yet. He adds, "The female body remains basically the same throughout the years. The pride of every woman is a good pair of legs, a trim waist, and an appealing bustline." The mini stands for more

than liberation in the minds of most male boosters.]

### Collective Resistance

Resistance to dictated fashion change must be collective, not individual, if it is to succeed. Princess Margaret may have freedom of choice, but it is no accident that we find secretaries, nurses and other women workers making pledges not to wear the long skirt and working for the right to wear pants. These women know they cannot fight the midi in isolation from each other.

Only a conscious, independent movement, based among working women, can fight the "feminine revival" and all it means. The next month will see whether or not the midi will win out, like the New Look of 1947, or whether women will be able to choose freely, especially to choose pants.

While clothing styles choice is hardly the most critical issue facing women, it is a very real one. The degree of choice women have in dress will always be a highly visible sign of the degree of our emancipation. ■

[Celia Emerson and Louise Mitchell are members of Seattle I.S., and are active members of Women's Liberation Seattle.]

# Bread and Circuses



On Monday, October 26, Muhammad Ali returned to the ring, easily defeating Jerry Quarry in a heavyweight fight in Atlanta, Georgia. This was no normal fight, nor did it merely have the natural drama of the return of a heavyweight champion to the ring. Ali's victory was as much a political as an athletic one.

The political saga that culminated in Ali's victory began several years ago, just before Ali, then Cassius Clay, won the heavyweight championship. It was at that time that Clay began spending time with Malcolm X, who was then a Black Muslim. After winning the championship, Clay announced that he was, indeed, a member of the Black Muslims, and was changing his name to Muhammad Ali.

A shock wave went across the country. After all, sports heroes are supposed to

be models for young kids to follow; in the case of black athletes, for black kids to follow. Thus sports heroes have been Mickey Mantles, the all-american boys who wouldn't think of opposing the war or refusing to obey an order. If they are black, they have been the Floyd Pattersons, the peaceful, don't-rock-the-boat, white-man's blacks. Of course, it's not so much what the person actually is in real life, as what his image is. Thus, Tom Seaver has remained the all-American hero, while his anti-war views have been silenced by the front office.

Ali could not be like that, however. He was black and proud; a Muslim and proud; he would fight racism, and he had to let the world know about it. He therefore was not an acceptable champion, and had to go. Nor is Ali the first black hero to be so treated. Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight cham-

pion, was literally driven from this country because his behavior was not acceptable.

Harrassment of Ali was continual, as the white controlled media tried to destroy his image. Reams were written to document his unacceptable behavior. Sports pundits claimed his fights were phony, that he really wasn't a good fighter, etc. He even had to fight overseas, in Britain and Germany, as many cities refused to sponsor his fights. It was during this period that his fights took on an increasingly political character.

## What's My Name?

His fight with Ernie Terrell was a classic example of his development, though not a classic fight. It became a microcosm of the struggle going on inside the black community between mili-

tant and conservative elements. Terrell personified the right wing, and refused to call Ali by his adopted, "black" name. Throughout the fight Ali would pause from battering Terrell from one end of the ring to another, to demand "What's my name?" By the end of the fight Terrell couldn't have answered if he had wanted to.

Finally, the boxing establishment found the excuse they needed: Ali's refusal to submit to the draft. On this basis, he was refused a license to fight, and eventually stripped of his heavyweight title. Since that time, in 1967, Ali has waged a continual political and legal fight against his being purged from the world of boxing. This was a fight not only for Ali to have the right to earn a living, but also for the black community to have a right to choose its own heroes.

The first break came when the NY court of appeals ruled that the boxing commission in New York State had no right to deny Ali a boxing license. However, even with that ruling no city would license the fight. Finally the black community in Atlanta was able to get a license there, and fought off any opposition. All that remained was to get a suitable opponent.

Frazier turned down the fight, reportedly because he didn't think it would be allowed to go on. A more likely reason is that it probably would have been his last. Finally, Quarry, Frazier's number one contender, signed for the fight.

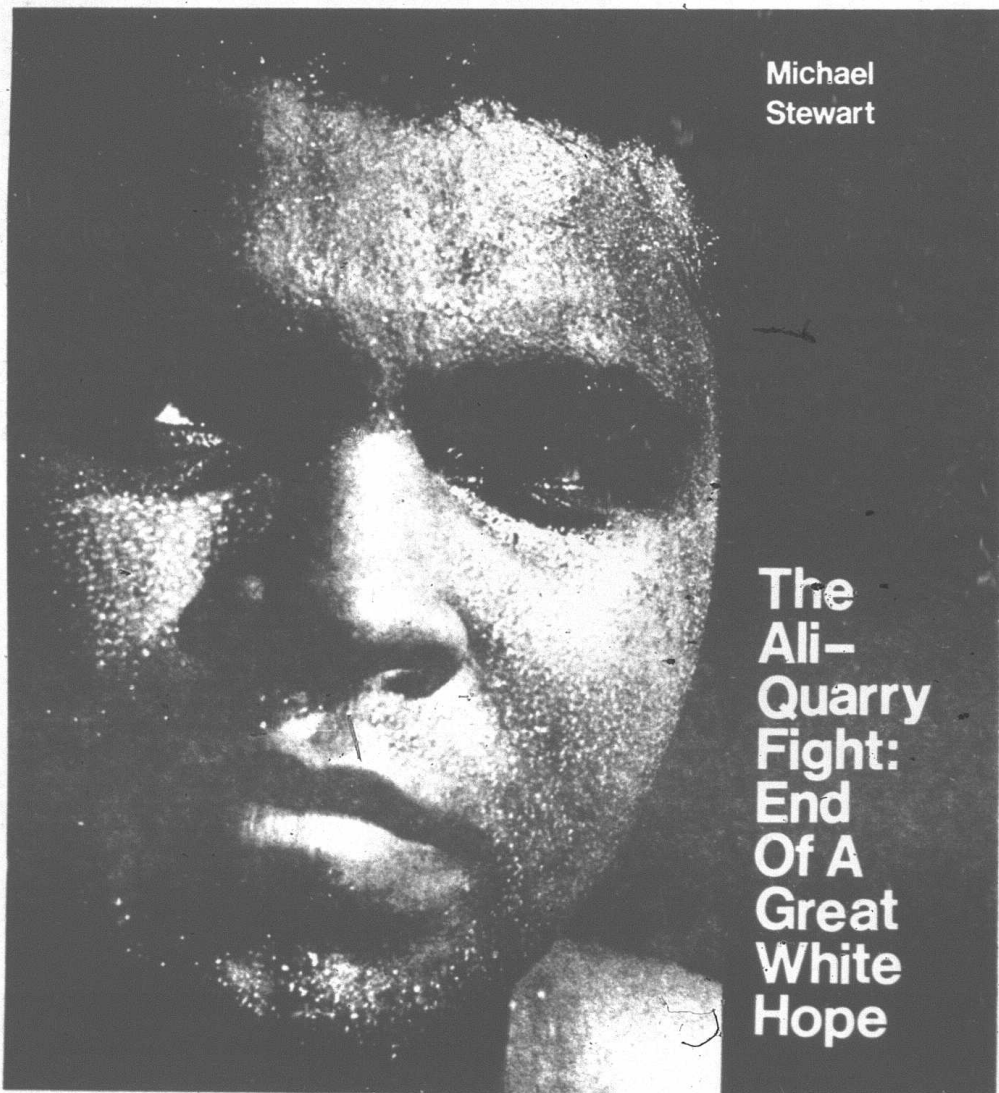
That, however, was not the end of it. Governor Lester Maddox still tried to cancel the fight, but could find no legal reasons to do so. In frustration, he declared a day of mourning for all of Georgia.

## No Contest

Quarry is white, but he received only a little build up as the "great white hope" this time. Even outspoken white racists, didn't think he stood a chance. Instead, their position was that Quarry shouldn't be fighting Ali at all, since fighting him would imply that Ali, a black militant, had a right to fight.

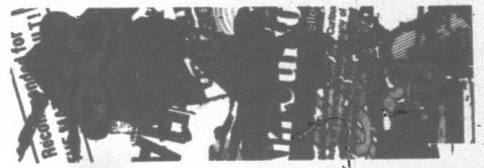
A week before the fight it was discovered that the ring physician was black, a "soul doctor" in Ali's words, and Quarry would have none of that. After all, it was well known that the entire black community was supporting Ali. After much shouting, it was agreed to have four doctors at ringside, two white and two black. Needless to say, this didn't save Quarry. The fight was rather anti-climactic, being no contest, and Ali won on a TKO in the third round.

All along, the black community has been behind Ali, despite, or perhaps because of the rotten treatment he received by the white establishment. No longer do blacks look to the "good Negro," who makes it by following white rules, as a model. Ali stands as a symbol that blacks will take control of their lives into their own hands. ■



Michael Stewart

The Ali-Quarry Fight: End Of A Great White Hope



## The Politics of Beards

Sara White



"You'll discover that some people will react very strongly to your new beard. They don't consider beards dirty. They consider beards DIRT!" advised a bearded acquaintance of a newly bearded man.

Facial hair is greeted with suspicion and disgust in many quarters of our society. Men sporting them are denied many jobs. Longer hair and sideburns, gradual extension of hair already allowed, have become acceptable in the past several years, but beards and mustaches, while increasing in frequency, leave men open to being called radicals, filthy hippies, anarchists, perverts, bearded weirdos, etc.

Ever since razor technology advanced to the point that a man didn't have to risk his neck or hire a professional to be clean-shaven, facial hair and longish head hair have been associated with revolutionaries, actors, artists, "long-hair" musicians, eccentric intellectuals and kooks — in other words, those either not taken seriously or considered a danger.

Beards are objected to for two reasons: they are an expression of a man's sexuality and of his individuality. First of all, a male can't grow a beard or become a father until puberty. A beard is an advertisement, *right there on his face*, that he is sexually mature. The distinctness of facial hair from head hair in both color and texture, and its resemblance to pubic hair, contribute to the emotion-

al reaction against it. Interestingly enough, many bearded men say that the women in their lives encouraged them to grow and keep their beards or mustaches.

Second, no two patterns of growth and colors of facial hair are alike, and trimming styles afford much variation from man to man. Combined with individuality in hair length and style, so much rich variation is possible that one is struck by the sameness of a row of slick-haired, nude-faced, sideburnless photographs.

Of course, not all people with beards, mustaches or sideburns are radicals or revolutionaries. Far from it. Even Lyndon Johnson and Pat Boone are wearing longer hair and sideburns these days. But we should all welcome expressions of individuality, self-expression, and opposition to the status quo in styles of personal adornment. It is no accident that in Cuba only the ruling stratum is allowed to have beards and in Greece the junta forbids long-haired tourists, no matter how clean.

This is a minor area of control over one's own life. But the vigorous opposition to it by employers, school boards and other institutions of capitalist society indicates that it's always better not to let people get a taste of running their own lives. Give 'em an inch and they'll want a mile.



### Living Theater:

### Two Performances

James Coleman

#### I. At the Commuter Station

Living theatre: the company moving among the audience whispering I am not allowed to travel without a passport crying I am not allowed to take my clothes off-screamed beating their breasts and took their clothes off and we did: by midnight flowing gradually onto the stage we had found each other's touch men caressed the necks of men

Living theatre: at the commuter station headed downtown to where the company would play again we mimicked crying I am not allowed to travel, to take my clothes off louder and louder and finally screaming: it was all good fun Living theatre: some way down the platform two black women watched blank-faced a white man with workingman's hands passed glaring at our beards and noise Hank was whistling "He was despised" from Handel's *Messiah*.

#### II. At the Performance Downtown

Already before beginning the stage is filled with my comrades drifting in on passes I see John who has been to California

to be indicted and we hug each other breathless

already before beginning joints are passed the actors begin to move among us calling now this woman on fire crying I am not allowed crying you can't live if you don't have money: you're free a kid calls back

holding a joint, you're free she falls to the stage beating with her fists and crawls away moaning you can't live if you don't have money in stage center one kid has stripped to his shorts

and dances sinuously, tall and white my comrades pass their arms around each other's necks oh living theatre: in intermission she ushers a blond college kid shut in a blue and gold uniform

passes mumbling to douse cigarettes a kid stripped to his waist asks why are you wearing that uniform how much are you paid will you take off the uniform if I pay you a dollar sixty and here amid bongos

piano the rising of smoke the weaving of the naked graceful dancer here the black actor crouches at stage front bellowing into the nearly empty auditorium BANANAS TASTE LIKE BLOOD

joints passing behind him and my face screws up I jerk with tears for my loved comrades a generation so beautiful who will be stood against a wall because they did not listen to what was being said.

# feedback

## Terrorism

The need for a clear political attitude towards terrorism and violent acts of individual resistance as "revolutionary strategies" has been proven many times in the history of the international working-class movement. At the present time, the intensification of repression against opposition movement, particularly radical activists and black militants (indeed against the entire black community), combined with the political crisis and state of flux within these movements themselves, has raised the question of terrorism as a response to violent repression in a particularly sharp way.

The advocacy of terrorism as a strategy by sectors of the white radical movement and the Black Panther Party, and the dilemma of many radicals who find it impossible to openly oppose this strategy without making concessions to the forces of repression and the ideology of liberalism, reflect the isolation of the movement from the social forces — the working class and the masses of oppressed Black and Third World people — capable of an effective mass movement against repression and for the transformation of society.

In this context, the article "Jailbreak" by Charles Leinenweber in the Sept. 11-24 *Workers' Power* calls for critical comment. "History took a leap," says comrade Leinenweber, when the attempted armed escape by four black prisoners from a courtroom packed with police "served notice that American revolutionaries will now take hostages to free political prisoners." Since he makes no attempt to show that this technique is an effective means of freeing political prisoners or of building a higher level of consciousness in struggle of a mass movement, this characterization is essentially empty rhetoric.

But incredibly, comrade Leinenweber continues in so many words, "This was no suicidal adventure"! That the escape ended the only way it could have ended given the relation of forces — in the massacre of the men who tried it — does not register with Leinenweber as possible grounds for labelling it "suicidal." What was it, then? Why, you see, "It was a declaration of war." Unfortunately, our newly-hatched military strategist misses a first-rate opportunity by failing to indicate how this war can be waged to a successful conclusion, namely winning freedom for political prisoners and enabling them to continue their work. Or, how the taking of hostages is expected to intimidate the forces of repression, whose concern for the lives of innocent people in Vietnam, Augusta, Kent State and Jackson State is sufficiently well-known.

Leinenweber's attachment to infantile rhetoric vitiates most of the potentially valuable observations he makes on the nature of the American prison system in a period of increasing conscious-

ness and militancy among the violently oppressed and super-exploited sections of the population. Indeed, the reflection of intensifying social conflict within the prisons has a deeply revolutionary significance, as the demoralization and self-hatred of many prisoners become transformed into their opposite — an understanding of the nature of the system which imprisons them and the way in which the brutal and class-biased nature of the prison and law enforcement systems flows inevitably from that system which produces them. This transformation has produced both Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver and many other black (and white) revolutionaries.

The real tragedy of the "Jailbreak" massacre is that James McLain, William Christmas, and Ruchell Magee — whose heroism is unquestionable — were each potentially a Malcolm X, but have now been liquidated by the State with no real difficulty at all. The obligation of socialists is to explain that the San Quentin Jailbreak, like the mass revolt in the Tombs in New York, represent defensive actions against state repression, but that the latter represented a clear victory because of its mass character while the former was a heroic but suicidal action and therefore a defeat. Unless Leinenweber is prepared to argue for a program which includes "taking hostages to free political prisoners" in the face of vastly superior force as a strategy — something he shows no sign of trying to do, since the bankruptcy of the conception would be immediately obvious — his rhetorical enthusiasm for suicidal desperation is political irresponsibility of a serious kind.

David Finkel

## Rejoinder by Leinenweber

Hmmm.

## U.S. Left Guide

The UNITED STATES DIRECTORY has just published the Sixth edition of its widely-known GUIDE TO THE AMERICAN LEFT: The GUIDE, which contains over 5,000 listings in this edition, lists social protest, liberal, pacifist, socialist, communist, new left and movement organizations and periodicals complete with zip codes. The GUIDE also contains an extensive bibliography of several hundred publications on or about the American Left-Wing. This edition of the GUIDE, the largest yet published, represents thousands of hours of research time by the UNITED STATES DIRECTORY. Copies are available at \$5.00 each or two for \$9.00.

## Panthers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

we have opposed their self-defeating attempts to forge an alliance with "good liberals." But we stand in solidarity with the Panthers when the ruling class which we both oppose attempts to destroy them.

### Defense and Power

The Black Panther Party is being destroyed. How can it fight back? The Panthers have responded to repression by attempting to organize more moderate elements to support them. In 1969 this took the form of a conference to form a "United Front Against Fascism," which was a dead-end. This fall, the Panthers are holding a series of meetings to write a "new constitution." Aside from the backwardness of trying to write a constitution for a new society before devising the program to broaden radical struggle in this society, these meetings function essentially as a way of bringing together large numbers of Movement activists in solidarity with the Panthers.

In the Black Community, in the last two years, the Panthers' main organizing activity has been setting up "Breakfast for Children" programs. These serve to win popularity for the party among more moderate elements who can support the idea of community service while remaining doubtful about revolutionary ideology.

Neither organizing support among white liberals or radicals, nor organizing community service programs in the ghetto, will answer the basic problem of how a revolutionary organization is to survive and advance. As the Panthers by now know too well, any revolutionary group which begins to gain popularity will meet an attempt by the state to destroy it — in which the state will shoot anyone, disregard any "sacred right," to

gain its end. The only weapon against this repression is organized power. Neither community service, nor verbal support from whites, nor guns in the hands of a few dedicated people, represents real power — real power is wielded only by masses of people struggling for their own needs.

Only in a few places have the Panthers been able to play a role in bringing this struggle into being. Early attempts to organize armed self-defense in the black community petered out — precisely because the community is not the best place to organize: in the community people are split up, unable to struggle as a single mass. Only in the workplace does the concentrated power exist which enables "little people" to stand off the power of the state.

In Fremont, California, there is a Black Panther Caucus in the GM plant. In auto factories in Detroit and elsewhere there are radical black workers' organizations. We don't agree with every tactic or program of these groups either. But they show the possibility of organizing a power which can fight back against repression. Unfortunately, the Black Panther Party as a whole has so far shown relatively little interest in building a base in the only place it can be built with power — in the plants.

### To the Workplace

If the Panthers do not turn to the workplace, they will be destroyed — even if every revolutionary and every Movement activist stands in solidarity with them. They will have been destroyed because they failed to bring into action the only power which can fight back against the power of the capitalist state — the power of the working class.

If all the Panthers follow the example of their members at Fremont, California, if they turn to forming black workers' organizations, which can struggle against racism in the plants and fight with white workers around common needs, then they will play a part in bringing this power into action. It is the only power which can save the Panthers, the only power which can advance the Movement, the only power which can ultimately build a new society. ■



### INTERESTED?

International Socialists  
Third Floor  
14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan  
48203

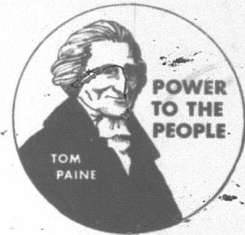
I would like more information about International Socialism and the I.S.

Name .....  
Address .....  
Occupation .....

# support your local

NATIONAL OFFICE: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203  
 NEW YORK: Room 1005, 874 Broadway, New York, New York, 10003.  
 NEW JERSEY: c/o Finkel, 11 Dickenson St., Princeton, New Jersey, 08540.  
 BOSTON: c/o Beeferman, 1541 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.  
 BALTIMORE: c/o Bachellor, 3109 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland, 21218.  
 PITTSBURGH: c/o White, 6709 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 15208.  
 DETROIT: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203.  
 ANN ARBOR: 2503 Student Activities Building, Ann Arbor, Mich. 41101.  
 CLEVELAND: P.O. Box 91253, Cleveland, Ohio, 44101.  
 TOLEDO: c/o Thomas, 3852 Almeda, Toledo, Ohio, 43612.  
 CHICAGO: P.O. Box 3451, Merchandise Mart, Chi-

cago, Illinois, 60654.  
 CHAMPAIGN/URBANA: c/o Guttman 207 East Oregon, Urbana, Illinois, 61801.  
 MADISON: c/o Barisonzi, 910 Magnolia, Madison, Wisconsin  
 BERKELEY: 6395 Telegraph, Oakland, Ca. 94609.  
 BAY AREA: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, Ca. 94701.  
 SAN FRANCISCO: c/o J. Gorden, 474 A Sanchez St., San Francisco, Ca. 94114  
 HAYWARD: 375 West A St., Hayward, Ca. 91241.  
 DAVIS: c/o Butz, 12 J Solano Park, Davis, Ca. 95616.  
 EUREKA: c/o John de Courey, 1870 F St., Arcata, Ca.  
 LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 125, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024.  
 RIVERSIDE: c/o Sabine, 6096 Riverside Ave., Riverside, Calif. 92506.  
 SAN DIEGO: c/o LaBotz, 3827 Miramar St., Apt. C, LaJolla, Calif., 92037.  
 SEATTLE: 4333 8th Ave. NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105.



## Revolutionary Buttons

Karl Marx, Fred Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, William Morris, Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Malcolm X, John Brown, Emiliano Zapata, James Connolly, Jean-Paul Marat, Sam Adams, Tom Paine.

25c each in day-glo colors, white, or gold. Bulk orders: 10 for \$2, 100 for \$15. Order from: International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203.



## book list

IS Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203. Phone: (313) 869-3137.

*The American Working Class in Transition*, - 40c  
*A New Era of Labor Revolt*, Stan Weir - 25c  
*Women Workers: The Forgotten Third of the Working Class*, Thene Winkler - 25c  
*Party and Class*, Chris Harman - 25c  
*A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto, written in a Polish Prison [An Open Letter to the Party]*, Jacek Kuron & Karol Modzelew-

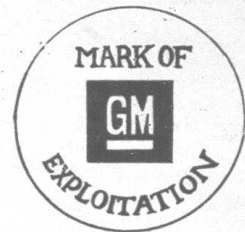
ski - 75c  
*Two Souls of Socialism*, Hal Draper - 25c  
*Women in the Chinese Revolution*, Laurie Landy - 40c

*Introduction to Independent Socialism [Independent Socialist Clippingbook, no. 1]*, ed. Hal Draper - \$2

*How Mao Conquered China [Independent Socialist Clippingbook, no. 6]*, Jack Brad - 75c

*Socialist Songbook* - 50c

## Auto Strike Buttons



# Workers' Power

**WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM:** the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other - white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face, such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party, at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole; the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism - the direct rule of the working class itself - exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is WORKERS' POWER.

"The midcalf skirt — the midi — is a flop so far this fall," the wires of the Associated Press tell us. "Midi sales mini, sellers moan," echoes another cute headline. Just a few months ago it seemed as if the combined rulers of the fashion industry were going to succeed in foisting another uncomfortable, unattractive and expensive "new look" upon women. Orbach's department store ran an ad in the *New York Times* which said simply, "the knee is dead." Leading stores stocked at least 75 percent midis for fall. Last but not least, Patricia Nixon graced the pages of slick women's magazines in the new "romantic, old-fashioned, frilly" look.

Today, the same slick magazines sales pitch is low key on the midi. *McCalls*, for example, tells us now, "The midi is not a must." The less affluent women's magazines like *Family Circle*, include patterns for both long and short skirts. All advise us on how to ease into the midi, at the same time assuring us that the "compromise length, a longer skirt, is in."

American women have put up a tremendous resistance to this new style. In spite of the propaganda from almost every woman's journal, in spite of the unavailability of a selection of minis in most department stores, women are fighting the midi — sticking to their "old" clothes or, significantly, switching to a less confining mode of dress — pants.

This recession year, also a year when women's liberation ideas are spreading rapidly (although in a disorganized way) to working women, was not a good year to sell the American woman on a Total New Look. Clerical workers, who would suffer the most from obsolescence of short skirts, have led the way in the protest. The *New York Times* tells us that "working women wage a slow war for equal pay and opportunity but there's one office battle they're winning this fall — the right to wear pantsuits to work."

### Financial Disaster

Let's look at the reason for that. The midi is not being introduced as a fad, like the chemise or "sack" of 1957. It is supposed to be a complete look, involving much more than just hemlines. As *Cosmopolitan* magazine explains: "... The midi is part of a total hard-to-snap-into look as the mini never was... the necessary match up with shoes, stockings, accessories requires total fashion savvy."

"Cosmo" goes on to list a dozen musts to follow. They include buying several pairs of boots, color matched stockings and shoes; hats are back, so are higher heeled shoes. Also, a new wardrobe would be incomplete without proper blouses, sweaters, handbags, choker collars, long coats. "Cosmo" also coyly tells us that with the new look small waists are a must. "If you can't diet or exercise away inches, wear a girdle (yes we mean it) or an old-fashioned waist-cincher." It is also crucial to change your "makeup and of course your hairstyle; you need one which requires greater time and care, perhaps even more visits to the beauty parlor.

Whether this total look gets "eased in," or comes in with a bang, if a whole wardrobe must be changed it will be a financial disaster equal to at least a month's pay for any woman who must dress to please on the job — that is, above all, the clerical workers who make up 1/3 of all working women.

These women are part of the adornments of the office as well as workers, and a multitude of regulations are aimed at them. Not all have won the right to wear pants. Aetna Life Insurance says, "We don't have any rules against pants



the midi and women's liberation

# fashion fascism

Celia Emerson

in the office. We don't have any rules against hanging people in the office either." The expensive "uniforms" of women workers are unpaid, job related expenses. When the incredible cost of nylons is added in, the total is very high. The Department of Labor estimates that 1/4 to 1/2 of a married woman's paycheck is eaten up in such job-related expenses.

The marches against the midi are not the first in American history. In 1947 the "New Look" arrived in America, a gift of the house of Dior. Following World War II austerity, the New Look featured padded hips, wasp waists, rounded shoulders and, above all, long skirts. It was not well-received — at first.

That summer of 1947, the polls showed that a majority of American women disliked the new styles, but would wear them anyway. The most publicized resistance was that of a group of women in Dallas, Texas, who demonstrated against the style. *Colliers* tells us that 1300 women in that city "formed a Little Below the Knee Club" sworn to hold the hemline at that elevation."

The push to the New Look came in the midst of the campaign to get women back into the kitchen. This campaign, first documented by Betty Freidan in

the *Feminine Mystique*, used just about every weapon at its disposal, including magazine fiction. The "New Look" was avowedly part of that campaign for a "more feminine, more romantic" woman to replace Rosie the Riveter, the wartime working heroine.

In the midst of this reactionary movement, women had little organization with which to fight. They could not hold on to their jobs, much less their hemlines. The "Little Below the Knee Club" was doomed by 1948; if skirts did not reach the decreed 11 inches from the floor, they at least were longer than they had been for a decade.

Then, as now, Princess Margaret made headlines with her conversion to the "new look." And then, as now, it was the working woman not in the headlines who suffered most.

Theoreticians of the fashion industry, like the editor of *Women's Wear Daily* (a man, of course), have tried to justify the midi with the theory of "shifting erogenous zones." Fashions are designed to please men, so the story goes, and men's interest can only be maintained if different parts of women are exposed from time to time.

If this theory had some basis in fact, it would still reflect a deplorable prac-

tice. Women should not be forced to wear only or whatever pleases men. But in fact, the whole concept is a lot of nonsense. A less sexy style than the midi could hardly be imagined. At the same time, interest in the mini skirt among men shows no sign of flagging.

The fashion dictators have decreed that, for fall 1970, legs are not the focal point of female sexuality. In order to convince men and women that the midi is sexy, a massive propaganda campaign was launched around the theme "legs are out, breasts and waists are back!" As one commentator said, "Raise your sights men — you've had so much miniskirt that legs are no longer exciting." Perhaps this attitude could give a badly needed boost to the sagging bra industry — but no one has adopted it.

The truth of the matter is that the only men who were pleased by the midi are those who run the fashion industry, plus other arbiters of the status quo.

In reality, sharp changes in fashion reflect the needs of the industry, or are a sign of political and social change.

In the first place, the fashion industry counts on obsolescence. An important component of the national economy (more workers are employed in producing apparel than auto mobiles, 80 percent of them women, most of them low paid), it has been hit hard by the recession. And the natural tendency of people to stop buying new clothes when things are tight has been encouraged by the relative stability of short skirts for several years.

The midi was supposed to be a godsend. At the very least, even if a woman refused to fall for all the accessories and the more elaborate hairdo, she would have to buy new skirts. No one could stretch a mini into a midi. Now, the troubles of this industry have been increased by the midi disaster and are adding to the economic woes of the country. In fact, this reciprocal effect is being used as an additional plea for support for the midi.

### Anti-Liberation

But the battle for the midi is more than just an effort to revive an antiquated business. Not a few midi enthusiasts have consciously seen it as a tool to use against the rising clamor for women's liberation — to put women back in their proper place.

There has always been a close connection between the status of women and the styles they were forced to wear. While American women have never had their feet bound like Chinese women, one only has to look at pictures of women in the late 19th century to see how they were kept in their places.

With over 20 pounds of cumbersome clothing, and corsets so tight that women couldn't eat, breathe, or run, it is not surprising that, in the early years of the women's movement, dress reform was seen as very important. (Obviously, working women were spared the "extremes" of fashion; they sacrificed the tight corset and the billowing skirts to the sweat shop. Yet, out of the factory they had to conform as much as possible to the dictates of the fashion of the middle class.)

Today, the midi, like the New Look of the late 40's, is consciously anti-liberation in its sales pitch. The *Ladies Home Journal* talks about the "feminine revival." This revival comes in "with the longer skirt, evoking a more romantic mood in fashion." This more romantic mood means a return to the helpless female.

We have just begun a different sort of

[continued on page 11]

