

wages for housework?

see P. 7

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Vol. IV No. 7

March 1975

35 cents

BULK RATE
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1048
Berkeley, CA 94704

Peace agreement - two years after

End aid to Thieu, Lon Nol

by Paul Joseph
with thanks to Internews

"This must be the most expensive cease-fire in history," recently remarked Les Aspin, a foremost congressional critic of the Pentagon. He was referring to the Paris Peace Agreements that were to end the war in Vietnam and supposedly assure the end of U.S. intervention in South East Asia. In the last two years, Congress has passed over \$6 billion in military and economic aid to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The second anniversary of those agreements was marked both by the Ford administration's call for increased aid to the tottering Thieu regime, and by the Assembly to save the Peace Agreement—a call for renewed popular opposition to such aid in the U.S. (see Page 3).

The cease-fire has also been one of the bloodiest ever, for the fighting has continued at an ever-increasing pace. Senator Kennedy's subcommittee recently estimated that 1.4 million new refugees have been "generated" since the cease-fire. At least 43,000 civilians have been admitted to South Vietnamese hospitals during the past two years. And twenty percent of the children of South Vietnam are orphans.

Thieu continues to ignore the Third Force or neutralist sector granted legitimacy in the 1973 agreements.

The U.S. is still actively engaged in covert military activity. The State Department no longer denies the penetration of U.S.-manned SR-71 reconnaissance flights over PRG-administered zones over North Vietnam (these flights are specifically banned in the Paris Agreements.) Military supplies to the beleaguered Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh are flown by BirdAir, a civilian firm under charter to the Pentagon. Viewers of recent TV national news programs have been treated to the spectacle of unmarked C-130s running the gauntlet of anti-aircraft fire from the Khmer Rouge. In a recent interview, William Bird, president of Bird Air, stated that "we only furnish the crews." The U.S. Air Force provides the C-130s and is responsible for all maintenance. This too is in direct violation of congressional legislation banning U.S. military activity in Cambodia. Recent reports indicate that several members of Congress will go to court seeking an end to the flights.

MORE AID TO THIEU?

Recent developments have occurred on two inter-related fronts: the clashes between Saigon forces and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) on the South Vietnamese battlefield, and the increasing conflict between the Ford administration and Congress over the level of additional aid to be supplied to the Thieu regime. PRG forces recently seized Phouc Binh, capital of Phouc Long province. Phouc Binh was the first provincial capital to fall since the 1972 Easter offensive. In less dramatic action, the PRG continues to make inroads in Binh Dinh province and in the populous Mekong Delta. These smaller, less spectacular victories have still culminated in significant advances during the last year. The PRG now controls areas where six million (approximately 30% South Vietnamese live. This represents a gain of fifty percent during the last year. About one half of this total, three million, are under the direct administration of the PRG.

Many Capitol Hill members have developed a healthy animosity towards Thieu. If the dictator runs without significant opposition in the elections scheduled for October, congressional ire may be aroused even further. This presents a real dilemma for Ford and Kissinger. The alternative, holding a genuine, democratic election, also carries the danger of pre-

senting the South Vietnamese people with a choice concerning the strict implementation of the Paris Agreements complete with the formation of the National Council of Reconciliation.

Aid restrictions have reduced the number of fighter-bomber missions flown by the South Vietnamese Air Force by two-thirds. Helicopter missions have been sharply reduced and 70 A-1 Skyhawk fighter-bombers have been permanently grounded. An earlier plan to illegally replace F-5As with more advanced F-5Es (the Paris Agreements restrict replacements to a one-to-one basis with no qualitative improvements in military machinery permitted) have been scrapped due to budgetary limitations. Only 25 of a planned 128 F-5Es have been shipped.

Will there be another large PRG offensive? Prob-

(Continued on Page 11)



Police attack against anti-Thieu demonstration provoked this counterattack by nuns last October. LNS

Capital's crisis

Congress says people must pay

by John Katz and Nick Rabkin
Bay Area NAM

CONGRESS COULD, these days, be easily mistaken for the site of the world championship buck-passing contest. As the economic indicators continue to slip, Republicans and Democrats have taken to the strategy of blaming the other party as a cure for the crisis. Both parties, of course, have put forward their own programs for the economy, but tied as they are to the needs of multinational corporations, neither program speaks to the needs of working people. Nevertheless, the imminence of electoral confrontation in 1976 forces each party to try to convince us that if it weren't for the other everything would be hunky-dory.

President Ford's program seems stamped with the trademark of Vice-President Rockefeller. It is an abrupt change from the austere inflation-fighting orientation that Ford inherited from Nixon and held until Rocky stepped in. The new program is designed to prime the economic pump by pouring billions of dollars into the economy via income tax cuts, investment tax credits for business, and the largest budget deficit in the country's peacetime

history.

But Ford has not committed himself unequivocally to fighting the recession. At the same time that he will be pouring dollars into the economy he will be siphoning off billions more by raising the oil import duties and oil prices.

Overall, Ford's proposals are quite modest and of uncertain effect. His tax plan heavily favors higher income brackets and offers peanuts to the poor. Families earning under \$8,000 a year will have to pay more in fuel and gas price hikes than they will get back from the one-shot tax rebate. Those earning \$8,000 a year will have a grand total of eight more dollars to spend next year after their rebate is eaten away by oil price hikes. And the economic stimulation that will result from the rebates will have the effect of cutting unemployment only by 0.4%, according to Harvard economist Otto Eckstein.

Ford's energy program (for a complete analysis see Page 5) will cost consumers some \$50 billion in higher prices and will have the effect of reducing the GNP by 1% and putting some 400,000 more people out of work—as a way of strengthening the long-range position of the oil majors in the world economy.

The Democrats have fashioned an economic program of their own that will be slightly kinder to working people than the Fordefeller plan. Their tax proposal calls for a larger rebate program than does Ford's, with more dollars going back to families earning under \$20,000 (94% to Ford's 57%).

The new Democratic Congress lacks ideological cohesiveness. Since the liberal wing of the Democratic Party dominates the Congress, it will probably not tolerate social service cuts. Indeed, it will press for an increased dole during the hard times.

Like Ford, the Democrats would finance their programs through greater deficit spending. Their deficits would doubtless be higher even than Ford's.

The Democrats favor a gas rationing plan over Ford's price increases to deal with the energy crunch. But they have not yet agreed on the precise nature of the rationing.

UNDERLYING PROBLEMS

While the Democrats' program appears to be more "people oriented" than Ford's, appearances are deceiving. There is really little difference between the two programs. Both would finance in-

(Continued on Page 11)



New indictments for Indians - some dismissals

by Martin Bunzl
Minneapolis NAM

AS JANUARY drew to a close, the Indian struggle seemed to have established a regular pattern of indictment after indictment. Scores of people were busy in Lincoln, Nebraska, attempting to mount a defense for the Wounded Knee indictees. Meanwhile in Gresham, Wisconsin, sixteen armored personnel carriers rolled into place around the Alexian Brothers novitiate which had been occupied by the Menominee Warriors' Society since New Year's Day. While the armored personnel carriers moved, six special prosecutors began setting up shop in anticipation of the evacuation of the novitiate.

The whole situation seemed particularly depressing because January had also seen federal judge Warren K. Urbome declare Indian tribes to be nations, but nations lacking sovereignty. Urbome's declaration was included in his ruling on a motion brought by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Offense Committee on behalf of all the Wounded Knee indictees. The motion argued that the United States had no jurisdiction to try the indictees since Wounded Knee fell within the geographical boundaries of land over which the Lakota people had jurisdiction.

Because the Lakota people have no written historical tradition, defense attorney John Thorne presented many traditional people of the Lakota tribe to the court. These elders of the tribe testified to the oral historical tradition that had been handed down to them from their ancestors who signed the 1868 treaty. They testified that it was the understanding of their ancestors that they were not doing anything more than signing a peace agreement with the U.S. and that they were retaining all their sovereign rights as an independent nation.

Judge Urbome dismissed the defense's motion on the grounds that "Native American tribes...have no external sovereignty, and have only as much internal sovereignty as has not been relinquished by them or explicitly taken by Act of the United States Congress."

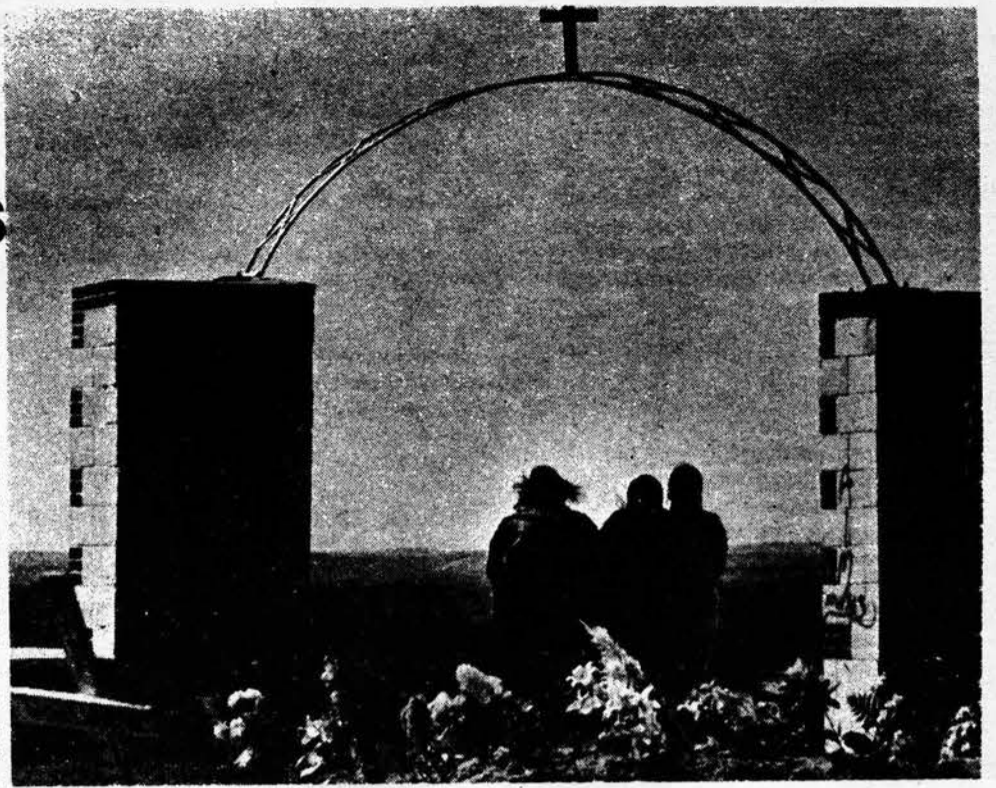
Come February things suddenly took a turn for the better. On February 4th, Special Prosecutor Keith Uhl moved to dismiss 50 of the Wounded Knee indictments. Now 20 of the indictees remain to be tried.

Two days earlier, the occupation of Gresham ended. The Menominee Warriors' Society had occupied the Alexian Brothers Novitiate to demand that the Chicago-based Catholic group turn the property over for use as a hospital or school. The Alexians, who had not used the building for a number of years, agreed to the plan on the condition that the Indians pay \$175,000.

As the situation grew increasingly tense in Gresham, Governor Lucey and national church groups pressured the Alexians to settle the dispute. As white vigilante groups organized in apparent preparation to implement their threatened plan to storm the novitiate, the Alexians agreed to sell the building for \$1, much to special prosecutor's chagrin.

On the same day that the Gresham

occupation ended, the Federal Court of Appeals upheld an earlier ruling that led to the dismissal of charges against some of the Wounded Knee indictees. Many persons who were indicted had been charged with "interfering with a Federal Officer in the course of his legal duty." The appeals court upheld a lower court ruling that dismissed these charges on the grounds that the federal officers at Wounded Knee were not doing their legal duty since they constituted a military operation. (Pentagon officials were at Wounded Knee dressed as civilians. The Air Force made reconnaissance flights over the hamlet. And supplies for the government forces were provided by the military.) Use of the military within the U.S. requires a presidential declaration of a state of emergency. Since Nixon had signed no such declaration, the court ruled there had been illegal military involvement at Wounded Knee. Since it is no offense to interfere with a federal officer doing his illegal duty, these charges were dismissed by



-Bill Davis/Minnesota Daily

Mourning the Death of Buddy Lamont at the Burying Ground, Wounded Knee

the court for two indictees whose cases have already come to trial. The appeals court ruling means that others will probably have the count dropped in their indictments as well. STILL trials go on and on. Twenty non-leadership trials begin in Council

Bluffs, Iowa, this month. The Wounded Knee leadership trials will resume this year. Dennis Banks will soon go to trial on charges arising out of the Custer incident, and people are waiting for bail money in the Shawano county jail in Wisconsin.

Support grows in Carolina rape-self-defense case

by Bob McMahan
Chapel Hill NAM

The case of Joann Little has begun to receive increasing attention and support around the country. Committees active in her behalf have been formed in Pittsburgh, Atlanta, DC, and Boston, in addition to her supporters in North Carolina. Contributions have come in from a wide variety of sources to help with her defense.

Joann Little is a 20-year-old black woman, accused of murder in the death of a guard at a Beaufort County, NC, jail where she was being held. The guard was found dead in her cell, naked from the waist down, stabbed with an ice pick normally kept in his desk drawer. Ms. Little admits stab-



Joann Little with her lawyer

bing him, but says that she did so in self defense, after he entered her cell in the middle of the night, pants off and ice pick in his hand, and tried to attack her.

Ms. Little's supporters hope to get her out on bail shortly. Bonding her has been a complicated process. She was originally being held in the Beaufort jail pending an appeal on a charge of breaking and entering. Her attorney at the time never filed all the papers necessary for an appeal, and after a period of time her right to an appeal was declared to have lapsed, and she was ordered to begin serving her sentence on that charge.

(Joann Little's treatment on the breaking and entering charge is a classic example of the justice available to the poor. When the case came to trial, she had no lawyer. A lawyer standing around the courthouse, mistaking the case for one in which the prosecution's chief witness was missing, saw a chance for an easy fee and offered to represent her. When he found he had the wrong case, he went ahead with a defense only asking Joann a few questions. Later, he didn't do anything on her appeal because he saw no chance for further fees.)

The new attorneys who had come forward to represent Joann on the murder charge asked the court to grant an appeal of the burglary charge on its own discretion, even though the normal time for appeal had been allowed to lapse. In late December, the court did so. Supporters in the meantime had rounded up \$100,000 bail set on the murder charge, plus the \$15,000 bail which had been originally set for appeal bond on the breaking and entering charge. At this point, the Beaufort County prosecutor intervened and tried

to prevent bail from being accepted. He had no legal basis for this move and Joann's lawyers were able to overturn his action. The county prosecutor then arranged to have bail on the original charge raised to \$50,000, making the total bail \$150,000. This sum has been raised, but supporters are still (as of Feb. 8) not sure whether some new move may not be made to delay Joann Little's release.

April 15 has been set as the date for the murder trial. The case will be tried in Beaufort County, with a jury from adjacent Hyde County. The defense had tried to have the case moved to the state capitol, Raleigh, but North Carolina law prohibits moving trials farther than an adjoining county. The defense felt that pre-trial publicity in both Beaufort and the neighboring counties has been so prejudicial that it would be impossible for Joann Little to get a fair trial. (The editor of the main paper in Beaufort County told a CBS reporter, in an interview broadcast nationally on Feb. 5, that sentiment in the county was divided, with the whites convinced Joann was guilty, the blacks thinking her innocent. The day after the guard's death, this paper had an editorial describing the slain guard as an "outstanding family man," and calling his killing a "bestial act.")

Another problem with holding the trial in Beaufort County is the composition of the jury list. Both in Hyde County where the jury is to come from, and in Beaufort County, the jury list is over 95% white males. Women and blacks have been systematically excluded. (Hyde County is 55% female, and 30% black.)

Contributions can be made to the Joann Little Defense Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 1003, Durham, NC 27702.

The New American Movement [NAM] exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working-class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. We believe the elimination of sexist and racist institutions and the dismantling of American economic and social control abroad are central to the struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL OFFICE:

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
1645 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

NEWSPAPER:

6025 Shattuck Avenue
Oakland, CA 94609
415-652-1758

Humphrey sit-in

Assembly assails Vietnam aid

by Tom Schade
Minneapolis NAM

THE SECOND anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement saw a revived anti-war movement taking aim at continued U.S. aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol dictatorships in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Recent military activity caused by a Provisional Revolutionary Government's consolidation of Phuoc Long province has endangered the fuel and ammunition reserves of the Saigon army; the administration has requested \$522 million in emergency supplemental aid to resupply the Saigon army and recoup cuts made by Congress in Indochina aid during the last session. Strong anti-war activity at the time of the Peace Agreement anniversary has set back administration chances of getting that aid through Congress. Anti-war forces are hopeful that the fight over aid may set the tone for the entire year in Congress and lead to the end of all forms of aid to Saigon and Phnom Penh this year.

The Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement in Washington was the national focus for the anti-war forces in January. One the weekend of the 25th and 26th, 1,700 people attended a conference on the current situation in Indochina and congressional strategy to end funding for U.S. intervention in Indochina. Presentations were made by Fred Branfman of the Indochina Resource Center and Thich Thien Chau, head of the Overseas Vietnamese Buddhist Association who has lived in Paris since being exiled from South Vietnam in 1966 for his political activities. Chau is a third force representative from the Buddhist Movement for National Reconciliation. On Sunday evening, the Assembly moved to the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church for a Peace Convocation, featuring George McGovern as the keynote speaker. A candlelight march of 3,000 people went from the convocation to the White House.

Monday was marked by anti-war lobbying on Capital Hill and a rally on the Capital steps which competed with rallies called by the South Vietnamese Embassy and the Rev. Sun Moon, the South Korean anti-communist evangelist who mobilized groups in

support of Richard Nixon last summer. A demonstration of Missing in Action Wives was also held at the Capitol that day. Nearly ten times as many people attended the anti-war rally.

NEW ANTI-WAR STRENGTH

The Assembly indicated the organizational strength of the post-cease-fire anti-war movement. Leadership in the anti-war movement now resides in a young network of activists in new organizations. The leadership of the old anti-war movement, particularly the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party failed to make itself felt in this current wave of activity.

Despite the newness of the organizational structures behind the Assembly, it was well organized. Of the 1,700 people who came to the conference, 1,000 registered in advance, indicating that most were mobilized through organizations. A questionnaire circulated by the organizers among the participants indicated that two-thirds of the people were not longtime anti-war activists.

HUMPHREY ASSAILED

In connection with the Washington Assembly, members of the Minnesota

'Stop Springboard'

G.I. groups oppose exercise in Puerto Rico

by Peter Brown

"What Operation Springboard really means (is) the brass preparing us to play cops for U.S. big business in the Caribbean."

So states a pamphlet distributed by members of an anti-imperialist campaign against a major training exercise of the U.S. military in Puerto Rico. This campaign is led by a variety of GI groups with political direction and support from the Puerto Rican left.

Operation Springboard is an annual exercise designed to upgrade the fleets, air forces, and amphibious units of the militaries of NATO and OAS nations. Directed from the massive naval base on the east coast of Puerto Rico, Roosevelt Roads, this exercise exploits the unique physical characteristics of the island. The seas, beaches, and rain forests of Puerto Rico offer all the terrains needed to train a modern anti-insurgency force.

The campaign to oppose Operation Springboard, which has been built over the last several months, represents years of discussion and practice between the participating GI organizations. In addition, it represents the largest effort ever undertaken by the GI movement in support of self-determination for Puerto Rico.

The GI groups participating are the defense committees of Tidewater, Va., Camp LeJeune, N.C., and Charleston, S.C.; the Ft. Bragg GI Union; and the Black Military Resistance League. These groups represent the "new tide" in the GI movement. This new tide has continued the massive movement of the late 60s and considerably strengthened its politics.

A NEW GI MOVEMENT

During the late 60s and early 70s, years of organizing among Vietnam-bound GI's finally resulted in massive opposition to the war and numerous incidents of rebellion and sabotage. However, the cadre of that period were mostly college-educated, white radicals

anti-war community held simultaneous sit-ins in Hubert Humphrey's Washington and Minneapolis offices. The demonstrators demanded that HHH give firm assurances that (1) he would vote against the supplemental aid request, and (2) he would vote against all forms of aid to the Saigon and Phnom Penh governments. HHH agreed to vote against the \$522 supplemental but refused to commit himself against all aid to Thieu. Thus, a key liberal senator who has been instrumental in passing Indochina aid was forced to oppose the supplemental on the same day the administration formally requested it. Humphrey's capitulation to popular protest is a blow to the Ford-Kissinger plans to keep Thieu afloat.

It was because of Humphrey's key role in continuing aid that the anti-war activists had chosen him as a target. Humphrey was the floor manager of the Foreign Aid Bill in 1974. In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where Nixon's request for \$938 million was first referred, Humphrey voted for the higher level of aid in each and every one of the six votes taken to set the aid level. In addition to his dismal record on aid amounts, Humphrey helped to keep jurisdiction over military aid to Saigon in the Armed Services Committee when anti-war forces had moved to

put it under the Foreign Relations Committee where it would come under greater scrutiny.

Humphrey responded to criticism of this record in four sessions with the Washington sit-in. Basically, he tried to portray himself as helping make the cuts in aid that occurred this year and that he only voted for Indochina aid to get the administration's support for aid for other parts of the world. Just a man of peace trying to feed the world. The statement left by the Washington sit-in said, "We demand that you cease to engineer compromises on the level of aid that the U.S. makes available to Saigon through foreign aid, military aid, manipulation of Food For Peace funds, or any other device. We likewise reject the cynicism that says the U.S. legislative deals can be made with Vietnamese lives."

The Washington sit-in was carried out by 20 people and was augmented at times with dozens more from the Assembly. The Minneapolis sit-in consisted of 25 people and occurred in the context of a weekend of anti-war activities that involved hundreds more. The Minneapolis Chapter of NAM proposed the actions which were carried out by members of many organizations, including the Twin Cities Women's Union and the American Friends Service Committee. Both groups of demonstrators left Humphrey's offices before arrests were made. They had achieved no small task in getting Humphrey to agree to vote against the supplemental and resolved to continue to pressure Humphrey to vote against all forms of aid to Indochina.



(see Matthew Rinaldi, "The Olive-Drab Rebels: Military Organizing During the Vietnam Era," *Radical America* vol. 8, no.3).

However, most GI work has now been taken over by the black and white vets who were directly radicalized by their experience in the military. Previously the movement was strongly influenced by liberal and pacifist politics, but the new GI movement is consciously working class and strongly anti-imperialist. These politics are stated clearly in the Statement of Principles that has united the three defense committees:

All the problems that we as enlisted men, women, and families have in the military come from the fact that as a group we have no power. If we are ever going to change things like unsafe working conditions, long hours, the lack of justice in the military legal system...if we as enlisted people are ever going to win control over our lives, we are going to have to organize. We are the working class of the military and we are going to have to struggle for our rights together just as the civilian working class has had to do.

It is indicative of the increasing solidarity between the working class movements of the U.S. and Puerto Rico that such a campaign should begin now. The escalating struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and socialism has received international support and U.S. GI's understand their relation to this struggle.

Many North American GI's have learned of the true nature of Operation Springboard as civilian and active-duty activists distributed literature, collected signatures on petitions, and held informal rap groups about the questions of self-determination for oppressed nations in general and Puerto Rico specifically.

In Norfolk, Va., all the groups sponsoring "Stop Springboard" held a rally and a petitioning effort on the GI-filled streets. The rally featured a movie about the Young Lords, a slide show on the proposed Super Port, and two speakers. A member of the Black Military Resistance League who participated in last year's Springboard described the overall exercise and the general working conditions on the ships taking part. Finally, a member of the New American Movement who will be coordinating the campaign in Puerto Rico spoke on the struggle for independence on the island.

At the present time the ships are just beginning to arrive in Puerto Rico and they will be greeted with the same literature and petitioning efforts that have gone on in their home port. Because of the immediacy of the experience of taking part in an overtly imperialist training exercise, many of the young U.S. workers who man the ships and storm the beaches are asking very hard questions. Efforts like the "Stop Springboard" campaign hopefully will give them the right answers.



Members of Minneapolis NAM sit in at Humphrey's Columbia office.

Nicaragua

Liberation forces shake Somoza regime

by Susanne Jonas
NACLA

In late December 1974, Somoza's Nicaragua was struck by an earthquake stronger than that of December 1972—this time a political rather than a natural event. The revolutionary Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front—FSLN) invaded a party being held by Nicaraguan businessman Jaime Castillo in honor of U.S. Ambassador Turner Shelton, and took some of the leading figures in the regime of Gen. Anastasio ("Tachito") Somoza as hostages for 60 hours. The hostages included some members of Somoza's own family, as well as the mayor of Managua, the Nicaraguan foreign minister and ambassador to the U.S., high executives of the Bank of America and Esso Standard Oil in Nicaragua, and the ambassador of the Chilean junta in Nicaragua. After most of their demands had been met, the FSLN group flew to Cuba and released the hostages.

Somoza was forced to give in to many of the Frente demands, including freedom for 14 FSLN prisoners, their safe passage to Cuba, and \$1 million. Most important, Somoza was forced to permit the publication in all newspapers and the broadcast over the official radio network of the 12,000-word FSLN communique. For the first time in the 40-year history of the Somoza regime, the Nicaraguan people heard voices denouncing the government as "the most despicable dictatorship in Latin America."



No less significant than the direct blows against the Somoza regime was its international delegitimization. Even while referring to the FSLN as "terrorists," the *New York Times* editorialized (Dec. 31) that "the Somoza dynasty, which has ruled with an iron hand for forty years, invites violent resistance...deserves the humiliation it suffered." The *Christian Science Monitor* and other major U.S. newspapers acknowledged that this event represented "a major political blow to Somoza."

The FSLN action was also designed to expose U.S. complicity with the Somoza dictatorship. The Frente had hoped to capture U.S. Ambassador Shelton, closely identified with Somoza (who had left the party shortly before the FSLN action), and still intend to capture him. In a January 1 press conference in Cuba, the FSLN also charged that U.S. police advisers are helping form a "Death Squad" in Nicaragua, that U.S. and Brazilian experts are teaching torture methods, and that U.S. helicopter pilots stationed in the Panama Canal Zone are participating in counterinsurgency operations.

In its December 27 communique, the FSLN announced that with this action it was beginning "a

new stage in its struggle for national liberation." In fact, it is part of a struggle that has been going on since the 1920s—a struggle as continuous as the Somoza dictatorship. From 1927 to 1934, Augusto Cesar Sandino led a people's army in a guerrilla war to end the U.S. military occupation of Nicaragua which had been in effect almost constantly since 1912. By 1933, Sandino's army held substantial control over part of rural Nicaragua, and the U.S. military was forced to end its occupation. In leaving, however, the U.S. installed a well-trained Nicaraguan National Guard, commanded by "Tacho" Somoza (father of "Tachito"). In 1934, while he was in Managua for negotiations with Somoza (with assurances for his safety), Sandino was assassinated by Somoza, with the backing of the U.S.

Although there were no armed confrontations between 1934 and 1958, popular discontent remained high. In 1958, following the 1956 assassination of "Tacho" by a leftist, a former fighter in Sandino's army formed what was to become the FSLN. Since 1958 the Frente has engaged in constant struggle—and constant re-evaluation of its strategy, in the light of experience. The Frente has developed a strategy of prolonged people's war against imperialism and for socialism, and views its current actions as part of that strategy.

OTHER SOMOZA OPPOSITION

In addition to the armed revolutionary movement, the Somoza regime faces an electoral opposition. This was accentuated by the openly fraudulent reelection of "Tachito" in September 1974. In preparation for the election, leaders of all the bourgeois opposition forces, led by wealthy newspaper editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro (who would like to oust Somoza in order to impose their own slightly modified version of domination), united in a call for electoral abstention, as a sign of protest. The abstention rate was over 50%. More recently (in December), many of these same forces—including 7 opposition parties and two labor organizations—met in Masaya to form the Democratic Liberation Union to demand a change of regime, "democratization," and other reforms. As head of the Union, Chamorro is now being prosecuted by a military tribunal.

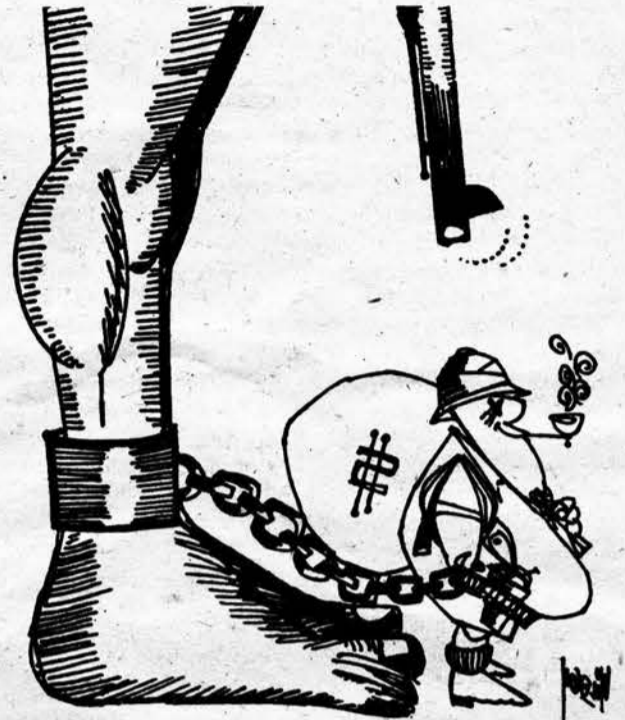
The opposition, led by members of Nicaragua's ruling class, focuses on fraud, repression (including censorship of Chamorro's *La Prensa*), and corruption in the Somoza regime. The extent of the corruption has been revealed in the wake of the 1972 earthquake and the well-known misuses of earthquake relief aid from the U.S. and the international agencies—including land speculation and black market dealings (even with badly needed food) by public officials and National Guardsmen. Moreover, those sectors of the bourgeoisie which are out of favor with Somoza hope to shake his hold on the country's economic resources. Somoza owns 25% of the arable land in Nicaragua, as well as the country's only airline and shipping line, the largest cement company, newspapers, T.V., hotels, banks, and other firms in almost every sector of the economy.

In these enterprises, Somoza is joined by a certain

sector of U.S. interests—most notably, by U.S. billionaire Howard Hughes. Hughes has extensive economic investments in Nicaragua, including offshore mining and casino ventures. Also part of the Somoza/Hughes partnership is U.S. Ambassador Shelton whose cozy relation with Somoza and callous behavior during the earthquake were so noticeable as to provoke comment in the U.S. press.

While they may object to fraud and corruption, the anti-Somoza politicians and businessmen (both in Nicaragua and in the U.S. have shown no concern over the real crimes of the Somoza regime: the miserable conditions in which the vast majority of Nicaraguans live. Although statistics can never fully convey the quality of life, a few indicators are very revealing:

—40% of the population is illiterate and 65% of those between the ages of six and twenty nine do not



attend school at all;

—in the rural sector, underemployment is at least 35%;

—in rural areas, 81% of homes have no sanitary facilities and 99% have no drinking water;

—there are 7 doctors and 18 hospital beds for every 10,000 people.

Moreover, as pointed out in the FSLN communique, the real brunt of government and National Guard repression falls daily on the common people—especially those who attempt to improve their lot. If the bourgeois opposition is not protesting these conditions, the Nicaraguan people are. Since 1973, with the steadily worsening economic situation (compounded by the earthquake's effects), the people have participated in a wave of strikes (by textile, construction and metal workers, hospital workers, and Standard Fruit employees) and popular and student demonstrations, protesting repression, corruption, inflation, and economic conditions.

Despite the persistence of these conditions and of the popular discontent to which they give rise, the Somoza dictatorship continues to push an image of stability. As recently as November 1974 it published a several-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal* calling the earthquake a "phenomenon of development" and welcoming foreign investors to a stable political environment. And just two weeks before the FSLN action, the Nicaraguan police claimed to have the FSLN guerrillas "completely under control." Until now, the Somoza dictatorship has enjoyed full support from the U.S. government. But now, even Washington officials must be questioning Nicaragua's stability, and wondering whether Somoza is such a good bet for the future.

Transition problems plague Angola

by Ellen Shaffer

ANGOLA'S THREE leading liberation movements, MPLA, FLNA, and Unita, which have been bitterly divided in the past, recently agreed to form a transitional government and set it up on January 31. Based on their accord, the country will become fully independent November 11, 1975.

The ability of the three groups to maintain this unity will be a key factor in determining whether Angola can withstand threats of domination by multinational interests, already at play in a secessionist movement supported by Gulf Oil Company and others in the oil rich enclave of Cabinda. Another danger is posed by Angola guerrilla leader Daniel Chipenda who was excluded from the settlement.

The largest and richest of Portugal's former colonies, Angola is part of a

southern African bloc which has taken on increasing military and economic importance to Western interests since the Suez Canal was closed off. The transition to black African rule creates pressure for change on the white apartheid regimes of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Republic of South Africa (Azania)—particularly on South Africa to give up its illegal occupation of South West Africa (Namibia).

Angola's immense wealth has long aroused the appetites of the NATO powers. It is abundant in coffee, oil, diamonds, gold, cotton, sugar, sisal, iron ore, and fish, and can potentially produce copper, manganese, and phosphates. The Cabinda enclave, which produces 140,000 to 250,000 barrels of oil a day, has been an obvious asset to Portugal and the U.S. as an alternative source of oil to the Middle East. The new agreement claims Cabinda as an

"inalienable and integral part of Angola."

Aware of the intentions of South African and Western interests, and of some of the 500,000 Portuguese settlers (a minority in a total population of 5.6 million people) to take advantage of political divisions to establish a neo-colonialist system in the new republic, the Portuguese military government and African leaders have been bringing together the Angolan groups and speeding the process of decolonization.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA), and the National Union for the Independence of Angola (Unita) managed to unite long enough to hammer out a "common platform" in Mombasa, Kenya, on January 5. A series of meetings in Alvor, Portugal, with the Portuguese government (which came to power in a left-wing coup last April), resulted in the January 15 agreement.

Under this plan, power is being exer-

cised by a presidential college of three—one from each movement—and a Portuguese high commissioner. The three groups and Portugal each control four ministries. A constituent assembly to be elected by November 11, 1975, will choose the first president. Only members of the MPLA, FLNA, or Unita may run in the elections.

Significantly, the three groups also agreed to merge their armed forces into an Angolan national army. A joint defense council, in which each group will be equally represented, will control the new army and the police. Portuguese troops are scheduled to withdraw on February 3, 1976, three months after independence.

Of the three groups, MPLA is the oldest and has the most developed political organization. Headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, it has long been allied with the Soviet Union, and also has ties with Zambia, socialist Tanzania, and FRELIMO in Mozambique. Its base of

U.S. chokes on Ford's energy plan

by Tim Nesbitt
Bay Area NAM

ALL LAST YEAR we heard horror stories of the ominous effects of OPEC oil. If the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world continued to pay for high-priced OPEC imports, the results would be "catastrophic," leading to "an enormous transfer of wealth from the industrialized nations to the Arabs" and, ultimately, "a breakdown of world safety." So we were told.

Yet Gerald Ford took his time coming up with a solution. "It's complex as the devil," Ford remarked, during an early session with his advisers. The man whom Lyndon Johnson once said "can't chew gum and walk at the same time" faced a very tough problem indeed. We can imagine him scratching his head, having the question rephrased in terms the President can understand: How can we get the country to bit the bullet of energy conservation and, at the same time, keep the economy from slowing to a crawl?

While Ford and his advisers chewed on that question, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was busy organizing a united front of the industrialized nations to confront the oil producers. Europe and Japan depend on OPEC imports for over 80% of their oil, most of which comes from the Middle East. The prospect of the "Western alliance" going into debt to the Arabs or being forced into political concessions for future supplies seriously threatens the Secretary's grand design for a U.S.-dominated world order.

Thus, in November, at the first meeting of Kissinger's International Energy Agency, the U.S. got an agreement from Canada, Japan, and all the Common Market nations except France to cut oil imports, reduce consumption, and press for rapid development of domestic energy reserves. They also agreed to share oil supplies in the event of another Arab embargo. In return, the U.S. promised to cut oil imports one million barrels per day (b/d) by the end of 1975 and another million b/d by the end of 1977.

Two months later, in his State of the Union message, Ford announced: "I have set the following national energy goals to assure that our future is as secure and productive as our past: First, we must reduce oil imports by one million b/d by the end of this year and by two million b/d by the end of 1977."

And he went on to enumerate the objectives of a program that, while billed as a blueprint for U.S. energy independence, is implicitly aimed at checking Arab influence and maintaining U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world. "We must develop our energy resources and technology," Ford explained, "so that the U.S. has the ability to supply a significant share of the energy needs of the free world by the end of this century."

But for all its international implications, Ford's program is primarily domestic. It will be tested first on the home front, in confrontation and cooperation with the U.S. energy industries, and judged first on the domestic balance sheet in the stark monthly figures of unemployment, recession, and inflation.

PLAYING WITH PRICES

The problem confronting Ford and his advisers, once they decided to reduce oil imports one million b/d, was how to handle the shortage that would follow. For a shortage is inevitable. Imports of oil have been rising since the mid-1950s until, today, the U.S. imports 38% of its needs. Even with the shock of OPEC price increases last year, imports of foreign crude actually increased 6.8%.

So, in order to reverse this trend, even with an initially modest reduction in imports, a shortage is necessary. And, in economic terms, there are only three ways to deal with a shortage: individual quotas (rationing), allocation by region or economic sector (as was done during the Arab oil embargo last year), or higher prices.

It is not surprising that Ford and his advisers have chosen the latter. Higher prices are the traditional capitalist method of distributing scarce supplies. By adding \$3/barrel to the price of foreign oil, Ford is hoping to reduce demand. He is also hoping to increase supply. In the world of capitalism, higher prices are supposed to beget increased supplies. The experience of the past year in the U.S., however, has made higher oil prices look more and more like ransom paid to the oil companies in exchange for vague, unfulfilled promises of increased production.

Ever since the final phase of wage and price controls in 1973, there have been two kinds of oil produced in the U.S. They are both the same fuel, but they sell for different prices. Old oil, that which is pumped from pre-1973 wells in pre-1973 amounts, remains fixed by law at \$5.25/bl. But new oil, which accounts for about a third of U.S. production, has been free to "seek" its own price on the market. Naturally, it has sought and found the new high

price of OPEC crude—\$10.75/bl. The combination of these two prices means that U.S. producers now receive an average \$7/bl, up from \$4/bl at the end of 1973. As this price took effect, U.S. oil producers began predicting a spectacular rise in domestic reserves.

In January of this year, the *Oil and Gas Journal* reported that higher prices increased domestic reserves 5-6% in 1974 "without any action on the part of the operators." At the same time, the American Petroleum Institute (API) estimated that U.S. reserves, figured as that amount of oil in the ground that can be pumped and sold for a profit at a given price, would actually more than double in the years ahead—from 35 billion to 75 billion bls, given today's prices. In the meantime, U.S. oil production declined 4.1% in 1974.

TAXING THE WINDFALL

The second phase of Ford's program will try to play with higher prices while holding back the increase from the oil companies. By freeing old oil from price controls, as he proposes to do on April 1, Ford will create an oil price spill of dangerous inflationary proportions. All the old \$5.25/bl oil will rise to the level of the current/bl average for OPEC and new domestic crude. At the same time, OPEC oil will be rising to a new U.S. high of \$13/bl. (First, the \$3/bl import duty phases in; then it is



reduced to a \$2/bl tax on foreign and domestic oil alike.) The price of U.S. oil, all of which will then be free from price controls, will "naturally" rise to meet the higher price of imports. The result will be a single market price of about \$13/bl. The current domestic average of \$7/bl will almost double overnight.

To counter this development, Ford plans to tax away up to 90% of the increase (from \$7/bl to \$13/bl) that results from his program of higher taxes and uncontrolled domestic prices. This "windfall profits" tax is meant to maintain the average price of \$7/bl, not on the market, but on the books of the Federal Energy Administration. As consumers, we will all pay the new \$13/bl, which may mean as much as an additional 20 cents for a gallon of gasoline, but the \$6/bl increase will be refunded to us in the form of tax cuts and cash credits. This amounts to a sophisticated \$30 billion transfer payment devised to manipulate the economy so that the additional dollars we spend on gasoline and electricity will be returned to us to be spent again on, Ford hopes, something other than gasoline and electricity. In this way, Ford aims to have us bite the bullet and still keep the economy moving.

But the first effect of Ford's Phase II will be a marked increase in inflation. Ford's own advisers estimate a 1-2% increase in the Consumer Price Index. But a Library of Congress study calculates that higher oil prices will actually total \$20 billion more than the administration estimates, meaning a 3% increase in inflation.

The effect could be worse than that. Ford's tax program is designed to return a specific \$30 billion to consumers. But if his energy program actually costs consumers \$50 billion, then \$20 billion will be siphoned from the economy at a time when, according to Keynesian logic, there is an overwhelming need to keep that money circulating—and buying

goods. The result can only worsen the deepening recession.

Even if Ford's estimates are accurate, a little-publicized report of his own Council of Economic Advisers has detailed the consequences of a one million b/d cutback in oil consumption. The Council predicts a 1% decline in GNP and a 400,000 increase in the number of unemployed. Obviously, Phase II oil will be spiked with a strong dose of economic discipline.

ECONOMIC CONFLICT

Nor is this the only problem. The oil companies, naturally, are unhappy with the windfall tax proposal. They call it a "price rollback in disguise." If Ford's program does not allow them to "plowback" the added taxes into further exploration and development (i.e., allow them to keep the added \$6/bl), they threaten to freeze production. In the words of API, "new domestic supplies won't be forthcoming."

If this means conflict between the Ford administration and the oil industry, the battle will be fought primarily because Ford and his advisers must now mediate the demands of a rising, powerful economic sector (the energy industries) and a declining sector of consumer goods producers now caught in the worst recession since 1946.

A stiff tax on gasoline, for example, would be easier to administer than Ford's complicated crude oil tax program and probably would realize a much more immediate reduction in petroleum consumption. But such a tax would amount to a direct attack on the auto industry. For this reason, Ford vetoed the idea, though it was reportedly pressed quite strongly by some of his advisers.

Yet, even with a strict windfall profits tax on oil and natural gas, the price of energy as a whole will continue to climb. If the market price for oil goes to \$13/bl, the price of coal, uranium, and other oil equivalents will rise as well. Ford's program will unleash a tremendous inflationary surge for all these fuels, but will recapture the increase only from producers of oil.

It is not surprising the the Independent Petroleum Association of America has been loudest of all in opposition to the program, while companies like Exxon and Standard of Indiana have actually issued conditional endorsements. Ford's program will penalize the smaller, independent producers, while rewarding the larger, integrated companies that control large reserves of uranium, coal, and oil shale. This is undoubtedly intentional, since the thrust of Ford's long-term proposal is to encourage development of alternative energy sources.

FORD'S TEN-YEAR PLAN

The Ford program, while seeking to mediate the problems of energy conservation in the short term, goes all out in support of the energy industries over the next ten years. His outline for development, detailed with specific goals for coal-conversion projects and atomic power plants, amounts to a national Ten-year Plan directed at developing a certain sector of the economy to the disadvantage of all others.

That sector is dominated by a handful of oil companies, whose assets include 30% of U.S. coal reserves and over 50% of all domestic uranium. It is these companies that will increasingly dominate the economy during the drive for energy independence. And Ford's program puts them in the all-powerful position of accepting bids from the government for the continued functioning of the U.S. economy.

Is \$13/bl enough? Ironically, for the Ford Ten-Year Plan to succeed the price of oil must remain high. Only this will insure "free market" development of alternative energy sources. Even today's prices may not be high enough. Last fall, a consortium of oil companies cancelled what was supposed to be the first commercial shale oil plant in the U.S. In February, the American Natural Gas Co. announced a second one-year postponement of a pioneer project to turn coal into synthetic gas. Perhaps the energy industries will hold out for still higher bids from the Ford administration. In any case, the most subversive action the OPEC countries could now take would be to lower the price of oil.

But Ford and his advisers thought of that, too. In his State of the Union message, Ford announced: "I will request legislation to authorize and require tariffs, import quotas, or price floors to protect our new energy prices at levels which will achieve energy independence."

In effect, the Ford program means that the U.S. has decided to give up on Middle Eastern oil. In response, the administration will fight high prices with higher prices of its own. Only now the money will stay inside the country, and the profits will flow back to the dominant U.S. oil companies, just as they did before the OPEC revolution.

New Yorkers fight 'road gang'

by John Farley
NYC Westside NAM

The struggle to prevent the building of a massive interstate highway on Manhattan's West Side has entered a new phase. The old highway plan has been killed, but a new one has been proposed. And the fight against the "Road Gang" continues.

It all started when the West Side Highway Project—a pro-highway planning group—proposed rebuilding the West Side Highway as part of the interstate system. Construction would take 10 to 15 years, causing enormous disruption and costing several billion dollars for just a few miles of highway. Since new highways attract new traffic, this would mean an increase in the already unhealthy noise-and-air pollution levels in Manhattan. Finally, construc-

tion of the highway through Riverside Park would destroy one of the few remaining green areas of Manhattan.

Then, last November, the administration of Mayor Abe Beame came up with its own highway plan, superceding the Highway Project's plan. At first glance, it appeared to be a concession to community sentiment, proposing "only" a six-lane interstate highway instead of the Highway Project's 14 lanes (counting service lanes). Moreover, the highway would be depressed and covered over, allegedly with parks. About 178 acres would be created by landfill in the Hudson and by covering the highway.

However, any interstate highway must allow trucks, which means drawing in new traffic. And anyone versed in the economics of urban land-grabs (how much is an acre going for in Manhattan these days?) can confidently predict that very little of the newly created area will actually be devoted to parks.

The blatantly pollution-causing nature of the project made it legally vulnerable. In December, Action for Rational Transit, an umbrella group of environmental and community groups, sued Beame and various city and state transportation officials for violating the Federal Clean Air Act and the National Environmental Policy Act.

The rational alternative, of course, is mass transit. It is legally possible to "trade in" the highway money for mass transit money. This is called "interstate transfer" and was done in Massachusetts. Thanks to a bill introduced by Rep. Bella Abzug, the money New York City would receive by trading in the highway has been increased from \$375 million to \$550 million.

WHO DECIDES?

Who decides between mass transit and the highway? If, as seems almost certain, the steering committee of the West Side Highway Project cannot reach a consensus, then the decision will be made by the Mayor and the Governor, Hugh Carey. During the campaign, Carey spoke against the highway and for mass transit. Of course, he was the challenger then; once in office, his policy may be different.

Cary is close to the construction unions, who lobby for the highway in their desperation for jobs. Certainly, in a near depression atmosphere, pressure for public works projects is mounting. On the other hand, New York State is so utterly strapped for money that it

may not even be able to afford to pay its share of the highway. The federal government pays 90% of the cost of interstate highways, making it a very attractive proposition to state and local governments. Incidentally, if the highway is defeated, it may also seal the fate of the Convention Center slated for midtown Manhattan at the Hudson River. The Convention Center is a gigantic boondoggle pushed through over community opposition, but currently stalled for lack of funds.

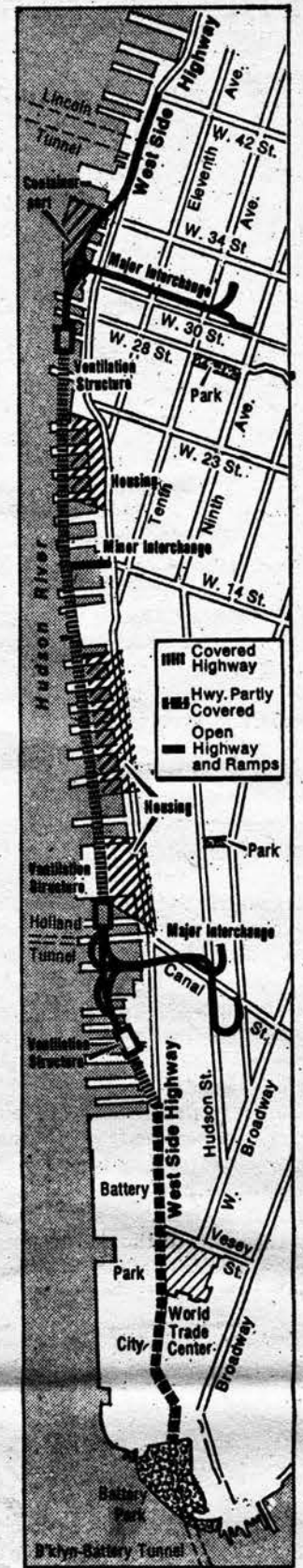
The struggle has been waged by the would-be builders using the tactic of "divide and rule." The current city plan calls "only" for an interstate from the southern end of Manhattan to 57th Street, and for unspecified "reconstruction" between 57th and 72nd Sts. Beame's plan offers the pious promise that "the City has no intention of seeking designation for Henry Hudson Parkway (the West Side Highway) north of 72nd St." The intention is to lull residents of the Upper West Side into a sense of complacency, especially about the threat to Riverside Park.

The city's assurances are unfortunately worthless because, as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Interior Department, S. Doremus, candidly remarked, "We understand that a commitment to the interstate alternative south of 72nd St. necessitates an interstate north to the George Washington Bridge." Even people in Westchester are becoming worried. An interstate to the George Washington Bridge could continue on to Albany, a concrete-and-steel ribbon linking two poles of Rockefeller power: Nelson's Albany Mall and David's Chase Manhattan Bank. It would be truly a fitting monument to the automobile economy.

NAM IN THE STRUGGLE

Stopping new highway construction contributes to the defense of the environment against the onslaught of the Road Gang. It means defending the popular standard of living against the pressure of corporate priorities. It is an important fight to keep a major city (relatively) livable.

NYC NAM has been active in the highway opposition. By picketing, leaf-letting, demonstrations, and petitioning, we have been quite effective for a small group of activists. (Whether effective enough to win is another matter.) When the *New York Times* warned editorially that (unnamed) "voices of unreason" might stope the interstate, they were doing us a high honor. Our



practice has made us better known and has brought us into contact with an enlarged circle of people.

Soon Governor Carey may make a decision. Whatever he decides, the struggle will not be over. For one thing, highways have been stopped at much later stages than this. For another, the Road Gang is not going to go away until we get rid of the system that gave rise to it.

Over-charge of 'Light brigade'

by Bob McMahan
Chapel Hill NAM

North Carolina consumers are up in arms over soaring rates for electric power. Local protest groups with names like "Concerned Consumers" or "Consumers United for Action" have sprung up in widely scattered counties across the state. Over a hundred thousand signatures have been collected on petitions protesting utility rate hikes.

On Thursday, January 30, a number of these local groups, in an ad hoc coalition called "The Light Brigade," held demonstrations at the state capitol in Raleigh. Delegations of consumers overflowed the offices of the governor and the attorney general, a hearing of the state utilities commission, and committees of the state legislature dealing with utilities. The protestors numbered in the hundreds.

Most of the consumers at the action in Raleigh were white. By and large, they seemed drawn from North Carolina's working class—blue collar and clerical workers, a large number of housewives, and many retired people—who have been hard hit by rate hikes in the last year.

The main demands voiced by the protestors so far have included repeal of the fuel adjustment clause which allows utilities to pass higher fuel costs on to consumers, and direct election of the state utilities commission. (Members of the commission are now appointed by the governor.) Almost all rate hikes actually made in North Carolina in the last year have come under the fuel adjustment clause. Rates have risen an average of 70 percent in the past year across the state. Some protestors in Raleigh reported that their monthly light bill was now higher than their monthly rent or payment on their house. Carolina Power and Light (CP&L) was a special target of criticism. Customers pointed out that CP&L was paying a lot more for coal than Duke, the other major power company in the state. One popular sign on the picket line read, "Why should we pay for CP&L's mistakes?"

The surge of public feeling has North Carolina politicians scrambling to appear responsive to public sentiment. A confusing variety of utility legislation has been introduced into the state legislature. The day after the consumer protest, the state utilities commission issued a temporary order, reducing the amount of fuel costs utilities could pass on from 100 percent to 75 percent. The order is to run for two months while a complete study is made of the operation of the fuel adjustment clause.

While it is not certain what will happen to all the hastily organized local groups that have sprung up, it seems unlikely that the issue will go away very soon. If nothing else, the attitude of the utility companies guarantees that.

NAM debates workplace strategy

by Laura M. Burns
Expanded NIC
Workplace Organizing Committee

NAM has begun the process of developing a position on workplace organizing and trade unions, and will soon choose three or four "concentration industries" or unions in which to develop specific industrial strategies. These and other proposals aimed at encouraging better coordinated practice in chapters were developed by the Workplace Organizing Committee of the Expanded NIC (National Interim Committee), and were passed by the Expanded NIC in Pittsburgh on January 5.

All members of the Workplace Organizing Committee felt strongly that it was time for NAM to consolidate its past practice in the workplace and to implement its commitment to make workplace organizing a priority. While NAM has always affirmed its belief in on-the-job organizing as an essential part of building a socialist movement in America, our organizational practice has always been lacking. Discussion in the committee revealed, however, that there are many people in NAM who want to be involved in on-the-job organizing, and that there is an unexpectedly

large number who already are. With the goal of beginning to provide direction and support for NAM members who want to do workplace organizing, a five-point proposal was formulated and passed:

1) Following organizational discussion and debate of papers solicited by the committee, the next Expanded NIC will arrive at a "minimal, reasonable, and experimental" position on workplace organizing and trade unions containing general guidelines for on-the-job organizing, a summary of NAM's past practice, and a general position on trade unions.

2) The Expanded NIC Workplace Organizing Committee will immediately begin gathering information to determine the industry and union affiliations of NAM members interested in doing on-the-job organizing. At the next convention, three or four industries or unions will be chosen in which NAM will concentrate its efforts, and temporary organizing strategies will be worked out in industrial caucuses at the convention.

3) A collection of papers summarizing NAM's past practice in workplace organizing and suggesting future orientations will be prepared under the

coordination of Sally Avery and Durham Health Collective NAM. NAM members now engaged in workplace organizing are concentrated in the fields of education and health.

4) Long-range strategy papers will be solicited by the committee to begin an ongoing debate on workplace organizing and trade unions.

5) Chapters are strongly urged to reexamine and rearrange their structure to provide support for individuals already doing workplace organizing. For example, Durham NAM reorganized activities to place more emphasis on the chapter's workplace practice. This effort has resulted in the chapter's ability to focus its energies and play a leading role in a hospital workers' organizing drive at the Duke Medical Center. Members have arranged their community organizing to coordinate with their on-the-job work by running a health-screening project in Durham.

Strategy papers (long-range and short-range) and papers on past practices are being sought by the Workplace Organizing Committee. Members who would like to help in organizing NAM for action in this crucial area should contact Mark Mericle, Dayton NAM.

The politics of housework

by Barbara Ehrenreich
 NY Metropolitan NAM
 (with help from my co-houseworker,
 John Ehrenreich)

THE TRADITIONAL Marxist-Leninist line on women could be summarized succinctly (if not altogether fairly) as: "Why can't a woman be more like a man?" If women didn't want to be left behind in the dustbins and broom closets of history, they would have to get out of their houses and into the factories. If they wanted to help overthrow capitalism, they would first have to integrate themselves into capitalist production and undergo the consciousness-raising experience of capitalist exploitation (mere oppression would not do). In short, women would have to join the proletariat.

I had heard this line now and then, and dismissed it as a piece of old left sectarian silliness. But in Italy, where old left groups are stronger and feminism is weaker, women have had to take it more seriously. The result of Italian women's study and discussion is the analysis now associated with the demand with "Wages for Housework"—women houseworkers don't have to "join the proletariat" because they're already in it. Housework, so the argument goes, is nothing less than the reproduction of labor power (that of husbands and children). So housework is not only productive work, but it is absolutely essential to the functioning of the capitalist economy. The only reason why housework has been invisible to the left for so long is that it has no cash

I don't iron anything, but I'm finicky about sinks and counter tops. F. is a total slob, by my standards, and G. is so obsessive about cleaning that she hates to have guests (they might spill something). Yet, according to the Wages for Housework analysis, we are all "reproducing labor power" (and, in the cases I have mentioned, roughly the same amounts of labor power.

The connection between the work which women do and the "reproduction of labor power" becomes even more obscure when you think about the different amounts of time that women put into housework. A middle-aged woman who was beginning her college education told me that before she went back to school, housework took up all her time. "Now," she said, "It just seems to have vanished. I don't know what I was doing before." (Incidentally, her husband's labor power had not declined in value—he had not fallen into disrepair due to a lack of "maintenance.") Betty Friedan pointed out years ago that housework has the vapor-like property of expanding to fill the space (or time) available. In the November 1974 issue of *Scientific American*, Joan Vanek shows that women who work outside the home spend half as many hours per week on housework as women who do not work outside. Yet presumably the employed woman is reproducing just as much labor power as the unemployed woman.

The point of all this is that housework is a very peculiar form of work. The "output" (labor power, or anything else for that matter) does not seem to be

would find nothing to do in the home. The danger mounted, of course, as more homes gained electricity, indoor plumbing, appliances, etc.

I say "danger" because a lot of people saw it that way. If middle class women weren't kept busy in the home, they might get into politics or even worse vices. If working class women weren't kept busy in the home, their children would not become law-abiding citizens. In short, without "home-making" there would be no homes, and the home was, to Teddy Roosevelt and his peers, the cornerstone of civilization—a bastion against Bolshevism, anarchism, and other forms of "degeneracy." And so an assortment of physicians, educators, and upper class women mounted a campaign for "domestic science." The newly discovered Germ Theory of Disease was used to justify exaggerated standards of cleanliness. The still-primitive science of nutrition was seized upon to transform cooking into a pains-



taking and anxious occupation. The brand new field of psychology proclaimed the necessity of systematically "molding" little children (who now had nothing much to do anyway). Social workers took the message to the ghettos. Women's clubs and popular magazines brought it to the middle class. Housework, as we now know it, began to take form.

After a while, the exhortations of the domestic science movement were no longer necessary. Corporations took over the business of the manufacture of housework. Advertisements for soaps and sprays remind us of the microbial peril that haunts the home, and fill us with shame about "ring around the collar" or "bathroom odor." Our so-called labor-saving devices sit around in corners and closets smugly reminding us of the work we *should* be doing—vacuuming, laundering, ironing. (Vanek reports that the time spent in laundering actually increased with the introduction of washing and drying machines—because women started laundering more often!) Soap opera and movie sets teach us what a "good" home looks like—furniture gleaming with Lemon Behold polish, floors made spotless by Mr. Clean, stoves purified by Easy-Off.

What I am saying is that a great deal, maybe most, of the housework is culturally—and commercially imposed *make-work*. This has not been an easy thing for me to face up to. I continue to clean with the fervor of a sanitary engineer entering a cholera zone, and to plan means as if my children were suffering from multiple metabolic disorders. I do believe that somewhere under all the make-work is a substratum of biologically necessary housework, the neglect of which will lead to food poisoning, dysentery, or worse. But I do not know where that substratum begins and the make-work ends. If this is "productive" work, it sure doesn't feel like it.

But where, after all, do we get our standards of what is "productive" work? From what *men* do? (And I am here using the word "productive" in the ordinary sense of "useful," not in the technical economic sense). If we bear in mind the Wages for Housework people's warning not to confuse *productive* labor with *paid* labor, we find that very little of what men do (or employed women, for that matter), is "productive" by any sane, human standards. Murray Bookchin once estimated that 70% of the paid labor in the U.S. is *wasted*. Consider the fact that 700,000 U.S. males are engaged (or were until recently) in making cars, not because we need all these cars but because we are expected to buy new ones every two or three years when the old ones fall apart. And 100,000 steelworkers are making steel for these cars. Thousands of lumberjacks fell the trees to make the paper to print the ads to sell the cars (not to mention the insurance policies for the car owners). And so forth.

Now, you may argue that this is a utopian critique: the point is not whether car-making, ad-copy-writing, furniture polishing and so on are necessary for human health and happiness; they are, after all, necessary for *capitalism*. To which I can only respond: is capitalism, then, necessary for us?

(Continued on Page 11)



value; it is wageless, *slave* labor. Pay houseworkers for their work and you will: (1) undermine the domination of husbands over wives, and (2) "unite the working class," since wage-earning wives could no longer be used as a reserve labor army to undercut the earnings of male workers. Thus, as Sylvia Federici says, Wages for Housework is a "revolutionary, feminist, and working class struggle."

There's a lot to like about Wages for Housework. The analysis is appealing and—what is especially attractive to anyone who's ever felt a little defensive about feminism—phrased in the most impeccable Marxist terminology. As a defense of the value of autonomous women's struggle, it is both rigorous and passionate. And who among us hasn't thought—while washing dishes or pushing a mop—"Hell, if I was doing this in a restaurant (office, hospital, etc.), I'd be getting paid for it!"

WHAT IS HOUSEWORK?

But it seemed to me there was something missing. I thought it over while I was cleaning the toilet. I thought some more while I put the clothes away and kept on wondering while I made the kids' dinner. Finally I realized what was missing: never, in the speeches I had heard by Wages for Housework advocated; never in the writings of its major theorists, *never* was there any serious discussion of what housework is. A strange omission, it seemed to me. Did the women who believed that housework in its totality serves such lofty economic functions find the actual tasks which make up housework too boring or trivial to mention?

So instead of thinking about "housework" in the abstract, I began to think about the actual work women do. K. scrubs every floor in her house daily. My friend M. is compulsively tidy, but her floors are gray and sticky. My mother-in-law irons her sheets.

clearly related to the "input" (actual tasks performed). Each woman determines which tasks she will perform, sets her own regimen and time table, and bears within herself her own set of "standards" which she perceives as unique and personal. In fact, given the autonomy of the houseworker in her workplace, perhaps the most amazing thing about it is that there is *any* uniformity to it—left to themselves most fulltime North American houseworkers put in something in the neighborhood of 55 hours a week on housework, and define as necessary housework roughly the same sorts of tasks: laundry two or more times a week, ironing, floor-scrubbing and waxing at least weekly, "picking up" daily, and so on. We know from the cases of sloppy housekeepers that it is possible to neglect, or greatly curtail, any of these tasks without apparent harm to the other family members (even cooking can be reduced to heating a TV dinner). So the interesting question is: Why do we do what we do?

A LITTLE HISTORY

Perhaps some history would be helpful here. (A longer article on this subject is in preparation.) A long time ago, most North American women did not do housework—or at least not much that we would recognize as housework. They were farm women (including many of the women whose daughters were to immigrate here from Europe) and they were very busy making things—bread, butter, cheese, cloth, clothing, ointments, soap, candles, etc. Cleaning was only a peripheral activity, and childcare was mainly a matter of supervising the children in their share of the family labor. Then industrialization began to eat away at domestic production. By 1900, urban women were buying ready-made clothes, bread, and even canned foods. There was a danger that, with nothing left to *make* in the home, women

Aronowitz Economy Column

Direct action to fight unemployment

by Stanley Aronowitz
NY Metropolitan NAM

WITHIN ONE WEEK in late January and early February, UAW President Leonard Woodcock made two important statements regarding the union's position on the careening layoffs in the auto industry: (1) On a TV news program, Woodcock opposed an auto price cut on the ground that industry profits were "paper thin" and such a cut might discourage production. (2) Speaking to more than 7,000 angry auto workers at a union-sponsored rally in Washington, the UAW head supported the concept of the government as the employer of last resort if the private sector could not supply jobs.

In two strokes, the leader of one of the nation's largest unions, one that has enjoyed historically a reputation for "progressivism" has advanced a strategy for fighting joblessness that lets the big corporations off the hook. The appeal to the government to undertake policies to stimulate economic activity while at the same time opposing any measures that would place an additional burden on the large corporations, is tantamount to a program of class collaboration.

Woodcock's approach to the situation is consistent with the main thrust of AFL-CIO policies as well as those of most independent unions. It accepts the whole apparatus of government intervention as the critical move and perpetuates the ideology that the recession is somehow a result of the chronic problem of the disparity between production, investment, and consumption that was the great contribution of John Maynard Keynes to the project of capitalist survival in the 1930's. The main drift of trade union response has been to refuse direct confrontation with the supranational corporations that have precipitated the economic downturn.

IS LEGISLATION ENOUGH?

For those remaining on the job, only direct action could stem the pattern of plant closings, sharp cutbacks in production, and speedup that have accelerated the rate of layoffs. Against the wishes of national trade union leaders and of the corporations, workers would undertake actions at the workplace, corporate, and community levels to dramatize corporate responsibility for enormous burdens workers have shouldered during the recession. Demonstrations, factory occupations, and public hearings in the cities and towns where layoffs are hitting hard are among the first steps needed to mount a counter-attack against the power of the large corporations.

At the same time, local unions, rank-and-file groups, and other workers could demand a one-day stoppage on a national scale to protest the inflation, the high rate of unemployment, and the corporate-state attack against workers' living standards. Such a strike, similar to the recent massive demonstration in France called by all three trade union federations

against the rising cost of living, might be a powerful antidote to the atmosphere of defeat that now engulfs much of the working class.

The national union leadership prefers to bring workers' grievances to the Congress and the national administration. It may be argued that such a strategy neatly circumvents the needed focus upon the capitalist corporations. But the left should not permit itself to accept such an orientation.

It is not that a legislative program is completely useless. Quite the contrary, the essential weakness of the AFL-CIO program is not only that it fails to address the issue at the shop level, but its national legislative program is too meek. The basic focus of the labor leaders is tax cutting and job-creating programs. The tax cuts are designed to stimulate consumption in order to generate jobs in the private sector. Similarly, the job programs, are said to have both a consumption-inducing impact and alleviate the worst effects of unemployment for those workers whose benefits have run out.

But the AFL-CIO program is not a class struggle program. It does not address the issue of capital's freedom to flow as it wishes. It does not really focus on the questions associated with the swollen profits of the oil and other energy corporations who have employed their surpluses in socially regressive and imperialist activities. The labor leaders are, for the most part, interested in the same things the corporations yearn for: a quiescent rank and file achieved by means of the mobilization of some government resources to ameliorate suffering in the short run.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

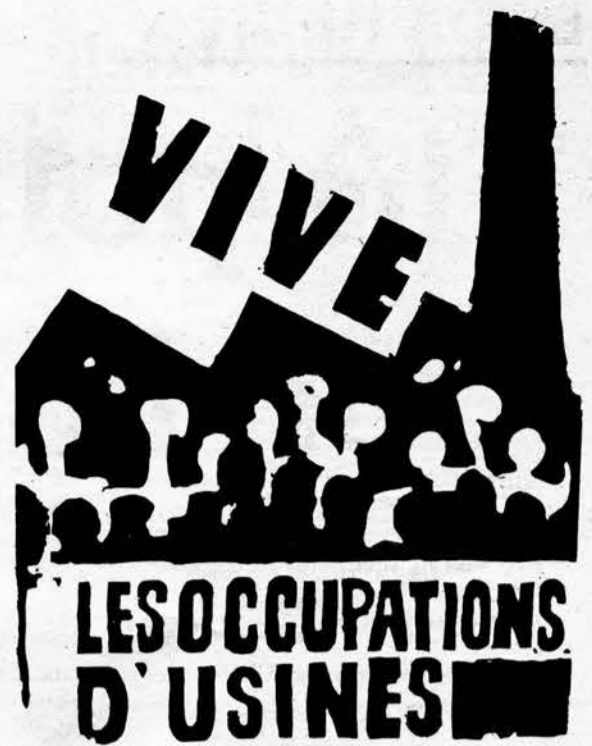
To be sure, the problem of the international runaway shop is taken up by some unions in the form of measures that would restrict the volume of imports of goods produced by low-wage labor. The textile, shoe, and needle trades unions envision saving jobs through protectionist policies. Clearly, socialists should have nothing to do with these efforts. The solution to the problem of the new shape of the international division of labor resides in renewed attempts to secure international labor solidarity. For example, there has never been a sympathy strike across national borders among workers employed by the same corporations. Strikes at British Ford are never responded to within the U.S. by demonstrations of support. The struggle of Japanese and Italian textile and clothing workers for higher wages and decent standards finds no resonance among workers in this country.

The international trade union federations within the "free world" have never provided sufficient information and leadership to make the direct participation of workers in each other's struggles an alternative to protectionism. The break-up of these federations into competing national trade union interests is a *de facto* if not *de jure* feature of the international labor scene.

There are some exceptions. A federation of chemical workers that is not supported by American trade unions has consistently agitated for such forms of international workers' solidarity against runaway shops. There is a greater degree of labor coordination among the food workers' international than in most industries. But the pattern of xenophobia has struck deep roots among workers in many U.S. industries without significant counteractivity from the progressive unions or the left.

At home, a major exception to the lackluster response to U.S. unions to the depth of the recession is the independent United Electrical Workers. In some areas where this important, but relatively small union has concentrated membership, such as Connecticut, Vermont, and Pennsylvania, UE has taken the lead in forming worker-consumer alliances against utility rate increases and for more reforms in unemployment benefits and jobs programs. Even here, the union has not been able to mount a significant counterattack on the shop level because, in most instances, it resembles in structure as well as in fundamental ideological leaning the other industrial unions. Its aggressiveness is to be welcomed. Right now, the initiative that it has taken point up the essential refusal of the dominant labor leadership to support even its own modest program. But with the official jobless rate climbing to more than 8.2% in January, it will take more than delegations to government officials or testimony at public hearings to meet rank-and-file needs.

The key distinction between a serious program to right recession and inflation and one interested in



LONG LIVE THE OCCUPATION OF THE
FACTORIES

papering over the class issues raised by the crisis, is to be found in the question of direct action. For it is here that workers have the greatest chance to take control over their own protest and to engage the issue at its root. Much of the left has permitted itself to sink into the mire of legalism. It has been more concerned with influencing the policies of the national administration and whining a litany of complaint about the failures of the unions, than mounting a real education campaign among workers to inform them of their alternatives. The workers really know that all the dickering in Congress about the size of the tax cut and its emphasis will not put them back to work. The macro-economic solutions that depend on influencing demand are just so much of the old crap. They neither advance the political movement of the workers because these reforms are designed to leave existing power relations intact, nor will they achieve the result of full employment.

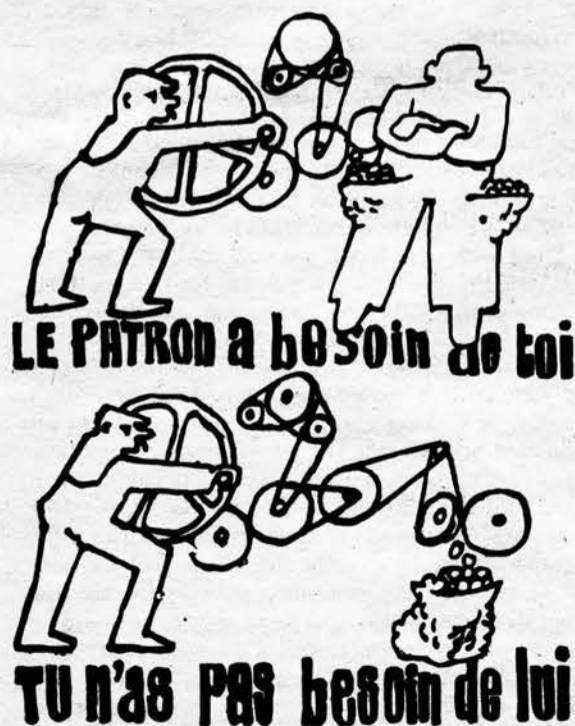
A socialism of workers' self-management is on the agenda in the U.S. precisely because the old solutions are revealing their limitations daily. The paralysis of the government is only matched by the complacency of the union leaders. The point of a strategy that emphasizes direct action, however, is not to attack the union leaders, but to make demands upon them and the corporations from a position of strength. And the fundamental strength of the workers is their potential ability to manage the productive apparatus of the society—to make it stop or to make it go. The electoral instruments within the unions and in the national government are secondary, if they are at all valuable.

No matter how "radical" a national legislative program, workers are always fighting on their enemy's turf when they enter this arena. At the point of production, in their communities, at the regional level, on the level of the international strike or factory occupation—it is here that the capitalist struggles on the worker's turf. Every worker who has ever participated in a strike knows this basic lesson. And the students who conducted strikes against the war in the 1960's, who took to the streets in dozens of college towns and even in national demonstrations understood the major importance of direct action.

The mass demonstrations, the disruptive actions at draft boards, the occupations of buildings allowed the movement's periphery to act in the channels that were intrinsic to their own proclivities. Without the dramatic aspect of the struggle, that is, without making clear the power relations that lay beneath the surface of the universal claims of laws and institutions, the process of social change cannot take place.

At the same time, the vision of a socialist solution to everyday problems is not made apparent unless people experience their own power. It may be argued that the real basis of the socialist consciousness that emerged in the 1970s among many college-education workers was their participation in mass struggle as well as socialist study. I see no reason why radicals should, in their post-college lives, depart from these elementary experiences when attempting to influence the workers' struggle. Of course, I am not arguing for a simple strategy of confrontation. The direct action program outlined in this and my previous column must be combined with an explicit effort to discuss the socialist vision—one where the workers would manage production, where the people through their own organizations would manage society collectively.

The recent instances where socialists have talked to trade union members about socialism—among auto workers, oil and chemical workers, public employees, taxicab drivers—shows that there is relatively little hostility to these ideas. I would venture to guess that the main problem in the discussion of socialist alternatives in general is not the workers' lack of awareness or receptivity, but the timidity of the left itself.



THE BOSS NEEDS YOU,
YOU DON'T NEED THE BOSS

ANGELA

by Deborah Hertz
Minneapolis NAM

Angela Davis: An Autobiography. Random House, 1974.

Angela Davis has always been a logical and vivid heroine for me, and in many ways her *Autobiography* confirms this original admiration. She shows both fierce independence and fierce loyalty to comrades; she shows the highest regard possible for ideas in so clearly putting them into practice in her own life of resistance.

But already I am slipping into the one mistake that everyone has made with Davis, the one mistake which seems to have pushed her into writing the particular kind of autobiography she has written. I praise her strength, her travels, her intellectual work, maybe even her charismatic beauty. And although as a movement person I may note these qualities because of how they aid the movement, I still list them as the straight press has done so consistently. And in doing this I miss what she clearly intends the import of her book to be, i.e., that she responds to the same historical forces which move her class and her race. Angela Davis does not want to be considered an exceptional person.

Davis' story begins in Birmingham, Alabama. Here we learn about her college-educated parents and their move into a white neighborhood, about their summers in New York City, about her music lessons and trips to the library. But this relative degree of privilege never seems to have blocked Davis' solidarity with the rest of the black community; in fact, she makes it very clear how racism enforced such solidarity at school, in the neighborhood, in encounters with the police.

THE EARLY YEARS

But her story gets speeded up and much sketchier as Davis continues her journey. Life with Melishes in Brooklyn and attendance at the liberal Elizabeth Erwin High School, two years of relative isolation at Brandeis, made palatable by a quite appropriate immersion in existentialist philosophy. A junior year at the Sorbonne. A senior year in tutorials with the eminent Marcuse. Two years at Frankfurt with Adorno and the emerging S.D.S. As she glides through what she admits to have been the intellectual intensity of these years, she gives us none of the intellectual goodies. We get one sentence defining Critical Theory. But of the refinements, of the questions, of the inevitable late-night discussions with those serious Germans: nothing.

She does try to make clear why the overt intellectual purpose and industriousness of those year is not what she remembers. For on the eve of her departure for France, it was Watts. And once in Paris, it was learning of the Birmingham Church tragedy from the *Herald Tribune*. In Frankfurt, it was the full-fledged birth of the Black Power Movement at home. She felt the voices of those movements through the dense print of her life, and so of course she returned.

Here the book begins to catch fire. Back in the States, she's followed Marcuse to San Diego, and she gradually finds SNCC and the Black Movement.



Doing her first real organizing at San Diego, there's a revealing passage where she first realizes that she's become a leader. It's frightening, of course. She's yet an academic marxist, pent up with the limitations of this, no doubt feeling a certain amount of guilt over her past privilege. But then there's clearly a high coming out of the isolation that is equally a part of academic privilege: her description of one of her first black celebrations in Los Angeles is clear evidence of this new high. And so fears of the responsibilities of leadership are pushed aside by the energy both given and received in that movement.

In the jail sequences, the seemingly inevitable consequences of all of that exhilarated movement work, Davis shows a very un-selfconscious solidarity with her sisters, with her few sympathetic guards. But again, this solidarity is marred by what accrues to her because she is special. Each time her defense movement fights back, her treatment becomes at one and the same time closer to something human and farther from what other prisoners can ever hope for. And her resolution coming out of this double bind is ruthlessly logical: only a mass movement can make changes. I will repay what I have received for my uniqueness by dedicating myself, over and over again, to building mass movements to defend those without this unique status.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

The first time I read Davis' *Autobiography* I generally noticed what was missing in it. I wanted to know some personal, rather intimate things: her doubts, maybe; about her lovers, maybe; some of the texture of her life. I definitely wanted to know her political justification for joining the Communist Party. What did she think of the Leninist form of party organization? Czechoslovakia? Was the USSR a state capitalist imperialist country, and if not, why not? I especially wanted to hear her analysis of the relation

between the anti-racist and the socialist struggles: did she have a reply to Harold Cruse (*The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*)? Could the Panther's lumpen vanguard be included in the C.P.'s anti-monopoly coalition? Etc. Also, what were her views on the scholar/activist schizophrenia? Did she plan to continue her intellectual work? How? Why?

Without such discussions, I felt cheated by the *Autobiography*. After all, I hadn't picked Davis as a heroine randomly. I needed guidance on these very questions, and whose experience but her very own could better prepare one for wisdom on such questions? Okay, so she didn't have answers. But not to have questions? Or to have them and not to share them with me, with all of us?

There's clearly no way to know for sure why these personal and political aspects were left out of Davis' *Autobiography*, leaving the work so one-dimensional. One possibility is that her reaction to the media's titillation with her beauty and her Establishment credentials led her to revile anything she possessed which was unique and could be used to divide her from those she sought solidarity with. This would include intellectual as well as personal references, since such an intellectual level might be seen by her as integrally connected to the privileged situations in which she was trained for such work.

A second possible explanation for the one-dimensionality of the book is that she has retained her personal and intellectual liveliness but considers them politically inappropriate for a book whose purpose is to build mass struggle. Is she (and her Party) correct here? Will this book reach the masses? Who are the masses? Would they be turned off by politically introspective and more personal messages? Or more turned off by their omission? And does Davis agree with her Party independently or is she only following Party discipline here?

DAVIS AND THE C.P.

A third explanation for the nature of this book, which was, of course, approved by the Party, concerns the issue of Davis' continued membership in the Party itself. It's based only on a rumor, but it's logical nonetheless. The rumor goes that just before the hubbub over her trial broke out, Davis was on the verge of leaving the Party. However, the Party worldwide did so much work and helped so decisively in winning her case, her gratitude and good form dictated that she not leave the Party, for some time at least.

It's hard not to conclude the book without a sense of loss. Davis inspires and disappoints at the same time. In many ways it is because of her very individual intelligence and dedication that she inspires. Nevertheless, as a revolutionary dedicated to the eradication of privilege she clearly feels required, at some level, to renounce whatever is the result of privilege in her own life. Her own high level of dedication logically leads her to want to be among comrades whose seriousness and commitment is as high as her own. And as we, too, try to build such political centers of energy for ourselves, it seems we'll have to try very hard to remember to distinguish between individuality and privilege. In capitalist society the full development of the first often requires the second. But in the society we are beginning now to build, the abolition of privilege will be the grounds for the extension and deepening of a real individuality for everyone. But we're not there yet, so we should be sympathetic with Comrade Angela's confusion of the two.

NAM CHAPTERS

CALIFORNIA

Bay Area, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland 94609
Chico, c/o Reed, 716 Oaklawn, Chico 95926
Los Angeles 1, c/o Stricker, 1414 Midvale, L.A. 90024
Los Angeles 2, c/o Goldberg, 2025A Cloverfield Blvd., Santa Monica 90404
Los Angeles 3, c/o Bob Niemann, 27 1/2 Sunset Ave., Venice 90291
Santa Cruz, c/o Ackerman, 306 Seabright, S. Cruz 95062

COLUMBIA (Washington, D.C.)

Bread & Roses, 1734 20th St. NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia 20009

ILLINOIS

Chicago 1, c/o Healey, 5731 S. Blackstone, Chicago 60637
DeKalb, 839 N. 11th St., DeKalb 60115
Fox River Valley, P.O. Box 311, Dundee 60118
Haymarket, c/o Mohill, 6147 N. Claremont, Chicago 60659
U. of Chicago, c/o Cameron, 5606 Maryland, Chicago 60637

IOWA

Iowa City, P.O. Box 2173, Iowa City 52240

KANSAS

Lawrence, c/o Kaplan, 1304 Tennessee, Lawrence 66044

MASSACHUSETTS

Amherst, c/o Cole, 576 Main, Amherst 07002
Boston Area, Rm. 308 Heller School, Brandeis U., Waltham 02154
Middlesex, Box 443, Somerville 02144
Radcliffe-Harvard, c/o Burns/Carlip, 53 Shepard St., Cambridge 02138

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor, c/o 331 Packard #3, Ann Arbor 48104
Red Cedar River, Box 552, E. Lansing 48823

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis, 2421 E. Franklin Ave. S., Minneapolis 55406
Nicollet Ave., Rm. 4, 1502 Nicollet Ave., Mpls. 55403

NEW YORK

Binghamton, P.O. Box 356, Johnson City 13790
Interboro, P.O. Box 761, Old Chelsea St., New York 10011
Metropolis, P.O. Box 682, Syosset, NY 11791
Westside, 200 W. 72nd St., Rm. 47, New York 10023

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville, P.O. Box 8486, Asheville 28804
C.P. Gilman, c/o Stanley, 126 Justice St., Chapel Hill 27514
Durham Health Collective, P.O. Bx 1301, Durham 27514
Duke, Box 505, 212 Flowers Bldg., Duke U., Durham 27706

OHIO

Hocking Valley, c/o 312 Baker Center, Athens 45701
Mad River, Box 252, Dayton 45401
Yellow Springs, c/o Antioch Stu. Mailroom, Yellow Springs 45387

OKLAHOMA

Norman, P.O. Box 2370, Norman 73069

PENNSYLVANIA

Phila. Resistance, 1427 Walnut, Philadelphia 19102
U. of Pa., c/o Rob Wrenn, 4512 Springfield Ave., Phila. 19143
Pittsburgh, P.O. Box 8224, Pittsburgh 15217

RHODE ISLAND

Providence, c/o Weisberger, 83 President Av., Providence 02906

TEXAS

Austin, c/o Rush, 3105 Breeze Terrace, Austin 78722

PRE-CHAPTERS

Los Angeles 4, c/o Healey, 1733 1/2 W. 84th St., L.A. 90047
Macomb, c/o Gladys, Newman Center, 314 N. Ward, Macomb, Ill. 61455
Normal, c/o Palmer, Bellarmine Bldg., Normal, Ill 67761
Suffolk, c/o Melchior/Stevenson, 9 Whitestone Rd., Sound Beach, NY 11789

Angola

Charlotte 3

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

A decision is expected shortly on an appeal for a new trial by attorneys acting for the Charlotte Three. The Three, Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker, are black activists accused of burning a riding stable near Charlotte, NC. [See *New American Movement*, October, 1974.] They had been given 25, 20, and 15-year sentences respectively on this charge.

The conviction of the three men rested on the testimony of two witnesses, Alfred Hood and David Washington. It became known after the trial

that the prosecution had made a deal with these witnesses to drop charges against them, and that the Justice Department had paid them for their testimony in this case and in an unrelated federal case against Grant.

Specifically, it was brought out that:

1) The prosecution did not reveal to the court or to the accused that an agreement had been made by which Hood and Washington were to be paid at least \$4,000 a piece for their testimony by the Justice Department.

2) The state did not reveal an agreement with Washington to end his probation and free him of a 25-year sentence for armed robbery imposed in

1969. This agreement was carried out a few months after the Three were found guilty.

3) The state did not reveal that Washington was a "prime suspect" in five murders under investigation in the Charlotte area at the time he testified. He was never charged with any of these murders.

The defense argued that the concealment of the inducements offered the witnesses to testify prevented a fair trial since knowledge of the promises made to the witnesses could have affected the jury's view of their credibility. Superior Court Judge Sam Ervin III is expected to rule shortly on the defense motion to overturn the convictions of the Charlotte Three. If he does overturn the guilty verdict against the Three, it will be up to the district attorney to decide whether he wishes to bring the case to trial again.

operations is in the Congo.

MPLA was responsible for expelling guerrilla leader Daniel Chipenda in December after his abortive attempt to assume leadership. Chipenda has 3,000 troops in Luso, in eastern Angola, and has been threatening civil war if he is not included in the government.

Chipenda may join forces with FLNA, the strongest group militarily. Led by Holden Roberto and based in Zaire, FLNA has close ties with President Mobutu (Roberto's wife is Mobutu's sister-in-law), and has been charged with representing U.S. interests. Roberto has also met with Chinese delegates several times and may be receiving aid from China. Mobutu, along with Idi Amin's government in Uganda, also supports Chipenda. Zaire has important oil installations south of the Cabinda enclave, and Mobutu is thought to be supporting the secessionist movement in Cabinda to increase Zaire's influence there should Cabinda break away.

Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, is generally characterized as a middle-of-the-road group. It played a mediating role in the recent negotiations and may join with MPLA if Chipenda aligns himself with FLNA.

Letter

Polemics can be a help in clearing away dogmas and mouldy thinking, but the polemics, in the *New American Movement*, of Lerner (Oct. 1974), Boyte (Nov. 1974), and Lerner again (Feb. 1975), are too personal in character, labored in theory and organizationally destructive.

I consider myself a political friend of Lerner and Boyte and hold them both dear. I hope they consider me a friend too. I am 72 years old and all my personal ambitions are in the past. I hope that for the good of the movement they will both accept my criticism as friendly.

I have been with NAM in its very beginning and I can bear witness that, although there existed committees of correspondence, individuals and groups that were on the verge of jumping into national organization, Lerner's version of the beginning of NAM is correct. Lerner, however, showed too much proprietary interest and was peeved when not given his way, which is not good democratic organizational mannerism. His proposals for getting NAM public had too much of Madison Ave. methods and the dramatics that might cause a flash in the media were beyond the means of NAM at the time. Anyway, that was not what the country needed then or now.

Harry Boyte's rejoinder might have carried a welcome sign to Lerner, that NAM is not completely lost and that Lerner might help to improve what needs improving. Instead Harry resents and rejects Lerner completely and drags in a generalization that might suit me, a Talmudist dropout, rather than him. Has anyone already developed a vested interest in NAM?

Has the leadership of NAM some responsibility? Certainly! Lerner is correct in showing that the leaders of NAM are timid and did not move fast enough with the possibilities. But NAM and like organizations moving in the same direction are the only hope on the horizon. Lerner and others might apply themselves to help the organizations already on the scene instead of new organizational schemes. 1976 is not the end of the capitalist crisis and all does not depend on an election. A socialist organization can support critically a non socialist candidate and come out politically stronger from such a campaign. There is much power scattered on the left. The vanguard has to learn that it can only carry out the wishes of a mass organization and not manipulate the mass. The American people need not only efforts for struggle, for change, for reforms, which they know well how to organize, but above all they need a socialist vision and a socialist organization to guide, to urge, to call to action.

Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.
Member at large

Socialist teachers to meet

The New York Metropolis Chapter of NAM expects several hundred socialists who teach in two- and four-year colleges in the east to attend a Socialist Teachers' Conference on the weekend of February 28-March 2 at John Jay College in Manhattan. The conference will focus on the problems that are faced by teachers within the context of shrinking funding for college education, increased political restrictions on the campuses, and a growing sense among college teachers of a need to fight for their rights and for better quality educational opportunities for students.

Sam Bowles will open the conference with a talk on "The Political Economy of Higher Education and Revolutionary Strategy," on Friday night. The opening panel on Saturday will be "TEACHERS AS Workers." Workshops following the panel will focus on that theme, covering such topics as job

security, unions, women teachers/women's studies, third world faculty and programs, campus workers, and others.

A panel on Saturday afternoon will deal with questions relating to socialist teaching. Workshops will include teaching Marxism, gay teachers, socialist teaching techniques, labor studies, problems of third world students, and others.

Sunday's session will be devoted to discussion of immediate and long-range programs for fighting the problems of teachers in non-elite colleges.

For more information, contact NAM, New York Mets Chapter, P.O. Box 682, NY 11791. Childcare and housing can be provided only for pre-registrants.

leftword puzzle

1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
13				14		15						16		
17					18					19			20	
21				22				23	24					
25				26				27				28		
		29		30				31			32			
33	34		35			36		37			38	39	40	
41						42	43				44			
45				46	47					48				
49				50				51	52	53				
			54					55				56		
57	58	59		60				61				62	63	64
65			66					67				68		
69						70	71				72	73		
	74				75						76			
		77									78			

ACROSS

- Seminal dialectician
- Paris
- Oil-rich peninsula
- A page from *Time*? (two words)
- I.F. Stone's profession (two words)
- Arafat
- Item of bourgeois apparel
- Fifties presidential goal?
- Comradely women
- Flows red in a depression
- Baiting shade
- Popular alert initials (pl.)
- Southern hero
- Fifth letter
- Swiss canton
- Dickens clerk
- thing perfectly
- Photo empire builder
- Himalayan monarchy
- Wrap, as a flag
- Colombia city
- Always
- Mass culture flashes in the pan
- Police car device
- Belonging to a well-known French community
- Typical site of Operation Intercept
- Common sexist salutation
- Beat generation focus
- Fourteenth letter
- Democrats' symbol
- Exclamation :(two words)
- Macho figure of high esteem
- Parapsychological phenomenon (abbr.)
- Spitz, for one
- Seaborg's domain in the sixties (abbr.)
- Nguyen Ky
- German town of the Rhine
- Important sixties' blue film series (three words)
- Pat Gray disposal
- Resource assumption in classical economics
- Behavior mod guru
- What production should fulfill (two words)

DOWN

- Caribbean country
- Senate Watergate investigator
- Lockout lackey?
- Collective initials of 18 down's companions
- First U.N. secretary-general
- With 66 down, U.S. general
- No longer in vogue
- Modern Dutch artist
- Atomistic pronoun
- Trojan war figure
- Tidy
- Artist's stand
- Candidate's verb
- The.....Next Time
- SLA member
- Initials of a confederate general
- Dynamic realm for 1 across
- Stuff of the old boy network
- Boat of JFK legend
- Unities
- Leningrad river
- Simple vehicles
- Postal Service service (abbr.)
- U.S. imperialism's liquid center? (two words)
- Douglas-Home
- Composer Rota
- Common Watergate alma mater
- Close (Fr.)
- Ancient Mideast empire
- Poet
- Post
- Spanish colony on the Guinea coast (two words)
- Nahuatl civilization, victim of Spanish imperialism
- Companion of 10 down
- Litton's gift to OMB
- Mop
- Skull cavity
- Entertainer Davis' father
- Tabasco or cranberry
- Was photographed
- With 6 down, U.S. general
- Determinant of legal status
- Rhodesia's Smith
- Von Richtofen's title (abbr.)
- Sarnoff's baby (abbr.)

Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

ably not—at least in the immediate future. The recent PRG victories in Phouc Long are regional actions and primarily political in intent. On January 10 the PRG Foreign Ministry issued a formal justification of the Phouc Long Offensive. "For almost two years," the PRG statement read, the Thieu administration has used the area for 'bloody land-grabbing operations and police and pacification raids' and earlier this month it declared the province a free-fire zone. That is why the liberation force meted out well-deserved counter blows in order to defend the liberated zone, the liberty and property of the population, and the Paris Agreement."

The PRG is committed to the implementation of the Paris Agreements and its strategy must be viewed in that light. The PRG is encouraged by the recent expansion of anti-Thieu activity in Saigon including violent street demonstrations. Ideally, a broad coalition between the PRG and the newly active anti-Thieu groups could forge a new program to implement the Paris Accords, including elections to form a single national government. If the U.S. anti-Thieu forces remain strong the Ford administration may be forced to ditch Thieu, accept a reorganization of the Saigon government, and hope to hold the line short of national elections administered by the National Council of Reconciliation and under international supervision. No doubt the recent talks with Thieu's non-communist opposition are designed to cover this contingency.

RENEWED U.S. INTERVENTION?

The other possibility is a re-escalation of the war. The U.S. empire may be sinking, but like a drowning man there is still some strength left in its wildly flailing arms. Ford is a weak president and his subordinates display little reticence when it comes to opposing him publicly. Whether the military will attempt to flaunt his authority is still an open question. Nor can we rule out the possibility that Kissinger and Ford will re-escalate on their own. When Ford was House Minority Leader he was willing to reduce Hanoi to rubble. And we already know Kissinger's record.

Kissinger now goes around complaining of congressional crimps in his diplomacy. His current campaign to blame Congress for the "loss" of South Vietnam raises the spectre of an earlier period in which different branches of the federal government were at loggerheads over foreign policy (only at that time the congressional "China lobby" held the State Department for the "loss" of China).

Recent news accounts tell of a six-ship navy task force steaming towards the vicinity of South East Asia (although the administration claims it is headed for the Straits of Malacca). Less dramatic, but probably more ominous are news items telling of a six-hour meeting between Thieu and Air Force Chief of Staff David Jones. The past record of the Air Force in South East Asia is very frightening and includes pressure for nuclear weapons to be dropped on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Thankfully, U.S. opinion and the continued strength of the PRG and North Vietnamese remain huge obstacles to further Washington adventures and murders.

On the other side, a major offensive by the PRG is unlikely, particularly in a period where Saigon faces such extreme economic and political difficulties. A men and equipment (although recent U.S. intelligence reports estimate that the PRG could maintain fighting on a major scale for 18 months with current supply levels). The two major offensives in the past (TET in early 1968 and the Easter offensive of 1972) were timed for maximum effect in the U.S. domestic arena. In the first instance, TET forced Johnson's abdication and a bombing halt; in the second, Nixon and Kissinger scrambled towards the Paris Agreements in their rush to de-fuse Vietnam as an election issue. It is possible that another round may occur in 1976.

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFUL "Scoop" Jackson recently shocked his hawk constituency by announcing that he was opposed to further aid to Thieu. Part of the logic of Jackson's position is no doubt opportunistically motivated, designed to capitalize on widespread American disgust with Thieu and any re-escalation of the war. But Jackson's position also reflects a major current with the ruling class. Some hawks have been convinced that the vast South East Asia commitments have drawn funds away from the more important strategic arms race with the Soviet Union. (In 1968, for example, Paul Nitze, then Deputy Secretary of Defense, opposed further bombing of North Vietnam and favored a de-escalation of the war in order that more defense funds would be available for the offensive nuclear weapons program.) Jackson's (and Nitze's) continued opposition to the current SALT agreements represents the latest expression of a long-standing battle between elements of the ruling class over the relative importance of Vietnam to the U.S. empire.

The left's direct influence on the war machine has

Wages for housework

To get back to Wages for Housework. Yes, I would like some more money. I can't think of a woman who wouldn't want enough money so she wouldn't have to be dependent on the whims of a man or the vagaries of the job market. But I don't want that money tied to housework—in any way—literally or symbolically. In fact, if you give me some money I'm going to use it to cut down on housework: I'll buy quick-frying steaks instead of making economical casseroles and I'll do something I want to do with the time saved. Lots of women are going to work today—because they need the money and because they want to get out. Take my friend R. She has six

kids, three in diapers, and if there were Wages for Housework she'd deserve an executive-level salary. In addition to everything else, R. works nights at a blue collar job. Maybe that's double exploitation from a Wages for Housework perspective. But R. says, "If I don't get out of this house I go nuts."

It seems to me that what the Wages for Housework people have tried to do is develop a water-tight defense of autonomous women's struggle outside the traditional workplace arena. I don't think they have succeeded. But what is more important, I don't think any defense is necessary. Autonomous women's struggle—on all kinds of fronts and over all kinds of issues—is a fact. At least in the U.S., if not in Europe, the autonomous women's movement is a central part, if not a vanguard part, of socialist struggle in general. The great contribution of the women's movement to that socialist struggle is that it has been able to transcend the dead weight of vulgar Marxist categories and fetishes. It has helped to develop a qualitative critique of everyday life in capitalism. It has opened up all life (not just the "point of production") to political analysis and action. It has broken with the economic tradition of asking for "more" without asking whether "more" is better and without ever challenging the organization and purpose of work.

Wages for Housework is a step backwards. As an analysis it revives all the "old left," pre-feminist shibboleths—the centrality of "production," the strategy of economic trade unionism, the acceptance of capitalist definitions of the value and meaning of work. As a demand, it could have been drawn straight from the repertoire of the old AFL, as if a new surge of feminism had never occurred in the meantime.

But it has. As feminists, we don't have to defend ourselves to anyone, or prove that we fit into the "correct" Marxist categories of exploitation and struggle. The challenge to us is to continue to develop and struggle around a fundamental critique of capitalist culture in every realm—from sexuality, to health care, to paid work—and to project, through everything we do, the totality of the socialist-feminist vision.

2 parties say people will pay

(Continued from Page 1)

creased public services via enormous public debts. The debts will be inflationary, tending to drive up interest rates, and will create a credit crunch that will tend to deepen the depression. Both programs will ultimately place the burden of the crisis on the working class, with only dubious chances of leading back to economic recovery. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are capable of facing the real issue: This is the capitalists' crisis, they made it; the only sure way out is for them to pay for it.

There are directions that an economic program could take that would not place the burden of the crisis on working people. First, a genuine tax reform program could be instituted that would generate revenue from the multinational corporations and wealthy individuals. Second, defense spending could be cut enormously. And third, restrictions could be placed on the ability of corporations to export jobs to parts of the world that feature cheaper labor, perhaps by forcing them to pay foreign workers at the same rates they would pay Americans.

No significant political force in the country now favors such a program. George Meany of the AFL-CIO claims that neither party recognizes the depth of the problems, but proposes only an accelerated public works program and cheap mortgage money to stimulate the construction industry as labor's alternative. Labor leadership apparently understands the inadequacy of the legislative programs but is so tied to capitalistic logic that it can not conceive of programs that seriously challenge the idea that a healthy economy means healthy corporations.

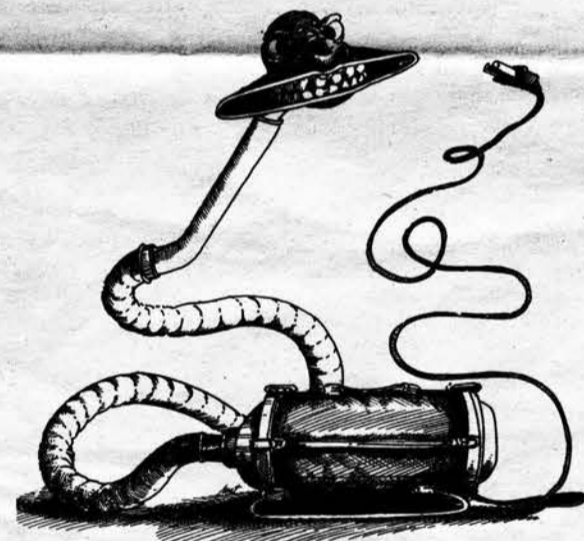
INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS

The contradiction between the capitalist nature of the two parties and the need to create a popular program for electoral reasons is creating a chaotic situation in both parties. The combination of increasing Rockefeller influence and Ford's deficit spending has stimulated grumblings from the right of the party that could lead to a primary challenge by Ronald Reagan or some other Neanderthal conservative.

The attempt by the center of the Democratic Party to re-establish control over the party has also been stymied by the economic situation. Conservative principles don't make popular Democratic politics in these times and the result is that the left-liberal wing of the party, more seasoned and programmatic than in the past, remains the dominant force among the Democrats, particularly at the grassroots level. The presidential campaign of Henry Jackson took a severe blow when the Russians nixed the trade agreement on Jewish immigration that Jackson pushed, and he simultaneously lost the support of George Meany. It now looks like there will be a real horse race among liberal candidates for the Democratic nomination.

No matter where the presidential chips fall, however, it will remain true that both parties will be pushing programs to save capitalism at working people's expense. Without a genuine program for human needs their electoral strategy will continue to be to blame the other party for capitalism's failures.

declined. In the crazy patchwork quilt of American politics we are faced with the possibility that Scoop Jackson, super hawk on the Middle East, opponent of detente, and advocate of larger levels of military spending, might represent the anti-Thieu choice in the 1976 elections. His probable opponent, Nelson Rockefeller, is already committing himself to the traditional Republican posture of an active Asian policy. As socialists we must try to figure out a way to intervene in this system of closed alternatives. In the meantime we can take heart, and support congressional action and its genuinely paralyzing effect on the Thieu regime.



NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

A monthly newspaper that stands for a popular socialist movement in the United States.

Recent issues have included:

- a background supplement to the Mineworkers' strike
- an interview with Bernadette Devlin
- Noam Chomsky on Nixon's pardon
- reviews of the new television season
- columns by John and Barbara Ehrenreich as well as Stanley Aronowitz on the economy
- an interview with members of the Spanish underground
- an analysis of the New Stalinism

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
6025 Shattuck Ave.
Oakland, CA 94609

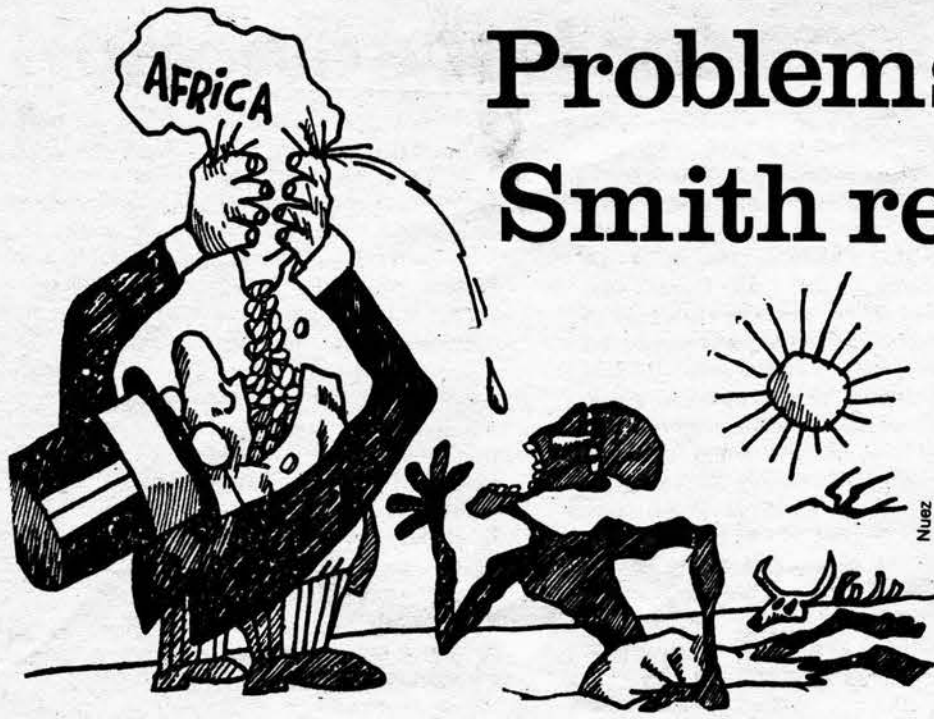
NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Regular Subscription (12 issues) | \$ 4.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Contributing Subscription | 10.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Contributing Subscription | 25.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Sustainer | 100.00 |

Problems deepen for Smith regime



by Ellen Shaffer

IN RESPONSE TO international pressure and Rhodesia's increasing isolation on the African continent, the white-minority Ian Smith regime has resumed negotiations with African liberation groups. In December the talks had led to the release of long-imprisoned African political leaders, and a tentative cease-fire agreement in the latest two-year-old campaign of the guerrilla war.

After the breakthrough in December, Smith refused to allow liberation movement leaders to confer in Lusaka, Zambia, with British Foreign Minister James Callaghan on plans for a constitutional convention. In effect, this broke off the negotiations. Smith's move was in part a reaction to the opinion of his white settler constituency; he also claimed that the guerrillas were not living up to the cease-fire. Leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have maintained that the ceasefire is conditional on eight points, including the release of all political prisoners, which Smith agreed to but has not carried out.

Early this month, Smith met with the united front group (African National Council) to try again to set the stage for constitutional talks. Among those present was ZANU leader Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole who had been in jail since 1968 for plotting to assassinate Smith. ANC leaders are again conferring in Lusaka with the heads of neighboring African states.

CHANGING CONDITIONS

The issue in Rhodesia, called Zimbabwe by its people, has been the same since the nation's inception: transfer of power from the nation's 260,000 whites to the 5.5 million black majority. "Majority rule" means essentially total and economic and political revolution. The country has operated for decades on the brutal exploitation of the black population.

While Smith's position seems as intractable as ever, the balance of power in southern Africa has shifted dramatically since the April 25, 1974, coup in Portugal and the demise of Portuguese colonial rule in the region. When Mozambique becomes independent in July, it will join Zambia and Botswana in surrounding Zimbabwe with black African states, except for a 152-mile border with South Africa. The military threat is obvious, as guerrilla forces will be able to move more freely in and out of the country. And no longer able to use Mozambican ports, the land-locked nation (currently officially boycotted by all countries except the U.S. and South Africa), will be forced to rely solely on railway travel through South Africa for trade.

South Africa, which has 8,000 troops stationed in Rhodesia, is already under international attack for its racist apartheid policies. Should the situation lead to all-out war, the Zimbabwe liberation forces can now more easily persist and win. South Africa cannot afford to isolate itself totally from black Africa by supporting the Smith regime.

The victory of those liberation forces is a clear threat to South Africa, which is next in line for a political upheaval. This has been avoided up to now only by the total suppression of any opposition or resistance movements.

The U.S. is pressuring South Africa not to support an unchanging Smith regime. U.S. economic and military investments in South Africa (valued primarily for its reserves of uranium, gold, diamonds and minerals, and its access to the Indian Ocean) demand political stability in the area. If South African Prime Minister Vorster can play a major conciliatory role, it is hoped that he will gain a more liberal reputation among black Africans without actually changing white economic or political dominance within South Africa. And Zimbabwe, in the hands of a moderate black government

in some sense indebted to Vorster, would remain a buffer zone between South Africa and the rest of the continent, and might agree not to support a South African guerrilla movement. Thus Vorster, while maintaining publicly that Zimbabwe must solve its own problems, has been applying "diplomatic" pressure on Smith to come to terms, and has threatened to withdraw South African troops if he does not. He has also threatened to cut off Zimbabwe's rail link to South Africa and thus to the world.

In the U.S. Congress is considering reimposing the trade embargo which it voted to ignore in 1971. In that year it voted to allow the import of chrome, Zimbabwe's most important export. It has continued this policy despite massive demonstrations at the time and the refusal of the International Longshoreman's Association to unload the initial shipments to Louisiana. The rationale for trading with Zimbabwe was ostensibly to prevent becoming too dependent on the Soviet Union for chrome. The Senate passed the embargo again at the end of the 1974 session to put more pressure on the Smith regime at this crucial time, but its sponsors decided not to take it to a vote in the House, claiming it would pass more easily in the new, more liberal Congress.

BACKGROUND

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a colony of Great Britain dissolved in 1963. Northern Rhodesia became Zambia, Nyasaland is now Malawi, and southern Rhodesia was called simply Rhodesia. At that time the center of federal government operations, southern Rhodesia was most valued for its minerals and its position as a buffer for southern Africa. Thus it was given all the country's armaments, despite objections by Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda.

Unable to reach agreement with Britain on the terms of independence due to their failure to empower the black population in any measure, Smith's Rhodesian Front Party led the country in the break from Britain in 1963 in a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). This was made final in 1965 when Britain gave up on negotiations with Rhodesia and joined with the UN in calling for an embargo on trade with the renegade state.

The new constitution established a 64-member parliament, 50 of whom are white and seven of whom must be tribal chiefs elected outside the common roll. Voting laws, based on narrow property ownership qualifications, now enfranchise 84,490 whites and 7,319 blacks, though blacks outnumber whites by about 20 to 1.

Liberation struggles date back to the arrival of the British. The current African national organizations can be traced back to 1957 when a branch of the South African National Congress was established in Zimbabwe, then outlawed in 1959. A similar process followed for the National Democratic Party in 1960, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1961 and 1962. After a period of disorganization, ZAPU re-emerged in 1963 under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo, along with ZANU.

Both groups support guerrilla forces, but ZANU has been characterized as more committed to gaining independence through armed struggle. Its Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) has been responsible for the highly successful guerrilla campaign launched in December 1972 and concentrated in the northeast part of the country.

The nonviolent, reformist ANC, headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, has existed legally since 1971. ZANU, ZAPU, and a splinter group formed in 1973, FROLIZI, agreed recently to unite under the banner of the ANC and attended the historic conference with representatives of the Smith regime in Lusaka on December 8, 1974. ZAPU and ZANU leaders were released for the occasion, Nkomo after ten years' imprisonment, Sithole after six.

The original cease-fire agreement was immediately retracted by Smith, who refused to participate in the constitutional convention on the precondition that he agree to immediate majority rule. The ANC retracted the precondition and agreed to call a cease-fire. In return, the Smith regime announced on December 11 that it would release an estimated 400 African political prisoners. There have been conflicting statements by Muzorewa and by ZANU's Robert Mugabe as to whether or not the cease-fire is effective before the date is set for the constitutional convention.

Kumbirai Kangai, ZANU secretary for labor, social service, and welfare, said in a recent visit to the U.S. that ZANU has opposed negotiations and participated only under heavy pressure from Kaunda, who cut off their radio broadcasts which were based in Zambia. He reaffirmed that there would be no cease-fire until the Smith regime lives up to its original eight-point commitment. He also said that socialist Tanzania's Nyerere, once strongly in favor of the negotiations for the sake of unity among the different groups, has now relaxed his stance.

ISSUE STILL MAJORITY RULE

ZANU's Sithole has said the issue is still essentially majority rule, whether it is acknowledged as a precondition or not. He is pessimistic about the likelihood of Smith's capitulation. In a BBC interview on December 15 Smith stated that thoughts of a progression to majority rule "never entered my head, and I don't believe they will. I think that if we ever got to a stage of having black rule, then our policy would have failed." He maintained that the majority already does rule, as he was elected by a majority of the voters in the last election.

As to a more egalitarian system of deciding who should vote, he said, "If it means counting of heads like sheep, then I am opposed to that." On December 17 Muzorewa stated that agreement on majority rule was again a precondition for further talks, and it appears that conflict over the issue, as well as dissatisfaction with the slow rate of release of political prisoners, has contributed to the breakdown in the talks.

The Lusaka convention, attended also by President Nyerere, Seretse Khama of Botswana, Khama and Samora Machel representing FRELIMO of Mozambique, was largely orchestrated by Kaunda, who was reportedly instrumental in getting ZANU and ZAPU to agree to talk. Zambia is believed to have harbored Zimbabwean guerrillas in the past, but may not feel strong enough to entertain the prospect of supporting an all-out war with Rhodesia and its western allies.

The price of copper, Zambia's principle export, has dropped sharply in the last few years, making it more vulnerable. Mozambique, under Portuguese rule, has enjoyed a profitable trade with Zimbabwe and would prefer not to have to sever relations.

IT IS DIFFICULT to make specific predictions at this point. There has been speculation that Zambia will ask Britain to intercede as it often has in the past, to help set up the constitutional convention. But it seems clear that the Smith regime is backed into a corner by historical conditions. A refusal to face reality by accepting majority rule is an invitation to destruction, either by the victorious liberation army or conceivably by a U.S.-South African-inspired coup.

In any case, the once unthinkable is about to happen, and African national rule seems certain to replace one of the most reactionary regimes in the world. The repercussions for the Republic of South Africa, for southern Africa in general, and for the United States are bound to be enormous.

