

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Vietnam: free at last, free at last!

by Linda Schiffman
with thanks to Internews

Vietnam's victory is an event of historic significance. The Vietnamese have provided a living example of the courage, strength, and dignity of revolutionary struggle. The PRG are creating a decent and just society, one that is firmly on the path to socialism. A blow has been administered to U.S. imperialism. We in the U.S. who have participated in the struggle against Washington's efforts to control Southeast Asia can rejoice in a dream fulfilled: a liberated Vietnam.

This long awaited victory was the result of great determination, motivation, and skill on the part of the Vietnamese people. The military strategy of General Vo Nguyen Giap, who has been fighting imperialism since the late forties, can be considered nothing short of brilliant. But it was the PRGs roots among the Vietnamese people that made this victory possible.

Order is being restored to Vietnam and the job of reconstruction has begun. The new government has guaranteed democratic freedoms, equality of the sexes, freedom of religion, and equality of ethnic groups. Massive clean-up campaigns are under way to rid the city of the last vestiges of western influence. The campaign includes closing down the bars, houses of prostitution, massage parlors, and strip tease joints. When this task is completed, Saigon will be renamed Ho Chi Minh City. Approximately 200,000 political prisoners have been released throughout the country; some had been incarcerated for thirty years. The military and police of the old regime have been disarmed. In a giant May 7 celebration, marking the anniversary of Dien Bien Phu, Tan Van Tra, chairman of the new 11-member military administration committee that is coordinating affairs in the city, spoke to a crowd of thousands. Tra, a PRG general and a leader of the 1968 Tet offensive, granted a general amnesty to all people connected with the former regime.

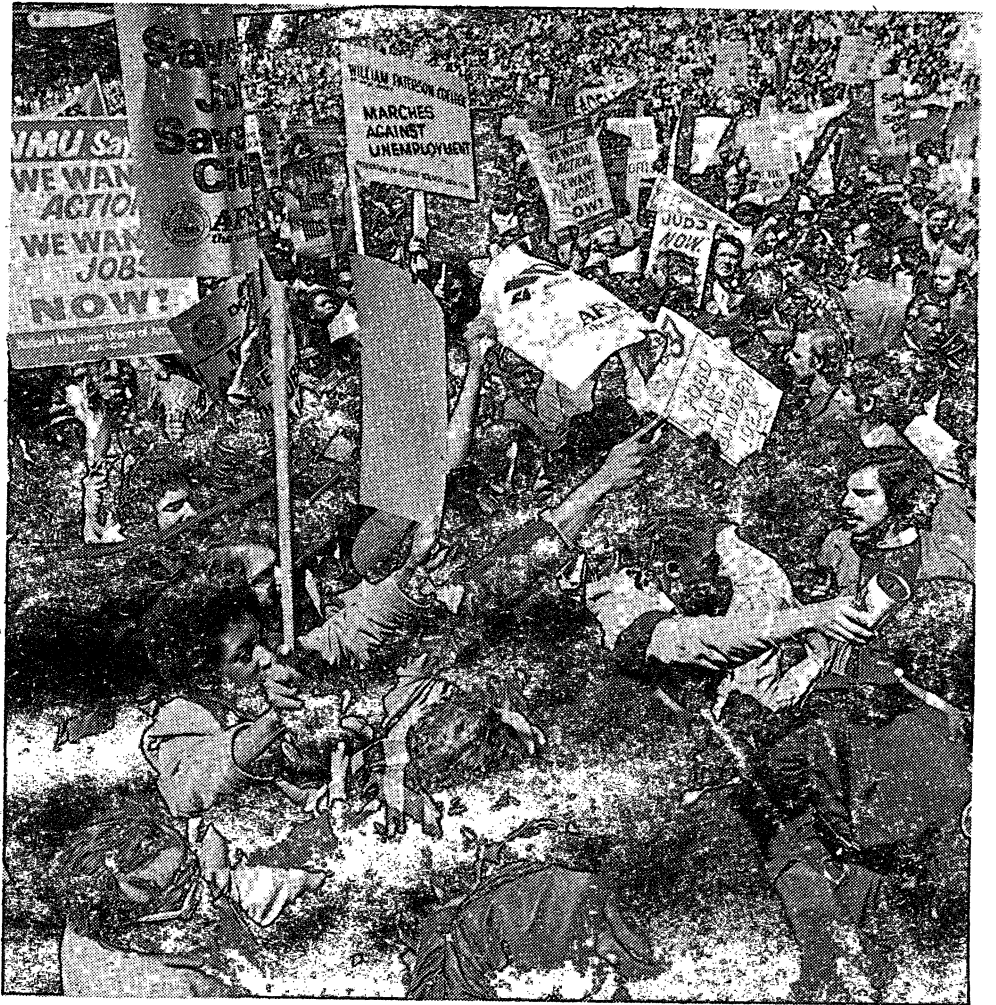
THE U.S. ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Anti-war activists and U.S. domestic criticism have aided the Vietnamese people in their struggle. The influence of the anti-war movement reverberated throughout the U.S. political system, raising the costs of the war in the process. Public hostility prevented the passage of a war tax in 1965. The absence of adequate economic controls stimulated inflation, balance of payment problems, and a huge federal deficit. In turn, these economic costs helped place a ceiling on the unlimited use of U.S. ground troops. The anti-war movement also raised the sense of internal division, increased war-weariness among the population, and undermined the effectiveness of the armed forces. The movement generated congressional and media hostility toward the war.

Nixon's repression of domestic dissent was also a reaction to the anti-war movement. Watergate events and hostility towards the executive branch fueled congressional passage of legisla-

tion blocking the direct use of military force, including bombing, in Indochina. Like the imperialist system he manages, Kissinger's power is declining rapidly. The Secretary of State recently said, "In January 1973 we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the strength of the executive authority of the U.S. to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed...we did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement, and while we probably might have done nothing anyway, it makes a lot of difference for Hanoi whether it thinks the U.S. probably will not or whether it thinks that we certainly cannot." In fact, Kissinger has stated that he would not have signed the

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Workers jump AFL gun

Leaders lose control at jobs demo

by Steve Early

This reporter moved around the stadium during the disruption, taking a seat here and there, and listening. Make no mistake about it, most of the crowd—even those who expressed disappointment with the breakdown (of the rally)—sided with the protesters on the field.

—Duane Emme, reporter for the semi-official AFL-CIO labor news agency, Press Associates, Inc.

It began with a ten-minute invocation no one could hear. Then Walter Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steelworkers read a twenty-minute speech by Steelworkers' president I.W. Abel who was absent because of a death in his family. As Burke droned to a conclusion and Sen. Hubert Humphrey stepped to the microphone, the estimated 60,000 union members attending the AFL-CIOs April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., broke into cheers—but not for the speakers.

JOB STREAKERS

One of their number, sign in hand, had jumped from the stands in RFK Stadium and was running across the field toward the speakers' platform. No sooner had two security guards caught up with the man and returned him to the sidelines when a woman made a dash in the same direction. She zigged and zagged, giving two cops the slip, and brought hundreds to their feet with cheers for her and boos for the men in blue.

By now, Hubert was forgotten. Scores of people were climbing out of the stands and onto the field, shouting, waving, and carrying signs.

"If you go out on that field, Henry, it'll be a \$1,000 fine," one AFSCME

steward shouted as several workers in his group put on their paper caps and headed for the field.

"The hell with you, man," said Henry, as he jumped over the fence. "I ain't sitting here no more."

And neither were hundreds of others. Industrial Union Department (IUD) Secretary-Treasurer Jacob Clayman, who along with Abel organized the rally, took the microphone and pleaded for order.

"We cannot allow this meeting to run amuck," he said. But running amuck it was, as the contest between demonstrators and security guards on the field began to resemble a Keystone Kops comedy. Soon, however, the crowd started to form ranks and, two or three thousand strong, marched on the speakers' stand, chanting, "Jobs Now!"

Unable to continue, Humphrey hesitated, joined the chant, and then beat a hasty retreat. While IUD officials conferred and AFSCME leaders Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum looked positively shell-shocked. AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer Bill Lucy tried to calm the crowd. He yielded to U.S. Representatives Bella Abzug and Barbara Jordan who were equally unsuccessful.

The chanting and sign waving continued. Some in the crowd began to focus on individuals like AFT president Albert Shanker, who sat among the speakers and looked very uncomfortable.

The sentiment on the stand was clearly in favor of departing, but Wurf hung on. "We just can't turn this thing over to the crazies," he said.

By 3:00 p.m.—forty-five minutes after the rally began, even Wurf had given up. The microphone was turned off and the rally declared officially

over.

The post-mortems began almost at once. Ironically, it was the conservative

Clayman who seemed to understand best who was involved in the disruption (if not why it had occurred). He admitted to reporters that while "some frustrated speakers, exhibitionists, and the whole gamut of left-wing splinter groups" were involved, most protesters on the field were simply "unemployed and full of anger and frustration." At least half of these alleged "crazies" were also black or Puerto Rican, many wearing union caps or carrying signs indicating they were members of Wurf's own union.

Left groups also participated but were indeed in the minority on the field. None had planned the disruption or apparently even expected it, although most—with the exception of the CP and SWP—were glad to see it happen and more than happy to tail along.

The underlying cause of the rally's break-down was certainly the anger and frustration felt by the many jobless workers who attended. But the immediate cause was the rally itself and the way it was structured. It was called as a last-minute alternative to a more militant march on Washington being planned by a coalition of New York-New Jersey area unions affiliated with AFSCME, the Autoworkers, Communications Workers, Teamsters, and Steelworkers.

When the IUD announced its plans for a rally, AFSCME and the others changed theirs. In the interest of unity they settled for a short march from the Capitol to the stadium before the main event.

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NAM editorial

Lessons of ERA setback

As the chances for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution have ended for 1975, the anti-ERA debate has intensified as a result of a strong grass roots campaign by right-wing forces. The left, and especially feminist reformists, have tended to emphasize mainly economic issues of equal pay in the debate on the ERA, while not dealing with questions of traditional roles, how they are challenged, and the fears this arouses among some men and women. The right is using these fears effectively, often to undercut implicit but strong economic arguments.

Vicious editorials and letters in small town newspapers across the country charge that children will be taken away from their mothers and put in orphanages and other public ("Communist") institutions. The campaigns assert that women will not be able to collect social security benefits from money their husbands earned, and that women could no longer collect alimony and child support. Working women—women who have few privileges to begin with—are being told that the ERA will take even those away.

The ERA can be interpreted very carefully to show that it does not in itself provide a legal basis for taking away any woman's rights. But it is true that this system has been able to twist progressive legislation so as to have it discriminate against women. For instance, employers have long used protective hours laws to keep women from getting overtime pay and have used weight-lifting protection to exclude women from certain higher paying jobs. Yet when protective laws have been voided through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, many women have been forced to work incredible hours—as many as 70 hours per week.

The problem here, as with the threatened ERA privilege cuts, is that the system is posing better working conditions and equal rights as a choice—a threat, actually: equal rights or protective legislation; equal rights or support for yourself and your children.

What we must do is expose the contradictions and how they are used against women and working people. We want equality *and* protective legislation, which should be extended to all working people. We



want equal rights and equal choice for women *and* adequate life support for all people, particularly for women who have worked unpaid in the home.

Another false argument that the left is likely to fall into is that the ERA is just another bourgeois piece of legislation promising token equality that will only benefit middle class women. Here again "equality" would be posed *against* decent job conditions for working women (as the *real* struggle), when our struggle should be against this interpretation of equality. And we shouldn't fool ourselves: the right is successfully using the divisive potential of this argument with working women. A woman textile worker was recently heard to say that the ERA had been explained to her this way: "We already have equal pay for equal work through the civil rights amendment. So this ERA thing is just going to be for professional women who want to be like men, not for us working women."

The truth in this statement is that laws in our society tend to benefit only higher classes and are often used to exploit working people. But this fact needs to be interpreted—and fought against. It should not be a basis for arguing against the passage of the ERA.

The goal of the revolutionary feminist movement is full liberation for all women—equality is a step toward liberation. We are for equal pay, equal job opportunity, equal options for women in their lives, equality in all areas where women are discriminated against. Of course we want more than equality, but we must assert—as women—that the fight for equality alone is an important struggle.

The concept that women are equal to men goes against all the traditions and institutions of this society. The ERA will get rid of the laws that are vestiges of the way women have been treated for centuries—as second-class citizens under the legal control of their husbands, unable to make decisions for themselves, and unsuited for the conditions of life outside the home. It is important to challenge this whole concept, and this is what the ERA does.

We should have no illusions that this law in this society will be enforced in a way that achieves true equality. But we believe the ERA provides a basis to improve the lot of all working women, a basis for important attitude changes, and that the ERA should be supported.

Workplace organizing discussed at ENIC

NAM focuses on national strategy

by Anne Farrar
Bay Area NAM

For three days, May 9-11, the New American Movement's elected national and regional leadership came together in Pittsburgh, Pa., to discuss a number of important strategic and organizational issues. This body, the Expanded National Interim Committee (ENIC), meets two times each year between National Conventions to consider basic policy questions of the organization. Delegates from NAMs five regional bodies provide wider political representation and input that the more frequent meetings of the smaller national leadership body, the National Interim Committee (NIC).

CLARIFYING DIRECTIONS

The spring ENIC meeting in Pittsburgh was a step in the organization's current effort to rethink and clarify NAMs political direction. NAM is a young organization—its founding convention was less than three years ago. At that time NAM adopted its "Political Perspective," a document that analyzed U.S. capitalism, offered NAMs ideas about a socialist alternative, and its conception of what must be done to move toward a socialist revolution. Since that time NAM members have continued to discuss, debate, and amplify NAMs political orientation. In those three years the organization has had the opportunity to test its ideas in political activity. Much of that political activity has been promising but it has been less successful than was anticipated three years ago.

The inability of the left, including NAM, to build a substantial socialist movement seems all the more critical during the present period of economic crisis.

The ENIC focused primarily on NAMs strategy. Delegates discussed a draft statement of general strategy for NAM. The document reaffirmed many

of NAMs original principles but also took some new directions. It offered a careful analysis of the present period—the international and domestic forces and developments and the state of the left. Flowing from this analysis it suggested a general direction for future political activity and indicated several organizational changes NAM should be working toward.

The statement argued especially for a more concerted effort on NAMs part to be engaged in the ongoing struggles of the working class to improve life within capitalism. It stressed that we must engage in this activity while simultaneously working to build a socialist movement that looks to the future overthrow of capitalism. We must be aware of the tension between these two activities and fight the tendency to emphasize one at the expense of the other (which would lead either to abstract irrelevance and isolation or to endless reform activity that gets us no closer to socialism).

A final version of the paper is to be drafted by the NIC for discussion and adoption at NAMs national convention in August. In the meantime, it is anticipated that several minority statements will be circulated within the organization to clarify political differences within NAM.

In addition to discussion of NAMs general strategy the ENIC also devoted a great deal of energy toward the development of a NAM position on work place organizing, trade unions, and the labor movement. Over the past three years, many NAM members have been critical of the organization for its weakness in this traditionally very important area of left activity and agitation. During the past half year a committee has been working to overcome this deficiency of NAM. Several papers were circulated before the ENIC and extensive meetings of the work place committee at the ENIC dominated the time of many delegates. The attempt to arrive at a NAM position in this area is proving controversial. The discussion of the whole body demonstrated a

need for clarification of political differences and a more thorough discussion of the issues by the membership. The work place committee set up a process for this to happen before NAMs national convention so that we can adopt a position based on clear political understanding.

OTHER DECISIONS

ENIC delegates also considered a number of organizational questions. It clarified guidelines covering content and audience orientation of NAMs national newspaper but did not change the basic intent of these guidelines as they have existed in the past. The ENIC accepted a proposal to move the paper to the Middlesex chapter in Boston and it passed a plan for a three-person editorial board to be appointed by the NIC. Proposed constitutional amendments and by-laws were discussed and by-laws governing membership, chapters, and a political administrative sub-committee of the NIC were passed.

During the three days of the ENIC, members met in a number of administrative and political committees to discuss on-going matters of concern to NAMs maintenance and development. Committee's discussed convention plans, political education, regional structure, finances, and literature. Political committees, in addition to the work place organizing committee, discussed NAMs anti-imperialist work, community organizing, economic program, and socialist feminist program.

The socialist feminist program committee reported on plans for the nationwide Socialist Feminist Conference to be held over the July 4th weekend in Yellow Springs, Ohio. (The conference has been sponsored and planned by NAM women and a number of independent socialist-feminist women's organizations.) There appears to be great interest
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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.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

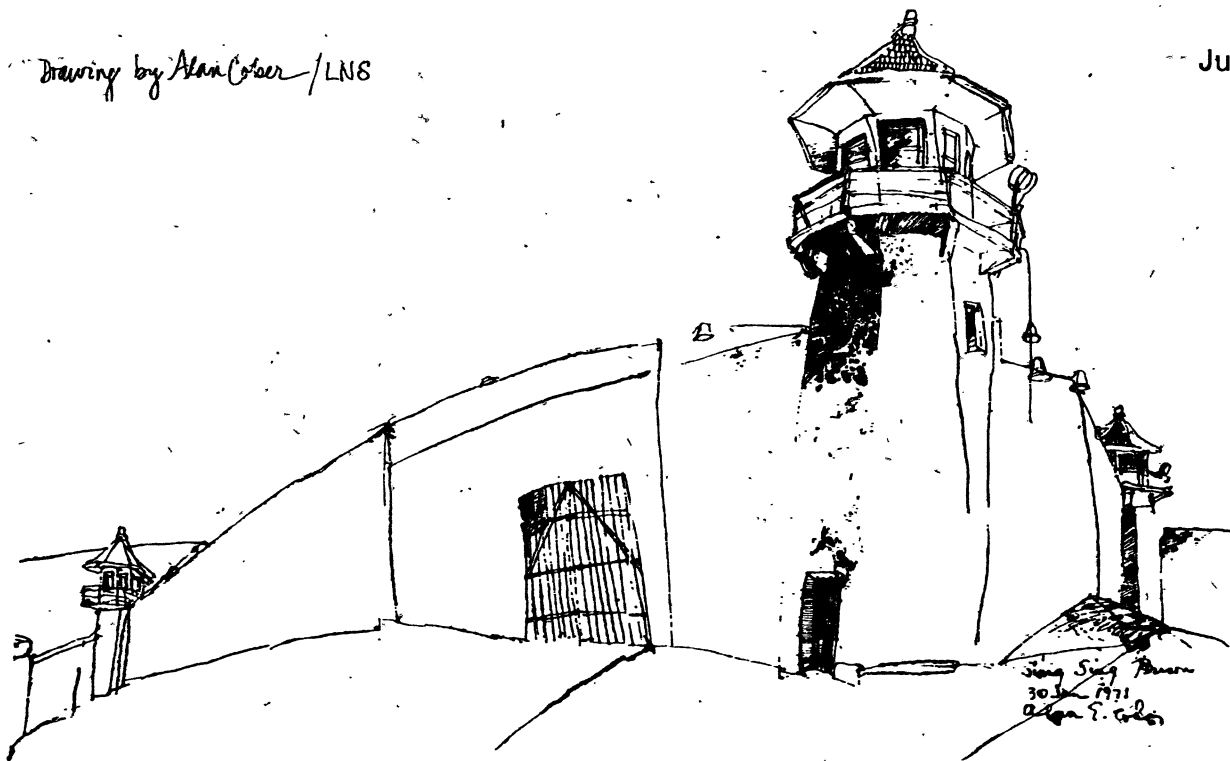
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New call raised for Attica amnesty

A renewed campaign is underway for Total Unconditional Amnesty for the Attica Brothers.

Monday, April 28, was observed across the country as a "National Day of Support for the Attica Brothers," with demonstrations in major cities throughout the United States and Canada. The Day of Support was called for by Attica Now, the main national support organization for Attica prisoners, to press the demand for total amnesty for all those involved in the 1971 Attica prison uprising.

In New York more than 1,000 people marched on the state capital in Albany and presented the amnesty demand directly to the New York state legislature and to Governor Hugh Carey. A group of state legislators announced plans to introduce amnesty legislation in early May.

The amnesty demand, first put forward by the Attica prisoners themselves during the uprising in 1971, is being raised again in 1975 as state officials attempt to continue the Attica massacre in the courts of New York.

In the last months, two Attica Brothers have been convicted in connection with the death of a guard, five more have been brought to trial on murder and kidnapping charges, and several others have been scheduled for trials in the coming weeks.

No guards, troopers, or state officials have been indicted for crimes committed at Attica. No one has been indicted in connection with the Attica massacre of September 13, 1971, which left 43 people dead.

PROSECUTION CONDUCT REVEALED

The trials of former Attica prisoners are being conducted in spite of growing evidence of corruption within the Attica prosecution.

Chief Attica prosecutor Anthony Simonetti has been accused by a former aide of deliberately covering up crimes committed by state employees during and after the Attica massacre.

And a paid FBI informer has admitted that she spied on the Attica defense from within for more than a year and turned over confidential information to government agencies.

Both of these disclosures are now "under investigation." Legally, these disclosures should be sufficient for dismissal of charges against all the Attica Brothers. But so far no action has been taken on the Brothers' dismissal motions in court.

Misconduct by the prosecution has been rampant since New York State's Attica investigation began in 1971, although it has never before received such widespread publicity. In the three and a half years since the Attica uprising the Attica prosecution has:

- obtained false indictments against prisoners (some of them were dropped this year for lack of evidence);
- coerced prisoners into testifying against one another through threats, beatings, and even torture;
- rewarded inmates with early release from prison when they agreed to cooperate with the prosecution;
- withheld exculpatory evidence from the grand jury and from the defense, and destroyed evidence with paper shredders;
- wiretapped the telephones of defense lawyers and legal workers;
- penetrated the defense organization with government informers; and
- used peremptory challenges against black people in an effort to create all-white trial juries.

DISMISSALS REPEATEDLY DENIED

Defense attorneys have repeatedly demanded dismissal of charges against the Attica Brothers based on these continuing abuses, but Nelson Rockefeller's hand-picked Attica judges have insisted that the trials go on.

In response to the recent report that the prosecution covered up police crimes, Governor Carey started yet another Attica investigation. We now have a new special prosecutor making \$150 an hour investigating the old special prosecutor.

But the entire Attica situation has already been in-

vestigated repeatedly and the truth of the situation is quite clear for anyone who wants to see it. The coverup of police crimes has been obvious for years.

Indicting a few state troopers at this late date would be a meaningless gesture. It would be practically impossible now to identify troopers who committed specific acts of brutality more than three years ago, and convictions of police would be most unlikely.

Even more important, the real crimes at Attica were committed not by troopers and guards, but by the state officials who called the shots. High-ranking officials created the prison conditions that caused the Attica uprising, ordered the massacre that ended it, and covered up the truth of the uprising afterwards. It is these officials, up to and including Nelson Rockefeller, who should be investigated and prosecuted.

In the meantime, the Attica Brothers continue to be the scapegoats for everything that happened at Attica in 1971. The prosecution of prisoners shifts attention and blame away from the responsible government officials and on to those who were most victimized by what took place.

Two trials are now in progress in Buffalo. In one, Shango Bahati Kakawana, a black Attica Brother charged with murder, is being forced to select a jury from an all-white pool composed mostly of middle-aged men.

In the other current trial, four Brothers face charges of kidnapping connected with the taking of three hostages.

It is too late for there to be any "fair trials of Attica defendants. All people wishing to support the amnesty campaign are asked to contact Attica Now, 1528 Jefferson Ave., Buffalo, NY 14208.



Refugee aid - charity or payoff?

by Andy Friedman
Bay Area NAM

South Vietnam was virtually a U.S. colony for 12 years until the NLF victory. Its economy was supported, its government imposed, and its ideology imported from the U.S.

Many Vietnamese made large fortunes from U.S. expenditures. A gigantic government bureaucracy funded by the U.S. created a large urban middle class. And the enormous military machine enriched many upper level officers.

These people are the ones who were airlifted out by the U.S. They and their families were already supported by U.S. aid. The money appropriated for refugee aid is just a continuation of the support they were receiving through U.S. economic and military aid to South Vietnam. As such, it represents a logical continuation of U.S. policy, which was the support of governments representing the upper and middle

classes of South Vietnam.

To the extent that the U.S. supported and brought into being these classes of people, the U.S. government can claim that it has an obligation to them. But this is an obligation strictly along class lines.

The U.S. was never "obligated" to the millions of South Vietnamese whose villages were burned or bombed, whose fields were defoliated, and who themselves were deported to "strategic hamlet" concentration camps. The U.S. was never obligated to the poor people of South Vietnam who lived in shanties outside of Saigon and the large U.S. bases.

U.S. humanitarianism extends as far as those who were willing to do its bidding, or did not interfere with its programs. Refugee aid in this light is more payment for services rendered than it is charity.

As more and more countries move toward national liberation and socialism, the U.S. will again and again bail out the upper and middle class people who won't give up their privileges.

What did U.S. lose in Vietnam?

by Tim Nesbitt
Bay Area NAM

If the liberation of South Vietnam was a blow to U.S. capitalism abroad, then where's the wound? The stock market gained a near-record 35 points in the immediate aftermath of Saigon's fall. And, if the event was in any way traumatic to U.S. prestige, the foreign currency traders barely noticed. The dollar actually strengthened.

Perhaps the answer lies in the ironies of the good news/bad news explanation.

The bad news: Private U.S. investment in Vietnam amounted to just \$30 million at the time of liberation, compared to some \$23 billion that Washington poured into the country since 1953. Most corporations had preferred to wait out the conflict and, as the figures show, allow the billions funneled from U.S. taxpayers "to create a good environment for the effective performance of the private sector."

The good news: That "good environment," which would have fostered large-scale agribusiness exploitation of the Mekong Delta and intensive industrialization around former military installations like Cam Ranh Bay, will never come about. Instead, the U.S.-built infrastructure of roads, ports, and airfields, measured in billions of dollars, will pay for themselves in piastres.

The oil companies were the major exception to the wait-and-see attitude of U.S. corporations in Vietnam. But

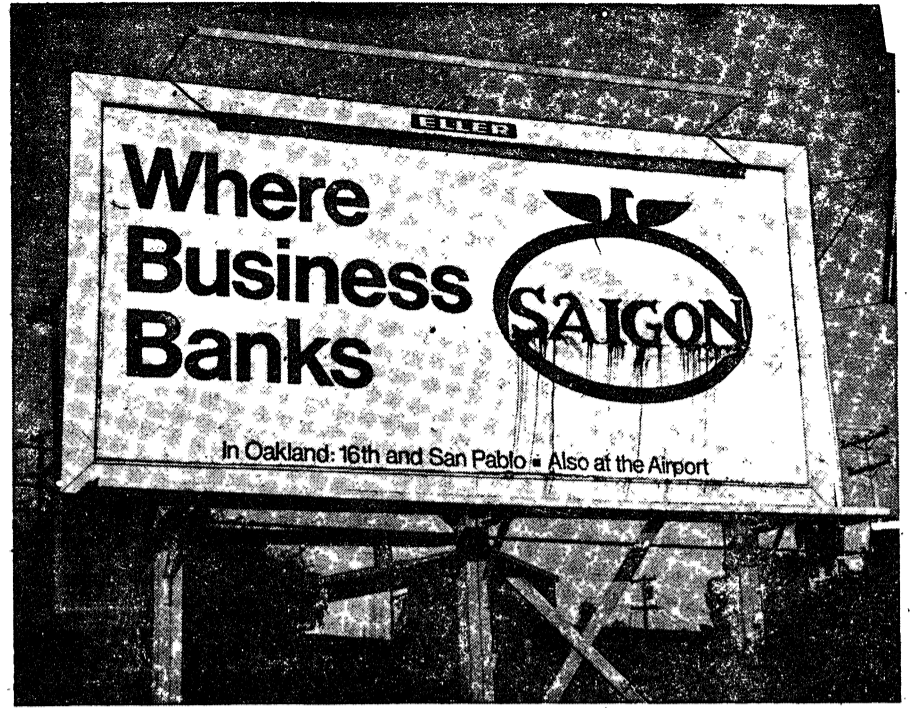
there's good and bad news in this category too.

The good news: As Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces approached Saigon, several U.S. oil companies abandoned their wells in the South China Sea. Consortiums including Shell, Cities Service, and Mobil had each paid the Thieu government \$9 million for extensive acreage just 100-200 miles southeast of Saigon in what one California oil man described as the "world's next oil province."

The bad news: The new government in Saigon "wants western oil companies to continue offshore exploration and drilling in South Vietnam," according to the *Washington Post*. Apparently only the large western oil companies can supply the offshore technology needed to tap Vietnam's underwater reserves.

But South Vietnam was always more important to the multinationals for the Hondas it consumed than for the oil it produced.

The good news: As *Business Week* recently explained it, "If Japan cannot continue to export a third of its products to Southeast Asia, it will have to seek other outlets here and in Western Europe." The connection is important, if indirect. Though Washington can afford another spiteful trade embargo of the kind imposed against Castro in 1961, for the Japanese to do the same would touch off a massive



trade war between the two countries and an escalating recession throughout the capitalist world.

The bad news: The Japanese have been busy taking steps to assure that their Vietnamese markets will remain open. As the *Wall Street Journal* recently reported, "Japan may well become the most influential capitalist nation in Indochina." Japanese trade with North Vietnam has quadrupled in the last two years and will soon surpass last year's total with South Vietnam.

All this implies that the multinational corporations and U.S. private interests are infinitely more adaptable than governments to the fluctuations of war and the variations of ideology. That adaptability implies a more subtle form of power. They have the technology and the capital that the third world needs for development.

How persuasive that case can be is summarized by Frances Fitzgerald in the *New Yorker* after a recent trip to North Vietnam:

"What is most surprising, North Vietnam officials say that they would like to make joint-venture agreements with governments and private companies. They think that foreign companies might be interested in some of their mineral and agricultural resources that other Communist countries don't need; they also think that Western or Japanese companies might want to use their largest resource—their manpower. 'We believe that Vietnamese labor is no less skilled than the Chinese,' Tran Phoung (director of North Vietnamese Institute for Economics) said. 'And wages here are about a tenth of what they are in the United States.'"

ZANU charges Zambian sabotage

by T.A. Mawere

Zimbabwe African National Union

The arrest by the Zambian government of 1,400 members of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), allegedly to investigate the murder of Chairman Herbert Chitepo, raises many questions about the motives of President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. These arrests also focus light on the interest of Britain, the United States, the South African white minority government of Premier Vorster, and the Rhodesian white settler government of Ian Smith in a Southern African "detente."

In the past two months top political and military leaders of ZANU, the major liberation force in Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia by the white settler government) have been either murdered or imprisoned. On March 4, ZANU President Sithole was rearrested after being released to attend "peace talks." On March 18, ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo was assassinated by a bomb in his driveway in Lusaka, Zambia. And on March 23, after a state funeral was held for Chitepo in Zambia,

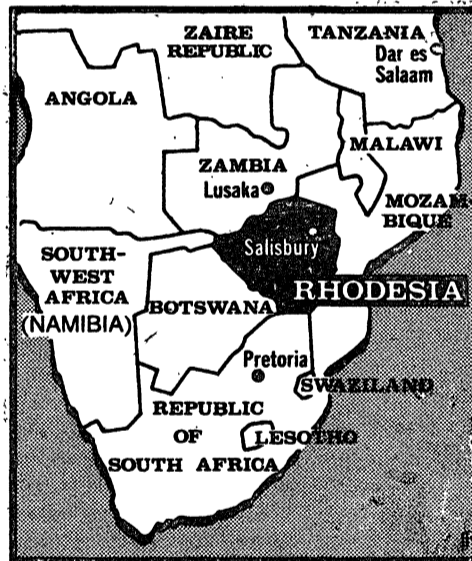
52 ZANU leaders gathered for the occasion were arrested by Zambian authorities and ZANU offices and camps in Zambia were raided and closed. Zambia, on the northern border of Zimbabwe was, until these events, the host country and headquarters for ZANU.

ZANU controls close to 50,000 square miles in northeastern Zimbabwe and has struck within 30 miles of the capital city, Salisbury. The military victories of ZANU, combined with the liberation of nearby Mozambique and Angola, has brought the majority rule of Zimbabwe by the 96 percent black population close to achievement.

DEFENSE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Immediately after the defeat of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, the governments of Britain and the United States consolidated their efforts to defend the Republic of South Africa. Recognizing the inevitability of black majority rule in Zimbabwe, these three governments determined to maneuver black Zimbabwean leaders into power who would not threaten western investments in Zimbabwe nor harbor Azanian (African name for South Africa) guerrillas fighting to overthrow the South African government of apartheid. Agreements were made among Prime Minister Vorster, Britain, and the United States for the South African government to pressure Ian Smith to abandon Rhodesia's "hard line" toward black majority rule and agree to "peace talks." In conjunction the decision was made for South Africa to pressure the black government of Zambia to cease their support of ZANU. The governments of Britain, the United States, South Africa, and Zambia, in their agreements to suppress ZANU, have been furthering their own economic and political self-interests.

Over 60 percent of the capital investment in Rhodesia is British. Their largest interest is in mining as symbolized by the London and Rhodesian Land and Mining Corporation (LONRHO) which



The economy of Zambia, the country most directly involved in suppressing ZANU, is dependent on the investments of the United States, Britain, South Africa, and Rhodesia. The copper industry, the mainstay of the Zambian economy, is controlled by three western corporations: the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa; the ROAN Selection Trust, a subsidiary of American Metal Climax of New York; and LONRHO of Britain. Furthermore, the mining equipment and parts needed to service this industry come almost exclusively from South Africa. Zambia needs passage through Rhodesia to reach Mozambiquean and South African ports to export her products. Also Zambia is dependent on consumer products such as maize, her chief food commodity, and beef from Rhodesia and South Africa.

ROLE OF ZAMBIA

If western corporations are to continue to pour capital into the Zambian economy they require a quiet political climate which the presence of Zimbabwean revolutionaries upset. President Kaunda of Zambia was especially mindful of this fact since copper prices had been falling and thus seriously affecting the economy of the country. The balance of payments has been worsening considerably since 1971, falling from K188.3m in 1971 to only K10.0m in 1973.

The recent actions of Kaunda, who owns a hotel in Switzerland, a chateau on the French Riviera, and substantial shares in Africa magazine, a subsidiary of the LONRHO Corporation, have been to the advantage of South Africa, Rhodesia, Britain, and the United States.

Vorster announced last October that he was prepared to withdraw his troops from Zimbabwe (14,000 South African police engaging militarily with ZANU) if he got assurances that Kaunda would stop ZANU guerrillas from using bases in his country. Kaunda hailed Vorster's



ZANU President Sithole

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The Long March

Scenes from a movement

by Barbara and John Ehrenreich

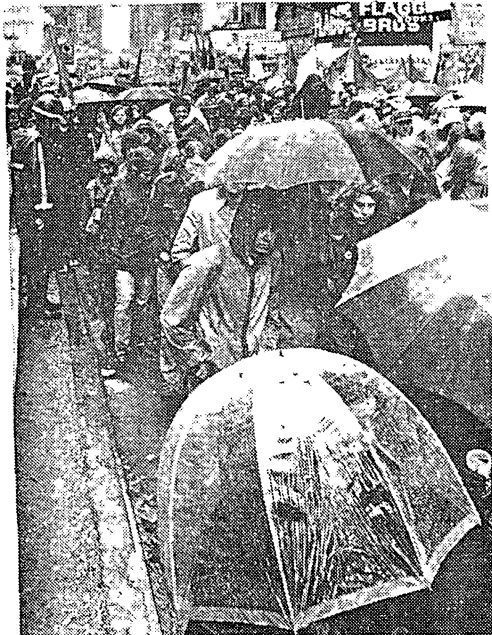
Somewhere back in the late sixties Phil Ochs came out with a song called "The War is Over." The War is oh-oh-ver. Of course the war was not over. Not then. Not in 1968 after LBJ resigned. Not in 1969 after Nixon came to office with a "secret solution." Not in 1973 after the treaty was signed and Henry Kissinger won the Nobel Peace Prize. But it didn't hurt to say the words.

Looking back, the song seems to have been in less than good taste for a time when, in Vietnam, the napalm was still falling like rain. But it did reflect, or caricature, the politics of a lot of us in the early years of the anti-war movement. On the same theory as "what if everyone spit into the Grand Canyon"—what if everyone just announced: "The war is over!" If enough people really wanted peace, there would be peace.

THE FIRST STEPS

It is incredible—it is embarrassing—how naive and optimistic we were in those days. When the war began in full force with the bombings in February 1965 we were simply outraged—there is no other word for it. The very first political act of one of us (B.) was to write a letter to President Johnson explaining that the war was unjust and a bad idea. When this failed to elicit a satisfactory response, the next step was to get a number of other students to sign a letter. The results were again disappointing, so our group (by this time we had a little group of students and campus workers) decided we had simply not gotten enough people to let the President know how they felt.

So we fanned out across the city. Wherever there were people—lining up for movies or waiting for buses—there we were with our mimeographed leaflets and petitions. In time we became more systematic: We divided up the territory and started going door-to-door, organizing building meetings, block meetings, neighborhood meetings. It wasn't all as easy as we'd expected. We were baffled when a well-



dressed woman swung at us with her pocket-book screaming, "Why don't you go back to Russia!" We were crushed when a group of garment workers told us, "Sure the war is wrong, but what can you do? It's the system."

After a while, we got more sophisticated too and started talking about "the system" and "the establishment." But these were just obstacles, nothing to get depressed about. After all, the Vietnamese were fighting the same "system" without ever taking time out to mope about how bad the odds were.

SILLY BUT SUCCESSFUL

OK, we were silly and inexperienced and ignorant. A lot of us in the early anti-war movement still thought that "capitalism" was a synonym for "democracy" and that "class" was something Jackie Kennedy had. But looking back from ten years later, it seems pretty clear that if a lot of us had been any less "silly" there wouldn't have been much of an anti-war movement. We were utterly confident that we were right. We were utterly confident that everyone would agree with us (once they had the facts, that is). And out of this confidence in ourselves and in the American people, we (meaning by this time many thousands of people) built one of the major mass movements in U.S. history. The anti-war movement deserves some credit for the fact that, by the end, 80% of the American people op-



posed "our" war. Soldiers wouldn't fight; Congress wouldn't appropriate funds.

Of course, the anti-war movement didn't end the war. The Vietnamese did that. But the Vietnamese in the north and the liberated zones of the south again and again told visiting North American activists to take back a big "thank you" to the people in the anti-war movement. And that's something we ought to feel good about.

Then, quite apart from the war, the anti-war movement had a profound impact on the way we lived and thought. "The Movement," meaning roughly the anti-war movement plus the black movement, touched off a wave of anti-authoritarianism that made the fifties look like an episode of mass coma. Part of it was a matter of style and culture: long hair, dope, rock music, and a kind of automatic disrespect for anyone who happened to be white, male, over forty, dressed in a suit and the least bit pompous (professors, presidents, corporate executives). But it wasn't just a matter of style. If the war could be questioned, if segregation could be questioned, then anything could be questioned—even things so obvious and familiar that nobody seemed to pay much attention to them—like male supremacy and class privilege.

It was as if some kind of giant chromium lid lifted off and we were seeing everything for the first time. Nothing could be taken for granted anymore; everything might have to be changed. At some point we stopped thinking of ourselves as "protesters" and starting calling ourselves "radicals." At some point we stopped excusing the Vietnamese for being communists and decided to find out just what that meant. We were becoming "the new left."

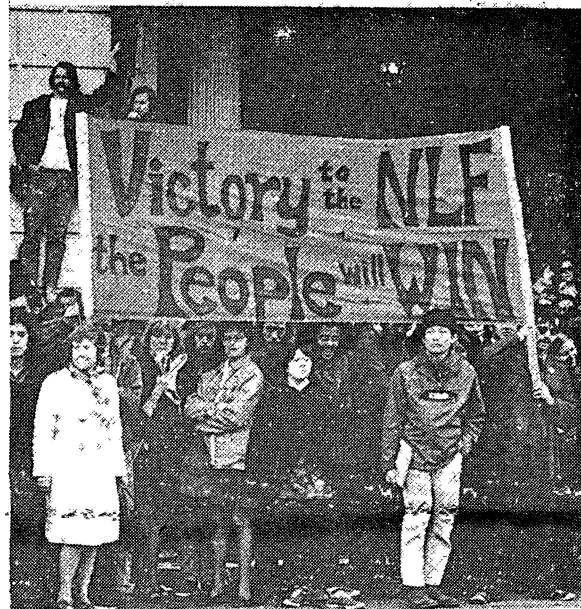
WHY DID IT START?

The trouble is we really don't understand how it all started. We (B. and J.) have reviewed our own lives often enough to be able to explain why we personally were bound to get angry about something in 1965. But these autobiographical insights don't explain why millions of other people started getting angry at the same time, or why the war happened to be the something we got angry about. It wasn't self interest, at least not in any simple kind of way. A lot of men who marched and demonstrated and organized were 2-S or otherwise ineligible for the draft and a whole lot more of us weren't men at all. Even

among the young men most at risk, the draft-eligible men and the GIs themselves, there were acts of incredible heroism and defiance that cannot be explained with any mechanistic, materialist formulas.

And what about the Vietnamese themselves? Of course, the self-interest part is clear enough in their case. But other people have been oppressed and colonized before and since. What kept the Vietnamese going, for 30 years, in a struggle that finally pitted them against the most powerful military force in the world? "Objectively" they never had a chance.

There's a lot we don't understand about people's movements, or for that matter about people. But there seems to be one lesson from the war years: confidence is contagious. Resistance is contagious. It could start at a lunch counter in North Carolina or in a hamlet in South Vietnam. And then it seemed to go around the world like an electric current: students seized buildings in the U.S.; workers seized factories in France. There were riots in Detroit and West Berlin, Isla Vista and Turin. European students learned from North American students; white



women learned from black women and men; everyone learned from the Vietnamese.

WHAT'S NEEDED NOW

Today, most people are smarter than we "protesters" were in 1965. Most people know there's something very wrong with the "system" and an awful lot of people will tell you that the name for that system is capitalism. There are more and more Marxists on the campuses, more and more anti-capitalists in the factories and on the unemployment rolls. And there are plenty of ex-activists who have decided now that the old movement was "subjectivist" and "idealist," i.e., silly. In a lot of ways they're right. Moral outrage is not enough to sustain a mass movement. Running in the streets is no substitute for revolutionary strategy.

But maybe what's missing today is precisely some of the things that made us "silly" in the old days: the naive optimism, the confidence, the faith in people. Sophisticated students sit around today and debate about "what is to be done." In 1968 we said, "Do it!"



Workers likely losers in British market vote

by Brian Heron

This is an edited version of an article from *Imprecor*, April 24, 1976.

The first referendum in British history is presently scheduled to be held on June 5. The vote will be to decide whether Britain is to remain within the Common Market (EEC) on the renegotiated terms arranged by the Labour government. Both the Labour cabinet (by a 16-7 vote) and the Parliament (by a 396-170 vote) have recommended a Yes vote.

Popular rejection of the EEC would have grave consequences for capital. The British bourgeoisie needs the EEC to strengthen its market and to provide stimulation and capital for British industry. But more than that, capital wants to begin to being to bear a more centralized international array of forces against the organizational strength of the working class. While the present condition of the EEC does not make that project credible in the short run, continued membership may allow the bourgeoisie some breathing space by providing market concessions and more readily available infusions of capital.

The working-class organizations, on the other hand, while deeply suspicious of any form of international organization, are not prepared for the requirements of a new, more international stage in the struggle against capital. The contradictory sentiment within the working class about the Common Market, the unanimous bourgeois commitment to maintaining British membership, and the failure of the Labour left to mount a really serious and internationalist campaign against the EEC make it look more likely that the result of the referendum will be a victory for the Yes position. That would undoubtedly represent a defeat for the working class.

But a vote for remaining in the EEC would have a specific meaning beyond simply underlining the political weakness of the workers movement. Although a defeat for the working class on the referendum would not have great immediate effects on the overall relationship of class forces in Britain, a Yes vote would give the bourgeoisie greater maneuvering room on the political front, and this would in turn have consequences for the ruling class' campaign to push the Labour government toward some form of more stringent incomes policy by strengthening the hand of the pro-Market right wing.

Working-class sentiment on the question of British EEC membership is clearly divided. Figures from opinion polls indicate that some 48% of the population would vote for Britain to stay in the EEC and only 34% against. Clearly, at this stage a significant section of the working class is not opposed to membership in the EEC. Why is this?

The first factor is the development of the struggle to maintain living standards in face of rising unemployment and spiraling inflation. The rate of inflation in Britain is about 20%, while wage increases are running at just under 30%. The situation looks relatively calm in comparison with the peak periods of struggle around the last miners strike, for example. (In reality, figures show that more working days were lost in strikes last year than in any other year except 1926 and 1972.) But the strikes have been relatively fragmented, a result of the remarkable fact that working-class living standards have risen even faster than inflation, in spite of the rise of unemployment. That is the price the bourgeoisie has had to pay for its lack of any effective political instrument with which to confront the unions.

But this situation has a paradoxical effect on the EEC issue. One of the major arguments of those who oppose the EEC has been that the higher prices prevailing in the Common Market (especially for food products), compared with the prices Britain would have to pay in trade outside the Market, would have drastic effects for workers. But with the rise of world food prices and with EEC subsidies to Britain for some items, for example sugar, that argument does not hold any longer. This fact, in combination with the workers' ability so far to maintain and even increase their living standards, has knocked the bottom out of the argument that the EEC represents an attack on British pocketbooks. To take up the more long-term implications of the EEC on the workers' standard of living the left labourites would have to wage a fight against the more general moves (of which EEC membership is but a part) toward strengthening the British capitalist class politically and organizationally. That would in turn pose the problem of a political strategy to strengthen the working class — and this is a problem the major organizations of the working class are unwilling or unable to take up.

The intermeshing of the struggles on the wages front and on the political issues involved in the EEC

referendum could have produced a situation of deep class polarization. The working class would then have seen ruling class promotion of the EEC as but another aspect of the general attack on living standards to which the workers have already had to respond. The referendum would then have become a manifestation of the general class battle.

Instead, the EEC has emerged as a "separate" political issue in its own right. This sort of "separation" of political issues from "economic" ones is a general historical feature of the British working-class movement, an aspect of the division between politics and trade unionism.

The result of all this is that the EEC referendum is not taking place under political conditions of the sort that characterized the referendum on divorce in Italy in May 1974: a strict lineup of the whole of society and its political parties and organizations in accordance with the position of these forces in the general class struggle.

Clearly, the "militancy" of the campaign of the Labour lefts will be tempered by the prevailing moods of the working class and its bureaucracy. The main themes of the left Labour campaign have been insistence on the threat to national sovereignty allegedly represented by the "faceless bureaucracy" in Brussels, and an abstract and fraudulent "internationalism" that argues that the EEC is a "closed, inward-looking community."

The absence of a credible alternative economic model counterposed to EEC membership is a result of the Social Democratic left's avoidance of the obvious: the only alternative both to the EEC and to a "siege" economy is to challenge the capitalist nature of the British economy and society.

But the logic of the campaign of the Labour lefts, in both form and content, rules out this approach. The Labour lefts have aligned themselves with the petty bourgeoisie and with reactionary forces, sharing public platforms with them and allowing these reactionaries to gain credibility among the working class.

The halfhearted character of the Labour left campaign is also reflected within the Labour party itself

in the fight against the Labour right. Since the present government took office, the Labour left has backed down from any important fight with the right. During last winter's Labour party congress the left avoided the emerging confrontation over whether the Labour party conference was to control the conduct and policy of the party members in Parliament. Today, after a lot of noise, the left appears to be retreating again, this time on the issue that six months ago appeared to involve the threat of splitting the party: the EEC.

For the left Labourites, the key link into the working class is the trade-union bureaucracy. Decisive attitudes in the rank and file of the workers movement are more readily reflected in shifts in the bureaucracy's position than in shifts in the position of the Labour party apparatus. And the trade-union bureaucracy has likewise defaulted in the EEC campaign. While the two main unions (the Transport and General Workers Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers) can be expected to play a vigorous role in the coming Labour party conference, no independent move has been made to rally the trade unions as such against the EEC. Indeed, despite its unlikelihood, some bourgeois journals are hoping that the AUEW might be split down the middle at the Labour party conference or might even vote for the position of the cabinet.

In sum, the tensions within the Labour party over the question of the EEC have not spilled over into the open warfare, wholesale cabinet resignations, and rank-and-file mobilizations that had been expected. Although the EEC campaign will likely be stormy, it is unlikely to develop into a real battering for the Labour leadership in the cabinet. The primary reason for this is the retreat of the Labour lefts.

POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES

The defaults of the Labour lefts in the campaign against the EEC and the currently growing likelihood of a victory for the Yes vote in the referendum will have potentially important repercussions in the political arena. When the miners strike and the unbroken solidarity of the working class in face of the three-day week forced Heath to call the election that resulted in the failure of any party to win a majority in Parliament, the bourgeois political order was destabilized. The trade-union and organizational strength of the working class had spilled over into the bourgeois political arena, triggering a fundamental crisis. The social base of the Tory party was fractured; parliamentary government was rendered extremely difficult. Some of the basic problems resulting from that period have yet to be resolved by

(Continued on Page 14)

by Ellen Shaffer

High stakes in Angola clash



Sporadic armed clashes between the communist and neo-colonialist liberation forces in Angola are raising the specter of civil war. The former Portuguese colony is slated for total independence in November of this year.

The two groups are the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), led by the Marxist Agostinho Neto, and the neo-colonialist FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) led by Holden Roberto. They have been battling since the agreement in January to form a coalition transitional government. This included integrating their armies, a process which has now been halted.

Most recently, 500 were killed and 700 wounded in five days of fighting in the capital of Luanda.

A victory for the FNLA would ensure continued domination by western imperialist interests of the country's highly productive oil fields, diamond mines, and coffee plantations. Roberto has received support from the U.S. and is closely tied to the strong-arm Mobutu government in neighboring Zaire. A third Angolan force, UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), is remaining neutral in the fighting but is politically allied with FNLA.

MPLA has strong political support in the countryside and has developed bases in the cities in the last two years. These groups in urban slums have been consolidating into "People's power" organizations since January, and they were the target of the FNLA's latest attack. MPLA has stated it will move from the defense to the offense.

The Portuguese government, anxious to bring about a settlement by liberation day in November, is calling for a meeting between the factions. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who has played a major role in trying to compromise the guerrilla struggle in Rhodesia, has offered support for bringing about such a meeting.

Socialist feminists call natl. conference

by Robin Suits
Mad River NAM

Dayton, Ohio—A national organizers conference on socialist feminism, to be held July 4 weekend in Yellow Springs, Ohio, has been called for by representatives of nine socialist feminist organizations from around the country.

"We see it as a working conference which can help socialist feminists join with other activist women in spurring the women's movement on to realize its potential as one of the most powerful forces for social change in this country today," said planners in a conference call issued May 1.

Pointing to a rising cultural awareness of the nature of sexism and to growing anti-capitalist sentiment among women, the conference planning committee maintains that the time is right for socialist feminists to assert their politics and practice as a major force within the women's movement and the left.

NATIONWIDE SPONSORS

The conference has been organized by a planning committee made up of representatives of the following socialist feminist unions and collectives: Berkeley/Oakland Women's Union, Boston Area Socialist Feminist Organization, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Lexington Socialist Feminist Union (Lexington, Ky.), New American Movement Women's Caucus (represented by the C.P. Gilman Chapter in Durham, N.C., and the Dayton Socialist Feminist Group), New York City Women's Union, Radical Women (Seattle, Wn.), Twin Cities Women's Union (Minneapolis/St. Paul), and Valley Women's Union (Northampton, Mass.).

Members of the New American Movement Women's Caucus initiated the call for a socialist feminist conference at the NAM convention in July of last year. The original proposal, which was endorsed by the convention, stated that the Women's Caucus would call for the formation of a steering committee to plan, promote, and implement the conference. Since the convention, the Dayton Socialist Feminist Group (a work group of Mad River NAM in Dayton, O.) and the C.P. Gilman Chapter (Chapel Hill, N.C.) have been acting as representatives of the Women's Caucus in planning for the conference.

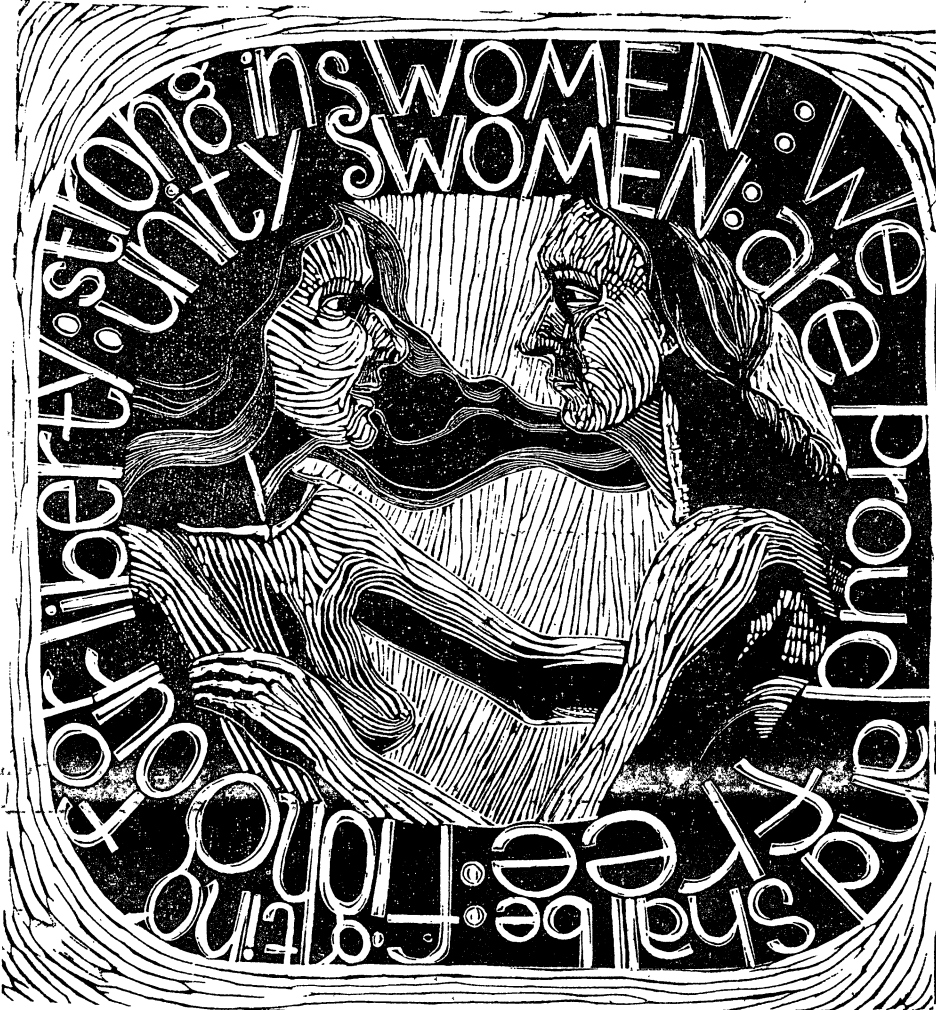
In defining their role on the conference planning committee, Women's Caucus representatives said:

"As NAM women we felt we could legitimately initiate a socialist feminist conference and steering committee for

a number of reasons. Many women in NAM have a history of strong participation and political development in the autonomous women's movement... NAMs political perspective actively supports a woman's right to choose to struggle in an independent women's or gay feminist movement. NAM supports such movements that can struggle for the liberation of women and continue to critique the socialist movement itself even as they give that movement vitality and direction.

unemployment and the continuing economic crisis. In addition, recent highly organized attempts to stop passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and to outlaw abortion seem to symbolize a dangerous opposition to the goals of the women's movement. FBI harassment of lesbian and feminist activists in the past year make it clear to us that a unified women's movement, with a socialist feminist analysis, is essential.

"The strengths of the women's movement are clear...we grow by leaps



Our intention from the start was to work for an open and democratic conference dedicated to the development of socialist feminist theory and practice. As equal participants on the steering committee, we will remain dedicated to this objective."

In posing the need for a stronger, more cohesive socialist feminist movement, the planning committee states in its conference call:

"We believe the time is right for a national conference on socialist feminism. In 1974, we saw more labor militancy among unorganized workers than in decades, with women often providing leadership as well as forming the majority of the rank and file. In the face of rising expectations, women have been particularly hard hit by soaring

and bounds. More women identify as feminists and are organizing as such on their jobs and in their communities. In moving beyond individual solutions, feminists are creating new cooperative lifestyles and a women's culture that can challenge capitalism at its roots.

Pointing to the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the continued growth of third world feminist groups, the conference call goes on, "If our movement is to realize its potential, it is time to organize for power. We need to turn our analysis to action, choose priorities for our struggle, and come together to win."

Conference planners believe that socialist feminism is a strong national trend within the women's movement and the left. "In fusing and building on

the politics of both socialism and feminism, we are developing theories that make sense and strategies that are effective, they say. "The conference will be a place to share our organizing experiences, broaden our perspectives, and assert socialist feminism as a strategy for revolution."

CONFERENCE PURPOSES

The purpose of the conference is to bring together women who are actively organizing, "to facilitate communication among the growing numbers of socialist feminist and activist women, and to examine seriously major questions of theory, strategy, and practice."

"In order to provide a beginning point for discussion, the planning committee has agreed on three principles of unity for the conference which follow:

"1. We recognize the need for an support the existence of the autonomous women's movement throughout the revolutionary process.

"2. We agree that all oppression, whether based on race, class, sex, or sexual preference, is interrelated and that fights for liberation from oppression must be simultaneous and cooperative.

"3. We agree that socialist feminism is a strategy for revolution."

Conference planners invite any women who are in general sympathy with these principles and with the goals of socialist feminism to attend. Women who are organizing "in their communities, at their workplaces, in alternative institutions, and in non-sectarian left organizations are especially encouraged to come. We are planning for between 600 and 800 women."

The three-day event has been defined as a working conference which will provide roughly equal emphasis on theory, strategies, and practice. Theoretical questions will be addressed in meetings of the whole which will include sessions on developing theories of socialist feminism, discussions of the struggle against the common oppressions of race, sex, class, and lesbianism, and a presentation on confronting the economy as socialist feminists.

"Most of the collective work of the weekend will go on in strategic workshops. We have planned these around the three primary areas in which activist women have been applying strategies: 1) Work Place Organizing, 2) Community Organizing, and 3) Building Our Movement. After an initial session, each of these will be subdivided into four or five smaller strategy groups that will then meet three more times during the weekend."

A third component will be 25 or more skill sharing and special interest workshops. Topics for these include: Fund Raising, Spotting Weakpoints in Your Enemy, Art and Revolution, Health Advocacy, Feminist Therapy, Women's Centers and Community Organizing, Wages for Housework, Welfare Rights, and others.

Special cultural events are being coordinated by the Twin Cities Women's Union and will feature an original play presented by one of their workgroups, Circle of the Witch.

Women who are interested in attending the conference have been urged to pre-register. Registration information and promotional literature is available through the Dayton Socialist Feminist Group and can be obtained by writing: Socialist Feminist Conference, 1309 N. Main, Dayton, O 45405.

agenda

Friday, July 4th

9:00 - 11:00 REGISTRATION
11:00 - 12:00 Meeting of the Whole: Welcome to the Conference
12:00 - 1:30 LUNCH
1:30 - 2:30 Meeting of the Whole: Where Do We Go From Here? - Socialist Feminist Theory and Practice
2:45 - 3:45 Small Group discussions of above presentation
4:00 - 5:30 Small Workshops, Films and Recreation
5:30 - 7:30 DINNER
7:30 - 8:30 Strategic Workshops: I. Work Place Organizing; II. Community Organizing; and III. Building Our Movement.
8:30 - 10:00 Each of the above Strategic Workshops subdivides into discussions of major strategic questions.

Saturday, July 5th

7:30 - 9:00 BREAKFAST
9:00 - 9:45 Meeting of the Whole: Confronting the Economy as Socialist Feminists

9:45 - 10:00
10:00 - 12:00

Break for group exercise and song
Meeting of the Whole: Systems of Oppression (discussions of the common oppressions of race, class and lesbianism).
LUNCH
Subdivided Strategic Workshops
FREE TIME
Small Workshops, Films and Recreation
DINNER
Play Presented by CIRCLE OF THE WITCH, Twin Cities Women's Union
PARTY

Sunday, July 6th

7:30 - 9:00 BREAKFAST
9:00 - 10:30 Subdivided Strategic Workshops
10:45 - 12:00 Small Workshops
12:00 - 1:30 LUNCH
1:30 - 3:30 Regional Meetings
3:45 - 4:00 Final Meeting of the Whole - Brief Wrap Up of the Conference

Sexual therapy



or sexual revolution?

by Karen Rotkin

One might guess that the current proliferation of sexual therapies were the convergence of troops for the imminent and final victory of the sexual revolution. And this does appear to be the case to reactionaries, who call it defeat rather than victory and who desperately try to warn us that just as sexual libertinism signaled the fall of the Roman Empire, so now the cultural preoccupation with sex will surely lead to the fall of WESTERN "CIVILIZATION."

We can only wish it would be so easy.

A NEW OPIATE?

Little do the reactionaries realize how well most contemporary sexual "therapy" serves to maintain WESTERN "CIVILIZATION." Sexual revivalism seems to be replacing religion as the "opiate" of the masses" and serving in similar ways to mystify and misdirect frustrations with the status quo and to co-opt the revolutionary potential of the increasing dissatisfaction with traditional sexual norms.

While there is some progressive strain in many of the post-Freudian sexual therapies, for the most part



they include all the flaws of liberal reformism in general. The basic values, norms, and structures of bourgeois sexual ideology are left unchallenged and are ultimately reinforced. For example, we are told by some social scientists that "swinging" and group sex do not really involve a breakdown of monogamy; mate-swapping is recommended for bored couples because of its "therapeutic" value in strengthening the heterosexual marriage bond. (Presumably, the theory is that "uncomplicated" sex with a number of people is even more boring than what the couple had in the first place.)

FOCUS ON ATTITUDES

The first doctrine of all contemporary progressive therapy is that one must feel/think positively about sex. Of course it is necessary to overcome negative assumptions about sex in order to transcend repressive sexual socialization, but the norms of sexual behavior that have characterized a repressive ideology continue to be accepted. So we are faced with the same old shit, but we are now supposed to like it.

In a monumentally idealist "battle of phrases against phrases," Sexual Attitude Restructuring or Reassessment (SAR) "smut conditions" its patients. Therapists of numerous schools advise patients to

watch "hard core" x-rated movies to facilitate a "sex positive" attitude, but they fail to criticize the physically sadistic and emotionally brutalizing objectification of women that typifies the x-rated genre. One leaves such films with the thought that if that's what sex is—and by and large it is that in an alienating, male-dominated society—then our parents weren't so off-the-wall to think of sex as dirty.

SEX OR COITUS?

The other glaring limitation in the application of this doctrine is that this positive thinking is all supposed to be focused on heterosexual coitus. Of course, longer "foreplay" and even masturbation may be prescribed, and occasional homosexual "experimentation" may be tolerated for the avant-garde who are tough enough to withstand the threat to their SEXUAL IDENTITY, but the therapeutic value of such diversionary excursions is taken to be the enhancement and reinforcement of the institution of heterosexual intercourse.

I haven't read about any widely used therapeutic approaches geared primarily—or even equally—toward gay sexuality. To the limited extent that straight approaches do mention homosexuality, it is either to suggest parenthetically that the same techniques can be used in gay as well as straight relationships, or to suggest that one shouldn't be afraid of homosexual "feelings," which are "perfectly normal." It is implied, though, that homosexual activity/relationship is not as "perfectly normal" as homosexual "feelings." In short, the therapeutic arm of the "sexual revolutionary" forces is not interested in liberating homosexuality.

Sex = heterosexual = coitus. Being orgasmic per se is not the stated goal of sexual therapy for women; success is defined as the ability to have coital orgasms. Not only does this standard define lesbians as eternal losers and perpetuate the devaluation of autoeroticism, it also requires the continued disfiguration of female sexuality in heterosexual interaction. While many sexual therapies have advanced beyond psychoanalysis in not requiring the impossible vaginal orgasm from women, they do require that clitoral orgasms, in order to be legitimate, must occur during vaginal stimulation.

In an article called "Acupuncture for Frigidity," Pamela Wallace quotes the acupuncturist as saying: "...we're talking about frigidity—where the girl [sic] doesn't enjoy intercourse at all." Mark Gregory Communications, Inc., advertises home cure recordings for people who want to lose weight, quit smoking and/or overcome "frigidity" or "impotence." Their pitch to women: "Are you unable to have an orgasm during sexual intercourse? Then you are missing one of the joys of life and you need the Center's professional help."

Regardless of how orgasmic a woman may be with non-coital stimulation, Masters and Johnson (and their disciples) consider a woman's inability to "achieve" coital orgasms a problem for clinical "treatment." This most prestigious and progressive school of therapy (and most others as well) finds "premature ejaculation" to be the most common sexual "problem" among heterosexual males.

Sexual therapists find themselves confronted with an overwhelming number of "frigid" women and "premature ejaculators"—an unavoidable consequence of the coital standard, which entails indirect (and frequently insufficient) stimulation for women and direct stimulation for men. Predictably enough, coitus arouses men to orgasm more often and more quickly than women. In true liberal fashion, therapists try to find the causes and solutions for the widespread maladaptations to the norm in each individual's or couple's "failure" to adjust. Instead of questioning the validity of the norm that so many people find unsatisfactory, therapists put their het-

erosexual patients through all kinds of contortions to find the coital position that most likely will involve clitoral stimulation and to conjure up delaying or intercepting tactics to deal with the insistent male orgasm.

It would be a whole lot easier to legitimize having orgasms how and when it's easy to, but that would entail intolerable heresy to the bourgeois ideal of heterosexual reproductive pair-bonding. It would also put a lot of therapists out of business.

INADEQUATE SOLUTIONS

Following the noble tradition of liberal analysis (or lack thereof) sexual therapists implicitly insist that sex is apolitical. This leads to a persistence in seeking personal solutions to social problems and idealist solutions to concrete problems—in short, half-assed solutions to systemic problems.

We are told to "get in touch with our feelings" of fear, anger, guilt, etc., but we are left with no suggestions about how to get beyond those feelings or, more importantly, how to change the conditions to which those feelings are appropriate responses. It will not help a man to get in touch with fears of inad-



equate performance as long as it is assumed that this erection is a prerequisite for his lover's orgasm. It will not be effective therapy for a woman to get in touch with her resentment of a male lover as long as he maintains his societally-reinforced power over her.

But there may be some measure of hope. Masturbation therapy for pre-orgasmic women (such as that used in some groups at UC Medical Center in San Francisco) sounds like the best thing available for women. (I'm not aware of any recommendable programs for men.) This approach tends toward overcoming the heterosexual bias and in some cases even transcends the coital standard for heterosexual women. This kind of therapy can encourage independent and self-directed sexuality, which is valuable in itself and may possibly provide a basis of integrity in the struggle for egalitarian, mutually satisfying sexual interaction.

But no sexual therapy by itself can win the sexual revolution. The social/political conditions that create sexual problems—alienation, sexual commodification, male supremacy, and competition, to name a few—can be overcome only through a comprehensive social/political revolution. In short, the call to abandon sexual "hang-ups" is the call to abolish the conditions that require them.

economy column

National economic planning for profit

by Stanley Aronowitz
New York Mets NAM

Although Gerry Ford confidently proclaims the imminent end of the recession, others within the ruling class are not so sure. The Ford-Nixon-Burns strategy of transferring the burden of the crisis to the working class is in danger of backfiring. From carefully laid policies of stagflation, the problem now is how to avoid a major tailspin.

Arthur Burns, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has already set in motion the traditional Keynesian solution to overproduction and rising unemployment. In the past few months, interest rates have been lowered by means of a modest increase in the supply of money; the Ford administration has chosen a "right" Keynesian policy of increasing arms expenditures rather than the left variant of providing public works and other types of expansion of the federal bureaucracies. Farm production has been raised in order to provide increased export crops.

Yet, capital investment, a bellweather of economic activity in any capitalist society, remains strangely sluggish. Auto and machine tool production continued their slide in April, amid assurances that things will pick up by mid-summer.

Of course, even the most optimistic of the forecasters are warning that employment rates will not rise in proportion to the rise in investment, especially if investment takes the form of labor-saving machinery. *Business Week* (May 12) reported the brightening of the economic outlook, but notices that "businessmen [are] lowering their spending sights." There has been "a considerable weakening in the real volume of capital goods" according to its economic forecast.

For these reasons, all corporate leaders and bourgeois economists are not as sanguine as the President and his advisors. Some who have not been prominent in the higher circles of government and corporate economic theory until now, such as Robert Clower and Hyman Minsky, have begun to question the fundamental assumptions of neo-Keynesian theory. They argue that neither the indirect policies of Ford nor his liberal critics recognize that the imbalances can no longer be made right with minor adjustments in the credit monetary systems and patterns of government spending.

This challenge has led to a new push for national economic planning by a number of liberal economists, business leaders such as Henry Ford II, and trade union executives such as Leonard Woodcock. The debate on economic planning has finally reached the shores of our country. And the stakes are high. At issue is the legacy of the past forty years of state intervention into economic life.

Unlike European and Japanese capitalist systems, the U.S. ruling class has shunned tighter coordination of the economy by the state in the post-war period because it has not suffered sustained losses during this period. Apart from state regulation of monetary policies and large-scale public spending,



Would the WPA work today?

FORTUNE
One magazine has the power of Fortune.

the corporations here have preferred to run their own affairs. Yet the current crisis has evoked new interest in some type of planning of investment, patterns of wage determination, and resource allocation and development.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* the initiative of the Committee for National Economic Planning to achieve greater government intervention into investment and resources policy is receiving greater support than ever before. The newspaper reports that congressional leaders are preparing to hold hearings on a bill to be introduced by Sens. Jacob Javits and Hubert Humphrey. In light of the significant sponsorship of the legislation, hearings are due to be held in June on the Committee's proposals that will be embodied in the bill.

PLANNING FOR PROFITS

The thrust of capitalist planning in Europe is to achieve a kind of "social contract" between labor, capital, and the government so as to achieve sustained levels of economic growth. The hallmark of the planning process are two programs. The first is nationalization of those industries that are moribund—essentially the state socializes the losses of the least advanced sections of capitalist production. Italy, which emerged from the second world war in dreadful economic straits, has gone farther than any other European countries. Nationalization has gone beyond the least advanced industries to the most developed sectors. The Italian car industry and the growing petrochemical industry are nationalized to a high degree. Britain is showing signs of following suit because of the acute shortages of energy resources that are now bankrupting the economy.

The second major feature of the plan is to set overall goals that corporations and unions in the private and public sector are asked (not yet required) to follow. Concomitant with the goals, the state provides capital at lower interest rates to those corporations who subscribe to the plan. Unions are expected to cooperate as well by moderating wage demands. French, German, and Japanese planning stresses this feature of coordination rather than nationalization because their capitalist classes, especially in the advanced sectors, are much closer to government and the commanding heights of social power. It is literally their plan to which they subscribe.

Thus far, proposals for nationalization are not on the agenda in the U.S. Most of the discussion has revolved around the problems of insufficient capital investment. Of course, wage and price controls are being widely discussed as well. The critical issues, however, are related to the need to secure "rational" energy policies, investment policies, and financial programs that are in the general interest of the capitalist class, particularly the big corporations.

Ruling class consciousness has not yet grasped the gravity of the situation. In the main, the large
(Continued on Back Page)

Economy conf. draws 300

NAM & DSOC on socialist alternative

by Joel Blau

One indication of the current economic crisis is the number of conferences called to discuss it. Most of the conferences grapple with the roots of the crisis. But some are different, and when the New American Movement (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) held a major conference on the economy in New York City, the differences were readily apparent. For this conference articulated socialist alternatives to the present crisis, and amid all the forums and meetings about the economy, that kind of vision is still somewhat rare.

In their keynote speeches, Barbara Ehrenreich and Frank Ackerman, both of NAM, and Michael Harrington of DSOC, pointed to the absence of this vision as the key political problem that socialists face. The situation in this country is, after all, ambiguous. While the private enterprise system appears to be faltering, the idea that bad times automatically radicalize people has been disproven, too. Bad times certainly make people angry, but this anger has many different possible targets, including a good many that no socialist would choose.

If a socialist movement is to be successful, it must educate people to direct their anger toward the proper target. The correct target for socialists is not

blacks, women, or the fellow in the plant with one more year of seniority. The correct target is the private enterprise system; a system that, if it is not effectively identified as the target, may well foster a right-wing reaction.

WHAT'S WRONG

Before democratic socialists attempt to organize a mass socialist movement, it is important that they understand why the economy is stagnating. On this point the keynote speakers generally agreed. In the past, they said, profits from both U.S. foreign and domestic markets enabled the large corporations to make enough money. While this money was invested for profit and not social need, it did provide the U.S. with a relative prosperity.

Now, however, U.S. foreign markets are shrinking, and U.S. workers in the domestic market lack the money to buy the goods they produce. U.S. foreign markets are shrinking because other capitalist nations have become more competitive, and some underdeveloped countries have rejected the relations of that market in order to determine their own economic destiny. The crisis of the domestic market stems from the fact that private enterprise produces more goods than its workers can consume. This is true even though the economy is increasingly dominated by monopolies

and slow sales rarely cause price drops. The reason for the economic crisis is therefore pretty clear. Viewed as a single entity, U.S. shrinking foreign and domestic markets no longer contain enough purchasing power to keep the economy going.

PRIVATE PROFIT—PUBLIC LOSSES

The owners of the private enterprise system, however, have to get their money one way or another. If they cannot get it through sales, they will get it through taxes. That is why Lockheed gets a government subsidy and why the government feels compelled to return Penn Central to its stockholders after using taxpayers' money to fix it up. "Losses are public, profits are private." Under advanced industrial capitalism, this epigram has become a veritable law. As Harrington and Ackerman pointed out, big business would like to see this law become a statutory part of the "American system."

Before some 300 people in keynote speeches and workshops on topics like housing, health care, and the trade union movement, NAM and DSOC agreed that this is what is happening to the economy in the U.S. They disagreed sharply, though, about what the appropriate response should be. DSOC believes in working through the left

wing of the Democratic Party. Its approach is more legislative and incremental than NAMs. By linking immediate reforms that produce structural changes with its ultimate goal of a socialist United States, it hopes to offer the people a socialist strategy that large numbers of them will consider real. NAM, on the other hand, places a greater emphasis on organizing in the workplace and community than it does on electoral work. It has had particular successes in utility campaigns and has taken a leading role in the socialist feminist movement.

Beyond NAMs and DSOCs successes and failures, their agreements and disagreements, lies the atmosphere of the conference, something that was in a way far more important. NAM and DSOC each have their own distinct constituencies that touch on each other but do not overlap. Had either organization attempted to hold the conference alone, it would have spoken only to its own members plus a few individuals on its immediate periphery. By their joint sponsorship, however, NAM and DSOC created a non-sectarian atmosphere of dialogue and debate that many unaffiliated activists and progressives seemed to find attractive. Watching this interplay, it became increasingly evident that this was the kind of conference from which U.S. progressives were sure to benefit.

Debate grows over 'illegal immigrants'

Lawyer's Guild

by Marty Fassler

The division within the left about the United Farmworker's (UFW) policy on strikebreakers without proper immigration papers—"illegals" or "undocumented workers"—forced the National Lawyers Guild to a controversial and painful decision last February. The National Executive Board of the Guild (about 120 delegates from chapters and national leadership), meeting in San Francisco, voted by a 3-2 margin to criticize the union's position and to prevent National Lawyers Guild (NLG) members from implementing the union's policy of seeking assistance of the Immigration Service to remove undocumented scabs.

Both the debate (which lasted six months) and the decision engendered considerable bitterness among union supporters within the Guild, and the ripples felt from the February decision are still widening. Two national officers of the Guild—each of them UFW staff attorneys—left their Guild positions because of the decision. Then, under prodding from the union, they and several other UFW attorneys who were Guild members left the organization altogether. One officer of the San Francisco chapter has resigned his position.

The debate arose over a proposed Guild summer project with the UFW in the agricultural valleys of California. In the summer of 1973, and again in 1974, the Guild recruited, assigned, and paid law students to work with the UFW in its organizing struggles in California and Colorado. About ten students were assigned to union field offices in California, and a smaller number in Colorado. They were to support organizing efforts among lettuce workers in the Salinas Valley, grape and tomato workers in the San Joaquin Valley, and similar efforts elsewhere. The projects are believed by Guild people to be highly successful—the students involved learn about legal work in a highly political context, and return to school in the fall more highly committed to both the union and the Guild. (The Guild ran similar summer projects with other groups—with Native Americans in Seattle and in South Dakota, and with the Attica legal defense. The program is to be even wider this summer, with law students assigned to work as diverse as a women's labor project in Oakland, an anti-racism project in Boston, and the lawsuit against Illinois law enforcement people brought by Fred Hampton's family in Chicago.)

Unfortunately, Guild chapters around the country debated the undocumented scab labor question without clear or complete information on the union's actual policy. The union confronts the problem in a narrow strike context. During the harvest season, union picket lines are posted in front of farms and ranches where the union is seeking recognition and collective bargaining contracts. The growers, as capitalists everywhere, seek strikebreakers. Often they find enough scabs to complete the harvest. And it is no accident that many of their strikebreakers are illegals.

The illegals are Mexican men and women willing to travel hundreds or thousands of miles (many travel to Washington State for fruit harvesting) seeking jobs, to escape desperate times in Mexico. Some undocumented workers cross the border in ones and twos on their own initiative. More often, growers are beneficiaries of commercialized schemes: small-time Mexican capitalists, called "coyotes," transport Mexican nationals across the U.S.

border, delivering them "wholesale" to growing areas or particular ranches where jobs are available. Growers hire them after cursory efforts to determine their work status (when hands are needed for a harvest, a worker's claim of a social security number is not challenged. During the harvest, illegals are afraid to organize, afraid to object to working conditions, low pay rates, and dishonest measurement for fear of deportation initiated by the boss in retaliation. Nevertheless, according to the UFW, when the harvest is completed, growers frequently call in the Immigration Service, and point out the workers believed to be illegals, thus hastening their deportation without pay.

The UFW, which has been trying to organize in California since the middle 1960s, is well acquainted with this cycle. To break it, the union last spring sent organizers to Mexican border towns to win support for their strikes. In some parts of Arizona, the union itself patrols the border, rather than relying on the immigration service. On the picket lines, the union, with some success, appeals to sisters and brothers to respect the picket lines, to find work at ranches not being struck. Each of these tactics has an effect—but jobs in Mexico are even scarcer that they are north of the border, and large numbers of illegals continue to cross strike lines. It is these illegals that the union tries to keep away from the fields, to prevent the growers from

(Continued on Back Page)

Dead-end jobs

The following article, headline, and illustration are reprinted from the April 1975 issue of 1199 News, magazine of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. We are printing it as one of the all-too-few examples of unions standing up for the rights of undocumented workers, the most downtrodden section of the working class.

Congress, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the press have joined in a massive campaign to place the blame for the current economic disaster on the shoulders of aliens living and working illegally in the United States.

Sensational press stories in recent weeks have painted a scare picture of millions of illegal aliens flooding the country to take jobs away from American workers. Typical headlines have been those of the New York Daily News dealing with the job picture in New York: "100,000 Illegal Aliens—Job and Tax Robbers," or that of the New York Times: "Unlawful Aliens Use Costly City Services."

The number of illegal aliens has been variously estimated at six to seven million up to ten million. They are concentrated in large urban communities, in Florida and in areas of Texas and Southern California adjacent to the Mexican border. The overwhelming majority have fled intolerable living conditions in the Caribbean and Central and South America. It is estimated that 1½ million live in New York.

Living in fear of exposure and deportation, aliens can find only the lowest paid work. They fill the vacuum at the bottom of the labor market, working in dead-end jobs in textiles, shoes and tanning, small novelty manufacturing; sewing in garment factories; and working in restaurants, hotels, and laundries. A 1973 amendment to the Social Security law precludes nonresidents who are not authorized to work from getting Social Security cards.

Though taxes are withheld from their wages they are ineligible for unemployment insurance, Social Security benefits, welfare assistance, all of which entails a scrutiny they must shrink from. Playing on the alien's need of a job and his or her fear of exposure, employer exploitation is merciless.

While it is difficult to estimate the number of illegal aliens working in hospitals, a number of organized institutions are known to pursue a policy of recruiting workers in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean countries, and the Philippines. These workers encourage friends and relatives back home to join them. Entering the country illegally, these too are put on the payroll.

"Let's place the blame for unemployment where it belongs," 1199 Pres. Leon J. Davis said recently. "Most of these people have been imported to this country by employers who wanted a cheap labor force. The aliens are the victims, not the villains in this situation. Responsibility for joblessness rests with the Nixon-Ford Administrations. The only jobs foreign-born workers can get are under the counter deals. Let's not make them the scapegoats."

Legislation to curb hiring of illegal aliens has been introduced in Congress by Rep. Peter W. Rodino, New Jersey Democrat. The measure, HR 982, would make employers criminally liable for knowingly hiring an illegal alien. The bill, scored by civil rights groups as an "unenforceable hoax," has the endorsement of the AFL-CIO, whose legislative director, Andrew J. Biemiller, told a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing that employment of illegal aliens adds to the joblessness of citizens and pulls down wages for all workers in the community.

Roman Catholic leaders, opposing the Rodino bill, contend that imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens would promote discrimination against Hispanic people. Testifying at the Judiciary subcommittee, Monsignor George C. Higgins, research secretary of the United States Catholic Conference, urged legislation providing amnesty for all illegal aliens here.



International labor moves to stop Big Auto in Chile

by Rodney Larsen

NAM has recently learned from Jean Bruck, Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labor, that proposals to stop the investments of the Big Three auto companies in Chile will be placed on the agenda of the International Metalworkers Federation. Headquartered in Geneva, the IMF includes auto workers throughout the world and is the International Trade Secretariat in the metal and allied trades for those unions who are members of the WCL and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Referring to the research and mail-

ings NAM has done on this subject, Bruck stated in a May 14 letter that "the information we [NAM via the WCL] gave them on this problem was the first they had received." In addition, the WCL has already "contacted the national trade unions in France, Germany, Britain, and Italy, as well as the CLAT (the WCLs regional affiliate in Latin America,) responsible for Chilean affairs, to keep them informed and to prepare with them a joint action." At the beginning of June, the WCL will meet with representatives of the trade unions in the motor companies at the Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva.

This immediate and direct response from the WCL is in sharp contrast to the reaction by union officials in the U.S. There is no indication at this point that the AFL-CIO or affiliated unions like the Machinists, UAW, or the Steelworkers have any plans for protesting the rehabilitation of Pinochet's economy by the auto expansion.

Congressional action is also being planned to remove the investment guarantees by the U.S. government for the auto companies' plans in Chile. For more information on these plans and the state of the labor movement in Chile, please write to NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.

Demonstrators challenge ITT

by Signe Burke Goldstein
People's Coalition Against ITT

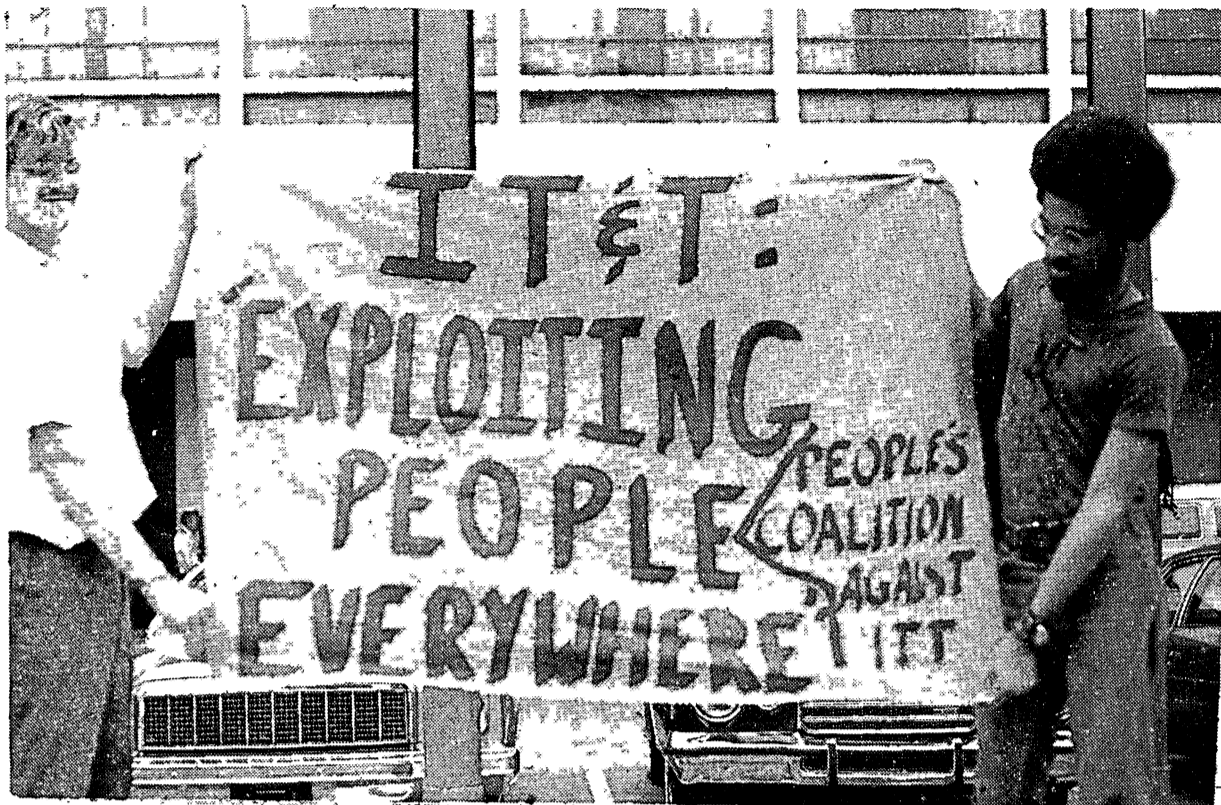
The People's Coalition Against ITT engaged in a series of actions around the 55th annual stockholders' meeting held at the ITT-owned Sheraton-Center Inn in Charlotte, N.C. on May 7. The Coalition was created a couple of months ago when the North Carolina Regional of the Venceremos Brigade initiated a call to action against the giant conglomerate.

Heavy security arrangements had been announced on Charlotte television on May 6 following a picket action by nine members of the Coalition outside the Myer's Park Country Club as ITT executives and Charlotte businessmen wined and dined within. The next morning, several members of the Coalition leafleted in front of the office building of World Communications, an ITT subsidiary, in downtown Charlotte.

The main action included a picket outside the Sheraton during the stockholders' meeting and the presence of several members of the Coalition as proxies at the meeting itself.

CHALLENGE ON SEATING

The company knew about the plans ahead of time. Based on their experience of previous years, they expected a demonstration and had the Charlotte police on watch. Someone who aroused suspicion at the first planning meeting of the Coalition in Charlotte later turned out to be a local police agent. Several days before the meeting a reporter, in responding to the Coalition's news release, contacted the Sheraton. Within one hour a telegram arrived from a vice-president at ITT headquarters in New York informing Charles Finch (one of the principal coordinators of the action who also owns some stock in the company) that because of the number of people expected at the meeting he could be granted only one proxy instead of the usual three. The same arbitrary ruling, which the Coalition intends to challenge before the Securities and Exchange Commission was made in the case of four other shareholders who had turned over their proxies to the Coalition in support of the protest action. Plans to



Outside the ITT Stockholders' Meeting

Presbyterian Minister from Charlotte; John Stroman of the Southern Africa Committee and Africa News in Durham; and Bob Malone and Signe Goldstein, both with the N.C. Regional of the Venceremos Brigade.

PEOPLE'S DEMANDS

In an earlier press release announcing the protest, the People's Coalition against ITT said, "We want ITT to know that wherever they go, there are people who protest their exploitation of people worldwide. ITT thought they could come to Charlotte, N.C. and get away from the constant protest they encounter in New York City. However, we plan to prove them wrong." The Coalition made eight demands of ITT including an end to ITT's business with South Africa and Rhodesia and an admission that ITT helped to overthrow the elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile.

Judge Booth, who has visited South Africa on two occasions, eloquently described conditions under apartheid and challenged ITT to tell "exactly" what the company is doing to provide equal pay for equal jobs, pointing out that ITT doesn't offer the same jobs to black Africans as to whites and that it never tells its stockholders what is happening in Africa.

Gordon revealed how much of ITT's business in South Africa is with the military and police. Geneen, ruffled to the point of interrupting him rudely, said that ITT did not make any "offensive military equipment" and that it would continue to fill orders from its host governments. Evidently, Geneen does not regard the Loran C/D Navigation System, a device that aids bomber aircraft to have a blind bombing capacity, and other components and services of the electronic battlefield as "offensive."

Malone of Greenville, N.C., objected to the names of Harold Geneen and John McCone on the slate of board of directors up for election and in their stead nominated Beatriz Allende, daughter of Salvador Allende, and Orlando Letellier, Ambassador under the Popular Unity government, saying these two people would better represent the interests of Chileans and third world peoples. Allende and Letellier received 320 votes each in contrast with the more than 88 million cast for management.

ITT AND THE CIA

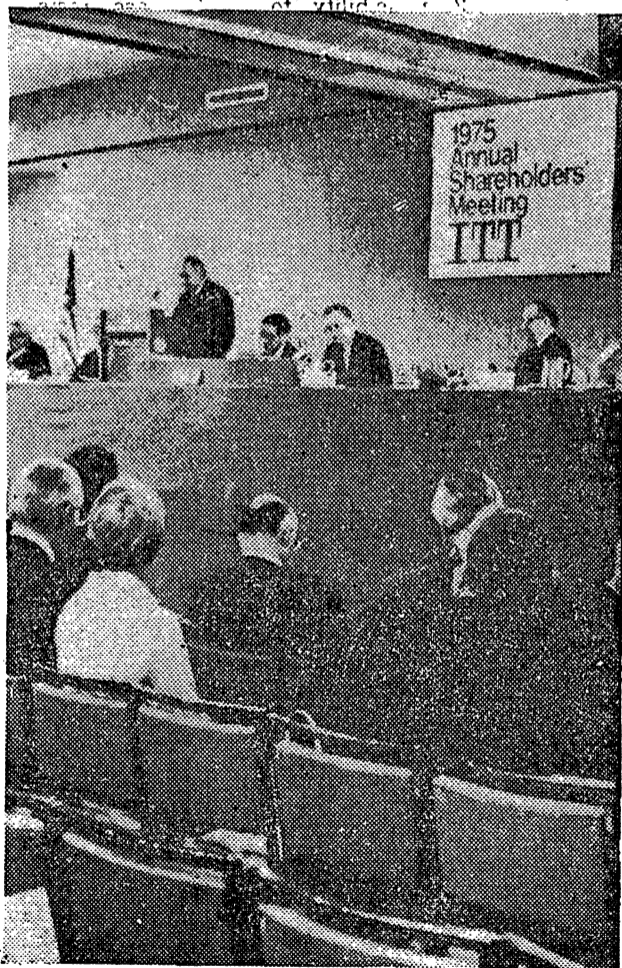
This reporter asked if ITT was prepared to issue a public statement admitting it conspired with the CIA, other multinationals, and multilateral lending institutions in a plan of economic sabotage of the Allende government, and whether ITT was prepared not merely to profess a policy of non-intervention into the internal affairs of third world countries, but to adhere to such a policy. I also protested ITT's dealings with the present illegitimate government of Chile and asked if the stockholders knew that a planned science research center in Chile, to which ITT has given \$25 million, will be built over the dead bodies of more than 10,000 Chileans. Mr. Geneen read his answer from a prepared statement: "The facts are we did nothing to stop the election of Mr. Allende." He pointed to the Senate Subcommittee Hearings on Multinationals as "exonerating" ITT with reference to Chile and said stockholders could obtain copies of Sen. Frank Church's report, "The International Telephone and Telegraph Company

and Chile, 1970-71" upon request. I urged the stockholders to read that report, which is damning to ITT.

Unlike the standard type of monopoly engaged in one area of production, ITT is in ten major fields of production. It has 280 operations, about 1,000 subsidiaries, and subsidiaries of subsidiaries, in almost 90 countries of the world. The company's earnings declined 13% in 1974 from 1973, but it nevertheless increased its sales and revenues to more than \$11 billion and has a net income of \$451 million. It recovered \$125 million from its claim with the Overseas Private Investment Corp. and the Chilean junta for the Chile Telephone Co., which the Allende government had nationalized along with other basic industries. The Puerto Rico Telephone Co. was recently sold by ITT.

Although the demonstration outside the Sheraton was less well attended than its planners had hoped, the inside actions turned out to have considerable significance. The stockholders and press got a whiff of the armed camp atmosphere, which in its extreme fascist form is a normal part of ITT's operations overseas. In spite of some of the Coalition's representatives expressing the sentiment afterward that they could and should have said even more, the frequent and sometimes impassioned questions and challenges put the corporation in a defensive position and its officials began to look like war-weary, but sanctimonious, veterans. About the best ITT's man could say about the Coalition's charges against the company was: "There is nothing new about this. They demonstrate somewhere every time we have a meeting." Finally, a stockholder unconnected with the protest told Geneen toward the end of the meeting, "I have the feeling you've been evasive all along, giving very general answers and no details," to which Geneen, known for his photographic memory, replied with his typical duplicity that he couldn't carry the details in his head.

Participating in or supporting the People's Coalition were many diverse groups in the region and outside including the Venceremos Brigade, the Southern Africa Committee of Durham, and the American Friends Service Committee.



Inside

seat 12 people, therefore, fell through; only six managed to get into the meeting.

Larry Gordon, working with Action for World Community in Washington, D.C., on a project that involves researching four large multinationals in South Africa (among them ITT), raised the first challenge. He asked why six people had been denied proxies for lack of seats when he counted 75 empty seats. Harold Geneen, president and chief executive of ITT, denied that people had been excluded from the meeting because of lack of seats—an evasive answer inasmuch as persons were really excluded not for lack of seating facilities, but for political reasons.

Also present representing the Coalition at the meeting were: Judge William Booth, a New York criminal court judge and president of the American Committee on Africa; Rev. Robert Morgan, a

Rape redefined according to 'ordinary use of English'

LONDON—Britain's law lords have decided that if a man thinks a woman means "yes" although she is saying "no," he is not guilty of rape.

The lords, who constitute Britain's version of the Supreme Court, ruled 3 to 2 that as long as a man thought he was really acting as the woman wanted, he was innocent no matter how unreasonable his belief was.

"The question to be answered in this case," said Lord Cross of Chelsea, "as I see it, is whether, according to the ordinary use of the English language, a man can be said to have committed rape if he believed that the woman was consenting to the intercourse. I do not think he can."

Wages for housework

by Gisele Boch,
Jane Hirschmann,
and Peggy Somers

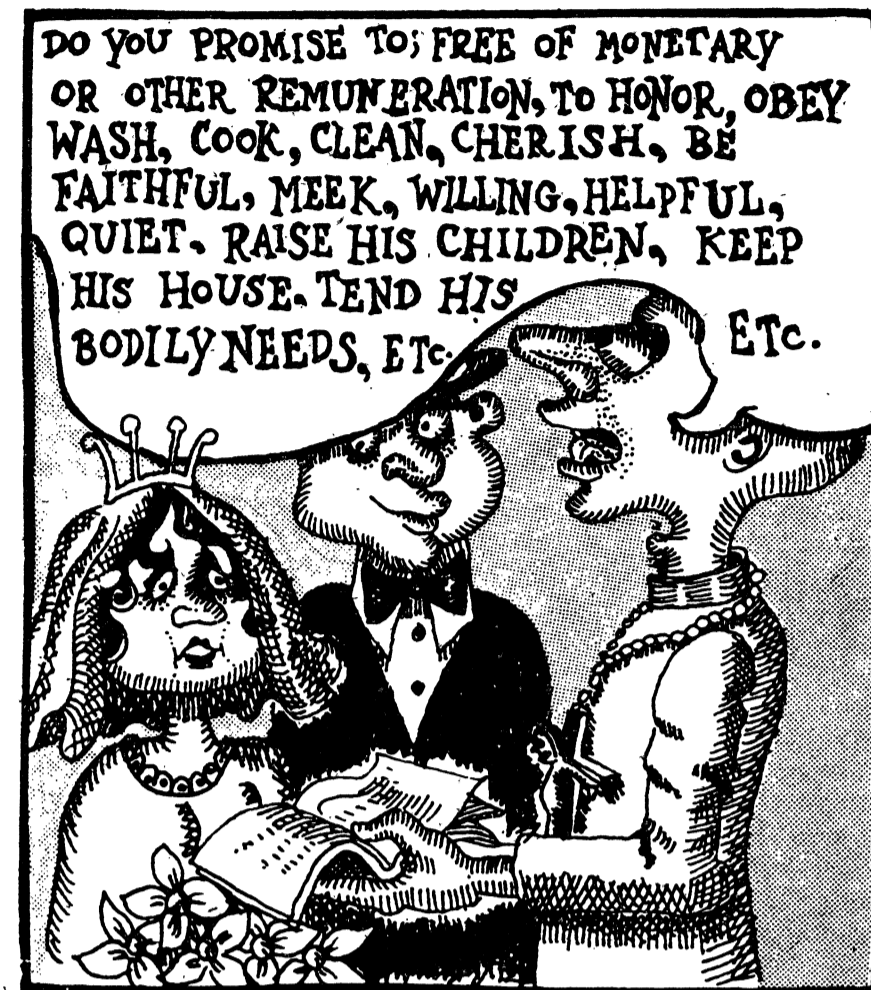
Wages for Housework is an unpopular perspective. It is surprising, then, that Barbara Ehrenreich in her article "Wages for Housework?? would assert that the perspective was developed for the purpose of earning the approval of the left by proving that we fit into the "correct Marxist categories of exploitation and struggle." The response of the left—old and new—seems to point to just the opposite: Wages for Housework does not please the left any more than it pleases Ehrenreich.

It is the radical break from all expressions of the left that makes Wages for Housework such a controversial perspective. For Wages for Housework (WFH) challenges the sectarian notion of exploitation and power existing only at the "point of production" in the factory, as well as the abstract "quality of life" issues so popular among the libertarian left.

WFH is not merely a demand, one among others, but a theoretical and political perspective that includes the strategy of demanding wages for housework. As a perspective, it begins from the analysis that all women are housewives, whether we are single working women, welfare mothers, graduate students, divorced social workers, lesbian senior citizens, or full-time houseworkers. For housework is not merely cleaning, but is a constellation of physical, emotional, and sexual services that serve to produce and reproduce husbands, children, and the female worker herself.

TWO SPHERES

Within the capitalist totality, there exist two major spheres of production; both have been organized by the needs of capital. The paid workplace is governed by the wage, and the family workplace—the major component of the social factory—is governed by the absence of the wage. Without family production, there would be no factory, office etc. production. (See the 1972



work: I'll buy quick-frying steaks instead of making economical casseroles and I'll do something I want to do with the time saved," writes Ehrenreich. She has summed up the central point around which the entire WFH perspective revolves: we demand wages in order to begin to refuse that work.

What Ehrenreich misses are the two central components of this strategy: 1) the demand for wages makes our work visible. This is the indispensable condition to be able to struggle against it, both in its immediate aspect as unpaid labor, and in its most insidious character as femininity, and 2) the wage is not a lump sum of money, a thing, but a social relation. As such, it is a lever of power, an indication of the amount a worker could get back from what was

bought a fundamental chunk of capitalist ideology.

CULTURE VS. ECONOMICS

Ehrenreich asks women to struggle against "capitalist culture in every realm—from sexuality, to health care, to paid work." She has joined the old left in splitting the totality of our lives into "culture" on the one hand, and "economics" on the other. Ehrenreich confuses "culture" with basic forms of exploitation: sexuality, paid work, etc.

What Ehrenreich calls culture, we call housework. This work cannot be reduced by the individual decision to stop it or to give up some of the superficial cleanliness, as Ehrenreich has learned to do. Is it not a certain contempt for women to assume that their housework is just a result of stupidity on the part of those not yet enlightened enough to see that they could do this work in half the time? "Why do we do what we do?" She asks. Certainly not because we women are too compulsive to see that the work we do in ten hours can as well be done in five, but because we lack the money to reduce that work. Reducing cooking to heating a TV dinner is, after all, a question of money. If you don't have the money, you do a hand wash rather than going to the laundry.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WAGE

Ehrenreich writes as if today we don't have the wage and tomorrow we will. Again, a crucial point is lost. We will never get that wage, or even a portion of it, unless we, as women, wage a massive struggle for it. Whether we get less or more will depend on our ability to mobilize women for wages.

This is not merely a question of consciousness, for women in vast numbers already have an awareness of their trapped condition. It is a question of a classconscious alternative. Take Ehrenreich's friend R who has six kids, who would go nuts if she did not get out of the house, and so is forced to take a blue collar job at night to get money and company. Hopefully, it is not just WFH—as Ehrenreich suggests—that calls this "double exploitation." Any woman who works outside the home, let alone in an all-night factory, knows the double oppression of that life. And just as we acknowledge that, we also realize the need that women have to

escape from the home in order not to "go nuts."

But the question is the escape to what? For more work for capital? No, and no again. Instead we propose a political struggle against both forms of exploitation that would begin to bring in some money so that women could have a choice as to how they wanted to escape the home. And if they are financially compelled to continue a second job—as the increasing majority of women are—we demand wages for housework in order to reduce that amount of work time, at the same pay.

PRODUCTIVE VS. UNPRODUCTIVE LABOR

Against WFH's assertion of the productive nature of housework, Ehrenreich says "if this is 'productive' work, it sure doesn't feel like it." She states that her use of productive is in the "ordinary sense of 'useful' not in the technical economic sense."

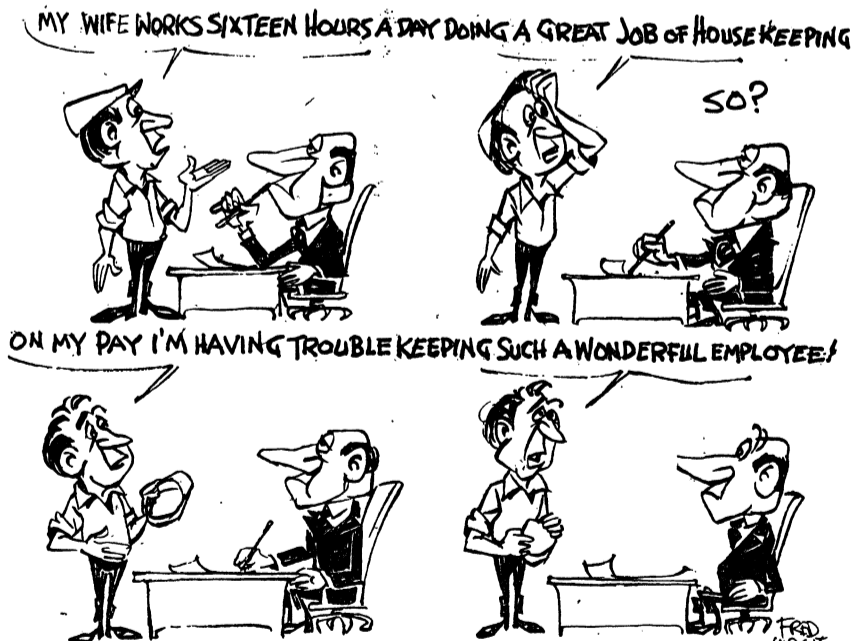
When Ehrenreich calls productive work "useful work," she once again ignores the dynamics of capitalist society where all work is useful *only* for profit. In this context, productive work is nothing but the labor that produces capital, that is exploitative work. All work under capitalism is "make-work" and not useful to us as workers. To say that housework doesn't feel productive makes it no different in this respect from any other work under capital. For the absurdity of Easy-Off oven cleaner and the like is not a strange anomaly of capitalist work, but a consciously created form of exploitative labor that is different only in that it is unwaged.

That the productive vs. unproductive debate within Marxology was ever reduced to a "technical economic sense" is what has kept women "technically" out of the working class, according to most of the left. There is no such thing as "technical" economics; for an economic term cannot be divorced from its social and political dimensions. Women's work in the home is productive because politically and economically capital wouldn't survive without it. (Imagine a houseworkers' strike!)

Ehrenreich gives a rich description of the historic origins of housework as capital's need to create work for potentially dangerous women, who were taught to discipline potentially dangerous children. This is exactly the point: to create work itself as a means of control has always been capital's job. The U.S. government knew this well when, in 1913, it wrote: "If a worker enters the factory scantily fed or having eaten ill-cooked food, he can hardly work with the same energy as the man whose wife has provided him with a good breakfast."

Contrary to Ehrenreich's perception, we see no more "lofty economic functions" in housework than we see in making insurance policies, or electric knives, or B-52s. We never raise this work to a moral virtue to legitimate it to the left or to ourselves. For, like Marx, we see productive labor "not as a piece of luck, but as a misfortune."

When we identify housework as a form of capitalist production we locate the revolutionary potential contained in the struggle against that work. WFH is a direct attack against capital, rather than a losing battle to move from one form and degree of exploitation to another, i.e., a second job, or the "socialization" of domestic labor. (See Nicole Cox and Silvia Federici, *Counterplanning in the Kitchen*, Falling Wall Press, 1975.) We do not choose this strategy to gain self-esteem, nor to enter capitalist relations—for we were never out of them. We adopt this strategy because it has been imposed upon us as the only viable option—given our wagelessness.



NAM Political Statement on Sexism (for further explication of this interdependency.)

In producing and reproducing capital's most precious commodity—labor power—women's social role in the family is cemented. Housework is the basis from which our exploitation begins. But because it is unwaged, women's work in the home is seen not as work. It is seen as a natural attribute of the female sex, an internal need and aspiration, and, ultimately, a labor of love. In this crucial aspect, feminine "nature," or femininity, and wageless labor have been made identical.

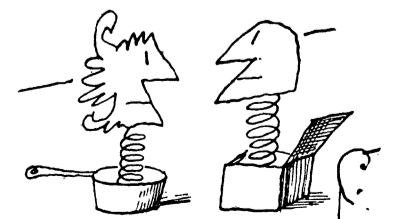
WAGES AGAINST HOUSEWORK

"If you give me some money I'm going to use it to cut down on house-

work stolen from her or him. This understanding of wages as a dynamic social relationship is at the root of the following remarks in response to Barbara.

WAGES VS. LABOR-TIME

When Barbara questions WFH by stating "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," and "housework is a very peculiar form of work, the 'output' does not seem to be clearly related to the 'input,'" she is assuming that other forms of work do have equal amount of "input" and "output." With this premise, Ehrenreich has



Eritrean struggle threatens Ethiopian neo-colonial trends

by Leo Casey

Second of two parts.

The armed conflict in Eritrea challenges the already strained capacities of the AFCC. Recent events have markedly strengthened the Eritrean forces. Arab military aid has been pouring into the predominantly Moslem guerrilla movements and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the more Marxist Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) formed a united military front in January 1975.

Bordering on the Red Sea, Eritrea controls an important outlet for the interior. Also for this reason it has come into substantial contact with the outside world, unlike the rest of the country. It was the only port of Ethiopia brought under the control of imperial Islam through conversion, which has been a source of constant friction between the Coptic Amharic dynasty and the Moslem masses of Ethiopia. Through an agreement with the Ethiopian emperor Merelik, it came under the control of Italy shortly after the 1885 treaty of Berlin carved Africa up among the European powers. In building an infrastructure for the efficient exploitation of the area, the colonial administration was forced to destroy the feudal foundations and develop schools, roads, hospitals, and sewerage systems superior to those of the interior. Administered in a bourgeois democratic tradition, Eritrea developed a wide range of political parties and trade unions.

After World War II the UN placed Italian colonies under the trusteeship of Great Britain. Haile Selassie campaigned to reabsorb Eritrea into Ethiopia proper. Strong resistance from traditionalist Moslem organizations led instead to a federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea under the imperial crown in 1952. The Addis Ababa administration promptly began to undermine the federation, and in 1962 unconditionally annexed Eritrea.

It was in this context—a separate and unique history, particularly in the colonial era when it had been the sacrificial lamb, different levels of political and economic development, differences in literacy, religious antagonism, and Amharic national chauvinism—that Eritrean nationalism and the Eritrean liberation movement was born. Support for these movements grew quickly among the Eritrean people. I visited Asmara (the capital) after the military had taken power and shortly before full-scale war broke out. I had a first-hand opportunity to examine popular opinion on the question of independence. Everyone from a taxi-cab driver who spoke seven words of English ("We are Eritreans. We want our freedom,") to a bank teller openly, fearlessly, and without solicitation informed me, a complete stranger, that they were unanimously behind independence.

Unable to gain any concessions from the Eritreans concerning their demand for independence, the AFCC began a full-scale war against the liberation movements in February of this year. ELF and EPLF formed a united front to face the AFCC challenge and have successfully held their own, if not significantly advanced, in their struggle.

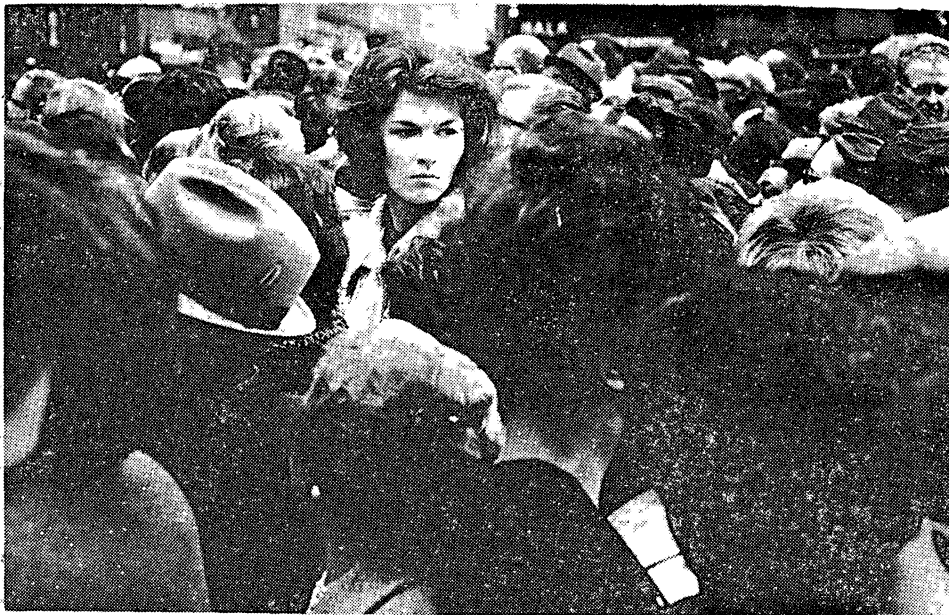
ETHIOPIA: THE FUTURE?

The political situation in Ethiopia is in such constant flux that it is difficult to talk about the future with any certainty. The AFCC is still far from fully consolidating its power and although definite tendencies in its politics have emerged, internal differences still run high.

The politics of the AFCC appear to be similar to that of other "progressive" military regimes that follow coups in the third world (i.e., Egypt, Peru, Sudan), that of a strong anti-imperialist state capitalism. The parallel with Egypt where "military" socialism also followed the overthrow of a feudal regime is especially strong. There is a definite pattern of vague socialist rhetoric, a military-dominated one-party state, the phenomenon of state entrepreneurship through public corporations, and a strongly anti-imperialist foreign policy.

But the mere survival of the AFCC to the point of being able to actualize this nationalist program is itself an unpredictable question.

Compromises with U.S. neo-colonialism and failure to live up to their promise of Ethiopian socialism by the AFCC can only lead to the formation of strong opposition movements among the Ethiopian masses. No longer quiescent, but now engaged in a process of awakening political consciousness, the Ethiopian peasantry, workers, and students are bound to demand a full delivery of the goods from the AFCC. A successful rural campaign will set the due date in the very near future.



Older women fight for better lives

by Barbara Dudley

Older women who have spent 10, 20, 30 years raising their children and taking care of their families, only to find themselves totally without resources, are finally beginning to organize in outrage and self-defense. They have been ignored by the women's movement to a great extent, except as a negative lesson to be learned about why not to be a housewife. They have been maligned by divorce judges who are particularly vindictive towards women who in their middle years want to get out of their marriages. They are often given only two years of minimal alimony "to get back on their feet." They are left out of all government aid programs, losing AFDC or widows' social security benefits when their children grow up. Their usefulness to their families and to society ends when they have raised their children, and they are left to fend for themselves. To top it all off, they are almost completely unable to get jobs because of their age, sex, and the fact that they have been out of the job market for many years.

REPARATIONS

Many of these women, who have been isolated in their homes all their lives, and who think of themselves as without any skills or value, are beginning to turn their anger outward and demand reparations. They do not want to compete for the crumbs of the already depressed job market. Instead, they are demanding the creation of more jobs and the right to be employed and independent. They are beginning to recognize the fact that they have done the most crucial maintenance work of this society, for free, and without acknowledgement. They are beginning to stand with other unemployed workers and struggle against the irrationality of unemployment in a society where there is much work to be done.

The "Displaced Homemakers Bill," which provides job training, job counseling, and new kinds of jobs for former homemakers, as well as many other supportive services, was developed by women who

faced the problem of being displaced and decided to organize. There are two versions of the bill—one introduced in California, the other in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The California bill had its first hearing before the state senate's Health and Welfare Committee on May 14. It provides for two pilot "multi-purpose service centers" for displaced homemakers, where job training, paralegal and paramedical services, and educational programs can take place under one roof. Counseling will be offered that will help these women learn to care for their own lives, learn how to deal with the bureaucracies, banks, social service agencies, etc., learn how to take care of their health, receive minimal preventive health care, and have an opportunity to work together and to organize.

The legislation also provides for the creation of some new job categories providing both necessary services and a way of using the skills and experiences of displaced homemakers. The three types of jobs mentioned in the bill are: *lay advocates*, who could be employed in legal aid offices, community centers, etc.; *home health technicians*, who could provide home care for the elderly and handicapped who would otherwise have to be institutionalized; and *health care counselors*.

The federal bill provides for funding many multi-purpose service centers around the country, for creating jobs through the CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act), and for unemployment insurance for displaced homemakers. It has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Yvonne Burke of Los Angeles.

FOCUS FOR ORGANIZING

The bills in themselves are a minimal program, but they offer a focus for grassroots organizing among housewives and older women. These women are among the most isolated workers in our society and it is necessary to find issues and programs that bring them together. These bills have brought a tremendous response from women who have never before worked in their own political interest.

I began working with a group called "Jobs for Older Women," in Oakland (Calif.) last fall, and went through a process of consciousness raising where I began to understand more clearly the potential and interests of older women and former housewives. These women did not want to be competing on the job market with third world people and younger women, but they absolutely needed work. They did not want "non-traditional" work, such as factory work, skilled trades. Many of them had been Rosie the Riveters during World War II, and had worked years on assembly lines or in canneries, and wanted to find work that was less exhausting. They did not want government assistance payments to allow them to stay at home—they wanted OUT of their homes where they had been imprisoned for years and years, raising children and feeding their families. They wanted independence and freedom.

The Displaced Homemakers Bill is not a solution, but it is the beginning of a strategy to organize other women in this situation. And we are talking about millions of women.

People interested in working on this bill or in other areas connected to it may contact the Displaced Homemakers Organizing Committee at 434 64th Street, Oakland, CA 94609.



Angry students fight ed. cuts

by Steve Carlip
Radcliffe-Harvard NAM

Minority students and low-income students are re-viving the tactic of the building takeover at universities across the country to prevent cuts in financial aid and ethnic studies programs. Black, Asian, and Latin students at Brown University held the school's administration building for two days. The compromise settlement committed the university to increase the number of minority students by 25% over the next three years.

Forty students at Brandeis University occupied a campus building to demand increased financial aid, no faculty cutbacks, and higher enrollment of Asian students.

At the University of California at Santa Barbara students occupied the computer center to oppose financial and ethnic studies cutbacks. They were forcibly removed and arrested by police.

Puerto Rican students held a building at City University of New York to protest the administration's choice of a head for a Puerto Rican Studies Program.

Student groups at Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Michigan helped to block the full restoration of ROTC at their colleges.

The following article analyzes the meaning of the current developments on the campuses—their meaning for capitalism and for the left.

The next decade will be "a time of transition for the postsecondary educational system." So wrote the New York Board of Regents in their 1974 annual report, which went on to call for a freeze on the number of students in the state college system. Their recommendations are one element of a series of basic changes now taking place in U.S. higher education.

With the decline of the student movement of the sixties, universities have moved to undermine its victories. Afro-American Studies departments and other programs won by minority students face drastic cuts in funding or outright elimination; the number of schools with complete black studies programs has fallen from 500 in 1971 to 200 this year. A nationwide effort to restore ROTC to campuses is under way. From San Jose to Boston, radical faculty hired in the sixties are losing their jobs.

But corporate and government plans for higher education go beyond the reaction to past student gains. In the decades after World War II, higher education "over-expanded" beyond the needs of the corporate economy. By 1969, 58% of all high school graduates went on to college, including a growing number of children of working class parents. But as they graduated, these new students found few job openings that would allow them to use their education, and were forced increasingly into lower paying, less skilled, lower prestige jobs.

As long as there had been a big gap between the education of workers and their bosses, and between lower and higher paid workers, that difference could be used to justify the differences in pay and power. After all, workers were told, if they were smart

enough they could go to college and get a better job. But as more and more workers actually did go to college, this justification for class divisions made less and less sense.

"OVER-EDUCATED" WORKERS

The influential Carnegie Commission warned against the "homogenization" of higher education that blurred class distinctions and produced an "over-educated" work force. It called for a basic restructuring of higher education: a reduction in the number of full-time students and a major increase in stratification and "tracking" between different levels of the college system. That restructuring has now begun.

The overall reduction in the number of working class students has been the most visible change. In 1974, federal student loans fell to half the 1973 level. A number of state college systems have frozen the number of students admitted, and most others are reducing their rate of growth. The chairman of the House Subcommittee on Higher Education has introduced a bill to end the use of financial need as a criterion for granting federal scholarships. Schools like Brown have adopted new admissions policies which take financial need into account as a factor counting against applicants. Not surprisingly, the number of high school graduates going on to college has fallen, from 58% in 1969 to 48% last year, with the greatest decreases among minority and working class students.

More subtly, working class students are increasingly being tracked into the lowest levels of higher education, the two-year community colleges. The Carnegie Commission calls for 230-280 new two-year colleges by 1980 to handle 35-40% of all undergraduates. State four-year schools are under pressure to raise tuition, especially for the junior, senior, and postgraduate years. Master plans in New York, Maryland, Illinois, and Massachusetts call for shifting students from four-year colleges into two-year colleges through tuition hikes, enrollment limitations, or both.

At the same time, the lower level colleges still open to working class students are more and more becoming mere technical training schools, sharply divided from the rest of the higher education system. The President's Task Force on Higher Education attacks some two-year colleges for "a tendency to concentrate on liberal arts," and says, "Occupational training must become more acceptable in the eyes of students, their parents, and potential employers." A Massachusetts Master Plan calls for the elimination of most liberal arts courses from all state schools except the University of Massachusetts.

NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT

As attacks on student gains of the sixties, cutbacks in higher education and the general restructuring of the college system have all intensified, a new student movement has begun to form. This school year, students at Cornell and Hartwick Col-

lege occupied buildings to protest tuition increases. At Stony Brook, 800 students sat in at an administration building after a student counseling job program was cut back. Over 1,200 students at Milwaukee Technical College rallied recently against a tuition increase that would force many of them to quit school. At City University of New York, several thousand students and faculty took part in a rally protesting a \$30-million budget cut announced in December. Students at Harvard are now organizing to increase the number of women, minority, and working class students admitted.

Graduate students at several schools are now unionizing to protect their jobs as teaching assistants, and are striking at Ann Arbor; in February, undergraduates held a 60% effective strike to support the graduate student union. Students who are also campus workers have been engaged in unionization drives at a number of schools, including Ohio University.

In the Massachusetts state college system, students have begun to organize against a proposed state master plan that would eliminate most liberal arts courses in the state colleges. At Roger Williams, students are supporting 12 faculty members being fired in a move to drastically cut back the school's liberal arts program.

Most of the student groups involved in this new upsurge of activity are small, independent organizations, largely isolated from each other. This isolation has contributed to a widespread feeling of powerlessness, and has limited the perspective of student activists. The New American Movement has established a campus communications network, made up both of NAM chapters and independent campus groups, to help overcome this isolation. People interested in the network should contact Laura Burns or Steve Carlip, 53 Shepard St., Cambridge, MA 02138, or write to the NAM National Office.

Britain

(Continued from Page 6)

the bourgeoisie, nor is it possible to solve them in the immediate future.

But a successful outcome for the bourgeoisie in the referendum would break down the partial paralysis of the bourgeoisie and grant it some room to take political initiatives again. The EEC campaign is thus a test of whether a working-class upsurge on all fronts is to be expected. The ruling class is using the opportunity to push the basic trade-union strength of the working class back into its "rightful" place—out of the political arena. If the bourgeoisie is successful in this campaign, it hopes to begin to prepare to isolate the militants of the working class on a whole series of political issues.

The revolutionary left today is too fractured and sectarian to pool its resources and present a united front against the EEC. In any case, the relationship of forces is such that the revolutionary left lacks the strength to pose that alternative within the mass movement in a credible way. Labour left is basing its campaign on the weakness and hesitancy of the leadership of the working class, which serves to intensify that weakness and hesitancy. In the long run, the vacillations and retreats of the left Labourites, however crucial they believe it is to maintain Labour's electoral base in the working class, prepare a possible avenue for the defeat of the workers. In this way they also ensure their own defeat at the hands of the right wing.

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Letters

Mideast 30 years

Dear Editor

A letter in the April NAM newspaper criticizes my article, "A Dissenting View on the Middle East" (*New American Movement* February 1975) because certain points are not discussed in it. Given the article's brevity, I have no apologies.

The main criticism was that the relationship of Israel and the U.S. was not more fully discussed. The U.S.-Israel alliance is certainly a matter of public knowledge. Israel's government—like any other in the world, as the Chinese have shown so well recently—will use any allies and arguments that will strengthen their position. My point was that it is a partnership of convenience: the relation is not inherent in the situation.

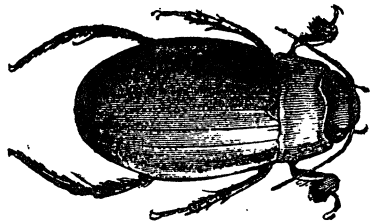
What Mr. DuBoff fails to understand is that there is no contradiction between support among the American people for Israel aid, at the same time, a demand for a more flexible Israeli policy. Analyzing current U.S. public opinion, Louis Harris wrote recently in the *New York Times Magazine*: "If Israel projects the view that it takes American aid for granted, there is certain to be a serious erosion of votes in the Congress during the military aid debate in the coming months. An Israel which appears to shun all peace efforts and boast of its military power could well be told to find its backing elsewhere. In sharp contrast, an Israel which appeared eminently reasonable about negotiations can easily make its case for continued military aid." The correctness of this view is confirmed by Ford and Kissinger in their latest statements on the Middle East.

It is false and dangerous to say, as DuBoff does, that the "Jacksonization" of the Democratic party is "due in good part to the role some wealthy Jews play in financing Democratic candidates." This statement contains—no "loose rhetoric" intended—seeds of anti-Semitism. After extensive research into contributions and polls I have found Jewish support for Jackson has been greatly exaggerated. Besides, dozens of senators have the same position on the Middle East; Jackson's support comes because of his support for Soviet Jewry's rights. (Where, by the way, has the left shown concern with this issue?)

Mr. DuBoff seems to think it a myth that the left supports Israel's destruction and that its "anti-Zionism" has become a very unpleasant hysteria. I suggest he look in the *Guardian*, the *Militant*, and the *Daily World* along with other left newspapers. An article on the subject can be found in the autumn 1974 issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

The word "destruction" can be misused because many think of it only in terms of genocide. I used it to talk of the destruction of Israel as a state and society. PLO documents consistently talk in these terms. I do strongly agree, however, that the U.S. left has often asked the wrong question. We should talk about the nature of the Israel we would like to see rather than supporting its removal from the map. In this regard, my article sought to encourage a constructive dialog between progressive Zionists and the left.

Barry Rubin



NAM T-Shirts

Fabulous NAM T-shirts for sale as a fundraising project of Fox River Valley NAM. "New American Movement" printed over a clenched fist, silk-screened in red, of course.

Any size and any color. All shirts \$4. Order from Chicago Metro NAM, Fox River Valley Branch, P.O. Box 311, Dundee, IL 60118.

Dear Friends:

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the nuclear devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This August thousands of people will gather in those cities to remind the world of these acts of genocide and of the far more horrendous capabilities of nuclear weapons today. The conference and commemoration—The 21st World Conference Against Atomic & Hydrogen Bombs—will be a historic step forward in building the movement to abolish totally and forever these dread weapons of annihilation, the bulwark of imperialism.

This year's conference is of special importance and the participation of organizations like NAM will be very critical to its success. Besides learning an enormous amount about the scope and strategy of U.S. militarism in Japan and around the world, delegates will have a unique opportunity to experience the strength and perspective of the Japanese left as well as to meet delegates from all over the world. This year the Indochinese delegations will be especially prominent following their historic victories.

We of Peoples Action Union are making arrangements (as low-cost as possible) for people in the U.S. who wish to attend. Please help us publicize the event by printing this letter. More information can be obtained by contacting us at 629 S. Hill St., CA 90014, or calling 213/794-3670.

Yours for peace and justice,

Tim Brick

Housework

Dear Editor:

I liked Barbara Ehrenreich's "The Politics of Housework" (*New American Movement*, April 1975) for its clarity, incisiveness and humor. I particularly appreciated her discussion of why the position "wages for housework" arose and is important. (It always helps me to put our ideas in a historical and social context—that's the only way I

can analyze and understand the strengths, as well as the weaknesses.) However, there were points in the article leading to the conclusion against wages for housework where I think her analysis was weak or not to the point. What is lacking and what for me would clarify the debate is a definition of housework as a service industry and more of a stress on the coerced, non-autonomous nature of the work.

Basically I think Ehrenreich's stress on the autonomous nature of housework is misleading. I agree that most women have some independence about exactly which tasks to do, and when and how to do them. But I would have liked more of a discussion of the limits to this autonomy since I think these limits constitute the heart of housework as a job. It is the expectation and service-to-others parts of housework that are the labor and coercive aspects. Choosing to clean sinks for myself is a lot different than being expected to clean them after someone else gets them dirty. This is the required, non-voluntary aspect of housework.

If we consider housework as labor done for someone else, as in any other service industry, then it is easier to see the limits on the options available to the housewife. While she can make decisions within these limits, the limits are set by her husband and society, not by her. If she doesn't live up to them she can be fired, i.e., divorced.

Ehrenreich's stress on the autonomous and variable aspects masks the power relationship in a household where one person serves others for no pay. When women talk about wages for housework liberating them from men it means something real—just as the power of men over women has real meaning in terms of economic independence. How can feminists argue a position that keeps women dependent on men??

Somehow it smacks of a certain elitism to suggest that women shouldn't get paid for their labor because we don't want them doing that work. I personally don't want miners working in unsafe conditions but I wouldn't advocate not paying them as a means of forcing them to find more suitable (in my terms) work.

That leads me to say it seems wages for housework is the wrong question to ask. First, it seems an impossible demand to implement. Who will pay? How much? For what? (After all, doesn't wifely duty extend to sexual services?) Mostly, it seems obvious to me that people should get paid for the

work they do, especially women, since an independent economic source represents a lessening of dependence on some men (husbands). That seems the best to me in a bad situation.

But it is a bad situation. And I think that is my basic trouble with the debate; it never touches on alternatives to housework, marriage, raising children, sexual relations. Maybe we need to really industrialize housework. Maybe we need to get rid of households. Maybe we need to raise children differently. Maybe we need to challenge the whole heterosexual basis of households. (As a lesbian I find the whole debate a little irrelevant to me anyway.) As discussed, the debate takes so much for granted, most of which is oppressive to women. Until we can put the issue into a more critical framework it can't possibly have a radical solution.

Elinor Lerner

CHILDREN/MEN

New Solutions and New Problems in two special issues of WIN Magazine



Photo by Richard Kalner

Can-Child Raising Be a Revolutionary Activity?

In country communes and in cities, radicals are coming to grips with the problem of raising sane, healthy kids in an unhealthy society. The February 21 issue of WIN documents the task of applying what has been learned in social struggles to this crucial challenge. Included is an exclusive interview with Dr. Spock.

Are Men in Need of Liberation?

The April 11 issue of WIN looks at what might be a changing men's consciousness. Included are first person reminiscences of the masculine life in America, and information on the growing number of men's collectives, conferences, and consciousness raising groups around the country.

These exciting issues are only two examples of the kind of reporting and analysis of concern to the radical movement that WIN serves up every week. No wonder that *New York's Village Voice* calls WIN "the liveliest magazine on the left."

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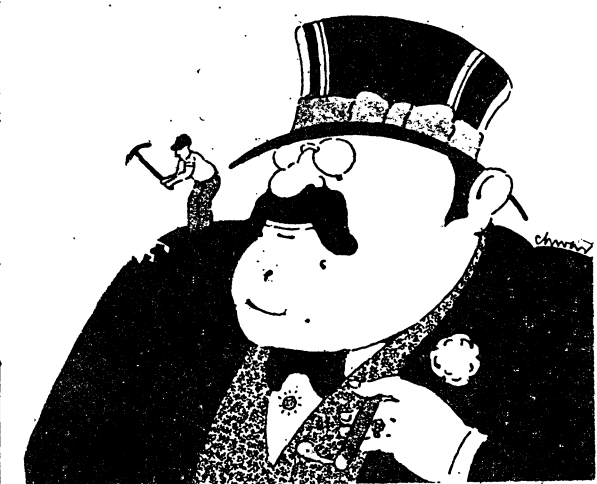
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Vietnam

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critical Paris Peace Agreement had he known that Congress would "tie his hands behind his back."

The ties between the revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia and our own will continue. The obstacle of anti-communism has already received some severe jolts. That process will continue as the much-paraded "bloodbath" fails to materialize. The official picture of revolution will be further undermined as the Vietnamese organize the production process more efficiently, spread the fruits of their labor more democratically, and participate more in their governing apparatus. They will invite visitors, journalists, and network media to help tell their story. The contrast between imperialism's client regimes and socialism will become apparent. The victory and progress of the Vietnamese aids the development of our own movement.

The National Interim Committee of NAM joins people throughout the world in celebrating the victories in Cambodia and Vietnam. We have sent the following telegrams:

To the PRG

The New American Movement congratulates you in your heroic victory. This is a turning point for the struggle of working people all over the world, and revolutionaries everywhere salute you.

To G.R.U.N.K. (Cambodia)

The New American Movement congratulates you in your recent victory over U.S. imperialism. Your small country defeated the largest imperialist power in the world. The revolutionary tide is truly turning.



Hanoi citizens celebrate complete liberation of Saigon, May 1, 1975

strategy

(Continued from Page 2)

among women from all parts of the country and now the planners fear the conference may be overcrowded.

NAM has two on-going national projects that relate to the economy: organizing to fight gas and electric utilities and organizing around the unemployment crisis. ENIC delegates involved in these projects in their chapter work met in workshops to share experience and to plan for continued coordination and communication.

One of the features of all national NAM meetings has been women's and men's caucuses. Many delegates expressed great satisfaction that these caucuses had functioned extremely well. Convenors of the two men's caucuses had carefully prepared for discussion. One focused on programmatic activity around socialist feminism in which men might work. The caucus came up with specific suggestions for work in behalf of the ERA, child care, and abortion. The other caucus debated a paper written especially for the caucus on women's and men's oppression by sexism.

On Sunday afternoon, exhausted ENIC delegates left to make their way home to their chapters. Many had new concerns and commitments raised by three days of hard work. As usual, with meetings in Pittsburgh, the delegates accomplished as much as they did because of the well organized arrangements made by the Pittsburgh chapter.

planning

(Continued from Page 9)

corporations are content with the Ford program because they fear what the president of one corporation termed the "politicization of investment." Right now, placing political structures in command represents a threat to their autonomy.

But the situation could change rapidly if the economy fails to improve after the summer. It is doubtful that a long-term downside reflecting reduced investment and employment levels will leave the political landscape intact. Trade unions will surely be pressured, as they were briefly in the Washington demonstration of April 26, by the rank and file to take more aggressive action.

The issue of planning is not just an idle ruling class debate. At stake is the configuration of world capitalism and its attempt to prevent the worst from happening by tightening its own reins. Along the way, many workers and radicals may be taken in by the idea of nationalization and the more attractive notion of planning, because these correspond superficially to classical notions of socialism. The reality is exactly the reverse. Nationalization, as we should have learned from Europe, does not necessarily lead to a more progressive society. Planning may be repressive as much as liberatory.

In the current debate, there is no question of any opening for workers' control, or even the left Keynesian solutions becoming dominant. Public works may become an imperative dictated by events.

jobs demo

(Continued from Page 1)

While seemingly lending itself to greater crowd control by the IUD leadership, the rally format proved to be a poor vehicle for protest. The crowd, having spent many hours on trains and buses getting to D.C., clearly wanted to do more than sit and listen to speeches all afternoon. To make matters worse, the band did not know any labor songs, the sound system didn't work properly, and what the first several speakers had to say wasn't worth listening to anyway.

What followed was the rapid curtailment of the "official program" of the largest workers' demonstration held in Washington in years. Back at AFL-CIO headquarters, George Meany (who opposed the rally) was no doubt laughing in his beer and saying, "I told you so." But the rank-and-file pressure that forced his colleagues in the IUD to mobilize workers in the capital will continue to grow along with the nation's unemployment rate.

Organized labor will not be eager to sponsor future demonstrations or rallies of this sort, but it may have no choice.

But the real objective is to increase investment and profits. And we should be studying carefully the inner workings of the proposed plans, and advancing alternatives.

Lawyer's Guild

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harvesting their cash crops. The union has tried to make it clear that its policies concern only those undocumented workers who are strikebreakers. In the September 4, 1974, issue of the UFW newspaper, *El Malcriado*, Cesar Chavel wrote:

"The illegal aliens are doubly exploited, first because they are farmworkers, second because they are powerless to organize to defend their own interests. We recognize the illegals as our brothers and sisters, and the union's position is that they should be allowed to enter the United States with their families as legal residents. But they should not be used as strikebreakers."

To protect their strikes, and to expose the cooperation between government and growers, the union calls the Immigration Service to ranches where illegals are working. Most often, the cops

do not respond. When they do, growers hide their illegals, and the immigration service makes a cursory, and usually unsuccessful effort to discover the workers.

It is participation in this aspect of the union work that was the focus of the Guild vote. The National Executive Board decision was to offer the UFW a Guild summer project, on condition that students assigned to union field offices not call the Immigration Service.

As expected, the union refused the offer, insisting that the field office workers, including law students, must respect union decisions and discipline.

Meanwhile, the union has the services this summer of several dozen law students, recruited through a legal services program that serves migrant workers. Guild lawyers not on the union staff continue to work with the union. And the struggle continues. Viva la Huelga!

Zambian sabotage

(Continued from Page 4)

words as "a voice of wisdom Africa has been waiting for for a long time."

From that point on the Zambian government took steps to stop armed struggle in Zimbabwe. Kaunda's special envoy, Mark Chona, shuttled between Lusaka, Salisbury, and Pretoria almost on a daily basis while his Foreign Minister, Vernon Mwaanga, frequented London and Washington, D.C., to consult with the Wilson government and the Ford administration. At the same time Kaunda was busy convincing some African heads of state that he had assurances that Smith's Rhodesian government was now ready to grant majority rule and therefore there was no need to continue to support armed struggle but to get the people of Zimbabwe ready for a constitutional conference.

The result was the united front that was imposed on the people of Zimbabwe at last December's "peace and

unity" talks and Kaunda's attempts to pick who the leader of Zimbabwe would be—pushing to the forefront leaders who would be moderate and more acceptable to the white settlers, Britain, and the United States.

The strongest opponent of this arrangement was ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo. The night before his death, when Kaunda had called Bishop Muzorewa to come to Lusaka to take control of ZANLA, the ZANU army, Chitepo was firm and resolute in his refusal to hand over control of ZANLA. And Kaunda had to have a "moderate" take control of ZANLA forces in order to enforce a ceasefire.

The next morning, Chitepo was brutally murdered.

People interested in more information or in supporting ZANU should write:

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