

After great sorrow
comes joy

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The recent victories of the PRG and the Khmer Rouge in Vietnam and Cambodia are victories for working people everywhere. The Vietnamese have withstood one of the most vicious imperialist assaults in history. In Indochina U.S. imperialism put its resources and prestige on the line and has failed the test.

But while we celebrate this turn of events, we must not be content simply to hail the victories of the Vietnamese and Cambodian people. We must help topple the Thieu regime in Saigon by cutting the strings of military and "humanitarian" aid. The PRG does not wish to take Saigon militarily, nor does it intend to impose a PRG government in Saigon. What the PRG wants is a political climate in which the alternatives to corrupt capitalist rule can be presented. The Vietnamese understand that prior political struggle is critical to socialist revolution.

Thus the strategy the PRG wishes to pursue is to topple Thieu politically and pave the way for a government that would honor the Paris Accords. Even if it becomes necessary to take Saigon by force, the PRG intends to establish a National Council of Reconciliation and Concord, the tripartite government structure agreed to in the Paris Accords. It has already done this in Hue and Da Nang.

Our contribution to this process can be critical. We must oppose all aid to Thieu, including "humanitarian" aid. Genuine humanitarian aid—not disguised military and political assistance—can begin only when there is a government in Saigon that will honor the Paris Accords.

There has never been a time when political education about the Indochinese situation was more important. The mass media and the Ford administration are deluging the nation with propaganda designed to build the case for continued aid. We must explain that the Saigon and U.S. governments, not the PRG or North Vietnamese, broke the Paris agreements. We must explain the truth about the refugee situation. Some Vietnamese fled because a vast U.S.-controlled propaganda machine in South Vietnam has created intense anti-Communism and fear of the liberation forces. Others fled the cities because of the legitimate fears that the Saigon air force would bomb them. Already many of the "refugees" have returned to Hue and Da Nang.

We must expose the cheap and arrogant political trickery that removed 4,000 Vietnamese children from their homeland and shipped them to the U.S. There are over a half million children in Vietnam who have been separated from their families. The real way to help them is to honor the Peace Accords, establish civil liberties, stop the fighting, and allow people to return to their homes. Vietnamese children must not be traded for American guns.

This is the time to celebrate the victories of the peoples of Indochina. It is also a time to redouble our efforts in their support. "After great sorrow comes joy."



**No aid for the Saigon regime
Stop the kidnap of Vietnamese children
Honor the peace agreement**

Tax rebates

Corporate subsidies for ailing economy

by Tim Nesbitt
Bay Area NAM

Most Americans know what to expect in the mail this month when the Treasury starts churning out those magical tax rebate checks. Workers will get back something between \$100 to \$200. Those on Social Security will get \$50. Those unlucky enough not to have worked at all last year will get nothing. And AT&T, thanks to a provision called the investment tax credit, will collect \$500 million by the end of 1976.

This unequal distribution of governmental generosity is being carried out in the name of economic recovery. Economists argue that more money equals more spending equals more production equals more jobs, and the government believes it can manipulate this process to bribe the economy back to action. \$24.8 billion is the price. The question is: What will it buy?

Theory has it that, with the nation's factories now operating at only 70% of capacity, any new money added to the public pocket and spent by the public in the loyal act of consumption will naturally attract increased production. Factory owners will put unused machinery back to work in order to turn out the products that will attract from the public some or all of its windfall cash. They may even hire new workers, thus reducing unemployment and adding again to the public pocket—which means more consumption, more production, more jobs, and so on.

But if all this works as well in practice, then, as the *Wall Street Journal* puts it, "To keep the economy in a perpetual boom, Treasury need only send out checks of \$100 to every citizen once a week, or scatter \$100 bills over the landscape by airplane..." In fact, the present tax cut may be very much

like throwing money to the wind. The money—our hundreds and AT&T's half billion—will obviously fall unevenly, and it will be spent without regard to what kind of spending will produce the most jobs.

WHY IT WON'T WORK

If the intent of the tax cut is to combat unemployment by the circuitous process of spending equals production equals jobs, the congressional plan is doomed to failure. The \$100 to \$200 individual rebates are too small to influence consumer spending in the two most depressed sectors of the economy—the housing and auto industries, which together account directly and indirectly for one in every five jobs in the U.S. economy.

The auto industry already tried and failed with a \$200 to \$400 rebate system of its own earlier this year, so the current tax cuts will do little to sell cars and get workers back on the assembly line. President Ford and his advisers argued this point when pressing for a more lopsided tax cut which would have given higher-bracket taxpayers rebates of up to \$1,000. The tax cut Congress devised is more equitable, but it is less likely to stimulate an inequitable economy.

Auto production, apart from jobs it provides, is not an obvious need in the U.S. economy today; housing is. Yet Congress' sop to the housing industry, a tax credit of up to \$2,000 for the purchase of a new home built or under construction by March 25, though it may sell some backlogged houses, is unlikely to stimulate future construction and put workers back on the job. Ironically, the housing credit may only encourage builders and realtors to jack up prices, thus nullifying the effect of the credit in an industry which is now in its worst

slump since 1943.

Obviously, giving away \$15.9 billion in individual rebates and tax cuts for 1974 and 1975 is an indirect way of dealing with a slumping economy and rising unemployment. Were that money used directly to fund a program of public works and production, it would pay for one million jobs over the next two years and still have the same chain-reaction effect on consumer spending.

EXPANSION WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT

The same indirect approach to stimulating the economy characterizes the attempt of the administration and Congress to bribe business back into expansion. Rather than allowing any significant reduction in the corporate tax rate, which would at least amount to a straightforward *quid pro quo*, the current increases the investment tax credit to 10%. This credit, first introduced as part of the Kennedy tax cut of 1964, allows businesses to deduct from their tax bill a fixed percentage of costs for new plant and equipment. It thus encourages industrial expansion, but it

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The Kennedy killing and the CIA connection

by John Katz
Bay Area NAM

In the post-Watergate atmosphere a flurry of public interest has been generated by critics of the Warren Commission's official findings on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The famous Zapruder film of the assassination has been shown on nationwide TV, and there has been widespread speculation in the overground press about possible CIA involvement in Kennedy's killing. A recent poll found that 63% of the American people did not believe the finds of the report on the assassination.

Critics of the Warren Commission Report begin their attack on its findings with a refutation of its explanation of how Kennedy was shot. The Commission found that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, shot President Kennedy from behind on Nov. 22, 1963. The cornerstone of their findings is the implausible thesis that Oswald, a poor marksman, fired three bullets at Kennedy's moving car. One of the bullets went through the President, hit Gov. John Connally, went through Connally's shoulder, shattered his wrist bone, and lodged in his thigh.

The critics have argued that it is not humanly possible to fire the alleged murder weapon three times within the period that the report says the shots were fired. They say that the single bullet that went through Kennedy and Connally could not have been on a trajectory that would hit both men, and that any bullet that had done so much damage would exhibit much more disfigurement than the bullet presented by the Warren Commission.

Much of the critics' evidence is derived from the home movie of the assassination taken by Abraham Zapruder. Zapruder's film shows the moment of impact of the bullets. It shows quite clearly that one shot hit Kennedy in the head from the front, violently throwing his body backwards.

If the critics are right and the Warren Commission was wrong—and all the evidence would indicate that—then the report should be understood as a whitewash that would dwarf the more recent Watergate coverup.

But why a coverup? What is the real story of that day in Dallas? What are the political implications of the Kennedy killing—and of the other political murders and attempts of the last decade?

These questions were on the agenda of a recent conference called by the Assassination Information Bureau (AIB) in Boston, and attended by scores of independent investigators of the assassination. While there was sharp dispute over many issues, a consensus of evidence and opinion was reached on several major points. They lead to a frightening new interpretation of the killing and its coverup—one which involves the CIA, the FBI, high government officials, and right-wing elements of the ruling class. A summary of the points follows:

1) MULTIPLE ASSASSIN CONSPIRACY.

Kennedy was shot at from the front and from behind. There is considerable disagreement over how many marksmen were involved, with estimates ranging from three to six assassins firing five to thirteen bullets, and four to fifteen people immediately involved at the scene. There was a large and powerful conspiracy behind the scenes that aided the assassination team before and after the killing.

2) OSWALD'S ROLE; RUBY'S ROLE.

Contrary to the Warren Report, Oswald was a lower level CIA/FBI operative from the time of his

discharge from the Marines. He was at the Texas School Book Depository the day of the killing, but probably did not participate in the conspiracy or shoot his rifle. Even if he did, he was a minor figure in the conspiracy who had been set up months before to take the rap as a Communist sympathizer. Doubles for Oswald had been sent to the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City six weeks before the event, and to a Dallas rifle range four weeks before the assassination to help establish his sympathies.

Jack Ruby, who killed Oswald on nationwide TV, was another minor figure in the conspiracy. Ruby,



who had police and organized crime (drugs) connections, was sent to kill Oswald under intense pressure and promised easy treatment in prison. Ruby actually began to reveal his story to columnist Dorothy Kilgallen while in jail, but Kilgallen herself was murdered while checking out Ruby's story for publication.

3) THE CUBAN—CIA CONNECTION.

In late 1960 the CIA was given the task of recapturing Cuba for American imperialism. The revolution there had expropriated \$500,000,000 in U.S. property (mostly mobster), and the establishment of a socialist society in the Americas was the first severe blow to the American empire since the end of the Korean war.

The CIA trained an army of expatriate Cubans, *gusanos*, in Florida and in April 1961 they invaded the island at the Bay of Pigs. Meeting stiff resistance, the *gusanos* radioed for promised American air support. Kennedy held back the planes, however, and the invasion was crushed.

Shortly thereafter the Soviet Union, sensing a strategic opportunity, began installing missiles in Cuba. Kennedy's ultimatum to Khrushchev created the Cuban missile crisis. After ten days of tense negotiations and naval maneuvers, an accord was reached. Kennedy would disband the remnants of

the CIA-*gusano* army still training in Florida; Khrushchev would remove the missiles.

Embittered by the missile agreement and what was interpreted as Kennedy's betrayal at the Bay of Pigs, the leadership of the *gusano* army became the spearhead of the assassination conspiracy.

4) THE CONSPIRACY THEORY.

The CIA-*gusano* group received aid from three sources in the assassination and coverup. Help came from elements in the military who were angered by Kennedy's readiness to re-evaluate U.S. policy in S.E. Asia (i.e., pull out of Vietnam in 1964) and by his negotiating the nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviets. Help also came from a group of the most reactionary members of the ruling class who had been cut off by the liberal administration and were deeply upset by Kennedy policies, particularly on civil rights. The name of H.L. Hunt has figured prominently in this speculation.

Finally, organized crime must be looked at as a prime suspect in the murder. It is likely that the hit men themselves were hired mobsters. Beyond that, organized crime had good reason to want Kennedy dead. He had cost them millions in lost casino operations in Cuba, and his brother, Attorney General Bobby Kennedy, had been constantly on the offensive against organized crime, particularly the syndicate-Teamster (Hoffa) connections.

5) THE FBI COVERUP.

Fearing that exposure of the fact that Oswald was a sometime CIA/FBI operative would destroy the Bureau's credibility, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI investigators of the murder did everything possible to hide that fact and others from the public in Warren Commission investigations. They developed the conclusions that eventually were incorporated into the Commission's report—that there were only three shots, that Oswald acted alone, and Kennedy and Connally were hit by the same bullet. While it is not likely that top FBI and CIA officials were involved in the initial conspiracy, they did participate in the coverup.

6) THE SCENARIO CONTINUES.

Few at the AIB conference believed that the Kennedy assassination was not connected to the later killings of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and to the attempt on George Wallace. Robert Kennedy, who was making a strong run for the presidency, was a threat because he would again implement his brother's liberal policies and because he was ready to use the presidency to reopen the investigation into the assassination.

Martin Luther King had always been a hated symbol to the right. By 1968 he had taken a strong position against the war, portending unity between the anti-war and black movements. His activities in Memphis at the time of his killing in support of the striking garbage workers foreshadowed the possibility of black workers organizing throughout the south.

The attempt on Wallace can be explained by the presidential politics of that year. If Wallace had run as an independent in 1972 he would have swung conservative Democratic voters away from Nixon, thus opening the way for a liberal Democratic victory. Nixon was viewed by the assassination conspiracy forces throughout this time as the best person to have in the White House. Therefore, any threat to his rule had to be eliminated.

John Kennedy was a classic liberal capitalist who was trying to forge a political alliance in support of his policies through clever use of the mass sentiments behind the civil rights movement and what was to become the anti-war/youth movement. While he did not present an alternative to monopoly capitalism in the U.S., his murder did make a difference.

Lyndon Johnson, much more committed to the cold war than Kennedy, sent a half million U.S. troops into Vietnam and set the state economically for the austerity policies of Richard Nixon that wiped away many of the gains of the civil rights movement.

Ironically, the current dual crises we are now experiencing (government credibility/economic decline) may have been postponed another decade had Kennedy lived.

The Warren Commission Report was probably the biggest confidence operation ever pulled on the American people. The truth was hidden by ruthless and highly placed conspirators. The Commission failed to pursue leads that threatened to uncover the conspiracy for fear of the political upheaval that might follow.

It is essential that we pursue the present opportunity and have the investigation reopened in televised congressional hearings that really uncover the viciousness that permeates U.S. intelligence apparatus and its cohorts.

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.

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Orphan airlift called kidnap

by Dan Marschall
Bay Area NAM

Considering that the U.S. government now condones the kidnap of Vietnamese children on the pretext that they're "orphans," one begins to wonder just how humanitarian Gerald Ford's call for aid to the Saigon regime really is.

Graham Martin, U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, seems to have a more pragmatic explanation for the massive airlift in recent weeks. "He stressed that this evacuation, along with the millions of refugees abandoning Communist-controlled zones, will help create a shift in American public opinion in favor of the Republic of Vietnam. Especially when these children land in the United States, they will be subject to television, radio, and press agency coverage and the effect will be tremendous." (From a letter of Saigon Welfare Minister, Dr. Dan, calling for the airlift of Vietnamese "orphans.")

Demanding a halt to these airlifts and an end to all aid to Thieu, about 1,000 people demonstrated in San Francisco on April 12. The rally was the beginning of a petition drive in the city and called for material aid to be sent to the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG).

In a telegram dated April 9, the PRG called for activities in the U.S. in opposition to increased intervention by the Ford Administration: "Facing near collapse, the Thieu clique and Ford Administration plan to continue war and intensify U.S. involvement by airlift of more weapons and materials for Saigon while conducting forcible evacuation of the population, coercing away so-called refugees and orphans. These are but U.S. pre-conceived maneuvers. Should be denounced as extremely hypocritical crimes. Please call upon public opinion to act immediately against it and campaign for emergency aid to South Vietnam's newly-freed area, especially food, medicine, and clothing. Thank you."

WHOSE INTERESTS AT HEART?

The airlifting of Vietnamese children is just one more stage of the U.S. government's war against the people of Indochina. The fact is that these children are not "orphans." The Saigon regime has itself admitted that 80% of the children in South Vietnam's orphanages are not actually orphans, that they have at least one living parent or other relatives. Many of these children have been taken to resettlement homes and church-run orphanages temporarily by their parents because of the war. Most of those whose parents have been killed or who have been separated from parents have other relatives who could care for them.

Both the PRG and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) have expressed their commitment to care for the children of that country. UNICEF recently granted \$4 million to the liberated provinces of South Vietnam, recognizing them as a legitimate government.

In the words of the Ad Hoc Committee to End the Kidnapping of Vietnamese Children: "As long as the U.S. government can convince the American people that they are in Vietnam for humanitarian reasons, Ford and the Pentagon will have an easier time continuing aid to the Thieu regime. Even now, planes used in the airlift are also bringing in massive arms supplies to Thieu.

Many American families who are adopting children sincerely believe that they are acting in the best interests of the children. But the racism within the U.S. itself makes it difficult for any non-white child to grow up here. Believing that the Vietnamese can't care for their own children, even though

they have stated strongly that they are committed to and capable of taking care of them, is a striking example of U.S. racism.

The Ford Administration is using the airlift of Vietnamese "orphans" and the refugee issue in a hypocritical attempt to manipulate the American people into thinking that our Vietnamese allies will be saved from a "Communist bloodbath" only if Congress grants his latest request for increased aid. Ford may have made this request after extensive consultation with powers of a higher nature than himself, be they human or divine, but pumping another \$1 billion into Nguyen Van Thieu is only certain to prolong the suffering of the Vietnamese.

Contributions to the PRG can be sent to the Union of Vietnamese Students in the U.S., P.O. Box 4495, Berkeley, CA 94704.



Who are the Khmer Rouge

On what appears to be the eve of defeat for the hapless Phnom Penh regime, few Americans are familiar with the history or makeup of the popular force that will soon govern the whole of Cambodia, the National United Front. This article originally appeared in International Bulletin, the publication of Internews.

Throughout the five-year war in Cambodia, Washington has described the resistance as a disorganized grouping of dissidents with no clear leadership. Until two years ago, the U.S. said that the bulk of the fighting was done by North Vietnamese troops. The image of a fragmented, squabbling resistance helped the administration explain why it was so hard to end the war—"We can't find anyone to negotiate with" is a frequent refrain. But Washington has been less than candid.

Since the war began in 1970, rebel soldiers have fought under a unified command of a single coalition movement, the National United Front of Cambodia. The NUF has its own government, the Royal Government of National Union, which administers 90 percent of Cambodia. All 12 government leaders were ministers or state secretaries in previous Cambodian governments.

This coalition was forged immediately following the coup that overthrew Prince Norodom Sihanouk March 18, 1970. Within five days, Sihanouk announced the formation of the National United Front. He charged the new Lon Nol regime with high treason and decreed its dissolution, and he called for the creation of a National Liberation Army.

Within 24 hours, three key figures of the Khmer Rouge declared their support for Sihanouk and the NUF. The Khmer Rouge was composed of leftist intellectuals, peasants, and workers who since 1967 had carried out a small-scale guerrilla war against the army and its abuses of the peasantry.

The three Khmer Rouge leaders—Khmieu Samphan, Hou Youn, and Hu Nim—were all well known in Cambodia. They had been leftist deputies in the National Assembly but fled to the countryside in 1966. Their announcement of support for the NUF guaranteed a unified liberation movement combining the experience of the Khmer Rouge with the prestige of Sihanouk.

On May 5, 1970, the formation of the Royal Government of National Union was announced in Peking—Sihanouk had been on a foreign tour when the coup occurred. Penn Nouth was named prime minister, a post he had held in many previous governments, and three top ministries went to the three Khmer Rouge leaders.

THE RESISTANCE GROWS

Sihanouk's call for resistance produced an immediate response among the Cambodian peasantry where he had his deepest support. Spontaneous demonstrations occurred throughout Cambodia, many of them crushed by Lon Nol's troops.

Sihanouk urged armed resistance, rather than spontaneous demonstrations, and thousands of people re-

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PRG plans for liberated zones

What will happen to the land and people in the areas liberated by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam? The following communique from the PRG, edited by New American Movement, details their intentions and program for building a new society in those territories. The program stresses the establishment of democracy, productive development, and healing the wounds of more than 30 years' struggle against imperialism.

To preserve and promote the gains of revolution, normalize the life of the people, actively safeguard and implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and take the South Viet Nam revolution to new and yet greater victories, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam now declares the following ten-point policy concerning the areas recently liberated:

1. All existing services should continue their work and carry out policy, and the old system must be abolished and all political organizations serving "imperialists and puppets" must be

dissolved.

2. The achievement of democratic freedoms for the people, and of equality between the sexes.

The guarantee of freedom of belief and of unity and equality of religions. The people's freedom in religious worship shall be respected; pagodas and churches, holy sees and temples shall be protected.

3. The application of a policy of great national unity, national reconciliation and concord, and opposition to aggressive imperialism. The strict prohibition of all actions apt to give rise to discord, hatred, or mistrust among the people or among the various ethnic groups.

Everybody, rich or poor and irrespective of nationality, religion, or political tendency, must unite in mutual love and assistance for the building of the liberated zone and the new life of happiness.

Minority nationals are equal in all respects to their fellow countrymen of the majority ethnic group and devoted assistance will be provided them to develop their economy and culture, and to improve their living conditions.

4. All people living in the liberated zones are free to carry on their business; they are duty-bound to help keep law and order, and to support the revolution.

The people's revolutionary administration shall firmly and in good time deal with all schemes or actions of sabotage, or counterattacks by the enemy. Severe punishment will be given to elements engaged in activities against the revolutionary administration, against law and order, against the lives, property, and honor of the people, or against public property in the custody of the revolutionary administration.

5. Property left by the puppet administration will be managed by the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

6. All industrial establishments, all handicraft shops, all establishments of trade, transport, and communications, and all other public facilities must continue operations to serve the national economy and the people in their everyday life.

Attention will be given to the restora-

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Stop Big Auto's bids in Chile!

by Rod Larson and Dan Marschall, Bay Area NAM

Action has begun in protest against bids by Ford, GM and Chrysler to expand and reorganize the Chilean auto industry. Mrs. Isabel Allende and the Chilean exile community in Mexico City have called "upon the people of the United States, most importantly, trade unionists and workers in the auto industry to bring all possible pressure to bear on Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler to withdraw their bids to invest in Chilean fascism."

Luis Figueroa, exiled leader of Chile's Central Unica de Trabajadoras (CUT) and Jean Bruck, general secretary of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), have recently been contacted by the "Union Committee for an All-Labor AIFLD," and plans are being made for an appeal for a worldwide protest against the plans of the Big Three in Chile.

The National Council of Churches and the Northern-California Ecumenical Conference have moved to protest the investments as an indirect corporate and governmental form of aid to the tottering economy of General Pinochet. These church groups have already sent letters directly to Henry Ford II and officers of Chrysler and GM.

Congressman George E. Brown, Jr. (Dem.-Calif.), has indicated that he will immediately request that departments of Congress research the possibility that investment insurance of this project through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) would result in governmental aid to the junta. Prior to the overthrow of Allende, investments by the Big Three were insured by OPIC. The companies withdrew from Chile after Allende's government reformed the Chilean Labor Code to increase the rights of workers and unions. Most observers regarded this move as an attempt to destabilize Chile's economy in preparation for the CIA-directed coup.

The "Union Committee for an All-Labor AIFLD," a national committee to force an investigation of the AFL-CIO-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), is sending out material on the investments. The San Francisco Bay Area Trade Union Committee for Chile (with representatives of several dozen unions) is considering what action they might take. National or regional AFL-CIO officials have not acted on the plans for an expansion of the Chilean auto capability, even though it would result in a flight of U.S. capital and jobs to a country where the labor movement has been viciously suppressed by the military. But at least one nationwide mailing to local unions is being prepared. Information on the auto plan is being communicated to the UAW, Steelworkers, Machinists, and others.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY

Automotive production in Chile is now at a standstill. Once their program is underway, the Big Three expect to produce 30,000 auto and small truck units by 1977. Pinochet's junta is offering a very attractive monopoly to the auto companies—the "consolidation" of the Chilean auto industry by reducing the

number of firms to no more than three. There were 22 auto companies in Chile in 1964 and 8 in 1971. According to certain State Department documents in the hands of the writers, there was extensive correspondence and planning prior to the coup on how U.S. auto firms might "capture a sizable share of Chile's market."

Before it was disbanded by the junta, CUT was Chile's largest labor union with some 80% of organized labor. Luis Figueroa has been joined by other exiled officers of CUT, including Mrs. Fidelma Allende, in very recent trips to Europe to meet with leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the WCL. Both the WCL and ICFTU have held lengthy conferences on means of supporting actions against the junta. The ICFTU announced at the end of 1974 that "as private capitalist groups did not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of Chile for their own nefarious ends, the world community should not let scruples of that kind prevent it from bringing pressure to bear on Chile's present rulers."

The secretary general of the WCL has been even stronger in condemnation of the junta. Jean Bruck has called the coup a direct result of U.S. multinational corporate intrigue. The WCL and its worldwide affiliates have actively promoted coordinated trade union action in response to attempts by the multinationals to break strikes in a particular country by temporarily shifting production to its plants in neighboring countries. According to its Declaration of Principles: "The trade union organizations of the world have an essential responsibility to work together in solidarity for this revolutionary transformation."

The AFL-CIO has been adamantly opposed to the policies of the WCL in Latin America and withdrew from the ICFTU in 1969 in protest against dialogues between the World Federation of Trade Unions, based in Prague, and the ICFTU. For background material on the Chilean labor movement and auto company investment in Chile, please send \$1.00 to NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.



Peronism in Argentina paves way for military

by Andy Friedman Bay Area NAM

Over 300 people have been killed by right-wing terrorists and left-wing guerrillas over the past six months in Argentina. In many cases, both killer and victim ostensibly belonged to the same political movement, Peronism. This is the largest and most important political group in the country and the divisions within the movement are a reflection of and contribute to the divisions in the country.

Argentine president, Isabel Peron, is the leader of the right-wing of the Peronist movement. In the tradition of Juan Peron (her husband), she has continued the extermination campaign against the Marxist People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and condones the murdering of leftist students and workers directed by her closest aide, Jose Lopez-Rega. These murders are carried out by police and thugs from the conservative labor union bureaucracy. The policy of her economics minister is to keep wages down while prices skyrocket.

The main components of right-wing Peronism are small and medium Argentine capitalists, the armed forces, and the national Trade Union Organization (CGT). This alliance between capital and labor was formed in the period after 1945 when Argentina had a breathing spell between the end of British imperialism at the end of World War II, and the beginning of U.S. imperialism, starting about 1952. This "breathing spell" was taken advantage of by Juan Peron,

who promoted the ideology of "justicialism," or collaboration between capital and labor for the benefit of both.

During this period, Argentine workers made substantial material and organizational gains. Ninety percent of the workers were organized by the Peronist unions, incorporated into the CGT. Important gains for women and the poor were also made. (These gains help explain the support the Peronist movement still has among large sections of the poor and working class.)

At the same time, smaller Argentine capitalists made gains and developed the nationalist political perspective they maintain today.

Left-wing Peronism today includes more militant and radical workers within the CGT, especially in the city of Cordoba, where workers and students have at times controlled the city. There is a large student and youth component of left-Peronism some of whom are organized as guerrillas, the Montaneros. To the left of the left-Peronists are the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the ERP.

Contradictions in the Peronist movement have become sharpened recently because of the economic crisis in Argentina. A split in the right wing between the unions and the government (which speaks for the capitalists) has developed because the union bureaucrats have not been able to convince the workers to take the small wage hikes offered by the capitalists. More militant workers in Cordoba have demanded a 60% wage increase to keep ahead of Argentina's 52% per year inflation.

Argentina's capitalists are being split into monopoly (foreign) and anti-monopoly sections under the pressure of the country's \$7 billion foreign debt and the lowest wheat harvest in ten years.

Left Peronists are making alliances to oppose the government candidates in provincial elections scheduled for April 24. These are seen as a test for a campaign to oppose Isabel Peron for the presidency in 1977.

As the economic situation worsens, under the government's "incoherent" policies, these splits will become irreconcilable. The right will seek more help from the military in keeping order, as it moves toward collaboration with foreign interests.

The military has intervened several times in the past, but has always been met with strong opposition from the workers. If it is to attempt again to control the country by force, events in Argentina in the coming months may resemble Chile, 1973.

WE ARE JUST DOING OUR THING



Panther Brown loses Oakland race

by Tim Nesbitt

Black Panther Party supporters in Oakland, Calif., who joined in some unusual alliances to try to elect Panther leader Elaine Brown to the city council, are now trying to determine what went wrong. Though she campaigned hard, outspent the incumbent eight to one, and put together an impressive coalition with liberal black and white Democratic forces, Brown managed only 41% of the vote in the city-wide race on April 15. The incumbent, Raymond Eng, polled 51%. A third candidate netted the rest.

"Win or lose," said Brown, midway through the campaign, "I'll feel I accomplished what I set out to do. Eventually, if nothing else, what we will have done is create an arena for other people so the people of this city can imagine electing a candidate without the appointment of the establishment."

In Oakland, where some 40% of the population is black and there is only one black on the nine-member city council, where candidates for city office are not permitted to use party labels, and where district representatives are elected city-wide, winning a council "without the appointment of the establishment" can be a monumental political task. Only one challenger has managed it in the last 25 years.

Politics in this city of 365,000 is a process confined to boardrooms and businessmen's lunches. Incumbents put together low-budget, low-profile campaigns and hope for a small and predictable turnout at the polls.

This year, that's what they got. Only 44% of those eligible voted—in spite of a well-coordinated election-day blitz by Panther supporters in the black neighborhoods of East and West Oakland, and an earlier registration drive by a Panther committee that netted 17,000 new voters.

Significantly, unlike 1973 when Brown ran with Bobby Seale, this was not just a Black Panther Party campaign. "The Black Panther Party is just one of the many organizations that she (Brown) will be accountable to," said John George, president of a local Democratic club and co-chairman of the Brown campaign. "Vanguard politics is not where it's at."

"Her commitment and her politics are probably no different," explained another local Democrat. "It's just that she's now facing political reality. She's now a believer in coalition politics."

That, some people thought, would make the difference. The Brown coalition was surprising and impressive. In included all the city's local Democratic clubs as well as the Alameda County Democratic Central Committee.

"Elaine wants to move the Black Panther Party out of cultishness and into more involvement with the total community," explained campaign manager Beth Meador, who came out of Congressman Ron Dellums' office to work for Brown. She's trying to build some coalition between her constituency, the liberal white constituency, and the middle class black leadership."

That coalition also included the proverbial strange bedfellows: the Alameda County AFL-CIO Central Labor Committee ("It symbolizes the hardhat supporting the Panther," said John George); the Alameda County Democratic Lawyers Club (one of whose members, Judge Monroe Friedman, once sent Huey Newton to jail); and numerous black church groups.

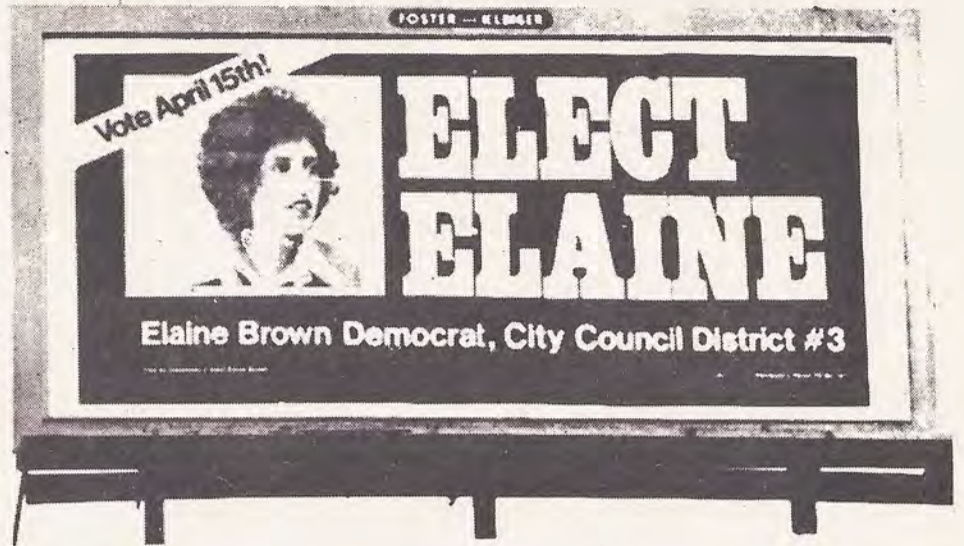
For such reasons, Brown reacted sharply to what she called the "left-baiting" of white radicals: "If you're not going around wearing combat boots and carrying a red flag, they think you must have given up your politics. I believe everything I believed when I joined the Black Panther Party in '68."

In fact, hers was not an educational

or a "consciousness-raising" campaign. Brown's proposals, calling for better investment of city monies and a full-time lobbyist to compete for state and federal funds, could only seem significant in the context of Oakland's issueless politics. But, to her credit, the forces Brown brought together did seem to threaten the traditional way of winning election to Oakland's City Hall.

They may still, As blacks gain the majority in Oakland (already the city is more than 50% non-white), such coalitions will be crucial in determining what kind of city they'll inherit.

"Hopefully," said Brown before the election, "what we'll be able to do is build a machinery in this city that will dissolve the existing structure." The questions remain whether that machinery can stay in working order for the 1977 mayoral election and what role, if any Elaine Brown and the Black Panther Party will have in its operation.



Call for left presidential ticket in '76

by Laura M. Burns
Radcliffe-Harvard NAM

In response to a joint call by the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) and the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People (NIC/MPP), representatives of numerous white, black, and third world organizations gathered in Newark, N.J., on March 14 to discuss the formation of a left united front to focus on the 1976 elections. Among the national and local organizations present were the All-Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party, the Black Women's United Front, the Wisconsin Alliance, the Prairie Fire Distributing Committee, the Boston Area Socialist Feminist Organization, The October League, Fight Back (N.Y.), El Comite, the American Indian Movement, the Guardian, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Human Rights Party (Mich.), the Political Economy Program Center (Columbia U.), Asian Americans for Action, and the New American Movement.

Arthur Kinoy delivered the opening address for the NIC/MPP. Stating that "campaigns which fail to result in the building of a mass-based, permanent party of the people could lead to discouragement and disillusionment," Kinoy called for "local and national political election campaigns...[which] have

central to their development the launching and building" of such a party. Keynoting for CAP, Amiri Baraka stated his position in favor of "a platform that is basic in its appeal to the masses but clearly anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and in its maximum demands, calls for a new social system and the control of the economy and state by the people."

Approximately 90 participants engaged in a wide-ranging debate of the issues involved, from the question of the nature of the party proposed by Kinoy, to the logistical problems of running a national electoral campaign. One prominent theme sounded, in particular, by NAM delegates, was the need to firmly ground any electoral work done in ongoing organizing work in communities, enabling the campaign to contribute to those efforts rather than draining energy from them. Fight Back people urged the establishment of independent black workers' centers to fight for jobs and help provide for the cultural needs of blacks in American cities. As for the nature of the party, which some groups saw developing out of the campaign, positions were voiced with no consensus reached. There was general agreement, however, on the need for black and third world leadership in such a campaign. The under-representation of women at the confer-

ence was noted by several groups.

The two days of debate, mostly in plenary session were friendly and, generally speaking, clarified well the political differences among organizations represented. By the end of the meeting, general agreement was emerging that there did exist at least a possibility for a united front campaign focusing on the 1976 elections. Whether that campaign would take the form of running a presidential candidate, as originally recommended by Baraka, or an entire cabinet of national candidates, as Kinoy suggested, or no candidates at all, was not resolved. A united front around specific campaigns, or local rather than national candidates, or an electoral boycott of the capitalist parties, were also raised as possibilities. It was generally understood, however that national candidates, were there to be any, would not be running to win, but to provided disaffected working people a real platform expressing their interests, and a concrete focus to their organizing around that platform.

In the final plenary session, a proposal was passed that reflected both the level of consensus already reached and the general desire to continue discussions. Formulated by representatives of the NIC/MPP, the proposal left the question of candidates open for future discussion. The proposal did provide for the establishment of a National Coordinating Committee to set in motion the creation of regional and local structures designed to include as many people as possible in the planning of the campaign. The Coordinating Committee will also expand itself to include other groups, with the goal of a broad base for the campaign. The proposal includes as objectives the synthesis of the electoral aspect of the campaign with local organizing drives, and the creation of local and regional structures that could develop into more permanent organizational forms after the campaign. Finally, a national conference will be called to finalize program and structure of the campaign. The conference is expected to occur this summer.

The delegates from NAM abstained on the proposal, as did most national organizations present, pending discussion of the campaign within the organization. In the meantime, NAM will be represented on the National Coordinating Committee in order to participate in the continuing discussions.



George Wallace, a leader in current Democratic polls, may run as an independent.

CIA tied to Labor Center in Africa

by Rodney Larsen

In June 1973 a Veteran Labor representative gave up his work with the AALC (African-American Labor Center). Few people had ever heard of the AALC or its retiring director, Irving Brown. Fewer still knew of his successor, Patrick J. O'Farrell. Both are due for increased attention inasmuch as the AALC has had a huge influence on political and diplomatic policies in thirty-five African countries.

The AALC is a creature of the AFL-CIO in the formal sense. Although it is funded by the Agency for International Development (AID), few congressmen have ever heard of it.

O'Farrell worked for the U.S. Department of Labor for many years. He also did a brief stint with the U.S. Steelworkers of America. Not much else is known about him from public sources, but some interesting stories are beginning to circulate. Brown, who personally selected O'Farrell for the post, is a veteran cold warrior and CIA operator who has worked on several continents.

BROWN'S BACKGROUND

Brown's career in the labor movement began in the auto organizing drives of the '30s. At that time he was associated with UAW president Homer Martin and a former leader of the American Communist Party, Jay Lovestone. Lovestone, who seems to carry Brown and other cronies around with him in each new career he chooses, was using Brown as an assistant in Martin's battles with "reds" and others like Walter Reuther.

When Reuther won that fight, Lovestone and Brown had to move on to other organizations. They were both connected with International Ladies Garment Workers president, David Dubinsky. Both knew George Meany in the early 1940s. At one time Brown served, according to CIA defector and author Philip Agee, as "European representative for the American Federation of Labor and principal CIA agent for control of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)." Actually, there are many references to Brown's work for the CIA, and at this point it is doubtful if he would trouble to deny it.

Brown's greatest coup was the financing and creation of the Force Ouvrier (FO) in 1950 to act as a counterforce to the left-led dominant French Confederation of Labor (CGT). Through funds conducted through the National Jewish Labor Committee, the ILGWU, and several other American union sources, Brown and his staff were able to combat the programs of the CGT by using the tiny FO. This involved the use of hired strikebreakers, physical attacks, and threats and connections with the Corsican mafia. The connections between Brown and the FO have continued to this day and involve the AALC now.

AN AIFLD IN AFRICA

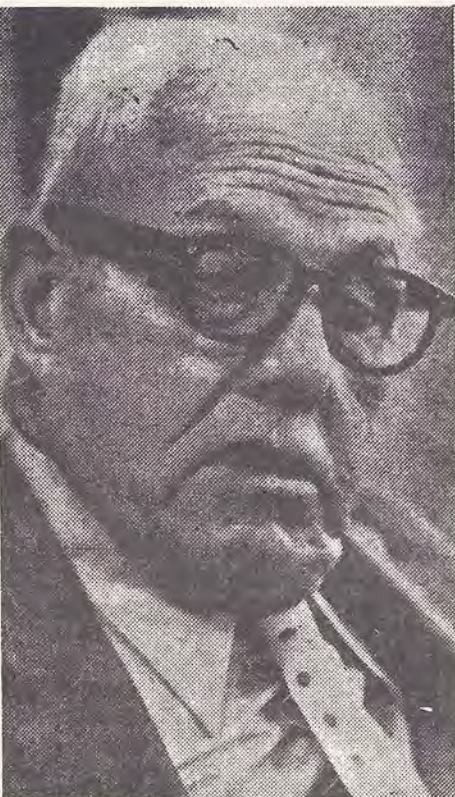
In Africa, the CIA encountered very strong and early pressures from other governments in their efforts to control indigenous labor movements. This was because British, French, Belgian, and other trade union leaders were sometimes involved in protecting the corporate, labor, and governmental interests of their own countries. Therefore, the covert operators and the cover organi-

zations were oftentimes in competition. This resulted in differences between the Communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the Christian trade union movement with particularly strong ties to Catholic countries in western Europe.

Brown and his supporters in Washington saw this very early. They conceived of the idea of the AALC with headquarters in New York and Botswana. The AALC was to be under the sole control of Washington and did not depend on the uncertain alliances existing through covert support of such groups as the ICFTU. Moreover, it was safe from the influence of colonial and former colonial governments.

When the AALC was launched in 1964, the operators had the experience of three years with AIFLD to assist them. In February 1965, Brown stated that the AALC would rely on the "services of consultants, including competent technicians and interested management representatives who have knowledge of the specific areas of Africa... The center will also offer its assistance to visiting African groups, both labor and management, in order to acquaint them with the various aspects of the labor movement in the U.S."

It is well known that AIFLD played a key role in splitting and dividing the labor movements of Guyana, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Chile. The nature of the AALC and the lack of knowledge of its programs has laid the groundwork for similar programs in Africa. This writer has established that even U.S. senators, congressmen, and numerous labor officials have never heard of the AALC.



The American public and labor movement are beginning to be very nervous about the reports of the role of AIFLD in Chile. This would not have occurred if widespread information about the programs had been disseminated before the 1973 military coup. It is very important, therefore, that a detailed look be taken into the work of AALC.

In the first place, Joseph A. Beirne, the former head of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) was the secretary-treasurer of the AALC. Beirne was the nominal founder, with government money, of AIFLD. The CWA and Beirne have earned numer-



ous citations as being involved in extensive covert work overseas and Agee confirms this. Moreover, a report to the Comptroller General of the U.S. to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee lists the CWA as a recipient of covert funding years after President Johnson supposedly directed that laundering of funds to domestic organizations (like unions) be prohibited. This report, once classified, was distributed to U.S. unionists by Senator Fulbright in 1974. It is also true that the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers (PTTI) secretariat to which the CWA belongs is identified as a known instrument of the CIA and worked in key areas of unrest like Brazil during the overthrow of Goulard in 1964. The PTTI has been very active in Africa.

AFL-CIO TRAINING PROGRAMS

Instruments of the AFL-CIO abroad are usually given vast indoctrination and training programs. At one time this was thought to be a means of ideological anti-Communist and anti-Socialist training. True. However, it is also a means of surveillance and identification of key labor activists and others. This is no longer deniable and is proven in the case of Chile.

Jean Bruck, the general secretary of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), has stated in communications to this writer that "from the various experiences we have had in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the action developed by these three foundations (AALC, AIFLD, and Asian-American Free Labor Institute) is certainly considered a negative contribution by the American labour movement towards the establishment and the development of the really free and democratic and genuine trade union movement. In the vast majority of the countries where these foundations have been operating—but especially in Africa and Latin America—the real national leaders and real workers' leaders considered their action as being damaging to the creation and expansion of the authentic trade union movement. In many cases organizations supported by the foundations have fallen progressively into the hands of corrupt so-called 'union leaders' and the organizations themselves have become more and more subordinated by the regime or government in power in these countries."

Bruck, who does not speak for the Communist-led WFTU but for what was formerly a "Christian" labor movement and is now the aggressive and sometimes revolutionary WCL, has had extensive experience with the AALC and AIFLD.

The formal rivalry between the Prague-based WFTU, Bruck's WCL, and the ICFTU has been decreasing daily. This is due to the inevitable lessening of the cold war tensions and the

threat of multinational corporate suppression of trade union rights that demand intercontinental cooperation. The activity of the AFL-CIO and the CIA, according to Bruck and others, will inevitably attempt to exacerbate the differences between the three federations—especially now that the AFL-CIO has withdrawn from the ICFTU which it helped to found.

Control and surveillance over African union programs is effected through a vast program of grants and training programs. Millions of dollars, that we know of, have been spent in dozens of countries. These programs are sometimes carried out in cooperation with the FO's Institute Syndical de Cooperation in Dakar. The FO in Africa, as in Europe, is just as adamantly opposed as the AFL-CIO to the WFTU and the WCL and any cooperation with them. The AALC is furthering this fight in cooperation with secretariats like the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers and the International Federation of Journalists. Both have been mentioned in reports of CIA financing. Agee confirms it.

The extent of the AALC program can be illustrated by just one country: Ethiopia. Workers have been brought to the U.S. on a regular basis for extended and expensive "training." Over 1,000 members of the Ethiopian Federation, CELU, have participated in extended "seminars" and an estimated 70,000 families have been reached by AALC audio-visual programs. This sample could be duplicated from the Mediterranean to the Cape in dozens of countries.

It is too much to hope that all this will not be used for intelligence. A "former" CIA official, who has been attacking critics of the agency like Agee, recently stated that the CIA tactics of the '70s will intensify concentration on the "protection of strategic materials." One method of effecting this will be through "greater cooperation with the multinational corporations." Another will be early detection of the "enemy" who is hidden, "so the offensives against him are largely a matter of seeking him out and learning in advance of his plans." The world-wide information collection service will cooperate with the police and intelligence services of countries, especially in "developing" nations, to an expanded degree through the use of improved computer storage and retrieval programs.

If the CIA wanted information about militant African labor unions and leaders the AALC would be a perfect instrument. The background of the staff and leadership of the AALC and the record of the AFL-CIO in other countries abroad, like Chile, makes it much more than just a possibility that this is one of the major purposes of U.S. government financing of the AALC.

Women fight colonialism in Guinea-Bissau

by Stephanie Urdang

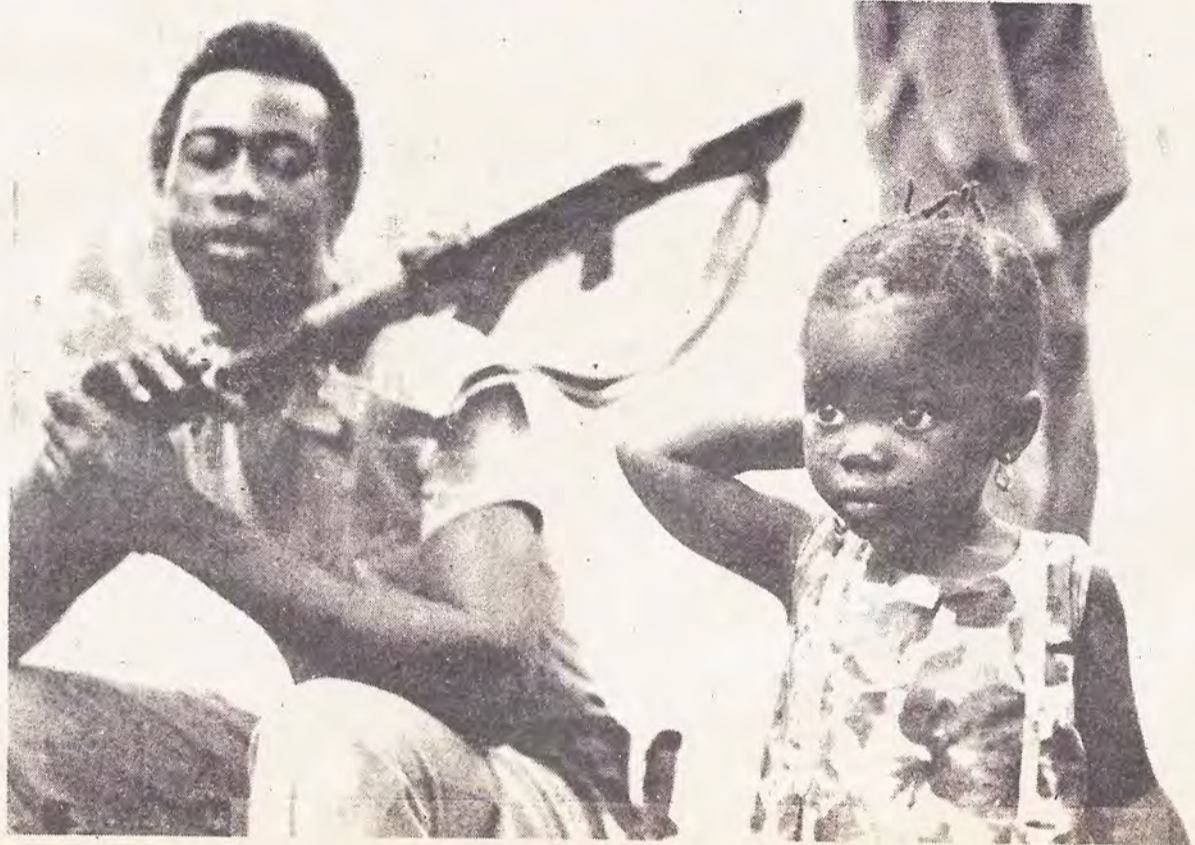
(Reprinted from *Off Our Backs*, Vol. IV, No. 3, March 1975.)

I visited Guinea-Bissau for four weeks while the war against Portuguese colonialism was still in progress and spent another four with PAIGC in the Republic of Guinea and Senegal during April, May, June last year. The people of Guinea-Bissau, under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde [PAIGC], fought a highly successful war of liberation for eleven and a half years. The war ended in victory after the coup overthrowing the half-century Salazar dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974. By September, Portugal had recognized its independence, proclaimed a year earlier.

PAIGC, whose leader Amilcar Cabral was assassinated at the beginning of 1973, had by this stage liberated two-thirds of the country and established the fundamentals of a state through its intensive program of social and national reconstruction. The need for the liberation of women was viewed as a vital part of the revolution and was integrated into the program of the Party from the very beginning. The focus of my visit was to look at how this is manifested in practice.

Defend women's rights, respect women children, youth, and adults) and make them respected; but convince the women of our country that their liberation should be their achievement, by their work, attachment to the Party, self-respect, personality, steadfastness before everything that could be against their dignity.

— PAIGC Directive



photos by stephanie urdang

"In Guinea-Bissau we say that women have to fight against two colonialisms. One of the Portuguese and the other of men." This was told to me on my first day inside the liberated zones, by Carmen Pereira, one of the leaders of PAIGC and a member of the State Council of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. At the time she was responsible for the program of national reconstruction for one of the country's three fronts and as such held one of the top political positions within the liberated zones.

It was a concept I heard repeated again and again throughout my visit. It seemed to me that this could be seen to affect the people in two ways—first, the peasants who constitute 95% of the population of 800,000 and, second, the young women who had joined the party and were working full time within its framework. These young women, many coming from peasant background themselves, were developing into or were already cadres of the revolution. They are symbols of the new generation.

As soon as PAIGC control was established village councils were elected by the population of each village. PAIGC stipulated that at least two of the five members of the council must be women. In this way women began to take part in leadership from the outset. Now there are women presidents and vice-presidents of councils, as well as many women on councils representing sectors and regions—peasant women who have moved into areas of responsibility far beyond the village.

The traditions of the society that are detrimental to women—such as lack of divorce for women, polygamy, forced marriage—are now virtually nonexistent. Divorces are easy to procure and many women who are unhappy in polygamous marriages, or forced to marry a man they do not love, have divorced their husbands. Forced marriage is forbidden and women can refer their case to the village tribunal if their parents are resisting this change. Polygamy is dying out in the new generation with wives insisting that their husbands not have more than one wife, and being able to divorce them if they insist. For members of the Party, polygamy is not allowed, even for a practicing Muslim.

The lives of peasant women have changed enormously, especially when one considers that the war began 12 years ago. One woman summed this up for me when I was visiting her village. "But look," she said, "before it was out of the question for me to talk to visitors. Or to speak in front of men. Now I am talking to you, and men are right here. Does this not show you how much freer we are?"

Education is emphasized as being ultimately the way in which attitudes will be changed—through the children of the next generation becoming educated

and understanding and being part of the new society that is being built. A society without exploitation of any kind. Political education is part of the education process for all the people of Guinea-Bissau. In the schools time is set aside each week for discussion about Party program, about different aspects of the revolution. The question of women is a frequent subject.

There are growing numbers of women in all fields of work. Leaders in the Party, teachers, nurses, directors of schools and hospitals, political workers. There were few women soldiers who went on combat although there were many women involved in local defense. There had been women fighting in combat with the militia at the beginning of the war, but as it progressed and a national army was formed, fewer women were armed. PAIGC felt that through their experience women were not as effective in combat as men. As Guinea-Bissau is a small country, they had more men wishing to join the army than needed—not the case in other armed struggles. Toward the end of the war, women were being trained to take part in combat but the war ended before this came into effect.

Women said to me on many occasions that the struggle for the liberation of women is going to be a long one, that throwing off the yoke of Portuguese colonialism would be a far quicker process (at that point they did not realize just how quick). Although they spoke of fighting "male colonialism," men are not seen as the enemy, just as the Portuguese people were not seen as the enemy when they were fighting Portuguese colonialism.



Fula woman and her child, East Front



Carmen Pereira, one of the two women members of the Council of State.

Women's liberation in Vietnam

by Michele Hoffnung

Women of Vietnam, by Arlene Eisen-Bergman. San Francisco, People's Press, \$2.65.

Arlene Eisen-Bergman and the collective of women with whom she worked have produced a book well worth our attention regardless of how many other books we have read about Vietnam. The combination of hard facts, personal accounts, folklore, and poetry make it a living history. Jane Norling's beautiful illustrations set a personal tone for the book and help us step into the lives of Vietnamese women.

The information about the wars—first against the French, then against U.S. imperialism—and their special effects on women is painful and compelling. We learn as much about our government and ourselves as we do about the people of Vietnam: the racism, sexism, and inhumanity of capitalist foreign policy. The meaning of *people's war* grows chapter by chapter and helps clarify how the Vietnamese have been able to win despite the technological strength of the U.S.

It is notable that both the Indochinese Communist Party and the Vietnam Women's Union were founded in 1930, and that from the start many of the same women have been affiliated with both. The fight for women's liberation and national liberation has been seen by revolutionary women and men as inseparable and the women's struggle

has not been subsumed. In 1930 the ICP defined women's emancipation as part of its goal of freedom from feudalism and colonialism. To quote Ho Chi Minh, "Women make up half of society. If women are not liberated, then society is not free."

Since that time every independence organization has included the women's struggle as a priority. The National Liberation Front aims, as part of its ten-point program, to "guarantee equality between men and women," and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has more women in top leadership positions than any other country in the world. The Lao Dong Party of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was 30% women in 1972 and is rapidly building toward equal participation. Eisen-Bergman documents this again and again; the details are inspiring.

At the same time, the Women's Union, in spite of heavy repression during the war, has taken active and ingenious leadership. When the only legal social gatherings were weddings and funerals, they utilized these as places to organize and recruit other women.

children. They were the ones responsible for the care of the Vietnamese people and for their identity. In this way women led the national resistance.

The Vietnamese story tells us that the liberation of women is not necessarily subsumed in the development of socialism. But it tells us more than that. For years Vietnamese women have been doing what U.S. women are only learning to do: challenging stereotypes, demonstrating, raising consciousness, changing themselves as they change their society.

The facts stand in direct contradiction to the sense I feel U.S. feminism sometimes projects—a sense that women of other nationalities are backward (like their countries), essentially awaiting our progressive leadership. We learn from this book that Vietnamese women have been learning to "turn their hatred into energy," that "speak bitterness" sessions have been giving Vietnamese women a sense of their own power since the mid-fifties (long before we had begun to form conscious raising groups), and that the inner struggle against men's patriarchal ideology has been recognized as a crucial struggle between old traditions and the



But this should not surprise us. A just war in the interest of common people cannot exclude women or their special interests. Feudal, capitalist, and imperialist injustice falls heavily upon women; to end such injustice is to better women's lives. In Vietnam, Confucian feudalism, French-colonial industrialism, and U.S. imperialism oppressed all poor people, and women in particular. To fight for national liberation is to fight for the poor peasant against the large landholder, and most women belong to the peasant class. Now in Vietnam women own land for the first time.

SOURCE OF STRENGTH

The form of women's oppression provided a source of strength that makes national liberation possible. Women are primarily responsible for social reproduction, the creation of the next generation. In Vietnam this has meant that while foreign invaders were forcing men to leave native villages and fight or work, women were left at home where they were less influenced by the invaders and where they were able to maintain and transmit the Vietnamese language, tradition, and culture to their

new society, not a struggle between working women and working men.

These are valuable lessons for those of us engaged in the U.S. movement. Eisen-Bergman helps us to grasp these points by her clear understanding of the issues, the organization and thoroughness of her research, and her sensitive use of personal materials. Her repeated attempts to contrast U.S. experience with that of the Vietnamese usually adds to our understanding. For example, she describes the tremendous work and sacrifice of Vietnamese women as they assumed responsibility for most of the production under war conditions, and contrasts it to the role of U.S. women in World War II. She points out that unlike the U.S. women, Vietnamese women are not working to make profits for capitalists, are not being paid less than men, and will not be sent home after the war. Throughout the book, though, she avoids the trap of presenting Vietnamese women as superwomen, inherently inhuman.

Reading this book has made me humble about the U.S. women's movement and at the same time more sure of our potential. We have the inspiration of the women of Vietnam to carry on our struggle.

Cuban children

by Johnny Faragher

Children Are the Revolution: Day Care In Cuba, by Marvin Leiner (Viking, 1974. \$10)

After reading this book, a must for all of us concerned with the politics of day care, one easily concludes that day care in revolutionary Cuba is a striking achievement. Contrasted with North American conditions the achievement is inspiring. In the relatively advanced but deeply troubled day care program in New York City, for example, there are fewer than 20,000 children; families are being cut monthly as costs escalate; available space is falling behind population growth. Cuba, with a population about that of NYC, has 50,000 kids in its centers, all of which operate free to working people, and spaces are multiplying rapidly enough to make universal care a realizable goal. Cuban *circulos infantiles* (day care centers) accept children from 45 days to five years of age, and provide comprehensive health and nutritional care for all the kids.

MASS PARTICIPATION

Cuban successes help us to identify North American failures. The program of the *circulos* is carried out by a largely paraprofessional staff (*asistentes*), community people, mostly women. (Leiner sees prevailing Cuban sexism as a serious problem here and elsewhere.) The middle class exodus from revolutionary Cuba drained the country of available professional staff, and Cuba has responded with a creative paraprofessional program of in-service training that has worked well. Without an army of professional pre-school educators, day care issues were not relegated to the fringes of people's culture, but struggled out in the mainstream of everyday life. The national organization of childcare has been based on this mass participation.

From our own point of view and experience we might well consider a similar exodus of North American day care professionals a lucky development. This is not likely to happen. Nevertheless, the Cuban experience stands as an example of the potential mobilization of just plain people—an essential ingredient in the process of destroying the elitist mentality of professionalism that infects our educational philosophy.

CHILDREN AND WORK

The *circulo*-workplace relationship, which Leiner discusses only briefly, is another important success. The *padrino* (godfather) system links many *circulos* with a factory, service institution, or agricultural collective. From early childhood, then, Cuban kids are a part of a human work continuum that unites play and useful labor. In the United States we are so debilitated by the liberal fragmentation of childhood as a world apart that this kind of community-child integration is not even seen as an issue.

I wish Leiner had told us more here. The mention of children visiting factories or working in agricultural brigades is provocative and exciting, but we are left with only fragmentary discussion of these programs. Do Cuban children, like the Chinese, do work of their own? Ruth Sidel's little book, *Women and Child Care in China* is better on this topic.

Cuba has succeeded in articulating a connection between day care and the values of the revolution. As Leiner documents, in Cuba day care is a core aspect of the total revolutionary program: the full force of the revolution has been behind its planning, execution, and evaluation. Day care is an essential part of the cultural transformation, of the creation of the new woman and man. The contrast here is depressing and instructive. In the U.S. day care has no vision. It is a stop-gap, a system dominated in its profes-

My sisters
 dark-eyed
 so many wars away
 with memories of bound feet
 and the Trung sisters
 and strong
 and lean they are
 and determined
 with friends
 who are prostitutes
 in Saigon
 remnants
 of the war
 and the G.I.s
 they plant their rice
 in straight rows
 and they sing
 and they defend villages
 they will build their country anew
 with their bare hands
 my sisters
 who across the water
 hold the same dreams as i
 the long-haired army, they call them
 with memories
 of concubines
 of the Chinese,
 the French
 and the Americans
 still to be driven out
 the prisons
 and their independence
 tied with sinews
 of their lifetimes
 to socialism
 women fighters, dreamers
 the woman with a gun in her hands
 and a baby on her back
 with smiles
 and with a determination that will never
 splinter
 they will bow their heads no longer
 they will take the land
 in their own
 hands
 yes they will say
 "sisterhood is powerful"

-Margaret Talbot

Daycare building socialism

sional and ideological aspects by the welfare establishment. It is conceived as a charity for those who, in the eyes of state planners, are marginal sectors of the working class. And like all charities, it is used for useful manipulation of the women, men, and children of the working class.

The valuative aspects of Cuban day care are highly subtle and complex, while North American educational directions remain firmly rooted in simplistic empiricism. Take for example the commitment to collective consciousness within the revolutionary program. Cooperation and collectivity are seen as prime values in the *circulos*. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of day care is not only to provide services but to encourage group over individual experience. In the Cuban infant program babies are bedded and tended in collective cribs, elevated off the ground at adult level; the program is built around groups of infants interacting with adults. The values of group identification and age integration are clearly identifiable here.

But these values are not simply imposed on the fabric of Cuban life. Great importance is placed on individual development and autonomy among children. Leiner found that at the *circulos* group activities do not take place at the expense of individual preference. Indeed, as one reads, it gradually becomes clear that the Cubans are trying to do two very different things at the same time: to build a collective consciousness, but to develop a consciousness as well of the uniqueness of each child. Leiner finds much evidence of an almost Eriksonian concern with ego development. But as we

recall all the things Leiner says about Cuban day care, we are reminded that this concern comes in the context of absolute commitment to the collective, to the revolution.

ADULT AND CHILD

The integration of adult and child presents a similar contradiction. On the one hand the *circulos* attempt to create a new world of childhood; although Leiner doesn't say, one senses that child-consciousness was not much in existence before the revolution. Cubans now insist on a respect for children as special people, on an adult awareness of the need to scale down the differences in power, authority, dominance, on an understanding of developmental frameworks. In essence, Cuban day care requires that staff and parents alike have a consciousness of the concept of child rearing. On the other hand, through the *asistente* and *padrino* systems for example, the work of childhood is linked to the rest of Cuban revolutionary life.

There is no support in Leiner's book, then, for fears of "forced collectivization" of family life. In Cuba day care is a struggle between contending needs in socialist cultural development: adults are coming to a new child-consciousness, and children and adults are meeting in new settings (day care centers, the workplace) developing new collective attitudes and social relations. Cuba's approach is complex—fused with dialectical understanding.

This raises a complaint about the book. Although Leiner gives us the

materials for the analysis I have made, he fails to make it himself. In the book ego psychology and commitment to the collective stand as two ideas in Cuban day care, but one does not get much sense of the way the contradiction is in struggle on the floors of the *circulos*. I know this must be an incredibly exciting process, but Leiner's narrative is lackluster, even dull, and lacking in

is the necessity and possibility of creating concrete values which speak to the complex of revolutionary needs. How do we construct institutions that working people themselves control and operate, culturally as well as politically? How do we create a culture of resistance and transcendence? We can begin only by recognizing the concrete conditions under which we labor, the



subtlety. Most unfortunately, Leiner has not done the essential job of translating his findings into the North American context, of raising questions about the meaning of the Cuban experience for socialists in the United States.

"Only ninety miles off the shores" of Cuba, state day care has an essentially different meaning. We don't live in a revolutionary society. Here the dangers of bureaucratic-state control and manipulation threaten us. I think what we have most to learn from Cuban practice

places where we have room to move, ways of building protective walls around our freedom, while preparing for a cultural evolutionary war which will finally tear down all walls. This means understanding family life more adequately, seeing the resources in this somewhat protected area, moving to extend them in ways of our own making. This action will require a new imagination and a new creativity. The Cubans have this and much more to teach us.

U.N. resolution on International Womens' Year

EQUALITY

(a) Achieving full equality before the law in all fields where it does not exist;

(b) Meeting the health needs of girls and women equally with those of boys and men, which should be recognised as a prerequisite to the promotion of equality between them and to the full participation of both in the development effort;

(c) Promoting equality of economic rights, including the right to work and the right to equal pay for work of equal value, non-discrimination in employment opportunities, governmental as well as private, and security of employment after marriage;

(d) Promoting equality of rights and responsibilities in the family and home and creating awareness and recognition that men and women have equal rights and obligations towards themselves as individuals, towards their children as parents, and towards their societies as citizens;

(e) Ensuring that women as well as men participate fully and as equal partners in policy formulation and decision-making at the local, national and international levels, including development planning, educational programming and questions of foreign policy such as disarmament and the strengthening of friendly relations among States;

DEVELOPMENT

(f) Improving the awareness of women in the developed countries through effective information and education, of the living conditions and problems of women in the developing areas in order to intensify the contribution of the former to international development co-operation;

(g) Improving the living and working conditions as well as the status of both men and women throughout the community and expanding freedom of choice for all persons in planning the patterns that permit the development of their potential as individuals;

(h) Improving the quality of rural life through the provision of cultural, educational and employment opportunities in the rural areas;

(i) Improving the condition of rural women on an equal basis with men especially as regards training in co-operatives, modern agricultural and technical methods, vocational training, the use of modern labour-saving devices in homes and modern methods of child-rearing;

(j) Eliminating illiteracy and ensuring equality of educational opportunities at all levels (including

vocational training) and the same choice of curricula for male and female students, preferably in the same schools for boys and girls;

(k) Actively encouraging women to train for and enter non-traditional occupations, providing proper guidance and counselling and expanding co-operative programmes among women of different countries that would contribute to international understanding through shared endeavours;

(l) Providing training (including in-service training) for women in all fields, including citizenship and leadership, consumerism, management, and science and technology, keeping in mind the concomitant need to help find employment opportuni-



Lucia Vernerelli

ties for women who complete the training period;

(m) Giving effect, in planning national and international programmes, to the conclusions of the Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Interrelationship of the Status of Women and Family Planning and also to any recommendations which may be

made by the World Population Conference in 1974;

(n) Providing social services (including health, family planning, child care, social and community services) and farm and home extension services.

(o) Developing and extending a network of health services for the protection of maternity and of the health of the mother and child;

(p) Seeking to improve the situation of women in prisons and other places of detention;

(q) Combating racism and racial discrimination whenever and wherever it manifests itself, and lending support to the victims of racism, apartheid and colonialism as well as supporting women and children in armed struggle including the struggle for independence and self-determination;

(r) Combating exploitation of women and girls through illicit and clandestine trafficking;

PEACE

(s) Promoting the peace efforts of women's groups and other national and international organisations and encouraging on the part of all women of the world, the promotion of detente in the world, international peace and co-operation among States, through contributions to such measures as:

(i) Combating colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign domination and alien subjugation, apartheid and racial discrimination;

(ii) The realisation of the principle of the right of people to self-determination;

(iii) Dissemination of information concerning the United Nations Charter and activities as well as the principle of international law;

(t) Participation of women in safeguarding peace which would promote economic, social, cultural and political conditions that contribute to the advancement of the status of women and men;

(u) Developing and implementing international standards and other actions to encourage peaceful relations among States on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter, relevant United Nations resolutions as well as international law;

(v) Facilitating the free flow of information and ideas among countries having due regard for their sovereignty and non-intervention in their domestic affairs, on the contribution of women as well as men to peace and to the promotion of friendly relations among States and to peace, and promoting the exchange of visits by women of different countries to study common problems;

(w) Recognising the value, for the country's over-all development and advancement, of the untapped resources of women to contribute to the national culture, development and spiritual values through their work in voluntary activities as well as in the labour market and home management.

Alice under the influence

by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

The effect of the Women's Liberation Movement on American popular art is everywhere visible and audible. Even Hollywood has picked up the scent, and in the last few months produced several more or less serious "women's films." Two of these, Martin Scorsese's *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* and John Cassavetes' *A Woman Under the Influence*, are particularly interesting for what they say about the influence of feminist ideas on American consciousness and the inevitable limitations and distortions of those ideas in the context of a bourgeois cultural and economic institution like the American movie industry.

ALICE

Alice is the less serious, but in many ways more satisfying film. It's about a thirty-five-year-old working class woman who, when her husband dies, pulls up roots and takes to the road with her eleven-year-old son to pursue the singing career she had given up for marriage. Everything about Alice is appealing. She's spunky, humorous, independent. I got the feeling that someone involved in making this movie really likes women because they're portrayed with sympathy and dignity. Alice, penniless and desperate, in tight new shoes and an even tighter new dress, walks out on a bar owner who asks her to turn around, saying, "I sing with my face, not my ass."

I can't think of another movie in which female friendship is portrayed as warmly. It was a treat to see women openly express affection and talk about the importance of their friendships. And it was even more of a treat to see Alice, confronted by the deceived wife of her lover, sympathize with the woman and renounce the man.

But in the end the film fails. It compromises Alice's independence by providing that rarest of American animals, "a good man" willing to give up his ranch and go off into the sunset with her as she pursues her career. The

audience is expected to believe that a childish, insensitive, bull-headed cowboy is suddenly transformed into a Prince Charming. I suppose that was the only "happy ending" they could figure out.

INFLUENCE

By contrast, *A Woman Under the Influence* is "serious," which in bourgeois art very often means self-conscious, gloomy, and cynical. It concerns another working class woman, this one in the grips of mental breakdown. The trap of marriage, from

tion. When her husband finally arrives (bringing his entire work crew for her to feed), Mabel still doesn't get mad. Instead she tries to please everyone by flirting, and is again humiliated and made to feel like a tramp. Even her pride in being a good mother must be validated by others, so she grovels before her own small children for friendship and approval. She has no women friends to support and understand her but turns again and again to male figures—her husband, her father, her doctor—to beg for the love and respect she should expect.

The film consists of a series of emo-



The film compromises Alice's independence by providing that rarest of American animals, "a good man"...

which Alice conveniently and mechanically escapes through widowhood, is clearly destroying Mabel Longhetti.

Throughout the movie Mabel is the object at best of pity and at worst of horror. When her husband disappoints her by working on a night planned to be special, she gets drunk and picks up a man at a bar. But instead of expressing anger or rebellion, her action is meant to show Mabel's self-contempt, desperation, and abject need for male atten-

tionally draining scenes like the one described; taken together they paint a devastating, often painfully realistic picture of family and sexual relations in the U.S. Mabel's life is lonely and grim, and those closest to her are the least able to help her because of their own crippled lives and unfulfilled needs.

On the surface, then *A Woman Under the Influence* might seem more politically insightful than *Alice Doesn't*

Live Here Anymore. In some ways it is. At least it tentatively suggests how the nuclear family, as an institution in capitalist society, can be destructive of human happiness and dignity, especially for women. It certainly avoids the myth of personal solutions that turns *Alice* with its pat Cinderella ending, into a fairy tale.

But in its own way, *Under the Influence* tells as many lies as *Alice* about the politics of personal life. It can only afford the luxury of delving into the sickness of U.S. domestic arrangement, revealing the brutality and masochism at its core, because it is informed by an equally poisonous and false American myth—the myth of hopelessness and inevitability. Marriage can be shown for what it usually is because there are no alternatives. It's a misery-loves-company sort of thing meant to make the people in the audience bear their own crosses more cheerfully by showing that we're all in the same boat.

Neither film attempts to create a social or economic context within which the personal histories can be understood. Although both purport to be about working class women, they give bourgeois pictures of what working class life is like. *Alice's* sophisticated ideas and individualistic ambitions for a career smack more of Gloria Steinem than Tammy Wynette. But at least *Alice* has money problems. Mabel goes off to a hospital for six months without anyone even musing about where the money will come from or who will care for the children. Everything in both movies succeeds or fails for personal, psychological reasons. Neither goes beyond that limited, individualistic view of human fate.

But then, what could we have expected from Hollywood filmmakers? As long as the new fascination with women's lives and problems remains trapped in the framework of bourgeois ideology it will invariably come out in the serious, "heavy" films as pity, and in the corny conventional ones as lies. For if you like women but are committed to the status quo, you're going to have either to portray them as losers and weaklings or invent a preposterous fairy tale world of success and romantic bliss which we all know doesn't exist in this man's nation.

women" and "real men" cannot be attracted to the same sex.

Of course, the theoretical snag in this attraction-of-opposites theory of sexuality is that if a man involved sexually with another man is "really female," then the same must be true of the other man as well. So we end up analytically with two "passives"—or two "actives," in the case of "male" females—which are supposed to repel rather than attract. But the two (or more) people thus labeled are, in fact, mutually attracted, which adds an empirical snag to the theory.

The socio-political snag in the theory is that it is the oppressive ideological expression of the self-fragmentation, self-alienation, and sexual repression called for by capitalist relations of production. It is the mystifying rationalization of male heterosexual dominance and sanctions against homosexuality that are necessary for the maintenance of the nuclear family.

Production and relationships of production in an unalienated, socialist society will not require the sexual crippling entailed in male dominance and heterocentric norms. But it is clear from the experience of some socialist revolutions that sexual liberation is not an automatic by-product of socialism—it will require conscious revolutionary struggle.

The point is not to encourage in everyone the alternating use of "masculine" and "feminine" sex roles; it is rather to do away with such roles altogether. Just as the goal of socialism is to overcome the limitations of alienated and fragmented human existence in all spheres of activity, so the goal of sexual liberation is not the creation of "bi"-sexual people, but the development of full, integrated human sexual experience that overcomes all constricting roles of bourgeois patriarchal society.

A role in the hay

by Karen Rotkin

I recently heard a leftist friend describe the problems in her new sexual relationship with a man as the result of his not being able "to get in touch with his feminine side"—and maybe, she figured, she had a bit of trouble herself "expressing the masculine in her."

It seems that we've made great strides in transcending the labeling of dishwashing as "feminine" activity and plumbing as "masculine" activity, but the dichotomous labels of yin and yang still apply to sexuality. This is more than a merely semantic problem, since it both reflects and reinforces our expectations and definitions of ourselves and others in sexual interaction. "Masculine" = active, assertive, initiatory, dominant, straightforward. "Feminine" = passive, responsive, subservient, subtle. In labeling sexual assertiveness "masculine" and passivity "feminine," we are forgetting what we learned about the role of socialization and social conditions in other sex role dichotomies. And we are perpetuating the mystifications inherent in the notion that dominant sexual behavior is somehow a biologically necessary result of having male genitals, and that female genitals entail sexual passivity.

The attempt at theoretical integration of both "masculine" and "feminine" traits in both male and female people may appear to be a step in the right direction toward the abolition of sex roles, but at best it leads to a dead

end of conceptual—if not actual—schizophrenia. It can't lead to a vision of unfragmented, integrated sexual beings.

If the integration of male and female in all of us is supposed to mean that it is natural for all of us to be both active and passive, then it is pointless to call one quality "masculine" and the other "feminine." Most often, though, the integrationist theory means that females are supposed to be mostly "female" (passive) and males mostly "male" (active). As long as passivity is called "femininity," a woman is not being a "real woman" when she is sexually assertive; she is borrowing the prerogative that is supposedly given biologically only to the possessors of penises. As long as assertiveness is called "masculinity," men who are not acting sexually dominant are only taking a rest from their natural role and can rely on a transcendent validity for male control whenever they do wish to exercise it.

The problem is not solved by counter-cultural rhetoric about the complementary interpenetration of yin and yang. The yin/yang metaphysics of sexuality seem to take it as a self-evident truth that both polarities of power must be involved at any given moment of sexual interaction. Not only is it unimaginable that there is any middle ground between the extremes; it would seem to be an insufferable breach of sexual decorum for two people making love to be assertive or passive both at the same time.

As much confusion and frustration as "masculine and feminine principles"

cause in understanding heterosexuality, the contradictions they raise concerning homosexuality are enough to make one's head spin. Since active and passive "forces" are both taken to be necessary conditions for sexual relationship, and since one is inherently "male" and the other inherently "female," someone always has to ask the question of gay relationships: "But which one is the man and which one is the woman?"

Sexual theory borrows from physics the principle of the attraction of opposites. As positive and negative charges are attracted to each other, so active/"male" and passive/"female" are supposed to be always and predictably drawn to each other. As two negative charges are mutually repellent, so two "inherently passive" sexual beings are expected to repel each other. Of course the same parallel goes for positive charges and "inherently active" sexual beings.

While we don't find exceptions to the laws of physics, the commonplace exceptions to the derivative "laws" of sexuality are a thorn in the side of bourgeois sexual theory. The multitudinous components of the ideology that sanctions and sanctifies the nuclear family all converge to require exclusive attraction to the "opposite" sex in the very definitions of male and female.

Attraction to the same sex is thus seen as a freak of nature, a violation of inviolable natural law. A woman's attraction to other women is, according to bourgeois definition, the clear manifestation that she is "really" a man, despite her female anatomy. "Real

Support grows for Joann Little

by Bob McMahon

The trial of Joann Little, a 20-year-old black woman from Beaufort County, N.C., who has been charged with murder for killing a prison guard she says was trying to rape her, has been postponed at least until April 28. The trial had been scheduled to begin April 14, but that day will be given over to pre-trial motions by the defense.

The case has attracted considerable attention from feminists and civil rights groups all over the country. A number of support actions had been planned in various cities for the April 14 opening of the trial. Groups from as far away as Pittsburgh, Boston, and Washington, D.C., are planning to be present in Beaufort County for the trial opening.

DEFENSE MOTIONS

Judge Henry McKinnon, who will try the case, announced the delay to allow him to hear arguments on a number of important defense motions. These include:

- A motion to quash the murder indictment against Little. The defense contends that the grand jury that brought the indictments was improperly and illegally constituted. The jury included at least one relative of the slain guard, Clarence Alligood. The defense also states that the prosecutor improperly abused his discretion in selecting evidence to be presented to the grand jury by preventing it from hearing testimony by the medical examiner or reading his report. The examiner's report, which described Alligood's body as "naked from the waist down," with seminal fluid running from penis to thigh, has been cited by the defense as supporting Little's claim the guard was trying to rape her.

- A motion to have the trial shifted to Wake County, in central North Carolina. An earlier motion to shift the trial was denied. The concession that the jury not be taken from Beaufort County but from 23 surrounding counties in eastern North Carolina is to be contested. The defense intends to present survey evidence that public opinion in these counties has been so polarized that the selection of an impartial jury will be impossible. The defense has also been gathering evidence to demonstrate that women and blacks have been systematically excluded from the



Joann Little

jury lists in at least some of these counties.

- A motion to have the trial delayed because Little is currently too ill to undergo trial or to assist in the preparation of her defense. Since an operation two years ago, Joann Little has suffered from a thyroid condition which has recently been aggravated by the strain of her experiences in prison and a failure to take medication. She was hospitalized briefly around the end of March, and her doctors have ordered her to avoid physical and mental stress. Her lawyers have requested a 90-day postponement of the trial to allow her recovery.

Judge McKinnon indicated that before ruling on the request for a delay he might ask for an independent medical report on Little. The judge's statement came as a result of recent public claims by Little's mother, and by Golden Frinks, North Carolina field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that Little was faking illness to allow the defense more time to prepare.

DISPUTE OVER DEFENSE FUNDS

The statements by Frinks and by Little's mother grew out of a battle for control of the defense effort and of funds raised for the defense which became public in mid-March.

In a suit filed in the federal district court March 20, Frinks asked that the lawyers representing Little be blocked

from spending any more of the funds being raised for her defense. Frinks contended that the lawyers, Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway, had violated a verbal agreement to turn over to him 30% of the money raised to run a campaign of publicity and demonstrations in eastern North Carolina. He added a variety of other charges claiming that Little was being kept drugged, held incommunicado, and faking illness. (Frinks filed his suit as an individual, not as a part of SCLC.)

The defense lawyers denied ever making such an agreement. He did approach them about a deal, they say, but was turned down immediately. They described Frinks' suit and his other recent statements as part of a long campaign to undermine the attorneys and use the Little case to build his own reputation. "He's gone to every length he can to take over this case," Paul told reporters. "He's tried to turn Little's family against us. He's tried to turn the public against us. He threatened to sabotage the case if we didn't give him money. Now he's carrying out that threat."

Observers active in other political defense campaigns in North Carolina have condemned Frinks' activity. The effect of his suit if successful would be to cripple preparation of a court case on the eve of Little's trial. Hostile newspapers in the state are giving wide publicity to the dispute which could undermine the public credibility of the whole defense effort. The one issue other than his own power that Frinks has raised about the defense effort is that the lawyers and the group working with them, the Joann Little Defense Fund, Inc., are conducting a legalistic defense that ignores the need for a political defense campaign outside the courts.

Some observers outside the Little campaign believe this charge has a certain limited amount of truth in it. The Joann Little Defense Fund has done effective work in getting out publicity on the case and encouraging the formation of support groups around the country. But it has not paid much attention to developing an apparatus to coordinate the efforts of these groups. A major publicity effort within eastern North Carolina was only recently set in motion. But even those who feel a need for more community organizing around the case reject Frinks as a leader. He has a reputation in some movement cir-

cles in North Carolina as a "hustler," a man who moves in on issues when he sees a chance for personal publicity, and pulls out as soon as the spotlight shifts.

Joann Little herself has issued public statements supporting her lawyers, and describing Golden Frinks as a sick man who pursues his own ego regardless of the effects on her case.

While the dispute with Frinks has had damaging effects, its importance should not be overstated. Frinks is largely isolated, and the public break cannot be seen as a major split in the defense forces.

In both North Carolina and the country as a whole, large numbers of people have become active in the defense effort. A Joann Little Information Center has been set up in Washington, D.C., a recent radiothon in New York got calls from more than 250 people and raised \$5,000; a number of national organizations, including the National Organization for Women have sent information and urged action around the case by their local units.

RISING DEFENSE COSTS

The cost of the defense has risen far beyond the original estimates of \$20,000. Her lawyers now estimate the expenses for Little's defense may run as high as \$250,000. They state they have already had to spend more than \$50,000.

Major defense expenditures so far include the jury survey in eastern North Carolina. This is seen as essential, not merely to back up the motion to have the trial shifted, but to guide jury selection if the case if tried in Beaufort County. Such surveys have been used by the defense in the Harrisburg, Wounded Knee, and Attica trials to help select the fairest possible juries in areas where large sections of the population are hostile to the defendants.

Other large expenditures include hiring investigators to interview other women who may have been sexually molested while in the Beaufort County jail where Little was held, and providing security for Little following threats on her life.

For information or to offer support, write the Joann Little Defense Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 1003, Durham, NC 27702

Ethiopia: Military junta struggles to retain power

by Leo Casey

"Ethiopia: The Hidden Empire" read the slogan designed by the tourist organization of Haile Selassie's now-deposed government to attract to Ethiopia western, particularly U.S. travelers. Indeed, most aspects of the "empire," including the relationship of the U.S. to it, were (and are) hidden from the American people. As the imperial slogan suggests, Ethiopia's image in the western world has been that of "strange fascinations, ancient traditions, wild scenic splendors..." and of an emperor who "led" the heroic national resistance against Italian fascism.

The "hidden empire," counter to the popular western concept, has been only too real to the Ethiopian peasantry and working class. In response to its tyranny they rose up in February 1974 and dealt a death blow to the feudal aristocracy that had ruled over Ethiopia for centuries.

Since that time, however, the nationalist struggle for independence has escalated in the northern province of Eritrea which is separated from Ethiopia by history, economic development, and religion. In fighting to keep Eritrea, the military junta now ruling Ethiopia and is supported by U.S. military aid, is risking its shaky hold over the rest of the nation, which is sharply divided into diverse racial and ethnic groups.

An immediate cause of the revolt that deposed Selassie were the drought and famine that spread through sub-Saharan Africa in the early '70s. To date 200,000 Ethiopians have starved to death. The

feudal aristocracy attempted to cover up the famine, refusing aid from the United Nations and shooting students who attempted to organize around it when aid was finally accepted, local corruption and maladministration severely hampered the efforts. The issue united different sections of the populace who were striking for their own demands—non-commissioned military, prostitutes, taxi-cab drivers, teachers, factory workers, and priests of the Coptic Church—and took to the streets in the February upsurge.

Ethiopian feudalism, long maintained by the U.S. government and corporations, has kept the economy backward and most of the population in poverty. The average per capita income is \$66/year. Five percent of the people are beggars who live off the "charity" of the wealthy. Ten percent of the 600,000 people in Addis Ababa, are prostitutes. Taxes from night clubs, which often employ prostitutes on a contract labor system, have been a major source of government revenue.

Most people are tenant share croppers who give up to 75% of their crops to landlords. The Coptic Church and the aristocracy virtually monopolized the arable land, the Church owning rights to 25-40%.

The only possible advancement in the rigid caste society was through the army or the church, and only a few succeeded in this route. Both institutions were essential for maintaining internal order. The imperial army defended the borders from outside invaders such, as Somalia and battled national liberation forces, such as those in Eritrea, which have been fighting since 1962. Like the Catholic Church in med-



Haile Selassie

ieval Europe, the Christian Coptic Church was the sole repository of culture and knowledge until the end of World War II, when western education was introduced. The word of the Church was inviolate with the peasants. It preached that the state was the product of God's wisdom, and Haile Selassie an immortal demi-god. Class differences within the church itself eventually led to the strike in February by the ordinary priests, some of whom earned as little as \$2.50 a month, while patriarchs enjoyed the aristocratic life.

The peasants have also been kept ignorant of hygiene, and diseases such as leprosy, tuberculosis, and smallpox are rampant. Combined with poverty and the resultant poor diet, this has led to an estimated average life expectancy of 35 years.

The aristocracy also exploited national differences among the Ethiopian population to keep them divided. The Amhara have been completely dominant. The Galla, who constitute nearly 40% of Ethiopia's estimated 25 million people, never heard

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Regional NAM convenes

by Joni Rabinowitz, Pittsburg NAM, and
Ian Harris, Philadelphia Resistance NAM

On April 4-6, NAM's industrial Heartland Region held a conference in Yellow Springs, Ohio. The purposes of the conference were to stimulate discussions about chapter practice around the economy and national strategy; to provide member input into national programs; to break down some of the isolation of chapters; and to make contact with non-NAM members.

The 60 people attending the conference came from six active chapters—Philadelphia Resistance, Pittsburgh, Ann Arbor, Yellow Springs, Hocking Valley (Athens), Mad River (Dayton)—and from the Buffalo pre-chapter. Others came from Detroit, Providence, Cleveland, Barberton, Columbus, and Lexington.

The opening session concentrated on common chapter problems. Some of these included working in coalitions, recruiting new members, the shortage of women in chapters, and fundraising.

The bulk of the conference was devoted to discussions of NAM programs around issues related to the economy. Mark Mericle (Mad River NAM, NIC) introduced this discussion by describing some encouraging world signs. He stated that conditions in the U.S. seem ripe for socialist organizing and that, although a "revolutionary moment" does not yet exist, the current crisis of capital should provide a

golden opportunity for us to sink roots in the working class and build a mass socialist movement. He argued that our goal for the immediate future should be a mass revolutionary socialist party.

PROGRAMS ON THE ECONOMY

Four panelists spoke about program areas around the economy. The presentations included programs currently being done by NAM chapters. The presentation and workshop on unemployment, led by Bob Nelson (Pittsburgh NAM) discussed the need to raise socialist consciousness and show people that unemployment is not a reflection of personal failure. Our programs and strategies must be able to unify the various sectors of the unemployed, and must provide services for the unemployed as well as address capitalism's failure to deliver meaningful work for most Americans. The tendency of such programs to provide an escape valve rather than a focus for struggle was discussed. Philadelphia Resistance and Minneapolis NAM have already begun unemployment counseling programs.

Several chapters in the region have been doing utilities organizing, and Eric Johnson (Mad River NAM) led this discussion. Resistance has stopped their work in this area, while Yellow Springs, Mad River, and Pittsburgh are just developing campaigns. Most of the campaigns include the demands

of no rate hikes, lifeline, and public ownership/democratic control. Pittsburgh feels that it's important to carry through on the struggle as an openly NAM project and has not attempted to form a coalition with other left or populist groups. Resistance had trouble working in larger coalitions because of NAMs low visibility in a broad coalition that was not interested in public ownership/democratic control.

Kate Curry (Yellow Springs NAM) spoke on the problems of strike support work. We should be clear to support strike issues which will heighten the contradictions of capitalism and unify rather than divide people. A crucial issue is how to work with union leadership and how to relate to rank-and-file caucuses. How should NAM deal with internal union issues with which we disagree? How to relate to wildcat strikes? The strike support workshop felt that strike support must be considered within a framework of larger national issues—relating our politics to all aspects of the labor movement.

The student organizing workshop, led by Colin McCoy (Ann Arbor NAM) found it difficult to generalize about the campuses because of the wide range of institutions involved. Private universities, in many cases, are losing students, while community colleges are experiencing rising enrollment. In general there seem to be many good opportunities for campus organizing. Many graduates can't find jobs, while most universities are experiencing cutbacks. At the same time, however, students seem to be more conservative because of the uncertainty of the job market, and many of the staff fear losing their jobs. The types of organizing currently going on include strikes by campus employees, fighting cutbacks of gains made in the '60s (women and third world programs), and socialist education programs. It was noted that the number of campus NAM chapters has grown sharply over the past year.

STRATEGY

The Saturday night strategy discussion was introduced by Judy MacLean (Pittsburgh NAM and NIC). Summarizing several papers under discussion in the NIC, Judy asked people to look at what they think the state of the country is, and where it's going in the coming period. People agreed that this is not a revolutionary period, but rather a time when Americans are experiencing a great deal of discontent with the capitalist system. Because of the hardship of these times, most people felt this is a good time for NAM to develop an offensive strategy to politicize Americans and to propose a socialist alternative.

Judy raised the question of what type of organizational model NAM should develop, which is related to the types of activities we engage in. Should we organize in the name of NAM, remaining up-front about our politics? Should we form coalitions with other left groups and/or liberals? Should we see ourselves as a cadre organizations, joining existing membership organizations such as CLUW and labor unions. Should we form a membership organization that other groups and people can join?

A strong emphasis in this discussion was NAMs relationship to third world and women's struggles. Debate occurred over the extent to which NAM should try to unify the struggle of women and third world people within the general struggle of the working class, and to what extent we should push for women and third world people to retain the recent gains at the expense of white males in the labor force.

Discussion of our relationship to the organized labor movement centered on whether we should ally with every progressive force to fight the right, or concentrate on building rank-and-file movements to challenge both the liberals and the right.

There was general agreement that NAM needs to tighten up in both content and form. Tightening up the organization's content would involve adopting strong, well-articulated analyses, strategies, and programs that chapters would be encouraged to follow. Structural changes should also be adopted which help the various chapters coordinate their work. But there was strong sentiment that NAM should not become an "organization of organizers," thereby excluding people who have neither the time, the money, nor the opportunity to become full-time organizers.

Sunday morning workshops were held on culture, anti-imperialism, workplace organizing, and socialist feminism. Questions concerning the characteristics of bourgeois cultural hegemony, its purpose (to what extent is it conscious?), and its effect were the main emphases of the culture workshop. The workshop also discussed the style of the left, and how our ways of relating and expressing ourselves tends to turn off people who aren't like us. Alternative forms of media were also discussed.

(Continued Page 14)

Vietnam ~ a voice of triumph

by Ted M. Lieverman
Middlesex NAM

Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam, by Nguyen Khac Vien. Indochina Resource Center, \$2.65

Reliable information about the Democratic Republic of Vietnam ("North Vietnam") has generally been inaccessible to Americans. Most works concerning the DRV have been clouded by the authors' anti-communism: Bernard Fall and P.J. Honey were viciously opposed to the socialist government in the North, and so on. For the last few years, a major source of information countering these distortions has been a group of U.S. scholars who lived in Vietnam and now operate the Indochina Resource Centers in Washington and Berkeley. Their latest contribution, an English translation of essays by Marxist scholar Nguyen Khac Vien, is a brilliant and oft-neglected view of the Vietnamese revolution.

The son of a mandarin official and a doctor by training, Vien spent 25 years in France where he studied medicine, languished for a decade in a tuberculosis sanitarium, and was active in the anti-colonial Movement of Vietnamese Patriots. In 1961 he returned to the DRV to assume the editorship of the *Vietnamese Studies* research series and the newspaper *Vietnam Courier*. His essays, several of which first appeared in the latter two publications, contain complex and interwoven—sometimes deeply personal—reflections on Vietnamese life and the struggle for national independence. His political discussions are sharp and incisive Marxist analyses that seemingly never stoop to dogmatism.

Perhaps the most ambitious piece in the collection is an historical study of the interplay between intellectual, religious, and political life in Vietnamese society during the last thousand years. Entitled "Confucianism and Marxism," the article shows the changing nature of Confucian ideology, first as a liberating force against the Buddhism of the feudal lords and monastic estates, later as an instrument of repression.

Vien criticizes French sociologist Paul Mus for a one-dimensional accounting of Confucianism in Vietnam. In fact, says Vien, there were two different strains of Confucianism. The orthodox strain belonged to the scholars who passed the national exams, became mandarins, and went to live in privileged administrative buildings to serve the king. Those scholars who did not pass the exams, however, went back to their peasant villages where they worked as teachers, scribes, bookkeepers, theatrical directors, and legal counselors. Not infrequently, those same scholars also served as revolutionary commanders who, in the name of Confucian ethics and humanism, led the peasantry in rebellion against a repressive or corrupt monarch.

Vien ends by contrasting the effects of Confucianism with the acceptance of Marxism by large numbers of Vietnamese intellectuals. Far from condemning Confucian doctrine, he points out the positive aspects that were assimilated into the revolutionary practice of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Viet-Minh. History, the essay implies, is to be built upon, not argued against.



Other articles (all made more enjoyable by an eminently readable translation) are more limited in intent: two pieces on the signing of the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, a discussion of socialist development in the third world, a history of socialism in one DRV province since 1954, and reflections on his childhood village. Vien's discussions of government administration reveals a structure that, while not formally democratic in the western sense, is never far removed from the people's moods and needs, and whose decisions are the result of intense interplay between government officials, party cadre, and ordinary citizens. Vien is politically orthodox, yet one never senses rigidity or vulgarity in his orientation.

Unlike most western political commentators, Nguyen Khac Vien writes with grace, power, clarity, and emotion about his long suffering country. His reflections on the Paris Peace Accords are not marked by pathos or self-pity (in contrast to the war's obituaries in the U.S. press), but by hope:

But whenever I close my eyes and try to picture the future, I always see light, and under my feet I feel the firm ground on which we will build... We will always have our mountains and rivers and especially our men and women who have matured in the process. We shall rebuild our country ten times more beautiful. This is not just a promise: for me it is a reality.

And because we know something about the Vietnamese struggle and its accomplishment, we believe him.

Dr. Vien's book may be ordered from Indochina Resource Center, P.O. Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA 94704.

Wages for housework?

by Barbara Dudley

Barbara Ehrenreich's article, "The Politics of Housework," in the March 1975 issue of the NAM newspaper concluded that the issue of Wages for Housework "is a step backwards. As an analysis it revives all the 'old left' pre-feminist shibboleths—the centrality of 'production,' the strategy of economic trade unionism, the acceptance of capitalist definitions of the value and meaning of work. As a demand, it could have been drawn straight from the repertoire of the old AFL as if a new surge of feminism had never occurred in the meantime."

I disagree with Barbara's analysis from many different directions. Her basic argument is that most housework is culturally and commercially imposed "make-work," that is basically petty and unproductive, at least in proportion to the amount of work time put into it. She talks about how much housework could be eliminated if we lowered our personal standards, and stopped worrying about "ring around the collar," and "bathroom odor." After reading her article I spent a couple of days curbing my anxiety and feeling guilty about the standards of cleanliness I impose on myself and my housemates. Then I began to realize that here we are again *blaming ourselves* and feeling guilty about our own oppression.

Socialist feminism must give women, *us*, a way of viewing our work, and our oppression as linked not to our own failure as women, but to a system of capitalism which may benefit individual men but oppresses and exploits all workers, women and men. For many women, housework is their job, not a matter of choice. For women who do not have wage-earning jobs outside the home but keep house and raise the children with a wage-earning man, housework is their means of survival. The standards and norms for housework may be culturally and commercially imposed, but they are enforced by the individual man and children, as well as by society as a whole. Most houseworkers do not have husbands who share housework and childcare, or who agree that a woman's time is better spent in political work or elsewhere.

We cannot offer women the solution of eliminating the "make-work" part of housework and sticking to the bare minimum. Fanatical housekeeping is *not* a leisure class phenomenon, it is socially required of most women in this society. Whatever we may think of the bourgeois values it reflects, only a very small stratum (primarily on the left) can escape the social opprobrium of ignoring these social values.

In addition, for women on welfare with children, slacking off on their housework could mean the loss of their children, if their social worker happens not to share this view of housework. Through working in legal aid offices, I have seen this happen to a number of welfare mothers. For lesbian mothers, who face the constant threat of losing their children to ex-husbands, grandparents, etc., a house that is not meticulous can well be the final evidence of her unfitness.

Wages for Housework as a specific demand may not be appropriate, but as a concept and a strategy it builds on growing anger and class consciousness of women that for many had its beginnings in the women's movement. Active and vocal proponents of women's liberation have often come from an income bracket where their housework does not have to be fulltime, and from a social group where their male peers are beginning to be self-conscious about sharing housework. But many women outside this group have identified over the last ten years or so with the issues raised by the women's movement. Most women are *pissed* by housework, but few have the money to use the

so-called labor-saving devices, and certainly fewer have access to *decent* childcare programs or nursing homes.

One of the major questions about Wages for Housework is where would

that money come from, the husband's paycheck? Another is that it would perpetuate the individualized nature of the work, and the role of women in the family. Neither of these have to be



Pam Harris

Sex & sport

Victims and spoils

by Rich Yurman

One of the most revealing sequences in Peter Davis' fine documentary, *Hearts and Minds* has nothing to do directly with the Vietnam War. It is the exhortation given by a Niles, Ohio, high school football coach to his team at half time. As he literally beats his players about the heads and shoulders with his fists, his choked voice cries to them, "Don't let them beat us! Don't let them beat us! Don't let them beat us!"

This incredible vision of what it means to participate in organized athletics in the U.S. is presented in the film as part of the culture in which the Vietnam War was possible—a culture that could turn young men into the kind of soldiers who would carry out the most brutal of their rulers' orders. At the same time, it captures a central piece of the mythology of sports in our country.

Don't let them beat us. Imagine the coach and players working themselves up for the second half that way if there were women present (it is even remarkable that they carried out the show with the cameras present). That seems to me where much of the very deep opposition to women participating in formerly all male athletics comes from. We men have to be alone in our

agonized quest for triumph. The cheer leaders are just part of the spoils.

That's what I flashed on during the film. Later, I connected it to the chapter "Sex and Sports" in George E. Gilder's *Sexual Suicide*. Gilder presents what must be the last ditch defense of traditional male-female roles as the basis of a sane, sound, stable society. In his view, the family is the absolute essential that holds society together, and the traditional roles of men and women are the only possible ones if the family is to remain a viable institution.

Gilder's argument concerning sports is that "Athletics for men is an ideal of purity and truth...Sports represent to males a realm where they can collectively test themselves against the highest ideals and standards of human performance." This is accomplished, he seems to say, mainly through fantasy, for the male participant in athletics "envisages himself as Walt Frazier...dreams of Tony Trabert." In fact, "He will never be closer to God" than when he, even if just for a fleeting moment, captures the spectacular success of the star.

On the other hand, Gilder continues, when women enter sports, "more attention is paid to the feminine than to the athletic displays of the competitors"—it becomes a "mildly erotic entertainment by girls in hot pants."



problems if we look at Wages for Housework as a strategy that could lead to the socialization of much of the work that is now individualized (*because it would be cheaper!*) and if we look at it as a strategy for raising the class consciousness of women, so that they begin to identify their interests as workers with that of other workers and see the necessity for socialism.

I have several examples of using Wages for Housework as a strategy. One obvious direction is parent- and teacher-controlled, non-profit childcare centers, where parent participants as well as teachers are paid by the state. Another is disability insurance for houseworkers, so that when a woman is ill or injured she receives disability from the state (or from her husband's employer) to cover not only her own medical expenses but the cost of having someone do her housework. Another is a stipend, from the state, for the woman who cares for older family members in her home, rather than the current system where the state *deducts* from old age benefits for the value of the free labor of the family member and the free rent in the family home.

The overwhelming weakness of the Ehrenreich article is that it does not face the need for a strategy for building a revolutionary movement by engaging people in struggles for their own liberation. We do not need to simply develop our analysis and critique of capitalism and assume capitalism will fall under the weight of our analysis. We need to organize people, and among the people we have to organize are houseworkers. Class consciousness comes from struggle, not simply from analysis.

Mr. Gilder may seem pretty absurd to you but how about to that football coach? He can cry and pound on his athletes, begging for a win because they're all men together. If there were a woman or two on the team he couldn't let it all hang out that way. Suppose one of them laughed at him?

The point is not psychological or sociological. It is political. Sports, organized athletics, is an expression of the manhood of many U.S. males, whether they are able to participate or are simply rooters. And this carries over into our political lives. When Spiro Agnew said sports is "The glue that holds American society together" he meant it politically. As long as the image of a male dominated world of Superstars is our model for life and power and winning, it will be easy to convince us to continue the search for a leader who will win, who will carry us out of our troubles—a better coach, someone with a better "Game Plan." And it will be easy to make that the full extent of our political activity.

Political action on any meaningful level is necessarily slow laboring. The ideal of the superstar and the "test against the highest standards of human performance" are short term—the home run, the long bomb, the sprint, the quick easy solution. The long run solution in sports involves placing the emphasis on human needs. This will require cooperation, teamwork, mutual development. These are political ideals of a different type than those of the Ohio football coach.

Ethiopia

(Continued from Page 11)

their language or their music over the radio before the fall of the feudal regime.

The resiliency of feudal Ethiopia, however, was secured by the aristocracy's historic compromise with U.S. corporate capital. In return for military aid and assistance in attempts at stunting rising political consciousness (a massive influx of Peace Corps volunteers, scholarships to American schools for Ethiopian students, the use of U.S. teachers in Ethiopian schools), the feudal comprador class offered open investment opportunities and the establishment of military bases. Without this bargain Haile Selassie's regime would have long ago been a fact of history.

MOST BACKWARD ECONOMY

The net effect of this neo-colonial set-up is that the Ethiopian economy, under the restraint of both feudal social relationships and foreign dominance is one of the most backward in the world.

Accounting for 60% of its total export trade, coffee is Ethiopia's chief export. The U.S. is the chief importer of Ethiopian coffee—it consumes 75% of the total product. Despite the overwhelming reliance of the Ethiopian economy on this one cash crop the actual volume of trade is very small. It ranks 17th among the coffee exporting nations of the third world in volume. Moreover, coffee is not a reliable source of income since the price for coffee is determined by the developed countries. Between 1959 and 1961, for example, the international price for coffee fell 53.5% causing severe economic crises in the coffee-producing nations.

United States' domination of Ethiopia goes much further than its control over coffee; it outbuys its nearest competitor for all Ethiopian raw materials by a margin of 8 to 1. It supplies Ethiopia with the lion's share of its foreign aid. After 30 years of foreign aid, the Ethiopian economy is still reliant on subsistence agriculture. Industry accounts for 7% of the gross domestic product. The annual growth rate of the economy is a dismal 2%. It comes as no surprise that the Ethiopian monetary unit is the dollar.

A large portion of American aid to Ethiopia is military aid. Ethiopia is one of three African countries that receive such aid from the U.S. The other two nations are Liberia, the African subsidiary of Firestone, currently ruled by an elite descending from former American slaves, and Zaire, whose head of state is Joseph Mobutu, the CIA protege who ordered the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and is now making designs on not yet independent Angola. These three states are the cornerstones of U.S. imperial strategy in black Africa. For Ethiopia's part, it allowed the U.S. to establish a major military base specializing in communications near Asmara in return for the aid. Situated near the Red Sea, the Kagnew base has also been an important part of U.S. military strategy for the Middle East. Its range is so vast that it decoded and handed over to the Portuguese messages of the Angolan MPLA liberation movement.

RISE OF THE ARMED FORCES

Revolutionary consciousness was on the rise in February 1974 but it did not have the maturity to reach the point where it was capable of reorganizing Ethiopian society according to the interests of the peasants and workers. An understanding was built that not only was Haile Selassie human but that he was also a primary actor in their oppression. More important, their oppression was seen as something they could change; they understood that they could make history but they did not understand how.

In the absence of class consciousness in the working class or peasantry a power vacuum existed. Clearly the imperial family and feudal aristocracy had lost their hegemony, but there were no other forces prepared to develop an alternative organization of Ethiopian society. The military eventually moved into this gap.

It was difficult for the military to act. After an attempted coup in 1960 Haile Selassie established a system of command where each wing of the armed forces was directly responsible to the emperor. There were no contacts between the different forces.

The one vehicle for unified armed forces action was the committee that had arisen to press for wages for the armed forces rank and file—the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee (AFCC). Formed for this one purpose, its membership was far from homogeneous and its actions were slow and deliberate. The Ethiopian people unanimously supported the AFCC in its struggle against the feudal regime.



Students and urban workers were always a step ahead of the AFCC—they called for Haile Selassie's deposal long before the armed forces acted. By the time of Selassie's deposal the students saw a definite danger in the military moving to consolidate its power to the point of establishing their own dictatorship. The students, urban workers, and some of the more radical forces in the armed forces initiated a campaign around the slogan, "We don't want a military government. We want a people's government."

This caused the AFCC to go into action. They used the cover of their arrests of certain aristocrats to arrest leading Marxists in civilian and military life. All of them, AFCC alleged, had been guilty of opposing the philosophy of 'Ethiopia Tikdem' (Ethiopia First), a nationalist slogan so vague as to be meaningless.

The Ethiopian trade union (CELU) called a general strike in response to these arrests and the arrests of trade union leaders. The students supported their call, but the strike was a massive failure. The students and CELU leadership had given uncritical support to the AFCC in their struggle against the feudal regime and the workers, recognizing AFCC's prominence in the anti-feudal struggle, saw no need to oppose them.

Shortly after the arrests, the feudal elements at large began to plant bombs in various civic centers in Addis Ababa. The AFCC responded with the

infamous executions. The bourgeois press throughout the world were most righteous in their denunciations (they had failed to mention the deaths of the 200,000 peasants) but they left out one vital fact: five of the sixty executed had been leading Marxists in the armed forces.

After the executions visible opposition to the armed forces disappeared. Their declaration in favor of "Ethiopian socialism" gained popular support, but skepticism is widespread both as to their commitment and their ability to actualize such a program. With many leading Marxists dead, imprisoned, or in exile, the AFCC deprived itself of some of Ethiopia's natural leadership for such a move. It is unclear at this point whether or not such a deficiency can be overcome.

The most hopeful prospect for building a socialist Ethiopia on the horizon now is the student rural work campaign. Originally planned by the students themselves, the AFCC approved it at the height of student opposition apparently because they saw it as an excellent opportunity to disperse the rebellious students. The program calls for university, college, and high school students to spend one and a half years in Ethiopia's rural areas among the peasantry, conducting classes in agricultural sciences, hygiene, literacy, and political education.

The AFCC does not appear to have realized it, but it was clear to this observer that the campaign has already developed a momentum of its own and could become an important force in radicalization and the development of class consciousness among both the peasants and the students. The students have been a pampered elite, many of whom had never used a broom before the campaign began. They will have a chance to learn from the peasants the story of their life: the meaning of feudal oppression, the simple ability to stay alive under impossible conditions and hopeless odds, the reality of social castes and classes. The peasants will be exposed to the liberating potential of scientific action and scientific thought through irrigation, latrines, vaccinations, the theory of class struggle.

This is the first in a two-part series on Ethiopia. Next month: The Struggle in Eritrea.

Heartland

(Continued from Page 12)

The anti-imperialism workshop discussed the importance of integrating the lessons of the war with issues around the economy, and of giving more attention to developing revolutionary struggles in Africa.

Participants in the socialist feminist workshop discussed the scarcity of women in NAM and the strain that situation puts on the women in chapters. Those organizing the nationalist socialist-feminist conference in July stressed that the emphasis of the conference will be on theory and strategies for socialist-feminist organizing. Since NAM first initiated this conference last summer, NAM has become an equal participant along with nine other socialist-feminist groups.

The workplace organizing discussion centered on the Expanded NIC plans to develop a minimal experimental position of workplace organizing at its May meeting. There is concern that we develop an overall analysis of the role trade unions can be expected to play in the revolutionary process. And because the trade unions will play some role in this process, there is considerable feeling for a position that advocates working with progressive union leadership when possible. At the same time, of course, unions are understood to have traditionally played a role of cooperation with management.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed at the final plenary. They were understood as recommendations to both chapters in the region and also those in other regions:

- 1) All NAM members will be asked to give at least 10% of their \$100-\$200 additional tax rebate to the national organization.
- 2) All chapters will undertake actions around Indochina May 4-12 to coincide with United Campaign actions to end all aid to Indochina, both in the form of military and disguised humanitarian aid.
- 3) A proposal to establish a regional media archives in Dayton was tabled till the next RIC meeting in June.

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portedly went to the forest to join the struggle, built on the original Khmer Rouge resistance.

In his book, *My War With the CIA*, Sihanouk describes how North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front aided in solving the problems of arms and training: "At my request, [North Vietnam's] Gen. Giap sent military instructors for our forces to reinforce a handful of veterans we already had. In quantity, those that Giap sent were few—a couple of thousand—but in quality they were superb...They came, did their job, and went home again..."

"From the moment of the coup," Sihanouk continued, "the NLF knew that it was only a matter of time before there would be a concerted drive against their bases and supply dumps in the frontier areas. So they started distributing arms, which would be lost anyway, in generous measure to our rapidly expanding resistance forces." And, Sihanouk added, "there were large-scale desertions of Lon Nol units. In many cases units simply disbanded and handed over their arms to the partisans."

Within a few weeks, the new army held five provinces. "With his bombs," Sihanouk says, [Nixon] "performed the miracle of turning our people into revolutionaries within weeks." Less than two years later, an AP dispatch in Dec 1971 reported that "highly placed official sources in Saigon estimated that enemy forces now control as much as 80 percent of Cambodia." In 1972, Sihanouk said that the Liberation had 200,000 men and women.

The Royal Government of National Union is now recognized by 62 nations. According to its own reports, it administers 90 percent of Cambodia, providing education and medical care, and carrying out moderate land reform.

In an interview with Oriana Fallaci published in August 1973, Sihanouk explained why, although he is not a communist, he believes that the revolutionaries should govern Cambodia.

The communists, he said, are "serious people. They know how to build up a country and they have done things that I never succeeded in doing. For example, they have put an end to corruption...It's no longer as it was in my day when everyone was lazy, singing Sihanouk's songs beneath the palm and banana trees... [the people] have learned how to work hard and as a result they are no longer hungry. In the liberated areas they no longer lack anything: neither meat nor vegetables, fruit, rice, clothes. Despite the war, rice production has doubled.

"...and when one sees such results, one has to admit that those who have obtained them have the right to govern the country. Mademoiselle, between Lon Nol's corrupt regime and the Khmer Rouge's serious one, the choice is easy."

(Continued from Page 3)

tion of production and the normalization of the people's life. Jobs will be provided to the unemployed and other working people. Business circles are guaranteed of their ownership, and are allowed to continue their business in the interest of the nation and the people.

Devoted care will be taken of orphans, the disabled, and the aged.

7. Encouragement will be given to farmers to rehabilitate and develop agricultural production, and to fishing, salt-making, and forestry. Encouragement will be given to the owners of industrial plantations and orchards to continue their business.

8. All cultural, scientific, and technical establishments, all schools and hospitals will open again to serve the people. All agencies in service of the reactionary, decadent, enslaving culture of U.S. imperialism and the puppet administration will be strictly banned. All healthy national cultural activities are encouraged to develop.

9. The strict implementation of the policy on March 25 by the RSVN-PRG concerning puppet officers and soldiers. Soldiers, officers, policemen, disabled soldiers, veterans, and civil servants who leave the enemy ranks and come to the liberated zone, or stay in the liberated areas and report themselves to the revolutionary administration in strict conformity with the regulations of the revolutionary administration, will receive assistance to earn their living, go home, or, if they wish, to serve in the new regime according to their capabilities. The meritorious will be rewarded, but those who work against the revolution will be severely punished. Criminals who have sincerely repented will be pardoned.

10. The lives and property of foreign residents are protected. All foreign residents must respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam.

NAM aids hospital union drive

by Durham Health Collective

In Durham, N.C., hospitals constitute the largest industry. The largest hospital in the area in Duke University Medical Center, employing over 9,000. For the past six months a major unionizing drive has been taking place at Duke Hospital. If the workers at Duke Hospital win a union, it will have a major impact on the workers' movement in this area.

The NAM Health Collective has been central to the drive to organize AFSCME local 77 at Duke Hospital. Many of the collective's union members are active on the union's organizing committee. The collective distributes a weekly newsletter (*Tell It Like It Is*) which provides news and analysis of Duke's policies and union-busting activities. The newsletter has been very helpful as an organizing tool in that it helps to politicize everyday life in the hospital.

While most of the organizing work has been carried out among service workers, there has been considerable support for the union among aides and licensed practical nurses. There is support for the union among most working class sectors with the exception of white clerical workers. Also, technical workers are less receptive to the union, though several groups of technical workers are currently forming a Technical Workers' Organization to be supportive of the union drive and to focus attention on specific problems of technical workers.

The same has been true of other elements in the hospital (e.g., RNs, residents, "professional" med techs,

etc.) in that there is a great deal of animosity toward the union, combined with a sense of elitism and professional privilege.

The union leadership is progressive and this has enabled the unions at Duke to be vehicles for carrying out class struggle. When the administration recently rearranged the pay schedule, inconveniencing the workers by postponing a week's pay every month, the unions led the protest. Within a week thousands of names were on petitions, and several key groups were threatening walkouts. The administration was forced to back down.

North Carolina is the second least unionized state, with less than 8% of the workers in unions. With the current enthusiasm of workers across the state (especially in textiles) for building militant rank and file unions, we expect the workers' movement in N.C. to be substantially advanced in the coming months.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Andy Friedman
Del Griffin
Dan Marschall
Marty Meckel
Jerry Morgan
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Nick Rabkin
Jain Simmons

our mistake

Our apologies to readers of John and Barbara Ehrenreich's article in the March issue of *New American Movement* ("The Long March: Goodbye to All That"). We inadvertently switched around several paragraphs, making the article utterly incomprehensible. Everything following "But now let's remember..." in columns three and four should follow the last complete paragraph in column one.

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- Los Angeles 1, P. O. Box 24521, Los Angeles 90024
- Los Angeles 2, c/o Goldberg, 2025A Cloverfield Blvd., Santa Monica 90404
- Los Angeles 3, c/o Wollin, 11726 Blix St., N. Hollywood 91607
- Los Angeles 4, c/o Healey, 1733 1/2 W. 84 St., Los Angeles 90047
- Los Angeles Media, c/ Zheutlin-Talbot, 237 Windward, Venice 90201
- San Diego, c/o Martin, 5113 Cape May, San Diego 92107
- Santa Cruz, c/o Ackerman, 306 Seabright, S. Cruz 95062

COLUMBIA (Washington, D. C.)

Bread and Roses, 1734 20th St. N.W., Dupont Circle, Columbia 20009

ILLINOIS

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- DeKalb, 839 N. 11th St., DeKalb 60115
- Chicago Metro NAM:
Haymarket Branch, c/o Mohil, 6147 N. Claremont, Chicago 60659
- Fox River Valley Branch, P. O. Box 311, Dundee 60118
- U. of Chicago, c/o Cameron, 5606 Maryland, Chicago 60637

IOWA

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

MASSACHUSETTS

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

MICHIGAN

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

MINNESOTA

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

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- Metropolis, P. O. Box 682, Syosset, NY 11791
- Westside, 200 W. 72nd St., Rm. 47, NY 10023

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- Durham Health Collective, P.O. Box 1301, Durham 27702
- Duke, Box 505, 212 Flowers Bldg. Duke U., Durham 27706

OHIO

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

PENNSYLVANIA

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

RHODE ISLAND

- Providence, c/o Weisberger, 83 President Ave., Providence 02906

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- Lawrence KS, c/o Kaplan, 1304 Tennessee, Lawrence 66044
- Macomb, IL, c/o Gladys, Newman Center, 314 N. Ward, Macomb 61455
- Normal, IL, c/o Palmer, Bellarmine Bldg. Normal 67761
- Norman, OK, P. O. Box 2370, Norman 73069
- Suffolk, c/o Melchior/Stevenson, 9 Whitestone Rd., Sound Beach, NY 11789
- Buffalo, NY, c/o Flo Hodes, 66 Trinity Pl., Buffalo 14201

Grand jury harasses gay activists

by Laura Burns

Six gay activists in Lexington, Ky., have been jailed for refusing to answer grand jury questions concerning two acquaintances of theirs who the FBI claimed were fugitives from the government. The six witnesses were subpoenaed by the grand jury immediately after exercising their legal right to refuse to answer questions asked them by FBI agents. They were jailed upon refusing to answer grand jury questions after the U.S. attorney succeeded in imposing "use immunity" on the witnesses, thus denying them the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment. They are being held in three different county jails and may remain there until the term of the grand jury expires in April 1976.

The five lesbians and one gay man first ran afoul of the government when they were approached by the FBI to answer questions about two women who the FBI claimed were Katherine Power and Susan Saxe living under pseudonyms in the Lexington gay community. (Power and Saxe are being sought for interstate flight to avoid prosecution for a Boston bank robbery in which a bank guard died. Saxe has since been captured.) The six were

threatened with grand jury subpoenas when they refused to answer the FBI questions. They are basing their defense on the argument that the grand jury is being misused in the attempt to acquire information that the witnesses refused the FBI (which does not have subpoena power).

"Use immunity" is a form of immunity that does not protect the individual against prosecution, but only against the use of her own testimony against her. Confirmation of self-incriminating statements can be gotten from others' testimony. Since the granting of use immunity suspends the individual's right to silence, it is being tested for constitutionality in the courts.

Use immunity, however, is only one of the tactics employed by the grand jury and the FBI in harassing the six activists. The FBI has threatened the witnesses and their friends, has informed the witnesses' relatives of their sexual preferences, and offered expense money to at least one friend of a witness to come to Lexington and convince her to testify. An FBI informant stated in a sworn affidavit that the FBI had instructed the friend to tell those detained that the FBI had letters containing answers to the questions

asked of the six. If true, this fact makes clear the intent of the government to harass rather than to investigate. (One of the six had received an envelope in the mail from which the contents had been removed.)

The grand jury is a useful tool for those who wish to intimidate and harass leftists and oppressed groups. There is no limit to the questions a prosecutor may ask, and the prosecutor has complete control over the entire proceeding—who is called and what information comes out and what doesn't. Witnesses may not have their attorneys present—they must leave the room to get legal advice. Grand jury indictments cannot be challenged on grounds of illegally obtained evidence. Persons who refuse to answer grand jury questions under immunity can be cited for contempt of court and jailed for the length of the term of the grand jury, or until they answer the questions.

The six have appealed their case, and they have the support of the Lexington Grand Jury Defense Fund Committee. The National Interim Committee of NAM issued a statement condemning the abuse of the grand jury and all attacks on the rights of gay people. One of the six is a member of the NAM gay caucus. (See box.)

STATEMENT ON THE LEXINGTON SIX BY THE NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The National Interim Committee of the New American Movement calls on its chapters and allies to support the six members of the Lexington radical community who have been jailed in a gross abuse of the grand jury process. After a long train of harassments by the FBI, these gay people are being used by the government in an attempt to embarrass and intimidate the entire radical community of Lexington.

It is clear from the facts of the case that it was the exercise of their right to refuse to speak to an FBI agent which caused these people to be subpoenaed by the grand jury, a clear misuse of its subpoena powers. Furthermore, the FBI inquiry into their personal beliefs and sexual preferences makes it clear that the goal of the investigation was not simply to gather facts on the Saxe-Power case, as the bureau alleged.

NAM is in solidarity with those who are fighting the use of grand juries to rob citizens of their democratic rights, and we support the struggles of gay people against repression and persecution. Free the Lexington Six!

corporate subsidies

(Continued from Page 1)

does not necessarily create jobs. Employers faced with the choice of buying labor-saving machinery or hiring new workers will invariably choose the former when rewarded with a 10% tax deduction. Similarly, those industries which are more capital-intensive, like the oil industry, will be able to make greater use of the tax credit than industries like housing which depend more heavily on human labor.

The best possible effect of all this will be to maintain today's high level of unemployment while stimulating a modest turn-around in tomorrow's economy. Ford's economic forecasters see real GNP dropping 3.3% this year, then increasing 4.8% in 1976. This means that by next year the economy will be producing at record levels with unemployment at a chronic 8% or higher.

Such forecasts put Congress and the administration face to face with the

problem of trying to finance a growing public sector (welfare, unemployment insurance, social security) at the same time they find it necessary to stimulate the private sector with a reduction in taxes. With unemployment officially at 8.7%, it is all the more important to keep some money flowing to those who are out of work—both to keep them in the marketplace as consumers and off the streets that lead to social unrest. At the same time, businessmen complain that a tax reduction coupled with increased social spending is actually "welfare legislation disguised as a tax cut." And the deficits this creates threaten business and labor alike with the unpredictability of long-term high inflation.

Caught in this contradiction, Ford and his advisers take a hard-line position. Ford's State of the Union message in January requested a 5% ceiling on federal payroll and social security increases in spite of a predicted 11.3% rise in the cost of living. When signing the congressional tax package in April,



he then called for a freeze on all new federal spending. Obviously, the Republicans are willing to risk some amount of popular disaffection in the short term in order to promote a more tolerable business climate in the future.

The Democrats, on the other hand, generally press the short-term view of greater spending today with less regard for the inflationary consequences tomorrow. The tax package they forced on Ford includes such provisions as a low-income tax credit for workers with families who earned less than \$8,000 in 1974 and an extension of federal unemployment benefits for an additional 13 weeks.

But Democrats and Republicans alike face the same contradiction. Whether the budget deficit for fiscal 1976 is \$60 billion (as Ford wants) or \$100 billion (as the administration predicts it will be without a freeze on new expenditures), it is certain to reheat an already simmering rate of inflation. The economic medicine of tax cuts and deficit spending was concocted for a simpler time when inflation and recession usually didn't co-exist. The 1964 tax cut, for example, took effect at a time when inflation registered only 1.3%. Within two years that rate had climbed to

2.9%, while unemployment fell from 5.2% to 3.8%.

This time around, the unemployment picture is unlikely to improve at all, while inflation could approach 15% by the end of 1976. Then it may be time for the same economic medicine all over again. As *Business Week* recently reported, "Although President Ford has just signed the biggest tax reduction in history, Washington is already seriously considering the need for another cut in 1976."

The economic strategies of both political parties thus begin to seem more and more like the tactics of the sea captain who, when his ship springs a leak and begins to list severely to one side, simply floods enough compartments on the opposite side, lets the ship tilt back to an even keel, and proceeds on his way. With each such maneuver, the ship rides deeper in the water.

The U.S. economy, now weighed down with an increasingly burdensome federal debt, already registers dangerous high water marks of unemployment and recession. At some time in the future, any continuation of the same old economic tactics will simply swamp the ship.