



## The daily cardinal. August 11, 1972

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## A Note from the Underground

### Sisters and Brothers,

I have the privilege of knowing Karl Armstrong and I am honored to consider him a friend. Thus his capture and persecution has been personally painful, as well as a setback for the revolutionary movement to which I am fully committed.

Karl Armstrong does not fit the media stereotype of a radical bomber. He is a soft-spoken, sensitive individual, not given to the flamboyant style the press always associates with his "type." A strict vegetarian, a reserved and respectful person, Karl constantly strives to make his daily life a proper reflection of his politics.

Karleton Lewis Armstrong is a stone communist revolutionary. He was not much of a "movement activist," belonged to no established political organization, and was rarely seen in the circles of the Madison left. But he was a militant supporter, and was with us on the streets many times.

His hatred of all pigs and his anger at their barbarous actions is matched only by his love for the heroic fighters against them. I never knew anyone with deeper respect for the Vietnamese, with such complete affection for their courage, determination, and beauty. Some might refer to his desire to aid them as an "obsession," but a term with such heavy connotations of neurosis is hardly fitting for such righteous feelings.

I HOPE MY description of Karl does not seem unreal, too perfect. He has faults and shortcomings like all of us. But he is a beautiful brother, a man who has dedicated his life to helping the fight against the racist, genocidal machinery of U.S. imperialism. It is an irony of the cruelest kind that he is now imprisoned as a "criminal" by men whose decisions have caused the slaughter of millions and whose policies bring suffering and starvation upon two-thirds of humanity.

I know that many of you share my sadness that Karl is now trapped in the vise of fascism. I am also sure that you share my feelings of frustration and powerlessness that come from seemingly being unable to respond in a way which would express our total rejection of the system that imprisons its best elements while real criminals hold the highest positions of power.

But we do have some power, and part of the process of growing and progressing in a revolutionary way is understanding the extent of our power and acting within it, even if it means taking steps which appear small and irrelevant in the face of the horrors brought down by the pigs. We can make a difference. In May of 1970 millions of us fought the imperialist invasion of Cambodia, and although we didn't stop the war, we did prevent the planned large-scale amphibious invasion and forced Nixon to at least claim he was getting out. It was a great victory for our movement, recognized by the Indochinese people, who clearly expressed their gratitude and feelings of solidarity.

THE FACT THAT we are not the Tupamaros and cannot physically liberate Karl Armstrong and all other

July 26, 1972

political prisoners right now should not prevent us from doing good work around them.

The Movement must point out that Karl's "guilt" or "innocence" has no bearing on the correctness of the action for which he is accused. It must be clearly stated once again that the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center was a good thing, that as an institution directly serving U.S. imperialism it had to be stopped by any means necessary. We must speak to the absurdity of the murder charges, not by rationalizing an unnecessary death, but by pointing out the real killers—the Nixons, Lairds, and Rossers who are responsible for the deaths of millions of Vietnamese.

Karl Armstrong's trial should be used as a forum to tell the world that the bombing was an act of love, certainly not for the vicious pigs on the AMRC staff, but for the Third World liberation fighters who face daily the computerized death of "smart" bombs, electronic battlefields, and Army Maths.

If good political education can be done around him, then the capture of Karl Armstrong will be far from a one-sided victory for the pigs. Karl is obviously continuing the struggle: By using his case as a vehicle to fight imperialism we will be giving him the support he needs and deserves.

AND TO KARL, let me say this. I feel sure that I speak for Dwight and Leo and all outlaws from Amerikan injustice in saying that you are an inspiration to us all, and that our love and respect for you cannot be adequately expressed in words. The pigs will never crush your beautiful revolutionary spirit, and we look forward to the day when you can rejoin us on this side of the struggle. We will always stand beside you, just as you will be with us in the difficult times ahead.

Today is the thirteenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, a day for revolutionaries everywhere to celebrate a decisive victory over U.S. imperialism. Karl Armstrong loves Cuba with a special fervor. It was two years ago today that we joined thousands of freaks on Mifflin Street in a joyous festival of solidarity for the Cuban people and freedom fighters all over the planet.

Being away those two years has been very difficult, and I miss you all a great deal. But my heart and soul have always been with you. It was absolutely thrilling to read about your great actions during the Laos invasion and around the recent savage reescalation of the war. It is so important to continue that fight, to let the world know that there will be no peace on the streets of Amerika while there are bombs being dropped on Indochina.

We are separated only physically, you and I. We are different parts of the same struggle, a struggle which is also being waged in the rice paddies of Vietnam, the plains of Africa, the fields of Cuba—everywhere that people are fighting the United States Government in quest of a better life. We will meet again someday.  
VENCEREMOS!

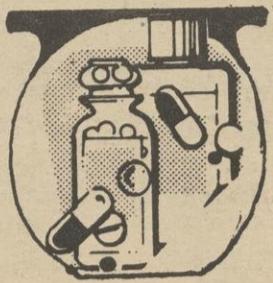
*Much love and power, David Fine*



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# Daily Cardinal

You are holding back the tide of history, which you will not succeed in doing, and you are trying to forestall a second American revolution, which you will not succeed in doing.

david dellinger

We see the U.S. policy in Vietnam as part of a global strategy for containing revolutionary change in the "third world" nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Rather than the result of an essentially good government's mistaken decisions, we see the world-wide exploitation and oppression of those insurgent peoples as the logical extension of the giant U.S. corporations' expanding and necessary search for higher profits and strategic resources.

That system is most properly named imperialism, and we stand by and support all those who struggle against its onslaught. They are our brothers and sisters, not our enemies.

from "An Introduction to SDS"  
(1968)

## IMPERIALISM

By BILL DUDDLESTON

When I was asked to write an article on imperialism, I reflected on the ambiguity of the term. Language just doesn't capture the reality. A friend once exclaimed that imperialism like pornography was very difficult to define, but once you saw it you immediately knew what it was. The people of Vietnam in their everyday struggle against the bomb belching monster need no elaborate definitions of imperialism.

Imperialism viewed systematically is derivative, and consequently cannot be dissociated from the global expansion of capitalism. If capital, which is usually perceived as a physical entity (machinery, money, etc.) possessing only a quantitative dimension, is not fundamentally a thing or a substance but a relation of exploitation between the owning class and the working class, then capitalism is a network of exploitative relationships.

The vulnerability of the working class to starvation and the relative staying power of the owners of the means of production result in a simple bargain: the workers will eat if they work. How fast and how long the workers toil is the basis of the class struggle; the surplus production accrues to the capitalist and the cycle is repeated. The capital enables the capitalist to exploit the worker and appropriate the surplus which was created by the activity of the worker.

THE EXPANSION OF capitalism on a global scale will not only reproduce these basic exploitative relationships between the owning class and the working class in the various regions of the world but additional exploitative relations will be created between the metropolitan country and the satellite region in the process of capitalist expansion. It is this derivative network of relationships between metropolis and satellite which we call imperialism.

Now it is important to note that this global expansion of capitalism has been occurring over the last five centuries. The different modalities which capitalism has passed through has had a direct influence on the specific relationship between the metropolitan country and the satellite region.

Colonialism, the imperialism of free trade, the new imperialism, and neocolonialism are labels used by historians to demarcate certain periods in which the relationships between the metropolis and the satellite assumed different forms. This taxonomy should not obscure the underlying mechanism at work: the expansion and penetration of

capitalism throughout the world.

Now what exactly are these additional exploitative relationships between the metropolis and the satellite? The desire to move on to more concrete analysis cannot be satisfied until we deal with a more fundamental question: why does capitalism have to expand?

There is a basic law in capitalist development that an individual capitalist who stands still is in constant danger of being wiped out. Two quotations from disparate sources substantiate this point:

Always we are hoping that we need expand no farther; yet, ever we are finding that to stop expanding would be to fall behind, and even today the successive improvements and inventions follow each other so rapidly that we see just as much yet to be done. When the manufacturer of steel ceases to grow he begins to decay, so we must keep extending."

"competition makes the immanent laws of capitalist production to be felt by each individual capitalist as external coercive laws. It compels him to keep constantly extending his capital, in order to preserve it, but extend it he cannot except by means of progressive accumulation."

The first quotation is credited to the great capitalist predator, Andrew Carnegie, and the second is from Karl Marx' *Capital*, Volume 1, p.649. Of course, similar sentiments could have been elicited from any State Street liquor merchant beleaguered by the threat of competition.

The second law of capitalist development is that in order to expand one has to accumulate profits. Since capital recognizes only profitability as a border to its expansion, capitalism has spread all over the world in search of profits.

As capitalism matured and as the economies of the advanced metropolitan countries were transformed by this accumulation of capital, the relations between the metropolis and the satellite changed in form, but in substance the satellite was still locked into an economic dependence on the metropolis.

Plunder was the most primitive form of exploitation exercised by the metropolis. Spain excelled in that art, and the accumulation process was aided by the influx of treasure from the so-called New World. However, the

unabashed exploitation of the Indians by the Spanish was not as profitable in the long run as systematic blood-letting which was perfected by the British over the centuries.

At first, the plantation colonies worked by African slaves provided the British with valuable commodities such as sugar, tobacco, and indigo which were easily disposed of on the European markets, and the proceeds used for capital accumulation. With the growth of industrial capitalism, the plantation economies which had been mere appendages became more integrally tied to the domestic economy of Britain.

The colonies were not only suppliers of crucial raw materials but the settlement colonies because important consumers of manufacturing goods. This development was a significant stimulant to the capital accumulation process. This international specialization of labor proved to be quite beneficial for the metropolitan countries.

THE SPECIALIZATION OF the satellite regions on foodstuffs and raw materials resulted in the lowering of the costs of production in the metropolis. Cheaper manufacturing goods, increased sales, and a greater mass of profit which was plowed back into new ventures were the results of this specialization process.

In addition, profits earned in the colonies accrued to the metropolis and rate of accumulation was increased. The industrial revolution in part can be attributed to the rapid accumulation of capital and the large markets afforded by the colonial regions.

The satellite regions were tailored to fit the needs of the metropolis and to act as a shock absorber when there were disruptions in the domestic economy. The development of any autonomy was stifled for fear that the orderly flow of profits would be disturbed. The mechanisms by which this structural dependence was insured were outright political control, economic restrictions, and control over monetary and fiscal policies.

The Great Depression and World War II upset this symbiotic relationship. These two cataclysmic events shook the capitalist world and sent shock waves to all areas of the world.

EXPORTERS OF FOODSTUFFS and raw materials were seriously affected by the collapse of international markets.

Export earnings dropped precipitously and their life line was severed.

Local businessmen and exporters saw their salvation in protectionism, and they began a concerted industrialization program designed to substitute home

manufactures for imported goods—steel, autos, etc.

On the surface, this industrialization drive was a threat to the advanced capitalist countries. However, capitalism had sown the seeds of relative impoverishment as well as the relative impoverishment in these satellite regions. Clientele social classes had evolved with the spread of capitalism in the satellite regions. These local businessmen and exporters were dominant elites within their own countries yet they were junior partners of metropolitan interests sharing similar ideologies.

Given the fact that these purveyors of the import substitution policy were fellow travelers, the subversion of this nationalist policy was not difficult to accomplish with promises of foreign aid, development plans drawn up by World Bank technocrats, and the direct influence of multinational corporations.

THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION is considered to be the modern agent of imperialism, and it's the Trojan Horse method of exploitation. Corporations seeking to compensate for displaced exports due to the import substitution programs relocated production facilities in the satellite regions. In addition, plants were erected in these cheap labor zones in order to ship goods back to the metropolis where higher wages prevailed.

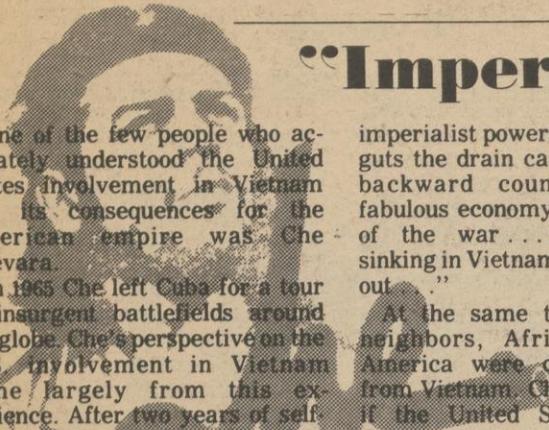
Ostensibly this direct investment improved the standard of living of a certain layer of the population fortunate enough to gain employment.

Objectively this invasion of metropolitan capital has been quite pernicious. The large multinational corporations have invaded the most dynamic industries. They have bought out native capitalists and tapped local savings for their own expansion thereby "de-nationalizing" the capital which could potentially be used for the development of the satellite's entire national economy.

This worldwide integration being effected by the 200 largest multinational corporations is a reinforcement of the structural dependence. National goals cannot be effectively implemented because the goals of the multinational corporations may diverge from the societal goal.

The sine qua non of capitalism is profits, and challenges to that goal will be resisted at unbelievable costs as Vietnam has shown. Capitalism's ungodly offspring, imperialism, requires some upkeep. The question is which class pays while the child plays?

# Create Two, Three... Many Insurgencies



## "Imperialism is Sinking in Vietnam"

One of the few people who accurately understood the United States' involvement in Vietnam and its consequences for the American empire was Che Guevara.

In 1965 Che left Cuba for a tour of insurgent battlefields around the globe. Che's perspective on the U.S. involvement in Vietnam came largely from this experience. After two years of self-imposed silence Che surfaced in 1967 with a communique from "somewhere in the world" to the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In his communique he noted that "The greatest of the

imperialist powers feels in its own guts the drain caused by a poor, backward country; and its fabulous economy feels the effect of the war... imperialism is sinking in Vietnam; it sees no way out."

At the same time, Vietnam's neighbors, Africa and Latin America were drawing lessons from Vietnam. Che reasoned that if the United States could be drawn into several Vietnams simultaneously it would signal the deathknell of the American empire.

As a parting watchword to his fellow revolutionaries around the globe, Che, who was soon to die in Bolivia in pursuit of the goals he

By AL GEDICKS

enunciated here, enjoined them: "Create two, three... many Vietnams."

NO LESS THAN five strong revolutionary groups have appeared on the Latin American scene with the potential of further weakening United States control of the Latin American continent—the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Chilean MIR, the Argentine ERP-PRT, the Colombian National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Bolivian National Liberation Army (BLN). A good part of the explanation for this upsurge has been the total failure of the Alliance for

Progress Program to solve any of the basic problems of the Latin American people. And it wasn't because the appropriations weren't enough. The Alliance for Progress was doomed to failure because it didn't affect the imperialist relationship that is the fundamental cause of the conditions the United States says it wants to alleviate.

Latin American countries are rich in natural resources, but their people are poor because their economies are lopsided—the wealth that flows from the Latin economies is appropriated by a handful of American monopolies who are interested in a source of raw materials, a supply of cheap

labor, and a market for U.S. manufactured goods.

"On this continent of semi-colonies about four persons per minute die of hunger, of curable illness or premature old age, 5,500 per day, two million per year, ten million each five years... Meanwhile, from Latin America a continuous torrent of money flows to the United States: some \$4,000 a minute, \$5 million a day, \$2 billion a year, \$10 billion every five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, there remains one corpse. A thousand dollars per corpse: that is the price of what is called imperialism! A thousand dollars per death, four times a minute!"

FIDEL'S STATEMENT of the Latin American reality is as true today as it was when it was made at the beginning of the Alliance for Progress Program in 1962. Eleven years after the initiation of the Alliance for Progress Cuba remains the only country in the hemisphere which is capable of meeting the health, educational and nutritional needs of her population.

The World Health Organization named Cuba as the country that has made the most advances in medicine and health care, and now rates it as a medically advanced country on a level with Sweden. And this example of Cuba is another part of the explanation for the new revolutionary upsurge in Latin America.

The contrast between Rockefeller's reception in Latin America in the spring of 1969 and the reception of Fidel in Chile is enlightening. While Rockefeller was in Argentina urban guerrillas

(Continued on Page 18)

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# Corporate Investment Supports Apartheid

The American press has given some attention in recent months to the particularly obtrusive activities of International Telephone and Telegraph (IT&T) in Chile, providing an apt illustration of 'imperialism in action' in the corporate tinkering in the affairs of a sovereign state. Much less note has been taken of IT&T's ongoing involvement in Southern Africa, through which that company is contributing to the continuing use of legal violence against the African peoples.

By its very presence in the Southern African states, IT&T is collaborating with racist policies, for no corporation in those states can independently stand against the law which is intricately structured to ensure the continued subordination and repression of the black population.

IT&T ~~must~~ (and willingly does) comply with laws which prohibit equalization of wage scales for the races in South Africa. It must maintain a strict segregation of job categories by race, hiring blacks only for jobs requiring relatively little skill, ensuring that no black or coloured worker is ever in a position where whites are subordinate.

Management of IT&T subsidiaries in South Africa apparently see no problem involved in their company's interaction with the South African government. Their object is to make profits in their operations, and the possibility of doing so is enhanced when wages are kept abysmally low by legal means. Louis Wildman, managing director of IT&T's subsidiary Standard Telephone and Cables (STC), and since 1970 IT&T's chairman for Africa, commented in an interview in 1971 that 'the colored races' in South Africa 'are better off than anywhere else.'

He has no qualms about IT&T's Southern African presence because he believes that 'industry works for the people.' He opposed the sanctions that have been imposed on Rhodesia for the past several years, believing that they do no good and that they have disrupted the traditional Southern Africa area and the integrated trading system within IT&T's world network.

IT&T EMPLOYS A TOTAL of approximately 1800 in its South African operations, the majority of these being at the STC plant,

## IT&T: Imperialism in Action

By the MADISON AREA COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

located at a 71-acre industrial site in Boksburg, outside of Johannesburg. Of the 1400 Boksburg employees, approximately 800 are Coloureds and 100 Africans. In the spring of 1971, it was estimated by the management that average salaries for Coloured workers ranged from 73.5¢ (U.S.) to 92¢ an hour. African wages are lower and unreported.

These wages for Coloured workers of from \$134 to \$168 per month are somewhat higher than the national average in manufacturing of \$100 per month, but lower than the average Coloured wages of \$181 which

prevail throughout the South African metal and communications industry.

STC is one of the most sophisticated electronics manufacturers on the African sub-continent. The Boksburg plant includes the only facility in Africa which manufactures transistor circuitry; soon it is to become the major supplier of micro-wave equipment and receiver components.

With the growth of South Africa's communications industry, STC has prospered, reportedly expanding its assets from \$16 million to \$23 million in

1970 alone. Between 1966 and 1971, sales trebled and annual turnover rose to \$42 million. Products made at Boksburg are sold not only in South Africa but also exported to other African states and to Southern Europe.

A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION of STC's business is with government agencies, primarily with the South African police and the National Post Office. In 1970 the company won a \$1.5 million contract with the Post Office to supply automation machinery required for sorting mail. It has been reported that the new

equipment will require only 12% of previously employed manpower. Its installation, thus, will serve to counter the effects of an increasing shortage of white personnel which was threatening to require alteration of strict application of the job reservation system on the basis of race.

STC also has an important contract with the South African Navy, providing telecommunications equipment for the Simonstown Naval Base. This involvement is apparently construed by the U.S. government as not violating its 'embargo on any arms deliveries to South Africa.'

IT&T is currently expanding its operations in South Africa and is doing so in a manner which directly coincides with the

(Continued on Page 19)



*the towers*

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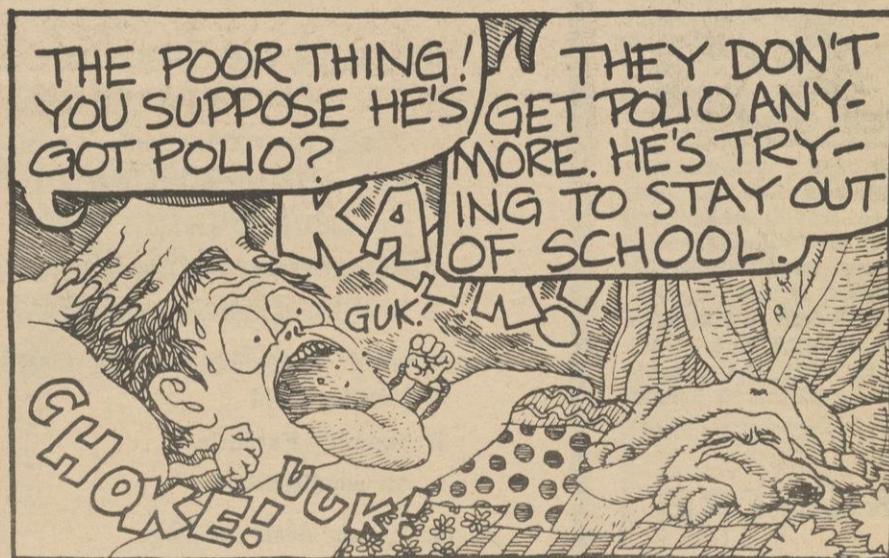
"... the Wisconsin Student Association would develop a comprehensive health insurance program to supplement the out-patient services provided through University Health Services."

Recommendation to the Director  
of University Health Service and  
the Chancellor — Health Care  
Advisory Committee

The Health Care Advisory committee perceives minimum health needs for the student as being met when a sufficient level of medical services are provided to permit the University and its members to function efficiently as an educational institution... The Committee reluctantly accepts the reality that these needs can not now be met without adding significantly to the educational costs now incurred by individual students..."

Statement from Health Care Advisory  
Committee  
Feb. 16, 1972

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# Antiwar Quiz

From **Interrupt**, the newsletter of Computer People for Peace.  
(Issue #18, May 1972. Write: Dolphin Center, 137 A W. 14th St.,  
New York, New York 10011)

## PART A—MULTIPLE CHOICE.

1. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was necessary because:

- ( ) The dominoes are falling.
- ( ) To stop the Red Pipeline.
- ( ) To show those Gooks we're not a pitiful, helpless giant.
- ( ) To protect Americans in Des Moines.

2. The DMZ is:

- ( ) An hallucinogenic drug.
- ( ) A feminine deodorant spray.
- ( ) The left-wing faction of the CIA.
- ( ) A subway line to the South Bronx.

3. Crossing the DMZ by "enemy" troops is:

- ( ) A happening.
- ( ) An incursion.
- ( ) An invasion.
- ( ) Protective reaction.
- ( ) A feminine deodorant spray.

4. Crossing the DMZ by US troops is:

- ( ) An invasion.
- ( ) A reconnaissance flight.
- ( ) A massive B-52 raid.
- ( ) Not reported.
- ( ) The left-wing faction of the CIA.

5. The Pineapple is:

- ( ) A popular Hawaiian fruit.
- ( ) A Honeywell Corporation product.
- ( ) A deadly anti-personnel bomb.
- ( ) Never discussed in the New York Times.
- ( ) An hallucinogenic drug.

6. Cholon, Long Binh, Lóng Thành, Da Nang, Qui Nhơn, Phu Cat, and Saigon are:

- ( ) U.S. bases.
- ( ) North Vietnamese and Viet Cong strongholds.
- ( ) Graveyards.
- ( ) Chase Manhattan Bank Branches.

( ) Stops on the subway line to the South Bronx.

7. The "enemy" is:

- ( ) Anyone under 5'5" tall.
- ( ) Anyone who steps on a sensor.
- ( ) Anyone killed by US technology.
- ( ) Retreating South Vietnamese troops.
- ( ) Peace marchers.
- ( ) A pitiful, helpless giant.

8. The electronic battlefield is:

- ( ) A new \$19.95 educational toy.
- ( ) A new \$19 billion military strategy.
- ( ) A long-range plan to end the recession.
- ( ) Protective reaction.

## PART B—TRUE or FALSE

9. The Viet Cong are really Japs in disguise.

10. Protective Reaction is when Melvin Laird refuses to testify on US bombing raids in front U.S. Senate hearings.

11. Vietnamization will be declared a success when it is shown that 1 out of 5 living Vietnamese children use Crest.

## PART C—MATCHING

Match the numbered items with their lettered descriptions below. Or make up your own.

12. Area remaining after a B-52 strike.

13. Bombing of large urban population centers.

14. Hanoi and Haiphong.

15. 100 enemy dead.

16. Plastic anti-personnel bombs made by

Honeywell Corporation.

17. Foreign mercenary troops.

18. Replacing American troops with American technology.

(a) "Free fire zone."

(b) "Strategic targets."

(c) "Allied forces."

(d) "Vietnamization."

(e) "North Vietnamese panhandle."

(f) "Strategic weapons."

(g) "Friendly village."

## PART D—ESSAY AND SHORT ANSWER

19. According to the latest news report, Who holds An Loc, and what does that mean.

20. When did the Vietnam War begin?

21. Why is the US still in Vietnam? (1972 justifications only)

22. Why did no Vietnamese fight in our Civil War. Are they yellow?

23. How does the Corporation you work for profit from continued war in Southeast Asia.

24. What was the "secret plan" Nixon had in 1968 for ending the war? How do you know?

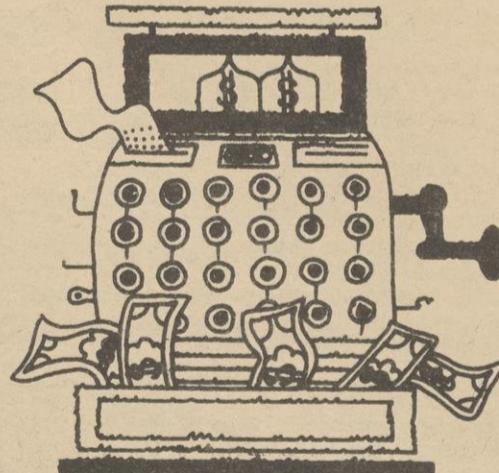


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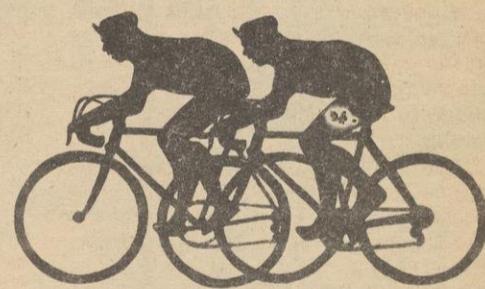
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Southern Africa has the dubious distinction of being the stronghold of what are perhaps the world's most oppressive, minority regimes, whose very existence entails the perpetuation of racist policies.

Portugal remains the last of the colonial powers, stubbornly retaining its control over Mozambique, Angola, and Guine at great expense to the course of its stunted domestic development, and only through heavy reliance on its NATO allies for the military equipment necessary to suppress the constant agitation of its colonial 'citizens.'

South Africa has put forward the policy of apartheid, or separate development of the races (separate development with respect to culture only, the reins on economic and political power being maintained by the white minority); it has maintained control over that territory even in the face of an advisory opinion handed down by the World Court of Justice in 1971 to the effect that such political subordination was illegal.

Since its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the Smith regime in Rhodesia has worked to consolidate its power and suppress the advancement of the black population. It has resisted the somewhat superficial effort on the part of the UN to impose economic sanctions; in domestic affairs it has moved perceptibly toward adoption of policies on the model of South Africa's apartheid.

But in spite of, and, indeed, out of, the structural violence imposed upon entire peoples, resistance to legal repression, exploitation, and systematic frustration of African development and self-determination has been in constant evidence in all of Southern Africa. In former times it took the form of peaceful protest, attempts to work through prevailing institutions, and agitation for national independence. In the last decade the struggle has become more militant.

**LIBERATION MOVEMENTS** are active in all of the Portuguese territories, daily carrying out the revolution that will eliminate repressive rule and domination of the economy by imperialist powers; in the process creating new institutions structured to serve the interests of all the people. Approximately a third of both Mozambique and Angola have now been liberated. In Guine the portion of the territory which is liberated is closer to 80%.

The possibility for carrying out guerrilla struggles is more limited in South Africa and Rhodesia because of geographical constraints and because of the more extensive networks of communication and surveillance which have been built up in these nations. But despite the long and solid arms of governmental authorities in these nations (in spite of the massive reprisals which the governments do not hesitate to inflict, indiscriminately if need be), there continues to be resistance and organized opposition.

Recent evidence of such political resistance include the arrest, trial, and conviction of a number of members of the banned Unity Movement in South Africa, the mass refusal of black Rhodesians to accept the terms of a proposed settlement on UDI between the Smith Government and Britain, the prolonged general strike of workers in Namibia (where unions are not legally permitted for black workers, let alone the right to strike), and the flagrant denunciation of apartheid by the student body president of a black college in South Africa during graduation exercises.

Clearly resistance continues in all of Southern Africa. Here, however, focus will be placed on those struggles which are now most advanced—i.e. the liberation movements of the Portuguese territories, the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in Angola, FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front) in Mozambique, and PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guine and the Cape Verde Islands) in Guine.

\*\*\*

**THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS** of the Portuguese territories are characterized by many similarities. Militant activity in each case was inaugurated only after, and partially as a result of, acts of wanton violence against the people on the part of the Portuguese. In Mozambique, for example, a series of peaceful demonstrations throughout the fifties and the sixties drew the inevitable response of violence.

Both in 1956 and 1963 when dock workers in Lourenco Marques went on strike, the army moved in, shooting some of the strikers and making mass arrests. The people in the Meuda region in the far north of Mozambique organized a mass unarmed demonstration in 1960; their action was met by troops who opened fire and killed 500.

Similarly in Angola, when peasants in the home village of Agostinho Neto (now President of the MPLA) protested his arrest by the Portuguese in 1960, troops fired upon them, killing 30 and wounding approximately 200. In reprisal for an

MPLA raid on a prison in Angola's capital city of Luanda in early 1961, the Portuguese indiscriminately machine gunned 3000 urban dwellers. A few days later 5000 more Africans were shot in Baixa de Cassange.

The same drama of senseless violence has been played out in Guine. A strike of dock workers in 1959 was met with the murder of more than fifty by police, this use of force convincing leaders of the resistance of the irrelevancy of peaceful means and of the need to begin sustained political work in order to prepare for systematic armed struggle.

Liberation movements were thus launched in the three Portuguese territories in the early sixties. Their progress, however, has been somewhat hampered by the low level of social services which the Portuguese provided in their 'civilizing' mission (as evidenced by the fact that the illiteracy rate in all three territories was over 95% in the early sixties).

Not only must the people fight to liberate

Friday, August 11, 1972

Fall Orientation Issue THE DAILY CARDINAL—9

liberate new zones."

The struggle in Angola has reached its eleventh year. By the early part of 1972, the MPLA had extended the struggle to ten of the sixteen provinces and liberated large regions, mostly in the south and east of the territory. In these liberated zones, the people are governed by action committees, elected organs of the people's power. It was reported in 1971 that MPLA has 7000 trained soldiers. Yet the movement includes a much larger number of armed Angolans if one takes into consideration the local defense volunteers who assist village leaders in liberated and semi-liberated areas.

In Guine, PAIGC has liberated over 80% of the national territory and has recently extended its operations into the two largest cities. With this new development, there remains no enemy camps that are not the object of PAIGC attack. It is only in the few urban areas that the Portuguese are able to maintain any semblance of control; yet reportedly the civilians in urban centers

of popular assemblies to govern the lives of people at the village and regional levels.

The cooperative effort in Mozambique was initiated by the example of the FRELIMO forces. The army was first instructed to cultivate fresh vegetables and the population subsequently urged to follow suit. Though at first there was reliance for supplies on the party, the success of the agricultural program has been such that the liberated area is now exporting oil seed, cashews, and ground nuts.

**HIGH PRIORITY IS PLACED** by all African liberation movements on efforts to supply educational and health services. MPLA has established a number of Centers for Revolutionary Education in a number of regions; its health service, though in critical need of staff and supplies, has been carrying out a campaign simultaneously in all liberated areas.

In Guine, the ten years of fighting have been accompanied by the setting up of 245 primary schools (whereas in 500 years of Portuguese domination only a total of 56 schools had been established in the whole of the country) which were attended in 1970 by 20,000 pupils. Four hospitals have been set up and are functioning in the interior of the country with a total of 200 beds and the permanent attendance of doctors. Dozens of dispensaries have additionally been set up throughout the territory.

In Mozambique, primary and secondary education is coordinated by the Department of Education and Culture which additionally cooperates with the Department of Defense in the field of political training. In December of 1971, FRELIMO held its first cultural seminar, lasting three weeks and participated in by delegates from all educational centers in the liberated zones.

Health services are more deficient in Mozambique than in the other territories because of FRELIMO's lack of trained staff. Even so health centers have been established in the field and extensive campaigns of vaccination have been carried out. Most recently a small hospital has been opened in Southern Tanzania to deal with serious cases and to provide training facilities.

Of fundamental importance to the form which the class struggle takes in the Portuguese territories is the emergent integral role of women which has followed from the needs of collective effort and the imperative to abolish a strict division of labor along sexual lines. In each of the territories and within each of the movements, it is the initiative of the women which has created their new positions and forms of action. FRELIMO, which has created a women's detachment of the armed struggle states explicitly in its official programme the need to:

"promote the political, social, economic and cultural emancipation of the Mozambican woman; establish equality of rights between man and woman; encourage the Mozambican woman to participate more in the national liberation struggle."

In Angola the OMA (Women's Organization of Angola) has been created to express the importance of the women's role in the overall struggle. Women, of course, compose the leadership of OMA as well as fill important positions in MPLA as technicians, radio operators, and doctors. Though some women have been trained to become political commissars, none as yet have been chosen to high leadership positions. The struggle admittedly has not reached culmination.

**THE WORK OF THE MOVEMENTS** advances and encounters increasing success. Yet Portugal is far from willing to give up her stronghold; and there is clear evidence that both South Africa and Rhodesia are also determined to prevent the emergence of truly liberated African territories in Southern Africa. South African troops are reportedly assisting the Portuguese in Angola. And weapons from NATO (many supplied by the U.S.) are in heavy evidence in all Portuguese attacks.

U.S. herbicides and defoliants have been used extensively in Angola. Most recently U.S. built helicopters have been active in raids against FRELIMO forces in Mozambique. It may be expected that as the liberation movements advance, the use of ever more sophisticated military techniques will be called into action. Suggestive of this is the substance of the following telegram sent by PAIGC to the UN in late 71:

"Desperate in the fact of the great victories won by our party during this year, the criminal Portuguese colonialists have launched a wave of savage air bombings against the peasant population of our liberated regions. The Portuguese colonialists are feverishly preparing to spread toxic chemical products in order to destroy our crops before the next harvest.

"It is evident that they are trying to stop our struggle by famine. We request you to take all possible measures to denounce and condemn in advance this monstrous crime against Africa and humanity."

## African Liberation Movements:



By the MADISON AREA COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

themselves from economic exploitation and political repression, but they must also create basic institutions to free themselves from illiteracy, lack of technical skills, and poor health conditions. The task is enormous and the revolution which has resulted is one which is total, which creates and recreates individuals through collective effort, which ministers simultaneously to material and political needs, which builds cultural unity through conscious and directed, collective action.

Political education proceeds guerrilla warfare, for the movements cannot garner success unless they are truly the expression of the people's will. But political education is also an ongoing process, expanded by the practice itself of military action and the creation of non-exploitative social relations and institutions.

Increasingly the movements are realizing military success. In Mozambique, much of the northern part of the territory is liberated and the morale of the more than one million inhabitants of the free zone is high. The Portuguese have not been able to penetrate the area by land for a year and a half and currently their presence is confined to air surveillance and bombing missions. While the Portuguese concentrate on destroying material structures, the real strength of the people's will eludes them.

**REVIEWING THE MILITARY VICTORIES** of 1971, the editor of the official organ of FRELIMO commented as follows: "One aspect of this reality (which gives rise to the consolidation of a feeling of confidence among the people in the certainty of final victory) is the great victories which we achieved in 1971, the most dramatic of which can be readily seen in the military field. Thus, during 1971 we killed about 2,900 enemy soldiers, destroyed 479 vehicles, shot down 4 aircraft and 5 helicopters, destroyed 27 bridges, attacked and destroyed 49 posts and camps, 6 trains and 14 boats.

"These are statistical data of great importance, since they indicate a substantial reduction in the human and material forces of the enemy. If we combine these losses in Mozambique with the decrease in the population in Portugal itself, especially of those who emigrate to other countries to escape the colonial wars abroad and the misery at home, and combine these also with other losses suffered by the colonial forces in Angola and Guine, it becomes evident that Portugal approaches a point where her human reserves will be exhausted. This at a time when our own forces grow constantly as we

live in a permanent state of alert. Army officers are sending their families home to Portugal.

IN ASSESSING ITS CURRENT position of strength, PAIGC has stated the following:

"We have fought for nine years—but we have fought for peace and peace means nothing without freedom. We are very sure of the situation in our country. We have liberated more than 2/3s of it and we control that even administratively. We are now able to attack Bissau, the capital, and Bafata, the second town—and we have the means to destroy these towns. If it became necessary to use force to free the town tomorrow, that we would do. But we do not want to take such an action. We would prefer to solve the problem without further destruction. But that depends on the Portuguese."

The advance of the liberation movements is measured not only in military terms, but also in terms of human development, collective reconstruction, and economic transformation. The General Directives of the PAIGC leadership state, for example, the following:

"Keep always in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children..."

The FRELIMO summary of action in 1971 also clearly emphasizes the importance of the struggle in creating a new society and new men:

"Another key lies in an even more fundamental reshaping of social and economic relations. In the liberated areas, even while the war rages on, a new society, a new nation, is being constructed; the process reflects itself in the spheres of production and distribution, of education and health, of defense and participation.

"This dramatic reality affects fundamentally the people who live the new life of a free Mozambique; its message and its promise permeates the consciousness of those who still live beyond the forward line of our successful battle. National reconstruction and national self-confidence go hand in hand, and to this rule liberated Mozambique is no exception."

Practice in accord with these principles includes the formation of producer cooperatives in the liberated zones of the territories, the establishment of peoples' stores which are supplied in part by food grown on collective plots and which replace the commercial exploitation practiced by Portuguese merchants, and the emergence

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# Chilean Socialists: "Advance Without a Stop"

For the first time since the elections of Salvador Allende to the Presidency of Chile it looks like the UP (Unidad Popular) is back on the offensive.

Confronted by what it sees as an open flaunting of the law and a possible fomenting of counter-revolution by the right, the UP has begun to mobilize workers, peasants and students, to take them to the streets and to call upon their strength for its defense. Now too, it is the slogan of the SP (Socialist Party) which has achieved dominance within the UP: "Advance without a stop."

Nine months ago the right majority in Congress (composed of the ultra-right Partida Nacional (PN), and the Democracia Christiana (DC)) presented a bill which would not only have denied the government the right to take over or purchase private companies, but would have required the return to their original owners of almost all companies so far nationalized by the government.

This would have presented no crisis if the right in Congress had not insisted that the expected presidential veto could be overridden by a simple majority (which it has) not accepting the law that a veto must be overridden by only a two-thirds vote of the deputies, or accepting the right of the Constitutional Tribunal to adjudicate the dispute (the Tribunal having been set up at the insistence of the DC to do just that) because it had ruled too many times in the past in favor of the UP.

RATHER THAN provoke a crisis, the UP had, at the insistence of the Communist Party (CP), agreed to negotiate with the DC. The effects of this decision had been twofold. First, it meant a dominance of the CP line within the UP, a line which called for the winning over of the "progressive bourgeoisie" at the expense of

forcibly moderating the demands of workers. Second, it had the effect of at least temporarily splitting the PN and the DC, the ultra-right and the "center."

Things seemed to be going as planned until, unknown to anyone, the secret negotiations reached an impasse on 5 July. On 6 July the nation was surprised to read that the Senate had voted to override by a simple majority making it clear that the DC had gone back to the attack. On 7 July Nacion, the government's daily, printed what it said had been a preliminary accord.

The same day the DC stated that it had never, and would never, agree to anything like what had been printed. The failure of the negotiations having come to light, by 8 July each side was accusing the other of the foulest duplicity.

THE EFFECT ON the UP was tremendous. Immediately the SP line seemed discredited. The DC and the PN joined forces again and proceeded to impeach the Minister of Justice and the Governor of Santiago province on trumped up charges. The SP line attained a sudden dominance. On 9 July Adonis Sepulveda, undersecretary general of the SP, told a rally of 5,000, "We will not waste one more word in

By JONATHAN LEPIE

negotiating with the DC. They (the DC) have to understand that the people have limited patience, and they will understand it because we are going to shake this country up..."

The political truce which had lasted the duration of the negotiations had come to an end, and again the streets of Santiago which had been quiet were filled with demonstrators. On 10 July Congress was surrounded by thousands of workers and peasants. "Disrespect for the law. Sedition!" said Mercurio, the leader of the right press.

The conflict between Congress and the President will now go to the Tribunal, beginning a process which could take up to six months. In the meantime the left promises an escalating process of mobilization and education.

For the right it is a time of waiting. Their strategy seems to be to continue in their attempts to bombard the government from the pages of their kept press and from their economic bastions, thus creating consumer shortages and economic chaos when they can.

LUIS FIGEROA OF the CP has been reelected as president of the

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CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores, Chile's major trade union organization). Somehow, the results are satisfying to no one.

Charges of fraud were leveled against all contenders and, from the very beginning, no one seemed to think that the elections were at all honest. The vote itself may not have been truly representative because only 560,000 of the more than one million members were allowed to vote because of failure to pay union dues.

Adding to the pall that fell over the elections was an unexplained delay of over one month in the announcement of the results. During the delay, parties were resigning from—and then rejoining—the CUT elections committee in what seemed a fierce exercise in back room politics. At least once the SP had resigned and, at present, the DC is

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the results be interpreted. It is clear that the UP parties received over 65% of the vote in total and that other left parties including the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), Maoists Anarchists and others bring the total for the left up to just under 70%.

Nonetheless, the showing of the DC at about 25% was a real blow to the left. In Santiago the DC won a plurality of the votes indicating serious worker discontent with the UP on the government's home ground. Further, a poor showing by the Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios, the MIR's workers' group (at slightly under 2% of the total) showed both a real inability to outflank the UP to its left, and an inability to reach workers dissatisfied with the UP.

Figeroa's victory, while a victory for the UP, seems to pose certain problems in regard to the party's change of direction, for he was elected as a CP candidate at a time when the CP clearly stood for compromise and consolidation.

By JONATHAN WOLMAN

The political campaign waged against military-related institutions on the Madison campus must comprise one of the most intense political movements in the nation. The period between September 1967 and August 1970 stands apart as the most active—and the most militant—in the political history of the Madison University community.

Beginning with demonstrations against Dow Chemical Company recruiters in October, 1967, students here have been among the most active in the nationwide movement to force imperialist and military institutions from the nation's campuses.

Surely Madison's reputation as a militant center of antiwar and radical activity has not escaped the press, who have covered, in succession, Madison disturbances from Dow to the Black Student Strike (February, 1969), Mifflin Street Block Party (May, 1969), the Welfare Rights protests (September, 1969), the October and November Peace Moratoriums (1969), General Electric Recruiting disturbances (Feb., 1970), the TAA strike (April, 1970), the Madison Peace March (April 17, 1970), and the Cambodian Invasion rioting in May of 1970.

\*\*\*

ASIDE FROM ALL of that, the Madison community, both on and off campus, has been the subject of an extensive organizational effort by varied radical groups, leading in October, 1969 to the issuance by SDS representatives of three demands to the University.

The demands, that ROTC, AMRC and the Land Tenure Center be taken off campus in response to their imperial and military functions, were the focal point of months of frenetic activity, ranging from WSA hearings to the seemingly endless confrontations at the foot of AMRC's Sterling Hall and the base of the T-16 ROTC offices.

\*\*\*

This is not a chronology of the Madison movement. It doesn't include demonstrations against Gen. Lewis Hershey, Selective Service System Director, against Ted Kennedy, against the Chase Manhattan Bank, against Gaylord Nelson (when he wouldn't talk about the war as anything other than a mistake by good men); all of these occurred before August 24, 1970...

THE LIST ALSO doesn't include disturbances prompted by the invitation to Mel Laird to speak on campus, by the Invasions of Laos and North Vietnam, by the murders at Attica Prison, by the appearance of Ed Muskie in Madison, and on and on, all of which took place after August 24, 1970...

August 24, 1970. That morning, just after 3:42 a.m., the Army Mathematics Center was bombed in Madison. The blast killed a physics researcher working late into the night, and destroyed parts of the Physics and Pharmacy Departments housed near AMRC.

Chancellor Ed Young, testifying under oath in June, at extradition hearings involving one of the men accused of that bombing, said that there were only about 300 people in the Madison area "who would resort to violence on some occasions." He typified protesters as a small minority of students, just as most administrators did before the 1970 Cambodian protests when over 200 universities and colleges were closed by student strikes.

Madison City Police Detective Charles Lulling, testifying under oath, told the Canadian court that he knew of no political movement in Madison directed against the AMRC.

With this in mind, it might be instructive to refresh everybody's memory by retracing the stream of events which led to the sabotage directed against AMRC in the summer of 1970. This, then, is a chronology of those events.

# Imperialism On Campus

1968

\* The Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC) closed its doors in response to possible protest against it in November. Its administrators feared it would be the target of a takeover attempt in its Sterling Hall offices at the time of the Presidential elections. No building was taken over, Richard Nixon was elected.

1969

\* Comprehensive and well documented research discussing the functions of AMRC were first published in March, in a series of articles in the Daily Cardinal.

\* The academic discussion of AMRC continued throughout that school year, especially among faculty members in the English Dept., and on into the next (69-70). A second series of research articles was published in the Cardinal in December, 1969.

\* On October 15, AMRC again asked its staff to stay home to work, when Associate Director Louis Rall distributed an interoffice memo citing possible "disruptive activities" during that day's Moratorium activities.

\* On the National Moratorium Day (Oct. 15), as a part of a national SDS campaign to confront Universities regarding their connections with American military related institutions, two SDS representatives met with Chancellor H. Edwin Young, and issued three demands, asking for "an act of good faith in ending ROTC, AMRC and Land Tenure Center operations on the Madison campus." Young refused to negotiate.

\* The Wisconsin Student Association (WSA) held subcommittee hearing concerning University complicity with the military. On November 5, the first group of witnesses addressed themselves exclusively to the Army Mathematics Center.

Speaking on behalf of the AMRC were staff members Profs. Ben Noble, Herman Karreman and Dr. Nowosad. Speaking against AMRC were Prof. David Siff, members of the SDS steering committee, science student Howard Halperin and Cardinal researchers.

\* An SDS steering committee member identified a November 19 march against ROTC, AMRC and Land Tenure Center facilities as the "beginning of a movement" to implement the three Moratorium Day demands.

\* About 500 university students participate in the November 19, SDS sponsored march confronting the three institutions. One speaker said, "We're here because there's a war in Vietnam, and as long as there's a war in Vietnam, there's a war at the University of Wisconsin."

\* On November 19, the English Department fired David Siff, one of the most outspoken critics of the AMRC on the University faculty.

\* On November 21, AMRC Director J. Barkeley Rosser refused to release AMRC's 1967 annual report, while making the 1968 and 1969 reports available to the public. The latter two reports were written after criticism of the Center had become widespread.

\* Rosser told the Daily Cardinal, "None of these (annual reports) is a public document. It is a report to the Army." He explained that AMRC is "under contract to do certain things for the Army, and this is a report of those things to the University."

(The 1967 annual report was later released to the Cardinal by Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire. Nine pages had been removed from the text, and marked as "classified." The table of contents revealed that AMRC research support was given to the University of Michigan's sensitive electronic warfare research group known as Project Michigan.

\* In the December series of Cardinal articles documenting more activities of the AMRC, it was revealed that the annual reports cited above did not include consultations held by members of the AMRC staff with personnel at such military installations such as the Watervliet Arsenal (munition ordnance), Picatinny Arsenal (conventional weapons, ammunition and nuclear weapons), Aberdeen Proving Grounds (guns, ammunition and mobile equipment), Fort Dietrick, and the Edgewood Arsenal (chemical warfare research and development).

\* On December 10 it was revealed that AMRC staff members Rosser, Karreman and Louis Harris had burned a Center research paper when it was learned that the figures used in the paper were directly applicable to the military situation under study. The report, entitled "The Probability of Survival of A Subterranean Target Under Intensive Attack," was rewritten, using new figures suitable to "anthills at which rocks are being thrown."

\* The second of Four Days of "Anti-

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## Dominance Begins



### GOVERNMENT, MILITARY:

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Army Reserve Centers

3610 University Avenue  
215 Monona Ave.  
106 E. Doty, 3039 Wright St.,  
3506 Anderson Rd., 1402 S. Park St.

Military Recruiting Offices  
State Selective Service, local draft boards  
Armed Forces Institute

1402 E. Washington Ave.  
1402 E. Washington Ave.  
2318 S. Park St.

Air Force ROTC  
Naval ROTC  
Army ROTC

1815 University Ave.  
1610 University Ave.  
716 Langdon St.

Naval and Marine Reserve  
Army Mathematics Research Center  
Navy Investigation Service-Satellite Unit

1046 E. Washington Ave.  
610 Walnut St. (WARF Building)  
1046 E. Washington Ave.

# anpus: A Movement on Trial

"Imperialist Action" sponsored by SDS is marked by a march to T-16 ROTC facilities on December 10.

\* Also on December 10, J. Barkeley Rosser cancelled AMRC participation in the continuing WSA hearings because of the presence of a Cardinal staff member.

On the final day of the Four Day action, 300 SDS members and their supporters continue their escalation of actions to force implementation of the three demands by smashing windows and confronting police at T-16 and AMRC offices. From there the crowd moved to the A.W. Peterson Administration Building where student and faculty ID-card files were attacked. Members of the Milwaukee Weatherman Collective participate.

\* On December 28, the first of a wave of firebombings directed against local military targets takes place when the T-16 building is firebombed.

1970

\* On January 1, firebombings continue with an attempted aerial bombing of the Badger Army Ammunition Plant near Baraboo and a firebombing of the U.S. Army Reserve Center on South Park St.

\* On January 3 two firebombs are directed against ROTC offices in the Old Red Armory on Langdon St. and the Dane County Selective Service System offices on Monroe St.

\* On January 5, firebombs are directed against the State Selective Service System headquarters on Capitol Ct. Instead, the firebombs hit the Primate Research Center, located across a narrow alley from the SS offices. (By mistake, according to an anonymous call received by the Cardinal.)

\* In early February the Madison SDS published a twenty-five page pamphlet entitled "The Case Against Army Math", examining in detail their objections to the Center's role as an integral part of both the University and the military.

\* On February 11 a coalition of campus and community groups announced the formation of a United Front to confront General Electric recruiting on the University campus. The UF is comprised of the Black Council, SDS, the Third World Liberation Front, YSA, SMC and the Madison Area Peace Action Coalition.

\* On February 12, 2500 students demonstrating against GE recruiting broke ranks to trash T-16, AMRC in Sterling Hall, and various State St. and University Ave. merchants in the first instances of widespread trashing by a mass group.

\* On February 19 an attempted sabotage is directed against a power sub-station servicing the Baraboo Ammunition plant.

\* The Mother Jones Revolutionary League, a newly-formed "RYM-II" spin-off of Madison SDS, reminds the Teaching Assistants Association on the eve of their strike that "The TAA had its origins in broad political actions, and must be reminded that it still must achieve those wider goals. The TAA must not forget its origins—the draft protest and Dow protest of three and four years ago." (March 14)

\* On March 17, members of the Mother Jones Revolutionary League picket the AMRC at Sterling Hall in support of the TAA demands in arbitration. The group later moves through campus distributing an SDS pamphlet, "The Case Against ROTC."

\* A March for Peace Rally on April 18 was attended by a large "Revolutionary Contingent" which broke off from the main group of 8,000 to trash IBM, AMRC and the Air Force Recruiting Offices.

\* On April 24 it is learned that Chief of Army Research and Development, Lt. Gen. A. W. Betts, has refused to release the classified pages missing from the 1967 annual report of the AMRC.

\* On May 4, following the invasion of Cambodia by American troops, and the killing of four students in Kent, Ohio by American troops, demonstrations in Madison break out

into widespread rioting and street violence. Police are confronted by protesters at AMRC and again at T-16. The latter is the scene of a fire. Police use tear gas to disperse angry crowds in the thousands at both sites.

\* The intensity of the Cambodian protests escalates on the Madison campus and throughout the city, as eight buildings are firebombed, including Naval ROTC. A mass rally of over 5,000 descends on AMRC and then T-16 where they are met by city, county and University police. An Air Force ROTC professor's home is firebombed.

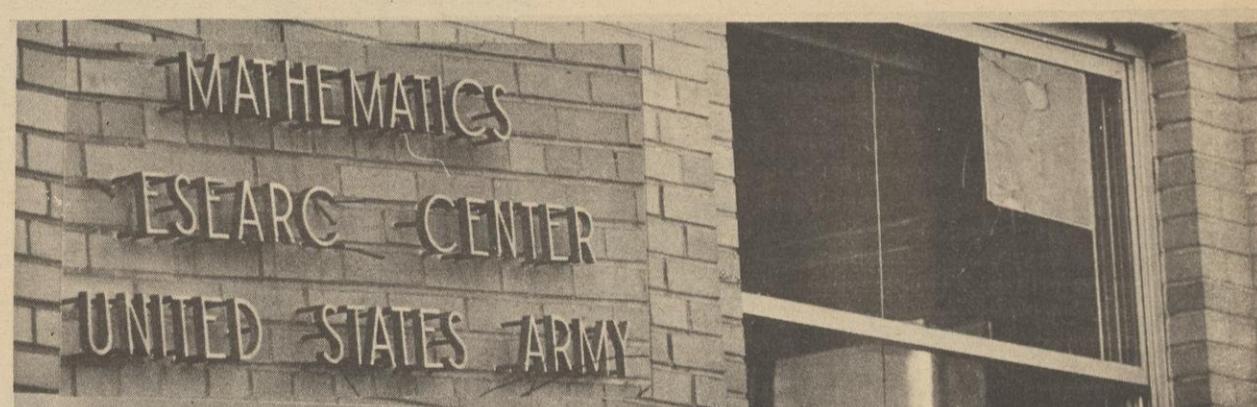
\* Night rallies on May 6 and May 7 lead to rioting and fighting throughout the Southeast Dorm complexes and into the Miffland community.

\* On March 11, one week after protests and rioting began in Madison, 2,000 young people march through the pouring rain to T-16 where they are again gassed and dispersed by police and national guard troops.

\* On August 24, at 3:42 a.m. a powerful explosive rips through the walls of Sterling Hall. It is a Sunday night/Monday morning between semesters and a young physics researcher is killed while working in his laboratory.

\* In September the FBI releases a communiqué which it claims was sent to Madison Kaleidoscope by the four men they name as suspects, Leo Burt, David Fine, Dwight and Karl Armstrong. The note calls the bombing "both a major success and a tragedy. While a major pure research center of the Army was demolished, a man was killed."

It goes on to say, "But while we mourn an unnecessary death, we celebrate the blow to U.S. imperialism.



## est for International

## Begins at Home



### CORPORATIONS (includes rank from among top 100 DoD contractors)

\*5-General Electric  
\*15-Westinghouse Electric Corp.  
\*16-Sperry Rand Corp.

2038 Pennsylvania Ave.  
110 N. Thornton Ave.  
3610 University Ave.

\*17-General Motors  
\*19-International Business Machines  
\*22-Honeywell, Inc.

4513 Vernon Blvd.  
340 W. Washington Ave.  
4646 Frey Road

\*30-Olin Corporation  
\*32-General Tire Co.  
\*41-Singer Co.

Baraboo, Wis. (Badger Army Ammunition Plant), Highway 12  
801 E. Broadway  
205 State St., East and West Towne Malls

\*44-Texaco, Inc.  
\*51-Goodyear Tire.  
\*55-Mobil Oil Corp.

McFarland, Wis.  
437 W. Gorham, 3773 E. Washington Ave.  
McFarland, 4516 Sigglekow Rd.

\*58-Motorola Inc.  
\*64-Control Data Corp.  
\*65-Western Union

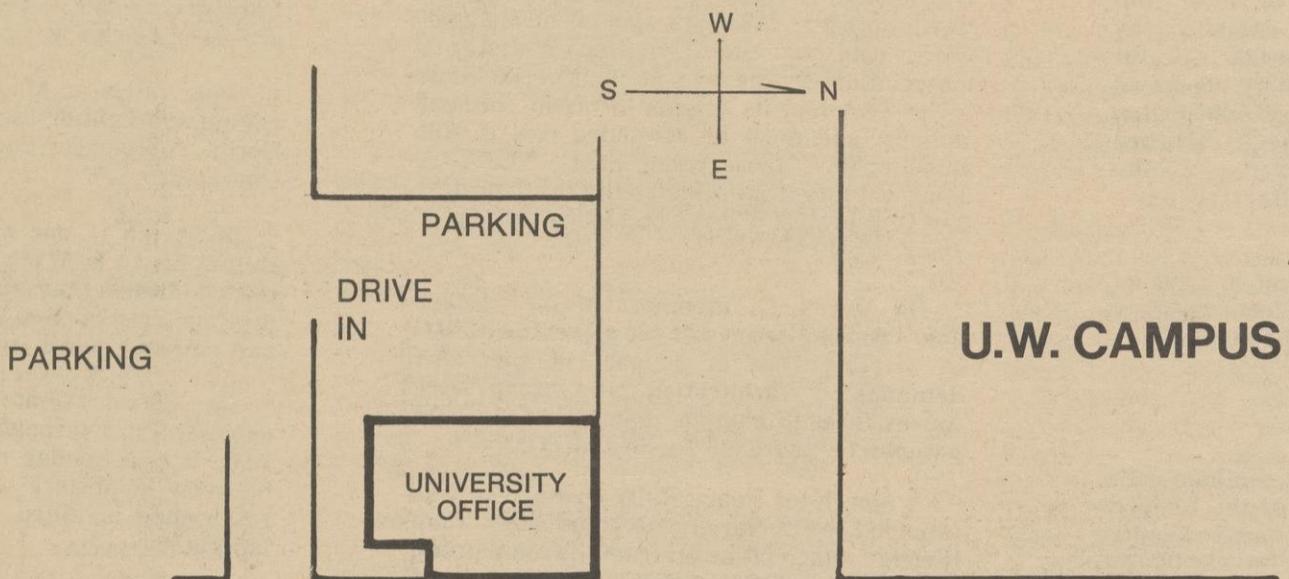
1212 E. Washington Ave.  
6225 University Ave.  
125 W. Mifflin St.

\*90-International Harvester Co.  
\*96-Burroughs Corp.  
\*100-Standard Oil Division, American Oil Co.

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# State Industry Implicated in South Africa

South Africa is merely one corner of a worldwide capitalist network. Its social system is unique among capitalist nations only with respect to the exaggerated form of racial/class oppression which prevails within its borders. In maintaining that system of oppression (or racial privilege from the point of view of the white population), its ruling white minority has found a ready economic ally in the U.S.—whose corporate actors have poured in substantial capital investment during the past decade.

This contribution has served to steady the South African economy, which particularly before the 1960's was heavily dependent for economic survival on foreign exchange earnings from raw produce—minerals and agricultural commodities. South Africa has since attained a degree of economic strength and self sufficiency to the point where it has been able to initiate an outreach policy, penetrating with its own imperialist tentacles into the independent African states.

The assistance of U.S. corporate power to South Africa has not been the result of simple magnanimity or friendly generosity, for the South African system of wage discrimination directly benefits the transported operations facilitating substantial profit margins on invested capital. In commenting on legal stipulations which allow for high profits, a British businessman who decided not to invest in South Africa, Mr. Neil Wates, concluded that "we should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralize and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance."

AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN (such as those associated with

## Including Madison's Ray-O-Vac

Polaroid) frequently make the claim that their presence in South Africa helps to 'liberalize' that country's racism. Yet representatives of American business within South Africa make little attempt at such moral justification.

The extent of American involvement in South Africa can be graphically illustrated by the fact that it is not limited just to the Pentagon or to the large New York banks and corporations. It extends into the heart of Wisconsin. Companies here too are eager to shield their profits from domestic depressions and from strikes. They have found their way to the high profits, cheap labor, 'stable' political situation, and economic expansion of white-ruled Southern Africa.

Major businesses in South Africa with home quarters in Chalmers (which in 1970 received a contract for building and servicing a nuclear reactor in that nation, and which additionally sells farm and construction machinery on the South African

market); S.C. Johnson, (with a plant outside of Johannesburg); Cutler Hammer (an important partner in the South African electronics field with investment in a plant which produces elec-

Parker Pen Company of Janesville, Geo. J. Meyer Manufacturing Company of Milwaukee, A.C. Smith Corporation of Milwaukee, Sta-Rite Industries of Delavan, J.I. Case Company of Racine, and Ray-O-Vac (through its parent company,

Yet such an argument obscures the central point: that profits are being made and that involvement is growing, and that, such economic interference is important in helping maintain the racist regime of South Africa. In the absence of pressure against them, the companies, and the elite, have no intention of changing their ways.

Perhaps some companies would sacrifice their South African investment for something somewhere else—if they had to choose. Now they don't: it's profits there, and here, and elsewhere. Meanwhile the oppression continues.

Cutler-Hammer, Kimberly-Clark, Parker Pen and the others continue to make their profits. The result of this cumulative involvement might well be another Vietnam-scale involvement; at the least it would mean the continuation of America's tacit alliance with South Africa. For those who profit from the present policy cannot be expected to change it out of the goodness of their heart.



trical controls); and Kimberly-Clark (which operates two South African paper mills).

Other Wisconsin companies involved in South African business are Doughboy Industries, Inc. of New Richmond, Lakeside Laboratories of Milwaukee, Manpower, Inc. of Milwaukee,

Electric Storage Battery of Philadelphia) of Madison.

IT MIGHT BE argued that South Africa is peripheral to the American economy, that the companies involved have other profitable investments to exploit.

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# British Exploitation Divides the Irish People

Central to the lives of all Irish men is their country's total subservience to and domination by the British economy.

The English first entered what now makes up Northern Ireland in 1169. As more English came into Ulster, the Ulstermen had to move south. During the reign of James I and II, fierce battles were waged by the Irish to get back their land. This struggle against British infiltration met with little success for by the time William of Orange had defeated James II, in 1689, less than 5 percent of Irish land was left in the hands of the native peoples.

The coming of the Industrial Revolution meant increased industrialization in the Ulster region. Consequently, British capital investment certified complete control of the Ulster economy. Development capital was concentrated in this region until the establishment of legal partition in 1920.

Since 1920, the British have extended their control to the point of total and complete domination of both the Northern Irish and Republican economies. Today for example, 70 percent of all goods exported from the Republic go to Britain with 86 percent of all imports coming from Britain. The picture is the same for Northern Ireland as well. 83 percent of all exports go to Britain and 74 percent of all imports come from

## Domestic Struggle Based on Foreign Economic Dependency

The following article is taken from "A Beginner's Guide to the Struggle in Ireland" published by the Community Media Project, in Kitchener, Canada. The Guide is available at the WIND Bookstore on E. Johnson St. for 25¢.

Britain.

IRELAND FINDS itself in much the same economic relationship with Britain as Canadians have with the American economy. Not surprisingly, the Irish are now beginning to talk about nationalism in purely economic terms.

For example, one of the tactics suggested for getting the British out of Ireland was a total boycott of British goods. Some British goods are already being boycotted in the Republic of Ireland.

Of course the Irish press is horrified at the prospect. "Danger of 'pauper state'—says exporters" reads the bold headlines of Dublin's Irish Independent. "The Republic could become a 'pauper state' if Britain retaliated—even partially—against a 'boycott British goods' campaign."

In this case the media makes clear to the Irish peoples their economic dependency on the 'mother country'. Yet the necessity for the Irish to deal with

foreign ownership of their economies most dramatically is revealed in an analysis of the rush of profits leaving for the Imperial Power.

We must begin by understanding the process which led to British domination.

IN ULSTER, industrialization has been the key. Industrialization is dependent on certain natural resources, cheap transportation and fuel. Also important is the availability of cheap labour. This cheap labour forces must be indoctrinated into the Protestant (capitalist) work ethic with its corresponding desire for the accumulation of goods and commodities. (The desire for goods and commodities not only chains the worker to work, it also increases the market size available to goods produced by the developed or colonizing nation.)

Ironically, the government of the Republic has been put in a position of perpetuating and increasing this foreign investment and ownership trend. They do this

because it appears to be the only viable means of combating the large scale unemployment problem that plagues the economy. The effects have been disastrous as indicated by the following press release:

DUBLIN (LNS)—Ireland has the largest producing zinc, lead and silver mines in Europe, one of the largest copper mines, and the best barium deposits and fifth largest mercury mine in the world. They are all owned and controlled by American firms.

These firms don't have to pay any taxes to the Irish government for the first 20 years of operation. Since none of the deposits will last that long, the American firms will have taken some 600 million dollars in clear profit from the Irish economy in less than two decades.

The release goes on to say: "The Irish are getting nothing out of this wealth, and if the government decides to nationalize the mines, they will more than likely have to pay compensation to the

companies involved—paying one more time for their own resources. The sad thing is that tax exemptions to American firms were only introduced to encourage industry to come in and create more jobs and stop generation after generation of young Irish people emigrating to America. So now they work in the mines, some of them, for 65 dollars a week, while the Americans a tax free profit of 466 dollars a week per employee; some others try to work the land, some are unemployed, many still emigrate to America."

The position of the northern government is no less tragic. In an official publication entitled "Northern Ireland: The Most Profitable Area for Industrial Expansion" they advertise:

"Northern Ireland is especially attractive to companies seeking fast, profitable investments, for it has a large surplus of labour with a high reputation for reliability. The country is still faced with a higher degree of unemployment than elsewhere in the United Kingdom. But this is a situation which you can turn to your advantage. (stress as in original) With a birthrate nearly a third higher than elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Ulster offers an assured supply of young workers for the future."

This encouragement on the part of both Irish governments to foreign investment has cost the Irish significantly. The most obvious cost is the loss of potential profit into foreign hands. Capital investment by Irish investors would at least assure that profits would remain in the country and could be recirculated through taxation.

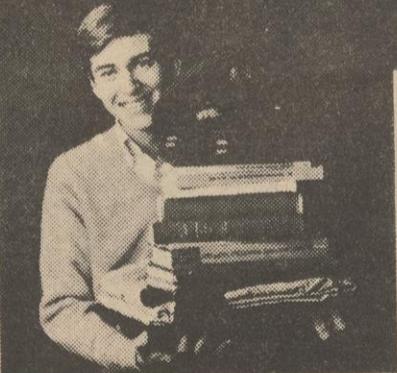
There are more subtle costs. One is the potential demoralization of both Irish workers and businessmen. Irish workers are forced to bear the brunt of taxation for the building of social facilities, schools, hospitals, etc. The indigenous business community finds itself in a similar situation to the Canadian business class. Their inability to compete with large foreign investors (multinational British and American corporations), is forcing them into economic stagnation and decline.

Also, the government must guarantee some sort of security to the foreign investor. Any guarantees given to foreign investors places the government firmly on the side of the investor and against the Irish worker whose labour is exploited by that investor.

FORTY-FIVE US companies have invested 200 million dollars in the six counties since the Second World War, with such interests as American Tobacco, Ford, Goodyear and IT&T providing 'the necessities of life for the Ulstermen.' Standing watch over this investment are three US military bases, the

(Continued on Page 17)

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## Irish

(continued from page 16)  
largest of which, in Derry, was reportedly offered to the British as an internment camp for Irish revolutionaries in June, 1970.

Ireland finds itself in a two-fold situation of domination. By giving up most of its economic control to foreign investors it has invited the necessity for military domination as well. The American presence is consequent on their need to protect their investments, the British presence necessary to ameliorate the social contradictions arising out of Ireland's status as a colony.

Many Irish industries find themselves in a sorry state at this time. Ireland's meat industry is now feeling the crunch of England's tight money policies and those of the US. In the last two years Britain has cut back on the amount of killed and packed meat imported from the Republic, yet they have increased the number of imported live cattle. Obviously looking for jobs, the British government has decided to have more of the industrial processing done in England relegating Ireland to raw material production and destroying her meat processing industry.

ULSTER FINDS itself in a similar position. Import-export tables depict the dependence of Ulster's economy on the export of unprocessed or lightly processed materials. The tables also point to their dependency on the export of processed goods which require much human labour (textiles) at cheap prices.

The main exports in foods are fruit and vegetables, feeding stuff for animals, tobacco and manufacture, and maize unmilled. Food imports are eggs in shells, bacon and ham, fresh chilled or frozen meat (beef, mutton, lamb and pork) and milk, preserved or condensed.

Thus Ireland and even more so, Ulster, have all the qualities of a colonial economy quite similar to the branch plant relationship that Canada finds herself in with the US. Their economies are relegated to primary extractive ventures and are not able to develop secondary manufacturing and processing facilities. The question of nationalization becomes increasingly complicated since these secondary facilities must be created to break out of the situation of economic dependency on British manufacturers.

THE PARALLELS between the situations in Northern Ireland, Quebec, Vietnam, Korea and others are too obvious to be ignored. All these situations involve colonies trying to break away from the colonizer (settler, industrializer) and have used guerrilla warfare to baffle the much stronger imperialist power. And in all situations, the press has been used to cloud the real issues and to bring out a false emotional issue.

Outside agitators, poor countries being helped out by foreign aid and production, commies out to take over the world—we've heard it all before. What haven't we heard?

We haven't heard about American, Canadian and British investment.

In all cases, the oppressed class is restricted to a certain geographical area, and in the case of Ireland, Vietnam, and Korea, an area has been partitioned off in

which the imperialist power can concentrate his forces of development, unhindered by the majority of the indigenous people. And in these cases the indigenous people have fought to maintain their unity.

In all cases there has been popular support from all sectors for the liberating forces (though not according to the press). This popular support has been in the form of civil rights marches of 50,000 people in tiny Ulster, large groups such as the QFL in Quebec, and an army that has held out for ten years against the Americans and longer against the French in Vietnam. And in Korea, they're

still fighting the American occupation.

And on and on it goes. The only

thing one knows for sure is that the strife is spreading and the conflict escalating everywhere.

Part of the problem many people have in trying to understand the Irish question lies in the fact that few people have a working knowledge of the role imperialism plays in determining the economy of a "developing nation" such as Ireland.

That the effects of British and American imperialism permeate the day-to-day lives of the Irish cannot be doubted. That the Irish have been the subject of prolonged imperialist exploitation throughout history has been outlined previously in "The Beginner's Guide."

This article, then attempts to tie the present Irish economy to the needs of the British and American economies. This understanding is essential before one can begin to discuss the tactics of revolutionary groups such as the IRA.

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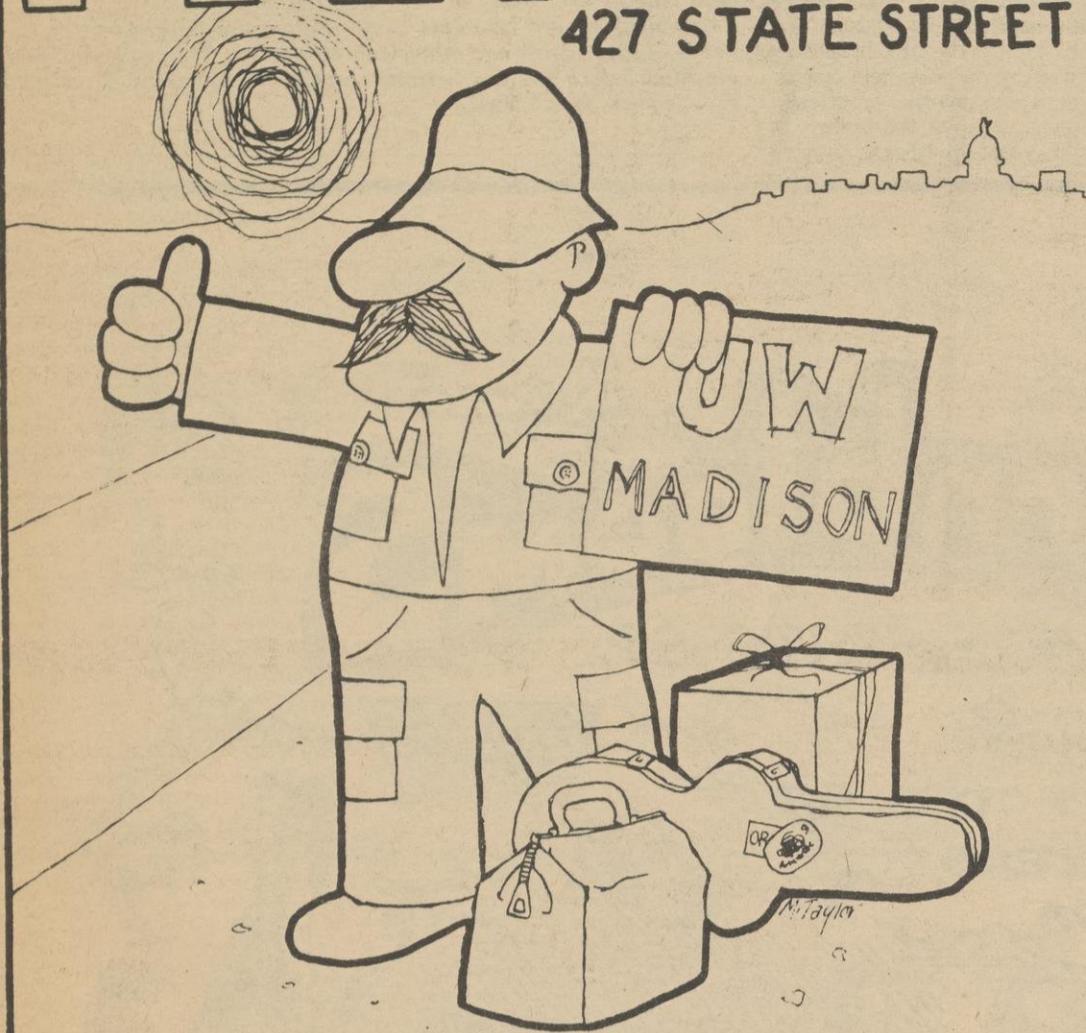
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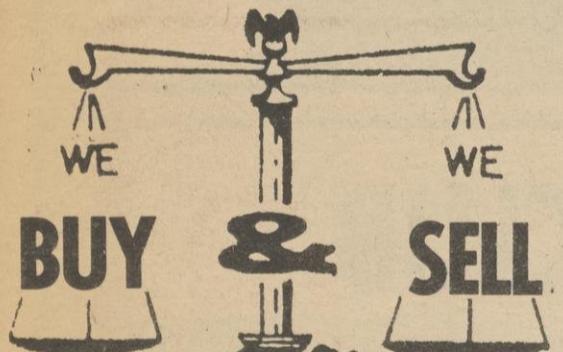
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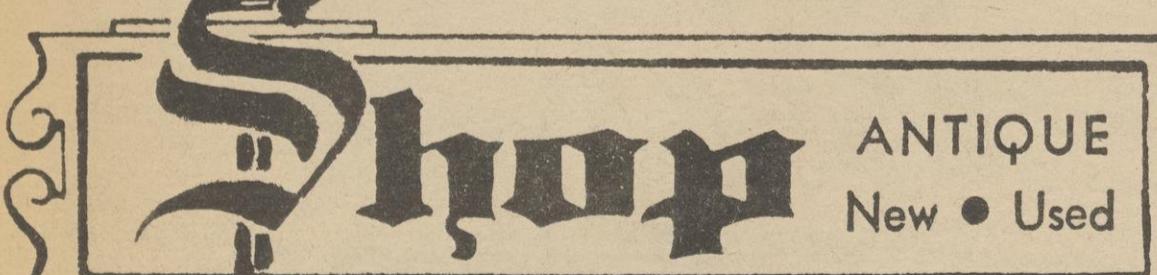


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## Vietnam

(continued from page 4)  
proved themselves capable of rising to the occasion: twenty U.S. firms were blown up in one evening.

Fidel's enthusiastic welcome by the people of Chile stands in marked contrast to the reception of Rockefeller. The visit of Fidel was not only the end of Cuba's isolation from her sister nations but also an indication of the mood of large numbers of exploited peasants, workers and students in Latin America who recognize the only choices open to them: continued imperialist domination or socialist revolution.

IF FIDEL HAD gone to Uruguay he would have received the same enthusiastic welcome; the same could be said of Bolivia, Argentinian or almost any country in the hemisphere. "Take a lot of pictures of all this," Fidel told reporters, "and send them to

Nixon so that he can see that he has lost the battle."

In contrast to the rural guerrilla movements of the 1960s both Uruguay's Tupamaros and Argentina's PRT (People's Revolutionary Army) have origins in the workers' movement—among rice and sugar workers—and both have many members who are workers, shop stewards, and trade union officials.

In an appraisal of the current revolutionary movements in Latin America, Jim Petras, author of several studies of revolutionary movements, notes that "the problems in making a revolution have thus far exceeded the ability of the Latin American revolutionaries to overcome them; but the ability of the U.S. and Latin American ruling classes to create an independent developing democratic society which would obviate the need for revolutions is even less apparent."

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# IT&T: Case Study in American Imperialism

(continued from page 5)

Government's call for decentralization of industry through the construction of new plants outside of major industrial centers but in close proximity to rural homelands or Bantustans.

The bantustan policy is purported to allow for the possibility of separate development on the part of the races, allowing some measure of 'independence' and 'self determination' to Africans congregated within designated rural homelands. In fact it is a means of more adequately controlling the population and creating pools of cheap labor. Significantly industry, such as IT&T's new plant near Pietersburg, is built only outside the borders of the bantustan.

IT&T IS ACTIVE not only in South Africa, but also in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Portuguese colonies, Mozambique and Angola. Supersonic Radio Manufacturing Company of Rhodesia makes portable and automobile radios, portable and console radio/record players, stereo players and amplifiers, and television sets.

When sanctions were imposed by the UN against the illegal white government, the Smith regime instituted Emergency Power regulations to stabilize the economy. In effect, these served to nationalize such companies as Supersonic. However, the nationalization is little more than a maneuver to allow operations to be carried on as before without crossing official U.S. policies of upholding sanctions. The Rhodesian government merely appointed the company's managing director as its 'agent' to direct activities.

IT&T is involved in Mozambique and Angola through its Portuguese subsidiaries. Standard Electrical S.A.R.L., Portugal is a holding company owned by IT&T's subsidiary, International Standard Electric Corporation. The company controls overseas manufacturing and service companies and is primarily engaged in selling communications systems to governmental agencies.

In 1968 the corporation opened a semiconductor plant at Cascais which employs 1000 people and manufactures transistors, radio receivers, and electrical components. More recently International Standard Corporation acquired four metallurgical and metal mechanical companies in Mozambique. Standard Electrical has supplied much of the equipment for the Mozambique telephone system; it is also a major supplier of telephones and exchanges in Angola, having won a contract of \$2.2 million for installation of a complete network in 1969. During the past year a contract with the Angolan Post Office was signed by an IT&T subsidiary.

IT&T's involvement in Southern Africa is extensive and direct. The company, through its subsidiaries, supplies technical expertise to the Southern African economies, contributing to the expansion of the critical telecommunications industry, incre-

asing the capacity of racist minority governments for surveillance of their peoples and control of organized opposition.

IN SOUTH AFRICA IT&T complies with the laws of apartheid, paying to some of its employees wages which do not even meet subsistence requirements, prohibiting the advancement of blacks and Coloureds beyond specified job categories, building new installations outside the confines of bantustans in designated border areas in accord with government stipulation. Its new establishments comprise forms of import substitution, thereby contributing to South Africa's economic self-sufficiency.

IT&T has maintained



operations in Rhodesia despite the action taken against the illegal white regime by the UN.

It is actively expanding its investments in the Portuguese colonies, thereby strengthening the position of the Angolan and Mozambican governments against the liberation movements active in those territories.

IT&T IS NOT A NEUTRAL OBSERVER of the South African scene. It has cast its lot with economies managed by racist white regimes. There is little doubt that it perceives its interests in preserving the strength of those economies. And there is little reason to believe that it will not find itself compelled to pressure the U.S. government to ensure the continued preservation of those interests in the future.

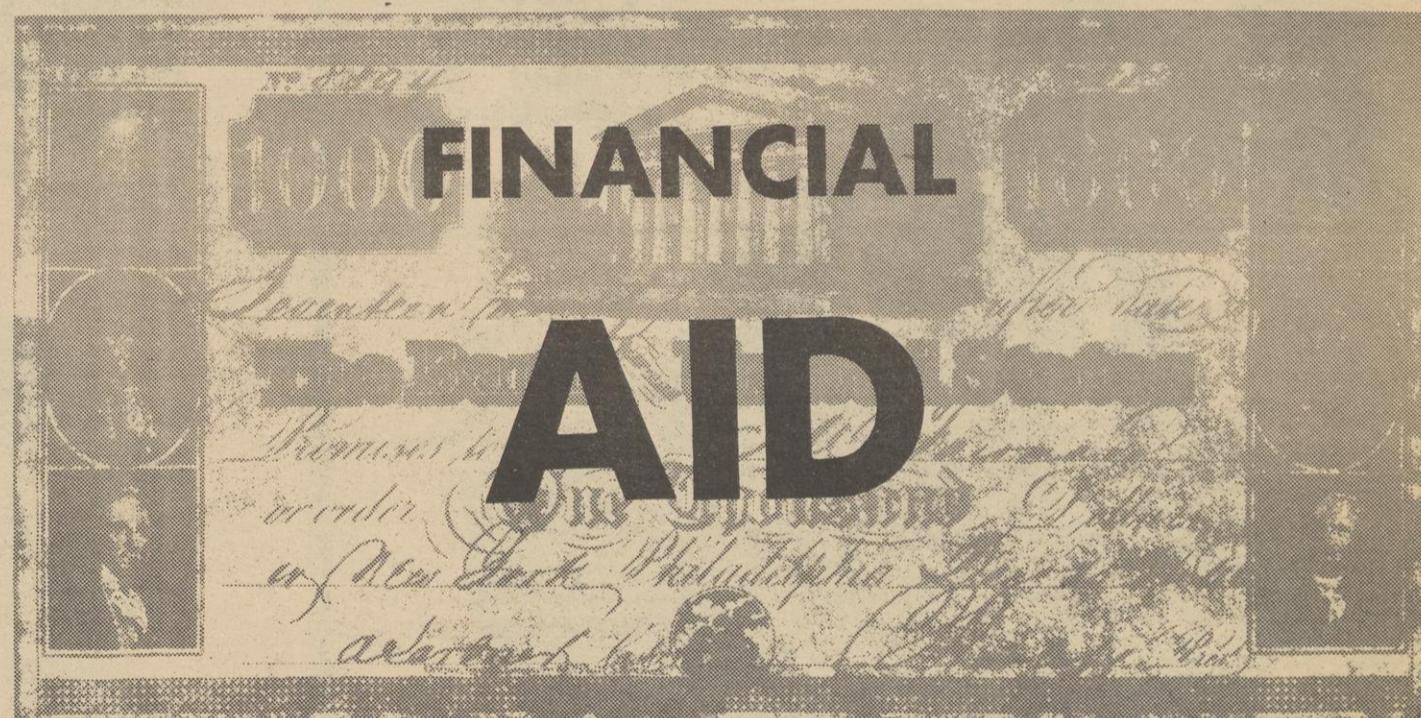


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# Women and the Family under Capitalism

## Oppression or exploitation?

By MARIROSA DALLA COSTA

Over the past few years, the women's movement has grown, both in numbers and scope of analysis. This article is a small excerpt from "Women and the Subversion of the Community", written by an Italian Marirosa Dalla Costa. It is merely one attempt to explain and summarize the theoretical direction of the women's movement in Italy.

"Women and the Subversion of the Community" comes from the January issue of Radical America, available at the Madison Book Coop.

In order to understand the frustrations of women expressing themselves in ever-increasing forms, we must be clear what in the nature of the family under capitalism precipitates crisis. What began with capitalism was the more intense exploitation of women as women and the

possibility at last of their liberation.

These observations are an attempt to define and analyze the "Woman Question," and to locate this question in the entire "female role" as it has been created by the capitalist division of labor.

We place foremost in these

pages the housewife as the central figure in this female role. We assume that all women are housewives and even those who work outside the home continue to be housewives. That is, on a world level, it is precisely what is particular to domestic work; that quality of life and quality of relationships which it generates, that determines a woman's place wherever she is and to whichever class she belongs.

The role of the working class housewife, which we believe has been indispensable to Capitalist production, is the determinant for the position of all other women. Every analysis of women as a caste, then, must proceed from the analysis of the position of working class housewives.

In order to see the housewife as central, it is first of all necessary to analyze briefly how capitalism has created the modern family and the housewife's role in it, by destroying the type of family group or community which previously existed. While this article is specifically about Italy and the western world, it should not be assumed that a similar process has not occurred under the capitalist mode of production in other areas of the world. The analysis of new tendencies can only be the product of an analysis of how capitalism created the family and what women's role is today.

WITH THE ADVENT of capitalism, previous modes of organization gave way to the organization of labor centered around the factory. Those who worked in the new center received a wage. Those who were excluded did not. Women, children, and the

aged lost the relative power that derived from the family's dependence on their labor, which had been seen to be social and necessary.

Capital has concentrated basic social production in the factory and the office and has detached the man from the family and turned him into a wage laborer. It has put on the man's shoulders responsibility for those who do not receive a wage. The next to be excluded from the home, after men, were children: sent to school. The family ceased to be not only the productive, but also the educational center.

Under feudal relationships, while the whole population was "unfree", under the domination of the feudal hierarchy, production was a co-operative experience. With the advent of wage labor, men and women proletarians were separated from their children while another estrangement developed, that of the "free" wage earner from the family dependent upon his earnings. The unfree patriarch was transformed into the "free" wage earner, and upon the contradictory experience of the sexes and the generations was built a more profound estrangement but also, therefore, a subversive relation.

We must stress that this separation of children from adults is essential to an understanding of the full significance of the separation of women from men, to grasp fully how the organization of the struggle on the part of the women's movement, even when it takes the form of a violent rejection of any possibility of relations with men, can only aim

to overcome the separation which is based on the "freedom" of wage labor.

TO THE EXTENT to which capital has recruited the man and turned him into a wage laborer, it has created a fracture between him and all other proletarians without a wage who, not participating directly in social production, were thus presumed incapable of being the subjects of social revolt.

Precisely through the wage, the exploitation of the non-wage laborer has been organized. Women's labor appeared to be a personal service outside of capital. The woman seemed only to be suffering from male chauvinism, being pushed around because capitalism meant general "injustice" and "bad and unreasonable behavior"; the few (men) who noticed convinced us that this was "oppression" but not exploitation.

Woman's role in the cycle of social production has remained invisible because only the product of her labor, the laborer, has been visible. She has, therefore, been trapped within pre-capitalist working conditions and never been paid a wage. Even the best equipped American kitchens do not reflect the present level of technological development; at most they reflect the technology of the 19th century.

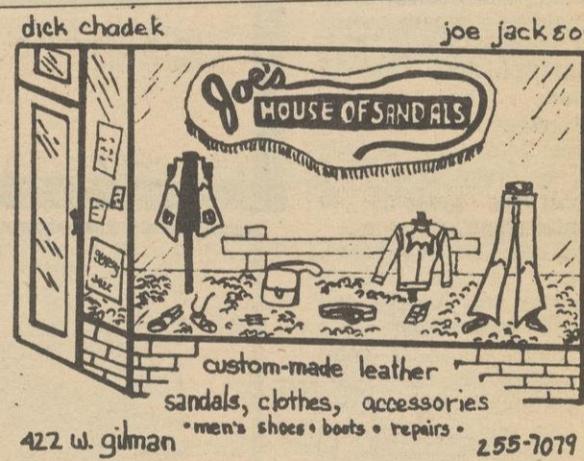
With the advent of the capitalist mode of production, women were relegated to a condition of isolation, enclosed within the family cell, dependent in every aspect on men. The new autonomy of the free wage slave

(Continued on Page 21)

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## Women

(continued from page 20)

was denied her, she remained in a pre-capitalist stage of personal dependence, but this time more brutalized, because in contrast to the large scale socialized production that now prevails.

To the extent that women were cut off from direct socialized production, and isolated in the home, all possibilities of social life outside the neighborhood were denied them, and hence they were deprived of social knowledge and social education. When women are deprived of wide experience of organization and planning collectively industrial and other mass struggles, they are denied a basic source of education, the experience of social revolt.

CAPITAL ESTABLISHED the family as the nuclear family and



subordinated within it the woman to the man, as the person who, not directly participating in social production, does not present herself independently on the labor market. As it cuts off all her possibilities of creativity and of the development of her working actively, so it cuts off the expression of her sexual, psychological and emotional autonomy.

From this complete diminution

of woman, capital constructed the female role, and has made the man in the family the instrument of this reduction. The man as wage worker and head of the family was the specific instrument of this specific exploitation which is the exploitation of women.

In this sense we can explain to what extent the degraded relationships between men and women are determined by the fracturing that society has imposed between men and women subordinating women as object, the complement of man.

A power relation precludes any possibility of affection and intimacy, yet between men and

women power, as its rights, commands sexual affection and intimacy.

Capital while it elevates heterosexuality to a religion, at the same time in practice makes it impossible for men and women to be in touch with each other, physically or emotionally—it undermines heterosexuality except as a sexual, economic, and social discipline.

**LETTUCE BOYCOTT**  
For information or to volunteer services for the Lettuce Boycott contact McGovern for President: 257-8896; or People's Office: 257-0414. Money, paper, workers, and office space are needed.

## ECONOMICS 101 this fall

The structure of Economics 101, General Economics, has been changed significantly for the Fall term of 1972.

In the past, economists teaching 101 have tried to cover every major area of economics within a semester. The result has often been that students learned very little about a lot of topics. This fall we shall offer students a choice of current issues to be studied in a little more depth. The purpose of this is to introduce the options we plan to offer.

The first six weeks will be devoted to introducing some basic tools of economic analysis. All students in all three lectures will concentrate on this core material.

For weeks 7-9 each student will choose one of the following modules: Economics and the Environment (Lindert), Crime and Economics (Andreano), The Macroeconomics of Nixon and McGovern (Lindert).

For weeks 10-12, choose one: The Concentration of Economic Power (Andreano), Health Economics (Andreano), The Macroeconomics of Nixon and McGovern (Lindert).

For weeks 13-15, choose one: The Economics of Education (Hansen), Crime and Economics (Andreano), The Concentration of Economic Power (Andreano).

Discussion sections have been so scheduled that any student can meet the weekly section on any topic. The lectures for each topic will be on one of the three scheduled Monday-Wed-Friday hours.

Join us.

Ralph Andreano

Lee Hansen

Peter Lindert

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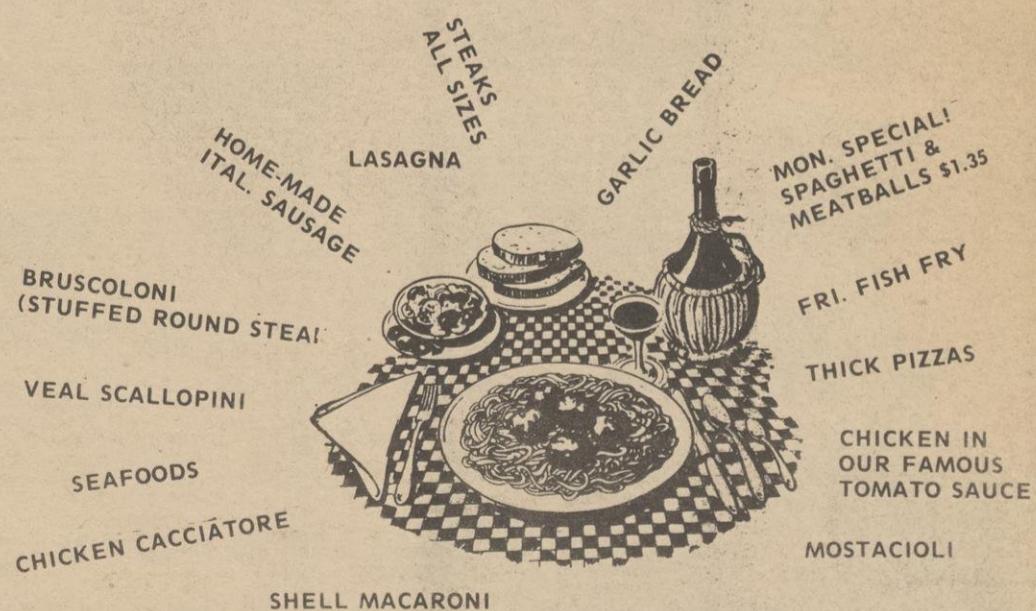
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In March of 1971, a group of students, professors and clergy met at Cornell University to discuss alternatives to Latin American policy study in the mainstream of academia. Out of this consultation was born the idea for four regional centers which would work toward the goal of "reversing the patterns of U.S. domination of Latin America and of Hispanic peoples through inquiry/research, information dissemination, and political action using the combined resources of university, community, radical action, and religious groups."

As one of the four regional centers, Community Action on Latin America has undertaken the task of trying to put the subject of U.S.-Latin American relations into a context that a wide public can relate to and understand. Our main activities in this regard are centered around the publication of a monthly newsletter, the development of a Latin America speakers bureau, the sponsoring of major conferences such as the recent Madison Conference on Chile and developing ties with local community groups who share common values and goals.

CALA is a collective of students, workers and clergy who have come together to work around a variety of projects both at the national and local level. Most of the work of CALA is carried through by special subcommittees. Beginning this fall the following subcommittees will be operational:

**NEWSLETTER SUBCOMMITTEE**—collecting information on U.S.-Latin American relations and interpreting the significance of various events for a wide audience.

\*\*\*

**DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE SUBCOMMITTEE**—CALA, in conjunction with United Ministries on Higher Education is planning a spring conference on "Alternate Modes of Development in the Western Hemisphere" which will be focusing on the cases of Brazil, Peru, Cuba, Chile and Puerto Rico. At the same time, CALA will be contributing to a study guide of the same title, also in conjunction with UMHE.

\*\*\*

**YANQUI DOLLAR RESEARCH PROJECT**—In an attempt to involve university students in power structure research that could be done in conjunction with professors in certain courses CALA is distributing detailed outlines of a national research project that centers around studying the role of selected U.S. corporations in Latin America.

\*\*\*

**WISCONSIN-CHILE COPPER PROJECT**—In conjunction with Wisconsin Public Interest Research Group (WISPIRG), CALA will be setting up a program to involve students in researching the structure of the copper industry for academic credit. When Chile nationalized its copper mines in 1971 many American companies began reorienting their operations toward the United States. Wisconsin is considered a location with potentially large reserves of copper.

\*\*\*

**NON-INTERVENTION IN CHILE (NICH) SUBCOMMITTEE**—Formed at the close of the Madison Conference on Chile, NICH is a national network of people who agreed to do support work for Chile and carry on a broader educational campaign about U.S. intervention in the Chilean process.

\*\*\*

**LATIN AMERICAN FILM SUBCOMMITTEE**—In an attempt to acquaint North American audiences with the currents of revolutionary change underway in Latin America CALA has sponsored three film festivals which bring to Madison the best examples of revolutionary cinema from Latin America.

\*\*\*

CALA needs many more people to contribute to the overall program and to keep the work of the subcommittees going.

Drop by the office anytime, leave a note or call one of the following numbers: 256-6381 or 256-7589 or 251-8875.

## the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa

Formed in 1969, the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) is an organization of individuals in the Madison community who are concerned with publicizing the conditions of colonial, imperialist and racial oppression in Southern Africa, to offer material assistance to those peoples who are fighting against the oppression which daily confronts them, and to press for elimination of U.S. governmental and corporate support of the repressive white minority regimes in the Southern African states.

We recognize the necessity in all of our work to relate the conditions of oppression in Southern Africa to those of our own society. We see our activities as inherently anti-imperialist; we view the world capitalist economy as an integrated network through which systematic exploitation of peoples both here and abroad is promoted and perpetuated.

In focusing on a geographically defined portion of that network—Southern Africa—within which the practice of liberation groups is directed toward the elimination of imperialist relations, we understand that our support activities contribute to a worldwide struggle to undermine and negate the dominance of capital.

**WE HAVE DIRECTED** our attention specifically toward Southern Africa because it is strategically located in the world imperialist system, because the conditions of oppression are particularly acute there, and because we feel it essential to support those movements, emergent within the context of oppression, whose struggle includes the building of new, socialist institutions.

Early in the year we offered our assistance (primarily in the form of speakers and newspaper articles) to the Madison Young World Development group whose walk raised approximately \$18,000 for FRELIMO's (Mozambique Liberation Front) Mozambique Institute in Tanzania. Also during the fall we carried through a fund-raising campaign which raised over \$1200 for FRELIMO and MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), a portion of which was channeled through the Liberation Support Movement of Vancouver for the purchase of medical supplies for the Angolan struggle.

MACSA is divided into four committees with specifically defined tasks: \*(1) the Political

Education Committee, which is responsible for the newsletter, for channeling information into the local media, organizing speaking engagements, etc. \*(2) the An-Fund Raising Committee, which coordinates fund-raising campaigns for liberation movements;

\*(3) the Anti-Corporate Committee, which is planning action against a locally-based corporation with ties in South Africa; and \*(4) the Trouble-Shooting Committee, which takes care of matters not covered by any of the other committees.

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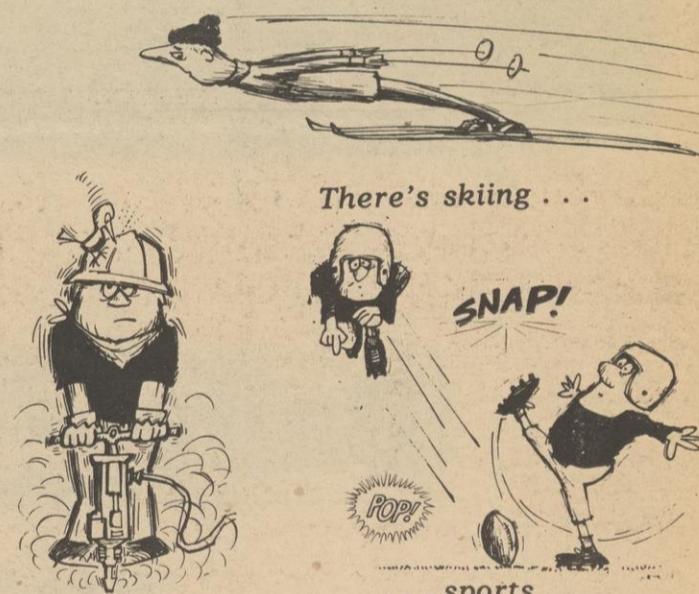
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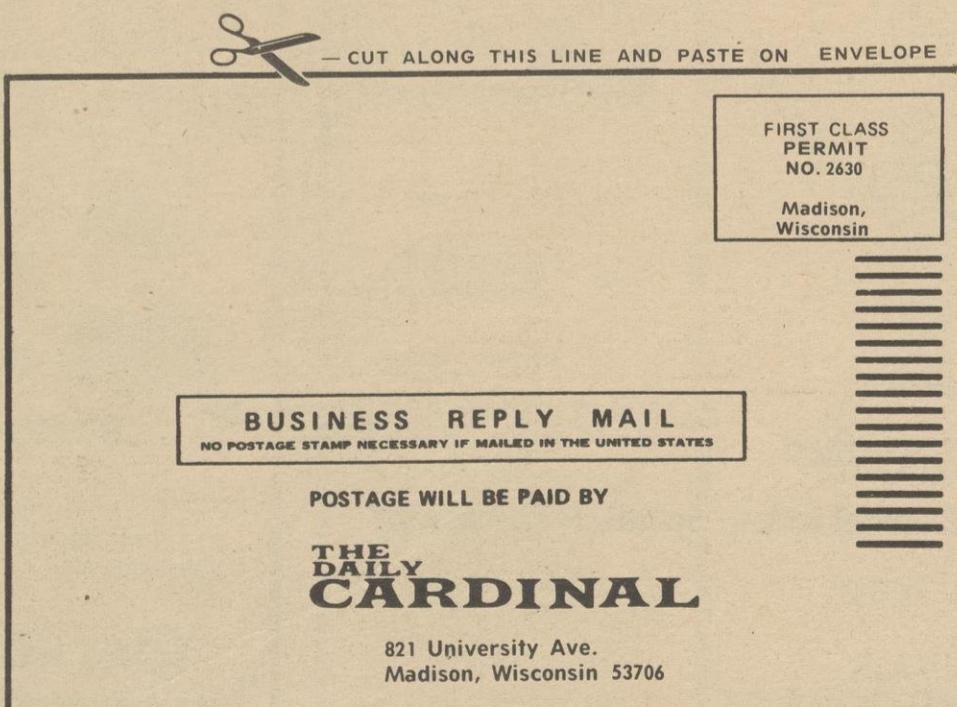


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