

motive

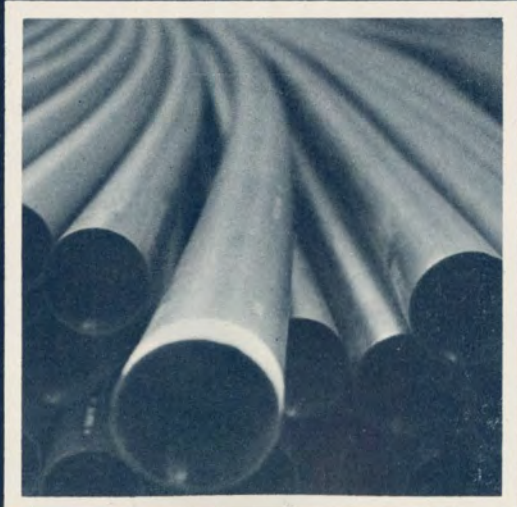
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motive

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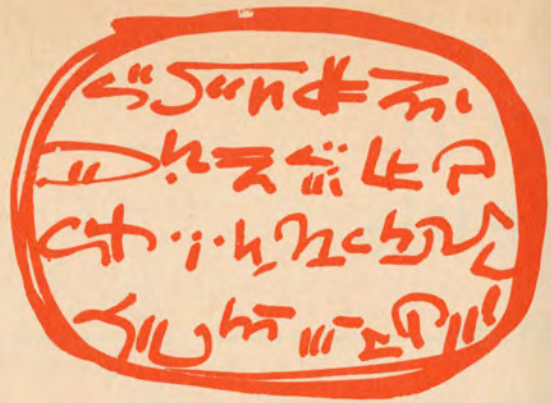
JAMES STENTZEL

internationalization

tokyo, japan

ROBERT MAURER

strategy and planning



write on!!

It gives me great pleasure to let you know that the Administrative Board of the church that I serve has not ordered me to cancel my subscription to *motive*. They wouldn't accomplish anything if they did.

Thanks for the provocative reading, the out-of-sight art, that you send my way monthly as well as for the joy of taking a risky, radical magazine called *motive* sponsored by *none* other than the UMC.

BILL ESTER
united methodist church
palco, kansas

I commend you on your insight and willingness to accept difficult challenges. Thank you for most interesting reading.

S. R. STUDEBAKER
chicago, ill.

I hope all is going well with you people. The article, "Well Ma, Its a-livin'" in the Oct. issue was one of the best *motive* has published in a long time!

HOWARD L. DAUGHENBAUGH
champaign, ill.

Sometime ago I read the controversial issue of *motive*, the one that dealt with women. If copies are still available, I'd like one, not as textual proof of what the "church is coming to," but because I consider it about the best issue of any magazine I've ever read.

MRS. E. M. DECKER, JR.
jacksonville, texas

I was brought out of a deep darkness by your April-May Issue on the environmental crisis. I had been blindly following the conservationists down the "cleaner-air-and-water-for-America"

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freeway. The articles in your magazine came as a blinding, awakening flash—con ed's specialty. I saw that the road to follow is being trod by economists and social scientists. Although I am not a socialist (yet), I am coming to see capitalism as one of the chief enemies to continued human existence.

DAN WATERS
winfield, kansas

Since *motive* seems to be a "protest" magazine designed to give support and encouragement to our already inflamed younger generation, I want to enter my protest to what I consider is an insult to all that the Church has been trying to do with its children and youth. For example, in the October, 1970 issue, the poem (if it can be called poetry) "Over the Rainbow" by Michael Lally, reached a new low in a Christian church publication.

It is true, of course, that much worse pornography can be obtained from most any newsstand. But has the time come when we have no right to expect that the Church publications be different?

In my opinion, this magazine is in the position of undoing what the Church School is trying to do. And do I hear someone saying, "Yes, that's what needs to be done"? I refer you to an excellent editorial by Dr. Henry M. Bullock, Editor of Church School Publications in *Forecast* , December, January, February, 1970-71 issue, in which he speaks positively about what is right with the Church School.

I am certain that you are familiar with the widespread unrest and discontent which is, in part at least, the result of unsatisfactory Church School literature. Many people who have been loyal and faithful to the Church across the years find little hope or satisfaction in a publication like *motive* , especially if the October issue is representative.

I must say that these are my personal impressions, but there are many indications that my sentiments are also those of an increasing number of United Methodists! If the Church can provide no better publication than *motive* in its present stance, our college students would do better without it.

W. JACK LAMB
united methodist church
calhoun, ga.

(Nov. 1970)

A portion of this letter is directed to Mr. Paul Schlueter and others whose letters have appeared in *motive's* "Write On" section usually praising your publication and attacking those who criticize. Please tell me if you can, who has a better right to criticize than the thousands of Methodists whose pledges are paying the bills. The tithes and offerings of a great body are being used to appeal to a very few and therein lies an obligation to criticize.

There are other areas in which our funds are used that not everyone will agree with but usually they fall under the great umbrella of Christianity. *motive* is out in the rain. We are constantly belittled for criticizing in the proper manner, for being traditionalists, for still believing in 19th-century Methodism like helping, loving, giving, and spelling God with a capital "G." Would we be respected more if we bombed the *motive* publishing house and killed the editor?

We're criticized for giving to the church and having the nerve to ask where it is being spent. We're being selective, you charge, and that's not fair. Does your group have the franchise on selectivity? It appears to me you're very selective in the laws you obey or disobey. Finally, the establishment in general is criticized but never do you fail to use it if it serves your self-righteous propaganda.

If Mr. Schlueter and others are so concerned about the future

of *motive* and the distinct possibility that the Methodist Church will discontinue it's support, let them along with Dr. Myron Wicke, form a corporation and buy the magazine and publish it elsewhere. I dare say that after a few months of less than 20,000 paid circulation, the old capitalistic nature that you abhor will suddenly arise and profit might become, as you say it, "relevant."

The balance of this letter is directed to the editors of *motive* concerning your latest effort, the November 70 issue. On your way to a civil future you've taken two left turns and are completely off the road. I've never read anything more cynical or devious. Why not have an issue soon in tribute to James Earl Ray? It would be just as ridiculous as this tribute to Dan Berrigan. Both are common criminals and who can deny that perhaps James Earl Ray felt just as sincere about his actions as did Dan Berrigan.

How about a two-part series by Robert Shelton of the Ku Klux Klan entitled "Modern Methods of Holding Down the Negro." He's probably just as sincere in his ignorance as Todd Gitlin is in his.

And as for Carl Hampton being killed by the Houston police, let's have an article about a young American being killed by the Viet Cong. Fighting and dying for the United States should be just as honorable as fighting and dying for the black panthers.

I'm sorry I'm so critical, but it seems to me that the primary purpose of any Methodist publication should be to win souls for Christ. If you could prove to me that one Methodist student, or any student, has been brought to Christ because of this publication I could possibly change my mind. If you could prove to me that any student has even been brought closer to Christ because of this magazine, I could change my mind. You can not do this for from what I have read and seen in most of your issues, this is not your motive. And I have no desire whatsoever to be part of your grand endeavor, therefore I'll continue to criticize until this publication is discontinued.

JOE B. MCGINNIS
birmingham, ala.

I'm renewing my subscription to *motive* . I can tell by the letters your magazine gets that the wolves are at your door. Hang On! The church needs the point of view your magazine presents. It is a great pity that the pressures toward conformity are so great in the churches today that some of them feel that they must hound out of existence points of view different from their own. If these churches spent half the energy ministering to the world outside their doors as they spend hunting down "evil doers" within their own household, they might find that your magazine is a helpful resource and not a harmful influence. Keep *motive* coming, the churches need all the variety of perspectives they can get.

JOHN PATTERSON
nashville, tenn.

We were all interested in reading George Brosi's article (Oct) on his experiences in VSC. It was a good personal look at pulling a group together. Although I don't know what it would have been like to read the article if one didn't know George—more help probably. The only thing I was sorry about was that it wasn't clear that George has been gone almost a year now and we as a group have grown some and changed a lot. That's not meant as a rebuttal of George's comments at all, just an extension of them.

SAM for VSC
canyon, calif.

notes

toward a civil future

STOP THE WAR: DO WHAT THIS SAYS.
MOTIVE'S GUEST EDITORIAL BY DAVID F. WASKOW

This month's notes toward a civil future grew out of a conversation between six-year-old David Waskow and his father Arthur.

DAVID (Looking at the Washington Star): *Why is Mr. Nixon sort of smiling like that?*

ARTHUR: *Because he just told all the people he isn't going to end the war.*

DAVID: *But why? But isn't he going to end it even until he dies?*

ARTHUR: *Well, I don't think he's going to end it. I think we're going to have to end it ourselves.*

DAVID: *Maybe we should write it down in a book, what people should do to stop the war.*

ARTHUR: *Okay. You get the paper and pencil.*

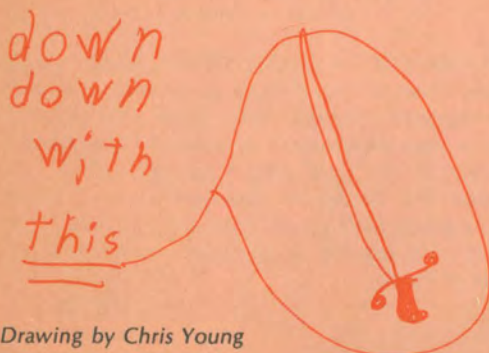
DAVID: *But you have to write it down for me what I tell you.*



Drawing by Stephen Young

Try to break up the machines that make the guns and the bombs and the bullets.

Try to surround the White House where the President works, all good up in the front and the back and the two sides.



Drawing by Chris Young

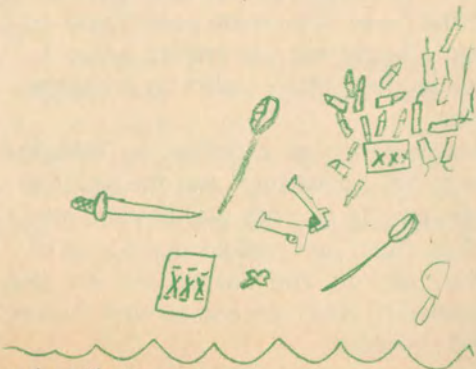
Surround the captain of the ship where the guns and bombs and bullets are put on.

Climb aboard the ship and tell the people to stop the war and throw all the bullets and guns off in the water where there are no ships because maybe one gun might hit the trigger on the bottom of the sea and hit a ship and make it sink. Don't throw the bombs over because they might blow up and we don't want the people to get killed on the ship.



Drawing by Mary Young

When you're still ashore stay there and don't put the bombs on. Try to cut the bombs up with swords. When you're finished, throw the sword in the water.



Drawing by Mike Young

Cut most of the hyd-er-gen and atom bombs up. (I want to change that to all.)

And if you want, think up your own ideas.

Leave some empty space for people to sign up their own ideas.



JAPAN THE U.S. and THE MILITARY ...two views



JIM STENTZEL

PART 1

With visions of the underground press spy dancing through my mind, I read a notice on the Press Club bulletin board: the Sato Cabinet would be "honored" by foreign coverage of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (SDF) parade on November 1. It mentioned that the parade would be attended "by all government, diplomatic and civil leaders."

As such, tremendous security precautions were being taken. Even members of the Establishment Press Club had to apply for an application for an invitation which could then be exchanged for a ticket. On top of this, I saw no other notice about the parade in the whole of Japan, including the media.

I didn't really expect my application to survive the government security check. And it didn't. But I appealed the rejection on the grounds that I was "legitimate press," and on Halloween a bright red slip arrived which I could give to the military police in exchange for a ticket.

The parade had been cancelled in 1968 and 1969 due to "disturbances," and the security around the parade grounds was beyond my imagination. But I just walked up to one of the military officers and flashed the red slip.

He snapped to attention and saluted smartly. I stared dumbly.

PHOTOGRAPH

He led me to another officer, said a couple words to him, and once again heels clacked together and gloved hand flashed to the hat rim.

"What the hell is going on?" I asked myself.

"Please follow me," said the second officer as he led me toward a table and past a line of eight military officials.

And the whole line saluted me. In perfect unison.

"I can't stand it!" I muttered under my breath in the middle of a half-hearted Japanese bow.

A woman at the table asked for my magic slip. When she saw it was really red, her eyes flashed and she quickly motioned to the line of military.

The line marched toward me and halted five feet away. One of them stepped forward and pinned a large ribbon on my coat (by some terrible mistake, an Army-green trench-coat). The blue ribbon had a white flower with a red center—the symbiotic symbol of Japan-U.S. militarism.

I could have been in church praying for peace, but there I was—a decorated military hero. And after all those hard years avoiding the draft.

I wanted to shout, "I'M A DIRTY HIPPIE HERE TO BLOW UP YOUR MISSILES." But an honor guard had surrounded me. They marched me to a section of bleachers filled with U.S. military officers and their wives, and they saluted as I dissolved into the mass.

I sat next to an Army sergeant and tried to look militaristic.

After some three minutes of Russia jokes, one of the American goodwill ambassadors made a remark about my long hair. Chortles and smirkles swept the U.S. forces to my rear.

Forgetting that I was a military hero, I turned to Sarge and humbly confessed,

"I think I'm in the wrong section."

"What unit are you with?"

"*motive* magazine," I said, "I'm an editor for *motive* magazine in Nash . . ."

"*Motor* magazine?"

Yes, the occasion was one in which some liberated education could have taken place. But the whole setting was causing nausea. While searching for a Japanese phrase that would send the military scrambling for their decoding books, I spotted a Japanese hippie film crew across the road and decided to AWOL-it.

Depending upon whom you talk with in Japan, you can hear two viewpoints about the Japanese military, both of which are factually correct:

1) Japan is a militarily weak country in the face of the major world powers. It has fewer personnel (180,000) than the reduced U.S. forces in Vietnam alone. Total defense expenditures in 1971 are only \$1.9 billion, or less than the U.S. spends on Vietnam in two months. The expenditures have been and will probably continue to be less than one per cent of the Japanese GNP. The forces are intended for defense and as such have little capability for aggressive attack. In any case, the Japanese people today love peace and hate war perhaps more than any people in the world, and they are not prone to accept nuclear armaments.

2) In the last decade alone, Japan has become the sixth strongest military power in the world. With defense expenditures doubling every five years, Japan is far and away the fastest growing military power in the world. In ten years the defense budget is projected at \$7.5 billion, in 20 years \$30 billion—huge, though still less than two per cent of projected GNP. The power of the air and maritime forces will soon pass that of the U.S. and Russia in the Asia-Pacific sphere—power in this age meaning armaments and equipment, not personnel. The Defense Agency has already laid solid foundations for attack capabilities including the deployment of nuclear weapons. And though the Japanese masses dislike militarism, they are not making the decisions. Japan's well-developed military-industrial complex, along with the Sato Cabinet, have in fact already decided that the nation's military development should match its economic development.

The tendency of many Americans is probably to "remember Pearl Harbor" and to go along with the second viewpoint. But a much more rational posture is to accept the *feeling* of the first viewpoint and the *facts* of the second viewpoint. Democracy in Japan is a malfunctioning thing, and what the majority of people desire is not what they're getting from the Establishment's inner circle. Yet the citizens and the ruling clique respect each other's motives.

The government thus shows its hand in such a way that it can appear to be neither militaristic nor deceitful. The 20th anniversary parade of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) in November was one example. On the one hand, despite fantastic security precautions, the government did show its military to Japan and the world. The two-hour parade even included its latest military hardware, made-in-Japan Nike missiles.

On the other hand, the government paraded less than three per cent of its military men and equipment. Although all 30 of the Air SDF helicopters flew over, only eight of their 480 jet fighters did. Only one of their 75 missiles was shown.

Another example of balanced public relations regards nomenclature. All nations say that military build-ups are for "peace," but the Japanese have to add "for national defense only."¹ With this tag, the government now rationalizes that South Korea and Taiwan are within its "defense zone." With Japan's takeover of U.S. bases in Okinawa next year, Southeast Asia will probably also become "essential to the defense of Japan."²

South Korea, Taiwan and Southeast Asia are of increasing importance not only to the SDF but also to Japanese arms manufacturers. With much help from both the Vietnam War and U.S. defense industries, the Japanese are approaching the billion-dollar-a-year mark in weapons manufacturing. All major Japanese corporations are now expanding their facilities to meet not only the SDF demand but the even greater arms market in the three above places.

¹ In 1947, during the U.S. Occupation, the Japanese "Peace Constitution" became law and forbade any form of Japanese military. Amidst internal disorders and the Korean situation though, the U.S. "bent" the Constitution by rationalizing a 75,000-man Police Reserve Force for "domestic tranquility." By 1954 the Force had become the nucleus of the SDF, whose job was broadened to "domestic defense."

² The Middle East, Africa and South America are also becoming more crucial to the defense and stability of Japan. The Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry in November projected that by 1975 Japan's dependency on overseas natural resources is expected to reach 99.7 per cent for crude oil, 90 per cent for iron ore and 86 per cent for coking coal used in steel-making. In addition to helping to secure these vital resources, the military will have an increasing responsibility to keep the shipping lanes open.

JIM STENTZEL



PHOTOGRAPH

Leading the way as a defense contractor is Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, with an estimated 10 per cent of its output now military-related. In cooperation with Lockheed, MHI manufactured the EIKO (F104J) jets presently used by the SDF. This past fall MHI announced that it was beginning production on 102 F-4 Phantom jets for Japanese use only. The longer-range fighter-bombers are capable of carrying nuclear weapons. In addition, MHI has already built 75 Nike-Hercules missiles for the SDF and is working on 136 more—all of which have optional use as a nuclear delivery system. For both the Phantom jet and the missile projects, MHI worked in agreement with McDonnell-Douglas.³

Beyond the military-industrial complex, how does Japan hope to be a great military power when it has repeatedly stated its policy of "not acquiring any nuclear weapons"? The answer lies behind public relations, behind the slow but persistent "education" of the peace-loving Japanese.

In 1960, the government said Japan would never have any aircraft bombers. By the mid-'60s, a minor change was made permitting short-range bombers. Last fall another minor change led to long-range F-4 Phantoms.

Equally slowly and surely, the door is being opened for nuclear weapons. As late as 1965, just the mention of nuclear weapons created outrage in Japan. Between '67 and '69, the doors began to open, leading to hot debates in the media regarding nuclear armament. Then on Oct. 20, 1970, the government made another of those minor changes: in a widely circulated Defense White Paper, the government changed the policy of "not acquiring any nuclear weapons" to "not acquiring any nuclear weapons at present." The paper went on to say that nuclear weapons in Japan, when they do come, will be considered Constitutional (see footnote 1).

An additional piece of the nuclear puzzle is that Japan is fast producing plutonium. By 1975 it is estimated that Japan "will have generated enough plutonium in her power reactors to produce 600 to 700 atomic bombs of the 20 kiloton variety."⁴

³ For an excellent historical analysis of the growth of Japan's military-industrial complex, see Herbert Bix's article in the January, 1970, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*.

⁴ Frank Kowalski, Jr., *The Rearmament of Japan* (Simul Press, Inc., Japan, 1969), p. 280.

In light of all the trends, or as they say "the handwriting on the wall," what is the best response we can make in the U.S.? The only possible response I, as a U.S. citizen, can make is one of shame, even disgust. But the shame and disgust is not directed toward the Japanese people, because these people are victims of my own country's policy for the Far East. The military-industrial complex and the Sato government, and all Japanese governments since 1950, have been led and occasionally coerced by U.S. military planning. The Korean War was the first big push, and push came to shove with the Vietnam War.

The machinery is now so well in motion that even the heralded U.S. military pull-outs from Japanese soil (as well as from Vietnam) become sour. Rather than less U.S. military involvement in the Far East, it will be only less direct.

This is not to say that Japan would never have rearmed on her own. It only means that the U.S. created everything above. And for history's sake, it should be noted that Japan did not always accept the creation. The Hatoyama government in 1956 tried to limit defense expenditures and improve relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Pentagon responded by increasing its weapons shipments to Japan by 1300 per cent in 1957.

The shame and disgust of U.S. citizens will hardly help the situation, though. Neither will simple awareness of the vast and intricate network of America's world-wide militarism. Both are beginnings, however, for mounting joint struggles with our Japanese brothers and sisters to avert the literal dead-end of military build-ups.

In addition, Americans must continue educating each other about the true nature of the U.S. military pull-out from Asia. Neither President Nixon nor any other American should ever be permitted to say or even to imply that "We have pulled out of Asia." Only our fighters' skin-color is changing.

—Jim Stentzel



North Vietnam... a photo essay

by Charlotte Bunch-Weeks and Frank Joyce

ĐẢNG LAO ĐỘNG VIỆT-NAM MUÔN NĂM !



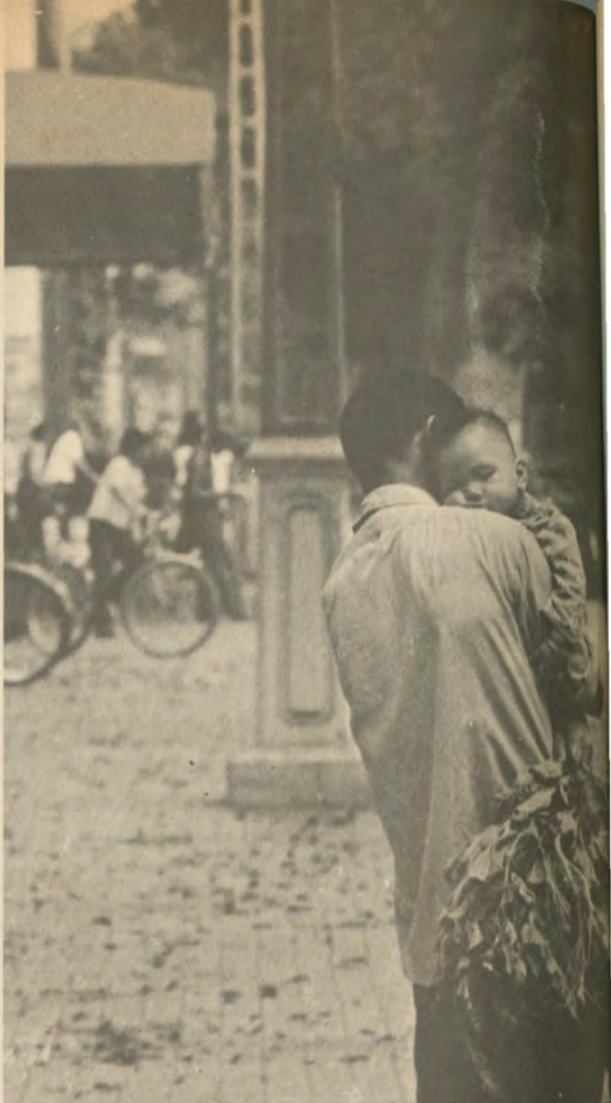
In the last days of April and the first week of May 1970, a trip to North Vietnam for four people was sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The four were Charlotte Bunch-Weeks of Washington, D.C. women's liberation, Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez of El Grito Del Norte, a Chicano paper in New Mexico, Gerry Schwin of Committee of Returned Volunteers from New York City and Frank Joyce of People Against Racism from Detroit.

The group spent one week in Hanoi and four days in Nghe An Province, in and around Vinh City, the southern provincial capital on the Gulf of Tonkin about 200 miles south of Hanoi. They were guests of the Committee of Solidarity with American People. Their purpose was to get a better understanding of North Vietnam and how socialism is being built there, as well as to discuss the war in Indochina and the anti-war movement in the U.S.—Eds.





The most striking quality about both the city and the countryside of North Vietnam was that everyone was busy, working hard, in motion, in good spirits. Everywhere we saw activity; people were bicycling or walking up and down the roads, peasants were working hard in the rice fields, school children with ink on their faces were running and playing, work teams were repairing roads and bridges, people were gathering at the market, going to the department stores, the bookstores, carrying water. Everyone was building, making, doing, working.





North Vietnam is primarily rural with a great love and respect for the land. Redistribution of the land from the rich landlords to the people was basic to the revolution against the French, won in 1954. Now most of the land and industries are run cooperatively with families sharing their resources and their products. Every region has a diversified economy with both agriculture and small industry enabling that region to be self-sufficient for as long as the war requires.

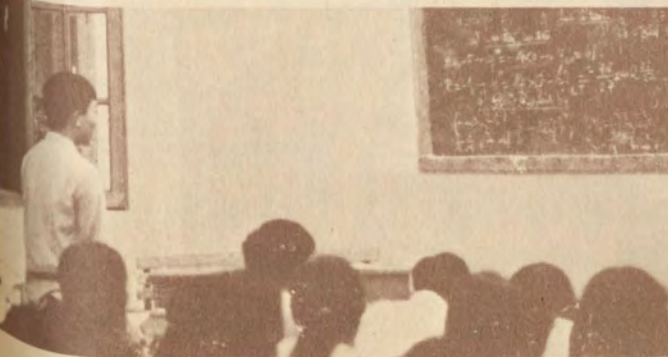


Hanoi is the communications center linking various regions. But even in Hanoi there is a rural respect for nature and sense of calm that contrasts sharply with the frenetic noise, pollution and crush of big Western cities. Buildings are not so high as to block out the sky. Bicycles are everywhere but they do not crowd people out or create parking or pollution problems. A few trucks, autos and jeeps are being used by cooperatives and work projects but they do not rule the roads. There are no beggars, peddlers, loiterers or starving people. Everyone appeared to be fed, clothed and housed. No one lived in luxury.

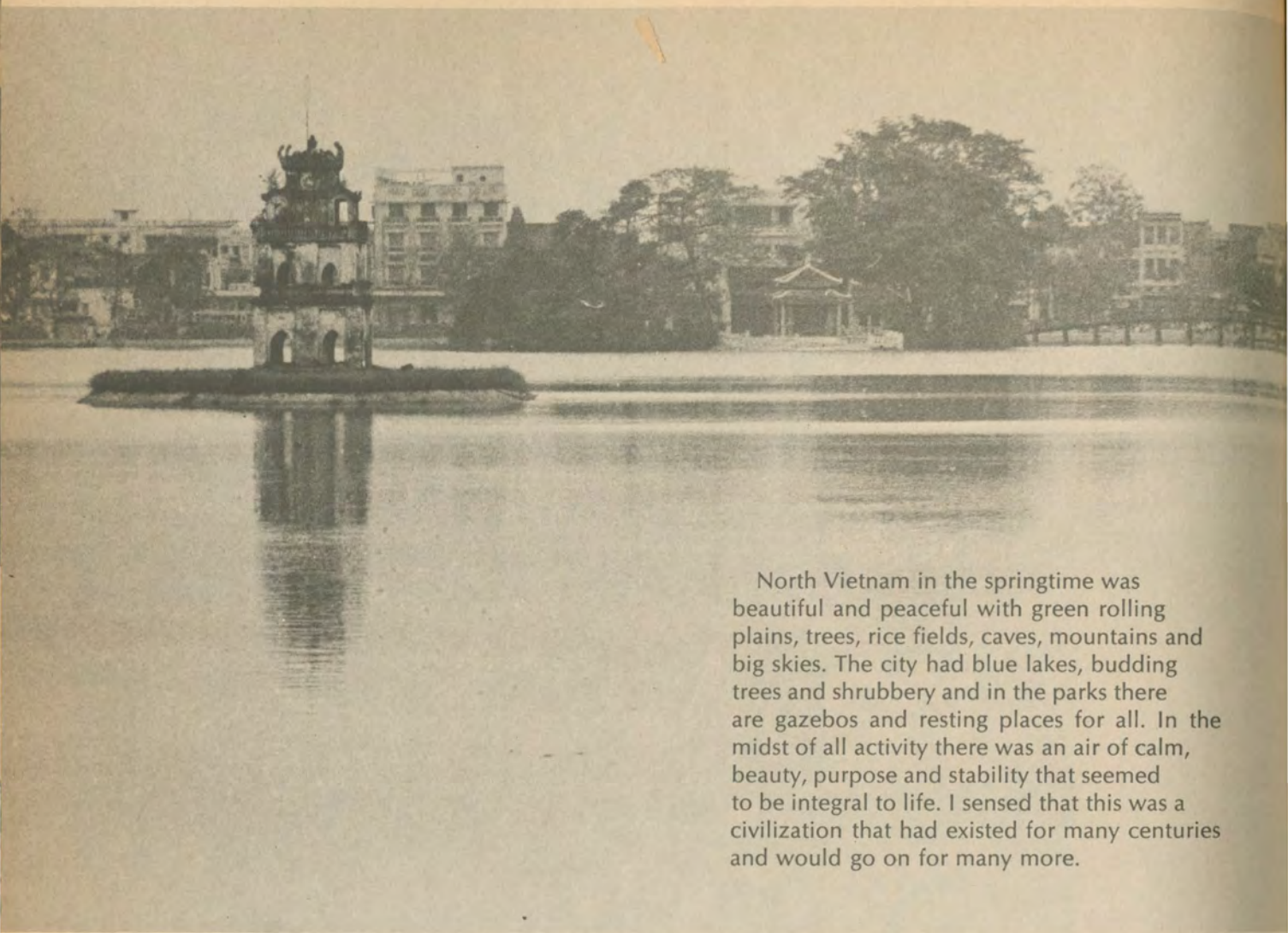
This banner was hung in honor of the Centennial celebration of the birth of Lenin.



The department store and the Hanoi Central Market



In night schools both the teacher and students work elsewhere during the day. The teacher in this adult mathematics class is not paid but receives gifts from the students. He teaches because, "those who had the opportunity to learn more than others have the duty to teach others."



North Vietnam in the springtime was beautiful and peaceful with green rolling plains, trees, rice fields, caves, mountains and big skies. The city had blue lakes, budding trees and shrubbery and in the parks there are gazebos and resting places for all. In the midst of all activity there was an air of calm, beauty, purpose and stability that seemed to be integral to life. I sensed that this was a civilization that had existed for many centuries and would go on for many more.





Even relaxing in a Hanoi park, people are constantly reminded of the reality of war and the necessity of being prepared by the quiet presence of bomb shelters such as this one which are located everywhere.





This building, before being destroyed by US bombs, was a monument honoring Ba Trieu, a heroine from this region who in the Third Century A.D. led an unsuccessful resistance against foreign invaders.

As we looked more closely at the land we discovered the pockmarks of war. Traveling south of Hanoi we discovered and were angered that every stretch of land had been repeatedly bombed whether near any "strategic site" or not. The countryside and the roadbed were bumpy where workers had filled in the bomb craters. The railroads had been destroyed. We crossed rickety wooden bridges that replaced the destroyed steel ones. No large buildings were left intact and entire cities, such as Vinh, once a major center, had been leveled. We saw the remains of Vinh's churches, schools, hospitals, homes; all indiscriminately destroyed. During the years of destruction (1964-68), our guide explained, there were over 4,000 air attacks and an average of two tons of bombs dropped on each person in Vinh alone.





Under the French many churches were built in North Vietnam. There were no obstacles to worship before the bombing destroyed many of them. A number of Catholic believers and monks died while worshipping on June 13, 1968 when this 65-foot-high Cathedral and priests' house in Vinh were bombed.



Outside Vinh, we visited a Buddhist pagoda, part of which was still standing. A small, thin, quiet Buddhist nun in brown habit showed us around the building, explaining the statues and altars. Then she took us into a small room where tea was served. We waited for her to say a few formal words so that we could go, as we were very tired. But suddenly she leaned toward us, grew very intense, and grasped our hands. She said that she had been waiting many years to talk with American women. She was convinced that if the women of the US knew what was really happening in her country, they would make it stop. She told of her experience, of how children came crying to her for their mothers, but she knew their mothers had been killed. Finally she said, "We, the women, must unite to stop this war. We must unite to stop the terrible things that are happening in this world. I would like you to take that message back to the women of America."





We visited the Revolutionary Museum in Hanoi where the history of these struggles is recorded. We were convinced that if the last four American presidents had been there and understood this history, they would never have entered the war.



In a small village we visited an underground museum documenting the recent destruction of Vinh and the surrounding area. Here, curious children look in as guides explained the items in the museum to us.

While there, we learned the history of that region's resistance to the bombing. We met this young man, who had been crippled all his life, but had become an expert in disarming time bombs before they exploded. He was a local hero for the valor with which he went out immediately after every bombing to defuse those bombs left.



But the destruction of the war is constantly being recreated into life by the Vietnamese. Some of the bomb craters are filled with soil, others are filled with rain water and are used as fishing ponds, wading pools for the water buffalo and irrigation reservoirs. The aluminum from downed US planes is made into objects such as ash trays, rings, bracelets, combs and vases. Rubber from planes' tires is used to make sandals.

As we met more of the people, we were impressed with the strength of their will not only to resist the US assault on their land, but to continue to build a new society with food, land and joy for all. For them the war is not an abstract debate topic; it is a struggle for survival and for the independence and future of their people.



Everyone—women and men, young and old, country and city—understood what must be done and were a part of that struggle. People expressed this determination and sense of purpose in their work in personal terms, whether they were repairing roads, teaching in nurseries, working in hospitals, fields, factories or engaged in military defense.





These women are responsible for the anti-aircraft gun that protects their village. When not on military duty they work at other village tasks.





Even the children play a role in the building of the country and take great pride in their work as well as enjoying their play. In this painting outside the Vietnamese Youth Union in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh (Bac Ho) awards the Red Scarf to a young pioneer.





The spirit and dedication of the people was personified in Ho Chi Minh, known as Uncle Ho (Bac Ho) to the people. Whenever people spoke of Bac Ho it was with pride as one speaks of a wise and beloved member of the family. There was no idol worship or fear of his "authority"—only love and respect.

We were the first Americans to visit the museum created from the house where Ho lived during part of his childhood in Kim Lien near Vinh. Our guides told this story: In 1958, Ho visited the village for the first time in almost 50 years. The villagers told him that they were going to restore his house as a museum and asked what kind of flowers he would like planted in the lot outside. Ho replied that these were the years of constructing the nation and all fertile land was needed to help feed the people. He suggested they plant sweet potatoes and ground nuts which were also beautiful.

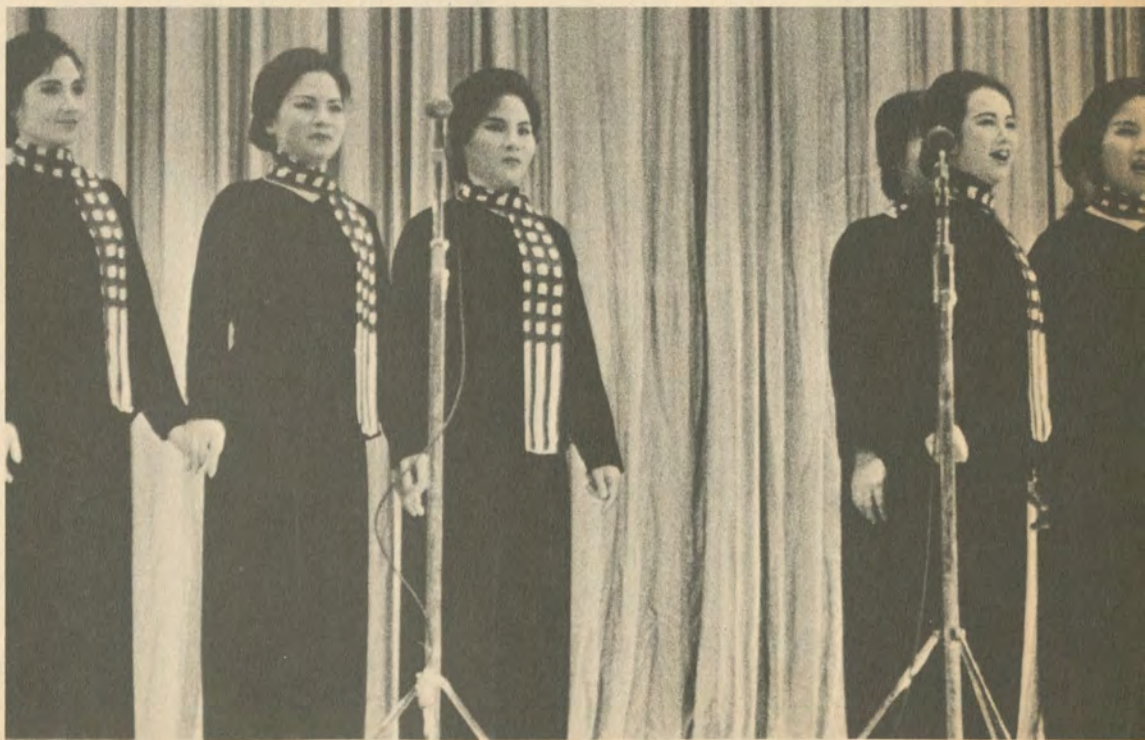


The flags in the background are from the four countries, left to right: Cambodia, DRV, PRG and Pathet Lao. The speaker here is General Giap, leader of the military, to his left is Nguyen Duy Trinh, deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs and to his right is Phan Van Dong, prime minister.



The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples (Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, the Provincial Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao and the United Front of Cambodia) took place in South China at the time we were in Hanoi. And we were able to attend a historic meeting in Hanoi on April 28 when the North Vietnamese delegation returned and reported to the people on the conference. The first hour consisted of short speeches outlining the state of the war and announcing the new pact between the Indochinese liberation forces. The second hour was a cultural event featuring songs, dances and skits representing each of the countries that had joined together in the pact.

Women dressed in traditional clothing of the South sing "Saigon Rise Up: Spring 1968," a song honoring the Tet Offensive.

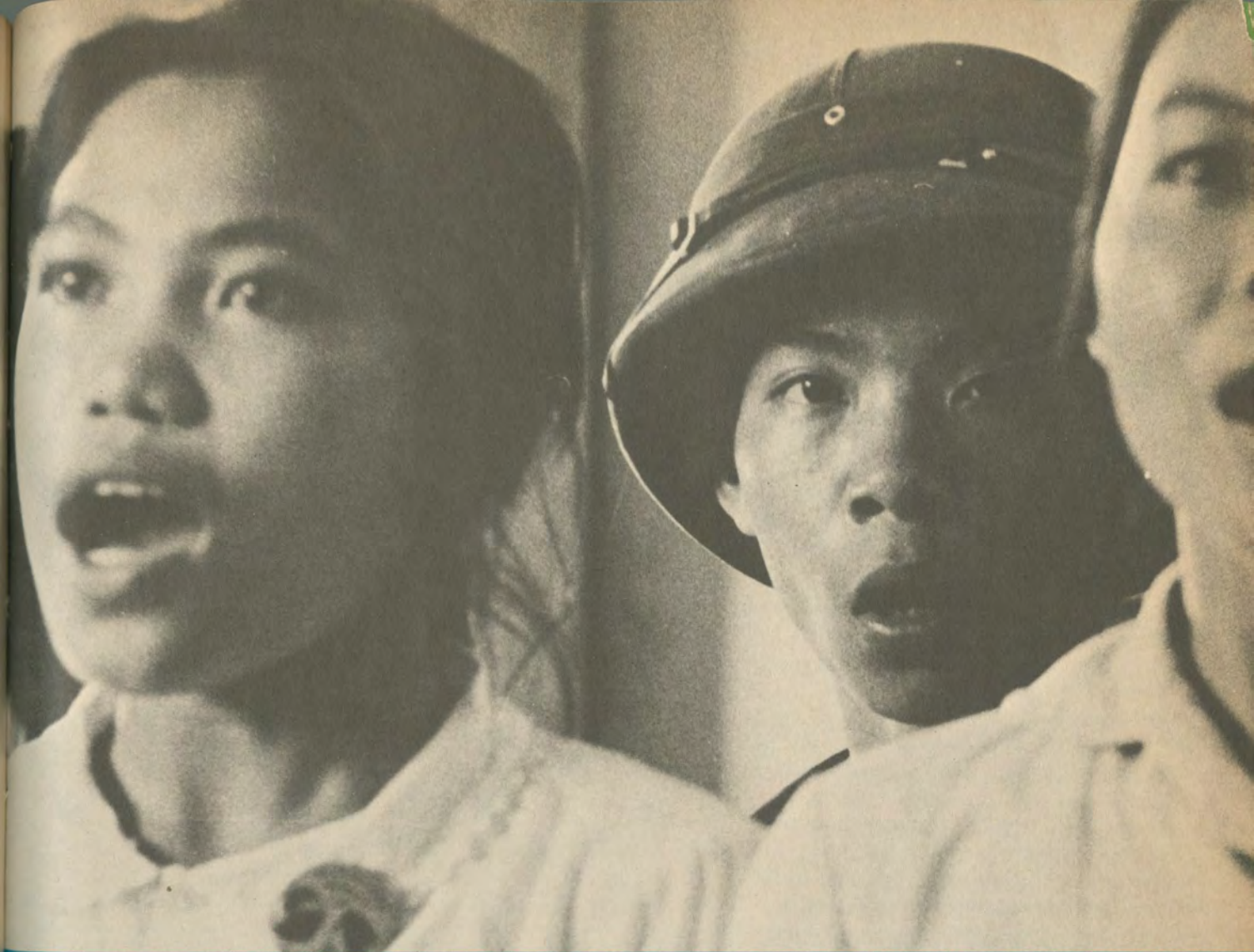


What overwhelmed us the most on the trip was the spirit of the Vietnamese people—their incredible sense of life and humanity. After years of struggling for survival and independence, they have maintained a sense of joy and value of living. They understand that only this spirit can keep them going against enormous technological odds and ultimately enable them to win. They see their military efforts, not as something to be glorified, but as a tragic necessity in their struggle to survive and liberate their country.

Everywhere we went, they sang songs, read poetry and played games even as they worked. They said, "We must make singing voices overwhelm the bombs." Factories and farms were places of joy as well as work. At a cement plant we played volley ball with workers. In a factory built in a cave to protect it from the bombs, we went into a small tea room in the back where there were a table, chairs and flowers. There, as everywhere, we were served tea and treated to songs and poems with the workers.

Within the context of this spirit and love of life and struggle for survival, many things which seem superficial in US society took on totally different meanings. Songs, poems, tea were signs of joy and friendship. Flowers and gifts were earnest means of communication. We, grown cynical in the US, were touched deeply by the simple love and beauty of this society.







The Vietnamese people reached out to and moved us—citizens of the country that is attempting to destroy them—with warmth and friendship. Children everywhere followed us curiously and looked with interest when our interpreters explained that we were “American friends who are fighting against the war.” It is government policy to teach even the small children the difference between American friends who oppose the war and the American government which is trying to destroy them. What constantly amazed us was that this was not simply a government line, but was the attitude of people all over toward us, in spite of what our government is doing. Our hosts and interpreters sought to meet all our requests and needs or explained when they could not. They even anticipated needs in their eagerness. For example they sent a doctor to see us each morning until she was satisfied that we were healthy. Many people gave many hours to show us the spirit and struggle of North Vietnam for independence, for socialism and a new life.

On our way back to Hanoi from Vinh we had a picnic lunch with our guides and interpreters in the ruins of an old monument. The boxes for our lunch were hand sown by our interpreters when they realized that none were available.







PHOTOGRAPH

J. M. SOKOL

ELECTRONIC BATTLEFIELD, INC.

BY CHRIS ROBINSON

The man leaves his hut, rifle in hand, slipping through the forest to an isolated rendezvous where he will join his comrades in their struggle against the Invaders. Birds sing out, brooks ripple, but the jungle is otherwise quiet. No one in sight, no word of Invaders. The man is confident.

He does not know it, but his every step is being watched. As he moves toward the meeting place, signals flash in the STANO control room of the Invaders' outpost, computers whir, and a blip appears on a screen. The lone man is being watched as five other blips approach the same outpost. The computer measures his speed: 2.31 miles/hour. It measures the speed of his comrades and computes when they will reach their destination.

With the flash of electricity this information is fed into the huge ADSAF computer network, which instantly integrates this information with previous intelligence and surveillance data to determine the mission of the men. The mission is determined dangerous, and another bolt of electricity carries the word to the TACFIRE central computer.

TACFIRE determines the appropriate tactical response and speeds this information to a network of artillery installations, which respond automatically by unleashing a blistering attack just as the blips converge. The threat to the Invaders is eliminated, the area is sanitized. Meanwhile, in Zone F, another blip appears on a screen. . . .

Sound like a scene from a late-night science-fiction thriller? In July, 1969, the US Army set up a program called Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Night Observation (STANO) to plan, test, and put into operation a totally controlled and computerized "electronic battlefield."

This attempt to bring science fiction to life was discussed by General William C. Westmoreland in a speech to the Association of the US Army on October 14, 1969. "On the battlefield of the future," Westmoreland said, "enemy forces will be located, tracked and targeted almost instantly through the use of datalinks, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation, and automated fire-control."

STANO is the operation that will create this "battlefield of the future." It was given a fiscal 1970 budget of \$14.0 million to develop personnel detectors, night vision devices, radars, and other intelligence-gathering instruments, all of which will then be connected to computerized diagnostic equipment. When the electronic sensors are activated, the computers are supposed to analyze the information and automatically aim artillery or make other appropriate responses.

As Westmoreland sees it, this will reduce the number of ground troops needed in the war theater. "With first-round kill probability, and with surveillance devices that can continually track the enemy," Westmoreland said, "the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important."

The Army has developed this concept to the point where it has set up a new test center at Fort Hood, Texas. The testing project, Mobile Army Sensor Systems Test, Evaluation and Review (MASSTER), is funded at \$4.1 million annually, but the Army expects that MASSTER's five-year budget will be in the range of \$60 to \$70 million.

In fact, of all the current research projects in the Army's portfolio, STANO and MASSTER have top priority under the designation "Integrated Battlefield Control System (IBCS)." When asked to compare the effort being expended on IBCS with other Army programs, Lieutenant General A. W. Betts, chief of Army research and development, told *Armed Forces Management* magazine, "This is a high-priority segment of the effort. Already there is a great deal of money involved."

The program has come under heavy criticism from Congress and taxpayers who don't want to see federal funds used to animate science fiction novels. But the military wants the new equipment, and it usually gets what it wants.

The idea of an electronic battlefield was conceived with the needs of the Vietnam war in mind. During the summer of 1966, the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) studied the possibility of constructing an electronic fence along South Vietnam's 900-mile border to stop infiltration. Even though it was estimated that up to 200,000 troops would be needed to police such a static defense line, the Defense Communications Planning Group (DCPG) was set up in September, 1966, to oversee the project. The electronic fence became mockingly known in military circles as the "Maginot Line East" or "McNamara's Wall."

Research began in fiscal 1967 with a budget of \$3.5 million, which quickly jumped to \$82.8 million the following year. As the Pentagon began a heavy procurement effort for construction of the "fence" along the border between North and South Vietnam, the expense increased several hundred times. By fiscal 1969 between \$1.6 and \$2.0 billion had been spent on the new Maginot Line. But the project never really worked, at least infiltration between the two halves of Vietnam was never halted.

One Senator told a reporter from *Armed Forces Journal*, "I understand that much of the equipment sent over is rusting around Da Nang because the places where it was to be put are now occupied by the enemy."

In an attempt to influence Congressional debate on the military procurement bill in May, 1970, the Army unveiled some of its already developed sensing devices in a press conference at Fort Hood. The equipment included:

—a seismic intrusion detector which is supposed to pick up the audible movements of a man walking at 100 feet or a vehicle moving at 100 yards. Texas Instruments of Dallas has produced 1,321 of these units for the Marine Corps for \$587,121, while G. C. Dewedy of New York City has received \$968,630 for 3,750 seismic detectors.

—a man-pack tactical radar to be carried by three men and operated by one. It provides perimeter or border surveillance on battery power. Cutler Hammer, Inc. has received more than \$34 million since fiscal 1964 for development and production of this equipment. Latest information is that RCA and General Dynamics are competing for the contract on a lighter, more efficient model.

The press was also shown such devices as cylindrical sonobuoys which the military says can be dropped by parachute to pick up the sound of troops or vehicles, and chemical "sniffers" which are supposed to be able to pick up the odor of truck exhaust or camp fires.

While displaying the equipment, Major General John Norton, deputy director of MASSTER, described the war games being carried out as part of the testing procedure. A force of 150 Rangers pretend to be guerrillas and 2,000 men try to defend Fort Hood's 341 square miles using electronic methods.

Gen. Norton said: "After two weeks of live tests, 95% came off the way we planned it." As for the other 5%, another Army source gave this account: "The Rangers played the role of the enemy seriously. One night a small group of them crawled several hundred yards right into our command post. We didn't notice them until somebody said, 'There seems to be too many people in here.'"

This 5% is more characteristic of how well the sensitive electronic equipment has worked under field conditions in Vietnam. Most of the sensors were demolished while being air-dropped. Others lasted less than one week. Since they cost between \$2,500 and \$3,000 each, the expense mounted.

Another problem was pointed out by Senator William Proxmire (D-Wisc) when he reported to Congress that "the sensors cannot discriminate between soldiers and women and children." But Sen. Proxmire was overstating the case. Most of the devices couldn't even hear any type of stealthy Vietnamese, regardless of his sex, age or occupation.

To cope with the silent Vietnamese, the Pentagon began purchasing large quantities of the miniature "Button Bomblet" produced by Honeywell, Inc. The button bomblets snap, crackle and pop when stepped upon so that the electronic sensor can detect the passer-by. However, they were also put to use by the Vietnamese when they wanted to create a diversion and send government troops off in the wrong direction.

Despite these equipment failures, the main problem with the Maginot Line was its requirement of a 200,000-man border patrol to respond to the popping sensors. The military didn't have the manpower, but at the Pentagon outmoded concepts never die: they get a more outlandish rationale and larger funding.

The electronic fence was abandoned in 1969, and STANO was created to broaden the concept to include the whole battlefield. In the context of Vietnam, this merely means sprinkling the sensors indiscriminately around US troop outposts. The original rationale of stopping infiltration had to be dropped because it didn't work. So the Army expanded the operation to include a larger area, and higher costs.

McGraw-Hill's highly respected Defense Marketing Service explains the military's justification: "The creation of STANO by the Army indicated that developments for the McNamara Wall in Vietnam for the specific purpose of halting or reducing infiltration from the north, are now used in Vietnam to create an electronic battlefield in that war theater. More importantly, the current effort indicates that the wall concept has led to the electronic battlefield idea for application to other situations."

Within this concept, Army procurement for the electronic battlefield, under the designation "Duel Blade," will reach \$129.5 million in fiscal 1970.

But these are only the detection devices. The Army's new scheme is to integrate these sensors into a computerized fire-control system. General Westmoreland explained this science-fiction view of warfare: "I see battlefields or combat areas that are under 24-hour real or near-real time surveillance of all types. I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and almost instantaneous application of highly lethal firepower."

This communications system is currently known as the Automatic Data System for the Army in the Field (ADSAF). This is mainly a data processing system which coordinates intelligence, logistics and personnel with fire control.

The major section of the system is known as the Tactical Fire Direction System (TACFIRE), consisting of a central computer with inter-linked computer installations in each artillery battalion. It is being developed jointly by RCA,

Litton Industries, and Stanford Research Institute, with initial production charted for January, 1972. Through fiscal 1969, TACFIRE cost \$33.3 million. While the initial estimate for research and development was \$59.9 million, the total cost is now undisclosed.

Another part of ADSAF is the Tactical Operations System (TOS), which will translate the computer operations and display the information for planning and decision-making. Control Data produced the first TOS in 1966 for \$4.4 million. It was sent to Germany where it underwent its first test exercise by the 7th Army in June, 1969. Testing through fiscal 1969 cost \$15.6 million.

Both TACFIRE and TOS will be installed at Fort Hood as part of MASSTER so that the whole system can be coordinated and used in developing additional sections. In General Westmoreland's estimation, "No more than ten years should separate us from the automated battlefield."

The automated battlefield, still unknown to most Americans, has far-reaching implications for the foreign and domestic policies of the US government.

Firstly, the whole idea of an automated battlefield fits nicely into the Nixon strategy of "Vietnamizing" the war. The Nixon administration learned a lesson from five years of heavy fighting on the Southeast Asia mainland: it costs too much in terms of both manpower and money.

The original McNamara's Wall was initiated in 1966 with the intent of reducing manpower in the Vietnam theater. As expressed by Westmoreland, this is still the goal of the IBCS. With the development of the automated battlefield, US troop levels in Vietnam will be reduced to a level sufficient to continue air support and maintain the electronic equipment and computers. Vietnamese mercenaries will get the dirty job of mopping up in the field, and the war will continue.

While this automated battlefield will probably cost more in absolute terms, the money will not be used for the support and salaries of US servicemen. Rather, it will be funneled into the pockets of the rich who direct the major war industries producing gear for the automated battlefield.

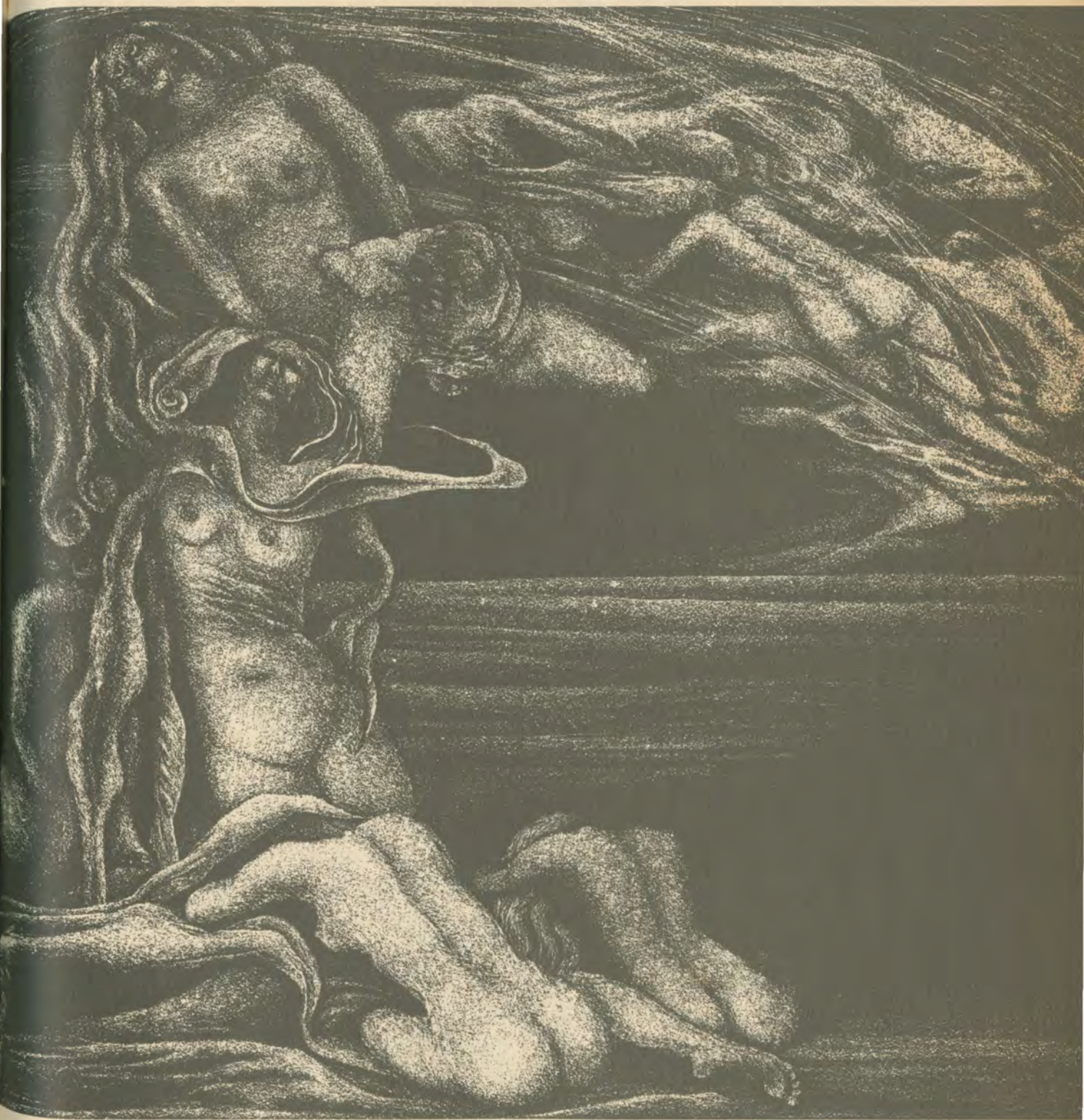
In an article entitled, "The Pentagon Plays Electronic War Games," *Business Week* reported January 31, 1970, that the companies profiting from the development and production of electronic sensors include RCA, Westinghouse, Hughes Aircraft, Honeywell, General Electric and ITT, while companies like Litton, Motorola, Otis Elevator and HRB-Singer are working on the command and control centers. Equipment to arm low-flying aircraft capable of delivering heavy firepower through thick jungle foliage is being developed by Bendix, Emerson, Itek and Admiral, and multi-sensored aircraft and helicopters are in the works at Grumman, Fairchild Hiller, IBM, LTV, Martin Marietta and Northrop.

Vietnam has also long been used as a testing ground for weapons systems. Helicopter-borne troops, defoliants, the M-16 rifle, chemical warfare agents CS and DM, and the Sheridan tank are among the new innovations tested in Vietnam before being introduced into the US world-wide arsenal. Electronic sensors and automated warfare systems can now be added to this list.

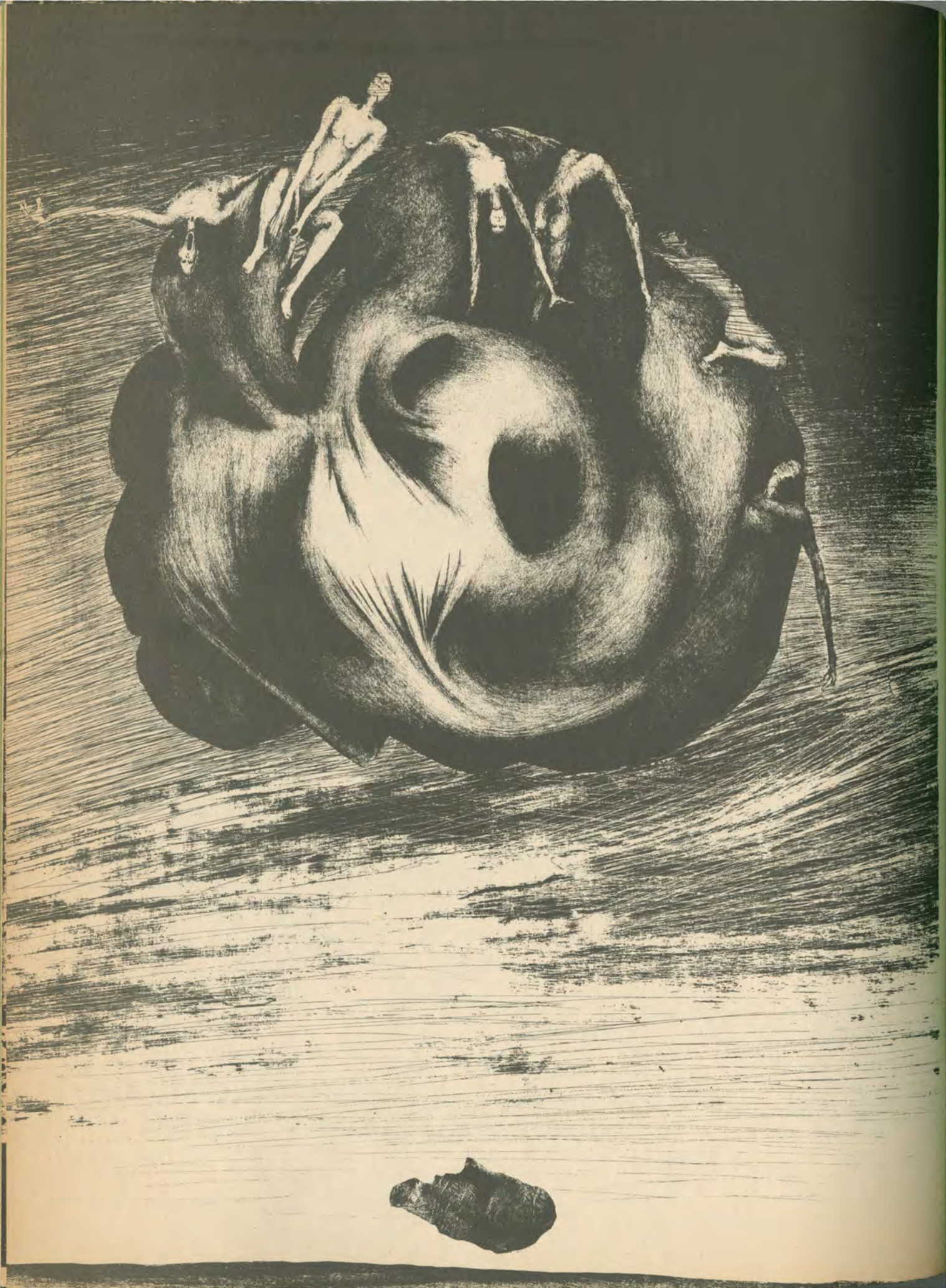
Like many of the previous innovations, the electronic gear is finding its way to the US homefront. Automated control of police vehicles and television monitoring of major "trouble centers" (like Times Square in New York City and "The Hill" in Boston) have given urban police departments an early form of the automated battlefield for use against political and colonial revolts in the cities.

In order to keep these weapons out of Southeast Asia, and in order to keep them from being used against political dissidents in the US, action must be directed against the corporations which produce the equipment and profit from it. Campus action against Dow Chemical forced the company to drop its napalm contract. But the task is more difficult this time. As the list of involved corporations shows, the automated battlefield is being constructed by major elements of the industrial system, but it must be stopped. ■





Etchings on these three pages
by Yosheda Kazue



WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Tin sheets nailed to poles
fixed in the earth
make a house

Rags complete
the intimate landscape

The sun penetrating cracks
awaken each occupant

Afterwards twelve hours of slaving work

Break stone
cart stone
in the sun
in the rain
break stone
cart stone

old age comes early
a coarse mat in the dark nights
suffices for him to die
grateful
and of hunger.

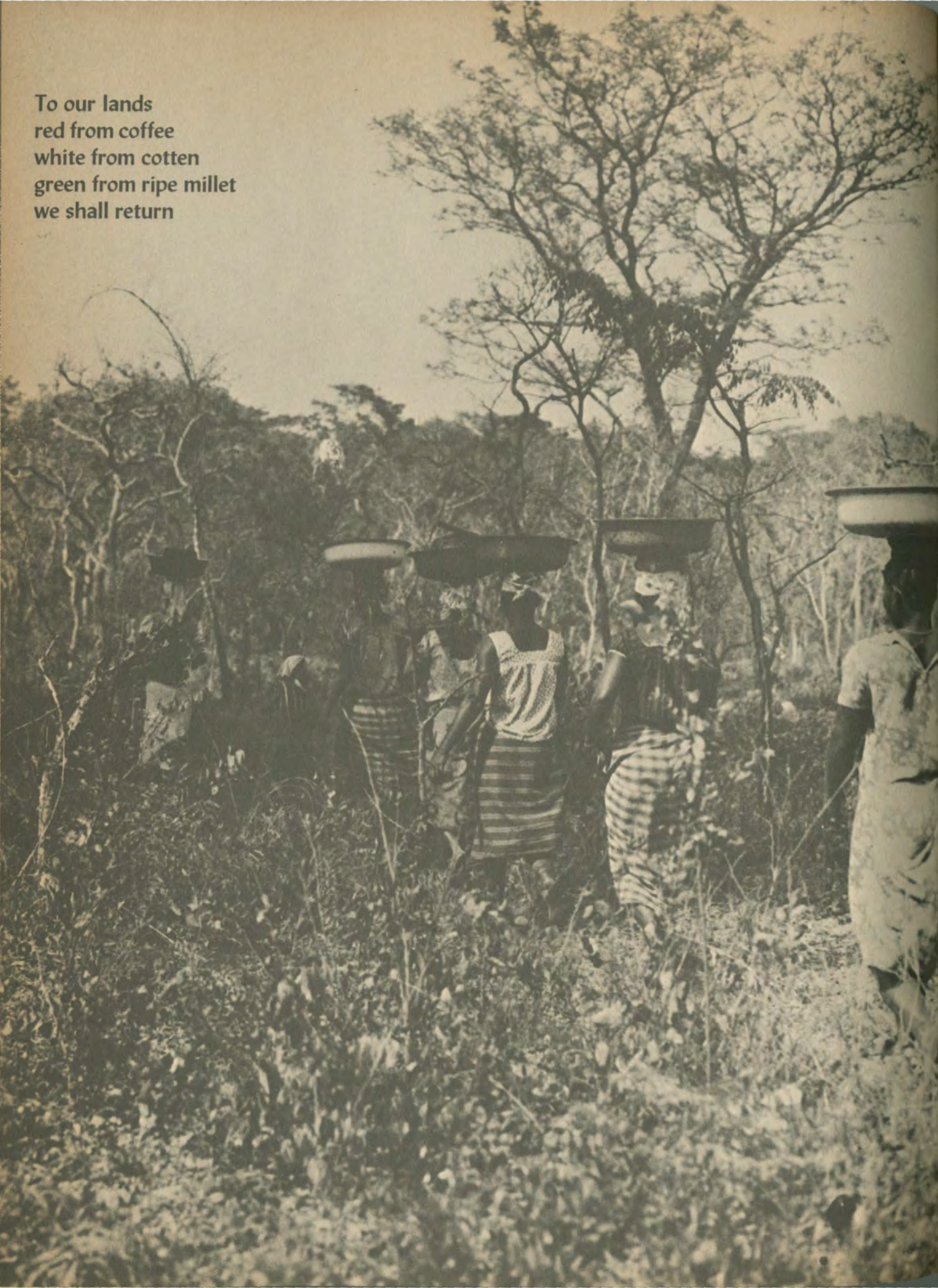
Liberty in our eyes
the sound in our ears
 of avid hands upon the skin of the drum
in the accelerated and clear rhythm
from the congos Kalahari mountain light
infinite red bonfires our violated fields
spiritual harmony of the tam-tam voices
in the clear rhythm of Africa

Thus

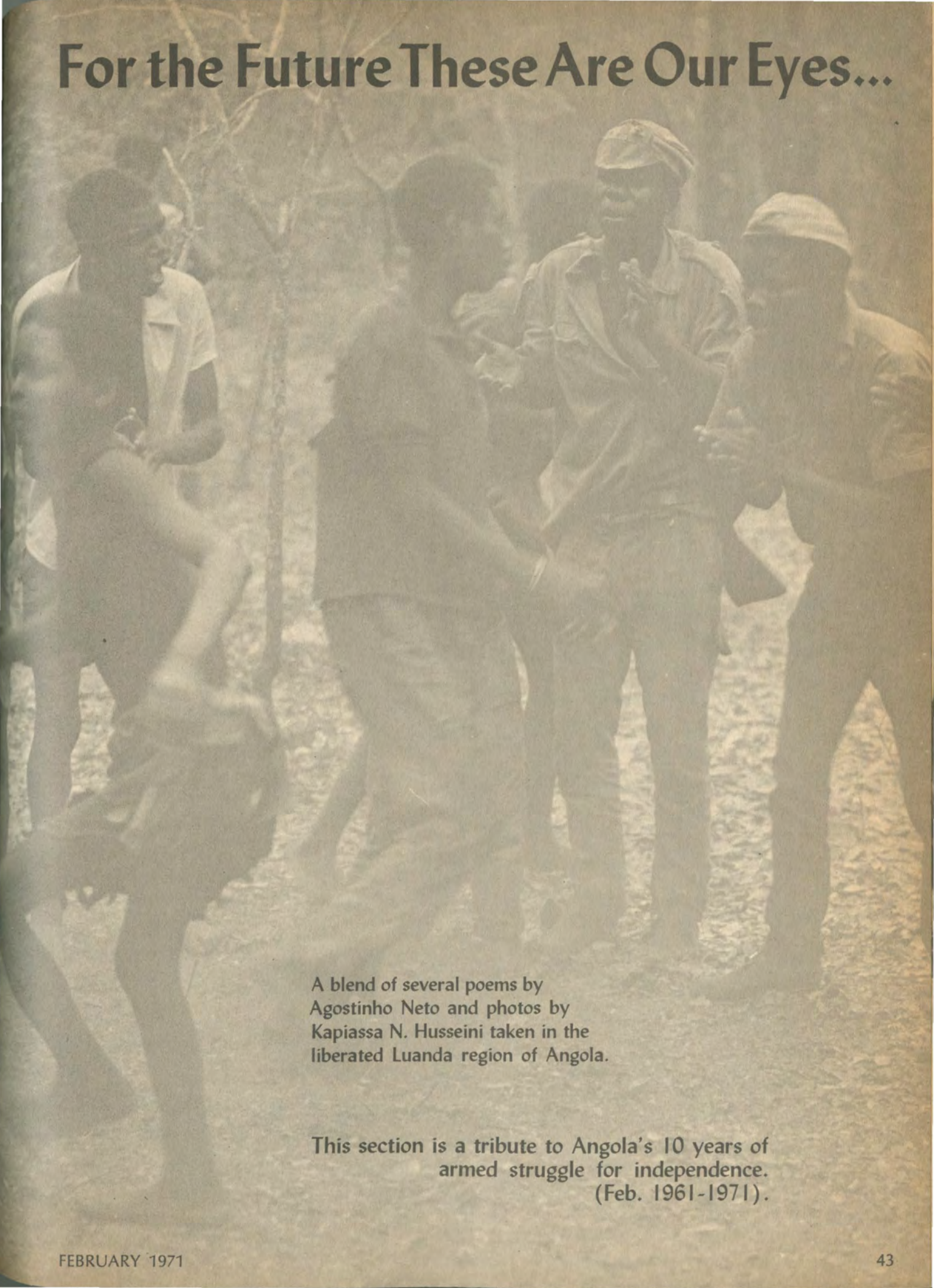
 The way of the stars
along the agile curve of the gazelles' throat
for the harmony of the world.

—by Agostinho Neto
(President of MPLA)

To our lands
red from coffee
white from cotten
green from ripe millet
we shall return




For the Future These Are Our Eyes...



A blend of several poems by Agostinho Neto and photos by Kapiassa N. Hussein taken in the liberated Luanda region of Angola.

This section is a tribute to Angola's 10 years of armed struggle for independence. (Feb. 1961-1971).

A black and white photograph of a man in a tank top and pants pouring water from a metal jug into a large pot on the ground in a wooded area. The man is leaning forward, and the water is captured mid-pour, creating a small splash in the pot. The background is filled with trees and foliage, suggesting a natural, outdoor setting. The lighting is soft, and the overall mood is contemplative.

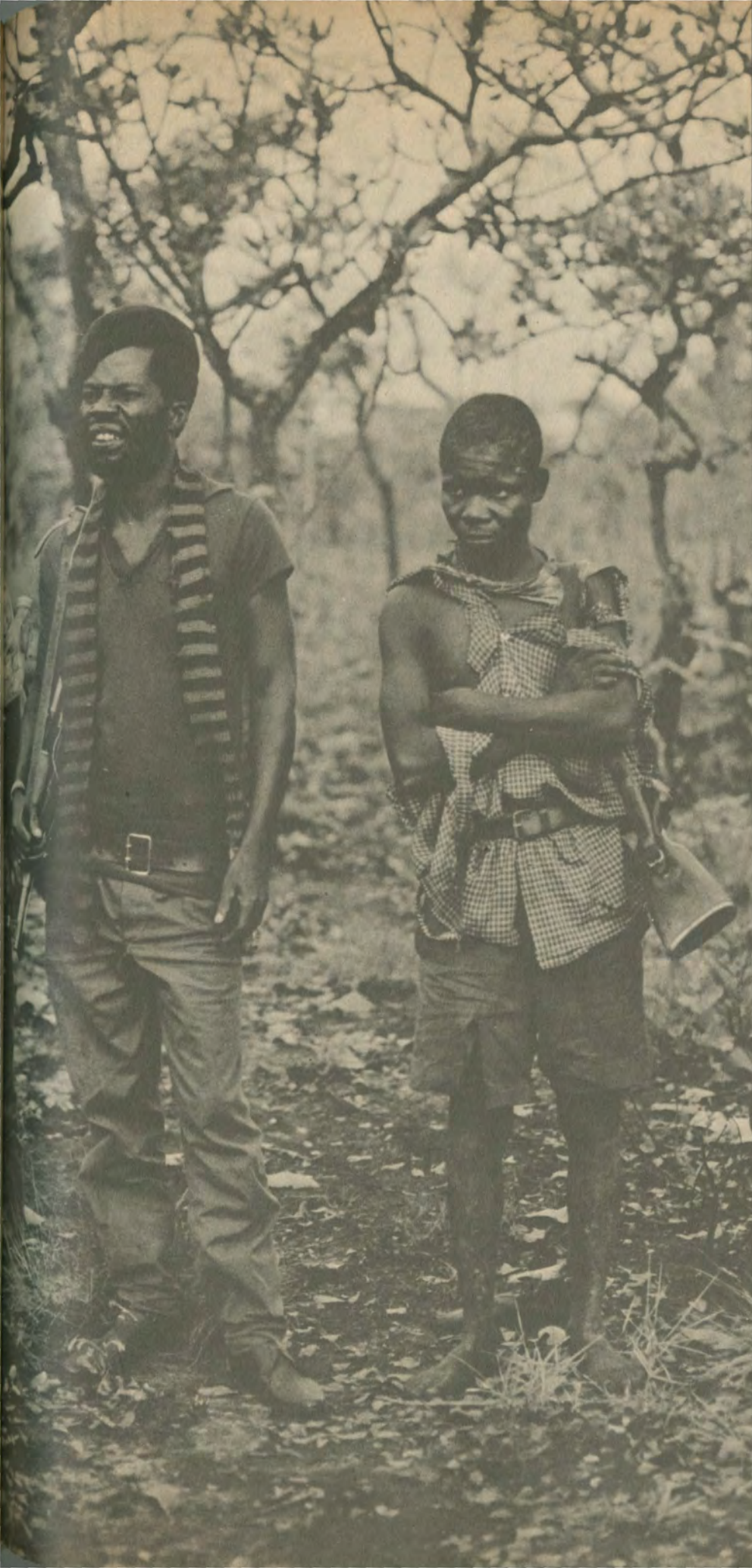
And over my songs
my dreams
my eyes
my cries
over my isolated world
time standing still



Oh my Desire
transformed into a force
transforming desperate consciousness



I shall utter the cry
 the cry
which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the hearts
of the comrades
who were attacking
 beside you
the last enemy barracks
 you destroyed,



the cry
which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the terror
of those
who thought
they had killed you,

the cry
which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the immensity of the earth
and raised thousands
of other cries
like yours.





Every hour
every instant
I shall utter the cry
the cry
which was your last cry

MPLA ADVAAAAANCE



The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
On the earth that covers you
Comrade

We shall let the children play
with their wooden rifles
with their wooden rifles

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons and daughters

We shall let the children play
We shall let their feet hardened
by rough walking

without end
pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade





create create
over the profanation of the forest
over the brazen fortress of the whip
create over the perfume of sawn trunks
create
create with dry eyes



For the future these are our eyes
for Peace these are our voices
for Peace these are our hands



MPLA... 15 years toward independence

by Kapiassa N. Husseini

This is a very short history of the Movimento Popular da Libertacao de Angola (MPLA). It reflects the viewpoint and direction of the MPLA and should not be considered the last word on the past 15 years in Angola as there are other liberating forces at work in that country.—Eds.

The Angolan people's resistance against Portuguese colonialism is as old as colonialism itself. Witness the names of heroes of past centuries: NJINGA MBANDA NGOLA (queen), KANDIMBA, BULA MATADI, TULANTE BUTA, MUTUYAKEVELA, KANJUNDO, EKUIKUI, HAMOVOKO MANDUME and many others.

Every ethnic group composing Angola is united in a unique front against a common enemy: Portuguese colonialism. Since the Second World War, the Angolan middle-class, both black and mulatto, has wanted to be more involved in the conduct of the internal affairs of the country. Externally, with the end of Nazism in Europe and the promises of self-determination to the colonized peoples, the launching of a genuine national struggle in Angola was inevitable.

Contrary to the other colonies where it was more possible for Africans to organize into legal political parties and unions, in all Portuguese colonies this outlet did not exist. The only alternative open to the Angolan people was to organize into underground parties.

At first, dozens of active small organizations, scattered throughout the country, were created, each one working separately to mobilize the masses. But they were soon to discover their failure to achieve concrete results because of their dispersion and the lack of unity among the nationalist forces. Therefore, though the process was very slow due to the underground nature of the struggle, the various groups had to merge. Thus, in 1953, were created the Party for the United Struggle of Angola (PLUA), the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA) and many others.

In December, 1956, the majority of the existing organizations issued a Manifesto calling for the unification of the nationalist movement within a vast popular movement of liberation. Thus was born the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.).

This unification marked a historical moment in the Angolan people's struggle. The Manifesto re-

flected the high degree of political consciousness reached by the Angolan people. They were able to overcome the problems created by the underground nature of the struggle and by Portuguese colonial obscurantism.

The Manifesto declared:

"The objectives of imperialism's exploitation and oppression of the Angolan people are now, and will continue to be the obtainment of maximum profits.

"The entire administration of Angola is in the hands of the colonialist State. All aspects of Angolan social existence have been disorganized and annihilated. Our history has been reduced to silence, deformed and distorted.

"We have been humiliated both as individuals and as a people.

"Colonialism has injected the germs of destruction, hatred, backwardness, poverty, obscurantism, reaction, into the Angolan body. The road we have been thrust upon is contrary to the higher interests of the Angolan people, to our survival, to our freedom, to rapid and free economic progress, to our well being, our bread, our earth, peace and culture for all."

The Manifesto did not confine itself to an analysis of Portuguese colonialism. It also saw in imperialism a major support for the Portuguese colonialists and condemned the penetration of foreign capital. The Manifesto stated, further:

"Because of this, Portuguese colonialism can disappear only through struggle. As a result: the only path to freedom for the Angolan people is through revolutionary struggle. In order to achieve victory, however, this struggle can only come about through a united front of all anti-imperialist forces of Angola—regardless of political groups, social positions of individuals, religious beliefs and philosophies—within a vast Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

These are the ideas that helped mobilize peasants, workers, civil servants, intellectuals and religious officials around MPLA. In 1958, other organizations were created. The most important one was the Movement for the National Independence of Angola—MINA which later merged with MPLA.

At the same time, outside Angola, social service type regional organizations were created among the Angolans living in Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville. When Congo-Kinshasa became independent, they evolved into political organizations. This was the case of the Union of the Northern People of Angola—UPNA (in 1958, it became the Union of the Angolan People—UPA); the Alliance

of the Inhabitants of the Enclave of Cabinda—AREC (later became the Liberation Movement of the Enclave of Cabinda—MLEC); the Alliance of the Inhabitants of Zombo-Alliaza, since then Democratic Party of Angola—PDA.

All these organizations could only know of Angolan problems and realities from what they learned in the Congo.

Toward the latter part of the '50s, to counteract the wave of nationalism running through Angola, the Portuguese authorities reacted by establishing the PIDE, the Portuguese political police. From 1957 to 1961, PIDE occupied every city, major village and frontier town of Angola.

In 1958, the underground activities had reached a high level of efficiency: leaflets, proclamations, creation of underground schools. They instigated movements of mass uprisings particularly in the rural areas. The people refused to pay taxes and to work in what the Portuguese call the "Contrato" (or, more specifically, forced labor).

Portugal, in its usual manner, reacted with force. From March to July of 1959, PIDE arrested more than 160 Angolan patriots and nationalist leaders. In April the Portuguese Air Force took positions in Angola in an attempt to intimidate the population. In the air over the main Angolan cities the airforce conducted war maneuvers which included the dropping of napalm bombs. The colonialists also armed settlers and built shooting ranges for their training.

Despite the Portuguese show of arms, MPLA issued on June 13, 1960 a Declaration to the Portuguese Government which set out conditions for a peaceful solution to the colonial problem. Portugal rejected the propositions and continued to make mass arrests and strengthen its military potential.

One of those arrested in June was Dr. Agostino Neto, honorary president of the MPLA. Following his arrest, the Portuguese government transferred Neto to Lisbon; from there he was deported, without trial, to the Cape Verde Islands. In protest, the people of ICOLO-E-IBENGO, Dr. Neto's birthplace, staged a peaceful demonstration in the streets. The Portuguese soldiers opened fire on the peaceful crowds killing 30 and wounding 200 people. This event is now known as the "Massacre of Icolo-E-Ibengo."

Six months later the MPLA with other anti-Portuguese movements including the PAIGC from Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands and the Goan League, made the following statement in a press conference at the House of Commons in London:

"Instead of considering the propositions made toward the peaceful solution to the colonial problem, the Portuguese government is intensifying war preparations. This government's attitude leaves the nationalist movements only one alternative: resort to force."

That statement gave birth to the last 10 years of armed struggle in Angola. In the capital City of

Angola on Feb. 4, 1961 MPLA militants led hundreds of Angolan citizens in police station attacks to capture weapons and jeeps which would help them to liberate the MPLA leaders and other nationalists from Luanda Prison.

The following day the Portuguese Army and police retaliated, killing 3,000 Angolans in the city of Luanda alone. The massacre brought international condemnation of Portugal, and fanned the flames of nationalism, especially in the northern parts of Angola. Cotton workers refused to work and the district of Cuanza Norte became the stage for generalized army attacks. In the following months the MPLA began to consolidate their political and military efforts with those of nationalist organizations from other Portuguese African colonies.

Two years following his arrest, Dr. Neto escaped from prison and in Dec., 1962 was officially elected President of the MPLA. The MPLA began sending militants out of the country for military training.

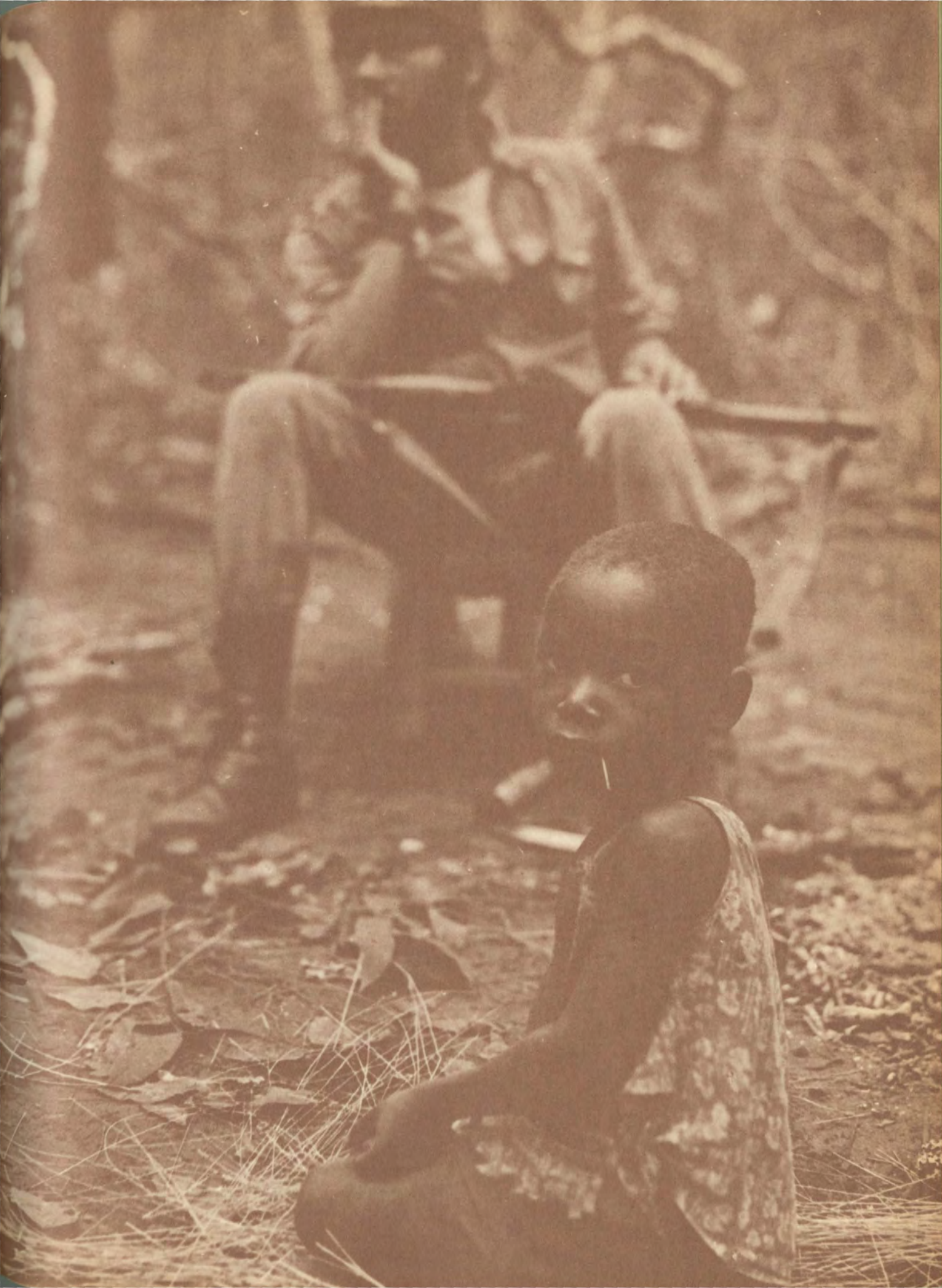
During this time a split in the solidarity of the Angolan nationalist movement began to appear. Leaders of the Union of Angolan People and the Democratic Party of Angola merged the two organizations into the National Liberation Front for Angola which later formed the "Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile" (GRAE). Eventually the GRAE was recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the official organization of Angolan liberation.

As a result the MPLA found itself isolated from several countries that had made themselves available as training bases for MPLA troops. MPLA was expelled from Congo (Kinshasa) some of its leaders there were arrested in 1963, plus being plagued by internal problems.

A period of restructuring and consolidation took place. By 1964 the MPLA had solidified its strength inside Angola reopened guerrilla action in Cabinda and was becoming an influence outside the country. In July 1964 several of GRAE's top leaders resigned and the OAU reexamined the MPLA and found it to be a "serious nationalist movement deserving the OAU's support." From then on the GRAE began to lose credibility with the OAU although it continued to be the officially recognized Angolan revolutionary organization.

In March 1965 the Chiefs of State of the OAU met in Accra and pledged technical and material assistance to the MPLA. A year later the movement opened the important Eastern-Front.

Since that time the MPLA has made rapid progress by liberating large areas and bringing over half the Angolan population out from under Portuguese military and political control. The headquarters of the MPLA was able then to move into Angola from Brazzaville. The first center of Revolutionary Instruction has been established in Angola along with the first Medical Assistance Service. The task of advancing the war and national reconstruction continues. ■



an interview
with dr. agostinho neto

by kapiassa husseini

In Europe and everywhere else in the West, the MPLA is considered as either a Communist or a Communist front movement. Recently, you and officials of FRELIMO and PAIGC were received by the Pope. This induced interest among many people who wanted to know more about the MPLA. What do you plan to do in this area, in the future?

In reality, our organization is not Communist and never has been. It is rather "progressive" in that it struggles against colonialism and advocates the creation of social and economic structures that only certain countries have. These are structures that avoid exploitation and enslavement of man. Our policies are not subordinated to the Socialist countries, to their practical policies, to their orientation or daily ideology, but we consider them to be our natural allies. We have found that the living conditions, the historical conditions and the social conditions of our country require our organization to apply the principles existing in other countries, in such a way that we can achieve a revolution for our people, and not a certified copy of another revolution. Our movement defines its external policies as those of an independent movement, a movement not tied or subordinated to the policies of another country. We maintain relationships with all countries and groups regardless of their tendencies. What we are interested in are relationships based on ties of serious solidarity, that our internal organization be respected, that our principles and decisions be respected. Our position is becoming known more and more in Europe thanks to the bilateral contacts we have, to news bulletins we publish, to articles and ideas expressed openly. Many governments and organizations in Europe have, in this way, been able to understand that we are, in no way whatsoever, subordinated to any country of the Socialist bloc. An organization advocating progressive policies for the Angolan people is not necessarily a Communist organization.

Recently, the South African press published news of Portugal's offer to South Africa to build military bases on Angolan territory. In the event South Africa builds these bases or, for that matter, any other group of countries—such as the proposed South Africa, Portugal and Brazil pact, or even NATO—what would then be the value of such bases and what danger would they represent in Southern Africa, Angola included?

Angola's position in the African continent is of great importance. Angola, Congo-Kinshasa, Zambia, Rhodesia and South Africa are the wealthiest countries in Africa, and at the same time are fundamental to the defense of colonial interests in Africa. When Portugal offers other countries the use of Angola for the construction of military bases, we know very well that Portugal's intentions are not for her own defense but rather to perpetuate the exploitation of the people of Southern Africa. The interests pursued by colonialism and imperialism are exploitation and extraction of raw materials. The independence of our country would obviously compromise this exploitation and when they speak of military defense from a strategic point of view, this is really what they mean, this is the objective they are seeking to obtain. We believe that South Africa, in her expansionist desires, Portugal, in her will to maintain herself as a dominant country in Africa, will do everything possible to change the nature of our struggle, to give it another aspect (Communist) simply in order to maintain that unique objective: economic exploitation. The folly of the establishment of foreign bases in our country, the creation of the South Atlantic pact, the British theory of defense of ocean routes, etc., in our view are designed to perpetuate the domination and advantages by the capitalists. We believe this policy will fail because it will be sufficiently understood and unmasked by those in the West who are anti-colonialists, and who can therefore see right through the real intentions of the colonialists and imperialists, namely the maintenance of the domination of our people and the exploitation of our mineral wealth.

What is the present political and military situation in Angola?

The political and military situation in my country . . . In considering this problem, I shall examine other factors, internal and external, objective and subjective, which affect the development of our struggle. We are now going through a phase that can be characterized as one of "general offensive" in the districts of Luanda, Lunda, Malange, Bie and in the most western part of Moxico that borders on the district of Huila. But, at the same time, we are strengthening our positions in other parts of the third region, in the first region and in Cabinda. We are strengthening our positions in that vast area of Angola which the Portuguese colonialists still claim to maintain under their colonial domination.

Obviously, the factors which affect the development of our offensive are the results not only of the internal situation, that is, our capacity to attack the enemy, our technical and economic means to conduct this offensive; by this, I mean weapons, ammunition and other war material. But, we must also take into account the nature of the international political situation we live in. In this latter respect, we have one handicap: Congo-Kinshasa, the country sharing the longest frontier with Angola has not yet permitted us to use its territory as a transit route for our war material and our men. This would allow us to develop an intensive action along the Northern frontier which would then enable us to use the sea and surround the capital, Luanda, which lies very close to that frontier. For Luanda is a "situation" which the Portuguese would then have to contend with.

The position of the other African countries is of great importance to our struggle because we need more modern weapons than the ones we presently have. I mean weapons that are only manufactured by certain countries, weapons that could allow us to intensify our action with little interruptions; that is, weapons that do not require troop immobilizations. As far as the human factor is concerned, the MPLA militants—the patriots struggling for independence—have little to worry about despite the Portuguese attempts, through their psychological and social campaigns, to bring the people into the strategic hamlets which they call peace hamlets and which the Angolan people call the *Dandandas*. The Portuguese are compelled to offer material goods

to corrupt the militants and the people on both the political and moral levels. We have been able to ascertain and know that the people, in no way whatsoever, adhere to the Portuguese policies. The enemy can thus only create an interim situation in which the individual can obtain the means of escape from a difficult situation such as prison or death, or, the individual can obtain for his family certain economic and social benefits. But, in reality, there is no real and sincere acceptance of the absurd principles the Portuguese are attempting to impose upon a colonized Africa in order to perpetuate their domination.

Outside of Africa, we have the support of many other countries. For a long time, only the Socialist countries had given us 100% political support and a good part of material support to our struggle. But, today, Portugal is more and more isolated. The Scandinavian countries, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and other Western countries are beginning to express their willingness to contact liberation movements. They are beginning to express their desire to break their alliance with Portugal so as to follow the course of history. Portugal, of course, is still a member of NATO, an organization whose only objectives are to attack, whose aggressive motives are directed against other European countries and countries of other continents. Portugal, however, "wants to protect herself with weapons which would shield her from destruction." Portugal has even offered its territories for the establishment of military bases. This is all to say that Portugal cannot maintain her domination in Africa on her own; she needs the aid of her allies. This aid is diversified: not only weapons and economic aid, but Portugal is also presently attempting to bring into the war the bases, soldiers and all other foreign means she cannot furnish alone.

When all these factors—internal and external—are considered, when we consider our people's determination, when we consider the present situation of our movement, when we consider MPLA's capacity to advance into regions remotely located from the Zambian frontier, the capacity to solve the enormous logistical problems, and other problems such as the human ones which arise in the liberated zones and in those near liberation, we can then welcome the coming year, 1971, with optimism. The new year will bring better work, better responsibilities; it will be a year when the MPLA militants will deploy all their forces, a year when the Portuguese will find themselves in a more difficult position for they will discover they have done everything and still refuse to believe—that the guerrillas can settle into the regions of the high plains. As the war moves on into these regions, we are certain that a terrible blow will be inflicted upon the Portuguese forces. The Portuguese population and their property will no longer be safe in Angola.

In 1968, a regional meeting was held in the third region of the district of Mexico. Are you planning to hold a national meeting?

In 1968, we held a regional meeting, and if no national meeting has yet been held, this is due to natural causes which we must overcome. The regions are very distant from each other and communication is not easy. This makes it almost impossible to hold a meeting of the cadres on a national scale. But, because the new problems we are faced with, in the implementation of the program we have set for ourselves, have reached such proportions, we find it necessary to hold a national meeting of cadres and we are in the process of organizing one. I am not saying that it will be convened early next year but it will take place a little later. One thing is certain: this national conference will take place.

Will this conference, as was the case in 1968, take place inside Angola?

Certainly.

During the 1968 conference, a project to create a "Vanguard Party" inside the movement itself was discussed. What is the present status of this project?

We believe the organization of a party is absolutely necessary and essential to the continuation of our struggle and, more important yet, for after independence.

Without an organized party, there can be no well defined political ideas, there can be no well defined ideology, no well defined orientation and, above all, no activists responsible for defending and determining various ideas. Today we are going through the stage of movement for national liberation, a movement in which all tendencies and persons willing to take part in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism are accepted. We are all bound together by the common will to fight against Portuguese colonialism. But, as the struggle progresses, we must consider the formation of a party. What the comrades decided in 1968 was not the formation of a party but the adoption of a party-like structure for our organization. This is a little different: while there is **one** organizational structure there is not **one** ideological position but several. Although there is no party constitution, we have already given to some of our militants the functional responsibilities of members of a party. This we have been able to achieve through political education given in the political schools of the C.I.R. (Center for Revolutionary Instruction). We have not yet reached the type of party we want.

Toward the month of April, 1970, an organization was created which you called the CCPM (Political and Military Coordination Committee). Why did you create it and what are its aims?

The CCPM is an executive body created to implement the decisions made by the Steering Committee and also functions as the High Command for the struggle and as a Political Cabinet which manages all problems raised in the Movement.

Since the 1964 conference of cadres, we felt the need to have a Political Cabinet and a High Command in our organization. But these structures were not created until very recently and we have not been able to have an organization capable of controlling, directing and implementing all the decisions made by the Steering Committee. The CCPM is a body which will evolve more and more as the military structures develop. It will naturally break off into a Political Cabinet, a High Command and other appropriate bodies capable of directing the various functions in our country. The CCPM has a limited membership. Both military and political functions are held by its members because we believe that, during this phase of our struggle, we must be both political and military men. This is a habit we must inculcate in every area of our country so that no function is separate from the political action. These are the reasons for which we created CCPM. It goes without saying that the existence of CCPM will be contingent on its abilities, the possibility we will have in developing both the military struggle and the political action inside the country.

Some time ago, you decided to create an almost regular army while the guerrilla is still very active. Why did you make this decision?

As the struggle develops, the problems change. From a guerrilla type of war, we will move on to a movement war, then to a position war. In order to attain these stages, and be able to launch various activities in these different types of war, our forces will have to be adapted accordingly. In guerrilla warfare, we have groups made up of 10 to 12 people. This is how we started and this still exists in certain regions. These groups have been useful in a certain stage of the struggle, but they are no longer effective when it comes to attack strategic Portuguese bases or to stop large movements of Portuguese logistics, or to meet the attacks made against our bases by big forces. This is why we need better units. We have already created a few fairly large units capable today of meeting the enemy. We have obtained a few definite victories in the offensive part of our action. As far as the creation of semi-regular units—semi-regular because they exist in a regime which we cannot call regular since we have no draft call, no military service, no material or economic means to standardize our weapons, the uniforms, etc.—of a few hundred militants, this gives us today, in certain areas, the possibility of attacking Portuguese bases and positions which we were not able to do in the past with guerrilla units. In view of this, the guerrillas will continue to exist, for example, in the most remote areas and in the urban areas. As a third stage, we will change the semi-regular units into regular units. We will then have an Army of Popular Liberation which will function as a striking force against the colonialist positions.

You just stated that there will be guerrillas in the urban areas. Up to now, there have been no attacks in the urban areas, that is, there have been no urban guerrillas. Are you saying that the MPLA will now open another front, the urban guerrilla front?

I meant to say that this is what we would like to do. I am not saying that we are going to achieve this immediately. But, we certainly will plan to do so at the opportune moment.

Of the Common Life

by john swanson

John Swanson, Episcopal priest, brings us the fourth in *motive's* Liberating Life-Style series—with a little help from his friends. It is the unusual story of voluntary corporate poverty, or what some people have done in the face of the churches' wealth.—Eds.

"And then," said I in my best King-James-ese, "when Peter saw the crippled man by the temple begging, he went up to him and said, 'Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk.' "

It was another Confirmation Class, and I was in good style, admiring the deft skill with which I was involving the children in the story from the Book of Acts. All was going great, and the kids were grooving on the miracle thing, and we got the cripple healed and leaping around praising God when suddenly the Holy Spirit in the guise of an eight-year-old raised her hand: "Father, why don't you heal sick people the way Saint Peter did?" Pesky agitator! Bothersome brat! I mumbled something about not being as "holy" as Saint Peter and brought things to a fast conclusion. I got away from the class quickly . . . but I still have not been able to get away from that question.

For days afterward, everytime I let myself get un-busy, the question came back and brought a lot of others with it. Why don't we heal? Why are so few lives really converted by our work? Why don't we—the Church—make the same kind of witness that they—the Church—did? What have we missed or lost? How have we obscured that witness? What have we done to the spirit of the Apostolic Church? That all sounds very pious; it wasn't. It was a fairly gutsy confrontation of myself and my thirteen years in the ministry. There was nothing "holy" about it; it was matter-of-fact and incontrovertible. Something had happened of a pretty basic nature since those early days, and it had thrown us off the track.

Then I remembered the story that is told about Saint Thomas Aquinas and the Pope. The Holy Father is said to have shown Thomas the riches of the Vatican and, gesturing across the Holy City, he declared, "You see, no longer does Peter say, 'Silver and gold have I none!' " And Thomas is said to have replied, "Yes, and no longer does Peter say, 'Rise up and walk!' "

That was the beginning of my answer to the child's question—and I expect I'll spend the rest of my life completing that answer. One reason we don't heal and don't witness and don't live with the Spirit is because we—the Church—are *rich*.

I guess it is self-evident that even when we cry poverty, we're still richer than most people on earth. We're entirely at ease with the security and abundance of this society. And so we can't witness. We live and "minister" in un-young, un-black and un-poor ease. We cannot even speak to the poor—Christ's favorites. We can't say a word to the oppressors because we are already their chaplains.

Well, what do we do about it? I guess there are a thousand approaches, but I tried to take another look at the Book of Acts. It says it quite plainly there: "And all that believed were together and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men, as every man had need." O.K., that means not only poverty, but common life in which possessions are held in common. For a High Church Episcopalian like me, that lit a familiar light: Isn't that just what the religious orders have been doing for centuries? Isn't that the monastic vow of poverty? Once upon a time I would have settled for that, but now I didn't think so. Religious orders may have been based on *personal* poverty, but they soon became corporately wealthy and blew the whole thing again. Even the followers of the good Francis sold out . . . before Francis had died. And then I had to look at the whole business of monastic "obedience" which had done such monstrous things to free will, and at the authoritarian hierarchy that wrought such havoc with individual freedom. The life-long vows which allowed no development or change in attitude or vocation, and the "withdrawal from the world" mentality that pulled people away from God's world and God's people . . . these were hang-ups, and turned me away from the traditional monastic road. Whatever these religious orders may have been originally, centuries of stagnation and confusion had brought them far from their ideals.

What do we have to do, then? We have to be poor. We have to live a common life. We have to avoid corporate wealth, and attempt to live in God's Spirit—in insecurity and uncertainty in the world. All of this thinking went into the hopper and out of that the idea of our community was born.

In order to incorporate in New Hampshire, we had to find five people who were seriously interested in signing the charter. That was a challenge! I learned that it was really tough to talk about these nebulous things to others . . . and I learned to do it better. And finally, there were the five: Michael—who had already put in several years of "common life" in the open rectory we kept in Portsmouth, and was in college preparing to enter seminary; Robert—beautiful, gentle Robert who visited with us and then wintered with us and finally adopted us as family; Kenneth—who had been experimenting with this kind of thing by himself for a couple of years; Ron—deep in C.A.P. work and also deep in debt for legal services for fighting his C.O. battle; and myself—a middle-aged clergyman.

Besides the five signers, we needed a name (for the naming of things is a delicate matter). I remembered the name "Brothers of the Common Life" from seminary days and recalled it was the name of the community in which the famous Thomas á Kempis had lived in Holland. We settled on the name and only later found the following description in Encyclopedia Britannica:

"The basic idea of the order was 'to reproduce the life of the first Christians as described in Acts IV. The members took no vows and were free to leave when they chose; but so long as they remained they were bound to observe chastity, to practice personal poverty, putting all their money and earnings into the common fund, to obey the rules of the house and the commands of the rector, and to exercise themselves in self-denial, humility and piety. The rector was chosen by the community and was not necessarily a priest, though in each house there were a few priests and clerics. The majority, however, were laymen of all kinds and degrees—nobles, artisans, scholars, students, laboring men.' "

We have followed that parent pattern substantially without knowing it, with only one or two exceptions: celibacy is not required, persons of both sex are welcome in the community, and the traditional "monastic obedience" to the rector is omitted. But our ideals were the same: to reproduce the life of the Apostolic Christians in 20th century America. Through mutual friends, we have since been put in touch with a revival of the order in Germany (which has made some of the same changes we have—establishing separate houses for celibates and married people).



Our ideas about revival of the Brothers of the Common Life were talked about and thought about and struggled with for almost a year. For almost a year we lived aspects of the life experimentally before finally writing it down and making it official. We've now been living the life functionally for still another year, and so far it looks as though our long preparations paid off because it seems to be working. Some of the basic ideas that underly our experiment are these:

1. We have no residence requirement.

Members live where they wish and still participate fully in the life of the community. This is an aspect of our life that surprises a lot of people and it may yet make for problems which are insoluble, but for now it seems OK. One of the difficulties a purely residential community encounters is that feeling of limitation and inhibition. Under our practice, a person can feel free to go off and do his own thing without having to feel that he must break off his relationship. Obviously, communication is a problem. We move around a lot and see a good deal of one another, we all correspond and keep in touch with letters, and so far it seems to be enough to keep in touch. We have hopes of establishing a "home base" one of these days so we have a place to "go home" and to provide for those who need such a place.

2. The community has a Christian orientation, but it is totally ecumenical. Anyone who calls himself a Christian is welcome. Our initial group were all Episcopalians, but there is no limitation. Again, many have criticized even this "Christian" limitation, but in my experience, I found that a community which does not have such a central commitment doesn't last very long. "Community" itself is not a strong enough bond or motive. Our Christian commitments vary widely, but they give us a common and objective bond.
3. No member of our community may earn anything privately or hold any property or assets of any kind. All deeds, titles, etc. are turned over to the community. Our practice has been to allow a new member a six-month breaking-in period during which liquidation and transfer of assets can be accomplished.
4. One of our peculiar convictions is that usury (the lending of money for interest) is contrary to Christian commitment. We follow this early Christian belief.

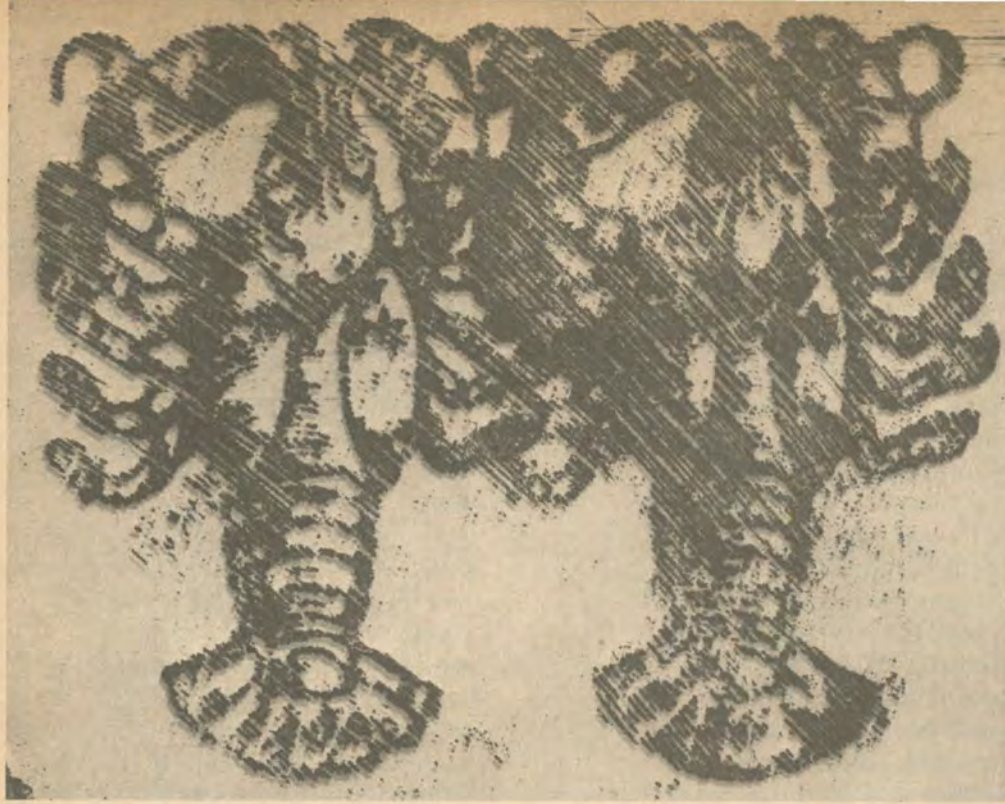
Consequently, we provide that no money belonging to the community may be invested in any way so as to earn interest. Needless to say, this is one of the hardest aspects to discuss with others . . . who have conveniently forgotten that for 1600 years the Christian Church as a whole declared usury to be mortal sin. It was only when the Church sold out completely to the mercantile system that this prohibition was dropped.

5. In an effort to avoid any future possibilities of corporate wealth (we don't have much trouble with that right now!), we insist that all money accumulated by the community be given away. This goes on regularly throughout the year, but it is mandatory at the annual meeting. At that time, all money which might have accumulated is given away. I guess this is one of the most important aspects of our practice for me; it is the final assurance that we can never become rich.
6. We hacked around a lot on the business of decision-making, and finally decided that the only truly equitable way to handle it would be to require that all policy decisions be made by a total consensus of the community. There is no hierarchy, and each person has an uncontested veto. We know that this takes time and trouble, but still think it is the best defense of equality. (It also looks as though we are going to work to develop our skills of persuasion.)
7. We decided—for several reasons—that it would be most helpful to incorporate, and corporate law requires we have officers. So, we have the minimum of two: Elder and Clerk. It was kind of fun to try to find names which didn't imply functions and didn't discriminate against women . . . and we all look forward to the time when our youngest will be "Elder." We elect these officers for one year and none can hold office longer than four years.
8. Since we don't have "vows" as such, association with the community can be terminated at any time by any member or by the rest of the community (the one time a *total* consensus is not required).
9. Provisions are made in our system for "Associates" who wish to share in some of the general ideas of the community without taking on the entire responsibility of membership.

These ideas have worked out in practice, but they have also led us to other discoveries and brought certain problems with them. The common property commitment, for instance, presented some difficulties: a deadline had to be reached on an article, but someone else had taken the typewriter; guests were to be fed at dinner, but the food purchased for that purpose was gone. That kind of thing came up with some frequency at first. Finally we established an unwritten policy that each person in the community had the use of certain things for his own purposes, and the rest of the community would not use them without clearing it. We found that this tended to throw the responsibility back on the person (where it belongs) and there is a real attempt to anticipate others' needs and to make available whatever they need while respecting their plans and needs as well.

The limitation of financial resources was a problem. It developed that for some people our system would encourage "free-loading." Those who cannot make financial contributions to the general fund are, of course, supported by the others, but that is done with clear understanding. Generally, we agree that no one withdraws more from the common fund than he puts in without the approval of the community. There are times when someone is out of a job or in school and needs support from the community. This presents no problem. But as long as a person can work, he is expected to add to the general fund.

The flow of funds within the group works like this. When I or anyone else receives a check or a gift, I turn it over to the Clerk with an "expense account" for that pay period. The Clerk then returns to me the requested amount. In the case of some major payments (like automobile loans), the Clerk handles the matter. Everyone handles it differently, but I am trying to cover every-day expenses with a quarter of my income, and it looks as though I will be able to improve on that since my housing is provided by my employer.



Probably our greatest learning is summed up in our catch phrase: "Poverty is personal." The decision concerning the economic level on which one lives his own life is up to him. Each person decides for himself or herself what "poverty" means. For someone, a car would be an offense against poverty; for another, it would be an essential tool for his vocation. We simply make it a practice that NO ONE criticizes anyone else for his "level of poverty." Living at the local "welfare level" is an ideal, but it is not imposed as a requirement.

We decided at the beginning that we would incorporate and apply for a tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service. We got that exemption after 8½ months of waiting and seven or eight prodding letters. This provides that we are not taxed, and that others who wish to make donations to our community may do so and receive tax relief from those gifts. This is not a position we hold easily. We sometimes are criticized for our application for and acceptance of a tax-exempt status. We are told that we are cooperating with the Establishment (much the same thinking which criticizes those who accept a I-O Selective Service classification). That may be so, but at this point in our life, we think it is important that we make the decisions about how our money will be used for the alleviation of suffering and development of freedom for

ourselves and others. The tax-exempt status, for instance, permits us to own property (as we may someday) without paying taxes. It means that we can give away our money without having to give some of it to Internal Revenue. It also means, of course, that we stay out of jail.

Some of our members at the present time are encouraging us to refuse to pay our telephone war tax. This is a policy decision and it must be made by consensus. In a practical way, then, consensus means that those of us who feel strongly about the tax-exempt status can block those urging a refusal to pay the telephone war tax. We also, however, have to live with our brothers and sisters, which motivates us to give the matter serious thought before we refuse to consent to a change. This means a constant exchange of ideas and an on-going effort to convince those with whom one disagrees. But when you add it all up, we *do* allow a minority of one to maintain the status quo.

The consensus provision is going to make it difficult to make drastic changes quickly in some cases, but at this point we believe that it protects a minority from being overridden, and, for now, that is of great importance to us. Once again, we do not presume to declare that this is the way all communities ought to operate. It seems right for us in this situation, and that is all we ask.

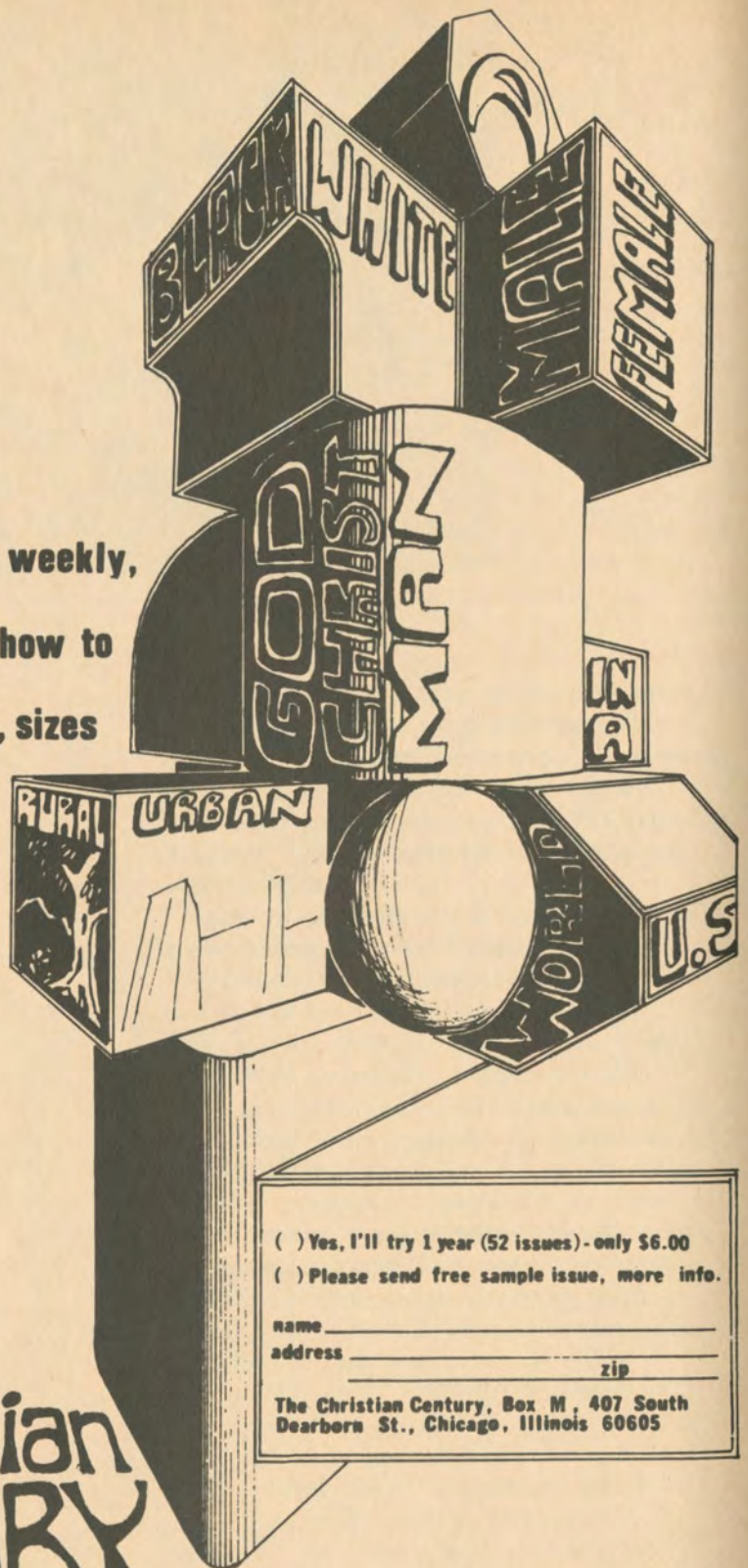
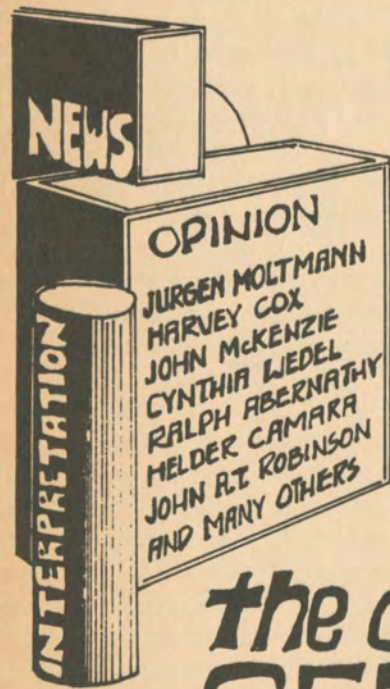
Our membership has varied. One of our original "incorporators" decided it would be too difficult to come in fully at this time. He has since married and he and his wife maintain an "Associate" relationship with us. Another of our originals found it necessary to drop out when faced with a long hospitalization. We have since been graced with our first women members: Marie—who heard about us from a friend and picked up our vibrations and found that they matched many of her own commitments and needs; and Leota—who is still our mystery woman since none of the rest of us has ever met her in person. And another Michael has joined us; he discovered us while he was struggling to get an Army discharge as a Conscientious Objector. We're all rejoicing now because he has just achieved that goal. Our first Michaael is now in seminary, and Robert has finished picking apples and is nesting for the winter in the wilds of New Hampshire. I'm now the executive director of a new and experimental seminary in the streets of New York City.

I've grown a lot in this experience and learned a lot about myself and our economic society. I still get hung-up on protectiveness about "my" thing, "my" apartment, "my" car, and I realize that our community places a hell of a lot of responsibility on each person. But I guess that makes good sense and good health. I've learned the real importance of privacy-in-community so that no one is shoved down anyone else's throat. I still get a charge out of other people who blow their minds when they realize that the long-haired, bearded creep in front of them is a "superior" (*their* word) of a religious order. And I somewhat maliciously enjoy the reactions of people like bank personnel (the revolution would move fast if a few more people approached bankers to ask about non-interest-drawing savings accounts: their system simply can't handle it!). I've felt a growing need of a "place" of our own; we hope within a year to have a roof and four walls in southern Maine where anyone can crash who needs a place. I think the ownership of a place is going to be important: not in order to exclude others from it, but in order to guarantee that others can use it without being excluded (by police or irate owners).

In her new book *The Crystal Cave*, Mary Stewart provides her Merlin with these words, "The gods only go with you if you put yourself in their path. And that takes courage." I guess that is where we are now—moving into the path of the gods. None of us knows for sure that this will ultimately work or fill needs or solve problems. Among everything else, we have a willingness to fail. If it doesn't work, we want it to die. There'll be no struggle to keep the dead horse on its feet just because it once stood alone. We have some convictions that economics lie at the root of much of the horror of American society today . . . and of Church life today. We want to repudiate the American Way of Life without fleeing to the desert. We want to discover if we can get free of the conditioning we've been through. We want to find some living and liveable alternatives and to purge ourselves as much as possible from the economic violence that has given birth to oppression, racism and war. We want to address our anxiety to persons, not purses, and expend our energies for men, not for money.

And that's about it. It is so simple that it seems to work. Maybe it will help get us into that path, and maybe not. We'll find out. ■

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adults. He is a Presbyterian minister and author of *The New Generation*.

The first tape, **RAP**, is a utilization of the virtues of cassette tapes—their spontaneity, portability, and retrievability—to encourage teachers to turn-on their classes. Each tape in the **RAP** series furnishes material for a six-weeks course. **RAP** deals with the tangled skein of modern life—with problems and social patterns—with youth and youth culture. Tape number One deals with Tension; Tape Two, with Change.

The **SOS** (Switched On Scripture) is the second series of tapes. It promotes the same class involvement, but will be based on passages from the Bible. Tapes One and Two in the **SOS** series deal with The Acts of the Apostles.

DISCO-TEACH is a 33 1/3 LP record series already well-established and tested in Sunday Schools, parochial and public schools. It uses popular music in a class situation to encourage young people to find the deeper meanings in the lyrics. With each record, as well as with each tape in the **RAP** and **SOS** series, a printed leader's guide is provided.

All the songs in **DISCO-TEACH** are current hits. They are performed and recorded by the creators of this non-denominational program, The Mission Singers—talented, young Catholic

seminarians who live and work in an inner-city ghetto in St. Louis. In addition they have made a name for themselves as popular recording artists. Each tape \$7.95; each album \$6.95 at your local book or supply store

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CONTRIBUTORS

Guest editorialist **DAVID WASKOW** lives in Washington, D.C. He is getting his first publication credit just a month before his father, Arthur, appears in *motive* for the second time.

CHARLOTTE BUNCH-WEEKS finds her greatest interest in the Washington, D.C. Women's Liberation organizations. She has been a *motive* contributor in the past and has done much work for the magazine over the last three years. Her address is 1832 Park Road N.W. Washington, D.C. **CHRIS ROBINSON** does most of his work for National Action/

Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC) and can be reached at 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. *motive* readers can expect to see more work from NARMIC writers in the future.

KAPIASSA N. HUSSEINI is the name given to a free-lance photographer and writer while he was living in the liberated sections of Angola. The photos that appear this month are just a tiny fraction of what he brought back from Africa. **JOHN SWANSON** has been instrumental in starting the Seminary of the Streets. His friends, if in trouble, always know they can call him collect. He expects them to.

He can be contacted c/o Seminary of the Streets, 48 Henry Street, New York City 10002. **JIM STENTZEL** has shifted his focus from Japan and is now doing work in Okinawa and points south.

The poetry for this issue is that of Dr. **ANTONIO ANGOSTINHO NETO**, president of the MPLA. It was translated by Adrian Mitchell, an English poet.

ARTISTS: For the editorial illustrations we asked the help of **MARY, CHRIS, MIKE** and **STEPHEN YOUNG** who occasionally drop by *motive* to give refreshing help to the chaos. They are the children of **JIM** and **ANN YOUNG**. **FRANK JOYCE** writes, "Making photographs was not my primary purpose while in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, hence, these are little more than Snapshots." He says the film was developed in Hanoi by Vietnamese and some scratches and defects resulted when the negatives were out of his hands for some weeks. For other photographs this month we wish to thank **KAPIASSA HUSSEINI, JIM STENTZEL, and J. M. SOKOL**. Recently *motive* mentioned its lack of graphic art; we still don't have a wide selection, but it is getting better. This month we want to give special thanks to artists **RICHARD ASH, R. HODGEL, RITA D. MESSENGER, YOSHEDA KAZUE** (a young woman artist from Japan) and the ever present spirit of **MARKY BULWINKLE**.

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AFTER WORD COMES WEIRD by Darlene Fife and Robert Head. Poems written before their grand jury indictment. Published by Radical America/Quixote Press. \$1 from NOLA Express, Box 2342, New Orleans, La. 70116

HOW TO BE THE PERSON YOU WANT TO BE! Psychologist's Manual reconditions emerging adult personalities; develops innate talents, abilities, self-mastery. Free Literature: NovaYoga, Inc. Box 393M, New York, N.Y. 10003.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION STERLING SILVER PENDANT distributed by the Philadelphia WLC as a fund raising project. Approx. size 2 1/4" by 1 1/2", designed by a female jeweler. \$5 each or \$4 for orders over five. Check or money order plus 25¢ postage to Women's Liberation Center, 928 Chestnut Street, Phila., Penna. 19107, attn: Rachele Rubin.

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