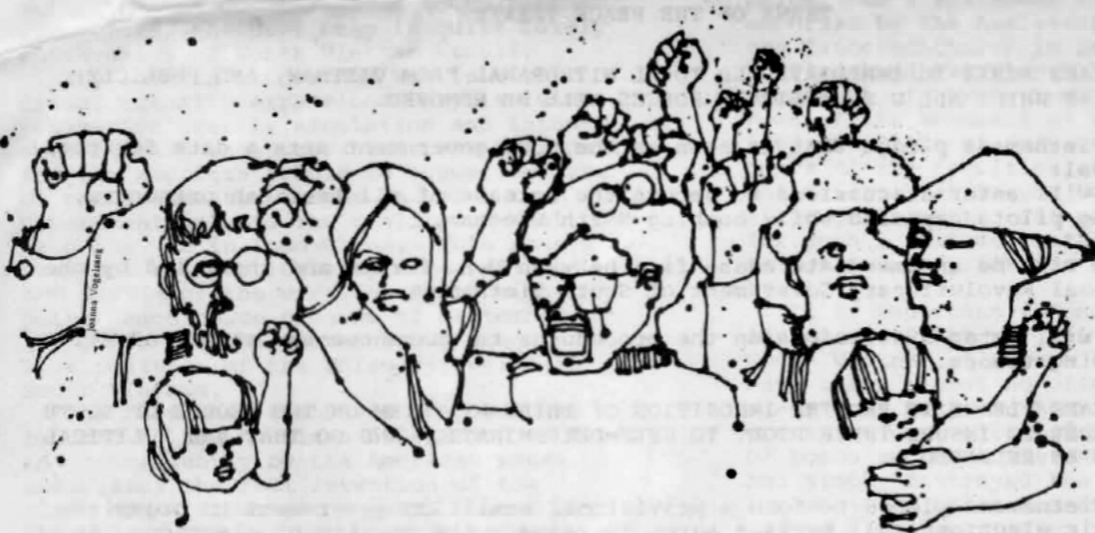


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PEOPLE'S

PEACE

TREATY



A STRATEGY FOR

ENDING THE WAR

NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

IRVINE CHAPTER

JOINT TREATY OF PEACE

BETWEEN

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM

PREAMBLE

Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the names of the people of the United States and South Vietnam, but without our consent. It destroys the land and people of Vietnam. It drains America of its resources, its youth, and its honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can

live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth. In rejecting the war we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination against people based on color, class, sex, national origin, and ethnic grouping which form the basis of the war policies, past and present, of the United States government.

TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY

1. THE AMERICANS AGREE TO IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM, AND PUBLICLY SET THE DATE BY WHICH ALL U.S. MILITARY FORCES WILL BE REMOVED.

2. The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. government sets a date for total withdrawal:

They will enter discussions to secure the release of all American prisoners, including pilots captured while bombing North Vietnam.

3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between U.S. forces and those led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

4. They will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.

5. THE AMERICANS PLEDGE TO END THE IMPOSITION OF THIEU-KY-KHIEM ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM IN ORDER TO INSURE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SO THAT ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS CAN BE RELEASED.

6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections. All parties agree to respect the results of elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops.

7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter discussions of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime.

8. The Americans agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia in accord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Conventions and not to interfere in the internal affairs of these two countries.

9. Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war and resolve all other questions in the spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the independence and political freedom of the people of Vietnam and the United States.

PLEDGE

BY RATIFYING THIS AGREEMENT, WE PLEDGE TO TAKE WHATEVER ACTIONS ARE APPROPRIATE TO IMPLEMENT THE TERMS OF THIS JOINT TREATY AND TO INSURE ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE MEANING OF THE LAOTIAN INVASION

The recent invasion of Laos by Saigon, Thai and American forces comes as a shocking surprise to the American people who have been led to believe by the Nixon Administration that we are committed to disengaging from the war in Indo-China. In order to justify this new aggression, Washington is claiming that it is only a brief tactical intervention to cut off the supply lines of the liberation forces in South Vietnam and Cambodia. However, the truth of this statement is blatantly dubious. We have seen how a brief incursion into Cambodia has led to the continued presence of Saigon troops and American airpower in a now war-ravaged Cambodia. Similarly, today's (Feb. 9) LA TIMES quotes Thieu as stating that he is not at all sure that his troops would be able to leave Laos in the foreseeable future. In reality, the war is spreading and escalating and, as the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) fears, the next step is quite likely an invasion of North Vietnam itself.

Why is this happening? Why is withdrawal actually expansion? Why is 'Vietnamization' really escalation and intensification? These questions are difficult for the American people to answer because of the systematic manner in which the Government has hid the reality of what is going on in Indo-China. This news blackout has particularly centered upon two facets of the war; the PRG's eight point peace program of September 17, 1970, and the increasingly precarious position of the Thieu/Ky regime in South Vietnam.

The fact that the PRG's proposal was ignored by the American delegation at Paris and consequently by the American press underlines the real intention of the Nixon administration. The PRG stated that the only agreement which would be necessary to begin ending the war was a date by which all American forces would be out of Vietnam. Once this is set the PRG is willing to call an immediate and total ceasefire, to exchange all prisoners of war, and to begin negotiations for the peaceful withdrawal of all troops. The only demand it makes on the Saigon government is the removal of Thieu, Ky and Khiem. Then it is willing to form a coalition government representing all aspects of the South Vietnamese political spectrum which would supervise a free election once all foreign troops have left. The proposal repeatedly states that these elections must not be controlled by any single party or group, but must be set up and supervised by broad and representative coalition government which can insure their democratic character. Given the moderate nature of this proposal, which

demands only that the people of South Vietnam be left to determine their own futures in the freest manner possible, Nixon's rejection of it suggests that he has very different plans for Vietnam and Indo-China and that he is not about to let go of this imperialist foothold on the mainland of Asia.

The second factor which must be understood in the context of the Laos invasion is the changing political situation within South Vietnam. When Madame Binh presented the above peace proposal in Paris Ngo Cong Duc (editor of Saigon's largest daily newspaper,

President of the Federation of Newspaper Editors, deputy to the National Assembly and wealthy landowner in the Mekong Delta) came out and openly endorsed the 8-point program and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all American troops and the ouster of Thieu/Ky/Khiem. Duc's statement was immediately endorsed by the Assistant Archbishop of the Catholic Church in Saigon, the Unified Buddhist Church, the Vice-President of the National Assembly, the head of the Movement of Women to defend the Right of Survival, and the heads of the faculties of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Saigon University. Although Thieu threatened to arrest Duc for such a statement, the support in Saigon was too great for him to attempt it.

It is important to understand the impact which the war has had upon life in South Vietnam. Although American troops have taken almost no offensive action since last May, the American Air Force drops the equivalent of 2-1/2 Hiroshimas of bombs on South Vietnam every week. This has simply destroyed the rural life of the society, and a country which once exported large quantities of rice is now dependent upon American imports for survival. The massive doses of toxic defoliants which have been dropped have resulted, in Duc's words, in "women giving birth to monsters" and "an ever-growing number of women afflicted with psychic disorders." The destruction of the countryside has forced the people into the cities where they are detained in camps under the authority of government troops. This economic devastation has caused a spiral of inflation in Saigon where prices rose 50% over the last year, while at the same time any type of strike is presently illegal. Consequently, the wildcat strikes which have occurred and involved hundreds of thousands of dock workers, bus drivers, hotel employees and public utility workers have inevitably become movements of political opposition to Thieu whose

only response to the people's misery is increased repression.

This political ferment has spread to other sectors of society. The increasing difficulty which the Saigon regime has in raising troops has caused it to adopt the tactic of "pressganging" recruits which results in a high percentage of dissidents within ARVN. The attempt to destroy the draft deferred status of students had led to numerous bloody clashes between police and Saigon students. In spite of mass arrests, detention in tiger cages, torture and assassination, the Saigon Student Union remains a base of opposition to Thieu. At the same time, opposition of the Buddhist Church has again become militant, and in response to a non-violent sit-in to protest and continuation of the war, government troops massacred 40 young monks. Similarly, disabled army veterans have felt repression by the Thieu regime as their peaceful march to the presidential palace was intercepted by government troops and this time the unprecedented picture of wheelchair bound ARVN veterans fighting Thieu's private mercenaries broke through the U.S. press blackout.

Both the moderate nature of the PRG's 8-point peace proposal and the increasing

domestic, non-communist opposition to the Thieu/Ky dictatorship are intimately tied up with the decision to invade Laos. The only way in which Thieu and Ky can stay in power and avert the coup which will quite probably be attempted by the Saigon opposition this spring is to win a rapid military victory and thus free its energies to concentrate on smashing all domestic opposition, regardless of its nature. Since Nixon's ability to continue to control South Vietnam is dependent on propping up the puppet Thieu regime, and since Nixon's real intention is not withdrawal but victory, he and his military advisers are quite willing to support an escalation of the war into first Laos and then into North Vietnam if necessary. This is what both the PRG and the American Movement fear. Therefore, it becomes clear that if we are to avoid an extension of the war throughout Indo-China, which would inevitably involve China, we must act now to force the American government to recognize the fairness and legitimacy of the PRG's proposal and to immediately disengage all military activity in South East Asia, thus leaving the futures of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in the hands of the peoples of those countries.

THE IMPORT OF THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY

On September 17, 1970, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam put forward in Paris a comprehensive eight-point proposal for peace in Vietnam. As this peace initiative was being reduced to a wine and bottle joke by U.S. negotiator David Bruce, it was celebrated by other nations as a face saving device for Nixon and a document whose content probably had majority support in the United States.

Following Madame Binh's proposal, on September 27, the editor of Saigon's largest daily newspaper and a prominent member of the South Vietnamese National Assembly, Ngo Cong Duc, announced in Paris the demand for total, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and an end to U.S. support of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime and the creation of a provisional coalition government which would organize free elections in South Vietnam. The significance of the Duc statement was that these treasonous words were immediately en-

dorsed by powerful personalities and organizations inside South Vietnam's cities which President Thieu has until now needed to survive.

The Duc statement has been followed by the creation of a popular front, MSVN, representing over 1000 national and regional organizations not affiliated with the NLF who are now in open political struggle against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem government.

A delegation of 16 students acting on a mandate from the 23rd National Congress of the U.S. National Students Association recently traveled to Vietnam to investigate the feasibility of framing a treaty of peace between American and Vietnamese students. Because of the peace initiative of the PRG and the new mass anti-war movement inside South Vietnamese cities, the Vietnamese said that a separate peace treaty was necessary not only with American students but with all the people in this country. They strongly welcomed this

initiative, coming at this dynamic moment in their own history, when American and Vietnamese coordination has the potential of ending the war.

Despite the efforts by the Thieu-Ky-Khiem government to stop the student delegation from making contact in South Vietnam, one delegate member was able to slip through Saigon's security net and engage representatives of non-NLF student organizations in the drafting of the treaty. At the same time, student leaders from North Vietnam and the NLF developed a treaty draft with the U.S. student delegation in Hanoi. The two documents were formally joined into one statement in Paris. The final document represents the hopes and demands of every respected Vietnamese leader in North and South Vietnam.

The People's Peace Treaty is an important document for a number of reasons. First, it breaks through the lies and distortions of the Nixon Administration and the U.S. press as to what is really going on in Vietnam. Nixon and his negotiators in Paris are continually trying to create the impression that they are quite willing to negotiate a reasonable settlement to the war, and it is the intransigence of the PRG which stands in the way. In fact, just the opposite is true. As the treaty shows, the liberation forces are more than willing to enter negotiations on the simple premise of the U.S. being willing to withdraw its forces and leave the future of Vietnam to the Vietnamese people, to be determined through open and democratic procedures. It is the U.S. government and their puppet regime in Saigon which are unwilling to negotiate because they have no intention of settling for anything short of a complete military victory which guarantees their continued political and economic control of South Vietnam and all of Indo-China.

Besides exposing the hypocrisy of Nixon and his military supporters in Washington and Saigon, the treaty provides an avenue through which the people of the U.S. can demonstrate their opposition to the U.S. government by making peace directly with the people of Vietnam. If the government refuses to recognize and act upon the needs and desires of the people of the U.S., then we will have to take matters into our own hands and end the war ourselves.

Furthermore, the Peoples's Peace Treaty comes at a crucial turning point in the war in Indo-China. Due to the increasing non-NLF opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime, the Saigon military is now in danger of being ousted this spring by a neutralist coalition which wants an immediate negotiated settlement and withdrawal of all American forces and support. The precariousness of the Saigon government is also heightened by massive NLF

infiltration of the army and the government bureaucracy. Last fall the CIA (of all people) admitted that there were at least 30,000 NLF agents in the upper levels of the Saigon regime; 20,000 in the officer corps of ARVN, 7,000 in the intelligence service and 3,000 in the political bureaucracy. The combination of this internal and external opposition to Thieu and Ky suggests that their political life is reaching an end.

It is as a response to the disintegration of all domestic support (except for the U.S. military) that Saigon has undertaken its most recent military adventure into Laos. Only a quick military victory and save Thieu and Ky by freeing their military forces to crush all domestic opposition and turn South Vietnam into a total police state (a direction in which it has already traveled far). Since Laos obviously is not the knockout blow which the U.S. and Saigon military are looking for, it is not surprising to find Ky saying that he is considering an invasion of North Vietnam itself. The seriousness of this possibility is underlined by the fact that the Nixon Administration refused to rule out this possibility when questioned by newsmen. Further reason for concern is given by the facts that the military has just recently re-activated all its career doctors and has given them crash courses on radiation poisoning, a Pentagon study just released describes the Ho Chi Minh trail as an ideal place to use tactical nuclear weapons, and there has been a concerted effort to move all peasants out of north-eastern South Vietnam and central Laos. What this means is that the stage is being set for a major escalation this spring, which may involve nuclear weapons and risks dragging us into a thermonuclear holocaust.

So it is imperative that we begin to transform the Peoples Peace Treaty from just a document into a reality. This means initially getting the information about what is happening in Indo-China and Washington out to the people of the United States. Secondly, it means developing tactics to enforce the treaty if the government does not remove all its forces from Indo-China by May 1st. There are already plans developing across the country for major actions in May to force the government to comply with the wishes of the people. They include everything from Rennie Davis' mobilization to shut down Washington D.C. to mass marches and other large actions in major cities, to local actions which tie the war to its repercussions at home- inflation, unemployment, welfare cuts, repression. The task that lies before us between now and May is to broaden and deepen the movement so that when the next escalation comes in Vietnam and when the inforcement date for the Treaty arrives we will have organized the social power to make the government stop the war.

CHANGING STRATEGY OF THE INDO-CHINA WAR

It has become clear that the Nixon Administration has changed its strategy in Indochina. No longer relying on "Vietnamization" or "pacification", the Administration and the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime have resorted to first the invasion of Cambodia last Spring, recently the invasion of Laos, and soon perhaps an invasion of North Vietnam. No longer relying (or claiming to rely) on a negotiated settlement, the Administration is openly seeking a rapid military victory to end the Indochina war. One of the reasons for this is the crisis of Capitalism at home, as evidenced by the rampant inflation and unemployment. But another important reason, which we deal with in this article, is the failure of the Vietnamization strategy in South Vietnam and the weakening and possible collapse of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime.

The Vietnamization program had two goals. The first goal was to remove the people from the countryside to the cities and refugee camps, where they could be more effectively controlled by the South Vietnamese government. To do this, the U.S. government launched the most destructive and murderous attack in history, with the result that much of the countryside has been destroyed by bombs and chemicals and hundreds of thousands of refugees have been forced into the cities. The second goal was to develop and train a large South Vietnamese army to take over the ground fighting, as the decline of morale in the U.S. troops and the large numbers of G.I. casualties were causing dissent at home to reach uncontrollable proportions.

But the result of Vietnamization has been the emergence of active and militant opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime in South Vietnam by many groups:

1) Student resistance has been particularly active in response to regulations requiring military training on week-ends and summer month to build up the ARVN officers corps, and also in response to the denial of entrance to the universities in order to deprive students of their draft deferrals. Militant student opposition has been expressed by sit-ins, occupation of buildings, mass demonstrations, and even a recent attempt to bomb the U.S. embassy in Saigon, despite the mass arrests of students and the detention, torture, and even assassination of student leaders by the South Vietnamese government.

2) There have been a series of labor strikes, involving hundreds of thousands of workers including dock workers, hotel employees, and water and electrical workers. The strike demands have been economic, as the flood of refugees, destruc-

tion of the economy, and American dollars have brought about severe inflation (prices in Saigon rise at a rate of 50% per year). But because of a 1965 law passed by the South Vietnamese government banning all strikes, these strikes become political in nature and express labor opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime.

3) Intellectuals, journalists, and religious leaders have become increasingly outspoken and active against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime. 40 monks were massacred by the South Vietnamese government in an attempt by militant Buddhists to take over the (pro-regime) National Pagoda. Ngo Cong Duc, editor of Tin Sang (the Saigon newspaper with the largest circulation), wealthy landowner, and Deputy of the National Assembly, is openly advocating U.S. withdrawal and advocating coalition with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Furthermore, he has the open support of religious leaders (both Catholic and Buddhist), women's groups, faculty leaders at Saigon University, and the Vice President of the National Assembly Ha Van Minh. The weakness and isolation of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime are indicated by the fact that this regime has not felt strong enough to move against Duc.

4) Vietnamization has brought about a change in NLF strategy. Although the NLF still maintains military pressure in the northern part of South Vietnam and in the Mekong Delta, it also has followed the people into the cities. A CIA study provided evidence that at least 30,000 NLF agents have infiltrated the South Vietnamese government, some at the very highest levels even of defense (the PRG claims that the number of agents is many times greater). The 8 point proposal of the PRG, made at the Paris Peace Talks in September by Madame Binh, which call for total U.S. withdrawal and the establishment of a neutral coalition government including members of the current government (but excluding Thieu, Ky, or Khiem) to hold democratic elections, has had widespread support in South Vietnam. (Although the U.S. media blacked out the PRG proposals, these proposals have been well publicized in South Vietnam, even appearing on the front page of Tin Sang.)

Consequently, the Nixon Administration is seeking a military victory not from a position of strength, but as a desperate measure to stave off a growing disaffection and militant opposition to its puppet government in South Vietnam and the growing acceptance among many South Vietnamese groups to a settlement of the war along the lines of the PRG's eight point proposal.

Given this situation, what should be the strategy of the American anti-war movement?

First of all, we must understand that there is a real possibility of an uprising in the cities of South Vietnam this spring by the neutralist opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime, supported and coordinated by the NLF. If such an uprising is successful and the neutralist are able to take power, the war in Indochina could come to an end.

Secondly, we must realize that the Nixon Administration's desperate attempt to win a military victory cannot but fail. The result of the Cambodian invasion was to turn Cambodian peasants into active guerillas and to isolate the regime of Lon Nol in the capital city of Phnom Penh. The invasion of Laos has met stiff resistance and it is questionable whether the allied forces can maintain their barricade of the Ho Chi Minh trail. An invasion of North Vietnam, with its large and experienced army and a population hardened by a 25-year war and dedicated to the struggle against imperialism, can only result in disaster for the U.S.

Thirdly, we must realize that an imperialist war inevitably becomes genocidal as the imperialists find that the only way to control a resisting population is to destroy it. There can be no doubt that the Nixon Administration, having been so willing to fight a genocidal war in the countryside, would not hesitate to fight a genocidal war in the cities if an uprising occurred that threatened the existence of the U.S. puppet regime of Thieu-Ky-Khiem and the future control of South Vietnam by the United States.

We must therefore plan actions for this spring that will prevent the Nixon Administration from crushing this uprising. We must be willing to work with the people of South Vietnam to coordinate our efforts so that our actions will be most effective toward ending the war.

This is the purpose of the People's Peace Treaty. By signing this treaty, the American anti-war movement expresses its solidarity with the people of South Vietnam and their desire to control their own destiny. In implementing this treaty, the American anti-war movement agrees to work in concert with the people of South Vietnam to overthrow the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime and to end American Imperialism in Indochina.

THE WAR, THE ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

I

In the past three years there has been a great deal of discussion, both within the Movement and in the establishment press, about the relationship between the war in Indo-China and domestic problems at home, particularly inflation, unemployment and the fiscal crisis of the state. It is important when examining these problems to understand that the relationship is not a simple direct one --the war causes economic dislocation at home-- but rather a more complex one in which both the war and increasing domestic problems are symptomatic of the deepening crisis which faces US capitalism.

It is not accidental that the escalation of US involvement in South Vietnam and the beginnings of the recession coincide. 1965 was the year in which Johnson sent massive numbers of troops to South East Asia, and it was also the year in which the buying power of the average worker in the US began to decline. After the end of World War II the prosperity of the US economy became increasingly dependent upon the ability

of the corporate giants to supplement their less elastic domestic growth rate with rising profits from overseas activity. The crumbling of the French and British empires in the wake of the Second World War created the political space for this massive US economic penetration of the Third World and Western Europe. Consequently, the percentage of corporate profit derived from foreign sources rose from 10% in 1950 to 22% in 1966.

However by the mid-1960's this economic domination of the non-socialist world was no longer unchallenged. The challenges came from two directions; from the insurgent anti-imperialist movements in the Third World, and from the revived economies of Western Europe and Japan. The indigenous revolutionary forces which span from Puerto Rico to South East Asia present a dangerous threat to US capitalism's ability to control the markets, resources and labor forces of the underdeveloped world. Since US owned or controlled foreign mines, factories and farms produce goods which equal 40% (1966 figures) of the value of their counterparts in domestic production, US corporations cannot afford

to lose these important sources of profit.

Concurrent with the challenge from Third World liberation forces comes the increasingly effective competition of European and Japanese corporations. The destruction of their industrial plants during World War II had the long-range advantage of allowing European and Japanese capitalists to rebuild their industries with the most modern technological improvements, in contrast to the growing obsolescence of parts of the US economy--especially steel and its related industries. In addition the lower wage scales of foreign competitors give them a further advantage on the world market.

Finally, the rise wave of domestic inflation has also had severe repercussions upon corporations' capacity to compete internationally. Rapid inflation is the product of the Federal Government's attempt to finance an unpopular war without resorting to major tax increases. The alternative is deficit spending, which both Johnson and Nixon have followed, but it has resulted in 'cheapening' money and thus spurring inflation. Consequently, as prices rise, it becomes even more difficult for US corporations to hold markets, both domestic and foreign, against cheaper Japanese and European goods. Furthermore, since the US dollar is the basis of the international monetary system, severe fluctuations in its value send shudders of apprehension throughout the economies of the non-socialist countries. This, in turn, further undercuts confidence in the dollar and makes it more difficult for corporations to obtain credit abroad. The net effect is that inflation only worsens the competitive position of US corporations and thus deepens the crisis facing US capitalism.

Given these increasingly severe foreign challenges to the US's economic world predominance, it has become clear to the US Government and its corporate supporters that control over South East Asia must be maintained. Consequently we have seen that parallel to the deepening crisis at home since 1968 has come an intensified (although more subtle) attempt to win a military victory in Vietnam. US corporations cannot afford to lose the markets and resources (particularly the enormous off-shore oil deposits) of South East Asia and expect to sustain the level of economic growth necessary to maintain

continued high profits and domestic stability. Hence Nixon has become willing to spread the war to Cambodia, Laos and quite possibly to North Vietnam, to wreak cultural genocide upon the rural societies of Indo-China, and to ignore the PRG's reasoned proposals for a negotiated settlement based upon the principle of self-determination-- all in his quest for military success.



"HE SAYS HE WON'T LEAVE UNLESS

WE AGREE TO LET HIM STAY!"

While capitalism has the capacity to solve problems, historically we have seen that such solutions have only come at the price of creating still greater problems. So it is with the US's attempt to win a military victory in Vietnam (which itself is highly unlikely). At any time such a war would be enormously costly, but it is even more so now because of the need to have those resources poured into the stabilization and modernization of the economy. Consequently, while the war continues, the economic crisis--produced by the same world conditions which also produced the need to fight in Vietnam--becomes exacerbated. During 1970 19% of US productive capacity stood idle, corporate profits fell by 9% (US Steel's fell 50% and Ford was of \$31 million), and welfare recipients jumped 20% to 12.2 million. The unemployment figures are of special interest because the number of jobless is not primarily concentrated among unskilled workers, but contains 1.4 million (about 40% of the total) white collar workers and professionals. This signifies a general contraction of the economy and not just a momentary recession.

The domestic economic situation, like the international one, is further dislocated by the wave of inflation which has accompanied the developing depression. Given the basic monopoly structure of US capitalism, declines in demand are no longer met by dropping prices to sustain prod-

uction. Without the pressure of domestic competition, US corporations can counter decreasing demand by curtailing production and raising prices to maintain revenues by making more profit per item. This explains why corporations are at the same time laying off thousands of employees and simultaneously raising prices-- depression and inflation all at once. Such a strategy however, provides no long-range solution for US capitalism because increasing unemployment and rising prices only further undercut demand which in turn leads to more layoffs and still higher prices -- a process which produces a downward spiral of depression.

II

The economic crisis of US capitalism has not only been felt by corporations and consumers, but also by the government-national, state and local. Over the past four decades the state (at all levels) has played an increasingly important role for US capitalism through the various services which it provides to ameliorate social discontent and to facilitate the continued growth of the economy. Under the first category fall such things as Social Security, welfare, unemployment insurance, EOP programs, etc.; under the second come the transportation system necessary to integrate an industrial economy and the educational system necessary to train manpower for the corporations. While capitalists have come to understand that these services are essential for continued prosperity, they have been loathe to take on primary responsibility for paying their costs as long as it has been possible to transfer that cost onto the middle and lower class taxpayer. While the federal income tax laws appear on first sight to be steeply graduated to "scak the rich", in reality they do not. 85% of all revenue comes from taxpayers who pay the lowest (20%) rate, and people in the highest income brackets pay on the average no more than 25-30%. On the state level we see the retrogressive nature of the tax structure even more clearly because the great majority of revenue is raised through sales and excise taxes which do not even pretend to be graduated. Similarly property taxes also lay most heavily upon the independent homeowner, not the giant corporations. Consequently while it is the corporations which benefit most from the state's services-- through supplying massive pools of trained manpower, through creating the highway system necessary to connect factory to market, and through securing the stability of the system by co-opting insurgent movements-- it is the working people of the society which must maintain the financial burden.

The state's problem is made more difficult by the fact that the services which it provides are becoming under inc-

reasing demand, while it's ability to pay for them is rapidly dwindling. There are several reasons for this. Most generally is the fact that in a society where all things are viewed as commodities to be consumed primarily for their quantity, there has been an enormous increase in the demand for state services. This demand grows at a much greater rate than the more static tax base which supports them, and consequently, the services cannot encompass all who demand them-- thus creating as much antagonism as they were designed to ameliorate. Services such as transportation particularly show these contradictions because the easier it becomes to travel in and out of the cities, the faster the middle class tax base leaves, creating both a further disintegration of the urban centers and an increased demand for even bigger and better freeways. Consequently, the state faces greater demands for services to alleviate the decay of the cities and the congestion of its arteries, but with essentially the same tax base.

The contradictions inherent in these state services have been heightened by the deepening crisis facing US capitalism. As shown above, in order to pour the necessary resources into maintaining economic domination of South East Asia, US capitalists have had to postpone the stabilization and modernization of the economy and consequently have had to tolerate a major recession. But this priority decision has had severe repercussions upon the state. With growing unemployment the demand for welfare, unemployment insurance, and re-education increases; but due to the decline of real wages caused by inflation, the tax base which pays for those services has shrunk. In addition, the decline in corporate profits further reduces the already small proportion of revenue which they supply. Consequently, the state begins to face the threat of bankruptcy-- the Los Angeles city treasurer called the budgetary situation in 1971 the worst since 1936, and all the major states face enormous deficits and are drastically cutting expenditures. Since it is the social services which are the first to suffer budgetary cuts because they are not immediately essential to capitalism's continued existence, the state fails to fulfill the expectations which it itself had previously created. Consequently, by making the decision that winning the Indo-China war is essential for the future hegemony of American capitalism, Nixon and his corporate advisors have not only unleashed an economic crisis upon the country, but in turn they have also undercut the state's ability to co-opt insipient rebellions by students, workers and Third World people, and instead have been forced to rely upon increasingly blatant repression.

tional/agitational campaign to break through Nixon's news blackout about the changing conditions in South East Asia and in Paris. Part of this educational work, however, must be to tie the war to the problems that are most immediately intolerable to the people of this country-- unemployment, inflation, welfare cuts, and the educational crisis. In order for people to see the Treaty as not just motivated by altruism but by self-interest, they will have to understand that ending the war is an essential first step to dealing with problems here at home.

But the war must not just be tied to domestic problems in our understanding, it must also be tied in our action. In implementing the Treaty we must develop various types of actions that both strike a blow at the Government's ability to wage war and also build our struggles against our own oppression. For instance, on college campuses students could have a referendum on the Treaty with implemen-

tation defined as "after May 1st, the people of this campus are at peace with the people of Vietnam; hence ROTC will be thrown off campus and a Child Care Center will be set up in the building." In the community, the Treaty can be tied to the issue of welfare cuts by organizing for and supporting National Welfare Rights Organizations' actions on April 2 & 4 demanding a guaranteed annual income of \$5500. Other community activities can include taking the Treaty to trade union locals and discussing the relationship between the war and the economic problems they suffer. Special attention should be given to how students and workers could act together to implement the Treaty. Finally, there should be other types of implementation actions-- such as boycotting Standard Oil or not paying any bills for the month of May--to which less militant community people can relate and which tie the war to the corporate system which necessitates it.

peace is coming...



*...because
the
people
are making
the peace*