

The following is the working paper of The Citizens Committee, which filed with the Federal Election Commission as a political action committee in preparation for organizing a Citizens party. The Committee has about 100 sponsors, including Barry Commoner and Steelworkers union insurgent Ed Sedlowick.

125 years ago, a small group of people met in a Wisconsin town to form a new political party. They founded the Republican Party because neither of the country's major parties were confronting the great national issue of the day: slavery. Today this country is in a similar crisis and faces a similar opportunity. And today, also, neither of the nation's dominant political parties is confronting that crisis or acting on that opportunity. Consider the facts:

—Prices have risen more in the past decade than in the 20 years before. The cost of buying or renting a modest home is soaring beyond the ordinary family's reach. There is no end to inflation in sight.

—The wealthiest nation on earth can't provide jobs for its citizens. Millions who want to work are on unemployment or on welfare. Among inner city minorities, joblessness is worse than in the Great Depression. College graduates can't find the work they have been trained for.

—Faced with gas lines and a deepening energy crisis, the government compounds the problem. It advocates inflationary decontrol. It dismantles energy-efficient rail service. It backs expensive and dangerous nuclear power and synthetic fuel. And it largely ignores the major solutions which are clean, decentralized, and potentially cheap—energy efficiency and solar power.

—The American working man and woman have lost ground. Hard-won raises are erased by inflation. The Administration tries to limit wages, but not prices.

—A decade and a half after Martin Luther King spelled out his American dream, minorities and the poor are still waiting for their share. The great promises of the 1960s—better housing, job training, national health care, the rebuilding of our cities—remain a mirage.

—After several "tax reform" bills, there are more loopholes than ever for the rich and the huge corporations; the burden falls still more heavily on the poor and the middle class.

—The government already has enough military might to kill everyone on earth. Yet it builds additional new missile systems and weapons to wage electronic war in space. It continues to arm dictatorships around the world. And it pretends that still more billions will buy more security.

—Women's gains are under attack. The Equal Rights Amendment is stalled. If she is lucky enough to find a job, the average woman will earn a wage only 60% that of the average man.

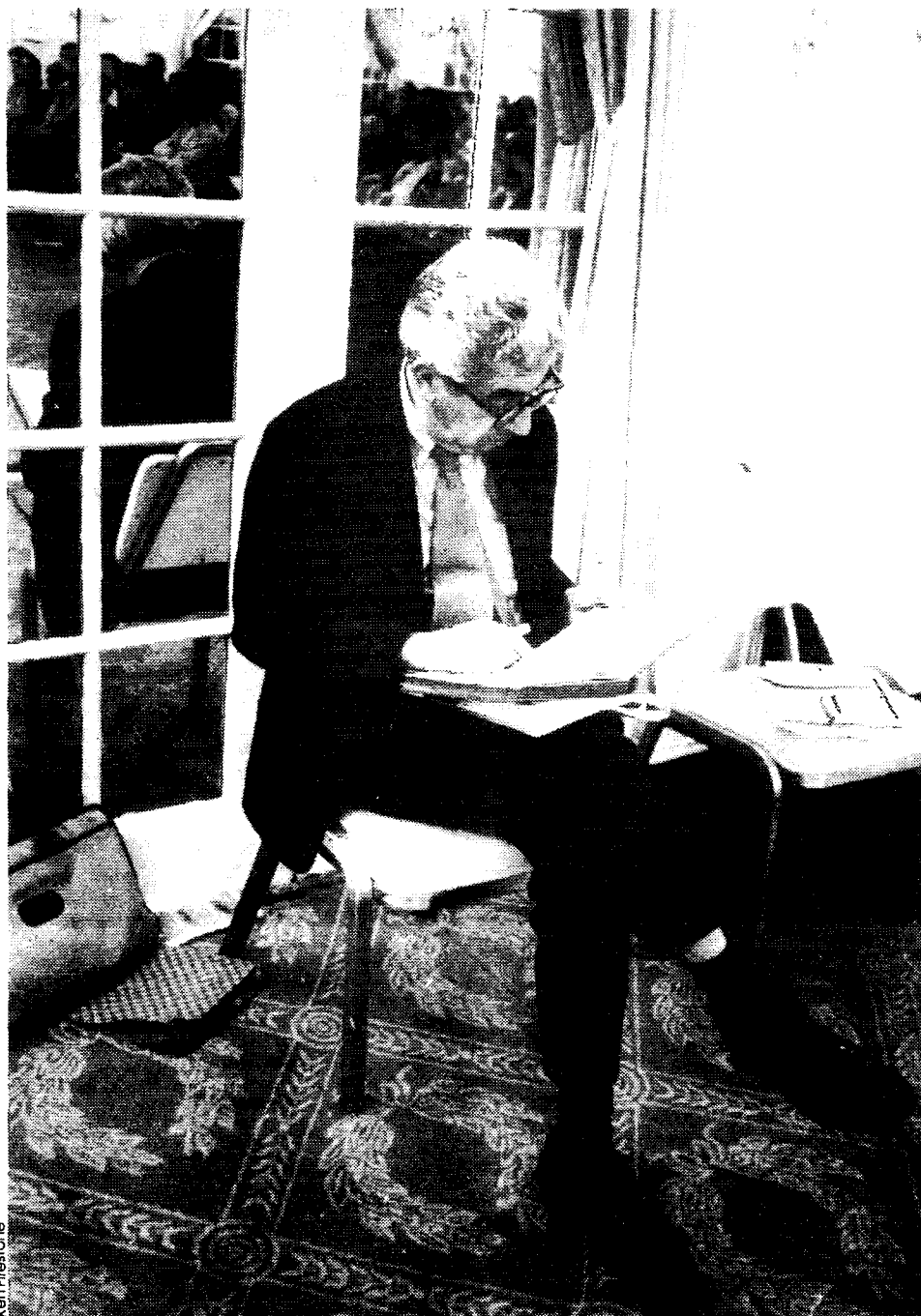
Small wonder, given all this, that half of the eligible voter's don't register, and that half of those who do register usually don't vote. Polls show a plummeting confidence in government and in big business, a pervasive fear that the future will be worse than today. People feel—and rightly—that a dream has been betrayed, that the vision we once allowed ourselves has been replaced by smog-choked skies, by TV screens advertising shoddy products we don't need, and by a country which has somehow, like a car without a driver, slipped from our control.

What happened? Has there been a conspiracy of corporate chieftains or power-hungry politicians to plot a takeover? Of course not. Rather, times have changed: an economic system which in its infancy spread prosperity across a continent has gradually become outdated.

This country began as a place where people had control of their lives, to a degree perhaps unmatched in history: as family farmers, as independent artisans and entrepreneurs, as participants in town meeting democracy. The free

THE ROAD TO 1980

A Citizens voyage towards a renewed American democracy



Citizens' Committee leader Barry Commoner

enterprise economy meant something important: hard work was usually rewarded; if you made as good a product in your workshop as the next person, you prospered; and you did not need a huge capital investment to start a small business.

But our system today no more resembles free enterprise than a freeway resembles a dirt road. Small companies of all kinds are being squeezed out. In many fields—from automobiles to light bulbs to breakfast cereals—four firms or less control more than 90% of U.S. production. And more important still, these vast corporations—many with annual budgets greater than those of most countries—spread across national boundaries. A multinational corporation can switch profits to a subsidiary in Panama when we tax it, switch jobs to a plant in Taiwan when American workers ask for higher wages, make a dangerous pesticide in Brazil when its manufacture is banned in the U.S. For the multinationals, this is no age of "lowered expectations"; their power is greater than ever. Beholden to no one but stockholders, beyond the control of most governments, protected by the myth that they are merely small business writ large, large corporations unaccountable to us increasingly shape our lives.

Their decisions determine what gets produced, and for whom. Auto companies make more money selling high-priced gas-guzzling cars, so they do

so—even when the national interest calls for small cars with better mileage, or for trolleys and buses instead. Conglomerates market additive-filled junk food because the profit margin is higher than for fruits and vegetables. Private interests come first, the public interest last. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, a whole life-style—energy-intensive, ridden with cancer-causing pollution, fueled by advertising—has been given to us. It is a lifestyle that we did not choose for ourselves.

There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership. What is wrong is when private interest, and not the public good, determines how we live. That is what must be changed, and that is the issue the two major American parties can not and will not face. Elevating the national interest above vested private interests is the heart of what the Citizens Party is about.

What is to be done? We do not have all the solutions. We invite others to join us in enlarging and refining our program. But we believe that, at a bare minimum, a citizens' movement to retake control of this country must work for the following goals:

—Public control of the energy industries. In the midst of an energy crisis that affects every American, we cannot let the decisions of Mobil, Exxon and the rest determine how much oil and gas is produced, and where.

—A swift halt to nuclear power. If this is

not done, our environment may be poisoned for thousands of years to come. One Three Mile Island accident is enough.

—A strong push, instead of the Administration's lip service, for conservation and solar energy. And for related forms of power such as methane gas and alcohol fuels. These also are safe, non-polluting, and can be produced on a small scale by communities across the country, without the multi-billion dollar high-technology plants that only big business can build.

—An immediate, sharp reversal in the rate of military spending. Protecting the U.S. from aggression is worthwhile, but building and exporting unneeded new weapons systems has already escalated the arms race to the edge of disaster. A good place to start these cutbacks: the dangerous new MX missile program.

—A guaranteed job for everyone who wants to work. National planning and conversion of the armaments industry to productive activity can ensure this.

—Stable prices for the basic necessities of life: food, fuel, housing, medical care. Price controls can accomplish part of that job; more important is to attack inflation's causes—all of which are controllable. One is the massive arms budget, which soaks up hundreds of billions of our dollars but produces nothing people can use. Another is our dependence on the depleting supply of fossil fuel. Whether oil in Saudi Arabia or coal in Kentucky, getting it out of the ground costs more each year than the last.

—Vigorous support for human rights at home and abroad. Here, that means working for civil liberties, affirmative action, the ERA, and equal rights to all health care, preventive and therapeutic. Overseas, that means an end to U.S. aid and military alliances with all countries that deny justice to their citizens.

—Putting the vast corporations which control our economy under *our* control. We believe in citizen control of major investment and resource decisions. We want to see that control as decentralized as possible. Experiments in worker and community ownership should be encouraged. Cities, towns, and neighborhoods should have control over whether a factory with needed jobs can move to another city or country, or whether investors are allowed to abandon an area, leaving it a bombed-out war zone like the South Bronx.

We believe these are good goals for today—and the future. We are building a Citizens Party for the long run. It is not a third party, for we reject the relevance of the two existing ones.

It is a new party, to raise the issues the existing parties ignore. We start today because none of the major party Presidential candidates, announced or unannounced, are discussing these issues, and we are tired of wasting our votes.

We ask you to join us. We appeal to Republicans and Democrats who are fed up with their parties' evasions. We appeal to citizens who have stayed away from the polls and want a party that gives reason to return. We appeal to labor and independent business people, who know that the interests of the giant corporations are not the same as their own. We appeal to the minorities and working people who have suffered the most in the current recession. And we appeal to activists in the women's movement, in the churches, and in the struggle to protect our environment, all of whom have given new meaning to America's democratic traditions in the last few years.

We are embarking on a long but exciting voyage. The economic system we have inherited clearly no longer fits our needs. Such times come in human history; Jefferson knew it when he wrote: "I am not an advocate for frequent changes...but institutions must advance to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of its ancestors." We have reached the time for one of those historic passages today, and we ask all Americans to join us.

JOSHUA DRESSLER

High Court upholds pre-arrest protections

IT IS NO LONGER NEWS when the U.S. Supreme Court rules for law enforcement, and against citizens, in the field of criminal law. But victories for citizens make news. So, let us analyze a few such recent decisions. Although law enforcement was hardly deserted by the Burger-Nixon Supreme Court term did see surprising gains. The most significant may have been rendered in the important area of police-citizen confrontations on the streets and in cars.

Most citizens have involuntary confrontations with law enforcement officials, if any, as they walk the streets, or drive their automobiles. A person may be stopped for speeding, or for no reason at all, in his or her automobile. They may be forcibly stopped as they walk the street. In either case they may be interrogated, and even searched, for no better reason than that they are black in a white neighborhood.

In 1968, the more liberal Warren Court ruled that police may not forcibly stop citizens unless they have a reasonable suspicion that crime is afoot and that the person stopped is involved in the crime. Even then, the officer may only conduct a limited interrogation and may only frisk



Court, the recently concluded civil libertarians make some (pat down the outer clothing) the person if the officer has reason to believe the individual is armed and dangerous.

In a subsequent Burger Court opinion, however, the "reasonable suspicion" required for such an intrusion was greatly watered down. Then, last year, the Court also concluded that when citizens are stopped in their cars to be ticketed for traffic violations they may be ordered out of their vehicle. The Court felt this was a "minor inconvenience."

This year, however, the high court decided three more cases implicating these common daily confrontations. In each case, law enforcement action was invalidated.

One common police abuse invalidated is the practice of officers taking suspects into custody for interrogation when they lacked sufficient cause to arrest them. The hope of police is that the question-

ing will result in admissions that will then give them sufficient grounds to arrest the citizen. Sometimes the police claim such persons were not under arrest, other times they say the citizens are arrested "on suspicion" of a crime, thus avoiding the constitutional requirement that arrests be based on "probable cause." This year, in *Dunaway v. New York*, the Court invalidated such "non-formal" arrests. Quite simply, if the police wish to take someone into custody against his or her will, in order to interrogate them, they must first have probable cause to arrest them. The practice, then, of round-ups will necessarily end.

In a second case, *Delaware v. Prouse*, the Court by an 8-1 margin invalidated the common urban police tactic of stopping moving vehicles ostensibly to check for vehicle safety and license violations (e.g., faulty brake lights, etc.), even where they lack any reasonable belief the car is in violation of any laws. This technique has been used by some police as a pretext to conduct more extensive searches that are not otherwise permitted. It also results in unequal enforcement, in which "disreputable" looking cars—those driven by poor persons—are more often stopped. The Court concluded that stops can take place if law enforcement officers have reasonable information prior to the stop that the vehicle in question is in violation of some safety or license law. The Court did hint, however, they might approve stops on no basis if they are done to every car, or every tenth one, etc. Justice Rehnquist ridiculed this suggestion, saying this is "misery loves company" reasoning. Although the "hint" may represent a serious loophole, it may be the Court's awkward way of properly suggesting that they oppose police discretion being used in an abusive fashion—and that more routine stops, which lack such discriminatory motive, may be less intrusive.

Finally, in *Brown v. Texas* the high court invalidated a statute present in more than half of the states that permits officers to stop "suspicious" looking persons, de-

mand identification, and arrest those unable or unwilling to comply with the demand. Such laws are no more than disguised "vagrancy" ordinances, which permit officers to question and ultimately arrest strangers, or those who do not fit the police's model for clothing or decorum. Although the Court did not say whether such laws are always constitutional, it did declare them invalid when the police stop persons whom they have no reason to believe are involved in crime.

Although these victories are limited, they do represent a happy, and surprising, result for advocates of civil liberties. There may be a dark lining in the silver cloud, however. The current trend in case law seems to be that the Court is drawing a firm line between the rights of citizens prior to arrest and those after arrest. Each of the defendants in these three cases this year were persons against whom the police had little or no evidence of criminal behavior. They were "common citizens," like "you and me"—and like the justices. For such persons the Court seems willing to afford protection.

Once persons are arrested, however, it is as if the Court now considers them "criminals," not citizens, or even "suspects." They no longer are viewed as fully deserving of the constitutional presumption of innocence. As a result, few, if any, obstacles are placed between the police and prosecution—the government—on the one hand, and the conviction of that presumed-innocent person.

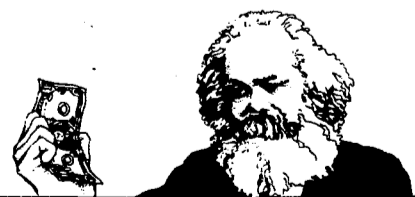
For the average citizen who violates no laws, except perhaps an antiquated sex or marijuana ordinance, the Court's holdings will serve as a protective device in their confrontations with police. If my theory is correct, however, it is small consolation to civil libertarians to learn that the constitutional presumption of innocence, supposedly retained until the jury returns its guilty verdict, now functionally ends upon arrest.

Joshua Dressler is professor of law at Hamline University School of Law in St. Paul, Minn.

JOHN SAUL

Commonwealth meeting focuses on opposition to Muzorewa regime

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA—The August commonwealth conference in Lusaka is important. The Thatcher government seems determined to press ahead with United Kingdom recognition of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's Muzorewa regime sometime later this year, although it may decide to do so only when that country's grossly inequitable constitution can be modified to make it a bit more palatable to international opinion. ¶ The Conference provides the forum within which other Commonwealth countries, notably member-states from black Africa, will try to dissuade Thatcher by threatening to raise the costs of her moving too precipitously in this direction.



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And quite apart from the possible danger to the Commonwealth's own continued existence, which such threats pose, some of these countries do have economic cards to play. This is particularly true of Nigeria, Africa's new economic giant, with its oil resources and with a series of large contracts pending with British firms.

The Conference also focuses considerable attention on the host country, Zambia itself, and the light cast is likely to be cruel. Zambia is, of course, a charter member of the group of five Front-Line states that provide support for the liberation struggle further south, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Yet in Lusaka the country's commitment to such a struggle appears precarious, its will flawed, the pressures upon it considerable.

I felt this most starkly on June 26 when Rhodesians raided Lusaka, striking at targets not far from where I was staying in the Zambian capital. The targets were various non-military establishments of the Zimbabwe African People's

Union (ZAPU), one of the two liberation movements that make up Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front (PF).

The first attack, at 6 a.m., was on Freedom Camp, just outside the city. This camp had been raided once before, last Oct. 19, when the damage was much more serious. The camp then housed a school, with three or four thousand boys in attendance. Almost three hundred were killed and hundreds wounded.

Since then, however, such concentrations of Zimbabweans-in-exile had been moved further north, and the camp now housed only a fledgling agricultural project—chickens, pigs, vegetables and maize—designed to help feed the many thousands of refugees now under ZAPU jurisdiction. I confirmed this for myself when I visited the camp two days before the raid. Now, bombed and strafed, some of the essential infrastructure of the farm lay in ruins and eight of forty agricultural workers at the camp were dead.

Several helicopters reached Roma, a Lusaka suburb, less than a kilometer from the Mulungushi Conference Centre, site of the Commonwealth meetings, and zeroed in on one of several houses, sprinkled among the suburban residences, that provide sleeping quarters for ZAPU personnel. Two helicopters set down and a fierce gun battle in and around the house ensued. In the fighting twelve ZAPU members were killed. The house itself was destroyed. ZAPU, in turn, claimed six Rhodesians killed, though the bodies departed with the helicopters.

This part of the mission over, Rhodesian helicopters dropped leaflets over the city. This "message to the people of Zambia from the people of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" asserted that "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia now has black majority rule," that "there is therefore no further need for war" and that "the people want peace with all neighbouring countries." As for "the power-hungry leaders of the so-called Patriotic Front...they hide in comfortable places in your country, and send innocent men to suffer and die just to keep the leaders in luxury...ZAPU controls your territory, eats your food and attacks your citizens."

Not until an hour after the raid did an

army unit arrive at the Roma house, as late for action as they had been a few months earlier when Rhodesian forces in land-rovers blew up the house of ZAPU's President, Joshua Nkomo, only a few hundred yards from Zambia's own Presidential Palace. Two days later, the headline of a local newspaper article about the raid read, "I am not embarrassed—says KK." KK is Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's President.

There is a hint of desperation about the Rhodesian raids themselves, whether they are into Zambia or into neighboring Mozambique, a country that provides the rear-base for ZAPU's twin organization within the Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Most observers agree that the refurbished Muzorewa-Smith government is still losing the territorial war within Zimbabwe. They therefore continue the time-honored (but ultimately ineffective) counter-insurgency strategy of "hitting the bases" beyond the borders.

However, just as salient from a Lusaka vantage-point was the minimal resistance offered by Zambia, even to so modest a version of the standard Rhodesian raid as the one I witnessed. In this respect its undertakings contrast sharply with those of Mozambique where Rhodesian raids have inflicted even more costly damage, upon Mozambicans as well as upon ZANU targets, than those into Zambia. Yet the ability of Rhodesia to strike with impunity into Mozambique has lessened over the past several years.

This reflects a strengthening of Mozambique's ability to defend itself. More important, it reflects Mozambique's will to resist. The Rhodesians can still do considerable damage, but they are now made to pay a considerable price. Such is not the case for Zambia.

These differences are linked closely to more fundamental differences between the two countries that became apparent after even a brief stay in the region.

This is the first of a series of on-the-spot articles about Southern Africa by John S. Saul whose latest book, *The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa*, has just been published by Monthly Review Press.