

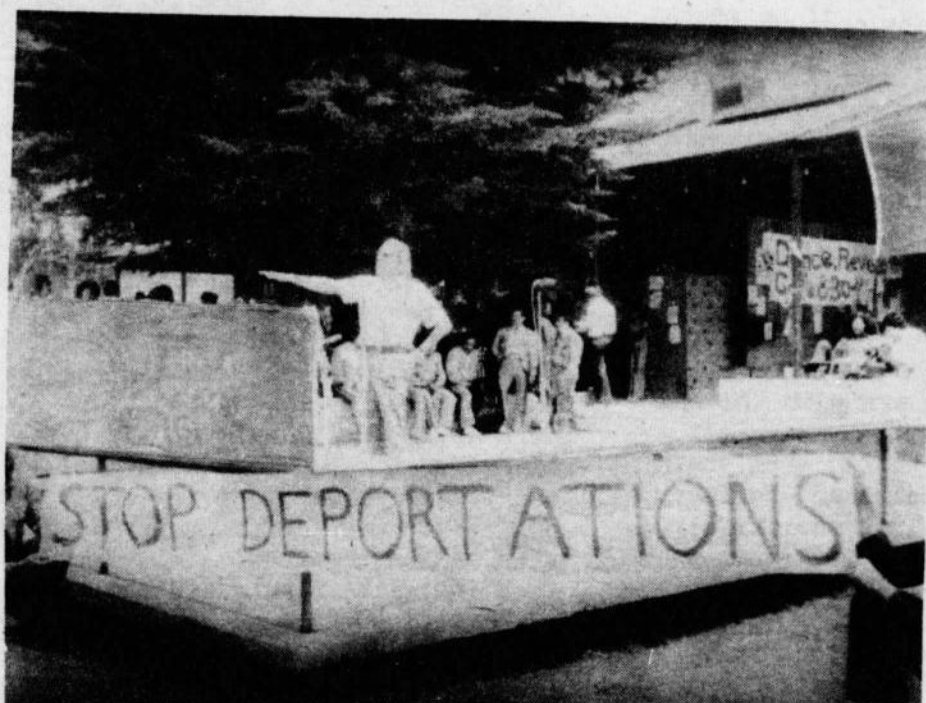
PRENSA POPULAR

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Corona Interview

Mexico and the U. S.

Mass Deportations and the Class Struggle



ABOVE—Bert Corona, national Secretary of CASA, and anti-Deportations organization, speaks on current Mass Deportations being carried out by the U. S. Border Patrol and other state agencies. CASA advocates armed self-defense against the violence, abuses and injustices of the various police agencies.

State MECHA Protests

Last month the San Diego State University MECHA passed a motion asking for the resignation of all faculty, administrators and staff from Chicano programs on campus by December, 1974, if certain demands are not met. The motion came in an attempt to protest University plans to place the Chicano Studies Department under a college or school.

Chicano Programs at State include Chicano Studies, Centro de Estudios Chicanos, C.A.M.P. (migrant program), TRIO (Supportive Services) and EOP.

San Diego State officially became a university in 1973. Mexican American Studies (MAS), as well as other programs not directly under a college are now being absorbed into the university administrative structure and assigned to a particular school or college. Bureaucratic demands for efficiency and structure will destroy the flexibility and illusory autonomy existing within the Mexican American Studies department. It has been stated that Chicano Studies will enter either the College of Arts and Letters or the School of Professional Studies.

A full-fledged Mexican American Studies program was instituted in 1969-70 under the Vice-President for Academic Affairs, as well as the Centro de Estudios Chicanos, placed under the Vice-President for Administrative Affairs. This special assignment came when administrative plans to convert the rapidly growing State College into a University with Schools and Colleges instead of divisions brought a period of transition which allowed many programs to

Motion

to Resign

Splits

Faculty-Staff

EDITOR'S NOTE: A ready made solution to alleviate the periodic crises of the U. S. capitalist system has been mass deportations since the turn of the 20th Century. Like Hitler's fascist government, the U. S. government, when faced with a bad recession or a depression, has taken the violent path of persecuting a national group, fomenting economic hardship, racism and human suffering. The persecution of a national group, in this case Mexican workers--along with Latin American workers and others from elsewhere--serves the interest of the ruling class and provides a scapegoat for the economic ills of the system, thereby, obscuring the class struggle. This explains the present mass deportation being carried out throughout the Southwest and into the industrial areas of Chicago and New York.

Bert Corona is a member of that national group who has suffered repeated Mass Deportations since the turn of the Century. As national Secretary of CASA, a national organization, he is at the forefront of the struggle against mass deportations. The underlining philosophy of the organization is that the so-called illegal alien is in reality a worker and member of the working class; as a direct result, he or she should be organized, protected from economic exploitation and aligned with the working class struggle in the U. S. and in Mexico, for only in that way can there come about a just and permanent solution to the injustices brought about by mass deportations. Below PRENSA POPULAR prints and interview with Bert Corona in hope of advancing a clearer understanding of the current struggle.

PRENSA POPULAR: What is the latest developments in the struggle against Mass Deportations?

CORONA: Mass deportations have two characteristics:

One is the continued "rounding-up", in a supposedly non-mass character, but in reality, it nets the same results; that is, there is a broad and very definite combining of the areas of a site of employment, of street corners, of places our people may congregate and there immigration officers, in many cases, aided by sheriffs and local police departments, in the cities throughout the country, pick up people, stop them and, ostensibly, on the basis that they may not have documents, in this illegal manner, detain an awful lot of people and are able to pick out and single out those who do not have visas, and take them in. In the San Diego County area, we have reports that they detain and are able to comb out and deport between 5,000 and 6,000 a week! In my estimation, whether there are detained on a one-to-one basis, these are MASS DEPORTATIONS and that are going on in this country on an increased basis.

The other type of mass deportations, the mass raiding of streets, where they close off the streets, where they close off theaters and churches, is not a big problem since the suit that was filed by CASA, the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations last year against such wide open fascist, gestapo-like tactics. But, nevertheless, the net result is that at the rate of present deportations, if these continue at the present rate as reported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, we are likely to see between 700,000 to 1,000,000 people deported back to Mexico from the United States.

PRENSA POPULAR: In the struggle against Deportations, a general National Conference was held last March in Los Angeles. What was the outcome? And how did it come about?

BERT CORONA: It came about as a result of a national coalition of some 40 to 50 organizations that held a National Conference on February 3 and 4 of the previous year. During the course of the past year, while carrying out the mandates and resolutions of that first conference, we were able to add to the coalition some 200 to 300 organizations from coast to coast, from the Canadian border to the Mexican border, and these organizations of varying types, all the way from church groups to community groups, various ethnic groups, who had not been participating previously in deportation conferences, political organizations, social service organizations, defense organizations, trade union groups began to get themselves involved in the defense of people who were being picked up during the year of 1973 by immigration officers. It was these groups that came to put this conference together. There were some 280 groups that were present officially. There were 530 some odd delegates who registered and 225 who participated in the workshops but who did not officially registered because they did not have the money, primarily students and poor people, but nevertheless, were present. So, all in all, we had an attendance somewhere between 700 to 800 delegates in the general workshops and conference activities.

PRENSA POPULAR: Specifically, who attended? What were some of the national and international groups present?

BERT CORONA: Yes. Among the national organizations was the National Lawyers Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, the National Committee to Free Los Tres, the Crusade for Justice, of course, CASA, the Social Committee of the National Council of Churches, MECHA Central from Los Angeles and others. We had representatives from various Catholic orders (Scalabini order), the Center for Migration Studies in Staten Island, the National Executive Committee (Hispanic Section) of the Episcopal Church. We had representatives from state organizations, such as Apostles de la Justicia from Colorado. We had groups from Seattle, Washington, the Pacific Northwest, who were representing a regional type of Chicano Central. We had various groupings of el Partido de La Raza Unida, representing the midwestern states and parts of California. These were some of the National, state and local organizations who participated.

International organizations who came were primarily from Mexico, such as the Confederacion Campesina Independiente. The International Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Fieldworkers International--a union affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Union (IWFTU)--sent a delegate. We had delegates from the

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Marcuse's "Ambiguities" Explored

In its April 1-15 issue, the North Star printed the text of a lecture delivered by Herbert Marcuse on March 7, 1974 at the Center for Research on Women at Stanford University.

Marcuse's lecture, a look at the Women's Liberation Movement and its social and political ramifications, is vague, often ambiguous and misleading. The confusion arises from his equating feminism with socialism (in his vision of society he sees capitalism as male and socialism as female) and from his failure to analyze the class distinctions among women and in the Women's Movement, a frequent mistake within the Movement itself.

This failure to consider class and its relation to women and his use of the terms feminism, feminist socialism and women's liberation interchangeably stems from his idealization of feminine characteristics, which he generally attributes to all women.

Another problem arises with Marcuse's analysis of two conjunctive stages in the feminist struggle: equality and beyond equality. Feminism, he concludes, is tantamount to "a revolt against decaying capitalism."

Marcuse starts his lecture with two preliminary remarks, one that the movement must be "discussed in terms of the actual status of women in a male dominated civilization" and two, that although the movement operates in a class society and "the immediate needs and potentialities of women are definitely class conditioned to a high degree," there are reasons to discuss "women" as a general category versus "man." It is true that the movement operates in a male dominated class society and that necessarily one must discuss the actual status of women in relation to that society. But to consider the sex distinction as of primary importance in determining the key revolutionary sector and to deal with "women" as a general category without discussing the actual class distinctions within this grouping is to argue from a false premise.

As further argument for discussing women in general Marcuse states: "In patriarchal civilization, women have been subjected to a specific kind of repression, and their mental and physical development has been channeled in a specific direction." Although generally true one cannot oversimplify and equate all female repression, exploitation and direction throughout history and within all social classes. The repression of poor and working class women who usually perform hard, tedious, alienating labor besides being assigned the role of child-bearer and homemaker is vastly different from that of women of the upper class. Failure to recognize class differences can only lead to an incorrect analysis. Thus throughout the lecture the question of class arises repeatedly but is left unanswered.

Marcuse's two-stage analysis of the women's struggle involves "first the struggle for full economic, social and cultural equality," which he con-

siders an absolute prerequisite for the second stage, called variously "beyond equality," freedom or socialism: "Only as equal economic and political subject/can woman claim a leading role in the radical reconstruction of society."

There are two problems in this analysis of the struggle. The first is determining his definition of equality, which is not at all clear. At one point he asks whether the first stage of struggle - the achievement of equality - is possible within a capitalist society. His answer is "there are no economic reasons why such equality should not be attainable within the capitalist framework." If he means that all women could gain full economic, social and cultural equality with all men, without an elimination of the class structure, then the statement is false. But if all he means is that capitalism could allow for the full integration of women within each class without a change in its basic class structure, then it is probably true. "Equality," in this sense would mean equal repression and exploitation of working and poor women with the men of their class, and for upper class women, equal opportunity with their men to be the exploiters. In fact, the present capitalist society already includes female capitalists, even without full equality. Within capitalism, working and poor women or men will never be able to attain "full equality" with ruling class men or women and this reality must be clearly spelled out.

A second problem arises with his two stage theory. Marcuse's assumption that women must achieve equality before they can struggle for socialism seems an odd priority. For working class women the struggle to become equal economic and political subjects must necessarily be combined with the struggle for socialism. If Marcuse means that only women who are fully equal political and economic subjects can struggle for socialism then he is leaving the struggle up to the women of the ruling class for whom the reconstruction of society would not be advantageous.

For Marcuse, socialism is "the antithesis, the definite negation of aggressive and repressive needs and values of capitalism as a form of male dominated culture." Marcuse's view of capitalism as male and socialism as female stems from his romantic views of what men and women are. He says that over time "the social, mental and even physiological characteristics of women developed as different from and contrasting with those of men." Although he states that "over and above the obvious physiological differences between male and female, the feminine characteristics are socially conditioned," he also states that these feminine characteristics have become "second nature" through thousands of years of social conditioning. With this qualification Marcuse implies that feminine characteristics although not biologically determined actually function as innate characteristics.

What are these feminine characteristics that he sees as a goal of socialist society, that men and women should attain or maintain in themselves, "that in patriarchal civilization have been attributed to the female rather than the male"? Formulated as the antithesis of the dominating masculine qualities, such

feminine qualities would be receptivity, sensitivity, non-violence, tenderness and so on."

These characteristics, he says, appear specifically as feminine because they are the opposite of domination, i.e., because they are synonymous with weakness, inferiority and dependence, a female condition. Their idealized conceptualization, which Marcuse traces back to the middle ages, was in his opinion a progressive move towards feminism. Marcuse indicates that the rise of capitalism led to an increased exploitation of women but that it also created the conditions for transforming this weakness into a political force.

Instead of describing this process of proletarianization strictly in terms of women, Marcuse should point out that all workers are dominated and reduced to positions of inferiority within capitalism but that this same oppression gives rise to the contradictions which promote struggle. The issue must be made clear. The distinctions are between oppressed and oppressors, exploited and exploiters and not between male and female.

In fact Marcuse's ideal characterization only echoes romantic notions disseminated by the ruling class and held up by capitalists as the distinctive attributes of womanhood to sell their wares. Working class and poor women are generally not described with such euphemisms. This fact alone indicates that a dichotomization of qualities in terms of male and female rather than in terms of dependency and oppression is a false perception of the social stratifications within this society.

Marcuse's flagrant failure to see that one cannot assign characteristics on the basis of sex (a basic tenet of the Women's Movement) leads him to define socialism as female. To reduce capitalism to a male attribute is to insinuate that the major problem in capitalism is its male domination or its male quality. What in fact Marcuse has done is equate "male" with ruling class and thereby has created a false analogy.

Instead of arguing that capitalism's main evil is men or male domination, we argue that capitalism uses sexism, the maintenance of socialization on the basis of sex, to its advantage. It keeps men and women of the working class divided instead of struggling together against capitalism and its super exploitation of a vast majority of people for profit.

STAFF BOX
Alejandro Paz
Margaret Bailey
Vicki Gregerson
Eva Valle
Miguel Salas
Steve Knox
Pam Pascoe
Anna Centura
Alejandro Garza
Martha Kuhl
Barby Reyes
Rafael Arroyo
Betty Garcia Bahne
Maureen Brennan
Francisco Martinez
Roberto Valle
Ricardo Chaparro
Fred Barnswell
R. Arteaga
El Sargento
Wanda Coleman
Omar

PRENSA POPULAR, P.O. Box 109
U.C.S.D., La Jolla, California

FOR ADS AND OTHER INFORMATION
TEL. NO. 453-2000, Ext. 2817

STRIKE IN COACHELLA

The Gallo headquarters in San Diego was the scene of a picket demonstration on April 21. The picket (and food caravan that followed the next day) was the culmination of an intensive information campaign and food drive conducted by UFW supporters in San Diego county.

The picket was successful in that it completely stopped all Gallo wine distribution in San Diego for that day. Support groups from City College, San Diego State, Mesa College, UCSD, East San Diego, O.B. and P.B. community areas participated in the picket, and in the food caravan as well as picketing of the fields in Coachella the following day.

In Coachella the UFW is mounting an all out offensive against non-union grape growers. Local support groups will aid the UFW in propagating information about the strike and the working conditions of the farmworkers. Another service of these groups is to help in raising food for the striking workers, to relieve the direct burden on the union's strike fund. These funds are quickly being diminished with no sign of replenishment.

The strike in Coachella led the support groups and the strikers to one of Coachella's largest corporate grape growers, Bob Bagdosarian. A picket line of about 100 to 150 people strong surrounded one his fields where scabs had been brought in to work. The vested interest of the growers were protected as usual, by the sheriffs and police of Imperial county.

The moral and enthusiasms of the strikers was high. Chants such as don't "sell yourself for money", "leave the fields now, and join us, no se vendan, ayudanos were some of the things being shouted at the scabs. These scabs inturn spent most of the day walking in the middle of the field, trying to avoid being seen.



The farmworkers have made it a policy to follow the scabs home after work. This is a conscious attempt to educate the scabs about the UFW (United Farmworkers Union) with the hope of gaining their membership. This effort is considered a very important part of the picket activity.

It was just at the particular time that the scabs were leaving the fields that a group of individuals representing the SWP (Socialist Workers Party), a Trotskyite group, chose to begin passing out their literature and newspaper, The Mili-

tant. But, in so doing, many farmworkers and students (who had prior experience with these opportunistic elements) acted quickly and decisively, first to curtail the spread of the Trotskyite propaganda and then to expel these elements from the picket line and later also from the rally.



Farmworkers Expel Trotskyites

It was no coincidence that these Trotskyites picked the particular time that the scabs were getting ready to leave the fields to pass out their literature. Their actions caused an internal disruption which resulted in the escape of the scabs without them being followed, or talked to by Union members.

This has consistently been the role of Trotskyites in any particular movement. The Trotskyites have always been known both historically and in the present period as "wreckers" and "splitters" of the people's organizations. They are following in the legacy of their founder, Leon Trotsky, who was a proven right opportunist in the Russian Communist Party, and was eventually expelled by Lenin. While they vociferously deny the charge of disruption, an examination of their history demonstrates that they have earned it. It is with this knowledge that we should view and deal with these elements, following the precedent set by the Farmworkers.

After this disruption was finally settled the workers and students moved to the Coachella Park for a rally which included a period of analysis and self criticism which was given in both Spanish and English. First a speaker addressed himself to the incident with the Trotskyites. He gave a brief explanation of the origin of Trotskyism up to its present manifestations, drawings from the actions of the Farmworkers support groups at San Diego State who have since expelled these elements from their group. Next Manuel Chavez described the results of the UFW educational campaign which is being conducted in the border town of Calexico and Mexicali, in order to inform people across the border of the strike and to deter any potential scabs. He informed us that the suport on the other side of the border

is growing. The major of Calexico has evoked a ban on labor contractors trying to recruit scags and has been enforcing it. Witness to this is a labor contractor who is spending 15 days in jail for his attempts at scab recruiting. Chavez further tied in the Coachella struggle with a brief news report on the events at Salinas, Delano, Brawley, and Mexicali, giving everyone present the feeling of being a part of a common unified front instead of an isolated struggle.

The culmination to the day's events came with the delivery of three truck loads of food to the Farmworkers collectively run kitchens (where all the strikers eat together).

HUELGA en COACHELLA

El 21 de abril diferentes grupos de estudiantes y de otras personas que apoyan a los campesinos en huelga fueron con una caravana de carros de San Diego a Coachella para llevar comida y ofrecer su apoyo a la gente que todavia permanece en huelga. Los huelguistas reclaman lo que les pertenece, o sea, una mejor forma de vida, a la cual todo ser humano tiene derecho.

Prensa Popular entrevisto a Felipe Romero, el cual ya tiene largo tiempo de luchar en la huelga. Felipe hablo de las miserables condiciones que el campesinato ha venido sufriendo debido a la explotacion por parte de los dueños de los ranchos y las monstruosas compañías agrícolas capitalistas.

La huelga comenzo el 24 de marzo de este año con sólo 10 trabajadores. Ya al momento se encuentran 110 huelguistas.

Bagdosorian es el nombre del dueño de tres ranchos en huelga. Antes de la huelga trabajaban 14 grupos en cada rancho con 25 a 30 trabajadores en cada grupo; 2 personas trabajaban 7 surcos de cultivo en una hora y un grupo de 30 debia bajar 50 surcos en un día.

En este momento hay esquirols trabajando en los ranchos; esos forman sólo 3 grupos de 20 a 25 personas y hacen el trabajo sin experiencia, causándole pérdidas de dinero a los dueños. Sólo trabajan en los centros de los ranchos para así evitar contacto con los huelguistas que al verlos les piden que se salgan y que cooperen con la huelga, que vean el error de venderse por unos pocos dólares para después seguir siendo explotados y humillados por los rancheros.

Para la cosecha se necesitan 800 trabajadores. Steinberg, presidente de la compañía Fritzen, es el único rancho que emplea gente de la unión y va a emplear a mil trabajadores de la unión para la cosecha para el 15 de mayo. Los trabajadores del rancho de Steinberg sólo trabajan 4 días a la semana y los 3 días restantes van a los piquetes a luchar por sus demandas.

Los campesinos de la unión en huelga reciben 35 dólares a la semana y 5 dólares por hijo. La unión trata de ayudar a los huelguistas con cualquier problema de dinero.

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Industrialization vs. dislocation in National City

Presently, in the West Side of National City we are witnessing a classical case of deslocation of their oldest Chicano barrio for the sake of progress.

HISTORY OF THE WEST SIDE

The West Side is where National City first originated, the majority of the people used to live in that area. At one time, City Hall was located there. The people and administration of National City were born here.

PLANS FOR RE-ZONING

The issue at hand, which is jeopardizing the survival of this historic and vital area is the conversion of this area from a residential zone to an industrial zone. Ever since 1958 the city Council has expressed deep interest for such an action. From this period up to the present there has been a total of three general plans proposed to select the course of development National City should follow. The general plans in Chronological order and their approximate cost are as follows:

- 1) 1960--\$40,000
- 2) 1965--\$6,000
- 3) 1974--\$50,000

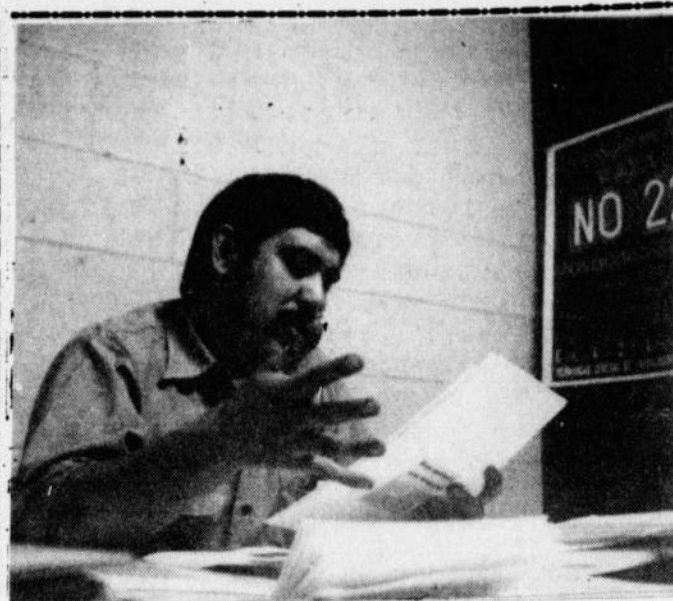
Those people responsible for the developing of these plans are consultants brought in from out of the city, as well as what the people of the community have come to know as "professional urban mis-planners". It is important to realize exactly who these people are and exactly whose interests they represent. Considering that these planners are brought in from out of the city and are making crucial plans for the direction of the city without consulting the people who live in the area, this fact alone demonstrates quite plainly that these planners do not represent the interest of the community.

What the attempt and probable success of re-zoning the West Side clearly illustrates according to Herman Baca, a Chicano community organizer of both C.A.S.A. and La Raza Unida Party, "is the corruption and misintensions of the vested interests of National City in relation to the Chicano community."

DETAILS OF RE-ZONING

What re-zoning from a residential to an industrial area entails is the destruction of the homes of 600 Chicano families, the destruction of Kimble School, as well as the destruction of St. Antonies' Church. As one can easily observe rezoning means the destruction of an entire community. The 600 Chicano families consist of generally older people who have grown up in this area and intend to spend the rest of their lives in this area. The people have developed a distinct loyalty for the area in which they have lived since their childhood. A significant amount of people, especially the older members, have expressed strong resistance to the demand that they move out of this area and look for some other place to live.

The general plan explicitly states that housing and industrialization will not be able to co-exist. The reason for such resistance



Community organizer, Herman Baca, relays the critical problem of dislocation in National City

from the community is due to several things, Kimble school being one of them. The composition of the student body attending Kimble is well over 90% Chicano. Kimble is one of the few schools in San Diego which administers bi-lingual programs. The need for a school of this nature is so great that people from throughout the city are being bussed in to benefit from such valuable programs. According to page 9 of the latest general plan, Kimble school would be closed upon the industrialization of the area.

The Church, as one may will imagine has a congregation which is highly made up of the 600 families being deslocated. The Senor Citizens as well as other members of the West Side community have developed great loyalties to the Church and its priest.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLAN

Now, the City Council has set up a formal procedure for the acceptance of the latest general plan. They have appointed an advisory committee which is suppose to hold eight meetings with the West Side community. What stands out as being an ironical characteristic of this committee is that no resident from the West Side has been formally appointed to this committee.

The first few meetings of the Advisory Committee were well attended by the West Side community (100-150 people) however, this rapidly changed. The people attended the meeting optimistically hoping to voice their opinions. Yet, once they arrived at the meetings they discovered that it was given entirely in English without any translation or interpreter offered. Even the general plan was solely written in English. Because the majority of the residents monolingual, this type of procedure impedes their understanding and participation. Yet, the City Council seems to show little interest in changing this situation. The direction the Advisory Committee supports is well represented by one of their members, Ms. Teddy Tafoya, who is a resident of Chula Vista and is involved in the real estate business. At one meeting she stated that the West Side should be bulldozed for the area is blighted and should make way for progress. It was not until Ruben Rubio, four year resident of the West Side, we

went to the Town Council and brought to their attention the fact that the West Side residents were not represented on the Advisory Committee and at that moment he was arbitrarily appointed to the Committee. The community began to organize itself and appointed Jesse Ramirez to speak to the Town Council. Mr. Ramirez stressed that the residents of West Side National City are a dead set against the general plan. At the same time he demanded that the plan be translated into Spanish, which according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a legal right of Spanish speaking people. The advisory Committee stated that such a translation would cost over \$3,188 and hence, decided against such an expenditure.

In another meeting of the Town Council the residents of the West Side demanded that anything making reference to the destruction of the 600 Chicano houses, Kimble School, or St. Antonies Church be deleted from the general plan. What is interesting to observe is that after the eight meetings of the Advisory Committee have been held, by supposedly by May 8, the City Council has the option of approving or disapproving any recommendations that may be proposed. Through this procedure one can see who is in total control and who is fighting an endless battle for representation.

Upon the re-zoning of the West Side such commercial enterprises such as hotels, motels, restaurants, and other quick-stop places of business will be constructed at the sacrifice of the Chicano community and its political power.

A PETITION IS MADE

A petition is presently being circulated in the West Side community. Basically what the petition contains are two things: 1) that any reference to the destruction of Kimble School, St. Antonies Church, or residential housing be deleted from the general plan; and 2) that the area known as the West Side be re-zoned back into a residential area. MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) has already attained the signatures of 1,000 from the West Side. The Chicano community also intends to propose that the voting system be changed from one taken at large back to the ward system of voting. In which votes are taken according to blocks of concentration.

This whole issue is a classical one, which has consistently faced Chicanos, Latinos, Blacks, and Asians concentrated in one area, and hence perceived by the those ruling the government as a potential threat. Minorities and poor people are denied schools, and divided with the sole intention of weakening any potential power by destroying their basis of operation, the community.

It should be pointed out that in cases such as these, people are forced to react to the symptoms and not the real cause of their oppression. The real enemies are not the consultants, urban misplanners or even the tio tacos, but rather the governmental structure which allows such corruption to continue and which approves such misrepresentation. The continuous destruction of Chicano communities will not be stopped until the structure which supports it is destroyed!

UCSD Bookstore Serves Profit Motive

not Student Interests

Students often complain about being ripped-off by the prices at the bookstore. These complaints are more than justified. However, complaints do nothing to change a situation unless they are educated and well-directed complaints. Perhaps armed with some insights into the bookstore, with an awareness of why the bookstore makes students' wallets so easy to carry, students might do something to remedy the situation.

The book store is run for profit. This by itself is no revelation. Any operation must generate enough profit (surplus capital) to support its operations, and the expansion of its operations to meet the needs of its appropriate function. The function of the bookstore should be primarily to supply books to students at the lowest possible price. Although there is concern for providing books for students, it is a concern for providing books in the most profitable manner for the bookstore. This coming year the UCSD bookstore will make 1.5 million dollars. This is possible through a 50% price hike in the Gift department and a 10% mark-up on most items. The additional cost is attributed to gas and freight line prices.

Since the bookstore is not owned by the students (a mistake on the part of UCSD's first students), the profit is not under control of the students. Thus the use of profits to better services and to lower costs is not going to be the immediate concern of those who do control the profits of the bookstore.

The bookstore has already reached a level of self-sufficiency; there are plans developing for channeling profits outside of the bookstore. The UCSD community has not been allowed to see a complete audit of the bookstore, which is something that should not even have to be asked for. The records which reflect the actual net profit figures have not been made public. It is not impossible that profit has already been leaving the bookstore and as the regents are known to invest for example in South Africa, who knows the final consequences of the money gained from students' book purchases? The point is that students should demand a full dis-

closure of all bookstore records, not just some public relations statement to an advisory committee from a manager concerned with hiding the real figures.

The ripping-off of the student customers cannot be separated from the ripping off of the bookstore employees. Bookstore management claims that the prices are necessary to finance the bookstore operation, in effect to pay the wages of its employees. So when an employee buys a book at full price he/she is paying his/her own wage out of his/her own pocket - quite a bargain - but for whom?

All employees, students included, are forced to work during the spring break and are told that they will lose their jobs if they fail to do so; they are also asked to work extra hard, so that after the start of the quarter rush the managers can have a vacation. Students are classified as temporary employees. During the summer when the work is slower, they are let go; in fact sometimes their hours are cut back during the academic year when there is not enough work to keep them working at the levels of a beginning-of-the-quarter rush. In this situation students are least likely to protest management practices because their job is always unsure and there are always more students in need of a job. This threatens all employees at the bookstore.

The make-up of the bookstore employees also raises several questions. All higher administration positions in the bookstore are held by men. Women fill the lower-level positions under classifications that do not correspond to actual duties. Wages are kept low in comparison to the rest of the University and the store remains understaffed. The hierarchy of the store maintains an unfair division of labor which promotes individualism in the employees. This individualism is fostered by a patronizing attitude on the part of the management which promotes self-importance instead of group importance, and makes the employee identify with the employer's needs.

Although profits continue to rise, promotions and wage increases occur seldomly. One employee went four years without a promotion. A case in point is that of the cashiers who are classified as clerks

instead of being classified as cashiers as in the Central Cashiers' Office. Could it be because a cashier starts at a much higher wage level than a clerk?

Division of labor and an unnecessary hierarchy of management keeps students and all employees from becoming aware of how profit is made, and what becomes of it. It might be said that the very motivation for profit determines the division of labor, that is, it creates a need for separating employees from a knowledge of the bookstore which might lead to demands for change. (Maybe they would find out just how much of the management is unnecessary.)

Armed with these facts, students should demand that all profit generated from the different operations at the bookstore first be used only to lower the costs of books and subsequently to provide non-essential items at reduced costs. If it is economically possible to produce a profit then it is economically possible to turn that profit right back to the customers. There is no need for a university bookstore to profit off its customers, the students. Operations are simple enough that all employees could interchange jobs. In this way they could gain a knowledge of the whole bookstore, and thus be in a position to act on behalf of all students and employees. They could be invested with the power, along with some organized element of the student body and other university employees, to control the bookstore's profit, to make sure that all profits contribute to a lowering of book prices. Their control should not be that of advisors, but as final decision makers, as this is the only guarantee of their interests being met.

We do not need a profit maximizing department store; the community which will invade UCSD all too soon will provide for the students non-book needs. What we need is for the book store to fulfill its function and as cheaply as possible.

So the next time you are walking to class, maybe after having punched out your time card so that your university minimum wage can be calculated to the hundredth of an hour and you are wondering how you are going to pay for your books next quarter - and you notice the bookstore manager near the gym on an extended lunch, enjoying a game of volleyball - don't fail to connect a few things from this article, and do something.

-Rafael Arroyo

Baraka Talks at S.D. State

Although Prensa Popular does not support movements within the United States based primarily on ethnicity or national identification rather than on class struggle against capitalism, we offer the following report as an informative article on developments within the Black movement.

At the same time Prensa Popular recognizes that in the U.S. race, to a great extent determines class.

Imamu Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People and noted Black cultural nationalist, spoke Friday, April 26th, at San Diego State University.

Baraka's speech signalled a new turn in Black nationalist ideology. He outlined the changes that are being made in the previously politically conservative Black nationalist ideology of the Congress of Afrikan People and its current views on

Black liberation.

Clarifying the meaning of Black liberation, Baraka stated, "When we talk of Black liberation we're talking about revolution. Because there is no way that we will ever be liberated unless there is a revolution here in North America."

Baraka talked on the need for a clear ideology that could give Black people identity and realistic political direction, as he stated,

"Ideology is a coherent body of ideas and facts that first has to explain to you who you are, why you are doing what you're doing and how you can stop doing that and do something better."

Detailing the history of Black involvement in the American system, Baraka stated why Black people have not been able to develop a consis-

The Chicano Struggle in Marxist Perspective - Guest Review

Prensa Popular presents below a review of a Chicano Symposium on the National Question at Irvine on February 23. Prensa will present its own views on the National Question with reviews of the next conference on Marxism and the Chicano to be held on May 18, at UCLA.

A symposium entitled "The Chicano Struggle in Marxist Perspective" was held recently at the University of California at Irvine. Although the gathering was not large or well publicized, it was significant in that it was an indication of the growing importance of radical consciousness among Chicano activists, particularly in California. The bulk of the presentations were made by representatives of various political organizations, after which there was a lively general discussion.

The first presentation was given by Lorenzo Torres, representing the Communist Party. He made a sharp attack on the two-party system, characterizing it as an obstacle to Chicano liberation. The general tone of his remarks, however, were very much in line with the standard Communist Party position of playing down the importance of nationality or national consciousness and stressing the situation of Chicanos as part of the working class.

Antonio Rodriguez, active with Los Tres del Barrio, spoke on the need for Chicanos to develop closer ties with Latin America. He felt that the best way of developing an international and anti-imperialist perspective on the part of Chicanos is to stress the similarity between the position of Chicanos and that of Latin America in relation to American capitalism. He also argued that it was best to develop class consciousness on the part of Chicanos while struggling around such national issues as the Farah strike and the Farmworkers Union. At the same time, he emphasized the necessity of distinguishing this combined class and national struggle from the nationalism of Chicano small capitalists whose interests lie with the preservation of the existing class structure in the United States.

Juan Gomez, a history professor at UCLA, followed up with a relatively brief statement on the necessity for having the Chicano national struggle led by the progressive working class rather than by elements of the small capitalists ("petty bourgeoisie"). He also mentioned the need for a new working-class party in the U.S. that would include Chicanos as an important component. He criticized the Communist Party for its lack of relevance to the

Chicano struggle and for failing to organize the Chicano worker effectively.

Rogelio Reyes, of the Socialist Workers Party, read a statement supporting the farmworkers which was pitched at a very elementary level, covering in considerable detail many points which are common knowledge to anyone familiar with the Chicano movement. He concluded with a somewhat tortured argument that the farmworkers' demands were objectively revolutionary although on the surface reformist, because the system would not be able to grant them without causing severe economic dislocations. This argument was challenged by several speakers from the floor.

The most interesting presentation of the day was made by Jimmy Franco of the Congreso Obrero and the Labor Committee. He began by criticizing the existing socialist parties for not carrying out a concrete analysis of the Chicano reality in the Southwest, and for basing their ideological positions on abstract principles and vague impressions. Such questions as whether Chicanos are a nation must be handled objectively, on the basis of research, and dialectically, recognizing changes over time. The Labor Committee's approach has been to investigate whether Chicanos in fact meet the criteria for a nation as set down by Lenin and especially Stalin, i.e. a common language, territorial base, economic life, psychological make-up, and culture. While their research was not complete, Franco indicated a tentative conclusion that Chicanos effectively met the criteria and therefore should be considered a nation and accorded full rights of self-determination.

Franco also mentioned in his presentation that the Labor Committee was in touch with other Chicano labor collectives in the Southwest and that there had been discussion of forming a new revolutionary party that would serve the needs of Chicanos where other socialist parties have failed.

Cruz Olmeda, of the August 29th Movement and the Labor Committee, concluded the presentations with a discussion of Chicano culture. He said that the full development of Chicano culture could take place only under socialism, in the absence of the distortions and deprivations imposed on Chicanos by capitalist society and the

capitalist media.

In general, the most coherent presentations were made by the speakers associated with the Labor Committee. Juan Gomez's remarks, while relevant, were somewhat limited in scope. The other presentations were marred to varying degrees by vagueness, confusion, rhetoric, or dogmatism. One of the encouraging aspects of the symposium was that it showed a more sophisticated understanding of the traditional Marxist-Leninist analysis of the national question than has been true at other conferences. Nevertheless, there remain several important weaknesses in the kinds of analysis that is being done. There is still a marked sectarianism, a tendency to adopt rigid positions which are considered "correct" while all others are labelled revisionist, opportunist, non-dialectical, or whatever. Closely related to this is a tendency to consider traditional Marxist-Leninist writings as sacred texts to be applied rather than as an aid to the interpretation of changed circumstances. There is also an over-reliance on Marxist theory on the national question rather than on actual practice in socialist countries, and an unwillingness to recognize that theory and practice can and have diverged. Another weakness in some of the analyses has to do with the over-simplification involved in arguing that the Chicanos must be considered as simply part of the working class. This position underemphasizes the special role that national minorities have played in relation to the rest of the working class and to the economy as a whole (e.g. in being relegated to the hardest and lowest-paid jobs, in giving elasticity to the labor supply without inconveniencing white workers, and as a means of dividing the working class). This position also ignores the existence of a small but active group of Chicano small capitalists and petty bureaucrats, who play an important role in controlling and managing the rest of the Chicano population.

There will be another symposium relating to Marxism and the Chicano soon, this one to be held on the UCLA campus on Saturday, May 18. This symposium, however, will feature presentations by spokesmen from specific organizations.

the end of the British mandate, Zionist forces began to attack areas in Palestine allocated to the Arabs by the U.N. In this same period, the whole population, 254, of Deir Yassin, an Arab village was slaughtered by Israeli terrorist gangs. Shortly afterward, the Haggansh, the official Zionist army attacked the Arab working class quarter in Haifa and drove out its inhabitants; from the 25th to the 28th of April, 1948, Zionist forces attacked the Arab town of Yafa. The town's being heavily bombarded for three days resulted in many casualties.

This was the background of events prior to the declaration of the Zionist state in Palestine. So, in the face of mounting Israeli pressure on

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ISRAELI "WARS"

Arab territory, and uncertainty about Britain's willingness to uphold the U.N. resolution and the Arab's rights, the Arab armies intervened. On May 15th the Arab armies entered Arab territory in order to repel any possible Israeli attack against Arab villages. These armies had specific orders 1) Not to enter any area allotted by the U.N. to the Jewish state, and 2) Not to enter the International zone of Jerusalem. These Arab forces, contrary to propaganda and myth were fewer in number than the Israelis. Between Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and recently independent Syria, the total Arab troops were 20,500. These troops were confronted by the Israeli Palmach, founded in 1941, veterans of WWII and 4000 strong, the main Israeli army - 55,000 strong, and the two terrorist gangs, Irgun and Stern. The total Israeli forces came to 65,000 troops supported by sophisticated weapons and a powerful B-17 bomber force. So contrary to the general belief that the Arab armies were ready to smash the young state of Israel, they

were there to defend their territories from further Israeli expansion as explained by Menachim Begin in his book, The Revolt; the objective was to occupy all the land west of the Jordan.

The outcome of the war was military victory for the Israeli army which still occupied more territory than was allotted to it by the U.N. and the creation of one million landless Palestinians.

The situation didn't suffice for the Zionists, they anxiously annexed more territory after the 1948 war, in the Negev desert, in the Jordan Valley and in the Tiberias area on the Syrian border.

Less than a decade later, Israel was to pursue its expansionist policy through a second war. This time, however, the war was being planned very far away from the Arab world. The background of the 1956 "Suez Crisis" as it is called was the coming to power of Nasser in Egypt and his very strong anti-imperialist determination, not only within Egypt, thru nationalization of foreign investments, etc. . .

but in other small nations that were struggling for their independence and most important (for this analysis)--Algeria. The Algerian people, in 1956, had been engaging the French colonial forces for over two years and they were receiving great support from Egypt, both political/psychological and material, in the form of weapons and monies. Nasser's speeches and actions were generating a torrent of national anti-imperialist fervor in the Arab world and other Third World nations.

This situation was very irksome to the French and British who, at this time, were still largely involved in the pillage of the world. What France and Britain were waiting for-- an opportunity to get rid of Nasser--came to them in July 1956, when in a public speech that

moved the Arab world to cheers, Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez canal. This shock was more than France and England could absorb. The Suez Co. removed its pilots from the Canal in hope of obstructing and slowing international shipping. This didn't work, however, for the Egyptian pilots, that this same company would not hire previously, were able to do the job much more efficiently than than previously. This deprived France and Britain of a reason for intervention. Another reason had to be sought to legitimize their intervention to repossess the Canal and hopefully get rid of Nasser and at the same time the Algerian revolution.

The perfect plan was to enlist the help of Israel. This would come in the form of an Israeli attack against Egypt and the engagement of Egyptian troops in the Canal zone. Since this action would cause interference with shipping in the Canal, France and Britain would issue an ultimatum to both Egypt and Israel to pull their troops back to 10 miles on either side of the Canal, thereby taking the Canal away from Egyptian control and putting it back in French and British hands. Plans for the operation were made at "Villa Coublay" in France where Ben-Gurion of Israel met Guy Mollet of France and other British officials.

The Plans called for 1) Israeli attack of Sinai in order to reach the vicinity of the Canal 2) A British Air Force attack of Egyptian air fields and army bases. The operation would provide a daily warning to other Arab nations who might consider coming to the help of Egypt, 3) The purpose of the Anglo-French landing would be to "assure freedom of the Canal" from warring parties i.e. Israel and Egypt.

These were the plans which contained certain presuppositions, as did many other Western Israeli plans about the Arab world, which proved erroneous. The Anglo-French side supposed that Egypt would give in to a cease fire. This did not happen. When Israel attacked the Sinai, 40,000 Egyptian troops pulled back to the Canal area; there they joined, unexpectedly, with popular resistance organizations in Port Said, Ismailia and other towns. The Anglo-French onslaught from battleships, air bombings and paratroop landings. Yet Egypt didn't opt for a cease fire, instead the fight continued thru November, 1956. The Anglo-French attack was slow in its attempt to capture the Canal zone and when finally a cease fire was agreed upon (after Soviet threats of intervention and U.S. pressure) the European onslaught had reached a point half way down the Canal. Subsequently thru U.N. resolutions Israel had to withdraw from Sinai, a withdrawal that Ben Gurion did his best to prevent by trying very hard to make the world believe that the Sinai was occupied by a clear Israeli victory that had nothing to do with the Anglo-French attack. In this, he failed. The end

result was withdrawal of Anglo-French troops from Egypt and restoration of the rights of the Egyptian people to control their own Canal. Nasser remained president of Egypt, the Algerian revolution against the French colonialists succeeded and mass national movements in the Arab world arose.

This rise in nationalism culminated in a union between Egypt and Syria, a nationalist republican government in Iraq, a republican revolution in Yemen (north) and the creation of the Palestinian National Movement in 1965. The last two elements are very crucial in regards to the 6-day War of June, 1967, but not the only ones.

The situation in Jordan was becoming very critical for the puppet King Hussein, who is maintained there by U.S. help and support. The Palestinian movement was growing stronger and it was rallying behind it the majority of the Jordanians against King Hussein's policy. The U.S. was not willing to withdraw its support to Hussein for this would have meant a closer reliance and association of Jordan with the progressive Arab states, mainly, Egypt and Syria. To minimize the threat they assumed such a development would pose, "the Israelis have promised in the event of a Jordanian disruption to occupy the Jordan west bank, which is what was left to the Palestinians from the 1948 war."

The other political development was in Syria. In 1963, the Baath Arab Socialist Party took power in Syria and went on a very extensive Socialist militant policy within Syria and an anti-imperialist policy without. By 1967 the Baath had given a great amount of support to the Palestinian commandos operating from Syria against Israeli territory. And the Syrians, both government and people, were committed to the Palestinian cause. This created another threat to Israel because the Baath ideology was spreading to neighboring nations in the Arab world. In Egypt, the tide of nationalism and support for the Palestinians was still in full swing, but more important than that was Egyptian military involvement in the revolution in Yemen. This involvement was a threat mostly to the U.S. oil interests and to the revisionist King of Saudi Arabia.

These were the conditions that Israel faced in 1967. It's policy and major item on the agenda was the destruction of the Socialist-militant government in Syria and the institution of a government that would hinder the Palestinian guerrilla movement from Syria. In May, 1967, there were Israeli troop concentrations on the Syrian border and Israel voiced its threats against the Syrians in Damascus. The alarmed Syrians called on Egypt, with whom they had a mutual defense pact. Egypt, in order to alleviate the pressure on Syria, ordered the U.N.E.F. removed from its

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Israel's Four "Wars" A Review

Since October 6, 1973 a popular expression has been coined by the U.S. media regarding the conflict in the Arab world. This expression is "Israel's four wars." No attempt, however, has been made by this media toward explaining the background of these wars. A look at conditions in Palestine is required. In 1948, Britain held a mandate over Palestine which began after WWI. During this time Britain's mission in Palestine was to be a delegate from the League of Nations-- a civilizing mission for the Arab people and to help them through the hard path of independence and self determination. What Britain did instead was to

help create, in the heart of the Arab world, a Zionist state supported by the wealthy world Jewry and other European nations.

When Britain's mandate over Palestine was nearing its end, the United Nations sent an enquiry commission to the area. This commission on August 31, 1947 submitted a report recommending the partitioning of Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish. At the time the Arab population constituted two thirds of the inhabitants of Palestine and the Arab individuals holding of land, including state domain was 94% of Palestine.

In April 1948, one month before

NEWS BRIEFS

Latin America

The Inter-American Development Bank provided record financial assistance totaling \$884 million in 1973 to Latin American member nations, according to an annual report of the bank. The money was used to fund electric power projects (24%), agriculture (21%), industry and mining (19%), transportation and communications.

South Africa

The South African government is now proceeding to exchange atomic secrets with other Western powers. If a research unit in the Transvaal is successful in developing a technique for producing enriched uranium, South Africa would be able to manufacture nuclear bombs. This technique would enable them to do this without the use of a nuclear reactor--which they do not have. One of the main participants in this exchange of nuclear information is Israel.

The 1.6 million white South Africans returned to the ballots last week, again, excluding the 18,750,000 Black Africans from exercising voting rights. Prime Minister John Vorster called the elections 18 months early to bolster support for his apartheid racial policy because of the growing criticisms. Results of the election showed an insignificant gain for the Progressives and white South Africans strongly supporting Vorster's harsh segregationist, elitist one-party system.

ZIMBABWE

In testimony before the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, Noel Mukono, Foreign Secretary for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) charged that the White minority government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia is using biological warfare in its fight against Zimbabwe guerrillas. Mukono charged that Rhodesian forces had deliberately contaminated water supplies in the northeastern part of the country with cholera bacteria and then refused to treat the local population when they became infected.

Britain

Two men have claimed that they were blackmailed by British Intelligence into working for them by infiltrating the I.R.A. for the expressed purpose of informing and to "stir up trouble in the Irish Republic, thereby forcing Dublin to crack down on terrorist sanctuaries." Kenneth Littlejohn, a convicted bank robber, is still at large. Kenneth Lennon, active in the 1969 Ulster demonstrations, was found dead only three days after divulging his story to the National Council for Civil Liberties. Lennon stated he was paid \$50 a month, was directed to drink at a specific pub and was required to report regularly to his contact at Scotland Yard.

CHINA

China's grain output last year was the highest in history, reaching 250 million tons. The figure was double that in the early period of Communist rule, when China produced 110 million tons.

Niger

A military coup has toppled the Niger government which was established in 1960 when independence was gained from France. Although blame is attributed to the drought and resultant hardships, it is all too clear that France has capitalized on the discontent caused by the drought and actively encouraged the overthrow. Early last year France's monopoly on the Niger uranium mines was broken and the explorative contract given to a Canadian firm. The new Niger government has reopened uranium negotiations with the French.

Brazil

Nearly 100 persons have been arrested in Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte, in a new roundup by Brazilian security forces. Most of those arrested are students, professors, lawyers and journalists. Some sources said the total number may be as high as 200. Students have been critical of the University of Sao Paulo, particularly of the changes in the curriculum; the Humanities have been sacrificed to turn out engineers and technicians, consequently, the departments of history and geography are rapidly being cut back.

Brazil's support of the Portuguese intervention in Africa constitutes part of Brazil's plan to expand its economy. According to the Brazilian Information Bulletin, Brazil is intent on gaining control of the South Atlantic in the form of controlling the shipping lanes. Once established, this would allow Brazil to exploit trade possibilities such as developing markets for Brazilian manufactured goods (cars, etc.) and to further monopolize the world coffee market. Angola, due to its colonial situation grows the cheapest coffee in the world.

NORTH VIETNAM

"To continue the war in a different manner" is the assignment of U.S. Ambassador to Saigon, Graham Martin, the North Vietnamese daily Nhan Dan charged in early April. For example, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency airline, Air America is currently being used to transport North Vietnamese troops captured by South Vietnamese forces. The CIA denied this was a violation of the cease fire agreement which says, "The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam."

Philippines

The Philippine government has proposed the formulation of government media policy and the institution of a licensing system for all Philippine newsmen. The replacement of self-regulatory bodies for a review council authorized by the government was proposed. Information Secretary Francisco Tatad stated: "I believe that our mass media must increasingly be adaptive to the structure of our society, which means that they must be extra sensitive to the force of the national environment and so become something entirely different from their counterparts in other societies." The Philippines have been under martial law since September, 1972.

VENEZUELA

President Carlos Andres Perez has just completed nationalizing major steel, food and retail enterprises in Venezuela. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel are the two world's largest steel producers. CADA represents the biggest food chain store in Venezuela and is Rockefeller owned. Sears is one of the larger U.S. monopolistic corporations in Venezuela.

IRAN

Fierce fighting was reported last week in northern Iraq between Iraqi government forces and Kurdish secessionist guerrilla units; with the latter scoring several successes, according to Turkish sources quoted by Reuters. Three Iraqi divisions have been moved into the Kurdish areas, according to Arab reports quoted by the Associated Press. The Iraqi government April 10 accused the U.S. and neighboring Iran of supplying "massive military assistance" to the Kurds. Iranian and U.S. spokesmen issued denials.

CHILE

Junta leaders are continuing to root out all traces of opposition via their prison system and through the use of midnight arrests. Torture is, by common consent, a tool of the government's newly centralized intelligence apparatus. It's most common forms are electric shock and beatings; with women prisoners, multiple rape has been used to force confessions. In the name of restoring economic stability, the regime has prohibited strikes and recalled politically opposed management in the mines. Nearly all the U.S. corporate properties nationalized previously have been returned, meanwhile, Peru and Venezuela are nationalizing U.S. properties.

U.S.

Public health workers engaged in a lead-screening project among Headstart children have found the first documented cases of lead poisoning in children in Los Angeles County. Since the project began 18 months ago,

NEWS BRIEFS

4,000 children (low-income) have been tested, 100 of whom were found to have excessive blood lead levels. The lead levels in 35 of the 100 children were high enough to require hospitalization and immediate treatment with chelating drugs which remove the lead.

2 million children of migrant farm workers in the U.S. are not being reached by special education programs designed to help them, according to Dr. Lee Lopez, California's director of the program. There are an estimated 2.5 million migrant children in the nation. In the last five years, these programs which were designed to provide young migrants with educational, nutritional and medical assistance have reached only 500,000 children.

Exxon and Texaco, the nation's two largest oil companies recently announced record first quarter profits for 1974. They made more money selling fewer gallons of petroleum products than in 1973. These statements were announced one day after Gulf and Standard Oil of Indiana reported first quarter increases of more than 75% each. Other small firms, likewise, disclosed significantly higher first quarter profits. Exxon profits jumped 38% from \$508 million in 1973 to \$705 million in the same quarter in 1974. Texaco's first quarter

ISRAELI 'WARS' Cont. from Page 7

own territory in the Sinai, moved 60,000 troops in--and closed the Straits of Tiran and the oil line of Israel (which goes thru Arab national waters). The Israeli public reaction was, as usual, very loud and accusations were made that the Arabs were about to attack Israel and "throw the Jews into the sea," but Israeli plans for attack on Syria and her neighbors were not altered. Nasser didn't even plan on a war. To him this was merely a political move to discourage the Israeli's from more aggression against Arab land.

On June 5, 1967, Israel attacked Egypt. Taken by surprise, the Egyptian airforce was destroyed on the ground and the Egyptian troops in the Sinai, without air cover, were easy picking for Israeli pilots. In Jordan, which had then recently acquired some U.S. made jets (F-104 dating from the late 50's), a decision was made to fly the planes to Turkey so that they would not be destroyed by Israeli action. Israeli forces did not attack Jordan until most of the fighting in the Sinai was over. The brunt of the Israeli Army was thrown against the small Jordanian Army, then numbering 40,000. Syria did not even participate in the war in the first three days. On the fourth day

profits reflected a 123% increase over the same quarter last year. Worldwide sales rose 97% to \$4.9 billion, up from \$2.5 billion a year ago.

PUERTO RICO

The colonial government of San Juan, Puerto Rico plans to reduce the total population of this island by more than one million by the year 1985.

So it says in a study title "Opportunities for Employment, Education and Training," prepared by three cabinet members in the government of Gov. Hernandez Colon and the former president of the University of Puerto Rico.

The main task set forth in this study supposedly is to "reduce unemployment on the island to 5 percent by 1985." The authors agree that the "organized" migration of thousands of Puerto Ricans and a vast program of birth control are the two key ways to reach the desired goal. The (natural) total population of Puerto Rico by 1985 would be about 3.3 million the authors calculate, but they propose to limit it to about 2.2 million by using the two methods outlined.

The report reveals what had been known for several years--that 33 percent of the female population of reproductive age

Israel mounted a massive air attack on the Syrian heights and the day after, Israeli troops breached two front line defenses on these heights. The Syrian leftist government taking into account the original Israeli threats against it decided to pull the Syrian troops around its capital, Damascus, in order to preserve the regime and announced the fall of the city Quneitra on the heights about six hours before the Israeli's actually arrived there.

The outcome was an electrifying jolt in the Arab world. But Israeli designs once again failed. Their political objective for the fall of the radical government in Syria did not come thru and their hopes of the dismissal from office of president Nasser did not materialize when, literally, millions of Egyptians demanded their leader to remain in power and continue the fight. Only in Jordan, it seems that Israel was able to accomplish some accommodations with King Hussein and his U.S. supporters. These accommodations cumulated in the massacre, by the Jordanian army of 5,000 Palestinians in September, 1970, where the name of the organization "Black September" came. The sweeping military victory by Israel did not achieve the hoped for subjugation of the Arab masses. The Arab people (students, workers and others) again showed their support to

have been permanently sterilized. That is, of 485,948 women--not including the female residents in San Juan, the capital--160,363 are sterilized. Among the rest, some 75,000 are in the process of receiving contraceptive "education."

"Population control is a problem of such great dimensions and importance for the country that it can't be left up to the Health Department," the study says. On the other hand, the study says, the island's Administration for Economic Development wants to create 98,000 jobs between 1973-1985. In order to attain this, what will be needed is a new incentive system for light industry that will include help with respect to buildings, equipment, transportation and more.

The study also foresees "the complete revision of incentives, particularly in the law regarding (government) contributions (to businesses) to subsidize salaries. . . ." Here the study cites one possible argument against government payments: "It is possible that if the workers learn that industrial salaries are subsidized by the government, they might demand higher salaries--which of course would halt the effect of the subsidy."

The article above is an excerpt from Claridad, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party and translated from Spanish by the Guardian.

the Palestinians and their just cause.

BOYCOTT BOX.....WORKERS STRUGGLES
Wolf Bags wine
GALLO WINE
FRANZIA WINE
GRAPES
ICEBERG LETTUCE
SAVON
SAFEGWAY
COORS BEER
OLYMPIA BEER
SAN MIGUEL BEER
SEARS
PORTUGUESE AND CHILEAN PRODUCTS
CASHEWS
GULF OIL

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Contradictions Within Peronism Polarize Argentina

by Juan Corradi

A little over a year ago, on March 11, 1973, general elections were held in Argentina in which a Peronist-led coalition, FREJULI¹

¹ Justicialist liberation Front. An electoral coalition of 25 organizations led by Peron's Justicialist Party. It won the elections with 52% of the vote.

won the presidency. Hector J. Cámpora, FREJULI candidate, became president on May 25. The FREJULI platform was a program of "national reconstruction" based on what came to be known as a "social pact" between capital and labor signed between the General Economic Confederation² and

² An association of small and medium-size businessmen. Jose Gelbard, present economic minister, was president of this association. In the past, the CGE has opposed the other businessmen's organization, the Argentine Industrial Union (UIA) which represented the interests of large businessmen, associated with foreign capital. Recently, however, the two organizations have merged in a single group. This fusion of the two previously antagonistic groups means that the contradiction between national and foreign monopoly capital is no longer important, or, to put it differently, that imperialism has completed its domination over the national bourgeoisie.

the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). This program is fundamentally based on developmentalist theories. It seeks to implement reforms without challenging property relations, and by no means fulfills the aspirations of most of the people who voted for the Peronists in 1973. In accordance with the program, as soon as Cámpora became president, prices were rolled back on most basic items, workers wages were raised 20%, controls were placed on foreign investment and bank deposits were nationalized. Plans were also drafted to form state monopolies of grain and meat exports that are presently controlled by local private and foreign groups. On the international level, Argentina established diplomatic relations with Cuba and other socialist nations, and trade relations were widened with socialist governments. What was significant during this initial phase of the Peronist administration was not the content of the programs but the man-



Peron feared the mobilization of the masses more than his own overthrow.

ner in which they were implemented. President Cámpora relied on representatives of the left forces in the Peronist movement to carry out the reforms and he encouraged mass participation. Mobilizations became frequent and were used as instruments of power. Political prisoners were freed and police records on political activists were ordered destroyed. A Marxist, Rodolfo Puiggrós, was placed at the head of the University of Buenos Aires. The political activities of the Armed forces were placed under the Ministry of War. On the provincial level, several Peronist governors pursued essentially the same tactics employed by Cámpora on the federal level. The governors of Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Mendoza in particular, also sponsored mass participation and supported the actions of the Peronist left, especially the Peronist youth, formed about three years ago as a merger of several smaller groups within the Peronist movement. The Peronist Youth has a nation-wide structure and works closely with armed Peronist groups. These armed groups had been instrumental in challenging the rule of the military, in organizing successful guerrilla operations, and in providing leadership to popular insurrections from 1969 to the present.³

³ The principal armed groups operating in Argentina are: FAP (Peronist Armed Forces), formed in 1968. This group works closely with the Peronist Youth and emphasizes the task of organizing the workers; PAR (Revolutionary Armed Forces), a group founded in 1966 to follow Che into Bolivia and which has now merged with the third major armed group in the Peronist movement, Montoneros, which first appeared in 1970 when they

executed General Aramburu who headed the first military regime after the overthrow of Peron (1955-1958). Operating outside the Peronist movement and presently outlawed in ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) formed in 1970 as the armed branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RPT), once member of the IVth International and openly critical of Peronism. This group has continued to carry out the most spectacular guerrilla operations against military garrisons and foreign executives.

The strength of popular mobilization under Cámpora brought a counter-offensive from the right which very shrewdly refrained from opposing Peronism and started acting inside the movement instead. The first major operation in this counter-offensive was carried out at the welcoming ceremonies for Juan Perón at the Buenos Aires International Airport on June 20, 1973. Approximately 3 million people, led by the Peronist Youth and by the Peronist armed organizations were fired upon by individuals acting as security forces under the orders of the ex-Colonel Osinde, a right-wing Peronist who works in close collaboration with the Minister of Social Welfare and Perón's personal secretary, Jose López Rega, whom the left has repeatedly accused of working for the CIA. The crisis that ensued forced Cámpora's resignation and a purge in the Cabinet. On July 13, Cámpora resigned and was replaced by provisional president Raul Lastiri, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies and López Rega's son-in-law. Key positions in government were then filled by old line, corrupt Peronist union bureaucrats and politicians. Cámpora's resignation was an internal coup staged by the right. New general elections were called for September 23, with Perón and his third wife, Isabelita, as presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively. The ticket won by a landslide and Perón became president on October 12. Since that day, the government has taken a sharp turn to the right. Left Peronists have been almost

entirely displaced from posts in the universities and on local, regional and national levels of government. Peronist militants have been jailed. Many of them have been kidnapped, tortured, and shot on the streets. New repressive legislation has been enacted that essentially reproduces the law-and-order measures of previous military regimes. Militant worker strikes have also been repressed and union officials have launched a virulent campaign of anti-communism, trying to define radical Peronist militant

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España La Dictadura y El Pueblo

El año 1973 tuvo un final trágico para la clase dominante española: el jefe del gobierno, almirante Carrero Blanco, considerado como el hombre clave del franquismo, moría violentamente. Una mina antitanque había sido colocada bajo su automóvil, que fue a parar a la terraza de un edificio cercano. La organización revolucionaria socialista vasca de liberación nacional (E.T.A.) se atribuyó a los pocos días la responsabilidad del atentado y declaraba: "Los trabajadores de todos los pueblos de Euzkadi (país vasco) de España, de Cataluña y de Galicia, todos los demócratas revolucionarios y antifascistas del mundo entero se han visto librados de un enemigo importante."

La muerte de la "sombra de Franco" provocó una profunda crisis y un intento de toma de poder por los grupos de ultraderecha. La crisis fue controlada y a los pocos días se restableció la continuidad franquista. Franco nombraba un nuevo Jefe de Gobierno: Arias Navarro, antiguo ministro del interior, conocido por su fidelidad al franquismo y por sus brutales métodos represivos. El primer discurso del Jefe de Gobierno ante las Cortes - especie de Parlamento donde la mayoría de los miembros son designados por Franco o por el Gobierno - tuvo un carácter sorprendente; por primera vez después del fin de la guerra civil (1939) un gobierno franquista hablaba de elecciones democráticas para la administración civil, de asociaciones políticas, de sindicatos de clase.

Para un país donde las libertades mínimas - expresión, asociación, manifestación - están absolutamente prohibidas, el discurso significaba una voluntad de cambio hacia instituciones democrático-burguesas. La ilusión duró poco: Arias Navarro hablaba "con flores en los labios y puñales en el corazón". A un mes del discurso más de 140 luchadores antifascistas habían sido detenidos y encarcelados por actividades políticas.

El 2 de marzo era ejecutado en Barcelona el joven anarquista catalán Salvador Puig Antich; Puig había sido condenado a muerte por un tribunal militar que había basado su decisión en las pruebas presentadas por los miembros de la policía

política. Unos días después era asesinado por la Guardia Civil el militante obrero Cipriano Martos: las torturas a que había sido sometido le llevaron a la muerte. Un mes más tarde un militante vasco era muerto a tiros en el norte del país... ¿Qué situaciones económicas y sociales obligan a la clase dominante a practicar una represión constante, al mismo tiempo que promete reformas democráticas? ¿Cuál es la respuesta de los pueblos de España ante la política demagógica y represiva del gobierno?

EL "MILAGRO ECONÓMICO"

Una tasa anual de crecimiento económico del 8% durante los últimos años ha colocado a España en situación de ser considerada como un país industrial avanzado. La renta per cápita pasó de 300\$ anuales en 1957 a 1070\$ en 1972. El paso de un país agrícola y semi-feudal a un país industrializado ha sido muy rápido.

El mayor determinante de la expansión económica ha sido el elevado número de inversiones extranjeras



Que viva la E.T.A.

realizadas en el país. Las primeras inversiones extranjeras se producen al final de los años 50; en la década de los 60 el proceso se afirma definitivamente. Más del 50% del total de inversiones es de origen norteamericano y están dirigidas a las industrias bases: la electrónica, la química, el automóvil, la metalurgia están en gran parte controladas por los grandes monopolios yanquis. España se ve obligada a pagar más de 1000 millones de dólares anuales en concepto de patentes (royalties) a los monopolios internacionales: la dependencia tecnológica de la industria española con respecto al imperialismo yanqui es absoluta.

La penetración económica está acompañada de una no menos importante penetración militar. Existen en territorio español más de 30 instalaciones militares norteamericanas, ocupadas por más de 20,000 soldados yanquis. La presencia militar norteamericana no sólo pone en peligro la existencia misma del país, sino que también representa un apoyo definitivo, por parte del imperialismo, al mantenimiento de un gobierno fascista.

La emigración de obreros a la Europa occidental constituye igualmente un factor importante de la situación económica. Los trabajadores españoles en el extranjero representan casi un 10% de la población dedicada a actividades industriales. El gobierno estimula la emigración, ya que supone alejar el fantasma del desempleo y recibir al mismo tiempo una enorme cantidad de divisas, que los emigrados envían al país desde los países europeos.

El famoso "milagro económico", el desarrollo realizado bajo la impulsión del capital financiero internacional, en el curso de los últimos 13 años, ha sido posible gracias a una intensa explotación del proletariado interior y exterior. La burguesía y el Estado franquista han acumulado beneficios prodigiosos, abandonando problemas vitales, como la enseñanza o la seguridad social. El salario mínimo es de \$3 diarios aproximadamente; a principios del año 72, el gobierno reconocía que una familia de 4 personas necesitaba un mínimo de \$6.50 para cubrir sus necesidades. Los obreros y campesinos se ven obligados a emigrar del país o buscar otros trabajos complementarios, aumentando así en muchas horas la jornada semanal de 48. Por otra parte la desigualdad entre una España industrializada (Cataluña, País Vasco, Madrid) contrasta con grandes zonas de pobreza (Galicia, Andalucía). El boom del turismo tan sólo ha servido para enriquecer aún más a la oligarquía: tras los paraísos turísticos del sur de España se esconde la miseria de los campesinos andaluces.

AUGE DEL MOVIMIENTO OBRERO Y REVOLUCIONARIO

La derrota de la guerra civil (1936 - 1939) fue la derrta de la clase obrera y campesina; sus organizaciones destruidas, sus militantes físicamente aniquilados. La recuperación de esta derrota no se realizará hasta la década de los 60, en que los antiguos partidos se reorganizan y surgen nuevas organizaciones revolucionarias, todo ello coincidiendo con la expansión económica.

Los años 60 representan un aumento ininterrumpido de las luchas obreras, campesinas y estudiantiles. La represión ejercida por el gobierno fascista no puede impedir que la clase obrera desarrolle su propia organización de clase, las Comisiones Obreras, que le va a permitir luchar por sus intereses en contra de los sindicatos fascistas, impuestos por la patronal. Las primeras huelgas obreras tienen un carácter fundamentalmente económico, pero poco a poco se va dando un salto cualitativo hacia huelgas político-revolucionarias: en 1963 el 82% de los conflictos era de carácter salarial; en 1967 sólo el 12% sigue siendo de carácter salarial, mientras que el 51% son ya huelgas políticas, de solidaridad, contra la represión, por la amnistía de los presos políticos....

Una enumeración de algunas de las huelgas producidas desde el año 69 puede dar una idea de la combatividad de la clase obrera y de su alto grado de organización, en un país donde toda huelga es ilegal y toda manifestación es castigada con penas de cárcel: Febrero 1969, 15,000 obreros paran el trabajo en Euzkadi; Marzo 1970, huelga de la construcción en Sevilla; 2000 obreros despedidos; Julio 1970, Granada, huelga de los obreros de la construcción; la policía dispara y mata a cuatro obreros; Octubre 1971, Barcelona, huelga en el sector del automóvil: la policía dispara hiriendo a varios obreros; Marzo 1972, huelga en los astilleros de Ferrol (Galicia); dos obreros muertos y las tropas acuarteladas; Abril 1973, huelga y manifestación en un pueblo de Barcelona, una persona muerta por la policía. Otros sectores de la población, estudiantes y campesinos fundamentalmente, también toman parte en la lucha contra la dictadura. Las universidades españolas son un foco de agitación constante, que el gobierno pretende acallar con cierres, expulsiones, detenciones e incluso asesinatos: 5 estudiantes han muerto e los últimos años en en manos de la policía franquista.

La incorporación de las mujeres a la lucha, uniéndose sus reivindicaciones específicas como mujeres a sus reivindicaciones como miembros de una clase social explotada, constituye un factor importante en la lucha por una España socialista.

A pesar de la división política de la izquierda revolucionaria, la construcción de una amplia organización revolucionaria que canalice y dirija la lucha de todos los sectores anticapitalistas parece estar cercana.

Es preciso tener en cuenta que la lucha se realiza bajo duras condiciones represivas. Los tribunales franquistas imponen elevadas penas de cárcel a los militantes obreros. El hecho de pertenecer a un grupo político puede significar hasta 15 años de cárcel. En diciembre de 1973 fueron condenados en Madrid a 30 años de cárcel varios líderes de

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las Comisiones Obreras, acusados de "asociación ilícita". La policía política y la Guardia Civil actúan con toda inmundicia. Los detenidos son privados de abogados hasta 72 horas después de su detención. Los malos tratos, las torturas, el uso de electroshocks son métodos corrientes de la policía española. Sin olvidar las listas negras de los patronos, los despidos gratuitos... Por otra parte las numerosas prisiones del país se encuentran llenas de presos políticos en condiciones desastrosas.

UNA FEDERACIÓN SOCIALISTA DE PUEBLOS IBÉRICOS

El gobierno republicano contra el que se rebelaron los generales fascistas en el año 36 había reconocido las justas aspiraciones de los pueblos ibéricos: Cataluña, Euzkadi y Galicia gozaron de autonomía política y cultural. La victoria de Franco, apoyado por la Alemania Nazi, la Italia fascista y los grandes monopolios internacionales, significó la destrucción completa de las instituciones nacionalistas.

Cataluña, Euzkadi y Galicia se vieron nuevamente sometidos a un gobierno centralista que prohibía cualquier expresión nacional auténtica: hablar vasco, catalán o gallego estaba totalmente prohibido, el gobierno franquista negaba el derecho de autodeterminación a unos pueblos cuya lengua, cultura e historia son propias y distintas. La bandera de la independencia nacional fue retomada en los años 50 por grupos de carácter burgués, que deseaban independizarse del gobierno central para así desarrollar un capitalismo mas

State Mecha

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be set up through extra-legal methods. During this reorganization nation-wide militant activism within the Black and Chicano communities produced the necessary pressure and demands that led to the creation of Chicano Studies and other minority programs on the State campus.

Present plans to restructure MAS in order to convert it into a traditional department with all the "academic trappings," professionalism and elitism customary in an institution of higher education will in effect eliminate student control of the Chicano components on campus, destroy the autonomy of Chicano Studies and limit its coordination with San Diego Community Colleges.

Under its present status, MECHA (faculty, staff and students) have had virtual control of the department of MAS. MECHA had been allowed to screen and interview all applicants. Its decisions to hire and fire all MAS faculty have always been rubber-stamped by the Administration.

Its practice of salary-sharing has permitted them to split a teaching position among several student-instructors. MECHA has encouraged innovations in teaching by allowing classes to meet outside the university-assigned rooms, by permitting student self-grading and by introducing new teaching methodology.

Student participation under MECHA coordination of Chicano Studies has been the basis of its success. The Department has allowed for full par-

moderno - Cataluña y Euzkadi son las zonas más industriales del país. El aumento de la conciencia política de la clase obrera superó rápidamente el estrecho marco del nacionalismo burgués, convirtiéndolo, sobre todo en Euzkadi, en un movimiento nacional revolucionario de carácter socialista, que ve como condición necesaria para su independencia la alianza con todo el proletariado español y la destrucción del sistema capitalista. Así, a mediados de la década del 60 nace la E.T.A. (Euzkadi y la Libertad) como expresión armada de la lucha del pueblo vasco contra el capitalismo vasco, aliado al franquismo. Desde el momento de su constitución la E.T.A. ha sido una pesadilla para la policía española, que a pesar de haber dado muerte a más de 20 de sus miembros no ha podido destruirla. En diciembre de 1969 los tribunales fascistas condenaban a muerte a 9 militantes de la organización. Acusados de haber dado muerte a un verdugo de la policía política. La solidaridad de los pueblos de España con los acusados impidió al gobierno llevar a cabo la sentencia. Así el movimiento obrero y popular reconocía la justicia de las luchas del pueblo vasco.

ticipation in curriculum and development, in departmental committees and in faculty meetings with the right to vote. Students have also had access to MAS files. A student co-chairs the MAS department with a faculty member.

MECHA is particularly concerned with what its new affiliation will mean in its struggle to retain the political essence of its classes. Since the Spring of 1973 when Chicano students, faculty and administrators met to re-evaluate their direction, MECHA decided after a series of intensive meetings, that the Chicano classes and programs should reflect the basic principle of class struggle.

To carry out this new directive, it set up study groups and specifically stipulated that participation in a study group was to be the basis for voting in MECHA.

Legally, however, the Administration does not recognize student input into department affairs nor does it acknowledge approval of student teaching and salary sharing. In other words, the Administration can place MAS under the College of Arts and Letters in spite of MECHA's recent vote against this administrative reshuffling. This administrative move will eliminate all student involvement and control of the MAS

department and will redirect its programs and goals.

Recent State University decisions relating to the MAS Department indicate the university's attempts to make MAS "a legitimate area of study" within the institution are eliminating the department's illusory autonomy. The following points illustrate some of the concrete action initiated by the state university which reflects its conservative direction, representative of the over-all reactionary trend of the ruling class and its state machinery.

a) The University attempted to cut back MAS faculty positions for the academic year 1973-74.

b) In the spring of 1973 the University attempted to take one-half time of the MAS secretary and place it in the Centro de Estudios Chicanos. The department refused to comply.

Las dificultades del gobierno no se reducen a los movimientos nacionalistas o al movimiento obrero. La iglesia, que había sido uno de los soportes ideológicos del franquismo, se encuentra en un período de aguda crisis y de oposición al franquismo. Los curas jóvenes luchan juntos a los obreros y estudiantes. La lucha del clero antifascista alcanzó un momento importante hace unos meses, cuando los curas detenidos en la prisión especial de Zamora, por motivos políticos, se declararon en huelga de hambre, como protesta por la situación en que se encontraban. El mes pasado, el obispo de Bilbao era detenido por haberse atrevido a decir que el pueblo vasco se ve privado de sus derechos fundamentales.

La figura casi mítica de Franco actúa todavía como fuerza unificadora de muchas fuerzas políticas reaccionarias; su muerte y la restauración de la monarquía bajo el príncipe Juan Carlos de Borbon, que tendrá lugar una vez desaparecido Franco, pueden significar un aumento de las dificultades de una oligarquía que basa su poder en la alianza con el imperialismo norteamericano y la represión constante del pueblo.

c) Administrative offices dealing with the Chicano Studies department have not been willing to recognize the student co-chairperson. In one particular meeting before the Dean of Academic Administration and the Assistant Vice President of Academic Affairs to discuss the hiring of a faculty person, the student co-chairperson was reluctantly recognized after it was pointed out that he was the most involved and knowledgeable in personnel matters.

d) New faculty being hired are being brought in at lower faculty positions. People with the same academic background level hired in the fall of 1972 as Lecturer-Instructor, Step 5 were hired in the fall of 1973 at the level of Lecturer-Instructor, Step 1. In the past instructors were always at the level recommended by the Department.

e) The administration has also been checking up on both MAS staff and faculty to see if classes are being conducted, to inquire about their activities, to check their course content, and to check to see if they have reported to work.

f) Salaries have been cut back without consulting the department so that 1/4 time positions are now 1/5 time positions.

g) Changes in department curriculum projected for 1974-75 which include basic changes in the bilingual track, establishment of an Urban Studies track, redirection of core courses, development of a sequence of pre-requisites and other fundamental changes and additions will not appear in the 1974-75 catalog through administrative neglect and inefficiency which slowed down the curricular process.

h) The Administration's intentions to force Chicano Studies into a school or college, clearly points out that it will not allow a Department which is working against the State's interests to continue to exist uncontrolled.

These particular actions deal only with the MAS Department. However, when we examine the situation within the other components (specifically EOP) we find that the trend towards control is being manifested

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"Los Errores Que no Volveremos a Cometer"

Conversación con Carlos Altamirano

"Un movimiento revolucionario no puede contentarse con una mayoría electoral. El imperialismo no respeta el 50% de los votos. Hemos comprendido tarde que debíamos habernos armado."

Publicamos una entrevista con Carlos Altamirano, secretario general del Partido Socialista Chileno. Altamirano consiguió abandonar Chile a pesar del cerco de los militares; desde entonces se ha dedicado a organizar a las fuerzas democráticas en el exilio. Esta entrevista fue concedida al periódico italiano L'Espresso durante el último mes de marzo.

Pregunta. ¿Habría sido posible impedir el golpe? ¿Cuales son los errores que un nuevo gobierno popular no debería cometer?

Respuesta. El proceso desencadenado en Chile en setiembre de 1970 no estaba necesariamente destinado a terminar con una derrota militar. La posibilidad de la vía chilena al socialismo no se ha agotado con el golpe militar del 11 de setiembre de 1973. Existen actualmente esperanzas para el pueblo chileno. Si los errores que se han cometido hubiesen sido previstos y superados a tiempo, el curso de los acontecimientos hubiera sido distinto. La falta de una dirección política unitaria, así como las divergencias tácticas y la dispersión ideológica produjeron incoherencias en la gestión política y división entre los distintos elementos que participaban en el gobierno de Unidad Popular. Igualmente faltaba una política militar; no era lógico ni consecuente basar el éxito de un proceso revolucionario sobre la lealtad personal de algunos jefes militares, sobre sus sentimientos aparentemente legalistas, sobre tradiciones que formaban parte de la burguesía. La clase dominante no da demasiada importancia a la superestructura jurídica, su preocupación fundamental se centra en la perpetuación de la estructura económica y en la preservación de las relaciones de producción capitalistas. La clase dominante está dispuesta, cuando las circunstancias lo requieren, a romper con las tradiciones y a infringir las leyes que ella misma ha creado. Nuestra política militar habría tendido a crear un poder de disuasión; si hubiéramos conseguido este poder habríamos podido evitar el golpe militar y la guerra civil. La elección de caminos político-institu-



cionales, sin recurso a las armas, a través de los cuales la U.P. intentaba efectuar el paso al socialismo, no debiera haber descartado en ningún momento la posibilidad de una transformación en una lucha armada. Un movimiento revolucionario no puede contentarse con una mayoría electoral. El imperialismo no respeta el 51% de los votos. Este criterio debe estar presente cuando se quiere hacer una valoración adecuada de las fuerzas existentes en un momento dado.

P. ¿Existe una coordinación entre las fuerzas antigolpistas?

R. Si, al nivel de la U.P.; aunque todavía no existe al nivel de todas las fuerzas políticas y sociales democráticas y antifascistas. Es un proceso que requiere tiempo, voluntad unitaria, magnanimidad y generosidad para olvidar el pasado y trabajar con optimismo hacia el futuro.

P. ¿El objetivo de la lucha contra la junta tiende a reinstaurar la democracia parlamentaria, o a la realización de un sistema socialista semejante a los tradicionales?

R. No nos proponemos reinstaurar una democracia que ha sido demolida por la propia burguesía: construiremos un cuadro institucional distinto, que sea la expresión de la nueva realidad social y política.

P. ¿Pero acaso no se han cometido errores de valoración política respecto a los "partidos democráticos" que se encontraban en la oposición durante la presidencia de Allende?

R. Estos partidos han demostrado no ser democráticos: su antimarxismo los ha llevado al fascismo. Frei, por odio personal y por oportunismo político, y la mayoría de la D.C. se han convertido en cómplices del golpe militar. Es necesario reconocer que la U.P. y el Partido Socialista han contribuido, aunque no de manera determinante, debido a sus posiciones sectarias, a mantener la dirección de

la D.C. en manos de los sectores conservadores de la misma. La D.C., si quiere ser coherente con sus propios principios y con las clases sociales a que representa, terminará inevitablemente por enfrentarse a la junta fascista. De hecho ya ha sido enviada una carta de protesta al dictador Pinochet; la publicación del periódico de la D.C. ha sido suspendida por falta de garantías constitucionales. Solamente la lucha revelará cuales son las fuerzas patrióticas y antifascistas, y con esas fuerzas debemos cooperar sin sectarismos.

EL IRREPARABLE ERROR HISTÓRICO DE FREI Y SU CAMARILLA GOLPISTA

P. ¿Se ha ampliado la U.P. con la adhesión de nuevas fuerzas políticas después del golpe?

R. El carácter clasista de la unidad socialista-comunista ha hecho de la U.P. una experiencia netamente distinta de la de los frentes populares de los años 30 en Europa y en el propio Chile. En los frentes populares la burguesía progresista asumía el papel dirigente, mientras que en la U.P. la dirección estaba en manos de la clase obrera. En estos momentos, después de la derrota militar de setiembre de 1973, la unidad se ha visto reforzada; aunque es necesaria una unidad táctico-estratégica más amplia y cualitativamente superior para

llegar al triunfo. Actualmente este frente se está ampliando gracias a la adhesión de fuerzas políticas que no formaban parte de la U.P. o que operaban bajo la dirección de la D.C. También forman parte de esta unidad las que se reagrupaban alrededor de M.I.R.

P. ¿La actual D.C. se orienta hacia la derecha o hacia la izquierda?

R. Las masas democristianas están hoy más a la izquierda que nunca; han conocido la brutalidad fascista y están experimentando dramáticamente los efectos de la regresión a un capitalismo ortodoxo, esclavizante e inhumano. Incluso Frei y su camarilla golpista deben haberse dado cuenta de que han cometido un error histórico irreparable: pensaban que una vez superada la fase represiva confiada a las fuerzas armadas,

COACHELLA

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necesiten.

El grupo de apoyo de San Diego logró llevar 3 camiones llenos de comida como también algo de ropa; toda esta comida se consiguió con la colaboración de la comunidad de San Diego.

El grup de apoyo de San Diego se compone de estudiantes de San Diego City College, U.C.S.D., San Diego State y algunas escuelas secundarias. A su llegada a Coachella se encontraron con los campesinos que en ese momento estaban frente a las fincas pidiendo a los trabajadores vendidos que se salieran y se dieran cuenta de que la única solución para sus problemas era la unión del campesinato.

Todo esto lo recalco Manuel Chavez, coordinador del área, en una reunión que se efectuó en la plaza de Coachella, donde se habló de la unidad del obrero y del estudiante como única arma para derrotar al sistema capitalista, único culpable de las injusticias que padece el obrero y el pobre.

El día antes del viaje a Coachella se efectuó una demostración en la puerta de la compañía de vinos "Gallo" donde asistieron de 50 a 100 manifestantes que en unión cantaron y gritaron contra dicha compañía explotadora del campesino. La compañía permaneció con las puertas cerradas y no permitió la entrada de una delegación de personas que se proponían entablar conversación con los empleados del "Gallo." Al mismo tiempo la policía se estableció a la salida con cámaras fotográficas.

Más tarde llegaron 25 niños de la Escuela Libre de Ocean Beach para participar en la manifestación. La línea de piquete estuvo en pie desde las 10 a.m. hasta las 5 de la tarde.

También hubo un contratiempo en la manifestación con un grupo de estudiantes troskistas, pertenecientes al Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (S.W.P.). Estos comenzaron a distribuir propaganda política entre los obreros y campesinos. Algunas personas, conociendo de antemano la clase de ideología a la que pertenece este grupo, hicieron voto entre las personas que piqueteaban en ese momento para que se expulsara a los troskistas de la manifestación. Los troskistas es un grupo político que sigue las ideas de León Trotsky, quien fue expulsado del partido comunista ruso por oportunista.



Peronismo

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as "infiltrated Marxists," and outside agitators. The rightist counter offensive peaked with the violent overthrow of the governor of Córdoba in March, 1974. The governor, Ricardo Obregón Cano, who had been elected in the March 1973 general elections, was arrested by the provincial chief of police whom he had deposed a few days before while bands of armed bullies terrorized the city's population during several days and nights.

From Buenos Aires, Perón backed the right-wing takeover and eventually replaced the governor by a federally appointed substitute. The events in Córdoba are tantamount to a fascist coup on a regional basis, a sort of mini Chile planned by the right wing of the Peronist movement ensconced at the highest levels of power, with the aid and support of the armed forces and local as well as foreign intelligence services. Many of the tactics used in Córdoba are a carbon-copy of the techniques used by the right and the military in Chile before, during and after the coup that toppled the Allende government. Other progressive Peronist officials in Buenos Aires and the provinces have been ousted, forced to resign, impeached, and convicted. Meanwhile, on the economic front, the "national bourgeoisie" on which Perón has delegated planning, has proceeded to renegotiate the terms of dependency with the multinational companies. Internationally, these same companies have sponsored the much-celebrated Argentine break-up of the economic blockade imposed 15 years ago on Cuba by the U.S. government. This great anti-imperialist crusade will not allow Ford, GM, Chrysler, and Fiat to export to Cuba, cars, trucks and tractors produced by their Argentine subsidiaries. In short, Perón's government has embarked upon a program of bourgeois-reformist social and economic reforms with nationalistic overtones that requires for its implementation, the increasing suppression of the left domestically and a rhetorical anti-imperialism abroad. The ostensive content and purpose of this program are similar to what Peronism offered in the forties and fifties. But their historical meaning and actual function are very different from what they were twenty years ago. Today, Peronism is no longer a viable coalition of classes that is capable of launching a program of national capitalist development that can

benefit the workers, guarantee profits for the national businessmen, and confront imperialism all at the same time. On the one hand, the national bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies are internal allies. Foreign monopoly capital effectively dominates the leading sectors of Argentine industry. The national bourgeoisie is a junior partner that at best will seek better conditions but will under no circumstances challenge the hegemony of the multinationals. On the other hand, serious reforms in favor of the working class directly affects the interests of local and foreign businessmen and leads the masses in the direction of socialism. These two camps can no longer reconcile their interests. The Peronist movement houses them both under the same roof and this can only produce class war inside Peronism itself. This situation has made it practically impossible for Perón to "mediate" between the right and the left wings of his movement. He cannot maintain his leadership above those struggles. He has been forced to take sides. He has taken sides: today Perón represents the interests of the most intelligent elements of the right.

This is a moment of grave danger for the left. The forces of reaction, after a temporary upset, are on the offensive again. They are not attacking the left from outside Peronism: that would be almost suicidal at this stage of historical development. Instead they operate inside the movement through the actions of union bureaucracies, nation businessmen "converted" to Peronism and a new "reformed" military command that proclaims its close association with "the people." If the Peronist left succumbs to this concerted pressure and secedes from the movement it will isolate itself from the masses and be fair game for the right. The major issue before the Peronist left--and today the fate of the entire Argentine left depends on the vicissitudes of this group--is how to maintain and expand its "political space" among the Peronist masses at the point of production, in the constant struggle waged by workers against new conditions of exploitation and the constant betrayal of their interests by corrupt union bureaucracies working in collaboration with the bosses, and on the level of everyday life, in barrio, shanty-towns, schools. Its success depends on its ability

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BOYCOTT GULF

by Fred Barnwell

We must become aware

The people of the U.S. must become aware of the participation of U.S. corporations in the exploitation and oppression of the people of Angola. We who live in the industrialized world must assume our responsibility to do our part in the liberation of Angola. We believe the best strategy is a consumer boycott against the Gulf Oil Corporation.

Why Gulf?

There are ethical, political, educational and practical reasons. Gulf Oil began exploration in Cabinda Province in 1954, received its first concessions from the Portuguese Government in 1957, discovered oil with a valuable low sulfur content in 1966, and began production in 1968. By the fall of 1971, petroleum production had reached 150,000 barrels per day. Gulf officials considered the Cabinda strike to be "one of the major growth areas of the corporation." The 10,116 sq. kilometer Cabinda Gulf concession is estimated to have oil reserves at a minimum of 300 million tons, a 40 year life if production remains at 150,000 barrels per day, with the potential of becoming the fourth largest oil producer in Africa.

Gulf Oil has invested more than \$150 million in exploration, production and capital construction. Gulf's expansion plans, including a possible \$100 million deep water port, floating storage and loading facilities, could bring the investment to well over \$250 million. Of the more than 30 U.S. corporations operating in Angola, the \$150 million Gulf investment is the largest and amounts to over 75% of the total U.S. investments there.

The United Nations has condemned this action as an exploitation of human and material resources, harmful to the programs of Angolans toward freedom and independence. On Nov. 4, 1972 the General Assembly called on "...all states to put an end to all activities that help to exploit the territories under Portuguese domination and to discourage their nationals and corporate bodies under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination."

The people of any country, particularly Angola which has been colonized for over 500 years, have the inalienable right to freedom and independence. Gulf is guilty of unethical, irresponsible business activity.



Gulf dollars kill Angolans

Gulf paid Portugal \$45 million in 1972 and will pay \$10 million more each year! This enables Portugal to finance 150,000 troops fighting to maintain its colonies. Gulf, if pressed, can be influential in convincing Portugal to change. In addition, Gulf's controlling stockholder, the Mellon family gave \$1 million to President Nixon's secret \$10 million fund! Gulf, if pressed, could be influential in changing Mr. Nixon's policies toward Portuguese colonialism. This is particularly true now that the fascist Caetano government has been overthrown. Politically there are good reasons to boycott Gulf.

The Gulf Boycott is also an excellent way to educate the Western world to the terribly unjust conditions that exist in Angola and Southern Africa. Distribution of hundreds of thousands of leaflets, etc., can make Americans aware of the interrelationship of Gulf and other American corporations with the racist white minority regimes. The U.S. people must learn: Nixon supports these racist white regimes; the British and U.S. encourage Rhodesian white rule; U.S. foreign aid is given to the Portuguese to maintain the Portuguese economy allowing them to fight an expensive war. The Nixon administration rescued Portugal from financial crisis with \$435 million in grants, loans and credits in return for the continued use of the Azores NATO base. Knowing the issues, Americans can take political and economic action against those corporations who influence U.S. foreign policies in Southern Africa.

An economic boycott of Gulf products is a practical action for the masses of people who want to effect freedom in Angola. People can avoid Gulf products and institutions and stop contracting with Gulf. When a



corporation fails to respond to ethical pressure, we must hit them where they will feel it, in the pocket book. We believe an international boycott of Gulf can work; the initial response world-wide has been tremendous. Until Gulf stops assisting the Portuguese dictatorship with huge annual payments, a boycott can be effective in pressing Gulf to take action to enable Angolans to become independent.

The political implications of a Boycott Gulf Movement in the U.S. are great. In addition to helping the Angolans, a movement such as this will help Americans. It will increase multi-racial solidarity between the various peoples of the U.S. Its effect will be to fight racism within the political left. Solidarity among Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian and white, expressed on the Boycott Gulf picket-lines, will transcend into other political situations and movements.

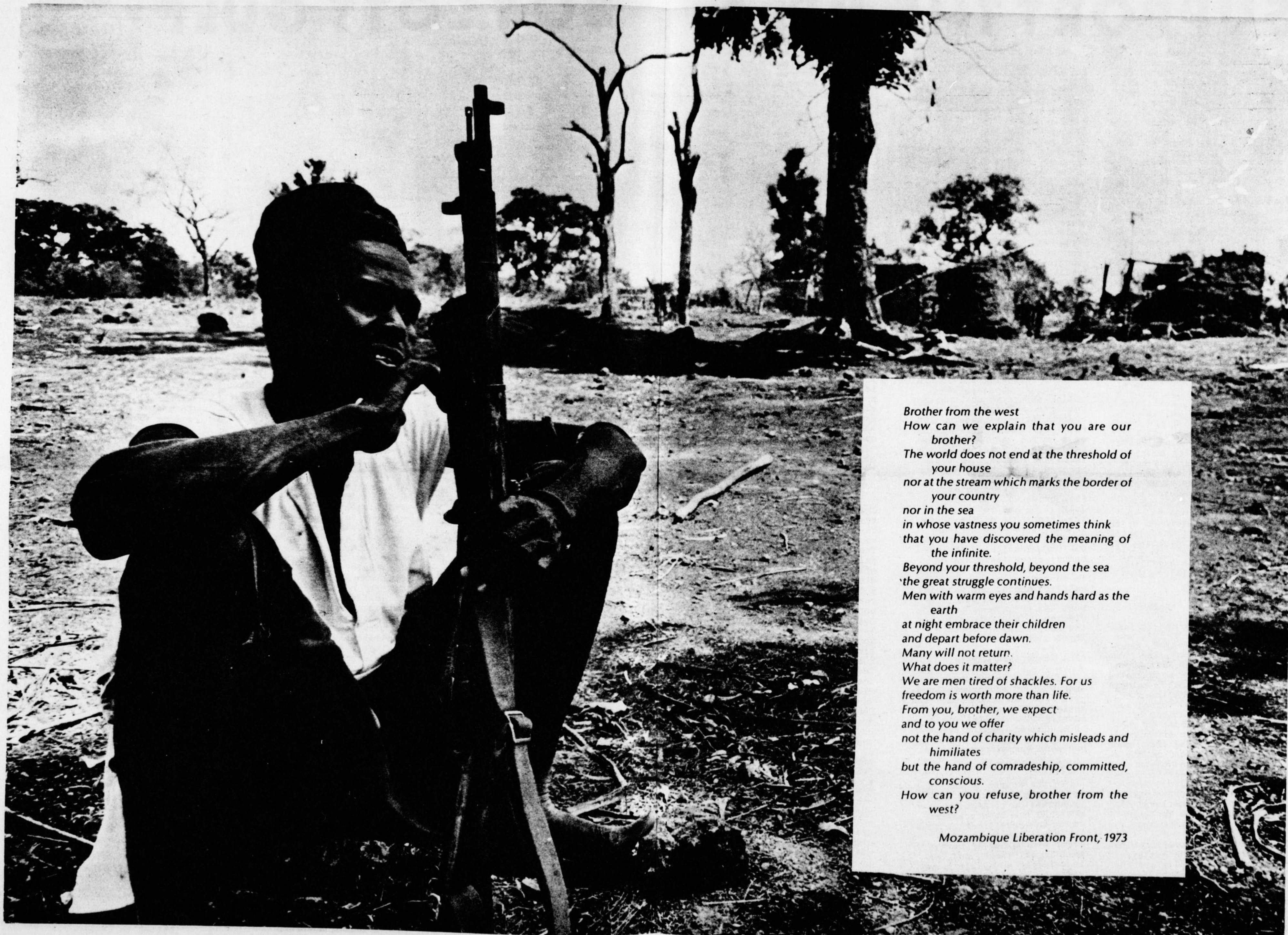
For example, we want to see more Black Americans support the struggles of the United Farmworkers as well as Chicanos supporting the Gulf boycott. We want to raise the political consciousness of whites also, by educating them to the racist atrocities of the Portuguese supported by Gulf and U.S. foreign policy.

We know that no Americans can morally deny freedom to their African sisters and brothers. We know that we can be a powerful political force on the side of African Liberation.

We ask you to participate in the Liberation of Angola!!

BOYCOTT GULF BOYCOTT GULF

The African Liberation Support Organization will hold its first educational on Angola and the Boycott Gulf Movement on Wed., May 15 at 7.30pm at 405 MC. All people interested are invited to attend.



Brother from the west
How can we explain that you are our
brother?
The world does not end at the threshold of
your house
nor at the stream which marks the border of
your country
nor in the sea
in whose vastness you sometimes think
that you have discovered the meaning of
the infinite.
Beyond your threshold, beyond the sea
the great struggle continues.
Men with warm eyes and hands hard as the
earth
at night embrace their children
and depart before dawn.
Many will not return.
What does it matter?
We are men tired of shackles. For us
freedom is worth more than life.
From you, brother, we expect
and to you we offer
not the hand of charity which misleads and
humiliates
but the hand of comradeship, committed,
conscious.
How can you refuse, brother from the
west?

Mozambique Liberation Front, 1973

SUPPORT THE MPLA

Angolan men, women and children are being napalmed, machine-gunned and bombed daily. They are victims of an all-out military effort waged by Portugal to suppress the liberation movement in Angola. To appreciate the significance of Gulf's presence on Angolan soil, it is important to understand the history of the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola and the growth of the liberation movement.

Portuguese Colonialism and Slavery

Portugal's Angolan wars began in 1575. The present war of national liberation, begun in 1961, has become the longest colonial struggle in Africa and with the exception of Vietnam and Indochina, the most protracted guerrilla struggle anywhere in the world.

The Portuguese colonial system is of a brutality and ruthlessness unequalled elsewhere on the African continent. All technological, material, economic, cultural and religious means were employed by the Portuguese against the Angolan people to facilitate the commercial exploitation of the country's wealth and the physical exploitation of the people. The Portuguese belief in their "civilizing mission" never faltered. In the name of "civilization" and "Christianity" Portuguese kings ordered their ambassadors "to load the ships...with cargoes of copper, ivory and slaves." The genocide promoted by the slave trade contributed decisively to the extermination of the Angolan people. From 1580 to 1836, more than 4 million men, women and children were taken from Angola.

The Emergence of Fascism

With the emergence of fascism in Portugal in 1928 under the Salazar regime, genocide and settlement, the principal features of Portuguese colonialism, were accentuated. Angola became a penal colony and the Angolan had no alternative but to do "forced labor." Brutal treatment of workers, withholding of payment and child labor on Angolan coffee farms are common features. The land is divided into huge plantations which belong solely to Europeans and the 123,000 Africans working on these farms are reduced to the level of plantation slaves and paid wages of between 50% and \$1.00 a day.

In Angola, the African has no rights. He can neither vote nor hold public office and he is required to carry a caderneta or passbook which he must present to officials or be sentenced to correctional labor. In Angola, political detainees are sent to penal camps or into exile;

often they simply disappear.

The Birth of the MPLA

The ruthless racist policies pursued by Portugal left Angolans no alternative but open revolt. In 1959, the Portuguese secret police, the PIDE moved into the cities of Angola to crush the mounting unrest. Hundreds were rounded up and on June 8, 1960, Dr. Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA Steering Committee was arrested. Following his arrest police fired on villagers demonstrating for his release, killing 30 and wounding 200. The following day Portuguese troops totally destroyed Bengo and its twin village Icolo, killing or arresting everyone in the 2 villages.

On Feb. 4, 1961, MPLA initiated the armed phase of the struggle with a decisive action in Luanda. Before dawn several hundred militants attacked a police station and Sao Paulo fortress to release the prisoners. On Feb. 5, following the funeral of the Portuguese police killed in the attack, white settlers went wild killing blacks indiscriminately. On Feb. 10, another MPLA raid on a prison was followed by a full-scale massacre of Africans and mestizos by the Portuguese in which many hundreds were killed.

Agostinho Neto escaped from prison in Portugal in July, 1962 and returned to the leadership of the MPLA. In Nov. 1964, the African Liberation Committee of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) recognized MPLA as the sole liberation movement in combat in Angola and allocated financial and material aid to the movement to augment the assistance the liberation forces received from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba.

MPLA Transforms Angola

In the 10 years since the inception of the armed struggle, MPLA has transformed the social organization of the countryside. In the field of education, health care and women's rights, the MPLA has made tremendous strides.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

In the course of the Angolan people's struggle, the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) has been notable among the mass organizations. In Angola, as in Vietnam women are taking an active part in all tasks, and OMA is teaching young girls and women to participate fully in the struggle. MPLA militant SETA LIKAMBUILA, commander of the 6th region praised the role of women in the MPLA:

"We have learned that women are extremely good at intell-

igence and reconnaissance work; they are able to remain unnoticed among the enemy for several weeks or months." Women occupy important posts in the MPLA. They work as technicians, radio operators, doctors and mechanics. In the political field they are active as organizers and some are training to become political commissars.

Educational & Trade Union Activity

At the Centers of Revolutionary Instruction (CIR) young people of the villages receive education in reading and writing, economics, politics and history. There are 3 CIR's now and many more are planned. The MPLA trade union organization UNTA is concerned with organizing the peasantry in agricultural production. They are responsible for studying and solving agricultural problems and seeing that the people's stores and collectives are properly managed. There is at least one people's store in each sector that serves from 80-125 villagers. Before the MPLA, many people were without clothes, blankets, matches, oil etc. but since 1968, the People's Stores have been able to supply most of these things.

The SAMs, CIRs, UNTA and OMA are concerned with teaching literacy to remove the gulf between peasant, worker and professional. They are concerned with political education of the militants to provide them with a revolutionary consciousness. They are concerned with eradicating the oppression of women and fostering unity among all Angolans who are prepared to devote their effort to eliminating class contradictions. They are concerned with feeding their people through the collectivization of agriculture and the establishment of people's stores. They are concerned with destroying the vicious circle of poverty and disease that is the brutal legacy of colonialism. They are striving to combat the effects of cultural genocide and oppression that came in the wake of Portuguese colonization. Finally they are striving to build a socialist society based on the principles of Marxism Leninism with dignity and justice for the embattled people of Angola.

GULF \$ HELP
PORTUGAL
KILL ANGOLANS

Third World Confronts Imperialism in U.N. Special Session

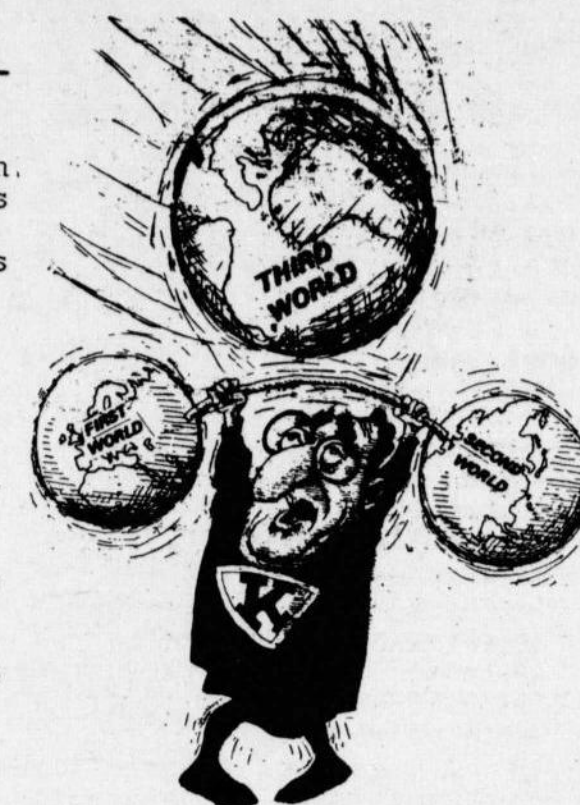
With increasing self-awareness the world's developing nations have taken an additional step to consolidate the Third World.* In April, a special session of the U.N. brought together more than 60 countries (mostly developing nations) in order to objectify the concerns of developing nations of the increasing hegemony demanded by the two world superpowers, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

The conference was opened by Houari Boumedienne, President of Algeria, who earlier (September, 1973) set the stage for such a conference when he held a meeting of non-aligned states last year. The theme, overwhelmingly, was to be one of confrontation with the question of liberation vs imperialist domination being primary. Speaking April 10th, Boumedienne said: "Today, international relations are dominated by a many-faceted worldwide confrontation putting the forces of liberation against the powers of domination and exploitation and these powers in fact pose a threat to recently acquired independence whenever their privileges are contested."

Superpower concern with the fact of growing third world unity and its consequences was evinced by U.S. representative to the Special U.N. Session, Henry Kissinger, when he denied that the primary relationship in the world was one of industrialized nations dominating underdeveloped nations. In an attempt to sabotage Third World unity and to redefine the situation more favorably to superpower interests, Kissinger stated: "Let us begin by discarding outdated generalities and sterile slogans...The great issues of development can no longer realistically be perceived in terms of confrontation between the haves and the have-nots or as a struggle over the distribution of static wealth. Whatever our ideological belief or social structure, we are part of a single international system on which all of our national economic objectives depend. No nation or bloc of nations can unilaterally determine the shape of the future...economics, technology, and the sweep of human values impose a recognition of our collaboration."

Such a statement sounds hollow, indeed, when measured against U.S. actions in Vietnam, Korea, Europe, Central and South America, Indian Ocean, etc. Also, it is very clear that 3rd World countries do not have the same uses for technology, nor the same economics and "human values" that Kissinger explains to be our common base for "collaboration." Marxist ideology leaves no room for collaboration between basically contradicting interests and a great many of the countries present were socialist.

The U.S. was joined by the U.S.S.R. in an attempt to de-



stroy the basic contention of the conference. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko tried to redefine intentions of the conference by saying that it "really" represented "the turn toward detente and the amelioration of the international political climate" which would "create a favorable environment for normalizing economic relations as well."

However, Boumedienne made it clear that the 3rd World would not buy this line when he made the observation that "the gradual shift out of the cold war context" means that "tension and war have been transferred to Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

Third World countries are increasingly aware that their value to developed nations is characterized by their willingness to serve as overseas markets and military bases for those nations. Third World countries are now standing up to the hegemony demanded by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in return for developmental assistance. They didn't need to be told by Kissinger that "the developed nations can

convince their people to contribute to that goal (assistance for development) only in an environment of political cooperation." Neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union have ever given aid with strings unattached. It is against the capitalist sense of profit to make an investment without getting back more than one paid in.

The Chairman of the delegation of People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-ping, took the lead in enumerating the conference goals: "The essence of the problems of raw materials and development is the struggle of the developing countries to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and combat imperialism, and particularly superpower, plunder and control....The Third World countries strongly demand that the present extremely unequal international economic relations

be changed....We hold that in both political and economic relations, countries should base themselves on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs, equality, and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence." China voiced the sentiments of most nations present when it asked that all nations, "big or small, rich or poor," be treated with equality and international economic affairs be "jointly managed by all the countries....instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers." China held that international trade be based on "mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods" and that "economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the extortion of any special

privileges or excessive profits." Loans ought to be interest-free or at low-interest rates to developing countries, with delayed payment or cancellation of debts in special cases, contends China. Another important point to many countries "burned" by shoddy merchandise and incompetent "expert" advisors is the demand that "technology transferred to the developing countries...be practical, efficient, economical and convenient for use....experts and other personnel...have the obligation to pass on conscientiously technical know-how to the people...and respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned....(nor) engage in illegal activities," stated Teng Hsiao-ping. This is particularly relevant to the U.S. because programs such as AID, Alliance for Progress, even the Peace Corps, exist more as intelligence gathering organizations than as aid for the benefit of the people in the developing nation.

In a vulgar attempt to reverse roles, Kissinger accused raw material producing nations of trying to form monopoly cartels and proceeded to "defend" poorer nations with few raw materials to export as being the victims of the potential unity of the 3rd World. However, speeches made by these "poorest nations" clearly demonstrated where their allegiances lay. The Ivory Coast protested that only 6% of the final price of their exported coffee reached its own people, 94% of the wealth going to capitalist companies and countries. Ghana, noting that its oil import bill has quadrupled, did not blame the oil producing Arab nations, but instead asserted that it was the "exploiting companies and their countries of origin... these companies (who) refuse to accept a cutback in their

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el imperialismo y la alta burguesía monopolista la habrían considerado como una garantía suficiente. Las cosas han ocurrido de forma diferente. Debido al enorme desarrollo de las fuerzas progresistas, democráticas y revolucionarias, y dado el carácter particularmente evolucionado de la democracia burguesa chilena, así como debido a la profundidad de las medidas adoptadas por el gobierno de la U.P., nuestro proceso político sólo podía ser detenido, y esto transitoriamente, por una dictadura militar. En otras palabras, para garantizar en el futuro la hegemonía de los intereses extranjeros y multinacionales y los intereses de la burguesía monopolista, no bastaba con desconocer el gobierno legítimo de Allende, sino

que era necesario cortar por la raíz la estructura institucional que había hecho posible el acceso al poder, por la vía pacífica, de las fuerzas socialistas revolucionarias. Así se explica como el gobierno más democrático de América y del mundo occidental, haya sido sustituido por la dictadura fascista mas bárbara y reaccionaria.

P. ¿Cómo se transformado el ejército antigolpista de Chile en un ejército golpista?

R. La clase dominante ha respetado el ordenamiento jurídico mientras le ha sido útil. Así mismo ha hecho el ejército, en cuanto que ha sido creado, dirigido y controlado por esa misma clase dominante. Allí donde la burguesía es la clase dominante, las fuerzas armadas constituyen un elemento esencial del aparato represivo del estado burgués. El fenómeno de la lucha de clases toca también al ejército; los esquemas disciplinarios, los mecanismos de obediencia pasiva contribuyen a atenuar en el interior del ejército los conflictos sociales. En el caso de Chile el ejército ha seguido la pauta que el imperialismo y la alta burguesía le habían asignado. La reacción ha reaccionado ha preparado un plan complejo para ganarse a los oficiales superiores y medios. Desde el exterior los U.S.A. han suministrado dinero, consejos y participación a la insurrección armada. La represión contra oficiales, suboficiales y soldados patriotas ha sido violentísima. Se ha sembrado el terror entre las tropas y se ha intentado convencerles de la existencia del plan "Z" grotesco invención de la junta militar, tendente a ganarse a los militares para sus planes sanguinarios.

Un buen número de oficiales leales y patriotas han sido condenados a muerte o a 30 años de cárcel por haberse negado a convertirse en traidores. Tenemos necesidad de realizar para ellos grandes acciones de solidaridad internacional. Es

necesario señalar que la lucha de clases no se puede dar sin la participación del ejército. Prueba evidente de ello son los casos innumerables de soldados y suboficiales que han arriesgado su vida y su libertad prestando ayuda a los patriotas perseguidos. El mismo espíritu se ha demostrado en los millares de desertiones que se han registrado y que han llevado a muchos ex militares a ponerse al lado de las fuerzas antifascistas.

LA NUEVA ESTRATEGIA MUNDIAL DEL IMPERIALISMO

P. ¿Cuáles han sido las repercusiones del golpe fascista en el continente americano? ¿Pretendían los golpistas tener repercusiones en latinoamérica? ¿Cuál ha sido el resultado?

R. Cuando el imperialismo norteamericano ha favorecido el golpe se proponía, aparte de recuperar el control sobre el cobre, evitar que la influencia del fenómeno chileno se pudiera extender a otros lugares de América. Los U.S.A. temían que el fenómeno chileno pusiese en peligro su posición en el continente americano. La derrota del movimiento revolucionario chileno, aunque transitoria, constituye un duro golpe para el movimiento obrero y para las luchas de liberación, más por su efecto como ejemplo

que por el peso de Chile en el plano internacional. Es preciso señalar que no hemos realizado una valoración adecuada de la correlación de fuerzas mundiales con respecto a la situación geográfica de Chile. Al mismo tiempo, los países socialistas, el movimiento obrero mundial y los partidos socialistas y socialdemócratas de los países occidentales no han realizado una valoración adecuada del extraordinario significado histórico del experimento chileno, que se presenta como el primer caso de construcción del socialismo por la vía pacífica, pluralista y constitucional.

P. Las informaciones sobre la resistencia del pueblo chileno son frecuentemente contradictorias. ¿Cómo se manifiesta actualmente la resistencia en Chile?

R. La resistencia se manifiesta de mil formas espontáneas de masas y se expresa en centenares de acciones, algunas armadas. En el plano organizativo, la resistencia se expresa a través de las fuerzas políticas que forman parte de la U.P. y de todas aquellas que están unidas en la lucha contra la dictadura. Esta lucha organizada se manifestará con mayor fuerza cuando se llegue a un frente único antifascista.

P. Los gobiernos de Europa Occidental han protestado contra el golpe. ¿Qué piensa usted de esto?

R. Algunos gobiernos se

han mostrado consecuentes con sus declaraciones de condena de la brutalidad fascista. Entre estos es preciso señalar al gobierno italiano que ha rehusado reconocer a la junta. Otros gobiernos

han adoptado posturas formales y oportunistas, tratando de adaptar su política a los intereses del momento. Pero el caso de Chile no es un caso aislado: la reacción internacional, los grandes monopolios internacionales y los imperialistas apoyan generalmente a los gobiernos autoritarios.

En el marco de esta nueva estrategia mundial, los U.S.A. están adiestrado y preparando a los ejércitos para transformarlos en una fuerza de ocupación en sus respectivos países. Desde hace seis meses el ejército ha declarado el "estado de guerra" a Chile y ha ocupado el territorio con 300.000 hombres, es decir con el ejército más numeroso de América latina en proporción: todo ello representando a Kennecott, a la Anaconda, a la I.T.T. y a una exigua minoría monopolista nacional.

P. ¿Existe ya una coordinación entre las fuerzas de guerrilla popular? ¿Poseen éstas un centro directivo?

R. Por el momento esta forma de lucha se va delineando más y más será coordinada por las fuerzas democráticas. La elección del método de lucha y el comienzo de cada fase de la lucha dependerá de la correlación de fuerzas y de la organización que el pueblo y los revolucionarios forjen conjuntamente.

LATINO AMÉRICA ES UNA SOLA NACIÓN DIVIDIDA EN 20 REPUBLICAS

P. ¿Son compatibles democracia y revolución?

R. En el caso de Chile, en particular, la revolución está indisolublemente ligada a la democracia. La destrucción del fascismo representa un importante avance democrático. Cualquiera que sea el carácter que finalmente nuestra revolución adopte, será un carácter antifascista y antimonopolista.

P. ¿Tendrá alguna influencia sobre Chile y sobre el continente la conferencia de primeros ministros americanos que ha tenido lugar en México recientemente?

R. Ninguna: es solamente una reunión más. Los U.S.A. han sufrido derrotas políticas, militares y económicas, sobre todo en Indochina y en los países árabes. Estos últimos, a pesar de las diferencias de sus regímenes sociales, han logrado enfrentarse unidos a la agresión sionista. El mecanismo escogido por los estados árabes, utilizando el petróleo como arma de defensa, asume un significado notable para el mundo subdesarrollado.

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there as well in other ways. The recent disclosure that EOP and Financial Aid funds have been cut back by 70% point to the move to eliminate Chicano and other working class students from the University since most of these students rely completely on the funds available through these programs. State-wide cut-backs of funds also indicate the eventual elimination of these same programs.

From its inception at State, Chicano Studies has concerned itself with the development of new ideas and innovative approaches to the study and research of the political, cultural, social and economic realities with special emphasis to the application of what has been studied towards the eradication of socio-political and economic problems that limit the Chicano community.

4. Present Mexican American Studies offers a major with emphasis in Social Sciences, Humanities, Bilingual System and Education. A double major is usually recommended for students majoring in MAS to assure a broad base of knowledge. A minor in MAS is also offered.

MECHA's motion for the resignation of all staff and faculty will be effective December 31, 1974, unless the following demands are met:

- 1) MECHA will hire and fire.
- 2) Student teaching will be allowed.
- 3) Classes will be allowed to meet elsewhere than in their assigned room.

Women unite to fight oppression

Over 3,200 women representing 58 International unions met in Chicago March 23-24 to attend the first national conference of union women. The goal was to establish a multi-union, working organization to struggle for equal jobs, equal pay, decent working conditions and more visibility within unions for women. They also resolved to organize more of the nation's 34 million women workers (only 4 million belong to unions) and to elect more female officials. Though more than 25% of the AFL-CIO membership consists of women, they hold less than 5% of the key posts.

Women comprise nearly 40% of the paid labor force, yet the median earnings of all women dropped from 63.9% of men's earnings in 1960 to 59.4% in 1970. Year around, full time women workers make little more than half of what male workers earn, with women of color making even less. Not only must women cope with boring, dead-end, low paying jobs, but also conveniently, shoulder fluctuations in the economic system. For example, the unemployment rate for women in August, 1973 was 48% higher than that of males.

Specifically, CLUW committed itself to the following objectives:

Organizing the Unorganized-- "The CLUW seeks to promote unionism and to encourage unions

4) There will be student control in curriculum and development.

5) There will be student control in departmental committees.

6) There will be student control in faculty meetings with the right to vote.

7) Student self-grading will be permitted.

8) Students will have access to MAS files.

9) The political essence of classes will be determined by MECHA.

10) MAS will not enter any school or college of this university.

11) That one of the Co-chairpersons of the MAS department be a student.

The motion for the resignation of the faculty, staff and administrators does not mean the dissolution of the MAS department. It means that Chicanos at State are not willing to work within a structure that they do not control. It also means that those people who will work within a program completely controlled and administered by the state institution are playing into the hands of the ruling class.

Fourteen faculty members are among these factions choosing to acquiesce to administrative action rather than struggling to expose, through this conflict, the contradictions inherent within state institutions of higher education (in particular) and capitalist society (in general). Other groups content with limiting themselves to academic and cultural pursuits, la Rondalla Amerindia and the Teatro Mestizo, have asked for the immediate resignation of the faculty and staff supporting the motion.

to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under collective bargaining agreements. CLUW will seek to create a greater awareness

of the benefits of union membership, particularly in those areas where there are large numbers of unorganized and minority women. Within our intra, inter, and emerging union structure we will work to encourage non-union women to join us in the union movement.

Formation of CLUW is evidence of a new, distinctive movement of women. According to one of the unionists, "Sisters cannot unify solely because they are women. We have to look at class rather than sex." Another unionist says, "Labor women are fighting to upgrade their jobs. To them this is more meaningful than finding a woman president for General Motors."

In contrast to the early feminist groups which stressed individualistic issues, which were mostly related to middle and upper income women, this organization is focusing on issues in the interests of working, low-income women, specifically, blue collar women. This latest development distinguishes that the majority of working women, because they have low paying, low skilled jobs, do not share the white collar feminist's interest in promoting specific individuals to high level jobs, but rather choose to address and educate around working conditions shared by the majority of women workers.

Obviously Institutions of higher learning are not willingly going to raise the political consciousness of minority and other working class students when they are bulwarks of bourgeois ideology.

By isolating four particular individuals, the education committee is indicating its failure to grasp the real issue, the real political question at hand.

The approaching semester-end means that administrative restructuring of Mexican American Studies will come during the summer months when low student enrollment will impede a strong mobilization of minority students to protest administrative changes.

Those faculty members, staff and administrators opposed to the motion to resign and, more significantly, opposed to the political direction of a student organization which promotes the study of the class struggle of minorities in the USA, will still be there as models of co-optation for future Chicano generations at San Diego State University.

At 3:00 p.m. on May 14, 1974, MECHA - SDSU and the Chicano Federation will host an open community meeting to discuss these issues in depth and come up with some possible resolutions. The meeting will take place at the Chicano Federation.

The Education Committee of the Chicano Federation of San Diego has called for the resignation of four MAS staff members: Jesús Moya, René Nuñez, Randy Rico, Robert Rodríguez and that of other staff members supporting the political direction of MECHA. They feel that the primary objectives of Chicano Studies should be to instill in Chicanos a sense of "pride in themselves." This illusory self-appreciation cannot possibly prepare working class students to resist the semblance of social mobility dangled before the token few.

Affirmative Action in the Workplace--"The Coalition will seek to encourage women, through our unions, to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work."

Political Action and Legislation--Through political and legislative action of our unions, women should strive for "full employment and job opportunities, child care legislation, a liveable minimum wage, improved maternity and pension benefits, improved health and safety coverage, expanded educational opportunities, mass action for final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, guaranteed collective bargaining rights for all workers, the right to strike, and an extension of truly protective legislation for all workers."

Participation of Women Within Our Unions--"The Coalition seeks to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen our participation through full and completely democratic procedures to encourage our leadership and our movement into policy-making roles within our own unions and within the union movement in all areas."

On the Cultural and Military Front

Deborah Hansing

One of the greatest dilemmas in the Marxist drama has been what role to assign to the intellectual, both in the process of the revolution and in the aftermath of the revolution, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. China, as well as other socialist nations, knows both these dilemmas well. While the issue of the role of the intellectual in the ongoing revolution is one of the many vital concerns in China today, the role of the intellectual in the making of the Chinese revolution is an issue which should be seen as an important aspect of other liberation movements.

In order to understand the role of the Chinese intellectual in the revolutionary process, we shall direct our attention to the Yen-an period and to Mao Tse-tung's conception of battling on two fronts: the military and the "cultural". Although military and political is actually more accurate in identifying the concerns of Mao during the war of resistance against Japan and the civil war which followed it, there are reasons why the term "cultural" is more descriptive for the purposes of this discussion.

It is from Mao's remarks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature (May 1942) that we clearly understand the political role he saw for the intellectual during that period. This assignment had two important implications. First, those who attended the Yen-an Forum were all intellectuals, writers, artists, and musicians from all over China. Their tools of expression were what are considered to be the manifestations of culture, literature, art, and music. Thus, the second implication is that while their stories, paintings, and songs might be given political content, the form is still associated with culture. The intellectual involved in the revolution was seen not on a cultural front, but a political cultural front by virtue of the content of his art. In revolutionary China, Mao saw that politics and culture must be dynamically united.

The simultaneous expression of politics and culture inevitably develops and comes to characterize revolutionary societies. It must be recognized that today's struggling Third World nations have politically revolutionary cultures. Without this recognition, these cultures are mistakenly, or intentionally, misunderstood or seen merely as quaint. It is not understood that the same hands that make pottery hold guns and that the charming folk songs sing the revolution. The role of the intellectual is to give expression to this politically revolutionary culture as the masses

know it and live it.

In an attempt to illustrate the relationship between "culture" (political culture) and military goals, between the role of the intellectual and that of the people's liberation army in the war of resistance, this discussion shall be divided into four parts: (1) a background of the ideological and military foundations of the Yen-an period; (2) an analysis of Mao's "cultural" guidelines, the theory of the Yen-an Forum; (3) an analysis of Mao's military guidelines, the theory of People's War; and (4) a view of "cultural" and military tactics during the war of resistance.

THE YEN-AN PERIOD

The Yen-an Period refers to the years when the survivors of the Long March settled at last in Shensi province in North-western China. It was in the course of the Long March that the Tsunyi Conference (January 1935) was called by Mao. From this conference, two important decisions were made which would be at the basis of what was to be done in Yen-an. One was that Mao emerged as the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party. The other was that the movement was given a definite objective—to fight and to defeat the Japanese aggressors invading China. Thus, in Yen-an, Mao was to be director of the revolutionary program and Yen-an was to be identified as a liberated base area from which the war of resistance against Japan was to be carried out.

The Yen-an Period is perhaps the most dynamic one of this century. Certainly the period cannot be adequately characterized here in all of its aspects as has been done by Mark Selden in his book *The Yen-an Way*. Selden's book thoroughly investigates the careful attention given to the organization of the party, army, and villages during this period.

Viewed as an integrated program, the Yen-an Way represents a distinctive approach to economic development, social transformation, and people's war. Its characteristic features included a heavy reliance on the creativity of the Chinese people, particularly the peasantry, and a faith in the ultimate triumph of man over nature, poverty, and exploitation. Unequivocally rejecting domination by an administrative or technical elite operating through a centralized bureaucracy, it emphasized popular participation, decentralization and community power. Underlying this approach was a conception of human nature which held that men, all men, could transcend the limitations of class, experience, and ideology to act creatively in building a new China.

Thus, the organization of the party, army, and villages was directed toward more than military success.

Political and economic divisions in the villages were quickly recognized. Village government allowed a much greater representation to the peasants. They were taught rudimentary literacy and thought reform which naturally encouraged them to participate in local government. Rents were reduced and taxes lightened. During the early 1940's the Communists launched a large scale cooperative movement in Red area villages based on labor cooperation and tool sharing. Radical land reform was to come later. In addition, the fighting strength of the Red Army was kept at the front such that only a few garrison of the army were included in the village militia for local defense. Such local organization encouraged ideological support and autonomy among the peasants and party solidarity and ideological unity centered on the masses among the cadres and the army.

Seen in the context of the Yen-an Way, the role of the intellectual had both ideological and military foundations. By working on these foundations, the intellectual found a role in the revolutionary society which sharply contrasted the role of the intellectual in capitalist society who dictates cultural values instead of represents the values of the masses of the people. In Yen-an, the needs and values of the masses were to be the ideological orientations pursued by Mao and the basis on which the Red Army functioned. It was for the intellectual to give expression to these values in support of Mao's perceptions and the People's War.

THE YEN-AN FORUM ON ART AND LITERATURE

Mao was obviously aware that the intellectual was a member of the bourgeoisie. However, he did not categorically assign the intellectual to bourgeois reaction. In fact, Mao's attention was focused only on the category of "the people". In one of the "three constantly read articles" "Serve the People" (September 8, 1944), Mao showed just how broad this category was:

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. The idea of "better troops and simpler administration" was put forward by Mr. Li Ting-ming, who is not a Communist. He made a good suggestion which is of benefit to the people, and we have adopted it. If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive. We hail from all

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Chinese Barefoot Doctors.

by Paul Pickowicz

To better define barefoot doctors a number of specific questions should be asked:

Where do they come from? One of the primary methods of defining barefoot doctors is by their social origins. It is intended that they should be, for the most part, recruited from among the ranks of the peasantry, or as it was put in Hung Ch'i, "...the poor and lower-middle peasants understand that the power in medical and health work must be in their own hands."

It is generally believed in China that if worker and peasant culture is to be brought about it will not do to have medical or other important services provided to workers and peasants by experts and professionals who are themselves not of worker or peasant origin. It is also believed that medical and health campaigns are more effective when they are led by local people who are trusted by the village or brigade populace as a whole. The prospective barefoot doctors are selected by local people primarily on the basis of attitude and enthusiasm. Most candidates do seem to have a primary or junior high school education, although there are frequent reports of successful barefoot doctors who had only 2 1/2 years of formal education before beginning medical and health training. Most of the barefoot doctors are young - the average age at Chiangchen Commune is 23 years, but there are reports of barefoot doctors as old as 64 years. The records indicate that there are a large number of women barefoot doctors, but it is difficult to determine whether or not they constitute more or less than 50 percent.

What is their style of work? The documents seem to indicate that no one can really be considered a barefoot doctor unless he or she is also engaged in agricultural work alongside fellow villagers. One report suggests, "On ordinary days, the barefoot doctors spend about half their time in farm work." In practice I suspect that more than 50 percent of their time is spent in medical practice. This matter is viewed by the Chinese as a political question. There is no question that the Chinese find it difficult to respect any able bodied person who does not spend at least part of the time doing manual work. Teachers, intellectuals, scientists, artists, and government bureaucrats are encouraged to get out to the communes during the summer, or to volunteer for revolutionary sabbaticals which involve six month work and study periods in May Seventh Cadre Schools. While it is true that the Chinese are suspicious of urban expertise they are also concerned that worker or peasant children who receive training and become experts in the cities will also develop a negative attitude towards manual work, and thereby abandon their class. It is now expected that young peasants who go to the city to receive specialized training will come back to the villages to serve the local people rather than remain in the city to seek reputation and career. The Chinese seem to define

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"class" more on the basis of how one things and acts rather than on the basis of one's concrete class background. Therefore, it is possible for a peasant's son to work against the interests of the peasantry, and conversely for an intellectual's daughter to "become" a peasant by acting like a peasant, and serving the peasant community. This necessitates working in the fields no matter what one does. This whole question may seem irrelevant to Western medical experts, but it must be kept in mind the damage done by careerism in a society like India where many skilled young people first become medical specialists of one sort or another, and then seek out the best paying urban locations in India and even foreign countries such as England.

How are they paid? The salary of barefoot doctors varies from commune to commune and from brigade to brigade. The general guideline is as follows:

"... income is kept on a level with that of peasants having similar labor power." In Tung-ping Brigade of Changchen Commune barefoot doctors made 300 yuan in 1967 (\$120.) Of this total 100 yuan were earned as a result of work done in the fields and 200 yuan were paid by the brigade as a subsidy. But since barefoot doctors in this brigade collected about 125 yuan in home calls (injections, child deliveries, etc.), the brigade actually paid out only 75 yuan. In another brigade, Minli, production was not so high in 1967 and the barefoot doctors made only about 200 yuan (54 yuan from agricultural work, 92 yuan from home calls, and 61 yuan in brigade subsidy). The cost to the peasant community for these services is minimal. The total population of the two brigades is 2600. The subsidies and home calls for the two locations amount to 353 yuan, or an average of .13 yuan per peasant; the subsidies alone come to only 136 yuan or an average of .05 yuan per peasant. The reason that incomes vary from brigade to brigade and year to year is simply due to differences in total agricultural production. The method of payment in the commune system is to divide the surplus among the peasants on the basis of the amount of work done. Barefoot doctors seem to be paid in accordance with what they would have made had they been doing agricultural work all year. While this system insures that the barefoot doctors will earn no more than the average peasant, it may discriminate against women barefoot doctors. Able-bodied male peasants are awarded the maximum of ten work points, while able-bodied women are consistently awarded less. It may be then, that women barefoot doctors receive a smaller subsidy than men barefoot doctors even though they do the same work. I have seen no comparative figures for men and women barefoot doctors, however, and would be hesitant to conclude that this inequality exists in fact.

Where, for how long, and by whom are they trained?

Barefoot doctors seem to be trained in a number of places. Some are trained locally at the commune hospital by either modern physicians who have come from the city to serve for a period of years in the commune hospital, or by mobile teams of medical experts who have come from Shanghai and travel from county to county for the explicit purpose of training barefoot doctors. Other potential barefoot doctors leave the commune to study at county hospitals and medical schools, or even municipal hospitals in Shanghai. During the Cultural Revolution it was common to see mobile medical teams organized and led by the People's Liberation Army, which is quite active in medical work throughout the country. The amount of training received by beginning barefoot doctors also seems to vary. For those who study locally, the beginning orientation course seems to last about two months. The more I studied the question, however, the clearer it became that the formal classroom training of barefoot doctors was an ongoing process. One's ability to practice medicine depends on the amount of training received. The point is that the Chinese regard as mistaken any method of training medical personnel which confines them to the classroom for years at a time. Even after the most basic course, the barefoot doctors are skilled enough to carry on some sort of medical and health work. In fact, medical and health leaders in China argue that experience gained through actual practice is as important as classroom training. When barefoot doctors come back from two or three months of coursework they continue to learn from those in their local area who have more experience, and much of this training is informal. Many who received basic training during the Great Leap Forward in 1958 were qualified to attend more advanced courses during the Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960's. A fairly typical case is that of a barefoot doctor at Chiangchen Commune:

He was an activist in the public health campaign to eliminate pests and prevent diseases during the Great Leap Forward in 1958. He was sent by the commune to study

for ten months at a county medical school. He then worked in the commune clinic for several years, and later attended a seven month course in surgery. Today he is able to do herniorrhaphy, sterilization, and other operations even with simple medical apparatus.

Eventually this process of training leads to the selection of a few skilled barefoot doctors to attend more sophisticated and advanced medical programs in the city. Once again the case of Chiangchen Commune is illustrative of this process. In 1968, for example, when there were 28 barefoot doctors, the commune selected an additional

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The Benefactors of the Mexican American War of 1846

The Benefactors of the Mexican American War of 1846

Part II

At this juncture then we can ascertain these basic developments:

1. Unrest in New Spain's political capitals grows by determined regional "strongmen" and the Indian uprisings being led by Hidalgo.

2. Definite colonization of northern provinces which include New Mexico, the Eastern Interior Provinces (Coahuila, Texas, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas). A program of immigration to defeat more U.S. expansion drives resulted in:

A. Hold the territory with its ancient boundaries unimpaired or even enlarged

B. To increase its garrisons and colonize it with loyal Spanish subjects

C. Keep out Anglo-American intruders

3. France ceases to possess territory in the American continent

4. American expansionist feeling is potent and growing

Turning our attention to U.S. foreign policy in the ensuing years, we come across explicit evidence to support Spain's defensive posture towards American intervention. The immediate period following the Louisiana Purchase can accurately be described as the Filibuster Era. It's important to note however, that this type of intervention definitely continued after Mexico's independence when she assumed power over the northern provinces. In fact, filibusters were traceable up to President John Quincy Adams' administration on 1825-1829. There were various filibustering efforts but our discussion will include only the most significant. Fehrenbach describes the word:

"The term filibuster, derived from the old English word freebooters, by which Anglo-Saxons invariably described Sir Henry Morgan and the various looters of the old Spanish main... The French had this same class of entrepreneur in the Gulf and Caribbean, and called them boucaniers, and in the 17th and early 18th century French and English Buccaneers often were allied. Significantly, Spanish never adopted a term for freebooter or buccaneer. All such men were called simply piratas, or pirates. When filibusters came into Spanish usage, it referred to American insurgents against the Spanish Crown."

Philip Nolan was one such person. In 1797 he was supposedly making horse-hunting trips from Louisiana into Texas (which was illegal). During one such operation he made a secret arrangement with General James Wilkinson, Commander of the United States Army. Wilkinson was to furnish Nolan with soldiers to seize Texas from Spain. Intending to then become King of Texas, Nolan entered Texas with an armed party and some slaves. The Spanish were aware of these impending designs and over-took the entire band. All were killed except a few who survived the eventual prison terms in Mexico.



General Wilkinson

was known to be a double agent -- switching back and forth between American and Spanish interests when it suited his overall plans. General Wilkinson was commanding forces upon the purchase of Louisiana and consequently entered the territory upon signature. The Spanish did not know of the Franco-U.S. pact, therefore tried to protect their Louisiana settlements. Jefferson insisted that Texas was included in the deal. It's timely to mention that the Wilkinson-Nolan intrigue was not so secret. "In 1798 Jefferson wrote to Philip Nolan inquiring about the wild horses on the plains east of New Mexico..."

"9 Wilkinson's other partner in this scheme included Vice President Aaron Burr. The resulting national scandal would need a book to explain but essentially, not only "frontiersmen" were imbued with the imperialist notion of acquiring Texas in 1803. Zebulon Pike was another "ambitious and over-zealous" army officer who had a more effective cover than Nolan, because he did rope some horses! Wilkinson ordered Pike to New Mexico. Without delay, Pike staked an American flag on Spanish territory. He was captured "but he was an entirely different proposition from the piratical Nolan: Pike was an officer on the regular service of a bordering and quite truculent power..."

"10 Augustus Magee took advantage of the impending independence strife in New Spain by hatching a plot to form a Texan empire. Here enters Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara. Gutierrez was wealthy and for having prematurely raised the republican cry for independence in Santander (South of Rio Grande), he fled to Texas to avoid the impending Spanish reaction. Magee and Gutierrez were the most successful filibuster into Texas. Systematically they printed pamphlets and posters calling for Mexicans in Texas to join their rebellion. Raising almost 800 adventuring and driftless men into an army, they entered Texas and invaded the Mexican village of Nacogdoches in August 1812. Next was invasion of La Bahia fort. Magee dies but Kemper, an officer takes charge and pushes the army West towards San Antonio -- the biggest Mexican settlement. What ensues is interesting. Gutierrez and Kemper defeat the garrison of

1,200 at San Antonio and proclaimed the independence of the state of Texas, April 6, 1813. Political maneuverings brought factionalism. Gutierrez and Kemper have different goals: the former desires to associate Texas with the "Mexican Republic", the latter with the U.S. This expedition soon dissipated but not before warning New Spain that her future as a power in Mexico was limited. The last filibuster that plagued Spain was the Dr. Long Expedition of 1819. President Monroe had just concluded the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain which settled the boundary dispute that the Louisiana Purchase brought forward: the U.S. would forget about conquering Texas for the moment; Spain would cede Florida to the U.S. in return. Subsequent to the agreement, Andrew Jackson had led an American force of soldiers into Florida to "quell Indian activity." At the same time he occupied Spain's largest settlements. With this predicament and the filibusters at the Texas territory, Spain chose to lose part and not all. The boundaries would be:

"After a long and violent struggle, he De Onis...agreed to the Arkansas, and latitude forty-two, from the source of the Arkansas to the South Sea."

The treaty would be stalled because of some controversial land grants that Spain had allotted. The actual ratification by both governments did not occur until February 22, 1821. Dr. Long's expedition was timely for the reason that many factions in the U.S. were downright opposed to Adams' concession of Texas. Long understood the filibuster as a result of this sentiment. Long's chief companions, Ben Milam and Don Felix Tres Palacios would survive the almost successful operation. In 1821, the Royalist government of Spain fell to the Mexican forces of Santa Anna, Vicente Guerrero, Bustamante and other revolutionaries. The settlement of the Louisiana Territory boundaries was of little import to Spain now, but the newly formed federalist government of Mexico would soon grapple with the same expansionist forces that plagued Spain.

The year 1821 is pivotal in many respects. Sixteen years of diplomatic intrigue, filibusters, and threats of outright occupation were not the complete goals of the American government when it finally leveled Spain's recognition of the Louisiana boundary. The U.S. now turned its eye to the Oregon country in the Northwest, and to Texas in the Southwest. Within 30 years the U.S. will have acquired these entire territories, as stated at the beginning of this paper, the political conspiracy was important, but we should now point out some general facts surrounding the issues.

Political power was held first by the propertied classes that arrived in New England and New Netherlands in the early 1600's. Dutch authorities commissioned anyone to settle that land. The Dutch West India Co., and Dutch East India Co. enjoyed wide monopoly of trade through Dutch Charter. In 1699, an immigrant would have to pay a thousand

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AIM Three Point Program Outlined

(Editor's note: The following is a condensed version of a position paper written by the American Indian Movement (AIM), 553 Aurora St. Paul, Minn. 55103/612-224-4395)

AIM calls on all Indians, and our friends, to learn about, and work for, the Three-Point Program.

Wounded Knee II raised three important issues for Pine Ridge Reservation and all other Indians. These have been published nowhere--except in the indictments. The people who went to Wounded Knee asked that the government enforce their land and sovereignty rights under the Treaty of 1868; they asked for an independent investigation of the BIA's mishandling of Oglala rights and interests; they asked that the Pine Ridge Constitution (written under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934) be ruled invalid, and that new tribal elections, free from violence and fraud, be held. Though these three points were agreed to be negotiated by the U.S. government, actually nothing has been done.

The program outlines a strategy around which all Indians can unite for actions that solve some local problems, but move also toward larger goals.

AIM National Executive Director Dennis Banks has stated that building support for actions to make the 3-point program a reality is a major educational purpose of the Wounded Knee trials in St. Paul and South Dakota.

There will be some analysis-and-fact sheets available from AIM about each of the three points. Write or call AIM.

THREE POINT PROGRAM

(1) A TREATY COMMISSION (THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS) SHOULD EXAMINE THE 371 TREATIES THE U.S. HAS MADE (AND BROKEN) WITH INDIANS. ALL TREATY RIGHTS SHOULD BE ENFORCED. THE GREAT SIOUX NATION AND OTHER TRIBES SHOULD RECEIVE CONTROL OF THEIR TREATY-DETERMINED LAND.

Presently, the federal government holds "in trust" about 40 million tribal acres (much of it in use for mineral, park, and other interests), with an additional 10 million acres held "in trust" for individual tribal members. Much of this land is leased out, advantageously to white interests. On Pine Ridge Reservation (S.D.), Indian range land is leased for 80¢ an acre; this land is exactly like land owned by whites, which brings \$15 an acre.

Senate Joint Resolution 133, "Providing for the Establishment of an American Indian Policy Commission" gives us another powerless body, which would spend \$2 million to "investigate" but have power to accomplish nothing. It now reposes in the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Our position is that

the AIPC is a meaningless body. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is the proper body to deal with our treaties; this is the body which deals with the treaties of other nations. Equal status should be accorded to us. (2) REPEAL THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1934 (WHEELER-HOWARD ACT); IT HAS BEEN A MAJOR WEAPON USED IN ROBBING INDIANS OF THEIR LAND, SETTING UP WHITE-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENTS ON MANY RESERVATIONS, AND ESTABLISHING TRIBAL CONSTITUTIONS WHICH OFFER NO REAL PROTECTION AGAINST SALE AND WHOLESALE LEASE-OUT OF TRIBAL LANDS.

Repeal of this Act will allow Indians to "organize" themselves the way they want to be organized, rather than imposing non-Indian forms on us. We should be free to choose our own forms of government, and exercise our independent sovereignty. We should certainly be free of governments which don't protect our lands.

(3) REMOVE THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, RESTRUCTURE IT AS AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY, CONTROLLED BY AND ACCOUNTABLE TO INDIAN PEOPLE; AUDIT THE BIA RECORDS AND MAKE REPARATIONS FOR THE MANY CROOKED LAND DEALS; CANCEL BIA-SANCTIONED NON-INDIAN LEASING OF INDIAN LAND.

The BIA should never have located in the Department of the Interior. (Maybe that's better than its original location--the Department of War against us--but not much.) Interior serves oil, mineral, land trust, transportation, shipping, wood forestry, and energy interests; these usually conflict with Indian rights.



The BIA has a long history of corruption and mismanagement of our affairs. A tough, independent audit of BIA books and land rent records should be supported by all. Forced land sales and lease rentals arranged by the BIA should be examined, with returns and reparations made.

Pine Ridge data shows part of the reason why this needs to be done. As of 1969, the federal government was spending, through the BIA, about \$8040 a year per family, to "help the Oglala Sioux out of poverty." But median family income from all sources (employment, land rental, and federal) was only \$1910 per family--supporting many children and old people. Where did the rest of it go? The fact that there was about one well-paid bureaucrat per family gives part of the answer; kick-backs and corruption gives another part.

This Three Point Program provides a strategy for a nationally-coordinated attack on powerful financial and political interests, which have used the U.S. government to take advantage of Native Americans for more than a century.

Without massive public pressure, the government will simply continue its present treatment of Indians, a continuing shame to all, and a continuing profit source to a few.

Legislative and court actions will surely be necessary to accomplish the program's goals. But they will not be enough, if there is no organized mass support.

Over-reliance on legalisms is foolish; if the law always gives way to power, Indian people must organize Indian power.

Indian militants face trials

Over 100 people are now facing federal, state and tribal charges stemming from actions last spring at Wounded Knee, the tiny hamlet on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota.

The trials following the Indian rebellion there "may well be the most massive, complex and involved series of legal proceedings in the history of the U.S.," according to attorneys in Sioux Falls, S.D. The government's efforts to tie up the Indians' time and money are matched by its efforts to hamper the work of the defense by separating the sites of the trials.

Two veterans of the rebellion, Dennis Banks and Russell Means are being tried in St. Paul, Minn. The rest of the cases will be tried in three other towns: Pierre and Sioux Falls, S.D., and Lincoln, Neb. Pierre will be the trial site for those involved in protests in Custer, S.D., on Feb. 6, 1973, shortly before the Wounded Knee rebellion, "won" the election over challenger

Judge Jon Fosheim, who will preside in the Pierre court, is noted for his attempts to revoke bail for many of the Custer defendants who were protesting the murder of Wesley Bad Heart Bull by a white businessman. The murderer was convicted of second-degree manslaughter and given a two-month suspended sentence.

In addition, Pierre's population of 10,000 has been so hostile to the defendants that defense committee members have been denied service in restaurants and harassed in the streets.

Another task undertaken by the defense is a suit it recently filed challenging the recent tribal presidential elections on the reservation. A court hearing will be held July 15 "but the whole matter could take up to two years," said a defense team member.

Richard Wilson, whose corrupt regime in part sparked the Wounded Knee rebellion, "won" the election over challenger



Russell Means.

Funds for the defense are urgently needed. The government has already spent some \$7 million for prosecution, according to the defense, while defendants must depend on voluntary contributions. Also needed are people to work in the several defense offices. To send money and for more information, contact the committee, Box 255, Sioux Falls, S.D. 57101, (605) 339-9805 or 333 Sibley St., Suite 605, St. Paul, Minn. 55101, (612) 224-5631.

The Continental Revolution

In February, reporters from Cuba, Britain, Le Monde and the New York Times were secretly taken to a three-hour press conference held in a suburb of Buenos Aires by representatives of the National Liberation Movement (MLN-Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) of Argentina. They announced the formation of a joint revolutionary council to coordinate the struggle against imperialism throughout Latin America. The following document is the presentation of their political analysis and strategy.

This event is significant because it represents the determined effort of the armed left to combat the continental strategy of the United States, exemplified by the imposition of brutal military governments in country after country as the only option left to stopping the people's just struggle against foreign domination.

In the midst of violent repression characterized by arrests, assassination and torture, these organizations have not only survived, but have been able to develop a broader analysis and a common strategy. In spite of past differences and experiences in their own countries, they have now united in the call for combining the clandestine and public forms of struggle against imperialism under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, and that this struggle of necessity means the building of socialism throughout the continent.

These organizations, with long histories in their respective countries, have come together under the shared symbol of Che Guevara, whose internationalist spirit and strategy (which included forming the ELN in Bolivia) set the guidelines for the revolutionary council. They refer back to the period of the anti-colonial wars against Spain and Portugal, where the people fought together under the leadership of Bolivar, Artigas (from the region now known as Uruguay) and San Martin (from Argentina). The document also names representatives of U.S. imperialism: Maj. Ralph "Pappy" Shelton, the Green Beret who tracked down Che in Bolivia; Dar Mitrione, an advisor to the Uruguayan police force involved in torture training, who was executed by the Tupamaros in 1970; and Ernest Siracusa, who was the ambassador to Bolivia at the time of the 1971 coup against the nationalist military government of Juan José Torres, and who in April 1973 became ambassador to Uruguay.

TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

"This is the road of Vietnam; this is the road that the people must follow; this is the road that America will follow with the special characteristic that the armed groups will be able to form councils of coordination to make the repressive task of Yankee imperialism more difficult and to aid our own cause."

Che Guevara, Message to Tricontinental

The National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile, the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) of Argentina, issue this declaration to let it be known to workers, peasants, urban poor, students and intellectuals, Indians, and the millions of exploited people of our suffering Latin America, our decision to unite in a Junta for Revolutionary Coordination.

This important step reflects a deepfelt necessity to bring our people together organizationally to unite the revolutionary forces against the imperialist enemy in order to carry out more efficiently the political and ideological battle against reformism and bourgeois nationalism.

This is the culmination of one of the major strategic ideas of Comandante Che Guevara, hero, symbol and precursor of the continental socialist revolution. It is also significant because it renews the fraternal tradition of our people who joined together and fought as one against the oppressors of the last century: the Spanish colonialists.

OUR STRUGGLE IS ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The people of the world live under the permanent threat of the most aggressive and rapacious imperialism that has ever existed. They have witnessed, not with indifference, the genocide organized and led by Yankee imperialism against the heroic Vietnamese people. In this unequal war, whose flames still burn, the warlike, treacherous character of U.S. imperialism has been exposed. But this war has shown once more, the weakness of the system and its military power, when faced by a people determined to fight and be free.

The Latin American people, from the past century to the present time, have borne the heavy colonial or neo-colonial yoke of the imperialists. They have suffered repeatedly from military intervention and wars which have been unjustly waged or initiated by the North American army or the multinational corporations.

And so you have the plundering of Mexico, the occupation of Puerto Rico, the intervention in Santo Domingo, the Bay of Pigs and other acts of war which our America will neither forget nor forgive.

And you have Shell, Esso or Standard Oil, United Fruit, ITT, the money of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Ford. You have the CIA, which, with its Pappy Shelton, Mitrione and Siracusa, has left indelible imprints of the powerful United States against the popular movement in Latin America.

LATIN AMERICA MARCHES TOWARD SOCIALISM

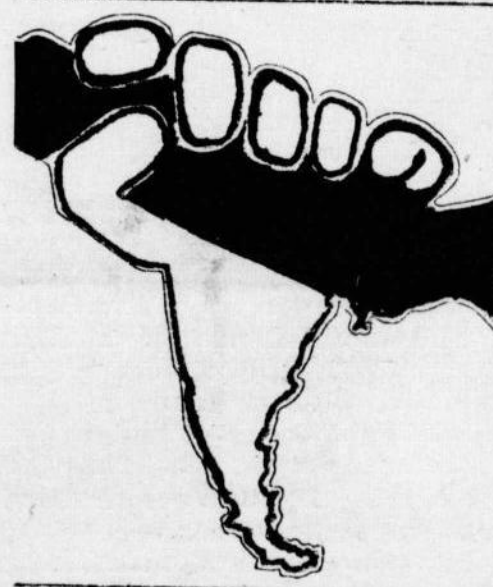
The triumph of the Cuban Revolution on the first of January, 1959, began the final march of the Latin American people towards socialism, towards true national independence and towards the collective well-being of the people.

This is the just and open rebellion of the exploited of Latin America against a barbaric neocolonial capitalist system imposed since the end of the last century by European and Yankee imperialism. By force, deceit and corruption, they seized our continent. The cowardly bourgeois "criollos" and their armies were unable to honor the revolutionary legacy of the glorious anticolonial struggle of our people, who, led by heroes such as Bolivar, San Martin, Artigas and so many others, won independence, equality and liberty.

The ruling classes, defending their group interests, united with the imperialists, collaborated with them, facilitated their economic penetration, and progressively handed over control of our economy to the insatiable hunger of foreign capital. Economic domination led to political and cultural control and domination. The neocolonial capitalist system, which came to exploit, oppress and deform the working classes of our continent for the past one hundred years, was established in this way.

From the beginning of this century the working class began to rise up against that system. Unfurling the then little-known flag of socialism, united with the banner of national independence, they promoted the awakening of the peasants, of the students, of all that was revolutionary

HASTA



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SIEMPRE

among our people. Anarchism, socialism and communism, as organized working class movements, were the energetic and heroic forerunners of the mobilization of the people, the trademark of the revolutionary struggle. The legendary Nicaraguan leader Augusto Cesar Sandino, a metallurgical worker, led one of the most heroic of those battles when his guerrilla army held and defeated U.S. troops in 1932. In the 30's our people throughout the continent developed a movement which was able to halt Yankee imperialism, the number one enemy of the people of the world.

But that formidable revolutionary mobilization of the people was not victorious. The direct and indirect political and military counterrevolutionary intervention by Yankee imperialism, together with the deficiencies of anarchism, of the socialist currents, and the Communist parties, resulted in a temporary defeat. The majority of the Communist parties, the most conscientious and organized of that period, reverted to reformism. Some of them, such as the heroic Salvadoran Communist Party, suffered cruel defeats, with hundreds and thousands of martyrs. As a result, the spontaneous uprising of the people left the revolutionary path and fell under the influence and leadership of bourgeois nationalism: a dead end to revolution and a demagogic tool wisely used by the ruling classes to prolong the functioning of the neocolonial capitalist system.

Beginning with the formidable triumph of the Cuban people who, under the skillful and insightful leadership of Fidel Castro and a group of Marxist-Leninist leaders, were able to defeat the Batista army and establish the First Latin American socialist state at the very doorstep of imperialism, the people of the continent strengthened their revolutionary faith and began a new, massive mobilization.

By trial and error, our people and their leaders launched with determination the anti-imperialist fight for socialism. The decade of the 60s saw the emergence of great popular struggles, violent guerrilla battles, powerful mass uprisings. The April war, a general uprising of the Dominican people, forced the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism, which had to send 30,000 soldiers to put down that uprising with a massacre [in 1965].

The legendary figure of Comandante Ernesto Guevara personified and symbolized that entire period of struggle. His heroic death, as well as his exemplary life and development of Marxist-Leninist strategy, opened up the new revolutionary movement which grows daily in power and strength. The movement springs from the factories, from the towns, from the countryside and the cities and is spreading throughout the continent without restraint.

This is the definitive awakening of our people, with thousands and thousands of workers on their feet, which goes forth inevitably towards the Second Independence, towards the elimination of the unjust capitalist system and the establishment of revolutionary socialism.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

The revolutionary road is not easy or simple. Not only must we confront the barbaric economic and military might of imperialism, but more subtle enemies and dangers lie in wait to attack the revolutionary forces and their efforts to carry out the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Given the particular characteristics of the continental revolutionary struggle at present, we refer specifically to two currents of thought and action which forcefully conspire against our efforts. They are the same enemy: bourgeois nationalism and reformism.

At times closely united, both attempt to take over the leadership of the people's movement and impose their mistaken ideas which will only end by repressing the revolutionary movement. Thus the uncompromising ideological and political struggle which we revolutionaries must carry out against these currents acquires a strategic dimension: we must gain the leadership of the people's struggle in order to provide it with a coherent revolutionary direction and guide it with perseverance, intelligence and ability, toward victory.

Bourgeois nationalism is favored by imperialism because it can distract and divert the peoples' struggle when counterrevolutionary violence has lost its effectiveness. Its social base consists of pro-imperialist bourgeoisie who compete with the traditional oligarchy for the favors handed out by imperialism. Bourgeois nationalists present themselves as firemen who will put out the flame of revolution with their influence and ability to negotiate before the people can become mobilized. In their politics of deceit, they brandish a verbal anti-imperialist position and try to confuse the people with their preferred nationalist thesis: that they are the third option. However, in reality, they are not anti-imperialists, and actually give in

MASS DEPORTATIONS

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independent trade union movement in Mexico (Frente Sindical Independiente), we had delegates from the Brigadas Campesino Obrero Estudiantiles from various parts of Mexico. We had delegates from Dominican organizations in New York and from Haiti. There were Refugee and Immigrant Organizations represented. We had delegates from Italian Immigration Organizations, who came from Rome. We had delegates from Movement for Redress of Grievances of Immigrant Workers and Friends; and delegates from Belgium and Germany. Primarily these people came as observers and reporters, but, nevertheless, they came representing their organizations that are working in solving the same kind of problems that immigrant workers suffer in Northern Europe: racism, exploitation, abolition of Human Rights.

PRENSA POPULAR: Many resolutions were passed. How many were they? What of them? Are they being distributed across the country and internationally? BERT CORONA: Yes. We hope to have by the end of the next day some 20-odd resolutions accompanied by as many reports. It'll be a document over 100 pages in length, both in Spanish and in English, and the initial run will be 1,000 copies. They will go to the people at the conference, with some left over for distribution throughout the year.

Workers Without Visas Are the Base

PRENSA POPULAR: At this point in time, how is the struggle nationally? BERT CORONA: The stage in which the struggle finds itself is one of accumulating forces and developing forces. We still do not have enough basic organization involved in those areas where immigrant workers live in large numbers—that is, workers without documents. We need to spread a network of organizations of the immigrant workers themselves, those who do not have visas themselves and their families, to serve as a base, to serve as a starting point from which other organizational and political efforts must be made. Once those networks are established, then, the workers themselves can approach churches, trade unions, and other ethnic and community defense organizations. But, unless this network of immigrant workers without visas themselves are organized into defense and advocacy organizations, the second portion of the work, the political support segment of the work, is not as effective and cannot be developed to the fullest extent. So, at this moment, we are spreading organization on the East Coast, in the Midwest, in Central Texas, in Northern California and in the Rocky Mountain areas.

PRENSA POPULAR: Most of those deported come from Mexico and work inside U. S. factories. How are deportations related to the class struggle in the U. S. and in Mexico?

BERT CORONA: The deportations are merely an extension of class exploitation on the part of primarily monopoly capitalist and multinational organizations. The workers themselves may work for an affiliate or a component of a conglomerate and may not be working, supposedly, directly for these monopolies. But the bulk of the workers are in food processing, food raising, agribusiness, meat slaughtering, meat canning, meat packing, in rear road maintenance, in mining, milling, smelting, in wood products processing and manufacture, in basic steel industry and related industries, rubber, oil or auto, perhaps not in the mainline mass assembly occupations, but certainly in the sub-contracting operations, nevertheless, working for an extension of these big monopolies.

Mass deportations effect the class struggle very directly. The deportation is merely a weapon to keep this permanent part of the workforce—the working class in the United States,—soft and vulnerable to exploitation. It is not a question of the capitalist employer wanting these workers not to come, it is that they want them to come and they know that they must come because of the lack of jobs and lack of economic activity in the home country, that they themselves help to create by their dominance and penetration of the economy of the home country. They know these workers must come; so, the immigration policy of the deportation is a weapon of continued harassment for a permanently placing these workers in a state of vulnerability to blackmail and easy exploitation.

On the outside, how does it effect the Mexican home country, Central America or wherever the workers come. In fact, it effects them very adversely. Emigration is bad. No country should have to lose its best workers and I say the best workers because traditionally we have found that workers who immigrate, who have the daring, who have the mobility, the pick-up, and the get-up, flexibility to move to astray, to hostile environments, to hostile societies, to hostile systems and countries are usually the most flexible, the most resourceful, most adaptable workers. They are lost to any country, to any nation at the point they're going to be most productive. That nation, through all its sacrifices, has paid to procreate them, has paid to educate them, to keep them in good health and paid to rear them. At the point where they become most productive—when they're adults and strong and able to do productive work—they are lost because there are not enough economic opportunities for them to sustain themselves alive and their families. And so, therefore, that is the immediate, most adverse effect upon the economic life of the country out of which they emigrate. The continued, vicious cycle of underdevelopment, of uneven development that fires the misery and the mass unemployment, the mass poverty of Mexico and other Latin American countries, is further beaten down and further entrenched by this continued emigration of the best elements in the work force on a year to year basis.

U.S. Border Factories: Superexploitation

PRENSA POPULAR: Since most of the workers deported come from Mexico or Latin America, what of the factories which are being built along the U. S.—Mexican border? Is it an effort to stop the immigration flow or is it super-exploitation of the workers and more profits for the capitalist companies?

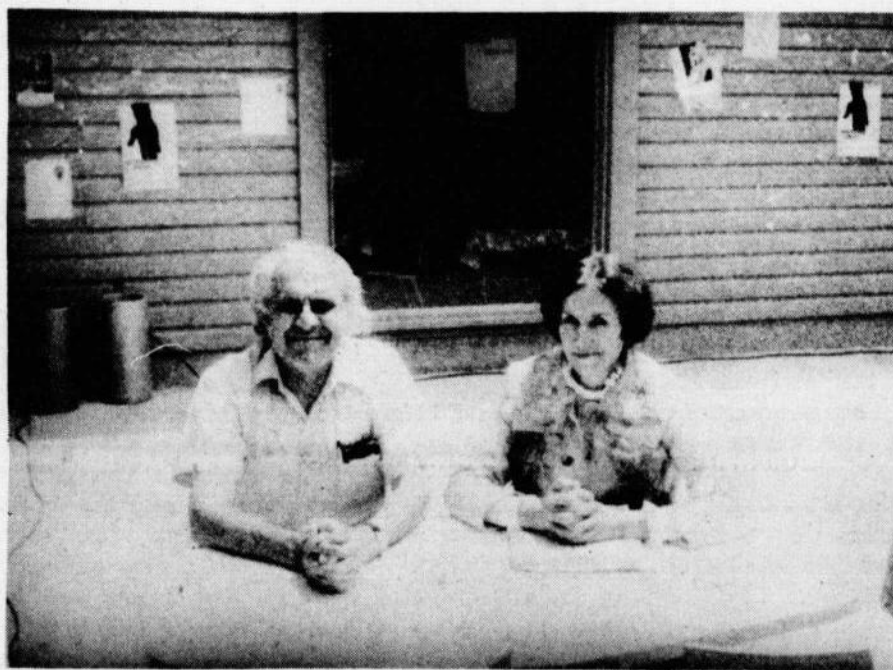
BERT CORONA: It is certainly the latter. There is no effort made to stem the immigrant flow—in fact, it stimulates it. By locating themselves on the border, by promising, through very highly geared public relations programs in the interior areas, that there are jobs on the border and new opportunity, they attract tens of thousands new workers every year, every season from the interior of Mexico to the border. But there are no such types of jobs available in the border industries program. For every 20 jobs advertised, there is actually only one! This is a program designed to give the companies from the U. S. an opportunity to enter into the manufacturing or sub-assembly or finishing market, to do their high-labor-intensive operations on the Mexican side under fairly favorable conditions the national companies never have. They get a tax break. They get a break in terms of not having to pay the national minimum wage. They are allowed to consider all their employees as apprentices so they can pay them the lowest wages. And they are allowed to dismiss their workers at the end of the completion of the apprenticeship program; so that this is merely a repetition program. So that every six months or every year, they hire a whole new crop, consider them as apprentices and pay them, of course, the lowest possible wages.

There is no permanency to these jobs. There is no skill that is transmitted or learned by the workers themselves. So what these border industries create is more dislocation of the internal markets and the internal economic foundations inside the states of Mexico. These border programs have proven to be totally adverse to the long-range and even short range interest of not only the Mexican working class but of the entire Mexican community.

PRENSA POPULAR: Since the birth of Capitalism, workers have formed unions for protection against exploitation. What efforts have been made to link the Deportations Struggle with the trade unionist movement in the U. S. and in Mexico? BERT CORONA: The efforts have been made on a continuous and consistent basis. The response on the part of many union leadership segments in this country has been very poor. For the most part, the top leadership of the AFL-CIO is still operating from the racist, collaborationist and extremely anti-foreign, anti-immigrant policies of Samuel Gompers. They have a very negative, very restrictive, very anti-labor attitudes when it comes to defending immigrant workers. The response has been very unfavorable.

However, there are some unions whose national leadership has responded very favorably: the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union, the United Electrical and Machine Worker's Union (Independent), the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America, district 65 of the Distribution and Wholesale Workers of New York, the Hospital and Drug Workers (District 1199 of New York), the Fur and Leather Workers and others. And there are important unions in the labor locals and the Laborers National Union.

In practically every international union, we do have some local leadership of some Locals who take a strong and pro-worker position and whose approach and policies toward immigrant workers are based on worker's solidarity rather than following or accepting blindly the policies, laws and practices of immigration and deportation of the U. S. Government. I say this because it is our firm conviction that these laws, policies and practices are dictated by the large corporations who want to exploit the labor forces. That is the situation in terms of U. S. Unions.



On the right we have Bert Corona, national Secretary of CASA. On the left is Soledad Alatorre, national President of CASA. Both are presently directly involved in fighting Mass Deportations

The P.R.I. Controls Established Unions

In terms of Mexican Unions, we have a very significant breakthrough. There are many new unions being formed in Mexico at this time. There is a broad front of the United Independent Unions who have brought themselves into a new association. These are primarily in the factories where they're assembling autos and machinery that comes from the U. S. and Germany: Volkswagen, Chrysler, Dena and many, many others. These new, independent Unions that are not in the confederations controlled by the Partido Revolucionario Institucionalista (PRI) or the Mexican government, do take a very strong position on behalf of the interest of immigrant workers. The peasant union, also has taken a very strong position and advocacy on the basis of international class solidarity of the workers and campesinos who have to leave Mexico and Latin American countries and come to the U. S. to work, to be workers, and, of course, to suffer exploitation, racism. The new Unions that have been organized in the Universities, like the T-UNAM, and in the state Universities also have a strong class solidarity position in terms of all immigrant workers in the U. S.

The classic, traditional Trade Union Movement that is beholden to the Mexican government,—the CTM, THE CROC, the CRON and these others—have a very, very poor record in doing something in behalf of immigrant workers. To begin with, they are part of the whole system of the PRI, the government structure that is controlled by the oligarchy in Mexico, that has aligned itself to the imperialist economic forces from the U. S. in Mexico; so that the traditional Union leadership merely pays lip service to class solidarity but in reality carries out policies that are adverse to the interests of the immigrant workers in the U. S. that come from Mexico or Latin America.

PRENSA POPULAR: A member of PP was in Guadalajara, Mexico last summer. There, the daily newspapers were writing about the coming deportations and the future surplus of workers which would be dumped in the city. They further argued that there would be an increase of the number unemployed, the fostering of crime prostitution, and pornography. What such social problems will manifest themselves in Mexico as a result of mass deportations? BERT CORONA: The social problems that are created in Mexico by deportations are actually no increase in the present problems. It is established by record that deportations, emigration, immigration are a vicious cycle in and out of Mexico. If a million workers leave Mexico in a given year, there would be 1/2 million deported and another 1/4 million who return. This is why we say that this process is a permanent feature and characteristic of imperialist-international-exploitation of the work force, of the working class of Mexico, the U. S. and Latin America. It is a permanent

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gilders in order to possess burgher right.¹² Naturally the merchants were the only people who could assume that position. After the Dutch passed control to the English, very little changed. Myers gives a brief overview of that frequently common man who goes to war for the benefit of the rich:

"...the Revolution was brought about by the dissatisfied trading class as the only means of securing absolute freedom of trade. Notwithstanding the view often presented that it was an altruistic movement for the freedom of man, it was essentially an economic struggle fattered by the trading class and by a part of the landed interests. ...The poverty-stricken soldiers who fought for their cause found after the war that the machinery of government was devised to shut out manhood suffrage and kept the power intact in the hands of the rich."¹³

Myers argument entails much more of the powerlessness that poor immigrants had in New England. Near the end of the 18th Century Massachusetts, North Carolina, Georgia, New Hampshire, South Carolina and New York all had laws within their constitutions requiring a minimum amount of property or money in order to run for office. We can see how property was commensurate with political power and the beginnings of such in a few hands. A prominent American of the times — John Jacob Astor affords a good example of what this concentration would eventually mean. It's logical that Astor assumed his rise by cheating the Indians. In 1808 he incorporated the American Fur Company. He establishes the settlement of Astoria in Oregon but the War of 1812 fouls his plans there. Astor turns to the Southwest off Missouri River. The use of liquor to acquire furs from the Indians was overly effective. Astor's headquarters at Mackinac held a monopoly on whiskey and wine:

"Astor's company brazenly violated this law, as well as all other laws conflicting with its profit interests. It smuggled prodigious quantities of whiskyCol. Snelling added that during that year there had been delivered by contract to an agent of the North American Fur Company at Mackinac (he meant the American Fur Co. which, as we have seen, had one of its principal headquarters at the post and maintained a monopoly there), 3,300 gallons of whisky and 2,500 gallons of high wines."¹⁴

Indians would be swindled but even more, entire tribes would slowly go in debt to Astor. In 1831 the Winnebagoes, Sacs, and Foxes owed the American Fur Co. \$60,000.

Astor's rise as a city landlord involved much fraud. Government land in the South was equally seized, while settlers were left empty handed:

"The land frauds, by which many of the Southern planters obtained estates in Louisiana, Mississippi, and other states

were a national scandal. Benjamin F. Linton, United States attorney for Western Louisiana, reported to President Andrew Jackson on August 27, 1835, that in seizing possession of government land in that region "the most shameful frauds, impositions and perjuries had been committed in Louisiana."¹⁵

Land fraud was a common occurrence and this activity was to manifest itself when New Mexico and California would be seized from Mexico in the Mexican-American War. Land and territory were fruits of expansion but this means little if we do not ascertain what became of these lands and who reaped personal profit from them. As we begin to examine the events that led to the Polk-Stockton intrigue, we will understand how financial interest played a large role in the deliberations.



After independence, Mexico was confronted by U.S. diplomacy. Joel R. Poinsett was selected by President Adams in 1825 to begin wheeling down Mexico's claim to the Sabine River as the boundary. In instructions to Poinsett, we gather the following:

"If the line were so altered as to throw altogether on one side Red River and Arkansas, and their respective tributary streams, and the line on the Sabine were removed further west, all causes of future collision would be prevented. The government of Mexico may have a motive for such an alteration of the line as here proposed, in the fact that it would have the effect of placing the city of Mexico nearer the center of its territories."¹⁶

The Mexican minister Alaman did not budge an inch from the already established boundary. Spain had concluded the boundary, Mexico had acquired its emancipation and therefore, the treaty was binding on the U.S.

Continued from page 14 **PERONISMO** ty to organize people around issues of the control of production and around the problems generated by the development of dependent capitalism concerning housing, health, transport, in the cities and in the countryside, and on its ability to seize the initiative in the struggles of people in entire regions of the country condemned to "underdevelopment" by the imbalanced pattern of capitalist growth produced by foreign monopoly capital. The present relationship of forces is against the left, but, when one views the situation in a larger context it is clear that several long-

run trends operate in their favor. In the first place, the reformist program (national developmental capitalism) sponsored by Peron is unviable, i.e. objectively impossible given present-day conditions in Argentina. The options are sharper and clearer than ever: reformism either moves in the direction of socialism or else it regresses into an alliance with foreign monopolies. This is precisely what is happening with Peron's program. To the extent that this program succumbs to the control of multinationals as it is happening, the same conflicts that surfaced in 1969 and 1971 and brought down a military government will reappear. If the Peronist left manages to maintain its organizational and military integrity during the present conjuncture, it will reap great political benefits in the not too distant future. The Argentine bourgeoisie and its imperialist ally have been objectively incapable of controlling the political system in a stable and legitimate way for the past 19 years. It is highly improbable that they will now be able to do so by manipulating the Peronist movement. Far from stopping the spiraling class struggle that their economic project produced over the last two decades, the control of the state by Peron has transferred the class struggle to the very center of his movement. Peronism cannot synthesize the contradictions that affect Argentine society.

It is being absorbed by them instead. What is happening in Argentina is the beginning of a multi-faceted struggle for liberation and autonomy: the liberation of the nation from imperialism, the liberation of the workers, peasants, and middle sectors from the foreign and national monopolistic bourgeoisies, the liberation of the producers from the weight of the bureaucratic organizations that distort their representation, and the liberation of individual and collective consciousness from myths and authoritarianism, including the myth of Peron himself.

CHILE

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Los U.S.A. quieren evitar que se forje en América Latina una voluntad continental, pero no pueden conseguirlo. Nuestra lucha va de un lado a otro del continente. Como se ha dicho, América latina es una gran nación desmembrada en 20 repúblicas. La liberación de una de estas repúblicas esta condicionada a la situación total. En América latina, Cuba es hoy una nación liberada y como ella lo serán las demás. Así en el transcurso de los años el gran ejército de la independencia va liberando uno tras otro territorios, regiones y repúblicas. Pero hasta que América latina no esté completamente liberada, siempre existirá la posibilidad de una toma de poder por el imperialismo.

Mexican Migrant Workers

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feature of these specific brand of U. S. capitalist, industrial operations and its imperialist manifestations in Mexico and Latin America; so, that therefore, when newspapers in a town like Guadalajara raise this bogey, this scapegoat and this scare that deportations are going to exacerbate the social problems, they are then merely adding credence to the whole question that it is workers who cause the problems, it is workers who create the social problems. And we say that it is not the workers. It is the System—the capitalist system that fails to provide positive, economic activity, positive means of existence for workers that causes the social problems not workers themselves. That is an exploiters and oppressors position, and, of course, it is in line with the servility of much of the Mexican press before the U. S. imperialist and multinationalist corporations' policies in Mexico and in the U. S.

PRENSA POPULAR: What is the position of the established Mexican Trade Unionist Movement on Mass Deportations?

BERT CORONA: Periodically they issue statements deploring deportations, but their basic fundamental policy is not one that demands and uses the economic strength of the workers they represent to force the creating of a system that will increase the number of job opportunities. The position of the Mexican Trade Union Movement, with the exception of the independent anti-government Trade Union Movement, towards the whole question of economic development is one of supporting and retaining the dependency characteristic of Mexico's industrial development upon the whims and the needs to create bigger and more profits for American operators, financial giants and monopoly economic giants operating in Mexico. They do not take a clear cut political or economic stance against this continued exploitation and relationship of oppressor and dependency between the U. S. economic might and Mexico's economic order.

A Permanent Part of U. S. Work Force

PRENSA POPULAR: Specifically, what efforts are being carried out to organize the so-called surplus of workers in Mexico, those deported from the U. S.?

BERT CORONA: In Mexico we have a new trend that has been manifesting itself in the last 3 to 5 years. Those very same independent unions that I mentioned before (they are not many but there are some Local and plant Trade Union locals that have banded together)—La Confederación Campesina Independiente, the Communist Party of Mexico, and the Brigadas Campesinas Obrero Estudiantiles—have begun, slowly, but on a long range program, and it manifest itself now in certain organizing tactics that have been developed and organizing activities, the task of orienting the people when they come here, the task of working amongst them in those centers of surplus workers, such as the baja in Michoacan, in Jalisco, along the border states, in Reynosa, in Juarez, in Mexicali, in Tijuana, orientating these workers by mass distribution of leaflets informing them about their rights, moving with the migrant streams into the U. S. and forming cells or forming segment of their movement, so that they can align themselves against exploitation and support the struggles of other workers. For instance, we have a situation where by the UFW union in Texas supports the freedom of Ramon Dansos Palomino, the secretary-general of the Confederación Campesina Independiente, who is a political prisoner in Atlixco, Puebla for leading movements of peasants to take over lands in the state of Puebla. The reason that the

UFW Union has taken this stand, has involved itself in this national and international movement to free Ramon Palomino is that the CCI has given strong support, in the other side of the line, to all the efforts of the UFW to unionize those workers there in Mexico before they come each year to work in the U. S. And so, conversely, the members of the CCI, who come in the migrant stream into the U. S., come already with some political orientation, some political development and as a return, of course, they participate in the struggles here.

The same is true of what the Communist Party of Mexico has begun to do. They clearly state that a large segment of the Mexican working class works permanently, even though on a temporary seasonal basis, in the U. S. They say it is a permanent part of the U. S. work force and it is a permanent part of the Mexican nation and of the Mexican working class; therefore, they are organizing now and taking steps to develop organization amongst those workers wherever they go. This is a very significant step because we know that in Spain the Communist Party has as many workers living and working in France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and other North European countries who are members of the Communist Party as they have inside of Spain. They have correctly accessed the needs and requirements of their working class in being and international-migratory-industrial-service-and-agricultural work force under the new conditions, as I mentioned before, of the international exploitation of the working class of Europe and North America.

Another August 29th in L. A.

PRENSA POPULAR: Here in the U. S., what has been the most effective tactic in the struggle against Mass Deportations?

BERT CORONA: The mass demonstrations and the marches, undoubtedly. Here in Los Angeles, we put a stop to the mass raiding. We were able to develop, after the 27th day of the mass deportations in Los Angeles, that been announced to last 90 days when they brought over 300 officers from all over the U. S. to carry them out, a fighting organization. We were able to launch a mass march down Broadway from 3,000 to 5,000 people involved. The very next day, they dispatched back to their home offices the 300 officers that were here and they put an end to the raiding. The same has been true in the state of Colorado and elsewhere.

PRENSA POPULAR: What is being planned for the 29th of August?

BERT CORONA: On August 29th of this year, as a result of a resolution unanimously adopted at our National Immigration Conference in East Los Angeles College, we plan to have a national Moratorium against immigration laws, policies and actions. We hope to bring together delegates and representatives and participants in this Moratorium from every state in the Union, from every segment of the population: churches, Trade Unions, community organizations, student groups, women groups and others. We hope this will be a political stand, that this will be a political demonstration, that there is a growing consciousness and a growing determination on the part, not only of workers without documents themselves, their friends, relatives and our Chicano Community—of other Latino Communities, such as Dominicans, Asians, Central Americans, South American—but of people and workers and their organizations and the other ethnic groups: Black, Asians, Brown, Puerto Rican and amongst White people themselves.

Suppression in Uruguay

To the Editors:

We the undersigned members of the Spanish Department of Yale University respectfully protest the incarceration of Juan Carlos Onetti, Uruguayan leading novelist, under the charge of pornography.* In imprisoning him, as well as the publishers and staff of the weekly *Marcha*, the Uruguayan government is obviously aiming at a larger target. Since it was launched in 1939, *Marcha* has devoted its pages to an independent and responsible analysis of Latin American affairs and culture. It was the only remnant of free speech in Uruguay. Its closing cannot be accepted.

Emir Rodríguez-Monegal, Chairman,
and seventeen others

Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut

To the Editors:

The American press and television are full of news and comment about Solzhenitsyn these days. I regret very much the actions taken by the Soviet government against Solzhenitsyn; but would you please allow me to doubt that the coverage given to him by *Time* Magazine and other American publications springs from an authentic concern for freedom of expression. The reason for doubting is the fact that no coverage is being given to the closing down of *Marcha* Magazine in Uruguay, which took place several weeks ago. Knowing the power and means of the American mass media I cannot believe that they have not noticed it. If they have not noticed it, it is only because they are not interested in looking at what is going on.

Marcha has been up to now one of the most important literary and political magazines in Spanish. The editor of *Marcha*, Carlos Quijano, a veteran journalist who could in some way be compared to I. F. Stone, and who is now seventy-three, is in jail. So is Assistant Editor Hugo Alfaro. And also the writers Juan Carlos Onetti, now sixty-six, one of the most distinguished Latin American novelists; Nelson Marra, a poet and short-story writer; and Mercedes Rein. The literary critic Jorge Ruffinelli is reported in hiding and wanted by the police.

The reason for all this is that Nelson Marra wrote a short story under the title of "The Bodyguard," which describes the killing of a high police officer. Some people have interpreted this story as referring to Héctor Morán Charquero, a known torturer who was accused of being an assassin and probably a profiteer from prostitution. Morán Charquero was killed by the Tupamaro guerrillas four years ago. Onetti and Rein are in jail for giving the story a literary award and Ruffinelli is wanted for the same reason. Marra is in jail for writing it and Quijano and Alfaro for publishing it. The reasons alleged by the government for the imprisonment of these writers and journalists are that the story uses obscene language and that it praises and encourages criminal activities. They are now being tried by a military tribunal, according to *Excelsior* of Mexico City, February 24, 1974. Many Mexican and Latin American intellectuals are protesting the trial.

One should realize the enormity of all this. Uruguay was for many decades a haven of democratic liberties in a continent racked by military dictatorships. Now this is over and the Bordaberry government, after it dissolved Parliament by force and arrested or forced into exile the main opposition leaders, has become a thinly veiled military dictatorship. Uruguay has achieved the disgraceful distinction of setting a precedent in repression. There have been cases in which writers or publishers were jailed because they wrote or published material offensive to the taste of people in power and authority, and this was bad enough. But so far as I know this is the first case in which members of a jury are being jailed because they gave a literary award that offended the authorities.

I submit that for the future of freedom in Latin America the Quijano-Onetti affair is more ominous and more important than the Solzhenitsyn case. If the North American press and television would show the same concern for what happens south of their borders as they do for what happens in the Soviet Union we Latin Americans would have reason for believing in their sincerity.

Mauricio Schoijet

Mexico City, Mexico

*Editors' Note: According to *The New York Times* of March 13, Mr. Onetti was recently transferred to a "psychiatric clinic."

China

Cont. from p. 21

corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. And we need the vast majority of the people with us on the road to this objective.

Li Ting-ming was an "enlightened landlord" of northern Shensi province who was elected Vice-Chairman of the Yen'an government. It is obvious that the bourgeois intellectuals and the feudal landlords were given the same option—to serve the interests of the people and, thus, join the ranks of the people.

As the war of resistance escalated and village infiltration was extended, party solidarity and ideological unity were threatened in certain areas by opposition and variation in village organization. Thus, Mao saw the need to reestablish the ideological base. In 1942, Mao called writers and artists from all corners of the country both in the interests of the people and to halt reaction which, of course, the intellectuals and landlords were still more inclined to than any other class.

At the Yen'an Forum (May 2-23, 1942), Mao made it clear that emphasis on the superstructure was necessary. The political, economic, and military organization and autonomy which was being built in the rural bases among the peasantry needed continuing, concrete ideological support. Only then could the infrastructure (the government, the party, the economic forces, and the people's army) be further mobilized. Thus, Mao called for a "correct" ideological position, one which could inspire, support, and strengthen the masses.

The main idea advanced at the Forum was to make literature and art a vital part of the revolutionary machinery. The assumption was that writers and artists were the group most capable of educating and mobilizing the Chinese people. This theory,

of course, depended on the ideological commitment of the writers and artists to the masses and to the revolution. However, it must be noted that several of the writers and artists attending the Forum were precisely the ones who were opposing the revolution and straying from the mass line.

In clarification of the "correct" position, Mao made four points in his short introductory remarks opening the Forum on May 2. (1) The writers and artists must take the position of the proletariat and the masses. (2) In relation to the revolution, there are three kinds of people: the enemies, the allies, and the proletariat and its vanguard! The writers and the artists must have a different attitude toward each of these three categories. (3) The writers and artists must get acquainted with the masses and the cadres among them and write for this public. (4) The writers and artists must study both the principles of Marxism-Leninism and society. They must recognize the fundamental concept that the objective conditions of class struggle and national struggle determine thinking and sentiments and that they should seek a society and a love that stands above all class distinctions.

These four points clearly outline not only Mao's ideological commitments, but his perception of the role of the intellectual in a revolutionary society to support whole-heartedly and "correctly" these ideological commitments in their art and literature. Mao sees in this role definite tactical perspectives which shall be considered in the fourth part of this discussion. But the most important aspect of the Yen'an Forum was that Mao had defined the masses and the revolution as the theoretical base of art and literature. The cultural ideal was to become social and, more important, a political ideal.

trained from among the ranks of the peasantry.

What is the content of the training courses? Of course the content varies in accordance with the previous training of the barefoot doctor, but a rough outline can be given here. A more complete discussion of the capabilities of the barefoot doctor is contained in the final section of this essay which deals with the "Instruction Manual for Barefoot Doctors." Suffice it to say that the training falls into four broad categories: prevention, diagnosis, treatment, and nursing. A beginning barefoot doctor is likely to concentrate on prevention. A course of this sort might discuss basic human anatomy, purification of water supplies, treatment of human and animal waste used as fertilizer, and pest control. The diagnosis, treatment and nursing instruction comes in more advanced

courses. But in all training the emphasis is placed on problems in the local areas rather than on relatively rare medical problems, or problems peculiar to a distant part of the nation. There is also an ongoing attempt to combine the techniques of modern medicine with those of traditional Chinese medicine. For the Chinese this is a political question. They are extremely critical of those who are slavish to foreign medical developments, and very proud of traditional practice in herbal medicine and acupuncture which they are convinced have great use. China is one of the few Third World countries which has refused to throw out the tenets of traditional medicine in favor of all out Westernization, and their health and medical service is richer for it. The average barefoot doctor in Chiangchen Commune has been described in the following way:

After more than two years of practice, they have made remarkable progress in their medical skill. All of them can prescribe around 100 medicinal preparations, and diagnose and cure around 100 common ailments of frequent occurrence in the rural districts. They can perform acupuncture on more than 100 points on the human body. They can cure such common but serious illnesses in the rural districts as measles, pneumonia, and pleurisy. Some of them have shown more in practical work than some of the doctors in the commune clinic, who are graduates of medical schools but lack practical medical experience.

In Shenmu County, Shensi Province in the northwestern part of China a medical school for barefoot doctors offers a two year program. During the two year period the students spend three months each year doing agricultural work at the medical school, and six months each year in the classroom. The hospital administrators have reported that the income from the agricultural work was sufficient to cover the costs of administration, laboratory tests, tuition, living expenses and the cook's wages. In a country as poor as China it is rather important that medical and health ventures of this sort be as self-sufficient as possible. In the 1967-68 period the school turned out 58 barefoot doctors.

What is the role of professionals? While it is true that the Chinese appear to be suspicious of urban specialists in general, it is also true that they must depend on these highly skilled people for many things. All the available evidence seems to indicate that the barefoot doctors are, at every level, trained by med-

Cont. on Page 31

Third World Cont. from p. 19

profits by absorbing the increases in oil prices" who were the real profiteers in the recent "energy crisis."

It is the imperialist countries, opulently wealthy in comparison to developing countries, who have the most to lose in the 3rd World asserting itself. The developing nations have always known scarcity of material goods and famine. The picture that Kissinger paints is designed to confuse and divert growing 3rd World solidarity because it is the U.S. and other monopoly capitalists who face diminished influence and profits. Of the 80% majority population which comprises the 3rd World, the people have nothing to lose but their imperialist-forged chains. Even formerly U.S.-dominated nations like Liberia can be seen to be standing up against the superpower nations. Liberian President William Tolbert declared his support for African liberation struggles in Portuguese African colonies, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Miguel de la For Valle of Peru announced that: "We are on the threshold of a historic qualitative change, the dawn of an era in which there must inevitably be a change in economic and political relations among nations and whose beginning proves that the third world is no longer a congeries of irremediably weak countries at the mercy of the powerful."

China's Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping succinctly summed up the brave new stand and aspirations of the 3rd World countries attending this U.N. conference: "It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful; the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all the countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win."

*Third World: The U.S. and the Soviet Union make up the First World; the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World; and the developed countries between the two make up the Second World.

Postscript:
VENEZUELA NATIONALIZES FOREIGN INTERESTS APRIL 29, 1974

Another U.S.-dominated Third World country recently joined the ranks of those developing nations who have decided they have had enough of U.S. companies draining their natural resources dry. Venezuela announced recently that it plans to nationalize U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Sears and Roebuck and a partially Rockefeller-owned chain of department stores. It is rumored that Venezuela will soon nationalize the fabulously rich oil fields now leased by Exxon, Shell, Mobil, and Gulf.

Barefoot Doctors-

Cont. from page 30

ical professionals. Ever since the 1930's Mao Tse-Tung has viewed experts and technocrats in two ways. One the one hand professionals tend to become elitist. In the medical field this simply means that highly skilled professionals seek to increase their specialization, enhance their reputations and careers, and cling to the cities rather than serve the rural people whose health and medical needs are basic yet crucial. On the other hand, Mao has expressed his faith in the ability of intellectuals and professionals to reorient themselves ideologically and serve in the best interests of the people as a whole rather than pursue career interests. As mentioned before, the voluntarist strain in Maoist thinking also recognizes the possibility that peasants who acquire specialized training in the cities might also betray the interests of the masses.

The reports from Chiangchen Commune give credit to an urban medical professional who was able to avoid careerism and elitism:

In Chiangchen Commune the medical training of 28 barefoot doctors was undertaken by a doctor at the commune clinic who had come from a city medical school. In the last few years he has established warm class bonds with the poor and lower-middle peasants. He understood that in carrying out Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," he should not only act as a rural doctor himself but regard the training of barefoot doctors as an important task. He wrote a large amount of simplified teaching materials for medical work and public health in the villages, recommended some popular medical works suitable for villages, organized the barefoot doctors to help each other, and in particular gave them guidance on how to study on their own so that they could quickly cross the threshold through practice. In fact it is not difficult to cross the threshold.

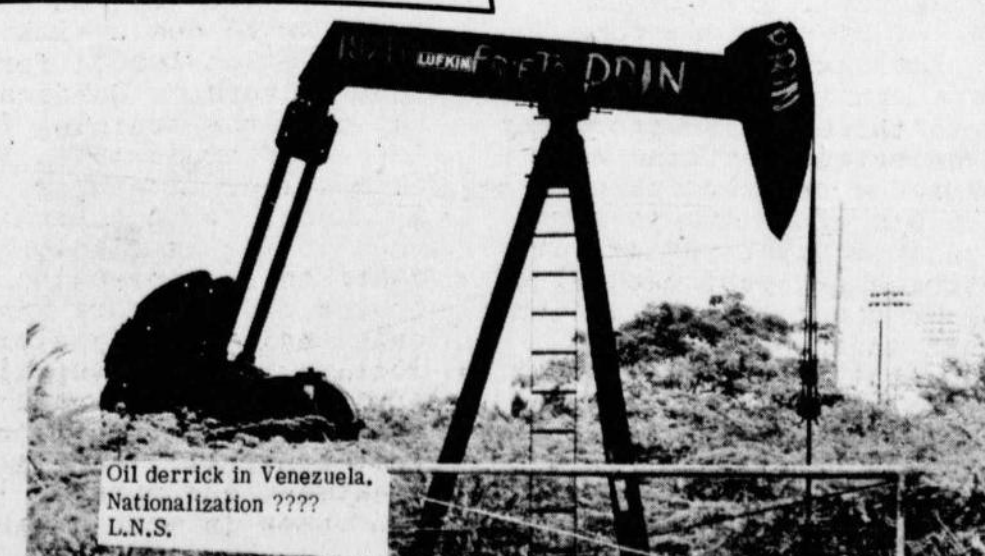
Mao Tse-Tung himself was so impressed when he read the details of this report that he wrote:

From the example of this doctor who came to the village from the city it can be seen that the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be reeducated by the workers, peasants, and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. If you doubt this, think of that doctor in Chiangchen Commune, Chuan-sha County, Shanghai.

How many cases do barefoot doctors treat? In Chiangchen Commune each barefoot doctor treated an average of 1500 cases each year. In Hunan Province a barefoot doctor was reported to have given over 14,000 treatments in a period somewhat longer than 3 1/2 years. A barefoot doctor called Li Hsunchao performed over 300 operations after 1967 in a commune in Kwangtung Province. A young woman barefoot doctor in Hopei Province delivered 120 babies and gave over 3700 acupuncture treatments during a period of just over two years. Although it is difficult to determine what qualifies to be counted as a treatment, these figures certainly suggest that basic health care in China's countryside must be more extensive than any other developing country in Asia. In the communes which encircle Peking and are within Peking administrative district there are over 12,000 barefoot doctors. This figure is a good indicator of the success of the overall program because the peasants around Peking were traditionally among the very poorest in China.

to be continued in next edition (June)

For the purpose of publication footnotes have been omitted.



Oil derrick in Venezuela. Nationalization ??? L.N.S.

cont. from p. 5

tent political ideology, "We've always been obstructed by our lack of clear ideology. We'd struggle through one decade then the next decade we'd lay dead. We'd fight and bleed for 10 or 15 years and then for the next 10 or 15 years we'd lay out. Then during that 10 or 15 years we lay out, we'd actually forget the 10 to 15 years we'd struggled. Because we had never developed a consistent ideology which explained ourselves to ourselves and explained how we had to struggle to make change."

Explaining the new course of the Congress of Afrikan People in the revising of its ideological stance toward Black liberation and self-determination, Baraka stated, "Our ideology must be based on nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism and socialism. It must be based on the idea that the wealth of the world belongs to the people of the world. The wealth of the world must be seized by the masses of the people. The IBM's and the General Motors and the Gulfs and the DuPonts are the last pirates in the world."

Baraka added further, "Our oppression here is directly attributable to a system which is based on private profit. Our struggle for liberation must involve a struggle against capitalism."

Speaking on what was necessary in the formation of the new revolutionary ideology, Baraka stated, "To put together our revolutionary ideology, an ideology of national liberation, we must study the experiences of any people who have been successful in making revolution. That is anybody who's ever been able to struggle successfully against racism and capitalism." Baraka mentioned the 1917 Russian socialist revolution and the Chinese revolution in 1949 as cases in point.

Baraka stated that Black people should not be afraid of learning from other people's revolutionary experiences, but said as a warning, "We have borrowed from people but usually we've confused our reality with theirs. We need to be clear enough about our own situation to know that there are some things we can use and other things we can't."

Baraka criticized the fact that throughout American history Black people have struggled for other people's causes and priorities and not their own. "We've never developed independent Black political movements," Baraka stated.

Baraka repeatedly stressed during his speech the need for independent Black political movements that are revolutionary in outlook and socialist in program.

Baraka made it clear in his speech that even though the Congress of Afrikan People would now begin to work with all progressive movements for social change, Black people must struggle first for the priorities of their own communities through progressive, independent Black political parties and a national Black United Front.

Announcement

This is Afrikan Liberation Month. A Unity March in observance of the national liberation struggles being currently waged in Africa will take place in South-east San Diego, Monday, May 20th. The march will start out from the

Jackie Robinson YMCA at 45th and Imperial St., at 10 a.m. that Monday. The march will proceed to the South Crest Park on 40th and National Ave., where speakers will be presenting speeches on the theme of African Liberation. Food and entertainment will also be provided.

National Afrikan Liberation Day is May 25th, to be held in Washington D.C. For more information, contact the Black Federation, ph. 263-2626.

REVOLUTION

Cont. from p. 26

to new and more subtle forms of foreign economic penetration.

Reformism, on the other hand, is found among the working people and reflects the fear of confrontation on the part of petty bourgeois sectors and union aristocracy. Its rejection of the necessity of using revolutionary violence to attain power characterizes its abandonment of the Marxist concept of class struggle. Reformism spreads out harmful pacifist and liberal ideas among the people; it embellishes the national bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary armies with whom they constantly seek to ally themselves; and it exaggerates the importance of legality and of constitutionality. One of its favorite arguments is the need to avoid violence and make contact with the bourgeoisie and the "patriotic military" in search of a peaceful road towards socialism. This argument is painfully refuted by facts. Wherever reformism has imposed its conciliatory, pacifist politics, the enemy and its armies have carried out the greatest massacres of the people. The recent Chilean experience, with more than 20,000 men and women murdered, makes further comment unnecessary.

The armed banner is raised in constant ideological and political struggle against bourgeois nationalism, reformism and other currents of lesser importance. This revolutionary banner gains strength daily in the hearts of the people, increasing its influence, improving its political and military capabilities, becoming a real option for achieving national independence and socialism.

The four organizations signing this declaration have decided to form the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination precisely to contribute to the strengthening of that revolutionary banner on a continental scale. We call upon the vanguard of all popular and workers' revolutionary groups in Latin America to organize around this Junta and its national organizations, and to struggle together.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS

The Tupamaros (MLN), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), in the course of our patriotic and revolutionary struggle, have understood the necessity of uniting; we have discovered through our own experience the international nature of our struggle, recognizing that we must oppose the united imperialist, capitalist enemy with the strongest unity of our people.

Bound by the similarity of our struggles and our positions, we four organizations first established fraternal ties, exchanged experiences, and increasingly worked together so that now we can take this decisive step. There is no doubt that this coordination and collaboration will result in our people waging a more effective struggle against the common enemy.

The further development of our organizations, and the strengthening of our internationalist orientation and experience, will allow us to more effectively build a revolutionary force. This force will be able to defeat once and for all the capitalist reactionaries, to annihilate counter-revolutionary armies, to expel European and Yankee imperialism from Latin American soil, country by country, to initiate the construction of socialism in each of our countries and to achieve complete unity in Latin America.

Attaining this sacred objective will not be easy: the cruelty and strength of imperialism will make a prolonged revolutionary war necessary, as Commander Guevara foresaw, and will turn Latin America into a second and third Vietnam. Following the glorious example of the heroic Vietnamese people, we Latin American workers know how to fight without becoming discouraged, and with growing efficiency. The strength of the people will crush Yankee imperialism and its agents, contributing to the destruction of the principal enemy of the international working class, of socialism and of all the people of the world.

OUR PROGRAM

We are united by an understanding of the following: that no viable strategy exists for Latin America other than the strategy of revolutionary war; that revolutionary war is a complex process of struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, in which all forms of struggle develop around the axis of the armed struggle; that for the victorious development of the entire guerrilla process, it is necessary to mobilize all the people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat; that the leadership is to be held by a Marxist-Leninist party of proletarian character, capable of centralizing, leading and uniting all aspects of the popular struggle in a single powerful unit, thus guaranteeing a just, strategic leadership; that under the direction of the proletarian party it is necessary to build a powerful popular army, an iron-clad nucleus of revolutionary forces, which will be united with and nourished by the people; that the material condition of the popular army will ensure

the total annihilation of the counterrevolutionary armies; that it is also necessary to build a massive workers front which will mobilize all progressive and revolutionary people, various popular parties and unions and other similar organizations; that is, the broadest front of people whose common struggle converges with the military action of the popular army and with the clandestine political action of the proletarian party.

Our response must be armed struggle, as the principal factor in the polarization, agitation and final defeat of the enemy. However, we do not exclude all possible forms of struggle: legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political. All of these forms play an effective role in the ARMED STRUGGLE, according to the specific situation of each region and country.

The continental character of the struggle is indicated fundamentally by the presence of a common enemy. U.S. imperialism is developing an international strategy to stop the socialist revolution in Latin America. The imposition of fascist regimes in countries whose rising mass movements threaten the established power of the oligarchies is not purely coincidental. The continental strategy of the revolution corresponds to the international strategy of imperialism.

This struggle is not short. The international bourgeoisie is determined to use any means to prevent this revolution, even in just one country. The bourgeoisie possesses the official and pseudo-official weapons, both military and informational, to use against the people. Therefore, our revolutionary war in its initial phases is one of wearing down the enemy, leading up to the formation of a popular army stronger than that of the enemy. Although slow, this process paradoxically is also the shortest, least costly path to attaining the objectives of the disposed classes.

PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA: TO ARMS

We are living decisive moments of our history. Therefore, the National Liberation Movement (MLN-Tupamaros), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) call upon the oppressed workers of Latin America, the peasants, the urban poor, intellectuals and students, Christian revolutionaries and all elements of the exploited classes who support the just popular cause to take up arms with determination, to incorporate themselves actively in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and on behalf of socialism; a struggle which already spreads throughout our continent under the banner and example of Comandante Guevara.

LIBERTAD O MUERTE (MLN-TUPAMAROS)
A VENCER O MORIR POR LA ARGENTINA (ERP)
PATRIA O MUERTE VENCEREMOS (MIR)
VICTORIA O MUERTE (ELN)



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