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## Suppose They Gave a Socialist Feminist Conference..

On Sunday, March 23, a so-called socialist feminist conference was held at the downtown YWCA. This was another attempt to bring together people on the basis of a Socialist perspective for the explicit purpose of developing an organizational base and of utilizing a Socialist analysis to approach major issues confronting a portion of society, in this case women. From the beginning of the conference, it was clear that the theme that attracted women to the all-day meeting was feminism and not Socialism.

There are two aspects to the oppression of women by male supremacy. The principal aspect is a class question, the antagonistic contradiction between the masses of women and the imper-ialists. The secondary aspect is a non-antagonistic contradiction between men and women. The potential unity among primarily working-class and middleclass women can develop in a progressive way only through the struggle for leadership by the proletarian women and their class outlook within the united front against imperialism, one of the spearheads of which is the mass democratic women's movement. If "sisterhood" prevails over class struggle, the class contradiction between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie becomes primary and the movement remains fragmented.

Consider the objective conditions and contradictions of the conference:

(1) A planning group that consisted exclusively of middle class, professional, white women who felt no need to explain the absence

.And

No

Socialist

Came

of low income or black women at their meetings.

An initial general assembly in the morning which consisted of reports from Socialist groups from other areas and immediately broke into small

discussion groups (caucuses.)
There was a great potential
for significant education on
socialism, what it represents
and its analysis of the situation that faces gay, Third
World and working class women
and Feminist issues. But the
conference totally lacked an
educating/organizing orientation.

The existence of caucuses which promoted factionalism and fragmentation, rather than the structuring or the presentation of an ideology which would unify and consolidate those in attendance.

(4) A predominant desire on the part of most caucuses, to meet within their own group rather than to relate to the assembly on the general concerns of working women and to address the problem of identifying the form of action we can all take.

Two weeks after the conference, some caucuses are continuing to meet on the basis of their immediate self interests; others have opted to pursue socialist study and/or practice.

In retrospect, the idea of a socialist feminist organization was a good one; however, the actual conference was inept and counterproductive both in terms of the dismal lack of a cohesive ideological base on the part of the participants, and the inappropriateness of the conference format for organizing purposes.

## ALMADEN SIGNS

## WITH UFWA

Almaden Wine Co. of Los Gatos has just signed a new contract with the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers of America. Union sources indicated that the UFWA is near a settlement with two other California wineries - Christian Brothers and Novitiate.

Last year all but two growers in the Coachella and San Joaquin valleys refused to renew contracts with the UFWA and instead signed with the Teamsters Union. Contracts were signed

without workers elections in agriculture to determine union representation. An Assembly bill authored by John Burton, D-San Francisco, to authorize secret ballot elections for farm workers has received the endorsement of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO and the United Farm Workers of America.

The Teamsters Union finds the Burton Bill to be unconstitutional.

The Teamsters fear that its enactment would deprive them of contracts as their contracts have been acquired by dealing with the growers and not through farm worker choice. The Bill will also make it difficult to jam the election by asking temporary or newly acquired workers to vote as one of the provisions requires a petitioner for elections to swear under penalty of perjury that the current number of workers was 50 per cent or more of the seasonal peak.

In the meantime, the Teamsters are out to co-opt the workers by setting up a number of "services" for farm workers. A pilot program in teaching English to farm workers is under way in the San Joaquin Valley and a good and nutrition program has begun in Imperial and San Joaquin Valleys and Salinas.

Strikes are under way in Coachella although AFL-CIO President George Meany has refused to give the UFW more money and has said the union will not support the UFW's secondary boycott of Gallo and Franzia brand wines, table grapes and lettuce.

Cesar Chavez has offered to cut back in the boycott in return for AFL-CIO support. Support from Meany will mean that all AFL-CIO workers involved will also go on strike.

Boycott Sav-on!

## EDITORIAL

When people constantly use the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union to substantiate their arguments, stagnation begins. Often heated arguments arise in an attempt to prove which country best represents the ideals of communism. Those that truly want to learn Marxist-Leninism should broaden their knowledge of other countries throughout the world that are struggling to implement socialism. Many people know generally the imperialist ventures in Southeast Asia. But do they know of the social and economic problems in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam? Do they know much about the liberation armies: Pathet Lao in Laos, the Khmer in Cambodia? Is there also a communist movement in Thailand? How is the Democratic Republic of Vietnam handling the demands of the minorities as compared to South Vietnam? What are the problems that the Provisional Government face? People should make an effort to find out about the ongoing struggles. to do research in countries that are trying to implement communism. What are some of the basic problems that the new government of South Yemen has? Why are Saudi and Iraqi troops (with the aid of the west) trying to crush the new government of South Yemen? How successful is communism in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? Why are people not discussing the liberation struggles in Duofar, the Eritrean Liberation Front? There are many other struggles in Africa and South America that people are aware of but not of the daily problems that exist and why many will fail.

What type of societies are there in the eastern European communist countries? Most people know that these countries are satellites of the Soviet Union but what is known about the level of development and progression. What kind of socialism exists there? Why is it that Albania differs from the rest of her neighbors?

## National

People should study the problems that the communist parties have in their respective countries and their degree of popularity. There are many countries where the communist party has had marginal success such as the Finnish Communist Party. People began to study the conditions of Chile after Allende was assassinated. People then began to discuss pros and cons of the strategies of Unidad Popular. But what existed beforehand in Chile? How strong were the labor movements?

We shouldn't be caught in the

## Movements

Liberation

ideological struggles that exist between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Hopefully they will be resolved. We should be concerned about the liberation sturggles throughout the world and watch their development. Are there any differences in the struggles that exist in the United States as compared to the struggles that exist abroad? We should be watchful of those countries that are trying to implement socialism and if necessary go to them and help them out. The difficulty for us is trying to find information concerning their situation. The information is there but one needs to work hard to find it. We must be careful about being swayed by the media. Nothing much was known about the People's Republic of China until after Nixon's visit. Nowadays there are programs and many people are interested in China but then they forget that there are other communist countries.

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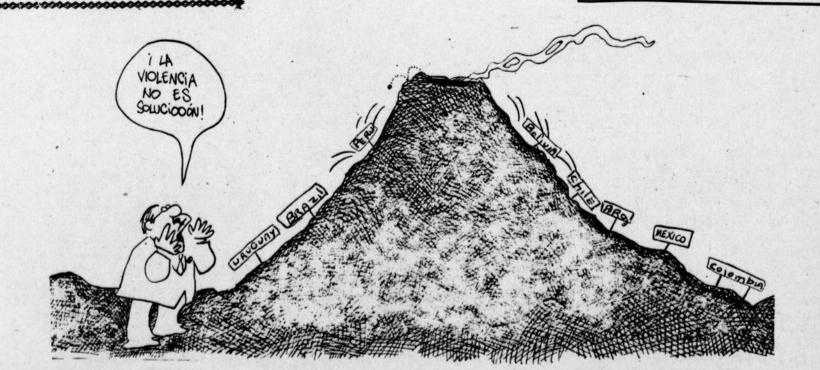
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U.S. Backs Portuguese Colonial Oppression in Africa

Accounts of widespread opposition to Portugal's brutal policies in Africa have been reported in the press. Portugal's most honored commander, Gen. Antonio de Spinola's recent declaration that a military victory in Africa was impossible led to his prompt dismissal and sparked a brief army mutiny. The most spectacular antiwar effort, however, was the sabotage bombing of an airbase hangar which destroyed ll aircraft in Portugal early in 1971.

These acts are a protest against Portugal's 500 year old colonial presence in Africa which originated in the slave trade in the 16th century. From 1580 to 1836, 4 million men, women and children were taken from Angola as slaves. According to historians Henrique Galvao and Carlos Selvagem in Historia de Angola there were years when almost 100,000 slaves from Portuguese possessions in Africa reached the custom houses in Principe for embarkation to America.

The slave-based Portuguese colonial system was of a brutality and intensity never equaled elsewhere on the African continent. Yet the Portuguese have long maintained a faith in their so-called "civilizing" mission. The political analyst Antonio de Figueiredo summarized Portugal's record in his book Portugal and Its Empire in 1961: "Out of 10 and 1/2 million people in Angola and Mozambique over 99% are illiterate... If there has been any serious interest in these people, it has been in how better to shape their lives to economic exploitation."

In 1928, the Portuguese Premier Dr. Antonio Salazar revived the myth of Portugal's "divine mission" in the 20th century and used it in order to bolster the fascist ideology of the "New State" modeled on Mussolini's Italy. Salazar set out to mold Portugal into a corporate society, its economy and culture sustained by industrial discipline and the labor of "inferior races" - the phrase is his own - in the overseas territories.

Using the state security police, P.I.D.E., (whose original officers were trained in NAZI Germany) he surrounded Portugal and its empire with a screen of silence. For over 40 years, there have been no opposition parties and no free trade unions in Portugal. Political rights are limited. In 1960 alone, there were 3800 convictions for crimes against religion and the state. In his book Mission to Portugal, the former Brazilian ambassador Alvaro Lins writes of "the mark of dictatorship and police terror on the faces of the Portuguese."

### Conditions in Africa

Portuguese colonialism is even more oppressive. In Portuguese Africa, political detainees are sent to penal camps or into exile. Often the prisoner simply disappears. Every male African is forced to carry a caderneta or passbook which he must present to officials on demand. If he loses his papers or if they fail to be in order, the African may be sentenced to correctional labor.

All male Africans between the ages of 18 and 55 are compelled to do contract labor. The recruitment and use of African labor is pursued with callous indifference to the welfare of the worker. Illegal recruitment, violent treatment of workers, withholding of payment, and



Angolan woman lives the life of a foot soldier, carrying her child and her rifle in anti-colonial

revolution against Portuguese troops in Africa, while sister rebels fight in nearby Mozambique.

child labor on Niassa tea plantations and Angolan coffee farms are common complaints. In 1947, Henrique Galvao, at that time a member of Salazar's party and at present a refugee in Argentina, wrote: "the situation is worse than simple slavery." In 1958, the political analyst Marvin Harris claimed in his book Portugal's African Wards: "All of the African male workers employed by European agricultural enterprises are shibalos(forced laborers.)"

Today forced labor is still conducted on public works, as part of penal sentences and to compel violators to fulfil "fiscal obligations.' Such conditions, along with migrant labor and conscription into the army, constitute the average experience for the African in the colonies today.

Behind the myth that Portugal's colonial possessions are "overseas provinces" - the myth officially proclaimed in June 1951 - the Portuguese regime bleeds the "empire" for the benefit of the small handful of rich bankers and feudal

landlords who are busy bleeding Portugal itself.

Despite its economic backwardness and political terror, Portugal passionately proclaims its
"civilizing mission" in history.
The African political analyst
Chikomuami Mahala in his article
"The Horror of Mozambique" (Africa
South, Oct.-Dec. 1960) described
Portugal's "great service to mankind": "The land is largely divided
into huge 'concessions' and 'plantations' which belong solely to
Europeans."

Premier Marcello Caetano provided the justification for imperialist exploitation when he wrote: "The blacks in Angola have to be directed and indoctrinated by Europeans...the Africans have not learned how to develop alone the territories they have inhabited for thousands of years."

African Resistance

These repressive Portuguese policies have galvanized African cont. on p. 18



Portuguese exult over African victim

# Discrimination in the Availability of Abortion for the Poor

by

by Yolanda Orozco

Reform of American abortion laws has become one of the great political issues of the past decade. The abortion issue has evolved as the most important platform in the women's liberation movement and most minority women have, therefore, regarded it as the white woman's hangup.

Little importance has been given to the vast unavailability of legal abortions for poor and minority women as compared with wealthier white women. The most serious problems such as the deaths and crippling injuries from criminal and self-induced abortions as well as the socially damaged lives accompanying the birth of unwanted children-have been largely ignored.

Our purpose here is to present evidence on the extent of discrimination in abortion practices for poor women. This necessarily includes virtually all minority women. The flight of the Chicana can not be divorced from the economic oppression that faces all poor women and for that reason this article does not deal solely with the Chicana.

THE SITUATION BEFORE U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION OF JANUARY 22, 1973

Since 1967 most state legislatures had been attempting to update century old anti-abortion statutes. This effort culminated in 1970 when New York repealed its abortion statute in its entirety. Although many states attempted to follow this example, the restrictions that existed (such as the need for committee approval and for performance of the abortion in an accredited hospitals) made it extremely difficult for poor minority women to qualify. Laws which restricted the provison of legal abortions to saving a woman's life or other specific circumstances allowed for all women who qualified under the applicable statute to be treated regardless of socio-economic or ethnic status. In practice this was never true. Discriminatory practices resulted in a significantly disproportionate provision of services. The result was that poor and minority women were forced to resort to underground criminal abortions. It

seems likely that much of the inequality could have been eliminated had such legal restrictions been removed.

Restrictive abortion laws create the well known 'double standard' when it comes to the treatment of private and needy patients (Private here means those patients who have ready access to a personal family physician). A.F. Guttmacher in The Case for Legalized Abortion has observed:

"Both in regard to incidence and indications between patients on private and clinic services and voluntary and municipal hospitals...it has long been apparent that municipal hospitals follow the letter of the law of the abortion statutue much more exactly than voluntary hospitals and also that private patients are generally treated by a more lenient interpretation of the law than service patients."

There is universally greater consideration extended to the private patient's request for abortion; this can be largely attributed to her greater economic and social prestige. Guttmacher adds:

"The rich and the poor, it should be noted, are not treated alike: many ethnical physicians, for instance, are much more lenient in their application of indications for therapeutic abortion to private patients than to indigent patients on municipal hospital services. It is the "private practice" patient, therefore, who can more readily obtain a therapeutic abortion."

Prof. Faustina Solis stated in a class lecture that most American medical institutions (AMA, ADA, etc.) create a fragmented health care system based in some instances on profit. It's not surprising then that many "ethical" physicians were willing to violate established abortion statutes to perform abortions on wealthy patients charging anywhere from \$500. to \$1000. The poor, of course, had little access to such ethical same physicans.

Because the poor lack sufficient funds to seek private treatment and rely so heavily on public hospitals, denial or delays of treatment by those institutions are equivalent to a denial of adequate medical care.

It is well known that such has been the case for the poor. In a survey

of 65 randomly selected major American hospitals, Dr. R. E. Hall discovered that the rate of therapeutic abortions was 3.6 times higher on the private services of these hospitals than on their public services. He says:

"Hospitals vary greatly in their abortion policies. At the Los Angeles County Hospital, which treats only clinic patients...from 1946 to 1951 there was an incidence of one therapeutic abortion per 2,864 deliveries. At the opposite extreme, one finds reputable hospitals permitting abortions for one out of every 35 to 40 deliveries. It seems inconceivable that medical opinion could vary so widely. Socioeconomic factors must be playing a major role in the decision to abort in certain institutions." (my emphasis)

Another survey from New York City for the period of 1951 - 1962 revealed that therapeutic abortion occurred most frequently among the while population. The while ratio was more than five times that among blacks and 26 times that among Puerto Ricans. Over 90 per cent of all therapeutic abortions in New York City during that period were performed on white women. A nationwide survey for the period 1963 -1965 showed that the incidence of therapeutic abortions was twice as high among white women as among the non-white group.

There does not appear to be anything demonstrable in the differences of skin color or in economic condition which suggests that a substantially smaller proportion of the poor qualified for legal aborttion than did the white and nonpoor. What is demonstrable is the propensity of the poor to have unwanted children and certainly a major factor for this was the unequal accessibility of legal abortion. A study conducted during the



period of 1960 to 1965 showed that one-third of Black births were unwanted. Only one-fifth of white births were unwanted during the same period. Furthermore, it was found that unwanted births were more than twice as high for families with

incomes of less than \$3000 per annum as for those with incomes over \$10,

A partial explanation for the obvious disparity in abortion availability for the lower classes appeared to lie in the far lower incidence of abortions performed for psychiatric reasons among poor and minority women. Abortions performed for non-psychiatric reasons had been steadily decreasing at the same time that abortions performed for psychiatric reasons were increasing. Needless to say, poor and minority women have not been the recipients of this increasing psychiatric treatment.

It is the private patient that was able to acquire psychiatric justification for therapeutic abortion as well as referral for primary psychiatric evaluation.

Dr. Hall's survey of 65 major hospitals confirms this same wide discrepancy. It is evident that the moderate attempts at law reform in various states since 1967 did little to alleviate discriminatory practices in regard to abortion. The reformed laws still stipulated that abortions be performed only if adverse effects on physical or mental health were anticipated. Because it was mainly the wealthy that could maximize the restrictions, such statutes became essentially a white middle class reform. It benefited only those who had adequate education and ample financial resources and not the women in the barrios and ghettos who had no access to psychiatrists who would testify that they ran the grave risk of emotional anguish if they were forced to give birth to another baby.

A direct result of the unavailability of therapeutic abortion was that the poor were forced to seek criminal or self-induced abortions. Self-induced abortions, with the use of rubber tubes, knitting needles, soap solutions, etc., invariably leads to mutilation or death. Criminal abortion was at one time described as the greatest single cause of maternal mortality as well as one of

cont. on p.6

## Women's Movement White, Middle Class and Divided

The women's liberation movement in the United States has been criticized for innumerable reasons from all sectors of the political spectrum.

For women involved, the criticism from the right, which proclaims that women are indeed inferior and consequently have an inferior social, political and economic status, has been easy to deal with because that is what the women's movement is all about. Women are equal human beings and as such should be treated and respected equally.

When the source of criticism moves further to the left, the amount of agreement as to response rapidly declines. The responses to criticism from the left are as varied as the political analyses of the groups of

one of the criticisms from the left has been that if women's liberation is a revolutionary struggle, why is is made up of predominantly white middle class women.

The answer to this question, which at times takes the form of an accusation, lies in the question itself, according to some people. The struggle for women's liberation is not a revolutionary struggle. While the feminist movement is not necessarily a revolutionary struggle and can be reactionary (essentially when the middle class women only want a piece of the pie for themselves), the struggle for women's liberation can be revolutionary and is a necessary part of the fight against capitalism. One should not reject it outright but look at it more closely.

Let us examine the women's movement further in an attempt to understand some of the reasons why it has remained isolated from working and poor women, both white and Third World. These women are the majority of women in this country and they are brutally exploited and therefore have the most to gain from the fight for women's liberation.

Although the women's movement is largely white and middle class, one can identify four major groups within it. One group, the "separatists" believe that women are in a secondary position in our society because men are male chauvinists and have the

power to keep things as they are. These women believe that the solution to women's problems is to isolate themselves from men until men are no longer chauvinistic. They believe that the problem of women's secondary position is beyond the class issue because women were oppressed before capitalism and are still oppressed in some socialist countries. The separatists think that women of all classes as a group are oppressed by men of all classes as a group. It is their belief that all women regardless of class have to organize to fight male supremacy.

The separatists have failed to realize that women of all classes and races do not have more in common than men and women of one class. This, is the main reason why working class and poor and Third World women have not taken up separatism. They realize they do not share the same interests and goals with ruling class women. Another reason is that since most women's lives are intricately entwined with men's because of their financially dependent position, it would be nearly

impossible for them, even if they wanted to, to isolate themselves from their men. All women do not have the time or the money to create for themselves a separate women's world.

A second group of women believe that the solution lies in changing the laws of this country and the attitudes of people so that women can compete under equal conditions in our society. These women who are mainly professionals, do not see anything wrong with the basic economic system in the U.S. They simply wish to make it possible for women to become integrated into all levels of the system as it is.

These women, the reformists, have often been criticized as racist and anti-working class although they have not understood the basis of the criticism. They have, when making demands, neglected to examine what effect they will have on Third World, poor and working class women. They have

at times made demands that not only have nothing to do with what most women want but that could also hurt them.

In the demand for liberalized abortion laws, the reformers failed to see that even if abortions were legal and easily attainable, if they were expensive they would still be inaccessible to Third World, poor and working class women.

They did not draw the connection between the inaccessibility of abortion and the lack of a decent preventive health care system in the U.S. Nor did they expose the way abortion and birth control have been used against the poor, Third World and working class women or that these women have been used as guinea pigs to test birth control methods.

Nor did they point out that these women have been sterilized without their consent, sometimes as a condition of their getting an abortion.

For some women taking care of their children decently is of more primary importance than being able to get abortions. This is only one example of the reformists' failure, but it does illustrate why more women have been unable to identify with the reformists' demands.

A third sector of the women's movement is made up of small groups of women who get together to talk about their personal problems. ideally discovering that one's problems are political and that the solution is in working together to abolish capitalism. Too often these groups remain bogged down in personal problems and the women never make the connection between their oppression and the exploitation of working, poor and Third World people. They often end up seeking individualistic and personal solutions to their problems and the small groups become a sort of social therapy group which makes them feel better.

The last sector of the women's movement is comprised of the socialist feminists. They believe that sexism and male supremacy are

used by the capitalists to exploit both men and women, that it is necessary to fight male supremacy to end one of the false divisions that keep men and women from uniting in the struggle against their exploitation.



They believe that women must organize against their direct oppression by male supremacist institutions and against their exploitation as workers, since the two are intertwined, the attitudes and practices of male supremacy supporting working women's super exploitation. They believe that a significant movement for women's equality will develop in any socialist movement only through the conscious efforts of organized women.

The socialist feminists are probably the least publicized segment of the women's movement and since most awareness of it, that is gained outside of the media, has probably come from personal contact, a factor keeping working class and poor women from becoming involved is the isolation of groups of people in the U.S.

There is little communication between young and old, rich and poor, different races, or different classes. If a woman is poor, or if she is brown, black, red or yellow, she probably lives in a low income neighborhood, separated by race as well, her children probably go to school with other working class children and she most likely works with other class women. She is isolated from most contact with women who are middle class.

In our society people live, work and play in isolated areas by race, age, class and income level. This can keep people from realizing they have something in common with other oppressed groups of people. Often the only contact between different groups of people is through the media and certainly the media does not emphasize the commonality of problems of working class and poer people but instead it is almost completely conservative in its orientation.

In fact from the media protrayal of the women's movement one might conclude that there is only one group of women in the women's movement and that it is synonymous with NOW. The National Organization of Women. (In the early days of the movement the media protrayal was almost exclusively of crazy separatists; we have come as far as respectablility and cooptation.) This limited impression may be one reason why more working class and poor women have not become involved. The demands of the reformists that the media has

cont. on p. 6

### Women's Movement

concentrated on do not have much to do with the everyday reality of most women's lives.

This analysis of the women's movement and why it has failed to become based among minority, poor and working class women is by no means complete. The isolation of the white middle class women's movement continues because minority, poor and working class women involved in securing better and equal treatment for themselves are organizing among themselves and around issues that are much more pertinent to their lives. The interests and goals of these women are different from the current interests and goals put forward by most of the middle class women's liberation groups. There will continue to be disunity in the women's movement until middle class women realize that their liberation is contingent upon the liberation of all exploited peoples, and that this can only happen in a different economic system, a system that is not based on profit making by exploiting working and poor people.

#### Abortion cont. from p. 4

the greatest causes of disease and resulting sterilization. Again, it was the poor and minority women that were driven to the underworld of

illegal abortion. During the first full year of operation of California's 1967 reform abortion law, about seven percent of the state's non-white female population subjected themselves to criminal abourtion. Only 1-1/2 per cent of this state's white female population had criminal abortions. In New York the ratio of criminal abortion deaths per 1,000 live briths was 4.0 for white women, 9.5 for Puerto Ricans and 16.2 for Blacks. To arrive at a better understanding of what criminal abortion entails, the following data may be helpful. An analysis for 111 New York illegal abortionist convictions showed that less than one-third of those involved were physicians or former physicians, the rest had such qualifications as clerks, barbers, and salesmen! In addition, these incompetent abortionists were generally concentrated in depressed urban areas: in the barrios and ghettos of this country.

Since 1970 when all restrictions on abortion were eliminated in New Yori, the state experienced a sharp reduction in criminal abortion. In the first six weeks Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who had minimal access to legal abortions prior to the law, received about half of the abortions. similar results were seen here in California after a liberalized law was passed.

It is evident that where the law eliminated restrictions on obtaining legal abortions, poor and minority women, who had previously been unable to have therapeutic abortion, were able to do so. Unfortunately, as I stated before, very few states removed all categorical restrictions on reform abortion statutes. For the most part the plight of the poor woman in regard to abortion remained unchanged in most of the country.

# Women Concentrated in Lowest Paying Jobs

The demand which has received the most widespread attention and acceptance by both middle class and working class women is equal pay for equal work.

It is a well known fact that women are often paid less than men when they hold the same job and that over all women's median wage is 60% of men's median wage.

The main reason, however, for unequal pay for women is that they are concentrated in a few of the lowest paying fields. To quote the U.S. department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "The figures do not necessarily indicate that women are receiving unequal pay for equal work. For the most part, they reflect the fact that women are more likely than men to be employed in low paying jobs."

The majority of women in the labor force do not even work with men. They are concentrated in a few fields. Nearly one fourth of all employed women in 1960 were secretaries, sales workers in retail trade, general private household workers or teachers in elementary schools. The percentage of women in these four fields as a percent of total employed were 97%, 54%, 99% and 86% respectively.

THE SITUATION TODAY

On January 22, 1973, the U. S. Supreme Court, with a vote of seven to two, eliminated all legal restrictions during the first three months of pregnancy (when most abortions are performed) except for the restriction that the performing physician be licensed. Between three and six months of pregnancy, the State could regulate or prohibit abortion, except when medical judgement deemed it necessary to preserve maternal

life of health.

The abortion issue is far from settled. The Supreme Court decision has been under constant attack from "right-to-life" groups, congressmen, and even from the 'ethical' Mr. President. The Supreme Court decision can only be overturned by constitutional amendment and already four proposed amendments have been introduced in Congress. If passed, such amendments would turn abortion into murder under the law. An article appearing in Newsweek Magazine (Feb. 4, 1974) says:

"The anti-abortion forces have already made some progress in Congress. One new amendment to the Public Health Services Act, for example, allows federally funded hospitals to refuse to perform abortions. And in the states where the right-tolife organizers have greater influence, they have achieved even more success. No fewer than sixteen legislatures have already passed resolutions calling for a constitutional amendment banning abortion and 43 states have passed or are considering legislation against un-restricted abortions."

It is obvious that such actions seriously undermine the effect of the Supreme Court decision for unrestricted abortion. The result of the abortion battle is as yet dubious, but it is important to remember that whatever the outcome, the poor women of this country will be greatly

One third of all women were in seven occupations, the four above and three more, bookkeeper, waitress, and professional nurse. The percentages in these fields were 84%, 87%, and 98% respectively.

In fact nearly two thirds of all women employed were in 36 occupations, each of which employed more than 100,000 women. Of these 36 occupations only four were professional, teacher elementary or secondary, nurse, and musician and music teachers. Also of these 36 occupations only five employed less than 50% women as a percentage of all employees and one of these five was one of the professional categories, secondary teachers.

Employment statistics for women are often comparable to those for minority groups in the country.

In 1971, minorities and women were mainly employed in four categories: office and clerical, operatives, laborers and service workers.

Although women are anywhere from 34% to 40% of all people employed, they are nearly 75% of all office and clerical workers and nearly 50% of all service workers. In 1971 blacks comprised 9.5% of all workers but 24.7% of all service workers and 21.1% of all laborers. Chicanos are 3.5% of the labor force but are 5.8% of service workers and 8.6% of all laborers. Women are 28.0% of all laborers.

Almost 60% of Anglo males are in white collar jobs (excluding clerical) as compared with 25% of minority males and 26% of females.

Anglo males held 86% of the managerial jobs, and 86% of the craft jobs, and 70% of the professional jobs. Yet Anglo males make up only 57% of total employment.

The available data also suggests that continued high unemployment may have caused Anglo men to accept jobs normally filled by minorities and women. Between 1970 and 1971 the number of Anglo men in clerical jobs increased 17% compared with .10% for women. The number of Anglo men in service jobs increased by 11% while the number of minorities and women employed in this field each decreased by 4%.

The rate of unemployment for minorities in 1971 was almost twice that of whites. Women's unemployment rate was one and one half percentage points higher than men's.

While 30.1% of all workers were blue collar, semi-skilled and unskilled, 50.1% of all black workers and 49.4% of all Chicano workers were in the same category.

What all these figures point out is that minorities and women are concentrated in a few of the lowest paying fields. The discrepancies in the yearly median income figures for them as compared to white men are a reflection of this disparity. For 1970 the median income for year round full time workers are: minority women: \$4674, white women: \$5469, minority men: \$6598, white men: \$9373. In this particular study from the U.S. Department of Women's Bureau, Chicanos were counted as white.

Reports for March 1972, indicate that the median income for males of Mexican origin is \$5,073 and for males of Mexican origin, \$1,810.

cont. on p. 19

## MOVIE REVIEW Lucía. 3 Stages of Political Consciousness

"Lucia" the second Cuban film from the New Cuban Cinema has recently finished making the San Diego circuit at UCSD, CSUSD and the Changing Times Bookstore. Lucia covers almost 70 years of Cuban history from the turn of the century to post revolutionary Cuba. The three sequences find Lucia portrayed by three different women in three classes.

In the first sequence, Lucia is a privileged, aristocratic woman; in the second sequence she is an upper middle class woman who chooses to join the working class as a factory worker, simultaneously marrying a committed revolutionary engaged in terrorist activities, and in the third sequence she is a worker involved in integrating her socialist values into her primary relationship with her new husband.

## Historical Background of the Movie

The first episode (1898) takes place during the last in a long series of insurrections by Cuban nationalists against the Spanish empire which had ruled the island since Columbus took possession of it for Spain in 1492. Determined to crush Cuban resistance once and for all. Spain organized an army of 95,000 troops. The following year, however, the rebel army had grown to 60,000 and the Spanish army had to be more than doubled in size. In 1898, the battleship Maine exploded in Havana's harbor and the U.S. soon declared war against Spain. The U.S. quickly won the war, taking possession of Cuba (along with Puerto Rico, the Phillippines, etc.) and with the Platt Amendment (1901), Cuba became an economic colony and political protectorate

1933, the country is ruled by Gerardo Machado, the first in a long line of Cuban dictators, who had been in power since 1925. Machado's primary political aims were his own selfenrichment and the protection of American investments. He controlled the country through a personal police force of 15,000 men who assassinated political opponents of his regime. In 1933, a general strike was organized which led to Machado's downfall. A provisional president who favored ending the Platt Amendment was overthrown in a military coup led by Fulgencia Batista, a young army sergeant who would himself later become President. The following years saw Cuba ruled by a succession of Presidents whose administrations competed for records in corruption and poli-

By the second episode in

of the U.S.

The third episode is set in post revolutionary Cuba after Fidel Castro and his guerrilla army have overthrown Batista's

tical repression.



regime (January 1, 1959) culminating a struggle which lasted three years. Among thre revolutions programs during its beginning phase and first

years (such as urban and agrarian reform, free schooling and hospitalization, etc.) was a massive literacy campaign designed to teach reading and writing that the over one million illiterates in Cuba. On April 10, 1961, 120,000 literacy workers spread out all over the island and by December of that year, Cuba's illiteracy rate had dropped from 24% to 3%, a claim verified by UNESCO.

#### Humberto Solas, Director

The intent of the director,
Humberto Solas, was "to show the
epochs, not through historical
facts, but through a narrative
which allows one to feel the
spirit of the time. It is the time
as it was a moment of history that
I wanted to capture."

And it is through this approach with the use of exaggeration and surrealism that he so successfully dramatizes the life themes and fundamental values inherent in class structure. The illumination of class differences is most skillfully pointed out

through the three historical periods and the casting of Lucia in the role of upper, middle and lower class woman.

#### 3 Sequences in Film

The first Lucia's life as an aristocrat is one of emptiness and alienation from self and those around her. The only events which bring any arousal of feeling are false, vicarious and based mostly on fantasy, as she has nothing substantial in her life. There is no depth to her, nor the people she is surrounded by. Interestingly, an old woman on the streets functions as her alter ego and on another level, possibly as the conscience of Cuba. Lucia and this old woman exemplify the dichotimization and objectivization of woman in class society. On the one hand, one is protected, adulated and pampered, and the other, who has nothing. is subjected to the worst of degradations and ridicule. The synthesis of these two women

takes place at the end of the sequence. It is only when Lucia in a fit of rage murders her boyfriend on the streets that she appears conscious of male and class oppression. In effect, she has become like the old woman. It is also at this point that the old woman offers the strong, silent compassion which calms Lucia down after her murderous act.

The second sequence mirrors the conflicts and limitations of a woman who has a middle class background and is attempting to make it in the lower class as a factory worker. Initially there is some revolutionary consciousness with the small group that she and her husband are working with; however, ultimately, the inherent contradictions and the emerging contradictions destroy

their working and personal relationships. Lucia's husband finds himself disillusioned and in despair as he views the result of their work after Machado's overthrow. The other couple, however, is opportunistic and content with the meager privileges they have acquired as a result of the change in government.

In the third sequence Lucia, a farm worker and newly married, confronts her chattel-like existence and with some conjugal struggle begins the work of acquiring an education and maintaining her role as a worker. By contrast, the third Lucia, living in a society that has a collective consciousness, is aided by the community (men and women) in resolving her difficulties, that is, asserting her right and duty to work. The second Lucia has a small and ultimately ineffectual reference group. The first Lucia had no support of any substance because of the pervasive individualism and consequential vacuum within which she lived.

The film is not to be missed, not only on the merits of its content, but on the basis of being one of the few movies from the Third World which deals with the woman question which must be addressed in the process of moving to a classless society.

Footnote: Descriptions of historical periods are excerpts from the production company's literature.

## NICH: Non-intervention in Chile

## CHILE NEWSLETTER

## Womens League Visit To Chile:

"La Segunda," a Santiago afternoon paper, referred to the delegation to Chile of the women's International League for Peace and Freedom as "majaderia internacional", which translates freely as "international jackassery." Now that the delegation has returned and reported to the UN High Commission on Human Rights and to a joint Congressional Committee, we feel that junta supporters will be even more irritated with us. During our visit we were able to visit two prisons, talk with military authorities, professionals, people from the church, some workers and others who lived in workers' settlements, and with individuals who had been released from detention or whose relatives were still being detained. In the interests of brevity, I will discuss only what we observed at the two prisons, and what we were able to find out about economic conditions.

We were invited to see the Chile Stadium, which is now being used as a prison, by Colonel Jorge Espinoza, head of the Chilean prison system. We were briefed in the prison office by the officer in charge. He told us that the prison held 238 men, that needy prisoners' families were taken care of, and that prisoners were able to receive packages from their families. (We heard from a local churchman that there was in fact no help from the authorities for prisoners' families and that many, if not most, of the prisoners were held incommunicado.)

We interviewed three prisoners in the presence of the colonel and his aides. The prisoners told us that they were not tortured, but each added that he was speaking only for himself. One of them, a journalist, told us -- with a special emphasis -- that there were 258 prisoners at the stadium. This was a slightly higher figure than that given by the officials, and I felt that the prisoner was trying to hint that there were more than the officials admitted; perhaps many more, as we had heard from other sources.

The most serious problem for prisoners was that they were not being charged and that there were no trials set for them. They said that it was impossible to get a lawyer or for a lawyer to intervene in their behalf, as trials are held before a military "council of war."

We were taken into the stadium itself to see the prisoners being held there. We looked down on them silently while they stood wearily looking up at us, with drawn faces. We weren't told whether they were permitted to sit, or given rest periods. As we turned to leave, they shouted up

to us: "Come down! Come down!" However, the colonel had already told us that we would not be able to speak with them.

Remarkably, the authorities cooperated with us in making it possible for us also to visit the Good Pastor Women's Prison. The Secretariat of Women arranged the visit and escorted us there. After a few minutes of stiffness, the women spoke to us quite freely. The group I spoke with included a woman who told me, with convincing authority, that the prison contained 100-110 prisoners, of whom 80 were "prisoners of war." She said that all the women in the yard were political prisoners. Other echoed, "todas." She told us that they knew a visit was about to occur be cause before we came in the guards put one prisoner, a doctor, in solitary because she knew every case in the prison; she knew who had been tortured, who was pregnant from rape, and how the women were affected by their imprisonment. The prison authorities obviously did not want us

The woman I spoke with impressed me with her courage because, as she said, they would all have problems when we left. She bravely followed us as we were taken to the dormitories, where prisoners were not allowed during the day. She said she did not mind having "problems" because she wanted us to know the conditions of their imprisonment. She pointed out one woman, a former government official, who had been tortured during 60 days. They were trying to force her to describe the fraudulent methods supposedly used by the U.P. to get so many votes in the March elections. She was recovering from the torture and her hair had grown in slightly after having been shaved off. Another woman who also had been tortured had lost 30 pounds and weighed a little over 70 pounds. They were trying to extract from her the whereabouts of her daughter.

to speak with her.

Another prisoner we met was a historian. She had no idea when or if charges would be brought against her. She called out to us as we left, "Get my book and have it translated. I give you the rights to it to use for raising money." That we will do.

One of the most important results for us of visiting with prisoners and ex-prisoners was our discovery of the spirit, the solidarity, and the courage of these people. Because we were concerned for their safety, fearing reprisals, I have refrained from mentioning the names of any prisoners, although they themselves did not hesitate to give us their names. Most of these women had been waiting since September for charges, hoping then to be tried and perhaps released

if there were no evidence brought against them. We don't wish to do anything to harm their chances.

We saw much other evidence of the terror in Chile. We know from from firsthand observation that it exists and that the government is trying to use it to control the population. The other major means by which the junta is trying to control people is by the threat of starvation. In the January issue of the Andean Times, which is published in Lima fro businessmen, an estimate of 25% unemployment is given The extent of the unemployment is a constant threat, and the low wages (averaging \$20 a month) force working people to take any job, under any conditions, and at any pay. Prices have risen since the coup 10 to 20 times for vasics like food and clothing. We were told repeatedly that prices for food had doubled in January alone. If this inflation continues, the hunger that now exists will escalate into famine.

In spite of the terror and the threat of starvation, we heard of strikes by subway, railway and construction workers, longshoremen, and teachers. These strikes were "settled", often by shootings, but our informants told us that surely ther would be more strikes. People have begun to talk in public places about their feelings. Techniques for self-protection and mutal support are developing. Terror and starvation will put a great strain on the population, but as long as the people show the spirit and courage that they showed us, there is hope.

#### INTERPOL

The Chilean Government recently issued a posage stamp commemorating the 50th anniversary of INTERPOL (see below.) INTERPOL is the International Criminal Police Organization, an agency which coordinates police activities and information among member nations. Most of their work is related to drug traffic, counterfeiting, smuggling, etc., and its charter prohibits the organization from intervening in cases of a political character, but when member countries classify political activists as common criminals (as has Chile) the resources of INTERPOL are brought to bear. A woman accused of guerrilla activities in Argentina was arrested in West Germany as a result of INTER-POL activities, and we can expect the Chilean Junta to make full use of the organization in their crusade against Latin American leftists. Their issuance of this commemorative stamp thus serves also to highlight the Junta's own repressive philosophy of "law and order"--which they would like to see extend to the entire world.





## "The Benefactors of the Mexican American War of 1846"

## Part 1

by Alex Garza

Throughout that geographical portion in the United States that includes the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California and parts of Colorado, Utah and Nevada and that is commonly known as the Southwest, exists a growing consciousness to study, analyze and record the circumstances surrounding the Mexican-American War of 1846 -that point in history, when North American expansionist aggression would culminate in the seizure of the above territory from Mexico. The necessity to arrive at a clear understanding of that fateful event is only superceded by the urgency that Chicanos presently living on this side of the border are expressing in regards to their rights as citizens, as a nation of people, and as a part of a class.

A subject such as finding the roots of imperial policy of one nation towards another is very significant because the 1846 seizure almost doubled the land base of the U.S. while Mexico lost more than half of her territory. Also an important consideration and one which will be discussed in this paper, is the economic benefits that this land brought to the U.S. (and to be sure the losses that have contributed ever since to Mexico's stunted economic development) in the areas of mining, agriculture, trade and commerce.

froeign shipping, and manufacturing. Much of present day historical literature deals primarily in the political sphere which accounts for so much attention given to conspiracies betwenn this or that party or faction in Mexico and the U.S. While it is important to understand the political intrigues clothed in diplomacy, more essential is to begin to analyze that historical period in terms of classes, i.e., to acknowledge that conspiracies existed, but search for clues to the biggest conspiracy -- the economic one that expresses itself in relation to which class of vested interests benefited the most from Mexico's conquered lands.

Taking a glance at the Southwest today, we quickly see that the ruling class of the 19th century and its inheritors grossed huge profits from the lands in question. In the opposite, we see the great detriment has historically affected the people who inhabited that region and more striking their future brothers. Yet a description of the American people within the lower classes in the pre-Mexican American War period, is also critical and will be touched upon. The caustic immigration to Texas settlements from the U.S. frontier should be examined to understand the independence drive within the Republic of Texas in 1836. It should not be forgotten that this seizure of land also had much to do with the then upcoming Civil War.

Covering such a period is basic to understanding relations between Mexico and the U.S. because it is interesting to see the similarity of style and function which characterizes U.S. international diplomacy in its present forms. Gathering impressions of how powerful a force imperialism can be is not difficult when we examine how aggressively President Polk and his predecessors

pushed Mexico's President Herrera to initiate war but failed. A point te consider was Polk's readiness to wage hostilities with any foreign power who might intercede.

What owes for the speedy resort to violence? Glenn W. Price, in his work Origins of the War with Mexico discusses such questions, along with the nationalisms of both the U.S. and its citizens who inhabited the Republic of Texas. In addition Price provides an insight into a major scheme (and sub-schemes) that ties Polk to U.S. direct intervention. As mentioned before, few historians attempt to place the specific forces that were behind crucial foreign policies. Price's work gives a little background of the major political figures involved.

This paper will ascertain those individuals' class ties, as well as those particular events that contributed to a strengthening of that ruling class. Amplification on subjects that Price does not elaborate much on, will be furnished through references of other works. most notable Gustav Myers', History of the Great American Fortunes.

#### Part I

It is not difficult to figure out why Europeans came to the New World. From the very first, in the 15th century, Spanish galleons scurried back and forth, their holds filled with precious ore and jewelry. The masters of the fleets vied for court recognition and the fame of "discovering" yet another part of that New World. Welcoming parties greeted each new wave of European "discoverers": the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, and the calculating English; each assumed a master - licensed. sealed, and commissioned by their respective monarchies. Greetings were mixed. Cortez fell in with an Aztec legend unfulfilled, yet was supported and tolerated until his material goals were more than evident to his hosts. The brutal awakening became only the initiation of endless methods of subjugation and torture upon these Indian people. Force and the refined art of oppression -- religion, were to be most effective ways, these adventuring "discoverers" would utilize to ensure well-filled coffers in their plague and famineridden countries.

The entire New World and its inhabitants would be destined to provide the riches and man-power necessary for these European capitals to "flourish" with the pretensions a culture society would bring, including wars with each other. More important, these newly acquired sources of precious minerals would later serve to push and instigate changing methods of production within their industrial revolutions. Indian minds could not have conceived such a plan for there wasn't a "new world" for them to discover. If they were cursed with a conquering European, perhaps the Aztec and Mayan empires were fortunate that the Spanish reached their shores first. In his book. Price outlines reasonable generalizations concerning the European powers:

"The Spanish tried to make Spaniards of the Indians, the French became Indians themselves, but the Anglo-Americans thought simply of eliminating the Indians ...

Spanish aristocracy during the 18th century could not do without the sanction of the Catholic Church. The feudal relationship between those two forces did not stay behind when Cortez and Spain's future envoys produced endless streams of expeditions to newly founded Mexico. The Patronato came and was even strengthened for it had a monumental job to accomplish in the conversion of the Indians, and to institute a semi-caste system where only the "pure-blood" need concern itself with political or commercial power. This system would slowly deteriorate because of the distance between the Spanish capital and with the shattering and slowly budding realization of new world-born Spaniards that even they were apt to be placed within it. Marx and Engels described this process of unfettered movement in their Communist Manifesto of 1848:

"From the serfs of the Middle Ages: sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeosie were developed. The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeosie.

Creoles were indeed on the rise in Mexico near the end of the 18th Century. A class of merchants and entrepreneurs was forming and they even desired their own national church.

Padre Hidalgo organized a wide section of the poorest class -- the Indians to rebel against Spanish rule in the first decade of the 19th century .... The spark lit, Mexico begins its ascendancy towards independence. We should note however, that large segments in Mexico were not too satisfied with the emerging plans. Large landowners and the clergy would seek the support of the military whenever its future interests would come close to being jeopardized.

The bulk of this study concerns itself with the period 1800-1850. Mexico's independence was indeed important to events occuring in the Northern provinces that included Texas and Coahiula. This era also denotes the growing Spanish apprehension (and later of independent Mexico) that the newly independent United States was embarking on a course of pre-meditated expansion. Again the European powers and their designs would greatly influence the actions of their colonies and possessions in the New World.

In 1819, the U.S. acquired the Louisiana territory with the Louisiana Purchase from France. This region which formerly belonged to Spain and its boundaries were to be a future thorn for Mexico because essentially the U.S. claimed that the region known as Texas had also been included in the deal with the French. This claim was a basis in the minds of many Americans gripped with the expansionist expression of Manifest Destiny, that Texas was indeed a part of the U.S. It is noteworthy here to establish the foundation for such a claim.

A brief chronology of exploration and settlements will explain

cont. on p.12

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## The Role of Music

What is the role of music within a society such as the United States! Considering that all other socio-cultural aspects of so- and maintained on class distincciety (like movies, language thea- tions and inequalities, and in ter) represent and favor the elite which music is but a tool availafew who control the country, why should music be any different: These elite few, because of their economic position form a distinct of producing and distributing mugroup or class, apart from the general populous. Among these elite few. we find such names as Rockefeller, Dupont, and names of those who serve the ruling class interest, like a Nixon. These people are the ones, who reap the profits from the high prices of food, gas, and the entire music industry.

Many have attempted to argue that classical music like Bethoven and Bach and programme music like the Stones, does not represent the interest of the elites, saying that it has no class character. They claim that music is simply fantasy, not reality, "music is music, nothing else." They further emphasize that music is a separate entity from society as a whole. It cannot be related to the political and economic areana.

Some people have attempted to take another point of view. That is, that music has served as an outlet for people to voice their frustrations, discriminations and struggles within the insensitivity of the system. Henceforth comes the example of Mowtown on the one side and Apple records on the other. Both of these producers claim they serve the interest of particular segments of the po pulace. Mowtown claims to voice the frustrated aspirations of blacks attempting to attain social equality. Apple is suppo-

### PAREDON

bases itself on the needs of the people's movements all over the world to define themselves and to communicate with each other free of the cultural manipulation and economic control of the system's media. Paredon Records consist of music and speech, poetry and interviews, documentary or dialogue, which are a part of the people's struggles. It will never issue dividends, or profits, but will use all money earned to

blems of the world (real as they are) can be solved through their avoidance and escape. We would argue quite to the con-

trary. The fact remains that we ble to the ruling class. Through a social-analysis, one discovers that the instruments and mechanics sic in particular and mass culture in general are for the most part controlled or outright owned by Imperialist, particularly U.S. Imperialist. One need only take a look at the instruments companies, Gibson, Fender, the recording and producing companies. Mowtown, Apple, Atlantic, the radio

sedly the voice of idealistic libe- and television stations, CBS, KHJ. ralism which assumes that the pro- KCBQ, KGB, and ask who these enterprises represent and serve. Surely not the people. They are run on the profit motive, hence they serve the class who owns them, the Bourgeosie. All works of music. live in a capitalist society, built both classical and programme music are a form of ideology: " they are products of the reflection in the . human brain of the life of a given society.'

People do not work in a vacuum. and hence neither does music. Music is a direct product of its socio-economic surrounding. It represents and serves the interest of the class which owns it. the Bourgeosie.

It is within this context that we must envision music in a Capitalist society.

## **UCSD** Community **Indicts**

In the April 1 issue of the Triton Times there apreated on the front page several articles which were defamatory and ridiculing of The members of the staff of the icles were "satirical and ironic". in that paper then the editors' protestations might carry some weight, but it is the opinion of "satire and irony" is the most recent in a long series of articles which propound racism, sexism and that far from being "satire and irony" these articles amount to an editorial stance. For those people that need documentation of these facts I refer you to almost any issue of the Triton Times but, there are several which epitomize the chauvinistic attituede of that paper, i.e. "on The Defense of Colon-Third College which reach back to

the time when Third was first established and several letter: J.D. Scales, an ex-Third College student. another entitled "Rude Blacks", another signed by a "Black Women" extolling the virility of Black males The list is endless.

The Triton Times demonstrates the strength of their convictions with their advertising policy which, if we are to believe last year's advertising manager is to advertise "anything except dildoes." Hence, advertisments for the Marines, Safeway and Gallo wine, these in spite of a stream of articles denouncing war and editorials proclaiming support of the Farmworkers. All this adds up to the fact that

the Triton Times is inconsistent and insensitive to the needs of the community which it is supposed to serve, which, in this society does not usually have any influence on the newspaper. Yet in this case because the Trion Times is supposed to represent the UCSD community there are many members which would like to have the position of the Triton Times as the official campus newspaper altered. The articles in the April 1 issue have forced the Communication Board to take some kind of action. In an emergency meeting on April 4, a motion was made that all editors be fired. It seems ludicrous to the staff of the Prensa Popular, as well as many other people on campus that this should be considered a viable solution to the problem. Since the Triton Times is funded by the Communication Board, which in turn gets its money from registration fees. it is the responsiblity of an "o ficial" campus newspaper to represent the interest of the people on this campus. Because of the diverse interests, it is ridiculous to believe that any one paper could represent the whole community and it. is even more ridiculous to believe that the Triton Times does so. There are at present many different papers on campus which express the views of sizable groups of peoble.

We feel that the Communication Board should abolish the official standing of the Triton Times and re-distribute its funds equally among the newspapers which come out on a regular basis(at least once a month). As for the announcements which are suprosedly such a large part of the Triton Times' function, they should be printed in a newletter or bulletin funded by Public Affairs and/or Extension and appearing once or twice a week.

## Carta a la revista Siempre de la Sra. Siqueiros

La siguiente carta de Angelica Arenal de Siqueiros apareció en la revista SIEMPRE con motivo del homenaje al desaparecido pintor mexicano. David Alfaro Siqueiros.

Estimados compañeros y amigos: En este evento de homenaje a David Alfaro Siqueiros, deseo dejar constancia de mi más profunda gratitud, en primer lugar a Adriana Lombardo, directora de la Universidad Obrera de México, y digna continuadora del legado que le dejó su padre, brillantísimo intelectual marxista y generoso luchador en México y en toda la América Latina. en favor de la causa del proletariado y del socialismo, el compañero Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

Ahora bien, ¿cómo corresponder a mi vez, a aquellos que con la palabra y con su presencia, le rinden este póstumo homenaje al artista y ciudadano fiel toda su vida a los principios del comunismo, y del internacionalismo proletario, integro, además, en primera instancia, a su propia nacionalidad de mexicano? No olvidaré cuando en una audiencia con el Ministerio Público (durante sus últimos cuatro años de cárcel), indignado espetó: "El señor agente me acusa de mis antecedente penales, exactamente de lo que constituye mi mayor orgullo como mexicano".

¿Cómo hablar de sus altos valores humanos como compañero. como padre, como abuelo, ya que tuve la suerte de compartir su vida, día a día, minuto a minuto. durante cuarenta años, si desde que supe que estaba sentenciado a muerte, he contenido el torrente de mis lágrimas, he amordazado mi dolor desgarrador, sobre todo cuando sus pasos se hicieron torpes. y cuando se inmovilizaron sus piernas y comenzó a inquirir angustiosamente, primero con fuerza y después con voz apagada: ¿Es que me voy a morir? ¿Es que me voy a morir?...

Pensar que era un hombre fuerte, que amaba intensamente la vida para trabajar, para crear su obra, para compartir sus anhelos con los que lo rodeaban y, que, jamás pensó en la muerte. Su muerte fue así su primera y única derrota.

¿Cómo hablar de sus valores humanos, si cuando exhaló su último suspiro, yo estaba convencida de que moriría con él? Bajaron su cuerpo, su lecho quedó vacío, su casa, sus talleres se llenaron de tinieblas, y como un autómata, como un espectro, me dejé trasladar a la solemnidad de su velorio en Bellas Artes.

Fue hasta horas más tarde, y en ese momento no lo intuf, cuando comencé a recobrar mi presencia, en el momento mismo en que desde la calle entraron en filas cerradas para hacer guardias junto a su féretro, los hombres, mujeres y niños de su pueblo, de ese pueblo por el que tanto luchó. Sentí el dolor en sus rostros pero también se manifestaba, latente en ellos, la conciencia de una esperanza.

Llegaron en los días sucesivos y seguirán llegando cartas y cartas, telegramas y artículos en los periódicos, y revistas de México y del mundo entero. Los agradezco infinitamente, porque a través de ellos fluyó ya más libremente la sangre por mis venas; y también, quizás, el propio Siqueiros me



transmitió su fuerza frente a mi flaqueza. Por lo tanto, mi obligación ineludible es mantener vivo su legado artístico al pueblo. legado que debo organizar y poner en marcha y, también, el de su limpia trayectoria polític

Una vez más, repito, . .adezco este homenaje al compañero de toda mi vida, no sólo porque se lleva a cabo bajo los auspicios de la Universidad Obrera de México, pero particularmente, porque esta institutión se ha convertido en los últimos años en un centro de concerdancia para el trabajo, para la unidad de hombres y mujeres de distintos matices políticos pero unidos en una actitud benéfica, en estos momentos tan difíciles por los que atraviesa muestro país y todo el mundo.

Cuantos actos de enorme trascendencia se han llevado a cabo. sumando voluntades en la lucha contra el imperialismo y en favor

de la paz. Y aún más, en esta casa han encontrado albergue para el trabajo a nuestros hermanos, los asilados chilenos, golpeados y llenos de carencias afectivas por los seres que han perdido, a los que debemos ayudar en su lucha por la liberación de su patria.

En esa virtud, debo ampliar estas lineas:

Apenas hace cinco meses fue ametrallado, por los pretorianos nazis, el presidente Salvador Allende y con él, torturados y masacrados, millares de patriotas. de hombres, mujeres y hasta niños inocentes. Esa tragedia sacudió a toda la humanidad.

Un poco más tarde, nos estremeció la muerte del gran cantor de la esperanza, del ciudadano y poeta Pablo Neruda, y mientras él agonizaba en medio de aquel macabro genocidio, los chacales quemaban sus libros.

Casi 4 décadas antes, el gran líder de los nicaraguenses, Sandino. había sido asesinado; surgió también, la ya veterana dictadura militar en Paraguay, donde jamás se abrió ningún proceso, y los presos políticos fueron despeñados y arrojados al mar; en el año de 1954, el gobierno democrático de Arbenz. es derrocado también por una dictadura militar; Santo Domingo, invadido y sometido; otra democracia, la de Brasil, que representaba nuevas esperanzas en aquel gran territorio por sus inmensas riquezas naturales. que programaba desterrar el hambre y la miseria de su pueblo, es derrocada por las fuerzas pretorianas - quién ignora las torturas v crimenes contra los presos políticos -, y convertida hoy, en un poderoso centro de operaciones de las fuerzas ultra-conservadoras del continente, con el soporte

directo de la CIA, para toda la América Latina. Un año antes. coincidiendo con los preparativos del golpe contra las fuerzas de Unidad Popular de la República de Chile, cae Uruguay, la que

había sido durante décadas ejemplar democracia; y, finalmente, desde Bolivia -con sus combativas masas de mineros y campesinos que han luchado contra los sucesivos asaltos de dictaduras militares-, nos llega hace apenas unos días, la proclama del general Hugo Bánzer, en la que exige y ofrece recompensas a ese mismo pueblo luchador, para que dispare a matar contra todo agitado comunista.

Creo que ya no nos alcanzan los dedos de la mano para contar cuántas son las dictaduras abyectas, sostenidas por los consorcios yanquis en alianza con los apátridas criollos que amenazan, ahora más que nunca. con el gastado grito del "Fantasma del Comunismo". Ya el fascismo se ha manifestado, con toda la barbarie de los métodos nazis, en Chile y en toda la América Latina.

¿Con qué organizaciones, con qué partidos independientes, con cuántos contingentes de patriotas vamos a responder a la toma del poder político y económico que muestros enemigos están preparando en nuestro propio país?

¿A quiénes les hacen el juego las fuerzas dispersas, inorgánicas de los ultraizquierdistas, de los seudodemócratas, con sus posiciones tan negativas, con sus bromas, chistes que ni siquiera son de su propia invención, ya que provienen del bando enemigo? Incluyendo, dentro de esos sectores a los pequeños grupos, quizá bien intencionados. pero que con sus actitudes mal orientadas, se pueden confundir con los provocadores agentes de la CIA.

¿Por qué durante los últimos años, Siqueiros percibiendo -incluso antes de la caída del gobierno popular de Chile-, la grave situación que estaba ya en proceso en todo el continente latinoamericano, pedía con todas sus fuerzas que en México, en nuestra patria, se creara un organismo popular, poderoso, con principios de lucha esenciales contra el imperialismo vancui v contra los consorcios extranjeros y sus aliados, la poderosa y ultraconservadora iniciativa privada?

Morelos está presente, sigue y seguirá siendo válida para México y para todos los países de América Latina, los "Sentimientos de la Nación". Interpretándola: "Lo que es del pueblo será del pueblo cuando éste conquiste su total soberanía, el derecho a usufructuar sus riquezas naturales, el derecho a su libertad y el derecho a vivir en un mundo mejor, en una sociedad más justa y humana.

Esto lo lograremos con una unidad sin fisuras, unidad de las fuerzas revolucionarias y auténticamente democráticas, independientemente de los diferentes matices ideológicos y que reconozca, en primer lugar, que todos nosotros, por nuestros errores, somos responsables de que haya cundido, durante varios sexenios, la yerba mala de la corrupción de los líderes obreros, los caciques, y de los funcionarios abyectos en el campo administrativo.

cont.on p. 19

# **Triton Times**

the Third College community and all people of color on the UCSD campus. Triton Times have said that the art-If these articles were the first instance of disdain for Third College and Black people that had been printed many people on this campus that this contempt of Third College. It seems ialism" published several months ago, "The Nature of Wealth" published March 5, 1974, articles challenging the academic credibility of

P-1005: TENGO PUERTO RICO EN MI CORAZON (I Have Puerto Rico in My Heart) Songs of the Puerto Rican independence movement. Sung by Pepe and Flora Sanchez. 1 12" LP \$4.00

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cont. fromP. 9

Spanish influence in the "Northern Country":

- 1519 Alvarez-Pineda explores Gulf Coast from Florida to Veracruz. Recommends settlement at mouth of Rio Grande River.
- 1528 ill-fated Narvaez expedition lands in Florida. ing Culiacan on Gulf of California.
- 1540 Coronade explores present Arizona-New Mexico line; area around Albuquerque and Rio Grande
- 1542 Herman De Soto explores the Trinity River
- 1598 Onate establishes Spanish settlements in the upper valley of the Rio Grande; at El Paso; later near Presidio
- 1682 French by La Salle explore Mississippi River from Canada; try to found a village but are massacred by Indians
- 1690 De Leon granted expedition from King to settle in Texas -- San Francisco de las Tejas near Neches River(Village of Weches)
- 1693 that mission fails 1698 - French try to occupy Pensacola, repulsed by Spanish forces; they
- then establish Biloxi. 1702 - French occupy Mobile and called the country Louisiana (Louis XIV)
- 1712 By Spanish-French intermarriage, both countries recognize their respective settlements
- 1716 Spanish establish missions at locations now known as Lynwood, Nagogdoches county.
- 1716 Spanish found San Miguel 15 miles est of French outpost of natchitoches; mission Dolores (San Augustine)
- 1718 Alarcon establishes Villa de Bexar or San Antonio

These locations are important to assess in the light that when Napoleon sold the Louisiana territory to the U.S., he did not include a clear appraisal of its border with Spain. Richardson touches upon the importance of the settlements near East Texas:

"Aguavo...established at Los Adaes, in the autumn of 1721, the presidio of Nuestra Senora de Pillar and left in charge a garrison of a hundred men ... This place, with its garrison, mission, and small civil settlement, became the capital of Texas.

BOYCOTT BOX......WORKERS STRUGGLES

GALLO WINE FRANZIA WINE GRAPES ICEBERG LETTUCE SAVON SAFEWAY **COORS BEER** OLYMPIA BEER SAN MIGUEL BEER SEARS PORTUGUESE AND CHILEAN PRODUCTS CASHEWS GULF OIL

Here at Los Adaes and the neighboring French post of Natchitoches, the prongs of empire touched. The Spanish advance toward the northeast was ended, as was the French penetration westward from the Mississippi.

New Spain had embarked on a systematic settlement pattern Cabeza de Vaca continues and quite consciously, for it exploration until reach- had to counteract French influence in its territory. Many eventually failed except for San Antonio and La Bahia,

In 1763 Spain enters the Seven collapsing. Rebellion in Years War with France. Spain loses Florida but gains Western Louisiana. This terrilower Mississippi Valley' tory included all land west and on through Texas near of the Mississippi except the Northwest territory. Spain then decides to strengthen her central settlements in Texas and not concentrate on these settlements in East Texas. The Comanches and Apache Indians were not entirely sympathetic to Spanish colonization and repeatedly attched their posts. In the 1780's, Spanish power was firmly rooted in the Southwest by San Antonio in Texas, Santa Fe in New Mexico and Natchitoches. Louisiana.

By 1800, Napoleon had drawn up a plan for empire in Europe and in the New World. Spain was forced to cede Louisiana back to France... The Treaty of San Ildefonso, Ostober 1, 1800, furnishes the ambiguity inherent in regard to borders

## Third College

The capitalist system is based on inequalities. It is a sicial system which fosters diseases such as greed, exploitacion and racism. It is a social system where there will always be rich and poor people. That is, mostly rich whi te people and mostly poor ethnic minorities. (That is not to say that there are not poor whites who are also exploited and copted rich minorities who exploit). And along this lines, of rich and poor, capitalism is a system which will always have unemployment. So now we have to deal with a system which has greed, exploitation, racism, rich and poor, unemployment and sexism. It is a social system based on inequa-

Then, the question must be asked, what is the relation of Third College to all this debris? How does a 'minority' college fit within the capiatlist system? And how does Third College fit within the U.C. system?

The answer to the above questions is simple if viewed from a Marxist perspective.

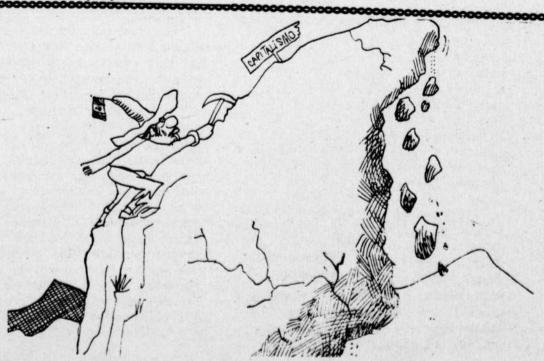
"The boundaries were left indefinite, the wording of the treaty being "the same extent which it has in the hands of Spain, and which it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be according to the treaties passed between Spain and other states."

Within 3 years, Napoleon's plans for world Empire were Haiti and Santo Domingo by natives prompted him to examine the feasibility of holding on to Louisiana. Needing funds to wage a more aggressive war in Europe, he sold Louisiana to the U.S. Spain did not include the Floridas in this treaty, and a few years later, it would prove to be a critical point for President Monroe to consider. The fact is that due to the border dispute with Spain, the U.S. did not conclude the Louisiana territory boundary until 1819 with the Transcontinental Treaty.

To be continued

A minority college just does not fit. As a matter of fact, minorities never really belonged to this system. Minoroties have always been looked upon as people to be used and exploited. If minorities weren't building a railroad, they were picking cotton or grapes. Never have they been able to decide their own destiny. To a large extent minorities still do not have the right of self determination. More often than not National Minorities are used as cannon fodder, i.e. Korea, Vietnam, and todays all 'volunteer" army.

The issue of racial chauvinism cannot be over emphasized, but not to the extent that it overshadows the class struggle. Within this racist context it is logical to assume that a minority oriented college will not succed. It will eventually become but a tool at the disposal of the ruling class, through its copting effects, i.e. financial aid. To better understand this, take the attitude of the Board of Regents in regard to their investments in South Africa. The Board of Regents is a profit oriented organization. As such they are interested in onlu such they are interested in only one thing, profits. When questioned about moral abligations to the majority of the people of South Africa, the overriding attitude of the Board of Regents is that their only concern or interest is a return on their investments. Which is to say they don't care if anyone is exploitedas long as they can make money; Taing this attitude a step further, can the attitude of the Board of Regents torward the people of South Africa be any different from their attitude torward national minorities in this country?



# NO COMPRE VINOS GALLO

# Boycott Gallo

#### Con los Contratos de UFWA

Se exige agua potable y servicios anitarios para los trabajadores. Se prohibe el uso de insecticidas nientras trabajan los obreros en el

Se ofrece protección contra el ser despedido al antojo del patrón

por medio del Salón de Empleos. Se garantiza que a los empleados antiguos ne se les va a forzar a hacer paro.

Se ofrece servicio médico para la familia del obrero.

Se exigen aumentos de sueldo con cada contrato nuevo.

#### Con los Contratos de los Teamsters

El obrero no tiene voz ni voto cuanto a servicios básicos. El obrero no tiene voz ni voto n cuanto a las condiciones de rabajo.

Se usan contratistas pagados por as empresas agrícolas para reunir trabajadores. Estos contratistas también viven de la mordida pagada

No hay protección para los empleados antiguos.

No hay beneficios médicos. No se exigen aumentos de sueldo con la inflación hay más bien rebaja de sueldos.

El 85% de los obreros para las granjas Gallo están en huelga. Desde hace seis años bajo contratos de la union United Farm Workers se han conseguido muchos beneficios de primera necesidad para los obreros del campo. Y ahora Gallo, queriendo mejorar su ganancia anual de 45 millones de dolares, ha impedido que continúen estas garantías.

Para ocultar este vil ataque contra los campesinos, la empresa Gallo ha negociado con Frank Fitzsimmons y los burócratas de los Teamsters. Así la empresa obtiene un contrato favorable negociado entre los funcionarios de la unión Teamsters y los empresarios a costa de los obreros. Y los burócratas de los Teamsters, bajo pretexto de representar a los obreros, se echan al bosillo las cuotas de la unión. Pero para los obreros no hay nada - ni siquiera el derecho de asistir a las reuniones de la union; no queda el menor rasgo del proceso democrático que antes tenían en la unión.

Los dirigentes de los Teamsters están contentos con este arreglo; y para defenderlos, la policia y los truhanes de los Teamsters han dado muerte a dos piquetes de la UFWA y han asaltado y arrestado a cientos más, incluyendo a mujeres y a niños. La violencia y los esquiroles han permitido que la empresa Gallo continúe sus operaciones a pesar de la huelga. Por eso se necesita el boicoteo para apoyar a los huelguistas, para así lograr los mismos éxitos del pasado. La razón por la cual el boicoteo es legal es que los obreros del campo no tienen la protección de las leyes nacionales de relaciones obreras. Es más, los obreros del campo persiguen derechos que la mayoría de las otras uniones obtuvieron hace 40 o 50 años.



### INO COMPRE VINOS GALLO!!

EN LAS TIENDAS SAV-ON SE VENDE MÁS DE UN MILLON DE DÓLARES DE VINO GALLO POR MES.

NO COMPRE EN LAS TIENDAS SAV-ON HASTA QUE EL VINO GALLO HAYA DESAPARECIDO DE SUS ESTANTES.

SAV-ON SELLS OVER 1 MILLION DOLLARS OF GALLO A MONTH

DON'T SHOP SAV-ON UNTIL GALLO IS REMOVED FROM SHELVES

GALLO Andre - Boone's Farm - Carlo Rossi -Eden Roc - Paisano - Red Mountain -Ripple - Spanada - Thunderbird -Tyrolia - All wines from Modesto, CA

Gouis the Fifth - Longs Drug -Safeway & Lucky private labels -All wines from Rippan, CA

Alta Citation - Ceremony Cook's Imperial - Cresta Blanca - Cribari Reserve - CVC - Famiglia Cribari -GArret - Guild Blue Ribbon - J. Pierrot - La Boheme - La Mesa -Lodi - Medocina - Ocean Spray Cranberry Rose - Old San Francisco -Parroll VA - Roma - Roma Reserve -Saratoga - St. Mark - Tavola - Tres Grand - Versailles - Virgina Dare -Vin Giogg (Parret & Co) - Wine Masters

La economía empeora y la inflación aumenta. A medida que decae nuestro estandard de vida y suben los precios, sentimos la escasez más y más. Ante tal crisis econ-6mica, los obreros del campo - que siempre han recibido sueldos más bajos y menos beneficios - sienten la escasez aun más. Si las empresas agrícolas y los dirigentes de los Teamsters logran robarle al obrero los derechos mínimos de trabajo que consiguieron bajo el liderazgo de la UFWA, entonces se habrá establecido un precedente para permitir el uso de tácticas semejantes contra otros trabajadores asalariados. No podemos resistir esta amenaza a menos que nos unamos. Es la hora de manifestar su solidaridad. Defienda a los obreros del campo.

#### The UFWA Contracts

Running water, basic sanitation No pesticides sprayed on farm workers when they are working in the field.

Union Hiring Hall - protection against arbitrary firing Seniority protection against lay-

Medical coverage for workers' families

## The New Teamster Contracts

Raises with each new contract.

No worker control over living conditions

No worker control over working conditions.

Labor Contractors - Agents paid by the growers to recruit workers. These labor contractors also extract kickbacks from the workers

No seniority protection No medical coverage No new raises - i.e., with inflation their pay is actually cut.

85% of the farm workers at Gallo are on strike. For six years under United Farm Workers contracts the farm workers had won many benefits meeting their most basic needs. Now Gallo has taken all that back, trying to increase their 45 million dollar a year profit.

To cover up this vacious attack on farm workers, Gallo has made a deal with Frank Fitzsimmons and the Teamster bureaucrats. Gallo gets their sweetheart contract (a contract between the union officials and the employers at the workers expense); the Teamster bureaucrats. pretending to represent the farm workers, pocket union dues. And the farm workers get nothing - not even the right to attend union meetings. much less the sort of union democracy they used to have.

The teamster leadership is happy with this kind of arrangement; to defend it the police and Teamster goons have murdered two UFWA pickets and beaten up and arrested hundreds more, including women and children.

The use of violence and the use of scab labor has enabled Gallo to keep going despite the strike. That is why boycott is being used to back up the strike, as it has backed up successful farm workers strikes in the past. And the only reason the boycott is legal is because the farm workers are not covered under National Labor Relation Laws. In fact, the farm workers are trying to gain rights that most other unions won 40 and 50 years ago.

The economy continues to get worse and inflation increases. As our living standards and purchasing powers diminish we feel the pinch more and more. In the face of this economic crisis, the farm workers who have always been the lowest paid and least protected workers - feel the pinch most of all. If the growers and the Teamster leaders succeed in stripping the farm workers of the basic labor rights they won under UFWA leadership, then a precedent will be set for the use of similar tactics against other wageearners. We can't fight back unless we are united. Now is the time to start showing your solidarity. Defend the farm workers.

## Chinese Barefoot Doctors. Revolution in Practice

by Paul Pickowicz

This paper deals with the most significant medical and health force in China -- the Barefoot doctor, and in doing so it takes account of the most significant medical book in China -- The Instruction Manual for Barefoot Doctors. This conference comes at a time when direct contact between the Chinese and American people is once again underway after an interlude of more than two decades. The general absence of American visitors to China over the last twenty years has had the effect of dramatizing for recent American visitors the enourmous changes which have taken place in China. European, Canadian, and Japanese travellers to China sice 1949 were quite competent in reporting the astounding changes taking place in New China, but for a variety of reasons these accounts were largely ignored in America. Suddenly it is as though Americans have discovered China, and tales of Chinese miracle working have astounded American readers since the ping-pong period began in the Spring of 1971. Americans seem to thrive on excesses. First, little reliable American news for twenty years, then sudden deluge of untrained reporting which seems to have had the singular effect of making China the latest fad.

It is a happy coincidence, however, that one of the topics which has received the most attention is the development of medical and health practice in the People's Crina. A discussion of medical and health policies is an excellent place to begin an overall consideration of the significance of the Chinese revolution for both America and the Third World. The conflicts and trends in medicine and health are symbolic of similar phenomenon in literature and the arts, and even in the Communist party itself.

The full impact of health and medical delivery in China cannot be appreiated without comparisons and contrast to other locations and other times. Recent reports from China have betrayed the journalist's lack of understanding of the health situation in China during the decade before 1949. In a land where peasents still account for 80% of the population, even the most rudimentary health care was completely unknown before the founding of the Peolple's Republic. The English surgeon Joshua Horn, a longtime resident of China has written:

Poverty and ignorance were reflected in a complete lack of sanitation as a result of which water - borne diseases such as typhoid, cholera, dysentery, took a heavy toll. Worm infestion was practically universal. for untreated human and animal manure was the main and e essential soil fertilizer. The people lived on the fringe of stravation and this so lowered their resistance to disease that epidemics carried off thousands every year. The average life expectancy in China in 1935 was stated to be about 28 years.. There were no preventive inoculations agaisnt infectuos disease and from time to time epidemics of smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough and meningitis swept through



the countryside with devastating results. Lice and poverty went hand in ahnd, and with them louse borne diseases such as typhus.

By 1949 the number of modern physicians was less than one per 100,-000 people, but most of these doctors lived in the large cities. The general situation in the countryside was made more unberable by the combination of warlordism, civil war, foreign invasion, and natural disaster. Recalling a three year famine which devastated Szachuan Province in SouthWest China from 1929 to 1932, Edgar Snaow wrote, " There for the first time I saw children dying by the thousands, in a famine which eventually took more than five million lives but was scarcely noted in the West."

These ghastly recollections bring to to mind events of recent years and months in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. When we discuss China in any context we should remember that twenty-five years ago there was

little to distinguish social conditions in China from those in the South Asian subcontinent. A comparison of developments in both areas over the last twenty-five years is most enlightening. Finally, we should not refrain from making comparisons between China and the "advanced" industrial societies such as the United States. One of the fruit of America's discovery of China is a willingness to admit that we have much to learn from China. Dr. Paul Dudley White reported after a recent visit to China that in the delivery of health care the Chinese are in fact ahead of the United States. Our approach to China has undergone great changes. Our arrogance in dealing with the "Sick Man of Asia" has been tempered by humility these days. The Chinese people have the dignity and respect of a nation which has stood up and taken a firm grasp of its destiny. They take pride in the fact that the people have done it them-

It should not be suprising then, that the specific topic of this paper is one which is of interest to both Chinese and Americans.

Barefoot doctors are neither "ba-

refoot" nor doctors; they are paramedical personnel. More and more Americans are begining to discuss the question of paramedics in a s socio-political rather than medical terms. Why is it in America, the richest and most advanced country in medical technology, there are millions who do not have adequate medical and health care because they cannot afford it, or because there are not enough medical personnel with proper credentials to treat them. Many ask wither it is necessary to spend years aquiring an M.D. degree to be qualified to treat common illnesses. Powerfull lobies have resisted any trends torward "lowering standards. A related problem is the tendency for medical students to gravitate torwards specialized training where the money is, rather than torwards general practice where the people are. Training more M.D.'s does not seem to be the answer. It takes too long, and many have no interest in general practice. This essay is about China's approach to the same problem. In China after 1949 the problems were more exaggerated. For the 500,000,000 peasants in the rural areas even the most basic health care was unknown, and there was no money to pay for medical care. There were a number of Western trained physicians, but they were confined to a few urban areas. In the countryside there were some traditional Chinese medical practitioners who specialized in herbal medicine and acupuncture, but they were, for the most part, servants of hte landed gentry. Paramedical personnel, who came to be known as barefoot doctors, were a vital part of the solution to this almost hopeless problem. In this paper I will discuss the origins of Chinese paramedical programs in general, but focus on an evaluation of barefoot doctors since the origins of the Chinese Cultural Revolution in 1965. It was on June 26, 1965 that Mao-Tse-Tung wrote, " In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas." In this discussion I will draw upon my personal experience in China during June and July 1971, as well as a stu-

Cont. on p. 17

War -

dy of the important documents which

## Represión militar y económica de

## Eritrea continúa en Etiopia

"En virtud de su sangre real, así como en virtud de los derechos recibidos, la persona del Emperador es sagrada, su dignidad inviolable, su autoridad induscutible." Así está escrito en la constitución etíope, constitución concedida a sus súbditos el año 1955 por El Rey de Reyes, León de la tribu de Judá, descendiente directo del rey Salomón: El Emperador de Etiopía, Haile Selassie.

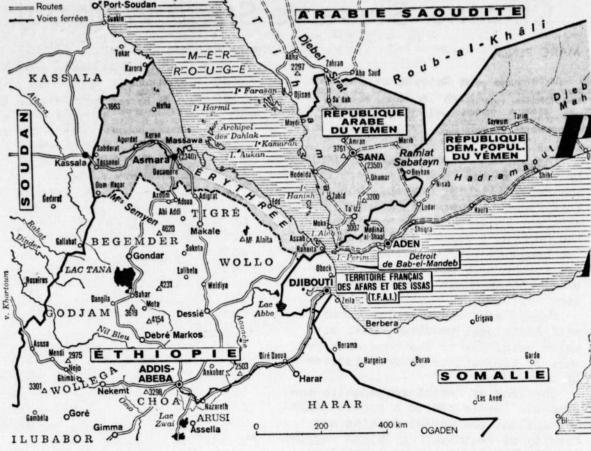
Haile Selassie reina desde hace más de 40 años sobre uno de los países mas pobres del mundo. La renta anual per capita de los etíopes no supera los 70 dolares, el 97% de la población es analfabeta, la duración media de la vida es de 37 años...La base económica del país reside en la agricultura, ocupa a la mayor parte de la población (25 millones), solo existen 400.000 obreros asalariados en el país. La riqueza natural del suelo se ve anulada por la estructura feudal de las relaciones de producción y las primitivas técnicas de cultivo. Si todo el terreno fuese cultivado, se producirían alimentos para más de 100 millones de personas, sin embargo la muerte por hambre se ha convertido en algo común para los campesinos etíopes.

El 0.1% de la población controla el 77% de las tierras cultivables, los campesinos son autenticos siervos feudales: cultivan una tierra cuyo producto pertenece, por partes iguales, al Emperador, a los señores feudales de la provincia y a la Iglesia Ortodoxa Cristiana, fuertemente aliada a la clase en el poder.

Las exportaciones agrícolas, que han ido tomando importancia en estos últimos años a pesar de la sequía que padece el país, están en gran parte controladas por compañías extranjeras: el 75% de las exportaciones de café está en manos de compañías norteamericanas.

En este paraíso feudal nada parecía turbar la paz, sin embargo existe en Etiopía una guerra no declarada desde hace más de diez años. En el norte del país se encuentra la región de Eritrea, tradicionalmente distinta del país, con una cultura, una religión(la musulana) y unas estructuras económicas diferentes. La diferenciacion económica y política de Eritrea tiene su origen en los primeros años del siglo en que los colonos italianos (toda Etiopia tue colonia de Italia durante algún tiempo) se establecen en la zona creando pequeñas industrias, modernizando la agricultura y desarrollando el comercio a traves de la ciudad de Asmara, capital de Eritrea, y del puerto de Massawa. Esto daria lugar a la formación de una burgesía eretrea, así como al nacimiento de una clase obrera con organizaciones propias: Eritrea se convertiría así en una de las partes más ricas del país.

En 1950 la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas declaraba a



Eritrea estado independiente asociado, por medio de una federación al imperio etíope; diez años
más tarde se convertiría, por un
decreto del Emperador, en una provincia más de Etiopía. En esa época forma el Frente de Liberación
de Eritrea(F.L.E.), que rapidamente se convertiría en el representante del pueblo eritreo en la
lucha por la independencia nacional etíope.

El gobierno de Haile Selassie comienza una campaña de represión
sistemática contra el movimiento
Eritreo. La parte más importante
del ejército etíope, un ejército
moderno que recibe más de la mitad
de toda la ayuda militar USA a
Africa, se traslada a Asmara, donde existe una las bases Norte Americanas más importantes del mundo.
El ejército Israelí también presta su ayuda al gobierno etíope a
través de "consejeros militares."

Esta ayuda parece haber terminado después de las presiones ejercidas por los países árabes sobre Etiopía durante el último conflicto armado Arabe---Israelí.

A traves de esta ayuda el imperialismo Yanqui y el expansionismo militar Israelí se aseguran el control sel sur del Mar Rojo y del estrecho de Bab-el-Mandeb.

La represión no se reduce a su aspecto militar, sino que se constituye en un auténtico genocidio del pueblo eritreo: las fábricas son desmanteladas y transladadas al sur, los cultivos quemados y el ganado sacrificado, las escuelas son clausuradas. Mas de 40.000 personas han huido al Sudán, otros a Arabia Saudita o al Yemen del Sur, el número de victimas se desconoce. A todos esto se ha añadido la seguía que azota Africa Central desde hace cinco años, el gobierno etíope ha utilizado la sequia como un arma política para diezmar las poblaciones

rebeldes, (también lo ha hecho el de Malí con respecto a los Tuaregas del desierto del Sahara)

A pesar de todo esto el F.L.E. se ha mantenido y ha crecido en número y eficacia militar. La solidaridad con los movimientos árabes revolucionarios es total: Palestinos y eritreos consideran tener dos enemigos comunes por lo menos: El imperialismo NorteAmericano y el subimperialismo Israelí.

Actualmente Etiopía sufre la mayor crisis política de su historia moderna. Una parte importante del ejército se ha rebelado contra los ministros del gobierno, acusándolos de corrupción y exigiendo su dimisión. Parece ser que el ejercito trata de asegurarse el poder para después de la muerte del Emperador (84 años). Es precisamente en Eritrea donde el movimiento de los militares ha alcanzado mayor importancia. Un cambio de actitud del gobierno etíope hacia la democratización beneficiaría la lucha del F.L.E., pero este cambio, difícil ya por la oposición de los señores feudales, tendría que contar con la autorización del gobierno de U.S.A

para quien Etiopía juega un importante papel de contencion de los movimientos revolucionarios del continente Africano.

La lucha del F.L.E. es una parte importante de la batalla que enfrenta las oligarquías nacionales aliadas al imperialismo, a los pueblos revolucionarios del mundo.



Emperor Selassie

## Chicano Students Stage Walk-out

A 14 year old Chicana student at Southwest Jr. High in San Ysidro was recently interviewed by PRENSA POPULAR after the March 22, 1974 Chicano student walkout.

The Chicano student was particularly upset by the lack of support from the faculty at her school. She feels that "some teachers don't identify with nor understand the problems of the Chicano students in the school. The language barrier between students and teachers is also a serious problem, although not necessarily the most serious one.

Female students are also faced with additional problems, most of which originate in the home as a result of economic conditions imposed by our society.

The lack of school response to the students' needs led to a protest walkout against the administration and faculty at Southwest Jr. High. Approximately 110 students were compelled to jump over the fence since the administration and teachers had forcibly locked them inside the school.

This action on the part of the administration constitutes a violation of the 14th amendment and a failure to respect the civil rights of the students.

In trying to leave the school grounds, a number of students were pushed and physically held back by the school personnel. In some instances, students were injured as they were pulled away from the fence.

A peaceful march to San Ysidro Park followed and parents, students and co munity people took part. The participants umbered approximately 350 people who had supported the students' de-

Prior to the "jump over," on Thursday, March 21, 1974, a presentation of the demands was made to the Board of Education at Willton ligh School by the legal representative of El Conite de Accion y Educacion. The insensitivity of the Board was blatantly obvious. The meeting was limited to a discussion of a possible meeting date sometime in the future.

The following is the official

list of demands as presented to the Board of Education:

We the Chicanos, Latinos, Mexican-mericans, exicano students, parents and other concerned people recognize the need for change at Southwest Jr. High. We therefore demand the following changes:

- -A bilingual-bicultural principal.
- -A bilingual-bicultural assistant principal (girls)
- -A bilin mal-bicultural assistant principal (boys)
- Three bilin wal-bicultural counselors, one for each grade 7,8,9.
- -A parity of bilin mal-bicultural faculty according to percentage, for special classes, Bal, and regular classes.
- -A Chicano Studies program that will entail the study of the Chicano, Lexican-American, lexicano pasi, present and future.

- -A Chicano cultural class; a study into cultural background of arts. (dances, ideology, art, etc.)
- -An independent class; a class of independent studies, group sessions, speakers etc. to increase cultural awareness.
- -The official approval of MECHA as an organization on campus signed by the present principal and ASB advisor.

-Relevant Spanish books;

- more literature in Spanish. Chicano literature, cassettes. records, and other accessories. CHANGE OF RULES: When the Pledge of Allegiance is called for, a student is not to be required to say it, that a student's citizenship
- not be lowered or the student be punished or suspended. -A student should be allowed to have 10 minute
- break between classes. -The cafeteria helpers should not bring it upon themselves to punish any student unless an adult authority witnesses the circumstances and approve the actions.
- The use of telephone when a student does not have the money to pay for the public telephone, or in case of emergency he/she should be able to use the office telephone.
- -All new material must be approved by a Comunity Advisory Board.
- -All new applicants for positions at Southwest must be interviewed by a Comunity Advisory Board and officially anproved.
- > The Community Advisory Board will be made up of Chicano students, per-ents and Community Representatives.

Presently, the Board has made no effort to communicate with the Committee concerning the demands and resulting action taken by the students.

The students will continue to boycott the school for as long as it takes for their demands to be met. The community and parents support their actions and will facilitate "teach-ins" by bilingual/bicultural teachers to be held at San Ysidro Park.

Furthermore, the community sees the suspensions of the 110 students by the South-West Jr. Migh administration as a scare tactic to discourage the boycott and to bypass the real issues as pointed out by the demands.

That has the walkout accomplished? Originally its purpose was to inform the staff of the students' needs. Yet the results have been mostly

negative. The staff claims to have done their best but they have reacted extremely defensively. The walk-out's intention was not to give the staff an op ortunity to defend their actions. The staff's main preoccupation seems to be the selfish one of protecting their positions instead of attempting to solve the students' problems.

Many of the parents were not aware of the problems that were occuring in their school. Why is this so? First of all, many of the parents don't speak English. Secondly, their children do not mention their problems at home because of their fear of figures in authority. Since many of the parents did not go beyond 6th grade they feel that education is "the best thing that happened" to their children. It is therefore impossible for their children to come home and say that "education is no good." Many children do not wish to disappoint their parents and others are afraid of punishment.

Only a small number of parents attend the PTA meetings, so decisions are left to a few parents and the school's staff. How representative of the community is this decision-making process?

The main concern of the school should be to fulfil the students needs. Yet a letter was passed around solving the needs of the students by "sending them back to Tijuana." The irony of this solution is that in it were a matter of sending people back to where they came from, the first ones to leave ought to be those who took away California and other former Mexican territories from their original inhabitants more than a century ago. A large number of the Spanishsneaking people were born here even before anglos took the land from Mexico. Unfortunately, the adults lose sight of the primary purpose for the existence of schools - STUDENTS - of every color, race and creed.

What is even more tragic is that the students will not only be suspended but will be branded as "troublema'ters" and their reports will contain permanent records of their bad behavior. In her article entitled "How Secret School Records Can Hurt Your Child" Diane Divoky explains: "Student records - any teacher or school counselor will tell you - are used nore and more to get a picture of the "whole child", his family and his psychological, social and academic development. So besides hard data such as IQ scores, medical records and grades, schools are now collecting files of soft data: teachers' anecdotes, personality rating profiles. reports on interviews with parents and "high security" psychological, disciplinary and delinquency reports. These are routinely filed away in school offices or stored in co puter data

banks." School records will indicate that the Chicano students who started the peaceful "walkout" were disturbing the peace. The principal of the school said: "Ty school has been turned into a fortress." This phrase implies that he interprets the peaceful "walk-out" as a militant and violent act. It is not difficult therefore to conclude that the students will be "branded" and that they will receive an extrenely unfavorable re ort.

Cont. on pg. 19

## Barefoot Doctors cont. from p 14

have appeared in the Chinese press on the subject of barefoot doctors. Finally, I will discuss, for the first time in the West, the contents of the Instruction Manual for Barefoot Doctors, in order to determine the precise nature and scope of their

ORIGINS OF PARAMEDICAL WORK IN CHINA Through the centuries necessity dictated that China's peasants employ the services of paramedical personnel. In most every village there was some sort of medical consultant whose medical knowledge was a combination of practical experience and herbal formulas passed down through the family. Unhappily their practice was ridden with superstition and myth. Of the with-doctors Dr. Horn wrote, ... their practice of bitting through the umbilical cord and applying cow-dung to the stump caused many babies to die of tetanus.. " In the late 1920's, however, when the Chinese Communist were establishing rural base areas in South China, they were faced with the challenge of wiping away superstition of all sorts, and providing fundamental health services for the millions of peasants living within the Soviet areas. In 1944 Mao Tse Tung wrote:

Among the 1,500,000 people of the Shensi-Kansu-Yinghsia Border Region there are more than 1,000,000 illiterates, there are 2,000 practitioners of witchcraft, and the broad masses are still under the influence of superstition..the human and animal mortality rates are both very high...in such circumstances, to rely solely on modern doctors is no solution. Of course modern doctors have advantages over doctors of the old type, but if they do not concern themselves with the suffering of the people, do not unite with the thousands and more doctors and veterinarians of the old type in the Border Region and do not help them to make progress, then they will actually be helping the witchdoctors... There are two principles for the united front: the first is to unite, the second is to criti-

cize, educate, and transfrom. Even in those days the primary emphasis was on combining the positive elements of both Western and Chinese medicine. establishing preventive medicine and health education as a top priority, and encouraging modern doctors to train the peasants themselves in the kinds of basic medical practices which would have the most impact on the people. This type of program was embodied in the spirit of Dr. Norman Bethune, the famed Canadian physician who came to China in 1938 to serve in the Communist Eighth Route Army during the war of resistance against Japan. During chis period it was reported that often he volunteered transfusions from his own blood, designed makeshift medical equipment from whatever building material at hand, and trained whole clinics of peasant paramedics as he travelled abo about. His death in 1939 as a result of blood posioning prompted the writing of one of Mao Tse-tung's most famous articles, "in Memory of Norman Bethune. " He wrote, "Comrade Bethune spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great warmheartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every communist must learn

from him. . . No one who returned from the front failed to express admiration for Bethune whenever his name was mentioned, and none remained unmoved by his spirit." My reading of the documents relevant to barefoot doctors since 1965 indicates that Bethune's name and spirit are as much a model for paramedics today as they were in 1939.

After the victory of the revolution in 1949 the Communist were obviously in a position they had never before experienced. They controlled the whole country, enjoyed the popular support of the people, and were faced with the monumental task of organizing and reconstructing the nation. While the movement to train paramedical personnel in the rural areas did not come to a halt. there was a new drive to make functional the urban medical schools which were in the hands of the Communist administrators for the first time. Gradually there emerged debate and even tension between the two approaches: one called for the integration of traditional Chinese and modern medicine, and the wide spread training of peasants who would funstion as part time medical workers, the other called for the centralizing medical development in the cities, and training medical specialist along Western lines. Of course neither approach precludes simultaneous development of the other; rather it has been a question of which approach takes precedence over the other. In periods of Maoist mass campaigns such as The Great Leap Forward of 1958-1959, the Socialist Education Movement of 1961-1962, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1965 to the present, the focus has been on the countryside and the training of peasants paramedics to handle the movement in preventive media cine and basic medical care. And during the entirety of the period from the late 1920's to the present the issue of health care delivery has always been raised and discussed foremost as a political question. A CASE STUDY: COMMUNES OUTSIDE SHANGHAI

Perhaps the best method of defining barefoot doctors, describing their training, and suggesting the scope of their activities is to use as a case study the rural area outside Shanghai which I visited in June 1971. It was in this location that the term barefoot doctors was coined by the local peasants during the Cultural Revolution. With such regional diversity, however, it is impossible to say that any example is typical for all China; rather, this case study is simply an indication of the direction in which the medical and health program is going.

Shanghai is not only a city, but also a national administrative unit which governs itself apart from the province in which it happens to be located. Peking has a similar sort of status. The Shanghai administrative region includes the metropolitan city of about six million people, and the surrounding countryside which contains almost four million peasants who live in ten counties outside the city. In this rural area there are over 100 people's communes with the average population of between 25 and 30 thousand each. Hungchiao Commune where I visited has about 27,000 people, and Chiangchen Commune about whose medical program so much has been written, has 28.000 people. Each commune is broken down into a number of produc-

tion brigades which are simply a collection of seven or eight villages . The more than 100 communes outside Shanghai have a total of 2500 production brigades. The brigades are particularly important because it is there that most of the public services are provided for the people. One village is selected as brigade headquarters, and chances are it will contain the elementary school and a small health clinic.

Beginning in 1958 when the enour-

mous people's communes were created there was a massive Maoist oriented health campaign initiated to train part time paramedical personnel from among the rank of the peasantry. Over 10,000 professional medical people from Shanghai city were organized into mobile teams for the purpose of training rural paramedics. Many young people recieved ten months of training at a county medical school, but even more were trained by the mobile medical teams. When they returned to their various communes their task was to organize and lead mass health campaigns to purify water supplies, rid the area of insect pests, treat human and animal waste before it was used as fertilizer, and to inoculate the people agaisnt various diseases. They also had some skill in diagnosing and treating common illness, and using some of the traditional techniques of herbal medicine and acupuncture. In the deliveryof health care they were to serve as the middle strata between the handfull of full time experts at commune and county hospitals, and the folk doctors and mid wives at the village level. These paramedical people were stationed at

there were around 3900 paramedical people for the 2500 production brigades around Shanghai. The enormity of this effort nationwide can only be appreciated when one learns that there are over 70,000 people's communes in China-containing a total population of over 550 million peasants. There were problems for this program as well as the Great leap Forward as a whole. There were many who, for as variety of reasons, were opposed to the Great Leap, in general and when economic setbacks occurred in the late 1950's and 1960's the Great Leap was blamed. According to documents released during the Cultural Revolution the program to train part time pa-

the brigade level, and by June 1960

ramedical people was among those scrapped by the opponents of the Great Leap. A report made in August 1961 ordered this new force in the countryside outside Shanghai to discontinue their medical work. The number of health workers of this sort was reduced from 3900 to just over 300. But another Maoist campaign called the Socialist Education Movment was launched from 1963 to 1964 and the number of health workers outside was raised from 300 to 2300. A showdown was shaping up. By 1965 it was clear that the

question of the correct orientation of medical and health work in China would become one of the many important issues of the Cultural Revolution. The political question of the health and medical program (which will be discussed later was basisically the same as the political questions of economic planming, government administration. party organization, and educational development. In each case Mao

cont. from p.3

opposition in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. In 1953, in a demonstration of protest against local authority in Sao Tome, colonial police killed more than 100 African farmers and laborers. In Aug. 1959 at Pjiguiti Quay in Guinea Bissau, the Portuguese shot down 50 striking Guinean workers and wounded more than 100. After a march in Angola in 1959 to protest the arrest of 100 Africans, the Portuguese killed 30 marchers, wounded 200 and burned their two villages to the ground.

On Feb. 4, 1961, the storming of the Luanda jail in Angola by African patriots marked the beginning of the armed struggle in that country. Portuguese reprisals against the African population were severe. Marauding white groups who indiscriminately murdered and pillaged repeatedly raided African slums. Political prisoners in the Luanda jail were executed and buried in mass graves. Several thousand paratroopers were flown into the area, and by the middle of summer, there were an estimated 20,000 to 25,000 Portuguese soldiers engaged in the war. Peripheral to the military effort were the armed raids conducted by white vigilantes with guns supplied by the colonial authorities.

On the military front, many Portuguese officials regarded the conflict as a war of extermination and conducted it in that spirit. African villages in northern Angola were bombed indiscriminately; other villages, captured by Portuguese troops were razed and all male inhabitants were executed brutally. Newspaper accounts quote boastful Portuguese military estimates of how many thousands of "black ani- " mals" have been destroyed. It is impossible to calculate the number of African lives lost; estimates range from 10,000 to 30,000. Many of the survivors were mutilated, burned, or wounded.

World wide indignation at the Portuguese atrocities was expressed at the U.N. in 1961. The Ghanaian delegate Quaison-Sackey said: "Our brothers in Angola are fighting against dictatorship and slavery. The world must realize that the Portuguese territories in Africa are slave states and have always been slave states." Portugal's current effort to herd Mozambique's 8 million blacks into aldeamentos, or strategic hamlets, in order to keep them from guerrilla contact is similar to American tactics in Vietnam.

NATO Support

Today, Portugal has about 142,000 troops in Africa and about 40% of its budget goes to the military. But without the aid of its NATO allies, Portugal would never be able to finance the cost of suppressing its African colonies. The late Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the Mozambique liberation movement FRELIMO said: "We 'are aware that without the involvement of foreign companies and without the support of western governments, Portugal could not stand the pressure on her in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea for even one week." In return for western aid, Portugal provides NATO with Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores as supply bases, the operational naval base



at San Vicente, an all-weather air base (Sao), and reserves of wolf-ram, uranium, and other strategic minerals. In 1961, the NATO-assigned divisions in Portugal were promptly despatched to Angola to deal with the uprising. The then Governor-General of Angola praised "the men of NATO who executed true acts of heroism against the insane hordes."

U.S. Aid.

Since 1961, the U.S. has given Portugal \$400 million in arms and munitions. The U.S. also supplied Portugal with napalm, several different defoliants used in Vietnam. fighter and bomber aircraft and 707's and 747's for troop transport. Portuguese officers have been trained in the U.S. in Vietnam-like tactics. (Over 100 Portuguese naval officers are being trained at the U.S. Navy Post-Graduate School in Monterey, California at any one time.) In Dec. 1971, Pres. Nixon met with Portuguese Premier Caetano in the Azores and promised him \$435 million and other direct aid for the use of the

The Portuguese struggle in Africa is a fight to keep its colonies safe for big business and to furnish super-profits for neo-colonial exploitation. Over 30 U.S. corporations invest in Mozambique and Angola, especially in petroleum, diamonds, and copper. Gulf Oil has huge investments in the Cabinda section of Angola, one of Africa's largest oil producers. Recently, the U.S. oil company Standard Oil of New Jersey purchased oil drilling

rights to the offshore areas of Guinea Bissau.

Neocolonialists can extort huge profits from the toil of the rural African worker because his monthly wage is a meager \$23. According to James Duffy in his book Portugal in Africa, U.S. investment is so important to the Portuguese that they have hired the American public relations firm of Selvage and Lee to infuence U.S. opinion in favor of Portuguese policies in Africa.

People's War

Today, the African freedom fighters are conducting a highly successful people's war against Portugal. In Mozambique, FRELIMO began the struggle in 1964 and has doubled the area of its operations in the past 2 years. According to the April 1, 1974 issue of Newsweek. one Portuguese intelligence officer said last week: "Make no mistake. FRELIMO will be in the capital of Lourenco Marques one day." In Angola, where the armed struggle began in 1961, MPLA liberation forces have made important advances in the eastern part of the country. On Jan. 1, 1963 PAIGC began the armed phase of its struggle in Guinea Bissau and has now liberated nearly 80% of the country.

According to the late Amilcar Cabral, leader of the PAIGC, the revolutionary forces in Guinea were able to forge an anti-imperialist alliance of workers and peasants against the Portuguese colonialists in order to advance the struggle beyond the nationalist, anti-imperialist phase and proceed with the dismantling of capitalism. The liberation forces steadfastly resist any tendencies to compromise their people's struggle for complete independence and to accept political pseudoindependence under neocolonialism and firmer integration within the

imperialist system.

In the liberated areas, the liberation movement has transformed the former exploitative economic relations into truly collective production and distribution. They have created a highly effective new marketing system in Guinea Bissau. By the summer of 1968, there were 15 People's Stores for distribution of needed items. Village committees control local food production and supervise health, hygiene, and the local militia. Each village committee sends a representative to a zone committee, which, in turn, has re-Presentatives on the interregional committees. In this way, the PAIGC builds the revolution as it fights.

In Mozambique and Angola, the liberation movements have eliminated forced cultivation of export crops and have established agricultural collectives. Women have gained equal status in military and civilian life and participate fully in the struggle. The peasant population constitutes the military and has been reorganized into a people's militia.

The leadership and the masses in the liberation struggle in Portuguese Africa are aware of the complicated network of imperialist forces which lock Portuguese hegemony into place. Their struggle against Portugal and its NATO allies is a struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism and a fight for the social justice and dignity of the African people.

## Barefoot Doctors cont from p. 17

seemed to be saying that the first

priority should be to serve the

peasants and build up the rural

areas. On June 26 he issued the

well known directive, " In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas. " Mobile medical teams were once again sent to the countryside around Shanghai to cooperate with county authorities for the purpose of training paramedical personnel. It was precisely in this context that the term "barefoot doctor" was first used. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the approximate date of its first used, the term first appeared in the national news media in September 1968. This article in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), the main theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party, opened by introducing the term to readers through out the country: " Barefoot doctors is an effectionate title that the poor and lower middle peasants on the outskirts of Shanghai have given to health workers who spend part of their time farming, and part in medical work. " Beginning in the spring and summer of 1969 a flurry of articles elaborated on the subject of barefoot doctors. By the time the Hung Ch's article was published in 1968 the number of barefoot doctors operating in the farmlands outside Shanghai had risen to 4500-an average of 1.8 for each brigade. They, in turn, had trained over 29,000 health workers who are less skilled than the barefoot doctors and function at the village rather than the brigade level. In Chiangchen Commune, for ex-

ample, ther were 28 barefoot doctors by September 1948, and by January 1970 there were 44 barefoot doctors, or two for each of the 21 brigades. In Hungchiao Commune where I toured in June 1971 there were a total of more than 200 medical and health personnel, including a full-time, professional hospital staff at the commune level, about two barefoot doctors for wach of the 15 brigades, and an average of nearly two health workers in each of the 108 villages. For Hungchiao then, the medical and health picture looks something like this: 1) a fairly sophisticated hospital at the commune level to serve the 27,000 people. The staff at the hospital is full time, and is capable of performing relatively minor operations such as appendectomies, and vasectomies. 2) About two barefoot doctors in each brigade who serve, on a part ime basis, the approximately 1700 people who inhabit the seven villages of each brigade. 3) An average of nearly two health workers primarily responsible fore general health and sanitation information, and preventive medicine campaigns in each village of approximatley 250 people. Therefore at the brigade level in Hungchiao Commune ther are nearly 14 health workers and two barefoot doctors for the 1700 people who inhabit the average brigade. It is probably fair to say that this type of program is the goal for all the communes outside Shanghai, and that most communes are already within reach. In fact the latest figures for the 2500 brigades surrounding Shanghai indicate that there are now a total of 6000 barefoot doctors. This does not mean that the situation is equally as good in all parts of China. As China's largest city, Shanghai is in a good position to supply medical equipment and training to the outlying areas. The com -

Siqueiros cont. from p. 11

Una organización que, en la marcha, cree verdadera conciencia ciudadana en el sector más importante: el de los obreros y campesinos, que a la muy corta deben constituir la vanguardia en las luchas que se avecinan.

Siqueiros sostenía siempre -en su enorme amor por la vida y, en consecuencia, por su acción cívica-, que los fracasos o derrotas del pasado eran solamente transitorios y suma de experiencias para el futuro. Por eso quizás, nunca pensó en la muerte.

Este sería el mensaje de Siqueiros que yo me permito transmitir a ustedes, en este homenaje póstumo al artista y al ciudadano.

> - Angélica Arenal de Siqueiros Mexico, D.F., a 13 de febrero de 1974



### Walkout

cont. from p. 16

It is tracic that the students' needs remain unfulfilled and that the administration has burdened them with additional problems as well.

The students' actions point to the woeful inadequacy of an educational system that is dominated by a complacent white middle class who are insensitive to the needs and indifferent to the aspirations of Chicano students and other national minorities. Their pleas have gone unheard and their demands unanswered. How many more voices must be raised in protest before the students' needs are acknowledged?

munes outside Shanghai are also relatively prosperous, and therefore have more resources to sink into medical and health programs. The real test of the Maoist medical campaign will be in the poorer and more remote areas of north, northwest, and southwest China. But at least the figures for the outlying areas of Shanghai give us some feeling for the direction in which the total national program is headed.

Continued in next edition

\* For the purposes of publication footnotes are omited.



78000

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

cont. from p. 6

20.5% of males of Mexican origin had income below \$2,000 and 54.3% of females of Mexican origin had income below \$2,000.

The situation of white women is obviously better than that of minorities in the U.S. Within the minorities, the economic situation of minority women is even worse.

30% of women of Spanish origin are employed as operatives whereas 13% of all other women are. Only 7% of women of Spanish origin are employed as professionals whereas 15% of all other women are. The figures for white women would be much higher than 15%.

What then does the demand for equal pay mean to working women? Certainly one cannot demand equal pay with men if one does not work with men. In this case the demand must be for equal employment opportunity. Working class women and minorities relegated to the most exploitative and tedious jobs must unite in their demand for better jobs.

Already the reformers who are most vocal in expressing the demand for equal pay make more money than the vast majority of minorities and working class women.

Professional workers among women have the least discrepany between their wages and those of male professionals. Professional women made 69% of what men made in 1971 whereas women service workers (except private household workers) made 60% of what male service workers made.

Women should of course receive equal pay for equal work, but as long as the high paying jobs are limited and available to only one sector of the population, wage reforms will do nothing to alleviate the conditions of minority, poor and working women.

The women's movement can no longer limit its demands to equal pay if it means to encompass all women.



## The Woman Question



is a Class Question

FOOD- CAR CARAVAN To COACHELLA for UFW SAT. April 20th.

Bring canned-goods, contributions to Resident Deans' offices at Third,

Revelle and Muir or Third World ST Studies Office.



## MOVIES: MEXICAN SERIES

Presented By

Cultural Traditions, Chicano Studies,

Literature Dept.

April 10 'Time in the Sun'

April 17 'Appeals to Santiago'

April 24 'La Raza'

May 16 'Mexico: The Frozen Revolution'

May 29 'Roots'

2D 1128 8pm.

**Donations** For UFWA **Welcome:** Bring one can of food (or more)

or a bag of rice, beans.

Admission: Free