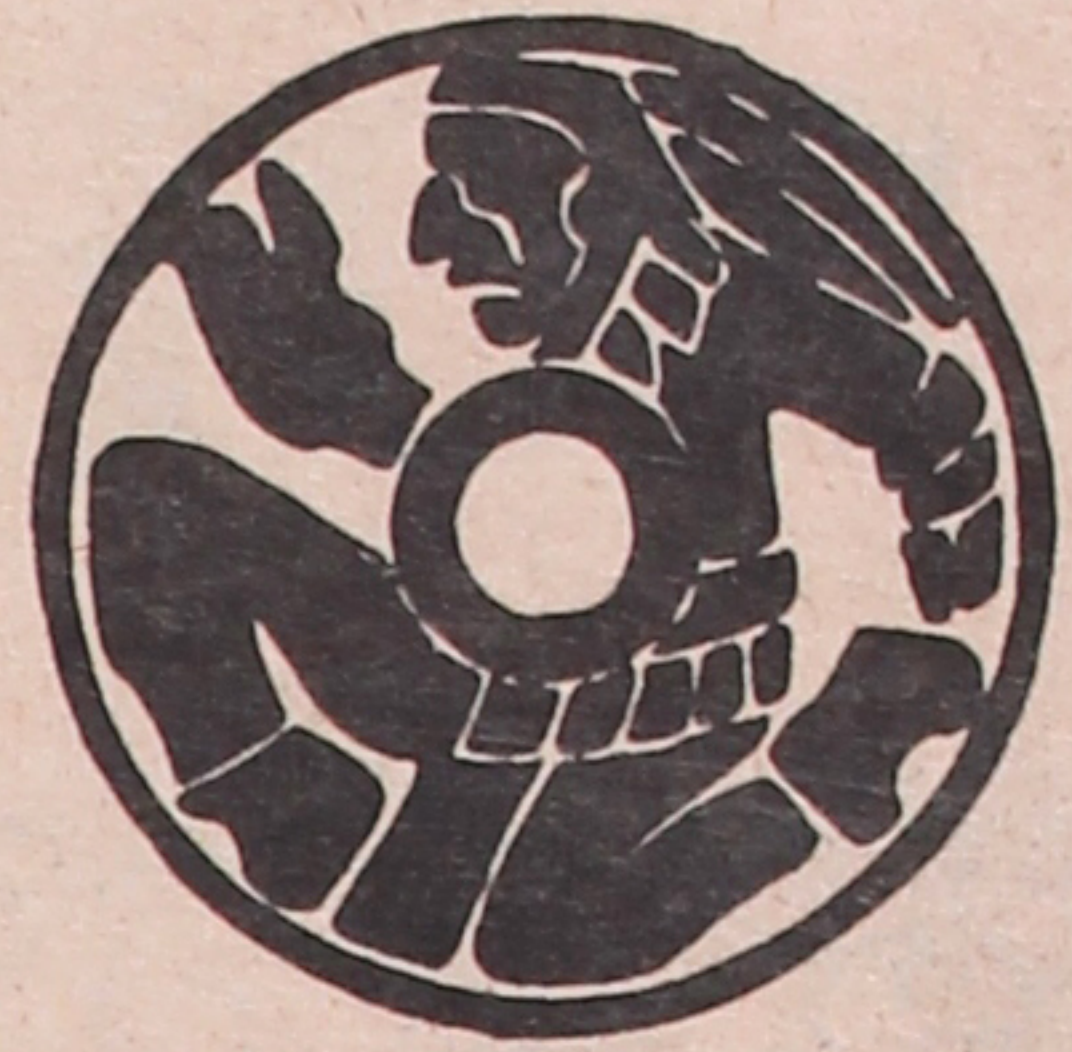


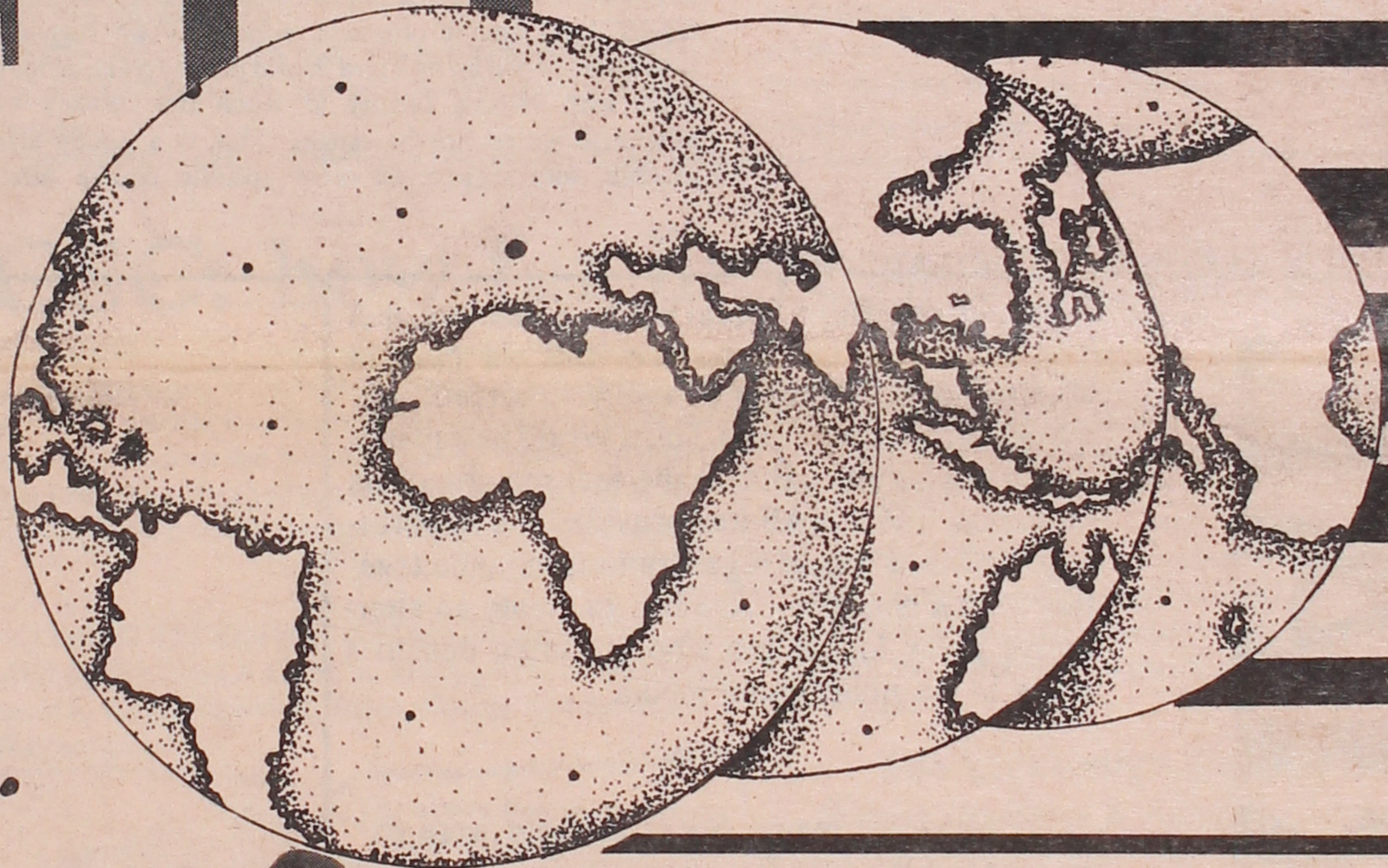
# TWANA S.



THIRD WORLD PRESS—UCSC

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VOLUME 1, ISSUE 3



*Transition...*





# PROBLEMS???



*With this issue TWANAS begins a column which will propose concrete reforms to this school for which we will solicit a reply for the next issue. We hope to develop through this column a better idea of what change we can and cannot expect through the institutions of this University. We hope Third World students, staff, and faculty will give us suggestions and feedback in the endeavor.*

We are concerned about the lack of a domestic Third World studies curriculum on this campus. According to the 1978 Ad Hoc Committee on Third World Studies report, there were only 19 regularly offered courses in six boards of studies dealing with the domestic Third World. We have been told by the Chancellor and Vice Chancellor to expect change in this area; we offer here a number of partial but concrete suggestions for such change. The time for change is now.

1) No one questions the need for more Third World faculty, especially for those who teach courses on the domestic Third World. Those courses now regularly taught are becoming increasingly scarce (for instance, there is only one Native American faculty here and only one part-time Asian American studies position). Given this already inadequate situation, we feel that the first step is a commitment to continue the EXISTING course offerings. concretely we suggest that positions opened up by Third World faculty going on leave be filled with visiting faculty to teach the courses which otherwise would not be taught. This is a policy already granted with respect to other specific course offerings

considered to be essential. To make Third World studies courses the same priority as these other course offerings would be a modest change for UCSC, but for Third World students—with already too few faculty—it would be a real change.

2) Domestic Third World studies courses were somehow not included in the course listings which satisfy the Social Science and Humanities (Foundations) requirements. We believe that Third World studies is an essential—not optional—part of an education. Thus we insist that existing Third World courses be considered as satisfying the Social Science and Humanities requirements.

3) We request the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs explain the opening of any new faculty position. We recognize that new faculty positions will be scarce in the coming decade (maybe 3% per year turnover). Given this scarcity and the importance of every new or renewed position, we ask that the Vice Chancellor show how such a position serves the academic plan. In particular, we are concerned that the present administration is not attempting to increase the number of courses in Third World studies. We would like to at least make this decision-making open to public scrutiny. As an example, we point to the hiring of a new sociobiologist two years ago. Since two other full professorships in sociobiology already existed on this campus, we question the wisdom of this decision, particularly given the controversial nature of the field itself. While on one side the administration claims it has no resources to give to Third World studies, on the other it commits new resources to programs directly opposed to those studies.

# EDITORIAL

We, as the Third World media collective, feel it is important to define the role we play in UCSC's Third World community. Until recently, the option of developing a Third World newspaper was not available. But in the few months of its existence, TWANAS has provided the opportunity for Third World organizations to come together with a common objective: to create an alternative press for people who are often denied a voice in the mainstream media.

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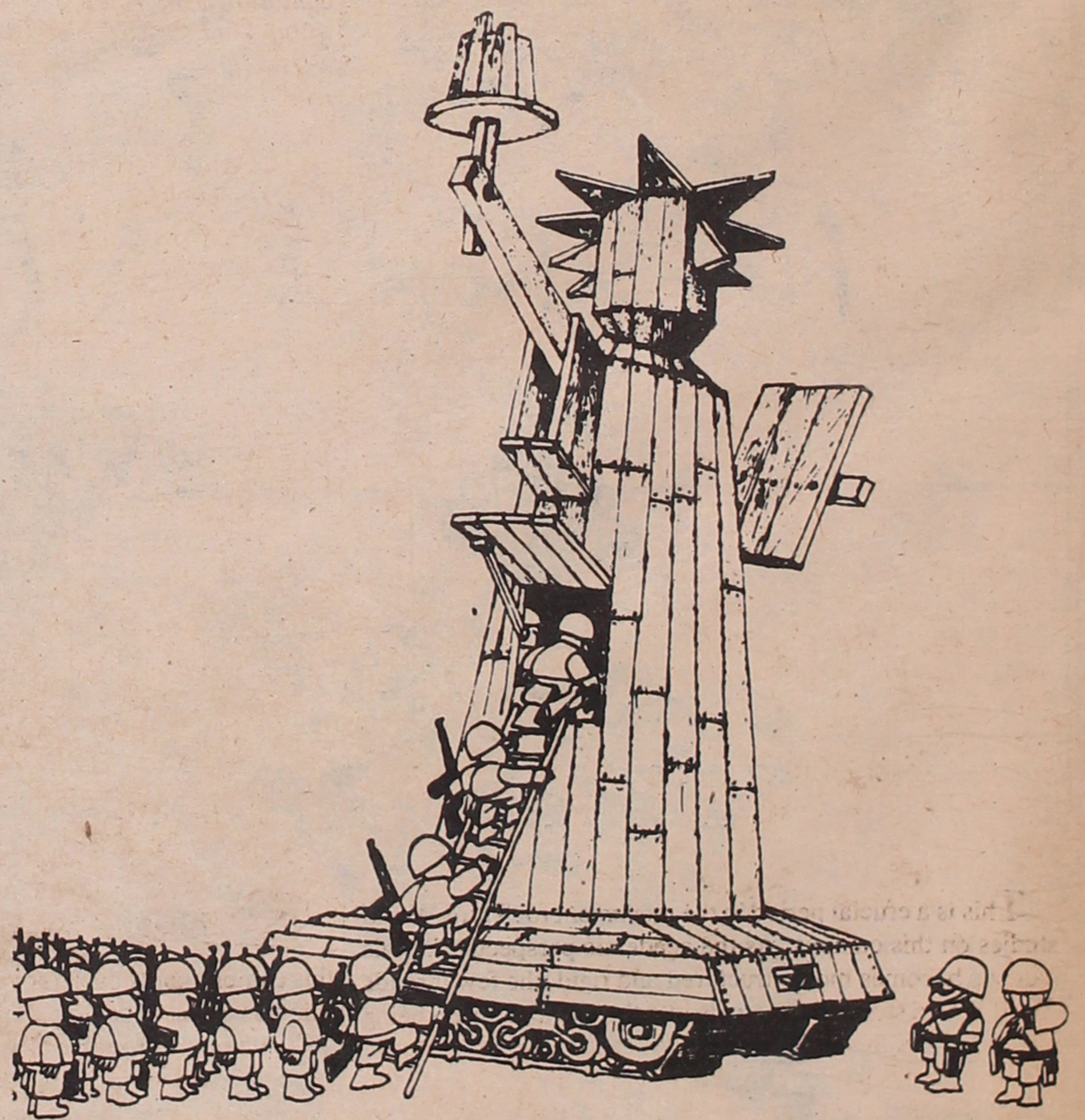
Our tasks are many. Some of them were expressed last Wednesday when 100 people of color came together to discuss the state of the Third World community at UCSC. Other tasks remain to be defined and acted upon by the concerted effort of all Third World organizations. In particular, we support the proposal to establish a coordinating committee, which, with the participation of UCSC's Third World community, could become a central political force on this campus.

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Accessibility is one of TWANAS' main concerns. We are not a professional paper, nor do we desire to play a vanguard role for the Third World community. We only hope that Third World organizations can fully utilize TWANAS as an alternative media resource to become a strong, unified force.

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We can no longer allow ourselves to be divided and separated from each other. Many tasks await our struggle, and our lack of unity must no longer be a barrier to effective action.



Quino (Argentina)



# WORKING TOGETHER

by Tom Izu

Almost one hundred Chicanos, Native Americans, Blacks, and Asians met last Wednesday to take part in a panel-discussion on the status of Third World peoples at UCSC. Drawing upon common social and academic experiences, members of the multi-racial student, faculty, and staff gathering discussed their frustrations concerning the problems of Third World people on this campus.



photo by Martin Martin

TWANAS staff member, Gen Fujioka opened the program by stressing the importance of organizing as Third World people: "Third World people here represent only a fraction of a minority. The campus is 87% Anglo, so it's very difficult for Third World people to get together and articulate a Third World voice...We must reserve our right to meet together, caucus, and organize."

The program was sponsored by TWANAS with the hope that it would spark serious discussion and involvement among Third World students and faculty around the development of Third World studies at UCSC. Although the program brought out many concerns shared by faculty and

students of color, TWANAS had hoped that students would have more opportunity to participate in the discussion. Due to time constraints and a lack of structural guidelines, the meeting produced few concrete proposals for change.

Criticizing the University for its lack of Third World faculty and students, faculty guest speakers discussed how this inadequacy undermined their ability to teach and Third World student's ability to learn.

"As one of the few Third World faculty, I'm expected to meet the needs of *all* the Black, Chicano, and Asian students. I'm also supposed to represent *all* of their interests...If I accepted all of the invitations to serve on the different committees asked of me, I'd be on seven different committees right now!" exclaimed panelist Hardy Frye, professor of Sociology. He added that most professors only serve on two committees.

In a sarcasm befitting a one-person Native American studies and counselling service, Professor Edward Castillo added, "This is the first time I've ever attended an Ethnic Studies meeting where there were actually Ethnic people present!"

The other panel participants, Oakes Provost Herman Blake, Counselor Katia Panas, Lecturer in Education Gini Matute-Bianchi, and Lecturer in Asian American Studies Michael Omi, built upon these personal experiences with their own observations.

Gini described the hypocrisy of a former university bilingual education program that had no Chicano faculty or student members.

Michael shared his concern that the University may attempt to increase out-of-state recruitment "where there will still be a white majority" rather than to deal with a changing demography that will make the majority of California's population Third World within the '80's.

Expressing a need for mutual understanding and support—a theme that ran throughout the program—Katia told the audience: "If we want Ethnic Studies, we're going to have to have a lot of patience with ourselves, a lot of tolerance with the differences between us, and a lot of support for each other...for the struggle is very difficult."

Drawing the program to a close, Herman declared, "It is absolutely necessary that the kinds of things that happened here tonight be sustained and that the pressure be kept on. When nobody's keeping the pressure on, you will be ignored... Words mean nothing; it's action and decisions that ultimately count."

The audience greeted with great enthusiasm the suggestion that programs like this one be continued next quarter on a regular basis. It was also recommended that a coordinating committee representing the Third World organizations be formed early Spring quarter to further the work begun in the program.

Noting past schisms among Third World people at UCSC, TWANAS representative Ellen Matsumoto made a call for unity between all Third World people at UCSC: "We can not allow ourselves to be divided anymore. The most powerful force we have that can realize our concerns and ideas is ultimately ourselves, working together."

## Third World at UCSC: how far have we come?

by Gen Fujioka

Second of a two-part article

"...Many of the Native Americans who seek higher education and attend a college or university find it hard to adjust, and therefore drop out or feel alienated. In all, higher education appears to be a struggle where Native Americans are suffering. We are suffering because without proper education, there will be no reserve of capable people to manage Tribal affairs. Native Americans will continue to be dependent upon federal agencies. If we are to become sovereign people, we need an efficient education system."

—Patricia Lee in TWANAS November 1979.

"To understand why racism is so frequently encountered in universities and colleges...one has only to realize that university life is a microcosm of American life...the university functions as a type of training ground which encourages the proliferation of individuals who seek to uphold the status quo by fulfilling designated roles, but discourages the emergence of individuals who seek to establish a reordering of the warped priorities this country maintains..."

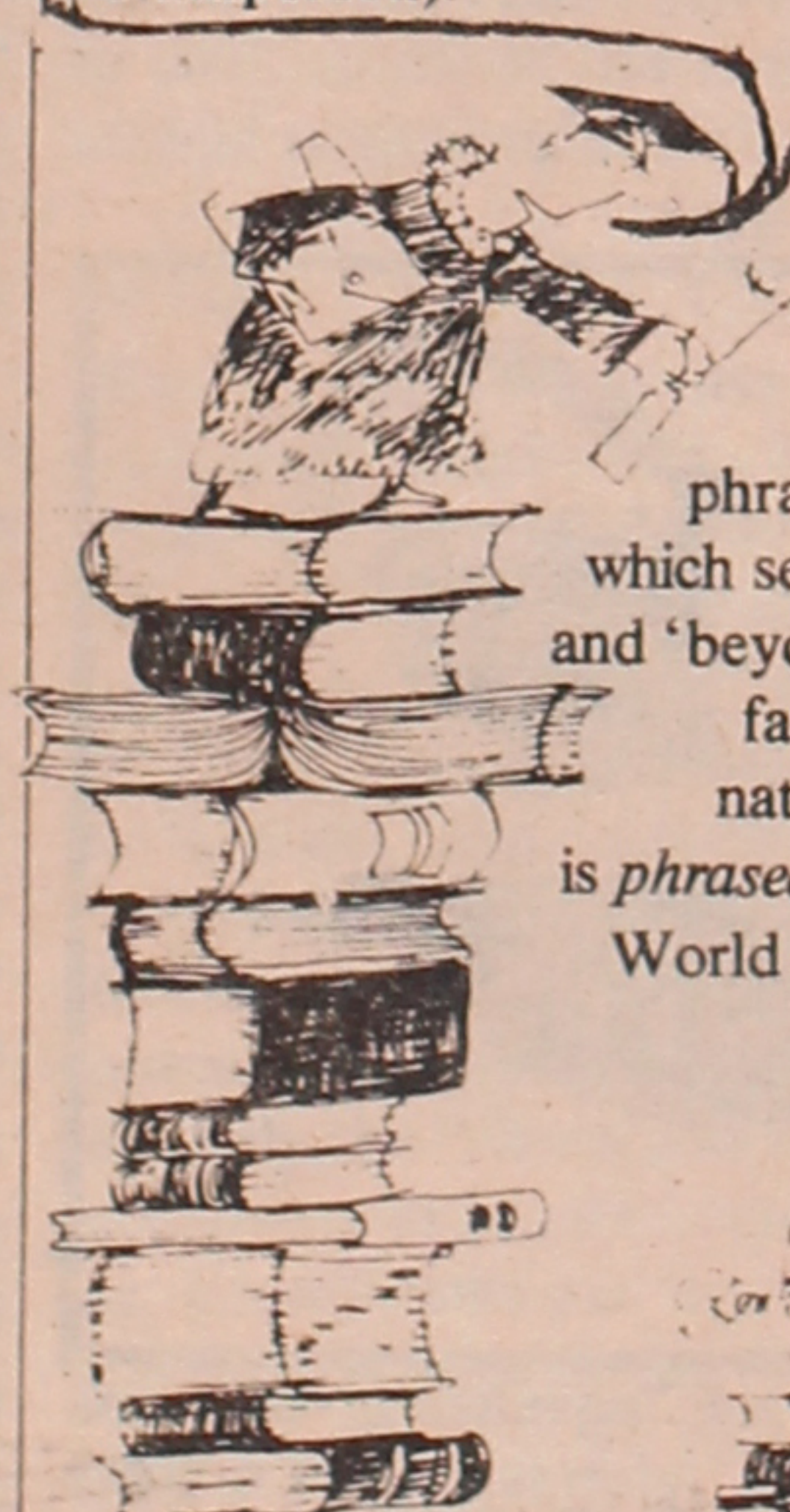
—Mimi in TWANAS February 1980.

This is a crucial period in the movement for Third World studies on this campus. As the academic perspective of this campus becomes more structured and rigid, the few inroads Third World studies have made into the curriculum are being cut off and eliminated. We at UCSC sense and experience in many ways this freezing up, this winter in Santa Cruz: Third World students have been the first to feel the squeeze. This article will document some of the ways this clampdown hits our academic lives and recalls some of our past history in dealing with adversity.

First let us look at how certain elements in the university are dealing with our interests. An Academic Senate document dated November 27, 1979, addresses the question of "what to do with future Third World students?"

"The sole condition we should insist on is that the education they receive must be a truly university education. To set this condition is to...rule out '60s-style 'ethnic studies' programs of the kind that left disadvantaged groups eddying in self-referential circles on the periphery of university academic life."

—COMMITTEE ON UNDERGRADUATE COURSES AND CURRICULA (John H. Hajdu, John L. Halverson, David S. Kliger, David G. Sweet, George Von der Muhll—Chairperson).



The above statement shows great disdain and greater ignorance about the importance and relevance of "ethnic studies." It is, of course, phrased in a chic Santa Cruz way which seems to imply being 'above it all' and 'beyond all that' (i.e. 'beyond' old-fashioned 1960's movements for national liberation). But however it is phrased, the effect is the same: no Third World studies.

This sort of treatment by the administration and the faculty here is not new. We can document the insensitivity and plain racism of

this campus going back for years. For instance, we find in the minutes of an Academic Senate meeting (dated October 25, 1978) a report from the Senate's Committee on Affirmative Action which criticizes the school. The minutes recorded the presentation by the committee's chair, Richard Mather: "He (Mather) also hoped to see a broad-scale discussion for developing courses for ethnic students, and was disappointed that there had not been action by board chairs in developing these courses."

Richard Mather's hope has still not been realized.

In 1977 the statewide Academic Senate ignored a more progressive statewide administration proposal and passed its

own proposal to raise admissions standards to the UC. But the new admissions standards were not simply "higher." They were in fact more discriminatory since they downplayed high school grades and emphasized "achievement" tests—tests called "a consumer fraud" by Ralph Nader. The Academic Senate's own report admitted:

"...implementation of this proposal would very likely reduce the number of minority students regularly admissible..."

Yet with this understanding the Academic Senate approved the proposal.

### The University's Confessions

Forming committees is the solution to all problems according to the University. Whenever there is a problem a committee is formed; through investigation the 'power of reason' will supposedly bring about all the necessary changes. But despite ten years of committees and committee reports on Third World studies, faculty, and enrollment, only marginal changes have been made. For five years, with almost no change, UCSC has had about a 12% Third World enrollment rate with a slightly lower average for Third World faculty (see TWANAS February, 1980).

Some recent committee reports have been very critical of the existing system and have made concrete proposals for change. For instance, the Chancellor's Reorganization Committee to Address Curricular Questions made some criticisms and two concrete proposals in its March 19, 1979 report:

"III. Ethnic Studies.

A. We believe that Boards and Divisions must assume a more explicit responsibility for increasing the number of regularly taught courses on ethnic materials and perspectives, and that they must work systematically to increase the number of ladder ethnic faculty.

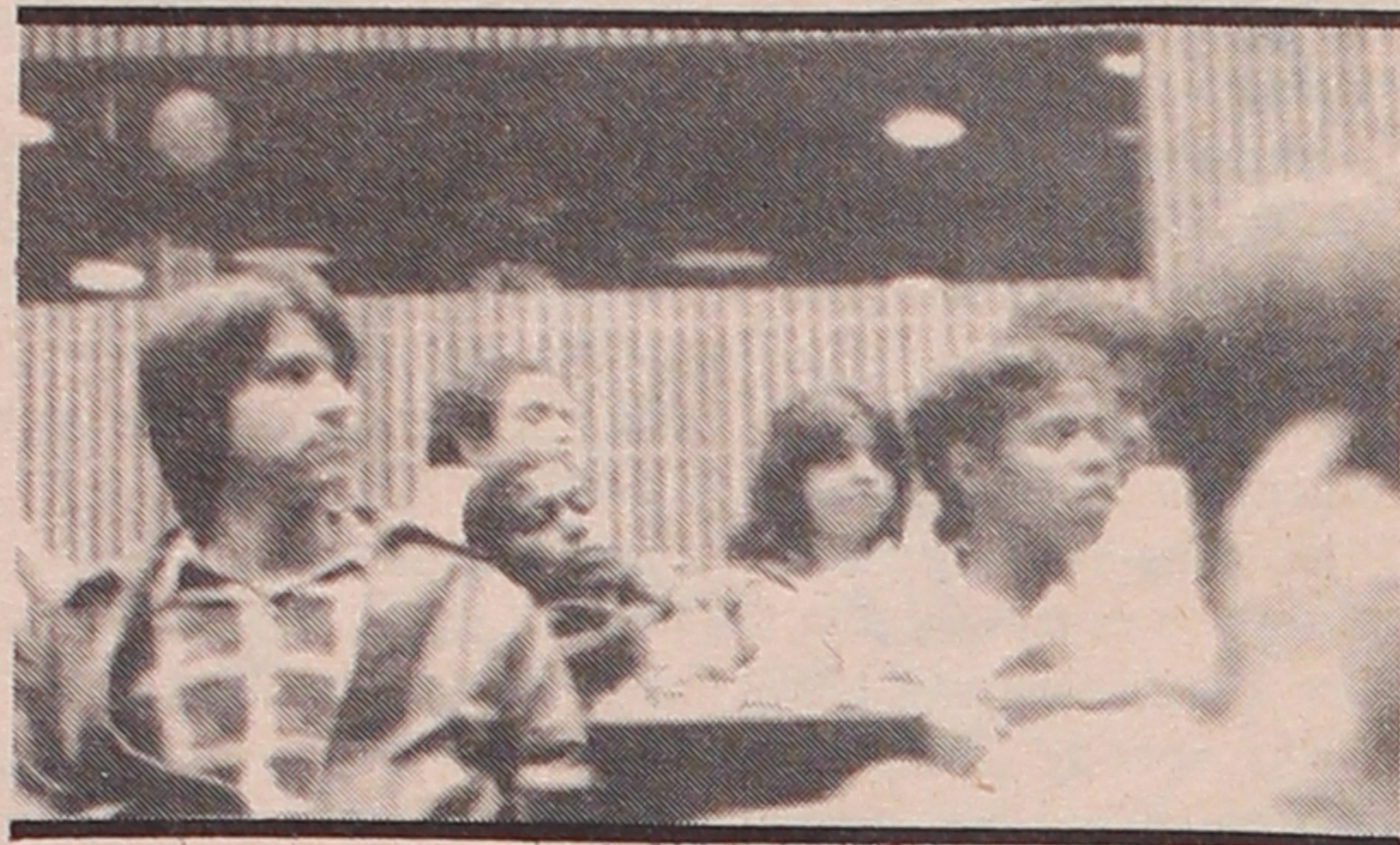
B. We recommend the establishment of a campuswide Ethnic Studies advisory committee, with adequate staff support to develop and coordinate all campus courses in this area; this committee should administer those funds now formally designated as Ethnic Studies funds and, in addition, should control a course funding budget at least as large as that now devoted by Colleges to hiring temporary

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# EOP director's concerns at UCSC

Glen Valenzuela was recently hired as the new director of EOP. On February 25th, he met with students to answer their questions concerning EOP's future. The following is an excerpt from his presentation.



One of my priorities is for EOP to insure that the campus community become more diverse. I want to make sure that whenever a minority student comes here, he or she is not automatically channeled off to Oakes or Merrill and that other colleges make it a priority to have a significant number of Third World students. That has to come basically from the Chancellor. I can walk into a provost's office and tell them to diversify their college's enrollments, and maybe they'd be quite sympathetic with my demand. But when I start talking about money issues like providing support services and activities to make the students feel wanted at their colleges, they'll then start denying their ability to deal with it.

We are the primary enrollers of Third World people at this campus. I would doubt seriously that you could look at any college and find that it is going out and recruiting large numbers of Third World students as a priority.

We must get involved in financial aid issues, support services issues, and academic issues. I don't think we will ever get involved with student politics but we will get involved in academic politics that affect Third World students. We must have a diverse faculty. In every study I've read, it's been proven that Third World students will stay at a campus where there are Third World faculty and will perform better. We must incorporate a recognition of the contribution of Third World people into the curriculum. Not only must we make them incorporate it, but we must also make them accept it on equal terms. For instance, if you talk about American literature but leave out Third World writers within America, you're not really talking about American literature anymore.

White students have to understand also that given the changing world scope and the increasing presence of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, that it is important, in fact crucial, that they develop an understanding of the people of the world. It is important that they go to school and get educated along with Chicanos, Asians, Blacks, and Native Americans. We're talking about California becoming a Third World state. By 1990, the population of California will be predominantly Third World. It also means that you're going to have to have a curriculum that offers a diversity that attracts Third World students. In other words, you are not going to be able to offer traditional European courses and neglect the cultural contributions of other groups.

I'm constantly amazed that the Arts and Lectures program on this campus does not really provide a total multi-cultural experience. I don't really know if Third World people's interests and needs are being met by this program as it currently exists. For example, I don't know what the total expenditures were for Black Heritage Month, but I feel that if a school like Carlton, with an enrollment of 1700, can put on

a \$10,000 program for the heritage month that tells me something about the level of commitment they have.

The majority of Third World students, because of inner-city school situations, have never had academic potential thrown to them; it's always been, go join the Navy or Army and get experience and see the world. So when you start talking about academic excellence, Third World people tend to get scared because the Santa Cruz campus is publicizing itself as the "most private public institution," and their literature compares this campus with Swarthmore, Brown, and other elite private institutions. Also, Dick Moll—the new admissions director—is from Vasser, I'm from Carlton, and

## If they go out of state, will this mean that the administration is telling the Third World students they don't want to deal with them?

the faculty are from Harvard, Yale, etc. When I talk about academic excellence I'm not referring to this type of elitism; I'm talking about a student's potential to succeed and go on to do things that affect his or her community that he or she lives in.

This problem brings up an important issue that is facing UCSC right now: will UCSC go out of state to keep up its enrollment? If they do go out of state for students, will this mean that the faculty and administration of UCSC are telling the Third World students of California that they don't want to teach them or have to deal with them?

# Bearing the brunt of Jarvis II

by Jill Sperber

The future of public school education in California faces a grim future under the current method of school financing. Despite legal resolutions made several years ago to equalize inter-district school expenditures, actual legislative reforms have failed to comply with court orders. Equalizing school expenditures per pupil has become even more of a pipedream because of recent and potential revenue cutbacks in state aid due to "tax revolt" bills such as Proposition 13. Moreover, the existing public school finance system seriously endangers the urban public schools, since it not only encourages "white flight" from public to private schools and from cities to suburbs, but also is undermined by the severe financial crunch caused by this flight.

## Equality of Educational Opportunity and State Responsibility

Public school finance in California has traditionally been a fiscal responsibility of local government. In 1976, the landmark *Serrano v. Priest* decision successfully challenged this method of financing public schools on the grounds that the system (which relied heavily on property taxes) caused "substantial disparities" among individual school districts in the amount of revenue available per pupil. (The *Serrano vs. Priest* case, sponsored by the Western Center of Law and Poverty, was filed originally back in 1968.) The California Supreme Court held that the level of district educational expenditures per student cannot be a function of wealth and declared that the funding scheme "invidiously discriminates against the poor and violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." The court upheld equality of educational opportunity and confirmed education to be a state responsibility.

Thus the California Legislature was given four years to devise a system which would eliminate wealth-related disparities between school districts in expenditures per pupil, except those amounting to "considerably less than \$100 per pupil". But it will be 1983 before the state gets close to complying with the tenets of *Serrano*.

Consequently, Serrano's lawyers are back for another round in court to enforce the court order. The plaintiffs argue that anti-equalizing features of the financing system already found unconstitutional have been retained in the post-*Serrano* "reform" (Assembly Bill 65). Loopholes such as permissive overrides of revenue limits and basic aid grants to high wealth districts comply insufficiently with the mandates of the *Serrano* decision. State data show that while about half the state's 4 million school children will be within \$100 of each other in public support this Fall, disparities as high as \$1000 will remain for the other half.



Despite the myriad of state aid "equalizing" formulas available, post-*Serrano* financial reforms fail to comply sufficiently with the mandates of the *Serrano* decision. Rich districts continue to outspend poor districts, often at lower tax rates. The message is clear: as one economist summarized it, "votes (for equalizing school district revenues) simply are not there."

## The Shrinking Public Dollar: A Losing Battle

There are votes, however, for tax reductions and against big government, if the "Spirit of 13" tax revolt is any indication. In the wake of Proposition 13, state bail-out funds kept local government and K-12 public education

afloat. In effect, Proposition 13 made imperative on fiscal grounds what the *Serrano* court upheld on constitutional grounds: state assumption of financial responsibility for public school education.

But as the state surplus gets absorbed in the current fiscal squeeze, public education at all levels will be hard hit. The contribution of state aid to elementary and secondary schools has risen dramatically over the past decade. Before Proposition 13 in fiscal year 1977-78, for example, local property tax levies accounted for 48.7% of the total while state support was 38.2%. In 1978-79 local support dropped to 25.4% due to Prop. 13, while state support increased to 60.0%.

Revenue cut-backs, because of the tax revolt in public education, seem inevitable at this point. Brown's shaky budget shows a surplus this June of only \$113 million, down from \$3 billion at the beginning of the current fiscal year.

Reductions in the level of state budget allocations have already affected the public locally. Santa Cruz Assistant Superintendent Lincoln Lue called the fight over the shrinking public dollar "a losing battle" for this district's public schools.

## State Aid Programs Threatened

Another fallout of the state fiscal squeeze will be cuts in what are known as "categorical aid" programs. In addition to block aid grants based on average daily attendance, the state also allocates money to schools in categorical aid. Categorical aid programs, aimed at special pupil groups and projects, are important especially to low-income and minority groups. Such programs include Educationally Disadvantaged Youth, Bilingual Education, and Urban Impact Aid. Because these programs are easily identifiable, they are a vulnerable target for streamlining cuts. Categorical aid programs represent about 30% of the entire state education budget; when education money gets tight, these programs move up the "hit list" of the education establishment. Furthermore, unlike block grants, state categorical aid is unprotected by inflationary adjustment provisions. In inflationary times, a constant budget for categorical aid means program reductions.

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# EOP director cleans house

On March 3rd the new EOP Director of two months, Glen Valenzuela, terminated without prior notice the employment of two EOP staff members. The affected personnel were Jim Tanaka, Academic Advisor of the Supportive Services component, and Gloria Alcazar-Chavez, the EOP Financial Aid consultant. According to a telephone conversation on Tuesday, March 4th Alcazar-Chavez stated that her resignation was demanded by Valenzuela or she would face termination during her upcoming review. Valenzuela told her that 'he didn't have time to train her' and that he wanted to move in his own people.' When TWANAS contacted Jim Tanaka about the dismissals he said that Valenzuela's unprecedented actions were not in compliance with University procedures. Valenzuela failed to notify Tanaka of his supposed incompetencies prior to March 3rd, which was the day he was notified of his termination.

Alcazar-Chavez was available for contact on Wednesday, but we were not able to establish further contact. However, Tanaka has told us the options given to him by Valenzuela were to submit a resignation effective April 1st, or to continue working and be terminated at the end of his probation period. This complicates the situation since Tanaka's probation period ended two days before the notification.

Tanaka inquired of Valenzuela of his deficiencies in work performance and was told that he had been given a number of directives that had not been followed. Tanaka responded by stating that the only directive that he had received from Valenzuela was to design and implement a Peer Advising program. This directive has been carried out by Tanaka, to this Valenzuela has no rebuttal. The fate of this project is uncertain at this time.

Both Tanaka and Alcazar-Chavez have been dedicated to meeting student needs. In the past, it has been thought by many EOP students that the Administration's handling of EOP served to divide Third World students. But, with the hiring of director Valenzuela it appeared that EOP would once again become a viable institution that would meet student needs. Valenzuela's motives are questionable in light of these recent developments.

Although Tanaka does not consider his termination a personal attack, we feel that if Valenzuela has an overall plan that will benefit the Third World community it is still a mystery to us.

Tanaka has decided to take a third option that was not mentioned by Valenzuela: he intends to stay.

by Armando Bravo & Sarah Reynoso



June Jordan: Guest poet at UCSC

## A Poem about Intelligence for My Brothers and Sisters

A few years back and they told me Black means a hole where other folks got brain/it was like the cells in the heads of Black children was out to every hour on the hour naps Scientists called the phenomenon the Notorious Jensen lapse, remember?

Anyway I was thinking about how to devise a test for the wise like a Stanford-Binet for the CIA you know?

(Intelligence fascinates the hellouta me.)

Take Einstein being the most the unquestionable the outstanding the maximal mind of the century right?

And I'm struggling against this lapse leftover from my Black childhood to fathom why anybody should say so:

$E=mc^2$  squared?

I try that on this old lady live on my block:

She sweeping away Saturday night from the stoop and mad as can be because some absolute jackass have left a kingsize mattress where she have to sweep around it stains and all she don't want to know nothing about in the first place "Mrs. Johnson!" I say, leaning on the gate between us: "What you think about somebody come up with an E equals M C 2?"

"How you doin'" she answer me sideways, like she don't want to let on she know I ain combed my hair yet and here it is Sunday morning but still I have the nerve to be bothering serious work with these crazy questions about

"E equals what you say again, dear?"

Then I tell her, "Well

also this same guy? I think

he was undisputed Father of the Atom Bomb!"

"That right." She mumbles or grumbles, not too politely

"And dint remember to wear socks when he put on his shoes!" I add on (getting desperate)

at which point Mrs. Johnson take herself and her broom

a very big step down the stoop away from me

"And never did nothing for nobody in particular

lessen it was a committee

and

used to say, "What time is it?"

and you'd say, 'Six o'clock.'

and

he'd say, 'Day or night?'

and

and he never made nobody a cup a tea

in his whole brilliant life!"

"and

(my voice rises slightly)

and

he dint never boogie neither, never!"

"Well," say Mrs. Johnson, "Well, honey,

I do guess

that's genius for you."

Submitted to TWANAS by June Jordan

from the forthcoming book of her new poetry, PASSION, to be published by Beacon Press, copyright 1980.

# The wind from the non-west?

Where is the "non-West"? I'm told by UCSC that I can look forward to courses in "nonwestern civilization." But what does "non-Western civilizations" mean? This is not just a semantic question, especially since courses in "non-Western civilization" are being proposed to stand in for Third World studies. For this school to look at the world as "West" and "nonWest" reveals it's deeply chauvinist viewpoint. "Non-Western civilization" is a concept of racism.

Sometimes this school is blunt about this racism. For instance in a letter to a Chancellor's committee, a Professor John Halverson, writing on a proposed humanities core course requirement on "Western thought," states:

*"Finally, a few words about the context of the proposed sequence. The two most frequently voiced reservations seem to be on the grounds of ethnocentricity and superficiality...it must realistically be answered that for better or worse, Western ideas and institutions have long had a place of dominance in the world. they do not require approval; they do require understanding. However, the possibility should not be excluded of offering one (but surely no more than one) parallel sequence in non-Western civilizations, identical in format, for interested students."*

That the dominance of "Western ideas and institutions," relations of force and violence, should give these ideas and institutions some greater rational and intellectual weight is a very curious thing. Either way it does not seem to occur to Halverson that the "ideas and institutions" of the oppressed might in fact have more accurate and relevant messages for us.

What concerns us here is the use of the notions of "Western" and "non-Western" in conjunction with what is obviously a chauvinist viewpoint. Dividing of the world into "Western" and "non-Western" inherently takes the "Western," i.e. Anglo, perspective. The "non-West" is some vague "other" category. It comes to include everything and anything not included in the "West": the "non-traditional," the "primitive," the "foreign."

For instance we find in the not yet implemented "Proposal for a foundation Program in the Social Sciences..." from last year a plan for a three quarter sequence with one quarter devoted to "Premodern and Non-Western Societies." The committee report suggests in part:

*"The courses in the section dealing with "Premodern and NonWestern Societies" are intended to help students locate themselves within a societal and cultural framework...The courses we would like to offer under this theme in 1979-80 are: Human Nature & Culture in a Temporal and Global Perspective, Classical Athens & Contemporary American Culture, Approaches to Understanding the Human Mind*

This proposal shows the chauvinism and complete lack of insight that the "Western" and "non-Western" distinction provides. Furthermore, as this proposal makes clear, the "West/non-West" thing is primarily a cultural and psychological analysis of social reality.

But if then the "West/non-West" distinction is fundamentally a cultural and psychological distinction the "non-West" category becomes nonsensical. Black, Asian, and indigenous peoples cultures as such do not have anything in common. Oppressed peoples of the world unite not as "non-Westerns" (or "anti-Westerns") but in common struggle against oppression. The correct description of these people is as Third World peoples. Those who push the "non-Western civilization" approach deny this oppression.

But using the "non-Western civilization" approach serves a further important function. The "West/non-West" analysis obscures the oppression of people here in the U.S. It is absurd to apply the "West/non-West" distinction to the domestic situation: was Martin Luther King Jr. a "non-Westerner"? as an integrationist was he a "pro-Westerner"? Of course Martin King was neither, he was a member and leader of an oppressed people, a Third World people. By explaining the world as "West/non-Western civilization" approach the UC hopes to avoid dealing with:

1) Oppression itself and an explanation of why the world is divided into oppressor and oppressed,

2) Domestic Third World people and making their history and culture here either foreign or external to the mainstream of American history and life.

by Gen Fujioka



# Mi Reflejo

Who goes there?  
It is I

Don't you recognize me?  
You made me your prostitute,  
Me hiciste tu esclava  
Conquistaste y colonizastes me gente,  
You alienated me from my people,  
Me hiciste la "Venida"  
Ya no te ACUERDAS de mi?  
Que Poca Memoria Tienes,  
I have come to pay your dues,  
I have come to FREE my people  
I AM MALINCHE.

Who goes there?  
It is I

Don't you remember me?  
Your chauvinism impedes my inner-growth,  
que maste mis libros,  
you smashed all women's hopes,  
you destroyed my life.  
Ya no te ACUERDAS de mi?  
I am the scientist,  
the gifted,  
the one with all wisdom  
Yo soy la mujer hermosa.  
He venido con Malinche,  
I have come to make you pay  
I have come to LIBERATE my people:  
the oppressed.  
Yo soy  
SOR JUANA INES DE LA CRUZ

Who goes there?  
It is I

Don't you recognize me?  
I've stood behind your shadows,  
siglo tras siglo  
He sido prisionera de tus males,  
He llorado por mi hijos,  
I have slept on blood-sheets,  
while my womb longs to give birth.  
Ya no te ACUERDAS de mi?  
Yo soy el Fruto de mi gente,  
llena de amor,  
y capaz de matar.  
I am "creation,"  
Vida con Vida,  
y Arte  
I have come with Malinche, and Sor Juana,  
He venido a hacerte pagar.  
I have come to be part of the INSURRECTION of my people,  
the oppressed  
I AM FREIDA KAHLO.

Who goes there?  
It is I

Don't you know me?  
I am the mother of my people,  
I am the symbol of fertility,  
pride,  
strength  
beauty,  
and wisdom  
I am the "Spiritual Truth" of my people.  
He venido a traer "Luz."  
I have come with Malinche, Sor Juana, and Freida,  
I have come to guide them to the EMANCIPATION  
de mis HIJOS  
Yo soy TONONTZIN,  
la virgin Morena  
I AM THE VIRGIN DE GUADALUPE

Who goes there?  
It is I

Don't you remember me?  
Soy la fuerza de mi gente.  
I am the invincible.  
Soy la Revolucionaria  
Ya no te ACUERDAS de mi?  
Perhaps you have forgotten,  
the outright plunder you have caused.  
He venido a RECORDARTE:  
Que mis Hijos se mueren de Hambre,  
While you sit in a french restaurant  
  
De Lujo  
Have you forgotten how many of my people have died unjustly?  
Se te ha Olvidado lo cuantos pintos hay  
QUE POCA MEMORIA TIENES  
YOU have exploited and oppressed my people.  
But I have come to tell you,  
"BASTA!"

Si somos espejos de CADA una,  
Soy Malinche,  
Soy la Virgin de Guadalupe,  
Soy Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz,  
Soy Frieda Kahlo,  
Soy Mujer.

I am the reflection of the oppressed.  
I am half the struggle,  
Y mi companero la otra.

I have come to knock at your door,  
A Decirte,  
"NO MAS!"

WE ARE THE REVOLUTION!

Lydia Camarillo  
December 6, 1979



## by Rebecca Lackey & Gen Fujioka

*"We want you to know how everything that is happening that affects the people of this land is related to natural resource exploitation, that it has since they arrived here, that it's good to see you people now becoming concerned about this since we've been involved in this for about 500 years now..."*

—Jay Mason of the American Indian Movement at UCSC  
January, 1980.

It is indicative of the past relationship between the corporations and the Native Americans that the Hopi tribal council's lawyer is also employed with Peabody Coal Company, which operates the largest strip mining on Hopi land. It is also indicative that the government Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) works closely with the mining corporations for the similar motive of profit-making. The welfare of the Indian nation is not the interest of either agency.

This is proven by historical actions directed against Native Americans. In 1868, the Fort Laramie treaty was signed recognizing that lands west of the Missouri River were under the sovereignty of the Indian. The treaty itself was very limited in that the land returned was only one fifth of what it was before they had been relocated.

This treaty was broken in the 1950's when uranium was discovered in the Black Hills. The drive for development of nuclear power and energy was deemed much more important than a century old treaty. The take-over and destruction of the land was started again.

In 1964, the Navajo tribal council approved of leasing the Black Mesa area to Peabody Coal Company. The benefits this cooperation between the company and the supposed representatives of the Navajo people were not forthcoming. There were royalties paid to the BIA per ton of coal mined, but the money was put in trusts. The tribes, the people, never received any of it.

Peabody's guaranteed that at least 75% of their work force would be Indians. Yet, in 1971, only 80 Native Americans were employed. At the Four Corners plant, which lies in the combined corners of Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, and Colorado, only one third of the two hundred and forty employees were Navajo. No Hopi were employed. The argument that the employment rate increases with mining industry does not hold.

Even when the people are employed, their wages are much lower than the national minimum wage. Five years ago the minimum wage was \$2.25 per hour. Kerr-McGee, which controls 33% of the uranium reserves, paid \$1.60 an hour to the Native American workers.

The monetary return for the development of Native lands is yet another inequality. WESCO, Western Energy Supply and Transmission Associates, offered a 0.5% return of the gross revenue (about two million dollars) as yearly rent for mining rights. This low figure is a good example of the exploitation. Even the Department of Interior recommended a 3 to 5 percent revenue as more equitable.

In another contract, signed in 1974-75, Native Americans received 60¢ per pound for uranium mined on their land. This same uranium was sold on the market by the energy corporation for an average of thirty dollars per pound! The Native Americans received only 2% of the market value.

In instance after instance, it is proven how the corporations have been cheating the people. The Navajo lease with Peabody provides for a 15% per ton royalty. In 1966, the market value was \$5.00 per ton. Even though the value increased in 1976 to \$18.00 per ton, the Navajo still received the 15¢ per ton royalty. No provision is made for an increase for the Navajo, no matter how much profit the company makes.

One of the problems dealing with the corporations is that they already control 81.5% of the uranium reserves. Seven companies make up this monopoly — Kerr-McGee, Gulf Oil, Continental Oil, Phelps Dodge, United Nuclear, Exxon, and General Electric. With the support of the United States government and energy development policies, these companies are given a relatively free hand to misuse and abuse the Native Americans and their land.

Even if the mining is stopped, a major problem facing the people is the waste left from the uranium ore. Tailing piles,

# Mining America

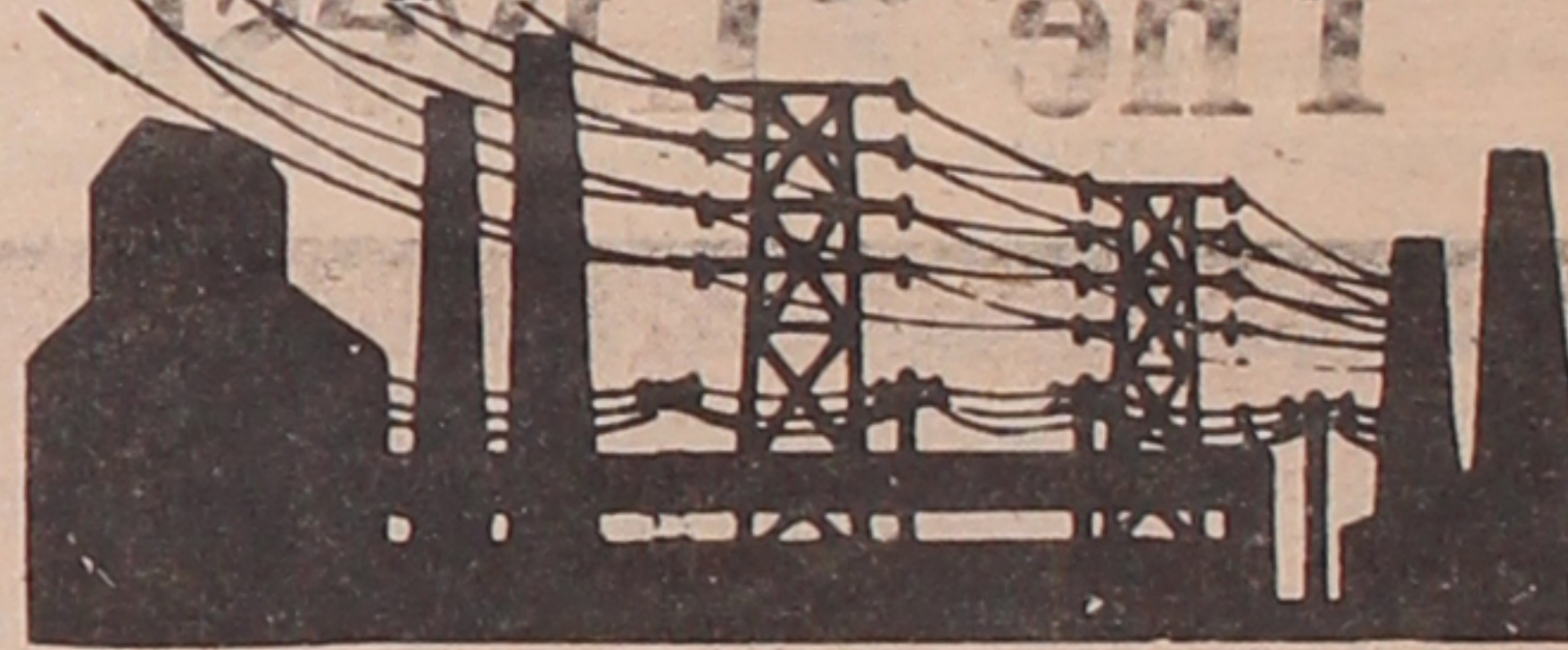
which are the waste materials from the ore, retain up to 85% of their original radioactivity. After 26 years of mining, over 250 acres worth of tailing have been left in mesa-like formations. Ten million tons in four separate sites are less than a stone's throw away from homes. There is a 100% greater risk of lung cancer for those living within just one mile of the piles, as well as an increase of birth defects.

There is no easy answer to this blatant exploitation of the Native American people. It has occurred in different ways from the very beginning of this country. Their hope lies in the inner strength they possess. They realize this strength can be more forceful with support from people who understand the past, present, and future conditions affected by the mining. One of these sources of aid should be the groups concerned about the environment.

The past history of the environmental movement in general has a strong tendency to not address social issues such as this oppression of Native American peoples. Sierra Club magazines still tend to present "nature" and "wilderness" as the absence of human beings, this despite the presence of indigenous people for thousands of years. Pictures of serene and "untouched" landscape grace the pages of these magazines without mention of the original peoples of the lands and their need for jobs, education, and self determination today.

At best, these wilderness magazines romanticize the Native American past without considering the Native American present. At worst, many such publications and organizations push population control programs without fighting the genocide that is committed in the name of such programs (e.g. one quarter of Native American women have been already sterilized, most through government programs).

The anti-nuke movement in this country has shown similar tendencies to neglect the needs and concerns of Native Americans and other oppressed peoples. For instance the "alternative energy" movement has tended to present "alter-



natives" which remain out of reach for the vast majority of people. Solar energy is a necessary alternative to nuclear power but the existing solar technology and politics have mostly concentrated on the needs of energy corporations or upper income homeowners. Pro-solar groups pushed hard for state laws which give homeowners a 55% tax write-off on the cost of installing a solar system, but this is only state subsidy for the rich: few people have the income to install a solar heater or to even buy a home at current market prices. In 1978 it is estimated that these few people were able to get out of paying \$20 million in state income taxes because of this loop-hole. As Barry Commoner, a scientist and environmentalist, said recently, this sort of solar energy development pays for "rich people to build collectors to heat their hot tubs".

Recently however elements of the anti-nuke movement have developed a greater sensitivity towards the rights of Native American peoples and to other issues beyond nuclear development itself (e.g. coal strip mining). Last year 7000 people met in the Black Hills of South Dakota to begin building a Native American land rights movement. In New Mexico, Chicano, Native American, and anti-nuke organizations brought to a halt development of the nuclear waste dump near Florencia. Under the leadership of Native American peoples, especially the American Indian Movement (AIM), a broad multinational movement is growing to fight both the oppression of Native Americans and the energy corporations' nuclear development strategy. The energy corporations at the same time are rapidly expanding their operations in the West and Southwest. Jimmy Carter's "Project Energy Independence" is turning out to mean only independence for energy corporations as we increasingly see those corporations taking over more and more of our lives. Native American people with some allies are standing up to this expansion of corporate power. The West is headed for a showdown. The question is which side are you on?



# Gil Scott-Heron in Retrospect

by Dwight Chism

Last month's celebration of Black Heritage brought an atmosphere of enlightenment as well as a sense of sharing knowledge that can only be attained through cultural interaction and exchange of ideas.

There were numerous events that were highlighted during February, ranging from the Black Heritage Banquet which featured Professor Herman Blake, as keynote speaker, addressing the "Realities of the '80's." Also Fonia Davis, attorney and activist, spoke on Black women's issues and concerns.

In Black Heritage Month artistic expression was provided by a number of groups and individuals. Fua Dia Congo shared African dance and rhythms with a fresh expression of fluidity in motion. The literary works of poet June Jordan captivated her audience with an evening of expressive poetry and prose.

One of the most radiant stars to illuminate the Santa Cruz community was the poet, author, lecturer, and musician Gil-Scott Heron. Gil, combining his dynamic talents, explored the full range of the 360 degrees of the Black experience with the use of analytical poetry and prose interwoven with poignant poetry—lyrics. Moreover, his rich, sultry voice seemed to sound an alarm that the world is changing shape: spring is just around the corner. The following is taken from a transcription of the concert.

Some of the ideas that I wanted to talk about have to do with communication: communication in black form. When we first set out—myself and Brian Jackson—we decided, in a sense, that our definition would be interpreted through the black experience. The Black Experience, of course, would cover 360 degrees, because its source is a diverse and



reprinted from *The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron*

## The Black experience covers 360 degrees.

widespread people. For a long time we have been the victims of commercial communication, we have not understood the dynamics of language and the way it could best be presented for our benefit: we have been too dependent on the likes of Walter Concrete, the psychology being to get you to root for the other team. The bad guys became the good guys, and things start to get turned around. Ideas related to who's gon win and who ain't gon win get censored by TV. Ideas are often

times presented to us, and we are manipulated—be these ideas in terms of our opinion of ourselves or, perhaps, in terms of our position in the Third World, in terms of even the exact geography, or where the Third World might be exactly located. 'Cause now a days, if you turn on the tube, and try to find out some information, they will say "things are tense in the Middle East." I say well damn, I remember Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, North America, but where is the Middle East? Find out later that Egypt is in the Middle East. There was somehow a barrier established, so that Egypt is no longer in Africa, it is now in the Middle East. It's new speech, and it's a way of manipulating the way you think about what is happening in the world. 1980 is a corner we have now turned. 1980 shows us looking toward Africa, Asia, and Latin America as the focuses of all power on this planet, because they have the natural resources. Liberation and struggles for revolution, fighting to dominate pieces of land, become essential, because in the end, protecting minerals and resources will predict the future of each and every civilization on the planet.

Ideas will continue to focus on the Third World and places like Nigeria, Mexico, Angola, Iran... because there ain't much oil left in Oklahoma!

We are a part—whether we understand it or not—of the Third World. We are a part not only in terms of our potential economic support, or our potential educational support, but our everlasting moral and philosophical support. The idea should be that no one can do everything, but that everybody can do something, and if everyone is doing something everything will get done. Because remember, even the simplest organism, the nucleus, moves the cell. You yourself can be a force and make an impression. Black History Month is a time to remember, however it should go on all year long.

## The "Livest" Byrd of Them All

by Angel Galindo

Talk about live? Well dig this!

He's a guest artist, a Black dancer who is teaching at UCSC this Winter quarter. He is Donald Byrd. He studied with the *Alvin Ailey Dance Center*, and has danced with numerous other companies, including Kathryn Posin and Twyla Tharp. Byrd taught at *California Institute of the Arts*, and recently was a faculty member at *Cal State University Long Beach*. Byrd's works have been presented in Los Angeles and New York.

When asked if he thought his works controversial, Byrd noted that his works illustrate the "immediate", and people who regard him as controversial perhaps have little awareness or perception of the Black experience, as well as "modern day happenings". Byrd feels other Black choreographers are a bit dated because they don't expand the white middle class's perception of Black people. The audience's knowledge of the Black world is limited and as a result, certain images are developed. Most Black choreographers present these images so that they are easily identifiable to their audiences. Byrd feels that this function is obsolete; the contemporary Black person is much more than that. His solution is to offer works in a fashion that do not present the stereotypes of Black culture, but poke fun at those stereotypes. He shows the audience that the uniqueness and "being" of the person is important.

The "being" of what he presents is comprised of a "common nation of influences", but the fact that he is Black forms the core of his personality. Byrd states that if allowed to be expressive, his "roots" will come out in all levels and forms.

In his solo, "American Stuff", set to Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever", Byrd is caught up in the "cuteness" and simultaneously evokes stereotypes of the patriotic American heart. His movements are at once snakey and fluid, controlled and flourishing. The group piece, "The City", which he choreographed for student participation, depicts a futuristic fantasy set in a post-holocaust city. This and other works illustrate Byrd's innovative visions of self and society. He brings a much needed new sensibility of the Black experience to the world of dance.



photo by Carol Foote

## Hayakawa Blues

S.I.  
loves the whitelife,  
lives on a hill  
far from his people.  
Tells the blacks  
and browns  
and yellows to  
"use the magic  
bootstraps.  
Work hard, smile alot,  
keep your place..."

Meanwhile...

Eddie Chow,  
38,  
works twelve hours  
a day,  
dollar  
an hour.  
Loves his yellow wife,  
doesn't like  
to kill cockroaches  
(But has to)

Funny Eddie,  
he wouldn't know  
a bootstrap  
if he saw one.

Todd Lee



# One step beyond Aztlan

On February 22nd, TWANAS staff member, Armando Bravo, had the opportunity to talk to Santo Garcia, a young Chicano activist from the Fresno area who recently returned from Nicaragua. Santos and two *campaneros* from his home town joined El Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional as an act of solidarity with the popular struggle against Somoza and US imperialism. What follows is an account of their experiences in Nicaragua.

**TWANAS:** Why did you decide to become involved in the struggle in Nicaragua?

**Santos:** Well, let's start from the beginning. The two individuals who went with me—Fernando and Juan—have been involved in the Chicano movement since the '60s. We supported Cesar Chavez and the UFW, the boycott of classes in East "Los," and the anti-Vietnam war movement which developed into the Chicano Moratorium in LA. All three of us participated in the struggle in one fashion or another, in the universities and in the streets. Each of us was involved in different areas, but we all kept in touch, sharing information about what was going on where we were.

It was a developmental process. It wasn't some romantic notion of struggle, we were not duped into anything; we were serious.

During the summer of 1979, when the fighting was heavy, we became concerned with what was happening in Nicaragua. Everyday the media revealed "El Somozismo." Newspapers, radios, and televisions talked about the fighting. People were getting killed by Somoza's national guard...with American-made M-16's, tanks, bombs, and Galil machine guns from Israel. We wanted to help.

One day Fernando told us that there was going to be a rally against Somoza in San Francisco sponsored by the "Committee in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua." He asked, "Why don't we go?" So we went to San Francisco and told them we were interested in becoming involved.

We were told that the best way for us to help would be to set up a committee of solidarity in the Fresno area where we were from. Our initial task was to study the history of struggle in Nicaragua: the social, political, and economic factors that led up to the military struggle. At the same time we met many families from Nicaragua in the San Francisco Mission district and LA, and by talking with them we got a clearer picture of what was going down in Nicaragua.

After the September insurrection led by the FSLN, we realized even more that the struggle in Nicaragua was linked to the struggle of the Chicano here in the US. We were struggling against the same enemy: US imperialism and the corporate structure, and from then on we worked hard to develop the Committee of Solidarity, and raised funds for medical supplies and equipment for the people in Nicaragua. We politicized the struggles of Nicaragua and Latin America in the Fresno area; this was something that no one had ever done before. Finally, we requested to go to Nicaragua to participate in the armed struggle. In May of 1979 we were given permission to take part in the final offensive.

**TWANAS:** Where were you during the last offensive and what were you doing?

**Santos:** We had one night of weapons training and were sent to the Columna Benjamin Zeledon in Costa Rica near the Nicaraguan border. From there we attacked the border stations and took the area in the south of Nicaragua.



FSLN Guerrillas

photo by UPI

We were fighting, throwing grenades and shooting the enemy—because that's what had to be done, but the most important thing was what had to be done before the fighting took place. The conditions were very bad; we hardly had

anything to eat but rations of small cans of sugary condensed milk. It was rainy and cold; we had poor clothing. Many *companeros* gave their last cans of milk to those who needed the nourishment. If another *companero* had sores and blisters on his feet, we would help him out.

**TWANAS:** How did the people see you in relation to their struggle?

**Santos:** When we first arrived, because we were not Nicaraguans but Americans, people were confused and puzzled as to why we were there. They did not know that Chicanos even existed until they met us. We had to explain to them what a Chicano was, and they told us, "then you're Mexicanos". And so I said, "No brothers, my familia and my origins are of Mexican descent, but I was born in the US."

Chicanos do not know about their Latino brothers other than those in Mexicali or maybe Mexico. And Latinos in turn do not realize the Chicano's potential as a working force against imperialism. Many Chicanos in the Fresno area did not even know that there existed a place called Nicaragua and Somoza who was receiving millions of American taxpayers' money to kill the people of Nicaragua.

I explained to our *companeros* in Nicaragua about our problems, and they said, "Those are the same ones we have." Because we participated militarily as Chicanos and did everything with them, they soon realized that there was really no distinction between us other than, I was born here and they were born there. They accepted us as *companeros*.

While we were there we saw many American mercenaries in Nicaragua. Some were captured and others were killed. There were South Vietnamese mercenaries who fought for Somoza and when they were killed, they still had their blood money in their pockets. Have you heard of Michael Eckanen? He owns the *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. Well, this guy organized mercenaries to fight in Rhodesia. When *El Comandante "Zero"* of the FSLN (Sandinista Liberation Front) took the national palace, Eckanen advised Somoza to destroy everybody in the palace—including government officials—but Somoza refused.

Everybody took part in the struggle against Somoza. Students from universities and high schools, women, and children fought against Somoza. Children served as carriers and were engaged in combat with the National Guard, tossing home-made hand-grenades. Everyone was getting killed by the National Guard. The guard targeted children; it was a

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## "We were there just wasting people"

by Armando Bravo

In 1966, when the US maintained over one half a million troops in Vietnam, minorities suffered the highest casualties next to those suffered by the people of Southeast Asia. Black casualties during the war made up 24% of the total, while Chicanos composed 23% of the casualties when we were merely 7% of the entire US population at the time. Many of us had older brothers who went to Viet Nam; many of them died there; many returned maimed and mutilated and the majority of those who made it back experienced severe psychological problems and drug addiction. Things were further complicated with marital problems and the dreaded nightmares of what they had lived through.

Ernie Martinez lived through that hell and he wanted to share some of his experiences with us. We feel that it is crucial to let people like Ernie tell us what they have to say, especially since they seldom get a chance to do this through the mainstream media.

**TWANAS:** What was your experience with the military?

**Ernie:** They drafted me. They gave me a break see, either go to jail or go to the army. So I went to the army: 1966, October 12. I was unemployed at the time and I had gotten in trouble with the law.

**TWANAS:** What did you do after basic training?

**Ernie:** I stayed in Washington for 11 months. I wasn't

supposed to go to Vietnam. There were seven of us and we were all in battalion headquarters. We were attached to another company...just living there until we got our own place. So the guy that brought out the order reports put us down as excess baggage...you know, excess personnel. Like they really didn't need us and we weren't really in their company. I got sent to Nam as a clerk to the 680th Ordinance Battalion. But when we got there it wasn't there anymore. The whole battalion had been blown away. After three days if nobody claimed you or picked you up you automatically went to infantry. We waited and they made us medics instead. But I didn't know anything about being a medic so they gave us 90 days on the job training. I was driving an ambulance picking up people. And that was it. I was there for little over a year.

**TWANAS:** Were you near the combat zones?

**Ernie:** We were always going in and out. I was stationed in a field hospital but we were behind the lines. We could get there in 5 minutes with the choppers. We would pick people up and stay stoned all the time.

**TWANAS:** What else can you tell us?

**Ernie:** Well, I lived in a tent with seven other guys, there were five blacks, one white and two Mexicans. We all lived together. I really didn't have no contact with the others...except when I picked them up. We carried guns a couple of times but I never knew if I killed anybody. I just shot. They shoot at

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No victory for vets

photo by Alejandro Stewart, 1972, San Francisco



# Notes from El Salvador

by Ann Scott Knight

Since the recent victory by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the political climate in El Salvador has intensified. An AP report states that "political analysts are beginning to believe that El Salvador has passed the point of no return for a peaceful solution" to the problems facing the country.

The situation between right and left-wing forces has become more polarized as both attempt to overthrow the moderate junta now in power. Right-wing terrorist groups, "tired of the government's attempts to appease the left-wing," according to AP, continue to attack both the left and the military junta. Meanwhile, the left has taken the initiative in approaching different political groups in order to form broader opposition to the government. "Some think (the Salvadorean guerrillas) are better armed than the Sandinistas were and that they are better trained and organized as well," according to the president of the Latin American Federation of Journalists.

The United States government has proposed a \$50 million aid package that would provide jobs, and allow the government to carry out economic reforms. Another \$5 million would enable the US to send almost 3 dozen military advisors. This financial aid is an effort by the Carter administration to manipulate the present political crisis, and to calm the tension. Through its dollars, the US is giving active support to the junta, thus trying to prevent any kind of takeover, either from the right or the left.

The following two pieces are excerpts from a leading Mexican newspaper, *Uno Mas Uno*. The first is part of a paid political ad signed by numerous organizations and individuals. The second is a personal account of a journalist's experience while covering an assignment in San Salvador.

## WE DENOUNCE:

- 1) The existing plan to carry out a terrorist-fascist coup, giving power to the darkest elements of El Salvador's repressive corps.
- 2) That if the aforementioned failed, there exists the decision to make a third force intervene, either by making tempers high

among certain sectors of the army in Honduras, or by utilizing the high fighting capacity of the Guatemalan army, or even by setting off a "war hypothesis" in the high command of the Colombian army regarding the installation of a "communist government" in the Central American region.

3) That should those plans fail, the North American decision-making centers have decided they will activate the occupation plans of the "strike commands" stationed in the bases of Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone, which have the military potential, the aerial transportation capacity, the logistic supplies, and the training to militarily occupy the Salvadorean territory.

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*Very few people have faced the right wing squads in El Salvador and lived to tell of their experience. Jose Borboa, photographer for the Mexico City newspaper, Uno Mas Uno, is one of them. This is an excerpt from his testimony.*

"Around 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday, February 24, I was standing outside the hotel Alameda in downtown San Salvador, taking photographs of the patrol cars that seemed to announce the arrival of the army tanks. The atmosphere was very tense, because Mario Zamora, the attorney general, had just been murdered by a right wing squad...All of a sudden a taxi approached me slowly. I saw some hands and arms waving at me. I waved back, thinking that they were fellow newsmen. The cab stopped in front of me, two doors opened and a guy sitting in the seat pointed at me with either a rifle or a machine gun. I yelled, 'don't shoot' and raised my arms. They then told me, 'get closer.' I did, and the guy in the back seat turned sideways so I would sit between two of them, while the one that got out pushed me inside.

Once inside, they told me to lower my head, and they took off fast...I thought, 'somebody must have seen this.' We rode for a while, maybe 15 minutes. They said nothing. All I felt was something cold on my ears and neck. They took me out of the car, and I heard more voices. Somebody said, 'here is another one.' They put me in another car...The first thing they asked me was the name of my paper's director, then, who

I was and where did I come from. I identified one Mexican accent and several Salvadorean accents. Somebody said, "I know that newspaper, it's the one that defends communists. We'll fix them." They didn't use bad language, but rather educated words.

**I waved back, thinking that they were fellow newsmen. The cab stopped in front of me, two doors opened and a guy sitting in the back seat pointed at me with either a machine gun or a rifle. I yelled, "Don't shoot!"**

They told me they were going to bump me off. I was trembling and bathed in sweat. The car kept going. Somebody laughed at my trembling. I admitted that I was afraid because we were not on an equal footing. That same mocking voice told me that very shortly I would lose my fear and everything else...Minutes seemed an eternity to me, and the road felt as though we were driving out in the countryside.

Finally the car stopped and they took me out. I begged for my life. I told them I was there only doing my job, and that they wouldn't gain anything by killing me. I explained to them I had a family that relied on me, and they had no right to kill me just like that. 'You must have something human in you,' I told them. I begged, in the name of my sons, for them not to kill me...Then the one with the Mexican accent said that I might be right, that they wouldn't gain anything by killing me. Another one said no, that they should kill me and that surely, after that, all the other journalists would panic and leave the country. The Salvadorean guy kept saying that if they spared my life, the problems wouldn't end. They kept on arguing. Finally, the Salvadorean gave in."

Jose Borboa was dumped off at the Salvador airport and left the same day for Mexico City.

# A New Cuban Art...

Riding the bus up to school today, someone asked once again, "How much did they sell for?" We were talking about the Cuban silkscreen posters in the Cuban graphics exhibit now on display at Oakes College and Watsonville. My friend was not the first to ask the question, and he won't be the last, I'm sure. Nevertheless, his question makes painfully clear certain assumptions we share as North Americans in a society based on profit: that art is primarily a commodity to be bought and sold.

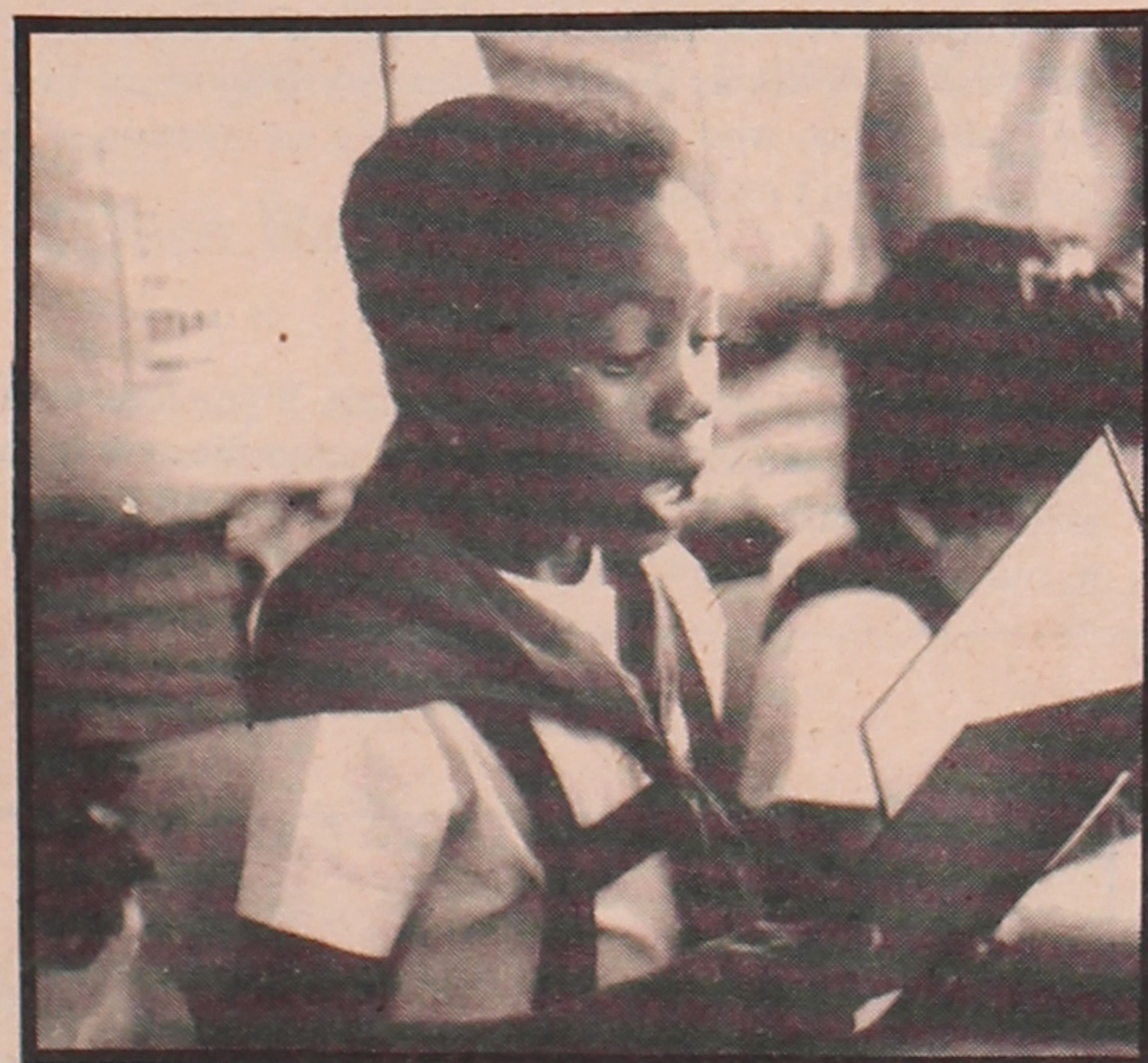
As Spanish-speaking and Chicano cultural workers from the U.S. visiting Cuban artists and cultural institutions this summer, we learned first hand just how ingrained this notion is.

For all our rather pretentious self-illusions as North American leftists who grasp the evils of commodity fetishism and the commercialization of art and culture, who was it that scrambled like common capitalist swine when Cuban artists offered us (free!!) a selection of artworks from the graphics studio? Imagine one on your living room wall...

It is a humbling experience, to say the least, to reckon with these spontaneous reactions. The Cuban artists (though not nearly as concerned with our behavior as we were) found the scene a bit curious.

For us, it was a poignant reminder that we are still very much products of the values of the system we now live in. Once we had viewed art in the Cuban context, we realized we were just going to have to work a little harder than we thought to get where we want to go.

Perhaps the most striking aspects of the art in Cuba today is a fundamental attitude towards art and culture so different from our own, that we have little to compare it to in this country.



Reading a poem  
Childrens Cultural House, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba.

To understand the art emerging from the new Cuba, it is important to look at the history of art in the old society.

The Spanish invaded Cuba, exploiting the native Siboney and Taino peoples for the mining of gold and resources. Forced labor and disease soon wiped out the native population and its culture entirely, and little remains of those cultures.

The strong popular culture which survived from the

colonial era through the present (most evident in Cuban music, literature, poetry and dance) is a blend of the European culture of Spain, and of the African people who were taken to Cuba as slaves in the mid-1500s.

Prior to the Revolution, the fine arts were largely the property of a very small and privileged class. "Mass culture," churned out by American-owned corporations in Cuba, distorted popular culture and served as a tool to control and extract profit from the majority of the extremely poor population. The cheap and demeaning quality of this mass produced "art" cannot be overestimated. This cultural barrage included grade-D movies and TV shows exploiting the "exotic" tropical population, sensational news and advertisements flooding the television and radio, and the commercialization of Cuban dance and musical forms for export. Cuba, the so-called "American playground," saw its popular culture distorted, packaged and sold.

## Justice first then art.

—Jose Martí 1895, on the eve of the first War for Independence.

## Justice has been reached.--forward with art!

—Armando Hart 1978, Cuban Union of Artists and Writers

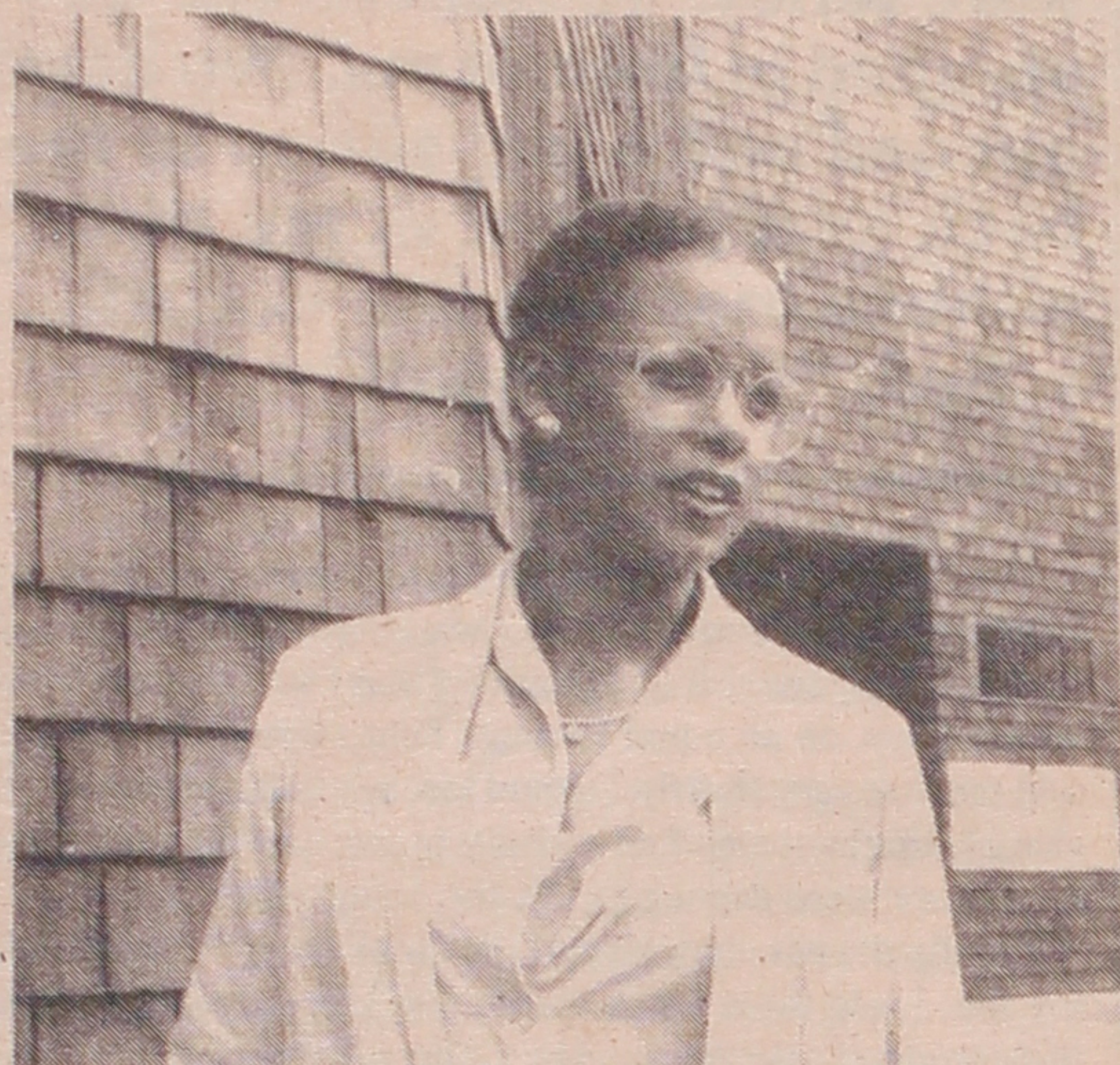
In 1961, not long after the revolutionary victory, the government took action to create a large-scale system of arts training. The emergence of Cubanacan, the National School of Fine Arts, marked the beginning of a training network of schools which cover the island.

Most artists in Cuba can be divided in two groups: professionals and amateurs. Professional artists are full-time cultural workers and receive a regular salary from the state.



# TWANAS INTERVIEW: Third World

**TWANAS:** As a Third World student, how do you feel about the possible reinstatement of the draft?



*Porsha Cass*

I'm against the draft for women and for all people—no matter what color they are. I don't want to go to war. My only purpose for being in school is to become a doctor and learn how to keep life going, not how to destroy life.

**I refuse to fight for something that would dehumanize me as a woman and as a member of the Third World.**  
—Porsha Cass

*Ervin Simmon:* don't think I'd go into exile or anything like that...That's for a rich man to do and I'm a poor man. I have close ties with my family and I couldn't leave them. That wouldn't make sense. I'd rather go to jail. I really think I'd stand up against it.

*Robin Toma:* I'm definitely opposed to it in all aspects, whether registration includes women or not. I think everyone should oppose the draft, not because we don't want to get our butts shot-off, but because what we would fight for is not a cause worth fighting for. I wouldn't fight anywhere for the U.S....there are causes I would fight for but unfortunately the U.S.'s attempt to sustain this capitalist system is not one of them.

*Jerome Jacobs:* It seems to me that everyone suddenly becomes "equal" when a war takes place or something crazy comes down. Back in World War II, or World War I, the brothers left for Germany and found out that they were treated like regular men, but when they came back to this country...no way.

*Zakee Rasheem:* For a lot of things that happen in this country, the bottom line for it happens is an economic one. In terms of controlling the populations of people of color, the draft and war are methods of economically controlling people. It also controls them from the aspect of birth because with the possibility of drafting women, you don't just draft one species, but the species itself.

*Delphine Chang:* Personally, I think there are good and bad sides to it. The bad side is forcing people to die for a cause that has nothing to do with them. On the other hand, it also involves patriotism. I have mixed feelings about it right now. At this point, war seems to be unreal to me.

*J. Ledet:* I personally feel that it's unnecessary. But I also feel that if they do reinstitute the draft, they won't take a lot of minorities because they have a lot of qualms about the volunteer service having too many minorities in it already.

As for myself, I won't go. I refuse to fight for the U.S. or for that matter, for anyone. I'd leave the country.

*Ervin Simmon:* As for women, I'm against their being drafted... We can't have our women out on the battlefield. As for myself, because of my religious convictions, I'm against the draft. Also, I don't think we have much to gain from the draft as a minority group. I think discrimination exists even at the level of the draft. There would probably be more of us at the front lines than would be represented by the numerical proportion of minorities in this country. Seeing that everything else around here is discrimination leads me to believe that there will be discrimination in the draft.

It seems to me that we're always kept so misinformed about what's happening out there that we end up not knowing what we're fighting for...It's really confusing.

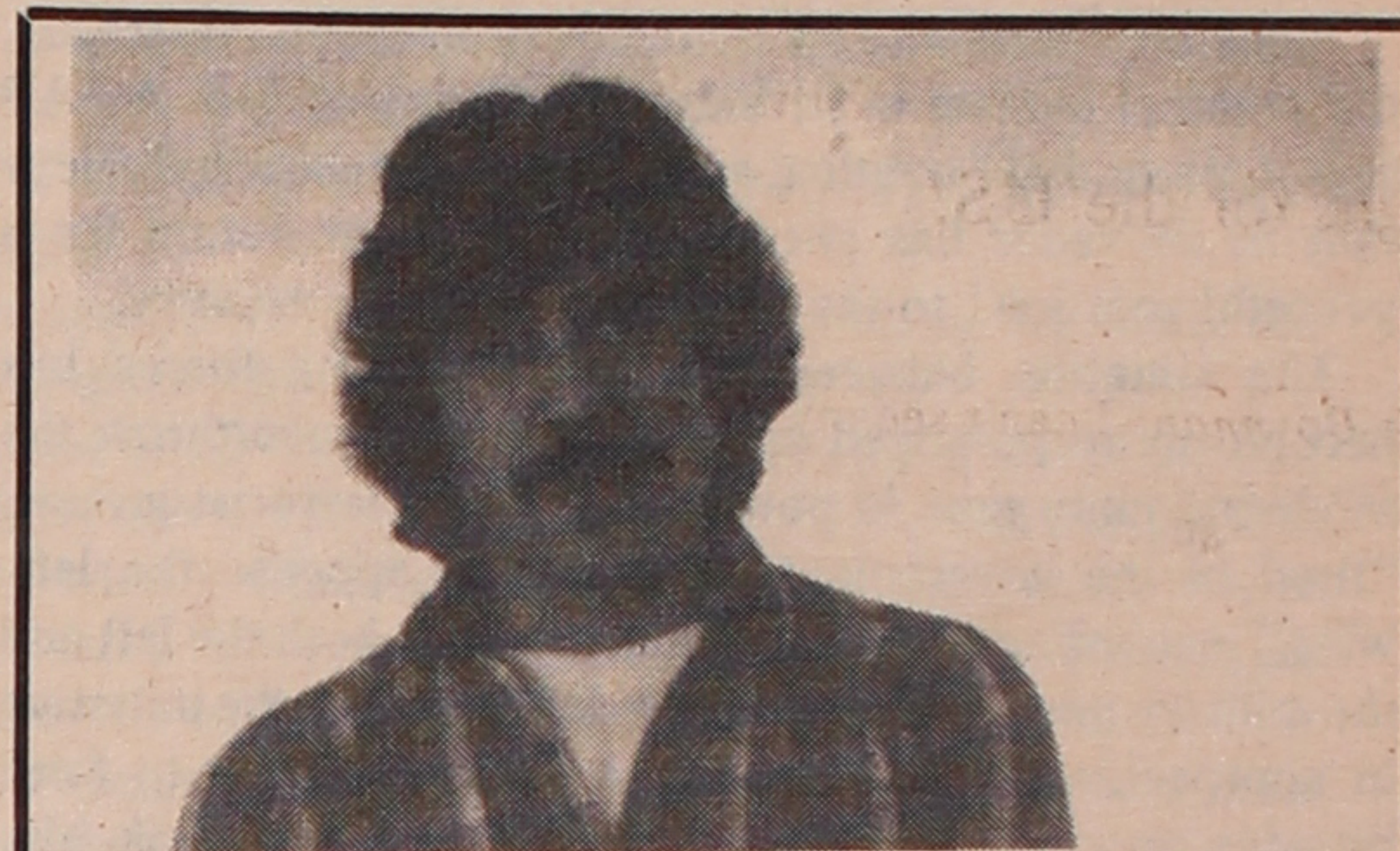
*Gus Lin:* I don't particularly want to go. I won't register unless they come after me and say "register or go to jail". As a minority, I'm definitely against it and I think most of us minority students are against it. Personally, I'm opposed to any kind of war.

*Cheryl Jackson:* I think it's terrible. But in a way, it's good because it will bring lots of people together and will raise their consciousness about the issue. People can't ignore it. There's no way I'll register.

*Blair Bowman:* I think whites should be the first to go since they're the ones that benefit the most from this situation. Under no condition would I go if more Third World people were being sent than whites.

*Gilbert Cavazos:* I don't like the idea of the registration, and I do believe that we have to have a standing army. I don't like the idea of having the government knowing where I'm at 24 hours a day, who I work for...That's an invasion of my privacy. I won't register.

*David Lucio:* I think the draft is unfair. If you look at the statistics, a disproportional number of minorities are in the military. If you could get an equitable and fair draft I'd be for it, but as it stands now, I'd leave for Canada.



**I think one thing you can do is resist it and educate others.**  
—Fred Diaz



**I think everyone should be against the draft...because we wouldn't be worth fighting for.**



**We're going to come back at all. Like Malcolm X said, "We'd be fools to go back." —Carla Shaw**



# Students and the draft



**TWANAS:** How would you feel about going into a Third world country to fight for the US?

**Blair Bowman:** I can't see myself doing that—if it was in Africa for instance. I wouldn't be fighting for multi-nationals—it would be for the liberation of black Africa.

**Carlos Frausto:** I'm definitely opposed to it. I wouldn't fight in the Third World; it would be like fighting my own brother—that's how strongly I feel about it. I would resist.

**Debra Hall:** Why should I go and fight for this country when I am not a free person here and am discriminated against? I just don't feel it's my duty.

If it came down to the draft, I wouldn't sign up for it. They'd have to come get me.

**Gilbert Cavazos:** That would be like shooting my own mother...

**Cheryl Jackson:** I couldn't do it...no way. I don't feel sympathetic to American (US) struggles. It would be like killing my own brothers and sisters.

**Fred Diaz:** It's an incredible injustice. It shows the set up of our society. The rich can just sit back while the kids from the ghetto and the farm workers end up in the army, because they see it as a way of getting training or a steady job that they couldn't get anywhere else. So who's fighting the war?

**If it came down to the draft, I wouldn't sign up for it. They'd have to come get me.**  
—Debra Hall

**TWANAS:** How do you feel about the fact that a higher relative percentage of Chicanos and Blacks died in the front lines of Vietnam than whites?

**Fred Diaz:** Well, no matter what color I am, it would depress the shit out of me like it's done now. I worry about it, not just for myself, but for my younger brothers. It's just another manifestation of this system and the way it is. It's just like another tentacle of an octopus that is going to feed itself and do what ever it can to keep itself going. It's difficult to say what's the best thing to do about it. There are so many moral and political issues involved, but I think one thing you can do is to resist it and educate others the way schools are going—money is tight. It doesn't look too hopeful right now, but we can't give up.

**Narciso Rodriguez:** It's a rip-off. In Vietnam, more Chicanos and Mexicanos were being knocked-over percentage wise than whites. It was grossly unfair. The Chicano vets came back expecting to receive recognition as citizens, and as Americans, but when they come back, the same oppression exists; the same injustices exist; the system hadn't changed. Those medals that they earned didn't mean a thing. It happened in Vietnam and World War II, and it could happen again.

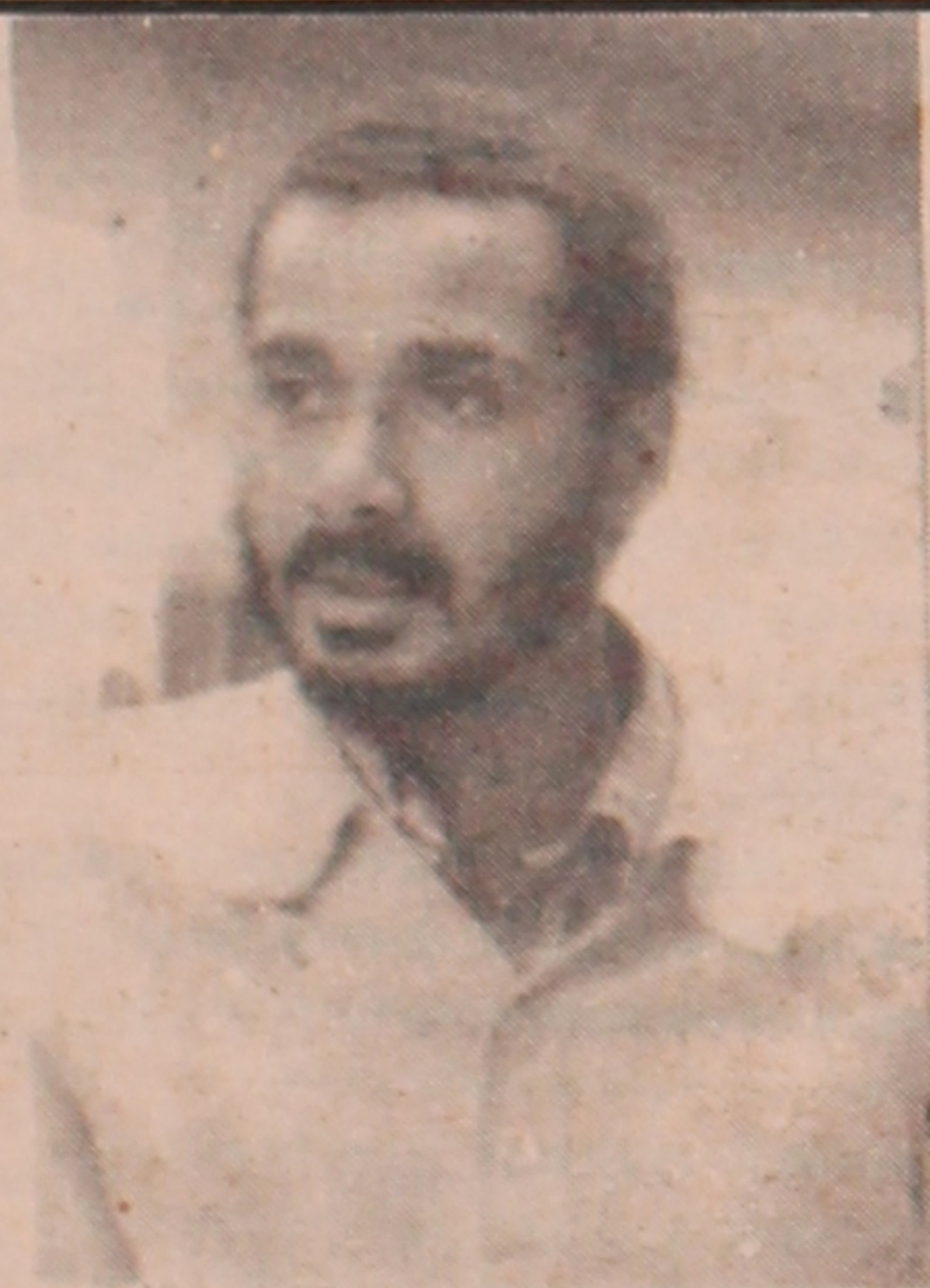
**Carla Shaw:** Personally, I wouldn't go because we are oppressed here in the U.S. and they're going to send us to fight for this country and we're going to come back and still be oppressed, if we come back at all. Like Malcolm X said, *we'd be fools to go.*

**Rosalyn Evans:** I won't go because the first people that are going to go will most likely be Third World people, and that's not fair...I think those fat cats sitting up there should go...It's their fault for all of this in the first place. Let them go first. They'd have Third World people fighting Third World people...it just doesn't make much sense to me.



**should oppose  
what we  
not a cause**

—Robin Toma



**If it came down to fighting in a Third World country, I wouldn't do it...**

—Zakee Rasheem

**back and  
if we come  
Malcolm X said,  
go."**

**Zakee Rasheem:** If it came down to fighting in a Third World country, I wouldn't do it...It's totally against what I believe in. I don't believe in how this country is structured. My family is here and I'm from here, but to go and fight other brothers and sisters in the Third World is totally out of the question.

**David Lucio:** I wouldn't go anywhere for the U.S. It's another story if another country is invading the one you're living in, but otherwise...no way.

When I was younger,...green and naive...I wanted to buy into the system and I believed in it...I was ready to pick up a gun. But now that I'm more experienced from working and seeing the inequalities, and being enlightened...there's just no way.



**That would be  
like shooting my  
own mother**  
—Gilbert Cavazos



# Infant Mortality in East Oakland

When East Oakland's appallingly high infant mortality rate became front page news in the Spring of '78, people were shocked to learn that 26 out of every 1,000 babies born to mothers in this community were dying before they reached their first birthday. Many were outraged to learn that in Piedmont, a wealthy white neighborhood just blocks away, the rate is 3.6 out of each 1,000 births.

Equally shocking is the fact that several Third World countries, including Jamaica, Thailand, and Jordan, have lower infant mortality rates than East Oakland.

Something is very wrong. Medicine is the second largest industry in this country and we spend more on health care than any other nation in the world. Yet 17 countries have lower infant mortality rates than the United States. And in East Oakland, our babies are allowed to die at a rate which is almost twice as high as the national average.

## 26 out of every 1,000 babies born to mothers in this community were dying before they reached their first birthday.

When news of East Oakland's infant death rate hit the stands, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors had been aware of this problem for approximately two years. And in 1979, the International Year of the Child, they still did nothing.

While neglect on the part of the board of supervisors is not the sole cause of the high infant mortality rate, the ultimate responsibility for this infanticide must lie with these elected officials. According to California law, they are the ones responsible for assuring all residents of the county access to health care, regardless of their economic situation.

Other groups must also share the responsibility for the inadequate and insufficient health care in East Oakland: the profiteers in the medical industry, the state of California and the administration of Highland Hospital.

### Medicine for Money

Delivering babies is big business. Private doctors, insurance companies, private hospitals as well as the drug, supply and equipment companies all reap enormous profits while health care costs soar well above what the average person can afford to pay.

Medical facilities and practitioners are located in wealthy areas where their profits will be greatest, leaving other neighborhoods critically underserved. East Oakland is a case in point.

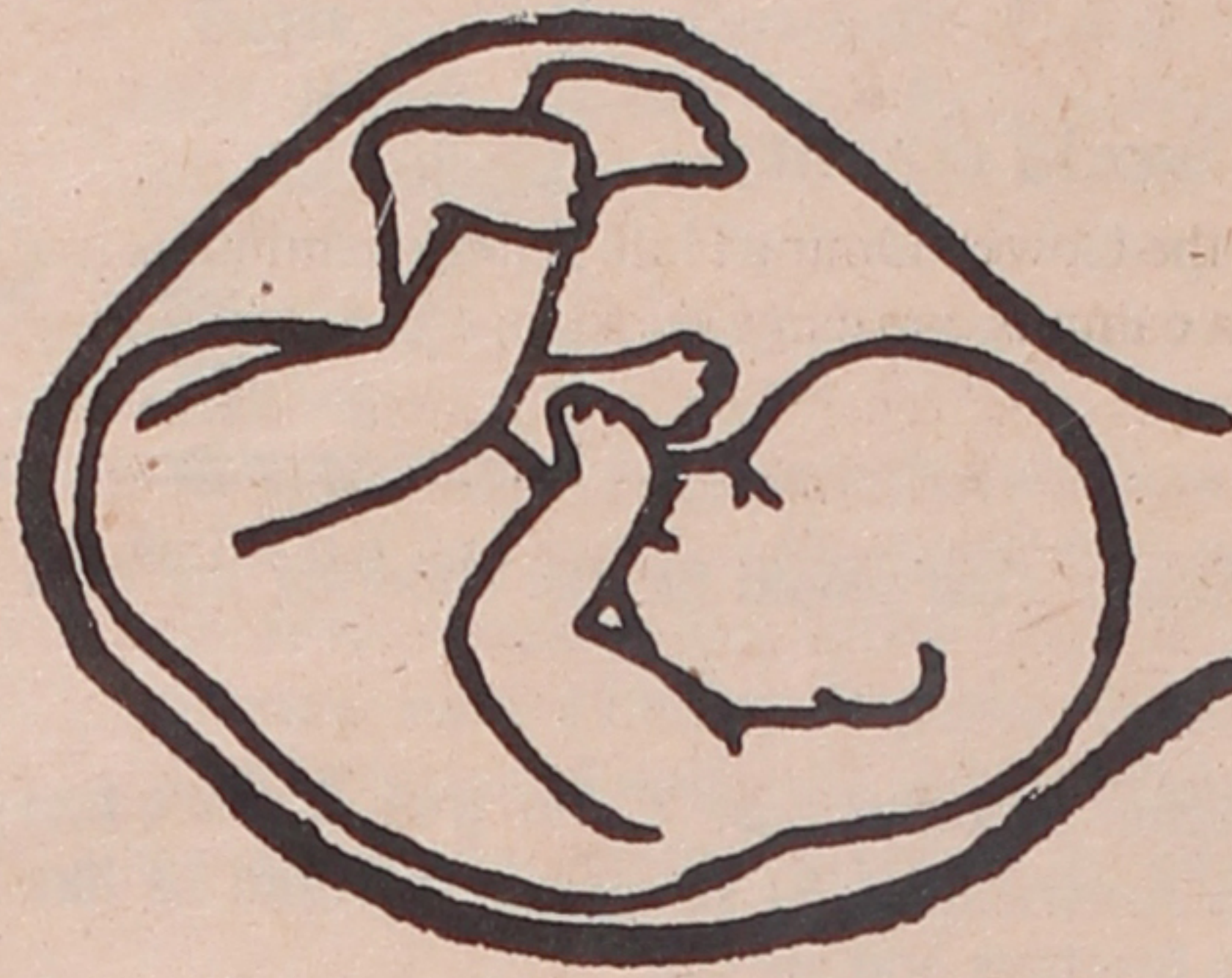
Because of the shortage of obstetricians and community clinics, and because of the exorbitant costs of medical care, many women go without vital early care. Without prenatal care, a baby stands a one in ten chance of dying.

Because doctors and hospitals are more concerned with maximizing profits than they are with providing for people's health needs, they offer only those services which bring in money. Outreach programs into the community, to educate pregnant women about the need for prenatal care are non-existent. Nutrition counseling, another vital service for maternal and child health, is not provided because it isn't profitable. And translation facilities for the many non-English speaking women of the community are woefully inadequate.

The callousness of the medical system toward people's health needs is clearly apparent in the often played scene of a pregnant woman, on the brink of delivering her baby, being shunned from a private hospital to the county facility (thereby jeopardizing her life and that of her baby), because she is without funds and insurance.

### State Sponsored Genocide

The State of California also plays a major role in maintaining the high rate of infant deaths. Because the state sponsored Medi-Cal program pays obstetricians less than half the usual private obstetric fee for prenatal care and delivery, many obstetricians refuse to see Medi-Cal patients, others limit the number to one or two per month, and what care is provided is often inadequate.



Shockingly, Medi-Cal pays obstetricians for prenatal care and delivery less than half of what it pays for sterilization procedures taking at most an hour of the physician's time.

● Thus, Medi-Cal offers doctors a disincentive to bring new lives into the world,

● it offers an incentive to sterilize women,

● it encourages insufficient care through inadequate payment,

● and because most women suffer Medi-Cal abuse are from racial minorities, such policies amount to genocide.

The state responded to all the media coverage of East Oakland's infant mortality rate by promising funds to establish a Perinatal Health Project in Oakland. Shortly before his re-election in '78, Jerry Brown promised \$4.5 million of state funds to combat infant mortality, but thanks to state bureaucratic inefficiencies, delays, mis-management and budget cuts (which came after Brown's re-election), many organizations will not be able to get their perinatal programs off the ground.

Furthermore, many consider this allocation a token band-aid which will not be able to significantly change the deplorable situation.

Meanwhile, the babies continue to die while money is held up and other funds have gone to administrative costs and little to direct services. And no one knows when, or if, more money will be forthcoming.

### Highland Hospital

As unemployment and inflation rates rise, and medical care costs soar, the need for public medical facilities is greater than ever. In Alameda County, Highland Hospital is the only facility providing obstetrics where a woman can go to have her baby regardless of her ability to pay. Yet many women do not utilize Highland because they believe they will not find the care they need. They know of its bad reputation and are afraid to go there.

Highland doesn't offer an outreach program to bring women to the hospital or clinics for vital early care; translation for non-English speaking patients is at best only haphazard. Recently, a sliding fee scale has been implemented, but women are not informed about it. And one of the biggest deterrents to using the obstetrics department has been the insensitivity of the five private doctors who comprised the obstetrics staff (until three of them resigned at the end of last year).

Proof that Highland has serious problems is its extremely high perinatal mortality rate which is twice that of other East Bay hospitals! While infant mortality rates are used as an indicator of a city's or country's health care system, perinatal mortality rates indicate how well a hospital is functioning. Highland's very high perinatal mortality rate is not the fault of the nursing, clerical, and housekeeping staff of the hospital, who are dedicated to serving the patients. Workers have been told there must be a cutback in employees and services, yet the county miraculously found one million dollars to hire a private management firm to administrate the facility.

Despite the shocking statistics, despite community and hospital employee demands that Highland be expanded and improved, the board of supervisors has refused to take any significant action to remedy the basic problems until forced to do so by the Coalition to Fight Infant Mortality in the Fall of last year.

### The Coalition to Fight Infant Mortality

Following the press release of East Oakland's infant mortality statistics, concerned residents of East Oakland joined with health workers, representatives of community organizations and other people throughout the East Bay to form the Coalition to Fight Infant Mortality.

After several months of education and outreach programs in the community, the Coalition went before the board of supervisors. Mandated by more than 5,000 citizens who signed petitions, and supported by leaders of community organizations and politicians, the Coalition demanded that the board of supervisors, as trustees of Highland Hospital, approve a community based investigating team to look into the problems at Highland and make recommendations.

The Coalition compiled a list of concerned and dedicated health workers and consumer representatives of Oakland's diverse population who agreed to serve on this investigation team. The Coalition believes that such a group has the interests of the community in mind and will therefore conduct a thorough investigation.

Since 1971, there have been 21 investigations of Highland, yet no changes have been made which will significantly affect Highland's disgraceful perinatal mortality rate.

### Supervisor Fred Cooper, who represents East Oakland, justified the high infant mortality statistics by saying that they are the same as the national average for blacks.

At the heated board meeting, Supervisor Fred Cooper, who represents East Oakland, justified the high infant mortality statistics by saying that they are the same as the national average for blacks. His racist and sexist attacks, typified by the accusation that his constituents were causing the deaths of their own babies because they were uneducated junkies and alcoholics, enraged the audience. Supervisor Valerie Raymond, who couldn't approve a community based investigating team because she felt "the community is biased," left the meeting early to keep a luncheon engagement. Supervisor John George has consistently been the only supporter of the coalition's demands.

The board voted to have the Grand Jury (a group of predominantly affluent white male retirees from South County) investigate the problems of Highland Hospital. The Grand Jury has recently appointed the California Medical Association (a fraternal order of doctors and powerful lobbying group not known to criticize their own) to carry out the investigation.

Meanwhile, the community investigating team is carrying on its own extensive investigation which it plans to complete in late May, at which time the board will be presented with the findings.

The Coalition is continuing to educate the community about the problems of infant mortality, primarily through our Newsletter.

### The CFIM Newsletter

Our newsletter will be coming out every six weeks. Infant mortality is an unconscionable and preventable problem in our community. Through our newsletter, we hope to educate the community around this serious problem and to communicate to our readers what is and is not being done to reverse the shocking statistics.

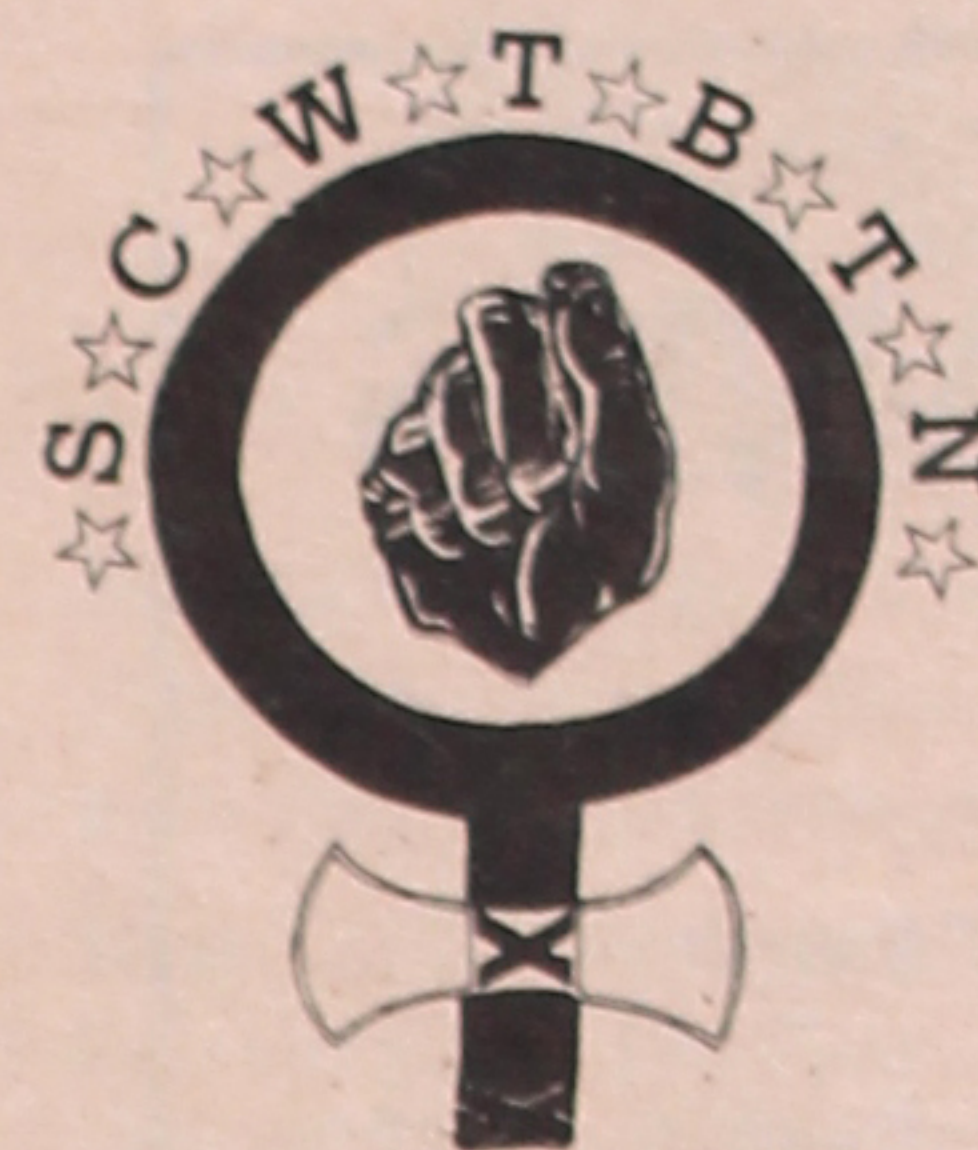
We welcome feedback, input and enquiries. We can be reached at PO Box 24281, Oakland, California, 94623.

Because so many of our potential readers are non-English speaking, we plan to publish the newsletter in Spanish as well as English. However, at the moment we do not have the resources to do so. If anyone would like to help us with translation on a regular basis, please contact us.

by Coalition to Fight Infant Mortality



# Women take back the night



by Susie Bright

Nearly 1,000 Santa Cruz women "took back the night" at UCSC on February 8th.

The *Take Back the Night (TBTN)* collective ran two events before the march: a slideshow on violence against women in pornography and popular media, and a panel of women talking about many aspects of anti-women violence—rape, domestic battering, forced sterilization, sexual harassment at work and school, and prescriptive drug abuse to just name a few. We also discussed what self-defense means for women individually and organizationally. Both events created a lot of excitement and discussions.

Women in the *TBTN* marched, sang, and shouted through every residential college en route from the west to east side of campus. The feeling of solidarity, righteous anger, and celebration was overwhelming. Our numbers swelled as we passed each college.

Meanwhile, the *Support Women's Action* group (the men's group that organized their own *TBTN* event) presented Rich Snowden's slide show on violence against women, which approximately 130 men attended. A member of the men's group commented, "I think that most of these men came because they thought it was the 'politically correct' thing to do, and then they got blown away."

The march ended with the men and women cheering and

crowding into the Cowell Dining Hall. After ten minutes into our program, a campus cop came backstage and informed us that Cowell College had received a bomb threat. We needed to evacuate the building immediately. We were stunned. Here we were, a crowd at peak energy with a bomb scare on our hands. We announced the news to the audience: "This is probably a hoax but we can't take chances with so many people here." Someone in the audience suggested we try to move over to Stevenson College cafeteria. At this point, I was exceeding the program. I agreed we should move to Stevenson. I half expected everyone to go home in disgust or defeat. Instead, everyone helped carry the sound equipment, the literature, and the children over to Stevenson where we created an entirely new set-up. The bomb threat turned the audience back into participants, making an even more determined and stronger environment.

We have heard from veteran *TBTNer's* that this was one of the best marches they'd ever seen. Four weeks later, people still stop me on the street to tell me how much the march meant to them, and that the *TBTN* event "changed their lives."

A majority of the women who participated in the march and rally had never been involved in an all-women's feminist event. For most men, it was the first time they had ever supported and joined a feminist event as a group.

Our collective realized that we never would have broken out of the traditional feminist community if we didn't address

the alienation that many Third World and working class women feel towards the women's movement. Racism and classism is not only a big and profitable part of violence against women, but it is also a struggle within the feminist movement in this country, which is dominated by white middle class women. Our collective is no exception.

Within the women's movement, there are many factions that disagree on how best to fight violence against women. The *TBTN* collective believes we can not rely on "law and order" as a solution to rape as long as our criminal justice system continues to persecute the poor, working class, and people of color. Other than what inmates organize for themselves, the penal system offers no rehabilitation or consciousness raising.

In the same vein, we believe the women's movement cannot fight for abortion rights without also fighting forced sterilization of Third World women, which is a vicious practice of violence against women that is motivated by both racism and sexism.

During the same week of the *TBTN* march, one of the four Puerto Rican nationalists spoke at Merrill College and Gil Scott-Heron gave a concert at Performing Arts. It occurred to me that combining the struggle against racial, sexual, and imperialist oppression would create a powerful union indeed. We can strengthen our alliances by recognizing a group's autonomy and self-determination and by working together in our areas of common interest.

## NOTICIAS

### APRIL 19 MOVEMENT

In Colombia, members of the April 19 Movement continue to hold 30 hostages at the Embassy of the Dominican Republic, including the American Ambassador to Colombia, Diego Asencio. The militants, who invaded the Embassy February 27, said they would not release any hostages until the Colombian government met their demands for \$50 million in ransom and freedom for 311 jailed political prisoners. The event is one in a series of violent confrontations between guerrillas and the repressive government of Colombian President Turbay Ayala.

### ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe and his political party, ZANU, achieved victory after three days of open elections during which 2,700,000 votes were cast. Both Mugabe and Nkomo (the leader of ZAPU), announced that they would abide by the results of the elections. It is feared, however, that Bishop Muzorewa, who won only three of the eighty available seats in the new parliament, would be likely to attempt a coup with the aid of Rhodesian security forces and the support of the country's white minority population. It is clear, however, that after seven years of struggle, the guerrilla forces of Mugabe and Nkomo count with the support of the majority of the population.



### WOMEN IN IRAN

Human rights investigators, James and Eva Cockcroft, recently visited Santa Cruz after returning from a nine-day visit to Tehran, during which they spent much time talking with Iranians.

In the following excerpt from a February 29th interview, Dr. Cockcroft gives new insight into women's roles in the new Iran.

Question: Did you speak with many Iranian women? If so, how do they view the Revolution?

Cockcroft: We spoke mainly with professional women who were either Islamic or Marxist, and with a few working class women. The general consensus is that the situation for Iranian women has improved overall. Legally it has declined, but at this stage people don't give much bearing to that argument because the Shah's laws were never particularly honored. The main point they all make is that women participated so massively in the resistance to the Shah and since the time of the Revolution that they have become highly politicized and brought out of the

home and into the mainstream of social life—and that this has had a tremendously beneficial effect for women.

The women also made the point that it is a class question: since most women are not from the affluent class, their demands are less "feminist" demands than class demands for employment, running water, sanitation facilities, decent housing and education: demands for all Iranians, male and female. But both the Islamic and Marxist feminists advocate forming women's organizations to deal specifically with women's issues. In fact, there was a three-day Islamic feminist conference in Tehran during our visit.

### INS HARRASSMENT

Elderly Pilipinos who have lived and worked almost all of their lives in America are being denied re-entry into the U.S. after returning from visits to the Philippines.

According to the *National Task Force For the Defense of Filipino Immigrant Rights*, the *Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)* is refusing entry to elderly Pilipinos who have received *Supplementary Security Income* benefits. Such aliens, the *INS* claims, are "likely to become public charges" and are therefore undesirable as immigrants.

Many of the elderly Pilipinos first came to the U.S. in their youth to work in the fields and labor camps and have since become permanent U.S. residents. They often return to the Philippines for family emergencies or for a "last trip home."

The *INS* harassment has forced some of the elderly Pilipinos, already on fixed incomes, to give up their *Supplementary Security Income* benefits and has caused them undue financial hardships.

### EL POPO

by Andrea Davis  
U.C. Davis

The anti-Iranian sentiments sweeping the country have been linked to a racist attack on the Chicano Studies Department at Cal State University at Northridge over the weekend of December 8-9.

Vandels broke into the department and covered the walls with statements such as "go back to Mexico", "Nazi Power", "White power", and swastikas. We think this has something to do with the letter in the *Sundial* (the daily campus newspaper) about Iran," said Anita Fuentes, MEChA chairperson. Fuentes was referring to a letter written by MEChA to the newspaper condemning attacks on Iranian students.

The letter linked current attacks on Iranians to a continuing pattern of racism in the US and demanded that the ex-Shah be returned to Iran the scandal trial for his crimes against the Iranian People. At an emergency MEChA meeting called December 10th to discuss the incident University President James Cleary reported that police arrested four people putting up anti-Iranian posters on campus over the weekend. Cleary said there will be an investigation to determine whether the incidents were related.

Fuentes said, "Whatever we have done, we have always stated our position and we have always been open and above board...Somebody doesn't have the courage to speak out and say they don't agree with us. They have to resort to doing things like this".

**The Third World Wants You**  
TWANAS welcomes contributions for its next issue: essays, poetry, drawings and photographs. They should be submitted by April 24th, 1980. People interested in the production of TWANAS should come to our weekly meetings every Sunday at 7:30 pm, Merrill 3.



# TWANAS

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TWANAS  
 Campus Activities  
 U.C. Santa Cruz  
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# LETTERS TO TWANAS



## TWANAS IS OUR PAPER

Hello TWANAS Staff!

I want to take this time out to personally congratulate your staff for producing such a worthwhile and informative newsletter for people of color.

Thru reading TWANAS I continue to become concerned about pertinent events in which our people should be informed. And, I do have some great ideas, I would like to share. Like all students my time is of the essence but I could contribute information, clippings, etc. I am a Black student, single parent, and most important a person of color and I feel that TWANAS is our paper. So, we all should contribute. Keep up the good work!!

Sincerely yours,  
 Dee Dominquez

## TOO MANY "ISMS"

To the editors:

Hi Today I thumbed through and read a few articles in the recent issue of TWANAS. It looks like you have received some support in regards to getting good articles and putting them together. I know that putting a paper like this together and putting it out is a relatively thankless job. I have worked with a couple Asian American publications before and have published material in GIDRA in L.A.. I have friends with a long association of involvement with projects such as GIDRA and LA RAZA (the East LA journal). I know something of the troubles these papers have had to deal with.

The main trouble I see, is that like most of the Third World publications I have seen go under here on the West coast, you focus too readily on sexism, racism, and other 'isms' that call for immediate scapegoats and promise a typical, if limited reaction from the readers. I think you might focus, in the type and tone of your articles, less on the faults of white people and the problems of people of color, than on the successes all or any kind of people have had in their lives.

On the cover you say something about "tomorrow's love and light". Oh, here it is: "I have many things to tell you about tomorrow's light and love". But I look inside the issue, and all I see is the same old crappy problems. Where is the love and light of tomorrow you were talking about? It might, you see, be more important than the crappy problems that are dealt within a few of the vague poems, and reprinted articles. Some of the things, like the Chancellor interview, the Ahmadi-Oskoi poem, and several of the articles (not to mention the general editorship) show talent, concern, compassion and genuine innovativeness. However, I still feel you should focus, at least partially, on the successes in this field, rather than on its more obvious troubles. We in the community, below the hill at least, need more successes and less troubles, let me tell you. In the meanwhile, good luck to you! Long life!

Yours,  
 Sesshu Foster

## "CAMBODIA: NO EASY ANSWERS" TOO EASY

Dear TWANAS:

Thank you for Gen Fujioka's critique of Don Luce's report from Cambodia and my Phoenix article, "Cambodia: Battleground For Foreigners". Mr Fujioka raised several important points, but he also slipped up on a few.

I apologize for counting the Khmer revolution among Cambodia's "externally orchestrated coups" (though I still believe the term applies to the U.S.-sponsored regime that preceded it and the pro-Vietnam government which followed). But Mr Fujioka wrongly attributes that phrase and idea to Don Luce, who said nothing of the kind.

TWANAS' correspondent asked, "As an objective journalist why did not Luce discuss the history of intense warfare that had swept across Cambodia"

before the communist revolution? Why did not Fujioka discuss (or even mention) the fact that my article began with that very history, tracing Vietnamese and Thai aggression against the Cambodians back to the 15th century and recalling more recent French, Japanese, and American imperialism?

Concerning U.S. media reports of mass murders in Cambodia, Mr. Fujioka advises, "It is very important that readers begin to explore from what sources and under what circumstances these claims arise." I agree, and suggest that the same applies to journalists speaking favorably of Pol Pot's revolutionary government. While my article noted that Don Luce toured Cambodia and Vietnam "at the invitation of their governments", Mr. Fujioka's story quoted several sources without saying under whose auspices they traveled. Were any of them guests of Pol Pot?

Finally, since you have taken issue with much that Don Luce said, I hope you have forwarded to him a copy of your criticism, or will do so. His also seems genuine, and the more discussion, the better.

Sincerely,  
 Arthur O'Sullivan

Dear TWANAS,

I was one of the people who attended Don Luce's talk on Cambodia. His account seemed to confirm—and elaborate—the sort of picture I had acquired over the past four years.

While admittedly lacking personal first-hand knowledge, I have read a number of different accounts in a wide range of media from extreme right to extreme left with all the shades in between. The picture which emerged was that Vietnam, while perhaps not quite a democratic people's utopia, nonetheless had done quite well considering reconstruction problems, economic boycotts, etc. As McGovern once said, the Vietnamese bloodbath scare was "one of the great false alarms of our time".

Kampuchea, on the other hand, was proving to be a worse horror than even your typical John Bircher would have predicted, exceeded in our century only by the Nazi holocaust. Even in the midst of other anti-communist tirades by conservative papers, Vietnam was never accused of this kind of wholesale slaughter, reports of which were constantly filtering out of Cambodia. And, while I certainly do not normally approve violations of nation sovereignty, I could not help but applaud when the Vietnamese overthrew Pol Pot.

Mr Luce claimed to have traveled quite freely within the Vietnamese controlled part of Cambodia. If one is going to apply the "you only saw what they wanted you to see" line, then it surely must apply equally to those journalists who visited pre-invasion Democratic Kampuchea.

As to the reference to the Khmer Rouge being an "externally orchestrated coup", that was just sloppy journalism on the part of the Phoenix. Mr. Luce never implied anything of the sort.

I certainly appreciate the need for constructive criticism, as well as the dangers inherent in jumping to conclusions and supporting one side or another. An attitude, incidentally, which Don Luce also advocated.

David Skrowk

Response: I thank Arthur O'Sullivan and David Skrowk for their responses to my article. The issue of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea should be the subject of much more debate and discussion than most Americans are giving it. Once again, for lack of space, I will here only point to a few points for future debate: 1. I repeat my original question which has not been addressed: "who is responsible for starvation in Kampuchea today?" I argue there was no starvation ('hardship,' yes) prior to the invasion. In addition to the sources cited before I note here that the U.N. stats show before the invasion, Kampuchea was a net food exporter. Today according to satellite photos only 5% of Kampuchea's arable land is being cultivated and Swedish journalist Jan Myrdal, who recently visited Kampuchea, writes "Never before has starvation been used so extensively as a weapon of war as Vietnam is now doing." This is supported by evidence that Vietnam is impeding relief efforts (e.g. see Guardian Nov. 10 & 17, 1979). 2. Mr. Skrowk says "extreme right to extreme left" portray Kampuchea "as proving to be a horror...exceeded in our century only by the Nazi holocaust." I dispute whether the horror in Kampuchea attributed to Pol Pot ever happened and I do not think that the John Birch Society on one side and the CPUSA & SYL on the other agree on anything. The right and left in the

US do not necessarily reflect reality or international right and left. For instance all the ASEAN (Asian equivalent of NATO) governments and all the revolutionary parties fighting those same governments condemned the invasion. It is a bit narrow to judge reality from US perspectives. To say Pol Pot was only equaled by Hitler seems extreme in any case, particularly coming from a country which officially dropped on Kampuchea alone four times the tons of bombs as it did on Japan in World War II. 3. On the very important question of the reliability of sources, one point on method: Don Luce's testimony should be immediately questionable in so far as he makes claims about a social system that he only "saw" after it had been invaded. This is "eyewitness" testimony of a different sort than the sources I quoted (e.g. a Swedish ambassador who visited the actual society (tho' of course we should appraise these sources critically as well). 4. Finally let's suggest reading a book Don Luce himself recommends: After the Cataclysm, by Choamsky and Herman. The book should be an agreed upon reliable source we base our further debate.

Gen Fujioka

## TIRED OF "MELLOW" WHITES

To all you TWANAS people;

I just wanted to write and let you know how much I've enjoyed reading your paper, especially the article by Ben Tong in your February issue. I've always wondered why I felt so much resentment towards the many UCSC "mellow" people who trot around in their genuine Chinese slippers and "Hecho en Mejico" embroidered shirts! (I get even more upset when they boast about how little they paid for these things!)

I'm proud of you all for managing to present well-informed, positive, and relevant articles on subjects (such as forced sterilization) that I personally cannot discuss without either getting incoherently angry or going into a state of numbing depression.

Thanks for your strength and your continued commitment.

Sincerely,  
 Stephanie Pino Heiss

## VON DER MUHLL REPLIES TO "OPEN LETTER"

Editorial Board  
 TWANAS/Third World Press—UCSC

I was disappointed to discover that in your generally well-edited paper you chose to allot your back page to a poorly researched and misleading "open letter" from the Merrill Third World Political Committee. I cannot expect that my response will attain the same degree of visibility as the original letter, but I do think I am entitled to answer publicly some of the charges that were contained therein.

On one point I am in complete agreement with the Committee. I share their dismay at the persistently low average enrollments (amply documented in the Third World Studies report to which they refer) that Third World courses attract on this campus. American society as a whole has paid dearly for such parochialism. I find it saddening to reflect that a large portion of our students will leave this campus scarcely more informed about the Third World than the society they will join.

I am disturbed, however, by the Committee's disposition—a disposition too often seen in groups that feel themselves powerless—to devote so much of its energies to alienating its potential allies. Many of the accusations it levels against me, for example, are simply frivolous. In its letter, the Committee goes to some lengths to establish the accusations that I have on occasion used synonyms for "the Third World". Had the Committee troubled to check the catalog, it would have found that term embedded in the course descriptions of two of the three courses I teach on the Third World for the Politics Board. I used the synonyms to distinguish the faculty expertise required to teach courses on poverty and oppression inside and outside the borders of America. I continue to believe that there are times when making that distinction proves useful.

continued on page 16



# STOP THE DRAFT!



(March 9) Representatives of the Northern California Black Student Network, South Bay MEChA Central, and Asian Pacific Students Union (Subregional) met in Berkeley today to form a united strategy for Third World students' fight against the draft. It was the first meeting ever of the three Third World students organizations who together represent over thirty campuses in California. The organizations agreed on five general political principles and on building for the March 21st and 22nd actions in San Francisco where there will be Third World students contingents.

The Berkeley meeting agreed on five political

positions:

First, the organizations agreed to resist registration and the draft noting that the impact of registration and the draft comes down hardest on oppressed nationalities (e.g. 25% of Vietnam War casualties were Chicano). The draft was not seen as a step toward equality for men or women. Opposing the draft is part of opposing women's oppression. Second, the organizations stated their solidarity with peoples of the Third World who are seen as the target of US war preparations. Third World student organizations support the sovereignty of nations against all military or political intervention by any foreign power. Third, war preparations are part of the growing US imperialist crisis. This crisis was seen to include the current wave of cutbacks in services and schools, growing unemployment, and a developing right wing politics: Third World people's war is at home. Fourth, the organizations recognized the major role played by Third World people in the anti-

war and antidraft movements in the Sixties and Seventies.

These movements were a component part of a broad social movement: unite all that can be united with mutual respect for all forces. Fifth, the organizations called on all Third World people to unite in opposition to the draft. It was recognized that such a movement must also take up the day to day struggles in the communities. Also, Third World people's unity must be based not only on political unity but on a mutual understanding of the cultures and histories of our peoples.

With this political approach the three Third World students organizations hope to together build a broad movement against registration and the draft. After the demonstrations in March the groups plan to attend the statewide anti-draft conference planned to meet here in Santa Cruz on April 12th.

Stop Nuclear Weapons Development/No Registration No College Complicity.

the U.C. Board of Regents. 55 Laguna St. San Francisco. Friday March 21 8:30 a.m.

Sponsored by: Intercampus Network, Third World students networks, & U.C. Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project.

For more info: (415) 482-3256.

Mobilization Against the Draft Halliday Plaza (5th & Market) San Francisco.

Saturday, March 22

Join the 3rd World Student Contingent!

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Attention: Chicano Pre-Med Students

La Raza Medical Association (La RaMA) will hold a convention entitled "Health Care Delivery in The 80's: Alternative for the Raza Community," on Saturday, April 19th and a "Pre-Med Day" on Sunday, April 20th at U.C. San Francisco Medical School. The convention will begin at 8:00 am with speakers, workshops, seminars and panel discussions. It will conclude at 7:00pm with a dinner and dance. The Pre-Med day will feature workshops on Med school admissions, applications procedures, and the MCAT test.

For more information call La RaMA (408) 662-2511. For accommodations write: La RaMA 256 Center ST., Aptos, California 95003

### National Hispanic Feminist Conference

The Hispanic Americans have been cited as the fastest growing minority in the United States. Fifty percent of these Americans are women, and they are playing an increasingly important role in shaping American and feminist politics. This conference will address itself to the tremendous need for research on Hispanic women and for viable ways of getting this information out to the Hispanic community and society at large. Speakers will talk about concrete plans for bridging the gap between theoreticians, community activists, and community women.

March 28, 29, 30 & 31, 1980.

The conference will be held at San Jose State University. For more information, contact Sylvia Gonzales at: Business, Power, Room 456 San Jose State University San Jose, California 95192 (408) 277-3906

### UC Regents Stall Third World Student Retreat

Editors note: this letter was received by TWANAS last week. We are printing it unedited and untouched.

Systemwide administrators from the University of California announced the postponement of the Third World Student/Systemwide Administration Retreat.

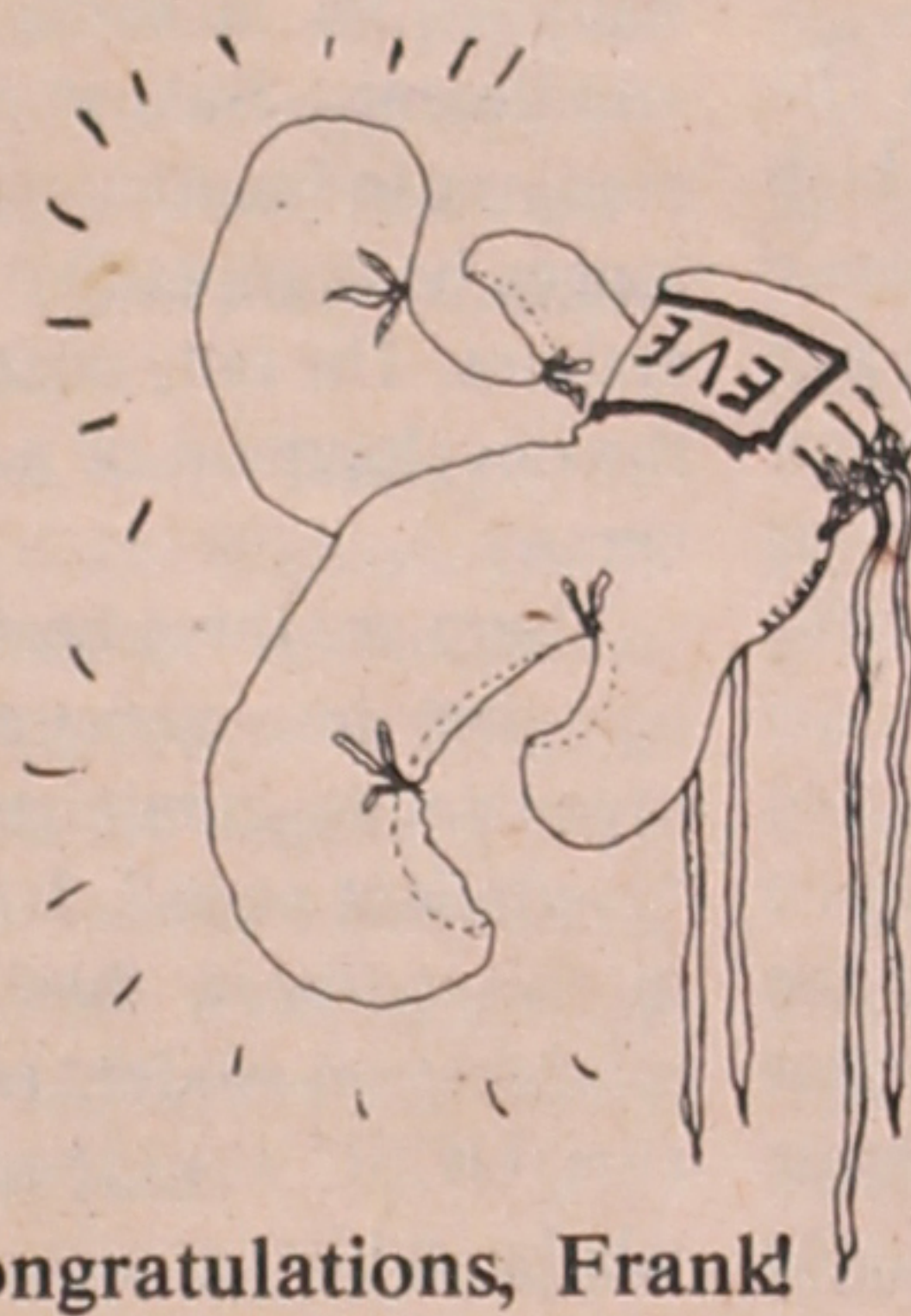
The retreat, as originally planned, would have given three Third World students from each UC campus an opportunity to discuss Third World students concerns with the President, Vice Presidents, systemwide administrators, and Academic Senate members.

The potential impact of the three day retreat at Lake Arrowhead was downgraded when vice-chancellors were substituted for the systemwide Vice-Presidents. The presence of the Vice Presidents is an essential element if the retreat is to be a success.

According to Margaret Heisel, UC Student Affairs and Services, the retreat will be rescheduled for next Fall. Rescheduling will allow for better planning and an improved selection process. Third World students throughout the U.C. system have complained that the current selection process would have allowed only certain factions of the Third World community to be represented.

The students who were selected for the three-day retreat are being requested to attend a one-day meeting with U.C. President David Saxon. The one-day meeting will take place on the Berkeley Campus on May 7th.

Rich Gros de Mange  
Student Body President Council Representative



Congratulations, Frank

Once again inflation will take the lead as America's number one enemy. We are not only heading for harder times for the poor, old, disabled, women, education and minorities with the passing of Jarvis II, but Carter is about to announce his plans to cut some \$10 billion from the coming fiscal year, in his strategy to fight inflation. The cuts are expected to fall in areas of labor and energy, and will result in a higher unemployment rate. According to reliable sources he views a rise in unemployment, in order to curtail rising prices, as a more rewarding political stance, far outweighing the social considerations. In the meantime, the House Arms Services committee has requested \$13.5 billion above the \$158.7 billion military budget submitted by Carter for the fiscal year 1981. Carter has exempted the Defense Department from its current effort to eliminate a \$16 billion deficit in the budget for the fiscal year 1981. We might be soon trading people for arms.

### Courses in Asian American Studies, Spring Quarter '80

Oakes 140: Race Relations and the Asian American

Much of the theoretical literature on U.S. race relations is confined to a discussion of Black/White relations. This course will survey various paradigms for interpreting the historical and contemporary experience of Asian Americans. Assimilationist, "model minority," cultural pluralist, and internal colonial theories, among others, will be assessed and critiqued. Attention will be given to theory construction which overcomes the inadequacies of various approaches.

Tu-Th 10:45-12:45

Oakes 162: Research Seminar in Asian American Studies

This quarter, the course will conduct a survey of various housing, transportation, and social service needs among residents in the San Jose Japantown area. The first three weeks will explore various research methodologies and strategies and survey the existing literature on Asian American communities. Students will participate in the construction of a survey, administer questionnaires, and interpret the results.

Tu-Th 3:15-5:15

TWANAS encourages our readers to submit any announcements that they think will be of interest or concern to the Third World community. Drop them off at the TWANAS mailbox at the Campus Activities Office by May 1st. The next issue will come out May 7th.

## TWANAS Announces: a logo design contest

# \$25.00 Prize

Third World Students of UCSC are planning a Spring Festival. In conjunction with these efforts TWANAS is sponsoring a Logo Design Contest, and awarding the winner a \$25.00 certificate to the Baytree Bookstore, plus a free subscription to TWANAS (In other words, this time we are offering not only the moral incentive, but also a material one).

The award winning design will be used on all festival publicity materials. Jurors for the selection will include two members from the festival planning committee representatives (AASA, ALAS, BSA, Los Mejicas, NASA, MEChA and Teatro de la Tierra Morena). For further details call the Campus Activities Office, X2934, and ask for Kathy or Stella.



# UCSC: the roots of change

by Patricio Houlahan & Alberto Martinez

*They (the students) are angry because a long-planned reform now is to come into effect. The reform provides for more students to go into disciplines that employers want rather than what students want to study.*

From "Limitations Anger French Students," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 24 1976.

In this article we would like to bring some light to the logic behind Reorganization. The issue may not be as interesting as the draft or the situation in Western Asia, but even when it was in fashion it did not receive a clear enough analysis.

Chancellor Sinsheimer recently stated in an interview with *TWANAS* that the function of the University is to train individuals so as to make them "useful" to society. In other words, the University's function as an institution is to provide students with the necessary skills so they in turn can run other institutions upon which society is structured.

As a part of society, Universities are subject to the fluctuations of the economic and social system within which they function. During moments of expansion and economic growth, when resources are readily available, societies and universities are able to diversify their role so as to satisfy not only the well-being of the system, but that of particular groups of individuals. Such was the case in the sixties, when the University of California at Santa Cruz was created.

The sixties represent not only a period of social unrest, but also of economic expansion. Social unrest was based upon the ills of this society: racism, sexism, alienation, and the Vietnam war; if left alone, the social unrest of the sixties could have grown and ultimately threatened the basic foundations of American society. Intentionally or not, the creation of UCSC had a lot to do with an effort to pacify the student unrest of the sixties. Its "summer camp" environment and decentralized campus design isolated and confused many students without a clear political direction. Many chose to calmly "om" for world peace, and most became lost among fields of alfalfa sprouts and flying frisbees. The fact is, institutions like UCSC became a type of instrument for mellowing out the radical sixties into the peaceful seventies. This effort largely failed, and the UCSC campus produced, for example, some of the largest demonstrations against the

war, Bakke, and university investments in South Africa.

But times change. Since 1973-1974 the world economic system, of which the United States is a part, has faced its most severe crisis since the Great Depression: corporations have begun their exodus abroad in search of higher profits, and thus wealth becomes scarcer within the United States itself. The reallocation of capital has begun to forcefully eliminate the expendable luxuries of the system, such as UCSC.

Responding to the anger of students and teachers, the UC system had created a truly liberal University, with programs that were expected to satisfy student's demands. However, by the late seventies, UCSC had become an expensive luxury: student unrest was no longer considered a problem. Watergate and drugs had taken care of the anger.

Today, the economic system of the United States finds itself burdened with too many problems to maintain a University that has lost its original function. However, closing it is not considered a solution, for in the nineties a new baby boom is expected to once again drive up student enrollments. But, at the same time, UCSC can no longer continue to function as it has until the present, for it would no longer be competitive in the new educational market of the eighties. The only possible solution to the problem, then, was the development of a complete Reorganization of the University.

There are three basic aspects to Reorganization that must be taken into account. First, the University seeks to reorganize its administrative apparatus to eliminate all the "inefficient parts". It is particularly important to underline, in this respect, that UCSC has one of the highest administration-student ratios of the whole UC system. With the cuts, UCSC would become less of a burden to the system as a whole, while gaining more flexibility during a period of economic constraints.

Second, the academic area itself must be reorganized to 'produce' students that can compete better in the shrinking job market of the eighties. It is with this purpose in mind that an academic reform has become necessary. It implies a reorganization of the current programs so that the "final products" (students) effectively acquire the necessary skills to perform the jobs that may be expected of them. Along this line is the current talk of making computer language a required course for graduation, or the current "return" of the

social sciences to mainstream academia. But the University must also change its general orientation; students must be taught not to question the system within which the University itself works. In an educational institution that is part of the establishment, social inequalities are not seen as inherent in the contradictions of the system, but rather as problems that result from malfunctions in some of the elements of society (i.e. criminality and prison riots are seen as misadaptations of the criminals and not as a result of their marginalization from society).

To achieve this transformation in the general orientation of the University, authorities must eliminate, in one way or the other, all programs that lead students to question the current social system: social studies, for example, are being undermined to leave them with liberal overtones, but without any capacity to provide political alternatives to the status quo. Progressive professors will be isolated or fired, and interdisciplinary ties between programs eliminated. The social sciences, thus, become devoid of an capacity to radically change students' conception of society and its institutions.

The final aspects of Reorganization to consider are the new recruitment policies of the University. It was thought that due to the falling rate of enrollment, and the limited capacity of UCSC to compete with schools such as UCLA or UC Berkeley, the University was going to attempt to fall upon sources that until recently had been largely unexplored: re-entry students, minority students, and so on. However, this would have meant new pressures in favor of Ethnic Studies and other "special" programs. Thus, until programs that can insure that minority students will be guided towards working inside multinationals, the new recruitment policies will be mainly geared towards out-of-state students, who pay larger registration fees and will probably make less political demands than Third World students.

In sum, the liberal University that we thought we had under our feet is under attack. Our political response, however, must be rooted in an understanding of the real problem behind the Reorganization: it is capitalist society as a whole that is undergoing a general economic crisis. If we think otherwise, our energies will be lost trying to heal the wounds of a dying dragon.

## Letters continued from page 14

*publishing its letter. But how am I to account for the assertion that there have been no social events at Merrill bringing faculty and students together? Let me not dwell on the College Nights for which the Provost's fund supplied the faculty with free tickets; on my efforts to encourage the faculty to attend the weekly student-sponsored "Happy Hour" in one of the dorms; on our plans for a general outdoor event for the whole Merrill community when the weather improves. Let me merely note that on alternate Tuesdays I have invited in turn each floor of the Merrill dormitories to the Provost's House to meet a group of faculty in whom the floor has indicated an interest. As to the accusation that I am "eurocentric", it is true that in October I conveyed to the Merrill faculty and to interested students the Humanities Division's proposal that sections of Stevenson's popular core course be established in Merrill specifically for Merrill students. Having already scheduled myself to teach three courses on the Third World (two of them explicitly introductory in character), I indicated at that time my willingness to make my further contributions to general education through this venture—a venture entailing an examination of a cultural heritage we all inescapably share. If such willingness betrays my "eurocentric" bias, I must acknowledge my culpability.*

*I have come to know most members of the Third World Committee because they are among the small group of students who are willing to turn out for discussions of how to restore a Third World emphasis to Merrill. The first student this fall who applied to transfer out of Merrill was one who was tired of being addressed as a "Third World" student because of his racial background. I have subsequently talked at College Nights, at my own dinner table, and up and*

*down the halls of the dorms with students who declare they will leave Merrill if an attempt is made to introduce a mandatory Third World core course. The Committee's usual response—that such students have no proper place in Merrill—applies to what appears to be a substantial majority of the students currently enrolled here.*

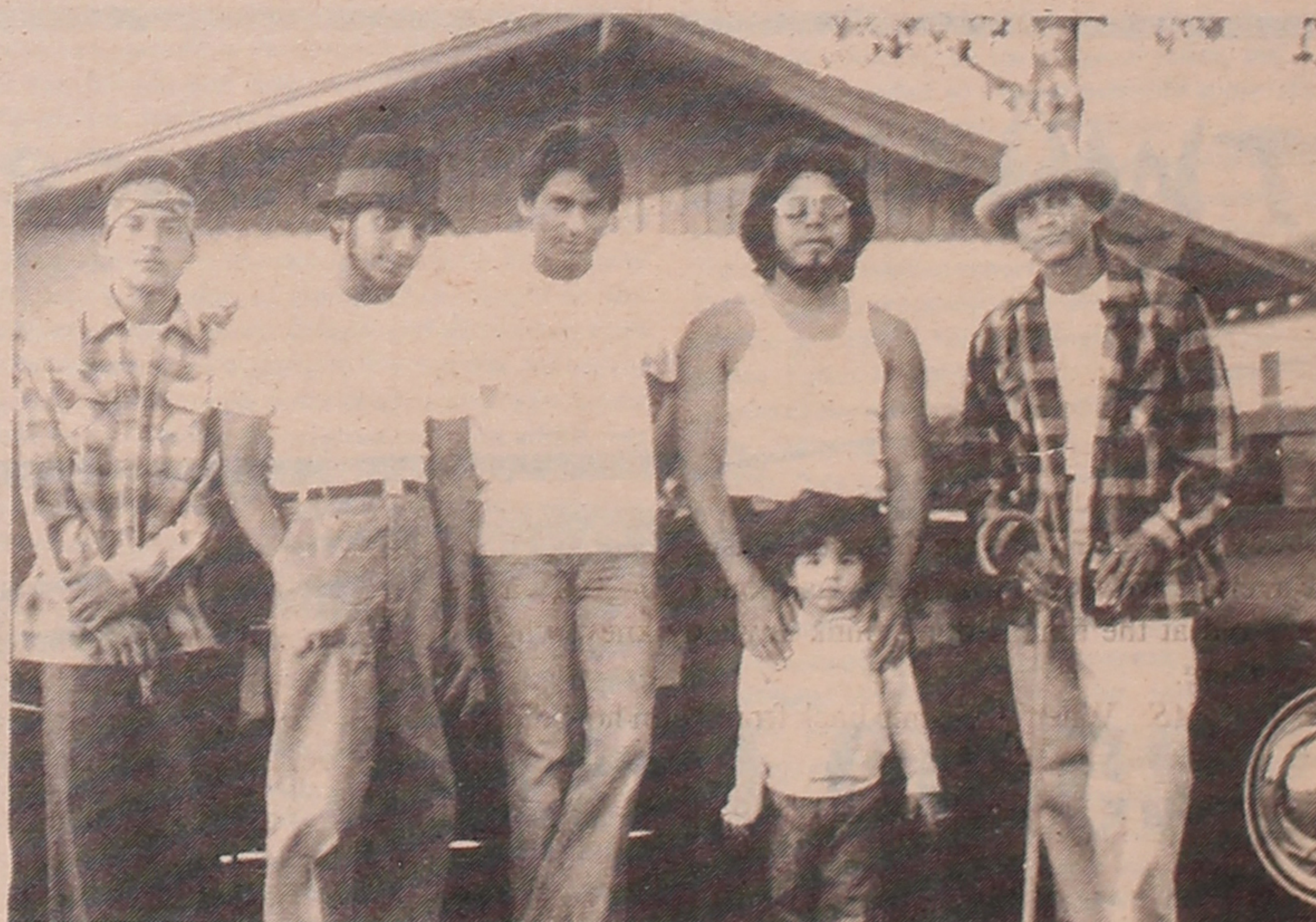
*It is likewise too simplistic to blame the "administration" for failing to create the pressures and incentives necessary to induce faculty members to teach such courses. No such resources remain with College Provosts. With my strong approval, the Dean of the Social Sciences has pledged his support for a two-quarter core course sequence on the domestic and foreign Third World. If the response of the regular faculty has so far been less than overwhelming, it is at least in part because many Merrill faculty are eagerly pressing forward with academic projects that bear only a tangential relation to such a course. When I called a meeting of the Merrill faculty to clarify the alternatives in relation to a prospective Merrill core course, one member showed up.*

*The Merrill Third World Political Committee seems to have expected to have achieved a complete reversal of all the effects of campus reorganization within the first few weeks of Fall Quarter. Failing to see an immediate realization of their hopes, they have despaired of the whole enterprise, and have become very free in their condemnation of those who retain the responsibility for maintaining the College as a workable, viable organization. They will need more patience than that if they are to play a useful and effective role in helping the College to cope with an environment we all confront.*

George Von der Muhll  
Provost, Merrill College

## BARRIO MEDIA PRODUCTION

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SPRING QUARTER

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Pilipinos in the US

# The 1930 Watsonville Race Riots

by Evelyn Luluquisen & Kathy Hattori

*Editor's note: Within the next decade, Filipinos will become one of the largest groups of Asian/Pacific Island peoples in the US. Their increasing presence has been largely ignored by the dominant society and their long history of struggle in this country remains undocumented and forgotten.*

Pilipinos were the third significant group of Asians to come to the U.S. as laborers. The earliest Filipino immigrants (pre-1920), members of wealthy families sent to America to finish their education, were well-received by the American public. The second wave of immigration was not viewed so favorably. In 1924, anti-Oriental exclusionists succeeded in passing the Exclusion Act, a bill prohibiting further Chinese and Japanese immigration. Labor was needed in Hawaii and California, and the answer was found in the Philippines, a "possession" of the United States. Thus, Filipinos were not considered aliens. Though they were largely ineligible for citizenship, their immigration status was not threatened by the Exclusion Act.

After the Japanese were prohibited from immigration to the US, Filipinos began to replace them as field laborers. Filipinos were readily employed by the white agricultural industries because they were thought to be more dependable than poor whites. As one journalist put it, "They are willing to put up with longer hours, poorer board and worse lodging conditions, white workers may feel disgruntled because of working conditions. The Filipino newcomer is satisfied to stay on the job without kicking." In such a way, the general oppression of Filipino people was used to undercut the status of poor whites. Poor whites were pitted against Filipinos.

Exclusionists, however, were less concerned about labor competition than outraged that Filipinos were unaffected by anti-miscegenation laws designed to prevent intermarriage.

Pilipinos could legally marry whites. But with a few such interracial marriages, California moved to include Filipinos (classified as "Malays") in the category of ethnic minorities prohibited to marry whites. In a report done by the Immigration Study Commission, C.M. Goethe argued:

*"The Filipino tends to interbreed with near-moron white girls. The ever-increasing brood of children of Filipino coolie fathers and low-grade white mothers may in time present a serious social burden... Filipino immigrants are mostly men... These men are jungle folk and their primitive moral coae accentuates the race problem..."*

Anti-Pilipino sentiment in the Santa Cruz County grew violent in 1930 with race riots breaking out in Watsonville. In January the North Monterey County Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution calling for the exclusion of Filipino workers. The move of the Chamber was the beginning of an investigation of the situation that pondered the "question of Filipino exclusion or the deterioration of the white race in the state of California." The resolution, which was printed in the *Watsonville Evening Pajaronian*, charged:

*"Filipinos take the jobs, and through clannish, or standard mode of housing and feeding practices among them, will soon be well-clothed, strutting about like a peacock and endeavoring to attract the eyes of young American and Mexican girls."*

The resolution also claimed that Filipinos were "unsanitary" and "carriers of dangerous diseases." But the greatest fear of the Chamber was intermarriage: "If the present state of affairs continues, there will be 40,000 half-breed children in California before ten years have passed."

A rebuttal to the Chamber's accusations was quickly printed by the Filipino community in the *Evening Pajaronian*, and circulated among Filipinos:

*"The Filipinos had the perfect right to choose white women as mates and make positive assertions as to the shortcomings of Americans. (The Filipinos) had the desire and determination to see that they received every privilege of the American citizen..."*

The community's strong denial of the Chamber's accusation

RESOLUTION FLYING  
FILIPINOS DRAWN BY  
JUDGE D. W. ROHRBACK

The Filipino Problemian  
Evening Pajaronian

Oldst Newspaper  
A Paper Printed by  
The Family Circle

JAPANESE FIRED  
BY RAIDING PARTY  
LOOKING FOR FILIPINOS

STATE ORGANIZATIONS  
WILL FIGHT FILIPINO  
INFLUX INTO COUNTRY  
FILIPINO RIOTERS MURDER  
FILIPINO IN FOURTH  
MURDERED  
WIGHT OF MOB TERROR

## Wasting people continued from page 8

you, you shoot back. When I was coming home from Vietnam I asked this Korean guy, "Hey, what do you think of the war?" He said, "I don't know about the U.S., but we're winning!" and if you asked the Vietnamese who they wanted to win the war they said, "I don't care, just as long as it ends." So really, nobody wanted it. We were there just wasting people. I think the average age when I was there was about 19 or 20. I was 19 years old at the time. I don't think anybody knew why we were there.

**TWANAS:** When you came back from Nam how did you feel about everything?

**Ernie:** It was a trip because like one day you're there and the next day you're here. You come back and appreciate more. Like the family, the house, especially a hot shower. It took me a while to adjust again but I didn't come back as bad as some guys. Like my partner Arthur, he was fucking wierd. He's still wierd. He blew his mind. He's O.K. physically, he's still got all his limbs but his head is gone.

**TWANAS:** How do you feel about the draft now?

**Ernie:** Well, just like when I was over there right, everybody was saying next time they have a war nobody's gonna go. They're gonna send you an invitation and everybody's



gonna ignore it. But I think we'll be the first to go like always (Chicanos and blacks). And you'll have whole companies of nothing but black guys and a white leader sending them on search and kill.

## Beyond Aztlan continued from page 8

crime to be young in Nicaragua. They killed women and children whether they were fighting for liberation or not, just to prevent them from becoming Sandinistas.

**TWANAS:** What are your plans for the future?

**Santos:** I feel it is necessary for me to return to Nicaragua and work with the people for at least three more years. I want to develop and establish strong ties with people in Nicaragua. My primary objective, however, is to return to my people, and my familia here in the US. I want to try to create social change in this country. I don't think Chicanos should create their own little Aztlan, and live in low-rider land; Chicanos should organize themselves with the blacks and progressive whites and all other Third World people to build a united front against imperialism. I don't want to return to the US only to watch the news on TV. I want to help make the news. It all has to start somewhere. Currently we are faced with the threat of the draft. People in this country are going to be called on to fight people they don't even know. They haven't even legalized the ERA and they want to draft women!



# Farmworkers Losing Jobs to Machines

by Jeanne Sears

Farmworkers are suing the University of California. The University is developing complex agricultural machinery and exotic pesticides that replace human labor and small farms. For this reason, the California Agrarian Action Project (CAAP) is taking the UC Regents to court. On February 20 Ricardo Villalpande, William Monning, and Tim McCarthy spoke at Oakes College. Villalpande is a farmworker and a plaintiff in the case. Monning and McCarthy are lawyers from California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA) who are representing the case. They reported that the suit was already a success since it has helped publicize and increase the people's understanding of the University of California's misuse of tax dollars and their conflict of interest. The lawyers stated that this is about all the justice one can expect from the courts.

Several of the UC Regents and high-level administrators directly benefit from the University's agricultural research through their investments and participation on the boards of

large agribusiness corporations. The University of California claims that research defined by social ethics will have "a chilling effect on academic freedom". Yet the social implications of mechanization are enormous. The quality of food is going down as new crop strains are bred solely for characteristics which are more suited to machine-picking. The use of hormone-simulating chemicals is on the rise in order to make crops ripen evenly. The often used argument of cheaper prices to the consumer is not being borne out; for example, as tomato production was mechanized, canned tomato prices rose 111%. The high cost of mechanized picking has contributed to concentration in the industry. There are now 600 tomato growers. There were 4000 before mechanization.

Farmworkers are losing their jobs to machines. There are 5,000 farmworkers now in this area. Eighteen years ago there were 25,000. Villalpande says regarding the argument that machines make the work easier, "I never seen a machine protect the workers...I worked carrots both ways, and there is no difference except they keep more workers off the fields."

A point stressed by all three speakers was that this particular legal battle is only part of a much broader struggle involving community outreach, publicity, and education. The UFW itself plays the most direct role in enforcing a halt to mechanization since, according to Villalpande, "It has to be in the contracts for it to be enforced because no one but the union will enforce the law."

The speakers encouraged students to become involved in this issue. We can support the UFW in this strike, buy only union label lettuce, and write letters to Secretary of Agriculture Bergland expressing our disagreement with the University's agricultural research policies.



## Bearing Jarvis II continued from page 4

### The Jarvis Hustle

An appropriate welcome to the "decade of fiscal austerity," the Jarvis II taxcut initiative will come before the voters this June. Proposition 9 (Jaws II) would cost the state \$5 billion, a whopping 25% cut into the state's projected budget for year 1980-81.

According to the new Director of Finance, Mary Ann Graves, the Brown administration will present an alternate budget in early March to show how the state could "live within the confines of Jarvis."

We can bet that "fat" won't be trimmed across the board. Already, for example, the firefighters are sponsoring an initiative for the November ballot which would prevent any cutbacks in allocations for police, fire, and ambulance services. As well, politically powerful forces in other areas

will be able to protect their programs and bureaucrats. Public schools will have to bear the brunt of the Jarvis II cuts. Should Prop. 9 pass, massive teacher lay-offs, larger classes, and reductions in resources and specific programs will result.

Yet even if Jarvis II is defeated, the public schools will face hard times making ends meet. The San Francisco Unified School District, for example, will probably eliminate 400 jobs before the start of the next school year, and cut out one instructional period for older students. Without a permanent source of funding, the current school system (however weak and inadequate already) will be even less capable of providing quality education. "The Serrano issue of 1980," states the *California Journal*, "may be how reductions rather than increases in school funding should be distributed."

The high proportion of ethnic minorities enrolled in urban

school districts indicates a special financial problem for these schools: the "white flight" of high wealth families to suburban school districts and private schools. Recent data showing the ethnic composition of students enrolled in San Francisco public schools, for example, reveal that only 19% are white (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 2, 1980).

While public finance theory suggests that state assumption of educational finance should result in greater equalization of interdistrict expenditures per pupil, and we would expect this to happen especially given the Serrano decision, equalization of educational opportunity remains, at best, essentially unchanged. At worst, high income families will continue to abandon the public schools as the quality of public school education deteriorates.

## Third World at UCSC continued from page 3

faculty to teach in this area. The committee should report directly to the Academic Vice Chancellor, but also work directly with the Deans and the Provosts...to ensure that ethnic studies courses are made a normal part of the campus Foundations programs and of its various interdisciplinary and disciplinary majors."

Neither of these proposals, however inadequate, have been implemented. In fact, in an interview with Academic Vice Chancellor John Marcum February 22, 1980, TWANAS discovered that Marcum was not even aware of the Reorganization Committee's findings on ethnic studies (this after TWANAS was referred to Marcum by Chancellor Sinsheimer).

Two years ago another committee, the Vice Chancellor's Ad Hoc Committee on Third World Studies, was formed as a result of 1977 negotiations between the administration and the Coalition Against Institutionalized Racism (CAIR). Third World students spent a lot of time and energy attending hearings and discussions with the Ad Hoc Committee. The Ad Hoc Committee's final report submitted October 16, 1978, verified the claims made by Third World peoples at UCSC for the past decade. Many people thought that as a result there would be some progressive reforms. The report found, in part:

"The major area of inadequacy is 'Domestic Third World' offerings. The number of such courses is somewhat small, the range is certainly too limited, and the coordination of these courses is almost non-existent. And there are an insufficient number of courses that place the domestic Third World experience within the context of United States history and culture as a whole and within a world historical context. Finally, there are definitely too few ladder 'Third World' faculty at UCSC, both to teach the above courses and to teach non-'Third World' courses..."

—AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THIRD WORLD STUDIES (Michael Cowan, E. Matute-Bianchi, Clifton Rooder, Gene Royale, M. Brewster Smith).

Despite consistent Third World student inquiries, there has

been no official response to the Ad Hoc Committee's report beyond vague assurances that it is being "considered." Yet the report was submitted one year and four months ago.

### Third World Response

Ever since the 1969 strike at UCSC demanding that College 7 (now Oakes) be the "College of Malcolm X," Third World peoples here have consistently argued for the development of an adequate Third World studies curriculum. Although change has only been marginal, Third World students and faculty have reason to be proud for what changes that have been won. For instance the 1964 Santa Cruz Academic Plan suggested that:

"College Seven might be committed to the relevance of historical inquiry and classical thought to modern problems. Its lower division programs should have a distinctive 'great books' flavor..."

Although it is not the "College of Malcolm X," Oakes College today is still nothing like the University's original intention. In the early 1970's the UC advertised Oakes as focusing on the "Afro-American and Chicano experience." This year's catalog says Oakes's theme is "Cultural Pluralism and the Ethnic Experience in the U.S."

Third World people can claim some victories but most of the Third World criticisms retain their relevance over the years because the UC has consistently ignored the interests of Third World people. Thus this statement from the 1978 Third World Conference at UCSC retains its relevance: "...we recognize serious gaps and deficiencies in the upholding of the perspective of the Third World in this academic arena. There is an on-going trend of decreasing commitments to the funding and support of curriculum on the Third World, or 'Area Studies,' and even less commitment to the study of the domestic Third World in terms of the life and development of racial minorities and their movement in the US and abroad. In this sense, this institution, should be obligated to draw from the perspective of the Third World,

not only because it comprises 2/3 of the world's people, but because it is a fundamental and integral part of the making of history. We acknowledge a serious contradiction existing in the academic quality of this university, when particular professors are incapable of adequately addressing the question of slavery and genocide of Native Americans in relation to the development of this country. Nor can we accept the negligence by the psychology board to seriously partake in the study of racism and mental health as an integral part of its discipline. Such examples as these reflect the short-sighted and 'mainstream' attitude prevalent within this institution, and hence it's unwillingness to objectify the realities of history, and contemporary American society."

Why is this demand for Third World studies consistently made by Third World students every year?

It is not because each year the same students return to repeat the same process but rather that each year this school teaches a new generation that they too must make these criticisms of their given education. We do not come into this school demanding Third World faculty and studies. It is juniors and seniors who most often step forward to challenge the status quo. Most Third World students come in to school expecting to receive an education, not expecting to have to fight for it. But then each one of us discovers something missing in our education: "politics" without Frederick Douglas or Sojourner Truth; "American history" without the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; "environmental studies" without the Native American perspective; "literature" without Amiri Baraka or Lawson Fusao Inada; the list goes on and on. Whatever their field, every year, hundreds of Third World students discover that this school's education is not "color blind", but rather "colorless."

Every year a set of Third World students move up from the back of the classroom to challenge the existing educational system. Sometimes we succeed in making change, sometimes we merely succeed in defending what we already have. Sometimes we fail, but we will never relent.



## Arts in Cuba continued from page 13

Besides professionals, a strong movement of non-professional artists known as the Amateur Movement has emerged. This movement has parallel currents in music, theatre, dance, literature, film and the visual arts. The Amateur Movement's achievements on a technical level are such that the term "amateur" means only that they are part-time artists, but in no way reflects their level of skill. With art as a common ground, amateur activities integrate individuals of the widest diversity of jobs (a medical student, a secretary and a house painter, for instance, performed in an Afro-Caribbean folkloric dance troupe we met our first night in Havana).

In Cuba, a poor country working its way out of underdevelopment, it is surprising at first to note the deep and widespread commitment—both financial and in spirit—for artists and cultural development.

A visit to the island makes it clear that art and culture are not separated from the lives of the Cuban people. In the countryside and the urban neighborhoods, popular art that survived the capitalist era has been blended with such forms as the symphony, the theatre and the ballet (formerly the properties of the elite). These have given birth to a new people's art, like the national folkloric ballet (based on traditional African dance forms) or groups like the Teatro del Escambray which travel throughout the rural areas performing and developing theatre groups in rural communities.

Contrasted with our own country, Cuba's art uncomfortably clarifies our cynical attitude toward the arts, in which we assume only a small select group of "special" people somehow have the ability to appreciate and create art (a myth artists perpetuated as a final hope of legitimizing their own labor). In our very most generous judgement, artists are a luxury we can afford, amusing geniuses who we support as they indulge in sensuality, but who, in truth, do no real work.

Art in America is not considered to be a legitimate form of work. In Cuba the respect for art as work and artists as cultural workers is evident from the cities to the countryside.

The arts are demystified and made publically accessible through widespread arts instruction, inexpensive or free performances (tickets to the symphony, ballet, theatre and cinema are extremely cheap), televised documentaries, as well as touring exhibitions, literary workshops, and debates, which are held both in halls and in the streets.

Appreciation of art and artistic creation is seen very practically as a skill and an appetite which are enthusiastically developed when people have their rightful access to tools and materials.

The definition of revolutionary art in Cuba goes a lot deeper than a debate over content. It is not only a matter of what the art is, but who it affects, where it is and who is able to see it

**What do you mean by "political artist"? Any artist is political. Andy Warhol is political. Franz Kline is political. It only depends on what kind of politics. To be neutral is a position. When you are upside down, you are not rightside up --but you are in a position.**

—Felix Beltran, Cuban Painter and Graphic Artist

Contrary to what is usually insinuated by the media here, there are no restrictions on what style an artist in Cuba may work with. Initially there was an effort by a small number of officials to impose socialist realism along the lines of the Soviet model. However, fortified by Castro's statement that "our enemies are capitalism and imperialism --not abstract art," and Che Guevara's conviction that socialist realism is the dead remains of 19th century bourgeois art, Cuban artists were able to resist the socialist realist trend.

This is evident in the Cuban poster styles, which include pop art, geometric and collagist techniques, humorous illus-

tration, avant garde cartoonism, abstract and surrealism, as well as all kinds of traditional styles of many countries (notably Japan, Hungary, and Poland).



The 1961 US-imposed economic and trade blockade against Cuba has meant severe cut-offs in medicine, food, machinery, and spare parts, technological equipment and information, all essential to economic development and daily life.

A similar attempt was made on cultural exchange. Though less successful, it has had its effect: Cuban recording studios were only recently able to obtain the island's first 8-track recorder (most LA studios have 32 track machines). The island has been denied all access to US films from the sixties and the seventies (except for bootlegs which have filtered in from time to time), Cuban artists have been denied visas to enter the United States on the grounds that they present a "threat to national security," and many paints, inks, printing and sculpting materials are scarce or unavailable.

Fortunately, through all this Cuba has continued to exchange ideas when and where exchange of goods was impossible. As North Americans, not only do we miss out on internationally acclaimed developments in film, theatre, music, dance and the visual arts, but we are also losing the opportunity to witness a new, experimental relationship between art and society.

—DR/TWANAS



## My People

Speak you someone  
Who knows what to say  
When they come in a dream  
Masked desperate angels  
From the valley of a massacre.  
Flames of dust rise to the clear air  
And the smoke of suffocation

Clings to their stricken clothing,  
Reeling with anger  
To be simply told the truth,  
To be simply told the truth,  
They come.

—Duane Big Eagle  
Xutha-tonga

photos by Martin Martin & Armando Bravo





## Puerto Rican Nationalist at UCSC

# "I wanted my children to grow up in a free country"

by Diana Hembree

*I have left everything behind me  
even brushed aside poetry  
to live it, instead, as a thunderclap or lightning  
The beautiful morning finds me awake  
and until death overtakes me  
I'll follow that remote star...*

—From 'Now I Bid Farewell' by Puerto Rican poet and nationalist, Juan Antonio Corretjer (as sung by Roy Brown).

In the next several years, a crucial election in Puerto Rico will determine whether or not the country remains a "commonwealth" (colony) of the United States. The election choices will be narrow. Puerto Rico will decide either to remain a colony or to accept the "option" of statehood—a decision which the U.S. Congress would have to approve.

The option of independence will not likely be on the ballot. Puerto Rican nationalists, however, demand independence before such an election is held. As nationalist Rafael Cancel Miranda declared, "A colony has no self-respect, no power to vote on its future. But when my people are free, they will decide what to do."



Lebron and Miranda in 1954.

On a tour to rally support for a free Puerto Rico, Miranda recently spoke in Santa Cruz about his long-time resistance to U.S. control of Puerto Rico. Miranda spent 25 years in prison after he and three other Nationalists—Andres Figueroa Cordero, Irvin Flores, and Lolita Lebron—attacked the U.S. Congress. Before their capture they fired guns, unfurled the Puerto Rican flag, and proclaimed Puerto Rico a "free and sovereign state."

*I sing to the crack  
of a bullet in the palm.  
It rises in the soul...  
Now I bid farewell.  
I journey as a pilgrim  
through rock and underbrush...  
I raise my knife  
with much sadness.*

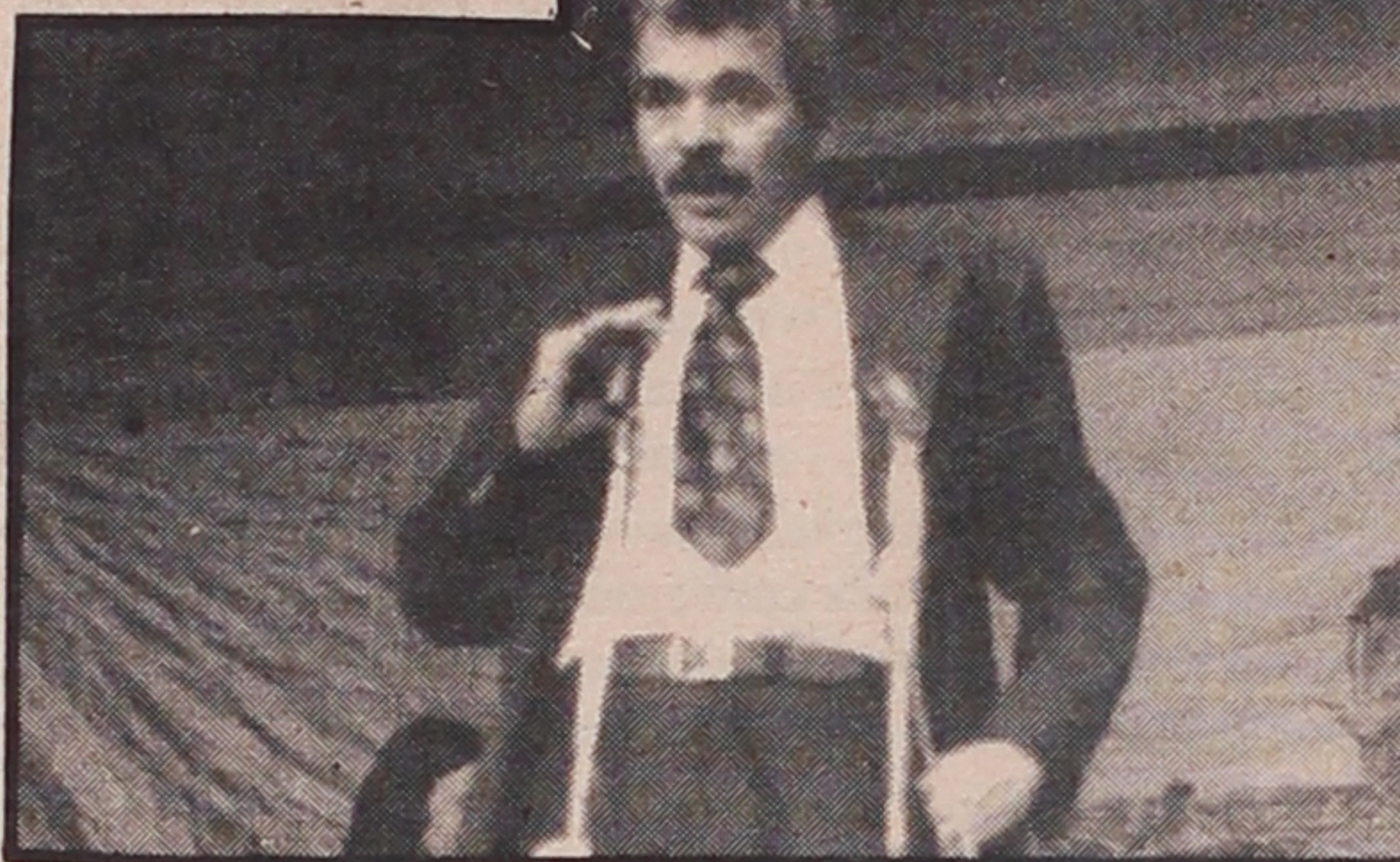
—Corretjer

Asked what he felt on the morning the four Nationalists left their homes for Washington, D.C., Miranda replied, "Well, it may seem like I was thinking 'Down with the Yanquis!' and all that. But no. I was thinking about my family. I look at my wife and there goes a tear...I was very in love with my wife; we were the kind of sweethearts that would always run to each other, you know...and I look at my children asleep—there goes another tear. The newspapers described us as crazy terrorists who didn't care about nothing. But I cared. That's why I went to Washington: because I cared. I love my people...I wanted my children to grow up in a free country."

Rafael went on to describe the journey to D.C. with Lolita Lebron and his other two companions: "We pretended not to know each other so people wouldn't know we were together...On the train, I kept looking at my three friends (they were all young like me) and feeling sad because I thought they were going to be killed. I was also thinking—maybe this was vanity—that I

wanted the bullet to hit me in the heart and not in the face." (Laughter). "We had bought one-way tickets because we didn't expect to come back."

Miranda told the audience that, as a colony of the U.S., Puerto Rico had long been under the thumb of U.S. government and corporations. By destroying Puerto Rico's agriculture and fishing industry, he explained, the U.S. had made Puerto Rico dependent on American imports. Poverty and disease rack the island, and chronic unemployment (an estimated 50% at present) has driven over a million and a half Puerto Ricans to seek work in the U.S. "Many don't want to leave, but they have no choice," he declared. "Some say you live in the U.S., you got it sweet. It is not sweet. How many young Puerto Ricans have died in wars that were not our wars?"



Miranda at UCSC.

The U.S. not only controls Puerto Rican resources, he continued, but uses the island as a "strong-hold of the U.S. military...whose bases on our island threaten the Latin American people." Protests against the U.S. have been harshly suppressed; Miranda recalls one demonstration that left 21 people dead when the police opened fire.

"I was only a child when my parents went to Ponce to participate in a peaceful demonstration. They did return, but many of their friends returned in wooden boxes. That was that first time that I realized some people wanted to do us harm—that my people had an enemy."

The next day in school, Miranda refused to pledge allegiance to the American flag: "I could not swear to this country who massacred my parent's friends...that was the day I decided to join the Nationalist Party." Active in politics in high school; he was expelled for leading a strike—"so I crossed the island making speeches."

At age eighteen, Miranda was sentenced to two years in Florida prison for refusing induction into the U.S. army.

"I refused to go to Korea...why should I fight Koreans? Well, here come the FBI. I say, wait a minute now; the U.S. exploits my people; it kills and humiliates my people. If I fight anyone it's going to be you...That was my first time in jail."

Seven years later, Miranda and the three other nationalists were each sentenced to seventy-five years in prison for attacking the U.S. Congress.

### "I Am Still Able to Cry..."

"The guards were very brutal; I saw men go mad under that cruelty," said Miranda, recalling his years in prison. "There was torture, druggings, gassing...guys around me killing each other. There's nothing worse than a man who's lost his humanity...he finds so many ways to hurt you."

Miranda reflected sarcastically on "that beautiful place, Alcatraz." "The first year they wouldn't let me see my own children. I been beaten, kicked, put in the hole: once I spent four months without seeing a soul..." Despite prison brutality, however, Miranda was able to break the monotony by studying psychology and law, writing short stories, and playing guitar: "I'm happy by nature; I been through hell but I still like to laugh." But he added quickly, "Remember I hate prison...it's no place for a human being."

Last year the four Nationalists were granted unconditional release by President Carter. Miranda said that he and the



other Nationalists could have been released "many years ago...if we had accepted 'conditions' and promised not to get involved in politics." He recalls a the visit of an FBI agent to his cell: "I was longing for my wife like wow...my kids...And here comes the FBI; they try to pretend they talk like us: 'Hey man, you change your act, everything will be cool, you know? Say you're sorry, stay out of politics...' I say, 'Man, if anyone got something to regret, it's you!'"

"We demanded to get out of prison the way we came in: with our dignity and our integrity," he continued. "We always refused their 'conditions'—that's why I can look you in the eye today...And when Carter signed the release it was 'bye bye my friends—we beat them!'"

Miranda said that the Nationalists release was "not due to our own power, but to the support of thousands of people, in Puerto Rico, Chicago, New York." He was not embittered about his incarceration.

"My wife—and she's still with me today; she knew who her husband was—she used to bring my children to prison to see me but time passed and she was bringing my grandchildren...My whole youth went there, but I say it was worth it. You beat me: I hurt. But I feel good because it was worthwhile...The day I was released from prison, my little niece hugs me and this awful, tough, fire-breathing nationalist cried like a little baby. I knew then that I was all right—they had not been able to take anything away from me...I could still cry..."

After the Nationalists' release, three of them immediately returned to the struggle for Puerto Rican Independence. (The fourth Nationalist, Andres Cordero, died of cancer soon after his release.) Lolita Lebron recently led a brigade of fishing boats in blocking U.S. warship maneuvers near the island of Vieques, whose waters America considers "property of the U.S. Navy." Miranda expressed his deep admiration for Lolita Lebron: "Of all the Nationalists, she is the bravest. I have never seen someone so ready to die for her country."

"...The fishing boats were like David and Goliath," he continued, shaking his head. He explained that Vieques, 2/3 of which is owned by the United States, is a focus for demonstrations against U.S. exploitation of Puerto Rico, and that repression was on the rise. "Last month some Puerto Ricans held a religious demonstration on the shore, and the Marines beat them. At one point a 74 year old woman threw a little sand on a Marine, and they began beating her. 74 years old—can you believe it?...They charged us with trespassing—but there was nobody there but Puerto Ricans! It was the U.S. Marines who were trespassing."

*I feel in my depths  
like a burning candle,  
an estranged pain.  
The pen is burned;  
The book is closed.  
May God save you, iris!*

—Corretjer

Miranda confessed his work for independence often took him away from his beloved family: "I could be going to a movie with my wife, after all these years. (She say, 'Honey, when you were in prison, I at least knew where you were!') Or I could be playing with my grandchildren—they beat the heck out of me but I love it."

"I'm no politician. I only come here because I care for my people. That's all."

Miranda mentioned his amazement when thousands of Puerto Ricans flocked to embrace him: "Many people were kissing me, women too...I ask wife if she minded this lipstick and she say, no, if it's on the shirt I don't worry—now if it's under the shirt—I worry!" (Laughter). "But I know these kisses are not for me—they are for the Puerto Rico in me," he reflected. "In welcoming me, they are welcoming themselves."

"If you ask me what I want for my country, I would tell you socialism, sure," he concluded. "Because I see what capitalism does. The crimes. The corruption... But when my people are free, they will decide. Then I will just be one voice among many."