

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (2)

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THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)
EM
(OO:NY)

Enclosed are two copies of "Triple Jeopardy".
Letter dated 1/15/73

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TRIPLE JEOPARDY

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RACISM, IMPERIALISM, SEXISM

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WELFARE

JOHNNIE TILLMAN NATIONAL ORGANIZER

THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE

346 West 20 st. N.Y. 10011

Vol. II No 1

P.O. Box 3065 Berkeley Cal' 94703

Nov-Dec.

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TWWA * THIRD WORLD WOMEN ALLIANCE
P.O. Box 3065
Berkeley, California 94703

Program for November

- November 3 Liberation Support Movement
***Films & Slides on Angola
***Literature about Angola's Struggle
BROTHERS ARE WELCOME
- November 15 Crocheting
***Basic stitches taught
***Bring "J" needle
***a 4oz. skein of yarn
- November 22 Brigada Venceremos
***General information about Brigada Venceremos
***Recruiting information (BROTHERS WELCOME)
- November 29 Contraceptions
***General information on contraceptions
***Things you should know about the pills

Car Pools

Berkeley - Toni (Th 1-6383) San Fran. - Vickie (564-8915)
Sisters who have access to cars please call the numbers below so that we can get more sisters to attend these sessions.

Day Care will be available starting in October. We would like to ask volunteers to assist us during day care.

Sisters:

Due to our changing our Wed. night meetings we have not seen some of you. We have missed you. We have many projects that are coming up and would appreciate any time you can donate. In order for TWWA to grow we need sisters like you to help our development.

Yours in struggle,
TWWA
S.F. - 928-7318
Oak. - 652-9954
Oak. - 632-4533

Contact these numbers for any questions:

Meetings are held every Wed. night at 639 Alcatraz, Oakland 7:30. SHARP

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P.O. Box 4705
San Francisco, California 94101
Telephone: 658-2647

Eddie Demmings
61 West 87th Street Apt. 4
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Zip code _____

On November 4th, a coalition of aggressive anti-imperialist groups composed of Asian, Black, Puerto Rican, and other class-conscious workers and students sponsored a march/rally organized around 3 principles: Support the 7-point Peace Plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of South Vietnam, End National and Racial Discrimination, and End Attacks on Working People.

The groups rallied at different points: Broadway & 106th St., 132nd & Willis Ave. (So. Bronx), and 125th St. & 7th Ave. After pre-rally speeches and marching through the various communities, all 3 sections merged at 125th St. and Amsterdam. Many Third World and other working people joined in along the different routes, with approximately 3000 persons participating in all. It was truly inspiring to see so many people in support of the



Third World

Anti-War March

anti-imperialist struggles of the Vietnamese people, and in support of the class struggles of oppressed people in this country. As far as Third World participation goes, it was one of the most successful political actions to take place within the last year. The November 4th Committee was able to reach more of the people who suffer everyday under the racist/class exploitation of the U.S. capitalist system. These groups are to be commended for their efforts, and all progressive people should gain inspiration for the long struggles ahead in building a socialist society free of class, race and sexual exploitation.

During the march through central Harlem, many Black people had positive responses to such slogans as "We don't want welfare, we want jobs," "If we (3rd World and working people) don't work, nobody works," and "Nixon you liar, sign the cease-fire." Many people came out of their homes and off the streets to join the march. It was especially good to see the participation of elderly Black people. Particularly interesting was the response of one Black woman who stated that, "We have to join in to show our support for you young people, and what you're doing today. Too many young people don't know how hard we struggled to get to this point. Back in the '40's and '50's, cops wouldn't even let you march like this without attacking you. I just hope you keep it up because it's wrong the way working people are treated in this country." As we can see, Third World and other working people have made some gains in the history of our struggle to end our oppression. However, as we know, if we do not understand the history of our struggle in this country, we will not succeed in our present and future struggles against U.S. capitalism and imperialism.

The rally at Lewisohn Stadium was good (despite the cold weather), with Otis Hyde of the Black Workers Congress, Carlos Feliciano, Mary Kochiyama of Asian Coalition, Carmen Cruz of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Al Hubbard of the VVAW, and Bill Kuntzler speaking.

Nov. 4

STUDENTS CONTINUE STRUGGLE

In April, 1969, conscious, aware Black students took over a building on the predominantly Black Voorhees College campus in Denmark, South Carolina. These brothers and sisters wished to protest the type of education they were receiving at the Episcopalian-sponsored school. They, like so many Black students during that time period (Remember the ORANGEBURG MASSACRE, 1967 and JACKSON STATE, 1970), wished to have an education which both adequately reflected the experiences of Blacks, and which prepared Black students to deal with the realities that face all oppressed people in this country.

For their efforts, several brothers, who were thought to be leaders, were arrested and charged with a variety of crimes. After going to trial in 1970, the case was appeal-

ed. The brothers are now in prison, each facing a minimum of 18 months. Their incarceration began Summer, 1972. It must be remembered that although these brothers face relatively short terms, they are serving them in the jails of the deep South, where Black people are consistently faced with racial exploitation and harsh treatment everyday of their lives. Also, there were several inconsistencies in their trial, one of which is the fact that witnesses were paid to testify against them.

The brothers, whose names we do have, request that comrades write to show their support. They are: Cecil "Ali" Rayson, Alvin X Evans, Michael Moore, Oliver Francis, and James Epps. They can be written in care of the following committee, who will then see that they receive our letters:

Voorhees Seven Defense Committee
Route 2, Box 331
Denmark, South Carolina 29042

(There are some other brothers involved; however, we were not able to get their names. Perhaps you can by writing.)

Just as these brothers have been systematically put away, there are constantly rising new sisters and brothers to take their place in the struggle. Throughout the state of Louisiana in colleges, universities, and high schools, Black students have expressed their dissatisfaction over the kind of education they are receiving. One of the universities faced with strikes is Southern University, the largest Black university in the country, with over 5,000 students, and campuses in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Shreveport. (H. Rap Brown attended Southern University, where he became active in the Black liberation struggle.) Southern University is that part of the state's higher education system

involved for the higher education of Blacks. The university receives a much smaller percentage of the state's allocation of funds for the operation of state schools.

The Baton Rouge campus had demonstrations first, with the sisters and brothers on the New Orleans campus deciding to have demonstrations as an expression of support and solidarity. The students' grievances called for better facilities, more adequate study materials and elevation in the quality of scholarship, upgrading of standards of teachers hired, and more professional attitudes of teachers towards students.

Students participating in the demonstrations stated, "As Black students...we find that it is impossible to ignore the glaring contradictions that exist between our educational experiences and the realities of our lives."

Suckin' Haiti's Blood

HEMO CARIBBEAN, a U.S.-owned company, has been buying blood from impoverished Haitians to sell to hospitals in the United States. The company is owned by stockbroker Joseph B. Gorenstein, who has obtained a 10-year contract with the dictatorial Haitian government. The Haitian government is ruled by "President for Life" "Bebe Doc" Duvalier.

A principal agent in the deals was Haiti's Minister of Interior and National Defense, General L. Cambronne, who was recently honored at a luncheon given by Pentagon man G. Warren Nutter, a former Division Chief of the CIA. Cambronne reportedly owns some of HEMO CARIBBEAN, as well as being part owner of Air Haiti which flies the blood to the U. S. Cambronne also owns taxis, an oil exporting company, a used clothing import/export company, and a dried fish company. In spite of Cambronne's

close financial connections to HEMO CARIBBEAN, W.H. Thill, the company's "technical" director, stated that the Haitian government had received no money from his company for permission to extract blood from poor Haitians.

The per capita income in Haiti is about \$75 per year, making it the poorest Latin American country. 80 to 90 per cent of the people are illiterate and about one-third of these are unemployed. And even though they have some work, the rest cannot get enough work to live decently. The caloric intake is one of the lowest in Latin America. Tuberculosis, tetanus, intestinal diseases and malnutrition plague the population. The New York Times describes those who flock to the doors of HEMO CARIBBEAN to sell their blood as "Among the nation's poorest and most backward citizens. The Haitians, many in rags and without shoes, crowd into HEMO CARIBBEAN six days a week from 6:30 A.M. to 10:00. They spend about two hours in screenings and giving blood. They lie on 47 cots in the center's crowded second floor."

The plasma is separated out from their blood and shipped frozen to the U.S. Each Haitian receives \$5 per liter. Mr. Thill says that because they are selling their plasma, and not whole blood, the Haitians can give frequently. Some sell their plasma once a week and earn from \$150 to \$250 a year. The effect on a person's health over a long period of time is unclear. In the U.S., the limit on giving blood is generally once a month.

The plasma is purchased in the U.S. by Armour Pharmaceutical, Cutter Laboratories, Dade Reagent, and our old friend from the Vietnam War, Dow Chemical. Although these companies are inspected and licensed by the United States National Institutes of Health, HEMO CARIBBEAN is not. The government lets the other companies be responsible for checking on HEMO CARIBBEAN. The Times reported a net profit of \$4 to \$5 for each liter of blood by HEMO. And Gorenstein, the owner of HEMO CARIBBEAN, when questioned on the quality of blood obtained from starving Haitians, expressed his racism by retorting that it's "a hell of a lot cleaner than that which comes from the slums of some American cities."

A staff member at the non-profit New York Blood Center said in an interview that it is hard to justify HEMO CARIBBEAN's actions on either social or medical grounds, since the shortage in the United States is of whole blood, not the plasma which HEMO imports. This should lead us to look for other grounds, namely political and economic ones. Recently, the U.S. government has been quietly increasing support to the Haitian dictatorship by granting trade licenses to some U.S. companies for military equipment. And as an added dividend, what could be better -- \$5 a liter for sucking Haitian blood. Even Dracula never had it so good!

(NACLA)



Union Promotes Racism

Plastered on the subways, a prominently visible poster with a brightly colored American flag says boldly "Made in Japan," followed by: "Has your job been exported to Japan yet? If not, it soon will be."

During the summer in the New York Times a full page ad shows a woman of Latin extraction at the sewing machine. The ad content reads: "Once she's finished - you may be through. She is a finisher. In the garment industry it is an honorable craft. But today they're saying her job, and thousands of others in the garment trade may be finished. Because many of these jobs seem to be running out. Or running away. To parts of the world where they pay 16 cents an hour. She can't live on that. Nor can the economy prosper when working people - customers of the grocer, the butcher, the doctor - cannot afford to pay their bills."

It would be understandable if these ads were bought and paid for by some group like the White Citizens Council or the KKK, but this is not the case. This obviously racist appeal is being paid for by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

With this kind of propaganda, an anti-Japanese feeling can well be created among garment workers, and most of these garment workers are predominantly third world people (women for the most part). Many people of Japanese ancestry still remember their concentration camp experience during World I which began in the same race-mongering vein. But for this, concentration camps are not needed. In this highly competitive society, inciting insecurity will unleash hatred against those who seem to pose a threat and Japanese people here will be likely targets of abuse. It has already begun.



Made in Japan.

Has your job been exported to Japan yet? If not, it soon will be.

Unless you buy the products of American workers who buy from you.

To protect your job, look for this union label when you buy women's and children's apparel.



Since the garment industry has so many third world workers, it is even more disgusting for a union like ILGWU to promote this kind of racism. They are trying to divide people once again by turning Black & Puerto Rican against Japanese.

While the role of the Japanese monopolists must be condemned, one must also denounce ILGWU's use of a scapegoat, rather than focusing on the real culprits, the American businessmen and corporations who make the contracts with foreign manufacturers. In addition, it must be pointed out that many of the so-called Japanese companies are in fact partly owned by American business interests - the multinational corporations.

The ILGWU has adamantly refused to withdraw the "Made in Japan" ads which incite racial antagonisms and which conceal the real problem of unemployment, inflation, and poverty, which are "Made in America," and particularly, the War in Southeast Asia. The Union hierarchy is exhibiting disdain for the feelings of Asian people in this country, and exhibits out and out racism by targeting Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan with no mention of imports from European nations such as West Germany, Israel, England, France and Italy. This is also a good way to blind the eyes of their third world membership to their own failure to provide real leadership in seeking solutions to the social ills that beset this nation.

The Asian-Americans for Action have put out a call to all groups and individuals to help them protest this racist onslaught. The unity and support of third world peoples at a time like this would be an effective thrust against racism and deviousness practised by union leadership and a leadership core that is not dealing honestly with a serious internal problem of this country. An avalanche of protest letters would make the message clear. They can be sent to ILGWU's President, Mr. Louis Stulbert, 710 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10010.

ON THE JOB

dorothy bolden

organizing domestic workers

I was born right here, and I lived in Atlanta all my life. I had trouble with my eyes when I was three years old, and I did gain my sight back when I was eight years old, and that was when I started going to school. In the eleventh grade I began to have more trouble with my eyes and I had to drop out. After I left I got me a regular job with a Jew family. I only made three dollars per week. I would go at eight o'clock. I would get up about six. That's the times that I would bring a pan home. That is food that they would give you in a little pan. It would be enough for two or three people to eat. This was the only thing that I did have and we didn't resent it because you didn't make anything and you needed it.

Then I went to work at a laundry where I made a little bit more than \$3. I went to work for the National Linen Service on Highland Avenue, where I made \$7.11. But we wasn't making that much till our union came in. Then our wages went up and up. We got up to about \$23. It made a great deal of difference. I stayed at Linen Supply for four years. Then I went to Sears and Roebucks and worked at the mail room.

That was a pretty good job. That was the first job that I had that really meant a lot to me. They paid a great deal, but that was right during the war and salaries went up. I made sometimes from sixty-five to seventy, even eighty dollars. They paid you overtime. Sears offered you a good opportunity at the time cause that was the first time Negroes that was employed at the store could really buy a little stock.

Then I decided I wanted to travel. I wanted to go somewhere, anyplace else, so I went over in Alabama and I looked for work there and I ended up doing domestic. With the war going on then, I couldn't find anything, so I left Alabama and came back home, then I looked again and went to Chicago and I worked there for about a month in domestic—a month and a half and I left and came back home and stayed about a week, then I left again and I went to Detroit. I stayed in school for about a year studying dress designing and styling. When I came back my eyes was giving me a lot trouble. The doctor told me I couldn't make a profession out of this on account of my eyes. So I went to New York, and I didn't like the city of New York 'cause it was just a hopped up city to me. I came back home a month later.

I got a job at the railway express. I was a trucker. You push the freight around with a hand truck. We would make real good money, sometimes a dollar seventy-five cents an hour,

and we would make overtime. I met my husband there. He was working for the express company. And he asked me to quit 'cause I would tear my body down. He explained to me that it just wasn't healthy for me to work there. So I worked for about six months and then I quit and I went back into domestic. I made sometime eighteen dollars a week. It wasn't anything much. But I liked it because I loved the children, this was my most important thing. I never took a job less than they had children. I didn't work for any single people.

I would stay until I felt I wanted to roam again and I would leave. I always fixed it where I could always go back if I wanted to. They always knew that I was restless and I was young. When I felt I was getting too attached to the family, was getting too attached to the children, I would break off and go get me another job. I would change plenty of jobs. I got to operate an elevator, I tried waitressing, you name it, I tried all of it. But I always went back to domestic. I love children, I really love children. I

should have been a teacher. My ambition when I was going to school was to be a missionary. I love peoples.

I have six children in all. I stayed home while all my children was little. Then I went back into domestic. I wanted to go back in where the babies was.

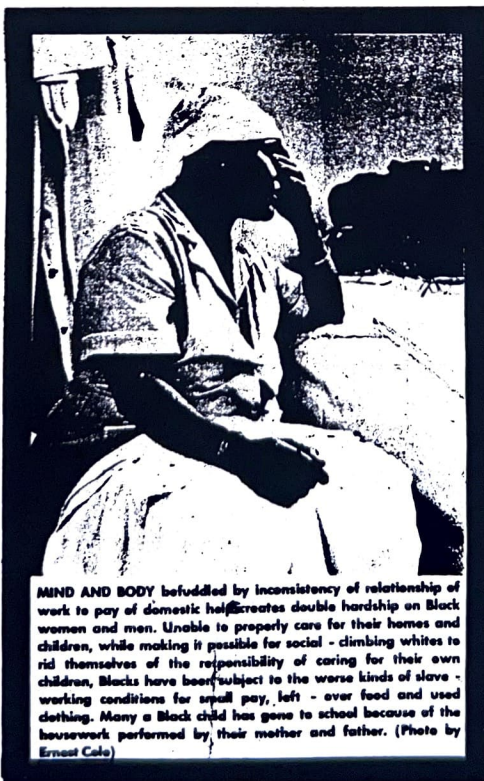
I started organizing maids in 1968. I had started three years ahead of time, thinking. I thought about how many times I would change jobs. I had been riding the bus to work. Every time we got off the bus I seen a different maid going to that same house. We knew that they had changed maids five or six times. And then I got to thinking about how it was a very poor communication established there somewhere, for maids to change jobs there that regularly and why the lady couldn't keep one maid. This began to worry me. I thought away I worry about everybody's problems. And I said it's just that peoples don't communicate, and I knew that integration was here and I know that I set down and

discussed things in the community. I talked about civil rights and talked about integration and different other things.

The salary of the maids was very low. They were working in model homes, beautiful homes, and they had a great deal of responsibility. Where I was working was nothing but rich young people. The lady that I was working for was giving me a good salary. So I decided then that I was going to start communicating. I would go around in the bus and ask the maids how they would feel about joining if we would organize, and they would say, "Oh, I'm for that." One day I took three ladies, and made a radio announcement. Told how we was getting together in the National Domestic Workers Union of America. I picked up many members that time, which was beautiful.

I had to meet with the maids every week to keep them encouraged, to keep the strong communication, and they was responding to my talk. The Fleet Street Baptist Church Education Building was opened up for us. We meet there now. We used to meet every Thursday night for the union meeting, but now we meets only once a month.

You can't negotiate with private employers, private homes. You have to teach each maid how to negotiate. And this is the most important thing—communicating. I would tell them it was up to them to communicate. If I wanted a raise from you I wouldn't come in and hit you over your head and demand a raise—I would set out and talk to you and let you know how the living costs have gone up. We was asking for \$13.50 a day and carfare, if a maid worked four to five days. And for working one day per week—the maid usually does more in one day than she does in three days—so we asked for \$15 a day and carfare. We didn't want to frighten the employers, because that would cause a lot of peoples to lose jobs. And we know we couldn't replace those jobs. When the employers heard that we was unionizing, the wages went up to \$12. The papers was trying to get news reporters in on our meetings. A lot of the maids got raises. They didn't get fired. Some of them quit because the lady wouldn't give them the money. When you unionize like this, on a private basis, and you're self-employed, your risk is that the one that DOESN'T join your union, she gets a good increase in salary. And this is the hardest part. And I told them we weren't going to be able to get in ALL the maids in Atlanta, but we could improve.



MIND AND BODY befuddled by inconsistency of relationship of work to pay of domestic help creates double hardship on Black women and men. Unable to properly care for their homes and children, while making it possible for social-climbing whites to rid themselves of the responsibility of caring for their own children, Blacks have been subject to the worse kinds of slave-working conditions for small pay, left over food and used clothing. Many a Black child has gone to school because of the housework performed by their mother and father. (Photo by Ernest Cole)

Sudanese Women Struggle

The oppression of the Arab woman is maintained by Islamic social values of absolute male supremacy. The traditional role of the woman in the Islamic world is usually held to be one of the worst in the world in terms of female oppression. But little information concerning contemporary struggles of Arab women is available and the reality of the modern woman living in Islamic countries is often obscured by popular myths of the harem and of women sharing their husbands with 2 or 3 other women.

Rarely portrayed working, the legendary Middle Eastern woman is seen dressed in finery, adorned with gold awaiting the call of a man to be at his service. The reality is something quite different. Islam is not the monolith of values and social structure that it is often considered to be. Islam was overlaid on a variety of cultures and there is much variation from countries like Morocco and Tunisia to Egypt and Sudan and great differences in a place like Pakistan.

Enormous political differences in the Arab world separate backward countries like Saudi Arabia and Libya from places where revolutionary struggles have been fought in the past and continue to be waged as in South Yemen, Dhofar in the Arabian Gulf, among Palestinians and in Eritrea. While Saudi Arabian women are shielded behind veils and in houses from outside "corrupting" influences, Dhofari women to the South fight alongside their male comrades for liberation from reactionary oil-rich sultans and their supporters from British oil interests.

While Gaddafi of Libya was calling for a return to the days of the Islamic sacred state, Leila Khalid became world famous for her courageous hijack attempt in the Palestinian effort to attain an independent secular state for Palestinians in the Middle East. And in the Sudan, the well-to-do Muslim woman living in Khartoum leads a very different life from the peasant Muslim woman who cultivates the field and carries water long distances for use in the compound.

ALL DO NOT SUCCEMB

The Democratic Republic of the Sudan is an Afro-Arab state, described in this way because of its mixed population. The northern Arab Sudan became Islamicized about 400 years ago through successive waves of immigrants from Arabia across the Red Sea. These people settled and mixed with indigenous peoples and the process of spreading Islam (A process which still continues) began. Relative to other parts of the Arab world this area is quite traditional in religious matters.

Women, generally speaking, are under the authority of men and not involved in decision making to the point of not being free to choose their own husbands at times. The degree of domination varies by class and from the rural to the urban areas. Rural, peasant women and lower class women, because of necessity, are contributors to the economy and are working to help support the family or group. Their range of

experience is greater and they are more respected by men because of their contribution and are therefore relatively more liberated than middle-class, city-dwelling women. A man considered it a disgrace for his woman or a female relative to HAVE to work, a value stemming from the bourgeois class. Ironically as people move from the rural areas to settle and prosper in the cities, women seem to lose the few liberties they have. In Algeria it has been shown that women PUT ON THE VEIL as they move into the cities rather than the reverse. The concept of women as property increases as men themselves prosper; poorer men need the help and labor of their women.

Arab women in the city of Khartoum should not be employed, and typical female jobs like domestic housework, are positions which are normally filled by "out" groups of southern Sudanese men and women or Ethiopian women. A woman who is forced to work by economic necessity will find that the community is gossiping about her moral behavior - any woman who goes out alone often is not to be trusted - she will be tempted, sexually, and will naturally succumb because women are weak.

venture" (e.g. she is observed by the community in the company of a male who is not a relative, or worse she gets pregnant) it is the men of the family who deeply feel the shame and disgust. Women are "protected" from such dangerous encounters through an operation which is performed on a girl while she is still young. A girl of about 7 years is circumcised by the removal or excision of the clitoris, labia majora and minora; the girl is sewn up or the wound is allowed to heal so that the vaginal opening becomes about the size of the former urethral opening of the clitoris. With women considered as private property, the operation ensures the delivery of "pure goods" to the future husband. After marriage a man ensures his monopoly on his property by hiding his wife away in the harem section of the house and by his reluctance to grant permission to his wife for going outside the house for visiting and shopping. The horribly painful operation of female circumcision is slowly, slowly being replaced with clitoridectomy only, but it is old tradition, and old women who believe the operation will make a young girl pure and clean which cause the custom to persist.

According to Islam, divorce is the

In matters of inheritance, women receive half of what a man does, but the women know the laws almost as well as their own child's name and they try to make sure they get all they are entitled to. In court, the testimony of one man must be matched by that of two women and the customary blood wealth payments for the death of a person allow twice as much to be paid for a man as a woman.

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN SUDAN

Aisha, one of the wives of the Prophet Mohammad, was politically active during the early days of Islam but scholars and tradition have relegated her role to an unimportant place and her political activity is considered more a blemish on an otherwise good conduct record. Sudanese women, for more than 25 years, have been standing up, speaking out and demonstrating their determination to end the inequality of the sexes which takes its economic and psychological toll on the men and the women of the society. It must be realized that for a woman in an Islamic society to do so is much more difficult than an American or western sister. In fact it requires great amounts of courage to withstand the criticism and the lack of understanding which will come from her family and the public. The woman who begins to work for her freedom may be labeled a prostitute because she goes out freely and speaks frankly to men - others may simply say that she is not one of us, she is not Sudanese. In a small scale society, where even in Khartoum nearly everyone can establish some link with almost every one else through relatives or friends, the pressure of public opinion is very great.

The first group of organized women emerged from the Communist Party in Sudan. The party was formed in 1946 and so was the Sudanese Woman's League. It was the first party to open its membership to both sexes and to establish the emancipation of women as one of its goals. The Woman's League like the party at large, began with a group of educated people, but spread throughout the northern Sudan to encompass working people and peasants.

In 1951 three communist women were among the 7 founding members of the Sudanese Women's Union, the successor to the Woman's League but with a broader membership. Four years later the Union began to publish the progressive magazine, *The Woman's Voice*. The magazine took militant political stands, (i.e. in opposition to colonialism and later against the neo-colonialist designs of the British and Americans) as well as publishing articles which attempted to educate its female readership away from certain harmful traditions like female circumcision and the practice of facial scarification done according to ethnic background.

The union at the same time took up the fight of equal pay for equal work for the small 1% of working women and fought to extend a 7 day maternity leave to 40 days with pay.

continued next page



FATIMA AHMED IBRAHIM!

Women are also considered by the society to be very passionate and the repositories of evil desires.

This dangerous predilection must be controlled and this is done in the form of female circumcision. First of all it must be understood that sexual behavior and honor are inextricably bound in Islamic culture. A large repository of honor rests with the good and chaste sexual behavior of women, its defense is placed with the men. When a woman is caught in a sexual misad-

venture, she is observed by the community in the presence of witnesses, while a woman seeking a divorce must go to court and prove extreme negligence, desertion or adultery (which requires 2 witnesses).

But women are not reluctant to go to court and with recent reforms since the mildly progressive regime has been in power, women are becoming stronger and less shy about bringing their problems into court.

They also attacked the Islamic divorce laws which so heavily favor men and they began to campaign against the marriage of more than one wife at a time. (Polygyny, some referred to as "legalized prostitution".)

This progressive group of women stirred the public so that a rival group of reactionary women hastily formed a society which functioned as the Sudanese equivalent of the ladies tea association. Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim, one of the founders of the Women's Union and certainly its symbolic head, reacted to the reactionary women's group by saying that "independence is not women's festivals or teas or promises from a reactionary government; independence is a really free Sudanese society both economically and politically, a socialist society, the society of a truly emancipated Sudanese woman."

The Women's Union and THE WOMAN'S VOICE rose and fell in accordance with political events in the country as a whole. During the reactionary military regime of the American backed General Abboud, 1958-64, the union was officially banned and the government's own lackey women's organization was pushed up front. In October 1964 a popular revolution throughout the country overthrew the reactionary Abboud regime. For the first time Sudanese women came out into the streets and demonstrated, fought, and died alongside their brothers during the days of the revolution. Fatma Ibrahim herself led the first demonstration of several hundred; when the soldiers raised their guns to fire on the demonstrators Fatma stepped forward, dropped her traditional woman's white outer garment,



WOMEN VOTING IN GENERAL ELECTION, SEPTEMBER 1971, KHARTOUM, SUDAN

the "tob" and shouted "I will be the first"! No shots were fired that day. One woman was killed in the October events and she was a Women's Union member, and 5 other women injured, 3 of whom were union or CP members. The participation of women in the October revolution began to break down some of the ideas about women and to elevate the consciousness of both men and women.

Women were shown not to be weak or timid and with men and women working together to bring down the regime, absolute ideas about racial segregation were brought into question. Officially, the revolution brought women only the vote. The success of the revolution was unfortunately short-lived and its aftermath brought moderation and not

more progressive gains. From 1965-69, the Women's Union continued to be active in the usual ways of education and acting as a political pressure group. Fatima Ibrahim became the first woman elected to the then functioning Sudanese Parliament.

In May 1969 a seemingly progressive military regime came to power with the support of large numbers of progressives including the Sudanese Communist Party and the Women's Union and other democratic organizations. The story is too complicated to tell here but within two years the regime was turned right around through coup and counter-coup and became militantly anti-communist with dizzying speed.

In the fierce anti-communist campaign which ensued Fatma lost her husband, the most prominent Trade Union Leader in the country and winner of the Lenin Prize, by hanging. Thirteen other communist and progressive leaders were executed and thousands imprisoned, including some women leaders. Suad Ibrahim, a prominent women's Union Leader, is still detained in Khartoum jails without trial and has staged several hunger strikes to obtain visiting and other privileges. Women from the families of jailed progressives demonstrated at the Khartoum Palace for economic support from the government while their husbands and brothers are confined. The govern-

ment has since provided this. While the present regime was progressive in its early days some reforms to assist the condition of women were enacted and to a degree they have been helpful. But ethia, or the right of a husband to bring back by force of the police a wife who has fled his house, has been abolished. Likewise a divorced woman has the right to obtain up to one-half of an ex-husband's salary for her support and that of her children.

The aims of the Sudanese women's movement remain the same as at the time of its founding - 1) the emancipation of women through the attainment of equal rights and equal duties and the full liberation of women from the enslavement under which she lives; 2) to struggle for international female emancipation and peace through socialism. Women of the world want freedom, and they know their destinies lie only in their hands.

CAROLYN LOBBAN

The pill and cancer

A British government report says six years of study have failed to substantiate American warnings that contraceptive pills might contribute to cancer of the cervix in women.

But the report, by the Committee on Safety of Medicines, said women on the pill should still be watched carefully for signs of breast cancer, and it added that large numbers of benign (not harmful) pituitary gland tumors had been reported in animals in the study.

The experiments did turn up cases of breast cancer among the rats and mice, but mainly from estrogen, another sex hormone used in the pill. This occurred with doses several times that used for humans. The breast cancer did not occur with two to four times the human dose.

Despite this, the committee issued its warning on monitoring women on the pill for signs of breast cancer as a precaution. The findings of pituitary gland tumors would explain why some women did not regain fertility when the pill was halted. (The pituitary gland is one of the glands which controls regulation of the hormones necessary for the release of the egg in order for it to be fertilized.)

Some 20 clinics for the early detection of breast cancer will be set up

throughout the country (U.S.) under a program sponsored by the American Cancer Society and the National Cancer Institute. The clinics will be designed to detect breast cancer at a very early stage, before the appearance of a lump. We hope that these clinics will also serve third world communities, but not in the capacity of genocidal experiment centers.

Also in connection with the above, there are various findings that it may not be necessary for a woman to undergo total removal of a breast ("radical mastectomy") when it is discovered that she has cancer of the breast. More third world women should know that we have a choice in whether or not to ask for total removal of the breast, which includes removing not only the breast but also considerable surrounding tissue, extending to the armpit. This causes some restriction in the use of the arm because of the muscles involved. The extensive surgery, plus the radiation that usually follows, often results in swelling of the arm and limitation of movement. If women were told of the studies showing no difference in survival between women who have radical surgery and those who have the simpler operation, it is unlikely that many of us would accept the de-

formity that goes with "radical mastectomy". Several things are interesting to note: there is only one physician, a woman, who has done research on the chances of survival for women to choose the simpler operation; many women go to the hospital for simpler operations, and end up undergoing more extensive surgery than they were told would take place; and this is mainly due to the fact that doctors charge more money when they remove more tissue (whether it be necessary or not). This is not to scare third world people from seeking medical care, but we must be aware of unscrupulous practices within third world and poor communities.

The above information is rarely available to third world women because we are usually only able to go to municipal hospitals where doctors do not believe that we understand and have a right to know all the facts concerning our bodies. Only when there is free, safe (non-genocidal) health care for poor and third world women and men, will we cease to have to combat the day-to-day horrors we must undergo in order to survive.

HEALTH

EL ABORTO

Datos que se deben saber

"A las mujeres se les tiene que dar el derecho de decidir si y cuándo quieren tener niños. Deben haber métodos disponibles para toda mujer que sean gratis y sin peligro para la planificación de la familia, inclusive el aborto, si es necesario."
(Plataforma de la Alianza de Mujeres del Tercer Mundo)

Muchos estados han cambiado sus leyes contra el aborto, pero sólo Nueva York no tiene ninguna restricción con la excepción de un límite en el estado de embarazo. No requiere ser residente. Las residentes en Hawaii pueden conseguir un aborto allá, pero mujeres fuera de ese estado no pueden. Muchos estados ofrecen abortos sólo con certificación por un grupo de psiquiatras que diga que el embarazo sería dañino a la salud mental de la mujer. Tal restricción sistemáticamente excluye a las mujeres pobres y a las del Tercer Mundo de un aborto legal, ya que nosotras generalmente no tenemos la "palanca" necesaria para obtener la aprobación requerida.

Aunque California todavía tiene leyes con restricciones mentales, hace poco han alojado estos reglamentos y se ha hecho más fácil el obtener un aborto legal allá. California no tiene leyes de residencia. Mujeres que desean un aborto deben estar conscientes de ciertos datos antes de decidir a dónde ir y qué tipo de aborto tener.

Hay cuatro procedimientos para el aborto usados comúnmente en los EEUU. Son: el de succión o aspiración de vacío, el D y C, la instilación de una alta concentración de salino, y el "hysterotomy" o pequeña cesárea. La tabla resume información importante sobre cada uno de estos métodos y dice después de qué punto es peligroso usar cada procedimiento.

EL ABORTO POR SUCCION O ASPIRACION DE VACIO

El más sencillo, ligero, sano y menos doloroso de los métodos de aborto es el de succión o aspiración de vacío, generalmente hecho por ginecólogos en una oficina, clínica u hospital que esté debidamente equipada. Esta clase de aborto se puede hacer sin peligro hasta aproximadamente 12 semanas después del primer día del último periodo. Después de este punto las paredes del útero (la matriz) se ponen bien finas y el tamaño del feto es muy grande para usar este método sin causar grandes dolores y sin arriesgar daños al útero o al cerviz (la entrada o apertura del útero).

Este proceso consiste en dos fases. Después de recibir la anestesia (la anestesia local es menos peligrosa y más barata que la anestesia general que duerme a una completamente, y la local requiere menos tiempo para recuperar.) La cerviz de la paciente se abre o dilata. Esta es la primera fase. El médico mete una serie de dilatadoras, que varían en diámetro, en la cerviz, empezando por la más pequeña primero. Las dilatadoras poco a poco engrandecen el tamaño de la cerviz hasta que es suficientemente ancha para permitir que la punta del aspirador (vea el dibujo) entre el útero. Como la cerviz es un músculo, cuando se cambia de tamaño una siente calambre. La mujer siente unos calambres como cuando le viene la regla (el periodo) fuerte, cuando se le está dilatando la cerviz. Si la cerviz ha sido dilatada anteriormente (por ejemplo, durante un malparto, o cuando estaba dando a luz, o en otros abortos) los calambres son menos. El

proceso de dilatación dura menos de 2 minutos.

La segunda fase es la succión o aspiración. Es hecha con una máquina que trabaja como un aspirador de polvo (vacuum cleaner). La máquina consiste en un motor que está conectado a dos botellas que producen un vacío. Conectado a las botellas hay un tubo con una punta. Este tubo lo meten por la cerviz abierta, hasta el útero. Entonces prenden la máquina y el material del feto es recogido por una succión suave que limpia las paredes del útero. Después de terminar la succión el médico usa un instrumento en forma de cuchara que se llama "curette" (para asegurarse de que se le ha recogido todo el material del feto), suavemente raspando las paredes del útero. La succión generalmente toma de 5 a 7 minutos y es un proceso que no duele. Sin embargo, cuando se está vaciando el útero de las materiales del feto, el útero empieza a contraher hasta que llega al tamaño que era antes del embarazo. Como es un músculo, estas contracciones causan calambre que dura de 15 a 30 minutos.

EL ABORTO D y C

El D y C varía de la succión en la segunda fase del proceso. Después de dilatar la cerviz, los contenidos del útero son recogidos por un raspe suave de las paredes del útero con la cuchara que se llama "curette". Este método tiene mas riesgos que el de succión porque hay más peligro de perforar las paredes del útero. También es más doloroso por el raspe.

El D y C se puede hacer sin peligro en las oficinas del médico o en la clínica hasta las 12 semanas del primer día del último periodo. Unos doctores con experiencia hacen esta clase de aborto entre las semanas 12 y 14 de embarazo, pero el riesgo de complicación es más grande entonces, y debe hacerse en un hospital bajo anestesia general.

EL ABORTO CON SALINO

Mientras el feto crece, las paredes de la matriz se estiran. Después de 12 o 13 semanas de estar encinta, las paredes están bien delgadas y blandas. Esto puede ser aún más cierto en mujeres que han tenido más de 5 niños. Se arriesga dañar o penetrar la pared del útero cuando el curette o el aspirador pasa por la cerviz.

Para esa época no se puede sacar el feto del útero por medio del D y C o por succión sin causar gran dolor y posiblemente dañar el útero porque el feto ha crecido demasiado. A esas alturas la placenta (que da de comer al útero) se está engrandeciendo, y la sangre corre por la placenta con más impulso. Esto quiere decir que, después de 12 semanas, cuando se saca la placenta durante un aborto, se arriesga sangrar mucho. Si hace mas de 12 semanas que una mujer está encinta, la mayoría de los médicos prefieren que espere hasta que tenga 16 semanas y darle un aborto con salino.

Un aborto con salino se debe hacer en un hospital o una clínica donde es posible quedarse la noche. Dentro del útero el feto es rodeado por una bolsa hecha de capas delgadas de tejidos que se llaman membranas de amnión. Esta bolsa contiene un líquido aguado, el fluido amnión. Esta bolsa de agua es como un cojín para el feto. En el aborto con salino, se cambia parte del fluido amnión por una solución fuerte de sal (o salino). Una aguja hipodérmica pasa por la piel, el músculo y la pared uterina hasta penetrar la bolsa de amnión y saca parte del fluido. Después de sacar el fluido, la misma aguja inyecta una fuerte solución de sal en la

bolsa. La sal dentro del útero mata la placenta y así elimina la comida y el oxígeno del feto. Dentro de 5 y 50 horas después de la inyección de salino, el útero empieza a contraerse. Estas son las mismas contracciones que ocurren durante un parto normal. Después de varias horas de contracción, los tejidos del feto y la placenta son expulsados.

Se tiene que subrayar que las complicaciones médicas de los abortos con salino dependen mucho de la experiencia del doctor que lo ejecuta. Definitivamente los abortos con salino no son tan libres de peligro como los que se llevan a cabo durante las primeras 12 semanas de embarazo; el de salino es más seguro que el de "hysterotomy" o pequeña cesárea donde el contenido del útero se saca después de abrir el útero por cirugía. Los riesgos son iguales a los de cualquier cirugía mayor, y todos los partos en el futuro tendrían que ser por cesárea.

El aborto con salino es una experiencia muy dura y emocionalmente agotadora. Primero, el mero hecho de que la mujer no vino para un aborto más temprano indica que la mujer habrá pasado por un mal rato antes. Quizás tuvo dificultad en averiguar dónde conseguir un aborto. Quizás tuvo problemas con la prueba de embarazo. Quizás no pudo reunir suficiente dinero a tiempo. Puede tener mucho miedo y quizás trató de esconderle el embarazo a su familia o a su novio. (en un hospital municipal en Brooklyn un 40% de los abortos con salino se provocaron en mujeres menores de 20.) Puede ser que quería un niño de verdad pero la sofocaban las presiones económicas y sociales. Indudablemente la mujer que no pudo conseguir un aborto durante las primeras 12 semanas de embarazo necesita más ayuda que nadie. Sin embargo, los abortos con salino son los más caros, prolongados y dolorosos. Después de 20 semanas, es casi imposible obtener un aborto. El procedimiento es desagradable porque requiere tanto tiempo y causa contracciones dolorosas. El dolor de parto dependiente de cierto punto del estado de tensión de la mujer. El descanso y la respiración que se usa en preparación para un parto natural puede aliviar el dolor muchísimo.

Los hospitales municipales de NY cobran por lo menos \$270 por un aborto con salino. Las clínicas de hospitales voluntarias cobran de \$400. para arriba. Los hospitales y médicos privados cobran entre \$400 y \$1500. por un aborto con salino y son los únicos que fácilmente atienden a mujeres que no viven en el estado de NY.

DONDE BUSCAR AYUDA

La importancia de abortar tan pronto sea posible es grandísima. Se arriesga muy poco en las primeras semanas de embarazo. Los procedimientos durante las primeras 12 semanas son sencillas y por comparación, no dolorosas, y cuesta menos de una tercera parte de lo que cuesta un aborto tardío.



En la ciudad de NY el mejor sitio para conseguir un aborto temprano es en una clínica separada de un hospital, pero que depende de uno en emergencias. Para la fecha, estas clínicas cobran entre \$125 y \$200. Muchos cobran según la necesidad de la mujer. Muchos aceptan Medicaid. Entre las ventajas, cobran menos que los hospitales, tienen un ambiente más agradable y empleados que compadecen de una, citan sin una larga espera, casi siempre toma menos de 5 horas el aborto, y, más que nada, aconsejan en cuanto a métodos para evitar caer encinta otra vez, en cuanto al aborto, y cualquier problema personal relacionado con ello.

Muchas veces es más fácil conseguir un aborto por medio de una oficina de información sobre el aborto, más que nada si necesitas pagar menos, o NADA, o si tienes cualquier problema. Estas oficinas tienen palanca con diferentes hospitales y clínicas y se les hace más fácil conseguirte servicios especiales. Para residentes en la ciudad de NY hay dos:

WOMEN'S HEALTH ABORTION PROJECT, 243 West 20th St., New York City 10011, 691-3396 (no hablan español)

FAMILY PLANNING (PLANIFICACIÓN DE LA FAMILIA), 300 Park Ave. South, New York City 10010, 677-3040. Hablan español y se les puede pedir un librito que describe los métodos en español. Si vives fuera de NY llámale al servicio de consulta de clero. Tienen muchas oficinas regionales por todo el país y pueden estar en la guía bajo Clergy Consultation Service; o puedes llamar a la oficina central en NY 212/477-0034, 55 Washington Square So., New York City 10012. Ellos le pueden indicar el lugar más cercano a su casa para conseguir un aborto.

LO QUE DEBE HACER SI NECESITA UN ABORTO

1. Hágase una prueba de embarazo. Antes de ir a una clínica es importante hacerse una prueba de embarazo para determinar si está encinta de verdad. Muchas mujeres llegan para un aborto sin estar encintas. Una clínica sin escrúpulos podría seguir como si nada y hacerla pasar por un "aborto" innecesario. Para determinar si está encinta o no, se tiene que hacer un análisis del orín. El orín que se analiza tiene que ser del primero del día, inmediatamente después de despertarse. Si no puede llevarlo al laboratorio por varias horas, póngalo en la refrigeradora. Para un análisis gratis de orín, prueba de embarazo:

Eastern Women's Center
14 East 60th Street 832-0053

Women's Services
424 East 62nd Street 758-6110

Riverside Health Center
Amsterdam Avenue at 100 Street

Planned Parenthood Centers
(hablan español)

2. Consígase un buen doctor, una clínica o un hospital.

En la ciudad de NY hay varias clínicas buenas que cobran menos de \$200. Muchos aceptan Medicaid. La mayoría bajan el precio o lo hacen gratis, especialmente si Ud. ha sido recomendada por una de las oficinas mencionadas arriba. Algunas clínicas aceptan menores de 17 años sin el permiso de los padres, otros lo requieren. Todas, excepto la Eastgate de Long Island sólo hacen abortos hasta la semana 12 de embarazo.

CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE AND SEXUAL HEALTH, INC. (WOMEN'S SERVICES)

424 East 62nd Street
NYC 10021 (212) 785-6110
Precio: \$125. Se acepta Medicaid

EASTERN WOMEN'S CENTER
14 East 60th Street
NYC 10022 (212) 832-0095
Precio: \$150.
Menores de 17: con permiso

PARKMED CO.
475 Park Avenue South
NYC 10016 (212) 725-9640
Precio: \$150. Se acepta Medicaid.
Menores de 16: con permiso

22 Street PLANNED PARENTHOOD CENTER
380 Second Avenue
NYC 10010 (212) 677-6464
Precio: \$145. Se acepta Medicaid.
Menores de 17: sí

BRONX PLANNED PARENTHOOD CENTER
349 East 149th Street
Bronx, NY 10451 (212) 292-8000
Precio: \$145. Se acepta Medicaid
Menores de 17: sí

3. Asegúrese que el médico conoce su historia médica completa. Dígale a la recepcionista, la enfermera, o la consejera que pide su historia médica, cualquier ocurrencia en su vida de:

asma crónica
hepatitis
problemas con el corazón
adicción a drogas
enfermedades venéreas

4. Asegúrese de hacerse ciertos exámenes antes del aborto:

de sangre para el factor RH negativo
de sangre para contarle las células
de anemia tipo "sickle cell"



Curette



Tip



Dilatador



Aspirador



Tenaculum

Estado de Embarazo Me		Método
Estado de Embarazo (desde el primer día de la última regla)		
Hasta 12 semanas	D y C: "Dilation & Curettage" El contenido del útero se raspa, en hospital, clínica u oficina de doctor, con anestesia local o general.	SUCCION: o ASPIRACION El contenido del útero es chupado por un aspirador, en hospital, clínica u oficina de médico. Anestesia local o general.
Entre 12 y 14 semanas	D & C y SUCCION de vez en cuando pero con más riesgo que antes. Es preferible hacerlo en un hospital bajo anestesia local o general.	
Entre 14 y 16 semanas	No hay ningún método sin peligro generalmente aceptado en uso en los EEUU.	
16 semanas y mas	INYECCION CON SALINO Fluido de amnión reemplazado por solución de sal causa expulsión del contenido del útero. Estadia en hospital preferible. Anestesia local.	PEQUEÑA CESÁREA (Hysterotomy) Cirugía mayor del abdomen saca el contenido del útero. Sólo hecho en hospital. Anestesia general.

WELFARE HISTORY #II

IIISTORY OF WELFARE

In the midst of the Great Depression the Emergency Relief Act of 1932 was passed out of desperation. Under this act the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was entrusted with \$300 million which was to supplement local relief funds. This sum would hardly scratch the surface when it came to pulling the people of this country out of their misery. The governor of Pennsylvania pointed out that \$60 million would provide each unemployed person in his state with 13 cents worth of food a day for a year! \$300 million sounds like a lot of money except 12 million people were without jobs. Most of these people were adults with families to support and \$300 million sounds even more ridiculous, especially when you add elderly people, and those who had handicaps and disabilities. The money just wouldn't go far enough.

The following is a glimpse of the Roosevelt Administration and the New Deal. 1932 saw the enactment of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a work program which provided jobs for 250,000 men in the national forests. When Roosevelt took office there were at least 15 million people out of work. However, the very nature of the work under this program excluded women who may have had not only themselves to support but families as well.

The Public Works Act (PWA) was designed to give the economy a boost more than to provide jobs. As a result, many skilled workers who were already employed got these jobs. Most members of the Third World could not be counted among these skilled workers. No matter what our talents were, the dullest, dirtiest, most dangerous and poorest paying jobs were reserved for our men and women.

The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) allocated money to the states which would provide funds to all unemployed people and their dependents. In addition, those who had jobs but whose salaries were inadequate were also included.

By 1934 20 million people were receiving relief (now known as welfare). In 1935 the average grant was \$15.15 a month, per family. This amount rose to an average of \$24.53 by 1934 and by 1935 to \$29.33.

The Civil Works Act (CWA) was established in 1933 to employ people on "made-work" projects. Under the CWA men were put to work building roads and schools. Here, again, the exclusion of women who wished to earn a living from this program due to the nature of the work was implicit. The Social Security Bill was adopted in 1935 and contained 3 main proposals: 1) Unemployment insurance. This would be financed by a federal payroll tax which would be administered by the states. 2) Old age insurance. This would be financed by a tax on salaries. Persons who reached age 65 and were employed in jobs covered by this act would begin receiving payments in 1942. 3) The last proposal covered the elderly (those who reached 65 before 1942 and those whose jobs were not covered by proposal number 2), the blind and orphans. Roosevelt hoped that these measures would guard against future depressions, provide for those who were too old to work and to help out during temporary unemployment.

Despite these and other programs, there were still between 7-9 million people unemployed. Industry was partly to blame as it concentrated on the production of goods and not the provision of jobs. Since all businesses try to utilize the least amount of workers while at the same time achieve maximum production,

industry could not be relied upon to create jobs. Another reason was the lack of education among unemployed people. Many had never finished grammar school and were engaged in occupations which required little or no skill before the Depression.

Industry did not feel obligated to hire elderly people who had slowed down nor hire younger people who had not yet developed skills.

In short, industry hired, for the most part, only skilled workers while the Works Project Administration (WPA) absorbed 2 1/2 million unskilled workers. Incidentally, the WPA was the direct result of an announcement by Roosevelt in 1935 in which he called for the abolishment of direct relief giving; the grants were to be worked off. The workers on the WPA can be credited for the construction and renovation of more than 100,000 public buildings, the construction of 600 airports, many schools, hospitals, dams and miles of roads and bridges.

The people preferred work projects as opposed to direct relief. Most of them had always earned their own living. Welfare rubbed against the grain of not only those who administered relief programs but also those who were recipients.

Left-wing activists launched a campaign against the capitalist system. If welfare meant the preservation of that system, then those who ran this country were willing to make that break with tradition. Roosevelt's programs were progressive; there are few who would argue that point. On the other hand, there were some who branded him a dictator. Nevertheless, his policies were quite liberal, but we who are struggling toward a truly transformed society where the needs of the people always come first are not content with liberalism.

Roosevelt was elected at a time when this country faced not only economic disaster but political disaster as well. Progressive forces were organizing the poor, the hungry, the unemployed and at the same time openly condemning this country's policy of capitalism.

The Trade Union Unity League was organized to wipe out discrimination against blacks in industry and in unions while at the same time demanding equal pay for equal work. In 1972 workers are still making these demands and are struggling to overcome the inequities in hiring, promotion and wage practices. In 1930 the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was founded and Langston Hughes was its president. In 1931 the Sharecroppers Union was organized and often these brave comrades engaged in armed struggle to protect their farms from foreclosures. The Unemployed Council was a militant and interracial organization. They were well known for their physical attacks on local relief offices. The Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) was founded in 1935 and workers struggled in the auto, mining, rubber and steel industries, to better their working conditions and their lives. Similar struggles took place in the National Maritime and the West Coast Longshoremen's Unions.

Individuals like Dr. Townsend took up the people's cause. Dr. Townsend organized hundreds of thousands of older people in an effort to see that they find relief from their misery. The Townsend Plan demanded that \$200 per month be paid to each person over 60 if they would forego gainful employment, leaving jobs available for the young and able-bodied. All the money would be spent within 30 days thus stimulating the economy. Petitions were circulated and 25 million people endorsed the Townsend Plan. It was indeed, this plan which prompted the creation of the Social Security Bill.

continued on page 12



The Family Continues...

thers who love women like they love themselves. We see brothers who do not have to have power over anyone to know that they are men. We see them as the new fathers. We see the non-Dick-Happy mothers as the new-mothers. And now we are finding a new way. We will not give our children what you have given us. The buck stops with our generation. We are willing to fight the master, his system and you who believe in both. You see we don't fear you anymore so we will not let you oppress us anymore. We are not out to kill you. We want to kill the symptom of illness, not the human being. We only want to kill the part of you that is already dead.

We then shall be the rebirth of mothers. We are now going through a long and hard struggle that may last for many, many years. The old mothers

will not give in so easily. But it is the time in history for the rebirth of mothers, mothers who are lovers, who will raise lovers, young men and women who can give without fear and without greed for self. We need young men and women who are not afraid to feel deeply and to give themselves all the way, even when they are betrayed at times. We need young men and women who are not afraid to think for themselves, even when they have to go against ALL the authorities that try to stop them. We need young men and women who will read even when it is so hard that they want to give up. We need young men and women who will stand strong against the old family even if it means death or imprisonment. We know the old family is cowardly inside. That's why they are always running for outside things to make themselves feel strong, like

dope, liquor, big cars, pussies and Dicks. (The old family never sees men and women as whole human beings, just as pussies and Dicks.)

We must never let the old oppressive family rise again. We must have our children and teach them to fight to keep the new life with its lovers. We shall remember never to become oppressors, ourselves over our children. If we do, then we must be re-educated by our children or we must be destroyed for we know the truth of the new. We may even have to destroy the family entirely and not have it anymore.

We are not alone. We already have with us millions of children and non-Dick-Happy mothers from the liberated countries. They are waiting for us and we must hurry.

HELP FROM SISTERS

San Bruno County Jail houses 50 - 60 women in almost that many single, barred cells. Here they "pass" time and time passes very, very slowly. By far, the largest portion of each day is spent in the Dayroom, a small, smokey, dull, crowded imitation of a bus depot with one exception. . . no one here is going anywhere, not literally, not economically, not socially.

Tensions run high. And so does the recidivism rate (repeat offenses) and the women always returning for the same so-called victimless crimes of prostitution and drug abuse. But these women themselves are victims of a larger society that has written them off as hopeless, that refuses to train them or offer them decent jobs, a society that needs and uses them and then discards their labor, that forces a certain number of people, both men and women to remain unemployed and unemployable.

Jail is essentially a waste of time. At the end of a year a woman has no diploma or certificate to present to a future employer. Her potential has not changed. She takes with her only new scars on her soul & mind.

Limited funds for running this jail go to pay overworked jail matrons and provide basics like soap & substandard meals.

Medical care is so elementary it is almost non-existent. Until several months ago it consisted of a visit by the doctor for a few hours every Friday. (The men's jail, however, does boast several full time male nurses.) Interviews were limited to a 5 minute "chat" & physical exams were rarely done as this required the presence of a "free" matron. No laboratory tests were done, medicine was pitifully understocked & no microscope was available to diagnose vaginal infections but the supply of

real medical problems was constant. The doctor did the best he could.

There was a small infirmary but no one to run it. A woman who was ill and staying in bed was usually locked in her cell all day. If a woman needed medical attention at any time besides Friday morning she might have been sent to S.F.G.H. (San Francisco General Hospital). But in order for this to happen, transportation had to be arranged; a car and a driver had to be found as well as a "free" matron to accompany the woman. Consequently, the decision of whether or not to send a woman to the hospital is often more a question of time and money than the medical needs of the woman.

But lack of funds and staff shortages are not the whole story. With so many doctors and drug companies in the society at large dismissing a woman's discomfort as simply the result of stress or nervous tension or "hysteria", it is not surprising to find a casual disregard for their health care in jails. In the larger society it is the women with money to spend on doctors and clinics who receive the most comprehensive (if even sometimes unnecessary) health care.

In January of 1972 a group of women from the community formed the T.W.O., the Women Outside, and began to determine from the women "inside" their immediate health problems. We were allowed limited access to the jail and we began taking medical histories, supplied a temporary microscope and accompanied the doctor so he could do physical examinations.

In the process of taking medical histories of the women, and hearing their interviews with the doctors we have found that one of their chief

complaints is nervousness. Many of the women show symptoms of extreme nervousness and repeatedly ask the doctors for tranquilizers and sleeping pills. For some women this nervousness comes from having to withdraw from street drugs without proper medication.

But for many others it results in part from having to spend 6-7 hours daily in the Dayroom with nothing to do but sit and ration their cigarettes.

During his campaign, Richard Hongisto said that if he were Sheriff, the community could become more involved in the jails. Volunteers could supply what jail funds would not. We know of many people in the community who are willing and eager to volunteer their services to help alleviate the boredom and uselessness of the time spent at San Bruno.

So far, no one has been given access but us, even though it should be the responsibility of the State. Many of the inmates have told us that they would like to have dance or body movement classes since recreational facilities are so limited. By setting up contact with potential employers and providing classes in the skills the women need, a "work-furlough" program could become a reality as it already has for the men's jail. High School equivalency classes could be taught by volunteer teachers and diplomas awarded. Skills in the crafts could be initiated and nurtured. General rap sessions around health problems, i.e. The Experimental Drug methadone generates a lot of controversy, and other topics of interest to and chosen by the women should be begun. Speakers and films could be introduced. The restlessness, nervousness, lack-of-job, drug, jail syndrome could be ended.

In summary, the community of San Francisco is prepared and eager to help the women of our community who find themselves in jail. We specifically are challenging Sheriff Hongisto to make good on his campaign promises to allow community access to the jails. Time is pressing.

Oakland, Calif.

TWWA



Welfare History Continued...

It is clear that the activism among groups, organizations and individuals who were determined to keep on pushing, resulted in the passage of many bills. Roosevelt knew that he could not get into office and do nothing, for he would surely have to deal with the wrath of the people. They were starving and had had enough of Hoover and his promises. They were demanding that the next president feed them and not with promises. They would see that the country changed or there would be no country.

Roosevelt developed a host of programs which served to feed and pacify the masses. He gave them a way out of their misery while making sure not to do away with the system that brought all of this on in the first place. Yet, Roosevelt was a target of attack by businessmen throughout the country. Under his administration the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was passed. Section 7a of the NIRA caused many headaches among businessmen because Section 7a granted organized labor the right to bargain collectively. Industry was quick to establish company unions but strikes took place across the country in epidemic proportions.

In Roosevelt's era, a time of economic depression, business had less power to dictate demands to the White House. It would make sense for Roosevelt who wanted to stay in office for another four years to pacify those who put him there. In this case it was the people. This by no means indicates that Roosevelt was anti-capitalist. On the contrary, he considered himself to be a savior of capitalism. In May of 1935 he made his point crystal clear when he said, "I want to save our system, the capitalist system...I want to equalize the distribution of wealth". \$29.33 a month per family is hardly what you would call equalizing the distribution of wealth; spreading around a few crumbs is more accurate!

The New Deal was implemented to restore order, to quiet the masses, and most important, to extinguish the growing activism on the left. Even as programs were implemented, people still saw the necessity to express their grievances through demonstrations, picketing, protesting,

petitioning, and often, engaging in struggle against the police and National Guard. Programs under a capitalist system are not designed to meet the genuine needs of the people and therefore cannot be truly in the interest of the people. If these programs were implemented with sincerity, then they would continue regardless of who was in office. Meaningful programs would not become political footballs during an election year, with Party A threatening to stop funding and use the money elsewhere and Party B promising to try to continue funding. When the people create, implement and control programs they are no longer political pawns and when the people come before profits, the sanctity of their lives is not toyed with by opportunists.

This article dealt with one way the capitalist system develops programs to restore mass order and at the same time discourage militance. The next article will examine the manipulation of a surplus labor market, especially the role played by welfare recipients.

Carol Lynn



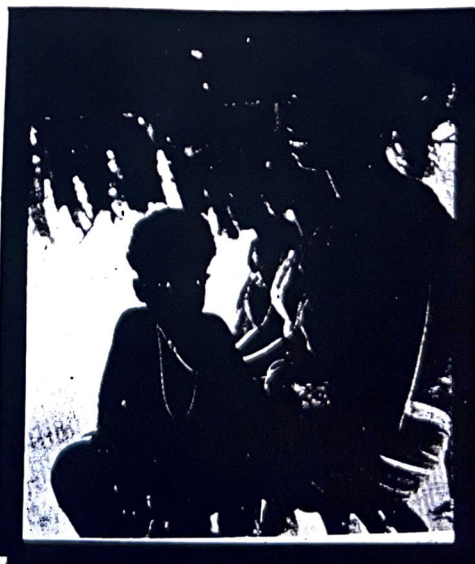
Domestic Workers Continued...

I was interviewed by all kinds of radio stations, and they would throw questions at me. I always understood that the employer was a human being too. You have to learn how to sit down and relax and talk to her. Maids was very valuable to a household. If you had a maid that's been with you for fifteen or twenty years, think about how she's been trying to scuffle and live, and she's honest, and she's dependable. If you get a dependable person, don't you think it's worth paying her more? And a lot of them would tell me, "Yes, you're right." I let the employer know their downfall, and I also let the maid know her weakness. You got to be dependable. You've got to go out and do your work. If I send you out, I'm not looking for you to cry on my shoulder.

We have our own employment service. The U.S. Employment Service only sends people from their office one day a week. Well, they said now that the maids are unionized, the wages gone up. They're getting vacation pay, too. We asked for all of that. We also asked for Social Security being deducted.

Now we meet the first Thursday of each month. We estimate about fifty attend the meetings. I send notices out every month. Some of them get a card, and all they want is the card. They pay \$2.50 a month for dues. But you don't get them all. You're always going to have deadbeats.

I'm thinking on merging with the Laundry Workers Union. I want to establish a credit union because I'm against loan sharks. Low-income people, and the majority of these people is women, are still in loan shark offices. We need to educate these women on the level of their communities. I think women should have a voice in making decisions in their community for betterment. Because this woman in the slum is scuffling hard, and she's got a very good intelligent mind to do things, and she's been overlooked for so many years. I think she should have a voice.



Black Women in White America

by Gerda Lerner

16 YR OLD POOR BLACK SISTERS WRITE ON "THE FAMILY"



WHO AM I? I am the most powerful part of capitalism, the family. When you've destroyed me, you have started the most powerful revolution in history. But I, the family, must try to keep this from coming about.

Now let me define myself. I am called family from the Latin, familia, meaning a household, the slaves or servants of a house; from familius, meaning a servant, a slave. Now I have defined myself from the root of the word let me show you how I structure myself. In the family I have the father. He's at the top. He's the master under the big ruling-class master. I call him the money-maker and provider. Therefore, I let him know that he's supposed to put his woman second and his children last. There is another father in poor families. He's the mother's boyfriend. I tell these fathers they're supposed to treat the daughters as their "field-nigger pussies." That means making them Dick-Happy and dependent on men, like the momma. The son is to grow up to be the second master under the ruling class father. I make the father the oppressor of the family. He oppresses the momma and in turn, the momma oppresses the children. I call the children, the slaves. I put them at the bottom.

Then I have the Dick-Happy momma. I make her the most dangerous of them all. She is closest to the children early in their lives when they must be taught to be slaves. She lies, cheats and kills. She'll do anything to keep her man including having children just for his satisfaction, not hers. She is the one who can destroy her child from the day she gives birth. When her man is mean to her she takes her anger out on the children.

oppression. She is just a weak woman who provides the father with strength to oppress. I let her know that she is to feed the man first and the children later. She is to take better care of the father than the children. She is even to let the father sleep with her. That is why I make the momma Dick-Happy and dependent on daddy and the ruling-class master.

Then I have the children. I call them the slaves. They are placed at the very bottom and this is where I plan to keep them. Why? Because the children know too much before they are brainwashed. They can rebel very easily against family authority before the brainwashing of the Dick-Happy momma sinks in deep. Therefore, I have to give the children fear of things in the outside world. I have to make them distrust outsiders who might open their eyes to the brainwashing. I have to give them lots of fairy tales full of strong, powerful fathers who will punish or kill them if they do not give in. I have to make them fear women as witches who will steal them away and eat them if they do not behave. I give poor families drunken and brutal fathers, weak Dick-Happy mommas, fights every night and welfare, just to keep them surviving. Families have to be kept surviving so they can work for the ruling class master. All of this makes the children fearful and ashamed of themselves. Now they will not fight back. Now I can keep them at the bottom.

Now that we, the children, know who you, the family is, we the children who are slaves but rebellious are beginning to understand the system and we are going to tell you why we are writing to you, the OLD FAMILY. We are writing to you, the old family to let you know that your time of destruction is coming. We are going to put an end to you and the money (capital) you put first over us, the children. We are going to destroy you, the old family. We also feel we should let you know why you must come to an end.

Why? Because you name reveals what you really are, an institution that holds the slaves of capitalism in line. The only love you gave us was distrust, hate, anger, fear. You have made us so afraid of you that now we can go no further backwards in our fear. We are surging forward with a new strength. At this time in your history, you the old family, are beginning to lose your identity. In poor black families the MASTER worries that he can not keep our daddies home so we children will not rebel against HIM. We will not let these black destructive daddies in. We will not let this old family destroy us!

Our Dick-Happy mothers still try to raise us "the right way," the system's way. In poor black families we are still being led to church and God, all imitations of the ruling white master and his capitalist system. We are still being told to sing his praises! We, the oppressed in the old family

the young females, know we have to destroy this old family. In the long run we know we shall win.

First we must understand that no God is going to take care of us. We can scream and hollar no more for his love. Our Dick-Happy mothers only look to their man and God. Our mother's "man" only looks to the big white master and warns us to give in to the system. They look up; we look down and at ourselves. Too many of us are full of the system's lies already. We keep our eyes closed, afraid to see. We move on each other trying to get our parents' attention and love or we strike out at them, cussing and screaming and they send us to "the Man" and his prisons. Our Dick-Happy mothers give us away to the system if they do not destroy us first.

It is up to us, poor black children, to stop our petty shit, acting all retarded in hot pants and jive-ass suits. We got to re-educate our younger brothers and sisters, show them that our parents are still full of the system's lies, the school is full of the master's lies. When we are very poor and black, we hold things back. When we hold our feelings in, we cannot share our fear. All of us know deep down that the old family is killing us. We cannot allow it because we have children to bring here also.

Now that we see the old family more clearly we know we don't hate you and we don't love you. We understand you. You, the old family, are not wrong for what you are doing to us because you were taught under the capitalist system and you are only following the master's orders. In this way you are very right to try to destroy us if we don't follow the capitalist system. But, you see we cannot allow you to kill us. It's our historical duty to begin to bring in the new family.

The real power in the old family and the new is the children. They can give into capitalist brainwashing and carry on the system, fight the new family and the revolution or struggle against the brainwashing, slowly destroy the system from the bottom and begin the new family with the help of

mommas who are not Dick-Happy, who struggle against being second to their man, who struggle for their children first, the man second. We need the help of young brothers who do not mess over women anymore, use them or look down on them. We found love among men and women like this. They showed us who we really were and what power we could have once we stopped cooperating in our own oppression. They never betrayed our trust. They never told our secrets. Through them we see the beginnings of a new kind of family, a family with mothers who put children first, bro-

(continued page 11)

PRISON STRUGGLE

Richard "Dhoruba" Moore, 28 years old, father, husband and a man dedicated to the creation of a new life for his people, is on trial for allegedly shooting two New York City policemen in May of 1971, in front of District Attorney Frank Hogan's home on the west side of Manhattan. The facts are as follows:

1. Dhoruba was arrested June 5, 1971 at the Triple "O" Club, an after hours dope drop, for holding up the patrons there. This is the same situation for which Rap Brown, Arthur Young, Sam Petty and Levy Valentine were arrested in October of 1971.

2. The police claim an automatic weapon found on Dhoruba at the time was the one used in the shooting of the two policemen.

*The police have refused to produce the results of any ballistics test which proves this was the same weapon used in the shooting.

3. Dhoruba was put in a lineup to be identified by witnesses along with Edward "Jamal" Josephs.

*NO witnesses identified them as the assailants of the policemen.

*The two wounded policemen have not been asked to identify Dhoruba or Jamal on the lineup or at any other time as of yet.

4. Dhoruba's wife, Kisha Shakur, was put in jail under a \$100,000 bail as a material witness by the Manhattan District Attorney while she was seven months pregnant - a situation which endangered her unborn child. The D.A. claimed that she would have fled the country if she was not jailed.

5. The D.A. intends to use Pauline Josephs, a 21 year old black woman, also as a material witness. She was not at the scene of the crime.

*She has lied consistently on the witness stand during a trial in Queens and has a psychiatric record describing her as a "paranoid schizophrenic who hallucinates and hears voices."

These are the "facts" that the D.A. is trying to use to have Dhoruba convicted and sentenced to 25 years to life imprisonment.

POLICE MOTIVES

Policemen have been getting shot mysteriously all over the country, and members of various underground groups such as the Black Liberation Army and De Mau Mau have been taking credit for it. The police have not been able to get concrete proof against individuals in most cases, which means there have not been very many convictions.

The police and D.A.'s have been admonished by their superiors for their failure to gain convictions so they are under pressure to get convictions for these attacks against the "enforcers of Law." Most of the people arrested for these shootings have been political activists in their communities and not well liked by the police department.

Dhoruba Moore was one of the Panther 21 acquitted of bombing and conspiracy charges that had been fabricated by the police and D.A.'s office. The police, District Attorneys, courts, etc. are using these individuals and their families as scapegoats to cover up their own incompetence and to get political activists out of circulation.

D.A. Hogan has come under attack by the N.Y. Post and his co-law enforcers for presenting poor evidence at these trials, as well as for his verbal attacks against jurors who did not find defendants guilty. Hogan is desperately trying to win this case with the same kind of fabricated evidence as in the past.

We are informing you, the community, the people who are rarely informed about these situations because without you, we have little or no power in the face of an organized judicial system. With support from the people, with personal appearances as observers in the courtroom, with your protest in general, D. A. Hogan can be prevented from railroadng yet another brother to a life of imprisonment in the horrible dungeons of this country.

Remember George Jackson, Angela Davis, the Harlem 4, Carlos Feliciano, Queens 5, Panther 13, Rap Brown Billy Dean Smith and an endless list of our people.

YOU CAN HELP

— Come to court and sit in as a supportive observer. This is a good thing for the judge and jury to see and particularly good for Dhoruba's morale.

— Write letters to newspapers and radio stations putting pressure on them to cover the proceedings of this case. Ask newspapers to print your letter of protest about this outrageous trial in their "Letters to the Editor" column.

— Reprint the information in this article in your community paper.

— Send money so that we may pay for the expenses we incur while working on this defense committee to Sister Kisha Shakur, 430 Clinton Avenue, Apt.401, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238.

The trial is taking place everyday at 100 Centre Street, Part 36, 13th Floor, 10 A.M. until 4:30 P.M.



Associated Press
PHOTO BY Dean Smith

BILLY SMITH FREE

WRITE OUR BROTHERS & SISTERS

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N.Y.C. 10013

Dolly Green
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Christopher Harris (18549)
Drawer B
Stormville, N.Y. 12582

Candace Bonds
Box 99
Framingham, Mass 01701

Angelo Barcala (18107)
Drawer B
Stormville, N.Y. 12582

Mildred Gamble - 4M
1515 Hazen Street
E. Elmhurst, N.Y. 11370

Leonardo N. Hernandez (18468)
Drawer B
Stormville, N.Y. 12582

Ann Gallaway - 6U
1515 Hazen Street
E. Elmhurst, N.Y. 11370

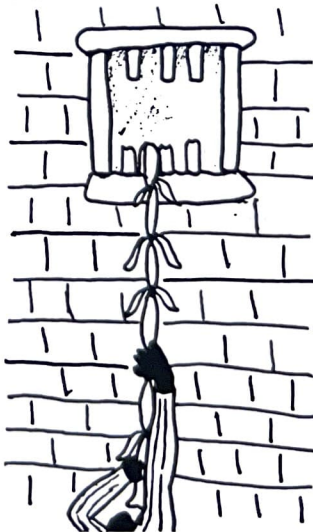
Edward Josephs (999 72 486)
1414 Hazen Street
E. Elmhurst, N.Y. 11370

Annette Robinson - 5M
1515 Hazen Street
E. Elmhurst, N.Y. 11370

Michael Hill (5LA14)
126-02 82nd Avenue
Kew Gardens, N.Y. 11415

Barbara Green - 3U
1515 Hazen Street
E. Elmhurst, N.Y. 11370

Robert Elgato Graham
427 West Street
N.Y.C. 10014





To Julia De Burgos

by Julia de Burgos



Va las gentes murmuran que yo soy tu enemiga
porque dicen que en verso doy al mundo tu yo.

Mienten, Julia de Burgos. Mienten, Julia de Burgos.
La que se alza en mis versos no es tu voz;
es mi voz;
porque tú eres ropaje y la esencia soy yo;
y el más profundo abismo se tiende entre las dos.

Tú eres fría muñeca de mentira social,
y yo, viril destello de la humana verdad.

Tú, miel de cortesanas hipocresías; yo no;
que en todos mis poemas desnudo el corazón.

Tú eres como tu mundo, egoísta; yo no;
que todo me lo juego a ser lo que soy yo.

Tú eres sólo la grave señora señorona;
yo no; yo soy la vida, la fuerza, la mujer.

Tú eres de tu marido, de tu amo; yo no;
yo de nadie, o de todos, porque a todos, a todos,
en mi limpio sentir y en mi pensar me doy.

Tú te rizas el pelo y te pintas; yo no;
a mí me riza el viento; a mí me pinta el sol.

Tú eres dama casera, resignada, sumisa,
atada a los prejuicios de los hombres; yo no;
que yo soy Rocinante corriendo desbocado
olfateando horizontes de justicia de Dios.

Tú en ti misma no mandas; a ti todos te mandan;
en ti mandan tu esposo, tus padres, tus parientes,
el cura, la modista, el teatro, el casino,
el auto, las alajas, el banquete, el champán,
el cielo, y el infierno, y el qué dirán social.

En mí no, que en mí manda sólo mi corazón,
sólo mi pensamiento; quien manda en mí soy yo.

Tú, flor de aristocracia; y yo la flor del pueblo.

Tú en ti lo tienes todo y a todos se lo debes,
mientras que yo, mi nada a nadie se la debo.

Tú, clavada al estático dividiendo ancestral,
y yo, un uno en la cifra del divisor social,
somos el duelo a muerte que se acerca fatal.

Cuando las multitudes corran alborotadas
dejando atrás cenizas de injusticias quemadas,
y cuando con la tea de las siete virtudes,
tras los siete pecados, corran las multitudes
contra ti y contra todo lo injusto y lo inhumano,
yo iré en medio de ellas con la tea en la mano.

The word is out that I am your enemy
that in my poetry I am giving you away.

They lie, Julia de Burgos. They lie, Julia de Burgos.
That voice that rises in my poems is not yours: it is my
voice;

you are the covering and I the essence;
and between us lies the deepest chasm.

You are the frigid doll of social falsehood,
and I, the virile sparkle of human truth.

You are honey of courtly hypocrisy, not I;
I bare my heart in all my poems.

You are selfish, like your world, not I;
I gamble everything to be what I am.

You are but the grave lady, ladylike;
Not I; I am life, and strength, and I am woman.

You belong to your husband, your master, not I;
I belong to no one or to everyone, because to all, to all
I give myself in pure feelings and in my thoughts.

You curl your hair, and paint your face, not I;
I am curled by the wind, painted by the sun.

You are lady of the house, resigned and meek,
~~at the mercy of men, not I;~~
I am Rocinante, running headlong
smelling the horizons of the justice of God.

You don't even rule yourself: everybody rules you;
your husband rules you, your parents, your relatives,
the priest, the designer, the theater, the casino,
the car, jewels, banquets, champagne,
heaven and hell, and 'what will people say'.

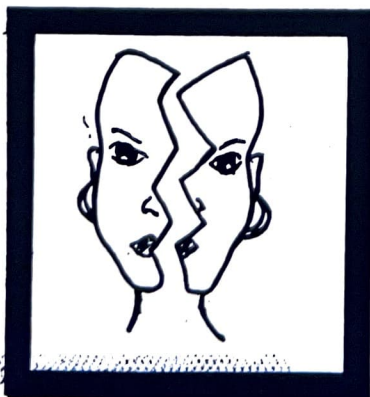
Not me, because only my heart rules me,
only my thoughts, the one who rules in me is me.

You, flower of aristocracy, and I, the flower of
the people.

You have everything in yourself and you owe it to everybody,
whereas I, my nothing I owe to nobody.

You, nailed to the static ancestral dividend,
and I a one in the numbers of the social divider,
we are a duel to the death which nears fatally.

When the multitudes run joyously
leaving behind ashes of burnt injustices,
and when with the torch of the seven virtues
the multitudes run after the seven sins
against you and against all that is unjust and inhuman,
I will go in the middle of them with my torch in my hand.



Julia de Burgos (1914-1953) was a Puerto Rican poetess who never separated her problems as a woman from the problems of injustice and freedom in Puerto Rico. Her life was plagued by a sad love affair and alcoholism and, on July 5, 1953, she was found by NYC police at 05 St. and Fifth Avenue, lying in the street. Julia died in Harlem Hospital.

On November 7, voters elected Richard M. Nixon to "four more years" as almost everybody, except his opponent George McGovern of South Dakota, had predicted. How do you feel about it? Do you help elect him? - either by voting for him, or by not voting at all? Liberals everywhere, and some Marxists too, urged those of us who are struggling in radical organizations to bring radical change to this country to vote for McGovern or at least AGAINST Nixon.

Most of us (i.e. third world radical women) didn't vote and we were accused of supporting Nixon, the one man who has brought more death, racism, hatred, poverty and pollution to the entire world in the last four years than any "dictator" or "murderer" has ever been capable of. The McGovern supporters had powerful arguments. They said that if Nixon won the war, the following would happen:

1 - The war would go on, if not in Vietnam, then in Laos, Cambodia, Latin America, etc.

2 - "Law and Order" rule would get stronger, jailing many more Black, Puerto Rican and other third world people who speak out against what this country does to us.

3 - Agnew, the major symbol of reactionary thought and working class divisions would strengthen his candidacy for 1976.

4 - Important reforms like welfare, more and better jobs, defense and military spending cut backs, child care, etc. would not take place.

5 - The combination of military men and businessmen who rule this country would get stronger.

6 - Secrets like the Pentagon Papers and corruption like the Watergate bugging of the Democratic office would become even more widespread.

7 - Drug addiction and crime would increase because the government would not crack down on the REAL pushers - organized crime, the South East Asian governments we support, military officers and the CIA itself.

The list goes on. Finally to those who said that it didn't matter if we voted for McGovern because he was going to lose anyway, they pointed out that a landslide victory for Nixon would give him a free hand to do all of the above and bring about more division and destruction than ever before.

Nixon has won by a landslide, and most of these things may come true. No third world organization or person, man or woman, could ignore these arguments, and we all struggled to reach a correct conclusion. Of course we don't support Nixon nor do we want to see any of the above come true, but we asked ourselves, what is the best way to fight him and his plans? We believe that we must state what we are against, like the McGovern people, but we must also state what we want to replace it with, and how it can be done. As Consuelo says, for all third world women in the movie *Salt of the Earth*, "I don't want to go down in flames, I want to rise up and push everything up with me."



EDITORIAL

Four More Years

We want changes so basic in government that they will bring meaningful changes into the lives of everyone in this country - women and men, black and white, workers and the poverty stricken and ultimately the world: more useful, productive, fulfilled and therefore, happier lives. There must be a more equal distribution of the enormous wealth of the world, control of institutions like schools and businesses by people who study and work in them, new, non-exploitative relationships between women and men, the end of racism and finally, a real respect and feeling for each person's worth with pride in our language and cultural differences and equal participation in everything that affects our lives.

These are only some of the things that socialism and communism, those words that we have been taught to be terrified of without knowing their meaning, stand for. Are you against any one of them? At this stage of the world's development, IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. It is possible if we change the way money, businesses, the army, our schools and all parts of society are now run and controlled by a small minority for their benefit against the wishes and interests of the majority of the people of this world.

Is the Democratic Party committed to these principles? Can McGovern and his supporters do what is necessary to bring them about? Almost everybody agrees that the true questions is no, which lead many revolutionary organizations to urge a boycott of the elections for the following reasons:

(1) There is no real crucial difference between Nixon and McGovern; both support a capitalist society and neither could cure the U.S.'s major ills.

(2) Radical energies need to be coalesced around programs that serve the people, not dissipated by a McGovern campaign. (3) In the next four years the contractions of capitalism will become much more apparent under Nixon.

(4) The real task ahead is to raise consciousness everywhere and join in an international struggle, build a worker's party to create our new view of society, our new woman, and the new man.

Four more years may tell which interpretation of the reality of the U.S. in 1972 was correct. One thing is certain, while all of the talk about elections went on and all the polls were being taken, no one asked US, Black, Puerto Rican and other third world women what WE thought. In an effort to find out third world women's opinions on the election, the Alliance took a small poll. We specifically interviewed a high percentage of non-movement women whose occupations ranged from housewife to student, domestic worker to social worker. We asked 80 Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American and Latin American women ranging in age from 18 to 65 the following questions:

(1) Do you see any difference between the two men running for office - Nixon and McGovern? If so, what?

(2) Are you planning to vote? Why?

(3) How do you think your life would change in the next 4 years (a) With Nixon as President (b) With McGovern as President?

(4) What do you think is the most important problem faced by the U.S. today?

(5) What is the most important problem you face in your life? (If you wish to mention it.)

Here are the results. Because of the limited sample, we do not claim that these answers are representative of all third world women, but they are interesting.

Questions 1 and 2: Although 37% of the women polled did not see any difference between McGovern and Nixon, 63% did and an even larger number, 69%, were planning to vote on election day for McGovern, not because they were clearly convinced of his superiority but because he was "the lesser of two evils," to "get rid of Nixon," and "to buy time for more fundamental changes."

With only one sad exception, all the women described Nixon as a "white," "racist," "suppressive," "conservative," "pro-war," "anti-third world," "puppet" who "represents the rich" and "thrusts toward fascism." It is ironic to note that the only woman polled who thought "Nixon was trying to do his best but McGovern acts like a crazy hippie," was also the only one who gave as one of her reasons for not voting, "I don't usually vote, my husband does."

Significant also is the fact that a much higher percentage of Puerto Rican sisters (50% as compared to 20% of the Black sisters) planned to boycott the elections, which may in part be due to their worse economic situation in New York City, to the fact that Puerto Ricans were kept from voting in N.Y. until 1965 because of the language barrier, and to the lack of Puerto Rican representation in the political parties and local offices. For these same reasons and others, 50% of the Puerto Rican women polled believe their lives would be no different under Nixon OR McGovern, in contrast with 25% of the Black women polled. In toto, however, 56% of all the women felt that the next four years would be the same or worse with Nixon, but better with McGovern for many of the reasons already attributed to the McGovern supporters.

A total of 43% felt there would be no change in their own lives with either man as president. One put it this way: "Under Nixon, the rich will get richer, under McGovern, the poor will get poorer," and a plain talking 65 year old puertorriquella said it would be "la misma mierda" (the same shit). However, a Black woman who cleans bathrooms hoped that under McGovern she "might have more equal rights and more work, a better job."

Question No. 4: This same woman, when asked what she thought was the most important problem faced by the U.S. today, thoughtfully answered: "Well, I think it's people coming together again, don't you?" In response to this question, the majority of the women, especially those who are Black answered "racism," with "poverty" and "the war" tied for second place. The Nixon supporter was joined by someone else who thought that "communists" and "radicals" were the greatest U.S. problem. "Crime" and "capitalism" had more support among the other women.

Question No. 5: Since this last question was a personal one, many women, still shy to speak about their problems, chose not to answer at all. But those who did were mainly bothered by money problems above all - personal needs, e.g. careers, and worries about their children. One sister said it for many when she wrote that her greatest problem was "teaching my sons how to survive in this competitive and hostile society while maintaining their principles of honesty and brotherhood."

To that sister and to all the others we say, let's create a new society in unity with all progressive women in the world - join the socialist sisterhood!