

diatribes

SELF

DETERMINATION

&

REPRODUCTIVE

FREEDOM

INSIDE

Chronicle of Chiapas

3

Interview with critic/author John Yao

8

Review of *Heaven and Earth*

6

Asian Am. Neo-Conservatives?

4

art: Fernando Marti

Fernan Marti 1994

BY JANE CHEN

At this critical period when the abortion movement continues to gain momentum, Women of Color, poor women, lesbians and bisexual women demand a broadening of the "movement" to address more fundamental issues of reproductive freedom. Historically excluded from feminist activism, these groups struggle to create reproductive movements that redefine women's sexuality and address reproductive health issues using race, class, and gender analysis.

The contemporary birth control movement, marked by the legalization of abortion in the 1970's, calls primarily for the right to legal, "accessible" (as defined by white, middle-class standards) abortions. Although birth control rights continue to be central to the women's liberation movement, the focus is strictly on specific issues of abortion, contraceptive methods, and "individual choice," perpetuating a long history of disregard for the realities of working women, Women of Color, lesbian and bisexual women.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

•*Diatrib*e is a means of empowering people of color. We must continue the tradition of resistance that has existed since the beginning of colonialism. Giving a collective voice to the "voiceless majority" is a vital part of this struggle.

Accordingly, *Diatrib*e provides a medium for people of color to discuss—on our own terms—the issues and actions in our communities. We cover issues either ignored or only superficially addressed by mainstream media and present critical, non-apologetic analyses of how the mechanisms of oppressive institutions affect us.

•*Diatrib*e also serves to initiate crucial dialogue within and between different communities of color, to foster understanding and cooperation. This is an important step towards the formation of a unified movement which recognizes common problems and is mutually respectful of the social and political needs of each sector of its membership. As part of this function, *Diatrib*e will network with other local, national, and international people of color organizations.

•Likewise, *Diatrib*e serves to bridge the crucial gap between campus and community. Students of color

occupy a very privileged position, and therefore have a responsibility to give back to their communities. Students of color must realize that academia is another repressive system which alienates them from their communities, and they must be aware of local, global, and national issues.

•*Diatrib*e enables campus-community cooperation by organizing a staff comprised of both community members and students, and promotes collective activism by building a strong constituency and contact base of community members.

•*Diatrib*e is a work in progress. As one of our purposes is to give people of color experience in journalism and newspaper publishing, our product will evolve as staff members develop new skills. Furthermore, our collective newspaper functions not merely as an alternative publication, but also as a tool for grassroots organizing when it is directly presented to people of color to motivate their political involvement.

•Finally, *Diatrib*e is a celebration of the heritages and resistance of our peoples, and a declaration that we will continue to struggle and survive.

—*diatribe*, Dec. 1993

CONTENTS

Cover Story:

A critical look at reproductive rights of Women of Color, governmental policies, and the institutions which continue to deny women freedom of their own bodies

Chiapas:

Extensive review of the historical and political context of the Struggle and Movement in Mexico's south

Strange and New Political Animals:

Excerpt from Glenn Omatsu's essay on the rise of Asian American Neo-Conservatives

John Yau

Interview with Chinese American poet, author, lecturer and man over forty

EMPOWORD
OPINIONS & EDITORIALS

•One reaction to Oliver Stone's *Heaven and Earth* examines the movie's "innovative" view of the Vietnam invasion

•First-person take on hunger and homelessness in Berkeley

Community

This month focuses on women's centers offering a wide variety of services for Women of Color

Vol. 2
Issue 3
© *diatribe*

You could advertize here.
Please do.

HERE'S WHY IN RANDOM ORDER:
FOR THE WORLD FOR YOURSELF FOR FUN!

HERE'S HOW:
MOUNTAIN & HYBRID BIKES FROM BRIDGESTONE ARE BETWEEN \$60* & \$300* OFF!

MISSING LINK BICYCLES
1988 Shattuck, Berkeley 843-7471

A WARNER-CORNER COLLECTIVE SINCE 1973! YAY!

diatribe
People of Color News Collective

Coordinators

News	John Moy
Features	Kim B. Furumoto
Opinions	Ximena Morgan
Copy Editing	Billy Chen
Community	Ximena Morgan
Layout	Joanna Choy
Arts	Michella Gravage
Finance	Ximena Morgan
Ad Sales	Joanna Choy
Distribution	Jane Chen

Staff

N. Genaro	Alcántara
Kevin	Cartwright
Mike	Chávez
Chung Tee	Choy
Dolores	Garay
Archie	Hernandez
Jason	Luz
Ed	Wang

Shouts out to: Joanthan Brennan, Lupe Gallegos, Fernando Martí, Gyula Nagy, Laura Solner

Acknowledgements

Carlos Muños, The Associated Students of University of California at Berkeley; ASUC Senate; ASUC Mini-Grants Program; The Chancellor's Committee on Publications.

*Diatrib*e is not an official publication of the ASUC. The ideas expressed herein are the views of the writers only. They are not necessarily of *Diatrib*e, the ASUC, nor of UC Berkeley.

A D S

full pg.	:\$150	We circulate 6,000 in the East Bay and parts of SF. Our experienced and award-winning staff will design innovative ads to meet your needs for a nominal, in-house fee. Please direct questkons or purchases to: 2915A Wheeler St. Berkeley, CA 94705 510.841.6761
1/2 pg.	:\$100	
1/4 pg.	:\$75	
1/8 pg.	:\$45	
1/14 pg.	:\$35	
1/16 pg.	:\$30	
business card	:\$30	prices subject to change w/o notice

The community that supports the paper that serves it is a happy one.

CALENDAR & COMMUNITY
☎ Call (510) 841.6761 or ✉ mail to *diatribe*, 700 Eshleman Berkeley, CA 94720

by the 24th of each month to list your event or organization.

Community organizations committed to empowering people of color are urged to contact us for possible story (free publicity!).

SUBSCRIBE TO

diatribe

\$6/yr. 700 Eshleman Berkeley, CA 94720

(please print)
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
checks payable to ASUC/ diatribe

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

CHIAPAS, THE ZAPATISTAS, NAFTA, AND ECONOMIC POWER

by Kim Benita F. Rivera

"Since January first of this year, our Zapatista troops began a series of politico-military actions with the principal objective of letting the Mexican people and the world know the miserable conditions that millions of Mexicans, especially we the Indigenous people, live and die in. With these actions, we also let people know our decision to fight for our elementary rights in the only way the government authorities have left us: armed struggle."

This statement by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN; Zapatista National Liberation Army) addressed the reasons behind the uprising in Chiapas, México, that awakened the nation and the world community. The often distorted Mexican press discussion and cursory U.S. media coverage have veiled the critical causes underlying the EZLN actions. We must become aware of these issues so that we can support the Zapatista movement and also fuel our struggles at home.

WHO ARE THE ZAPATISTAS?

The EZLN has communicated to the public through spokesperson Subcomandante (sub-commander) Marcos. Marcos has clearly stated that his role is secondary to that of the Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena (CCRI). The CCRI, according to Marcos, is the collective leadership committee of the EZLN, and is comprised of Indigenous Tzeltales, Tzotziles, Choles, Tojolabales, Mames, and Zoques, all of the major ethnic groups of Chiapas.

The EZLN has stated that there are tens of thousands of members in their movement. The Mexican federal government estimates have been more conservative. The Mexican federal government has also alleged that the EZLN has Guatemalans in its ranks and has received training in neighboring countries. However, these allegations have not been substantiated, and were probably invented by the Mexican federal government to delegitimize the cause of the Zapatistas. The EZLN has stated that it does not have any foreigners in its ranks, and that it has NOT received support from governments or revolutionary forces from Guatemala, El Salvador, or any other foreign country. The EZLN said in a January 6 communique, "The military tactics that we employ were not learned from Central American insurgency, but rather from...resistance struggles throughout our country's history."

All of the political leaders and the majority of the troop elements of the EZLN are Indigenous peoples from Chiapas, and other people of México are also involved in the Zapatista movement. Subcomandante Marcos has emphasized, "You must



understand our movement is not Chiapaneco, it is national. There are other people like me, who come from other states, and Chiapanecos who fight in other states. We are Mexicans—that unites us, as well as the demand for liberty and democracy."

An important aspect of the EZLN is the substantial role of women in the army. Subcomandante Marcos stated in an interview with Mexican newspaper La Jornada that 33 percent of EZLN members are women. In its newspaper, El Despertador Mexicano, the EZLN published a Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres (Revolutionary Women's Law). The provisions of the Ley include the stipulation that "women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and hold positions of authority if they are freely and democratically elected." Other provisions regard the right of women to make their own decisions concerning marriage and children, and the right of women to education and to receive a just salary for their work. Members of the EZLN have stated that men and women are treated equally, and that women can hold rank. Two women, Ana María and Ramona, are members of the CCRI leadership core, and women lieutenants and majors in the army have been interviewed by the Mexican and U.S. presses.

ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT

The EZLN named itself after Emiliano Zapata, a leader of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Zapata was a campesino from a village in the state of Morelos. He led the revolt against the dictatorship of President

Porfirio Díaz. Díaz shared the ideology of the científicos (positivists). The Díaz regime had represented the interests of large land/ranch owners, who were increasingly expropriating the land of campesino villages. Behind Zapata's armed struggle was the Zapatistas' Plan de Ayala and an agrarian reform law which limited individual land holdings and promoted communal land use. In México as well as other countries, Zapata has remained a source of inspiration to those involved in resistance struggles. Victor Manuel, an EZLN member, said, "We have a history, then, that is named Emiliano Zapata, who has struggled for the pueblos and the Indigenous peoples. That is our history."

The EZLN has been training in the mountains of southeast México for ten years. The Zapatistas originally began to organize in Indigenous villages from the region around the Lacandon Forest that armed themselves to fight the guardias blancos (white guards). The white guards are the gunmen of ranch owners, who have regularly attempted to steal scarce land from the campesinos.

The Zapatistas decided to turn to armed struggle after they had exhausted all legal avenues available to remedy the continued injustice faced by Indigenous peoples in Chiapas.

WHY THE UPRISING?

Like many other Mexicans, the Zapatistas were outraged by the fraudulent victory of president Carlos Salinas de Gortari over moderate candidate Cuauhtémoc Cardenas in the 1988 presi-

dential election. Salinas de Gortari is a member of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). PRI was officially formed in 1946, after changing its name from the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM). The PRM forebear was the Partido Nacional Revolucionario, created in 1929. PRI and its predecessors have dominated the political system in México for over 65 years through repressive measures and manipulation of the electoral system. In the 1988 election, the opposition party that had been created by Cuauhtémoc Cardenas closely challenged PRI, winning several municipal elections. In the presidential race, the slowness in the tallying of electoral results, the popularity of the opposition party in many sectors, and the manipulation of the electoral process by authorities caused accusations of fraud. The official results that declared Salinas de Gortari the victor by slightly more than 50 percent of the vote were disputed nationally and by the international mass media. Given this historical pattern, the PRI candidate was expected to become the next president in the upcoming November 1994 elections.

In its Declaration of War, after summarizing the 70-year dictatorship in México, the EZLN declared, "To prevent the continuation of the above and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution to apply Article 39, which says: 'National sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government.'"

While the 1988 election—and the history of non-democratic elections in México—was behind the EZLN's decision to launch an armed struggle, the long-standing social and economic conditions in Chiapas, particularly with respect to the Indigenous people of the region, were the root cause of uprising.

Various sources estimate that 70 to 80 percent of the population in Chiapas are Indigenous peoples, mostly of various Maya pueblos. Two-thirds of the people in Chiapas live in rural communities. Half of them have no potable water and two-thirds have no sewage systems. 54 percent of the general Chiapan population and 80 percent of those in forest/highland communities suffer from malnutrition. 15,000 Indigenous people in Chiapas die every year from curable diseases.

The health care system does not remedy the situation. 1.5 million people in Chiapas receive no medical care. There are only 0.2 clinics, 0.3 hospital beds, 0.5 doctors and 0.4 nurses for every 1,000 inhabitants in Chiapas—much lower than the national average. (By contrast, in the Chiapan tourist town of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, there are seven hotel rooms for every 1,000 tourists.)

CONT'D ON PAGE 5

LIKE MANY OTHER MEXICANS, THE ZAPATISTAS WERE OUTRAGED BY THE FRAUDULENT VICTORY OF PRESIDENT CARLOS SALINAS DE GORTARI OVER MODERATE CANDIDATE CUAUHTÉMOC CARDENAS IN THE 1988 ELECTIONS.

Strange and New Political Animals: Asian American Neo-Conservatives

by Glenn Omatsu

This article was excerpted from "The 'Four Prisons' and the Movements of Liberation: Asian American Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s," printed in South End Press' *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s* (New York, 1994).

Item: At many universities in recent years, some of the harshest opponents of affirmative action have been Chinese Americans and Korean Americans who define themselves as political conservatives. This, in and of itself, is not new or significant. We have always had Asian American conservatives who have spoken out against affirmative action. But what is new is their affiliation. Many participate actively in Asian American student organizations traditionally associated with campus activism.

Item: In the San Francisco newspaper *Asian Week*, one of the most interesting columnists is Arthur Hu, who writes about anti-Asian quotas in universities, political empowerment, and other issues relating to our communities. He also regularly chastises those he terms "liberals, progressives, Marxists, and activists." In a recent column, he wrote: "The left today has the nerve to blame AIDS, drugs, the dissolution of the family, welfare dependency, gang violence, and educational failure on Ronald Reagan's conservatism." He, in turn, criticizes the left for "tearing down religion, family, structure, and authority; promoting drugs, promiscuity, and abdication of personal responsibility."

Item: During the militant, three-year campaign to win tenure for UCLA Professor Don Nakanishi, one of the key student leaders was a Japanese American Republican, Matthew J. Endo. Aside from joining the campus-community steering committee, he also mobilized support from fraternities, something that progressive



ignores community needs.

- They vehemently oppose quotas blocking admissions of Asian Americans at colleges and universities. But they link anti-Asian quotas to affirmative-actions programs for "less qualified" African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians.

- They acknowledge the continuing discrimination against African American, Latinos, and American Indians in U.S. society. But they believe

now believe that America has somehow become a society where other people of color can advance through their own "qualifications."

Neo-conservative people of color have embraced thinkers such as the late Martin Luther King, Jr., but have appropriated his message to fit their own ideology. In his speeches and writings, King dreamed of the day when racism would be eliminated—when African Americans would be recognized in U.S. society for the "content of our character, not the color of our skin." He called upon all in America to wage militant struggle to achieve this dream. Today, neo-conservatives have subverted his message. They believe that

tics from the late 1960s to the early 1990s.

Twenty-five years ago, Asian American neo-conservatives did not exist. Our community then had only traditional conservatives—those who opposed ethnic studies, the antiwar movement, and other militant grassroots struggles. The traditional conservatives denounced Asian American concerns as "special interest politics" and labeled the assertion of Asian American ethnic identity as "separatist" thinking. For the traditional conservative, a basic contradiction existed in identifying oneself as Asian American and conservative.

Ironically, the liberation struggles of the 1960s—and the accompanying Asian American movement—spawned a new conservative thinker. The movement partially transformed the educational curriculum through ethnic studies, enabling all Asian Americans to assert pride in their ethnic heritage. The movement accelerated the desegregation of suburbs, enabling middle-class Asian Americans to move into all-white neighborhoods. Today, the neo-conservatives are mostly young, middle-class professionals who grew up in white suburbs apart from the poor and people of color. As students, they attended the elite universities. Their only experience with racism is name-calling or "glass ceilings" blocking personal career advancement—and not poverty and violence.

It is due to their professional status and their roots in the Asian American movement that the neo-conservatives exist in uneasy alliance with traditional conservatives in our community. Neo-conservatives are appalled by the violence and rabid anti-communism of reactionary sectors of the Vietnamese community, Chinese from Taiwan tied to the oppressive ruling Kuomintang party, and Korean expatriates attached to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. They are also uncomfortable with older conservatives, those coming from small-business backgrounds who warily eye the neo-conservatives, considering them as political opportunists.

Neo-conservatives differ from traditional conservatives not because of their youth and their professional status but most

Asian American neo-conservatives were born from the Reagan-Bush era of supply-side economics, class and racial polarization, elitism and individual advancement.

activists could not do. Matt prides himself on being a Republican and a life member of the National Rifle Association. He aspires to become a CEO in a corporation but worries about the upsurge in racism against Asian Pacific peoples and the failure of both Republicans and Democrats to address this issue.

The Asian American neo-conservatives are a new and interesting political phenomenon. They are new because they are creatures born from the Reagan-Bush era of supply-side economics, class and racial polarization, and the emphasis on elitism and individual advancement. And they are interesting because they also represent a legacy from the civil rights struggles, especially the Asian American movement. The neo-conservatives embody these seemingly contradictory origins.

- They are proud to be Asian American. But they denounce the Asian American movement of the 1960s and early 1970s as destructive.

- They speak out against racism against Asian Americans. But they believe that only by ending affirmative-action programs and breaking with prevailing civil rights thinking of the past four decades can we end racism.

- They express concern for Asian American community issues. But they contend that the agenda set by the "liberal Asian American establishment"

that the main barrier blocking advancement for other people of color is "cultural"—that unlike Asians, these groups supposedly come from cultures that do not sufficiently emphasize education, family cohesion, and traditional values.

Where did these neo-conservatives come from? What do they represent? And why is it important for progressive peoples to understand their presence?

Progressives cannot dismiss Asian American neo-conservatives as simple-minded Republicans. Although they hold views similar at time to Patrick Buchanan and William Buckley, they are not clones of white conservatives. Nor are they racists, fellow travelers of the Ku Klux Klan, or ideologues attached to Reagan and Bush. Perhaps the group that they most resemble are the African American neo-conservatives: the Shelby Steeles, Clarence Thomases, and Tony Browns of this period. Like these men, they are professionals and feel little kinship for people of lower classes. Like these men, they oppose prevailing civil rights thinking, emphasizing reliance on government intervention and social programs. And like these men, they have gained from affirmative action, but they

They are interesting because they also represent a legacy from the civil rights struggles, especially the Asian American Movement.

racism in U.S. society has declined in significance, and that people of color can now abandon mass militancy and advance individually by cultivating the content of their character through self-help programs and educational attainment, and retrieving traditional family values. They criticize prevailing "civil rights thinking" as over-emphasizing the barriers of racism and relying on "external forces" (i.e., government intervention through social programs) to address the problem.

Asian American neo-conservatives closely resemble their African American counterparts in their criticism of government "entitlement" programs and their defense of traditional culture and family values. But Asian American neo-conservatives are not exactly the same as their African American counterparts. The growth of neo-conservative thinking among Asian Americans during the past 25 years reflects the peculiar conditions in our community, notably the emerging power of young professionals. Thus, to truly understand Asian American neo-conservatives, we need to look at their evolution through the prism of Asian American poli-

important of all, their political coming of age in the Reagan era. Like their African American counterparts, they are children of the corporate offensive against workers, the massive transfer of resources from the poor to the rich, and the rebirth of so-called "traditional values."

It is their schooling in Reaganomics and their willingness to defend the current structure of power and privilege in America that gives neo-conservative people of color value in today's political landscape. Thus, Manning Marable describes the key role played by African American neo-conservatives:

THE SINGULAR SERVICE THAT [THEY] ... PROVIDE is a new and more accurate understanding of what exactly constitutes conservatism within the Black experience ... Black conservatives are traditionally hostile to Black participation in trade unions, and urge a close cooperation with white business leaders. Hostile to the welfare state, they call for increased "self-help" programs run by Blacks at local and community levels. Conservatives often accept the institution-

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

alized forms of patriarchy, acknowledging a secondary role for Black women within economics, political life and intellectual work. They usually have a pronounced bias towards organizational authoritarianism and theoretical rigidity.

Marable's analysis points to the basic contradiction for African American neo-conservatives. They are unable to address fundamental problems facing their community: racist violence, grinding poverty, and the unwillingness of corporate and government policymakers to deal with these issues.

Asian American neo-conservatives face similar difficulties when confronted by the stark realities of the post-Reagan period:

society.

The neo-conservatives are essentially elitists who fear expansion of democracy at the grassroots level. They speak a language of individual advancement, not mass empowerment. They propose a strategy of alignment with existing centers of power and not the creation of new power bases among the disenfranchised sectors of society. Their message is directed to professionals, much like themselves. They have nothing to offer to immigrant workers in sweatshops, the homeless, Cambodian youth in street gangs, or community college youth.

As relative newcomers to Asian American issues, the neo-conservatives lack understanding of history, especially how concerns in the community

the national political arena have targeted our communities. There are high stakes here, and conservatives regard the Asian American neo-conservatives as small players to be sacrificed.

The high stakes are evident in an article by William McGurn entitled "The Silent Minority" appearing in the conservative digest *National Review*. In his essay, he urges Republicans to actively recruit and incorporate Asian Americans into party activities. According to McGurn, a basic affinity exists between Republican values and Asian American values: Many Asian immigrants own small businesses; they oppose communism; they are fiercely pro-defense; they boast strong families; they value freedom; and in their approach to civil rights, they stress opportunities not government "set-asides." McGurn then chastises fellow Republicans for their "crushing indifference" to Asian American issues. He laments how

language of civil rights. Today we have only one language of civil rights, and it is inextricably linked to government intervention, from racial quotas to set-aside government contracts. It is also an exclusively black-establishment language, where America's myriad other minorities are relegated to second-class citizenship.

McGurn's article presages a period of intense and unprecedented conservative interest in Asian American issues. We can expect conservative commentaries to intensify black-Asian conflicts in inner cities, the controversy over affirmative action, and the internal community debate over designating Asian Americans as a "model minority."

Thus, in the coming period, Asian American communities are likely to become crowded places. Unlike the later 1960s, issues affecting our communities will no longer be the domain of progressive forces only. Increasingly, we will

Progressives cannot dismiss them as simple-minded Republicans. Perhaps they most resemble their

The neo-conservatives acknowledge continuing discrimination in U.S. society but deny the existence of institutional racism and structural inequality. For them, racism lies in the realm of attitudes and "culture" and not institutions of power. Thus, they emphasize individual advancement as the way to overcome racism. They believe that people of color can rise through merit, which they contend can be measured objectively through tests, grades, and educational attainment.

The neo-conservatives ignore questions of wealth and privilege in American society. In their obsession with "merit," "qualifications," and "objective" criteria, they lose sight of power and oppression in America. Their focus is on dismantling affirmative-action programs and "government entitlements" from the civil rights era. But poverty and racism existed long before the civil rights movement. They are embedded in the system of inequality that has long characterized U.S.

have developed over time. Although they aggressively speak out about issues, they lack experience in organizing around these issues. The neo-conservatives function best in the realm of ideas; they have difficulty dealing with concrete situations.

However, by stimulating discussion over how Asian Americans define community problems, the neo-conservatives bring a vibrancy to community issues by contributing a different viewpoint. Thus, the debate between Asian American neo-conservatives and progressives is positive because it clarifies issues and enables both groups to reach constituencies that each could not otherwise reach.

Unfortunately, this debate is also occurring in a larger and more dangerous context: the campaign by mainstream conservatives to redefine civil rights in America. As part of their strategy, conservatives in

African American counterparts: the Shelby Steeles and Clarence Thomases of this period

Republicans have lost opportunities by not speaking out on key issues such as the conflict between Korean immigrant merchants and African Americans, the controversy over anti-Asian quotas in universities, and the upsurge in anti-Asian violence.

McGurn sees Republican intervention on these issues strategically—as a way of redefining the race question in American society and shifting the debate on civil rights away from reliance on "an increasingly narrow band of black and liberal interest groups." According to McGurn:

PRECISELY BECAUSE ASIAN AMERICANS ARE making it in their adoptive land, they hold the potential not only to add to Republican rolls but to define a bona-fide American

hear viewpoints from Asian American neo-conservatives as well as mainstream conservatives. How well will activists meet this new challenge? ■

Glen Omatsu is a staff member of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center and works with community, labor, and solidarity groups. He is associate editor of *Amerasia Journal*, a research publication in Asian American Studies. His writings have appeared in *Asian American ethnic publications* as well as *Labor Notes* and *Forward Motion*. He is a third generation Japanese American living in Los Angeles.

QUESTIONS? CONTACT BILLY CHEN AT (510) 548 - 3990.

CHIAPAS

CONT'D FROM PG. 3

Likewise, the education provided in Chiapas is the worst in the country. Over half of the schools do not offer classes beyond the third grade, and half of the schools have only one teacher for all the courses taught. 72 percent of the children in schools do not complete first grade. Higher numbers of Indigenous children are forced to drop out of school to work to help support their families. Of the 16,058 classrooms in Chiapas in 1989, only 96 were in Indigenous areas.

The Indigenous peoples in Chiapas live in these conditions largely because industrialism has destroyed vast areas of fertile land in Chiapas which can no longer be used by the people for their self-sufficient means of survival. Many of the Indigenous people have thus been forced into an exploitative system. Industries extract resources from the region using cheaply paid local labor, and then export the products and profits to other Mexican states and foreign countries.

One of the major industries in Chiapas is coffee. 35 percent of the coffee produced in México comes from the area. The industry employs 87,000 people. Over 100,000 tons of coffee leave the state annually; 53 percent of the coffee produced is exported abroad, mostly to the United States and Europe. In 1988, a kilo-

gram of pergamino coffee was sold for 8,000 pesos (\$2.70), while the Chiapan producers were paid 2,500 pesos (83 cents). Beef is another important export. Annually, 3 million head of cattle produced in Chiapas are sold for national consumption. The farmers who raise the cattle receive as little as ten percent of the final purchase price. Other significant Chiapan exports include corn, bananas, honey, tobacco, cacao, and sugar. The majority of each of these products is exported to foreign or domestic markets.

Chiapas also provides the country with crucial natural resources. 55 percent of national hydro-electric energy and 20 percent of Mexico's total electrical energy comes from Chiapas. However, only one-third of the homes in Chiapas has electricity. Additionally, forests in Chiapas are being steadily destroyed. Between 1981 and 1989, over 2.4 million cubic meters of various trees were taken from Chiapas to other parts of the country. The campesinos, however, are not allowed to cut down trees in the Lacandon forest to cultivate the land. Campesinos receive a fine of ten minimum wages and a jail sentence for each tree they cut down.

The quest for oil, another critical natural resource, has been destructive for Indigenous people. Pemex, a state-owned

Mexican petroleum company, has bases in several municipalities of Chiapas. Pemex extracts 92,000 barrels of petroleum and 516 million cubic feet of gas from Chiapas every day. Pemex is currently exploring eight petroleum deposits in the Lacandon Forest. Furthermore, according to a report by Jeanette Armstrong and Joan Phillip (members of the Okanagan Nation who travelled to Chiapas as international observers for a meeting of 280 Indigenous and campesino organizations), a "secret" testing program conducted by PEMEX has revealed that the lands held communally by the Maya people in Chiapas are very rich in oil reserves. The testing results have since been passed on to U.S. petroleum companies.

REFORM OF THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION: THE "DETONATOR"

Such corporate interests fueled the Mexican government's recent reforms of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. These constitutional reforms were a major catalyst in the decision of the EZLN to launch the armed struggle. Article 27 formerly provided protection for the ejido lands of Indigenous communities. The ejido, a communal system of land usage designed to prevent campesinos from becoming landless, has allowed Indigenous people to produce food for local consumption. After the 1992 changes

in Article 27 engineered by President Salinas de Gortari, the Constitution now permits the sale of ejido lands.

NAFTA

The Mexican government passed the constitutional reforms largely because it considered Article 27 as an obstacle to the economic "development" envisaged by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Since 1988, the Mexican government has introduced policies designed to break trade barriers and integrate México's economy into the global economy. The Salinas de Gortari administration has focused on privatizing state enterprises, selling them to individual investors. NAFTA offers transnational corporations the opportunity to expand profits by taking advantage of cheap wages and the lack of labor and environmental regulations.

NAFTA is expected to bring inexpensively produced U.S. agricultural and manufacturing products into México, and will force more Indigenous people off of their lands. Indigenous people will have no legal recourse for contesting the theft of their land. Any disputes arising as a result of the sale or abuse of Indigenous lands shall be settled by an "Independent NAFTA Tribunal" which is designed to protect the interests of the parties of NAFTA, as it will have the power to overrule any national law which

impedes "free trade."

The EZLN has called NAFTA a "death certificate for the Indigenous people of México," and chose the January 1 date to begin the uprising because it was the first day that NAFTA went into effect. In an interview with independent journalist Robert Ovetz on January 1, Subcomandante Marcos stated, "If NAFTA begins on the first of January 1994, and the death of these people begins [on] this day...why not begin the liberation of these people [on] this day?"

THE ARMED UPRISING

The uprising began in the early morning hours of January 1. The EZLN occupied four towns in Chiapas: San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Ocosingo, Margaritas, and Altamirano. These towns had strategic importance, as they were located in or near the Lacandon Forest, which is familiar terrain for the Zapatistas, and also dense and difficult to penetrate. Upon entering San Cristóbal (the second largest town in Chiapas), EZLN members attacked the "federales" station on the main road and liberated a nearby prison, freeing 178 prisoners. Eyewitnesses in San Cristóbal said that they saw no more fighting for the remainder of January 1. Later that day, the EZLN held a rally during which Subcomandante Marcos explained who they were and

CONT'D ON PG. 9

Oliver Stone's *Heaven and Earth*

A R E V I E W

BY GYULA NAGY

Given Oliver Stone's reputation as a renegade and a bold anti-establishment film maker, movie-goers could expect a retelling of the history of the Vietnam War which challenges its official history. Indeed, Stone's "Heaven and Earth," based on Vietnamese Le Ly Hayslip's experiences, defies Hollywood conventions by presenting the war from a Vietnamese perspective—moreover, a woman's perspective. Mainstream press reviews paint Stone's venture as daring and "provocative"

(New York Times), even as they lament its "heavy-handedness" and "nakedly political ambitions." (San Francisco Examiner)

A WOMAN'S FILM?

Much of the excitement in reviews of "Heaven and Earth" stems from the fact the film represents a breakthrough, both for Stone and U.S. movie audiences; we experience the Vietnam war from woman's point of view. Newsweek, for example, ventures that Stone has "attempted his first woman's epic." Our interest is piqued and our hopes are high that the film will defy conventional representations of women, particularly since the film is presented as an autobiographical account.

Indeed, from the first scene, it is clear that Le Ly is the protagonist, since her voice-over, a first-person account, presents the narrative. Soon, however, we find that Le Ly's voice is not heard in crucial scenes. It is precisely when we most want to know her emotions, to hear her thoughts, that Stone keeps this from us: in all the rape scenes, in her arrival to the U. S., in surviving her husband's abuse—in all of these crucial scenes her voice is strategically silenced.

Just as the silencing of women's voices is a wide-spread cinematic convention, which "Heaven and Earth" continues, so, too, is the objectification of women. From the film's first scene of Le Ly balancing atop a buffalo's back, her body framed against the lush background, through to the film's last scenes of Le Ly striding through the fields, her body framed against the lush background, the camera's gaze consistently frames her body erotically. Again and again—in street scenes in Vietnam, in contrast against obese American women,

and other scenes—the camera "catches" her in poses which are staged for nothing other than to highlight her curvaceous body. Her essential identity is sexualized; 'no matter who she is or what she does, she is still, after all, only tits and ass' is the subtext of this framing.

It is firmly in this context in which the eroticization of her rape is played out. In one case, when Le Ly is raped by the "Vietcong," the gratuitous exposure of her

Despite the press' labeling of Stone as a "bad boy" and his own posturing as a "dissident," Stone's version of the Vietnam War contains no significant deviation from the official history.

naked body, accompanied by the strategic silencing of her voice, combine to make a scene little different from a standard movie's sex scene. In another instance, when as a maid, her upper-class employer apparently rapes her, all the familiar conventions of "romantic" scenes—lighting, sound, editing, etc.—accompanied again by her silencing, combine to blur the lines between a violation and consensual sex.

None of this is surprising, however, when we read the New York Times interview with Stone in which he explains that "I loved all the roles she [Le Ly] played...a beggar, a prostitute, an American Housewife, a traitor, a spy, a rape victim, and a rich woman."

BONDS OF MUTUALLY SHARED EXPERIENCE

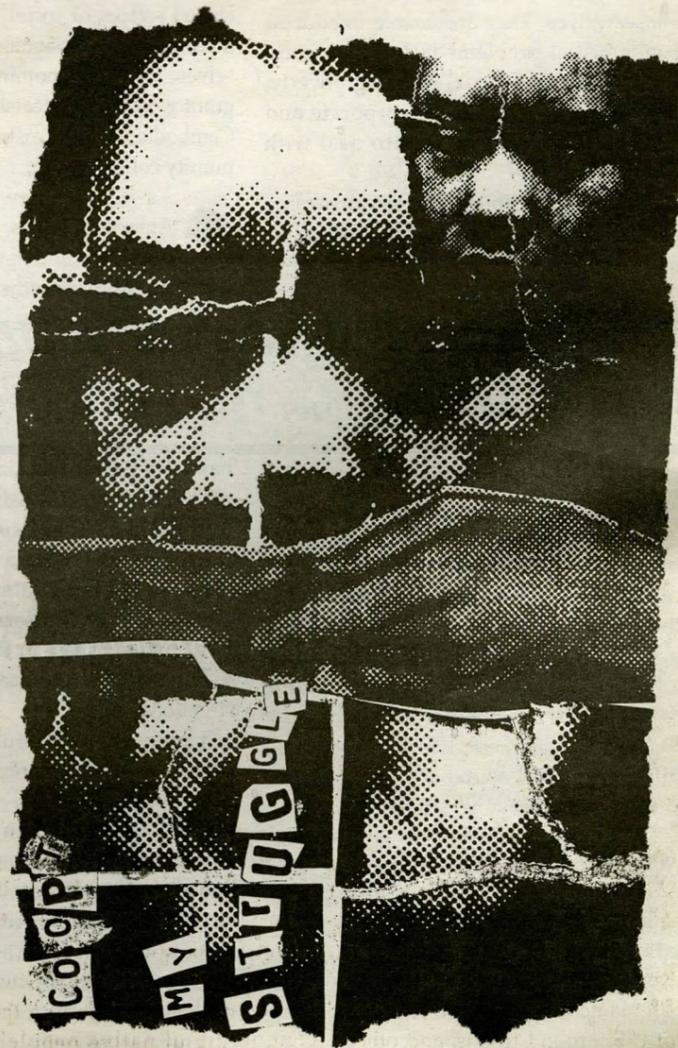
Although Stone defies few of the conventions regarding representations of women in "Heaven and Earth," one could expect him to challenge the official history of the war and its effects, given his vanguard status. Some of the key elements of this official truth, might be summarized as the following: the United States was defending democratic institutions in Vietnam against foreign aggression; the National Liberation Front (the "Vietcong" or "VC" in American lingo) was a foreign, marginal and fanatical element, unsupported by the majority of Vietnamese people; most of the population was caught between the "VC" and the South Vietnamese Army and U.S. forces (according to the liberal version); the major suffering of the war was incurred by the United States in the form of our war dead and MIA's (soldiers Missing In Action); the only significant continuing legacy of the "Vietnam experience" is the tragedy of U.S. MIA's; and (again

in the liberal version) the U.S. policy in Vietnam was a vast error, guided by good intentions, but ineptly carried out, and all in all, an aberration from the history of generally benign U.S. policy.

Despite the mainstream press' labeling of Stone as a "bad boy" and his own posturing as a "dissident," Stone's version of the U.S. invasion of Vietnam contains no significant deviation from the official history. The viewer receives hints of this, from the beginning, as we notice Stone's slavish adherence to Hollywood's cinematic conventions: the skycam shots, the symphonic background music, the "Vietnamese" characters speaking exclusively in English—all of this

conveys a crucial subtext to us as movie-goers: 'Relax, this is just another epic movie, like all the hundreds you've seen before. Rest assured that it will be a fulfilling and digestible movie, with due closure. It will be a satisfying filmic experience.' Given the brutality of the U.S. war in Vietnam, one might well be curious how Stone will manage to adhere to conventions by presenting a film which is a "fulfilling experience," while defying conventions in portraying "the Vietnamese point of view."

We see soon how this tension is resolved in Stone's portrayal of National Liberation Front (NLF) members. We never get to know them or hear their personal testi-



monies; instead, we see them at a torch-lit nighttime rally-indoctrination event: they are fanatics, haranguing the hapless villagers, outsiders who intervene in the lives of the pleasant and likable villagers we are getting to know. The only voice they are allowed is as rabble-rousers; we are not allowed to hear the articulation of their opposition to U.S. invasion and occupation, their vision of a new society, their personal rea-

sons for joining the NLF. Given how thoroughly these voices are hidden from the official telling of the war, it seems conceivable that a renegade film-maker who claims to be presenting the experience of the war from another point of view could present some of these voices.

CONT'D ON PG. NEXT PAGE

THE SCOURGE OF THE STREETS

BY EDGAR DE VERA

In February, the Berkeley City Council subcommittee on "Problematic Street Behavior" made several recommendations to deal with aggressive panhandling on the streets of Berkeley. Highlights of the proposal included making it illegal for anyone to solicit another for money in just about any circumstance, at any time, and prohibiting sitting on the sidewalk except for a medical emergency.

It is clear to me that this proposal is not about aggressive panhandling. It is a plan to rid the streets of homeless people in the city of Berkeley. If they wanted to really attack aggressive panhandling, they would have been a lot more specific in the proposal about who it was they were trying to target.

The third recommendation in the proposal was to "clarify the rules regarding permissible behavior in all the public parks of

Berkeley." It cites rules regarding fires, camping, and storage of personal possessions in People's Park. What do any of these pro-

Panhandling & Homelessness in Berkeley

posals have to do with what goes on in the street—except for the fact that they both deal with homeless people.

We need to get to the root causes of the problem. I don't see these recommendations doing

any of that. It doesn't help solve the problem of homelessness. It merely hides it and displaces it. We need to be a much stronger community and come up with real solutions.

At the public hearing held for citizens to voice their concerns over the measure, a representative from the Berkeley Police Department contended that most of the people that panhandle are not homeless and have had a past history of drug misuse. My question to that is, what the hell are those chemically dependent doing out on the street panhandling when they should be getting medical treatment in order to cure them? We have to stop looking at drug misuse as a criminal act and see it for what it really is—a health problem. If we can get them off drugs, then maybe they can get off the street, lead normal lives, get jobs, and not need to panhandle.

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

As the film continues, we see the misfortune of the "good villagers" caught between the excesses of the two "outside" forces, both equally ruthless and unprincipled: the U.S. forces and the NLF, a presentation that is in line with the official (liberal) history. Yet even U.S. military policy-makers admitted that the NLF were an indigenous resistance, composed mainly of peasants, who had gained the support of at least 50% of the South Vietnamese population.

As Stone's film continues, we see that the film provides no explanation nor clarification of key issues which most Americans may already find very confusing; for example, that far from defending a democracy in Vietnam from foreign aggression, the United States imposed a fascistic dictatorship, and that when popular resistance to this regime became overwhelming, the United States invaded, unleashing a ten-year war of incredible brutality against the civilian population in order to end the population's massive support for the NLF. We get only snippets of this, and of the U.S.-armed and trained Army of the Republic of Vietnam, of the Vietnamese elite, of the removal of U.S. ground troops, and other key aspects of this history—snippets that in no way aid our comprehension of the history which is so carefully hidden and obscured in the official history of the "Vietnam experience."

Stone, in his "daring" portrayal of the "Vietnamese point of view," provides absolutely no context, no explanation of U.S. imperialism, no sense of its depth or breadth or roots. His film does nothing to challenge the central tenet of official (liberal) history that U.S. policy was a tragic error. In fact we do not leave the theater with an understanding of what

Heaven and Earth

U.S. policy in fact was, an understanding Stone could conceivably have conveyed, an understanding that several million Vietnamese people seemed to have had, given their resistance to U.S. imperialism. A truly daring retelling of

suggest a cycle: life is turning wheel....Nothing changes in Asia, especially in these areas." Combined with a voice-over of Le Ly's aphoristic inanities about pain and life and cycles, this scene creates a satisfying sense of clo-

from those same chemicals, including birth defects and cancer; extreme difficulty in recovering from the devastation—including efforts to reforest, and provide health care and education, etc.—efforts which we severely restrict-

States, but also by more millions of people throughout the rest of the world. Financial records show that Hollywood makes only a fraction of its profits from showing films in the United States—the vast majority comes from distribution throughout the rest of the world.

As radical scholar and activist Noam Chomsky points out, the broad acceptance of the official version history is a crucial part of defusing resistance: "they [US intelligentsia] will construct an appropriate version of history and an interpretation of the contemporary world that will enlist popular support for these programs, or at least ensure a requisite degree of passivity and unconcern." Our task then is to uncover and disseminate the histories which are hidden and obscured in the official narrative, and to resist, boldly and actively. ■

Stone, in his "daring" portrayal of the "Vietnam point of view," provides absolutely no context, no explanation of U.S. imperialism, no sense of its depth or roots. His film does nothing to challenge the central tenet of the official (liberal) history that U.S. policy was a tragic error.

history allows us to gain an understanding that far from being an error, an aberration, U.S. policy in Vietnam was a continuation of imperial policy which the nation has been following since the country's founding: from the conquering of native people's lands, to the annexation of Mexican land in the mid 1880's to the several dozen invasion of Latin America, to the occupation of Puerto Rico, which continues to this day.

THE END?

Stone's lack of challenge to the official history of the U.S. war in Vietnam continues to the bitter end. In the closing scene, as Stone explains in Film Comment magazine, he "deliberately repeated several of the opening shots to

sure; it imbues the "Vietnam experience" with a pleasant, palatable, and distant closure it does not have. The U.S. war in Indochina killed an estimated three million people, hundreds of thousands are left with permanent wounds and disabilities, ten million people were forced to become refugees. The continuing legacy—the legacy which official whitewash and the MIA "issue" seek to obscure—is unfathomable in scope and intensity: survivor's anguish over those they lost; continuing deaths and injuries from the unexploded bombs among the two million tons of U.S. bombs and three million tons of U.S. artillery shells; twenty-seven million acres of farmland and forest destroyed in the South alone caused by eighteen million gallons of chemicals dropped by the U.S.; pervasive health problems

ed because the U.S. never paid any of the \$3.25 billion dollars in reconstruction aid that it agreed to pay in the 1973 peace agreement, because of the U.S.-imposed trade embargo (in place up though 1993) and because the U.S. opposed all aid from international lending agencies (up until mid-1993). This list and these figures can give only the barest hint of the enormity of the legacy of the U.S. invasion, a hint which both Oliver Stone's version and the official version never mention.

SO WHAT?

The importance of Stone's venture lays in two facts: its massive audience, and its propagation of a critical rewriting of history. The movie will be viewed not only by millions of people in the United

Further Readings

Some resources I've found useful regarding the history of the US intervention include:

- "Vietnam: The Real Enemy," by Vietnamese scholar and activist Ngo Viuh Long, in Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, v. 21, no. 2, 1989. The entire 200 page issue is devoted to articles about US imperialism in Indochina
- Then the Americans Came: Voices from Vietnam, Martha Hess, Four Walls Eight Windows press, 1993. Testimonies and photographs of survivors of the U.S. war
- After the Cataclysm: Postwar Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology, Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, South End Press, 1979. Radical analysis of US war in Indochina, and its consequences.

H O M E L E S S N E S S

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Am I supposed to say, "Oh, they're drug users! So it's O.K.?" Regardless of whether they want to admit it or not, people are out there panhandling because they need to eat. Hunger does exist in Berkeley. All one has to do is look at all the food lines in the parks and various churches.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has already condemned the measure as a violation of free speech.

Panhandling is the way in which the economically depressed communicate to others that poverty and hunger do exist. How can we consider ourselves a just and moral society if we suppress the speech of the needy?

This is not to say that aggressive panhandling should not be addressed. I believe it must, but

the proposed ordinances do not attack the root of the problem. They are created by politicians that do not understand what it means to be homeless and poor.

If politicians ever panhandled, they might for once understand what it feels like to be ignored, feared, alone and hungry.

If politicians ever panhandled, they might for once understand what it feels like to be ignored, feared, alone, and hungry. Maybe for once they will understand the ridicule and humiliation some must endure from the stares of passers-by. Then they might understand the anger, and after that, maybe they will get an

inkling of why some people resort to violent behavior. If anyone of us were in the shoes of the homeless, I think s/he'd end up doing the same.

If there are panhandlers out there that are aggressive, it is necessary to figure out why that is. They could be chemically dependent or have psychological problems. We need to know what those problems are and deal with them not through radical sweeping narrow-minded changes like those recommended by the subcommittee on "Problematic Street Behavior," but by reaching out to those panhandling and seeing what they need and how we can help them. This is what being a real community is about: Peace. ■

FRANK'S TAILORS & CLEANERS

- DRY CLEANING
- LAUNDRY
- WASH & FOLD SERVICE

2615 TELEGRAPH
BERKELEY, CA 94704

☎ (510) 848-4232

OPEN DAILY 8 AM TO 6 PM
SAT., SUN. 9:30 AM TO 3:30 PM

CLOSED TUESDAY

Girls who like Girls. *Bisexual* Questioning? *Transgender* *lesbian* Guys who like Guys.

LYRIC Youth Talkline 23 and under.
1-800-246-PRIDE in SF Bay Area
a confidential peer line for young people 23 and under.
Open Thursdays--Sundays, 6:30-11:30 pm

interview

BY JULIE GAVINO

In evaluating the petri dish of New York art critic/writer/poet/curator John Yau's work, one doesn't need a microscope at hand. It magnifies before one's very eyes. A countless number of his articles have appeared for the past decade and a half in major magazines, such as *Vogue*, *Interview*, *Art in America*, and *ArtForum*. He is also the author of sixteen books of poems, including *Edificio Sayonara* (1992). Of his most recent works are a book of art criticism entitled *In the Realm of Appearances: The Art of Andy Warhol* (Ecco Press, 1993) and a short story in the *Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction*:

Charlie Chan Is Dead (ed. Jessica Hagedorn; Penguin Books, 1993). Currently, the prolific writer is working on a book on artist Jasper Johns, a biography on the late film actress Anna May Wong, and a collection of short stories.

John Yau has taught at Brown University, Emerson College, Brooklyn College, Pratt Institute, and the School of Visual Arts. This spring 1994 semester he was a visiting professor in the Asian American Studies department here at U.C. Berkeley, teaching *Asian American Poetry and Asian American Art*. One sunny but mild Tuesday we sat among the open sprawl of benches before Dwinelle Hall, he with his Camels and I with my microcassette recorder, ready for a pleasant chat. Unexpectedly, his all-at-once casual, fluid, wry, and lucid discussion became so enthralling I could've easily lapsed into enuresis. Luckily, I didn't.

Julie Gavino: Do you see yourself more as a poet than an art critic/writer or vice versa?

John Yau: Actually I see myself as both—that I'm a writer who writes poems, and writes stories, and writes about art, and also writes, on occasion, literary criticism. They're all just different kinds of writing, but they're all connected, I mean, I don't know how they're connected, but somehow they all are. I used think I was more a poet than a critic and then I realized that I was compartmentalizing myself. I realized that I was a poet and a critic and that I wrote about art and that I wanted to keep writing about art. I can't imagine that one day I'd just not want to write about art.

JG: So what is it about art that motivates you to write about it?

JY: Because it's part of our culture, I think, on one hand, and [on the other], I think it's an experience that I just keep on wanting to go back to or to have, just looking at art and experiencing art. And somehow, maybe because I'm someone who writes, I have to then write some response to it or commentary about it.

JG: In one of your past writings, an article entitled "Please Wait by the Coatroom" (published in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Russell Ferguson and others, 1990) you address the issue of categorization by ethnicity, an occurrence prevalent in today's art community. Your example is Wilfredo Lam who you describe as the first surrealist to use ethnic sources; by others (i.e. art institutions), Lam is described as a surrealist painter of Chinese and African-Cuban descent. How do you explain this

double-labeling?

JY: I think Lam was someone who had to claim an identity. Picasso appropriates African art [in his Cubist work], I think Lam reclaims it. So that's the difference between [Lam] and Picasso. I think Modernism has conceived only, or all too often, the appropriation of something rather than a reclaiming of something. One can think of Isamu Noguchi (a contemporary sculptor) as someone else who is trying to reclaim an identity that's



John Yau,

Poet/author/critic/lecturer

Japanese and western because he has been excluded by both cultures, by both North America and Japan. Americans call him a "wily oriental" and the Japanese call him a gaijin, which means an outside person or foreigner. Yet [Noguchi] then makes art that has roots in Japanese gardens, Shinto shrines, things like that. So I'm interested in artists who try to reclaim something that culture denies them, that Modernism says is no longer important, that Symbolist theories don't believe is important, when in fact it is important.

JG: Would you say there is some sort of revolution in art going on now, because as you follow the proclaimed major movements of art (i.e., Impressionism, Cubism, Pop Art) it's dominated by white males!

JY: There's a [art] critic in New York named Laura Cottingham who is this brilliant critic who's pointed out that the feminist movement [in art] of the seventies started in Los Angeles [and throughout California] and has been completely ignored by museums. There has been no major exhibition in that region even though there have been exhibitions of pop art, conceptual art, earthworks, [every] "ism" that's been dominated mostly by men. Within [the major museums] there has never been a real documentation of the feminist art movement. You know, [contemporary artists] Judy Chicago and Miriam Shapiro, people like that. I think that's fairly typical. We still honor the ideal of the male genius than anything else in art. I think that can be seen in the eighties, in the honoring of David Salle and Julian Schnabel, also to such a degree we've honored Jeff Koons. That's pretty retrograde if you ask me. The "male mind"—[it's] based on an old and now obsolete myth.

JG: Do you think as we recognize minority talent are we only recognizing them because of their backgrounds?

JY: Yeah, I think there's this kind of liberal side of it in that one hopes that artists are recognized for some kind of politically correct issue, but it goes beyond that somehow. It challenges categories. In one way, I think it's a double-bind. Artists want to get

recognized so they participate in [minority] exhibitions, but then they don't want to be marginalized by being in that [particular kind of] exhibition so that they're not allowed to be in certain other exhibitions. I think that's a tension that's unavoidable and sets a dynamic that will have to be worked through. I've had poems in anthologies of Asian-American poetry, but then I've also had poems in anthologies of post-modern poetry [a movement currently] coming out. So one hopes to be in more places than once, you know, that's how one tries to exist.

JG: To what extent to do consider yourself as part of the Asian-American community?

JY: I do sense myself as [an] Asian American, but I don't necessarily know as to whether I belong to the community because I'm not sure if I know what the community is. I have friends who are Asian American writers and artists, but I don't think we could all sit in a room and agree aesthetically, politically, or ideologically.

JG: Your interests appear quite diverse. You mentioned that you are currently working on a book on Anna May Wong, the Chinese film actress (featured in the films "Thief of Baghdad" [1924] with Douglas Fairbanks and "Shanghai Express" [1932] with Marlene Dietrich). Why?

JY: I was always fascinated by her. She's the first image of an Asian woman I've

seen in film. This was when I was as a teenager, living in Boston and going to movies in Cambridge, where there are a lot of old film revival houses. Somewhere, either she said it, or someone had said this about her, that she had been raped, murdered, stabbed, shot, robbed, kicked, beaten, but she'd never been kissed on screen. I ended up writing a poem about that, [which] reminded me then of how much I was intrigued by who this person was and how did she make her entrance into the film world. Hollywood is just notorious for not accepting foreigners. Marlene Dietrich claimed—and this is a pretty strong claim—that Anna May Wong upstaged her in every scene. One imagines that it would be rather difficult to upstage Marlene Dietrich in any scene. So I've just been doing research to find out who she was and try to write a book that says something about her.

JG: In all your writings, criticism, and poetry, where do you draw your inspirations from?

JY: We live inside language. I'm just interested in this thing we live inside of and

how it works. But I'm also interested in how it doesn't work. Maybe it's because I grew up in a house where two languages were spoken (Chinese and English), and I only understood one of them. So there's something about language itself that I've always been intrigued with—how it works, doesn't work, and what it can do.

JG: What sort of impact would you like to leave on Berkeley students through your teaching of poetry?

JY: Maybe that some of them would become interested in poetry and think about poems in ways they've never thought about.

JG: And in your Asian American Art class?

JY: To think about art in a different way that they've never thought of. There's this fear that the only Asian art you're going to see is in the ancient section [of a museum]. Somehow I'd like people to realize that [Asian and Asian American art] has been ongoing throughout history, and it's not just this ancient art that never became modern. There are many individuals like Noguchi, Lam, [painter] Yasuo Kinoshi, and Maya Lin, who all do work that's relevant and important, and they should be acknowledged.

JG: As we approach a new century, where do you see art moving towards in the future?

JY: I think one thing that will happen in art is that it will be made up of a more diverse representation of individuals in a way that culture is going to find more difficult to ignore than it has before. It's going to have to accept that America is this place of an extraordinary number of different kinds of people from different worlds. [Society] is going to have to examine all the differences.

waxes

poli-

arto-

sophic

CHIAPAS

CONT'D FROM PG. 5

what their intentions were to the crowd.

On January 2, the EZLN seized Absalon Castellanos, former governor of Chiapas, from his ranch. During his term as governor, Castellanos directed military campaigns against the Indigenous people, killing and torturing many. (The EZLN tried and convicted the governor for violent crimes against the Indigenous people, and sentenced him to do manual labor in an Indigenous community. In later interviews with the press, Castellanos said that he had been treated well by his captors.) The Mexican federal military arrived with helicopters which they used to deliver troops and bomb nearby villages. President Salinas de Gortari officially ordered a counter-attack, and by January 4, at least 15,000 federal army

During his term, Castellanos, former governor of Chiapas, directed military campaigns against the Indigenous people, killing and torturing many.

troops moved against the Zapatistas. The EZLN withdrew its troops from the occupied towns and headed back into the mountains.

Although the EZLN has remained intact, the fighting brought many casualties, particularly in Ocosingo, where there was not a heavy presence of tourists and media to prevent the federal army from using heavy military artillery against the EZLN. Reporters who attempted to enter Ocosingo immediately after the fighting were stopped by military blockades. The first group of reporters allowed to enter Ocosingo on January 5 reported seeing bodies of guerrillas who appeared to have been executed.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

There has been documentation of violence committed by the Mexican federal army, not only against the Zapatistas, but also against the civilian population. Violence against Indigenous people by governmental authorities predates the uprising, and has since worsened. Although President Salinas de Gortari declared a cease-fire, several international human rights organizations and delegations that have visited Chiapas, surveyed areas and spoken with residents, have reported continued human rights abuses by the government army. Many criticisms have been directed against the government's official call for anyone to anonymously accuse persons that could be affiliated with the EZLN. Many arrests in several municipalities have been made based on accusations of this type, and local authorities, including caciques (local political bosses), have used

the policy vengefully, to accuse people with whom they have personal or political differences. This has created a climate of hostility, particularly toward social activists, human rights workers, members of the Catholic Church, and some journalists. The Iniciativa Indígena de Paz, convened by Rigoberta Menchú and composed of international Indigenous representatives, reported on January 31 that it has confirmed "many cases of people tortured, disappeared, assassinated, and in many cases threatened or intimidated...by the Mexican army, after the declaration of the cease-fire. At least one case is known of a disarmed civilian killed after the official cease-fire. Women are threatened to give information about the whereabouts of their husbands, sons and brothers. There are also reports of arbitrary arrests and mistreatment of prisoners." The report also confirmed that in the town of Altamirano, the delegation has seen "the occupation, by the Mexican army, of school buildings, the church, and homes of residents."

Any person who appears to be Indigenous is especially subject to arbitrary arrest and interrogation. Moreover, the Mexican army has blocked access to rural villages, preventing freedom of movement. As a result, people have gone hungry because they have been unable to get food. Sick people are prevented from receiving medical care. As late as January 30, there have been reports of aerial bombing of civilians in mountain regions, and mass graves have been uncovered. In one barrio in the town of Ocosingo alone, 150 people were killed.

Other organizations that have documented similar patterns of human rights abuses include La Red de Organismos Civiles de Derechos Humanos, Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, the Indigenous Environmental Network, Amnesty International, the Canadian Catholic Organization, the Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights, and the Quebec Human Rights League.

"PEACE & RECONCILIATION"

These human rights abuses have occurred in spite of the declaration of the unilateral cease-fire declared by President Salinas de Gortari. The Mexican government was forced to declare a cease-fire after numerous national and international voices insisted on the search for a peaceful solution. On January 10, Salinas de Gortari created a "Committee for Peace and Reconciliation" and appointed Manuel Camacho Solis, former mayor of México City and a member of PRI, as its commissioner.

The dialogue between the EZLN and the Mexican government would not have progressed to its current stage without the presence of Bishop Samuel Ruiz, of the diocese at San Cristóbal de Las Casas in Chiapas. Bishop Ruiz has been the bishop of the diocese at San Cristóbal for the past 34 years. Under his direction, the diocese has put into practice many internal democratic reforms drafted during the Second Vatican Council. Additionally, although Bishop Ruiz is not in any way linked to the EZLN, he has long been speaking out against the injustices suffered by the Indigenous peoples in México. Last October, the Vatican and PRI officials attempted unsuccessfully to remove Bishop Ruiz from his post after he offered a letter to Pope John Paul II that expressed concern for the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands, their poverty, and allegations of repeated electoral fraud by the PRI.

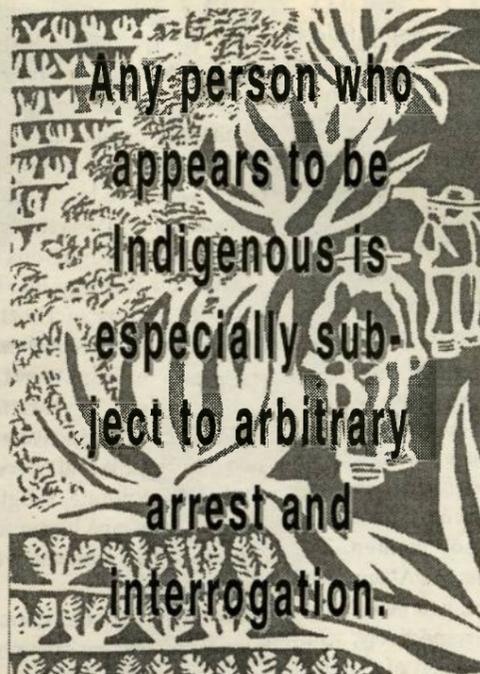
The Bishop offered to serve as an intermediary in the dialogue in a memorandum issued on January 2. In a series of proposals sent to Camacho Solis on January 18, the EZLN proposed the creation of "a negotiating commission that would serve as an intermediary with the government," and asked Bishop Ruiz to participate in the negotiating commission. In a presentation on February 16 at UC Berkeley's Zellerbach Auditorium, Miguel Alvarez (a lay worker at the Chiapas diocese and a member of the negotiating team), whom Bishop Ruiz had sent to represent him, stated that the Bishop has said that he "cannot see his role as mediator in a neutral manner...but rather as a means for the publicity and support of the demands and proposals of the Indigenous peoples. [His assignment is] not merely to facilitate the dialogue, but rather to facilitate deeper changes."

On January 21, the EZLN confirmed that it was willing to dialogue, and that it officially recognized Camacho Solis as a legitimate mediator. According to Miguel Alvarez, the process of preparing for the dialogue progressed slowly mainly because of the necessity for both parties to determine the agenda, and because many organizations see the war as part of a greater conflict. The EZLN was also dissatisfied because Camacho Solis had refused to include points regarding the nation's political life in the dialogue agenda, and refused

to recognize the EZLN as a belligerent force.

An important step towards dialogue was the EZLN's release of Absalon Castellanos on February 16, in exchange for the government's release of 38 Zapatista combatants and civilians who were imprisoned. The dialogue began on February 21, in the cathedral of San Cristóbal de Las Casas. Among those present were Subcomandante Marcos, Bishop Samuel Ruiz, Manuel Camacho Solis, and several members of the EZLN. In the concrete negotiation plan, the reform of Article 27 has apparently been put on the table, but Marcos has stated that it will be one of the most difficult points. The EZLN presented a petition, which concretized its demands, on the following day.

Marcos stated that the EZLN petition, made in conjunction with the Consejo Estatal de Organizaciones Indígenas y Campesinas (CEOIC- a coalition of 280 Indigenous and campesino organizations), demands a "return to the spirit of Article 27 adopted in Querétaro in 1917, which considers what was outlined by Zapata." Another crucial demand of the petition concerned constitutional recognition of the self-determination of the Indigenous communities. This demand implies the reform of Article 4, so that their autonomy would be legal, and Article 115, in which "the functions, legal authority and media of governments of the regions should be established." The EZLN proposal would eliminate the existing municipal presidential figure, establishing in its place a municipal council, which would represent all social sectors of the region.



The EZLN emphasized that the proposal is on a national level. Juan, a member of the CCRI of the EZLN, stated the proposal would be effective "not only in areas where there are Indigenous peoples, but even where there are no Indians: that the citizenship choose its own governing bodies. Not only in the state and municipalities, but in the Republic as well."

Subcomandante Marcos also stated that one of the aspects the reform of Article 4 should consider is that "the traditional authorities in Indigenous communities should be able to exist and perform their functions in a legal

framework. For example, in the communities of la Selva and Los Altos the authority is la asamblea (the assembly), but not legally...When [the assemblies] decide to punish an offense, the problem is fixed within the community. But then society or the State imposes or superimposes on the subject in question a new punishment, basing it on their codes and laws. We say that if the community already issued a punishment, there is no need for another. But that should be established by regulations."

At the conclusion of the first stage of the dialogue on March 2, 1994, the CCRI of the EZLN and the Mexican government signed a preliminary agreement. The Zapatista demands listed in the text of the agreement included (in addition to the aforementioned demands), "a pact between federation members to do away with centralism and allow regions, indigenous communities and municipalities political, economic and cultural autonomy."

The EZLN also demanded revision of NAFTA, because it does not take into account the Indigenous population or include labor qualifications. The demands also stated that Article 27 "should respect the original spirit of Emiliano Zapata: land is for the Indigenous people and peasants who work it, not for latifundistas (owners of large land estates).

The EZLN further demanded that all rural communities in Chiapas be provided with basic services such as running water, electricity, sewage, and hospital care. Women in the EZLN listed demands which included child-birth clinics and child-care facilities. The EZLN proposed that a National Commission for Peace With Justice and Dignity be

established to oversee the implementation of these demands.

After the conclusion of the first stage of the dialogue, the EZLN members returned to the Lacandon forest to discuss the preliminary agreements and consult with Indigenous communities to make sure the agreements are satisfactory.

NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The outcome of the dialogue remains to be seen. If the EZLN accomplishes some of its main goals in the negotiations, the political/electoral system will be seriously altered if previously marginalized groups of people have a voice in the choice of leadership. However, the EZLN movement already has crucial implications. On a national level, the political campaigns of the candidates in the upcoming November election will greatly depend on their positions with respect to the poor and Indigenous people in México. The U.S. broadcast media reported on March 7 that the government

CONT'D ON PG. 10

REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

Like the early birth control movement of the 1800's, which called for "voluntary motherhood," the contemporary abortion movement caters to the lifestyles of middle-class women. Birth control, especially abortion, cannot be an "individual choice" when it remains inaccessible to poor women and non-English speaking women. Working class women struggling for economic survival do not have the privilege of focusing purely on "voluntary motherhood" as a proposed departure from marriage and motherhood for the sake of self-development, a career, and educational opportunities. Working class women, especially Women of Color, cannot afford to separate the spheres of work and family.

The abortion movement continues to ignore the history of racism within the birth control movement. Advocates of the movement during the 1800's relied on eugenic arguments to promote birth control: birth control would restrict the size of People of Color populations, thereby insuring racial (and class) purity. The call for birth control became a push for population control, through methods of coercive sterilization and contraceptive abuse—legitimated by the federal government.

Historically, the US government has adopted compulsory sterilization policies as a means of controlling the domestic population, especially populations of Native Americans, Chicanas/os, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks. (Extensive research on the coerced sterilization of Asian/Pacific Islander American women has not been done.) In 1972 alone, between 100,00 and 200,00 sterilizations were funded by the federal government. By 1976, twenty-four percent of all Native American women of childbearing age were sterilized. By 1970 twenty percent each of all married Black women and Chicanas had been sterilized. In Puerto Rico, a federally proposed campaign of population control (begun in 1939) permanently sterilized over thirty-five percent of all Puerto Rican women of childbearing age by the 1970's.

Sterilization abuses continue despite federal guidelines passed to prevent involuntary sterilization. They remain unenforced and information/counseling on sterilization continue to be accessible only to the English speaking segments of the population. Moreover, while sterilizations are federally funded and free "on demand" for poor women, options to sterilization, such as abortions, remain economically inaccessible to poor women. At the same time, counseling and information do not address language and cultural barriers to health care access, especially reproductive health access.

Health, legislative, judicial, and legal institutions continue to perpetuate the use of contraceptives as a means of population control—aimed particularly at the reproductive lives of Women of Color and poor women. The Federal Drug Administration (FDA) approved Norplant and Depo-Provera, two new contraceptives, in 1990 and 1992 respectively, without the participation of Women of Color in their development and approval. Meanwhile, marketing of these two birth control methods has targeted young Women of Color, women who often have limited access to detailed information on reproductive health and limited economic resources. (For instance, Depo-Provera is advertised in Essence magazine, widely read by young Black women.)

Although federal and state governments have allotted financial resources to the provision of Norplant and Depo-Provera, very little has been directed towards educating women on the serious side effects and long-term effects of the contraceptives. There has been insufficient research on the long-term and generational effects of Norplant and its effects on women under eighteen years of age. Thus far, eighty percent of women who have Norplant

inserts in their arm have experienced irregular menstrual bleeding, and early symptoms of uterine cancer. Therefore, women will not know whether the irregular bleeding is a result of Norplant or a symptom of uterine cancer. Some side effects of Depo-Provera, which has been on the market longer than Norplant: increased risk of breast and cervical cancer, increased risk of birth defects, and low birthweight babies from accidental pregnancies, decreased bone density after prolonged use, one to two years of infertility after discontinuing use, and possible permanent sterility.

Abuses of both Norplant and Depo-Provera have already been documented. State courts have used Norplant as a punitive method. One month after the FDA approved Norplant, a California judge ordered a pregnant African American mother of four to have Norplant inserted because of reported child abuse. Several state legislative bills adopting punitive approaches to Norplant have passed: one links Norplant use to Public Assistance benefits and another mandates women convicted of certain crimes to have Norplant implanted.

Before research on animals had been conducted Depo-Provera was tested on Women of Color and poor women in the US. For eleven years before 1983, women were injected with Depo-Provera at Grady Hospital in Atlanta, Georgia, without being informed that the drug was experimental. The majority of these women were Black. Effects of Depo-Provera include weight gain, blood clots in the lungs, depression, and irregular bleeding, and although several women died of cancer, their deaths were never reported to the FDA. Depo-Provera, manufactured by UpJohn, a multinational drug company, continues to be used by more than five million women in over ninety countries. The National Latina Health Organization, based in Oakland, has called for a moratorium on the use of

By 1976, 24% of Native American women of childbearing age were sterilized. By 1970, 20% each of all married Black women and Chicanas had been sterilized.

Worldwide struggle against US imperialism is central to reproductive freedom, as the US government, US corporations, and US religious fundamentalists play important roles in implementing and legitimizing population control tactics in Third World countries. Institutions in Third World countries created by the US military, US foundations such as Rockefeller and Ford, and the WE secular and religious Right continue to promote the ideology that the "excessive and deviant" fertility of Third World women is responsible for economic problems and "overpopulation" in Third World countries and on a global scale as well. Therefore, the restriction of women's reproductive autonomy becomes linked to Third World "development" policies, while US corporate, religious, and military institutions escape blame for their disruption of Third World economies, cultures, and environments.

Furthermore, a transformative reproductive freedom movement cannot work merely within the confines of "choice" or women's control of their bodies, but within the broader context of reconstructing notions of women's sexuality. Lesbian and bisexual Women of Color continue to be at the forefront of organizing a reproductive movement that addresses the issues of class, gender, and race. Reproductive freedom is inextricably linked to lesbian-bisexual-gay liberation as the fight for reproductive freedom entails challenging fixed, socially-constructed gender roles which define women solely in terms of their roles as mothers and wives. It also includes creating social, economic, and political conditions that support women to become parents, including same-sex couples. Ultimately, reproductive freedom insists upon the right of self determination of all women.

C H I A P A S

CONT'D FROM PG. 9

agreed to allow international observers to monitor the upcoming elections.

The Zapatistas have inspired other Indigenous peoples and campesinos not affiliated with the EZLN across the country to demand justice. Campesinos in at least a dozen other villages and towns have demanded the removal of local authorities. In some of the towns, the protesters seized town halls.

In cities around the world, people have staged demonstrations in solidarity with the Zapatista army. In the global realm, the Chiapas uprising has called attention to the situation of Indigenous nations around the world, and has provided a forum for international Indigenous solidarity. Additionally, the potential political changes in México could curtail the growing interest of transnational corporations in the use of México as a source of cheap resources and labor.

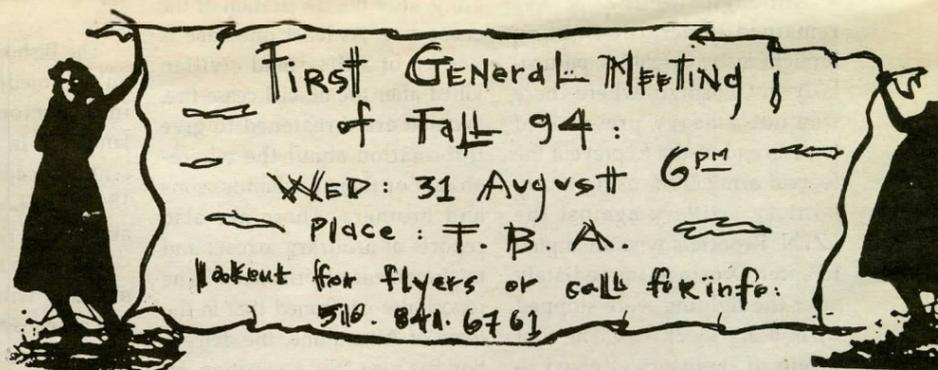
In the United States, the Chiapas uprising has opened a context in which Chicanas/os can learn about their Indigenous roots and the history of México, which are not taught in the U.S. educational system. In reference to the U.S., Subcomandante Marcos stated, "The principal people of America is...that you call the Chicanos. There are many people of México there. There are other México[s] in Los Angeles, San Diego, and so forth...Then we tell them that remember all the oppression, all the exploitation, all the humiliation that they suffer here in México. And that situation forces them to go to the United States."

But all people in the U.S. should be aware of the developments in Chiapas. The U.S. government has an interest in crushing the EZLN movement, as NAFTA would be at stake if the political system in México is altered. The U.S.

government has already assisted the Mexican government, as it regularly sends military and economic aid to México. The U.S. government maintains it sent the weapons for fighting the war on drugs.

In a message sent on January 13 to U.S. president Bill Clinton, the EZLN stated, "the Mexican federal government is using the economic and military aid that it receives from the people and government of the United States to massacre the indigenous people of Chiapas...Troops, airplanes, helicopters, radar, communications equipment, arms and military paraphernalia are not being used to fight drug traders and kingpins of organized crime, but to repress the just struggles of the people of México and the Indians of Chiapas." People in the U.S. should be alert and ready to oppose U.S. intervention in Chiapas. Mobilizations by people in the U.S. could also be directed to show opposition to NAFTA and pressure its repeal.

What we learn from the struggle of the Zapatistas can also be applied to our organizing here. The EZLN has emphasized the fundamental importance of land for Indigenous communities. Activists in this country should be aware of the legislative and judicial treatment of Indigenous nations in the U.S., and should support the land struggles of Indigenous nations in this country as a fundamental basis for social justice. Furthermore, the EZLN demands speak to the basic needs of their people: "land, shelter, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace." We must consider what the basic needs of our communities are, and plan a course of action so that they will be met.



NOW ACCEPTING HOUSING APPLICATIONS for 94-95 !!!

CASA JOAQUIN MURIETA
A Non-Profit Educational Foundation Established in 1970 by Chicano/a Students at U.C. Berkeley

- * Undergraduate Academic Residential Support Program
 - Tutoring
 - Computer Center
 - Academic Counseling
 - Drug-Free/Alcohol-Free policy
- * Cooperative living
 - \$3,500 - \$5,550 a year (includes meal service)
 - Scholarships, Internships, and Subsidies
 - 1 1/2 blocks from campus
 - Family atmosphere
 - cultural events

For more information contact:
MARINA @ 540-1984

Community

RESOURCES FOR THE PEOPLE

ASIAN WOMEN'S SHELTER

Provides a safe home for abused Asian women and their children. Asian women who speak no English and have limited resources have priority. Also serves as an information and referral service dealing with issues such as domestic violence, youth, and mental health. Counseling services, multilingual advocacy, and clothing is available.

For more info write to:
Jennifer Kanenaga at
3543 18th St. Box #19
San Francisco, CA 94110
or call: (415) 731-7100



ASIAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN ADVOCATES (AIWA)

Oakland based community organization that assists women in the work place. Serves Asian, Asian American, Pacific Islander immigrant women. Provides an information and referral service as well as support and job rights awareness for Asian immigrant women from Alameda, San Francisco, and Santa Clara Counties. Organizes rallies and campaigns for workers' justice.

Call Vivien Chang at :
(510) 268-0192
or write: 310 8th Street,
Room 301
Oakland, CA 94607

BATTERED WOMEN'S ALTERNATIVES LEGAL ADVOCACY PROGRAM

Provides 24-hour crisis line for battered women; crisis intervention, shelter, counseling (men and women); legal assistance, public education; support groups; volunteer training; violence abatement training for batterers; independent living skills. Serves Gays/Lesbians/ Bisexuals, People of Color, Women. Potential volunteers and interns are welcome to call.

24-hour crisis line:
(415) 930-8300
For more info call
(510) 372-3211
or write PO Box 323
Martinez, CA 94553

BAY AREA WOMEN AGAINST RAPE (BAWAR)

Serves People of Color, youth, women, and victim/witnesses. Provides legal referrals, 24-hour crisis line, support group for incest and rape survivors; community education on self-defense for Alameda county women and children; special services for women of color; speakers bureau; police and hospital training. Also has a Teen Assault Awareness Program and Child Assault Program. BAWAR is in need of volunteers and fund-raisers.

Crisis line: (510) 845-RAPE
For more info call (510) 465-3890

or write 357 Macarthur Ave.
Oakland, CA 94610

BLACK WOMEN ORGANIZED FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The main purpose is to establish, improve, and maintain support systems that empower women, especially those who are low income. This is achieved by providing programs such as the Mentoring Program, Educational and Training Workshops, "Just Between Us Sis'tuhs," as well as Advocacy for Economic Justice for Women.

Write: 518 Seventeenth
Street, Suite 202
Oakland, CA 94612
or call: (510) 763-9501

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

Provides organizing, counseling, and advocacy to promote the welfare of working women through union involvement; representing union women before government agencies and within the labor movement. Promotes Affirmative Action (AA) in the workforce and the end sexual harassment. Strike support and organizing assistance.

For more info call Kerry
Newkirk: (510) 893 8766
or (510) 465-0120 ext. 128
or write: 522 Grand Ave.
Oakland, CA 94610

KOREAN COMMUNITY CENTER OF THE EAST BAY (KCEB)

KCEB serves (free of cost) hundreds of predominantly low-income, limited-English-speaking immigrant Korean families in a wide variety of programs such as multi-cultural childcare, information and referral services, single mother woman's project, senior citizen's programs and substance abuse prevention programs for high-risk youth.

Call: (510) 547-2662
or write : 3538 Telegraph
Ave.

Oakland, CA 94609



LA CASA DE LAS MADRES

La Casa De Las Madres is a shelter for women and youth who are victims of domestic violence, in danger, and without resources. Also aids with temporary restraining orders. Bilingual (Spanish/English) staff is available. Also runs a hotline. Volunteers are always welcome.

Hotline: (415) 333-1515
For more info call: (415) 777-1808
or write: 965 Mission St.,
Suite 300
San Francisco, CA 94103

NATIONAL LATINA HEALTH ORGANIZATION

National Latina Health Organization promotes self-help methods and empowerment processes as a vehicle of taking better control of our health practices and styles. The organization is committed to work towards the goal of bilingual access to quality health care and self empowerment of Latinas through education programs, health advocacy, outreach, research, and public policy.

For more info call: (510) 534-1362
FAX: 534-1364
or write: PO Box 7567
Oakland, CA 94501
or: 1900 Fruitvale Ave.
Oakland, CA 94501

RAPE CRISIS CENTER

24-hour crisis line, in person support at the hospital, with law enforcement and through court processes. Serve child and adult victims of sexual assault; community education presentations; child assault prevention project for grades pre-K through high school as well as self defense classes. All services are free of cost. Volunteers are welcome. An internship program is available.

For more info call: (510) 236-7273
or write: 2023 Vale Rd. #2
San Pablo, CA 94806

TRADESWOMEN

Provides counseling, referral, and support groups on employment-related issues of concern to women of color. Offers special services free of cost in advocacy, peer support, networking, and coalition building for women in non-traditional blue collar employment. Also involved in On-TRADE, training support program. Potential volunteers are welcome.

Call: (510) 649-6260
or write: PO Box 2622
Berkeley, CA 94702

WOMEN'S CHOICE CLINIC

The clinic provides first and second trimester abortions, gynecological treatment and services, birth control, as well as HIV screening and counseling among other services. Volunteers are welcome. There is an internship program available as well as training for medical assistant and social work.

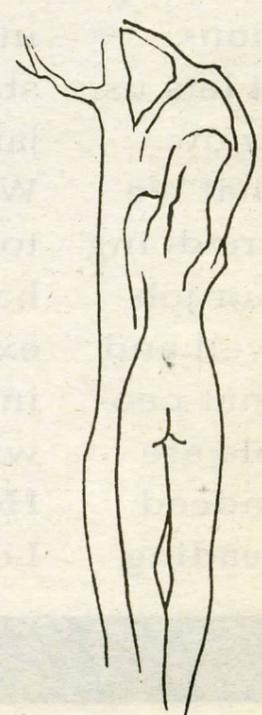
For more info call Cathy
Chow at: (510) 444-5676
or write: 2930 McClure Ave.
Oakland, CA 94609

WOMEN OF COLOR RESOURCE CENTER (WCRC)

WCRC is committed to strengthening the efforts of organizers, advocates, and scholars who are working to improve the condition of women of color. WCRC serves as a vehicle for ongoing dialogue and interchange among women of color about their current status and strategies for change. It is focused on an agenda that recognizes the crucial interconnections between anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic work.

Call: (510) 848-9272
or write: 2288 Fulton St.
Suite 103
Berkeley, CA 94704

Women in society have revolutionized their roles. This change is expressed in art, music, poetry. The realities that constitute a woman's life are becoming one of the most prevailing themes in the artistic field as more and more women decide to express it in their everyday art. We are fighting for what is rightfully ours. We must not forget, though, that we must help each other survive the daily struggle of sexism and double-standards. It is never enough for us to celebrate our womanhood for one month. We must continue to be active and fight society's apathetic views on sexism, as we believe in our own humanity and excellence as Women of Color. We have dedicated the community section this month to Women. Seek the services you need and seek to help others. It is time to stop talking and start taking action.



Summer 1994

Due to the paper. Gates, in pro-
 shortage of staff is *Diatribe* Jr., production
 of this summer, we struggling to and commu-
 were unable to print, as author, nity as
 compile we are up on his students.
 an exten- against newest Your
 sive cal- financial release. support,
 endar for strains, *Diatribe* in the
 the limited hopes to form of
 months of resouces, expand letters or
 June, and a its cover-submis-
 July, and dearth of age and sions,
 August. incoming reader- will be
 However, members ship by key to
Diatribe is to replace possibly our sur-
 still very departing introduc-vival,
 interested ones. ing an and we
 in receiv- Future arts and look for-
 ing mail, issues enter- ward to
 announce will tainment hearing
 ments of include a section, from
 events, running covering you.
 calendar corre- film,
 items, spon- televi- —*Diatribe*
 com- dance sion,
 ments with music,
 on the Kevin artists,
 articles, Cartwrig and
 rebuts, ht, who events
 argu- will be on involving
 ments, location People of
 art, in Color and
 photos, Mississip their
 opinions, pi to visions.
 advertise- investi- We can
 ments, or gate only stay
 subscrip- hangings
 tions. in the
 It lets us states'
 know jails.
 that we We hope
 are doing to soon
 our job have an
 well and extensive
 that peo- interview
 ple are with
 indeed Henry
 reading Louis

Communicate:

Diatribe
 700 Eshleman
 UC Berkeley
 Berkeley, CA
 Nine Four Seven Two
 Zero 20

A Different Kind of Law School

FOR THOSE COMMITTED TO SOCIAL CHANGE

NEW COLLEGE SCHOOL of LAW
THE OLDEST PUBLIC INTEREST LAW SCHOOL IN THE COUNTRY

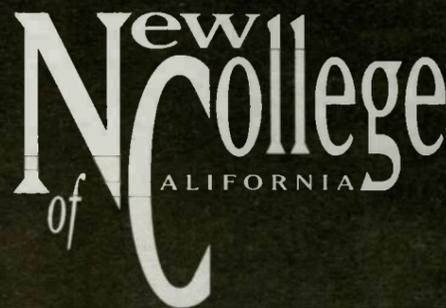


- Celebrating 20 years of educating socially responsible lawyers
- Supportive Academic Environment
- Multicultural faculty & student body — the most diverse in CA
- Full-time & part-time programs available
- Innovative and challenging curriculum integrating both theory & practice
- Accredited by the State Bar of CA

(800)335.6262 x353

OTHER PROGRAMS AT NEW COLLEGE:

- HUMANITIES B.A. PROGRAM
- WORLD COLLEGE INSTITUTE, BA PROGRAM
- WEEKEND COLLEGE PROGRAM
- INTERDISCIPLINARY ARTS & SOCIAL CHANGE, MA PROGRAM
- GRADUATE PSYCHOLOGY SCHOOL
- POETICS PROGRAM, BA, MA, MFA
- TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM
- SCIENCE INSTITUTE



Financial Aid is available.

Accredited by the Western Association of Schools & Colleges.

People of color are encouraged to apply.

50 Fell St. • San Francisco • 94102