17 May, 1975

Dear Fran,

Greetings, Comrade. The Alliance out here continues to struggle along. We are moving forward and feel good about our new direction as is indicated in the National Report.

As an Alliance project we all read your article in the March issue of the Black Scholar and discussed it at one of our meetings. The discussion was very exciting, and in a comradely spirit some of our comments were:

Generally it is very good for the Alliance to have more exposure. Many ideas are generated in the article and put in a historical context which provokes much thought on the part of the readers.

But overall, the article seems to reflect more what was happening in the Movement 5 years ago when the Alliance was first conceived than the dilemmas that are preoccupying people today. When 3rd World women came together to form the Alliance it was partly in reaction to the chauvinism practiced by some of the brothers and to the inability of the white women's movement to speak to the reality faced by 3rd World women. Since that time the political climate in the Movement has changed, and we need to keep in step with those changes.

The chauvinism that is attacked in the article existed in a severe form in the 60's, but people seem to have made some progress since then. This is not to say that there aren't a lot of problems in working with the brothers. But the article harshly attacks these attitudes among Black men as if this is the Number One contradiction. Although the article alludes to imperialism as the source of the problem, by placing the major emphasis on the contradictions between 3rd World men and women it ends up following the logic set out by bourgeois sociology departments and sectors of the white women's movement. This logic alternately places the blame for our people's bad condition on the "inadequacies" of the Black man or the Black woman.

Although it is true as you say that working class Afro-American women aren't about
"to exhange a white master for a black one", this isn't the main dynamic going on in the U.S. today. Black capitalism is not on the rise and will not be permitted to become a significant economic power on the American scene. As we know, racism is part and parcel of American capitalism. The white ruling class is more entrenched than ever, and the condition of all & 3rd World people is steadily worsening. When it comes to the question of 3rd World tokens and lackeys, we should use your analogy: "You can either shoot the shadow of the thief or you can shoot the body." Therefore, we should aim our sights on the imperialist system.

The article also has difficulties in its treatment of the women's liberation movement. For one thing, the women's lib movement is made up of a diffusion of different forces which don't subscribe to one outlook. If you choose to take on analyzing the women's movement, it merits much more careful analysis. For another thing, however, it seems unhealthy for us to set ourselves up in the role of denouncing the white women's movement unless we have something better to show ourselves. Rather than wasting valuable time taking potshots at the women's lib movement, we should concentrate our energies on building a strong mass movement among 3rd World women and all of our people.

Because the article's main thrust is to lash out against 3rd World men and the women's lib movement, it could lead people to believe that you are advocating separatism. People could conclude that we have come together only because 3rd World men are so fucked up. Thus, even your point about developing a sisterhood that stretches across all countries will be misinterpreted as feminism.

Much, much more serious investigation and collective analysis must be done on the topics covered in your article. We fully empathize with you on the difficulty of moving on this task. Yet these questions must be thoroughly understood if our movement is to grow. We have had to confront our ignorance on these questions especially during the past 2 years out here in the Bay Area. Other sisters have even criticized us for continuing to use Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Rosa Parks as examples over and over again, as if our people were incapable of producing more than 3 women as leaders.
Instead of just harping on the same old song-and-dance of our oppression as 3rd World women, we have reached the stage of having to take responsibility for creating a mass people's movement especially given the frightening increase of reaction in this country.

We are trying to approach the woman question from a positive angle rather than just nagging the brothers, which never gets anywhere. We have found 2 ideas to be particularly useful:

1) Promoting the solidarity of all working people. This fully accords with our history as an essential component of the laboring masses of this country since Day One; and

2) Acknowledgement of the women's struggle as an integral part of the people's struggle.

We need to get folks to see that everyone has a real stake in bringing the women's questions to some kind of resolution. Because of the multiplicity of responsibilities carried by the 3rd World woman, as worker/student/wife/mother/activist, what she does necessarily has had a decisive impact on the welfare of her people. 3rd World women have acted as fighters, unifiers, and stabilizers. We must figure out a positive way for encouraging many, many more sisters to ask take part in the struggle. But also, given the foul dehumanization this country puts all 3rd World men through, we must be open to any opportunity when we can encourage the brothers to take up their responsibility in the political movement. It is only through common work and struggle that 3rd World men and women will come to respect each other.

We hope our ideas will be of some positive use to you. Unfortunately, it is sometimes difficult for us to put our ideas down in writing. Also, we realize that the conditions you folks face in New York are far different from conditions out here. We are looking forward to meeting with sisters from New York during the summer so that we can really get down and do some serious talking.

In Love & Struggle,
TWMA, Bay Area
I. Outside Activities

A. Incidents in the Bay Area surrounding the Symbionese Liberation Army

On November 6, 1973, Marcus Foster, then Superintendent of the Oakland City Schools was killed. Subsequently a statement from the Symbionese Liberation Army was made taking full responsibility for the murder. When this occurred information about the S.L.A. was lacking and the only material available was from the mass media. Alliance members were appalled by this irresponsible action. Marcus Foster was one of the few sensitive Black educators in the country who was respected by the black community.

Nothing was heard from this organization called the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) until the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst on February 4, 1974. Due to her family background of course this incident became the number one headline news. Again a "Communique" was released to the press (on 2/12/74) stating the objectives of the SLA - (this statement has been sent to the New York Chapter). Unfortunately the SLA chose the Third World Women's Alliance as well as Triple Jeopardy along with other community groups to help in the distribution of food (the money for the food was to come from the Hearst family as part of the SLA demands).

The Third World Women's Alliance - Bay Area felt it most important to study the release to the press before acting prematurely. Emergency meetings were held and after long and thorough discussions we felt that to recognize the SLA by participating in coalitions around their demands and ideologically engaging in dialogue based on their message would be tantamount to legitimizing them and their activity. We could not condone their irresponsible actions in any way so we issued the following statement to the press on February 16, 1974:

"The Third World Women's Alliance and our newspaper Triple Jeopardy have studied the demands of the Symbionese Liberation Army as printed in the mass media. We know nothing further of the Symbionese Liberation Army. We can in no way condone their tactics or cooperate with their demands."

As far as we know this statement was never broadcast or printed. Also, as far as we know neither the Alliance nor Triple Jeopardy have been subsequently mentioned in the mass media as being connected with the kidnapping or the SLA.

The incident really blossomed into daily front page coverage from February 4th until this day with everyone and their brother attempting to capitalize on the situation. As of this date Patricia Hearst has not returned home. One week ago another in a series of communiques
was released wherein Patricia said she had been given the choice to be set free or to join the SLA. She decided to "stay and fight". Again we have no further information and not the slightest idea of what is happening other than the newspaper accounts. Two weeks ago there was a series of three articles in the San Francisco Chronicle on the Origins of the SLA. The articles seem to be a consistent and reliable source of information. We are sending them to you for background material (Enclosure 1).

WE DO NOT FEEL THIS INFORMATION SHOULD BE PRINTED IN OUR NEWSPAPER. It is still unclear to us what are the true origins and backing of this group in full detail. The issue now has blossomed to new heights but more important we feel it politically unwise to invite dialogue on this issue. As soon as the situation is clarified we will write to other Alliance chapters and Affiliates.

B. China Visit by T.

On December 19th, 1973, T. left the Bay Area on a Guardian sponsored trip to China. The trip lasted approximately four weeks and covered several cities and some outlying areas of China. The trip was organized by the Guardian as a "Political Activists" trip, as a fundraiser for the Guardian. Twenty-two "activists" from different parts of the U.S. went on the trip. Some effort was made to balance the delegation by sex and race. Half the group was women and five of the twenty-two people were Third World.

T. was asked to look into several specific areas of Chinese life; among these was the actual status of women in the work force, the situation among the National minorities, the role of the Women's Federation, and various questions about education, health and life generally in a socialist country.

Since returning in January, T. has been making reports to the Alliance about different aspects of the China trip. So far we have heard about a meeting with representatives from the Women's Federation of NanKing; a visit to the National Minorities Institute near Peking, and a view of "Movement activists" as seen on a trip to China.

We will continue these reports until we run out of steam.

II. Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day

This was a new experience for the Bay Area Alliance, initiating work on an event with many other individuals (some who work in organizations and others who don't). The Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day was neither a coalition with formal representation from organizations, nor was it an Alliance project (in which case Alliance policy would play a great part). The Committee was a self-sustaining group with its own Steering Committee and subcommittees, with the involvement of many different Third World Women from different parts of the San Francisco Bay Area.

The role of the Alliance was to initiate, give planning and structure to the beginning meetings, keep files, bolster committee work, etc. It's influence was perhaps more thoroughly thought out and
felt during the beginning stages and at the end. During the middle period, it was mostly the effect of individuals that was felt (i.e. two Alliance members were on the steering committee).

In the beginning stages (Sept. 1973) the Alliance vaguely felt it would be good to work on a celebration, but it was approached sort of mechanically, that is by listing groups we knew of, etc. It wasn't until we began exploring the scarce available materials on International Women's Day background that we discovered and studied Clara Zetkin's "My Recollections of Lenin" published as the appendix to "The Emancipation of Women," (International Publishers, New World Paperbacks, 381 Park Ave. New York, 10016). It was at this time that we began to see the depth and breadth of an International Women's movement. From the same studying came the basis for the points which the Alliance would later (Nov. 1973) suggest as possible principles of unity. (Enclosure 2 is the second of two drafts collectively discussed and summarized by the committee itself.) It became evident once the event was over that the Principles of Unity had played a key role in the way the event came across as well as in keeping our specific, day-to-day work going in a tight direction. They were appropriate and seem to have encompassed a political correctness.

The goals we decided upon were to 1) push forward the political and international character of International Women's Day, 2) to make it an educational event for us in preparation and for the public as they participated, and 3) to develop Third World Women's leadership. All of these goals were effectively put into practice.

The first body formed from a mobilizing meeting at a potluck dinner in November was the coordinating committee, which discussed principles, goals, group title and programmatic suggestions. We then broke into two committees, program and publicity. They in turn broke into sub-committees (program included speakers and display groups, publicity included rap-media and leaflet-poster groups). A Third committee, fundraising, was formed with representation from publicity and program. Subsequently it was necessary to form a steering committee, with representatives chosen by group criteria from speakers, display, leaflet-poster, rap-media, and fundraising. This became the body which provided coordination, political direction and overview.

The Celebration, itself, came off well despite the loose work in the last 2 weeks. Please see enclosed clippings from the Panther paper. (Enclosure 3). Also the Guardian in its March 24, 1974 issue had a paragraph describing the outcome.

The evaluation period after the event took a lot of work, collectively tying up ends and systematizing future suggestions into permanent files for all levels of work. The TWWCIIWD is inactive as of April 7, 1974. The Steering Committee requested that the Alliance hold the files, supplies, moneys, and future mail. Also, the Steering Committee prepared a letter which the Alliance is to send when mail comes for the Committee. (Enclosure 4) Also enclosed is the Thank you note that the Committee sent to people who did task work but who were not on the committees. (Enclosure 5)

The Alliance's evaluation of it's own participation is that our collectivity was not as strong towards the middle (Feb) as in the beginning of the event (Nov). It was an error to cancel regular Alliance meetings as we might have been more of a collective force to
help with committee direction and problems. As we re-read Mao's "Methods of Leadership" it became apparent that the previous study of it in the Alliance many months earlier had also been of key importance in the work method and relationships fostered.

On the positive side, the work has helped us to gel more concretely (in practice) why we feel it is important to organize Third World Women. It is also helping us to verbalize "what is the Alliance?" This is a question many ask us. In the past we have had only vague answers for them. For that reason, it is a top priority item on our agendas now, and one which will need the discussion of all chapters as it lays the basis for our unified work together.

III. Inside Activities - Work Brigade

On December 28, 29 and 30, 1973 the Alliance organized another work brigade to Agbayani Village, the retirement village being constructed by the United Farmworkers Union in Delano.

The work brigade was a tremendous success in many aspects. Our preparation for the trip was much better than last time. A well organized potluck dinner a week before the trip helped unify people as well as orient them to the village and our plans for the trip.

On the last work brigade we excluded non-Third World people to avoid racial problems. This time we were able to handle the racial questions in a more positive way. We held our own discussions and also discussions with members of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP - Union of Democratic Filipinos), the Filipino organization which co-ordinates the trips of large groups to Agbayani Village. Our decision to include non-third world peoples this time was based on several things.

- The United Farmworkers Union who we will be working in support of have a multi-racial philosophy and is a multi-racial organization
- We would have limited and specific goals to unify around which would be work production and solidarity with the farmworkers
- The trip would be just for the weekend
- That with forethought we could organize the weekend so that we could be in control of the situation
- We would gain valuable lessons for the future
- This would be a good opportunity to take a step forward and work in a multi-racial setting.
- Although in most of our work we do not want to constantly be dealing at this point with racial problems - that when we can do so in a controlled and limited situation we should,
- In the future we will have to be working with all people. At some point we have to lay the groundwork for such things.

The work brigade itself was a real success. There were fifty or so people - our stay was highly productive, people worked very hard. There was a sense of unity among the participants and no major racial problems emerged. The concept of Third World Peoples as working peoples and united with other working people in a constructive effort was important in making the weekend very smooth. We were able to rely on our friends to help overlook work sub-brigades and for advice. Our relations with KDP were very comradly and supportive and laid a basis for future good relations.

Two goals - a) Political Education b) Work productively in a comradly spirit of the farmworkers
IV. Alliance Business

***NATIONAL: The visit from Fran to the West Coast was really nice. Though we were able to chat only briefly certain things became clear. Most important is the need for a national get together in order of clarify:

1) What is the Alliance? there seem to be many ideas of what we are and how we work in different geographical areas.
2) What is our role in the movement as a Third World Women's Group?
3) What role does Triple Jeopardy play? What is the relationship of other chapters to the newspaper?
4) What does Chapter formation mean? What direction Seattle Third World Women?

We feel these questions are all urgent and are now discussing each one in detail in preparation for a national meeting.

The national newspaper, the Guardian, has recently had errors in reference to the Third World Women's Alliance. In view of the fact that members of the Alliance have participated in Guardian forums, articles, etc. we felt it important for us all to be aware of some of these errors so that our relationship to the Guardian is clear. The errors were two:

1) Pat Sumi was identified as a member of the TWWA after participating in a Third World Conference in Michigan in February. The error appeared in the March 13 edition. Pat has never been in the Alliance. She did however work on the Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day. Correction of this error has been carried to its source and also the Guardian in its March 27 edition made a correction.
2) On March 20 in the article about International Women's Day activities, the event organized by the TWWCIIWD in the Bay Area was incorrectly reported as being organized by the Alliance. Correction of this was done in the April 3 issue of their paper.

REGIONAL: The majority of our efforts over the last three months have been on the Agbayani Work Brigade and International Women's Day. Thus, national reports have not been done as explained in previous letters. However, now after reviewing the purpose and usefulness of the reports we feel that quarterly (every three months) reports would be more cohesive. This is the first of those quarterly reports. We have not heard from Seattle in many months. Hope to hear from other areas soon.

FORWARD IN STRUGGLE

BAY AREA CHAPTER - TWWA
be the first of many villages for retired farm workers.

You Can Help!

The Village is a big project. Most of the construction work will be done by volunteers. Some will come to Delano on weekends, while others will stay for two weeks or more. All will come in organized groups.

The volunteers will be housed in tents at the construction site and will eat their meals with the villagers. Because of the shortage of funds, funds, volunteers are asked to bring $1.00 a day for food during their stay.

If you have construction skills to offer or can help financially please contact:

N.F.W.S.C.-- Agbayani Village
P.O. Box 130
Delano, California 93215

For more information, call (415) 986-7098

"THE UNION IS BUILDING A COMMUNITY AND AGBAYANI VILLAGE IS NOT BEING BUILT FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES. IT IS NOT BEING BUILT TO MAKE MONEY. IF THIS WORKS OUT WITH SINGLE PEOPLE NOW, THIS GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF COMMUNITY LIFE WILL BE APPLIED TO FAMILIES."

--Philip Vera Cruz
Mamaya--Coming Soon!

The Paulo Agbayani Retirement Village is on its way. The Village which is being built at the Forty Acres in Delano, California, will house 59 retired farm workers, both men and women. First consideration will be given to the original strikers of the Grape Strike of 1965, who are mostly Filipinos.

The retirement center is named after Paulo Agbayani, a Filipino brother who died in 1967 as he struggled on the Perelli-Minetti picket line to get better wages and working conditions for all farm workers.

Who are the Filipinos?

The majority of the Filipino farm workers were brought to the U.S. in the early 1920's and 1930's as a source of cheap labor.

They were forced to leave their families in the Philippines because the immigration quota was restricted to males.

In the U.S., racist laws prohibited them from intermarrying as well as owning property. ostracized and exploited, many were doomed to living in broken down labor camps and cheap hotel rooms in the Manila/Chinatown areas of large cities and small towns throughout the western part of the U.S.

Although the laws were later changed, poverty and discrimination combined to keep thousands of old Filipinos without families trapped in camps and hotels.

On September 8, 1965, the 1800 members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, launched the now-famous Grape Strike by walking out of 33 grape ranches in the Delano area. Eight days later, the members of the National Farm Workers Association, led by Cesar Chavez, voted to join the strike in support of the Filipino brothers. The two unions later merged to form the present United Farm Workers.

Collective Living

Life at Agbayani Village will be based on the principles of collective living. Decisions will be made on a democratic basis, with much emphasis on self-reliance and cooperation.

The Village will strengthen the ties between the Union and the retirees.

The sisters and brothers who will live in the Village will help to build the village, maintain a collective garden, do upkeep and guard duty at the Forty Acres, raise chickens and help to staff a child care center.

The villagers will also receive medical attention as well as legal and social services from the union. As was the case with the Terronez Memorial Clinic, the Village will
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I. Outside Activities

26th of JULY

Saturday and Sunday, July 28 & 29, a highly successful exposition was held at the Oakland High School auditorium in celebration of July 26. Hundreds of people attended the event which included music, displays, organizations with tables and displays, skits, speakers, guitarists, dancers, films and a slide show.

OCTOBER 1 COMMITTEE

TWWA was asked to participate in a joint committee to celebrate October 1. We have agreed to do so on a somewhat limited basis. Our participation will be with the publicity committee, doing tasks as much as possible, but attending very few meetings. We are presently assigned the job of developing a good, Third World list of organizations for the publicity committee.

The points of unity for the joint committee are: (1) people-to-people friendship with China, (2) normalizing relations between the United States and China; supporting the 5 points of foreign relations of China, (3) educate Americans about China and the leading role that she plays in the world today.

WEAVERS FESTIVAL

The women of the Chinese Progressive Association invited TWWA to participate in a small celebration they were holding which grows out of an old Chinese folktale. The Association is made up of members of the Chinatown community who support the People's Republic of China. This is a significant development in Chinatown which had traditionally been controlled by the KMT.

Because we were unable to become actively involved in the festival we decided to send a letter expressing solidarity with the event and with the women of C.P.A.

II. Internal Activities

FUNDRAISING REPORT

Our recent fundraising at the Co-Op Flea Market was not as successful as we had hoped. Our problem centered around a lack of investigation of the task as well as keeping a clear focus on fundraising.

At present, the committee is involved in doing several investigations in hopes to organize a fundraising event in the near future. We would further request suggestions from both the sisters in New York and Seattle to share past successful fundraising projects with the Bay Area.

26th of JULY COMMITTEE
We participated in the 26th of July Celebration with a table and display on Women in Cuba. When completed the display looked very good and a lot of people came by the table.

The assembling of the display took longer than anticipated so that other Alliance members had to help finish it. All along we felt hampered by the fact that there were only three of us working on the display. An evaluation of the committee's work will be forthcoming.

**NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE**

We developed from the mobilizing committee a group of women who expressed interest in working on our newspaper. We are presently becoming familiar with the style and content of T.J. and attempting to develop a mechanism for submission of articles to T.J. So far, we have sent a group of speeches from the Women's workshop of an Asian-Studies Conference that was held this summer. We only had to write introductory remarks. We will continue to compile and develop materials for T.J.

An article written by the Friends of the San Quinten Adjustment Center.

**GENERAL ALLIANCE MEETING COMMITTEE (GAM)**

The GAM is now working intensively on preparation for the August 19th program in support of the Farmworkers, Farah Strikers and Kalayaan. Press releases, TV shows and radio announcements are being done, as well as contact with sympathetic organizations in the area. The members of the committee vary in their participation. Three have been very consistent and responsible. Due to the scope of this committee a second Alliance member is also working on it. Enclosed is a leaflet announcing the event. An analysis of the workstyle of the committee and the event outcome will be in our next report.

**DELANO WORK PROJECT**

TWWA is organizing a work brigade to help construct Agbayani Village (second enclosure). We are inviting Third World brothers and sisters to work with us hoping to take 25-30 people down. We have arranged with the UFW to go to Delano (270 miles south of San Francisco) on the Labor Day weekend of September 1-3. An analysis of this project will be in our next report.

**III. Alliance Work**

**P.E. COMMITTEE**

The ad hoc P.E. Committee recommended to the membership body an agenda for the upcoming meetings with individual outside resource people. It would include running down with them the purpose of our meeting and a word about the internal nature of our discussions. We would also run down the history of our past P.E., and lay out our own analysis as to the needs of our group's future P.E. (content and method). We would then ask them for a response and criticism and for their suggestions as to materials and resources on particular subjects. The ad hoc P.E. committee will then
report back to the body for discussion and decisions as to further steps toward a systematic P.E.

It was decided by the membership body that we would have P.E. once a month on various topics until the more systematic study could begin. The lack of P.E. since the middle of the retreat has begun to manifest itself.

BUSINESS

Since our mobilizing meeting, we have accelerated extremely fast in participating actively in our own committees as well as other movement tasks. As a result, our collectivity has not been what it used to be, which was largely due to spreading ourselves out where we were working individually. In all committee work there was only one Alliance member in each area. As a result we would tend to criticize and offer suggestions to committee heads where, in fact, the committee had already made a decision. We are learning fast that in order to insure collectivity and stability in the organization, it is key that we work on a committee together. We have taken steps in our work by having two Alliance members stationary in the GAM’s. This aids the work of the organization and committee work.

During our recent criticism-self criticism, each of us spoke of the necessity to be zeroed in on a particular task. Perhaps as we become more experienced, we will creatively address the question of how best to integrate the Alliance as well as committee members to work on specific tasks.

IV. Responses to Reports

NEW YORK

Although we have not received a report from New York yet, we had a few questions.

A copy of the speech given at the Vietnamese event and also an article on African Liberation Day were sent to you. We had hoped they might be printed in this latest issue of the newspaper. We were wondering why they did not appear. Did we miss a deadline? Was the A.L.D. article too short? Let us know what the problems were so that they can be avoided next time.

The Cubanos sent a note -- they received the Triple Jeopardys.

The name of TWWA appears on the return address of all the Expo Cuba literature and publicity coming out of New York. Although we do not know all of the considerations that went into this decision it raises some serious political questions.

The use of our name on the literature and publicity for a coalition event indicates a special or favored relationship between TWWA and Expo Cuba or the Brigade. In a coalition of many groups doesn’t it seem unusual that Expo Cuba is using the mailing address and NAME of one specific group? The
event was not Expo Cuba-TWWA and yet the use of our name and address implies that this is so.

It can, in fact, appear opportunistic for TWWA to be putting its name on the publicity for a non-TWWA event. A true coalition must treat all of its members in an equal and impartial way. To do otherwise raises questions about the principles of the coalition.

Also, using TWWA as the return address for Expo Cuba raises questions about our relationship to Cuba. Without question, the organization supports the Cuban Revolution and all anti-imperialist struggles. But for our name to appear so centrally on Expo Cuba publicity draws the attention of the F.B.I. and others (including gusanos) to the organization and implies that we are more than ordinary participants in the event and that we have more than casual ties with Cuba.

Whatever our individual or personal feelings may be about Cuba, we must not make those implications about the organization because it is just not true. We must constantly be careful that whatever we project about TWWA be a true reflection of the organization. And that we exhibit at all times an unquestionably principled work style.

Please respond.

SEATTLE

We would like to point out the good judgement of the sisters concerning limiting the amount of work that you take on organizationally. The Bay Area is also faced with a similar problem. Many groups are asking us to participate in their events either through statements of solidarity or setting up booths. It has become almost physically impossible to fulfill all tasks. Strengthening group solidarity is primary for our work to be systematic. Therefore, we too are halting the amount of tasks that we take on.

Adelante!
National Report from Bay Area
Month of August 1973

I. Outside Activities

Work is progressing on the celebration in the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee to Celebrate October 1 is a Coalition of various groups, mainly movement groups. A good effort has been made to maintain principled relationships and unity. We will send a more detailed report after the event.

II. Internal Activities

July 26 Celebration - Evaluation

The work that we did this year on a display for the July 26 Celebration was much more consistent than last year. There were many problems but it was a step forward and we learned several lessons.

The Committee was too small and too rushed for time to do the kind of effective PE we had wanted to do. Because we were rushed we became task-oriented. The display was more descriptive than analytical.

Another problem was that because other TWWA members were so tied up with other tasks our Committee was all on its own and became isolated.

Members of the Committee felt that July 26 should have been more of a priority project than it was because of the potential for doing good PE among the Committee members.

The two Committee members felt it was a good experience and although the research was limited, what we did do was informative.

Next year we should try to do a better job.

GAM Program

August 19, 1973 the Third World Women's Alliance in the Bay Area sponsored a program in support of Third World working people. Approximately 125-150 people came - mostly movement folks - very few community people. Organization of the event was done by the G.A.M. Committee consisting of 2-3 Alliance members and four Alliance friends. This Committee organized others to help in the program: 3 people to help with the technical aspects, six to help with the translation (the program was done in both Spanish and English), four outside people to help with the publicity, seven people to help with decoration of the hall and six people to help with ushering (security), three speakers, and two babysitters. Enclosed are the preliminary letter to organizations in the BAY AREA, a press release sent to T.V., Radio and Newspapers, a leaflet and a program. The Alliance was on two TV shows talking about the significance of this event and a little about the Alliance.

Following is a brief time schedule of how our planning went:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>WEEKS TO GO</th>
<th>WHAT TO DO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Invitations to the speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptance of the speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Investigation of the place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Follow up about speech content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General format of meeting must be ready</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WHAT TO DO

Organization list
Mailing list
Newspaper, Radio and TV lists
Consider leaflets
Consider posters

Have letter to organ. and send it
have leaflet
Have press release and send it
Have particulars of time and place
Contact printers
Contact translators

This is the week-end of July 26
Celebration and our efforts are
mainly geared to it.
Consider recruitment of others into
the nitty gritty—work e.g. leaflet
Prepare music tapes
Follow up on people giving speeches
arrange to meet during the next
two weeks and go over the content
Follow up on radio, Newspaper
announcements
Consider Baby Sitting Arrangements

Second mailing to org. of the
leaflet
Translations of the Speeches to Spanish
Put up posters
Mailing to Alliance Friends to
go out this week
Consider punch or coffee to be
available.

Divide tasks of the Committee
Security and ushers
Publicity
Program
Technical
Decorations
Babysitting

Finality of the content of the program.
Check all recorder equipment for func-
tion
Door to Door Contact in the Community

This was the first large event the Alliance in the Bay Area had organized. We were
unsure throughout the planning stages of what types of people would come out. An evaluation
will be made in our next report after a Criticism and Self-Criticism is held within the
Committee and the ideas are gelled.

Copies of the Speeches are available if you would like them. The Newspaper Committee
is preparing an article.
Agbayani Village

The Alliance presented an informational meeting on Women in Labor Struggles on August 19. One of the speakers represented the United Farm Workers. As a concrete extension of that concern, we sponsored a Third World Brigade (of 30 or so men and women) to Agbayani Village in Delano County on Labor Day Weekend.

It was a well organized, unifying weekend for people from progressive Bay Area organizations as well as individuals not related to groups. We helped in the construction of retirement homes for the United Farm Workers, the older Pilipino men being the first to strike and also among the first to retire. (The village is named after a Pilipino man who died while picketing in those original strikes.) SEE ENCLOSURE Brochure entitled Monument to Working People.

Our work this weekend was dedicated to the brothers recently killed while picketing against grape farmers.

PS The film on the Tupamaros was shown and is highly recommended.

III. Alliance Work

Ad Hoc PE Committee

The Ad Hoc PE Committee has been seeing "outside" resource people regarding potential materials on the Women Question; other topics such as racism, imperialism, private property and marxism; and also on the area of organizational development. As the priority for these months is to gain practice, the ad hoc PE Committee work is taken according to schedules and present organizational events. Yet it is important for continuity that we not string the work out too far into the future.

Business and General Dynamics

Major decisions of the past few weeks have related to details of the GAM and the Delano Work Project.

Because both were large activities involving many people, both related to the Farm Worker's Struggle and both required lots of time and work, it is difficult to separate the two. They constituted a rational and practical extension of the theme, Women in Labor Struggles. Both events were very successful but extremely taxing on a group of our size. The GAM Committee was a good attempt to share the work among a larger number of people, but there was some confusion around responsibilities in the final moments. In summary, both projects were very fine events which related well to our goals and were an excellent first effort of the group.

Further discussion about the PE study plan resulted in a revision of our original agenda for the resource people. The revisions limited the levels of PE mentioned earlier and involved less explicit sharing of the Alliance internal affairs with the resource people. Two meetings have been held with the resources. After all four have had three meetings with our ad hoc PE Committee, the Committee will report to the Alliance.

This has been the most active period that the Alliance has experienced in the Bay Area. We are all somewhat overworked because of it. We miss any member's absence very much. We will probably have a slower pace in the immediate future.

IV New York

We have received the article "Women in the Work Force" you sent us last month. Looking forward to receiving the next monthly report.

Seattle

What is the status of the regional Agenda? We hope to hear from you soon
July 23, 1973

Dear Friends,

The struggle of Third World Peoples in the United States has been a long and arduous one against many forms of oppression. Brave men and women have played leading roles in the organizing and mobilization of millions of brothers and sisters. In view of the nature of the society in which we live the role that women have played is often overlooked or regarded as unessential. Women have been a steady, uniting, strengthening and dependable force in Third World movements. A fact of which we are all aware.

The Third World Women's Alliance will be sponsoring an evening in support of the United Farmworkers, Farah Strikers and Filipino peoples in the United States. The emphasis of the program will be in considering the role of women in these struggles. There will be speeches from the above mentioned representatives and a showing of 38 FAMILIES, a film about the continuing housing shortage for farmworkers and their families. The event will be on Sunday evening, August 19 at 7:30 p.m. at St. Peter's Church in the Mission district of San Francisco. We will be sending general leaflets announcing the program shortly.

We are sending this preliminary invitation to your organization because of your known efforts in support of all Third World Peoples. We hope that members of your organization will show solidarity with this event.

In Friendship and Solidarity,

Third World Women's Alliance
Dear Friends:

Please print/air the following text.

Press Release

In recent years, Third World workers in the United States have been waging organized struggles around conditions under which they work and live. For example, since the late 50's, farm workers in California have been leading a tireless exemplary fight. And more recently, since May of last year, mercantile workers at Farah Manufacturing Company have been on strike.

In solidarity, the Third World Women's Alliance is sponsoring a meeting to find out more about the United Farm Workers and Farah strike, focusing on the contributions of working women as active participants in advancing these struggles. We will also be discussing ways in which we can lend our support.

The meeting will be held at St. Peter's Church on Alabama near 24th Street in San Francisco, Sunday, August 19, at 7:30 pm. Representatives from the United Farm Workers Union, Farah Strike Support Committee, and Kalayaan will speak.

Everyone is welcome.

For further information call: (415) 652-9954
Amigos:

Por favor, publica/dicemina este Anuncio. Gracias.

ANUNCIO

En años recientes, trabajadores del tercero mundo en los Estados Unidos han estado tratando luchas organizadas para mejorar condiciones en las cuales trabajan y viven. Por ejemplo, desde los años 50 los trabajadores del campo (Los Campesinos) en California han estado encabezando una lucha ejemplar y incansable. Más Contemporaniamente, desde el año pasado trabajadores mercantiles en la compañía Manufactora Farah han estado en huelga.

Para mostrar solidaridad La Alianza de Mujeres del Tercero Mundo está patrocinando una junta para enterarse más de la Unión de Campesinos y la huelga Farah, concentrando en las contribuciones de las mujeres trabajadores como participantes activas para avanzar dichas luchas. Además discutiremos diferentes modos en los cuales podamos prestar nuestra ayuda.

La junta se llevará acabo en la Iglesia de San Pedro, calle Alabama cerca de la calle 24 en San Francisco, Domingo, 19 de Agosto, a las 7:30 p.m. Representantes de la Unión Campesina (UFW), Comité de apoyo Farah, y Kalayaan asistirán.

Para más información llame: 415-652-9954
PRESS RELEASE

EVENT: Informational meeting about the struggles of the United Farm Workers and Farah strikers sponsored by the Third World Women's Alliance

TIME: Sunday, August 19 7:30 pm

PLACE: St. Peter's Church on Alabama near 24th St. San Francisco

ADMISSION: Free

SPECIAL INFORMATION:

An informational meeting to express solidarity with the United Farm Workers and Farah strikers, and working women in those struggles. Speakers will include representatives from the United Farm Workers Union, Farah Strike Support Committee, and Kalayaan.

For further information call: (415) 652-9954
ANUNCIO

Evento: Junta informativa de las luchas de la Unión de Campesinos y las huelgistas Farah patrocinada por la Alianza de Mujeres del Tercer Mundo.

Hora: Domingo, 19 de Agosto, 7:30 p.m.

Lugar: Iglesia de San Pedro en la calle Alabama, cerca de la calle 24 en San Francisco.

Admisión: Gratis

Información Especial:

Una junta para expresar solidaridad con los Trabajadores Campesinos y las huelgistas Farah, y las mujeres trabajadoras en estas luchas. Los Oradores consistirán de representantes de la Unión de Campesinos, El Comité de Apoyo Farah y Kalayaan.

Para más información llame: 415-652-9954
Because of our vacation during the final two weeks of September, we have not prepared a report for that month.

note to N.Y.
We received the newspapers and hope to hear more from you soon, particularly regarding our contributions to Triple Jeopardy.

note to Seattle;
Here is a compilation of all the agenda items we have heard from you regarding a regional meeting. Even though we haven't a specific meeting date in mind, we would like to keep discussion open on the subject. Have you anything to add to these items or to comment on?

Goals for Regional meeting:
1. Get acquainted
2. Discuss achievements
3. Explore Seattle chapterhood
4. Discuss direction for region

Agenda Items:
1. Exchange recent histories
   a) activities  b) problems & solutions  c) notable achievements
2. Discuss organizing methods and techniques
   a) People already involved in other organizations or activities
   b) General level of consciousness in Area
   c) Student oriented v.s. working women
3. Explain organizational breakdown (in the 2 Areas)
4. P.E. program development
5. Issues or struggles or organizations we support
   a) locally  b) nationally  c) internationally
6. Plans for next year in Bay Area & Seattle
7. Seattle chapterhood
   a) why  b) how  c) when
8. Bay Area report on New York
9. Newspaper
   a) Bay Area participation  b) Seattle participation
I. OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

OCTOBER 1

T.W.W.A. participated in the Joint Committee to Celebrate October 1. We functioned mainly at the "task level", and did not attend very many of the whole committee meetings. The event itself was very successful; over 1,500 people attended a bi-lingual program at Masonic Auditorium. The coalition experience was a very good one.

U.S.C.F.P.P.S.V.N.

Responding to an appeal from dissident forces in Saigon, T.W.W.A. and many other groups and individuals participated in the creation of the U.S. Committee to Free Political Prisoners in South Viet Nam. The group is sponsoring a petition campaign and a mass rally to call for the release of all political prisoners in the South and an end to U.S. financing of the Thieu government. The rally will be held on November 17th in San Francisco at St. Mary's Square.

II. INTERNAL ACTIVITIES

GAM EVALUATION

There were two evaluation sessions for the G.A.M. of August 19th (Third World Women in Labor Struggles). The first was open to all those who helped with the program regardless of their tasks - speakers, translators, security, childcare and those helping with the technical aspects of the program. The second evaluation meeting was with the GAM Committee members only. In summary the following strengths and weaknesses of the program itself and of its organization are helping us with work amongst Third World peoples in the Bay Area.

Strengths:

(1) First open effort to organize sisters and begin addressing our goals as an organization.
(2) Tasks generated and assigned by the committee were carried out in good spirit by Alliance Membership.
(3) Committee meetings in preparation for GAM always had an agenda which was communicated to all committee members prior to each meeting which helped to keep the committee's work cohesive.

Weaknesses:

(1) The political relationship between Committee members and Alliance membership was not clear. Therefore, the committee became task-oriented - our task was to put on a program. The task was done well with full participation of all committee members, but true comradeship was lacking with the
Alliance body. The committee members did not have a feeling of complete concentration on the project because they were not a part of the real moving force behind the event. (the Alliance and political decision making body).

(2) Programs with just speeches are stiff and easily become boring.

(3) Alliance body knew very little about the electronic apparatus and were thus entirely dependent on outside help.

(4) The event needed a central coordinator for the day - a person on "top of it all".

In general, those persons who worked with the Alliance on this event are very interested in continuing to work with us - some are seriously contemplating membership.

POT LUCK DINNER

October 27, the Alliance organized a dinner to bring together socially the Alliance, their families and others who have become comrades and friends of the organization. There was a two-fold task in the organizing dinner:

A. To engage in dialogue concerning the formation of a type of coalition to celebrate International Women's Day.

B. To have people sign up for our next Work Brigade to Agbayani Village.

The dinner was a success in that interest as well as sign-ups took place for both International Women's Day and Agbayani Village. (letter we sent out - inclosure *1 *)

III. ALLIANCE WORK

BUSINESS MEETINGS

The major discussion this month has been around International Women's Day and preparation for a celebration planned by Third World Women. There will be an International Women's Day Central Planning Committee. Among other things, we have been discussing (in the Alliance) goals and principles of unity. After our first meetings with the other women have begun, we will be able to give a report with more content.

We have for the first time given oral political biographies of ourselves. It was good for unity and for an appreciation of the rich political experiences that we have had as individuals. It also made possible a better understanding of our political development as individuals and as a group.

We have drawn up a simple calendar directing the groups energies over the next 6 month period.

We are also adding a resource segment to the regular agenda so members may bring in and describe materials for group or general reading.
POLITICAL EDUCATION

This last month we have reread J Forman's article on 20 Enemy Forces and Clara Zetkin's recollections of Lenin, which are in the appendix to The Emancipation of Women. Both of these articles were very helpful to us and we highly recommend them to you to read also. The Zetkin article was exceptionally helpful and gave us much guidance in our thinking around International Women's Day.

AD HOC P.E. COMMITTEE

The Ad Hoc P.E. Committee has seen the resource persons designated by the Alliance body. We now have a voluminous amount of information. It was presented to the Alliance body and a protocol for future P.E. will soon be developed. We project two types of P.E.: one a long range, in depth study program and the other a short range, short topic approach. Currently we are surveying materials for International Women's Day P.E. for this short range category. We plan to do both short and long range types of P.E. simultaneously.

NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE

This committee has been inactive since we finished our story about the Labor Day work brigade at Agbayani Village in Delano. The Alliance has had several discussions on the possibility of us producing a local newsletter. So far, nothing definite has been decided.

IV. NATIONAL: SEATTLE

We really enjoyed the visit with Miyumi and although it was impromptu and informal, it really added to our understanding of the work up there. We are now discussing the suggested agenda brought by her and will respond to the items in it after we next hear from you. We realize in general that there are certain things that can't be discussed because of the lack of a national network and are awaiting the time when people feel a national meeting is necessary. But we feel that the reports between Seattle and the Bay Area, such as the one you are now reading, have been good and we intend to maintain them.

About a future regional meeting, we are reconsidering how productive it would be, given the expenses and also the prior need for a national meeting. But if there are things that Seattle and B.A. need and want to discuss, we are thinking about how it may be done, short of a regional meeting.

We would like to hear a little about Mary's trip to Germany. In struggle.
NEW YORK

We just received your national report yesterday. It is being passed around and we will respond in the next national report we do. It is good to hear from you!

We also received Fran's letter regarding M. The letter was very helpful and well written. We appreciated receiving it so soon.

We held a discussion of the speech or article by F on "Black Women, a History of Resistance". The contents of our discussion are attached. (enclosure #2)

Adelante!

Bay Area
October 10, 1973

Dear Sister,

As you know, the Third World Women's Alliance has gone through many changes in the last year. At our Mobilizing Meeting on June 23 we discussed some of the short range projects we were planning for the summer of 1973. Those projects were a July 4th bake sale at the Co-op Flea Market in Berkeley, participation in the July 26th Celebration of the Moncada Attack (a key historical event in Cuba). On August 19th we had a speaking forum in support of Third World Workers' Struggles in the United States with speakers from the United Farmworkers Union, Farah Strike Support Committee and Kalayaan. This was a successful event in that it was the first large organizing effort the Bay Area Alliance has done since our reorganization. The turnout was between 125 - 150 people and the program went very smoothly. We learned a tremendous amount through the successes and problems of this event.

To top off the summer we had a Work Project at Agbayani Retirement Village in Delano, California. This village is being constructed by the United Farmworkers Union. The project was very successful. Approximately thirty-eight brothers and sisters went in a chartered bus and helped with various areas of construction on the village. The project was so successful that the farmworkers are urging us to organize another work brigade.

In the long range future we will be planning for International Women's Day - March 8, 1974. We are in the very beginning stages at this point and we encourage all interested sisters to help plan and carry out this event.

In the immediate future though we want to have a get-together with all the brothers and sisters who have worked with us over the summer. We will be having a potluck party on OCTOBER 27, Saturday, at 2130 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco (beginning about 5 p.m.). Bring your family and a little food to add to the feast. There will be a short slide show and display of pictures from the Agbayani Work project. Phone either 922-4905 or 928-7318 if you have questions, problems or need transportation. See you there.

In Struggle,

Third World Women's Alliance
Black Women, a History of Resistance

We thought it would be helpful and appropriate to go over the speech given at the Guardian Forum on "Women and the Class Struggle," and printed in the Guardian newspaper. First we went over the speech paragraph by paragraph and then gave our general impressions. We hope this will not seem overly critical because we do realize the work and effort that goes into any speech of this type. All of our criticisms are intended in a comradely and helpful way.

PP #2 begins "The past 10 years"... what about before that. Many of us are able to remember much before that.

"revolt on the part of Afro-Americans against this continuing racist indoctrination" - Other third world people as well as blacks took part in this revolt. We should always push forward the idea of third world, even when the focus of attention may be on one ethnic group.

PP #3

Racism grows out of capitalism, not out of imperialism. Racism and male chauvanism grow out of private property, not imperialism. These may seem like fine points but it is important to present an accurate analysis and use of terms.

PP #4

"helping our men attain their lost masculinity" -- thinking of things in terms of sexuality really comes from middle class bourgeois thought

PP #5

You portray nationalism as a backward idea, which it can be, but it is also a step and is often progressive. It is unclear what you mean when you make such a wide-open statement about nationalists.

It is unclear exactly how the quotes that follow PP#5 relate to what was said about black nationalists and chauvanist attitudes. There is no transition.

PP #8

"white womanhood as a model" -- you should refer to bourgeois white womanhood. What about working women, is that the same thing? Perhaps there should be a clarification.

The tone of this paragraph is very, very negative -- almost asking the question: who is the more oppressed? you or me? It almost pits women against men, as though if we could just get our men off our backs we could be liberated. Was this your intent? Male chauvanism has been institutionalized in the U.S. But, we must always CLEARLY point to the real enemy.

It is unclear what you mean by"tactics"in the last sentence.

PP #10

In talking about garment workers you are showing your East Coast thinking. The garment industry along the West coast is predominantly Chinese workers, and I believe that in the south west there are a lot of Chicanas involved. We should try to consider these things nation-wide.
"feudal conditions" in the South -- linger, but they do not "exist" in the South or other parts of the U.S. Feudalism is a whole system, and as such cannot be said to still exist in the U.S. In a real analysis what we really have is hang-overs from feudalism, but not feudalism itself. Once again, it is important to be careful in our use of terms and categories.

what "contradiction" are you referring to? Is this a clear or correct usage of the term?

this paragraph is very unclear. "have babies...not become involved in the political struggle may be an ideal theory for the white ruling class"...

is this a theory the white ruling class holds for itself, or holds for other people? Does this mean that the white ruling class should really be involved in politics?

In talking about slaves in Africa in pre-colonial times, slavery in the United States, an early "privileged class, and slave trade collaborators you are crossing into different historical periods and different social systems. This tends to muddle things together and may not be adequately representing what was really happening. These broad generalizations often do not clarify things. Again, in this section there is a strong anti-male tone which tends to confuse in people's minds who is the real enemy in the struggle.

This whole section on Black Women As Workers has a lot of very good facts and is the strongest section of the paper!

What do you mean by the term "sisterhood"... This work has strong feminist connotations.

We must strengthen sisters for their part in the struggle but brothers and sisters must fight together. When you speak of a "sisterhood of women" do you mean all women? Women from all classes in all countries?

class exploitation and oppression ARE BEING eliminated. At this time it cannot be said that they "have been eliminated"

"It is not possible for women in these countries to unite and struggle" -- to unite with whom? just women?
General Impressions:

The strongest section of the paper was the one on Black Women as Workers. The paper had a lot of good information and showed a lot of work.

There was, however, a sloppy use of terms and a number of generalizations that could be misinterpreted or that are not accurate. We should carefully avoid errors in the use of terms and make our analysis as clear and accurate as possible. Otherwise we leave ourselves wide open to make serious errors.

The attack on black nationalists was not really justified. Nationalists were never defined and was used as a blanket term. The attack took on strong anti-male tones. Also, nationalism can be progressive and to make a generalized attack on nationalists may not be the best way to make the point you were trying to make.

There was little reference to Third World or to perspectives outside the New York area.

We realize that we have an edited copy of the speech you gave and that some of the unclarity may come from the editing. Could we have a copy of the full text to look at also?

We also criticize ourselves for not doing a criticism of the speech sooner. We are sure this is old material to you now. But we would like to hear from you about any of the points we raised.

It is important to have articles and things like this passed around and discussed. We hope our criticisms will be helpful to you in pointing out some of the weak and strong points of the speech and any unclarities.

Lastly, it would have been good if we could have received a copy of the speech directly from the chapter in New York since it was something that was published nationally. As it happened, we got copies out of the newspaper after it had been published. And we were unprepared for questions when people who had read the article asked us about it.
I. Outside Activities

II. Alliance activities and work

Agbayani

We are planning a second work project to Agbayani Village (Delano, Calif.). This time we will be putting up the sheetrock on the inside walls and the tile on the roof.

Business

The majority of our time this month has been spent in preparation for meetings of the Coordinating committee for International Women's day. Though the Alliance initiated the work of the Coordinating Committee, we will function as participants on that body. Thus, International Women's Day organizing can be seen as a function of Third World Women's Alliance participation but NOT as an Alliance project. (See section on I.W.D. which follows)

The second area of intense work in the Bay area has been around developing a Political Education program for our membership that has substance and progresses to further encouragement to study. See section below on P.E.

P.E. Committee

The Alliance will be studying Engels' "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" in the near future as long range P.E. As an introduction to it, we will first cover certain concepts such as Private Property, commodity production, and the state, so that they will be understood in context as they arise in the Engels book. (These and a few other concepts were the ones we listed after a general survey of the Engels book).

Regarding the committee, itself, we have decided to rotate so that one member of it will come off and another member will come in at the next working meeting. That way, we will each be able to gain the experience.
New York

It is good to be communicating with you more regularly again. The reports have been giving us insights into what is happening in N.Y. and they make us feel much closer to you. There are a few things that we would like to hear more about.

You said you "had to think up four projects." Was this really the case or did these projects grow logically from past work? Why were these particular four chosen, and what was the reasoning that went into their selection? This was a question we face often in the B.A. and would like to learn from your experiences in addition to our own. We are particularly unclear about what the sterilization involves.

We would like to know more about membership. Do you have general meetings for all members? Do "affiliate" members attend these meetings on a regular basis or just work on projects?

What levels of membership are aware of TWNA history, the national reports, and overall information about the organization? At what levels do you do systematic P.E.? Based on this, what sisters can speak in the name of the Alliance to other people and organizations? How do sisters move from one level of membership to another? How are the dynamics between sisters at different levels of membership? Is there anything else about membership you think we might be interested in? We would especially like to know these things about membership because it is a question that faces us all. It is something we should eventually be coordinated nationally.

We evaluated the latest issue of T.J. at our last meeting. Here are some of our thoughts. A large number of sisters seem to be contributing articles. That is good. The news briefs are a very good idea. The recipes in the past issues were a good idea. We missed them this time.

Reviewing popular movies is a good idea. (Something we must learn to approach with a critical eye.) The cover stories have been interesting, almost sensationalist titles, but have not been the best articles of the issue. We thought some of the inside articles were better.

The centerfold on the Phillipines was very good. The article on L.J. said she has requested membership in TWNA. We'd like to suggest she be given "honorary" membership in the organization.

In "On the Job" it was stated TWNA was a M-L anti-Imperialist organization. Is this an accurate statement at this time?

Lastly, we were wondering what has happened to the articles we sent you. Will they be used? What will our future relationship with T.J. be?

Do you think the next T.J. will be out before March? If so please send us 200 copies for the March 8 event we are planning. Otherwise, please just send the usual 100.

Peoples Translations

P.S. REBELION TRANSLATION in Berkeley were sending us their releases for a while. But since we can't afford a subscription, we recommended they contact you. You may be hearing from them soon to see if you would like to subscribe. It is a good publication, coming out daily and think it's worthwhile. (Third world or women's topics are about one out of ten)
SEATTLE

The Bay area has read the suggested agenda and would like to share some of our ideas about what we can discuss between regions and what we feel are areas where a national meeting seems more appropriate. Our suggestion is that we (Seattle and B.A.) begin a dialogue on the following points:

- the recent history of work
- organizational techniques
- P.E.
- future plans

We would like to suggest that dialogue begin now with questions from the Seattle sisters around the 4 points listed above. The points other than these should be considered for a national meeting among N.Y., Seattle, and the B.A. Do you agree? Also, what do you feel about postponing the next regional which we have referred to in the recent past until it is more feasible (especially financially).

in struggle,

3. International Women's Day

They beginning steps have been taken toward a Bay Area celebration. Enclosed is a letter which we sent out announcing the second work meeting. It includes a summary of the way things are developing. Please read for further information.

Bay area.
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II. Alliance activities and work

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P.E. Committee
The Alliance will be studying Engels' "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" in the near future as long range P.E. As an introduction to it, we will first cover certain concepts such as Private Property, commodity production, and the state, so that they will be understood in context as they arise in the Engels book. (These and a few other concepts were the ones we listed after a general survey of the Engels book).

Regarding the committee, itself, we have decided to rotate so that one member of it will come off and another member will come in at the next working meeting. That way, we will each be able to gain the experience.
New York

It is good to be communicating with you more regularly again. The reports have been giving us insights into what is happening in N.Y. and they make us feel much closer to you. There are a few things that we would like to hear more about.

You said you 'had to think up four projects.' Was this really the case or did these projects grow logically from past work? Why were these particular four chosen, and what was the reasoning that went into their selection? This was a question we face often in the B.A. and would like to learn from your experiences in addition to our own. We are particularly unclear about what the sterilization involves.

We would like to know more about membership. Do you have general meetings for all members? Do 'affiliate' members attend these meetings on a regular basis or just work on projects?

What levels of membership are aware of TWWA history, the national reports, and overall information about the organization? At what levels do you do systematic P.E.? Based on this, what sisters can speak in the name of the Alliance to other people and organizations?

How do sisters move from one level of membership to another? How are the dynamics between sisters at different levels of membership? Is there anything else about membership you think we might be interested in? We would especially like to know these things about membership because it is a question that faces us all. It is something we should eventually be coordinated nationally.

We evaluated the latest issue of T.J. at our last meeting. Here are some of our thoughts. A large number of sisters seem to be contributing articles. That is good. The news briefs are a very good idea. The recipes in the past issues were a good idea. We missed them this time.

Reviewing popular movies is a good idea. (Something we must learn to approach with a critical eye.) The cover stories have been interesting, almost sensationalist titles, but have not been the best articles of the issue. We thought some of the inside articles were better.

The centerfold on the Phillipines was very good. The article on L.L. said she has requested membership in TWWA. We'd like to suggest she be given 'honorary' membership in the organization.

In "On the Job" it was stated TWWA was a M-L anti-Imperialist organization. Is this an accurate statement at this time?

Lastly, we were wondering what has happened to the articles we sent you. Will they be used? What will our future relationship with T.J. be?

Do you think the next T.J. will be out before March? If so please send us 200 copies for the March 8 event we are planning. Otherwise please just send the usual 100.

thanks,
in struggle,
p.e. REDUCTION TRANSLATIONS
were sending us their releases for a while. But since we can't afford a subscription, we recommended they contact you. You may be hearing from them soon to see if you would like to subscribe. It is a good publication, coming out daily and think it's worthwhile. (Third world or women's topics are about one out of every ten)
The Bay area has read the suggested agenda and would like to share some of our ideas about what we can discuss between regions and what we feel are areas where a national meeting seems more appropriate. Our suggestion is that we (Seattle and B.A.) begin a dialogue on the following points:

- the recent history of work
- organizational techniques
- P.E.
- future plans

We would like to suggest that dialogue begin now with questions from the Seattle sisters around the 4 points listed above. The points other than these should be considered for a national meeting among N.Y., Seattle, and the B.A. Do you agree? Also, what do you feel about postponing the next regional which we have referred to in the recent past until it is more feasible (especially financially).

in struggle,

3. International Women's Day

They beginning steps have been taken toward a Bay Area celebration. Enclosed is a letter which we sent out announcing the second work meeting. It includes a summary of the way things are developing. Please read for further information.

Bay area.
Peaceful Beginnings

The Origins of the SLA

The Symbionese Liberation Army with its frightening claims of terror—the assassination of Oakland schools Superintendent Marcus Foster and the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst—seems to have come out of nowhere.

This is the story of how a terrorist organization grew out of an officially sanctioned black cultural group at Vacaville prison.

By Tim Findley and Paul Avery

Spawned of frustration in the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, nurtured on romantic fantasies in Berkeley and hiding now in perhaps more than one location, the Symbionese Liberation Army left a wide destructive trail.

Through its own investigation, The Chronicle has learned the names of ten suspected members of the SLA and the fateful circumstances of their origin in terror.

It began peacefully at Vacaville prison, where in 1968 a group of black convicts suggested the formation of an organization that could work on the special problems of black prisoners.

What resulted was the Black Cultural Association, a convict organization that eventually would include about 130 members.

Prison authorities accepted the premise that the association was a self-help group and officially recognized the organization in 1969.

As members of the group became better organized and reached out of prison for help from their communities, the organization found a sponsor and a teacher in Colston Westbrook, a rotund and gregarious instructor in black lexicon at the University of California at Berkeley.

Westbrook is a willing and able man in a sincere effort to assure a sense of pride in black America and in black culture.

If, as the outside sponsor of the association, his efforts were abused by some, it is not because he was too casual or indifferent in his efforts.

Westbrook gave generously of his own time and worked hard. The group met twice a week—a two-hour tutoring session on Wednesdays and a combined social and business session for two hours on Fridays.

As part of the goal to give prisoners a better chance in the free world and to give free persons a better understanding of convicts, Westbrook encouraged outsiders to visit the prison and participate in the association’s activities.

One of those persons was an energetic 22-year-old white man named Willie Wolfe, who was taking one of Westbrook’s classes at Berkeley.

Wolfe, the son of a doctor in Pennsylvania had not yet decided on his own goals in life, but he had chosen to attend classes at UC Berkeley as much because of its progressive spirit as for its recognized quality of education.

He first attended meetings of the association in May of 1972.

A week after Wolfe began what was to become a relationship of nearly two years with the group, another white
THE ORIGINS OF THE SLA

From Page 1

man, Dave Gunnell, followed up on Westbrook's encouragement to become involved in assisting black prisoners.

Gunnell is a jazz musician. He is important to this story because of the house at 5939 Chabot road in Berkeley that he first acquired in 1970 as a place to be used and lived in by his band.

Like many other such efforts, the band was not as successful as it had been hoped, and by 1972, Gunnell's house had become something of a cross between a collective of progressive-thinking people and a boarding house.

Gunnell calls himself a socialist, but his politics are not fiercely militant. In his late 30s, he runs the Chabot road house (that some people call 'Peking House') rather like a father figure.

Wolfe had been living in a dingy row apartment in Berkeley. He met Gunnell in 1971 and later visited the Chabot road house, finding its residents and its communal style to his liking.

With the very next opening, Wolfe moved into Peking House.

Calling it Peking House is perhaps a political distortion. The name actually relates to the sidewalk stand set up by Gunnell and his girlfriend, Jean Chan, in Berkeley. They sold Chinese food from it, and called the stand "Fruity Rudy's."

The stand moved about as do such sidewalk operations, but on more than one occasion it was situated next to a sidewalk juice bar known as "Fruity Rudy's."

Gunnell insists he doesn't remember ever meeting her, but it is known that Nancy Ling Perry, admitted member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, formerly worked at Fruity Rudy's.

For a petite former junior high school cheerleader in Santa Rosa, Nancy Ling Perry had come a long way. She started out supporting Barry Goldwater in high school and even enrolling at Whittier College, Richard Nixon's alma mater.

But by last summer, she had gone through an unsuccessful marriage to a black musician, worked topless in Santa Rosa, and had a working relationship with a wide variety of mind-reeling drugs before becoming, as she called it, "political."

That meant a number of things — becoming conscious of herself and her feeling of oppression as a woman was one. Becoming aware of prisoners was another.

Occasionally, she dated another sidewalk vendor, a young freelwheeling black man named Chris Thompson who sold soul food through his "Black Market" and his stand called "Harlem On My Mind."

The outside interest in the Black Cultural Association was at its peak in the fall of 1972. Frequent visitors to Vacaville included Wolfe, Gunnell, Jean Chan and a young couple from Florida who had also recently moved into Peking House.

Robyn Steiner and Russell Little had been traveling about the country together since leaving the University of Florida. In July of 1972, they decided to settle for a while in Berkeley.

Two others should be mentioned as being on the approved visitors roster of the association at Vacaville, although it appears they never actually visited the group (at least under their own names) eventually were dropped for non-attendance.

The couple, Bill and Emily Harris, had simply appeared in Berkeley in late 1972. Both said they had been attending and teaching at Indiana University.

Like Robyn Steiner and Russ Little, the Harrises were members rejected his candidacy, however, for a variety of reasons, among them that Defreeze had a whipping style of rhetoric that might cause prison officials to clamp down on the group.

Defreeze did not take defeat easily. He went as far as to file a protest with the prison authorities claiming that the association was undemocratic and illegally constituted.

He lost on his protest, but he did win approval for another proposal. He suggested the group establish a committee he called "Unisight," which would focus on the relationships of the black family and particularly of that between men and women in the family.

With approval of prison authorities, Defreeze was made the chairman of that new committee. One of the first outside people he chose to participate on it was not a black woman at all — it was Russell Little.

Nearly all the inmate members, and many of the outside visitors of the association had chosen "reborn" names for themselves, often using Swahili titles.

At first, Defreeze called himself "Mtume," but soon changed that to "Cinque" or just "Cin" after the name of an African Mendi chief who seized control of a slave ship in the 1830s and became a celebrity in Abolitionist America. It is perhaps part of Defreeze's own ironic tragedy that the original Cinque later disappointed abolitionists who supported him by himself becoming a slave trader.

The "Kawaida" religion formed by Karenga includes seven principles of conduct identical to those since displayed by the underground Symbionese Liberation Army.

There is no evidence that during his Los Angeles days Defreeze was ever involved with Karenga's group. The charge that eventually brought him to prison — the theft of more than 200 guns from a surplus store — raised some provisions about whether he had some connection with black movements.
mater.

But by last summer, she had gone through an unsuccessful marriage to a black musician, worked topless in North Beach and had a working relationship with a wide variety of mind-reeling drugs before becoming, as she called it, "political."

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Like Robyn Steiner and Russ Little, the Harrises were well-educated. Bill Harris at 29, had completed his work and was awarded a master's degree in urban education last May. Emily Harris, at 27, had an AB degree in English, and had taught a junior high school class for a year in Bloomington, Ind., before coming to the Bay Area.

Bill Harris supposedly was a disabled Vietnam veteran, although this was doubted by some of his acquaintances. He worked in Berkeley as a post office employee.

In any case, everyone who knew them recognized that Emily was the real strength of the family. Cool, intelligent and forceful, she had a touch for leadership.

In Berkeley, she worked as a clerk-typist for the Survey Research Center, an opinion-polling firm under contract to UC Berkeley.

She also involved herself in Venceremos activities and headed the Oakland Chino Defense Committee, which offered support for Venceremos members and others accused of aiding a prison escape. She was not, however, a member of Venceremos — a Peninsula-based Marxist organization.

Harris had an association with, though was not an active member of, the radical Vietnam Veterans Against the War — Winter Soldier Organization. One of the people he knew was a founder of the Oakland VVAV chapter who had become an inactive member — Joseph Michael Remiro.

Even if they were not in regular attendance at the Black Cultural Association, the Harrises were nevertheless active on behalf of numerous prisoners, writing letters to the parole board and making visits to inmates. To the left, prisoners were, after all, the leading social cause of the time.

One person who did not win approval to visit the Black Cultural Association, although she applied twice, was Nancy Ling Perry. The authorities said she was already visiting another prisoner at Vacaville and was applying to visit prisoners elsewhere.

The Harrises, like Miss Perry, Wolfe and some other key people, have vanished from their Oakland residence.

By late 1972, the Black Cultural Association had added more than 100 names to its list of approved visitors to Vacaville. The group appeared highly successful in its organization and its support.

There had, in fact, been only one incident that briefly threatened the future of the organization.

An inmate member named Donald D. DeFreeze had campaigned to become chairman of the organization. The
From Dreams to Reality

The SLA 'Fantasy'

Last month, a man calling himself Cinque, General Field Marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army said that he was one of the persons holding Patricia Hearst as a "prisoner of war."

Cinque is Donald Defreeze, an escaped convict. This is the story of how Defreeze and his associates formed the SLA.

By Tim Findley and Paul Avery

For an escaped convict, freedom can be a trap of its own creation, and for Donald David Defreeze — Cinque — flight from Soledad prison March 5, 1973, held its own special problems.

Where could he go? Back to Los Angeles, perhaps, where his crime troubles began in 1967 or maybe to Cleveland, his hometown where his mother and his wife lived.

Both were part of his past now, though, and Defreeze was thinking of his future. He had wife problems while he was in prison. The record of his behavior shows that in apparent reaction to that, he became involved with a woman visitor to the Black Cultural Association, which met in the California Medical Facility at Vacaville.

That organization at Vacaville was virtually under the wing of a sizable group of committed people from the campus community around Berkeley.

They included Defreeze's outside co-workers on the association's "Unsight" committee, Russell Little, as well as Little's girlfriend, Robyn Steiner; Little's sister, JoAnn; young Willie Wolfe; David Gunnell, and Jean Chan, all of whom lived in "Peking House" at 5939 Chabot road in Berkeley.

Whether Cinque knew it or not is questionable, but others who had at least tried to visit the Black Cultural Association were Bill and Emily Harris, Nancy Ling Perry and a curious young black man named Chris Thompson.

Thompson once came all the way to the door of the prison library where the association met before deciding that prison bothered him too much. He did not participate in the meeting.

Not a great deal is known about Chris Thompson. He too, lived at the Chabot road house for a time, but seemed always to be too preoccupied elsewhere to spend much time in the communal atmosphere of Peking House.

People do remember that he used to be seen frequently in the company of a woman whom everyone knew as "Mizmoon."

Mizmoon was in fact Patricia Soltsysk's first name. She had it legally changed to Mizmoon after becoming entranced with the name given her in a love poem from a female friend.

Mizmoon, like Nancy Ling Perry, was a militant feminist and a person openly and deeply committed to aiding the effort for prisoner rights in California. She visited prisoners and wrote letters on their behalf, although she is never known to have visited the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville — at least not under her own name.

Exactly where Cinque went first on that March day after his escape is not certain, but reliable sources have told The Chronicle that he first called friends in Berkeley who arranged for him to stay in Mizmoon's apartment at 2135 Parker street.

In prison, a personal fantasy can be as important to a man as a long overdue visit from home. Some men dream of the biggest robbery of all time, some of building their lives into greatness at a legal profession and some, like Cinque, had superfly dreams that translated themselves into revolutionary drama.

Most fantasies never come true, but Cinque arrived in
THE ‘FANTASIES’ OF THE SLA

From Page 1

Berkeley at what for him was the perfect moment. His young white radical friends in Berkeley were nearly as romantically adventurist as he was.

They had indulged in fantasies of their own since the frustrating times of the 1960s and the recent crumbling of the organized New Left.

Mizmoon, 24, is a native of Goleta in Santa Barbara county. Between the autumn of 1968 and the summer of 1971, she was a student at UC Berkeley. She was intelligent and a quick learner, but vaguely directionless in her studies in letters and science.

Similarly, her personal life rocked in the uncertain direction established by the Symbionese Liberation Army. She was not a particularly attractive woman and was nagged by a mild weight problem. She wavered between the strongest postures of militant feminism and positions that made her seem in need of masculine support.

She worked as a part-time janitor at the Berkeley Public Library, a position that would prove critical in the formation of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

According to information gathered by The Chronicle, it was Mizmoon and Cinque, working together, who wrote the founding documents of the Symbionese Federation. They were filled with romantic visions of “sovereign states” trained and educated by the “army” and then sweeping gradually across the country.

It was, perhaps, Marxist in intent and light on hard politics, but long on rhetoric and guerrilla drama.

There is an unconfirmed story that Cinque himself copied the seven-headed cobra symbol on the Berkeley library’s photo-copying machine (perhaps from the Egyptian Book of the Dead) and then absent-mindedly left the original on the machine.

Even though Cinque (Cin as his friends called him) was out of prison, the work on behalf of inmates continued with more vigor than ever. By that early summer of last year, the principals had all met one another through that work.

The Harrises from Indiana, Russ Little and Robyn Steiner from Florida, Willie Wolfe from Pennsylvania, Nancy Ling Perry from Santa Rosa and Joe Remiro from San Francisco were all at least acquainted. All — with the possible exception of Remiro — were dedicated to the cause of prisoner support.

Both Harrises were graduates of Indiana University. Bill Harris was a Marine Vietnam veteran. They lived in an apartment on 41st street in Oakland. They were friends of Russ Little and Robyn Steiner and, for a time, Robyn even lived with the Harrises.

The Harrises’ closest friends were perhaps their old schoolmates at Indiana — Gary and Angela Atwood, another young couple who had migrated west. The Atwoods’ marriage broke up last year and Gary returned to Indiana. Angela, sources said, moved in with the Harrises — and into a house where revolutionary hope was slowly becoming real.

For a time at the end of the ‘60s, the Maoist Venceremos organization, founded in Palo Alto, appeared to offer the most hope in the progression of radical organization in the previous ten years. Yet by late spring of 1967, Venceremos was hanging up on the snags of personal differences, police infiltration, and problems of reaching a unified strategy.

The breakup of Venceremos as an organization in the summer of last year left a momentary vacuum that was later filled by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Yet, even then, it did not begin as a terrorist group. Sources have told The Chronicle that the operation formed by the Harrises, Little, Nancy Perry and to some extent Cinque and Mizmoon was designed to be a communications network for prisoners in California — a way to send information speedily from one prison to outside support groups and to other institutions.

** ** **

EMILY AND BILL HARRIS

They were dedicated to the cause of prisoner support

was living with Joe Remiro in a house at 4614 Bond street, in Oakland. Russ Little stayed there frequently.

That fall was a period in which all of the principals in the case began cutting ties with their less committed friends. In essence, they were forming a brand new underground of their own. They used code names and “safe” addresses, had clandestine communications, and held secret meetings.

One story is that after Foster’s assassination, the houses of two groups of people associated with the left were burglarized of guns and ammunition, but, interestingly, not of television sets or other valuable items.

Officially, the burglaries are unsolved, but sources have told The Chronicle that the weapons were actually “appropriated” by SLA members who thought their former friends too “petty bourgeois” to ever use them.

Foster’s assassination was an event designed to “excite” the masses — but it failed to rally support to the SLA.

** ** **

It is clear now that by early last fall the SLA was using the Concord house rented by Nancy Perry (and possibly as well by Russ Little) and Emily Harris’ Seventh avenue apartment. Members discussed vague plans for political kidnappings in the style of the Uruguayan Tupamaro terrorists and the Palestinian guerrillas.

The SLA members also tried to encourage others in the movement for racial change to abandon slow tactics of organizing and pressure, and take more direct and irreversible actions.

People in the left who were approached with such arguments suspected even then that those promoting guerrilla type attacks were provocateurs — the same type who had tried to link the Black Panthers and other small black organizations to violence and設備e that would discredit and eventually destroy them.

Even if they were not proven provocateurs, the representatives from the SLA who called for immediate “war” on what they saw as a system of oppression were at the very least viewed by many in the left as dangerous romantics.

There is nothing to indicate that the SLA came from a well-organized or even well-versed leftist political body.

It was, in fact, the lack of any general organization or clear leadership in the left, Marxist or otherwise, that allowed and even encouraged the isolated and even desperate acts of the Symbionese Liberation Army — like the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

Tomorrow: SLA Members Vanish
friends of Russ Little and Robyn Steiner and, for a time, Robyn even lived with the Harrises.

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Cinque and Mizmoon reportedly were moving around as summer went on, changing addresses in the Berkeley-Oakland area to avoid possible exposure.

Cinque was restless. The first tentative efforts to bring other groups in on the Symbionese Federation had been met with gentle skepticism. What was needed was something spectacular to gain support.

State authorities have let it be known that they believe the escape of Vacaville convict Therio Wheeler in August of last year was engineered by Venceremos. But Venceremos had already broken up by that time. Chronicle sources believe Wheeler's escape was actually aided by part of a prison group formed around Wheeler's former friend at Vacaville, Donald Defreeze — Cinque.

Wheeler's escape was a heady success for the forming band of guerrillas. By now they had even adopted code names — Nancy Perry was Falahiah, Mizmoon was Zoya, Russell Little was Osceola, Joe Remire was Bo, and Emily Harris was Yolanda, and it is possible that Angela Atwood was Gelina.

Expanding with the speed of their own romantic vision, the Symbionese Liberation Army met at "safe" locations they needed for mail drops.

One of these was the apartment at 1621 Seventh avenue in Oakland. Police have identified it as the possible planning site and later a hideout for those who killed Oakland Schools Superintendent Marcus Foster.

Sources have told The Chronicle, however, that the Seventh avenue apartment was not necessarily directly related to Foster's murder. It was probably rented by Emily Harris, who used the name Lynn Ledworth.

Those in the left whose sympathies might lean toward guerrilla actions such as kidnapping prominent citizens still face a major unresolved question: "Why kill Foster?"

The only answer they find is that Foster's plan for police on the Oakland school campuses was the only major local "cause" in the East Bay in the late summer and early fall of last year.

Vera Silverman, a strong-minded Oakland mother who was in the forefront of the opposition to Foster's plan, had spoken to the Black Cultural Association in Vacaville. But she certainly knew nothing of the deadly focus Cinque put on her school protest.

Who actually carried out the assassination is a matter before the courts, but it is unquestioned that the Symbionese Liberation Army as a group takes responsibility for Foster's murder.

As a means of attracting the left to their support, the SLA assassination of Foster was an utter failure. Several people very close to the SLA were appalled by it and severed their connections with the Symbionese Federation.

By October of last year, Willie Wolfe had moved out of his room at Pecking House on Chabot road in Berkeley and
A TWIST OF FATE

From Page 1

whipped out his Walther PP pistol and began firing. Duge ducked behind his patrol car and fired back. Little was nicked in the shoulder, but neither Sergeant Duge nor Remiro was hit.

As suddenly as it had begun, it was over. Remiro darted behind his patrol car and fired back.

Little sprang away in the van, only to be stopped a short distance away by other officers responding to Sergeant Duge's radio calls for help.

Two blocks away, there were still lights burning in the little frame house at 1560 Sutherland court. The bungalow had been rented in October by a quiet couple who called themselves George and Nancy Devoto and who have been identified from photographs as Nancy Perry and Russell Little.

They did not, as neighbors assumed, however, live there entirely alone. Grooming aids for a natural hair style of the type worn by black people were among the items found in the house later.

Judging from the bottles also found there, whoever lived there enjoyed plum wine.

Police did not know it, but in their search for Remiro that night, they passed very near him — and according to Chronicle sources, police also were close to escaped convict Donald (Cinque) Defreeze. Both men sat discussing their situation in the now-darkened rooms of the Sutherland court house as police looked through the neighborhood.

(Through an error, a photograph of Thero Wheeler was incorrectly identified in yesterday's Chronicle as a photograph of Donald Defreeze, the man who calls himself Cinque, general field marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Wheeler, who is also an escaped convict, was an associate of Defreeze's in prison.)

Among the other items police found in the house later were a library card for Gary Dean Atwood of Berkeley and a pair of Postal Service pith helmets, the kind letter carriers wear in the summer — small things, perhaps; but it was the small things that tangled up the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Gary Atwood had broken up with his wife, Angela, in the summer of 1973 and returned to Indiana, his home state. Angela wrote him later and seemed to say they were through for good. She had moved in to the Oakland apartment of their old friends from Indiana University, Bill and Emily Harris.

You might say Bill was underemployed for his education. He held a master's degree in urban education, but he worked as a post office employee in Berkeley.

When Angela moved out of the apartment she and Gary had on Delaware street in Berkeley, she turned it over to another friend, Willie Wolfe.

Wolfe was not there on January 10, though. He had decided at Christmas to pay a visit to his family in Pennsylvania. Wolfe's father, an anesthesiologist, had visited Willie in Oakland the previous summer and bought his son an aging but roadworthy Oldsmobile. Still, Willie left the car behind when he went home for the holidays. He hitchhiked instead.

Dawn was approaching, and the police patrols were going over and over the same Concord streets in search of Remiro. He seemed simply to have vanished.

Inside the Sutherland court house, there must have been a growing mood of despair. Little had mentioned the "Devotos" and surely it would be only a matter of time before police found the place.

It was too bad, really, because the fledgling SLA had taken a liking to this house they called a "liberated zone."

In it, they studied the books on guerrilla war and some smattering of Marxism; they learned of first aid and piled up their collection of maps of park and wilderness areas. All abandoned mine shafts and ranger huts were carefully circled.

Two weeks before, they had been in the house two days, coming and going, first with a friend, then another, sometimes the young man alone. The only other person seen there entirely alone. Grooming aids for a natural hair style of the type worn by black people were among the items found in the house later.

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A curious sidelight to the appearance of suspected Symbionese Liberation Army members was this ad that ran in the Personal section of The Chronicle last week.

The ad was apparently placed by relatives of Mizmoon Soltysik. The relatives were trying to contact her by using the name "Mizmoon Beolie" in their ad. Beolie is the maiden name of Mizmoon's mother. The address. Bill and Emily Harris were never seen there again.

On January 25, the landlord received a call from Emily Harris. Bill's father had died, she said (actually his father had died a few years before), and they had been required to return to Indiana.

She asked the landlord to sell the possessions they had left in the apartment, and mail the money, minus his costs, to Emily's mother.

But Emily was not in Indiana. She was somewhere in the Bay Area, for the landlord heard the telephone operator ask Emily to deposit 50 cents for the first three minutes.

The landlord was actually sorry to see them go. They had been "excellent, outstanding" tenants. Still, he was astonished at what he found in the apartment. They had left everything behind—right down to toothbrushes and underwear. A pot of drip-through coffee was still on the unlighted stove, ready to be brewed.

The landlord was in the process of following Emily's instructions when — five days later — Oakland police, seven carloads of them, arrived to search the apartment.

It was quite a find: more than 150 pages of papers and photographs, live .38 and .357 caliber bullets here and there, one fully loaded 12-gauge shotgun, a box with papers for a Mauser pistol, and even Bill's receipt for his membership in the Chabot Gun Club, in the hills south of Oakland.

Dr. L. F. Wolfe had planned to have a special dinner with his son Willie on the night of January 11. They were getting along fine, and the young man seemed happy to be home in Pennsylvania.

But in the morning of the 11th, Willie Wolfe received an unexpected long-distance call from the Bay Area. He didn't speak to his father but told his mother he was boarding a bus for New York. They have not heard from their son since.
Dawn was approaching, and the police patrols were going over and over the same Concord streets in search of Remiro. He seemed simply to have vanished.

Inside the Sutherland court house, there must have been a growing mood of despair. Little had mentioned the "Devotos" and surely she should be only a matter of time before one found the place.

It was too bad, really, because the fledgling SLA had taken a liking to this house they called a "liberated zone."

In it, they studied the books on guerrilla war and some smattering of Marxism; they learned of first aid and piled up their collection of maps and park and wilderness areas. All abandoned mine shafts and ranger huts were carefully circled.

Even played at being guerrillas, young kids guns to simulate the thing. They were involved with demisia from the mock battles practiced by these BB-gun revolutionaries of the SLA.

There could be no more of that now, but there was some hope in the possibility that Remiro might be able to lead police away from the house instead of to it. According to Chronic sources, the "army" made a decision that one of their members had to have been sacrificed.

At approximately 5:32 a.m., January 10, Officer Jim Alcorn saw someone dart across the intersection of Sutherland and Manchester drives in Concord and hide behind a car in a driveway. Officer Alcorn was approaching on foot when the man shouted:

"I've had it, I give up. I'm coming out." It was Joseph Remiro.

Most amazingly: Remiro was still carrying his Walther PP --- a weapon police ballistics experts later said they were "convinced" was the gun one used to murder Oakland Schools Superintendent Marcus Foster on Nov. 6, 1973.

In the van seized hours earlier, police had found a stack of freshly printed literature giving seven principles of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

** **

To all who worked with her, Emily Harris seemed to be a woman who enjoyed her job as a clerk-typist at the Survey Research Center in Berkeley. She rarely missed a day of work, in the more than a year she was there.

But on January 10, a Thursday, Emily did not come to work. She was never seen again, and in said she was resigning "for personal reasons."

Since coming to California, she and her husband --- like many other well-meaning young people --- had become engrossed in work on behalf of prisoners. Emily in particular was a frequent visitor to prisons. Records show her most frequent visitor in prisoners. Records show her most frequent visitors were to two black convicts --- "Doc" Holiday and Barron Broadnax.

Prison authorities believe Holiday to be the leader of the so-called Black Guerrilla Family, a militant black prisoners' group. Broadnax is reputed to have been Holiday's bodyguard while both were incarcerated at California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo.

Holiday, however, subsequently was transferred to San Quentin. Emily continued to visit Broadnax. The records show that her last visit happened on Jan. 10, 1974. She didn't stay long.

Bill Harris failed to show up for work as a mail carrier that morning. He sent in a letter of resignation a couple of days later, citing "personal problems" as the reason for quitting.

Angela Atwood also did not report for work at her job as a waitress in Berkeley that day.

On that same January 10 at San Quentin, Doc Holiday received a visit from a woman who gave her name as Ann Lindberg.

** **

The neighbors in the apartment house on 41st Street, where Bill and Emily Harris lived remembered them as a pleasant enough young couple. They remembered Emily as clearly the stronger of the two. The only complaint from neighbors was the frequent Sunday night "meetings" held in the Harris apartment, meetings occasionally punctuated by thudding sounds as if some people were practicing tumbling or karate.

The neighbors recall a woman, Angela Atwood, was supposed to be living with the HARRISES --- but no one ever saw her.

After January 10, mail began piling up at the Harris...
By Tim Findley and Paul Avery

The morning of Jan. 10, 1974, was less than two hours old, and in the sleepy unincorporated area between Concord and Clayton, police Sergeant David Duge cruised in his unmarked patrol car, alert for signs of burglars.

At the intersection of Ayers road and Sutherland drive, Duge came upon a red van driving very slowly, as if the occupants were looking for an address. Suspicious of an unfamiliar car in that neighborhood in the pre-dawn hours, Duge made a U-turn and switched off his lights, then slowly began following the van.

It turned left, then left again and left still a third time in a slow maneuver that brought it back in a full circle. Duge switched on his red spotlight and pulled the van over.

Almost accidentally, he had stumbled onto the first and most decisive break in the case of the mysterious Symbionese Liberation Army.

The driver of the van produced a license identifying him as Robert James Scalise. In fact, it is now known that the driver was actually Russell Little, and that Robert Scalise is the name of a six-year-old child who died of leukemia in Oakland in 1953.

Little, in the anxiety of the moment, also provided Duge with a critical piece of information that police waited too long to believe. In a soft voice, Little told the officer he was looking for the "Devoto" residence.

Sergeant Duge went back to his patrol car and radioed for information about anyone living on Sutherland court with the name Devoto. The dispatcher said there was no one by that name on that street.

Yet that seemingly minor fact was probably the fateful key to all that has followed. Based on the dispatcher's report that there was no Devoto, Sergeant Duge decided the two men were suspicious enough to be searched. According to his report, Sergeant Duge spotted a bulge on Joseph Remiro's right hip just after Remiro stepped out of the van. Before the officer could act, Remiro allegedly...
PRINCIPLES OF UNITY (FOR USE OF THE CENTRAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE):

1. **Solidarity with all working people around the world.**

   Working people are all people who have to work in order to have the basic necessities of life. This is a very broad definition. It includes welfare persons, housewives, skid row brothers (and sisters), etc. Working people refers to those who have to sell their labor as opposed to those few in our society who own the means of production. For us, solidarity is "active solidarity", that is solidarity in terms of positive action. Such examples are: the United Farmworkers Struggle, the Anti-War Movement, the Bolivian Miners, South African Strikers, as well as European industrial workers.

2. **Acknowledgement of the women's struggle as an integral part of the peoples struggle.**

   We see women as an integral participant in any society. Therefore, the fundamental changes that are needed in our own lives, as mothers and/or workers, cannot be fully accomplished until the entire society has changed. If we as women ask only for equality with men on all levels the basic role of class struggle would still exist - both men and women would be oppressed.

3. **Recognition of the leading role that women have played in the movement to improve people's lives.**

   Historically, when women have mobilized themselves, they can and have succeeded in bringing about changes. Such examples are: the struggles for an 8 hour work day, Welfare Rights organizing, women in Latin America and Africa who are devoting their lives to bring about change, women of socialist countries who are actively participating in the dynamics of change.

4. **Our work should proceed in the spirit of study, struggle, criticism and self-criticism.**

   In order to do all the work that goes toward the International Women's Day event, we need to do much studying. In the process of working with one another, we feel that problems should be brought forth and discussed among us. As for criticism and self-criticism, we see this as not something negative, but something positive in moving us toward personal growth. We feel that this work method will help us meet the goal of developing Third World Women's leadership.

12/3/73
An overflow crowd of close to 600 persons packed the Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, here last Sunday for the Bay Area's celebration of the 64th Annual International Women's Day. Organized by the Third World Women's Committee, the highly successful four-hour program paid homage to the years of struggle of Third World women in the U.S. and working women of the world. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

Keynote speaker was Sister Johnnie Tillman, a well-known leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). As the program got underway, the enthusiastic audience of men, women and children joined a group of international sisters, headed by Sister Joanne Miyamoto, in singing "Songs of Struggle". The auditorium of the Center echoed with the chorus of one song, "When in doubt, try to keep a trying", reflecting Third World women's historical struggle to keep their families together and survive the harsh conditions imposed on them by racism. In another song, Sister Miyamoto received prolonged applause when she sang, "We don't want a piece of your pie, we want to bake our own".

Among the most exploited women workers in America are domestic workers. Sister Viola Mitchell, a leader and founder of the California Homemakers Association, described the five-month-old association's efforts to win collective bargaining rights for domestic workers in California. Sister Mitchell emphasized, "We want wages, not welfare".

The role of women in Vietnam was described by Sister Doan Thi Nam Huu of the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S. She explained the interrelatedness of the liberation struggle in Vietnam and the struggle to liberate women. Declaring that, "the South Vietnamese government has violated all articles of the Paris Agreement", she said, "We will continue to struggle until there is true peace".

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18
A series of entertaining skits followed which humorously but truthfully portrayed aspects of Third World women’s lives on the job and at home.

Following the skits, a delicious array of international food was served. Also, during this intermission, the celebration participants viewed the beautiful displays put together by the Third World Women’s Committee.

Last week’s issue of THE BLACK PANTHER described the recent victory of the striking workers against the Farah Company. A Farah striker gave a history of that struggle when the celebration reconvened following intermission. Sister Janice Cobb then gave a poetry reading followed by the keynote address by Sister Tillman. She has been in the welfare rights struggle for several years and her remarks on the history of that struggle were especially enjoyed by the audience.

The philosophy and beliefs of the Third World Women’s Committee were expressed in detail by Sister Miriam Ching. The celebration concluded with “The Rising of the World’s People in Song” by the Third World Women’s Committee of Bay Area Progressive Musicians with the audience joining in.

The spirit and organizing ability of Third World women in the Bay Area was beautifully demonstrated in this celebration that was tremendously enjoyed by all who attended.
Dear friends,

The Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day welcomes your interest in our work. As you may know, our committee got together specifically to organize a celebration which would highlight the role of Third World Women in the struggle for a better way of life.

Our celebration on March 10th was the culmination of several months of intensive work which proved to be very fruitful. Now many of us have returned to previous work or moved on to new projects. For that reason, as of April 7, 1974, the Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day will be inactive.

We are hoping that many of us will be able to come together again next year to build on this emphasis on Third World Women's contributions, and we will make note of your specific concern for that time.

Sincerely,

Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day
Dear Sisters:

Since our work with the Third World Womens Committee to Celebrate International Womens Day, the Alliance has been in the process of building collectivity and stability within the group. We have also been discussing many questions that we face as an organization.

At this point, we wish to invite you to an informational meeting to discuss our developments since International Womens Day. On June 23, we plan to discuss our history analytically since 1971. We also want to talk about our recent thoughts around membership.

Our goal for this meeting would be to acquaint the many people who have worked in the past as well as those who will work with us in the future, with an understanding of the building process that has taken place with the Third World Womens Alliance. A second goal would be to invite sisters to participate as members into the organization.

We encourage you to come to this most important meeting in Alliance history. This will be an opportunity to involve others than the present membership in these discussions. This meeting will be held at 2130 Golden Gate, 1pm-4pm (cross street Masonic). #922-4905.

Forward in our Consolidation

Third World Womens Alliance
AGENDA

Session to be Taped for Files:
1. Welcome and Introduction of Alliance Members
2. Introduction of Others
3. Purpose of the Meeting
   To acquaint the many sisters who have worked in the past as well as those who will work in the future with our history and recent thoughts on membership.
4. What we want to accomplish today
   1. A clearer understanding of the Third World Women's Alliance.
   2. Some of you will make the decision to expand our membership.
5. Presentation on the History of the Alliance
   VICKIE: History of New York
       History of Bay Area September to December 1971
   TONI: History of the Bay Area January to December 1972
   BARB: History of the Bay Area January to December 1973 - Jan-Mar 74

   QUESTION AND ANSWERS
   CHERYL: All Announcements are to be given to the Chair during the break
   BREAK (fifteen minutes)
   CHERYL: Recent Developments Since International Women's Day
   VICKIE: Process of Membership
   QUESTION AND ANSWERS
   CHERYL: SUMMARY AND THANK YOU
   CHERYL: ANNOUNCEMENTS
A. OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

PROJECT MANONG

On May 11 TWWA invited friends to an informal workday at Project Manong - a Filipino Community project for low-cost housing. Project Manong is being organized by the Pilipino Youth Development Council (FYDC) and K.D.P. (the Union of Democratic Filipinos) and will provide low-cost housing for primarily elderly Filipinos through the leasing and renovation of a small, old hotel in Oakland Chinatown. We spent the day learning and doing miscellaneous construction work. It was a loose and informal but productive and friendly activity.

AGBAYANI VILLAGE DEDICATION

One of our most important activities last year was the organizing of two work-brigades to Agbayani Village in Delano, California. This is a project of the United Farmworkers Union. We are happy to report that the work is nearing completion and the Village had its formal dedication on June 15. Two Alliance members were able to attend the dedication as individuals. The all day event attracted some 3,000 people from across the country and included speeches, a Bar-B-Q and entertainment.

B. INTERNAL ACTIVITIES

JUNE 23rd MOBILIZING MEETING

The transcript of the presentations for the meeting are attached as (enclosure #1). Let us know your impressions!

REVIEW OF THE JUNE 23rd MEETING OUTCOME

The Bay Area chapter organized an informational meeting June 23rd to acquaint the many sisters who have worked in the past as well as those who will work in the future with the history of the Alliance. We also invited people to consider possible membership into the organization. The meeting was very encouraging, about thirty sisters attended with a lot of enthusiasm and questions. Some of the sisters felt that they could not participate at this time but wanted to be placed on a list for work on International Women's Day, others felt that there were further questions to be clarified before considering membership.

July 10, will be an extension of the first meeting to zero in on the questions that still need our attention. The text of the meeting is in enclosure #1.

POLITICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE WORK

The P.E Committee is planning to start the study of Engle's work: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.
We have already done preliminary sessions on three concepts - private property, commodity and the state - which we needed to better understand first. The actual study of Engles had to be postponed to spend more time on preparation for expansion of the chapter and to wait until the new members could be incorporated. The P.E.C. committee is meeting 7/23 to determine how to proceed from this point.

GRADUATION CELEBRATION

The Alliance celebrated the graduation of one of its members (V.) from medical school on June 7, 1974. It was a good opportunity to talk to many of our friends. There was a potluck, dancing, many discussions and a slide show from China. About sixty people really had a good time.

C. NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

RELATIONSHIP TO NEW YORK AND A SUMMARY OF OUR DISCUSSIONS

We are happy to receive the two reports from you on the questions facing the Alliance. In terms of a meeting in August, we would like to suggest a postponement of such a meeting at this time. We need to think more about the purpose and goals of the meeting. We would want this to be a productive meeting and not a rap session. Below is a summary of our ideas on the questions of why a Third World organization, why a women's organization and what are we organizing women for. In terms of our discussion on the History, we have included the presentations from our July 23rd meeting.

This summary on these four questions is in no way complete, we have yet to discuss fully these ideas and come to a consensus.

We hope our thoughts will give you some idea of the different trends in our discussion.

Summary:

Why a Third World organization?

We all recognize the fact that racism in the U.S. results in the low economic, political and social status of Third World people as a group. As such, we will play a unique and crucial role in any movement for fundamental change in the U.S.

We must come to a better understanding of our role and history in the U.S. We must collectively destroy the myths intentionally contrived to separate Third World people from each other and from other workers.

We will organize as a whole people (working people) but it is also correct to work among our own people. We have a special historical development. Our long range goals are not to separate Third World people from other people but to make ourselves a stronger force.

To work for Third World unity is a progressive step and a blow to racism.

Why a women's organization?

Women are a part of working people, but are not generally recognized as such. The history of women as an important social
force has been underplayed. We need to better understand our heritage of struggle.

Any movement for social change cannot succeed without the full contribution and participation of women.

The women's movement has not been useful to Third World sisters, to analyse or guide our work. Our collective thinking will help us learn more and direct our activities. Women as a group have special problems related to our role in families, etc. These need to be analysed as part of our larger role as workers and as Third World people.

Yet, women have a unique role in the family such as child rearing and have special needs. It is difficult for women to develop politically until certain social needs are met. We must become a viable force that involves women in day-to-day work ideologically and practically to be a constant reinforcement and deal with problems women face during early stages of political work.

What are we organizing women for?

To strengthen the movement.

We see ourselves as part of the progressive forces moving toward a fundamental reorganization of our political, economic, and social organization of society. To show sisters that these changes are really in our own interest. Not to fear changes. And to show the advances in socialist countries. Show the relation between imperialism, racism, sexism, exploitation, etc. These are initial steps in consciousness raising.

To see the necessity of taking initiative more, to develop the potential in organizing among women.

All of this is an ongoing process. It is foolish to project the future. But it is also foolish to not be prepared for any eventuality.

For being part of fundamental change to build the revolution. To take a more active role in fundamental change as needed. People share the fruits of our labor and become part of the decision making body.

To take on responsibilities of chairing, speaking at large meetings, etc. To be able to sum up a situation quickly and to analyse well, to develop skills primarily.

additional notes to New York:

Please send Alfred Love a prison subscription (see letter)

David Johnson has not been recieving Triple Jeopardy's prisoner: David Johnson, B-16381, Tamal, California 94964

Please send a complementary subscription to the Concilio Mujeres in San Francisco. We want to exchange TJ for their newsletter and they would receive them faster through you. (see letter)
Dear Comrades,

We've been reading the notes of your summer discussions and are really encouraged about the progress the Alliance has been making in New York. Even though some aspects of your work, of the situation of the Movement, and even of the general political climate out on the East Coast is different from what has been happening out here, it's clear that there's a lot that our two chapters can learn from each other. We would like to start carrying on more dialogue in addition to what gets covered in the national reports. In doing so we hope that each area can get a more concrete picture of what the other is doing and work towards developing a closer relationship.

The 10-week plan of discussions that was outlined at the beginning of the summer has finally been completed. The most important outcome of our discussions was the decision to "reconstitute" the Alliance in this area, i.e., to transform the organization from an essentially close-knit core group to an organization composed of and representing the goals of a much broader membership of Third World women. We see this process as taking place in the spring after International Women's Day work has been completed. At that time the Alliance will be able to focus its full concentration on the expansion and consolidation of the organization on a new footing. From now until then there will be a division of labor within the group: Linda, Leslie and Toni will be working primarily on International Women's Day; Cheryl and Miriam will be working on laying the groundwork for spring reconstitution and any other Alliance business. Cheryl and Miriam are also responsible for correspondence with New York.

Enclosed are consolidations of some of our main areas of discussion of 10-week plan items. The discussion of the 3 major questions - why a 3rd World organization, why women and what are we organizing women for, hasn't yet been written up in a consolidated form. As soon as it's in a more readable state, it will be forwarded to you. Generally these consolidations should be viewed as working discussion papers that have helped clarify our thinking, but are still in the exploratory stage. They need lots more work and the input of new
people before they can be finalized and put to some purpose. So they are in no way meant to be hard and fast political lines.

We've also discussed taking up your suggestion to have a national meeting. Summer seems like the best time that such a meeting could take place. From your notes it seems to be the time of year when folks get off to travel and take vacations and therefore, might be the best time when the maximum numbers of Alliance members could attend a meeting. Summer would also be more convenient for us since International Women's Day work would have been completed by then. Also, if we can successfully expand out here, the new sisters would be able to meet the sisters from New York. Both areas should probably raise transportation funds to get the sisters who have to do the traveling to wherever the meeting is to be held.

We're really looking forward to the meeting to exchange valuable experiences in organizing 3rd World women, in discussing what's happening politically in the 2 areas and possible sharing P.E., materials and other resources with each other. We also see this meeting as key in developing unity first of all getting to talk to and know each other.

So please let us know soon if you think that summer is a good time to meet. Also, we should probably start exchanging ideas on how to begin preparing for the meeting.

In Struggle,
Third World Women's Alliance
Bay Area Chapter

P.S. Some of us were able to get together with Benjamin Ortiz from the PSP after he spoke at the Puerto Rico Solidarity Day event in Oakland. The brother spoke very highly of the work New York Alliance members did for the Madison Square Garden event, which made us feel pretty good.
I. Outside Activities

March and Rally Against Martial Law in the Philippines

September 22, 1974, marked the beginning of the third year of Martial Law in the Philippines. For two years, the Filipino people have struggled against the economic and military oppression of this dictatorship.

In commemoration of this resistance, a demonstration was sponsored by the September 22 Coalition, in order to urge people in the United States to unite, and call a halt to United States Aid, which is supporting the oppressive and unjust Marcos Regime.

The Third World Women's Alliance sent a solidarity message, which was read at the demonstration. Hundreds of people attended the rally expressing active solidarity with the struggle in the Philippines and an end to the Marcos Dictatorship.

October 1 Celebration

The October 1 Celebration was held in the Bay Area, in honor of the Chinese Revolution. Many people came to the Masonic Auditorium to participate in the celebration.

The Third World Women's Alliance endorses the celebration and sold tickets to friends and family.

Enclosed are some materials that were given out at the celebration.

Reconvening International Women's Day Committee

As part of the Ten Week Plan we had long and serious discussions about TWWA participation in International Women's Day this year. The major objection to participating in the same way as last year was that all TWWA work had come to a halt during the organizing for the celebration and for a month or so afterwards. Some members felt that if the work was approached in this way, International Women's Day might be a success, but the TWWA would not have moved forward as an organization. It was also felt, however, that it was our responsibility to participate in some way and to be an active, leading force. After much discussion and struggle, we decided that three
TWWA members (Leslie, Toni, Linda) would view organizing the celebration for International Women's Day as their main work during the coming months. The other two TWWA members (Cheryl and Miriam) will focus their attention on how to reconstitute the organization after International Women's Day.

After last year's celebration, the TWWA was given the responsibility of reconvening the Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day. We have already sent out letters to those sisters who were active in the committee inviting them to a reconvening meeting which will take place on October 27, 1974. We plan to encourage those sisters who attend to take on the leadership responsibilities in forming an even larger and broader committee than last year. We want these sisters to see the committee as their own and take over much of the leadership role that the TWWA played last year. The TWWA who are working on reconstitution will at least do some peripheral work with the committee so that they can get to know the sisters and the struggles in organizing. We are looking forward to the work on International Women's Day and have high hopes for a successful celebration.

II. Internal Activities

Ten Week Plan

The Ten Week Plan for the summer was seen as both a way to consolidate and unify our positions on long-standing questions and as a way to integrate the two new TWWA members -- Miriam and Linda. Several of the discussions on the Ten Week Plan (enclosed) were very exciting and fruitful and led directly to the work we are now engaged in. Our method of approaching the topics was to begin with open discussion (sometimes based on work that had been done before); then one or two people would take on the task of writing up the major points and conclusions of the discussions; and finally, we would discuss the written reports to insure that they truly reflected the positions we had come to.

The discussion on Mass/Cadre was particularly good. We came to the conclusion that the TWWA should begin moving in the direction of building a mass organization of Third World women. Partly because of the limited number of members in the Bay Area, the TWWA has been confined to working as though it were a cadre
organization. We saw the need to break out of this mold and involve many new sisters in the work of the organization. The discussion on Mass/Cadre led us to begin making plans for the reconstitution of the organization in the spring.

The discussion on Why organize Third World?, Why organize women?, What are we organizing women for? led to a rough first draft of principles for the TWWA. We have not had a further discussions of the principles or adopted them and they will probably be left until the reconstitution.

Methods of Organizing began with an evaluation of the successes and failures of previous TWWA methods of organizing. The discussion on what to do in the future was closely related to the Mass/Cadre topic. We came to the conclusion that recruitment was our highest priority and that we must begin to build projects in which many women can become involved on various levels. We also felt it would be a good idea to investigate the methods of organizing of other mass organizations in order to see how they function. In terms of working with coalitions, we decided that although it is important to maintain contacts with the movement, coalition work is not an immediate priority because: (1) we do not have the womanpower to take on additional work and (2) we do not yet have a principled method of deciding either to join or refuse to join coalitions.

The remaining items of the Ten Week Plan refer to the TWWA as a national organization. We are now in the process of deciding how to approach these questions. It is likely that those members of the TWWA who will be working on the reconstitution of the organization and carrying out ongoing TWWA work will devise a way for us to deal with these items.

**Political Education Committee**

The main area of work for the Political Education Committee has been to coordinate the study of Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.

All Alliance members have participated in leading the Political Education. We divided the book into several parts, where volunteers took sections to prepare a presentation for study. After we complete our study, we will mail the outlines that we have prepared.

There was some brief discussions about studying the history of Third World Women in the United States. This was a exploratory discussion
that has to be researched much more before any plan can be instituted. We would be interested in any materials that New York has studied that can aid our development here in the Bay Area.

III. Status of Alliance Membership

After the June 23 Mobilizing meeting, we were able to expand our ranks to two new members. Miriam Ching and Linda Burnham, were incorporated into the Alliance over the summer as we carefully discussed the future of the organization.

We would also like to inform you of the status of two other members, who are not active participants in the Alliance.

Vickie Alexander, has been participating in a residency program at the University of California, Medical Center. Vickie is training to become a gynecologist-obstetrician.

Barbara Morita has moved to Delano, California, where she is preparing for entrance into nursing school.

The relationship between the Alliance and these members are as follows: We mail to Vickie notes from the meetings to keep her up to date with the trends in the organization. This relationship is not to go on forever, but is a way for Vickie to follow the developments of the organization.

Barbara Morita will receive the National Reports as a way to keep her informed about the developments in the Bay Area.

IV. New York

We have read all the reports and found them very useful. We would like to suggest that information regarding specifics around dividing the labor in the organization, does not have to be in the reports.

Concentration on the larger political questions and organizational work, is much more useful to us.

We hope this suggestion will be helpful in constructing future reports from New York.

Forward in our work
Bay Area Chapter
Cheryl Johnson
I Outside Activities

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Enclosed are some materials that were given out at the celebration.

Reconvening International Womens Day Committee

As part of the Ten Week Plan we had long and serious discussions about TWWA participation in International Women's Day this year. The major objection to participating in the same way as last year was that all TWWA work had come to a halt during the organizing for the celebration and for a month or so afterwards. Some members felt that if the work was approached in this way, International Women's Day might be a success, but the TWWA would not have moved forward as an organization. It was also felt, however, that it was our responsibility to participate in some way and to be an active, leading force. After much discussion and struggle, we decided that three
TWWA members (Leslie, Toni, Linda) would view organizing the celebration for International Women's Day as their main work during the coming months. The other two TWWA members (Cheryl and Miriam) will focus their attention on how to reconstitute the organization after International Women's Day.

After last year's celebration, the TWWA was given the responsibility of reconvening the Third World Women's Committee to Celebrate International Women's Day. We have already sent out letters to those sisters who were active in the committee inviting them to a reconvening meeting which will take place on October 27, 1974. We plan to encourage those sisters who attend to take on the leadership responsibilities in forming an even larger and broader committee than last year. We want these sisters to see the committee as their own and take over much of the leadership role that the TWWA played last year. The TWWA who are working on reconstitution will at least do some peripheral work with the committee so that they can get to know the sisters and the struggles in organizing. We are looking forward to the work on International Women's Day and have high hopes for a successful celebration.

II. Internal Activities

Ten Week Plan

The Ten Week Plan for the summer was seen as both a way to consolidate and unify our positions on long-standing questions and as a way to integrate the two new TWWA members -- Miriam and Linda. Several of the discussions on the Ten Week Plan (enclosed) were very exciting and fruitful and led directly to the work we are now engaged in. Our method of approaching the topics was to begin with open discussion (sometimes based on work that had been done before); then one or two people would take on the task of writing up the major points and conclusions of the discussions; and finally, we would discuss the written reports to insure that they truly reflected the positions we had come to.

The discussion on Mass/Cadre was particularly good. We came to the conclusion that the TWWA should begin moving in the direction of building a mass organization of Third World women. Partly because of the limited number of members in the Bay Area, the TWWA has been confined to working as though it were a cadre
organization. We saw the need to break out of this mold and involve many new sisters in the work of the organization. The discussion on Mass/Cadre led us to begin making plans for the reconstitution of the organization in the spring.

The discussion on Why organize Third World?, Why organize women?, What are we organizing women for? led to a rough first draft of principles for the TWWA. We have not had a further discussions of the principles or adopted them and they will probably be left until the reconstitution.

Methods of Organizing began with an evaluation of the successes and failures of previous TWWA methods of organizing. The discussion on what to do in the future was closely related to the Mass/Cadre topic. We came to the conclusion that recruitment was our highest priority and that we must begin to build projects in which many women can become involved on various levels. We also felt it would be a good idea to investigate the methods of organizing of other mass organizations in order to see how they function. In terms of working with coalitions, we decided that although it is important to maintain contacts with the movement, coalition work is not an immediate priority because: (1) we do not have the womanpower to take on additional work and (2) we do not yet have a principled method of deciding either to join or refuse to join coalitions.

The remaining items of the Ten Week Plan refer to the TWWA as a national organization. We are now in the process of deciding how to approach these questions. It is likely that those members of the TWWA who will be working on the reconstitution of the organization and carrying out ongoing TWWA work will devise a way for us to deal with these items.

**Political Education Committee**

The main area of work for the Political Education Committee has been to coordinate the study of Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.

All Alliance members have participated in leading the Political Education. We divided the book into several parts, where volunteers took sections to prepare a presentation for study. After we complete our study, we will mail the outlines that we have prepared.

There was some brief discussions about studying the history of Third World Women in the United States. This was a exploratory discussion
that has to be researched much more before any plan can be instituted.

We would be interested in any materials that New York has studied that can aid our development here in the Bay Area.

III. Status of Alliance Membership

After the June 23 Mobilizing meeting, we were able to expand our ranks to two new members. Miriam Ching and Linda Burnham, were incorporated into the Alliance over the summer as we carefully discussed the future of the organization.

We would also like to inform you of the status of two other members, who are not active participants in the Alliance.

Vickie Alexander, has been participating in a residency program at the University of California, Medical Center. Vickie is training to become a gynecologist-obstetrician.

Barbara Morita has moved to Delano, California, where she is preparing for entrance into nursing school.

The relationship between the Alliance and these members are as follows:

We mail to Vickie notes from the meetings to keep her up to date with the trends in the organization. This relationship is not to go on forever, but is a way for Vickie to follow the developments of the organization.

Barbara Morita will receive the National Reports as a way to keep her informed about the developments in the Bay Area.

IV. New York

We have read all the reports and found them very useful. we would like to suggest that information regarding specifics around dividing the labor in the organization, does not have to be in the reports.

Concentration on the larger political questions and organizational work, is much more useful to us.

We hope this suggestion will be helpful in constructing future reports from New York.

Forward in our work
Bay Area Chapter
Cheryl Johnson
Outside Activities -- Committee to Celebrate May Day

Soon after the end of our work in International Women's Day, the TWWA was invited to join with a group of organizations and individuals to build a celebration of May Day. Two organizations, CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action) and KDP (Union of Democratic Philippinos), had determined that it was important for progressive people in the U.S. to begin to reclaim May Day as a working people's holiday. A general call was sent out to many of the left groups in the Bay Area. Although the TWWA had not worked in a coalition-type setting for a long time, we decided to join in this effort since we felt that the folks involved were honest forces and we would be able to make some contribution to building May Day. The points that the Committee united around were as follows:

1. Unite against political and economic attacks on working people.
2. Fight against increased racist attacks in third world communities.
3. Unite against attacks on immigrant workers.
4. Unite against imperialist wars.

These basic points of unity were discussed and fleshed out with concrete issues and examples.

There were some difficulties for the TWWA in working with the Committee and some problems that the Committee as whole was unable to resolve. For the TWWA the main problem we faced was that we were deeply involved in the work of reconstitution (see the other report) and so were unable to devote a lot of thought and woman power to the work. We sent one representative to the general meetings and sent a letter to our entire mailing list urging sisters to attend the celebration, but we could not engage in much of the practical work although we were constantly called upon to do so.

As for the Committee itself, two of the major difficulties were its inability to draw progressive Blacks into the work and the inability of many of the participating groups to subsume their particular concerns and interests to the general unifying thrust of th
of the day. This last problem had a really grave effect on the celebration in that one of the groups (a gay liberation organization) demanded the right to set up a booth after having been turned down by the steering committee on the basis of the policy that all booths would be reflective of the principles of unity. This caused great division during the celebration with a few groups vacillating on the issue and then deciding to join with the gay group in a show of support. Through meetings of the steering committee and others involved, this situation did not get totally out of hand but those who attended the celebration were presented with a picture of confusion and disunity in the movement rather than the unifying theme that we were trying to express.

But things were not all bad. In spite of the fact that we had only month in which to organize the celebration, more than two thousand people turned out. The program itself was very good and included speakers from the Union of Vietnamese, PSP, California Homemakers Association, Committee to Free Los Tres, and the Master-charge Organizing Committee as well as a wide variety of cultural presentations.

The TWWA gained some experience and contacts with another sector of the movement, including the white women's movement, which may help us in our future work. In evaluating the Committee and the celebration, the TWWA felt that it is extremely important, in doing coalition-type work, to have a very strong core of reliable organizations that have similar political perspectives. Only then can work be opened up to the broad range of semi-organized and unorganized groups that are capable of creating chaos when they work in a setting without strong guidance and direction and good consistent political leadership.
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FOR THE NATIONAL REPORT
NEW YORK SECTION
RE: SUMMER MEETING PROPOSAL

We would really like to get together with two members from the Alliance in New York in order to share ideas and experiences of the two branches. We feel this should be an investigational and informational meeting in order that we can better understand the conditions of work in different areas. We do not feel that the legalistic approach of constitution writing and goal and objective discussions would be productive. Since this type of discussion would be in a vacuum. As Lenin has said the political nature of an organization grows from its methods of work and practice. We recommend that the meeting be on the West Coast (Bay Area), in August and that two representatives from New York come - we will pay half the air fare and of course provide places to stay, etc.
Both Leslie and Toni have been on temporary leaves of absence since the end of International Women's Day work. Leslie has had heavy responsibilities in preparing and teaching new course materials at her job in Ethnic Studies, as well as family commitments. Toni has had problems with her leg as well as job complications.

Other sisters in the organization have been regularly sending them notes and other written materials and meeting with them from time to time to keep them informed on what's happening. Prior to the 1st general meeting of the newly reconstituted Alliance in June, both Les and Toni will be fully re-integrated so that they can take part in the consolidation process.