

diatribe

UN/Justifying Proposition 187

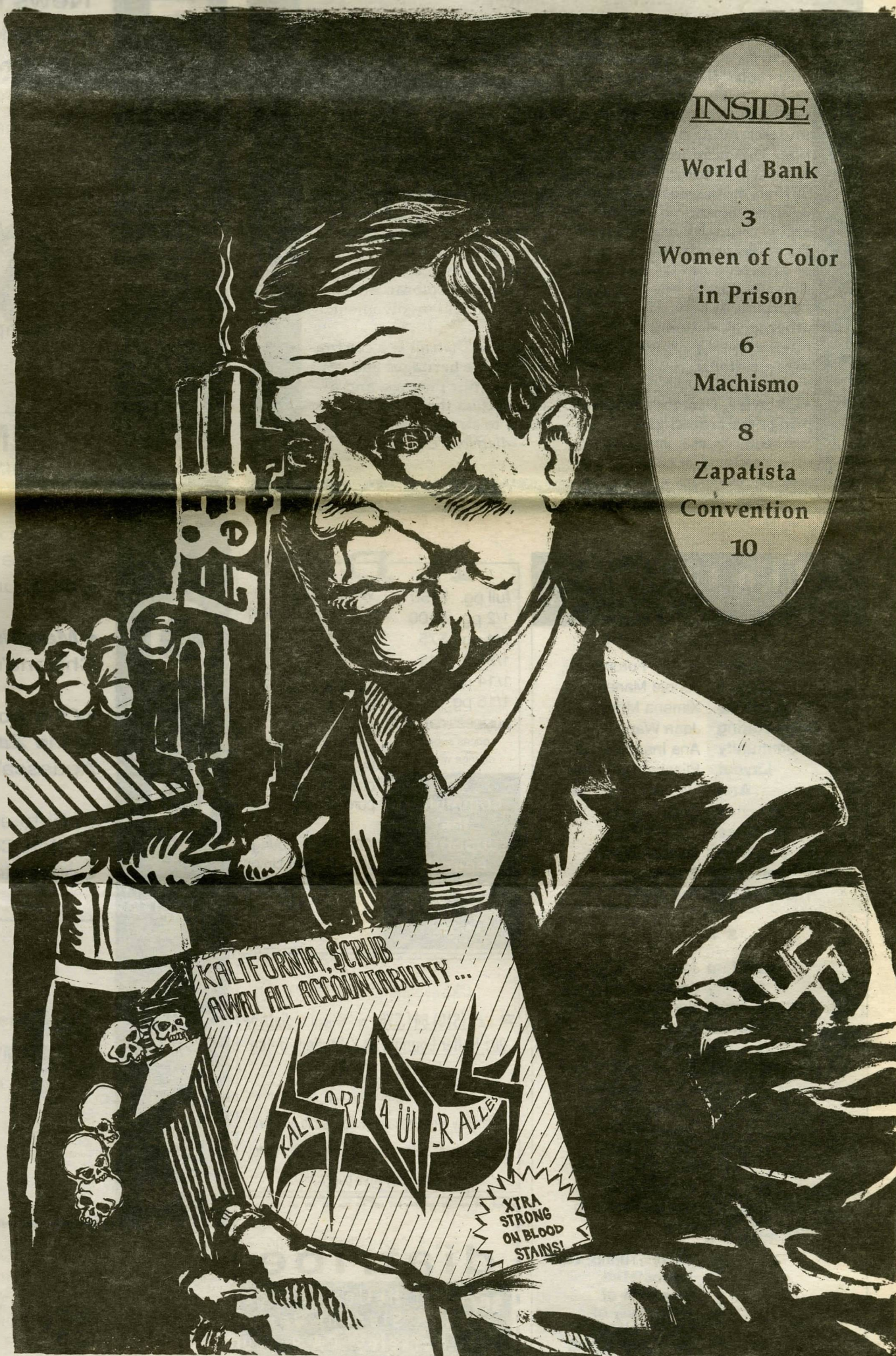
The U.S. Congress' passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 occurred in the midst of a severe economic recession in California and was a response to anti-immigrant sentiments directed at Chinese laborers, who had been imported to construct the western portion of the transcontinental railroad.

More than a century later, history is posed to repeat itself, except in 1994 the targets are all immigrants of color, both documented and undocumented, and the proposed law is Proposition 187.

Appearing on the California ballot this November, the measure, dubbed by proponents the "Save Our State" initiative, proposes to deny undocumented immigrants access to schools, hospitals, and social service agencies as well as to require police and personnel from virtually every public agency in the state to verify the lawful immigration or citizenship status of all Californians—child or adult, citizen or immigrant, documented or undocumented.

Proponents' claim that denial of public services to undocumented immigrants would result in massive savings to the state is not supported by independent analyses conducted by the Senate Office of Research, the Legislative Analyst's

Office, or the Assembly Office of Research. Indeed, their findings suggest the measure could result in substantial losses to the state of federal funding for education, health care, and social services due to the initiative's violation of federal and state privacy laws and equal protection guarantees.



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WORDS BY ED WANG

ART BY JASON GUILLERMO LUZ

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

• *Diatribe* is a means of empowering people of color. We must continue the tradition of resistance that has existed since the beginning of colonialism. Giving a collective voice to the "voiceless majority" is a vital part of this struggle. Accordingly, *Diatribe* provides a medium for people of color to discuss—on our own terms—the issues and actions in our communities. We cover issues either ignored or only superficially addressed by mainstream media and present critical, non-apologetic analyses of how the mechanisms of oppressive institutions affect us.

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

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

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

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

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

• Finally, *Diatribe* is a celebration of the heritages and resistance of our peoples, and a declaration that we will continue to struggle and survive.
—*diatribe*, Dec. 1993

diatribe

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Un/Justifying Proposition 187

Origins, debates, and realities of the statewide initiative on the November ballot

World Bank:

An examination of international finance and how it creates poverty in the U.S. and abroad

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Women of Color in Prison

A socioeconomic analysis of the criminal justice system and the imprisonment of Women of Color

EMPOWORD

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- One woman's recount of the magic of the *Zapatista* Convention in Aguascalientes

- photo essay from photojournalist Carlos Contreras de Oteyzo at the Convention

Community

Just a few sex-positive, image-positive resources for Queer and creative people who want to stand up, act out, and get involved

Vol. 3
Issue 1
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THE WORLD BANK

AND THE ECONOMICS OF POVERTY

by Ana Inés Rubinstein
& Elaine Peterson

In 1985, shortly after the end of a seven-year dictatorship, I returned to Argentina for the first time since fleeing in 1976. While I obviously contended with the emotional consequences of returning to the country from which my family had been exiled, I was equally jarred by the economic ruin that the dictatorship had created. There was almost no economic production, and inflation soared. The price of toilet paper doubled overnight, and food items would cost more at the end of the day than they cost in the morning. Meanwhile, salaries remained the same.

Although I understood the panic of this situation, at the time I failed to understand that these were the symptoms of structural adjustment, a financial policy of international lending institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that were supposed to solve Argentina's external debt and economic crisis.

This article seeks to provide an overview of the World Bank and its structure, and how structural adjustment as a World Bank policy fits into a larger economic ideology which promotes poverty here in the United States as well as in the countries directly targeted by the World Bank.

The Beginnings of the Bank

The World Bank and the IMF were first conceptualized in 1944 amidst the closing of World War II. Their purpose was to reconstruct Europe, as well as to promote global stability and economic development—in terms of international capitalist markets. Thus, the World Bank began its missionary-like treks into the "under-developed" Third World.

Soon after its birth as a functioning institution, it began funding environmentally destructive projects such as large hydroelectric dams, which often lead to the displacement of large populations, and which provide big profits for elites both inside and outside the affected nation. These types of projects continue; this year alone, two million people will be displaced by World Bank projects. The World Bank's claim that it is

an economic institution and that it is politically neutral has been used to justify intensive lending to dictatorships and other governments responsible for human rights abuses and widespread corruption.

The Failure of Structural Adjustment

The previously mentioned structural adjustment, or austerity, measures are a series of

in social spending (which usually means social welfare programs, health care, education, etc.); 2) *privatization of national industries* (selling them off provides quick cash for the government to make debt payments but high costs later on through unemployment and when basic national functions, like transportation or electricity, are controlled by profit-earning and often foreign corporations); 3) *lowering of trade barriers to encourage an export-based economy*



demands that the World Bank and the IMF make when restructuring the economies

of debtor nations. When countries are unable to make payments on loans to corporate banking institutions (Citibank being one of the largest debt holders), the World Bank and the IMF will step in and provide loans to make sure that at least the interest is met on the private bank loans. Attached to these loans come a series of mandates that are supposed to help the country's economic growth and stability. Among these are: 1) *reductions*

(which eventually leaves countries in an extremely vulnerable position as local production gets undermined and self-sustaining industries get de-emphasized. Everyday survival becomes dependent on the international market conditions of a few key export products.); 4) *devaluation of national currency* (which makes it cheaper for foreign countries to buy exports, and to exploit labor and resources); 5) *suppression of wage increases* (which aggravate the cost of living for individuals whose wages don't coincide with the inflation created by the lower value of their currency).

Since the early 1980s, over seventy Third World countries have undergone structural adjustment programs. These programs have worsened poverty—not alleviated it. In Latin America, the number of people living in poverty rose by about 50 million since 1980. In Africa, where thirty-six out of forty-seven countries have undergone structural adjustment, 200 million people out of a population of 690 million, are living in poverty—and the World Bank estimates that the number will rise to 300 million by the year 2000. Furthermore, structural adjustment programs have advocated massive environmental destruction. In Ghana, the World Bank encouraged a 100% increase in timber exports between 1984 and 1987, depleting 75% of Ghana's forest cover.

Why, then, have the World Bank and IMF continued to promote such policies? Why do countries continue to accept these loans?

These answers can only be found by questioning power and representation within the World Bank, as well as in countries accepting loans. Third World governments, as weak as many may be relative to the United States or Japan, are often controlled by elite, if not corrupt, leaders. Here in the United States, for example, congressional representatives and senators often make salaries far above the national average. Therefore, they often decide to support tax breaks for higher-income families and businesses while allowing the burden to fall on low-income and average-income families, and seek to balance the budget by cutting social services. These measures heighten poverty. Similarly, leaders of poorer nations are also frequently stock-holders in "foreign" companies, or have money saved in foreign banks that protect their personal savings from the drop in value that local currency experiences during austerity.

The few countries which have tried to pursue socially responsible policies by rejecting conditions on World Bank money, such as Cuba and Nicaragua, have found themselves economically isolated. It becomes really difficult for those countries to find resources for encouraging positive development and paying for basic needs. Other lending sources will often refuse to lend or give money to countries who have chosen to default on World Bank loans. Countries can also quickly become cut off from trade. In

CONT'D ON PAGE 5

"Not since the conquistadors plundered Latin America has the world experienced a flow [of resources] in the direction we see today."

—Rudiger Dornbusch, former Executive Director of the World Bank

NEWS BRIEFS



Seventy Thousand in Los Angeles March Against 187

ON OCTOBER 16, SEVENTY THOUSAND people marched through the streets of Los Angeles to show their intolerance for Proposition 187 and the politicians that support it. The mostly-Latino crowd marched along the recently re-named Cesar Chávez Avenue from East Los Angeles to

the downtown city hall. The signs and chants of the marchers made it clear that protestors considered the proposition to be racist and inhumane for denying basic services such as education and medical care to undocumented residents of the state. California Governor Pete Wilson was singled out as the politician most accountable for the increase in anti-immigrant sentiment in the state.

— Mike Chávez —

Proposition 186—Single-payer Healthcare Initiative

PROPOSITION 186, A CALIFORNIA state ballot initiative for the November election, reflects Clinton's single payer health care initiative, which is modeled after Canada's health care system. Single payer health care security

would provide all California residents guaranteed benefits—regardless of changes in employment, medical condition, and age. The state government would finance health care, without interfering in decisions regarding doctors or other health care providers.

The plan would place a 4.4 - 8.9 percent payroll tax on businesses depending on their size. There would also be an income tax surcharge - the percentage of

media and to broaden notions of activism to encompass peer education, organizing community events, and everyday speaking one's mind.

The retreat will be held at Lincoln Park in Alameda from 9 am to 6:30 pm. Artists including Sharon LumHo, whose recently completed local work is entitled "Hawai'i is not Disneyland," and Betty Kano of the Asian American Women's Artists Association will be in attendance to discuss their work as artists and community activists. ASPIRE is also organizing "workshop" sessions in zines and Chapbook making (self-publishing) and puppet making for protests. The day-long event will allow participants to express creativity while mobilizing Asian and Pacific American women activists/artists.

Pre-registration forms are available in the Women's Resource Center, 250 Golden Bear, at UC Berkeley. Or call for information/rides/ registration, Stacy at 486-1433 or JiSung at 548-3943.

— Stacy Kono —

which would depend on income bracket.

Arguments against Proposition 186 contend that people would be forced to endure long waits for coverage and more taxes.

Supporters of Proposition 186 deny that a tax increase would occur because the tax surcharge would replace and cost less than all premiums and deductibles.

— Stacy Kono —

"DON'T HATE, COMMUNICATE"

AT&T hosts forum in effort to foster communication among youth.

BY JENNIE MARIE LUNA

AT&T hosted a "Future Leaders Forum," entitled, "Don't Hate, Communicate," as part of a scholarship. The goal of this conference was to encourage an understanding and respect for racial, ethnic and cultural differences.

The conference, was held September 30th- October 2nd, in Chicago, Illinois. I was among a group of bright, unique 18 to 25 year olds. All had their own style and were there to bridge the gaps between Peoples of Color. The environment was not conservative. I was the only representative of the West Coast, namely California. As soon as the forum began, with a group of young Chicago rappers, the weekend focus was not only for and about People of Color, but it was about understanding how people can work and live harmoniously in a multi-cultural society, simply by learning from one another.

The 1993 fall special issue of "Time" Magazine indicated that immigrants to America are rapidly shaping the world's first multi-cultural society. Subsequently, the cultural mosaic of diversity continues to magnify. This growth process man-

dates that the citizens of the U.S. create a new agenda which addresses the issues of increased racism and prejudice. The conference defined racism as "any attitude, action or institutional practice backed by power that subordinates people because of their color." This behavior includes the imposition of an ethnic group's culture in such a way as to withhold

All of them had their own style and were there for the same reason—to bridge the gaps between People of Color.

respect for, to demean, or to destroy the culture of another race. The AT&T Future Leaders Forum was one such effort to help people to examine the myths, misconceptions, and perceptions behind discrimination; to address the underlying issues among diverse people and to develop strategies and action plans to improve relationships.

The conference began with a movie, discussion and explanation of how people must be "agents of change" because "If you always do what you've always done—you're gonna get what you've always had!" The keynote speaker was José E. López, a highly recognized author, lecturer, and historian on Puerto Rico and Latin America. He has been the developer of 11 courses on Puerto Rico and Latin America in various Universities. He is currently on a committee to develop Chicano Studies which is not offered in any University in Illinois. His willingness to share his experiences coming from Puerto Rico and working in his father's Puerto Rican bakery, gave inspiration and motivation to many.

The numerous workshops included "Understanding Racism and Racist Activities," "Understanding and Respecting Cultural Diversities," "Defining the Terms/ Identity," "Building Positive Cultural Relations," "Anger Management," "Conflict Resolution," and "Becoming an Agent of Change."

The curriculum consisted of understanding the origin of "race" and how it did not exist in the ancient world. "Race" as a category was not used until 1684.

It is an arbitrary term used to emphasize differences among people along biological lines. All people belong to the "Human Race" and within the human race, people are of different ethnicities and cultures.

The importance of definitions and language was taught. Language not only expresses ideas and concepts, but it actually shapes thought. Language is intimately linked to the creation and perception of reality itself. In that case, elimination of biased terminology is one way to change and correct the way people view themselves and others. Language, which reflects society and its culture, is not static. Nor is it more sacred that anything else in the sociopolitical arena. In the racist, sexist, classist, and homophobic society, people's decisions about word usage are political decisions. When people use the male pronoun to mean both sexes, one is consciously or unconsciously making a political statement. Likewise, the use today of outdated terms like "Negro" or "Oriental," or incorrect terms like "Hispanic," have clear implications. Words are deleted from or added to the vernacular, and their meanings and connotations change continually to reflect the political, social, and economic changes in our society.

Language, in fact, is used as a mechanism to shape and maintain a particular kind of social order. The importance of being aware as to the terms people use to describe themselves and to understand their reasons for their choices was also taught.

The conference gave hope for our youth, especially for all People of Color. It was reassuring that companies such as AT&T take the social responsibility to treat their employees with respect, seek out diversity amongst their employees, and give philanthropic support, enabling AT&T to touch thousands of communities. The conference showed that not only California, and that California (namely Berkeley) wasn't the only "aware" place in the U.S., but way out on the East coast, people are also fighting for change. On a larger scale, and wider view, although the struggle may be different, people are in the fight together. People must, "challenge the process, inspire a vision, enable others to act, model the way, and encourage the heart." In the words of Eric Hoffer, "In a time of drastic change, it is the learners who inherit the future. The unlearned usually find themselves quipped to live in a world that no longer exists."

WORLD BANK

CONT'D FROM PG. 3

the last year, countries like Cuba and Haiti saw the crushing effects of long-term trade embargoes.

Meanwhile, voting power within the World Bank is controlled by the countries which contribute the most money. Literally speaking, one dollar equals one vote. Countries receiving World Bank loans are usually excluded from this voting process. The United States contributes more money than any other nation to the World Bank, and therefore controls the decisions of the World Bank. This money comes directly out of our federal budget, paid by our tax money. As taxpayers, we never see this money again, but stockholders in large U.S. corporations will see huge profits when they take their businesses out of the U.S. and into debtor nations that are now forced to lower trade barriers. Stockholders also see this profit in the form of contracts, since World Bank development projects contract services from construction and engineering companies in

year. Between 1984 and 1990, a net \$178 billion was transferred from the Third World into corporate banks. Therefore, although structural adjustment has meant pain and suffering for the majority of Third World peoples, it has meant profit and gain for corporate interests in rich, industrial countries.

Bringing it home... "Austerity" in the U.S.?

This ideology should not be unfamiliar to us here in the U.S. It's called neo-liberalism (a.k.a., Reaganomics, trickle-down, free-market...), and it continues to be the prevailing ideology in determining economic policies despite Reagan's retirement. Under neo-liberal economics, the government supposedly sep-

programs, selling off utility, transportation, and communication systems to private competition, and by minimizing how much businesses

Between 1984 and 1990, a net \$178 billion was transferred from the Third World into corporate banks.

are regulated; but government also grants tax breaks to corporations, and will often provide construction of public roads that are necessary for businesses to operate. Public money is directed at making it cheaper for large corporations to operate.

These and other incentives are provided to businesses in the belief that corporate success "trickles down" into financial well-being for the population at large. However, as demonstrated by the growing divide between rich and poor in the 1980s, corporate prosperity rarely "trickles down". The net effect is that tax-payer money, (i.e. public money), is used to indirectly stimulate the economy by helping big business, (i.e. private money), while cutting back on social spending that benefits the general public. At the same time that welfare recipients, people with disabilities, and immigrants are attacked as financial burdens, the government uses tax-payer money to subsidize corporate profits by funding the World Bank, bailing out a deregulated savings and loan industry, or lowering taxes on businesses while

individual income taxes are raised.

Furthermore, the downward pull of wages and the opening of markets that the World Bank creates encourage companies to relocate outside the United States and harm the bargaining power of unions. Although it is not always advantageous for U.S. companies to relocate, the threat has become so central to our economic structure that it is often used as an empty threat. A friend who worked as a union organizer at a Fruit of the Loom plant in Texas this summer described the scare tactics used by the company's management in order to discourage unionization and a potential wage increase.

This year alone, 2 million people will be displaced by World Bank projects.

The line goes, "We have to remain competitive with Hanes. If we can't do that here, we'll have to close our doors and move to Mexico."

The same policies dubbed "structural adjustment" abroad were implemented in the United States under the Reagan-Bush administrations, and continue today. The 1980s set up laws that allowed for the deregulation of such major industries as the Savings and Loans, airlines, etc. The price of public higher education (including the University of California system) soared while funding for primary, secondary and higher education was cut. Today, California faces the potential economic and social consequences of Proposition 184

and 187, which seek to enlarge the prison system and deny social programs to large sectors of our population.

Resistance and Economic Survival

Fighting these measures locally is a large part of the struggle for economic self-determination. Global conditions cannot always be controlled, but austerity-like measures can be prevented from being implemented locally.

There are also ways in which people have resisted the World Bank as a global institution. Debtor nations, such as Bangladesh, expressed dissatisfaction when its citizens rioted against foreign corporations that were trying to replace the national jute industry. In Mexico, the Zapatista rebellion brought attention to the growing divide between rich and

poor that 13 years of structural adjustment helped create. Here in the U.S., an international coalition called "Fifty Years Is Enough" has been trying to use the U.S. government's influence in the Bank to initiate reforms. As a result of this international pressure, Congress is temporarily holding back its 1995 fiscal year contribution to the World Bank as it conducts an investigation of abusive practices of the Bank.

To get involved in the Bay Area "Fifty Years Is Enough" grassroots campaign, contact Food First at (510) 654-4400.

The former Governor of the Peruvian Central Bank, Manuel Moraya, declared that "The social costs of this [structural adjustment] policy are tragic. It means the death of some 500,000 children."

the U.S. and other countries with a lot of voting power in the Bank. Finally, commercial banks make huge profits as Third World nations fall farther into debt and owe increasingly higher amounts in interest payments every

arates politics from economics. Businesses battle the market, and everyday people compete for jobs. The government stays out of the way. However, this assertion is only partly true. The government stays out of the way by cutting back on social

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CRIMINAL DETENTION OR SOCIAL CONTROL?

Women of Color and the Criminal Justice System

By Kim Benita Furumoto

Politicians have used the "rising crime rate," as reported by the mainstream media, to justify increased police forces, prison expansion, and "get tough" crime bills such as the "Three strikes, you're out" initiative. Although such measures are presented to the public as necessary to control crime, they actually serve a very different purpose. To examine the function of the criminal justice system as a whole, we must consider more than the traditional criminological perspective, which accepts the legal definition of crime - a violation of the "criminal code" - and explains imprisonment strictly in terms of flaws of the individual prisoner.

An analysis of the imprisonment of Women of Color in a socioeconomic context indicates that the criminal justice system functions as an instrument for social control. People of Color comprise the majority of the total U.S. prison/jail population. Also, most prisoners are incarcerated for petty economic crimes. In 1991, 43% of state jail inmates were African American, 14% were Latino, and 1.2 percent "other" (this includes Native Americans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders).

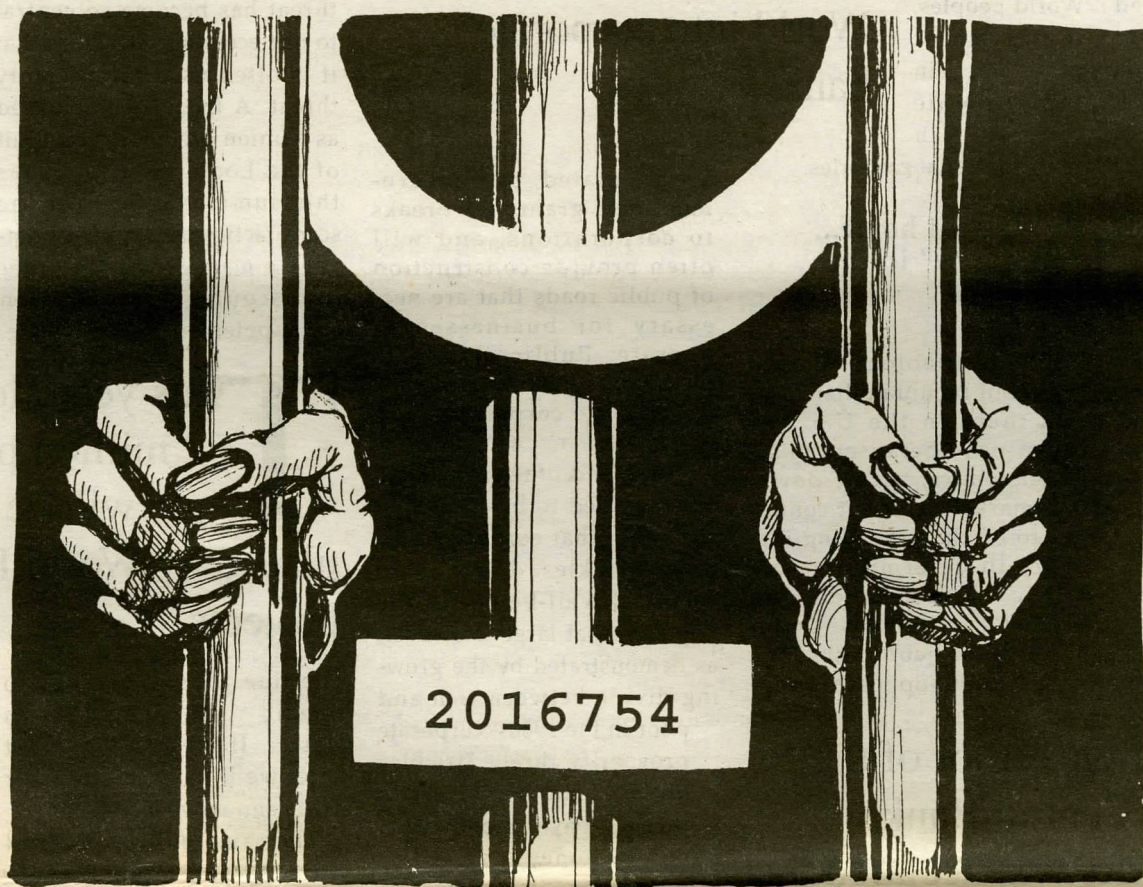
In California, the prison population exceeded 100,000 on April 15, 1991. A study by the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice indicated that of 100,000 prisoners, 70% were non-white, and most were initially convicted for a Property Offense.

THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S IMPRISONMENT

In addition to these racial and economic factors, patriarchy also affects the imprisonment of Women of Color. Patriarchy has characterized women's prisons from their inception. The few women who were imprisoned at the beginning of the 19th century were placed in separate quarters or wings of men's prisons. These women, in addition to suffering from overcrowding and harsh treatment as the men did, were also subjected to sexual abuse at the hands of male prison guards.

In the mid-1800s, the arrest and conviction of women greatly increased due to many factors, which include the absence of men during the Civil War, and rise of industrialization. Women prison reformers began to demand the establishment of separate women's prisons to be administered by women. These reformers, mostly Protestant women, sought to perpetuate the traditional gender roles assigned to women by society. They believed that in a women's prison, a "fallen woman" could be taught to fulfill her expected social roles of wife and mother. This would be accomplished by using women's prisons to teach Bible classes, cooking, sewing, cleaning, and washing clothes.

This was an example of the so-called "chivalry" with which women have historically been treated under the criminal justice system. However, this chivalry has not been afforded to Women of Color. With the proliferation of separate women's prisons after the establishment of the first one in 1874, a bifurcated (two-part) system emerged. On the one hand, there were the aforementioned "reformatories," which were supposedly intended to domesticize



women inmates. The women sent to the reformatories were almost exclusively white. On the other hand, there were custodial institutions, which corresponded largely to men's prisons. The purpose of custodial prisons was to warehouse prisoners. There was no pretense of rehabilitation. Regardless of their location, the custodial prisons confined mostly Black women. Black women were not considered capable or worthy of "reform."

THE CONTEMPORARY PRISON POPULATION AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS

The custodial and reformatory prisons had basically merged by 1935, but race and gender still affect female incarceration, as in contemporary times Women of Color are imprisoned in numbers disproportionate to their percentage of the population. Statistics for women prisoners in 1982 revealed that the population of women's prisons was 50% Black, although Blacks comprised only 11 % of the total population in the U.S.; 9% Latino, when Latinos comprised only 5% of the total population; and 3% Native American, although they comprised only 0.4% percent of the total population. In 1987, Native American prisoners comprised 35% of the total prisoner population in Alaska, 24% in South Dakota, and 18% in North Dakota and Montana.

The proportion of Women of Color in prisons continues to increase. Today, Latinas comprise 42% of the prisoner population in California, and Women of Color comprise 80% of the female prison population in the U.S.

SELECTIVE CRIMINALIZATION AND ARREST

The mechanics of the criminal justice system contribute to the disproportionate imprisonment of Women of Color. First, before the criminal justice system acts on an individual, the law selectively criminalizes certain acts. For example, prostitution is criminalized with a bias against women.

1,034 female defendants in a northern California county found that in most offense categories, the defendant's race or income significantly affected the sentence she received. Black women convicted of either disturbing the peace or drug law violations were sentenced more severely than their white counterparts, and lower-income women convicted of forgery received more severe sentences.

As a result of the discretionary procedures built into every stage of the criminal justice system, incarcerated women are mostly Women of Color accused/convicted of an economic crime. (The minority of women who are imprisoned for violent crimes are much more likely to have committed the violent act against a male partner, in a self-defense response to domestic violence. The recidivism rates for such crimes are very low.)

The most serious offenses of women in jail in 1989, according to a Bureau of Justice Statistics study, were property offenses, such as theft (40% of women in jail); drug offenses (33.6%); and public-order offenses, including traffic violations and drunkenness (19%).

Of a total of over 37,300 women in jail in 1989, 43% were Black, 16% were Latino, and 2.5% were

"other" (includes Native Americans, Asians and Pacific Islanders). The median education level completed by the women in jail was the eleventh grade, and 62% of the inmates were unemployed prior to incarceration.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF PRISON SYSTEMS

Given this profile of incarcerated women, a prison system truly designed to rehabilitate would address the inmates' economic circumstances. However, the education and vocational opportunities offered to women inmates do not help them improve their economic situation, but instead prepare them for the traditional women's domestic work and/or jobs in the secondary labor market. For instance, the jobs available at the California Institution for Women (CIW) are in areas such as gardening, laundry, kitchen, repairs, offices, and the prison-operated garment factory. In 1974, women were making a base wage of 20 cents per hour, with the higher-paying clerical or administrative office jobs paying as much as 32 cents. (Male inmates earned a base wage of 40 cents per hour.)

The vocational training available for women inmates at most institutions are limited to secretarial work, cosmetology, housekeeping, and other related programs. Although CIW also offers a nursing program, a high school diploma program, and some college extension courses, these programs only accommodate a limited num-

Men who hire prostitutes are rarely arrested and less frequently charged. Similarly, economically motivated acts of the poor, such as theft, fraud and check forgery are criminalized, while white collar and corporate crimes are only minimally penalized.

Arrest is the means by which a person enters the criminal justice system. People of Color are arrested in larger numbers largely because of police practices, such as the concentration of police forces in low-income Communities of Color.

DISCRETIONARY PROCEDURAL FACTORS

Once arrested, Women of Color are less likely than white women to be released on their own recognizance, or to post bail for their release. Confined defendants are at a disadvantage because they are unable to actively aid in their own defense by seeking out eyewitnesses and evidence. Furthermore, Women of Color are often unable to afford a private attorney, and must rely on a public defender or court-appointed counsel, who (mainly because of a large caseload) cannot devote adequate attention to a defendant's case. Also, bias on the part of judges may affect the appointment of free legal counsel. In a 1975 Alabama study, 42% of the white female defendants were granted court-appointed counsel, compared to only 26% of the black females. Discretionary procedural factors thus contribute to racial disparity in the conviction of women defendants. After conviction, discretionary factors also account in part for disparity in sentencing, even for the same offense. A 1981 study examining the outcomes of

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE

RACISM, ECONOMIC FACTORS, AND PATRIARCHY HAVE AFFECTED THE IMPRISONMENT OF WOMEN OF COLOR THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF FEMALE INCARCERATION

WOMEN OF COLOR AND PRISONS

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

ber of inmates. Many of the programs require a high school diploma or a tenth grade education, which many Women of Color have not attained. Moreover, some programs such as nursing are not open to inmates who have drug offenses on their record, and drug offenses are a major cause of imprisonment of Women of Color. The prison system thus reinforces the domestic roles of women and fosters economic dependency. Prisons thus perpetuate the situation that caused many Women of Color to be imprisoned in the first place.

EFFECTS ON FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Prisons also serve to fragment families and Communities of Color. This is accomplished in part by separating children from incarcerated mothers. There is an estimated total of 225,000 children of incarcerated mothers in the U.S. A national study on incarceration of mothers estimated that 70% of women in prison have children. This figure has increased and varies by facility and ethnic group. For instance, at

the California Rehabilitation Center, the percentage of Chicana mothers was 80.4%.

In many cases, incarcerated mothers were the primary caretakers of their children. Although many Women of Color in prison have an extended family to assume responsibility for their children and prefer that their children be informally placed with relatives, even that arrangement does not assure the children's security. Furthermore, incarcerated mothers often do not have any control over the placement of their children, as the Department of Welfare or other agencies place the children in foster or adoptive homes without regard to the mother's wishes.

Native American mothers in prison interviewed in a study by Luana Ross stated that they wanted their children to be raised by Indian people in Indian communities, so that their children could be raised learning their culture. Reservation and off-reservation Indian mothers in prison are more likely to have their nation's government organize placement of their children, but non-reservation mothers have less security, and many see their children placed in non-Indian foster homes.

Visitation between incarcerated mothers and their children is severely restricted in prisons, and imprisoned mothers express concern that their children, especially those who are very young, will become estranged from them. There are also many mothers who give birth to their children while in prison. Women are usually separated from their baby within 48 hours (often sooner) after birth, and usually lose custody of the child. Because incarcerated women do not have access to pre-natal care, infant mortality and miscarriage rates are high.

Today, Women of Color
comprise 80%
of the female prison
population in the U.S.

HIV IN PRISONS: THE NEW DEATH ROW

Inadequate health care in prisons has also contributed in large part to the high incidence of HIV and AIDS in prisons. At Farmingham women's facility, all incoming prisoners are initially confined in the Health Services Unit to be screened for communicable diseases before being transferred to the prison compound. Several women, some of whom are ill with infectious diseases or are withdrawing from drugs or alcohol, are locked in a cell designed to accommodate two women. Prisoners often remain in the Unit for several weeks. Symptomatic HIV-positive women are eligible for clinic visits at a nearby hospital, but must wait there for up to eight hours while handcuffed and confined in a cubicle.

People in jails and prisons are often reluctant to submit to AIDS tests because prison officials frequently ignore confidentiality laws, and tell prison guards and other prisoners if an inmate is HIV-positive. Inmates marked as HIV-positive are often ostracized by fellow prisoners and treated brutally by corrections officers. For women, HIV-positive status can also result in solitary confinement and longer sentences (as judges often rule that HIV-positive prostitutes pose a public danger).

HIV infection rates among female prisoners are rapidly increasing. According to 1991 Bureau of Justice Statistics data, among state prison inmates reporting test results, 3.3% of women tested HIV-positive. An estimated 6.8% of Latinas and 3.5% of black women were HIV-positive. HIV and AIDS, some have argued, have created a new death row for prisoners.

As the imprisonment procedures and prison conditions indicate, criminal justice system is a repressive instrument used for social control. This is further evidenced by

the many political prisoners in the country's penal facilities, who are incarcerated for their ideological beliefs and political

The social
problems
exacerbated by the
prison system
should be
addressed on
a community level

actions. The majority of political prisoners are imprisoned for their work in People of Color liberation struggles.

As the high recidivism rates indicate, prisons do not reduce crime. Rather, they fragment Communities of Color and perpetuate economic dependency. Thus, effective "rehabilitation" must not merely focus on a decontextualized individual. Inside prisons, the programs which have helped inmates most successfully have been peer counseling and education projects initiated by the prisoners themselves. However, prison authorities do not allow such programs without strong public pressure to do so. Such programs could further benefit from resources that are accessible to people on the outside. The social problems exacerbated by the prison system should be addressed on a community level. People of Color must work against the economic, political and educational factors that contribute to imprisonment. For if we do not resist the repressive forces of prisons, they will ultimately confine us all. ■

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CULTURE OF RAGE MAKES NO APOLOGIES IN URBAN NATIVE SON

BY REGINA MORRIS

Urb an Native Son," a tell-it-like-it-is rap album, is the most recent release of independent cultural artists Culture of Rage. The album features writer/producer Heath St. John (Apache/Lakota), K. Nez (Navajo), M. Marin (Washo), Orlando Z Jr. (El Salvador), Norma S. (Indonesian) V. Huff (African descent), and

M. Viscovich. This recording is one of the few rap productions that deal head-on with critical political issues facing Native Americans today. The album's songs cover a range of subjects, including the early period of colonization by the white man, and how this colonialism still exists today. The song "All We Own" says:

*Make and break all the rules
and force them on reservations
and into boarding schools
where corruption was the tool
To keep us in fear for over 500 years...
I'll be avenged/if it takes 500 more to
condemn the enemy
Because all we own/Still ain't a home.*

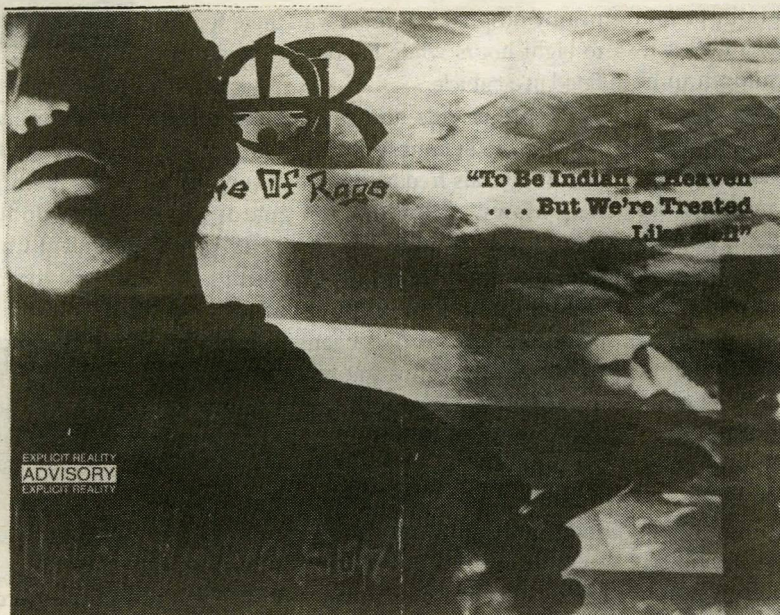
A related theme is addressed in "Missionary," directed at those who "killed and betrayed in the name of their god." The song also challenges the missionaries' asserted superiority of Christianity over Native worldviews.

The lines of these pieces address issues of history, and remind us that the oppression of yesterday still binds us today. We must remember this, and direct our actions accordingly, **not only on Indigenous People's Day,** but as part of our life struggles. Heath St. John said that he started Culture Of Rage because "I saw the need for education, and I decided to communicate through [the rap] medium about the **struggles of urban Native youth."**

He added, "I see myself as a spokesperson for Native youth, especially those who are in the angry stage when finding out about injustices."

This is reflected in many of the songs, which talk about how schools teach distorted views of history and are not reaching Native youth. One cut also describes the "Urban Native Son" as a product of inequality, and "Stand on My Own" discusses how Indian people in the cities must turn to maintaining our cultures:

*Urbanized—That's a fact
They took my culture; I'll learn it back
I'm not meeting the white man's roles
I'm not learning anything in school
And what I need to survive
Is love from my elders—keep the culture alive*



Other barriers to survival which Indigenous people, both on reservations and in the cities, must contend with are alcoholism and drug abuse, which are the focus of the song "Where Went Cha Will to Live?" "Police" is an angry response to police repression, and mentions the killing of the FBI agents on Pine Ridge Reservation (which led to the framing and imprisonment of Leonard Peltier).

The Culture of Rage album also **counters the stereotype of rap as degrading to women.**

For example, the cut "Strength and Beauty" says, *Praise the women of the Earth, for these women help us grow... Women are the strength of the nation, with the gift of creation The struggle's motivation.*

The words in these songs are hard-core. But **the truth is shocking,** and Native Americans and other People of Color should not be apologetic for our anger. Political messages in rap reach more young people than conciliatory research papers. Rap music like "Urban Native Son" can play an important part in our expression and resistance. Because political rap doesn't easily sell, it is especially important for us to back independent artists like Culture of Rage. As Heath St. John said, "What has kept me going is the support from the community—both the youth and the elders." So all you People of Color and of conscience out there, check out "Urban Native Son," and remember to support our political-artistic voices.

"I saw the need for education, and I decided to communicate through [the rap] medium about the struggles of urban Native youth," says Heath St. John.

That is exactly what "Urban Native Son" does. ■

[Tape Jacket Says:]

FOR ANY REASON WRITE TO:
HEATH ST. JOHN
C/O CULTURE OF RAGE
15934 HESPERIAN BLVD. #219
SAN LORENZO, CA 94580

Letters to Us

Hi—

I'm writing for a couple of reasons, the first of which is to say that I thought Jane Chen's article on reproductive freedom (*Diatribe*, Summer 1994) was pretty good. Bringing issues of class and race to the discussion was very helpful, and I certainly learned some things I didn't expect. Just a few days after reading Chen's article I came across a Chronicle report on abortions in Mississippi (enclosed) and an article describing the current state of abortion availability as essentially "two-tiered," where the lower tier of poor women are denied access.

The description of the ways that contraception has been used against minorities historically was pretty shocking. Maybe I shouldn't be surprised, since the government seems to have a remarkable talent for abusing its power....A few more points I dispute are the suggestion that religious fundamentalists are big proponents of population control, in the Third World or elsewhere, and the notion that lesbians and bisexuals are somehow on the cutting edge of a movement which does not directly concern them (at least not to the extent it concerns predominantly heterosexual women). In both cases I may be ignorant of the true facts, but those are points which nevertheless strike me as odd.

Okay...well, I wasn't very impressed with Glen Omatsu's article or "Asian Neo-Conservatives." Mostly, I object to the groundless mud-slinging that happens every other sentence. To suggest that someone who is politically conservative has "difficulty dealing with concrete situations," is an "elitist" who fears democracy, and has "a pronounced bias towards organizational authoritarianism and theoretical rigidity" is, frankly, bullshit. If anything, engaging in such useless generalization and petty stereotyping only demonstrates the theoretical rigidity of the author. People's motivations and characters are complex, regardless of their theoretic-

cal affiliation. Furthermore the notion that an Asian neo-conservative must "lack understanding of history" is the sort of tired Marxist-Leninist rhetoric that should be confined to R. C. P. pamphlets, if allowed anywhere at all. The right can read books with as much skill as the left, and it's foolish to pretend otherwise.

Like Omatsu's prototypical Asian neo-con, I oppose affirmative action and believe that "cultural" factors may be responsible for blocking advancement of minorities in some cases. However I also believe that power relations are significant impediments to progress and that something must be done to surmount the rubble of America's racist history. My opposition to quotas does not come from arrogance or ignorance or a desire to preserve privilege; rather, I am opposed to discrimination based on ethnicity because I think it truly *does* contradict the teachings of Martin Luther King, and Ghandi as well. Means are ends and discrimination is discrimination no matter who benefits.

I truly do believe that "people of color can rise through merit" and I think that anyone who suggests otherwise is taking a very condescending attitude toward the capabilities of minorities. Taking the obvious steps to facilitate that rise—like spending money improving inner city schools rather than improving prisons—would, in my opinion, have a better result than trying to make up for wasted potential through affirmative action.

While you probably don't agree with me, I hope you will nevertheless acknowledge that it is possible to hold opinions contrary to prevailing civil rights theory and simultaneously desire equality for all peoples. In denying that possibility in his analysis of Asian neo-conservatives, Omatsu lets ideology take precedence over clear thinking.

Sincerely,
Alex Coolman

OCTOBER 1994

diatribe People of Color News collective

Redefining my "Chicana-ness"

Machismo, and how we must react to re-shape what and who we shall become

JENNIE MARIE LUNA

Machismo. What is it exactly? Is it the men who sit around comparing and out-doing one another in muscle, strength, or cars?

Is it the man who says, "I don't cry, I bleed."

Is it the overprotective father who allows his sons to come home at any hour of the night, but expects "his" daughter to be at "his" home cooking "his" meal, beside

meaning. For example, when a son shows disrespect, a father will usually say, "mijo, can't you be a little more macho than that? Show respect!" For many, *machismo* means the utmost respect and care shown toward women. This way of looking at *machismo* has mostly taken a turn toward a more negative meaning. It is most definitely not my intent to bash on the male gender or their pride de hombre, instead, my hope is to throw out some knowledge that both the ladies and the gentlemen can appreciate.

I, being a Chicana, have already begun to see the barriers that lie ahead of me. As it is, my *gente*, my *Raza*, are suffering from an oppression that has lasted long enough; this being poverty and racism. Being a woman adds one more challenge in this society causing the Chicana, Latina and Mexicana to suffer from a three-way oppression.

The most interesting fact about this issue is that in our Chicano history, women were not only completely equal to society, but they were treated with the highest respect, more than was

given to men.

During the pre-Columbian period, the indigenous people honored women as queens. The Aztecas worshipped women as goddesses and respected them as warriors and even leaders of tribes. So, somewhere, in-between the arrival of Columbus, the Spanish conquest and today, a mind set was changed into believing that women held a lower status and could only manage three roles, be it the wife, girlfriend or mother. So while

Mexican (Aztec) brothers know how to treat their women, today's macho is still learning.

To this day, this country continues to debate on whether women should be allowed in combat. In the early 1900's, millions of Mexican country women, known as *soldaderas*, fought beside their husbands and sons. They would bring with them their children and carry on their backs their cooking gear, medicine/aid kits and would bear all the artillery and arms.

Many women, some disguised as men, fought on the front lines, while many others held the rank of colonel.

Chicanas and Mexicanas carried on their spirit of strength as they began to fight injustices in the United States. In the 1960's and '70's, women factory workers began to unite and became leaders in movements, union organizing, social reform, protests, picket lines and militant strikes.

This cultural barrier of *machismo* is somewhat like a tradition that has been passed on from generations. Fortunately, for the Latina and Chicana, while some traditions are meant to be kept, many are meant to be broken, including this one.

Despite the leadership roles of many women, *machos* continue to criticize and scowl at even the thought of a woman going to college. Even today many daughters struggle with their *macho padres* that don't want them to continue on to a higher education. Many mothers encourage their daughters to break away, telling them "she doesn't want them to end up like her." But daughters become threatened by their overpowering father and cheat themselves from going to college.

Ladies, unfortunately, sometimes it is up to you to keep your boyfriend in check

and let him know your goals in life; you don't want to end up trapped by getting pregnant and never finishing your education in high school or college because he "loves you." There should always be equal power in a relationship and you have to tell him and make him listen if he doesn't treat you right or give you respect. It is also your choice if you have a father who doesn't want you to go to college, whether or not you break away and take a stand. It is up to us as women to end the generation of machos by educating our sons when we become mothers and make sure the boys and girls are treated as equals, both with the opportunity to be educated.

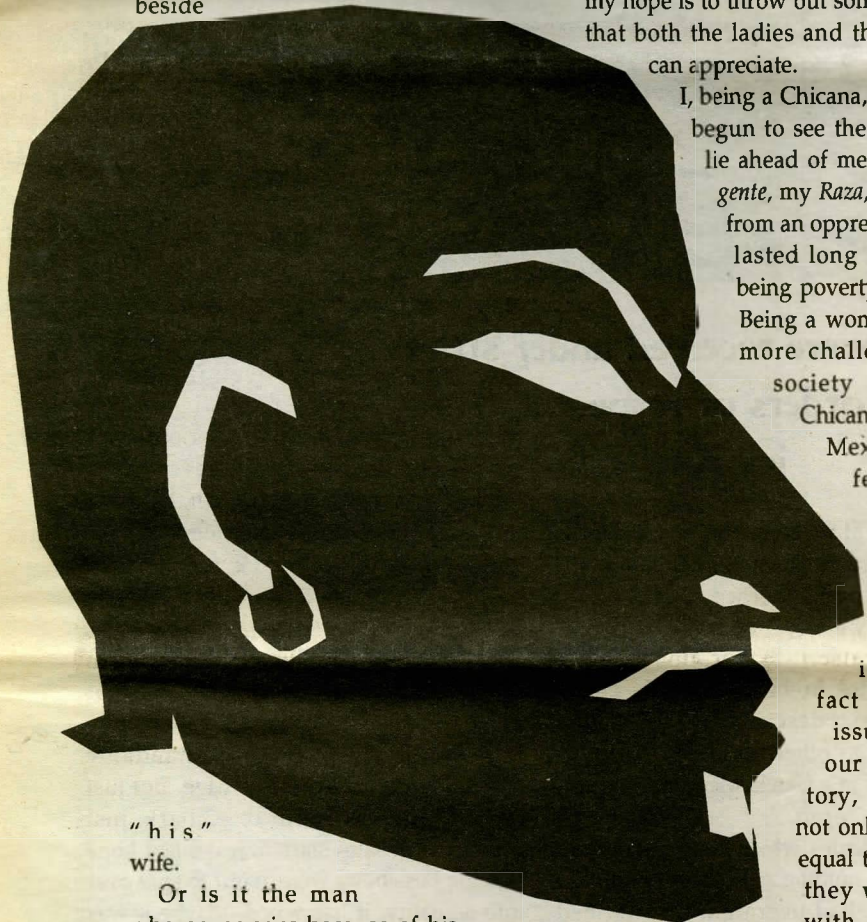
Gentlemen, it is important that you listen to your girlfriend, give her respect and freedom. In return, you too will be respected. Remember: without a woman, you wouldn't be on this earth.

Racism, Sexism, and exploitation have not died, so neither has the struggle. It is important

for everyone to know that the female is not to be against the men, but rather to be more unified with them. We need to fight side by side with men, against the system. I close with a poem by Viola Correa, who shows that the time for *machismo* is over and a time for all women to uplift, to receive justice and a higher education has begun.

HEY!
SEE THAT LADY PROTESTING AGAINST INJUSTICE?
ES MI MAMA
THAT GIRL IN THE BROWN BERET, THE ONE
TEACHING THE CHILDREN
SHE'S MY HERMANA
OVER THERE FASTING WITH THE MIGRANTS
ES MI TIA
LISTEN TO HER SHOUT!
LA NUEVA CHICANA!

... despite the uprising and recognition of many influential and powerful women, el macho and male dominance continues to exist ...



"his" wife.

Or is it the man who never cries because of his self pride and teaches his son to do the same?

Machismo can be perceived as all of this and more, but despite the uprising and recognition of many influential and powerful women, *el macho* and male dominance continues to exist within not only the Mexican and Latin American cultures, but others as well.

By all means, I most definitely do not generalize all men as machos. For some, *el macho* has come to mean something different. Some know it to have a positive

diatribe has received three letters from inmates in prison systems across the U.S. since our start in October 92. Two have explicitly stated that they are political prisoners and consider us a legitimate source of news. It is this kind of response that continues to motivate diatribe to print even in low-energy times. This letter is our most recent arrival, and we plan to send him and the others issues of the paper *a gratis* as they are printed.

—d

I was reading your response to a letter from a source of office material. My questions are who and what is this organ(ization) about? I assume from its address that it's on a college campus? If so, what is your attraction like on campus? This prison is repressive so there's not much going on and most bro's who do exert pride are placed in control unit, but we are working on our own so any input from you will be a plus, so respond back and let me know something. The smallest things are greatly appreciated.

Thank you,
E. Scott #XXXXX

To whom it may concern, P.C.N.C.,

I ran across your address in a progressive news paper and it listed you as a source of/for material. My questions are who and what is this organ(ization) about? I assume from its address that it's on a college campus? If so, what is your attraction like on campus?

This prison is repressive so there's not much going on and most bro's who do exert pride are placed in control unit, but we are working on our own so any input from you will be a plus, so respond back and let me know something. The smallest things are greatly appreciated.

Thank you,
E. Scott #XXXXX

Earnest,

In response to your letter, we feel that our Statement of Purpose is a good summary of what we are about. In terms of our readership, we distribute all over the Bay Area, with an emphasis on Berkeley, Oakland, and the UC Berkeley campus. The staff is all students (though we are trying to recruit community members), and we produce the paper on cam-

pus (despite a shrinking university budget). We were very excited to receive your letter and eagerly look forward to more responses.

diatribe

P.S. We were uncertain of whether or not to release your identification number for fear of violating your privacy, so we decided not to print it.

The Possibility of Hope

A First-hand Account of the Zapatista Convention in Chiapas

BY MARIANA MORA

"Aguascalientes, Chiapas. The Noah's Arc, the Tower of Babylon, the wild boat of Fiscarraldo, the delirium of the neo-Zapatism, the pirate ship. The paradoxical anachronism, the gentle foolishness of those with masks, a civilian movement in dialogue with a movement in arms."

The same surreal mysticism and painted contradictions the Sub-Comandante Marcos sketched in his opening address enveloped the National Democratic Convention, held in Zapatista territory on August 6-9, in its entirety.

The space created for peace by men in arms, the guns striving to be useless, the flash flood city of 6,000 people at the mouth of the Lacandon jungle, the vessel of reality in a sea of post-modern illusion. I lived the experience without feeling it was the experience I was living and now that it has been swallowed by time gone by, I'm left with a skeleton of a dream.

Given that Mexico was, and now in its post-electoral phase continues to be, immersed in an authoritarian regime be the party of the state (the PRI), the Emiliano Zapata National Liberation Front (ELZN, an armed group that rebelled against the government on January 1, 1994) found it necessary to call together the people of Mexico. If there is to be any hope of change through peaceful channels, the Convention was needed to discuss the fundamental problems of the nation through plural and representative means. The masked men called together the faces of Mexico as a means to amplify the previously-hushed sound of diverse voices.

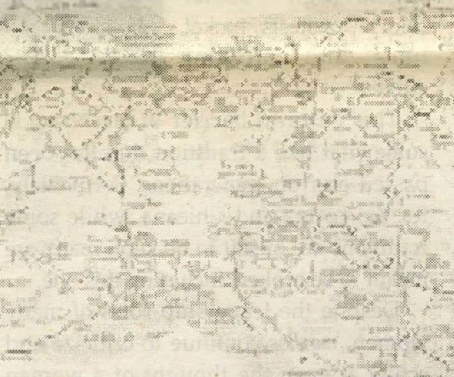
So we went, over 6,000 of us, the indigenous of the highlands, the intellectuals of the city, the middle-class *chilangos* (people from Mexico City), the union workers, the *campesinos*, the old men who had fought their battles, the young students just beginning to fight theirs, the labeled extremists, the considered reformists, the Mexicans who, like me, lived outside our native land, the international sympathizers who protected us merely with their presence. Like ants lured by the promise of honey, or maybe more like sheep obeying the orders of a shepherd, we came to unite in the colonial town of San Cristóbal de las Casas.

The first phase of the convention ran in the form of working tables, five in total: 1) the transition to democracy, 2) the pacifist channels towards the transition to Democracy, 3) the national development program and the eleven points of the Zapatistas, 4) the characteristics and alignments of the government in transition, and 5) the program to create a new constitutional government.

I attended table number three, the national program and eleven points of the Zapatistas. Apart from the demands of the ELZN (roof, land, health, education, independence, justice, liberty, democracy and peace), the working table was to hear what other members of society advocated.

In Mexico, as in the rest of Latin America, the moderators, or those taking a leadership role, are usually those already in a societal leadership position, such as intellectual elites. But in this case, those facilitating the discussion were leaders of indigenous communities, of labor unions, and of other organizations. The intellectuals and the elites were sitting among us as participating members of the dialogue. Although the table was run in a democratic fashion, it was not without its own set of contradictions. Those moderating the voting and the discussion were never elected, but rather appointed by some unknown hand.

Documents were turned in and proposals read with a time limit that was waived for those whose first language was that of their indigenous communities, not Spanish. Though the proposals were read by people of great diversity, they were linked by certain commonalities. Many spoke of self-determination for the indigenous people, regional and de-centralized development, plural-ethnic autonomy, equal rights for women, traditional medicinal rights, and the impacts of the neo-liberal economic model on sectors of society. Change, or rather the possibility for change, charged the auditorium in continual lightning bolts that overshadowed the clouds of frustration and disorganization. When finally all of the proposals were read and a synthesis document transcribed, it was coated by this charge, by the Possibility—something that



Mexican people have not had the option of feeling in many years.

The next day, the second phase of the voyage began in a vessel caravan of over 200 buses down 400 kilometers of rural dirt roads to the Lacandon jungle. A thirty-hour trip for some, tiresome for all, but not lacking in special moments for many. Leaving the town of San Cristóbal, down to Comitán, on to Las Margaritas, and finally into Guadalupe Tepeyac,

parts of the republic was the first success of the Convention. However, the people of the towns were not the only ones monitoring our passage. The caravan passed several military checkpoints along the way. Unlike the people who are forced to cross and be searched at these points on a daily basis, we were protected by the watchful eyes of human rights groups and by the attempt of President Salinas to construct the proper international political façade. So



we were received under strict orders of respect and icy courtesy.

Starting at three in the morning, the buses trickled in slowly into Zapatista territory. After being searched by members of the ELZN, we were taken down a path leading to the newly-constructed pueblo of Aguascalientes. In the morning, the circus, as some have described it, the jungle Woodstock, as others have labeled it, the next chapter in a Garcia Marquez novel, as I dreamed it, began.

Aguascalientes, which three weeks earlier had been nothing more than dense jungle canopy, had overnight transformed itself into a mini-city. People buzzed around the colorful domes of make-shift tents which surrounded the newly-constructed auditorium on the cleared mountainside. An enormous white canopy, like the sail of a vessel on an uncertain voyage, provided shade for the seats of its passengers.

Finally, at eight p.m., under the dramatic veil of the night, the masked men appeared from the mountainside. Led by Comandante Tacho and the Sub-Comandante Marcos,

there, he knew it had been a long and tiresome journey, but he hoped we liked what the Zapatistas had lovingly constructed, because they had tried to make it a "little pretty" for us. Marcos spoke next, with words wrapped in paradoxical imagery that unleashed power, charisma and hopeful determination.

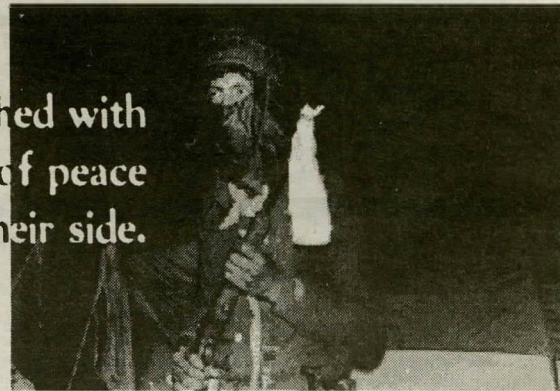
"...Before Aguascalientes, we said we did not want to be against the celebration of a National Democratic Convention. Because it would be exactly that, a celebration, a celebration of the first step towards offering the nation a cry of 'Enough!', of 'Ya Basta!' that doesn't just come from the indigenous peoples and the campesinos, but a 'Ya basta!' that multiplies, that reproduces, that triumphs, that can be the celebration of a discovery: to know ourselves not as the defeated, but to think of ourselves with the possibility of victory on our side....Defeat will never be so sweet, if peaceful democracy, dignity and justice are victorious....We expect the Convention to speak the truth, to speak

for peace but not for renouncing liberty, to speak for peace but not for pacifist complicity....We say no to war, but not yes to peace at any cost....For you Aguascalientes was raised, for you it was constructed, in midst of a territory in arms, a space for peace with dignity and justice."

With his speech, Sub-Comandante Marcos inaugurated the voyage. But just before we were about to embark, just before the debates started, just when hope and the Possibility were about to spill over into actuality, it happened. Maybe it was part of the dramatic special effects organized by Marcos, maybe it was the evil spell cast by a sorcerer of the PRI, maybe it was Tlaloc, the god of rain, acting in his omniscient wisdom. Whatever the case, the tropical rainstorm exploded. The canopy sail flew under the urgency of the wind and lightly crashed down on all the vessel passengers. Needless to say, the Convention was postponed till the next morning.

When the rays of the sun had dried the pools of mud and the people had picked

they marched with white bands of peace at their side.



all along the side of the road people lined up

with banners, smiles, white paper doves of peace, blessings, and wishes of a safe journey. This physical unity by people from all

The intensity and energy that saturated the auditorium, expressed itself in the chants of "Viva México! Viva el ELZN!", in the songs sung from the deepest corner of our hearts, and in the overwhelming sense of unity. In fact, we repeatedly chanted, "Unidad! Unidad!", but, like all paradoxes, we chanted "Unity!" out of unison.

Then Comandante Tacho gave the opening remarks. He thanked us for being

up their scattered belongings as well as muddled thoughts, the Convention began once again. We voted on the proposals that stemmed from the five work tables and approved the following main principles.

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PG.

We demand:

(Table 1) That in order to transform the government, the ruling party, the PRI, must be eliminated, that the winning candidate adopt the resolutions of the CND, the revision of all international treaties, autonomy to indigenous communities, to have members of society be included in all aspects of regional, state and national government, and to give equal participation to women;

(Table 2) To pressure authorities for clean, fair elections, because without them, it is a threat to peace, to mobilize and take peaceful action in case of fraudulent elections on August 21, to call together a second meeting of the CND if fraudulent elections are the case, to call in permanent session the state conventions, to establish international solidarity groups for the CND;

(Table 3) To formulate a social system that recognizes the plurality represented by our cultural diversity, to include equal indigenous participation in the political aspects of our country, to give governmental priority to the necessities of the minorities;

(Table 4) That in order to have a government in transition, it is first and foremost imperative to end the ruling party;

(Table 5) To approve the demands of the ELZN, to give social priority to employment, guaranteed housing and guaranteed access to public health for all Mexicans, that the production of food be a national priority, that education be free, that individual and collective freedom is the first essential step towards the advancement of other levels of social organization.

Though these accords did create the essential general base from which to work, to me they were not the main success of the Convention. In retrospect, I wonder what would have happened if Tlaloc, the god of rain, had not unleashed his power. If it had rained on the way to Aguascalientes (for in the tropics one can expect rain on a daily basis), the caravan of buses would never have arrived. If it had rained on our return trip to San Cristóbal, our safety would have been in jeopardy. If it had rained half an hour earlier, Marcos' speech and the hope it emitted would have not been heard. But Tlaloc chose to dump the buckets of water right when we were about to start, right at the breaking point between the Possibility and the Actuality. So, like a dream that never touches reality and therefore can never disappoint or cause disillusionment, we left Aguascalientes with the cup overflowing with expectations, hope, and determination—with the dream but not with the disillusionment.

The chancellor of the UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico), Pablo González Casanova, spoke with words that reflected another important success of the Convention. He said that for the first time, many of us have now experienced what it is like to live without a roof over our heads, without a bathroom, without much food, without the mirror to look at our face everyday. It is easy to speak empty words of how we support the poor and the marginalized, but it is another thing to live like them, with them. The rainstorm and the conditions in which we were forced to spend the night made us all equal; for a few surreal days we really were unified.

The future has now reached the present and we find ourselves in post-electoral time. The PRI, the ruling party, the "bad government" as pronounced by Comandante Tacho, has once again won. Zedillo is now our President. The ELZN has said that if the PRI wins there will not necessarily be war, that no one can put an ultimatum on the people of Mexico, that from now on the ELZN is under the orders of the pueblo, of the Mexican people. The search is for peaceful channels towards change, but never in Mexican history has a transition taken place without bloodshed, and Marcos has said that there are armed groups all over the republic ready to act if the need arises. However, one thing is certain: for those of us that attended the Convention, and for those that heard about it, we are able to pocket a little more hope, a little more will to fight, along with the optimistic cynicism we keep so close at hand. ■



Aguascalientes, in the heart of the jungle. The make-shift city was constructed from tents and sheets



Generations of fighters carry on the struggle. These men on the left fought with Zapata himself



Checkpoints at the entryway. All participants were checked for weapons by masked men and women



Marching in ceremony to start Phase two of the Convention. Women urge people not just to speak, but to do



A Zapatista soldier reflects on the continuing struggle

photos Carlos Contreras de Oteyxc

cover story

PROPOSITION 187

CON'T FROM FRONT PAGE

Unfortunately, the focus of both proponents and opponents on the economic and legal merits of the initiative has effectively dehumanized the plight of undocumented immigrants and set the stage for future attacks upon the rights all immigrants, both documented and undocumented.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Perhaps the most controversial of the initiative's provisions concern the exclusion of undocumented immigrants from public primary and secondary educational institutions.

The initiative would require public schools to verify the lawful immigration or citizenship status of California's five million students and estimated ten million parents. The verification process, mandated by this and other parts of the measure, could cost the state more than \$100 million in the first year alone and millions of dollars annually thereafter, according to the California Legislative Analyst's Office.

Proposition 187's requirement that public schools deny education to persons unable to establish their legal status would force the expulsion of some 300,000 youth, if Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants in California public schools are to be believed, and would place the state in violation of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1982 *Plyler v. Doe* decision, in which the court held that denial of public education to undocumented immigrants was a violation of their equal protection rights.

Proponents claim their intention is to force the court to "revisit and reconsider" the *Plyler* decision. It is unclear, however, how proponents would justify the expulsion of U.S. citizens—namely the citizen youth who are unable to establish the

lawful immigration or citizenship status of their parents—from the public school system, as required by the initiative.

Even if the U.S. Supreme Court were to overturn its *Plyler* decision, the

California Teachers Association—whose memberships would be faced with the task of carrying out the initiative's education provisions—have all declared their opposition to Proposition 187.

Indeed, in 1981, the State Board of Education declared its support for the provision of education to all California youth, including undocumented immigrants. The Board argued "no rational educational or fiscal purpose" existed for the exclusion of undocumented youth from public schools.

Proponents contend this exclusion would increase the availability of scarce educational resources to the remaining students. Under Proposition 98, however, funding for California pub-

lic schools is based on each school district's average daily attendance, so any decrease in attendance would result in a commensurate decrease in funding for public education.

Some opponents of the measure, such as the Democratic-led Taxpayers Against Proposition 187, have argued undocumented youth, if expelled from schools, could threaten public safety as they turn to crime to occupy the hours that would otherwise be spent in class.

This reasoning—which most likely originated from the Senate Office of Research's analysis of Proposition 187, in which it suggested undocumented youth "free to roam the streets... could become involved in juvenile crime, drugs or gangs," or worse yet, "could induce citizen peers to join them," increasing California's high-school dropout rate—has unmistakably racist overtones, as it perpetuates the image of undocumented immigrants as criminals and as threats to public safety.

California Supreme Court could find the measure's public education provisions in violation of the state's own constitution. Although states are not allowed to restrict rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, they are allowed to expand those rights. California's constitution guarantees all persons—regardless of their citizenship or immigration status—equal protection of law. The state Supreme Court, furthermore, has held that education is a "fundamental right" of all persons in California, undocumented or otherwise.

The initiative, furthermore, could devastate California public schools by violating the federal Family Education Rights and Privacy Act, which prohibits disclosure of information concerning students without their parents' written consent. Proposition 187 would require that schools provide information regarding students or parents "reasonably suspected" of being undocumented immigrants to state and federal authorities, including the California attorney general and the INS.

U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley said in a letter to Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina earlier this year that the initiative's violation of federal privacy protections would jeopardize the \$2.3 billion California public schools currently receive from the federal government.

This figure is considerably more than the \$1.7 billion that

The initiative could result in increased harassment and discrimination against persons who look or sound like "immigrants," particularly Asians, Pacific Islanders, Latinos, and other People of Color.

California Federation of Teachers, the California School Boards Association, the California State PTA, and the California Teachers Association—whose memberships would be faced with the task of carrying out the initiative's education provisions—have all declared their opposition to Proposition 187.

including community colleges, California State University, and the University of California, and to report students "under reasonable suspicion" of being undocumented immigrants to state and federal authorities.

Because of its violation of federal privacy regulations, the measure would jeopardize at least \$1.1 billion of the funding California colleges and universities receive from the federal government, according to the Legislative Analyst's Office. This figure includes not only federal research money, but also all forms of federal financial aid, including federally guaranteed student loans, Pell Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and work-study. Withdrawal of federal financial aid would have obvious impact on the access of students of color, regardless of their immigration or citizenship status, to higher education.

A favorite theme of initiative proponents is that large numbers of undocumented immigrants are exploiting public services and institutions, including higher education. The facts, however, suggest otherwise. In 1992, the University of California, by its own account, had an estimated 362 students who were not classified as citizens, legal residents, or students with visas. A 1994 estimate provided for the Assembly Select Committee on Statewide Immigration Impact suggested undocumented immigrants accounted for 0.9 percent of total community college enrollment. The figures for total CSU and UC enrollments were even lower, at 0.14 percent and 0.07 percent respectively.

HEALTH CARE

In addition to excluding undocumented immigrants from all levels of public education, the measure would prohibit state-funded health care institutions—including general acute-care hospitals, acute psychiatric facilities, and skilled nursing facilities—from providing care to persons unable to establish their lawful immigration or citizenship status, even if those persons are willing to pay for whatever medical services they receive.

Like public education facilities, state-funded health care institutions are prohibited by federal law from disclosing confidential client information. Thus the initiative's requirement that hospitals report suspect-

ed undocumented immigrants to government authorities would jeopardize the \$9 billion California receives in federal matching funds for its Medi-Cal program.

The measure would bar undocumented immigrants not only from receiving basic health care, but also from participating in preventive health care pro-

"AS A SERVICE PROVIDER, I CANNOT ENFORCE THE INITIATIVE, WHETHER IT PASSES OR NOT, AND HAVE SIGNED A PETITION STATING SO."

—P. HERRERA

Myth vs. Reality

HIGHER EDUCATION

Proposition 187 would similarly affect California public colleges and universities. As with public schools, the initiative would require the state's public post-secondary institutions to verify the lawful immigration or citizenship status of the two million students enrolled in the state's higher education system,

Governor Pete Wilson estimates undocumented students are costing the state. Interestingly, the

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grams, including child immunizations, disease prevention (including HIV-prevention education), health education, and family planning.

Once again, organizations representing those expected to carry out the initiative's provisions, including the California Association of Hospitals and Health Systems, California Medical Association, and the California Nurses Association, oppose Proposition 187.

The initiative would especially impact undocumented women, who would be denied access to obstetrical care, as well as to breast cancer and other preventive screenings. According to the Health Access Foundation, every dollar spent on prenatal care saves three dollars in infant health care costs in the first year alone—a fact that undermines proponents' claims that the measure is a cost-cutting initiative.

The initiative would also deny health care to the estimated 18,000 undocumented persons currently held in state prisons, as well as persons held in undocumented juvenile wards and county jails. "Undoubtedly such a prohibition could not withstand a court challenge," writes the Senate Office of Research.

Complicating matters further is the fact that some immigrants who do not have formal legal status are eligible under federal law to receive non-emergency medical care. Proposition 187, however, makes no such distinctions.

Ironically, undocumented immigrants, because of the physically demanding and dangerous work they frequently do, are among those with most urgent health care needs. The infant mortality rate is 25 percent higher among farm workers, who face constant exposure to highly toxic pesticides and substandard living conditions, than the national average. Farm workers have a life expectancy of 49 years, compared to 75 years for the general population.

For undocumented youth, health risks are especially high. A 1990 study revealed 40 percent of farm worker children had worked in fields still wet with pesticides; another 40 percent had been sprayed while actually in the fields.

Whatever health care undocumented immigrants do receive is generally substandard. Immigrant health care facilities, such as community and migrant clinics, are often "ineffective" and "inadequate" due to "unreliable state and federal funding," according to the Health Access Foundation.

Under Proposition 187, undocumented immigrants would remain eligible for emergency care, the provision of which is required by federal law. In addition to being the most expensive form of medical service, emergency care generally only seeks to alleviate the acute symptoms of illness, not to provide lasting solutions to chronic conditions, thereby leaving underlying health problems unresolved and resulting in greater long-term health care costs to the state.

Unfortunately, the emergency room is where many immigrants, both documented and undocumented, end up receiving medical care because of fear of deportation and concern about jeopardizing their immigration status. In August, an elderly Korean woman suffering from severe burn injuries died of cardiac arrest minutes after arriving at an emergency room in Pinole. The woman's life could have been saved, except family members delayed calling for help because some did not have legal documentation.

According to the Health Access Foundation, that family is not alone in its fear: "Visits to emergency rooms represented 18.8 percent of the total visits by Asian Pacifics, compared with 11.7 percent for whites."

Sadly, the health of undocumented immigrants seems to be the last thing on the mind of even some opponents of Proposition 187. Taxpayers Against Proposition 187 ominously warns, "Denying basic medical attention and immunizations to millions of people, many of whom handle our food supply

Undocumented immigrants are already ineligible for most public assistance, including food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In fact, a 1991 study of undocumented women in San Francisco found that 64 percent did not seek social services for eligible children because of fear of apprehension by the INS.

A similar study conducted by the INS in 1992 revealed less than one percent of immigrants legalized by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act received general assistance, social securi-

other women's services receiving state funds) to close their doors to persons without documentation, regardless of their actual immigration or citizenship status. Obtaining proper documentation, unfortunately, is the last thing on the minds of most women when they flee abusive relationships or survive rapes and turn to state-funded organizations for support.

Immigrant women are already vulnerable to abuse by their partners because of federal law tying their lawful immigration status to their marriage and to their partners' willingness to support them financially. These legal requirements make it difficult for immigrant women to escape abusive relationships without risking deportation or separation from their children. The initiative's social service provisions could discourage immigrant women, both documented and undocumented, in crisis situations from ever seeking outside assistance.

It is not clear whether many non-profit social service organizations would be able to fill the void left behind by state agencies. Many, like the Asian Women's Shelter, in fact receive a substantial amount of their funding from the state and thus would also be subject to the initiative's social service provisions.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Proposition 187 would also require law enforcement agencies to verify the lawful immigration or citizenship status of persons under arrest who are suspected of being undocumented immigrants and to report those persons to the state attorney general and to the INS.

The initiative's law enforcement provisions would supersede whatever sanctuary covenants that cities such as Berkeley may have established to protect undocumented immigrants from INS investigations. Because mere suspicion of undocumented status would require law enforcement agencies to release information about persons in their custody to state and federal authorities, the initiative would jeopardize the privacy rights of individuals under investigation, who may or may not be undocumented immigrants.

Moreover, if the INS' periodic apprehensions and deportations of U.S. citizens and legal immigrants of Mexican descent are any indication of the level of racism that exists in government agencies, the initiative could result in increased harassment of and discrimination against Asians, Chicanos, and other people of color assumed to be undocumented immigrants.

Language-based discrimination, already used by some employers to harass and intimidate limited-English speaking employees, could become standard operating procedure for police departments throughout the state due to the initiative's broad reporting provisions. Seventy-seven percent of "Asians and Pacific Islanders," for example, speak a primary language other than English, according to the 1990 U.S. Census report; 44 percent do not speak English well.

California Organization of Police and Sheriffs lobbyist, Bill Hemby, commented, "There are many people who speak with accents. A police officer would have to spend hours every time he



The initiative's violation of federal privacy protections jeopardizes the \$2.3 billion California public schools receive from the government.

every day, would spread costly and preventable communicable diseases throughout California." "It is not just someone else's health that would be threatened, it is yours," says one opponent, as if undocumented immigrants' health were less worthy of concern.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Proposition 187 would similarly prohibit state social service agencies from assisting persons unable to prove their lawful status and would require those agencies to report suspected undocumented immigrants to state and federal authorities.

Proponents' claim that undocumented immigrants are taxing the state's social services seems once again to be more rhetoric than reality.

ty, supplemental security income, workers' compensation, or unemployment insurance. Less than one half of one percent received food stamps or AFDC.

Oddly, the same proponents who profess such great concern for California's economy do not seem to be concerned about the \$3 billion in federal matching funds that California's AFDC program could lose because of the measure's violation of federal privacy regulations.

The initiative would reserve the few social services currently available to undocumented immigrants, including foster care, child welfare, homeless shelters, Head Start, and the Women, Infants and Children program, exclusively for citizens and lawful immigrants.

The measure could especially harm undocumented women (as it would require battered women's shelters and rape crisis assistance centers, among

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PROPOSITION 187

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makes an arrest of somebody who doesn't speak perfect English or who is dark-skinned or Asian, trying to check out that status with the INS."

Hemby's comment reflects not only the problems many law enforcement agencies might have implementing the initiative, but also the biases police officers might have toward people who "speak with accents" and toward "dark-skinned" people.

The difficulties law enforcement agencies might have carrying out the initiative, however, do not reduce the threat that the initiative's law enforcement provisions pose to communities of color. One San Francisco Police Department officer, who regularly walks the Chinatown beat, stated frankly that he had neither the time nor the inclination to enforce the initiative—his mother was an undocumented immigrant—but that enforcement would depend largely on the particular priorities of individual officers. Police, in other words, could use the new law as license to act upon their personal prejudices—a practice with which communities of color by now are all too familiar.

RACIST ROOTS

Proponents deny the initiative has any underlying racist motivations. The facts, once again, suggest otherwise.

The initiative was authored by former INS director Alan Nelson and former INS western regional chief Harold Ezell, both of whom served under the Reagan administration. Nelson and Ezell established Americans Against Illegal Immigration in January 1994 to promote Proposition 187 and other immigration control measures.

Ezell is apparently not opposed to all forms of immigration, especially those that serve his company, the Ezell Group, which helps foreign investors obtain U.S. visas. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about his cohort.

Nelson is a member and former lobbyist of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which has blamed immigrants, both legal and illegal, for everything from crime, drug use, housing prices, and crowded classrooms to pollution, traffic jams, and water shortages, and which is a leading proponent of the initiative.

FAIR receives a substantial portion of its funding—in fact, some \$600,000 since 1988—from the Pioneer Fund, a foundation established in 1937 to promote research into the improvement of the white race through genetic control techniques, such as selective breeding.

The Pioneer Fund sponsored the research of Johns Hopkins University's Robert Gordon, who recom-

mended use of financial incentives to discourage Blacks with low intelligence quotients from having children. The Pioneer Fund also financed the research of William Shockley, who among other things has argued that Black people's intelligence is a function of their white blood content.

Asked about the long-standing relationship between the two organizations, FAIR executive director Dan Stein told the San Francisco Chronicle earlier this year, "I think they support our work because the [Pioneer Fund] trustees agree with what we're doing."

What exactly is the "work" that FAIR is doing that has earned them over \$1 million in financial support from the Pioneer Fund since FAIR's inception in 1979? In 1993, FAIR supported legislation requiring state agencies to share information about undocumented immigrants, pro-



WHO NEEDS ENEMIES?

FAIR and Save Our State aren't the only organizations fueling the current anti-immigrant hysteria. The attacks have come from sources much closer to home.

The media, whose overall tone has been one of opposition to Proposition 187, have nevertheless made frequent references to undocumented immigrants as potential members of an "ill-educated, disease-prone underclass." Rather than challenge prevailing stereotypes about immigrants, these references only validate the public's irrational fears about the undocumented and encourage lawmakers to propose even more draconian measures—such as enlarging the Border Patrol and increasing U.S. military presence along the southern border—to intimidate and harass undocumented immigrants.

... the arguments of both the proponents and opponents on the economic and legal merits of the initiative have effectively dehumanized the plight of all immigrants ...

Even organized opposition groups, such as Taxpayers Against Proposition 187 and Californians United Against Proposition 187, have had to embrace some of the more popular criticisms of undocumented immigrants in order for their voices to be heard amidst the current anti-immigrant clamor.

"Illegal immigration is ILLEGAL. Isn't

it time we enforce the law?" The statement might have headlined a "Save Our State" campaign brochure. Instead, it appears in the California ballot pamphlet as an argument against Proposition 187.

Attacking undocumented immigrants, or at least conceding that undocumented immigration is a problem that federal and state lawmakers will eventually need to resolve, is in fact part of the overall propaganda strategy of Taxpayers Against Proposition 187 and, to a lesser extent, Californians United Against Proposition 187, both of whom seem more concerned about gaining electoral support than about the possibility of their actions laying the groundwork for future attacks upon the rights of both documented and undocumented immigrants.

"It is essential to distinguish between long-term objectives—turning public opinion around on immigrants and their contributions—and short-term objectives—defeating Proposition 187 on November 8," advises a public opinion analysis used by initiative opponents. "Arguing that immigrants are being unfairly blamed for economic and social problems is counterproductive in this climate." Hopefully, undocumented immigrants will understand this political truism the next time they are turned away from the state's hospitals and public schools because of the hatred and fear encouraged by this propaganda.

Even Californians United Against Proposition 187, the supposedly progressive, grassroots alternative to Taxpayers Against Proposition 187, has unsuccessfully resisted the temptation to join the anti-immigrant fray.

Californians United notes in its "Talking Points on Immigration and Immigrants"—the document used to train campaign speakers throughout the Alameda County region—that the U.S. total foreign-born population has declined from 14 percent in 1910 to 8 percent in 1990 and that Asians and Mexicans were "only" 19 percent of immigrants admitted to the U.S. between 1820 and 1990—as if the foreign-born population were an unwanted presence in the U.S. or as if any proportion of Asian or Mexican immigration required justification.

Californians United has attempted to balance its politically acceptable propaganda with some references to the economic contributions and basic human rights of undocumented immigrants.

All told, Proposition 187 could cost California \$15 billion in federal funds for

education, health care, and social services. Proponents and opponents will argue from now until Election Day about the economic merits of the initiative. The bottom line, however, is less important

than the massive injustice the initiative would bring upon people who desire nothing more than a chance to earn a decent living for their families, and who deserve nothing less than the health, education, and safety that are the birthright of all human beings. ■

RESOURCES FOR THE PEOPLE

Community

IF THE BAY AREA IS KNOWN FOR ITS ENERGETIC ACTIVIST COMMUNITIES, QUEER PEOPLE OF COLOR HAVE FORMED YET ANOTHER FRONT TO FUEL THE PROACTIVE FIRES.

QUEER PEOPLE OF COLOR HAVE COME TOGETHER IN A VARIETY OF CREATIVE WAYS TO NURTURE ONE ANOTHER WHILE FIGHTING IGNORANCE AND OPPRESSION. FOLLOWING ARE JUST A FEW OF THE EXAMPLES OF SUCH EFFORTS.

AIDS PREVENTION, EDUCATION, AND INTERVENTION HAVE TAKEN A VARIETY OF CREATIVE, SEX-POSITIVE FORMS, LIKE WRITING WORKSHOPS, MAKE-UP CLASSES, DRAG SHOWS, AND RETREATS. ONGOING CLASSES FOR QUEERS OF COLOR HAVE SOUGHT TO PREVENT AIDS THROUGH COMMUNITY-BUILDING AND EMPOWERMENT, NOT JUST THROUGH LATEX AND CLINICAL WARNINGS. A FEW KEY ORGANIZATIONS TO CONTACT ARE:

● **Proyecto Contraseña Por Vida (PCPV)**—targets queer Latinos. Home of the Arte-DIVAS drag troupe and of the budding Latina's Tetatúd movement. If you don't know what that means, call and get information: (415) 864-7278.

● **Gay Asian Pacific Alliance (GAPA), and the GAPA Community HIV Project (GCHIP).** Home of the monthly magazine Lavender Godzilla. GCHIP can be reached at (415) 575-3939. Or leave a message for GAPA at (415) 282-GAPA.

● **Brothers' Network,** for queer black men. Positively Black and Proud is where their writers deposit their ink. To take an exercise class, write poetry, or to learn about taking care of someone with AIDS, call (415) 749-6714.

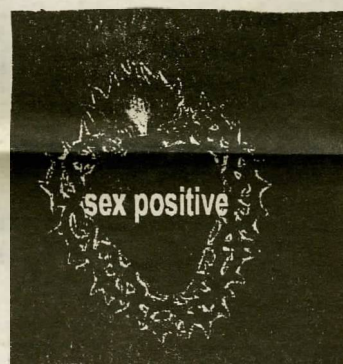
● **AMASSI—(African-American AIDS Support Services and Survival Institute, Inc.)** They may not offer aerobics classes and sex-writing workshops, but they are located on the East Bay and they emphasize creative, caring ways to look after HIV positive and negative women and men of diverse sexual orientations. They also house several support groups, among them the Black Men's Xchange and the Black Women's Xchange, for black men who love men and black women who love women, respectively. They also have a transgender support group and a young men's collective. Contact: (510) 601-9066.

PUBLICATIONS. THESE ARE JUST A FEW. SOME ARE NATIONAL, SOME

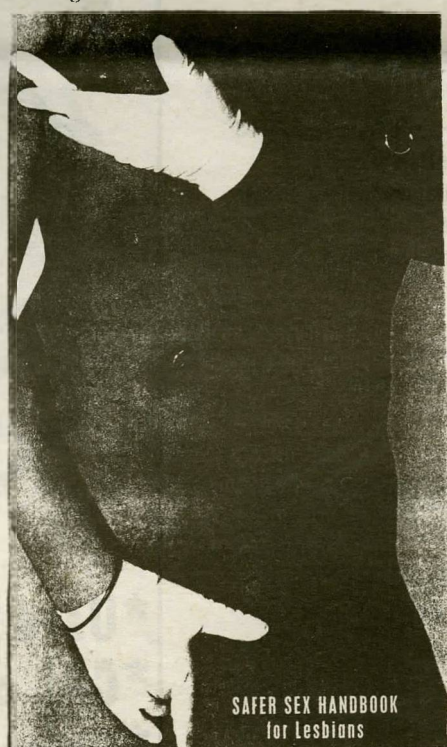
ARE INTERNATIONAL, AND YET OTHERS ARE LOCAL. A FEW ARE STRUCTURED AROUND INFORMAL SUPPORT NETWORKS OR INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION.

● **Arab Lesbian and Bisexual Women Tell Their Stories** is looking for submissions. Any genre, including letters, journal entries, stories, essays, or plays, is acceptable. Entries can be written in English, Arabic, or any combination of both. Must in some way touch on being Arab and lesbian/bisexual. Pen names acceptable. Submissions or information: PO Box 460526, San Francisco, CA 94114.

● **conmoción: revista y red revolucionaria de lesbianas latinas.** Writings and graphics by lesbianas latinas in English, Spanish, or Spanglish. Submissions or subscriptions: conmoción, 1521 Alton Road #336, Miami Beach, FL 33139. (305) 751-8385.



● **Hasha.** Iranian lesbian/gay/bisexual newsletter. English/Farsi bilingual. Aliases OK. For more information, write to PO Box 460495, San Francisco, CA 94146-0495.



● **Pheonix Rising.** A newsletter of Asian Pacific lesbian and bisexual women. Write to Pheonix Rising, 2681 Bush St, San Francisco, CA 94115.

● **Trikone.** Magazine for lesbian/bisexual/gay South Asians in over 20 countries. Trikone is also active



locally in social, educational, and community events. For more information write to P.O. Box 21354, San Jose, CA 95151-1354, or call (408) 270-8776, or e-mail trikone@rahul.net

● **Funny That Way.** A new 'zine soon to release its first issue. By and for queer youth. If you are 21 or under, send submissions to Brava! for Women in the Arts, 2180 Bryant St., San Francisco CA 94110 or contact Rebakah or Yvette at (415) 641-7684.

WOMEN'S DANCE CLUBS. SORRY. DIDN'T GET AROUND TO LISTING CLUBS FOR BOYS, BUT THOSE ARE ALSO NOT AS RARE A COMMODITY, (ALTHOUGH HOPEFULLY THESE ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES FOR WOMEN!). CALL ANY OF THE ABOVE AIDS PREVENTION ORGANIZATIONS, AND THEY MAY DROP A COUPLE OF LEADS.

● **COLORS—** For Latina women 21 and over. Last Saturday of every month from 9pm-2am. Proceeds go to a different fundraiser or community effort every time. Put on by Chili D. Productions. Contact: Diane Felix at (415) 552-7087.

● **ABLUNT—** which stands for Asians, Blacks, Latinas Uniting for New Tribes. Dance once every month to hiphop, rap, reggae, and salsa. 21 and over only. Contact: DJ Black at (415) 553-4579.

FOR YOUTH ONLY.

● **DramaDivas—Theater** writing and performance group for queer and questioning youth 21 or younger. The group is open to youth of all backgrounds, but the emphasis has typically been on people of color since its birth three years ago. Employment possibilities available for anyone under 18. Directed by award-winning playwright and goddess-in-residence Cherrie Moraga. Contact Yvette Gomez at (415) 641-7684.

● **LYRIC—(Lavendar Youth Recreation and Information Center)** has two support groups for people of color 23 and under: Sistahs in the Life and Brothers in Arms. (415) 703-6150.

● **FABRIC—(Fresh Asians Being Real in our Communitites)** has a support group for queer Asian/Pacific Islanders 25 and under. Call (415) 575-3931 or write to 1841 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

ADVOCACY, SUPPORT, ETC.

● **National Center for Lesbian Rights** has a project for legal support for lesbians of color. Contact the San Francisco office at (415) 392-6257

● **The Center for Independent Living** has a special support group and services for disabled queer women of color. Contact Marta at (510) 841-4776.

● **UC Berkeley Women's Resource Center—** can help facilitate or form support groups on the UC Berkeley campus. If you would be interested in hooking up with other queer people of color and do not know where to start, or if you would be interesting in helping to form a support group for queer latinos or lesbians of color, leave a confidential message for Elizabeth Rivera at (510) 643-5728.

Compiled by Ana Rubinstein and Jennie Luna. Many thanks to Ricardo, Diane, and Marcia at PCPV, Alfonso and Cara at LYRIC, and Elizabeth Rivera at the UCBWomen's Resource Center for helping compile this list and for letting us use their graphics.

October/November 1994

26 OCTOBER

Health Care and Human Rights in Guatemala

Osvaldo Pac—Guatemalan doctor and director of ASECA (Asociación de Servicios Comunitarios de Salud)

•7:30 pm. La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, \$5
phone: (510) 849-2568

United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women

Monthly preparation meeting of United Women of Color: Beijing & Beyond. Update on preparations for the Official U.S. Regional Preparatory Meetings for the UN Fourth World Conference on Women.

•7-9 pm, Mission Recreation Center, 745 Treat Street, San Francisco.

New members come at 6:30 pm to learn Beijing basics.

Stop Cancer Tour

Fuerza Unida - Fast for Justice

•12 Noon, assemble at 555 Market (in front of Chevron office).

For information call (415)281-9996.

27 OCTOBER

Conjunto Social y Folclórico

Peurto Rican Folk Music

La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley

phone: (510) 849-2568

Chicano/Latino Policy Project Presents:

William Vega—Professor of Behavioral Science, University of California Berkeley

"Crime, Culture, and Latino Communities."

•3:30-5:00 pm, ISSC, 2420 Bowditch, Berkeley

28 OCTOBER

Maganda Magazine Reception

"ACTIVISM" issue#7

•6:00 pm - 10:00 pm, Golden Bear Center Atrium, University of California Berkeley

Día de los Muertos Dance

sponsored by Hermanos Unidos at the Bear's Lair, Lower Sproul, University of California Berkeley

30 OCTOBER

A Gathering of Ohlonean Peoples

•10:00 am-4:30 pm, Coyote Hills Regional Park
for info call (510)795-9385

Shabana Azmi Film Retrospective (7 films)

Tribute to the Actor/Activist presented by South Asia Discussion Group and The India Relief & Education Fund.

Wheeler Auditorium, University of California Berkeley

•\$5/ film. Times vary.

For information call (510)490-2849 or (415)474-7311.

Additional dates: November 5; November 13.

1 NOVEMBER

Día de los Muertos Celebration with Casa Magdalena Mora

poetry, dancing, food, altars, and much more...

•7:00-8:30 pm, Unit 3 Recreation Room, University of California at Berkeley

Breaking of the Fast

Fuerza Unida—Fast for Justice

•Noon, 1155 Battery Street, Levi Plaza. For information call (415)281-9996.

'Day of the Angels'—please wear white.

4 NOVEMBER

Chicago's Latino Renaissance

Chicana & Latino art, history, and music

A round table discussion featuring Celia Herrera Rodriguez, Martin of Los Crudos, and Jason Ferreira.

•6:00 pm, 122 Wheeler, University of California Berkeley.

For info call (510) 643-9921.

6 NOVEMBER

An Afternoon of Indian Cinema

"Eyes of Stone" - directed by Nilita Vachani

"I Live in Behram Pada" - directed by Modhushree Dutta

•3:00 pm, 155 Dwinelle Hall, University of California Berkeley, donations \$15/\$10 students

For info call (510) 215-7308.

9 NOVEMBER

An Evening with Leonard Peltier

Premier showing of "Still No Justice-United States vs. Leonard Peltier"

•7:00-10:00 pm, La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley

\$10-\$15 sliding scale, for info call (415) 552-1992 or (415) 459-4893

11 NOVEMBER

Dance on th Edge: Benefit for the Sacred Grove Women's Forest Sanctuary

Great food, Raffle, Ritual, All-woman salsa band, A'zucar Y Crema

•7pm to Midnight, First Unitarian Church, Kensington (w/a)

\$12-25

For info call (510) 548-1693

For directions call (510) 525-0302

take note of our new address

**201 Heller Lounge
MLK Student Union
Berkeley, CA
94720**

Communicate.

Chicago's Latino Renaissance

Chicana & Latino Art, History, and Music

Friday November 4, 1994

122 Wheeler Hall,

UC Berkeley

Doors open
at 6:00 p.m.



Celia Herrera Rodriguez, Artist. Celia will comment on Chicago Chicanoism and present one of her art projects, *la llorona*.

Martin of Los Crudos, lead singer. Martin will explain the politics and necessity of being a Spanish singing punk band.



Jason Ferreira, Ethnic Studies Graduate Student. Jason will comment on the Chicano Southwestern Paradigm.

For More
Information Contact:

The Center For Racial Education Berkeley CA 94720
312 Eshleman Hall, UC Berkeley 510-643-9921

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