

Asians and Affirmative Action



The messages about the relationship of affirmative action to Asian Americans are also mixed. Accusations about racial quotas are a sore point in the community, with disproportionate numbers of Asian American students having high scores being rejected from elite educational institutions. However, close scrutiny of the issue seems to suggest that concerns are directed at practices and fears about "over-representation" which would have existed regardless of affirmative action. The UC

Asians and Affirmative Action

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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Collective

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COVER STORY:

Asians and Affirmative Action
Exploring the myths and realities of Affirmative Action

Nicaraguan Women's Movement

A first hand account of a new feminist movement

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Resources and Organizations Battling Violence Against Women.

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Issue 2

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The Women's Movement in Nicaragua:

Constructing New Alternatives

words & photos
by Hilary Klein

Woman holding flag at march commemorating the anniversary of the 1979 Sandinista battle which led them to victory.



A poster of a Nicaraguan woman holding a rifle over one shoulder and breastfeeding a baby over the other has been hanging on my wall for over a year now. The caption reads, "*jamás hubo tanta patria en un corazón*," (never has there been so much love for a homeland in a heart). Now a new poster hangs next to it, a poster from a women's collective in Matagalpa, a small city in Nicaragua. The women's collective is an autonomous women's group that combines health, legal, and anti-violence services with a radical political analysis.

Their feminist analysis is applied on a grassroots level. I think this poster is an important addition because it modifies a beautiful and very compelling image—that of the revolutionary woman, but one that is strictly tied to the Sandinista conception of the proper role of women in the Nicaraguan revolution. This conception views women as fighters, but fighters specifically for the revolutionary cause, not fighters for their own personal liberation as women. It never completely escapes the traditional images of women as primarily mothers. None of this is to say the Sandinista Revolution did not dramatically improve the conditions for women in Nicaragua, open many doors of opportunity, and have a real commitment to women's equality. All of these things are true of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front, or FSLN). In fact, the women's movement in Nicaragua would not have been possible without the Sandinista Revolution. Nevertheless, the FSLN ultimately could not be the women's movement, and the flourishing of the autonomous women's movement in Nicaragua in the last few years is proof of this fact.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To look at this new, autonomous women's movement, we must first understand that under Somoza, the dictator overthrown by the Sandinista

Revolution, women not only faced political, economic, and physical repression, but also saw no possibility for the development of a strong women's movement. Women fought and participated in the revolution and after its triumph in 1979, were politically organized in the Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Luisa Amanda Espinosa (AMNLAE), one of the FSLN's many mass-based organizations. During the decade of Sandinista rule, women benefited from economic programs and new social services; many doors were opened, including those for political involvement.

The United States, however, was unhappy with such a radical neighbor in its "backyard." For a decade the revolutionary government of the FSLN waged the Contra war with U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries, and faced an economic embargo from the U.S. In 1990, denied a fair chance to succeed, it lost elections to a coalition called the National Opposition Union (UNO).

With the defeat of the FSLN at the polls, a much more conservative government came to power. Many of the social service programs initiated by the Sandinistas were cut, public education and health care became scarce, and indices like illiteracy and infant mortality began to rise again after substantial improvements during the Sandinista years. This administration certainly has less commitment to women's rights than did the Sandinistas, but, simultaneously, there has been more room for the growth of non-governmental organization. The opening of civil society has created the space for the emergence of an autonomous women's movement. There was an explosion of all kinds of women's groups in the early 1990's and many different branches exist in today's women's movement. Epitomized by the slogan "Unidas en Diversidad" (United in Diversity), these branches include an AMNLAE that is somewhat more autonomous than it was in the past; women organizing to improve conditions in the rural areas; lesbian groups defending freedom of sexual preference and promot-

ing HIV education and prevention; women's secretariats within the mass organizations and unions fighting for women's rights as workers; feminist think tanks and magazines; health clinics, women's collectives, and networks between all these organizations.

Although the women's movement during the Sandinista years was intricately tied to the FSLN and not autonomous from the state, elements of the newer women's movement were born then, and it did come out of the revolutionary tradition in many ways. First, many of the women active in the women's movement were/are loyal Sandinistas who fought in the revolution and developed political consciousness and experience in the FSLN. Second, the women's movement continues to pursue many stated revolutionary goals of liberation and empowerment. Finally, the women's movement advances the revolutionary legacy of the ability to build something new in society, to really create and construct a new alternative.

WOMEN'S COLLECTIVES IN NICARAGUA

The women's collectives are a particularly fascinating and inspiring branch of the women's movement. I spent the summer of 1994 in Nicaragua doing research on collectives in Managua. I focused on them for a number of reasons. They are a good example of the struggle for autonomy from the Sandinistas that the women's movement has been dealing with since before the elections. They operate on a grassroots level. They combine necessary services with radical political analysis, put feminist theory into practice on a very pragmatic level, and concentrate on

empowering women in their personal lives. Finally, they incorporate their ideals into their operation as an organization.

The Struggle for Autonomy

For years autonomy had been an issue for the Sandinista women activists because the women's movement had consisted solely of AMNLAE, which was a part of the FSLN. This lack of an independent voice was problematic for many reasons: the inherent limitations of being subordinate to the party; the FSLN's focus on defense and production, leaving women's issues a lower priority; and the Sandinista's analysis that social problems stemmed from class issues. This meant that all problems, including women's inequality, could be solved with a class or economic, rather than gender analysis, and the most important goal was furthering the revolution. The collectives were one of the earliest and most forceful branches of the women's movement to break off from the Sandinistas.

Most of the collectives began as Casas de la Mujer—Women's Houses, a project of AMNLAE. Before the elections, many of the activist women in the collectives were beginning to chafe under the FSLN's strict and rather limiting leadership as far as gender issues were concerned, and making efforts to do things their own way. After the elections, they formally split off from AMNLAE, which was often quite a painful struggle. Many women had strong conflicting feelings, since they wanted to establish their political independence and follow a new direction, but continued to have fierce loyalty to the FSLN. It was, after all, the movement which freed their country from a decades-long dictatorship, established some dignity for their people, provided

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A more conservative government certainly has less commitment to women's rights than did the Sandinistas, but, simultaneously, was more room for the growth of non-governmental organizations; the opening of civil society has created the space for the emergence of an autonomous women's movement.

NEWS BRIEFS

LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL HAPPENINGS...

Native Tribes Challenge Quebec Separatist Rhetoric

QUEBEC'S DRIVE FOR AUTONOMY from Canada may be scuttled by Indian nations calling for autonomy from Quebec. The French-speaking majority in Quebec justify their claims for independence on the basis that Anglo-hegemony in Canada squelches their cultural and ethnic distinctiveness. Members of the Mohawk, Inuit and Cree Nations have begun to use the Quebecois' own rhetoric as justification for autonomy.

"Why do the people of Quebec have this right to self-determination, if people who've lived here many more hundreds of years don't have that right?" asks Kenneth Deer, editor and publisher of *The Eastern Door*, a Mohawk community newspaper on the Kahnawake reserve, across the St. Lawrence River from Montreal. "Is this a right that only white

people have?"

Indians are minority ethnic groups in Quebec, about 60,000 combined out of 7 million people. Nevertheless, they are taking advantage of a popular referendum on Quebec independence, to take place sometime this year, to argue their own case for autonomy and territory. This is Quebec's best chance for independence since the last referendum in 1980.

"It's a Chinese box," says University of British Columbia political scientist David Elkins. "Quebec can't separate without allowing its natives to separate....In a conceptual sense, there aren't two problems here, there's just one."

According to Gerald Alfred, a Mohawk and political scientist at Concordia University in Montreal, the Indians' call for autonomy "pose the most serious threat to [Quebec's] separation project." The Indians' use of Quebecois rhetoric begs the question, "Whose homeland is this?...You can't have a bigger challenge than that."

In an effort to stem the tide of Indian independence in Quebec, the separatist party, Parti Quebecois, expressed a desire to build a pluralistic society in Quebec. According to the *Washington Post*, "...the Parti Quebecois will ensure for Indians living in Quebec the same deal or better than any other Indians in North America." If the Quebecois can not offer more than continued oppression to the Indians, they most likely will lose any chance for independence.

The Indians' campaign for independence will surely derail any movement for Quebecois separatism. In addition to exposing the hypocrisy of the Quebecois movement and the latent racism that permeates Canada as a whole, the Indian movement in Quebec challenges the entire system of institutionalized oppression of Indians, and other ethnic groups, in North America.

— Jeffrey Montez de Oca —

All quotations and statistics were taken from the *Washington Post*.

New FBI Charter to Investigate Political Groups

ON FEBRUARY 10, 1995, THE Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill was introduced as S. 390 into the Senate and as H.R. 896 in the House. It was initiated by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), and passed on by the Justice Department and the White House. Senators Biden (D-DE) and Specter (R-PA) initiated it in the Senate, Rep. Schumer (D-NY) and Dicks (D-WA) in the House. It has bipartisan support and could get expedited action.

This is a general charter for the FBI and other agencies, including the military, to investigate political groups and causes at will. The bill is a wide-ranging federalization of different kinds of actions applying to both citizens and non-citizens. The range includes acts of violence (attempts, threats and conspiracies), as well as the giving of funds for humanitarian, legal activity.

It would allow up to ten-year sentences for citizens and deportation for permanent resident non-citizens for the "crime" of supporting the lawful activities of an organization the President declares to be "terrorist," as the African National Congress, FMLN in El Salvador, IRA in Northern Ireland, and PLO have been labeled. The President's determination of who is a terrorist is unappealable, and can specifically include groups regardless of any legitimate activity they might pursue, thus broadening the definition of terrorism.

The Omnibus Bill would authorize secret trials for immigrants who are not charged with a crime,

but rather who are accused of supporting lawful activity by organizations which have also been accused of committing illegal acts. Immigrants could be deported: 1) using evidence they or their lawyers would never see; 2) in secret proceedings; 3) with one-sided appeals; and 4) using illegally-obtained evidence.

The proposed legislation would suspend *posse comitatus*, thereby allowing the use of the military to aid the police regardless of other laws.

It would also reverse the presumption of innocence, insofar as the accused would be presumed ineligible for bail and could be detained until trial. Under the act, the rules for wiretapping would be loosened and probation would be prohibited as appropriate punishment, even for minor nonviolent offenses.

The guidelines under the international terrorism bill do not cover anything that is not already a crime. As the Center for National Security Studies notes: "Since the new offense does not cover anything that is not already a crime, the main purpose of the proposal seems to be to avoid certain constitutional and statutory protections that would otherwise apply."

While many provisions of this bill could well be found unconstitutional after years of litigation, in the mean time the damage could be enormous to the First Amendment and other constitutional rights, including presumption of innocence and right to bail, claims civil rights lawyers groups.

The bill has been referred to judiciary committees of each house.

Excerpted from a posting released by the National Lawyers Guild: kgage@igc.apc.org

UN Stalls on Chiapas, Rodriguez Detained

UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has again refused to have the UN become involved in the Chiapas conflict. Reiterating a position taken in response to Cecilia Rodriguez' December 1994 request on behalf of the EZLN for UN mediation, Ghali stated at the World Meeting on Social Development that Chiapas was internal matter, and that the UN would only get involved upon the request of the Mexican government.

Mar. 8 marked the end of the third week of the hunger strike by Cecilia Rodriguez, who was appointed by Subcomandante Marcos to represent the EZLN in the US. In a statement written on Monday-Day 19, Rodriguez reports that upon her arrival in the DC-area on Monday night, just outside the Baltimore airport, she and her escorts were stopped by five police cars, including an undercover agent for an alleged traffic violation. They were bodily searched, had their documents and personal belongings rifled, and had a dog investigate the vehicle. They were detained for an hour and half and then let go without further comment. The search and detainment occurred in addition to having her flight canceled, and having to be rerouted and delayed for more than two hours.

Released by the NCDM: 301.270.6122

Update on Current Status of Prop. 187

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE passage of Proposition 187 in the November 1994 election, a legal team comprised of attorneys from several organizations, including the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services (CIRRS), filed a lawsuit in Los Angeles Superior Court (federal district court) to prevent implementation of the proposition. The suit, named *Gregorio T. v. Wilson*, challenges all of the provisions of Proposition 187. On December 14, Judge Mariana Pfaelzer issued a preliminary injunction blocking implementation of the proposition. According to Jennifer

Vásquez of MALDEF, the injunction blocked implementation of all of 187 except for Sections 2 and 3, which prohibit the manufacture, sale and use of fraudulent immigration documents; and Section 8, which pertains to higher education.

To specifically address the proposition's higher education portion, a legal team of representatives from MALDEF, California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), Multicultural Education, Training and Advocacy (META), and the San Francisco Lawyers Committee for Urban Affairs filed a separate lawsuit, *Jesus Doe v. Wilson*, in San Francisco Superior Court. On February 8, S.F. Superior Court Judge Stuart Pollack issued a preliminary injunction blocking implementation of the Section 8 Higher

Education Provision. This injunction prevents the deportation of undocumented students.

As of March 2, the lawyers and judges involved in *Gregorio T.* were in conference to decide on a trial date. Numerous organizations have filed other lawsuits against Proposition 187. These cases include *League of United Latin American Citizens v. Wilson*, *Children Who Want an Education v. Wilson*, *Barbara Ayala v. Wilson*, and *Los Angeles Unified School District v. Wilson*.

Lawsuits initiated in support of 187 include one filed by Governor Pete Wilson in San Francisco Superior Court, which seeks to

prevent the federal courts from acting on the proposition until the state court interprets its legality. Wilson's suit, which excludes all education provisions, is intended to forestall Judge Pfaelzer's ruling in the *Gregorio T.* case. The California Attorney General has also appealed

Pfaelzer's preliminary injunction using arguments similar to those in the Wilson suit.

Regardless of the multiple lawsuits, however, the preliminary injunction issued by Judge Pfaelzer, and Judge Pollack's injunction of Section 8, currently prevent the implementation of all of Proposition 187's provisions concerning health care, education, social services and law enforcement. The proposition cannot take effect until a request for a permanent injunction is either granted or denied (which may be years from now).

Judge Pfaelzer's order also requires state officials to clearly inform state employees and the public that the critical portions of Proposition 187 will not be enforced. Pfaelzer set the deadline

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Bill Would Make English Official

WASHINGTON—A BILL THAT would make English the national language and end all federal programs that promote bilingualism was introduced yesterday by a New York congressman. "Bilingual education is perhaps the most damaging of this politically correct government infatuation with language multiculturalism," said Republican Rep. Pete King. His bill would declare English the official language of the United States, require that citizenship ceremonies be in English, require that all federal publications and election ballots be in English and abolish the Bilingual Education office. (AP)

Crossroads for South Asian Community

PERHAPS THE FIRST AND MOST crucial step towards political activism is awareness. With this thought as their foundation, the officers of UC Berkeley's South Asian Student Alliance (SASA) organized their fifth annual conference, "Crossroads: Decisions of the New Generation," a title reflecting the struggles of the maturing generation of young South Asian Americans forced to call into question their beliefs concerning their heritage, their values, and their future as a people in this nation.

Students, educators, and professionals gathered on Saturday Feb. 25 in UC Berkeley's Valley

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Politicians Find Their Next Racial Card to Play for Votes

By Mike Chávez

Even before national politicians have been able to capitalize on the anti-immigrant sentiments initiated in California, governor Pete Wilson has found a new hot-button issue to ride in search of voter approval and, perhaps, higher office. Two San Francisco Bay Area academics have co-authored an initiative that will end certain types of affirmative action programs in California. The initiative has already received the governor's support and endorsement—evidence of Republican hopes that affirmative action will be the hot issue of the 1996 elections.

The cynically-named "California Civil Rights Initiative" (CCRI) was co-written by Thomas Wood, executive director of the conservative California Association of Scholars, and Glynn Custred, a professor of anthropology at California State University at Hayward. The initiative is identical to an amendment to the state constitution proposed by assemblyman Bernie Richter (R-Chico) on December 5, 1994. Both would prohibit the state from using "race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as a criterion for either discriminating against or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group."

This is not the first time that Richter has introduced the amendment to the legislature.

The proponents of CCRI argue that the problem with affirmative action is the programs which discriminate against one group—namely, white males—by providing preference to other groups.

Last summer he met with little success, but following the Republican triumphs of the 1994 elections, the proposed amendment has received a new lease on life. But, even if the Richter amendment is defeated in the legislature, the organization backing CCRI is ready to gather signatures to put it on the 1996 ballot.

Those attacking affirmative action have plans which extend beyond California. Wood takes pains to point out that the initiative would not affect federal programs—to guard against the state losing federal funding if it does not comply with federal affirmative action laws. Yet, the brochure distributed by the organization makes it clear that a change in federal law is the ultimate goal of the movement: "Electoral success in California would spread the idea quickly to other states. ... Most importantly, after the passage of statewide initiatives the U.S. Congress would no longer be able to evade the issue."

The proponents of CCRI

argue that the problem with affirmative action is the programs which discriminate against one group—namely, white males—by providing preference to other groups.

"This amendment is *not* anti-affirmative action," states Wood. "The *non-discriminatory* use of affirmative action—the goals and timetables, the requirements that employers advertise widely, the posting of notices in the workplace with phone numbers that people can call if they feel they have been discriminated against—all those measures would be left intact by CCRI," he adds.

According to Wood, these "non-discriminatory" affirmative action programs have been "very effective" in promoting equality in our society. He believes these programs, combined with existing non-discrimination laws, should be sufficient to combat unequal treatment of different ethnic groups and genders/sexes.

Others, however, are not so



optimistic. While the initiative only targets programs which actually give preference, many people involved in the debate over the bill feel that the attacks on affirmative action will not stop there.

Renee Saucedo, staff attorney for La Raza Centro Legal in San Francisco, states, "It would affect not only the written law, but also the values that it promotes, and

the assumptions that it makes. That people, still today, start at an equal level in terms of level of education and access and employment opportunities is ludicrous."

Others see the initiative, and the posturing by politicians that has followed its introduction, as political opportunism: "You can call it Willie Horton goes to college," says Eva Paterson, executive director of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights in a *Washington Post* article. "It's the politics of polarization. It will re-

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That people, still today, start at an equal level in terms of level of education and access and employment opportunities is ludicrous.

Political Prisoner, Journalist Awaits Execution

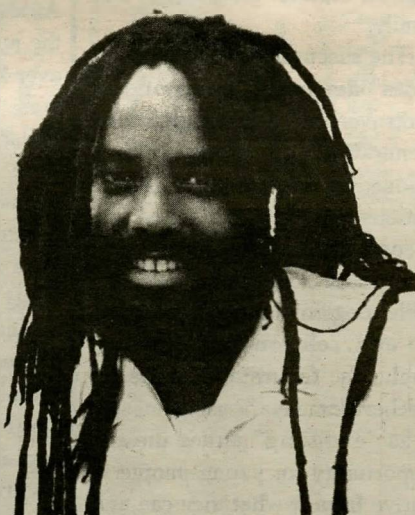
by Joanna Choy

Mumia Abu-Jamal, an award-winning African American journalist, waits on death row for newly-elected Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge to sign his death warrant this year. Jamal is appealing his 1981 conviction of killing a police officer on the grounds that he received an unfair trial. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) has run a heavy-handed campaign in efforts to dehumanize Mumia on radio and television talk shows and to silence his voice from the confines of prison. Last year, the FOP successfully pressured National Public Radio from airing Jamal's commentaries on the U.S. justice system. They have now extended their efforts to stop the publication of the political prisoner's *Live From Death Row* (Addison-Wesley) and seize a \$30,000 advance promised to the author. Many believe that Jamal's death would be the first explicit political execution since Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed in 1953 under the Eisenhower administration for conspiracy to commit espionage.

The circumstances surrounding the case point a sure finger to

a deliberate frame-up prosecution of Abu-Jamal, former member of the Black Panther Party, supporter of MOVE, and open critic of an unjust Philadelphia law enforcement system. On the morning of Dec. 9, 1981, Mumia had been rushing to the aid of his brother, who was being beaten severely by police officer Daniel Faulkner, when he himself was shot in the stomach and subsequently beaten by backup officers, once at the scene and a second time on the floor of the hospital that treated him (witnessed by a doctor). The bullets at the scene of the crime could not be matched to the gun that Jamal was carrying legally at the time. The bullets removed from Jamal's own body were matched to Faulkner's gun, and were found to have been fired from no more than a foot in front of Jamal, making it impossible for Mumia to have shot Faulkner in the back.

The Judge overseeing the case, Albert Sabo, has been dubbed "King of Death Row" for his record of the highest number of death-row sentences than any other sitting judge in the U.S. Sabo limited cross-examination of



prosecution witnesses on the grounds that "you don't have to prove that every witness is a liar on the stand." Prosecuting attorney in Abu-Jamal's trial was Joseph McGill. McGill had previously prosecuted the case of Matthew Connor, who was sentenced and served twelve years in prison before his release in 1989, when it was revealed that McGill had illegally concealed evidence during his trial.

The court allocated Jamal less than \$150 for pre-trial investigation, while his prosecutors had already interrogated 125 people. He succeeded in interviewing only 2 people. He was denied the right to represent himself, and his appointed lawyer repeatedly

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National Student Groups Tell Congress "Save Student Aid"

WASHINGTON, DC/CHICAGO, IL...The nation's umbrella student organizations have joined forces to plan a huge "Contact Congress" campaign scheduled for the week of March 13-20, 1995. The campaign is designed to demonstrate to members of Congress the huge amount of support for student financial aid among the general population of the United States. Participating organizations include the National Association of Graduate-Professional Students (NAGPS), United States Student Association (USSA), US Public Interest Research Group, American Medical Student Association,

American Student Association of Community Colleges, and the National Alliance of Blind Students.

"Students, faculty, staff, and family lobbying for continued federal support of student aid is critical," said Kevin Boyer, execu-

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Supporters are encouraged to contact their own US Representative by dialing (202) 225-3121 and giving their Representative's name. In addition, calls to key Republican Committee Chairs and Speaker Newt Gingrich are encouraged. Rep. John Kasich (R-OH), Chair of the Budget Committee, should be called at (202) 225-5355. Rep. Bob Livingston (R-LA), Chair of the Appropriations Committee, should be called at (202) 225-3015. Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) can be reached at (202) 225-4501.

Letters to members of Congress are also encouraged. Supporters with Internet access can take advantage of a special e-mail address set up by NAGPS. Letters can be sent to SAVE-STUDENT-AID@NETCOM.COM (no spaces) and will be printed out and delivered to Congress March 17 and March 20 by NAGPS and USSA. Letters should be in standard format and *must* include the name, address and telephone number of the writer.

Individuals interested in receiving breaking Congressional news about student financial aid can be added to a special interest exemption e-mail list by sending a message to NAGPS@NETCOM.COM (no spaces) and asking to be placed on the "special list." Notification via e-mail of any campus-wide organizing should be made to the same address.

"If you support higher education and you've never communicated this view to Congress, now is the time," entreats Boyer. "These cuts threaten to be the largest cuts to student financial aid every proposed. Congress must know that citizens do not support the sacrifice of the future in order to pay for budgetary mistakes of the past."

Prop 187

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of January 30 for state officials to distribute copies of her preliminary injunction against 187 to school districts, police agencies, publicly-funded health care facilities and governmental health and welfare offices throughout California. Publicly-funded facilities are also required to post information bulletins by February 13, to notify patients, social service applicants/recipients, and students that 187 is barred from implementation. Any state agencies that implement 187 or otherwise do not follow the preliminary injunction instructions are in violation of a federal order.

Throughout California, numerous organizations have mobilized to protest 187 and to educate communities about their rights. CIRRS has launched an educational campaign in the Bay Area to inform immigrant communities that Proposition 187 is not a law and that children should be kept in school. CIRRS also urges people to seek medical care and other necessary social services, which cannot be denied on the basis of immigration status. The CIRRS education project also offers people instructions on how to respond if a police officer, social worker, or school official requests their immigration documents.

The Latino Civil Rights Network (LCRN) continues to sponsor a boycott against RJR Nabisco. LCRN initiated the boycott because RJR Nabisco, the holding company of Nabisco Food Products and RJ Reynolds, contributed significant funds to

the Pete Wilson campaign. The boycott extends to Nabisco food products and to RJ Reynolds, the tobacco subsidiary of Nabisco.

In response to the many reports of civil rights abuses following the proposition's passage, some organizations have established hotline numbers to report violations and discrimination attributable to 187. The Immigrant Assistance Line, the hotline for the Bay Area, asks that hate crimes or any violations of 187's injunction be reported. Calls are

"Any state agencies that implement 187 or otherwise do not follow the preliminary injunction are in violation of a federal order."

confidential and reports may be made anonymously. The Immigrant Assistance Line is coordinating with other hotlines state-wide, including the CRLA (Sacramento and Fresno), Mexi-USA (San Diego), CHIRLA, and Asian American Legal Center of Southern California (Los Angeles), to exchange information, and is in the process of creating a central database of information.

In this anti-immigrant atmosphere following the passage of Proposition 187, immigrant advocacy groups must counter the efforts of pro-187 activists, who have mobilized around various new regional and national issues, some of which do not concern immigration. STOP IT (Stop The Out-of-control Problems of Immigration Today), a Marin County-based Proposition 187 offshoot group, is pressing for drastic constitutional change. The so-

called "Refounding Amendment" would abolish the federal government and its taxing authority, significantly alter the judicial system, afford foreign nationals almost no legal rights, and restrict citizenship largely to those "born of an American."

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) considers the current political atmosphere ideal for enacting its general agenda: strict controls on illegal immigration and, more proactively, a moratorium on legal immigration and refugee entries. Also, the California Civil Rights Initiative, which proposes to effectively outlaw affirmative action, has garnered support from several key Proposition 187 leaders,

including Ron Prince, chairman of the "Save Our State" campaign that devised 187.

Anti-immigrant sentiment and actions indicate the emergence of a more racialized definition of who is "un-American," placing less emphasis on a Cold War-era definition of "communist/socialist," and placing more on an individual's appearance and linguistic accent, thus targeting People of Color. In this environment, immigrant advocacy groups and other People of Color organizations feel the need to employ organizing tactics which address not only Proposition 187, but broader issues as well. As a CIRRS representative stated, "For 187 opponents, the proposition should be just the surface of our work. We can use that issue as a springboard to gather support for addressing underlying problems."

— Kim Benita Furumoto —

CCRI

CONT'D FROM PAGE 5

segregate society," she continues.

Many also feel that CCRI, like Proposition 187, is an attempt to blame racial minorities for the economic ills of our state. Saucedo, who terms CCRI, "Prop. 187 Number Two," states, "In the same way that Prop. 187 uses immigrants as scapegoats, this legislation is using all People of Color as scapegoats. In other words: people of color are the cause of white men not getting jobs—when in reality that's not the case."

"I think that a lot of political leaders saw the success that 187 had and thought that the time was right to pass anti-affirmative action legislation," adds Saucedo.

In the Bay Area, progressives recognized the danger of the initiative as early as last summer, when Richter introduced his amendment. A February 8th meeting brought together at least 200 people to coordinate efforts against the initiative. The gathering included representatives from an impressive range of organizations, from the state Democratic party to local community groups.

One of their most pressing concerns, according to speakers at the meeting, is to balance the

public debate over affirmative action, which has been dominated by conservatives. Many claim that the media has already defined the issue in terms of "reverse discrimination" and "quotas," without discussing the extent to which discrimination against white women, the poor, Women of Color, and People of Color in general, still exists.

However, many warn that convincing Californians that the amendment will be harmful is only half the battle. The larger battle is to overcome public apathy and get voters to the voting booth.

"Newt Gingrich had no mandate—our people sat at home. And if we sit at home, we're going to get 'Newtville' over and over. So we need to convince our folks that it makes a difference that they get out and vote," says Eva Paterson of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights.

Angel Anteater of the Asian Law Caucus adds, "The fundamental problem is not that the 'angry white men' vote, it's the fundamental frustration that people are feeling who are not coming out to register and vote. That's the bulk of the electorate that wasn't around to defeat Proposition 187."

Mumia

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asked to be relieved due to unpreparedness.

Closing argument by McGill referred to Jamal's involvement with the Black Panthers and his use of the Maoist slogan "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" as proof that Jamal was a dangerous cop-killer. Only one African American man served on the jury (although Philadelphia is over 40% Black), and another juror was a close friend of a Philadelphia policeman.

In Jamal's case, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court disregarded its precedent of reversing a death sentence if the indicted went through "appeal after appeal." (It re-established its precedent months after hearing Mumia's case.) The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's appeals in 1990. Two years later it reversed the death sentence of David Dawson on the premise that evidence of his membership in the Aryan Brotherhood prejudiced the jury.

Both Oakland and New York have rallied to save Mumia Abu-

Jamal from an unjust execution and to abolish the death penalty. The Feb. 11 New York rally was hosted by actor Ossie Davis, who hailed Jamal as the "voice of the voiceless," and attended by over 400 supporters. Trade union leaders, political prisoners, and one of Abu-Jamal's oldest children addressed the crowd, which raised over \$3000 for Mumia's defense committee. In Oakland on Feb. 25, over 200 people gathered to hear passionate testimonies by Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace, and his lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass. Statements of support from Congressman Ron Dellums, Angela Davis, author Alice Walker and former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt were also read to the crowd. The two protests were part of a series of nationwide and international movements spotlighting Jamal's case, which include demonstrations and support from Berlin, Brazil, France, South Africa, as well as many U.S. major cities.

To get involved in the campaign, send tax-deductible contributions to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., #115, NY, NY 10023-5001. Checks to Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense. Or call (510) 839-0852.

Student Aid

CONT'D FROM PAGE 5

tive director of NAGPS. "Campuses, in particular, must create ways to involve in this lobbying effort the millions of students whose educational future, whether they know it or not, will be dramatically altered should proposed cuts be adopted."

In particular, the student organizations are calling for support of the in-school student loan interest exemption. This exemption currently means that students do not have to pay interest on student loans while they attend school. "For the average under-

graduate, the projected average increase in loan debt of about \$4,000 would be a disincentive to attend school," noted Boyer, "but for graduate & professional students, the potential loss is catastrophic. Because of higher loan debt and more years in school, the increase in debt for graduate students could amount to as much as \$35,000 per student. Everyone should specifically ask their Representative to support the interest exemption for graduate students. Without this exemption, graduate school enrollment is sure to plummet as students flee the extraordinary expense."

Courtesy of NAGPS

CONT'D FROM PG. 5

Life Sciences Building to hopefully "come up with an agenda for the future," as conference chair Ashok Ramani desired. The tone was set by keynote speaker Peter Matthews, the South Asian candidate who ran for Congress in 1992 under the Democratic Party. He identified the crisis of a dual cultural identity and stressed the importance of awareness and unity, and especially "collective" action by our community.

His sentiments were echoed many times over in each of the five panels presented at the conference. The first forum, "Violence," focused on domestic, gang, and hate violence within and against our community. Discussed was the possibility that "violence becomes a means to appear strong in the face of impotence," as noted by UC Berkeley sociologist Nad Permaul. The rise in gang violence among South Asian youth is indicative of this sense of impotence and misled cultural pride, fueled by a lack of community recognition of the problem. A strong emphasis was placed on the idea that our community needs to realize an increase in hate crimes, especially given the anti-immigrant sentiment presently existing. Also emphasized was domestic violence. Berkeley city attorney Manuela Albuquerque and cultur-

al anthropologist Purnima Manekar explained that the phenomenon of domestic violence is deeply connected to the fact the victims often feel that they do not have the community support to fight their abusers.

But what does community support entail? The question was raised in the "Career Choices" forum, where professionals battled over the question of whether it was more important to work as a united ethnic group or to strive as individuals. Architect and businessman Aravind Iyer felt that "we have not promoted our own," while Harvard Law graduate felt that, "we shouldn't be too insular," since that may endanger chances of success in mainstream society.

Choices of community and individuality were also intimately tied to the evolution of South Asian families, as explored by the panel on "Our Family." Panel members highlighted the difficulties of moving away from the non-traditional family, especially lesbian and interracial ones, and dealing with the type of close-knit family and community structure that our culture often promotes. Emphasized was the idea that the family, while evolving, was still the fundamental unit of a strong community. Ben Menor, director of the Indo-American Senior Citizens Center in San Jose, cast a new angle on the changing family, pointing out that our elderly may be our surest link in preserv-

ing our culture, community, and family.

The discussion on "Choosing Sides" delineated the emotional controversy of a divided culture. Generation gaps are difficult to bridge, especially with changing notions cultural identity faced by second generation South Asian Americans. Some saw it as a tangible conglomeration of language, art and, religion, while others, such as Chinmaya Mission teacher Uma Jeyarasasingam, saw it as "evolving" and a unique opportunity for young people to derive from it what they can and blend it with what they experience growing up in this country.

Rukmini Timmaraju indicated in the closing panel of the day, "Empowerment," that the point was not to simply agree, but to "disagree actively." The politically-active panelists came from a diverse array of schools of thought, but were in staunch agreement about one thing: the need to become involved. Whether it be through "community service," as a former director of the Santa Clara Valley Water District, Joe Pandit suggested, or by running for election, the tone of the day was one of "action," not simply discussion, which South Asians for Collective Action member Jayant Ernaki profoundly articulated.

— Shobha Mahadev —

Courtesy of India Journal

Making America Keep Its Promise

by Crystal H. Weston

History of Affirmative Action

The federal government took the lead in promoting workplace equality beginning in the 1940's with a series of measures prohibiting discrimination in federal employment. This concept—that federal government should take a decidedly leading role in improving the social and economic welfare of its population—was wholly consistent with the birth of the modern *welfare state*, which included, for example, the social security program, unemployment benefits, and federal projects that created jobs and improved American artistic and cultural life.

Twenty years later, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted to prohibit employment discrimination based on race, color, creed, national origin, or religion. Sex was not included originally, but was added very late by a few Southern senators who hoped that adding "sex" as a protected category would derail its passage! It passed, despite this tactic.

One year later, President Lyndon Johnson signed Executive Order 11246 that required federal contractors to undertake affirmative action to increase the number of People of Color they employed.

Ironically, it was the Republican administration of President Nixon that developed the concept of using "goals and timetables," after hearing at the Department of Labor revealed pervasive race-based discrimination in the industry. Goals and timetables were used to measure the progress of federal construction companies in increasing the number of Africans on their payrolls.

A year later, President Nixon extended the use of goals and timetables to all federal contractors, and four years after that declared that such affirmative action programs also include women. Today, federal regulations require any with fifty or more employees or a federal contract worth more than \$50,000 to adopt an affirmative action program.

Thus modern affirmative action policies have their roots, as do many progressive policies that have resulted in widespread change, in the employment arena. Legislation, Supreme Court decisions, and a post-Civil Rights era cultural

belief that women and people of color should be guaranteed access to opportunities that are otherwise continually denied to them have served to entrench affirmative action policies in both the public and private sectors for the last thirty years.

What is Affirmative Action?

Webster's Dictionary defines "affirmative" as "to say positively, declare firmly, assert to be true." It defines "action" as: "an act or thing to be done." Thus affirmative

action declares firmly that women and people of color be given the opportunity to obtain employment, attend school, and compete for public contracts. Affirmative action makes certain that these opportunities exist, so that the historical and modern discrimination that has kept these groups out for so long does not continue to keep them out.

These literal definitions are very

important. Literal definitions provide clarity and a root understanding in the face of the Christian Right and Republicans who attempt to cause confusion in the minds of most people who have not yet made up their minds; and who attempt to drive a wedge in-between the constituencies on the left who are decidedly pro-affirmative action

Affirmative action is not "quotas," as the Supreme Court declared quotas unconstitutional in *Bakke v. Regents* in 1979; nor is it "preferences" that are made without well-documented proof of discrimination. The controlling case is the 1989 Supreme Court decision of *City of Richmond v. Croson*. The *Croson* court held that an affirmative action program by a state or local government must first be supported by documented studies, known as "disparity studies," of discrimination by that government against a particular group. A bald statement that discrimination generally exists in American culture is not enough. Second, after documenting the disparity of treatment with a study, the plan to remedy that disparity must be "narrowly tailored," i.e., it cannot be too broad and must address the particular discrimination of the particular group at hand.

Indeed, this is the toughest standard used by the Supreme Court to analyze cases involving race! Other standards include balancing the interest of White workers and workers of color to make certain that the interests of White employees are not "unnecessarily trammel[ed]." Thus cries of "reverse discrimination" are unfounded because current federal law requires people of color to meet the highest legal standard for instituting and maintaining affirmative action programs in the public sector.

Further, the very notion of so-called reverse discrimination is a myth. Obviously, people of color and women can be just as biased and as hateful as anyone else, but the difference is that people of color and women are rarely in positions of power to implement their biases systemically. White people, however, often are. Men, however, often are. Systemic power is what gives an individual the chance to effectively exercise their hatefulness. So if women and people of color have little systemic power to discriminate in the first place, how can they possibly wield the power to reverse it? "Reverse discrimination" is a myth and another tool of confusion.

Affirmative Action is a Tool for Surpassing White Supremacy and Patriarchy

Women and people of color have made tremendous gains since the Civil Rights movement, due to affirmative action and other government action. For example, the San Francisco Fire Department hired its first woman in 1987 due to affirmative action; today there are over 70 (out of a force of over 1500). In 1991 and 1992 people of color owned businesses received over \$165 million in state contracts under affirmative action.

But despite these obvious successes, there is no clearer example of how White supremacy and patriarchy still keep women and people of color far behind White men than in the distribution of wealth. While White men comprise about one-third of the American population, 8.9 million of them earn more than \$50,000 per

year; that's 11% of all White men. Compare that to 1.8% of all white women who earn over \$50,000 per year, or 2.3% of all African men who earn over \$50,000 per year, and a pitiful 0.7% of all African women who earn over \$50,000 per year.

White supremacy is evidenced in the fact that in 1993 the median income of white was \$33,000, but was less than \$20,000 for African households. It is also evidenced in the private sector in California where Latinos comprise 37.5% of all equipment operators; 55% of all day laborers; 33% of all service workers, and a paltry 5.6% of all professionals. And it is similarly evidenced in California, where Asians comprise 10% of the state's population, but hold only 6.3% of the highest level public jobs. Patriarchy is evidenced in the fact that 70% of the 57 million working women in this country earn less than \$20,000 per annum and that 40% of this number earn less than \$10,000. It is further evidenced in the fact that less than 20% of all attorneys are women. And finally, in the fact that women still make 79 cents for every dollar earned by a man.

Affirmative Action is Good Public Policy

Affirmative action in inherently result-driven. The notion is based on well-documented proof that having a policy that simply states "thou shalt not discriminate based on any of the following cate-

gories..." does not result in the fair and unbiased inclusion of women and people of color. An anti-discrimination policy is a passive approach to creating equality and affirmative action is an aggressive approach — greater assurance that America live up to its mandate of liberty and justice for all despite the continued good health of American racism and patriarchy.

Ms. Weston is the Thurgood Marshall Fellow at The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights in San Francisco. She is a facilitator for the Student and Youth Constituent Group of the campaign to resist the attacks on affirmative action. Call her at 415-543-9444, ext. 232, to get involved. Our future depends on it.

Affirmative action is not "quotas"... nor is it "preferences" that are made without well-documented proof of discrimination.

...reverse discrimination is a myth. Obviously, people of color and women can be just as biased and as hateful as anyone else, but the difference is that people of color and women are rarely in positions of power to implement their biases systemically.

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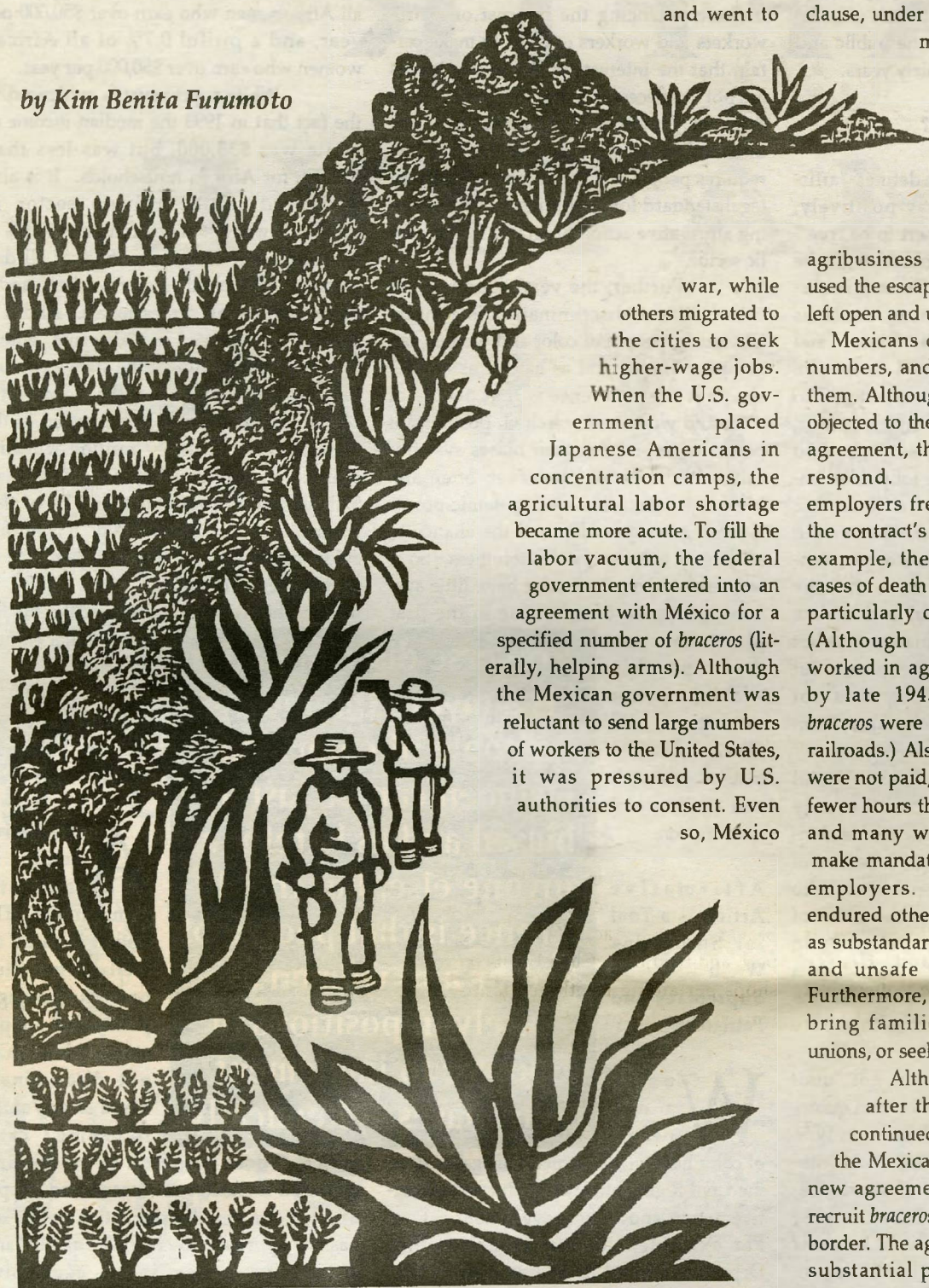
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Bracero Revisited?

Agribusiness, researchers and politicians advocate a new "guest" worker program to recruit Mexican labor

by Kim Benita Furumoto



Immigration and labor researchers and some politicians are considering drafting a proposal for a new U.S.-Mexico guest worker program. Advocates suggest that such a program would help reduce illegal immigration by granting temporary status to Mexican workers, and might curb abuses of undocumented workers by extending protections to foreign workers. However, the idea of a guest labor agreement is shadowed by the legacy of the *bracero* program, a labor agreement which endured for over 20 years and was criticized by labor unions and other organizations because (among other reasons) it legitimized the exploitation of foreign workers. Today's proponents of a foreign labor agreement contend that a new guest worker program would be different from the *bracero* program. However, Chicano/Latino groups, other People of Color organizations, and labor unions feel the responsibility to generate awareness of the issues related to a U.S.-Mexico guest labor program, and decide whether such a program is in the best interests of the workers it will affect.

Historical background: the *bracero* program

The *bracero* program was enacted in response to a severe labor shortage during World War II, when many Chicano workers left their jobs in the fields and railroads

and went to war, while others migrated to the cities to seek higher-wage jobs. When the U.S. government placed Japanese Americans in concentration camps, the agricultural labor shortage became more acute. To fill the labor vacuum, the federal government entered into an agreement with Mexico for a specified number of *braceros* (literally, helping arms). Although the Mexican government was reluctant to send large numbers of workers to the United States, it was pressured by U.S. authorities to consent. Even so, Mexico

insisted on a contract that would guarantee protection of the rights of its workers. In 1942, the two governments signed a preliminary agreement called the Emergency Labor Program, under which both countries would supervise the recruitment of *braceros*. Because the *bracero* program was hailed as an emergency measure, neither nativist groups nor organized labor opposed the recruitment of seasonal farm laborers. The contract protected the workers' rights, stipulating in part that Mexican workers would not displace domestic workers, and would be exempted from military service. The contract also regulated the wages, transportation, and housing of the *braceros*, and stated that discrimination would not be tolerated. Under this agreement, approximately 220,000 *braceros* were imported into the U.S. from 1942 to 1947.

The *bracero* program received Congressional approval in 1943, with the passage of Public Law 45, which commenced the "administered migration" of Mexicans into the United States. Due to lobbying by the American Farm Bureau Federation, the act included an escape

clause, under which the immigration commissioner could lift the statutory limitations of the act on the grounds that such action was necessary for the war effort. In 1943, responding to pressure from

agribusiness growers, the commissioner used the escape clause, and the border was left open and unregulated.

Mexicans crossed the border in mass numbers, and farmers readily employed them. Although the Mexican government objected to the United States' breach of the agreement, the U.S. government did not respond. Furthermore,

employers frequently abused the contract's agreements. For example, there were several cases of death due to accidents, particularly on the railroads. (Although most *braceros* worked in agricultural fields, by late 1945, over 67,000 *braceros* were working on U.S. railroads.) Also, many *braceros* were not paid, or were paid for fewer hours than they worked, and many were required to make mandatory payments to employers. *Braceros* also endured other problems such as substandard living quarters and unsafe transportation.

Furthermore, they were not permitted to bring families across the border, join unions, or seek legal recourse.

Although labor shortages ended after the war, the *bracero* program continued. President Truman coerced the Mexican government into signing a new agreement allowing the growers to recruit *braceros* directly on either side of the border. The agreement did not provide any substantial protection for Mexicans. In 1954, the U.S. government used the tactic of unilaterally opening the border to force Mexico to sign another such agreement favorable to the U.S.

The *bracero* program was finally discontinued in 1964 due to several factors, which included increased opposition by domestic labor, changes in the U.S. economy (such as a significant decline in the farm population), and the introduction of new agricultural labor-saving techniques. A total of 4.5 million Mexican guest workers had been bused across the border. The *braceros* were used to depress wages, were used as strike-

Agribusinesses, the major lobbying force behind guest worker programs, would not endorse provisions that allow workers to join unions or guarantee workers' housing and medical insurance

breakers, and when the harvest seasons ended, they were deported.

The current climate: politicians, agribusiness, and unions
Despite the negative reputation of the *bracero* program, some immigration and labor researchers believe it is time to consider a new guest labor agreement. According to Dan Villarejo, director of the California Institute for Rural Studies in Davis, a research and advocacy group that examines immigration patterns, discussion of a guest worker program dominated a

December 1994 conference of immigration and labor specialists in Washington, D.C. Following the conference, Villarejo and other researchers prepared a memorandum suggesting guidelines for a guest worker program which they may eventually bring to Congress.

Politicians involved in the debate include Attorney General Dan Lungren, who promoted the idea of a guest worker agreement in a speech before the Sacramento County Bar Association on February 6. Lungren has stated he will support a program that begins with agriculture, but can be expanded to other industries that demonstrate that they have attempted to hire domestic workers first.

Governor Pete Wilson also proposed the idea when he was in the U.S. Senate, and according to a spokesman, still favors a guest labor program although he is not actively pursuing it at present.

Although certain high-profile politicians are promoting the guest worker program concept, a proposal to effectuate such a program would not nec-

essarily be passed if there is already a sufficient labor supply, which may be reinforced by the current economic crisis in Mexico, in which the peso's value dropped 45% in only 11 weeks to roughly 6.33 to the dollar on March 5. The resulting high interest rates have forced the closure of many private industries in Mexico, causing the lay-offs of hundreds of thousands of workers and widespread labor unrest. As a result, there may even be a greater influx of immigrants across the border, providing a constant labor supply. "I don't see where you can find the political momentum needed to get any such initiative enacted unless something parallel to [the World War II labor shortage] occurs," says José Canela of the UC Berkeley Graduate School of Public Policy.

Indeed, the state's agribusinesses (growers), the main supporters of the concept of a guest worker program, are not presently complaining of a labor shortage. However, they are concerned that shortages may result in the wake of Proposition 187 and increased policing of the border. The only sections of Proposition 187 which are not blocked from implementation by federal court injunction prohibit the manufacture, use and sale of fraudulent immigration documents. If these provisions are enforced, growers are concerned it might reveal how extensively undocumented workers have found jobs in agriculture and other industries. Roy Gabriel, director of labor affairs for the California Farm Bureau in Sacramento, has maintained that if growers are going to be complicit with increased border enforcement and enforcement of documentation laws, they will need the guarantee of a worker program.

On the other side, organized labor is opposed to guest worker programs. The United Farm Workers (UFW), which fought to end the *bracero* program in 1964, has opposed guest worker programs

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We Won't Be Held Back:

New Youth Movements Against Racism

By Kimiko Kean

While neo-conservatives are anxiously espousing the "declining significance of race," and proponents of Proposition 187 deny racist motives, a multicultural group of 13,000 high school students staged a statewide walk-out after the passage of the proposition to voice their clear disagreement. The youths' assertion that Prop. 187 is racist, however, is only the tip of the iceberg. These students are part of a new wave of grassroots movements among youth of color that focuses on unlearning racist messages, asserting leadership, and creating social change. These dynamic movements are providing hope, direction, and support.

An examination of history helps to explain why race remains such a salient issue and subsequently, why these youth of color empowerment efforts are vital. The experiences of northern Blacks in the 19th century exemplified the limits created by racial borders. While "colored people everywhere...are charged with a desire for education and improvement,...White youth enjoy all the advantages; we are excluded and shut out and must remain ignorant." Mexicans in the 1920s in the Southwest experienced similar racialized treatment. Educators acknowledged the Mexican's right to an education with a critical stipulation: that he be taught that "he is not as good as the white man." In these schools, Mexican children were not encouraged to develop self-esteem. Instead, Mexicans were educated to prepare them for a subordinate position in the labor market. "Your people are here to dig ditches," youth of color were instructed. "I don't think you should plan on going to high school." Clearly, the educational system has been built to accompany the era of white supremacy. By taking part in empowerment programs, youth of color are mobilizing themselves to dismantle this system which supports white hegemony.

A Chicana junior high school student is one such participant. Her membership in the Real Alternatives Project's Chicana/Latina Mentorship Program has

caused her to protest her history classes, which have focused only on the contributions of Europeans. "All we learn about is the thirteen colonies and George Washington, like nobody else matters. Not learning about my people *me ha hecho una falta*, has created a gap inside of me." Another student from the same school says race plays a major role in how teachers perceive and teach her. "Because I am Mexican, they always think I am a gang member." These young women testify to the positive impact the Mentorship Program has had in their lives. In weekly rap sessions with UC Berkeley Chicanas and Latinas, they discuss issues including being a Woman of Color, Proposition 187, and family problems.

Chicanos and Latinos for Empowerment (ChALE), founded by UC Berkeley stu-

dents who grew up in nearby Oakland, has had equally dynamic results. In addition to providing weekly academic tutoring, support, and field trips, ChALE puts on workshops pertaining to ethnic identity, and learning the history of achievements by minorities is motivating many of the youth to become organizers. One student started the first Raza Student Union at his junior high school. Another example is that of a young woman who was instrumental in planning the highly publicized walk-outs before and after the passage of Prop. 187. "Raquel [a member of ChALE] helped me. I made a flier and organized my whole school to walk out. I never organized anything before." While the protests, which mobilized 13,000 students to leave school for the day, received significant press coverage, the media blacked out their

demands for long-term change. Significantly, students did more than simply respond to a piece of racist legislation. Instead, they expressed clear demands for change, including bilingual education, mandatory ethnic studies classes for all students, voting rights at age sixteen, and an end to police harassment.

Asian and Pacific Islander students, like Chicanos, are learning about their history and subsequently struggling to make changes. Recently, 350 high school students from Oakland and Richmond met for a conference on topics ranging from Asian and Pacific Women's Issues, Asian Identity Through Art, Youth Organizing, and Asian/Pacific Islanders in Hip Hop. The youth attest to the importance of asserting their ethnic identity. "I never learned to be proud of my heritage and language before," states one participant. In organizations like REACH, the UC Berkeley Asian and Pacific Islander Recruitment and Retention Center, non-college track students are taken on educational field trips to places like Angel Island. Many have had few chances to leave their home town. Learning about their identity and history has been accompanied by increased political activism for some.

Next, high school students will receive weekly tutoring from college students.

These programs are not just reactions to racist laws, but rather attempts to empower youth to control their lives and communities. As one organizer says, "Once you take the hopelessness out of one kid, it spreads: to their family, their friends, and throughout the school." While student activism may not be the total solution, it represents a significant part of a broad-based struggle against racism. Wilson and others may downplay the depth of social change the students are seeking, but these activists of color refuse to accept anything less than a society that is just and inclusive. ■

Quotations and statements in this article were taken from the following sources: Ronald Takaki's *A Different Mirror*; Asante's "The Afrocentric Idea" in *Strangers from Different Shores* (Takaki, ed.); presentations in *Chicano Studies 174*.

These students are part of a new wave of grassroots movements among youth of color that focuses on unlearning racist messages, asserting leadership, and creating social change

Bracero Revisited?

CONT'D FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

because they undermine union organizing efforts. Guest workers have historically been used as strikebreakers and forced to accept lower wages. *Braceros* were not allowed to join unions. Also, guest workers from México were deported after the harvest season, thus depriving them from having a long-term stake in issues of concern to the UFW, such as working conditions, wages, or the use of agricultural pesticides.

To allay union and humanitarian concerns, proponents of a guest worker agreement claim that a new program would be more humane than the *bracero* program. Dan Lungren suggests naming a foreign worker program "*compañero*," or "friend," rather than *bracero*, which has a negative connotation. Villarejo and Lungren agree that new guest workers, unlike the *braceros*, should have a right to join labor unions, sue in U.S. courts, and move freely from job to job, rather than remain tied to a single employer. Villarejo also thinks any program should also include provisions to allow guest workers to eventually qualify

for legal residency by earning points for time worked in the U.S., and should impose minimum requirements upon employers for guaranteeing workers' housing, transportation and medical insurance.

However, Lungren does not advocate allowing guest workers to earn points toward citizenship, saying such a provision would undercut existing immigration programs. He also believes a minimum housing requirement would make a guest worker proposal harder to pass in Congress.

Certainly, Congress or any other branch of government would not be eager to include such provisions favorable to foreign workers. Primarily, the politically powerful agribusinesses have historically been the major lobbying force behind guest worker programs, and for obvious reasons would not endorse provisions that allow workers to join unions or guarantee workers' housing and medical insurance. The current atmosphere of anti-immigrant backlash makes it unlikely that politicians would concede to permitting foreign workers to earn credit toward citizenship.

Moreover, past and present guest worker programs have significantly limited the

freedom of the program workers. For instance, the H2-A program, which Florida sugar cane growers use to employ foreign workers, does not permit its laborers to travel more than 50 miles from their camps. Also, Villarejo and Lungren agree that a new guest labor program should set aside a portion of workers' wages and hold it in escrow in México, where it could be picked up at a U.S. Consulate. They believe the money would provide incentive for workers to return once their visas expire. However, such a monetary withholding is problematic because it would limit workers' access to wages they earned, and the intention of providing incentive for workers to return to México indicates that workers would be here primarily to provide labor, while receiving minimal benefits.

Furthermore, the initial *bracero* agreement included provisions guaranteeing protection of Mexican workers largely because the Mexican government demanded such stipulations. However, if a new guest worker program were signed in the next few years, México would have minimal negotiating leverage to demand protection of its citizens, given its economic

crisis and the \$20 billion loan package it had to accept from the Clinton Administration.

Additionally, even if certain provisions protecting workers' rights were included in a new guest worker agreement, violations of those guarantees would be difficult to monitor. The Department of Labor, which would be charged with enforcement, is understaffed, with only 800 inspectors nationwide to curb abuse.

The consideration of a guest worker program proposal in the midst of the passage of Prop. 187 indicates repetition of the historical patterns in immigration statutes. Immigration policy has consistently balanced the interests of corporate bodies, such as agribusinesses, who seek cheap, non-unionized labor, with the interests of "nativists," who seek to "keep America pure." Chicano/Latino groups, other People of Color organizations, and labor unions need to be aware of this history as well as the current issues relating to a U.S.-México guest labor program, and take a position based on whether or not such a program is in the interest of justice for all the workers it will affect. ■

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MARCH 1995

diatribe People of Color News Collective

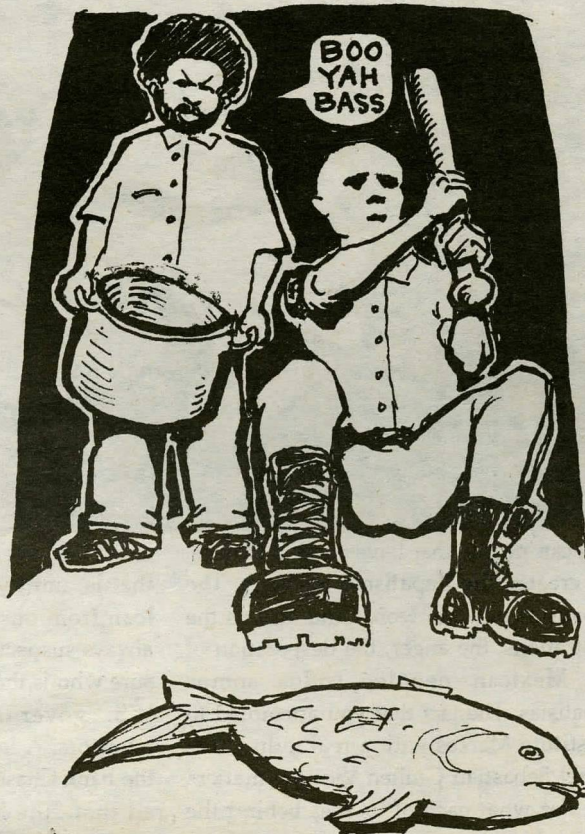
Higher Yearning: After the Apocalypse

By Kevin Cartwright

I think John Singleton needs a break. I know I could certainly use one. I guess we both could benefit from some necessary quiet time to reflect on the complexity of living as Black men in an epoch, culture and place committed to stranding us in minstrelsy or behind prison bars. Clearly, it is no mean feat to transcend white supremacist constructions of our reality and remain strong, vigilant, and innovative. However, I do believe it is time for both of us to chill and reflect a bit. Ours could be a time well spent on learning how to make the ultimate bouillabaisse: how to let it mature, allowing for the spices to blend naturally without forcing unnecessary ingredients to comply with our recipe; we could really come to understand the complexity of how spices work in concert, and how each individually has its own particular attributes, thus bringing with it something of value. This strikes me as the problem with *Higher Learning*, Singleton's latest work—it lacks an understanding of spices and doesn't allow for them to improve our bouillabaisse.

This is not so much a criticism as a wish, a hope, a yearning for something more than a desperate searching for myself and others in the rubble of his post-apocalyptic vision. Let's remember that this is a film. Fiction. The "Art imitates Life" argument could use a rest in this case. *Higher Learning* is far too fantastical and inconsistent to limit ourselves to that discussion. But what it does raise in its use of tired racial composites and unfulfilling dynamics are some important issues.

In this era of Prop. 187, the Civil Rights Initiative, and the intense demonization of Black and Latino people in the culture, when did it become acceptable for People of Color to stop talking? When was it o.k. to simply bathe in our own nationalistic rhetoric and assume that others can understand? I can't count the number of times I've heard Prop. 187 referred to as solely a Latino or Asian issue, and the veiled complaint that Blacks in parts of the State favored it in surprising numbers. I've wondered how often organizing efforts attempted to encompass Black people, to remind us that any harm against other People of Color is indeed OUR ISSUE as well. When did we shut down? Is the movie's Ice Cube character correct when he points to each racial fief-



Jason Luz

dom and designates a name for them, thus calling attention to our singular impotence against white supremacy? I've seen how some effort against the Civil Rights Initiative may take the same shape where Black folk foolishly take on the gargantuan task of fighting without activating allies, as if we can win alone. Singleton may not be the only one unable to balance spices. To his credit he made the effort.

If this were the typical film review (which it isn't), many other issues could be explored: issues of sexuality, identity, and cops come to mind. But what remains salient in my mind is the disengagement, the disassociation of communities of color and how white supremacy is bolstered by it. The climate of the country suggests that one doesn't need to read an ethnic studies text to know oppression. White supremacy doesn't simply come in the composite of neo-nazis plotting destruction against us (one of the problems with the film). It comes in the guise of the personal, the institutional, the subtle. It comes in the form of the Civil Rights Initiative, where the implication is that People of Color, especially Black people, are: 1) unqualified for anything, 2) given enough already, and 3) low enough on the food chain to continue fighting for crumbs. Since the so-called angry white male is catching hell because of a bad economy fueled by corporate greed, the "playing field" must be evened out. Anti-discrimination laws already address this. Why haven't white men bemoaned their "unfair advantage" over People of Color in all facets of the culture?

Now is the time to severely critique

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"White supremacy doesn't simply come in the composite of neo-nazis plotting destruction against us. It comes in the guise of the personal, the institutional, the subtle."

CCRI The California Civil Rights Initiative, or Crazy Cracker's Racist Idea

by Dolores Garay

CCRI - The California Civil Rights Initiative, or Crazy Cracker's Racist Idea is an insidious attempt to stamp out any paths or inroads Affirmative Action has made for people of color in California.

The numbers are astounding: in the 1993 census, 73% of the 50

year olds in California were white. However in the same year, only 21% of the ten year olds were white. These figures horrify a ruling class population already uneasy, in light of increasing economic scarcity and with a growing, noisy brown populace. In recent memory, Affirmative Action has been recast as a special privilege for minorities. "Oh, that's how you got into Cal." "Oh, that's why IBM, or City Hall hired you." As if the 6% of African American CEOs, or the 10% of the set-asides for minority owned businesses are taking food out of some hard working, overqualified Michael Douglas fan's mouth.

Conversations about white men being under siege—it makes me sick. Please! Pul-lease. The few of us manage to sneak in, and the Establishment freaks out! Forget the half-assed attempts at multiculturalism and pass the sheets. As if qualifying for Affirmative Action is some fucking great deal. Affirmative Action is not some golden ticket to Middle Class heaven. After all, be realistic - who really benefits from

Affirmative Action? All those white women vice presidents in Armani power suits who hire undocumented help and voted for 187. However, according to Field Poll results

"Forget the half-assed attempts at multiculturalism..."

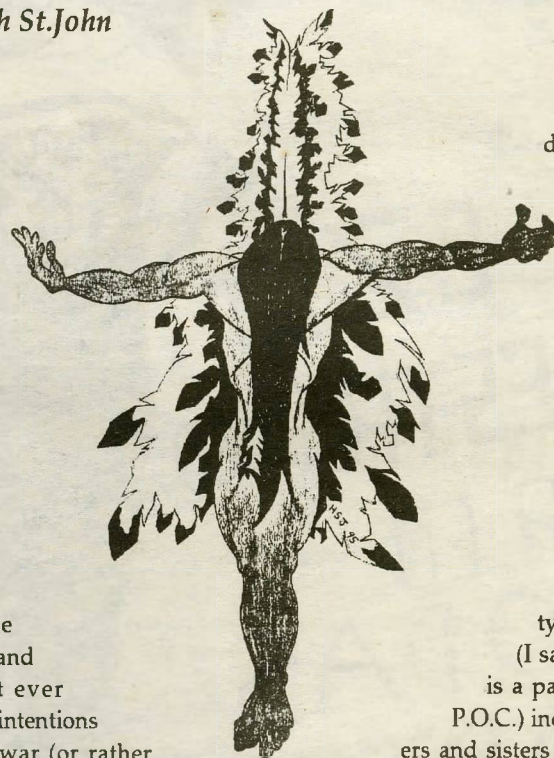
(*Sacramento Bee*, 3/7/95), 65% of the voting population of white women would vote for the CCRI. Self-defeating principals, anyone? Not that people of color fare any better. The overwhelming majority of actually registered voters who are people of color are conservative, and seem to have some delusion of equality. The authors of the bill insist they are looking for a color blind society, regardless of personal agenda. It's an amazing tribute to the power of spin when second rate academics, one of whom, Tom Woods, "applied for virtually dozens of university teaching positions, and [was] denied virtually every one" (*LA Weekly*, 3/3/95), are able to affect the discussion on diversity and opportunity. Talk about colorblindness to people who go to underfunded schools for second rate educations, and if these people actually make it to college, still get questioned on their right to be there. It's been over a quarter of a century since Central High was forcibly desegregated. How far have we come? Now the National Guard has their rifles pointed at us. ■



The Urban Native Son RED ANGEL

by Heath St. John

The blood of my ancestors that once lived in peace on this continent (a peace of mind, of spirit, of knowing) now runs hot and unstable through my veins. It was shed at first contact by the invaders' swords, and by every contact ever since whether our intentions were of peace or war (or rather self-defense). I have come from a culture of rage, as I've learned and witnessed the injustices inflicted upon my people. I am an Urban Indian. I see every day the disastrous effect that imperialism and colonization has had on Mother Earth and her chil-



dren. I live within the boundaries of my opposition with the constant struggle not to become a victim.

It's a struggle itself to maintain a cultural identity, just as all our (I say "our" as this is a paper for and by P.O.C.) indigenous brothers and sisters that are dissat-

isfied with what is merely handed to them, or what they are forced to accept. Over 500 years of this torment has caused this blood to boil and burn. Either we, as victims of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

Open Letter to President Ernesto Zedillo

On February 9, 1995, you addressed the Mexican nation, strategically accusing the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista National Liberation Army) of being a terrorist organization and, with an air of self-congratulation, you unmasked the face of Subcomandante Marcos. You assumed, Mr. President, that in giving a face and a name to the man who, behind the mask, had shown the world the true face of Mexico, that the imagery sustaining the Zapatismo ideology would crumble to reveal dull, blunt

reality. You thought wrong.

The day after you announced to the nation that the Zapatistas were supposed terrorists, thereby using the accusation as an excuse to re-instantiate war, the Mexican people responded. Over 150,000 people demonstrated in the Zocalo, the main plaza in Mexico City, shouting, "Todos somos Marcos! Todos somos Zapatistas! We are all Marcos! We are all Zapatistas!"

And that is where you failed in your assumptions, Mr. President. For you see, the Zapatistas aren't just a creation of the mountains, of the maize, of the misery that inhabits the isolated southeast corner of the republic. Those, the forever dead, the ones that need to die once again in order to live, those of "Todo para todos. Nada para nosotros." (Everything for everyone. Nothing for us)—they are a reflection of ourselves, of the pueblo Mexicano. It is the



Mexican people that have created Marcos. We created the Zapatismo ideology. The Zapatistas put into words and actions the frustrations, the anger, the desperation of the Mexican people. Todos somos Zapatistas. The fact that you attempted to substitute Marcos with a real individual, Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente, matters not. For what each of us sees behind the mask is his/her own image.

The Mexican people don't believe you; we have no faith in what you say. First you tell us in December that the economy is stable, that Mexico is the model of neo-liberalism, that the benefits of NAFTA have far-exceeded theoretical expectations. Two days after your announcement, the peso crashed, falling through the façade of thin paper promises, promises fabricated by the puppeteer, your puppeteer, ex-President Salinas. The anger has been

so great that even the upper-class women of Las Lomas came out of their secluded mansions to protest. They stuffed their fury into Gucci bags as their chauffeurs drove them to the front of your house to demonstrate their anger over the broken promises of infinite shopping sprees at the new Saks Fifth Avenue and Neiman Marcus.

You tell us and the world that you want peace in Chiapas, that the poor Indigenous peoples of the land were forced to carry arms because of the emptiness in their stomachs, that they are too ignorant to be blamed. You've used that paternalistic rhetoric throughout the

short ten weeks of your administration, that is, until you agreed to a \$50 billion loan from our northern neighbor. We've always suspected it, but now we know for sure who is the true ruler of our land—the U.S. government and its financial investors. A leaked internal document of the bank Chase Manhattan subtly suggested that "the Mexican government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demon-

strate their effective control of the national territory and of security policy."

How did you answer to your superiors? By ordering the arrest and torture of seven Zapatistas found in the state of Veracruz and in Mexico City, by ordering the federal troops to advance into the Lacandon jungle to arrest the Zapatista leaders, by creating a wave of repression that is wash-

ing over not just the state of Chiapas but all over Mexico. Apparently you assumed that the thorn that has, with quiet urgency, pricked your government's back for over a

year could be quickly and cleanly removed. You ordered a media black out and refused the presence of human rights groups into the area of conflict so no one could bear witness to the dirty operation.

Then you realized that it wasn't so easy. Immediately, international society loudly denounced your actions,

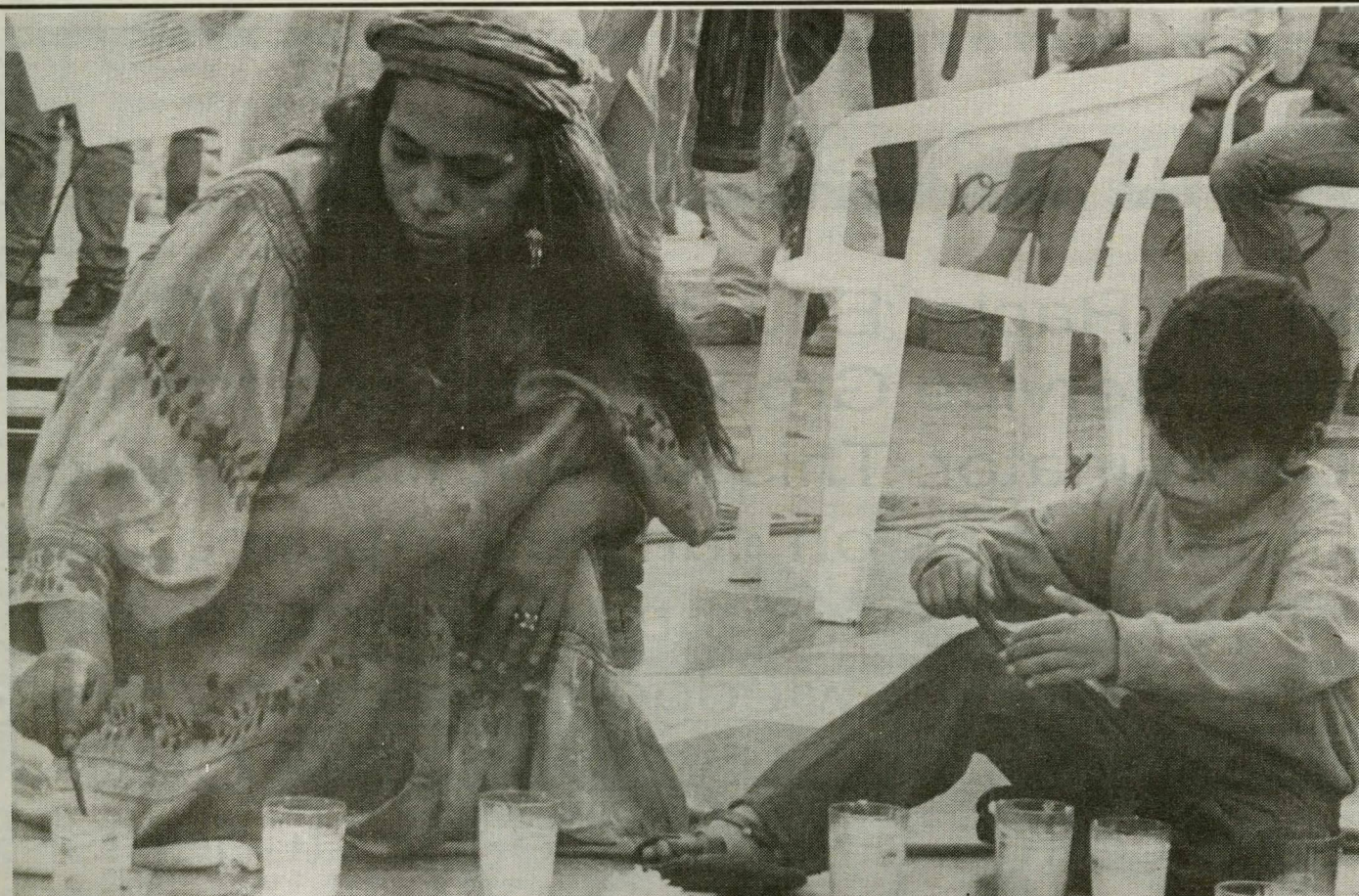
protests were staged all over the world. Your troops, upon penetrating into the conflict zone, found only the physical

"The Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional is not alone. Everyone is a part" Two Mexican children show their support for the Zapatista National Liberation Army



"We've always suspected it, but now we know for sure who is the true ruler of our land — the U.S. government and its financial investors"

"Despite the blackout and despite the silence by U.S. media, information has found other channels to inform the public of the disappearances, of the tortures, and of other repeated human rights violations."



Generations come together in support of one cause

skeleton of the communities who, along with the Zapatistas, had vanished into the jungle mountainside. Despite the blackout and despite the silence by U.S. media, information has found other channels to inform the public of the disappearances, of the tortures, and of other repeated human rights violations.

A week after you re-instigated the conflict, you once again addressed the nation, this time calling for a cease fire and stating that the government wanted to re-open the peace dialogue. However, since your declaration of a cease fire, the army has in fact continued to advance deeper into the Lacandon jungle.

An estimated 6,000 people have fled in terror as the military advances, and are now hiding in the jungle with little food or water. The army continues its tactics of repression. The Mexican newspaper La Jornada is daily informing the public of testi-

monies of torture done by the military. All over Mexico, human rights organizations, student groups, and political activists have been subjected to physical and verbal threats. Federal police have stormed into the UAM Xochimilco, the university where Marcos taught in the early 80's, in an act that was meant to intimidate the students as well as threaten their educational sovereignty. Human rights organizations have had their buildings surrounded by federal police. Stones and eggs, along with verbal threats of assassination, have been hurled at Bishop Samuel Ruiz and the entire Diocese of San Cristobal. Several directors of non-governmental organizations have disappeared. In the state of Chiapas alone, 2,700 warrants of arrest have been issued by your government.

If these are the actions you take when you say you want peace, then I shudder to think of the possibilities when you, backed by the PRI Dinosaurs, decide to verbally declare war. And it is a war you've started, Mr. President, es una guerra sucia, a dirty war driven by internal political desperation and foreign economic pressures.

You're not fooling anyone. Certainly not the Mexican people who continue to demonstrate in marches that, as in the case

in Mexico City, draw over 100,000 people. And have you looked outside your office window, in the Palacio Nacional, to hear what they say about you? "Se ve, se nota, Zedillo es un idiota! It's seen, it's felt, Zedillo is an idiot!" The people hold up placards saying that you aren't going to last the six years of your administration, maybe not even the first year. No, you're not fooling the Mexican people. In fact, the pueblo Mexicano, like the roots of a tree that have long been suffocated by cement, is with forceful determination pushing upward, cracking the structure that has held them in the darkness of misery for 65 years.

And no, you're not fooling international society. In fact, demonstrations have been organized in various parts of Europe, Canada, the United States, and Latin America. Here, in the San Francisco area, the people have staged several demonstrations in the past couple of weeks, in front of the offices of your representatives, the Mexican consulate

and the Stock Exchange. Students organized a guerrilla theater in which you, by way of a 15-foot representation of your person, played the leading role. Most recently, a hunger strike has been organized in demand that your troops withdraw from the conflict zone. All these protests have been coordinated nationally as part of the EZLN-created international support structure, the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA, headed by Cecilia Rodriguez.

So you see Mr. President, while you were trying to fool the Mexican people, the pueblo Mexicano turned around and made a fool out of you. You issued the order to penetrate deep into the darkness of the Lacandon jungle to capture the handful of individual forces masterminding and directing this rebellion. But what you are slowly realizing, Mr. President, is that the Zapatistas aren't just a mere handful of masked illusions nurtured by the dark haven of the jungle mountainside that will vanish if the rays of light penetrate into their cave headquarters. No, Mr. President. Todos somos Zapatistas.

Sincerely,

Mariana Mora Bayo

*For more information about the current situation in Mexico, call (510)548-4253

*Students Against Intervention in Central America have meetings Mondays @ 7pm in Unitas (Across the street from Café Strada) @ UC Berkeley

*La Comisión estudiantil, the student group of the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, meets every Thursday @ 4pm in the Center for Latin American Studies (Bowditch, between Durant and Channing) @ Berkeley.

Subject: Chiapas Newsbriefs

NCDM Press Release • March 8, 1995

NCDM national office phone/fax: (915)532-8382

Washington DC Hunger Strike communication

center phone: (301)270-6122

In the area around El Censo, in the municipality of Ocosingo, an enormous quantity of food packaging stamped with the name of a US company has been found. The trash from the Mexican military is marked: Cinpac, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio 45212, bearing the names of food like chicken stew, corned beef mash, and potatoes au gratin. This would appear to be part of the US military aid given to Mexico, allegedly in support of their anti-drug trafficking efforts. ■

News reports document another murder in the Lacandon jungle. Pascual Sanchez, an indigenous Choi, was shot to death by Jesus Celis, a village councilman in the Tila collective farm. That is in addition to the unknown number of refugee babies, children, women and elderly who have died from starvation, exposure, dehydration, dysentery and pneumonia. Official reports only have documented the five people killed at Neuva Estrella in Ocosingo, and the murder of Gilberto Jimenez Hernandez in front of his family by federal soldiers. ■

In Veracruz 500 members of the Mexican Army are searching indigenous communities looking for 15 indigenous leaders alleged as EZLN members. The majority of them are leaders of the Committee of the Union of Campesinos and Artisans in the Sierra Nahuatl in Zongolica. Army soldiers have ransacked private homes and removed documents from the organization. ■

Photos by Mariana Mora Bayo

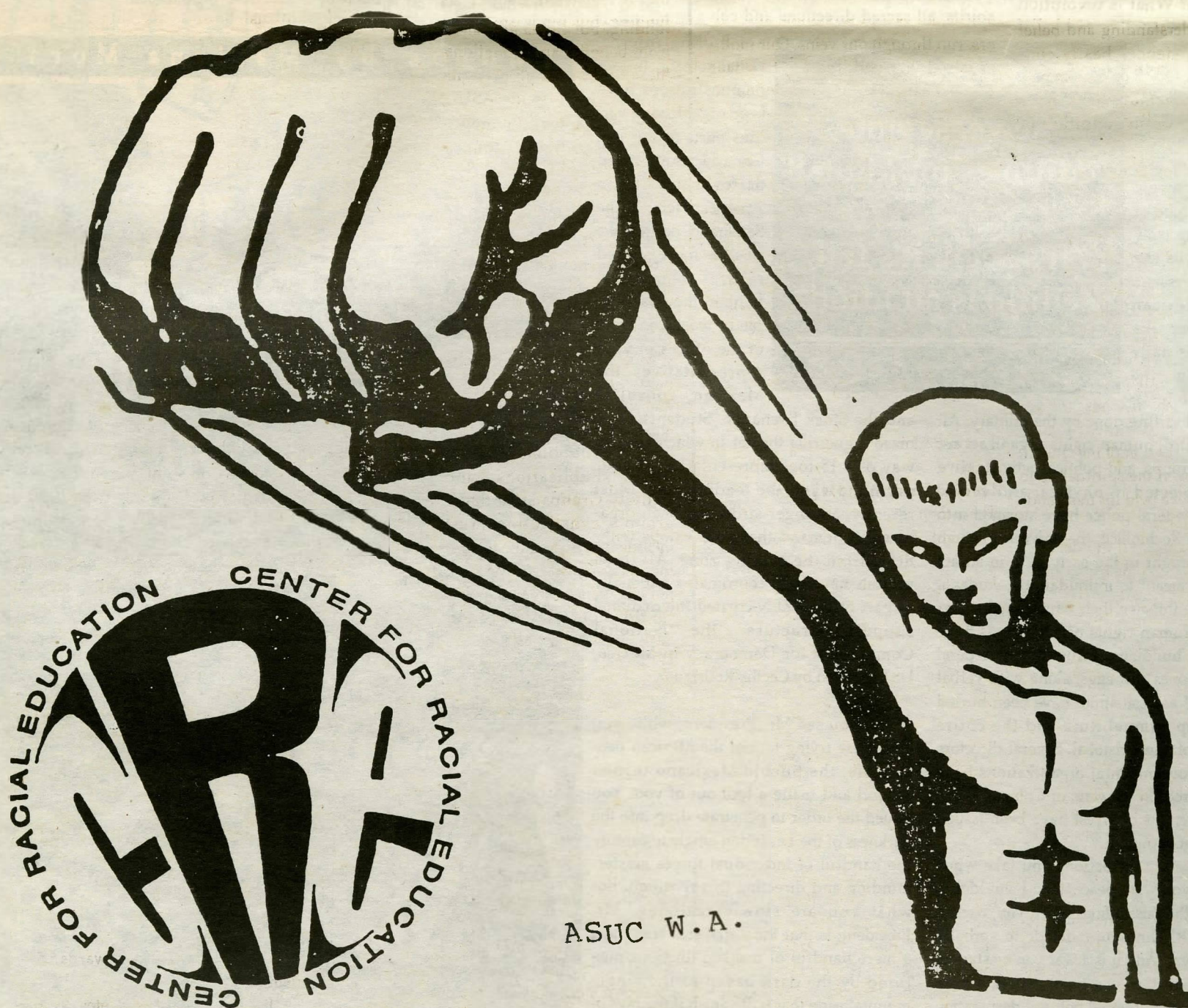


Ancient voices resurface to denounce the maltreatment of their people

Earn \$150 per month

The Center for Racial Education, an ASUC Student Initiated Service Group, is looking to hire a Programs Coordinator. This job entails organizing events and activities on campus. Applicants should have experience in community or campus organizing and have knowledge of issues concerning racial minorities and womyn. The CRE strives to create comfortable space for students to exchange dialogue in order to increase understanding, respect, and appreciation for the multitude of experiences we bring as students to the campus.

For more info: Gabe Martinez @ 643.9921 or 654.2961.
The CRE is located at 312 Eshleman Hall.



EDITORIALS

EMPOWERD

OPINIONS

RED ANGEL

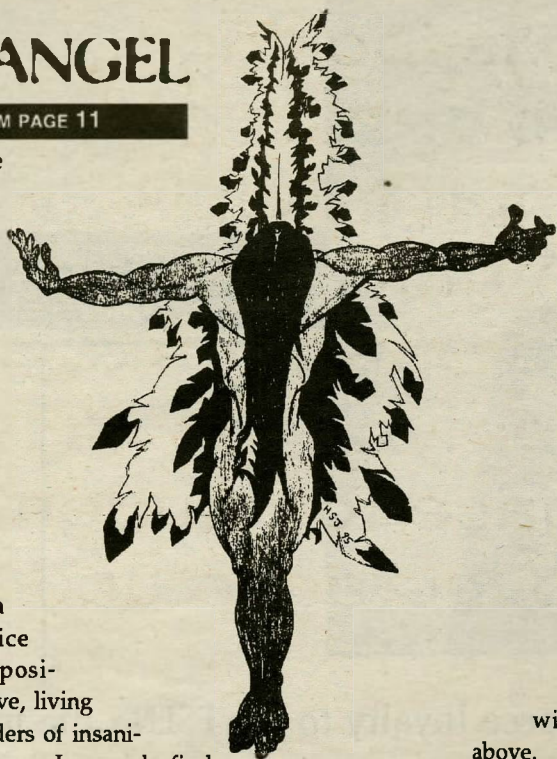
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the oppressive sword, burn up within and self-destruct, or we let off steam.

Native existence is credited to the strength of a surviving race that's maintained a central practice against all opposition. As a Native, living within the borders of insanity and killing rage, I can only find salvation within spirituality, traditional practice and religion, as best as I can learn and maintain them. It is traditional religious practice that has secured the cultural existence and pride of all our many different Native nations. What would the American Indian Movement have been without a traditional-spiritual foundation and ideology? What would Malcom X have been without a spiritual identity through Allah? What is revolution without an understanding and belief in a higher existence? Easily conquered is the answer. Look at the positive effects these movements have made for the present condition of these communities.

What does a white man's heaven have to do with me or any other indigenous person's spiritual roots? I am not a heathen or savage, nor do I wish to spend the afterlife eternity with Christians and a white Jesus with a crown of jewels and all the other promised materialistic candy to indulge in. This is all so irrelevant to my identity as an Indian. The evil that has been exercised amongst all our nations upon this continent for the benefit and glorification of the church, still has not broken the spiritual tie to the land that we've held for thousands of years before 1492.

My surroundings, all the destructive aspects, have become irrelevant to my purpose. They still affect me directly on a daily basis, but my purpose is that which is for the love of our people (all people of a common struggle) in these surroundings, and to not become a part of my surround-



ings.
I live within and above.

I am a Red Angel. No wings, but that doesn't mean I can't fly. I'm no descendant of what the white man calls "God," nor a figure of their book, but this doesn't mean that I am impure. We are children of the earth, the caretakers of our mother. Her heart beat is alive in our spirit. Her voice is heard in our prayers to our Grandfather when we speak the words of the ancients in our native tongues. The purity of all our cousin spirits, all sacred directions and colors, run through our veins. Our mother is red, her children are red. Her purity is ours. Her haven is our salvation, our heaven.

But as our mother is corrupted and exploited, we starve and feed on the poisons of corruption, assimilation, and foreign powers. This would seem, as these foreign powers would like us to believe, that we have little choice. Either starve or consume slow but sure death. It is when we recognize our higher purpose, embrace our deeper roots, and acknowledge our mother's pain, that there will be a Judgment Day.

I sat in darkness
Cold

I preyed for sight and warmth
There then

The light of my father shun upon me
Giving me sight and warmth
It was another sunrise
And I grateful
And Father Sun pleased
To be greeted by his child

Smith vs. Regents decision threatens to silence student

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

What good is MEChA when it can't take a stand against Proposition 187 and the upcoming California Civil Rights Initiative, things that directly affect their membership base? What good is the Asian Student Union, the Black Student Union, or *diatribe*? Higher education is largely based on the exchange of both political and social ideologies of our societies. This basic ideological exchange is what promotes intellectual growth in our environment. *Smith vs. Regents* prevents us from doing that.

This Superior Court ruling affects students in many other ways as well. Coalition building has basically lost all context in California universities. An independent group cannot take a stand against the Civil Rights Initiative, but a different student group can be registered to take a stand, as long as it doesn't receive or use Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) funds. As interpreted by law, other student groups cannot offer their material nor financial resources to a coalition that has taken a political stand. If that group or coalition is registered, doesn't get funding, but funds are raised from benefits and donations, these funds can still be legitimately frozen by the ASUC, because whatever money is made by an ASUC group is essentially ASUC money. This defeats the whole purpose of building a coalition. A coalition is built in order to create strength in numbers, to be able to share resources in order to have a true impact. Coalitions, after all, are not created to organize dances, they are created to have political strength and impact. This is no longer legal under *Smith vs. Regents*.

The handbooks of both ASUC Publications and Activity Groups state that a group's constitution must include in Article II the following statement: "Groups shall not engage in primarily political, ideological or religious activities as prohibited by *Smith vs. Regents*." Stated in the Finance Policies is also the

"This Superior Court ruling affects students in many other ways as well."

clause that ASUC or Miscellaneous funds can not be spent on activities nor publicity that "support or sponsor any ballot measure or candidate seeking election...off-campus lobbying with local, State, or Federal officials and entities...religious rites and services...have a financial affiliation with an off-campus organization...[or] is principally dedicated to effecting political or ideological purposes, as distinguished from educational purposes." This includes ASUC, local, state, and federal elections.

It is tremendously ironic that at UC Berkeley, a university where academics brew in post-modern theory, political and ideological activities are now non-fundable. After all, isn't the most pressing postulate of post-modernism that "everything is political"? I suppose that both Pro-Choice and Pro-Life groups aren't political nor ideological in nature because they got funding. The new ASUC publication *Counterpoint* states that its purpose is to "publicly combat the unabashed intrusion into our minds by the seeming innumerable leftist leaners residing on and around campus"; I suppose that they aren't considered to be political, and I suppose that *diatribe* isn't political either because we received funding as well.

To date, there seems to be no definable way of determining what political and ideological activities are. I spoke to a number of people in the ASUC at all levels, and no one was able to give me a definition of these terms. Some officials insisted that there were very strict guidelines, yet could not give me a straight answer on what these were. Others were blatantly honest and simply said that there is really no definition because they haven't had to make a determination yet, that nobody has protested a group's funding based on *Smith vs. Regents*. So how does this whole process work? I'll

share with you what I was able to find out:

In order to become an ASUC group, that group must register as such at 102 Sproul Hall. In order to do this, there needs to be four people, or signatories, who are willing to register the group and follow through with all the bureaucratic paper work. In order to get funding, the group submits an application to the ASUC Senate and other ASUC entities. The determination on whether a group will get funded or not is based on how long the group has been around, the prior years' funding, the group's budget, and whether or not they violate *Smith vs. Regents*. This is then one of the earliest stages of determining the political and ideological factor characteristic of *Smith vs. Regents*.

In order for a group to get its funds pulled because of a violation of *Smith vs. Regents*, that group's activity or publication has to be protested by a registered student. There is a very nifty and official looking form that the ASUC provides for this purpose. Once this protest is submitted, the ASUC Internal Affairs Committee will decide if a violation did indeed occur. If a violation occurred, that student will be reimbursed his/her mandatory student fee. Once five students have objected to the funding of an organization, a hearing would be held in order to determine that group's eligibility for financial support. If funds are frozen or pulled, that group has the right to appeal that decision to the ASUC Judiciary Committee. Another nifty little form is provided for this purpose as well.

Internal Affairs Committee officers are proposed by the Executive Vice President of the ASUC, currently Alex Weingarten, and approved by the ASUC Senate. The Committee is composed of six ASUC Senators, a registered student, and a Student

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Higher Yearning:

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how white supremacy operates in our daily lives, and how it contributes to the silences we accept in the interpersonal. It is also time for whites to stop "laying in the cut" and engage the power and privilege of their whiteness. Many whites, such as women and the underprivileged, have benefited from anti-discrimination laws. But who will speak honestly about white entitlement at the expense of People of Color?

Ultimately, what we should be

talking about is much more profound than a film. We should be talking about our lives. How do we begin to talk again? How do we say that "soft" multiculturalism is for new-age rip-off artists, and that multi-contextualism allows for much-needed growth while maintaining self-dignity? How do we tell our artists and visionaries that we yearn for the spices and not the apocalypse? Bouillabaisse, anyone?

White Tuesday

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

would pull politicians in a more repressive direction. (I suggested 1996, not 1994.)

Who would've believed that national political debate would center on sending children of welfare moms to orphanages?

Or that ancient movies, like "Boystown," would be invoked as documentation in support for such a loony notion?

The next document—"Gone with the Wind"? What's next—"Birth of a Nation"?

Increasingly, the "center" in American politics is a place of repression, fear, dread and death.

It is a place that spawns prisons while shutting down schools.

It is a place riven by fear of the majority of

the peoples of the earth.

It is a place in dread of the slightest change that may unshackle the nation from its genocidal historical impulse towards white nationalism.

It is a place that promotes death as "the final solution" to every social problem.

It is a place locked in fright of the future; a place that seeks solace in the flickering images in black and white that flit across the silver screen—projections of a false and long dead yesteryear.

© Mumia Abu-Jamal

Nicaraguan Women

Nicaraguan Women

CONT'D FROM PG. 3



Office of the Asociación de Mujeres Nicaraguenses Luisa Amanda Espinosa (AMNLAE) in Esteli

political empowerment and concrete programs to improve the living conditions of Nicaragua's impoverished masses, struggled against U.S. imperialism, and at least made the formation of a powerful women's movement possible. It was a difficult rift from the other side as well. AMNLAE did not want to see the end of its control over the women's movement. They pressured the women not to leave and they withdrew their financial support, which meant taking back all the belongings in the houses and trying to take away the houses themselves. But the women did leave, and for this "betrayal," they were called "lesbianas, ladronas, sinvergüenzas, putas" (lesbians, thieves, shameless, whores). One after another, the collectives *se fueron* from AMNLAE to strike out on their own. Now there is an inter-collective, a network of three collectives: Itza, Xochilt, and 8 de Marzo (March 8, International Women's Day). In addition there are a number of other collectives, including Isnin, Marjorie Tuit, and others outside of Managua.

Offering Grassroots Services with Radical Political Analysis

The collectives function on a grassroots level because they offer services to the community that come from the community. They are mostly situated in poor barrios and offer services to working class women. Most people hear of the collectives from word of mouth in the neighborhood. The women who work at the collectives are the peers of the women who come into the collectives.

Since the change in government, there has been a drastic cut in social services like health and education. These cuts often hit women particularly hard. The collectives replace many of these government services and provide some services that have never been offered by the government. These services center around three issues: health, legal aid, and physical and sexual violence. There are clinics in the collectives that offer women's health services: gynecology, family planning, pre- and post-natal care, illegal abortions. The collectives have lawyers that help women with cases like domestic violence, child support, eviction. They also have a system of popular defenders, women who are not lawyers but have been trained to offer legal advice and, often hav-

ing been through a similar experience, they can offer emotional support and accompany women to

the police or to the courts. The services concerning violence often overlap with the health and legal services (for women who are survivors of violence) but also focus on prevention in the form of popular education, trainings, workshops, theater. A broader political analysis, however, is intertwined with all of the collectives' work, because although the services are the heart of the work of the collectives, they are seeking to do more than just provide women with services. They are also offering a new alternative, both in the types of services that are offered, and in the way that those services are provided. More than that, they are trying to create a broader vision of feminism and women's rights, to create a new political force by changing women's own lives.

All of the services are seen as integral by members of the collectives, in the sense that a woman who comes to the collective for help is seen as a whole person, not just as a legal case or a health patient. She is seen in terms of her background, her life, her situation, and her society. The services are also integral because the issues themselves are woven together within the social fabric of Nicaragua. For example, a woman may come into the collective's health clinic because she has been *maltratada* (abused), and be referred from there to the legal services and to the workshops.

The collectives also tie the services they offer to a broader political analysis by consciously applying a feminist perspective in all of their actions. For example, *talleres de capacitación*, or training workshops, are offered at every collective, usually in a series, and range in topics from self-esteem, to birth control and motherhood, to domestic violence. Workshops are designed to provide a radical feminist ideology that is accessible to all women, combined with practical knowledge and skills applicable in their own lives, and a space for the women

...They continued to have fierce loyalty to the FSLN...the movement which freed their country from a decade's-long dictatorship, established some dignity for their people, provided political empowerment and concrete programs to improve the living conditions of Nicaragua's impoverished masses.

to share their ideas and experiences.

A Collective Model of Organizing

Finally, the organization of the collective itself indicates the way in which these women are putting their ideals into practice. The collective model of organizing emerged as a reaction to the very vertical structure of the FSLN. It is democratic and non-hierarchical. Theoretically, all members of the collective are equal, have an equal voice in decision-making, and have equal, often overlapping duties. Collective members feel an egalitarian commitment to each other and to their work; they make joint decisions and take collective actions. In

"Si Mujer" (Servicios Integrales para la Mujer) is the title of this collectivewomen's health clinic in Managua



"Defensoras Populares...a new alternative [that] offers a new kind of activism that developed out of the collectives and out of the barrios as a way to confront many of the problems that women face."

addition, they often engage in self-evaluation, in order not to lose sight of the importance of their structure as representative of their work, and in order that they continually grow together and learn from each other.

This collective internal structure of the organization is extended to all of the women with whom the collectives work. It is also another example of adding gender analysis to the revolutionary agenda and putting feminist theory into practice on an immediate level. Women in the collectives emphasize repeatedly that every woman who comes into the collective is treated with respect, that the first thing they do is to listen, and that whenever possible, their own personal experiences are shared for support and for strength. They emphasize that there is no barrier between the women who work in the collectives and those who come in for help.

Defensoras Populares: Popular Defenders

The popular defenders are a good example of women who often enter the collective seeking help and eventually work there themselves. In fact, understanding the system of popular defenders is an excellent way to see how many of the important aspects of the collectives tie together. It is a new alternative because it is a new kind of activism that developed out of the collectives and out of the barrios as a way to confront many of the problems that women face. It functions on a grassroots level because these women work in their own communities. Your popular defender might be the same woman who sells eggs down the street, or whose children play with yours. Popular defenders provide a concrete service, and by giving legal advice and moral support they enable women to utilize laws to protect themselves and struggle for their rights as women. Feminist theory is put into practice through this service because of its very existence, but also in the way that it is offered. Popular defenders, like other women in the collectives, emphasize listening to the woman first. Women's rights are placed center-stage, and there is a focus on women helping each other out, forming networks of support, and together building strength. It is very empowering because the popular defenders who offer help and support are also examples of women who have overcome violence in their own lives, proving that it can be done.

To conclude I would like to emphasize what we can gain from the experience of the women's collectives. I personally learned a tremendous amount during my two months in Nicaragua; most importantly I felt that I left with lessons that I could bring back with me and apply to activism in the United States. Women activists in Nicaragua showed me how it is possible to build our own institutions from a truly grassroots level, to apply feminist theory in a very pragmatic way, to treat each other with respect and be willing to examine ourselves, and, through all these things, to empower women in our own lives. I applaud their bravery, commitment, and strength in their ongoing struggle to construct new, and better alternatives, in a world that tries so hard to keep them down. They offered me inspiration and hope; I offer them in return my solidarity and this voice that I have tried to carry back with me so that others can share their experiences and know of their struggle. ■

This is the testimony from a woman who has lived a remarkable life and a remarkable process of empowerment.

I arrived at the collective in a total crisis, despairing. I was fighting for child support for my older children. I went to the collective seeking support, consolation, strength.

I had my first child at fourteen years; while three months pregnant, my husband hit me for the first time. I gave birth alone, all by myself, on a Sunday.

Then he began to beat me a lot and one night he raped me and I became pregnant for the second time. The pregnancy was terrible, so much abuse and suffering that the child was born to me dead. I eventually had four children with him but I can tell you that all of my pregnancies were the result of forced situations; I didn't

desire children with him. He locked me in the house, I didn't have contact with anybody.

During the war of '79 he was looked for by the [National] Guard. The Guard arrived to look for me and they seized me because they said if I was taken, he would have to appear. In the jail and almost nine months pregnant several guards raped me. I left on May 4, 1979, and on the 5th gave birth to my son. With my son in intensive care I returned to see my husband. He blamed me and rejected

me because I had been raped. When I told him that we had a sick child, he said that that child was not his, that he only engendered healthy children. That was very hard for me, that coldness, that lack of compassion.

My experiences of abuse have led me to feel solidarity with my gender. I

the ones that began to teach me about my own life were the ones about violence.

I was educated with many myths, to support a man, to give birth without wanting to. Now I see the difference of what I can be. I have the same rights as men and we ought to have the same privileges.

I decided to know my rights and to be a popular defender so that other women don't have to go through what I went through. When I speak of rights, for me, it is the foundation of respect and love towards other people. As women we have the right not to be used in sex, we have the right to speak and to dress how we want, to have the friends that we want, without having to go around asking permission from the world.

I already work in my neighborhood. I feel identified

principally with the women that have suffered rape; I like to mediate when a woman is looking to break with her oppression. My life has taken a new meaning. I am a popular defender—when women need me to accompany them, I try to transmit strength to them.

— Ana Maria Acevedo Ramirez,
a popular defender at the Xochilt
women's collective



didn't want anyone, no other woman, to go through what I went through. Now, after two years I can speak without fear about those years of subjection. I had such a heavy burden, the past that smothered me; it was a relief to be able to speak and to begin to vomit all that I had swallowed. In this, the women at the collective helped me a lot.

Later I decided to continue informing myself concerning my legal rights, since I am a woman. But of all the training workshops that I attended,

m a g a n d a

is a non-profit Pilipino American student publication which was established at the University of California at Berkeley in the Spring of 1989. We publish prose, poetry, academic writing, photography, and artwork by Pilipino American students and community members.

Because the mainstream often neglects and belittles the perspectives of people of color, maganda serves to provide a space in which Pilipino Americans can express ideas and opinions which are vital to the empowerment of our community.

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Asians and Affirmative Action

One glaring example in the debate around undergraduate admissions is the silence around the practice of "legacy," or as described in Newsweek, "affirmative action for the academically disadvantaged children of alumni (about 12 percent of all admissions at elite colleges)."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Berkeley Diversity Report issued in 1991 noted an interesting departure in the rhetoric around affirmative action, when "Asian over-representation" became an issue, and those who had been demanding merit- or numbers-based admissions suddenly became concerned about looking beyond numbers and considering "well-roundedness." The U.S. Department of Education began in 1988 active investigations into discrimination against Asians under unofficial quota systems, resulting in a correction of practices at various programs and the exoneration of most institutions. The assumption underpinning such investigations, of course, is that quotas had been illegal since the Bakke supreme court decision in 1978.

Claims that "affirmative action" excludes Asian Americans at colleges and universities further obscures complex and dynamic admissions processes. At UC Berkeley, for example, diversity was an objective long before the articulation of "affirmative action" policy. Since the 1880's, UC Berkeley has sought to include groups who have a history of exclusion, including women, rural students, and Asian Americans. The admissions matrix continues to account for a wide variety of special characteristics, including socio-economic background, ethnicity, athletes, older students, and special circumstances such as immigrant experience. Each applicant must

compete equally for each seat. Many opponents of affirmative action often stubbornly refer to practices dating to the 1970's in their denunciations rather than more honestly considering present policies and procedures. Also, Asian Americans, a highly diverse group of languages and ethnicities and economic backgrounds, are consistently lumped into one category, making invisible the fact that Vietnamese, Laotians, low-income immigrants, and other Asians benefit from support and recruitment under affirmative action.

Because much of the affirmative action debate focuses obsessively around undergraduate admissions, the effect of affirmative action policy and programs in broader society, where Asian Americans have the most stake, becomes obscured. Minority recruitment for Asian Americans at graduate schools and doctoral programs in fields where they are traditionally underrepresented, like law and public policy, serves to remove old barriers and ideas about "appropriate" occupations for Asian Americans.

Affirmative action in private corporations and at governmental institutions also assists in addressing one of the most enduring problems for the Asian American community: the "glass ceiling" on advancement and promotion. A 1988 report by the California attorney general's office found that "in both government and private employment Asian Americans remained clustered in lower and mid-level

ranges, poorly represented at the higher-level management and leadership level." The report goes on to observe that "the stereotype of Asian/Pacific Islander Americans as subservient, unassertive and lacking communication skills can create institutional bias that makes it more difficult for Asians to pass the subjective portions of the screening process." A report by the U.S. Labor Department released earlier this year came to similar conclusions. The glass ceiling constitutes exactly the kind of racial barrier that is difficult to address through old forms of grievance. Furthermore, socio-economic affirmative action, the alternative to race-based affirmative action most frequently discussed, will provide no basis to address these real, pervasive institutional biases against promotion of Asian Americans to supervisory and leadership positions.

At the heart of the affirmative action debate is whether one form of preference is a legitimate means of fighting another, and whether there are any real alternatives to counteract institutional racism. Advocates of the California Civil Rights Initiative cite a litany of the negative effects of affirmative action. They claim that students of color are discouraged from achieving and that once accepted to elite institutions, cannot compete. These beliefs are exaggerated and tinted by racist assumptions. At UC Berkeley the 1992-93 retention rate for African American freshmen is 83%, and 92% for Chicanos/Latinos, com-

pared to a rate of 93% for white students and overall; and according to the Office of Student Research, the number one reason for withdrawal is financial hardship. The belief that many "unqualified" students are admitted under affirmative action is often falsely promoted. The large majority of Special Admits (those who do not meet minimum statistical standards) at UC Berkeley are white students with special circumstances. While many proponents of affirmative action recognize that the policy is a painful way to resolve unpleasant social realities, few see any alternative means of countering race-based discrimination. The anti-affirmative action conservatives who are shouting passionately about a "color-blind" society are remarkably silent on ways of eliminating other forms of preference. One glaring example in the debate around undergraduate admissions is the silence around the practice of "legacy," or as described in Newsweek, "affirmative action for the academically disadvantaged children of alumni (about 12 percent of all admissions at elite colleges)." (February 13, 1995)

In the end the debate is unlike-

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be
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ducted

with broader issues kept in focus. Reminiscent of the Proposition 187 campaign, images and ideas seem aimed at the visceral level, with the tools of choice being social fear, resentment and prejudice. The polarization is almost immediate, with both sides drawing lines faster than paint can dry. On one hand are the conservatives, disingenuously calling for a "color-blind" society when many of them are well aware that racial barriers will continue to exist regardless of affirmative action, and on the other hand are the angry and embattled People of Color, fighting for a policy which they, perhaps better than anyone else, understand is not without its abuses. It is likely, given hard-line approaches, that the fight at the ballot box may well be won on an emotional level without the proponents of the initiative having to articulate a viable alternative for maintaining equal opportunity and access in what is clearly anything but a color-blind society. ■



"Asian Americans, a highly diverse group of languages and ethnicities and economic backgrounds, are consistently lumped into one category, making invisible the fact that Vietnamese, Laotians, low-income immigrants, and other Asians benefit from support and recruitment under affirmative action."

Smith vs. Regents

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Activities officer who is non-voting. I asked various people in the ASUC, and it is a common sentiment that these appointments are politically-based on party association.

What confidence can we have in an Executive Vice President that registered 15 O.J. Simpson parties for the current ASUC elections? Furthermore, what trust can we have in an ASUC official that registered parties under every conceivable anti-Proposition 187 name, causing the Coalition of Students United Against 187 to not be able to register for the elections under their own name? We cannot trust the ASUC anymore. For the past two years, the ASUC has taken a big dive towards the ugliest forms and practices of politics imaginable. A dive so deep that even our last Publications advisor, Jonathan Brennan, who really looked out for students' interests, was practically forced (I believe that he was actually forced) out by pressures he got from the ASUC.

So, that's all folks! This all sucks a really dirty candy necklace around a dog's neck. Our intellectual, political, social, and ideological growth has been restricted by limited access to money through *Smith vs. Regents*. How much more typical of this capitalist society can we get? Coercion

should not and will not work. We must not silence ourselves. I do not protest the existence of groups that I don't agree with, because their existence makes me go out and form a group of my own, a group that will debate with them and challenge their fucked-up ideas. Their existence is basic to my resistance and capacity to fight. *Smith vs. Regents* pulled the rug from under them, from under me, from under *diatribe*, from under all of us. The existence of *diatribe* as a publication is just as important as the existence of *Counterpoint*.

Let's make sure that we vote in the next ASUC elections and actually commit to vote responsible people into office. I used to think it was all a big joke, but now that I see how good my peers are at imitating real government corruption, I have to face the fact that ASUC elections aren't as unimportant as I thought. We shouldn't have to limit our liberties in order to protect somebody else's feelings. That has always been a dangerous argument and I will not accept having to censor my thoughts and my speech, nor your thoughts and speech. Everything is political, and those who have a problem with it are just going to have to get over it or form an anti-post-modern thought movement group (but only as long as it isn't political in nature). ■

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RESOURCES FOR THE PEOPLE

Community

• **La Casa de las Madres**, (San Francisco, 415-777-1808) Battered women's shelter with a 2 month maximum stay. Other services offered: in-house counseling (by appointment only), a crisis and counseling drop-in center (965 Mission Street between 5th and 6th St.), and an emergency hotline (415-333-1515). Services offered in English and Spanish.

• **Marin Abused Women's Services**, (San Mateo) Offer services and education to female victims of sexual or physical abuse and male perpetrators of abuse. Services offered include emergency shelter, transitional programs, emergency hotlines, and support groups. Also offer community education and a program for male offenders. Volunteers should contact Yolanda Vierra-Allen at (415) 457-2464. Information for women: 415-457-2464. Information for men: 415-

457-6760
Women's hotline:
(Spanish) 415-924-1070,
(English) 415-924-3456
Men's hotline: (English)
415-924-1070

Bay Area Women Against Rape (Oakland, 465-3890) Services for victims of sexual assault, as well as their family and friends. 24-hour hotline (845-7273), 24-hour on-call service for assistance in dealing with hospital staff, police, etc, court accompaniment, short-term counseling, therapy referrals, support group referrals, self-defense training referrals, offender outreach programs for men in San Quentin and Vacaville prisons, community education, and awareness programs for police, therapists, clergy, school administrators and teachers, and a school program for junior high students. Volunteers should contact Diane at 465-3890.

Community United Against Violence (San Francisco, 415-777-5500) Offer prevention programs and support services for lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgender victims of hate crimes. Prevention programs include a lesbian/gay speaker's bureau, self-defense classes, whistle distribution, public safety materials, community outreach programs, and safety monitoring for large public events such as Castro Halloween, candle-light vigils, etc. For victims, there is a 24-hour hotline (415-333-HELP), legal advocacy and referrals, and counseling referrals. Also offer a domestic violence treatment program for transgendered MTF or FTM victims of domestic violence and a Street Survival Project for young women on the streets. Female victims of domestic violence by female partners should call WOMAN, Inc. at 415-864-4722. Queer and questioning youth under 18 years old may participate in a PAID youth training program. Contact Huda Jadallah at 415-777-5500. Volunteers

interested in training for the speaker's bureau, event safety monitoring, or hotline should call 415-777-5500.

Battered Women's Alternatives (Contra Costa County, 676-2845) Battered women's shelter. Also offer treatment to offenders and victims of domestic violence, transitional housing, legal advocacy, youth education and support, and a youth hotline. Volunteers undergo a 40-hour training program, contact Helen Calhoun at 676-2845. Hotlines offer services in English and Spanish. Richmond: 233-2420, Concord: 930-8300, Antioch: 757-8200.

Center for Immigrant Refugee Rights and Services (San Francisco, 415-243-8215) House two main projects pertaining to women: Mujeres Unidas Y Activas is a community education and empowerment project by, for, and about Latina immigrant and refugee women. The Immigrant Women's Task Force organizes projects, develops policy initiatives, and does grassroots organizing around issues facing immigrant women. They have also developed guides on immigrant women and domestic violence for women's shelters. CIRRS also

has an immigrant assistance line at 415-554-2444.

Family Violence Prevention Fund (San Francisco, 415-252-8900) Create educational programs to sensitize general public, policymakers, judges, and health care providers around issues of domestic violence. Also work with the Family Violence Project (415-552-7550) which offers direct services. The Family Violence Project crisis line is 415-553-1850.

Asian Women's Shelter (San Francisco, 415-751-7110) Battered women's shelter for Asian women and children. Offer food, clothing, shelter, intensive case management, advocacy referrals, multilingual advocacy, children's programs, and a crisis hotline (415-751-0880). Volunteers should contact Jennifer Kanenaga at 415-751-7110. ■



Community
Resources
and
Organizations
Battling
Violence
Against
Women.



CALENDAR

MARCH & APRIL 1995

Thurs., March 16

International Black writers and artists and the "Oakland is a Holy City Poets" celebrate Women's History Month with poetry and prose readings
 • 7:15 pm, La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, \$5 phone: (510) 849-2568

"Border Order: 187 Tamales," Chicana/o & Latino/a Comedy and Variety Show
 • 7:30 pm, International House Auditorium, Berkeley

Fri., March 17

Youth Recruitment Day: a college recruitment/mentorship program that targets junior high and high school students from S.F. public schools. Bilingual Spanish-speaking college students needed as mentors.
 • 9am-3:30pm, Tilden Room, ASUC Building, UC Berkeley campus contact Chellyn: 849-2479

Open rehearsal featuring the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater Free to UC Berkeley students, faculty and staff
 • 4pm, Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley campus

March 17-19

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Atzlán (MEChA)
 Statewide Conference at USC

contact: (213) 735-7705

Sat., March 18

Organizing skills workshop held by Immigrants Rights Action Pledge for teachers, social service providers and health care workers on how to organize against 187 in your institution. \$5-10 sliding scale (no one turned away for lack of funds)
 • 10am-2pm at New College, 777 Valencia St, S.F. Please RSVP (415) 664-5141 or (415) 285-5322.

March 18-19

22nd Annual Big Time Gathering and PowWow
 Student Council of Intertribal Nations
 • Sat. 12-11pm, Sun 12-6pm
 All drums welcome.

Thurs., March 23

"In memory of César Chávez" at Casa Joaquin Murieta: Showing of "No Grapes" and other videos; speaker Carlos Muñoz.
 • 7pm, 2336 Piedmont, Berkeley, (510)845-4447.

Depts. of Ethnic Studies and Spanish present Laura Perez: Re-configuring Nation and Identity: US Latina and Latin American Women's Oppositional Writing.
 • 2-4pm, Morrison Library, 1st floor of Doe Library, UC Berkeley campus.

Sat., March 25

Immigrants Rights Action Pledge weekend tabling mobilizations will take place for the next 3 months in the East Bay and S.F. to educate on new immigration proposals and 187 resistance efforts

• 1st mobilization begins 10am at the Pledge office, 347 Dolores St, Room 210, S.F.

Asian Immigrant Women Advocates' picket at Jessica McClintock boutique
 • 12-1:30pm, 353 Sutter, near Stockton, S.F.

Tues., March 28

Feminine Rights and Dignity and Advocate for Children and Youth rally at Dianne Feinstein's office to protest Contract with America
 • 12 noon, 1700 Montgomery, S.F. Call Malika: (415)346-3740.

Fri., March 31

Health Conference for Women in Recovery
 • 12-4pm, the Women's Building, S.F.

April 1

Rally for women's lives
 • 12 noon, the United Nations Plaza, S.F.
 (415) 995-2684

April 6-9

MEChA National Conference
 Marin Headlands
 Registration

info.: call UC Berkeley MEChA office @ (510) 642-6673

April 8-9

The Queer Asian & Pacific Islander Student Conference: "Articulating Our Identities," will provide a safe and supportive environment for queer API students to articulate and address needs, issues and identities. Hosted by Cal Asian Lesbian, Bisexual & Gay AlliancesYounited (CAL B Gay) and Multicultural Bisexual, Lesbian & Gay Alliances (MBLGA)
 • Begins 8:30 am, Sat. April 8, UC Berkeley campus, ASUC/Martin Luther King, Jr. Building
 Registration \$15 - includes workshops, meals and housing (if necessary). For info. call Max Lau @ (510)642-6942 or Jane Chen @ (510)832-0532

April 15

11th Annual UC Berkeley PowWow
 • 10am-midnight, Harmon Gym. To volunteer, sign up in 528 Barrows or call Ruth/Heath: (510) 642-6613

Culture Night fundraiser for Asian Women's Shelter
 It will conclude the "Domestic Violence in the Pilipino Community Conference"
 • 7:30 pm, Seven Hills Conference Center, S.F. State University

April 22

Empowering Women of Color Conference
 Keynote speaker: Angela Davis
 UC Berkeley Campus

MARCH & APRIL 1995

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