

# BREAKTHROUGH

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Inside:  
Seizing the Gulf  
Inside South Africa  
Hungary's New Feminists  
English Only





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#### Editorial Collective:

Barbara Barnett, Scott Braley,  
Camomile, Jimmy Emerman,  
Terry Forman, Judy Gerber,  
Judith Mirkinson, Margaret Power,  
Sally Thomas

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You can write to PFOC c/o:

San Francisco: PO Box 14422, San  
Francisco, CA 94114

Chicago: Box 253, 2520 N. Lincoln,  
Chicago, IL 60614

Atlanta: PO Box 18044, Atlanta,  
GA 30316

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# *The Gulf* George Bush and the Last Crusade

*by the Editors*

During the five months which have passed since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, we have witnessed an act of regional aggression frantically transformed into a global crisis. The U.S. occupation of the Gulf is certainly not about defending freedom or halting aggression. Neither is it simply about keeping down the price of oil....



Bush's rhetoric about ensuring global peace and cooperation aside, the essence of his New World Order is the projection of American military might to maintain U.S. domination.

Saddam Hussein is neither the new Hitler nor the new Nasser. His occupation of Kuwait is in clear violation of international law. But if Saddam Hussein's criminal policies were the real issue, the United States would have opposed him during the Iran-Iraq War, when Hussein used nerve gas against the Iranians and against the Kurdish people and their national liberation movement in his own

heels of the Malta summit with Gorbachev, Panama signalled that even if the Soviet Union was prepared to renounce confrontation and become partners in a new post-Cold War order, the U.S. would make the most of the situation with a reinvigorated aggressiveness. As Joint Chiefs of Staff head, Gen. Colin Powell, was rumored to comment on the eve of the invasion, "We have to put a shingle outside our door saying, 'Superpower Lives Here,' no matter what the Soviets do..." Such is the ambitious project of the Bush Doctrine.

With the "enemy" defeated, however, the "free world's" need for U.S. military muscle is diminished. But military might is the U.S. main strength right now. Hard-pressed by the economies of Japan and a soon-to-be-unified Europe led by a reunified Germany, the U.S. is unable even to free up the resources to exploit the new markets opening up in Eastern Europe. The country is in a major recession. And, adding insult to injury, Japanese investors, who for years have bought the federal bonds to finance the U.S. deficit, have begun to look for better opportunities elsewhere.

Against this backdrop, imperial appetites lead to dangerous delusions about the limits of U.S. power. After an initial period of broad domestic support for a U.S. deployment in Saudi Arabia aimed at pressuring Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait, the devastating consequences of a shooting war are beginning to sink in. It is now widely acknowledged that it will mean a minimum of tens of thousands of Americans dead or wounded. In its typically racist fashion, the news media rarely mentions estimates of Arab casualties which could reach the hundreds of thousands.

In mid-November, when Bush announced that the troop numbers in the Gulf were being doubled, *USA Today* published a poll showing approval for his policy tumbling from 80 percent to 51 percent. The logic of the intervention has grown increasingly shaky as the administration's rationales have gone from "protecting U.S. access to oil and low gas prices" to "repelling naked aggression" to "jobs" and, at Thanksgiving, the latest and most ominous reason, to keep nuclear weapons out of Hussein's hands.

Splits have materialized in the ruling class as well, with serious doubts expressed by a spectrum ranging from liberals like Ted Kennedy to right-wing Democrats like Sam Nunn and New York's Senator Moynihan to Cold Warriors like Zbigniew Brzezinski to the old right of the Republican Party represented by Pat Buchanan. This split is over whether the marked decline in U.S. economic power can be rescued by a resurrected role as the world's cop. This is the hope of Bush and the hardliners close to him.

This strategy flies in the face of Mideast experts in both the State and Defense Departments. Accord-



country. If opposing an illegal occupation were the real issue, the U.S. would not continue to occupy Panama or support Israel's illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. If keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of "maniacs" were the issue, the U.S. would not have looked the other way as South Africa developed nuclear capability. And if defending democracy were the issue, the U.S. would not be demanding the restoration of the feudal Sabeh monarchy, which has treated Kuwait as its private preserve.

The U.S. is defending only one principle in the Gulf—its right to control the Middle East. In the end, the responsibilities of progressive people here are quite simple—to put an end to U.S. aggression as quickly as possible.

#### PAX AMERICANA?

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 was the first major foreign policy challenge to the U.S. since the collapse of the Soviet Union as a rival superpower in late 1989. Bush's response was to reassert U.S. military supremacy. In some ways, the invasion of Panama announced this new bravado on the part of the Bush administration. Coming on the



ing to a *Los Angeles Times* report in mid-November, a senior State Department official who has polled many of the department's Middle East specialists reported that 85 percent of the experts "think our course of action in the Persian Gulf is terrible, and they think there's only a five percent chance things will come out all right."

The old guard of the Republican Party is also worried about whether this might be the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time. Pat Buchanan recently wrote, "Instead of looking for a pretext to get his country into war, (Secretary of State) Baker should be searching, hard, for some way to get his President off the hook. For, if America attacks, it will not be Hussein's war; it will be Bush's war. It will split his party, polarize his country, poison its politics, wiping out what is left of our position in the Arab world."

If the U.S. ruling class cannot unite behind Bush's adventurism, the western coalition backing the U.S. against Iraq has even less taste for war. While it's easy to go along with UN resolutions and cash contributions, troop commitments are largely symbolic. Even Thatcher's England, Bush's most vociferous ally, has only sent 15,000 soldiers to the region. And now Thatcher's gone. In Japan, opposition to the proposed sending of troops to the Gulf has shaken the ruling Liberal Party. Germany is consumed with the process and costs of reunification.

The rush to deploy over 400,000 troops to Saudi Arabia, by-passing efforts to isolate Iraq through an international embargo, sends a clear message to Europe and Japan, which are significantly more dependent on Middle Eastern oil than is the U.S.: "If you want your vital raw materials protected from an unpredictable and unruly Third World, you'll have to take them on our terms. On top of this you'll have to pay more for our protection than ever before. Face it, nobody else has the firepower and the will to come out shooting."

But Europe and Japan aren't buying what the U.S. is selling. Europeans and Japanese already pay three to four times what we do for gasoline, largely to the benefit of U.S. oil companies which continue to dominate refining and marketing operations. And the astronomical profits reaped by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia from these sales are consistently recycled into investments bolstering the U.S. economy against its trilateral competitors. "Securing Middle East oil" must sound to them awfully much like securing U.S. profits.

## OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS

While it is impossible at this stage to predict whether or when war will come to the states of the Gulf, it is easy to see why the U.S. has chosen this region as the place to gamble with much of its legitimacy and prestige. Oil = Power. Whoever

controls access to oil holds the keys to enduring power. With two-thirds of the world's most strategic commodity reserves — petroleum — located in the Arab world, the establishment of permanent U.S. military bases in the region has been an unattained goal of every president since Richard Nixon.

By the mid-1970s, cracks in the architecture of U.S. hegemony over Middle East oil were already appearing. The U.S. and its allies were reeling from the unexpected rise of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) which, in 1973, broke the traditional monopoly control over oil prices held by western transnational corporations. In October of that year, following the Arab-Israeli war, Arab nations first raised the spectre of using oil as a political weapon, when they embargoed sale of petroleum to Israel and its allies. While the threat from OPEC was eventually contained, the ensuing years brought new challenges to U.S. hegemony, most notably the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979.

By the mid- to late 1980s the U.S. had grown increasingly alarmed by the convergence of three interrelated factors which threatened its stranglehold over the region: the growth of an Islamic fundamentalist movement with a distinctly anti-Western bias; the continued strength of Arab nationalism, particularly as manifested in Iraq's regional ambitions; and the Palestinian *intifada*.

While oil is not the only — or even central — issue involved in the growth of these trends, inevitably every movement in the Middle East, from right-wing Islamic fundamentalists to secular revolutionaries like the Palestinians, must confront the vast disparity of wealth which results from the inequitable distribution of oil resources. Conflicts such as that between Iraq and Kuwait are the inevitable legacy of a colonial division of the region which was intended to maximize Western control.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the other Gulf sheikdoms, which sit atop a huge proportion of the region's oil wealth, are relatively sparsely populated, sickeningly undemocratic, and totally dependent on U.S. military protection. Iraq's population is ten times larger than Kuwait's, but its GNP is only one-and-a-half times larger and its supply of oil reserves — in other words its future — is only about two-fifths as large.

By exceeding its OPEC production quota and driving down the price of oil, Kuwait sabotaged the Iraqi economy, already burdened with an \$80 billion debt from its war with Iran. This combined with evidence that Kuwait was "slant drilling" and siphoning Iraqi oil from the vast Rumalia oil field, pushed Hussein to invade Kuwait.

Today, eighteen years after the first oil crisis, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has provided the U.S. with a window of opportunity to achieve its goal of a direct military presence in the region. However the



current conflict in the Gulf is resolved, through war or negotiation, it is almost certain that U.S. troops will remain in the region for many years to come. Without supplanting the critical role played by Israel and the reactionary Arab regimes, the troops are imperialism's insurance policy in the contest for ultimate control over oil.

These goals require the long-term use of reactionary Arab states as launching pads for military action, which, in turn, will mean that Bush will have to force Israel to make some concessions to the Arab World and to international opinion. Israel, as could be expected, has its own agenda. Israel wants a military defeat for Iraq. Anything less, such as a diplomatic solution in which Hussein withdrew from Kuwait with his military intact, would be considered a failure.

Israel's killing of 20 Palestinians in the October 6 massacre on the Temple Mount, its disdain for the United Nations, and Israeli Housing Minister Ariel Sharon's announcement that Israel will build new housing for Soviet immigrants in East Jerusalem may be designed to provoke just this outcome.

The Zionist leaders of Israel have no intention of granting human rights or self-determination to the Palestinian people. On the contrary, every indication is that they will use the current crisis to further their plans to settle one million Soviet Jews in the occupied territories and to "transfer" the Palestinian population to Jordan and beyond. If they are successful in these goals, the chances of achieving a Palestinian state could be set back for decades.

### BRING THE TROOPS HOME

With U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia for only a few months, an anti-war movement has begun to grow. Activists in scores of cities and campuses are staging demonstrations and teach-ins. Tens of thousands marched in nationwide demonstrations on October 20. Particularly significant at this early stage is the involvement by people of color, students and religious-based sectors, and the beginnings of resistance within the military, indicating the extent to which opposition has crystallized beyond the traditional left. It's also clear that anti-imperialists have rebounded from the demoralization brought on by the collapse of Soviet-style socialism and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

At the same time, some important issues have arisen over demands, strategy and vision.

#### 1) *U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf?*

While we oppose the illegal invasion of Kuwait, we cannot make our demands conditional on any prior Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. It should be clear by now — with the experience of Vietnam, Central America, Panama fresh in our minds — that the U.S. military cannot be the vehicle for a

just solution to the complex territorial disputes in the region. This also means opposing continued occupation of the Persian/Arabian Gulf by U.S. troops as part of a regional defense pact and the continued policy of selling arms and providing military aid to Israel and Arab allies of the U.S.

#### 2) *"Multilateral" or "Unilateral" — War is Still War!*

While opposing U.S. intervention, many activists have looked to the United Nations as the vehicle to solve this crisis. In the Post-Cold war period, the UN may well emerge as one of the few international checks on U.S. power. In El Salvador, for example, the UN decision to help mediate negotiations between the FMLN and the ARENA government puts some pressure on U.S. policy-makers.

But the UN has never been an independent body, and in the Gulf it's the U.S. which has been calling the shots. There is the real danger that the UN Security Council will succumb to the U.S. and authorize the use of force against Iraq. This would be the height of hypocrisy, since the UN has never condoned military action against other illegal occupations — such as South Africa's takeover of Namibia or the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Why now against Iraq? Are Saddam Hussein's crimes really greater than South Africa's, which used its occupation of Namibia to imprison and torture thousands and then stage a bloody invasion of Angola? This crisis has to be solved diplomatically through negotiations — and we have to oppose any kind of military intervention, whether it's a unilateral U.S. operation or a multilateral UN force led by the U.S.

#### 3) *Raise the Issue of Palestine.*

If ever there were a time for the left to address our historic weakness around Palestine, this is it. Every rally, every speech can raise the obvious contradiction between U.S. condemnation of Saddam Hussein and its continued support for Israel's brutal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's denial of Palestinian nationhood undermines any hope for peace and social justice in the Middle East. Building support for the Palestinian movement now is both a political obligation and an opportunity to reach many more people who may be open to challenging their preconceptions about the Middle East.

#### 4) *This war is racist to the core!*

Twenty-five percent of all US troops in the Middle East are Black. Another twelve percent are Latino, Native American and Asian. Once again people of color will make much greater



sacrifices if there is a war in the Middle East. In the "volunteer army," it's the poor and locked-out who volunteer and who die on the front lines.

In addition, the Gulf warmakers rely on anti-Arab racism to dehumanize the enemy. Arab-American organizations have been in the forefront of exposing this campaign, in which every Arab is treated as a terrorist or a sheik. We have to welcome Arab participation in helping to build a movement here, and provide forums for Arabs and Arab-Americans to educate us about their cultures, history and the racism they confront every day.

5) *The Gulf War isn't just a foreign policy issue. It's an assault on the lives of people here at home.*

Bush's latest Crusade relies on a full-scale war economy as the driving force for all economic and social priorities. The "peace dividend," if there ever was one, is gone, the substantial penalty for massive deployment. Forget education, healthcare and housing. Forget the inner cities.

During the oil crisis of the 70s, there were some half-hearted attempts to shift the country's total reliance on oil as a source of energy. Most of that is long gone, but a war in the Gulf means a commitment to an economy driven by oil, which in turn means further destruction of the environment — to hell with conservation and alternative sources of energy.

6) *Let's learn from the past. We can't rely on Congress.*

Although most of the troop build-up has been done with Congress out of session, we can't forget that, for the most part, Congress has supported Bush's moves in the Gulf. Congress has supported every military move from Grenada to Panama. It has supported massive aid to Israel, and the bombing of Libya. It supported giving weapons to Iraq when it was convenient, and now is outraged when Iraq goes its own course. Despite the fact that there is a heated debate over whether the U.S. should go to war right now, there is little Congressional opposition to Bush's fundamental policy of permanently occupying the Gulf. The best way to encourage the growth of Congressional dissent is for the movement to be in the streets, loud and visible.

7) *Yes, women can understand the complexities of the Middle East!*

There's a lot of talk these days about building a "new style" movement based on democracy and participation. Unfortunately, this doesn't seem to translate into equality for women within the anti-war movement.

With issues in the Gulf defined as confusing

and complex, the movement reverts back to relying on male intellectuals to explain things to the rest of us. Most articles, teach-ins and demonstrations are overwhelmingly male. Women's participation is mostly confined to discussing the "woman's role." In many cases, there isn't even tokenism — there are simply no women present.

Obviously this has to change.

8) *Acting Now Can Help Prevent War!*

With each passing week, war becomes more and more likely. The main brake on the Pentagon is the spectre of U.S. troops coming home in body



Israeli soldiers attack Palestinian women in the West Bank.

bags. But resistance now can play a role in U.S. policy decisions. The Administration and Congress need to see the steady growth of opposition before the shooting begins. If we can halt this aggression quickly, it will make it all the more difficult for them to try again elsewhere.

There's much to do. □



# MEN 'Я' BACK

## The Anti-Feminist Mystique

by Judith Mirkinson

What do all these things have in common?

*Twin Peaks*, acclaimed TV series

"Wildmen" and other various expressions of the men's movement

*The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, winner of the 1990 Pulitzer Prize for Literature

Most teach-ins on U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf

Yup, you guessed it! They all have either no women at all, or the women in them are either tokens or sexual objects/non-beings.

Oh, you sigh, come on, it's just an ultra-feminist cliché — and a tired one at that!

No, really, I'm telling you, *men are back*. Not that they've ever been gone, of course, but they seem to be back with a vengeance. Haven't you noticed, men are "in." Why, just open up the *New York Times Magazine* one Sunday and you are able to read about how thousands of them are rediscovering their "mensness" in wild encounters, bemoaning the day that Arthurian values went out the window, taking virgins and dragons with them.

Men are everywhere. They're in our faces all the time. They're certainly in the movies. They're all around us — in pairs, in groups and sometimes as the only single male searching for meaning in the cruel, cruel world. They're all over TV — parenting motherless children, killing people, raping women, and all around performing other noble tasks (those wild days of King Arthur are in their blood).

And the women — ah yes, the women — why, we're just there for decoration, I guess. And very decorative we seem to be these days. We don't seem to be very important — except for sex. Why, half the time we're not around, or we're not even talked about. I mean, if I see another movie with women running around in clothes that are too skimpy and tight for them, moaning, and/or getting beaten up, I might just scream — but that would be just in character, wouldn't it now?

So men are back. Oh, I know, life in the 90s for women really *isn't the same* as it was before. Women really do have more options and can do more things. It's true, we only have to look around ourselves, *and yet* how come so many of the trappings of womanhood feel so alienatingly familiar? Why are the images of women so frighteningly similar to before? Why are women so absent from so many discourses of life?

And while men are in, feminism is definitely out and that's spelled *o u t*! We're not just talking post-feminism here, we're talking anti-feminism!

In post-feminist terms, women have achieved the goals of feminism, so there is no longer any need to talk about it. In anti-feminism: 1) feminism is blamed for the bad things that are happening to men and women; and 2) as a result, the needs of women are completely ignored and/or denied.

Episode #1 (Scene: *The living room. In front of the TV.*) The familiar eerie music comes on. It's *Twin Peaks*. Now, the treatment of women in *Twin Peaks* has never been all that terrific. After all, the show began with the discovery of the mutilated body of Laura Palmer. But as the saying goes, "if you didn't





Wildmen Gathering in New York

want to watch shows that were oppressive to women, you wouldn't watch anything." And this night promises to reveal the killer of Laura Palmer. Hmmm, the women seem to have gotten paler and paler, all dark eyebrows on white faces, more and more ghostlike. The killer turns out to be a multiple personality of Laura's father who then systematically bludgeons and kills Laura's look-alike cousin. Violence against women is prime time!

For a reality check, I read in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on Thanksgiving that in the last couple months half a dozen women had been kidnapped, mutilated and tossed in the bay or killed in parks in broad daylight.

Episode #2 (*Scene: the bookstore*) I'm in my usual quandary, looking for a new book to read. Great, *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Life*, that book about Cuban musicians in the 50s that's gotten such good reviews, is

in paperback. I start to read:

He told her exactly what to do. She undid his trousers and gripped his big thing with her long slender hand... She liked him, liked it, liked his manliness and his arrogance and the way he threw her around on the bed, turning her on her stomach and onto her back, hung her off the side of the bed, pumping her so wildly she felt as if she was being attacked by a beast of the forest... He pumped her so much he tore up the rubber and kept going even when he knew the rubber was torn; he kept going because it felt so good and she screamed, and felt as if she was breaking into pieces, and, boom, he had his orgasm...

Wow, it's so nice to read a new hit on sexuality. This book is so sexist that after a while its good writing doesn't really matter. But when I complained about it to friends of mine and talked about how boring it became, they told me *I was boring*. After all, they said, that is how a lot of men think.



So what? Does it have to get the Pulitzer Prize for it and be called great literature?

**Episode #3: (Scene: my office)** I'm talking to my boss about a client who hasn't returned a form we've sent her and is being particularly difficult to deal with. "That bitch," he says, "cunt." I'm shocked. This is a very modern man, very progressive. But he routinely talks about women's looks, thinking it's the ultimate in coolness.

There is a connection between violence against women and the language we speak and the anger men feel and the self-hatred women feel about themselves. Selves who can only be a body and not a brain. Selves who still are supposed to serve men and men's wants. Selves who are disposable through violence against them or sheer nonexistence.

But hey, didn't you know, men are frustrated, men are sad, men just need to discover themselves...

**Episode #4: (Scene: Sunday morning, in bed)** The October 14 *New York Times Magazine* has a big article on the "Wildmen." What, you might ask, are "Wildmen?" Well, apparently it's this growing cult among men (and from the article it appeared to be overwhelmingly white men) who are getting together to rediscover the primitive, soulful wildman inside themselves. On the one hand, these "wildmen" don't want to be cold and unfeeling like their fathers were. On the other, they don't want to be the nerdy wimps that the women's movement created by challenging gender roles. Aside from this issue, they *never* talk about women or sexism. The men just want to talk about themselves — at length! One could say *ad nauseam*.

These men want to talk about the great days gone by — those days of King Arthur, when men spoke in verse and felt for each other. That "other" must have been somewhat limited. Arthurian knights, as far as I know, were not known for their libertarian view of serfs or women for that matter.

What was more interesting was the response over the next few weeks. There were all these letters about how wonderful it was that men were getting in touch with their own feelings, how emotionally starved men are in this society, and how we need to feel for them. Many of these were written by women.

I shouldn't have been so surprised. In the first days of the women's movement, women would say, "Oh yes, women are oppressed, but men are oppressed too!" And now once again women are feeling more and more protective of men; and men are feeling more and more protective of themselves and hostile to women. We all know men are emotionally bankrupt and need some help. But why does it have to come at women's expense and why do they have to feel so sorry for themselves.

**Episode #5: (Scene: the phone booth)** I'm talking to a leader of the local men's group. I'm trying to find a man to do childcare every other week so a woman can attend

her women's meeting. It's taken me a month to find this person, having gone through several other men's groups and being passed from man to man.

"So how about it, do you think you can find someone?" I ask.

"Well, I don't know, we're very busy with our own work. I mean, of course, we'd like to help, but doing that kind of one-on-one work really isn't a part of our self-description. We're more into talking with other men. You know, building a support network that doesn't have to depend on women and oppress them."

"Well, do you think you could make a few phone calls?"

"Actually, I'm really busy right now, working on our march. How 'bout this, if you don't find anyone after a couple of weeks, give me a call and I'll see what I can do."

After two and a half months I gave up.

**Episode #6: (Scene: A newsstand in the Castro)** Skimming through the *Sentinel* (a local San Francisco gay paper) on October 1, I spot an article entitled "An Anti-feminist Speaks Out." It's about the Gay Masculinist Coalition (great name, huh?) and lists ten categories about how men in general, and gay men in particular, are oppressed by women in general, and lesbians in particular.

Some of its "areas of focus" are:

- \* Women's abuse of emotional power and privilege in the AIDS epidemic — how men have been pushed into being considered second-class nurturers.
- \* Overcoming internalized male shame and sexist myths (e.g., men are less compassionate than women, men want sex not love, men can't deal with relationships, men are inferior parents, men have lots of money, men deserve their fate, men are violent, men are dirty, men are diseased.)
- \* Lesbians: seeming allies, sometimes allies, potential allies but often our own worst enemies."

And on and on. I mean, can you believe this garbage! Once again we're to blame for our oppression. How quaint!

I'm loathe to go into even more because it's so much advertising for them. Now you might read this and say, "Well, what's the big deal? He may be a wacko, but doesn't he have the right to get his point across?" But you'd be surprised how many wackos there are out there who actually think there's some merit to these arguments. For instance, there are also these posters up all around town advertising "Anti-Feminist Meeting" for everyone every Thursday. Little by not-so-little, anti-feminism is becoming more acceptable every day.

**Episode #7: (Scene: Two lesbians talking on the street at an anti-Bush demo in SF)**

Lesbian #1: Hi, so what kind of political work do you do?

Lesbian #2: Oh, a little bit about the Middle East and



some gay stuff. How 'bout you?

Lesbian #1: Oh, I'm in this group called Women Against Imperialism.

Lesbian #2: (looking very uncomfortable) Well, I don't know how to say this, but I've heard some trashing about WAI.

Lesbian #1: (desperately thinking about what category this could be... too left? too liberal? too...)

Lesbian #2: Yeah, I don't know how to say this, but, uh, I've heard you're... *feminist!*

Lesbian #1: (thinking, "I can't believe this!") Why, yes and proud of it.

And then there's the left — or whatever you want to call it...

Episodes #8-12: (*Scene: the mail slot*) I leaf through the usual junk: twelve million catalogues. But wait, a couple of flyers announcing teach-ins about the Middle East. Oh-oh, not one has a woman speaker. I call the sponsoring organizations. They say, "Oh, we have one woman speaker. She's just not on the leaflet."

I go to a movie about the Black movement in the 60s. There are ten men and one woman in the movie.

I hear about another teach-in. Again, there are no women.

I go to a demonstration. There are 20 speakers. Two of them are women.

*The Nation* arrives on November 26, 1990: Debate on the Gulf; debate on Poland. Six men. *No* women.

Are there no women who can think? Should we all think that women are stupid? Should we only think that we can talk about some things, but that the "heavy" theoretical issues can only be handled by the big boys? When girls see a movie about the 60s, should they think that no women participated and/or that there are no women who are willing or capable of talking about it?

And when you read the articles and/or go to the teach-ins, the men who are speaking aren't always the greatest of experts. Nor do they always have the deepest analysis. But they sure can talk and intellectually debate each other. Yeah, sure a lot of it is very informative and interesting. But you know what — a lot of it isn't.

What the men think of all this is hard to tell. One guy told me that he was very happy when another man asked the male speaker about the conditions which women live under in Saudi Arabia. My friend thought this was very positive and that I should know about it. I said, "Well, that's nice, but did you ask why there were no women speakers." "Oh," said my friend, "I didn't even think of that!"

No wonder many women say, "Oh, I can't understand the complicated situation in the Gulf. Oh, I can't speak. Oh, I can't talk theoretically." We're given few examples that we can. In fact, we're told not very subtly that we can't.

And yet this supposed to be the year of democratization.

The left here is very big on democracy. And so it should be. But what's democracy without women's liberation? What does it mean that women don't speak, don't write, don't participate? What does it mean that



childcare isn't provided, that it's assumed that women will stay home with the kids?

Feminism has to be an essential part of any democratizing process. A lot of times men will respond to such criticism by saying, "Well, the women don't want to speak, they don't feel confident." So let's provide the way for us to feel more confident. Have a teach-in about the Middle East for women. Not just about women in the Middle East. Have a teach-in for men and women with most, if not all, women speakers. Make sure that women are writing and, if we feel we can't, have an educational so we can. Check your egos at the door, guys.

Yup, men are back. Can't they go back to where they belong? □



# STARTING FROM

An Interview with

Hungary's

Feminist

Network

*Judith Mirkinson (Mirk) and Bianca Miglioretto interviewed Hungarian feminists on August 9, 1990. The four — Judit, Catherine, Julia and Agnes — are members of the first feminist organization in Hungary. All the women were attending a gathering for lesbians and other women in Amsterdam. Over a thousand women from all over Europe came together to discuss such topics as anti-fascist organizing, feminism, racism, genetic engineering and political prisoners.*

*Mirk: Could tell us something about the Feminist Network and your goals?*

**Judit:** We have about 50 members, women in their teens, 20s, 30s and 40s, a few in their 60s; some are university students, but the majority are middle-aged women, usually married women with kids.

Our goal is to spread the whole idea of feminism in Hungary. We want to help Hungarian women become conscious and confront the patriarchal system. Of course, it's not easy to even realize that this is a patriarchal system. Most Hungarian women believe this system is natural; it's been created like this by God. They can't imagine that there could be something else.

Image from a poster by Polish artist Marek Ptoza Dolinsky. Poster available from the Next Gallery, Berkeley, CA (415) 548-0414.



# ABSOLUTE ZERO

So we want to educate women, have them become active and defend themselves. We want to reform the whole way of thinking in Hungary.

**Catherine:** There's also a practical side. It's very important to develop institutions for women's mental and health care. For example, in Hungary, women are very dependent on the hospital system. When they give birth, they cannot do it with midwives or at home and they are treated very badly at hospitals. So we would like to fight against that too.

In the long run we would like to organize workshops with professional educators, where women who lose their jobs could get another skill.

**Bianca:** *How did the Network get started?*

**Judit:** Seven or eight months ago, feminism per se did not exist in Hungary, although in Budapest there were some informal groups of women meeting once a month, having dinner together and talking about women's issues, consciousness-raising as well, just spontaneously.

About a year ago, a British friend of ours, Antonia, who has lived in Budapest for two or three years and wanted to be very active, started saying, "Oh, come on, women, let's do something now," and I told her "You're right, the situation here is awful." So we started some discussions and debates among the most radical young people in town — a group called Autonomia — about feminism and women's issues. We found they were very hostile towards the topic. Even among anarchists, half of the people there absolutely refused to deal with the question of women.

Their response was, "Oh come on, they are equal. What do you want, anyway? They are not as creative as men and they are boring. They cannot do anything, so they deserve their fate. Of course, it is not very good for them, but oh well."

About pornography, I remember them saying, "It's freedom to have it; men have the right to see what they want" and things like that. When I started to organize some spray painting against pornography, they absolutely screamed at me, "How can you do that!" So we organized with other women.

Then we got the idea to begin something like women's studies at Budapest University where I'm a student. I asked one of my teachers in the sociology department and she said "Come on, organize it." So I organized a seminar, a kind of introduction to women's studies with lecturers on sociology, history, literature, aesthetics, genetics, biology — always concerned with women. The most surprising thing was that not only university students attended the lecture, but women from all other

parts of town came there every Friday. They were sitting there, meeting other women, listening to the lecturer and realizing that we have something in common to do.

That's how the women came together who organized the network. Two or three months ago we actually sat down and wrote the founding declaration.

**Mirk:** *How did the rest of you get involved?*

**Catherine:** It was very difficult to find the movement. I'd been searching for women with a similar way of thinking for a very long time, but couldn't find them. Of course, there were other women with the same mentality, but we couldn't find each other, we didn't have a place and an opportunity to see each other. But among my neighbors and surroundings, my previous circles, I was always alone with my feminist thinking. These values are so natural for me, but still I was always alone with them. If I started to talk about feminism, no one agreed with me.

In terms of the Feminist Network, there's a very concrete project I want to be organized — a shelter for women who are victims of violence. In Hungary, we don't have anything of that kind. No one talks about rape and violence within the family, so women who are victims have nowhere to go. If a woman turns to the courts, very often she loses the case.

**Mirk:** *Where did your feminist ideas come from?*

**Catherine:** My life's experience! In Hungary, feminism has the connotation that you're against men. It has a very bad connotation even among women.

I came to the feminist camp because I felt the need for practical support, for example, for the issue of the violence against women.

**Bianca:** *Are you married?*

**Catherine:** I have a twelve year old daughter, but I never got married. It was a very difficult task in Hungary to do the whole thing alone.

**Julia:** I used to be very fat several years ago and it was always very painful. Then I read a book written by a feminist about being fat and dieting, which helped me understand what it means to be a woman. This book helped me become more conscious and analyze my experiences with boys in my school. So I searched for the writer of the book and, since she's a member of the Feminist Network, that's how I got here.

The camp is a very good experience for me because among my friends, they're always telling me, "Your way



of thinking is crazy." Even girls say to me, "Oh come on, how can you say things like that?" and they always look down on ideologues, even feminists. But here I can see what great things women can achieve together. We can be active and have fun. In Hungary, we can't be so creative. We wouldn't cooperate or do things together, separately from men.

*Mirk: How old are you?*

*Julia: Sixteen.*

*Mirk: And your friends in your school? None of them likes your ideas?*

*Julia: No, none of them. But I'm trying to educate my mother and she's getting more feminist.*

*Bianca: What about your story, Agnes?*

*Agnes: Like the others, I was alone with my opinions. I always said that women have absolutely equal abilities, that women are just as talented as men. And I always voiced that opinion. But I was always alone with it. That was one of the reasons that I searched for feminists.*

The life which is offered in our society for a woman is a very, very closed role, a very restricted one. This always bothered me. And the other thing which really hurt me was that women couldn't cooperate with each other; we were always rivals to each other, never realizing our common interests. That's very different among feminist women.

*Mirk: What kind of work do you do?*

*Agnes: I work with computers. Before that I was a chemist.*

*Bianca: Maybe we could talk about the changes in your country, the current situation?*

*Judit: Well, to tell you the truth, what the West calls the "blessed changes" in the East are not as blessed as they seem from far away. The whole change is quite controversial.*

In previous decades, people were very passive. Actually the whole society was atomized; people couldn't have independent organizations; either one was a member of the Communist party or not. For forty years their political interests were not able to be expressed.

Now the things they express remind you of the turn of the century or the 30s or 40s, rather than the 80s or 90s. The major party has a very strong nationalistic direction. They are appealing to people's emotions and dreams as opposed to making arguments based on concrete reality.

*Mirk: Sounds like the 80s in the U.S. to me.*

*Judit: Not really. Problems like ecology or women's issues are not represented in politics at all. Not even the Green party is represented in parliament.*

The crucial point is that leftist values have lost their meanings entirely. They have become absolutely abused. You cannot say, for example, "Exploitation exists," because then they say, "Oh come on, you again, citing Marx." Because the previous system used these slogans and had Marxist ideology on their lips, they now think that everything which went wrong in the country was a result of a leftist way of thinking, socialist values and the Marxist ideas of social revolution.

Ironically, the biggest communists in the previous system, those in the leadership, directors of factories and so on, simply changed their coats, saying, "OK, ahead with capitalism. We will turn the factory into a capitalistic one; we will cooperate with West German firms. We will kick out those workers who are not busy enough." And they forget their previous communist ideology. Before they held political power and now they have their big chance to turn political power into economic power. So they buy the factory itself. They decide on the price, and make it so low that they can buy the whole thing. They don't announce it to anyone else or give workers shares.

The only idea in people's minds is that competition in society is absolutely natural and entrepreneurs should be given the freedom to get richer and richer. So we should sweep away leftist ideas and bring back capitalism and that will make the country flourish again and give us a better democracy and way of life.

*Bianca: But aren't people afraid of unemployment and all those things that come along with capitalism?*

*Judit: Of course, they're afraid. But they're not conscious enough to realize that if they don't act and don't have independent trade unions to defend their rights, no one will help them out of this situation. They can't see the connection between letting capitalism in and unemployment.*

*Catherine: Unemployment is not seen as a social issue, but as an individual problem. So far most people aren't concerned because only a few factories, which were absolutely bankrupt, have been closed. We haven't felt the full weight of the problem yet. Workers aren't demonstrating in the streets, crying for jobs. It's not as serious as it could be in a few years.*

Of course, women's jobs are not at all safe. If we're pregnant, our jobs are no longer guaranteed, which they were before.

*Bianca: That's what I wanted to ask. How has the situation changed for women?*

*Catherine: Well, that's complicated. Under the socialist system, the slogan was to give work to everyone. But*



they actually had a very bad economic system. They weren't efficient and they couldn't pay a high enough salary. Now they're abandoning the idea of giving everyone a job and there are fewer and fewer jobs. Of course, the first people to lose their jobs are unskilled workers and statistically there are many more unskilled workers among women than among men.

As far as I can see, the new ideology is to use women as the infrastructure for all of society. They say, "We men will arrange everything. Your job is to stay back in the households and prepare everything for us. Don't worry, we'll build a beautiful society." Women will be pushed back again.

**Judit:** Even the women in the parliament don't necessarily represent feminist views. Actually we have very few women in parliament — 27 women MPs out of 350. They still play the men's game there. For example, the youngest woman representative in parliament — she's a lawyer in her 20s — was saying, "Yes, yes, it's a good thing there aren't more women in parliament. I realize it's not a woman's job; it's really a job for men."



Left to right: Judit, Catherine, Julia, Bianca, Agnes.

credit: Mirk/Fireworks

**Mirk:** What's different from before?

**Catherine:** Well, it's becoming more conservative now. We can feel things getting worse and worse, although so far it's mostly on the verbal level. But I'm afraid that the new tendency will be women's disengagement from social issues.

**Judit:** There's also a strong tendency now to revive Catholic virtues, along with the nationalistic line. In Hungarian papers this line is more represented than any other in the current debate over abortion. For example, they say, "If Hungarian women don't give birth to enough babies, the Hungarians will disappear from the map of Europe. The nation will die. No more Hungarian kids crying in the cradles." They paint it in very black colors. And the Christians are saying you are a killer if you undergo an abortion.

It's very strong and it makes very many women feel guilty. For example, I have a colleague at the university. She's my age, 25, and she just had a baby before finishing her studies. I didn't dare ask her about the whole thing, but I asked a friend and she told me that the partner, the boy, didn't really want the kid, but the girl gave birth to it, knowing that she wouldn't be able to finish her university career. I asked why, since she could have a

baby later. And this very young girl told me, "Oh come on, a girl of your age would never undergo an abortion, a girl of 26, never!" They don't really understand that a woman's role is not only reproducing the new generation.

This line is so strong in parliament that they want to pass a new law which would basically ban abortion, unless there was a real danger that the woman would die,

but not in cases of rape or if the women just doesn't want a baby because of her social circumstances.

**Mirk:** What's the abortion law now?

**Catherine:** It allows it in a few cases: if you're a single woman; if you're married and have three children; or if you're married and above forty. But if you're married and don't have kids yet and don't want the baby, you have to make up a story about your bad economic situation. If you can prove that you are in bad circumstances, they will allow it.

But even when they allow it, women must pay a big sum, and when they undergo the operation they are quite badly treated. The doctors performing it are men, not women, and they don't treat the pregnant women like human beings. They look down on them and humiliate them.

Our very first action in the Feminist Network is fighting against this new law on abortion. We realize what's going on and I think other women realize it too, but don't know how to react. We've started collecting signatures on a petition to parliament.

**Bianca:** What kind of response have you gotten?



**Catherine:** When I was collecting signatures in the street on the abortion petition, I met a lot of women who are absolutely disappointed and tired of acting. They are so down they represent an absolutely neutral position. Their attitude is, "Oh I don't mind. I don't care," and things like that.

They are fed up with the problems of everyday life. As you know, our currency is getting weaker and weaker and the prices go up and up. As women, we're responsible for the economics of the household, a problem which takes all our time. "How can I solve our money problems for the next week." They don't have energy for other things.

**Judit:** Things could get worse for women in the following years, and they are not conscious at all. They say that they had a very bad way of life in the past four decades. They had their eight-hour job in the factories or in the offices or as teachers or lawyers. Then they went home and had to behave as if they didn't have a job. The household was their total responsibility. Men's attitudes didn't change at all. So they were under a double or triple pressure.

Now when you speak about emancipation, they say, "Come on, we don't want emancipation. We'd like to stay at home. We don't want this double work." They can't imagine things the other way around, that emancipation means I can go out, he can go out and we can do things together.

**Mirk:** *Is that true among youth or people in their 20s?*

**Judit:** Yes, women in their 20s are very conservative. Actually, there are very few among them with whom I can talk about feminist issues. At the University there's no one. They tell me, "Oh, come on, Judit."

**Julia:** As for teenagers, they are educated just to accept the older generation's views. As far as I can tell, they simply echo what they hear at home. They don't have a strong opinion of their own to express.

**Mirk:** *What about men's attitudes?*

**Julia:** Among groups of teenagers, it's always the boys who play the leading roles. They never accept girls saying clever things. In secondary schools, teenage boys absolutely oppress girls. Boys are very proud that we live in a society of men's rule, that's built up for men. The girls don't get angry hearing that or criticize that statement. They simply say, "Well, yes, you are better and we're the second class citizens." The girls are afraid of them. They accept everything the boys say and don't express their wishes or confront them.

**Judit:** It's getting *even* worse, because now the boys are reinforced in their "menism." For example, take the appearance of pornography in Hungary. It never existed

before and now it's very widespread. Not as bad as Amsterdam, but still, we didn't have pictures of naked women everywhere in the streets before and now we have it. The boys can think, "Everything is for me here. I could use those girls; I can stare at that one." It simply reinforces them now.

**Bianca:** *What about lesbians? Has the Feminist Network been involved in issues around lesbianism.*

**Catherine:** The issue of lesbianism is very closed; it's a hidden problem in Hungary. You don't see lesbians; they are not visible. The atmosphere here at the camp has built the whole issue into my mentality. The feminist movement in Hungary has to search for lesbians, to find them and to support each other.

**Judit:** Yes, the camp really helped us understand this. When we get home, we'll go to this homosexual club for men and see whether they know about women coming together.

**Mirk:** *Given what you've said, do you think the changes in Hungary are for the better? Where will it lead?*

**Catherine:** We mustn't forget if there had been no changes politically, we wouldn't even be here. The Feminist Network would never exist. Now it can be the basis of a more active society.

**Judit:** I'm a bit more critical towards the whole thing. I don't think society was creative or active enough. The whole thing turned into a rivalry between political parties. It wasn't a real revolution that people made for themselves. They're starting to act now, and of course it's better than before. But there are all those signs of conservatism getting ahead.

**Catherine:** If you look around, you can be really pessimistic. Still, if you find your circle and people to cooperate with, you can have the feeling of getting a chance to act. I think that among the feminists we can be optimistic.

**Judit:** That's true. The system now is a bit more democratic and there is a chance to act which didn't exist before.

**Catherine:** Of course, we haven't experienced the reaction of the society to the feminists, because we aren't public yet; so we don't know their reaction. We are starting absolutely from zero and trying to build the whole thing at once. We don't know what will happen, how they will react. All this is before us. □

*Judith Mirkinson is a member of PFOC; Bianca Miglioretto is a Swiss anti-imperialist and a member of LoRa, an alternative radio collective in Zurich.*



# GLIMPSES OF SOUTH AFRICA

## AUGUST 1990

*by George Lippman*



credit: G. Lippman/Fireworks

**A**UGUST 9, 1990: I CROSSED THE BORDER FROM INDEPENDENT Zimbabwe into South Africa at one of the most tumultuous moments in recent history. Change may be coming to South Africa, but the signs in Customs warning tourists to look out for an array of "terrorist" weapons were still up. Of course, no signs warn supporters of the liberation movement to watch out for death squads, even though white terrorism seemed to be unchecked by any "wind of change" in South Africa. In recent weeks, Sam Mabe, assistant

editor of the Sowetan newspaper and one of the country's most prominent Black journalists, had been shot to death; Muntu Myeza, Defense Secretary of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), was killed when his car was run off the road; and in Harare, Zimbabwe, human rights worker Father Michael Lapsley lost his hands and part of his sight to a South African parcel bomb.

In late July the South African security forces announced that they had uncovered a plot called "Operation Vula" by the South



African Communist Party (SACP) to stage a coup to overthrow the government, should the talks break down. Although the SACP denied the allegations, over a hundred people were detained, including veteran ANC leader Mac Maharaj, who spent many years in

timistically about his vision of South Africa five years into the future. "I see a South Africa that should possibly have been liberated by then...a non-racial, democratic, united South Africa, as we envisaged in our political programs. To us, this is a qualitative new stage of the struggle, where we can do things we've not been able to do inside the country; we're unbanned, we can sit down and plan how we can organize a negotiated settlement with the regime. It's a great challenge and we are fully aware that we are still in struggle."

In Zimbabwe and in South Africa itself, the ANC was taking a lot of heat for the agreement. Grassroots ANC members I met were very uneasy about its terms. Even the liberal South African newspaper, *The Daily Mail*, questioned why the organization was giving up one of its main bargaining chips for what seemed like so little.

Other forces in the liberation movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), were not part of the agreement. The PAC, though smaller than the ANC, has also waged armed struggle against the government. It has not suspended armed actions nor joined the talks, but has planned a national

conference in Johannesburg for early December 1990 to decide these issues and elect a new leadership.

Zephania Mothopeng, the President of the PAC, was a member of the ANC Youth League in the 1940s and a founder of the PAC in 1959. He had been released from prison a year before Nelson Mandela, having served 12 years for his role in organizing the 1976 Soweto uprising. [Zeph Mothopeng died on October 23. — Editor] I had the opportunity to hear Mr. Mothopeng's views on suspending armed operations at this stage in the process.

"If we bring all our armies inside here, we say, 'Whew, it's over.' We've played right into their hand. They can do what they like. They will close the borders. Our young men will be known; they can just arrest them. And then what? Starting from scratch, we will have to get our people out of the country, this time having lost the good will of the international community, because now the government will be saying, 'These people are just stubborn and just want war for its own sake.'"

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM-A), the exiled organization affiliated with AZAPO, was founded by Steve Biko in the late 60s. Students affiliated with the BCM led the Soweto uprising, one of the most important mass rebellions in recent South African



The South African police in action. Police brutality continues against the mass movement despite the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

prison with Mandela. Throughout my two-week stay in South Africa, calls for the release of these and the estimated 3,000 other political prisoners, and for an end to political arrests and killings, continued to mount.

[As of mid-November, some of the 100 Vula detainees had been released. However, Mr. Maharaj and many others are still detained, and the regime intends to try them. Only a small fraction of the total number of political prisoners have been freed. — Editor]

### EDGING TO PRETORIA

Just days before, on August 6, the ANC and the South African government had signed the Pretoria Minute. This was the second interim agreement between the two parties in the "talks about talks," a process which is intended to lead to a negotiated end to apartheid and white minority rule. The Minute stipulated that the ANC would suspend all armed actions. In return, the government would release all "ANC-related prisoners" by April 1991, though the parties continue to debate about who qualifies for release. The government also promised to lift the state of emergency in Natal province, and to review all repressive security legislation.

The day after the Pretoria talks, Max Mlonyeni, the ANC's Chief Representative to Zimbabwe, spoke op-



history. In Harare, Vuyisa Qunta, Publicity and Information Secretary in the Central Committee of the BCM-A, was also concerned about the Pretoria Minute.

"The way de Klerk is presenting his package of reforms is manipulative. It's dividing the Black community and is meant to entrench white privilege under a different dressing." But he also cautioned against condemning the ANC.

"The common talk — in the townships and on the trains — is that the ANC is selling out the struggle by sitting and drinking tea with de Klerk. But it doesn't serve the Black community in good stead. It's not called for. People should look at what we have in common, not what we have as differences. We should be able to negotiate among ourselves before we negotiate with the out-and-out murdering enemy. None of us have more differences with each other than we have with de Klerk."

ANC representatives were more reassuring. A member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, close to the talks, advised, "Don't hang on dogmatically to old models of how change can be achieved. De Klerk has been straight with us. The ANC started this process years ago; we and the government know each other, and we can move them forward in the negotiations."

"Actually the government knows it has no choice. Their economy is disintegrating, both because of international sanctions and the constraints of apartheid itself. We are the ones taking the initiative, forcing the pace. What is important is that the masses intensify the struggle, continue the consumer boycotts, the rent boycotts and the strikes. This will put our leaders in a strong enough position to achieve one person one vote."

With this perspective, the organization was developing the infrastructure necessary to accommodate the 20,000+ ANC exiles who are expected to return home later this year. Housing, employment and welfare are being organized. In ANC offices and in the communities, I saw preparations for the launch of local branches, leading up to a national conference later in the year. The ANC leadership has called on all members to give priority to building the organization, to avoid what one leader called "the problems SWAPO faced in Namibia, having to transform a liberation movement into a political party." Many other organizations are also trying to grow and to define their unique contribution.

The ANC acknowledges that the National Party is trying to manage the process of transition, and that even as talks go on, mass mobilization remains the cutting edge of the struggle for people's power. Various ANC leaders have warned the government not to view the ANC as defenseless against state repression and attacks by Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), reportedly told students at the University of Transkei that it was still possible the ANC might have to seize power if the government appeared to be unprepared to share or shift power. Hani pledged that training and recruitment of MK members would increase.

But I had to wonder, as I viewed the progress towards what Mlonyeni termed "normalization," the impending return of thousands of exiles (including the political and military leadership) to the legal, public movement, the suspension of an already wound-down armed struggle, and the possible effect of the Operation Vula arrests. To me this did not fit the profile of a movement prepared to resume armed struggle — although the willingness might be there, especially among the youth. It suggested instead a movement on an almost irreversible train towards a negotiated settlement, determined to make the best of it.

### WHITHER THE WHITES

Of course, the ANC's scenario depends on a large enough majority of the country's six million whites supporting the process of change. For many years, the ANC's strategy has depended on building a non-racial movement. Though the great majority of its leadership is Black (i.e., African, Indian or "Colored"), I met a number of white members who have devoted their lives to the struggle. Many of these resisters have spent long periods in detention, in exile or underground.

A statement attributed to Nelson Mandela — "there are no whites, no Blacks, only South Africans" — may be taken literally by some in the ANC; others view it more as a vision of a future to strive for. Outside of the movement, the trends are disturbing. Polls here indicate that the extreme white right is strong and growing in response to de Klerk's concessions. The Conservative Party, which took 30 percent of the vote in the last white election (before the reforms), and its paramilitary shadow, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) have pledged "determined resistance" to the negotiation process.

The white members of the ANC and SACP who I met were pessimistic about the potential for organizing large numbers of whites to support the ANC. Their hope was simply that a majority of whites will go along with de Klerk's program of negotiations.

The PAC's Zeph Mothopeng questioned whether this would occur. "People always say de Klerk is a sincere man. But in matters of this nature, it's not the quality or sincerity of the person, it's his ability to carry his constituency with him.

*"The liberation movement is one! It might have many components, it might express itself in many ways, but at the end of the day, it is one."*

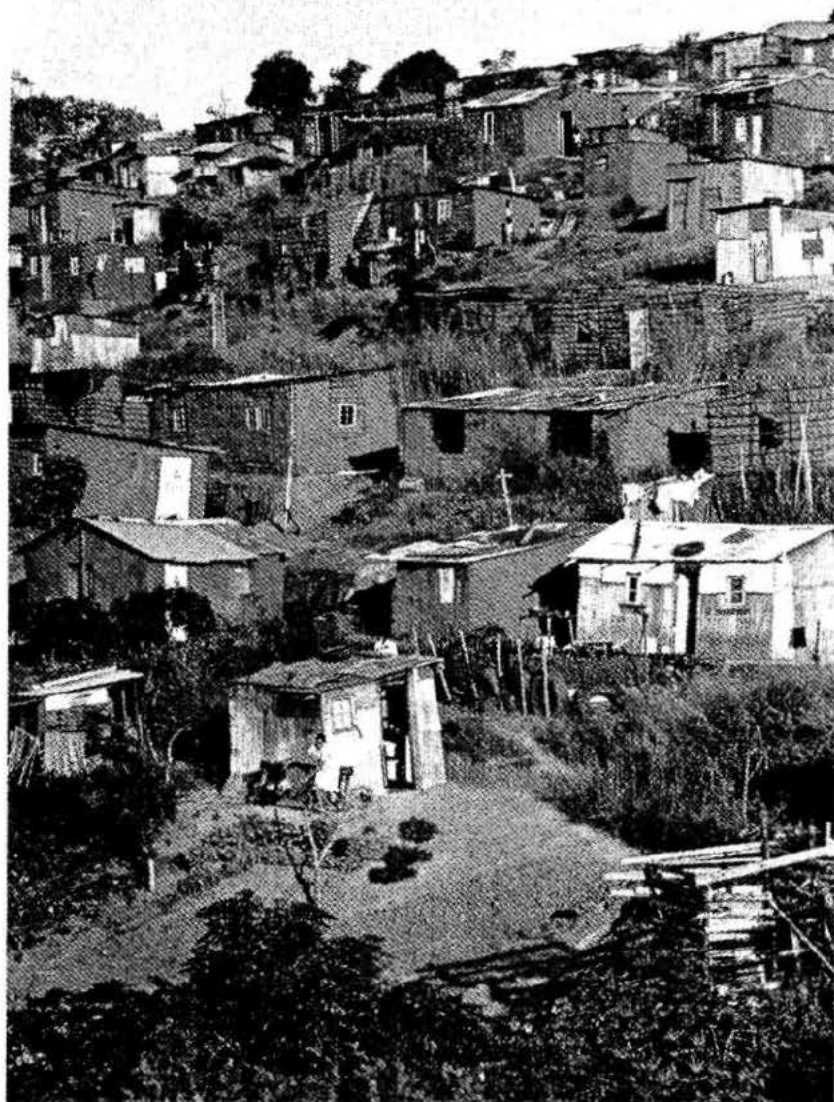
— Lybon Mabasa,  
former president  
of AZAPO



The question is, is de Klerk capable of carrying the constituency of the oppressor with him to relent and give away their privileges? I think if we reason properly without bias, logic falls on the side that he cannot."

### A DIRTY WAR

August 17, Tokoza Township: Tokoza, one of the sprawling townships east of Johannesburg, is more of a refugee camp than a town. A stretch of bare ground, supplied by one communal water tank and no other amenities, was the new home for several families made homeless when Inkatha members attacked residents of



Tokoza and other townships east of Johannesburg on the night of the 13th. By the 17th, the death toll for the "East Rand" stood at 152, and the fighting had spread to the giant township of Soweto.

I accompanied members of Imbeleko, a women's

organization affiliated with AZAPO, to Tokoza to see how their members had fared in the fighting. Even in Johannesburg, the tension and fear were apparent. Black commuters were standing in long lines waiting for expensive taxis. The day before, Inkatha mobs had thrown people off the trains when they arrived in the townships.

As we entered the East Rand, we saw people hiding in the bushes, afraid to return to their homes. Many of them had spent the night in the open, and some, especially the elderly, were still struggling to erect shelters made from corrugated metal and cardboard. The most pressing problem, after shelter, was money for food and other necessities. Everything had been lost in the fighting, and rent and transportation costs were much higher in the new location.

In the days that followed, fighting between the "comrades," i.e. ANC followers, and Inkatha intensified. Within ten days, more than 500 people had been killed, and the Minister of Law and Order declared 17 districts as unrest areas.

The press and government describe the fighting as internecine warfare between the followers of Inkatha and supporters of the ANC, or just as tribal fighting between Zulus and Xhosas. In contrast, Neil Morrison at the Working Group on International Relations, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, stressed that it was not a case of Black-on-Black violence.

"The conflict has escalated as a deliberate strategy of the government. Remember that the entire bantustan system was set up by Prime Minister Verwoerd precisely in order to divide and conquer. Gatsha Buthelezi, for all his anti-apartheid rhetoric, was appointed as Chief Minister and Police Minister of KwaZulu by the South African government. His Police Commissioner, Buchner, is an Afrikaner counter-insurgency expert. The state's goal has been to use Inkatha's attacks to keep the ANC out of Natal. Now Inkatha is trying to break out of its regional bag, and establish itself as a national political force rather than a tribal one."

The violence exploded in the Transvaal just as the ANC suspended armed actions, and as negotiations were drawing near. There was great speculation about this coincidence. Some suggested that Inkatha, fearing that it would be cast aside in a deal between the National Party and the ANC, might be trying to force its way to the negotiating table for a share of power. Others believed that the National Party needed its long-time ally Inkatha at the table to change the balance of forces, so it would no longer be the government versus the liberation movement. The strength of the people's forces would be diffused.

There may be a conscious effort on the part of the state to weaken the ANC's position and even derail the talks by poisoning the political atmosphere, and tying up the ANC in self-defense. There was evidence for government collusion in the protection given by white police to Inkatha; the government-issue rifles used by



Inkatha members; and the widespread rumors of white men in blackface taking part in the attacks. South Africa certainly has a long history of sponsoring contra groups like RENAMO (in Mozambique) and UNITA (in Angola), and I heard reports of RENAMO support going to Inkatha.

In any case, Buthelezi's strategy plays on the sometimes tense relationship between migrant workers living in hostels and residents of the surrounding townships, a situation created by apartheid's Group Areas Act and old pass laws. It also encourages Zulu nationalism and ethnic hatred, though this is not the root of the problem.

Some people believe that despite periodic calls from the leadership for tolerance and discipline, the ANC itself is unable to control the actions of all of its supporters. Although most attacks are by Inkatha supporters on ANC/UDF supporters, or just terrorist attacks against an entire community like Tokoza, clashes have also taken place between ANC and PAC supporters, and between ANC and AZAPO.

Not surprisingly, there was a great deal of debate over how to end the violence. ANC people — from a regional leader to militant youth to Sister Bernard Ncube, a radical nun who leads the Federation of Transvaal Women — were united in the viewpoint that Nelson Mandela must not be pressured into a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi. They argued that Buthelezi is a paid agent of the South African state, and Inkatha is an extension of the state whose purpose is to disrupt popular organizing and to sow terror. If the state is serious about negotiating, it can and must call a halt to the violence.

For a leader of Mandela's stature to sit down with Buthelezi, the feeling went, would only legitimate him as a national leader, rewarding him for his war against the popular movement and guaranteeing him a place at the eventual negotiating table. Since Buthelezi is a creation of the bantustan system, this would also concede a victory to the apartheid strategy of divide and conquer, just as the post-apartheid society is about to be born.

But others were putting increasing pressure on the ANC to conduct just such a meeting. They pointed out how the press and the government were practically gloating over the tragedy taking place in the townships, implying that it proves all of the racist arguments about Black people's supposed lack of civilized standards and about the strength of tribal animosity.

Others, who also oppose Inkatha and the bantustan structure, questioned why Mandela can meet with de Klerk but not with Buthelezi. They pointed out that Black people — whether in the ANC, Inkatha or other community people — were dying every day. Some of the women I met even considered sending a delegation to Mandela to plead with him, "Baba [Father], we are women. It is our sons and husbands who are dying. Please go see Buthelezi if it will help."

[In October, the ANC agreed to a joint leadership meeting with Inkatha, including both Mandela and

Buthelezi. There was no immediate organizational response from Inkatha. — Editor]

### "YOU HAVE TO FIGHT IT EVERY TIME!"

Some of my deepest insights into the process of the liberation struggle came from discussion with women. Spending time with South African women activists helped me understand in a deeper way the heavy burdens that women face and what it will take to change their conditions.

One encouraging sign was that the ANC was inviting women — as well as gay people — to "be part of making your dream come true" by contributing proposals for a Bill of Rights to be included in a new South African constitution.

The two days I spent with Imbeleko were amazing. An *imbeleko* is a cloth women use to carry their babies. It also symbolizes, as the women put it, "that something new is being born; it's a source of life." Although Imbeleko has its own office, we met at the main office of AZAPO. As they came in, the women looked around and joked about the fact that of course there was no food in the office because it was primarily run by men.

I was immediately impressed by their combination of warmth, ideological strength and practicality. When we walked through Tokoza, I realized that were it not for their efforts in developing employment, sanitation and raising morale, the community could not survive. When one man reached out to us and asked for money to buy beer, the Imbeleko leader reacted sharply, "Man, we are not worried about getting liquor. We are worried about the children."

The women of Imbeleko shared with me the actual difficulties they face in their work. They talked a lot about the harshness of most women's lives:

"I work more hours than my husband does, but the first thing he does when he gets home is to sit there on the lounge and relax, read his book or watch TV. And in the meantime I'm going around, go fetch my baby where I left him in the morning, try to breast-feed, make him tea, make him supper, wash the dishes, prepare his lunch and clothing for tomorrow. By the time I finish it will be eleven, and he'll be waiting in bed for me. That's another job you've got to go into. By the time you actually go to bed it's very late. It's morning, and you've got to be up at five to prepare his breakfast."

"We're trying to change all this," the women told me. "We're conducting workshops to change the consciousness of the people, starting, of course, with the women. But consciousness is not enough. We have to challenge many ways of life that are now considered normal. We have a big job ahead of us because there is so much violence against women. For instance, in our society when a man hits you, it proves that he loves you. People used to believe that. But these things are being discussed so that women have the right to say no and get away with it without getting beaten up."

"The reality is that now a husband or a man or



*Even as talks  
go on, mass  
mobilization  
remains the  
cutting edge  
of the struggle  
for people's  
power.*

boyfriend can do anything to you. You don't have the right to charge the man. That is why there are so many rape cases that are never reported, because the way they are treated in our courts, and in our police stations actually, is bad. A woman has got to prove that she was raped, that she was not willing, or she was not the cause of the rape. Now it means the man gets out scot-free. And the way you are dressed, sometimes it means you have attracted this man to come and rape you.

"All this has to be transformed. One interesting development is that there are actually beginning to be a few cases now where women are getting themselves together and attacking that man for maybe having tortured his wife so much that she had come out to the light. They would go up in groups and maybe try and get revenge against him. Unfortunately, we're still at the point where it's probable that at the end of the day she'll have to go back to that man.

"Abuse of women is even rife among comrades. They preach anti-sexism but they practice the contrary of that. They know, they've got it conceptualized, but practically it's so difficult. As a women's organization, this is one of the tasks we are facing every day. If there is a funeral or a congress to be attended, you will be appointed as a woman to go into the catering, automatically. You have to fight it every time. Yes, always fight, fight, fight."

#### FUNERAL OF A FREEDOM FIGHTER

August 11, Soweto: The funeral of Tsietsi Mashinini, leader of the 1976 Soweto uprising, was like nothing I have ever been part of. Mashinini, in exile ever since the uprising, died last month in Guinea. It is unclear whether his death was due to natural causes or foul play. Soweto's Jabulani stadium was packed with a crowd of 8-10,000 Black people. Most were AZAPO supporters, since the funeral had been organized by Mashinini's comrades from the Black Consciousness Movement, but the ANC and PAC were both represented strongly as well.

This turnout was actually moderate by South African standards, where funerals can range up to 50,000 or more. Funeral marches for those killed by police violence was one way of expressing resistance during the Emergency of the 1980s when

most other outlets of political expression were banned. Many Black youth risked their lives to commemorate their comrades recently killed by racist police.

Given the ideological tone of funerals, it was all the more striking to see political differences transcended here. The MC, former AZAPO president Lybon Mabasa, began with this message: "We want to appeal to you this afternoon that the liberation movement is one! It might have many components, it might express and reveal itself in many ways, but at the end of the day, it is one. We have not come here to compete against each other; we can only fight the enemy!"

Then, three hours of dancing the revolutionary toyi-toyi, prayers, chanting, speeches, young ANC women waving cardboard AK-47s, singing "we will go to Lusaka to learn to fight against the Boers" — this after the ANC had suspended the armed struggle. Finally we proceeded to the cemetery for Mashinini's burial. His principal at Morris Isaacson High School in 1976, when Tsietsi led the protests against Bantu education that became the Soweto uprising, told the youth, "Tsietsi now passes the baton on to you."

The occasion was a reminder to me that, tired as it may sound to cynical American ears, the people are the makers of history — if they don't give up that prerogative to the oppressor. Here history was being made. Large numbers of people from the most significant revolutionary tendencies in the country were putting aside the issues that have divided them for years to say "let us mourn our fallen leader together, but more, let us realize that freedom will come to us through our own actions, not through the kindness of de Klerk. So let us have unity in action."

#### POSTSCRIPT

November 15: Three months later, the negotiation process continues to creep along. On October 24, the South African government finally revealed its constitutional proposals: a two-chamber Parliament with one house elected by universal franchise and the other consisting of ethnic groupings, thus guaranteeing a voice and perhaps a veto to the white minority. De Klerk has chosen to appeal to those diehard whites who see their identity and interests as separate from the majority of South Africans.

The ANC, along with all the other organizations of the left, strongly opposes any white veto, holding firm for one person one vote. They also prefer a Constituent Assembly on the Namibian model, in which a democratically elected body drafts a new constitution, to the elite form of negotiations between parties, as the regime proposes. So the stage is set for a dramatic political confrontation.

In the coming period, a lot will depend on the mass movement in South Africa, and how clearly and forcefully it puts forth its demands for a total end to apartheid. At the same time, voices in the U.S., from President Bush on down, are being raised in favor of dropping sanctions



against South Africa. This would seriously undercut the possibility of the negotiations resulting in a fully democratic South Africa. It is truly more important than ever for us to fight to maintain and enforce the sanctions.

If some resolution is reached between the contradictory positions of the regime and the liberation movement, a "post-apartheid South Africa" could come within the next five years. But any Black majority government will still face severe constraints on its ability to radically alter the economic relationships of apartheid.

In some ways, my visit with Imbeleko to the Tokoza township gave me a glimpse at the future. In addition to those who had been made homeless by Inkatha's attacks, the area was a shelter for Black people who only a few weeks earlier had worked and lived rent-free on a nearby farm. They were evicted because the farm had been sold to a developer to build housing for the Black middle class. The contrast between the shacks of Tokoza and the new luxury housing was startling.

The U.S. State Department has long held a "reformist policy of encouraging the development of a Black middle class in South Africa." While the end of formal, legal apartheid would raise the standard of living for some Black people, the majority — as with Black people in the United States — may continue to be economically oppressed. Whites will still control large portions of the state and economy, including the most productive land. The white minority still controls 86 percent of the country's land, and resists talk of redistribution or nationalization.

The legacy of apartheid also leaves the vast majority of Black people lacking basic skills needed to manage the country. Much of the capital which thrived on the slave wages of apartheid — major corporations such as Anglo-American and De Beers — is already being transferred out of the country. And the chances of a significant infusion of foreign assistance in a time of world-wide recession is unlikely.

Black activists from all of the movements are already preparing for this future struggle, even as they chart a

course for the complicated and often dangerous days ahead. As Danile Landingwe of the Zimele Transformation Resource Center near Crossroads told me, "The war may stop. But there is a need for a continuing war to liberate the minds of our people. Investment in this process cannot be done away with. People can't turn their backs on South Africa now that apartheid is being done away with. We are trying to fight a form of disempowerment that has existed for a long time. This doesn't take one or two years. It takes quite a long time."

On August 25, I flew from Capetown to Windhoek, the capital of newly independent Namibia, in time to attend the Namibia Day celebration on August 26, marking the 24th anniversary of the liberation war.



Young women do the toyi-toyi, a revolutionary dance, at the mass funeral of Soweto leader Tsietshi Mashinini.

Emerging into a country where the liberation struggle has taken the leap into a new stage, I felt able to breathe again. But I left South Africa with divided emotions. I was leaving behind friends and comrades whose courage and love for their people touched me deeply — a people who, despite the uncertainty of the coming period, face the future with determination. □

*George Lippman has been active for many years in the Southern Africa solidarity movement and anti-racist organizing. He is a member of PFOC and works with the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network.*



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LINGUA



# WAR OF WORDS

Colonialism,  
Language  
and  
English Only

by Jimmy Emmerman

"Open up. This is the language police. We're investigating a report of Spanish speakers in this apartment."

A futuristic sci-fi nightmare? Perhaps, but in 1988, two years after English was declared the official language of the state of California, Latina and Filipina nurses at the University of California San Francisco Hospital were reprimanded for speaking Spanish and Tagalog on the job. The courts eventually overturned the English-only workplace rules, but that a "liberal" employer such as a major university would consider such rules in itself had chilling implications.

A nationwide movement whose proclaimed goal is making English the "official language" of the U.S. is spreading. In virtually every state where this idea has been brought to a popular vote, voters have overwhelmingly approved the measure.

The English Only Movement bases its appeal on a seemingly innocuous and obvious idea—that, as the glue that holds the U.S. together, the importance of English should be codified in law and protected. But scratch ever so slightly and blind patriotism and racism ooze to the surface. From concert-goers in Boston yelling for Linda Ronstadt to "sing in English" to Los Angeles school teachers demanding an end to bilingual education, the English Only movement is a breeding ground for racism.

Although most people, including many who support English Only, don't realize it, the movement is integrally tied to a U.S. state strategy evolved during the Reagan years. Its goals were to contain and overturn the process of revolution in Central America and undermine any potential support for national liberation struggles within the U.S. — particularly among Mexican people along the 1,000 mile border. At the same time,

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English Only represents the continuation of a 500-year history of European colonization of non-white people in this hemisphere and its attendant chauvinism and arrogance, captured in this quote from Theodore Roosevelt:

We have room for but one language in this country and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house.

Colonialism, an attack on the sovereignty of a people, violates every aspect of the colonial subject's personality. Its chains include an ideology of superiority and inferiority, domination and submission, encoded in law, media, education, and other forms of culture. If all goes as planned, this sense of inferiority becomes embedded in the psyche of the colonized person.

Language is a key weapon in this war. The language of the colonizer represents the "pinnacle of civilization." That of the "native," "barbarism." Franz Fanon, whose reflections on colonialism seeded national liberation theory around the world, observed:

Every colonized people — in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality — finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle.<sup>1</sup>

This dynamic of cultural imperialism and cultural resistance is a constant theme in the history of African, indigenous, and Spanish-speaking peoples colonized by the U.S.

## BLACK ENGLISH AND SLAVERY

The African slave trade represented the first need to control language. In order to minimize the risk of rebellion on board the slave ships, slaving captains had a conscious strategy of placing speakers of different African languages together, preventing communication. Captain William Smith, in *A New Voyage to Guinea in 1744*, described how by "having some of every Sort on board, there will be no more Likelihood of their succeeding in a Plot, than of finishing the Tower of Babel."<sup>2</sup> Once Africans arrived in the Americas, slave makers had the job of preparing them for life as chattel. Among other techniques, they would forbid the speaking of African languages and separate babies from their parents, so that new generations would forget their African roots.

In the clutches of slavery, separated from others of their tribe, Africans developed a new language, Black English, utilizing a combination of English and Africanisms and retaining many grammatical structures

of African language. Black English, or Ebonics, is the language spoken by many Black people in the U.S. today. In the South Carolina Sea Islands, physical isolation allowed for the purest preservation of the original plantation creole. This language, Gullah, is still spoken by about a quarter of a million Blacks, who retain tremendous pride in their language. In the words of Janey Hunter, a 70 year old Gullah speaker, "I keep my Gullah language too, 'cos I love it, and that's me. I can speak other language, but I love my Gullah language. If you disown that, you're disowning your parents."<sup>3</sup>

Contrary to the intent of the slaveocracy, the development of this new Black English played a critical role in the creation of a new national identity among Africans in the U.S. According to Sterling Stuckey, in a brilliant study, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundation of Black America*:

There was, inevitably, some unevenness of movement toward cultural oneness because of the language factor alone; some years in the New World were required before those from different ethnic backgrounds achieved cultural oneness by being able to use the same language. Ironically, it was a degree of harmony that could not be reached through African languages.<sup>4</sup>

Although most of the white power structure which governs Black people's lives—school teachers, social service workers, and employers—deny the validity of Black English and seek to suppress its use, linguistic research has refuted the notion that Black English is a "lazier" or "sloppier" version of white English. In fact, Black English is a fully-developed language, complete with a grammar and vocabulary as sophisticated as any other. Even among those Blacks who use white English to function in a racist society where conformity to white norms is a prerequisite for success, Black English is what most Black people speak when they're with other Black people.

## WITH A FORKED TONGUE: WHITE-WASHING NATIVE LANGUAGES

Unlike Africans, whose stolen labor was considered essential for the new colonies, Native Americans were basically in the way. In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson initiated the forcible removal of Indian tribes from the eastern U.S. The forced march to Oklahoma, The Trail of Tears, resulted in the deaths of one-third of the Indians. Confined to reservations, a conscious educational policy was developed, designed to destroy Native culture.

In the case of the Cherokee nation, this involved dismantling one of the most effective bilingual education systems in history. The Cherokees had been guaranteed their language rights by treaty in 1828. After their forced exodus to the West, they established a system of 21 Cherokee language schools which attained a literacy rate of 90 percent. According to a federal study, these schools made such widespread use of bilingual



materials that by the 1850s Cherokees had a higher *English* literacy level than whites in Arkansas or Texas.

This was not to last. By 1879, the U.S. government began dismantling bilingual schools and mandating instruction in English only. In 1886, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported:

I [have] expressed very decidedly the idea that Indians should be taught the English language only. There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is

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permitted to study *any* other language than our own vernacular — the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities under the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races...

The Commissioner suggested removing Indian children *en masse*, forcibly if necessary, to boarding schools away from their families, because:

The greatest difficulty is experienced in freeing the children attending day school from the language and habits of their untutored and often savage parents. When they return to their homes at night and on Saturdays and Sundays, and are among their own surroundings, they relapse more or less into their former moral and mental stupor.<sup>5</sup>

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Northern Cheyenne, described the experience. "Both my grandparents were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in boarding schools. One of the first English words Indian students learned was *soap*, because their mouths were constantly being washed out for using their native language." Of course, literacy in English and Native languages declined precipitously. By 1969, only 40 percent of Cherokee adults were functionally literate in any language.

## PUERTO RICO: A MODEL COLONIALISM

After the U.S. seized Puerto Rico in 1898, a U.S. Commissioner of Education, Victor S. Clark was appointed to oversee the transformation of the Puerto Rican schools into model colonialist institutions:

A majority of the people...do not speak pure Spanish. Their language is a patois almost unintelligible to the natives of Barcelona and Madrid. It possesses no literature and little value as an intellectual medium... English is the chief source, practically the only source,

of democratic ideals for Puerto Rico. There may be little that they learn to remember, but the English school reader itself provides a body of ideas and concepts which are not to be had in any other way.<sup>6</sup>

In 1909, the U.S. moved to abolish the teaching of Spanish in Puerto Rican public schools. Schoolmasters were ordered to give instruction exclusively in English. These measures provoked an angry response; children from six to ten years of age refused to attend their classes unless they were taught in Spanish. Some children who refused to learn English were turned out into the streets.

Puerto Ricans responded by setting up a Spanish language school for those who had been expelled.

In 1916 the Commissioner compromised, allowing

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Spanish instruction in grades 1-4, Spanish and English in fifth grade, with English only in higher levels.

Although this policy remained in effect until the late 1940s, to this day Puerto Ricans speak Spanish as their native language. The reasons for the ultimate failure to impose English in Puerto Rico are captured in the sentiments of Cayetano Coll y Cuchi, a member of the Puerto Rican House of Delegates at the time of the 1909 student strike: "We knew perfectly well that the soul of a people is incarnated in its language. We would have preferred being without a country, to losing our native tongue."<sup>7</sup>

## SILENCING THE BORDER

The seizure of half of Mexico between 1836 and 1848 — the current states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah — had a devastating impact on Mexican people living in these territories. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding these territories to the U.S., guaranteed the original inhabitants land and water rights, as well as use of their own language and customs. But prevailing European chauvinism and outright settler greed made a mockery of the letter and spirit of the Treaty.

The first school administrations in the areas taken from Mexico were controlled by Anglos who knew little or no Spanish. Teachers, trained in the educational system of the early 1900s, would, in the description of Carey McWilliams, "invest their position, on this issue, with an emotional halo of moral and patriotic self-righteousness... it seemed both heretical and disloyal,



despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to tolerate any form of bilingualism."<sup>8</sup>

This situation persisted well into the 1970s. A 1972 U.S. Civil Rights Commission study showed that 40 percent of Mexican children in educationally and mentally retarded classes in the Southwest were there *because they did not speak English*. Schools which discouraged the use of any Spanish in elementary classes ranged from 13.5 percent in California to 66.4 percent in Texas. In the Rio Grande Valley, "Spanish detention" — punishment for speaking Spanish in class — remained in effect until the late 1960s. Until 1973, it was against the law to use any language other than English for instruction in Texas schools.<sup>9</sup>

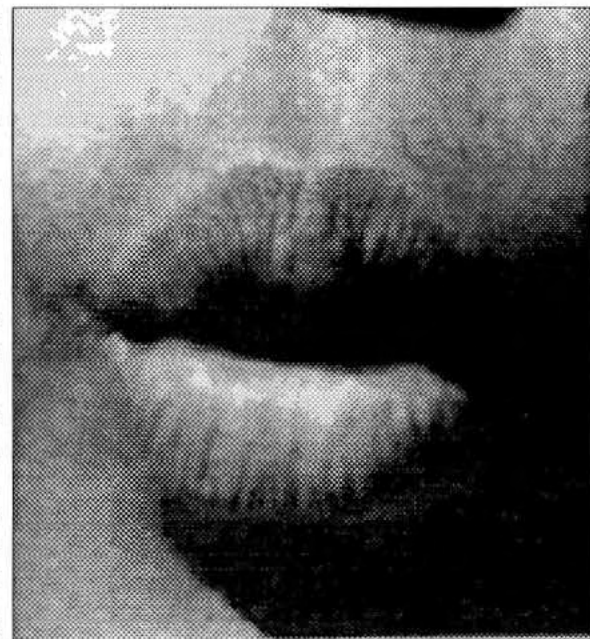
Suppression of Spanish meshed with a systematic neglect of Mexican history and culture. At the time of the Civil Rights Commission report, only 0.7 percent of Mexican secondary school children were enrolled in Chicano history courses, and 0.9 percent in Mexican history courses in the entire Southwest.<sup>10</sup>

These issues became a focus of Chicano organizing in the late 60s and 70s. Bilingual and bicultural education became a mass demand and eventually led to federal legislation requiring education in student's native languages, as a transition to English proficiency. Many activists went beyond this however, arguing that *maintenance* of native language and culture was a critical condition for their liberation. The politics of "la Raza" led to a revival of interest in Mexican history and culture and the development of a strong sense of

maica, and the first steps towards the invasion of Panama.

These interventions are well known. More surprising is the preoccupation of the Reagan administration with the prospect of revolution engulfing Mexico, with ominous implications for the U.S. This view dominated the thinking of key members of the Reagan administration, such as Constantine Menges, special assistant to the National Security Council. In his 1988 memoir, *Inside the National Security Council: The Making and Unmaking of Reagan's Foreign Policy*, Menges presents his perspective on Mexico:

...the Mexico of the late 1980s is a very fragile land. Since 1983 this sun-drenched but poverty-ridden nation has been in the throes of a visible economic and hidden political crisis that threatens its political system... If communist groups succeed in taking over most of



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solidarity with the rest of Latin America, "nuestras Americas."

By the time, Ronald Reagan stepped into the Oval Office in 1980, armed with his strategy for intervention in Latin America, the U.S. right wing saw solidarity between Chicano/Mexicano activists in the Southwest and national liberation struggles south of the border as a national security threat, fueled by the bilingual movement.

## CHAOS ON OUR DOORSTEP?

Reagan and his cronies orchestrated an eight-year full-scale assault on progressive and revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean: an enormous military build-up in Honduras, billions of dollars in military aid and U.S. advisors to El Salvador's death squad government, a resumption of aid to Guatemala, a murderous CIA/contra war and economic blockade against Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, the destabilization of the Manley government in Ja-

maica, and the first steps towards the invasion of Panama. Central America, this will likely produce a major communist effort to take power in Mexico.... This would mean that after two centuries of secure borders, for the first time the people of the United

States would be face to face on land with one hundred million people under communist control and allied with Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

By invoking a vision of chaos on the border, a flood of Mexican refugees, or armed infiltration by Communist guerrillas, a case was being made to militarize the border and clamp down on illegal immigration.

Right-wing preoccupation with Mexico did not stop at the border. In 1985, the Council on Inter-American Security—a right-wing think-tank made up of counter-insurgency experts, retired military officers, contras, U.S. Senators and Congressmen, many with links to the State and Defense Departments—published *On Creating A Hispanic America: A Nation Within A Nation?* The report was authored by R.E. "Rusty" Butler,



a businessman, columnist and consultant for the National Council on Educational Research, an English Only lobbying group.

With sharply racist overtones, Butler warned of the impending population explosion which will make Mexicans a majority in the Southwest in the early part of the next century. He pointed to a pattern of increasing immigration from Mexico to the U.S., as well as the higher fertility rate of Mexicans compared to whites.

Butler focused on Mexican nationalism as a serious threat to the physical integrity of the U.S. He traced the idea of Aztlan, a Chicano homeland, from the 1960s to the position of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

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Mexicano, which advocates socialist reunification with Mexico. According to *A Nation Within A Nation?*, short-sighted language policies which cater to Mexican nationalist sentiment by teaching Spanish—and, worst of all, promote Mexican pride and encourage maintenance of national culture—create the conditions in which this “subversion” can flourish. His solution—classic counter-insurgency theory—is to dry up the ocean (the Mexican people), so the fish (Mexican nationalist guerrillas) have nowhere to swim. In this case the ocean is Spanish and dehydrating agent is the English Language Amendment.

With *A Nation Within A Nation?*, U.S. counter-insurgency thinking came full circle: from Central America, up through Mexico, and into the Southwest. And with this linkage, came the origins of a new mass political movement, English Only, integrally tied to the strategies of intervention in Central America and militarization of the border.

### THE ENGLISH ONLY MOVEMENT

In 1983, Larry Pratt, a former Virginia State Legislator and a director of the Council for Inter-American

Security founded English First. Pratt is a direct-mail entrepreneur whose other political action committees include U.S. Border Control and Gun Owners of America. English First lists members of 20 state legislatures on its advisory council and claims a membership in excess of 200,000.

The other major organization, U.S. English, claims a membership of more than 350,000, with over 100,000 in California alone. The organization has an annual budget of \$7 million. Its stated purpose is “to defend the public interest in the growing debate on bilingualism and biculturalism.”

U.S. English was founded by Dr. John Tanton, a Michigan ophthalmologist, and S.I. Hiyakawa, a former U.S. Senator from California. (As President of San Francisco State University, Hiyakawa was known for his racist attacks on Black studies and his suppression of student activism in the 60s.) Founded in 1983, U.S. English was an off-shoot of another Tanton brainchild, FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a Washington, D.C. lobbying group advocating strict immigration regulation. Tanton is also immersed in a web of anti-immigration and zero population growth organizations, all supported by ultra-right wing

foundations, known for their support of racist causes.

With the tenure of William Bennett as Secretary of Education, the English Only forces secured the commanding heights

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of educational policy-making. Bennett launched an attack on bilingualism in September of 1985, when he criticized bilingual education programs as ineffective in making a rapid transition from non-English to English. Two months later, he made another speech equating the ability to speak and read English with loyalty and citizenship. According to the Department of Education, public response was overwhelmingly positive.

English Only advocates advanced to key positions within the Department of Education. In 1987, Bennett hired Rusty Butler, author of *A Nation Within A Nation?*, as a special assistant on post-secondary education. Gary Imhoff, a U.S. English consultant, was hired to review and evaluate materials used in teacher-training for bilingual education programs. His job was to determine whether maintaining non-English languages and cultures was being promoted over the goal of English proficiency. In a book co-authored with former Colorado governor Richard Lamm entitled *Immigration Time Bomb*, Imhoff had argued that assimilation of immigrants had to take precedence over the preservation of cultural identity, even at the expense of lowered educational expectations: “If we can’t afford school dropouts, who are a natural by-product of displacement and culture shock, then we can’t afford immigration.”

To date, English Only legislation has been passed in



18 states, most recently Colorado and Florida. Additional states are targeted by U.S. English for campaigns, particularly New York and Texas which have been identified as key states along with California and Florida. The ultimate goal of the movement is to get legislation passed in 34 states, enough to secure an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Thus, step by step, the English Only movement is building a mass base to suppress non-English speaking people.

### "DELIBERATELY INFLECTING CONDITIONS OF LIFE ..."

In a country where 96 percent of the population speaks English, the idea that the dominance of English might be threatened or overwhelmed by Spanish is absurd. The visions conjured up by English Only advocates, almost uniformly, of cultural fragmentation and civil war, mask a harsher reality: Mexican people living inside U.S. borders are in imminent danger of losing Spanish along with their national cultural heritage. Seven out of ten children of Spanish-speaking immigrant parents become English speakers, and their children — the third generation — grow up with English as their native language. Among Mexican people whose roots in the Southwest go back to the U.S. occupation and seizure of northern Mexico, the decimation of Mexican cultural heritage and loss of Spanish language proficiency is intensified.

Now we have the development of a mass movement, born and bred of white supremacy and U.S. chauvinism, whose goal is the eradication of any vestige of this language and culture from the public educational system in particular and U.S. society generally. When the larger context of attacks on Mexican people is taken into consideration — the continual violation of land and water rights, the militarization of the border, and other attempts to isolate Mexican people on this side of the border from any contact with the southern part of the Mexican nation — the implications are clear. We are facing a concerted campaign to destroy Mexican national identity.

According to the United Nations, genocide is defined as "deliberately inflicting conditions of life, designed to destroy, in whole or in part, a people, nation, religious or ethnic group." When the intent is to destroy a people's language and heritage, the term cultural genocide is most appropriate. For all its claims to be protecting the English language, the English Only movement must be exposed for what it really is: a strategy of cultural genocide against Mexican people.

Yet, despite a deliberate strategy to deny colonized people in the U.S. the use of their languages, Spanish, Black English and Native American languages persist. In most cases, this is simply the refusal of a people to sacrifice their national identity and accept their disappearance as culturally distinct people. But the struggle to reclaim a national language, like other aspects of the struggle for national culture, can become part of a

conscious political strategy to resist cultural genocide:

To fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material cornerstone which makes the building of a culture possible... A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. A national culture should take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom.<sup>11</sup>

Stopping English Only is more than just replacing restrictionism with democratic pluralism. It is an integral part of a struggle by Mexican people to maintain their national identity — Mexicanidad — in the face of a political, economic and cultural onslaught aimed at destroying them. It has to be linked with efforts to hold onto Mexican-owned land in the Southwest, with a campaign to stop repression by the Migra (immigration police) and against the militarization of the border.

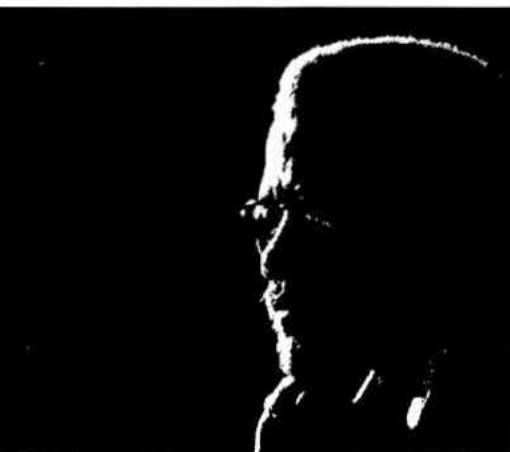
The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano and the Colorado Coalition Against English Only are building a National Coalition Against English Only that projects this perspective. The Coalition is organizing a national education campaign to expose English Only and develop grassroots resistance to any attempt to use English Only laws against non-English speakers. For more information about the Coalition and its activities, contact them at: 98 Wadsworth Blvd., Ste. 127-170, Lakewood, CO 80226, (303) 922-7243. □

### Footnotes

1. *Black Skin, White Masks*, p.18.
2. *The Story of English*, Robert McCrum, William Cran, and Robert MacNeil, Penguin Books, New York, 1986, p. 200.
3. *The Story of English*, p. 209.
4. Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, p. 23.
5. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1886, p. xxiii.
6. From *The Puerto Rican Papers of Victor S. Clark*, cited in *The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History*, Edited by Kal Wagenheim with Olga Jimenez de Wagenheim, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY, 1973, p. 141 and *Puerto Rico: Flames of Resistance*, by Peoples Press, p.36.
7. Cited in *Puerto Rico: A Documentary History*, p. 181.
8. Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1968, pp. 298-299.
9. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest," *Mexican American Education Study, Report iii*, Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. 13-16, 19.
10. U.S. Civil Rights Commission, p. 34.
11. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, p. 233.



# Malcolm X Speaks in the 1990s



**Declaration of the  
African-American  
Delegation to the  
"Malcolm X Speaks  
in the 1990s"  
Symposium,  
Havana, Cuba,  
May 18-25,  
1990**

**F**rom May 18 to May 25, 1990, Cuba celebrated the 65th birthday of Malcolm X—thirty years after his historic meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem—with a symposium, *Malcolm X Speaks in the 1990s*, held in Havana and sponsored by the Cuban institutes, Casa de las Américas and Centro de Estudios sobre América. The symposium was also the occasion for an official Malcolm X delegation from the U.S. consisting of Black/New Afrikan political activists, scholars, cultural workers and journalists. We are pleased to reprint the declaration of this delegation, which reaffirms the unity of the Cuban people and Black people in the U.S. in their common struggles for self-determination, justice and human dignity.

Members of the Malcolm X delegation and presenters at the symposium included Akinyele Umoja, founding member and former National Secretary of the New Afrikan People's Organization; Kwame Turé (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael), organizer for the All African People's Revolutionary Party; Muhammad Ahmed (aka Max Stanford), founding member of the Revolutionary Action Movement and associate of Malcolm X; Abdul Al Kalimat and Bill Sales of the Malcolm X Study Group; James Turner of the National Malcolm X Celebration Commission; Omawale Clay, Natasha Russell, Father Lawrence Lucas, and Afrikan Internationalist Elombe Brath of the December 12th Movement; Rainbow Coalition organizers William Strickland and Odette Taverna; professor Margarita Samad-Matias; cultural worker Viki Akiwumi; and Tony Montiero of the Communist Party U.S.A. One esteemed member of the delegation was Assata Shakur, revolutionary New Afrikan Freedom Fighter, now working and studying as a political exile in Cuba. The coordinator of the delegation was Rosemarie Mealy, progressive journalist and veteran internationalist and friend of revolutionary Cuba.

We the undersigned members of the African-American delegation to the *Malcolm X Speaks in the 1990s* symposium held in Havana, Cuba, May 18-25, 1990, make the following Declaration:

In the United States at this time popular forms of resistance are emerging to defend Black people against genocidal social conditions and violent racist attacks. Malcolm X is a central political symbol of this resistance. This is a major opportunity to deepen our understanding of the radical Black tradition, to open broad-based community discussion and debate critical ideological and political issues, and to forge greater unity in our liberation struggle through alliances, coalitions, fronts and joint statements of unity.

We recognize, acknowledge and deeply appreciate the tremendous sacrifices that the Cuban people and its government have paid in human lives and material resources in advancing the cause of Black liberation, both on the African continent and in the African diaspora, including the granting of asylum



and sanctuary to political prisoners opposing U.S. racism and imperialism.

Therefore, in this spirit we declare the following:

1) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to rededicate themselves to the struggle for Black liberation, including political, economic and social justice, as well as the fight for human rights in the tradition of Malcolm X.

2) We deplore and oppose with all our moral and political convictions the insidious U.S. effort to intervene in the internal affairs of Cuba, attack the Cuban people and turn back the gains of their revolution. We unequivocally condemn the U.S. government's systematic attacks: the continued economic blockade; menacing the people of Cuba with the threat of military invasion; illegal media propaganda campaigns to sow seeds of reaction inside Cuba, particularly the lies, disinformation and slander the U.S. promotes as "news." We understand that this is intended to create a grave crisis to undermine the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba, and thus we demand:

a) That the U.S. government cease and desist from all its efforts to intimidate Cuba and its people, lift the immoral economic blockade, and call upon all progressive countries and organizations in the world to join us in this demand.

b) That in the spirit of both Malcolm X and Jose Martí, to strengthen our solidarity with Cuba, we call upon all African peoples and progressive organizations to join in an international information exchange program whereby we will provide Cuba with information from *inside the monster* while Cuba will send the people in the U.S.A. information from *inside the revolution* as an effort to combat the illegal radio and television aggression, especially so-called Radio and TV Martí.

3) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to join in building an active mass campaign of information and direct action protests to mobilize the American people around the important and urgent issue of keeping *U.S. Hands Off Cuba*.

4) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to involve themselves in efforts to expose the violation of human rights inside the United States. We remind the world of the scores of political prisoners currently being held in U.S. prisons and detention centers. We support the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as socially just principles which are not respected by the United States in terms of its relationship with African-Americans and other oppressed nationalities.

5) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to support the movement to Save the Audubon Ballroom, the site where Malcolm X was assassinated, and denounce the plan by Columbia University and New York City to destroy this historic landmark and build in its place biomedical

technology experimental laboratories. We call instead for the Audubon Ballroom to be renovated and developed into an international cultural center in Malcolm's name where our youth can study his life, his rise from the depths of U.S. society to a world renowned international statesman for human rights. The Malcolm X Cultural Center would also serve as an institution to study Malcolm's predecessors, contemporaries and progenies who struggled for the right to self-determination and national identity of Africans in the United States and the Americas.

6) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to establish the birthday of Malcolm X as an African people's national holiday, to commemorate his contributions and their relations to other international heroes whose lives are also commemorated on or about May 19th.

7) We call upon all African peoples and progressive forces to actively build and participate in the *International Conference on Malcolm X: Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle* to be held November 1-4, 1990 in New York City.

We are forever grateful to *Casa de las Américas* and the *Centro de Estudios sobre América* for answering our call to host this symposium. We have gained immensely from our Cuban brothers and sisters and were pleased to share with them the experiences of our brother and great son Malcolm X — a dedicated fighter for self-determination and human rights of oppressed peoples throughout the world. But even more than this we are grateful for the Cuban example that Revolution is possible, that there is a glorious possibility that the centuries-old degradation of capitalist exploitation can — and will — be surpassed.

For this we salute Cuba in this declaration and commit ourselves to deepen our solidarity with the Cuban Revolution as we advance our common struggle for peace and social justice through the programs we hereby adopt by the signing of this document.

Done this day, the 25th of May 1990 by the African-American Delegation to the *Malcolm X Speaks in the 1990's* symposium, May 18-25, 1990, in Havana, Cuba.

Abdul Al Kalimat • Elombe Brath  
Omawale Clay • Akinyele Umoja  
Muhammad Ahmad • Rosemarie Mealy  
Odette Polintan-Taverna  
William Strickland  
Lewanda Hernandez  
Margarita Samad-Matias  
Father Lawrence Lucas  
Natasha Russell • Kwame Turé  
Viki Akiwumi • Assata Shakur  
William Sales • James Turner  
Sulaiman Rabab



# FEMININITY

## What's It To You?

Walk down the street, what do you see? Women in miniskirts, hair swinging wearing high heeled shoes. Look a little further: there are two dykes in jeans and leather jackets, raring to go. There's a woman in biker pants with a halter top — there are two more in flowing skirts, bangles to the elbows and sandals. These women are tall and short, thin and fat, some wear makeup some don't. But they all share something inside themselves. One way or another the issue of femininity has determined a lot about how they think about themselves and how they want to present themselves to the world.

Are you into shaving your legs or going hairy? Do you like to wear make up or do you think it's oppressive—or do you think that thinking it's oppressive is oppressive in itself? Do you worry about your weight because you think you're too fat and therefore not attractive, or do you think all women are beautiful no matter what

their size? Do you think femininity is the spiritual essence of womanhood, or do you think all that emotional stuff is a lot of bunk? Do you see yourself on TV, in the movies, or are you alienated by the reigning images of women?

**Inquiring minds want to know.** What does femininity mean to you in the nineties? *Breakthrough* women are taking a survey to find out if our ideas are in step with those of other women. And then we want to write about it. So please, please take some time and fill out this survey. Even do the essay questions. And if you don't find the questions or categories you like, make up your own. There are *no* PC answers: *Be Honest!*

Send to: *Breakthrough*, P.O. Box 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114.  
Deadline: February 1, 1991. (For women only.)

### 1. Which of the following apply to you:

- |  |                                      |   |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> tall          | <input type="checkbox"/> pretty      | <input type="checkbox"/> long hair            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sexy          | <input type="checkbox"/> blonde      | <input type="checkbox"/> short hair           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cute          | <input type="checkbox"/> modest      | <input type="checkbox"/> gossip               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> soft          | <input type="checkbox"/> athletic    | <input type="checkbox"/> big breasted         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> thin          | <input type="checkbox"/> short       | <input type="checkbox"/> emotional            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fat           | <input type="checkbox"/> intense     | <input type="checkbox"/> attractive           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vain          | <input type="checkbox"/> gutsy       | <input type="checkbox"/> flat-chested         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> smart         | <input type="checkbox"/> erotic      | <input type="checkbox"/> passionate           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> authoritative | <input type="checkbox"/> passive     | <input type="checkbox"/> competitive          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> handsome      | <input type="checkbox"/> nurturing   | <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vulnerable    | <input type="checkbox"/> opinionated | <input type="checkbox"/> exotic               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> independent   | <input type="checkbox"/> intuitive   | <input type="checkbox"/> resilient            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> indecisive    | <input type="checkbox"/> strong      | <input type="checkbox"/> neither thin nor fat |

### 2. Do you wear make up?

- ☐ Sometimes  
☐ I won't leave home without it  
☐ Are you kidding? Never!

### 3. How often do you wear dresses?

- ☐ at least once a week  
☐ 1-3 times per month  
☐ 3-6 times per year  
☐ less than 3 times per year  
☐ never

### 4. Which of the following applies to you:

- ☐ predominantly feminine  
☐ somewhat feminine  
☐ not at all feminine  
☐ androgynous

### 5. Have you always identified in this way?

- ☐ Yes ☐ I used to be more feminine  
☐ It depends on my mood

### 6. Do you feel less feminine as you get older?

- ☐ Yes, and it's freaking me out  
☐ Getting older is getting better

### 7. Do you eat less than you want because you think you're too fat?

- ☐ Never ☐ I don't believe in dieting  
☐ Sometimes ☐ I don't have the will power  
☐ Always

### 8. I exercise: ☐ To maintain my weight

- ☐ To be thin ☐ For my health ☐ For my looks

### 9. Which of these do you consider "feminine":

- |                                     |  |                                      |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> tall       | <input type="checkbox"/> long hair     | <input type="checkbox"/> vain        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> modest     | <input type="checkbox"/> gutsy         | <input type="checkbox"/> blonde      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sexy       | <input type="checkbox"/> short hair    | <input type="checkbox"/> gossip      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whiney     | <input type="checkbox"/> big breasted  | <input type="checkbox"/> opinionated |
| <input type="checkbox"/> athletic   | <input type="checkbox"/> passionate    | <input type="checkbox"/> intuitive   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> thin       | <input type="checkbox"/> independent   | <input type="checkbox"/> muscular    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> intense    | <input type="checkbox"/> smart         | <input type="checkbox"/> fat         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> attractive | <input type="checkbox"/> flat-chested  | <input type="checkbox"/> soft        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> resilient  | <input type="checkbox"/> handsome      | <input type="checkbox"/> coy         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> weak       | <input type="checkbox"/> manipulative  | <input type="checkbox"/> exotic      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> passive    | <input type="checkbox"/> competitive   | <input type="checkbox"/> vulnerable  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> pretty     | <input type="checkbox"/> emotional     | <input type="checkbox"/> erotic      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> short      | <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive    | <input type="checkbox"/> nurturing   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cute       | <input type="checkbox"/> authoritative | <input type="checkbox"/> indecisive  |

### 10. Have you ever been mistaken for a man?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No





11. Femininity is:

- ☐ good                      ☐ bad  
☐ neither good nor bad    ☐ fun  
☐ totally oppressive       ☐ has a bad rap  
☐ the only way to go       ☐ purely fashion  
☐ the emotional center of being a woman  
☐ biologically determined

12. Do you feel that men take you more seriously if you are feminine? ☐ Yes ☐ No

13. What do you think are the major influencing factors in your desire/choice to be feminine? (Rank in order, with #1 as most important factor):

- ☐ I like it                      ☐ I'm more attractive  
☐ I feel sexier                ☐ That's who I am  
☐ I'm resigned to it        ☐ I need to for my work  
☐ People respect me more

14. If you don't identify as feminine, what are the major factors influencing your choice? (Rank in order, with #1 as most important factor):

- ☐ I'm just not that way  
☐ I don't like to be treated as a sexual object  
☐ I get less respect

15. Do you think men are more attracted to you if you are feminine? ☐ Yes ☐ No

16. Has your partner/husband ever suggested that you: (make check marks to indicate "Yes")

- ☐ dress more femininely?  
☐ lose weight?  
☐ shave your legs?  
☐ shave your armpits?  
☐ wear make up?

17. I wish I could be/look more like: (Circle one or more — or write in your own choice.)

- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Madonna           | Tracy Chapman     |
| Frida Kahlo       | Roseanne Barr     |
| Alice Walker      | Patti LaBelle     |
| Aretha Franklin   | Cher              |
| Dora Maria Tellez | Katherine Hepburn |
| Assata Shakur     | My mother         |
| kd lang           | Cherrie Moraga    |
| Whoopie Goldberg  | Ellen Barkin      |
| Lily Tomlin       | Sinead O'Connor   |
| Barbara Bush      |                   |

18. What do you think of feminism on the issue of femininity?

- ☐ It saved my life  
☐ It wrecked my life  
☐ It's totally judgmental and a drag  
☐ Liberating gender-wise

19. Are you a feminist? ☐ Yes ☐ No

20. Do you want your girl children to be feminine?  
☐ Yes                      ☐ No                      ☐ Who cares?

21. Your age: ☐ race/ethnicity ☐

22. What is your annual income?

- ☐ under \$10,000            ☐ \$10-20,000  
☐ \$20-30,000            ☐ \$30-40,000  
☐ over \$40,000

23. Who do you sleep with?

- ☐ Women                      ☐ Men                      ☐ My cat  
☐ All of the above        ☐ None of the Above

24. Are you: ☐ married?                      ☐ single?  
☐ in a steady relationship?

25. How do you identify politically? (conservative, liberal, radical, etc.): ☐

On a separate piece of paper, please answer the following questions: (take at least 2 minutes for each)

1. How do you relate to images of femininity that you see in the world? (i.e. ads, on t.v., in the movies)

2. Do you shave your legs? Why or why not?

3. Is it possible to be feminine and liberated at the same time?

4. (Optional) Is there anything else you want to say on the topic?

**The following questions are for lesbians and bisexuals only:**

1. If you are feminine, do other lesbians treat you less seriously?

- ☐ No                      ☐ Sometimes  
☐ Frequently

2. If you identify as feminine, do you think you experience femininity differently than straight feminine women?

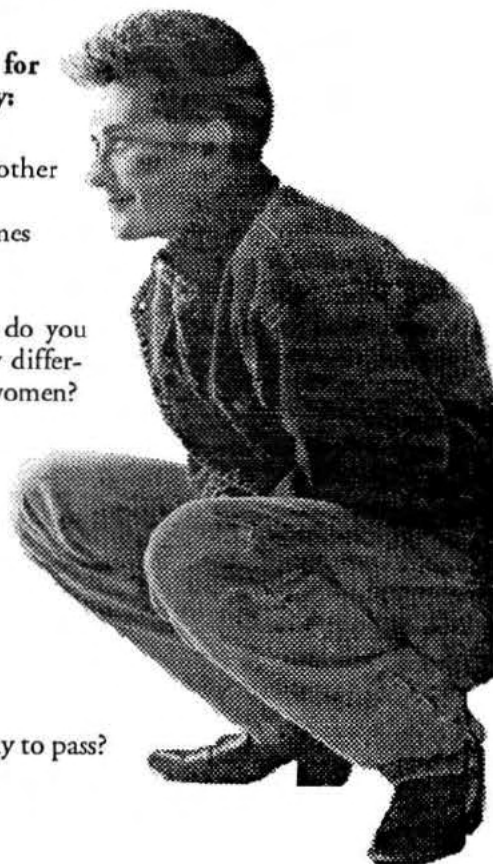
- ☐ Yes                      ☐ No  
☐ In some ways

3. Are you attracted to feminine women?

- ☐ Sometimes  
☐ Usually  
☐ No  
☐ Not necessarily

4. Do you use femininity as a way to pass?

- ☐ Sometimes            ☐ No  
☐ Frequently







the man and woman are sleeping together. The man has his arm around the woman and the woman is always sort of down underneath with the man opposite. It's always like that. There's not a single director that has the brains to change things around

And they never show a male nude, they're terrified of that. If they do, they always show him from the back, not from the front. They run a terrible risk. Because they always associate masculinity with the male sexual organ, the contradiction could be very dramatic in terms of the myth of masculinity and machismo.

But it is an absolutely disgusting way to relate to other people. For men it's much more comfortable, and sometimes for women, but it's a pattern of relationships which is unacceptable. For example, right now nothing happens to men who rape women in Nicaragua. They are a band of savages who think that women are

# A Golden Cage

## **Dora María Téllez Talks About Women and Men in Nicaragua**

*Dora María Téllez, the former Sandinista Health Minister, was elected Coordinator of the FSLN's Managua Departmental Committee in September. In August of 1978, along with a small number of FSLN fighters, she led the takeover of Somoza's National Palace. Currently she is an FSLN Deputy in the National Assembly. Breakthrough interviewed her in her National Assembly office in Managua in August 1990.*

**T**HE CAGE IN WHICH MANY WOMEN ARE IMPRISONED is a cage of gold. And there are many women who feel more secure in this cage than to risk themselves in a jungle, walking on their own two feet. It's better sometimes to lie down than to stand up or support yourself, and women have been taught to lie down and to think that men need to support us. They don't really support us, but they think they do. So women lose the possibility of walking on their own two feet. And men lose the possibility of confessing their weaknesses.

I watch films — it doesn't matter which ones, they're all the same and I like to analyze the treatment of couples. It always happens: They always start with a man and a woman beginning their romance and next

responsible for rape. Maybe they don't dare to say this, but they think it. This is a consciousness of shit, to put it bluntly, but it's basically what exists in the world.

Within the FSLN people are more advanced and less advanced, men and women. We can't create the illusion that all Sandinistas think exactly the same. It's not a party of angels and archangels, but of men and women. And at times when issues are raised which touch men, well, they act like men.

I think the family unit, and this is on an international level, is probably one of the most conservative and conservatizing units that exist. Many women are very liberated once they step outside the door of their house; but once she's inside the house, she makes concessions, very deep ones, in order to not create problems. And there are many men who are really revolutionary outside the house, but inside their house they are bosses.

The question of women is very complicated. It's going to be a long fight. A woman worker once said to Daniel Ortega, if all the people in the National Directorate were women, then the question of pre-natal care and milk for children would be treated differently. Maybe it's not totally true, but you have to say if political men had to breast feed their child three times a day, then their understanding of what this is would be totally different.

We women have to fight on this field. It's an ideological battle. It's based on what people think, what's going on in their head and we have to carry it out politically, socially and legally, without being sectarian. We have to open it up so that anybody who wants to join in that struggle can. □



# Free Mumia Abu Jamal

Breakthrough is pleased to reprint the following Open Letter from the Black Cultural Workshop at Lompoc Federal Penitentiary. The Open Letter is an urgent call to action to save the life of Mumia Abu Jamal, the only political prisoner in the U.S. currently on death row. We urge our readers to respond to their call and do whatever you can to save the life of Mumia.

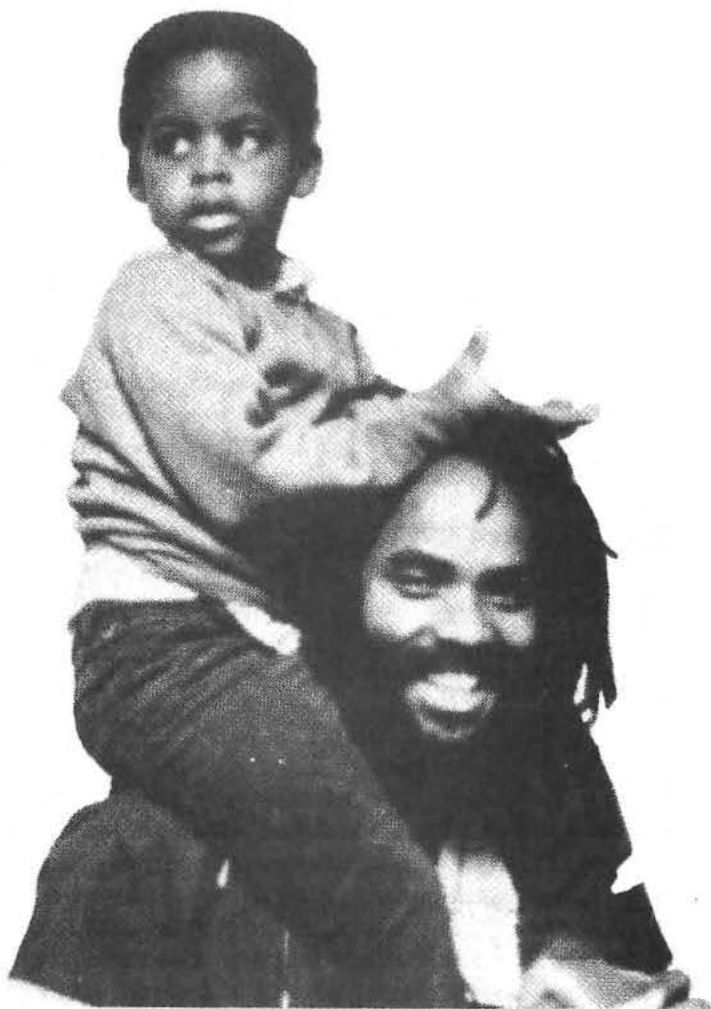
**A** GENERAL CALL TO ACTION IS UPON THE AFRICAN Independence movement, as well as all progressive Black organizations and freedom loving peoples of all persuasions. A call to muster support and generate a movement to stop the first known politically motivated, state-sanctioned execution since the murder of the Rosenbergs.

We should not allow apathy to be the response to this outrageous and abhorrent sanction issued by the courts of Pennsylvania. This call is not just for intellectual stimulation, but is a call to mobilize and agitate the very base of the grassroots, the mothers, the fathers, the entire community. This issue should be spoken about in every bar, on every corner, from every pulpit, in every Jumah! It is an issue that effects the very survival of the character of our resistance to injustice.

Mumia Abu Jamal languishes in Huntingdon prison, on death row for the eighth year now. Brother Mumia is a victim of a conspiracy and set-up by the Philadelphia police department, its judicial system, as well as the political officials of Philadelphia. The scenario of Dec. 9, 1981, does not deviate much from the many, many similar conflicts involving the African/Black community and repressive police departments in the urban communities of the u.s.a.

Mumia's deep, strong, resonant voice has spoke out for years against oppression and racism in this country. At the age of 13, Mumia Abu Jamal was beaten and arrested in South Philadelphia while protesting against a rally for the arch-racist George Wallace, former Alabama governor. In 1968, though only 14, Mumia was co-founder of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. He also served as their Minister of Information, and wrote a number of articles for the Black Panther newspaper.

A well-known journalist since 1970, Mumia garnered acclaim for his broadcasts on WRTI-FM, the Temple University station, WDAS-FM, one of the major 'popular' stations in Philadelphia, and on national radio networks such as WHYY-FM, the local Public Broadcasting System outlet, and for his uncompromising advocacy for the masses in these broadcasts. This man's integrity and stance was such that he became known as "the voice of the voiceless" in Philadelphia's Black and minority communities for champi-



oning the rights of the oppressed. Mumia was also President of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest.

Mumia became a supporter of the Philadelphia-based MOVE organization after the murderous siege on their Powelton Village home by more than 600 heavily armed cops in 1978. This confrontation came about as a result of the long-standing belligerence of the Philadelphia police towards MOVE because of their fight for self-determination and refusal to knuckle under to the oppression of the system and the terrorism of this system's agent, the Philadelphia police. Mumia's voice and writings stung the system with their exposure of the city's criminal conduct in 1978, and they were instrumental in generating demand for the release of the wrongly-imprisoned MOVE members.

But on Dec. 9, 1981, Mumia and his brother were attacked by police in Philadelphia. Mumia was shot and seriously wounded by his



would-be assassin. He was taken to a paddy wagon and allowed to bleed (damn near to death), then brutally and repeatedly beaten by the police as they terrorized him on the way to the police-controlled hospital. Through the brother's will and determination he was able to survive this first assassination attempt. The state launched its second attempt when a jury of one black and eleven whites found Mumia guilty of murder and sentenced him to death by frying in the electric chair on July 3, 1982. This was after a farce of a trial, the kind of railroad the state normally subjects its political prisoners to. The D.A. had repeatedly told the jury, "Don't worry about the death penalty because this man will enjoy appeal after appeal." And the D.A. further secured the death penalty with the argument that Mumia should be condemned to death simply for his political history and beliefs, claiming that his membership in the Black Panther Party and use of the slogan "power to the people" 12 years ago proved he was a committed criminal, a cop-killer.

With the arrest and silencing of Mumia, the government attempted to finish its vendetta against MOVE in May, 1985, when the Philadelphia police threw a full-scale assault against MOVE. Using .50 cal. machine guns, silenced sniper rifles, and other military weapons, including *aerial bombing*, the police murdered 11 MOVE members, including five children, and burnt down an entire African/Black neighborhood. This was the second time in the history of the u.s. government that bombs had been dropped on its own so-called citizens. The first time, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1931, was also on an African/Black community.

It should be noted that the united states in the continuing pursuit to execute this comrade is in violation of international law and properly applied domestic law. Thus, this entire procedure is illegal. The u.s. government has been reluctant to admit the existence of armed conflicts within its borders and the territories that it controls. They still fear the rebels will gain international legal status as insurgents or belligerents if Common Article 3 of Geneva Accords, Protocol 1 & 2, Political Offenses Exception to Extradition, of the 1977 Diplomatic Conference is applied to internal conflict.

As regards illegality within an international context, it concerns primarily trying political persons for alleged violation of domestic law. A state of belligerency/conflict has existed between the u.s. government and its African citizens since our kidnapping and forced introduction into chattel slavery. Conflicts between the established belligerents (African/Black vs. u.s. oppressor nation) present numerous legal questions on the status of self-determination. Because a colonial situation exists and acts of belligerents are historically preserved, they can no longer be considered as domestic questions, they are now a matter of international law. Simply, they are questions which justly require the jurisdiction of United Nations and other international convening bodies, i.e., all instrumentalities.

Particularly, this incident of an attempted assassination orchestrated by u.s. police, which is the genesis of this case, shouldn't be perceived now as a criminal act. Especially in view of the circumstances regarding Mumia Abu Jamal and his specific relationship to the African/Black community of Philadelphia, and his long-standing involvement in their on-going community struggle against the brutality, racism, terrorism and abuse of power utilized by the Philadelphia police. Therefore, Mumia's case cannot be viewed as a simple domestic violation of law. His proposed execution is illegal and should be declared null and void.

Mumia Abu Jamal is a *political* prisoner whose character has always been to rid the oppressed from the burden of police repression. All progressive, freedom-loving, life-loving people should support Mumia in this fight to stop this 'legal,' 'sanctioned' *murder*. In supporting Mumia, in working to save his life, you are ultimately working to abolish the death penalty and taking a stand for all the positive characteristics of man/woman-kind. This is a moral issue that we, as a people, must stand tightly committed, together, to secure this brothers' deliverance from the death sentence put upon him by this oppressor nation. Letters of protest should be sent to: Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. For more information on Mumia, and this drive to free him, contact:

Partisan Defense Committee  
c/o R. Wolkenstein, Esq.  
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station  
New York, NY 10013

New Afrikan Network  
Box 90604  
Washington, DC 20090

This letter was prepared and submitted by the following members of the *Black Cultural Workshop*, Lompoc U.S.P., Lompoc, CA 93436.

Mutulu Shakur, 83205-012

Kojo Bomani Sababu

s/n Grailing Brown, 39384-066

Tarik James Haskins, 40075-133

*Research Committee on International Law*

*and Black Freedom Fighters in America;*

*New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO)*

Delbert (Orr) Africa, 42259-066

Chuckie (Sims) Africa, 41793-066

*MOVE Organization*

William Davenport-El, 01516-050

*Moorish Community of America*

Anthony x Bradshaw, 39438-066

*Nation of Islam*

*United Rastafarian Bredren*

Adolfo Matos, 88968-024

*National Committee to Free*

*Puerto Rican Prisoners of War*



# Hunger Strike, One Year Later

## Spanish Political Prisoners

by Tim Blunk and Sally Thomas

On May 17, 1990, Spanish political prisoner José Manuel Sevillano Martín, a member of Grupo Revolucionario Antifascista Primero Octubre (GRAPO), died in a prison in Madrid, after 177 days of a hunger strike. He and 57 other Spanish political prisoners of GRAPO and the PCE(r) — Spanish Communist Party (reconstituted) — began the hunger strike last November 1989 to protest unbearable isolation resulting from their disbursement throughout Spain's 87 prisons, restricted written communication with people outside of the prison, a cut-off of visits, and other forms of verbal and physical harassment and punishment. At least 40 prisoners are carrying out the strike, which has now entered its second year — the longest continuous hunger strike ever recorded.

A media-ban has effectively limited news about their current situation, but at least several other prisoners have gone blind, suffered permanent damage, and/or are in comas. All of the hunger strikers have remained in isolation for the duration of the strike and are often held incommunicado from relatives and their lawyers for weeks at a time. Demonstrations throughout Europe have called on the Spanish government to negotiate with the prisoners. The government continues to ignore their demands, and instead has submitted the prisoners to painful and humiliating force-feedings which will certainly lead to more deaths if continued. Force-feeding is a practice that human rights organizations around the world condemn as a form of torture.

The prisoners of GRAPO and the PCE(r), many of whom have been incarcerated since 1975, are fighting for collective living conditions and an end to the Spanish government's policy of "social reinsertion." This policy calls for the dispersal of all the political prisoners (including some 600 from the Basque, Catalán, and Galician liberation movements) throughout the country's prisons. Prisoners who refuse

to renounce their political associations and accept reintegration into the general prison populations are subjected to solitary confinement and social isolation.

The demand for association in one prison is a demand to return to conditions that the political prisoners had already achieved in part through many years of struggle, including 120 separate hunger strikes of varying duration. A collective hunger strike in 1981, which ended with the death of Juan José Crespo Galende, was key in securing the prisoners' right to live collectively. Many of the women prisoners lived in large collectives in the prisons at Yserías and Carabanchel. Over 50 prisoners formed the Karl Marx Commune inside the men's prison at Soria. As political prisoners had done throughout the Spanish Civil War and the Franco era, the GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners organized themselves to fight for healthy, dignified living conditions. They conducted political study, set up classes and crafts work to sustain themselves and their families.

Collective association is still permitted to imprisoned former members of the police and Civil Guard, some of whom participated in death squads that assassinated former GRAPO political prisoners, Basque activists



from "Guernica" by Pablo Picasso



and other known leftists in the late 70s and early 80s. Journalist Rafael Gómez Parra reflected on this double standard in a recent edition of the Basque daily newspaper *eguz*.

It seems clear that there would be a much greater motive to separate drug addict prisoners, or mafia prisoners or the police prisoners.... But all this does not bother the director general. Only the issue of political organizations makes him nervous.

### BROKEN PROMISES

Like other nations of the European Economic Community (EEC), Spain is under pressure to resolve its political prisoner question — and suppress the underlying social and national contradictions — in anticipation of European unification in 1992. As a new member of the EEC, Spain — and its 8-year old leaders in power, Felipe González and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) — has been commended by other European countries for its pragmatic approach to economic growth, and its practical abandonment of socialism. In the process the PSOE has flipped from one position to another. When they embraced NATO and the EEC, they reversed a pre-election stance. They have also backed off from their concessions to the political prisoners and promises to negotiate with them. But with more than two million (at least 16 percent) unemployed, and growing social unrest, the PSOE is losing some of its long-time supporters, not least of which is the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), which has broken off its association with the Socialist Party for its entrepreneurial ferment and disregard of the working class.

In addition to Europe's convergence in 1992, Spain is reckoning with the international attention it will receive during the upcoming "jubilee" celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' escapades, and the World Olympics in Barcelona. No wonder the PSOE feels a need to demonstrate the success of their post-Franco "democracy." The existence of political prisoners, especially ones who hold any degree of appeal and support, does not bode well for Spain's international

reputation. Much better for Spain that they rid themselves of all traces of political prisoners by dispersing and isolating them, thereby decreasing public knowledge of their existence, and more critically, thwarting popular movement in their support. Such is the standard NATO policy towards political prisoners, which the PSOE has clearly adopted.

The Spanish General Consulate in Zürich defended NATO policy in a statement following a series of protest actions there in solidarity with the hunger strike:

Given the present situation the fine West German experience in this field accumulated over the last twenty years constitutes a model for Spain. Solitary confinement, that is to say, private lodging in special cells, is a proven method for getting prisoners to break with their destructive political beliefs and thus a way to appreciably weaken their organizations.

The "fine West German experience" of isolation and sensory deprivation directed against imprisoned members of the Red Army Fraction (RAF) and other political prisoners has been condemned by Amnesty International as a form of torture. It has also largely been a failure in forcing these prisoners to renounce their politics. Only a handful have chosen to cut their political ties and accept the German version of reinsertion.

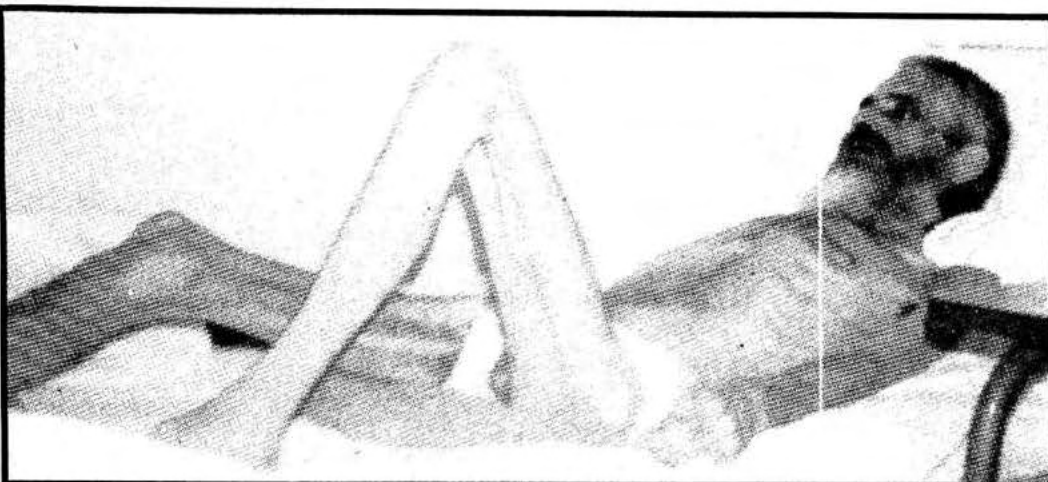
### FORCE-FEEDING AS TORTURE

The FRG has also developed force-feeding as a weapon against hunger-striking prisoners. There it is called the "coma-solution" — a macabre practice where force-feeding is used when a hunger striker falls into a coma. When the prisoner regains consciousness s/he can demand to have the intravenous lines removed, only to have the process repeated over and over in a torturous test of the prisoner's will.

In the case of the Spanish prisoners, the Ministry of Justice sought court orders for force-feeding after 45 days, when the risk of death emerged. However, the feeding is intermittent or insufficient — it is used only to stabilize the prisoners' condition during crises, after which they are returned to isolation cells in the prisons.

The force-feeding has merely prolonged the process of starvation with its intractable pain and wasting of the internal organs. One of the prisoners' attorneys, Francisca Villalba, described their appearance as resembling "the skeletal prisoners discovered in the concentration camp at Auschwitz at the end of World War II." Many have suffered heart attacks, cardiac arrhythmia, blindness, kidney and liver failure and paralysis, and could die at any time. All prisoners have sustained irreversible damage to their health.

Spanish political prisoner 8 months into the hunger strike.



credit: Area Critica





Although the Minister of Justice Enrique Múgica has declared that "in any meaningful sense there is no hunger strike" because the prisoners are being fed, not all has gone smoothly for the government. Many doctors and health workers in the private hospitals have refused to participate in the force-feeding. Several medical professional organizations and local judges have publicly denounced the practice, calling for a political solution to the conflict, not a medical one.

The Association of Family and Friends of the Political Prisoners (AFAPP) has led a bitter struggle to force the PSOE to negotiate a political solution. Among other actions, members of AFAPP occupied the offices of the Red Cross in Madrid and Bilbao for five months beginning November 1989 to break the press blockade.

The largest base of mass support has come from the Basque and anti-NATO movements. The news of Sevillano's death set off demonstrations and street-fighting involving thousands across Spain.

Euskadi has also been the site of the largest mass mobilizations in solidarity with the hunger strike. The Basque political prisoner support group, Gestoras Pro-Amnistía, organized demonstrations of 12,000 in Real in December 1989 and 70,000 in Bilbao in February. Many of the GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners are Basques themselves; all of the 600 Basque nationalist political prisoners have a direct interest in the outcome of the strike as they are also demanding reunification into one prison in Euskadi.

On the street GRAPO has carried out several armed actions including assassinations of military officers, prison guards and a doctor who had been a key proponent of force-feeding. Controversy following the doctor's assassination led several of the hunger strikers, including Sevillano, to publish a letter exonerating the medical personnel involved in the force-feeding. They placed full responsibility for their torture and deaths at the feet of Prime Minister Felipe González and the PSOE.

There have also been many solidarity actions and demonstrations across Western Europe, particularly in the FRG. These have mostly targetted the Spanish consulates and embassies in an effort to increase international pressure and break through the news ban. In Spain and elsewhere, demonstrations will take place on November 30, 1990, to mark the first year anniversary, and to demand again that the Spanish government allow the prisoners association. Thus far the government has spurned all offers for mediation by the Red Cross, Spanish human rights groups, the European Parliament and, most recently, by Spanish Archbishop Antonio Rouco Varela. Hope for government-sanctioned change appears to have reached a dead-end with the recent Supreme Court ruling in favor of force-feeding. International protest may be a critical factor in altering the government's hard-line approach — and registering opposition to NATO policy towards political prisoners.

Letters of protest should be sent to the Spanish ambassador to the U.S.: Ambassador Julian Santamaria, Embassy of Spain, 529-14th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009; (202) 347-2317.

Letters to the GRAPO/PCE(r) political prisoners can be sent in care of: AFAPP de Madrid, Apartado de Correos 15220, 28080 Madrid, Spain. □

Members of the PCE(r) and GRAPO in the Yserías women's prison in 1983, when the right to associate was still allowed.

*Tim Blunk is a North American anti-imperialist political prisoner, most recently tried in the "Resistance Conspiracy Case" in Washington, D.C. He is also co-editor of the just-published anthology Hauling Up the Morning: Writings and Art by Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in the U.S., Red Sea Press (see ad on page 39). Sally Thomas is a member of the Break-through Editorial Board.*



# CISPES on El Salvador

*Last issue, Breakthrough printed a symposium of views on Central America. We asked our readers for feedback. We are happy to print the following article submitted by a member of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador). CISPES has long been in the forefront of the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America.*

*by Julie Sinai, CISPES Northwest Reg'l Coordinator*

Today, the people of El Salvador are in a period that could define the war. In May of this year the FMLN proposed an 18-month timeline to set the political conditions for a cease fire and a process of democratization and demilitarization. While ARENA rejected the timeline, the process has begun with the United Nations mediating the negotiations between the FMLN, the ARENA government and Armed Forces.

The FMLN's objective in this period is to move from the military battlefield into the political arena so that a truly democratic process can define the future of El Salvador. The ultimate goal, as stated by the FMLN last September in their "Platform to the Nation: The Democratic Revolution," is to "restore civil society and thus, in conjunction with other social forces, carry out profound changes in the political and economic systems which will provide equal opportunity for all to govern the country." This transition can only take place with concrete political agreements, through the negotiations, before a cease fire.

The largest obstacle to democracy is the Salvadoran oligarchy and the Armed Forces. To build a democratic society in El Salvador the following components have to be implemented:

- 1) *Demilitarization:* The repressive apparatus has to be dismantled in order for the conditions to exist for the freedom of expression and movement.
- 2) *Democratization:* Conditions have to be created to encourage and respect the participation of all social forces in the democratic processes of the country without fear of repression.
- 3) *Economic and Social Justice:* Movement needs to happen in creating a just economic system that benefits the whole of the population and not the small minority.

The other obstacle to peace in El Salvador is the United States. Since the 1989 FMLN offensive and the brutality of the government's counteroffensive (massive bombings, assassinations — including the Jesuits), the Bush administration's policy has been critically scrutinized. With the failure of the Administration's proposal of \$85 million in more military aid, Bush and his policy on El Salvador are more vulnerable than ever. Dodd/Leahy created the most serious Senate debate on El Salvador in the history of the civil war.

Ideally, Bush would like to forget about El Salvador since there are greater geopolitical battles to be waged.

Nevertheless, El Salvador remains a priority for the administration because there is a strong revolutionary movement that is directly challenging U.S. imperialism. If the U.S. turns its back, the revolutionary forces would surely succeed and serve as an example for all revolutionary movements.

For 10 years CISPES has been a part of this complex and fluid struggle for freedom in El Salvador. We have provided close to one million dollars for projects of the popular movement and the FMLN that train and empower activists while helping to meet people's basic needs. CISPES has worked in coalitions year after year demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the repressive government of El Salvador, bringing thousands of people into the streets—finally contributing to the 50 percent military aid cut. But, 50 percent is not enough and we will continue to fight for a total cut in all aid.

The following conclusions for our work can be drawn from this analysis:

- 1) To support the FMLN in their effort to achieve a democratic revolution in El Salvador and for their new visions of revolutionary struggle. We are continuing our fundraising for FMLN and grassroots organization's projects which provide training and empowerment while working to meet basic human needs.
- 2) To demand that the U.S. end all aid to the fascist government of ARENA. We need to take this opportunity to deepen the existing divisions among the policy makers and guarantee that the 50 percent cut was only the beginning. Through the congressional authorizations process we need to work together with our communities to generate loud, militant opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador.
- 3) We need to agitate and mobilize the progressive movement in this country. Central America must not be consigned to oblivion as suggested recently by the *New York Times* and the *SF Chronicle*.
- 4) Lastly, as a movement we need to bond together in opposing the U.S. foreign policy of militarism in the world. The Bush Administration is pursuing a policy against the Third World in order to re-establish itself in the new world order. By being the world's police force the U.S. will try to militarily place itself on top. This is the policy being carried out in the Middle East and in Latin America with the drug war.

In closing, it is up to all of us to be in the streets, neighborhoods, churches, schools, and media, exposing the decades of U.S. complicity in murder, repression and economic strangulation of people in the Third World. This is the same policy carried out by the "powers that be" in our own communities against people of color, only emphasizing different aspects at different moments. As the conditions worsen in this country, we need to look at the common problem and attack the challenge from many angles. □

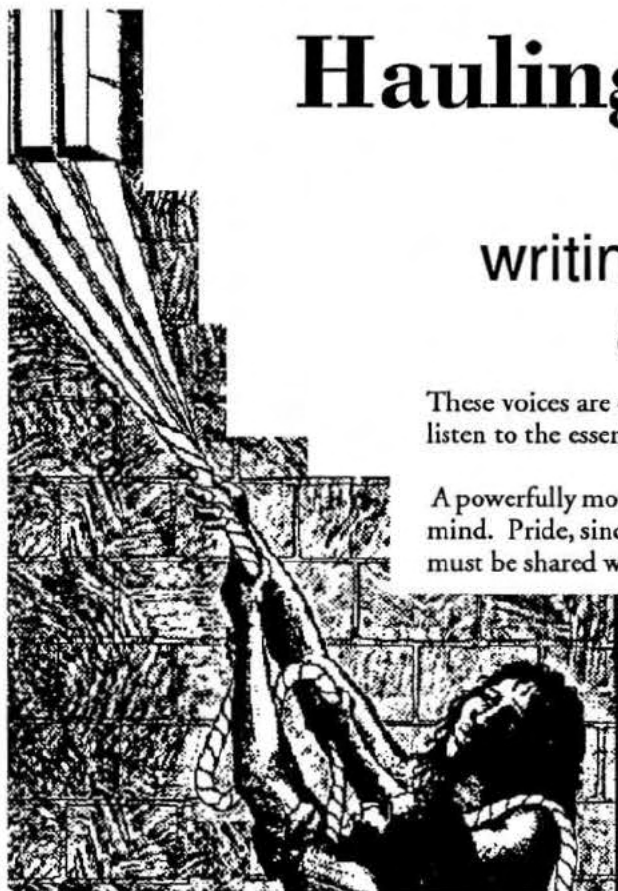


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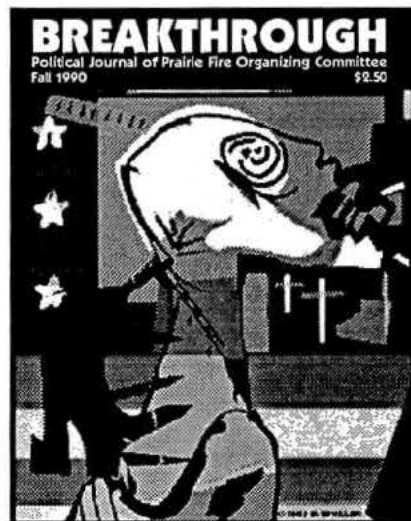
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# WRITE THROUGH THE WALLS

The U.S. government says there are no political prisoners or POWs in this country. Yet the partial list below shows this claim is a complete lie. We urge you to write them and to send literature. These women and men represent the best of the movement. Make their struggle yours. "The Real Dragon" sponsors a continuing book drive to political prisoners and POWs. For more information or to send contributions write: POB 3294, Berkeley, CA 94703-9901.

## Puerto Rican Prisoners of War

Alicia Rodríguez #NO7157  
Box 5007  
Dwight IL 60420

Elizam Escobar #88969-024  
FCI Colorado Unit  
PO Box 1500  
El Reno OK 73036

Edwin Cortes #92153-024  
Ricardo Jimenez #88967-024 A-2  
Alberto Rodríguez #92150-024 B-3  
FCI Lewisburg  
PO Box 1000  
Lewisburg PA 17837

Dylcia Pagán #88971-024  
Lucy Rodríguez #88973-024  
Alejandrina Torres #92152-024  
Carmen Valentín #88974-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th Street  
Camp Parks  
Dublin CA 94566

Carlos Alberto Torres #88976-024  
FCI Talladega  
902 Renfro (Gamma-A)  
Talladega AL 35160

Adolfo Matos #88968-024  
Lompoc Fedl Penitentiary  
3901 Klein Blvd  
Lompoc CA 93438

Luis Rosa #NO2743  
Box 711  
Menard IL 52259

Oscar López-Rivera #87651-024  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

## Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

Luz Maria Berrios Berrios  
#24582-004  
FCI Lexington  
3301 Leestown Road  
Lexington KY 40511

Juan Segarra-Palmer #15357-077  
FCI Marianna  
Marianna FL 32446

Haydeé Beltrán #88462-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th Street  
Camp Parks  
Dublin CA 94566

Jaime Delgado #94736-024-B1  
USP Terre Haute  
PO Box 1000  
Terre Haute IN 47808

## New Afrikan/Black Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners

Johany Imani Harris #2-373s  
Box 37 Holman Station  
Atmore AL 36503

Herman Ferguson #89-A-4621  
Attica Corr Facility  
PO Box 149  
Attica NY 14011-0149

Sekou Kambui #113058  
Richard Mafundi Lake #79972  
100 Warrior Lane  
Bessemer AL 35023

Kalima Aswad #B24120  
s/n Robert Duren  
CMC  
San Luis Obispo CA 93409

Haki Malik Abdullah #C-56123  
Ruchell Cinque Magee #A92051  
Hugo Pinell #A88401  
Corcoran Prison  
PO Box 3456  
Corcoran CA 93212-8310

Cecilio Chui Ferguson #04372-054  
Drawer K  
Dallas PA 18612-0286

Tariq James Haskins #40075-133  
Kojo Boman Sababu #39384-66  
s/n Grailing Brown  
Mutulu Shakur #83205-012  
Lompoc Fedl Penitentiary  
3901 Klein Blvd  
Lompoc CA 93438

Maliki Shakur Latine #81-A-4469  
PO Box B  
Dannemora NY 12929

Kazi Toure  
s/n Chris King  
FCI Lewisburg  
PO Box 1000  
Lewisburg PA 17837

Robert Taylor #10376-054  
FCI Otisville  
PO Box 1000  
Otisville NY 10903

Martin Rutrell #042600  
FCI Raiford  
UCI 68-2018 Box 221  
Raiford FL 320283

Abdul Majid #83-A-483  
s/n Anthony LaBorde  
Great Meadow Corr Facility  
PO Box 51  
Comstock NY 12821

Jalil A. Muntaqin #77-A-4283  
s/n Anthony Bottom  
Greenhaven State Prison  
Drawer B  
Stormville NY 12582-0010

Abdul Haqq #141-88-1173  
s/n Craig Randall  
HDM Rikers Island  
1414 Hazen St.  
E. Elmhurst NY 11470

Thomas Warner #M3049  
Drawer R  
Huntington PA 16652

Larry Guy  
Jackson State Prison  
Box E  
Jackson MI 49204

Mondo Langa  
s/n David Rice  
PO Box 2500  
Lincoln NE 68502-0500

Albert Nuh Washington #77-A-1528  
Wende Correctional Facility  
1187 Wende Road  
Alden NY 14004

Gary Tyler #84156  
Louisiana State Penitentiary  
Angola LA 70712

Sababu Na Uhuru #07350-016  
s/n William Stoner  
PO Box 326  
Mercersburg PA 17236-0326

Rickke Green #84244  
Oklahoma State Penitentiary  
PO Box 97  
McAlester OK 74502

Herman Bell #79-A-262  
Bashir Hameed #82-A-6313  
Mohaman Koti #80-A-808  
Shawangunk Corr Facility  
PO Box 700  
Wallkill NY 12589

Awali Stoneham #B-98168  
Soledad Prison  
Soledad CA 93960

Robert Seth Hayes #74-A-2280  
Southport Corr Facility  
Box 2000  
Pine City NY 14871

Richard Thompson-El #155229  
Box 10  
Stillwater MN 55082

Teddy (Jah) Heath #75-A-0139  
Sullivan Corr Facility  
Box A-G  
Fallsburg NY 12733

geronimo ji-jaga (pratt) #B40319  
4B4C-210  
PO Box 1902  
Tehachapi CA 93561

Sundiata Acoli #39794-066  
Mark Cook #20025-2148H  
USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

Sekou Odinga #05228-054  
s/n Nathaniel Burns  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959



**Move Prisoners**

Carlos Perez Africa #M7400  
Drawer K  
Dallas PA 18612-0286

Michael Hill Africa #M4973  
Mumia Abu Jamal #M8335  
Drawer R  
Huntington PA 16652

Charles Sims Africa #M4975  
Delbert Orr Africa #M4985  
Edward Goodman Africa #4974  
Lompoc Fedl Penitentiary  
3901 Klein Blvd  
Lompoc CA 93438

Ramona Johnson Africa #7564  
Debbi Sims Africa #6307  
Consusuela Dotson Africa #6434  
Janine Phillips Africa #6309  
Merle Austin Africa #6306  
Janet Holloway Africa #6308  
PO Box 180  
Muncy PA 17756

William Phillips Africa #M4984  
USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

**Virgin Islands 5**

Malik El-Amin #96557-131  
s/n Meral Smith  
FCI Lewisburg  
PO Box 1000  
Lewisburg PA 17837

Raphael Kwesi Joseph #96558-131  
Lompoc Fedl Penitentiary  
3901 Klein Blvd  
Lompoc CA 93438

Abdul Aziz #96521-131  
s/n Warren Ballentine  
USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

Hanif Shabazz Bey #9654-131  
s/n B. Gereau  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

**Native American  
Prisoners of War  
and Political Prisoners**

Norma Jean Croy #14293  
CIW Chowchilla  
PO Box 1501  
Chowchilla CA 93610

Rita Silk Nauni #Box 11492  
Mable Basset  
Oklahoma City OK 73136

Standing Deer #83947  
s/n Robert Hugh Wilson  
E. Block Box 97  
McAlester OK 74502

Eddie Hatcher #DL213  
No. Carolina Central Prison  
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USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

**North American  
Political Prisoners**

Kathy Boudin #84-G-171  
Judy Clark #83-G-313  
Box 1000  
Bedford Hills NY 10507-2496

Alan Berkman #233-315  
Timothy Blunk #233-410  
Marilyn Buck #233-396  
Linda Evans #233-411  
Susan Rosenberg #233-412  
Laura Whitehorn #220-858  
1901 D St SE  
Washington DC 20003

David Gilbert #83-A-6158  
Great Meadow Corr Facility  
PO Box 51  
Comstock NY 12821

Silvia Baraldini #05125-054  
PMB-7007  
Shawnee Unit  
Marianna FL 32446

Ed Mead #251397  
PO Box 777  
Monroe WA 98272

Larry Giddings #10917-086  
USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

Bill Dunne #10916-086  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

Richard Picariello #05812  
Walpole State Prison  
PO Box 100  
S. Walpole MA 02071

**Ohio 7**

Carol Manning #10375-016  
FCI Lexington  
3301 Leestown Road  
Lexington KY 40511

Barbara Curzi-Laaman #18213-053  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th Street  
Camp Parks  
Dublin CA 94566

Thomas Manning #202873-SH  
Richard Williams #79372  
Box CN-861  
Trenton NJ 08625

Jaan Laaman #10372-016  
USP Leavenworth  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth KS 66048

Raymond Levasseur #10376-016  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

**Ploughshares/Disarmament  
Prisoners**

Dorothy Eber #04996-045  
FCI Alderson  
Cottage 17, Box A  
Alderson WV 24910

Jean Gump #03789-046  
FCI Alderson  
Cottage 17, Box A  
Alderson WV 24910

Jennifer Haines  
FCI Lexington  
3301 Leestown Road  
Lexington KY 40511

Jerry Ebner #04467-045-B  
Fr. Carl Kabat #03230-045  
FCI Sandstone  
PO Box 1000  
Sandstone MN 55072

Fr. Jerry Zawada #04995-045  
Pembroke Station  
Danbury CT 05206

Richard Miller #15249-087  
1539 11th St  
Des Moines IA 50314

Jim Albertini  
c/o Ann Albertini  
PO Box 111  
Kurtz, Iowa IA 506760

**Vancouver 4**

Brent Taylor  
Frontenac Instit.  
PO Bag 7500  
Kingston ONT Canada K7K 5E6

Ann Hansen  
Prison for Women  
Box 515  
Kingston ONT Canada K7L 4W7

**Irish/Irish-American  
Prisoners**

Brian Fleming #08022-002  
PO Box PMB  
Atlanta GA 30315

Chuck Malone #48310-097  
FCI Terminal Island  
PO Box 3007  
San Pedro CA 90731

Joseph Doherty #07792-0545  
MCC New York  
150 Park Row  
New York NY 10007

Martin P. Quigley #41064-066  
USP Terre Haute  
PO Box 33  
Terre Haute IN 47808

**Japanese Prisoners**

Uyu Kikumura #09008-050  
USP Marion  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

*We can use all the help we can get keeping this list of prisoner addresses up to date. If you are moved, or if you know of any corrections that need to be made, please contact us at Breakthrough, PO Box 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114.*





From the people  
who brought you  
the war in Vietnam,  
the contras in Nicaragua,  
death squads in El Salvador,  
the occupied West Bank and Gaza,  
the invasions of Panama and Grenada,  
the invasion of Lebanon, the bombing of Libya...

# U.S. Out of the Middle East