

# Why are we in Lebanon?

BY SAM DEADERICK

**T**he destruction of U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut on October 23, which left over 200 Marines dead, has raised the bitter question: just what is the U.S. doing in Lebanon?

The Reagan administration's response, that the U.S. is on some kind of altruistic peacekeeping mission, is laughable. There is no peace whatsoever to be kept.

The U.S. "emergency" intervention was planned even before the Israelis invaded Lebanon in June 1982. The Paris-based magazine *Israel and Palestine* reported in March 1982 that Israel was planning to bomb southern Lebanon into a wasteland, take over Beirut, destroy the Palestinian Liberation Organization leadership, and then withdraw in favor of an international force under U.S. control.

In May 1982, Israeli "Defense" Minister Sharon signed a strategic cooperative agreement with Reagan. On June 1, the USS Kennedy left the Indian Ocean and sped to the Israeli/Lebanese coast. Israel invaded on June 6.

The Israelis strafed their way into Lebanon and installed the fascist-dominated Gemayel government to advance their longterm strategy of slaughtering and dispersing the Palestinian people out of existence. The Israelis wanted a pro-imperialist client state in Lebanon, and so does the U.S.—to advance its own fundamental interests in the region.

The U.S. must maintain access to Mideastern oil, which will become even more important when Alaska and

North Sea supplies are depleted in the foreseeable future. To do so, it must throttle the Arab revolution which will otherwise chase the U.S. out of the region and ignite revolt in the rest of the Third World. Lastly, of utmost importance to U.S. global military strategists is the continued existence of Israel as a major military base near the southwestern border of the USSR.

The U.S. presence in Lebanon guarantees an escalating spiral of carnage and destruction directed against the Lebanese, the Palestinians, and Arab revolt throughout the Middle East.

## The Lebanese civil war

Lebanon hardly exists as a nation today. The south is occupied and controlled by Israeli troops. The north and east are controlled by Syria. Only Beirut and its environs are held by Gemayal's government.

That government, dominated by the fascist Phalange party, is based on the Maronite Christian population, a small minority in Lebanon. Opposed to the government, and taking up arms against it, are the Sunni and Shiite Muslims, and the Druse, a religious community that broke away from Islam in the 11th century.

The dispersal of the PLO blurred the sharp anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist focus that the Palestinians brought to the war against the Phalangists. A religious/ethnic coloration has since overshadowed the essential class nature of the conflict. Factionalism within the religious communities themselves further complicates matters as the rightward-most factions of each community seek rapprochement with the Phalangists and Zionists in order

to further their own religious/nationalist ends.

Still, the Lebanese conflagration is *class* war. The ruling capitalists are overwhelmingly Maronite, while the working masses are primarily Muslim and Druse.

## Inside the PLO

Meanwhile, the PLO is in almost total disarray.

While the Israeli invaders were unable to destroy the PLO, they weakened it considerably. And the Pales-

tinians have been further weakened by factional war within Fatah, the largest component of the PLO. In recent weeks, the conflict has broken out in shooting, with Fatah founder and PLO leader Yasser Arafat trapped in the Lebanese port city of Tripoli by an army of PLO rebels, some Druse and Muslim factions, and the Syrian army.

The rebels point to Arafat's opportunist and conciliatorist overtures to imperialism and reactionary Arab monarchs, his support for a "peace-keeping" force to oversee the dispersal of the PLO from Lebanon, and his

support for a bantustan-style Palestinian "homeland" outside Israel as the reasons for their mutiny. Arafat denounces the Syrian involvement, pointing to Syrian president Assad's territorial ambitions in northeastern Lebanon and his wish to control the PLO. The rebels are right about Arafat and Arafat is right about Assad. Arafat's opportunism and misleadership are criminally suicidal for the Palestinian cause, and he must be replaced by leaders willing to launch a revolutionary political offensive against Zionism. But Assad *does* want to control the PLO and subordinate it to Syrian nationalist interests, above all to stave off potentially disastrous full-scale war with Israel.

Regardless of the need to remove Arafat, the rebels' shooting war against him serves Israel by destroying PLO fighters who could be won over to a revolutionary orientation, and by shattering the possibility of Palestinian leadership in the struggle against imperialist control of Lebanon.

## Hope for the Middle East

The Palestinian struggle remains the crux of the Lebanese civil war as well as the entire Middle East conflict.

The PLO must rid itself of Arafat, avoid coming under the thumb of the

*The U.S. presence guarantees an escalating spiral of violence directed against Arab revolt throughout the Middle East.*

tinians have been further weakened by factional war within Fatah, the largest component of the PLO. In recent weeks, the conflict has broken out in shooting, with Fatah founder and PLO leader Yasser Arafat trapped in the Lebanese port city of Tripoli by an army of PLO rebels, some Druse and Muslim factions, and the Syrian army.

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Syrians, and focus its struggle against Arab reactionaries as well as the Israelis, Lebanese fascists, and the U.S. It must rally the Arab working masses against these forces and demand utmost support from its international allies.

U.S. workers have a singular stake in a PLO victory. Reagan is throwing U.S. troops and munitions into a sinkhole of imperialist violence.

We must demand *immediate* U.S. withdrawal from Lebanon.

*Victory to the Lebanese and Palestinian freedom fighters!* □

BY ROBERT CRISMAN

**T**he world was stunned and horrified on September 1 when the U.S. government announced that the Soviet Union had shot down Korean Air Lines flight 007 over the Sea of Japan, killing all 269 people aboard.

A blistering cascade of anti-Soviet hysteria immediately issued from Washington, its allies, and the media: words like "deliberate," "cold-blooded," "wanton," and "murderous" were standard qualifiers in virtually all printed and broadcast descriptions of the tragedy.

But within a week, as facts came to light, as questions piled up, as discrepancies in the official scenario were laid bare, a far different picture began to emerge: reports now started to surface that the jetliner had in all likelihood been a South Korean spy plane, and that the U.S. had deliberately provoked the Soviets into confronting it, then used the ensuing tragedy as propaganda against the "evil Soviet empire."

These reports were never allowed into the headlines; the story was smothered almost as quickly as it had broken, and the official tangle of red-baiting lies and accusations was allowed

*Korean jetliner  
Blood on  
Reagan's  
hands*



ed to stand, for the most part without further challenge—loose ends, unanswered questions, and all.

That was enough for U.S. officials. Though the tragedy did not evoke mass anti-Soviet protest to the degree hoped for by the government, it did allow Reagan to heat the cold war to a temperature not reached since the '50s, and paved the way for the invasion of Grenada on October 25.

## Flight 007

The events leading up to the tragedy were these: As the Korean jet's flight path carried it close to Soviet air space, the plane veered out of the standard air lanes and flew over two highly sensitive Soviet military installations. When Soviet fighter planes scrambled in pursuit, the KAL jet refused to identify itself or to respond to the Soviets' radio commands, visual

signals, or warning tracer shots. Instead, it took evasive action and, without navigational lights, continued to fly directly toward Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet.

What were the Soviets supposed to think? Especially considering that the overflight commenced immediately after seven U.S. RC135 spy planes had conducted maneuvers in the area, with at least one executing dizzying figure-eights at the precise point where the jetliner entered Soviet air space.

After failing to elicit response from the KAL airliner for two-and-a-half hours, the Soviets shot it down, convinced—as even Washington now concedes—that it was a spy plane.

The U.S. and Japanese military observed the entire incident with highly sophisticated radar, radio, and satellite tracking equipment, even taping the conversation between Soviet ground control and the fighter pilots. Yet neither the U.S. nor Japan ordered the jetliner out of Soviet air space. Nor did they notify the USSR that the plane was a passenger liner. In fact, despite its full knowledge of what was happening, the U.S. never contacted the Soviet Union at all.

Only one conclusion can be drawn:

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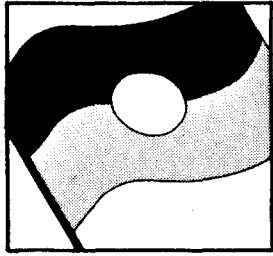
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## the freedom socialist

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The *Freedom Socialist* (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. Phone 206-632-7449.

Subscriptions: 1 year \$3.00 (Institutions \$6.00), 2 year Supporting Sub \$15.00, 5 year Sustaining Sub \$50.00. Add \$2.50 surface postage outside the United States; add \$7.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. Donations to defray publishing costs welcome. Subscriptions exchanged.

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## LETTERS

### Refreshing revelation

I find the *Freedom Socialist* is the journal with which I have the most rapport, and it is refreshing to find a revolutionary party taking the question of sexuality and its endless ramifications seriously and not as a side issue to be dealt with after the revolution. It is also a revelation to somebody who was nurtured on the idea that socialism in the USA died with John Reed!  
**Sean McGouran,**  
Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association  
Belfast, Ireland

out cause—including tenured professors.

We struck November 1. By the 13th, 80,000 provincial workers, teachers (90%!), school support workers, and government corporation workers were out. We were working toward a general strike if the government refused to rescind its attacks. But late Sunday night (Nov. 13), Jack Munro, head of the International Woodworkers of America, met with Bennett, and on the basis of verbal agreements only, declared the strike ended! Munro didn't even confer with the community groups in the coalition before the announcement!

The teachers in particular are incensed at this sellout. Some of the worst aspects of the Restraint Bill (e.g., firings without cause) have been modified, but with verbal agreements, we can only wait and see. And mark this: instead of re-

jecting the 25% layoffs provision, the unions will now assist in making them, to make certain that seniority is protected. So much for the rest of the workers.

Union leaders pledge to start the strike again if Bennett reneges on his word. But I wonder how community people will feel about supporting unions in the future after this experience with bureaucrats' "solidarity."

Still, this strike gave us a renewed understanding of what our power can be. And I notice that it was barely covered in the U.S. bourgeois press. Are they afraid we might give you some ideas?

**T.R. Walker**  
Vancouver, B.C.

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs.

### B.C. strike news

I'd like to tell you about the big strike up here in British Columbia that ended on November 13. The strike provided some very important lessons: it showed what tremendous power unions and community groups have in fighting together against the bosses, and that if we're ever going to exercise that power, we have to get rid of our treacherous union leadership.

Trade unions and community groups such as Women Against the Budget, Tenant Rights, Human Rights, Disabled Against the Budget, and many others joined together in a coalition called Operation Solidarity. Our purpose was to stop B.C. Premier Bill Bennett and his reactionary Social Credit Party from implementing massive social program cuts, and abolition of rent controls and the Human Rights Commission. All this was contained in their Public Sector Restraint Bill, which also provides for the layoff of 25% of public employees with no regard to seniority, and for termination of public employees with-

Farrell Dobbs, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party and SWP National Secretary from 1953-72, died on October 31.

Dobbs earned an undying place in American labor and radical history for his leadership of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strike, which championed the efforts of truckers to organize in the face of union-busters and the ossified, red-baiting AFL bureaucracy.

We honor him as one of the courageous Trotskyist leaders who preferred prison over acquiescence to the imperialist slaughter of World War II. And we remember

his presidential campaigns for the SWP during the McCarthy era, when only Trotskyists dared to call for socialist revolution and defend the right of radicals to speak out for what they believe.

U.S. Trotskyism was tested and forged in these great battles with the most powerful capitalist class in the world. It has been tested ever since. And the dedication to principle of the SWP leaders such as Dobbs in the 1930s and '40s are our best guide to action and our enduring role models. We must expand, deepen, and finish what they began.

## Nicky Kelly

# Irish socialist framed

BY CAITLIN HINES

**N**icky Kelly, political prisoner: framed by the Southern Irish government for the March 1976 robbery of a Dublin mail train. His case has been called the Irish Dreyfus case: no witnesses or evidence has ever linked him to the robbery. Yet the government has spent seven years and \$1.5 million to keep him in jail because of it.

### Why?

The robbery was an acute embarrassment to the Irish authorities. \$400,000 was taken, none of it ever recovered. Unable or unwilling to track down the real perpetrators, the authorities hunted for radical scapegoats. They found the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), a legal political party which stands for the reunification of Ireland and the establishment of a socialist republic—anathema to the capitalists who rule in Dublin. The authorities decided to kill two birds with one stone: "solve" a major crime and neutralize a growing threat.

### False confessions

Less than a week after the robbery, the government raided IRSP headquarters and in two days arrested 40 party members. Kelly and 17 others were selected for "in-depth interrogation"—two-and-a-half days of grilling without access to an attorney or a doctor. Kelly was deprived of sleep and repeated-



ly and severely beaten. Finally, he signed a "confession."

Kelly and six others were tried before a juryless Special Criminal Court in 1978. Their "confessions" were admitted as evidence; the prosecution had nothing else on which to base a case. In December, days before the verdict was handed down, Kelly fled to the U.S. He was sentenced in absentia to 12 years.

### Appeal denied

Five months after the verdict, the Provisional IRA claimed responsibility for the train robbery. The authorities chose to ignore the claim. But a year later, in May 1980, the Court of Criminal Appeals ruled that the confessions of Kelly's co-defendants should never have been admitted as evidence. They were released.

Yet when Kelly returned to Ireland to clear his name, he was re-arrested. And on October 29, 1982, the Irish Supreme Court rejected his appeal, even though his case

was the same as that of his co-defendants!

### Outcry

A huge public outcry in Ireland against this injustice, and intervention on Kelly's behalf by Amnesty International, failed to secure his release. And on May 1, 1983, Kelly began a hunger strike, which he ended 38 days later only after the European Court of Human Rights agreed to hear his case on an emergency basis. This court cannot free Nicky Kelly; it can only recommend action.

Kelly sees clearly that his case is part of a systematic attempt by the neo-colonial Irish Free State to stamp out republican socialism. In June, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey was denied a visa to come to the U.S. to publicize his case.

Nevertheless, support for Nicky Kelly is growing in the U.S. Currently, a petition campaign is under way to pressure the Irish Minister of Justice to release him.

For copies of the petition or more information, contact: San Francisco H-Block/Armagh Committee, 827-14th St., San Francisco, CA 94114. □

**Caitlin Hines is a member of the San Francisco H-Block/Armagh Committee and a coordinator of Nicky Kelly defense work in that city. She fights for a unified, socialist Ireland as a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party.**

# Phoneworkers' strike

## Holding the line against union-busters

BY MADELYN ELDER

**W**hen 625,000 phone workers struck AT&T and the Bell system on August 7, they knew the entire future of work in communications was at stake.

The company was out to bust the striking unions—Communications Workers of America (CWA), the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), and the Telecommunications International Union (TIU). It pressed hard for givebacks and threatened that the swiftly approaching breakup (divestiture) of the phone system made job security an outdated illusion.

But CWA, largest of the unions, held out for—and won—a decisive victory, the first major national labor victory since Reagan busted PATCO.

Important strike gains included: a contract clause that requires the company to provide advance warning of the elimination or downgrading of jobs, and to provide affected workers training for new jobs within the company; improved health benefits and pensions; and a 5.5% wage increase. The unions also won increased benefits for laid-off workers.

Especially significant was CWA's insistence on retraining for new jobs. Historically, many unions have fought technological innovations or battled to retain positions rendered superfluous because of them. CWA opted instead to insure that its members will have the skills to survive and contribute productively in the upcoming decades, and thus set an important example for other unions to follow.

During the strike, scabs and manag-

port work; they volunteered for extra picket duty and were instrumental in keeping the lines strong. Also, they were the ones who pushed the unions hardest to insist on job retraining.

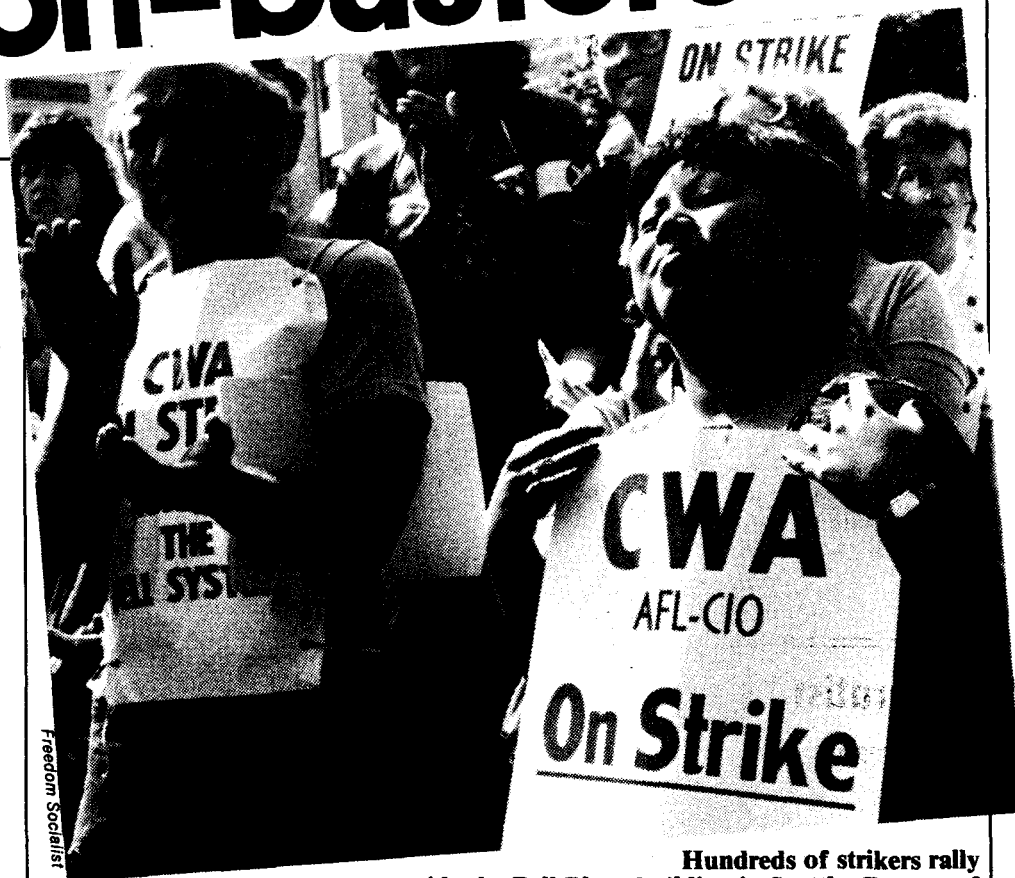
How could it be otherwise? Operators and clericals are the backbone of the company. They directly serve the consumer; they keep the records, prepare the bills and run the computers that make the system go. And they are the lowest-paid, most overworked, and least respected. Thus, they fought hardest for victory—for everyone.

### Rank-and-file militance

Virtually all phone workers were ready for this strike—boiling mad over the steady erosion of their work and working conditions and at the rising cost of telephone service, which continues to soar despite a record increase in worker productivity.

Even after a settlement was announced at the end of two weeks, phone workers stuck it out for another week of laborious negotiations with holdout local operating companies which are empowered to bargain separately. Well aware that the company was trying to pick off local bargaining units in order to weaken the unions nationally, the workers held firm for a total national settlement.

Picketing was high-spirited throughout the strike. Members rallied in Seattle, Oakland, Florida, Washington, D.C., and New York City. Everywhere, strikers chanted, confronted scabs, talked to the press, and reached out to other unions and community organizations for support. They did it all despite minuscule strike benefits, widespread scab violence, and a



Hundreds of strikers rally outside the Bell Plaza building in Seattle. Dozens of other unionists and community members lent enthusiastic support.

ed at CWA national conventions. Strike fund monies are routinely diverted to other union accounts.

National CWA leaders did show some militance during the strike—only because, had the company busted the union, they'd have been out of their jobs. And if they had acquiesced to givebacks, the membership would have booted them out.

The lack of national leadership enabled local officers to shirk responsibility as well. In San Francisco, the bureaucrats were totally unprepared for the strike, and hid from the membership. They refused to call meetings to discuss strike issues. And when a CWA caucus, Members United for Workers Rights, presented them a petition signed by 300 CWA members demanding a membership meeting, they still refused to call one. They also refused to organize or provide security for picketers; in some cases, picketers had to do night duty singly—and this in the Bay Area, where scab, management, and cop violence against strikers was constant.

In San Leandro, a Black woman striker, Lauren Mozee, was hit in the face by a scab manager shouting racist slurs. When fellow picketer Ray Palmiero rushed to aid her, both were arrested by police. They now face eight years in prison for defending themselves. The union only stepped in to support them after they had been fired by the company as well.

### Modern problems

Job erosion and divestiture are at the top of the unions' agendas. Constant technological innovations at Bell have displaced thousands of jobs in the last decade. Workers have either been laid off or retrained for new positions. Most of the jobs require skills commensurate with new technology, yet are classified as "clerical" and paid far less than installation and other outside craft positions. Clerical computer operators, moreover, are now classified as "management"—a non-union category—and paid below union scale. Further, the advent of do-it-yourself components and fiberoptic cables has decreased the

number of higher-paid craft union jobs, even as the number of "clerical" jobs has skyrocketed.

Divestiture is but a sham separation of AT&T from Bell. In reality interlocking directorates will continue to bind the companies together, but the unions will have to fight to regain entry into the "new" corporations.

Divestiture means profit for AT&T. It allows government-approved entry into the lucrative international computer market and facilitates union-busting—the quickest way to improve the profit picture.

AT&T failed to bust the unions during this strike, but it's happily looking forward to divestiture in 1984. Already, the company is beginning to hire non-union sub-contractors, form new non-union shops, and force-retire or fire "surplus" workers—while forcing overtime on others.

### Modern solutions

Job erosion, divestiture, and current union-busting by Bell are not insurmountable problems.

CWA must now prepare to fight management on the unfair rating and classification of jobs; fight the current lay-offs of "surplus" workers; organize unorganized phone workers at Bell and the "new" companies; and fight for recognition of operator and clerical jobs as skilled positions, of comparable worth to craft jobs (this means battling race and sex discrimination against the women and people of color who fill these positions).

The unions must expose the real meaning of divestiture to the public and prepare to fight for the right to organize the "new" corporations.

They must also continue to build mutual support with other unions and community groups. And out of common interest, they must reach out, touch, and be advocates for phone consumers against rate-gouging.

It's up to the membership to see that the job gets done. Their leadership, initiative, ideas, and militance won this strike and are now more than ever critical to the unions' survival.

The members must push for union

to page 19



ers barely maintained service. Baffled by computerized clerical and accounting procedures, they actually caused more problems than they solved; and toward the end of the strike the system was verging on massive collapse. The workers, who returned to work on August 28, are still untangling the mess caused by the scabs.

### The backbone

Operators and clericals—primarily women, people of color, and gays already militant from battling discrimination on the job—provided the strike's backbone. They demanded that the unions stand fast; they initiated strategies and tactics; they carried out the bulk of basic strike sup-

port work; they volunteered for extra picket duty and were instrumental in keeping the lines strong. Also, they were the ones who pushed the unions hardest to insist on job retraining.

### With friends like these. . .

It's clear that the future of the phone workers' unions rests with the lowest-paid echelons of the rank and file. Only their bold, modern, flexible, and militant leadership will stop job erosions and counter the threat posed by divestiture.

No such leadership can be expected from the unions' bureaucrats.

For example, the national president of CWA, Glenn E. Watts, has tried every possible way to keep the lid on strikes since the last one in 1971. Under his leadership, discussions of contract negotiations have been suppress-



# Asian Americans: Scapegoats for a nation in crisis

from page 20

● Francis Chu, a 20-year-old Chinese American man, was beaten by several New York City cops after a minor traffic accident on July 19. The beating is just one of over a dozen reported attacks on Asian Americans and immigrants by NYC police over the last two years.

● On July 24 a Vietnamese man, Anh Mai, was slashed to death in his Boston home and three of his roommates were injured when they asked a noisy group outside the house to quiet down. So far this year there have been 16 recorded harassments and assaults against Asian immigrants in Boston.

These atrocities are only the latest in a long, ugly history of violence against Asian/Pacific Americans and immigrants. If allowed to continue, we are in for another wave of the "Yellow Peril" hysteria that has disfigured U.S. society for much of the last 140 years.

## Racist hard-sell

It's no accident that the "Buy American" campaign is directed against Japanese rather than European imports. Europe, after all, is "white," and racism is the active ingredient in this patriotic hard-sell.

Racism has traditionally fueled American chauvinism against foreign nationalities and people of color abroad and at home. Thus, by scapegoating Asians and Asian Americans, Buy Americanism has been able to divert workers' anger away from the homegrown American capitalist source of economic misery. It is U.S. war production, industrial cutbacks, and the flight of American capital to foreign investment markets and industries—not the influx of Japanese imports—that are responsible for the unemployment wracking this country.

U.S. labor bureaucrats have shamelessly joined in the promotion of Buy Americanism. This, too, is no accident. For decades, they have made millions for the bosses and lined their own pockets by carrying out a policy of racial segregation and wage discrimination in the job market. Racism has been lucrative for them; why would they repudiate it?

## Nazi echoes

"Eat your Toyota" hysteria is especially sinister and dangerous in that U.S. depiction of the Japanese as the wealthy elite of world capitalism and the ruthless despoilers of the American economy provides such a close parallel to the 1930s Nazi portrayal of the Jews as "international capitalist bloodsuckers" of Germany.

Nazi ability to whip up hatred against the supposed economic superiority of an "inferior" race meant holocaust for the Jews and helped fuel the pogroms against other "non-Aryans," radicals, and lesbians and gays in Germany. If we don't stop Buy Americanism now, what are the prospects for racial and sexual minorities in this country?



May 1975, New York City: Hundreds took to the streets protesting police brutality against Asian Americans.

## The shameful exclusion

U.S. national and racial chauvinism against Asian/Pacific people originated in the mid-1800s when Chinese and then Japanese, Korean, and Filipino laborers began immigrating to America and Hawaii to fill the labor shortage caused by a decline in the African slave trade, genocide of native Hawaiians, and the unavailability, at that time, of cheap Mexicano labor.

In the depression-torn 1870s, a great wave of anti-Chinese violence shook the country. Small businessmen, manufacturers, and white craft unions

later passed against Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos. Anti-Filipino riots in California in 1934 led to passage of laws which limited Filipino immigration to 50 people a year.

Today, Asian and Pacific-born people, along with Mexicanos, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, all Latinos, and Haitians are the main targets for the latest closed-door proposal, the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill, which would install annual immigration quotas and other

wages and willingly acting as strike-breakers. (Today the bureaucrats level this same charge against women, people of color, and immigrants.) In the 1870s, union mis-leaders joined politicians throughout California in forming "anti-coolie" clubs and calling for Chinese exclusion.

In 1880, 40 craft unions established the League of Deliverance, aimed at driving the Chinese from their jobs and keeping them out of the country. During the depression of 1882, the Knights of Labor called for the physical removal of immigrants and touched off deadly anti-Chinese riots throughout the west.

From the 1880s to the 1930s, the American Federation of Labor stood foursquare for the exclusion of "Asiatic barbarians." Only with the rise of industrial unionism, the CIO, and radical leadership in the labor movement in the 1930s did the movement first step away from bedrock bigotry and start trying to organize Asian-born workers.

Early leftists also subscribed to prejudice. In 1907, the Socialist Party railed against Asian labor. Only the Industrial Workers of the World defended the immigrants in that period.

During World War II, no labor or Left groups, except the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party, spoke out when over 120,000 Japanese Americans (and 22,000 Japanese Canadians) were forced from their homes, families, and communities, stripped of their land and property, and thrown into concentration camps. The American Communist Party, rabid supporter of the Roosevelt/Stalin alliance, actually broke up anti-internment protests as "detrimental" to the war effort!

Labor and Left bigotry proved disastrous to the American working class. Asian immigrants were relegated to sweatshops and back-breaking farm labor and their descendants were excluded from organized labor's mainstream. U.S. workers were racially torn asunder and all labor immeasurably weakened—just as it is today by the bureaucrats' support of the



Solidarity among Asian Americans, other people of color, and feminists provided the key to canning Hollywood's resurrection of Charlie Chan.

blamed the influx of Chinese labor for the Panic of 1873. The Democratic and Republican parties initiated nationwide attacks on the immigrants, and racist vigilantes terrorized and murdered them with impunity.

In 1882, Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended the immigration of Chinese workers and their families and halted the naturalization of those already living in the U.S. Exclusion acts were

provisions to allow the harassment, surveillance, and deportation of undocumented workers and U.S. workers of color.

## The high price of prejudice

From the beginning, the white, pro-capitalist U.S. labor bureaucracy promoted anti-Asian bigotry. Unions refused to organize the immigrants and then accused them of degrading the price of labor by "accepting" low

"Buy American" campaign and the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill.

**Dehumanizing the victim**

The exclusion of Asian Americans from the labor movement and from society in general was accompanied by their thorough effacement from the written history of this country. Filipinos, for example, who first stepped onto these shores in the 18th century, have been totally written out of the books. The contributions of all Asian Americans to the building of the U.S.—in textile factories and gold mines, on the railroads and in agriculture—have been passed over in silence.

In place of history, stereotypes of Asian Americans as "weak," "deceitful," and "passive" have been funneled into the American consciousness. A cloak of ignorance and dehumanization—most vividly symbolized by scurrilous cartoon images of pidgin-speaking "Chinamen"—has been wrapped around the Asian American experience. Asian Americans have been made "aliens" and looked upon

otyped as "stupid," "lazy," "criminal," and so on.

Asian Americans have thus been isolated, resented, and ignored in the ranks of the racially oppressed as well as in society as a whole. Newly arrived Asian immigrants, moreover, are targets for violence and ridicule from other people of color who see them as competition for dwindling social services and low-paying jobs. And government and rightwing sponsorship of wealthy and middleclass anti-communists who fled Vietnam, established businesses here, and are now touted as the new American "success" stories, has added considerably to the hostility against *all* Asian Americans among people of color and the poor.

**Sexism's dual edge**

Asian American and immigrant women are doubly jeopardized in chauvinist America by a virulent sexism that intersects and reinforces the racism against them. They are considered doubly weak and passive and are therefore doubly the objects of scorn, abuse, and victimization.

Racism and sexism have combined to produce "China Doll" and "geisha" stereotypes that dehumanize Asian women as "exotic" and "servile" sexual playthings to be used, abused, degraded, and discarded with impunity. Rapists in U.S. cities have declared what police call "open season" on Asian immigrant women.

Life on the job is no less horrific. Asian American women are restricted for the most part to low-paid jobs in hotels, restaurants, and garment and textile factories. Immigrant women, isolated by language and culture and ignorant of the law, are prey to un-

There *is* no escape except to fight it.

**Fighting back**

Despite the forces arrayed against them, Asian Americans have always battled back against the racism, sexism, and violence they've suffered. Given the exclusions, mob atrocities, and the active hostility of organized labor, survival alone has constituted a triumph of resistance. And Asian Americans have done far more than just survive.

Early Chinese immigrants mounted desperate legal challenges to exclusion. When these failed, and the immigrants were forced into Chinatowns across the U.S., they held together by establishing mutual aid structures for family and community members. Chinese workers have organized when and where they could, in the teeth of employer and government resistance.

In 1982, for example, when the Internal Revenue Service forced closure of the Naline Lee garment factory in San Francisco, 80 employees—mostly immigrant Chinese women—lost their jobs and were prosecuted by the government for unemployment insurance fraud. The women rallied community support and won their case by demonstrating that sweatshop contractors took advantage of their unfamiliarity with English to trick them into falsifying unemployment claims.

The key to the seamstress' victory, says *East West* newspaper editor Diane Wong, is that "the women and their supporters wouldn't go away. They kept the issue alive in the community," and the community maintained pressure on the court.

**A militant heritage**

Filipino Americans have a long, militant history of union and radical

strikes, lawsuits, and draft resistance. Today, they are fighting for redress and reparations to compensate for the land and property stolen from thousands of innocent citizens and for the physical and emotional hardships they endured in the concentration camps.

Three men—Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui, and Fred Korematsu—have fought for over 40 years to overturn their respective convictions for defying the government's wartime internment order. On October 6, 1983, the U.S. conceded defeat in Korematsu's case when the Justice Department moved to drop his conviction. However, he continues to press for public disclosure of FBI and other documents that *prove there was absolutely no military necessity, as was claimed, for the internment.*

Korematsu, unwilling to let the U.S. sweep the matter under the rug, has vowed "to fight this case to the end."

**Seeking solidarity**

Though Asian Americans have often had to fight their battles alone, they have successfully forged solidarity with other people of color and feminists on many important fronts.

Multi-racial coalitions on college campuses are currently fighting attempts to cut ethnic studies programs that offer an alternative perspective on the history of Third World people and attempt to meet the needs of people of color on campus and in the community. The C.A.N. Charlie Chan group, which beat back gross Hollywood caricatures of Asians as buck-toothed, kowtowing spies and detectives, enlisted wide support from the race and sex liberation movements.

At the present time, groups like the American Citizens for Justice, which was formed to protest the murder of Vincent Chin, are spearheading national outrage against the upsurge of anti-Asian American violence. Corky Lee, a veteran activist in New York's Asian American community, hailed the recent breakthrough in Chin's case as a nationwide signal to racist cops and bosses that abuse will no longer be tolerated: "With the national climate the way it is, we'll probably see more violence. But we won't take it lying down. We'll defy the stereotype of the quiet minority."

**Bye-bye "Buy American"**

Never again should Asian Americans or immigrants have to fight alone against discrimination.

Discrimination in one form or another is the lot of the *majority* in the U.S. If your skin is not white, if your sex is not male, if you are lesbian or gay, handicapped, a worker, or are politically outside the two-party system, you are oppressed, exploited, and left out of the decisions that fundamentally affect your life. The fight of *all* the afflicted for survival, a decent life, and a say in the way things are run is the same as that of Asian Americans. And the *enemy* that stands in their way is the same.

Labor owes its allegiance to Asian Americans and all workers—not to the bosses at Ford, GM, or Chrysler, and not to a "Buy American" campaign that sets workers against each other so that U.S. capitalists can profit and labor bureaucrats prosper.

If workers of all colors will repudiate the patriotic snake-oil salesmen, we can send Buy Americanism the way of the Edsel. We can cleanse society of the racism, sexism, and homophobic bigotry that has kept us at each others' throats. We can unite and destroy our profit-seeking enemy. And we will build a new model for human and social relationships—where liberty, equality, and multi-cultural respect are the American and international *socialist* standards of excellence. □

**JUSTICE FOR VINCENT CHIN!**  
為陳果仁伸張正義

1982 年 7 月 15 日

1982 Vincent Chin

亞裔正義聯合會 Asian Americans for Justice  
920 Sacramento St. S.F. 94108 781-0401 536-2200

Stop Scapegoating and Racist Violence

請陳果仁伸張正義聯合會 亞裔正義聯合會 亞裔正義聯合會 亞裔正義聯合會

West Coast Tour - From Detroit

Dr. Lily Chin, member of Vincent Chin Memorial Committee for Justice

Friday, July 15, 7:30 - 9:30 pm  
Forum: Laney College  
Oakland (10th St. Fallon)

Saturday, July 16, 9:30 - 8:30 pm  
Chinese Culture Center  
750 Kearny Street, S.F.

日期: 七月十五(星期六) 9:30-8:30  
地點: 中華文化中心

日期: 七月十五(星期日) 7:30-9:30  
地點: Laney College 大會堂 (10街與Fallon街)

日期: 七月十五(星期日) 7:30-9:30  
地點: 中華文化中心



May 1983: Detroiters demand justice for Vincent Chin. The brutal murder of Chin, and the subsequent slap on the wrist given his killers, sparked national outrage.

as foreigners in their own homeland.

One other myth has done considerable damage: the myth of the "model minority," most often applied to Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans, who have supposedly been "quiet" and "unassuming" in the face of U.S. society's hostility, ignorance, and indifference. This myth has allowed many Americans to take comfort in the belief that Asian Americans are not really oppressed, and that their concerns are of minor importance.

Stereotypes have also been used murderously in U.S. wars overseas: Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Korea. American generals psyched their troops for slaughter by declaring that Asians were "sub-humans" and "gooks" who valued life less than whites. Such rationalizing allowed the unscrupulous atomic bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the chemical and environmental rape of Southeast Asia.

**Divide and conquer**

Racist stereotyping is the capitalist tool for maintaining white supremacy, yet whites are not the only ones who cling to the stereotypes. Many people of color have bought exactly the same myths, and are divided and mutually hostile because of them.

The "model minority" myth plays a devastating divide-and-conquer role by glorifying the few Asian Americans who have made it into the professions and posing them in stark, divisive contrast to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and other people of color who are barbarously stere-

checked employer abuse—sexual harassment, violence, arbitrary firing, and deportation. Virtually ignored by organized labor, they are the least protected of unprotected workers.

Asian American men are also the victims of sexist treatment. "Passivity" and "effeminacy" are the characteristics attributed to them by racist male chauvinists.

Some Asian American men attempt to escape the stigma of sexism through macho posturing and rejection of the feminists and lesbian/gay liberationists who are, logically, their allies against discrimination. They should take note of the experience of many gay men who have also opted for macho mannerisms, yet are increasingly the victims of gay-baiting and bashing in cities across the country.

Sexism is a double curse against Asian Americans. Even as it shapes and reinforces societal racism, it divides and weakens the communities.

activism, beginning in Hawaii where they battled sugar plantation owners for decent wages and working conditions throughout the first half of this century.

Filipino radicals, along with Chicanos, organized the first farmworker unions in California and, together with Chinese workers, they unionized the Alaska canning industry.

They currently lead U.S.-based opposition to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines and are pushing investigation of the 1981 murder of two leaders of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, by Marcos agents in Seattle. Filipinos are also leaders and activists against the current spate of repressive U.S. immigration legislation.

**A long quest for justice**

Japanese Americans resisted internment during World War II with





# Merle Woo on feminism and free speech

The following article is excerpted from a talk entitled "Feminism and Free Speech," presented by Merle Woo at the National Women's Studies Conference in Columbus, Ohio on June 29, 1983.

**A**ll over the world today, working people, revolutionaries, people of color, lesbians and gays are denied their natural right to free speech. But they resist every step of the way—no matter what the retaliation.

Working women are central in this struggle for free speech and association because we have the most to gain and the least to lose by fighting. In Alabama, Black women are jailed for registering voters. In Africa and in Central America, women fight on the front lines of revolution. In South Korea and other Asian countries, women textile and industrial workers speak out, organize, and strike against the inhumane conditions in factories.

Young Irish women and men in Armagh Prison refuse to be silenced, and sing their revolutionary songs although isolated from one another in tiny cells.

In Poland, Anna Walentinowicz, a crane operator and union leader, organized a strike center in the Lenin Shipyards of Gdansk and sparked the 1980

Polish rebellion. She is now in jail.

Here in California, I was fired from my lecturer's position at the University of California at Berkeley for exercising my right to free speech and speaking out against discrimination and oppression. I am fighting now to regain my job.

Women everywhere are persecuted, imprisoned, and put to death—the extreme form of censorship—for exercising the right to free speech and association. Yet, we keep on speaking out because we have to. Censorship is one of the most powerful forms of oppression. It isolates people. It stops criticism, protest, action. It prevents a progressive continuum of struggle. Kept in ignorance, not knowing our history, our roots, we have to start over from the beginning.

In the U.S., free speech is supposed to be constitutionally guaranteed. But that's true only for a certain class of people—not for the majority, whose rights can be cut as abruptly as mine were.

## Falling off the ladder

Until June 1982, I was a lecturer: for nine years at San Francisco State University and then for four more at the University of California/Berkeley. A marginal worker, I had few benefits, no job security. I was told that

because I was in the lowest echelon of the teaching establishment, I shouldn't have free speech. It is reserved for ladder-rank faculty or professors who receive tenure.

That's what tenure is all about. But it's practically guaranteed that a professor who receives tenure—usually a straight white male with a Ph.D.—will have nothing to say that will threaten the capitalist establishment.

He won't protest, for example, that the University of California is not the liberal bastion of free speech it's purported to be; that it supports the Lawrence, Livermore, and Los Alamos warfare labs; that it has investments in white South Africa; that it has just spent over \$1 million to prevent unions from organizing on its campuses; that it has blatantly violated affirmative action policies; or that it has whittled and chopped away at Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, and the Educational Opportunity Program since their inception.

I didn't play the tenure game. I supported students in their protests against elimination of student and community participation in Asian American Studies at Berkeley; against the elimination of community language courses; against the firings of staff, student-tutors, and other female lecturers who are community activists; against the elimination of the goal of an autonomous Third World College. All these policy changes signaled the death of the original concept of Ethnic Studies as set forth in 1969.

My stand against the University, the sold-out, opportunistic, self-serving powers-that-be as represented by the ladder-rank faculty in Asian American Studies, did not just include my visible, outspoken criticism of "management." I was also a unionist and a socialist feminist lesbian. I spoke out, criticized, and made statements about who I am, fully and with dignity.

Because I spoke out, I got fired.

## The path to protest

I became a radical precisely because I realized that I had no free speech.

I grew up in capitalist society. I went to school for 21 years and never heard about Third World people, about women, about lesbians and gays. I had no idea that there is a history of Asians in this country, a history of resistance and struggle, a history of culture and art. We have been censored out! My people are invisible. Maybe we get a paragraph in Ameri-

can history books about being railroad workers or about being interned during World War II. Maybe not.

But I was one of the lucky ones. Because of the civil rights movement and the Third World liberation strikes, I got my first teaching job in 1969 in the Educational Opportunity Program at San Francisco State. And that's when my education began: from students, from Third World men and women, and from the materials that we began to discover together.

In the mid-'70s, I became aware of the women's movement and discovered books about and by women. I taught a class on Third World women in Women's Studies at San Francisco State, and again a reciprocal learning process occurred between me and my students.

In 1977, I was scared to call myself a feminist. I didn't want my Asian American community to reject me—as if the Asian American community is a gigantic monolith with a single perspective! But as I grew as a radical and a feminist, I realized that the establishment sector of the Asian American community exercises its own form of censorship—to keep women and gays in their subordinate, invisible places. The establishment maintains this subordination through cultural nationalism, a political tendency that says race liberation is primary, that we are all Asian American "brothers and sisters" and women's liberation can come later.

Asian American women, like all women of color, are under incredible pressure not to be feminists or to speak out against the sexism in our families and communities. We get called emasculators. So we put our feminism in the closet and come out as Asian Americans, period.

Asian American lesbians are the hardest hit within our communities. Our mere existence is a stand against the status quo. We're not dependent on men or the family to make us whole, visible. We are seen as unnatural, sick, immoral, or products of decadent Western civilization. In practically every single publication put out today by and about Asian America, there is not one mention of the existence of lesbians and gay men. We are invisible within an already invisible American minority.

We get sexism and homophobia from our families and community, racism and class oppression from the

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*We're where the action is!*



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## Double Victory for Woo!

*As we go to press:* On December 1, Judge Winton McKibbin, the state law and motions judge in Alameda County, CA, ruled that Merle Woo could proceed with her breach of contract suit, rejecting the University of California's motion that the state court date be put off until her federal discrimination proceedings are completed. Woo could collect damages in the state suit; damages are not allowed in the federal suit.

This victory followed closely on the heels of another success. On November 23, the California Public Employment

Relations Board (PERB) upheld its earlier ruling on a complaint brought by the American Federation of Teachers, that the University of California's unilateral reduction of the maximum teaching time for lecturers from eight to four years was illegal. UC used the 4-year rule to fire Woo in 1982. The University had appealed PERB's original ruling which mandates that Woo and all fired lecturers be rehired with full back pay and benefits.

Two big wins for Woo! Full steam ahead toward final victory!

25¢



# The Chicano Struggle: a racial or a national movement?

## Part I

### OVERVIEW

**F**rom the U.S. conquest of northern Mexico in 1848 to the farmworker rebellion and Chicano liberation movement of the 1960s and '70s, the history of the Chicano people is a history of intrinsic resistance to oppression. This will to struggle destined Chicanos to be in the vanguard of the American revolution.

The Chicano population is huge, estimated to be at least 8.7 million strong.<sup>1</sup> Chicanos are the fastest-growing ethnic group in the Southwest and the second largest in the country.

But despite the size of the Chicano population and the contributions Chicanos make to U.S. society, their demands for economic and social equality are all too often answered with vigilantism and

police terror. The system is worse than unresponsive to Chicano needs; it actively opposes Chicano freedom.

U.S. capitalism cannot afford Chicano equality and also keep its profits high. The exploitation of the labor of this enormous population at wages far below average, and the relegation of Chicanos to the army of the unemployed in times of economic depression, are indispensable structural props of the U.S. profit system.

Thus, any feasible strategy for Chicano liberation must be a revolutionary one aimed at replacing capitalism with a new, democratic socialist order.

To develop a revolutionary strategy for Chicano liberation, we first must determine the *source and nature of Chicano oppression*. We also have to examine the needs and demands of the Chicano people in the past and present, and project what they are likely to be in the future. Our conclusions will then guide us in determining the program and tasks of the Freedom Socialist Party.

Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution of 1917, urged radicals around the world to look to the most severely oppressed to furnish revolutionary leadership. Historically, those with the least to lose and the most to gain assert the courage and audacity necessary to carry revolt through to the end.

Every revolutionary movement that has failed to orient to the most heavily afflicted sectors of the working class and the broad masses has inevitably stumbled onto the road of opportunism and defeat.

Leon Trotsky, Lenin's colleague and co-leader, viewed this danger of opportunism as the crux of the "American Question." In his 1939 discussions with U.S. Socialist Workers Party leaders on the Black Question, Trotsky said:

**If the workers' aristocracy is the basis of opportunism, one of the sources of adaptation to capitalist society, then the most oppressed and discriminated are the most dynamic milieu of the working class.**

We must say to the conscious elements. . . that  
to next page

**This incisive analysis of the Chicano struggle was adopted as a resolution by the Freedom Socialist Party at its July 4, 1982 National Convention. The authors are Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish, on behalf of the National Committee of the FSP.**



they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. . . If it happens that we in the SWP are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie.<sup>2</sup>

The FSP is duty-bound to be "worthy"—to come to grips, in theory and practice, with the dynamic Chicano movement for justice and equality.

The basic questions we must first ask, to determine the nature of Chicano oppression, are these: *Are Chicanos a nation? Might they become one? And if they are not a nation or a potential nation, what is the character of their oppression?*

To arrive at answers that reflect political reality—answers to be used as a guide to revolutionary action—we will use the *historical materialist* approach pioneered by Karl Marx. We'll study the concrete history of the Chicano people and their social movements in relation to the prevailing economics, politics, and culture. And we'll examine our conclusions in the light of Marxist and Leninist political theory regarding nationalism, race, class, sex, colonialism, and imperialism.

Marx's analytical method, and Lenin's political theories derived from it, have proven to be the most valuable theoretical tools in existence for 20th-century revolutionists. Arriving at an accurate political assessment of the fundamental conditions and forces at play in modern capitalist society is of utmost importance to revolutionary leaders. Without accurate program and strategy, it is impossible to build a revolutionary movement capable of winning and holding state power. Without sound theory and effective action derived from it, revolution is virtually impossible; with them, resistance to exploitation can be transformed into revolutionary change.

There will be some hue and cry that our scientific approach is pedantic, rigid, overly scholastic, downright nit-picky, etc. But such condemnation usually is heard from leftists whose theory is manufactured to fit their preordained assumptions, or who alternately insist upon or discard theory, again depending on whether it corresponds to their predispositions or to fleeting popular moods. They exhort us to listen to life instead of theory, as if there were an irresolvable antagonism between the two. Actually, dismay on the part of the opportunists and ultra-lefts over our application of the materialist dialectic to the history and meaning of the Chicano struggle signals that we are on the right track.

The race and national questions, *no less than any other class questions*, demand rigorous analysis, careful synthesis, and constant reality checks. ("Analysis" separates the whole into its parts and examines them; "synthesis" puts the component parts back into a unified whole.) Political theory does not determine itself; the human mind must discover it through careful study of how social institutions and relationships manifest themselves in life.

Careful study, for instance, could prevent a revolutionary government, or the leadership of a revolutionary movement, from denying the rights of national sovereignty to a *true nation* that has existed within the borders of a larger state. Such an error may well result in opposition to the revolution by the oppressed nation, endangering both the national liberation struggle and the revolution as a whole.

For example, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas' refusal to recognize the national sovereignty of the Miskitu Indians has driven many Miskitus into the camp of the CIA-controlled *contras*.

On the other hand, to treat a *non-nation* as a nation can grant a dangerous political authority to the petty bourgeois elements of the non-national grouping, dividing the revolutionary forces and weakening them in the face of attack.

Hence, a failure to arrive at a correct analysis and synthesis of the role of the national question in any struggle can result in the failure of revolutionary forces to win power—or, once power is achieved, in an inability to construct a new order capable of defending the gains of the revolution.

The present work is an initial step in the scholarly process of analysis and synthesis. Future elaborations and corrections will be made as our study continues and deepens.

If we use sociological and political precision, we can avoid falling into the trap of tail-ending each season's most popular political line on Chicano nationhood. We will be able to formulate a fundamental theory and a realistic transitional program that speaks to the authentic essence and requirements of the Chicano people's struggle for freedom, and we will be able to provide demands and slogans that bridge the gap between today's reality and tomorrow's promise.

### Methodology on the National Question

We base our analysis of the National Question on the Leninist criteria of what constitutes a nation.

A nation is not some romantic ideal to which every oppressed group aspires—or is supposed to aspire, regardless of whether the group *is* a nation or an incipient nation.

Not every oppressed group is or can become a nation; much more than a common "culture" is needed. A nation is *a particular type* of social and historical formation.

A nation is a concrete thing, not an abstraction, even though many people babble about holy nationhood in the abstract, in sublime defiance of the actual and factual history of a people, and of the science of logic.

A nation exists only under specific circumstances. And it is based first of all in a particular *territory*.

Trotsky brilliantly explains the Leninist analysis of a nation, as cited by Stalin under Lenin's tutelage:

**The nation [Stalin wrote] is a historically-formed enduring community of language, territory, economic life and psychological composition, asserting itself in the community of culture." This combined definition, compounding the psychological attributes of a nation with the geographic and economic conditions of its development, is not only correct theoretically but also practically fruitful, for then the solution to the problem of each nation's fate must perforce be sought along the lines of changing the material conditions of its existence, beginning with territory.<sup>3</sup>**

If we stick to this materialist definition of a nation as a historically evolved community with a common territory, economy, language and culture,

we will have an *objective* basis for distinguishing between oppressed nations and oppressed groups of a non-national character.

### Four key problems

In the course of our research, we isolated four main questions, the answers to which would reveal the sociological nature of the Chicano people.

1) Does there exist a Chicano nation, or an incipient nation, within the present boundaries of the U.S.?

2) Should the U.S. Southwest be a part of Mexico?

3) Are Chicanos not a nation but an oppressed nationality, like European immigrants of the 19th and 20th centuries?

4) Are Chicanos a super-exploited and oppressed race, like Blacks? (All workers are exploited; the lowest paid and worst-treated are super-exploited.)

Careful study of the facts has led the writers to believe that Chicanos are a *super-exploited and super-oppressed race with some characteristics and needs of an oppressed nationality*.

This conclusion flows from the answers to the four key questions posed above.

#### 1) Nationhood

After the U.S. conquest of northern Mexico in 1848, a massive influx of Anglos transformed the native Indian and Mexicano peoples into minorities in their own country. Anglo land-grabbers expropriated the land that had been the economic base of the Mexicanos.

Without that land and that separate economy, most Mexicanos north of the new border were forced to become wage workers within the U.S. economy, and they became an *inextricable* part of the U.S. working class. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of Chicanos are descendants of immigrants who came to this country as workers.

Chicanos, then, are not a separate nation, according to Leninist definition. They do have a common language and culture, but they do not have a consolidated territory or an economic system separate from that of the U.S.

Nor are Chicanos an "incipient" nation, i.e., an embryonic nation. Without a separate territory and economy, even the seeds of nationhood are lacking.

#### 2) The U.S. Southwest

This territory is no longer a part of Mexico. There is still much communication and migration back and forth across the border, and Chicanos in the Southwest retain strong cultural, historical, and personal ties with Mexico. Nevertheless, the Southwest has always been distinctly different from Mexico proper.

The old Spanish and Mexican colonies in what used to be northern Mexico were always isolated economically, geographically, and culturally from central Mexico. The U.S. Southwest is even less a part of Mexico today, integrated as it is in the U.S. economy and with a large majority of its population being non-Chicano. It doesn't reflect present-day reality to advocate the return of this land mass, with its present inhabitants, to Mexico.

This view, however, does not rule out the possibility of reparations to Mexico for the theft of 50% of its former territory.

#### 3) An oppressed nationality?

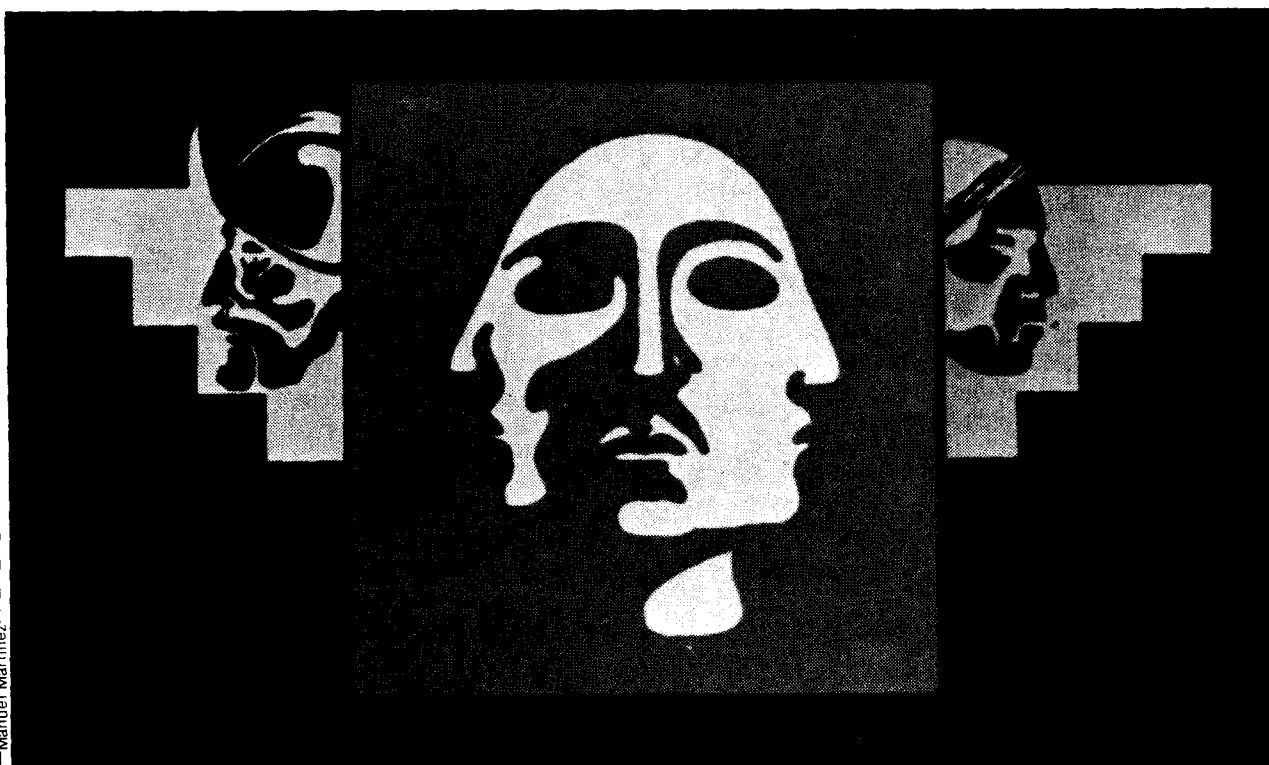
Chicanos have many striking characteristics of an oppressed nationality. Their language, culture, and civil rights are denied as much as those of any oppressed nationality.

Chicanos suffer from forced sterilization. They are forced to speak English in school and are denied the right to use Spanish in business, law, and other institutions. They are under tremendous pressure from the mass media to conform to the Anglo culture as peddled by Madison Avenue. Yet despite these manifestations of national oppression, Chicanos have many characteristics of the U.S. nationality.

They are fully integrated into the U.S. working class, although as one of its most exploited sectors. They are a crucial vanguard of labor and have left an indelible revolutionary mark on the labor history of the Southwest, the Pacific Northwest, and the Midwest. And the special skills and technologies that identify the Mexicano-originated mining, ranching, and farming industries are now integrated into the U.S. economy, although the origin of these Mexicano contributions is rarely acknowledged.

Furthermore, large segments of Chicano culture have long been incorporated directly into mainstream U.S. culture—language, food, music, art, architecture, dress, dance, etc.

Moreover, Chicano heritage derives not only from



**Popular graphic of the Chicano movement, representing the synthesis of the Indian of the Western Hemisphere and the Spaniard, who together make up the Mestizo, including the U.S. Chicano (the face in the center).**



the culture of Mexico and the U.S., but from the North American Indians. Chicano culture has long been deeply interwoven with the Native American cultures of the Southwest, especially in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, where Mexicanos and Indians have lived in close proximity, with a common development, during the 385 years since the Spanish conquest of that region in 1598.

Chicanos have contributed to, gained from, and become a part of three cultural traditions. Consequently, the Chicano people's direction of movement has been basically away from a single-nation consciousness and toward an international and hemisphere-wide consciousness in keeping with their multi-cultural heritage and their need for free access to both Mexico and the U.S.

Because of this complex national origin and culture, Chicanos are not essentially an oppressed nationality.

#### 4) An oppressed racial minority?

Chicanos are Mestizo, a mixture of the Indian of the Western hemisphere with the Spanish invaders. They are clearly oppressed as a race. Much of the harassment they face is racist—segregation, police brutality, employment and housing discrimination, forced sterilization of Chicanas, and racial stereotyping.

Race/color prejudice and discrimination are exercised even against Chicanos who no longer speak Spanish or who have dropped away from the Chicano/Mexicano culture.

Are Chicanos a super-exploited and oppressed race, then?

Yes. But they bear the dubious distinction of being afflicted with both *forced assimilation*—the hallmark of national oppression, and *segregation*—the hallmark of racial oppression. Chicanos thus face a *two-fold racial and national oppression*. They are an oppressed race which also suffers some aspects of national oppression.

#### The fallacy of "cultural-national autonomy"

As we have seen, Chicanos are not essentially a nation, nor likely to become one. The bulk of Chicanos have not and will not take up a cry for a fantasy nation that does not address their actual needs. The history of the Chicano movement shows that what Chicanos want and demand is an equal share in U.S. society, free access to both the U.S. and Mexico, the unrestricted right to freely use both Spanish and English, and the right to free expression of their culture.

Nevertheless, "nationalism" is a definite current in Chicano thought, and we need to examine the nature of this "nationalism" of a non-nation.

The form of nationalism that has arisen in the Chicano movement does not aim at national self-determination, i.e., political separation in an independent state. Instead, this nationalism glorifies *cultural separatism* from workers of other races, even as it orients to *remaining within* U.S. territory. Lenin called this notion "cultural national autonomy" and denounced it as a fallacious theory.

Cultural-national autonomy is the ideology that defines a nation, purely and simply, as an ethnic culture. When the ethnic group is also a distinct racial group, the cultural-national autonomists identify race as the distinguishing feature of nationhood. No other criteria for nationhood apply. And since cultural-national autonomy is based on culture, it rapidly becomes an ideology of cultural chauvinism. "My culture is entirely good, all others are entirely bad or inferior."

To the cultural nationalists, every ethnic and racial group is inherently or already a nation. Hence, the right to national self-determination, including the right to political separation, need not be asserted; the national identity already exists, in their own minds.

The cultural nationalists try to set up a "national" life by artificially segregating their ethnic group, which lives in a relatively integrated community, from their neighbors. A nation, they say, will come to exist if only the group maintains its "pure" ethnic identity in entirely segregated public institutions, like schools, labor unions, churches, etc.

The danger of cultural nationalism lies in its lack of a class analysis. To the cultural nationalist, all aspects of the oppressed group's culture, *including its bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements*, are superior. Cultural nationalists, then, often end up supporting their own ruling class in the name of racial solidarity, against workers of their own or other racial or ethnic groups.

As a result of substituting racial or ethnic solidarity for class solidarity, cultural nationalism becomes a middleclass ideology, and it inevitably ends up ac-



This protest against the Bicentennial wagon train in Las Vegas, New Mexico in March 1976, expressed the bitterness of Chicanos living as second-class citizens in "the land of the free." In the 1960s and '70s, some Chicano activists called for a separate Chicano territory in the U.S. named Aztlán, as in the sign at right. Aztlán was not generally conceived as a separate political state, but as a cultural separation of Chicanos from the rest of the U.S.

commodating itself to imperialism.

The exponents of cultural nationalism will respond to our critique by saying that we denigrate the character and importance of the Chicano movement and even "deprive" it of the right to nationhood. We may be called racists.

We are doing no such thing and we are no such thing.

It is not the Freedom Socialist Party that "denies" national autonomy to Chicanos. It is Chicano history and politics and psychology that inform the FSP where the central direction of the movement lies. And that direction is toward economic and political, but not cultural, assimilation.

Cultural pluralism (the coexistence of many cultures) has been and still is the desire of most Chicanos, but this need is not a nationalist position.

What really denigrates and deprives the Chicano movement is the mystique of cultural nationalism. Chicanos have a vital and vivid culture, past and present, but if a class analysis is absent, the reactionary aspects of the culture are promoted equally with the progressive aspects. And a non-class, non-political enshrining of traditional culture cuts the movement off from its own class struggle and from all other movements of oppressed people. By preaching the superiority of Chicano culture and of racial solidarity at all costs, cultural nationalism increases the divisions between Chicanos and other people of color, and between Chicanos and white workers.

Thus, cultural nationalism can never lead to equal rights or even cultural freedom for Chicanos—because these rights can only be won by a *unified workers' movement* strong enough to wrest victories from the most powerful capitalist class in the world.

Furthermore, capitalism can easily—and gladly—grant cultural separatism without fearing for its power. *Cultural nationalism demands very little from the capitalist state, wins no vital concessions from it, and fails to address the basic economic problems of the people.* Cultural nationalism actually plays into the hands of the ruling class by denying the central importance of Chicanos to the entire U.S. working class.

#### Chicanos in the coming revolution

Chicanos are not *less* than a nation, but *more* than one.

They have historically played a vanguard role within the U.S. working class, and they will continue to do so until and throughout the coming revolutionary period in this country.

Moreover, they have a crucial continental and global vanguard role to play. Chicanos undergo the dual experience of being at once part of the peoples of the U.S. and Latin America. As the link between two continents, they stand at the heart of the permanent revolution of both continents.

The permanent revolution of the Americas—that irresistible process of contagious upsurge in country after country—will not stop until revolution triumphs in the U.S. *The success of the merging of the Latin American and U.S. revolutions is literally in Chicano hands.* Look at the record.

Chicanos already lead the North American work-

ing class in the internationalist struggle for the liberation of Central and South America from U.S. neocolonialism. Witness the forefront role of Chicanos in El Salvador demonstrations, Nicaraguan support, protests against the Chilean junta, defense of Mexican undocumented workers, and so on. Chicano leadership of struggles for Latin American freedom exerts powerful pressure on white U.S. workers, encouraging them to liberate themselves from the national chauvinism and racism that keep them pawns of imperialism and the labor bureaucracy.

Furthermore, the second *Mexican* revolution is on the order of the day, and Chicanos will play a vital role in its support and in bringing the revolution home to the U.S.

Half of Mexico's population is unemployed, the peso has undergone crushing devaluations, and the U.S. imperialist stranglehold on the Mexican economy, exercised through virtual monopoly of trade and finance capital, continues unabated. Meanwhile, the Mexican people's aspirations for land and social equality, developed in the uncompleted 1910 Mexican Revolution, remain strongly rooted in the national consciousness.

The heroic traditions and legacy of the men and women who made the Mexican Revolution are not forgotten. A new upsurge is around the corner. And hundreds of thousands of Chicanos will play the same dynamic role on its behalf that their grandparents did in 1910—and they will go on to extend the revolution to North America.

*Onward to the permanent revolution of North and South America through the vanguard Chicano people!*

#### I. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Since the rise of the Chicano student movement of the '60s, Chicano activists have engaged in long, vigorous, and heated debates over terminology. Chicanos, like their Black sisters and brothers before them, demand their own choice of terms to describe themselves. Chicanos seek definitions which are sociologically precise and reflect pride in Chicano origins.

The writers use three major words throughout this document to refer to the peoples under discussion. Our usage of these terms is not cast in concrete, but is logical and follows today's most common usage among Chicanos.

##### • Mestizo

"Mestizo" describes all those whose origins derive from the mixture of Spaniard and Central, South, or North American Indian. Chicanos are Mestizos, as are the majority of Mexicans. Forty percent of Mexicans are still full-blooded Indian (Indios). A substantial portion of the population of Central and South America are Mestizos.

##### • Chicano

"Yo soy Chicano, yo tengo color," (I am Chicano, I have color) was sung throughout the Chicano student movement of the '60s. "Chicano" was

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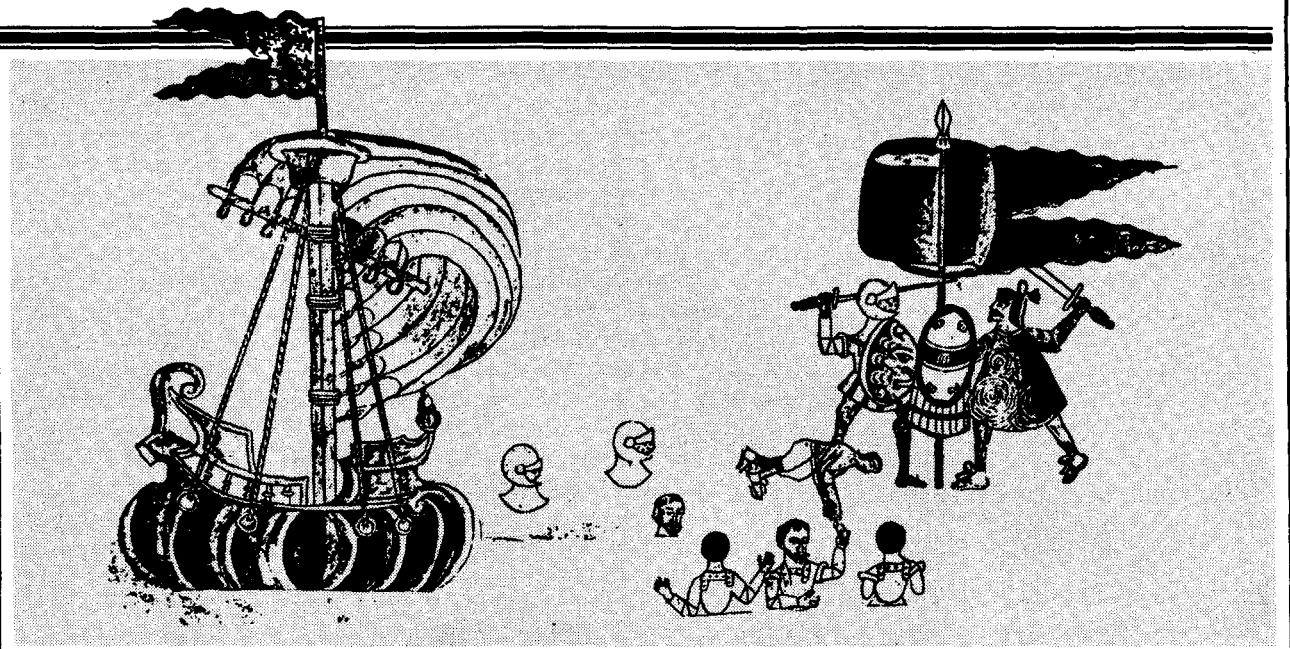
used to underscore the Mestizo heritage, emphasizing the Indian blood. The term was popularized by radical youth who rejected Anglo-imposed labels. The word differentiates Chicanos from both Anglos and Mexican nationals, and was created to express Chicano self-esteem.

We use the term "Chicano" to designate all U.S.-born people, or long-term residents, of Mexican origin, as distinguished from recent Mexican, Central American, and South American immigrants.

Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelina Enriquez, in *La Chicana: the Mexican American Woman*, ably explain the meaning of "Chicano" and why Chicanos find it preferable.

We will use "Chicano" to designate persons of Mexican descent living in the United States. Other terms such as "Mexican," "Mexican-American," "hispano" and "latino" are also in use, but "Chicano" is rapidly becoming the preferred term. While it has not gained wide public exposure until recently, the term is certainly not new. For many years its use was largely limited to Chicanos. . . [A] plausible interpretation [of its origins] is that it is a distorted or Americanized version of "Mexicano." . . The word seems to have had a paradoxical meaning like "nigger" or "queer," pejorative when used by outsiders and positive when used by insiders. Significantly, it is a term that has been adopted by Chicanos themselves. . . One of the unstated goals of the *movimiento* is restoration of pride in and respect for the word "Chicano."

Another common term, "Mexican-American," connotes middle-class respectability and . . . lumps such persons with other hyphenated American groups like Irish-Americans. . . thereby reinforcing the belief that American society is a melting pot of diverse ethnic groups. "Chicano," on the other hand, underscores the uniqueness of this group. Unlike immigrant groups who entered American society voluntarily, Chicanos' entrance into the United States was imposed. Terms such as "hispano" and "latino" are euphemistic and fail to differentiate Chicanos from other Spanish speaking people. . . For many years the use of



*Aztec depiction of the Spanish arrival and subjugation of Mexico. The Conquistadors prevailed over the Aztec empire through superior military technology and by enlisting the aid of Indian nations the Aztecs had conquered.*

"Hispanic" or "Spanish" was a way of saying that one was European and Caucasian, not to be confused with Chicanos, whose heritage was predominantly Indian. These terms, in other words, provided ways for Chicanos to assimilate. . .<sup>4</sup>

#### ● Mexicano

When discussing the present, we use the term Mexicano only for those born in Mexico. Historically, the Spanish-speaking people of the U.S. considered themselves to be Mexicans until at least the early 1900s, when proletarianization and urbanization caused more contact and cultural mixing between Anglo and Mexicano-Americans. At the same time, large-scale immigration from Mexico began and significant differences between the "Mexicanos" of the two countries began to be apparent.

We try not to use these definitions of Chicano and Mexicano in a mechanistic way, and we do not tie them to the question of U.S. citizenship. Mexicanos who have spent the bulk of their lives working and living in the U.S., but are not U.S. citizens, usually consider themselves American and call themselves Chicano.

In any case, people decide for themselves whether they feel their homeland is Mexico or the U.S. But

the distinction between the two terms is important; it is important to Chicanos, whose rights and identity as *Americans* have consistently been denied, and to Mexicanos, whose very lack of citizenship is the main tool used to super-exploit and persecute them.

There are important differences in the situation, demands, and national identification of Chicanos and Mexicanos. However, the two groups are inter-related and face many similar social conditions.

Spanish-speaking people, other than Chicanos and Mexicanos, have lived in the U.S. for several generations. Their situation has many similarities to that of Chicanos in the U.S., and mutual solidarity is a necessity. However, this document is limited to an analysis of the social position of Chicanos, who are Spanish-speaking Americans of *Mexican* origin.

## II. THE RAPE OF A CONTINENT

**K**ey to understanding the position of Chicanos in the U.S. is the understanding of their origin, which is Mexican. The stigma against Chicanos stems from this Mexican origin, and is rooted in the relationship between Mexico, an oppressed nation, and the U.S., its oppressor nation.

The modern relationship between the two nations derives from the differing ways by which various invading colonizers developed, or failed to develop, the vast resources of the New World.

The character of the *English* colonization of the U.S. set the stage for the U.S. to become the world's most powerful nation. But the character of *Spain's* colonization of Mexico led inevitably to Mexico's comparative underdevelopment.

How did this different development of two countries occur?

### Colonization of the New World

The opening of the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and Asia to European exploitation in the late 15th century was the basis of the development of infant world capitalism. As Marx comments sardonically in *Capital*:

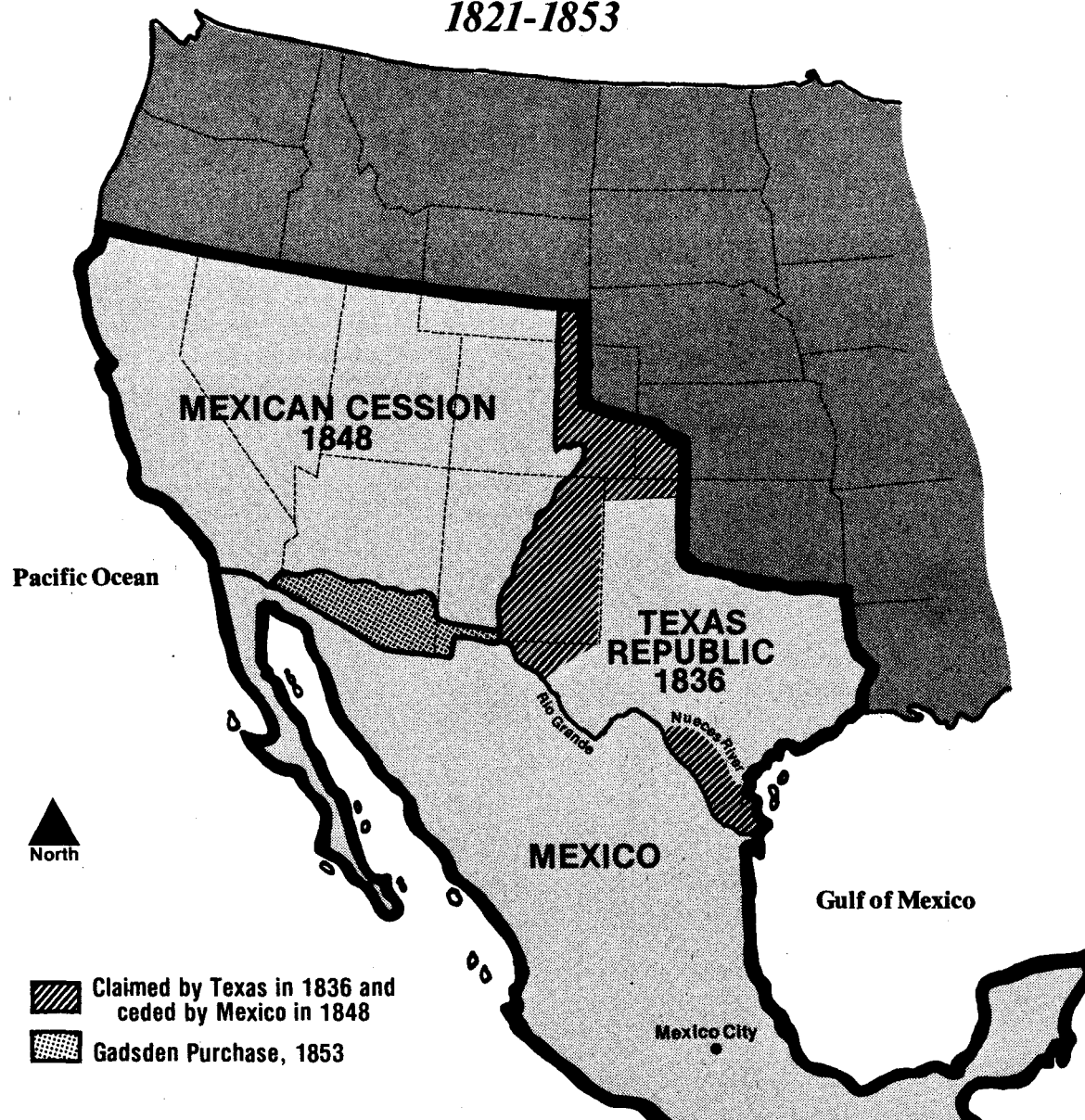
The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.<sup>5</sup>

This was the period of rudimentary capitalist manufacturing in Europe, but manufacturing was slow and primitive. Commerce was still the determining factor in European economics. The merchants and shippers who controlled finance capital and the distribution of raw materials and manufactured goods enjoyed economic and political dominance.

Spain, with its great navigational capacities, had a far-flung colonial empire. Nevertheless, Spain not only lagged in manufacturing but lagged in gold and silver it plundered from Mexico and Latin America ended up in the hands of the English and Dutch merchants from whom Spain bought most of its manufactured goods. The gold and silver were not invested in Spain's own manufacture or commerce.

The natural riches of the Spanish American colonies precluded the need for the Spaniards to depend on manufacturing. Plunder brought quicker,

## U.S. Colonization of Northern Mexico 1821-1853



*By 1853, the year of the Gadsden Purchase, the U.S. had taken 1,020,000 square miles of Mexican territory, over half of Mexico's entire land mass.*



immediate profits. So Spain simply plundered Mexico of its precious metals from 1519 until Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, and left it economically undeveloped.

Since most of Spain's population was still tied to the land as serfs, no mass of indigent Spanish laborers existed that could be exported to build the new colonies in Mexico and South America. So the Spanish forced the indigenous people of Mexico and South America to serve as a workforce that labored to send away its own wealth.

This enslavement was possible since central Mexico, unlike the east coast of North America, was inhabited by highly developed, agricultural, and therefore *settled* Indian societies. Spain, with its overwhelming military technology of guns, horses, and armor, and through the technique of pitting different Indian societies against each other, was able to enslave this huge and stable population with a small army of soldiers. The non-nomadic victims, living in a highly-socialized urban environment, had no place to run.

The conquest, however, was hardly easy. A heroic resistance prevailed, but against insurmountable odds. The Spaniards fought the native population for 150 years, using mass murder, rape, torture, and the dissemination of infectious diseases, before finally conquering the Aztecs, Mayas, Zapotecs, Yaquis, and other Mexican Indians. The forced Catholicization of the Indians, designed to mold them into passive, obedient servants, completed the agenda of conquest.

The Spanish were able to militarily defeat the Indians, but neither the Spanish nor subsequent invaders were able to exterminate their fighting spirit. The Indians have continued to play a decisive role in Mexican history. From the first attempts to win Mexican independence in 1810 to the 1910 revolution a century later, they struggled for national and social liberation.

Many fought with Benito Juárez, a full-blooded Indian, in the 1857-1860 War of the Reform, which resulted in the expropriation of extensive church landholdings in central Mexico. (However, the war also resulted in the expropriation of the Indian *ejido*, communal village lands.) Many Indians fought again for Juárez between 1861 and 1867 to expel a French-backed invasion of Mexico, launched to install Archduke Maximilian of Austria as puppet emperor and to make a bid for French colonial control of Latin America.

Indio peons (peasants) played a major part in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, forming the nucleus of the armies of Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa, and Álvaro Obregón. They won back much of the *ejido* land and carried through rural land reform by expropriations.

They continued to fight implacably against the theft of their lands. The Mayas in far-southern Yucatán resisted from the time of the Mexican-Yucatan War (1846) to the turn of the century, and the Yaquis on the northwestern coast fought from the 1880s through the Revolution of 1910.

Today, Indians comprise 40% of Mexico's population and they still meet the severe oppression from Mexico's ruling class with organized resistance.

The Spanish conquest resulted in much of the Mexican population becoming racially Mestizo—predominantly Indian with an infusion of some Spanish blood. This early Mestizo mixture of blood and culture marks the birth of the Chicano heritage.

It is important to note that the ideology of racism was invented during the colonial period to justify the ownership of human beings as slaves, and to rationalize the most brutal methods of suppression. Racism—the notion that skin color determines human inferiority or superiority—is a peculiarly capitalist ideology. It never existed in the ancient world.

### The English colonists

England would have gladly colonized the eastern seaboard of North America with the same vicious methods used by Spain in Mexico (as British behavior in India later demonstrated). But England faced a completely different situation.

The east coast of North America had no gold. And the indigenous population was small, composed of highly mobile hunting and gathering societies which could not live in captivity. The English colonists were never able to enslave the North American Indians because those who could not succeed in running away sickened and died.

So England was forced to import a labor force. The formerly proud and independent English peasantry had recently been evicted from their land and transformed into a starving urban proletariat. Most of these miserable souls were desperate to try for a better life in the New World.

England, with no easy wealth to plunder from its

new colonies, was forced to create an agricultural, commercial, and then a manufacturing mirror of itself in North America.

The first permanent English settlement was founded at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. It was apparent from the beginning that in order to transform the wilderness into English-style "civilization," a vast pool of cheap labor was necessary, and the Indians would have to be driven away so the land could be parcelled into private holdings and cultivated. Thus, within a few years, the Jamestown settlers perpetrated their first Indian massacre and began to use African slave labor transported by English vessels.

From the outset, the North American colonists adopted the convenient ideology of racism that Spain had so profitably employed—the invidious doctrine that white superiority justified genocide against the Indians as well as the enslavement of Blacks. (Racism still serves handily to justify U.S.



*The Conquistadors enslaved the Indians and used their labor to plunder Mexico and ship its untold wealth to Spain. This mural at the Morelos Sugar Plantation, "The Conquest is Converted into Permanent Feudal Exploitation," is by the great communist artist Diego Rivera.*

neo-colonial domination of Latin America and Africa, and the super-exploitation of Chicanos, Blacks, and other people of color at home.)

Ironically, the very *deficiencies* of North America's eastern coast—the lack of precious metals and lack of exploitable indigenous labor—forced Britain to push its colonies toward modern capitalism. The colonies, of course, eventually surpassed the mother country in manufacturing, commerce, and military might.

Meanwhile, Mexico's lavish natural wealth—the large, stable native population and the massive deposits of gold, silver, copper, and other precious metals—doomed it to a reckless looting by Spain that squandered its human and mineral resources and crippled its capitalist development.

Mexico was unable to achieve independence from Spain until 1821, as compared to 1776 as the year of U.S. independence from England. Mexico was left poor and semi-feudal, wide open to imperialist invasion and domination. After Spain, the U.S.—and briefly France—controlled Mexico.

The availability of precious metals, the different stages of social development of the indigenous populations, and the availability of exploitable human labor—these were the material factors that spelled the difference, after independence, between the thriving U.S. and underdeveloped Mexico.

### The colonization of Northern Mexico

Northern Mexico, which later became the U.S. Southwest, was explored by the Spanish in 1529. The first Spanish colony in northern Mexico was established in 1598, a decade before the founding of Jamestown in 1607. California was settled much later than the rest of Northern Mexico, not until 1775.

The U.S. colonized northern Mexico in a three-stage operation: Texas in 1836, California in 1848, and New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona in the 1880s.

Two types of Indian culture prevailed in the territory.

One was the culture of the settled, agricultural tribes such as the coastal California Indians. Inland, these sedentary peoples were the pueblo dwellers, including the Pueblo, Zuni, Hopi, and Pima. The Spaniards enslaved the North American agricultural tribes as they did the central Mexican Indians—by military takeover of the settlements and crops, and forced conversion to Catholicism.

The other type of Indian culture was that of the nomadic warrior peoples (Comanches, Apaches, Utes, Navajo) who augmented their living by raiding supplies from the settled agricultural tribes.

Almost immediately after the Spaniards arrived, the raiding Indian tribes acquired Spanish horses and became virtually invincible. The military strength of the raiding tribes limited the Spanish conquest of the Southwest to only three regions, those with the largest population of sedentary Indians—the California coast, the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, and Nuevo (New) Mexico (which then included eastern Colorado and northern Texas).

These three regions were isolated from each other and from central Mexico. They were colonies of Spain from 1598-1821, and after Mexico's independence from Spain they were incorporated into the Mexican state but were never an integral part of it. Although militarily dependent on Mexico, the three regions developed independently of Mexico and of each other, and significant regional differences have always existed.

The three regions were colonized at different times through different methods, and the differences determined the path of each region's later development.

*Texas and New Mexico* were settled at the end of the 16th century by grants of land from the Spanish king to wealthy Spanish or Spanish/Mestizo dons (noblemen). The land was worked by peons—Mexican Indians and Mestizos, and North American Indians.

*Northern New Mexico and Colorado*, the most dangerous frontier outposts for the Spaniards, were settled by communal land grants from the crown to the *ejidos*. The peons received small individual farming plots plus the right to use communal water supplies and grazing lands. In northern New Mexico, the communal landholdings created a land base that the people still struggle to maintain.

*California* was settled in 1775, much later than the rest of northern Mexico. The territory was originally settled by means of the mission system: the Catholic Church was granted vast tracts of land that were worked by exploiting forcibly-converted Indians as virtual slaves. The missions were later expropriated by the Mexican Republic, beginning in 1834; the land was taken from the church and granted as estates to upper-class Californios.

The Mexican population (mostly Mestizo) of the entire Mexican northern region was relatively small prior to the U.S. conquest in 1848. The American Indian population of approximately 252,000 was almost three-and-a-half times higher than the Mexican population of 75,000, of whom 60,000 were in greater New Mexico.

Northern Mexico, although claimed by Spain and later by Mexico, was primarily Indian territory. The nomadic Indian warrior tribes kept the Spanish Conquistadors from large areas. The Spanish invaders, accompanied by Mexican Indian and Mestizo peons, colonized limited enclaves on the territories of the agricultural Indians, who were militarily vulnerable.

During the 250 years of Spanish occupation and Mexican rule, the Mexican and Pueblo Indian cultures intermingled considerably in New Mexico. But

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## Where to find the

### CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: 1918 W. 7th St., #204, Los Angeles, CA 90057. 213-413-1350.  
San Francisco Bay Area: 2661 - 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-550-1020.

### NEW YORK

New York City: 32 Union Square East, Rm. 307, New York, NY 10003. 212-677-7002.

### OREGON

Portland: 2831 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97212. 503-249-8067.

### WASHINGTON

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 - 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. 206-632-7449.  
North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-722-3812.  
South Branch, 6021 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-725-5009.  
Tacoma: P.O. Box 5464, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-759-5382.

### AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 334, Fitzroy, VIC 3065. 03-386-3452.  
Sydney: P.O. Box A 105, Sydney South, NSW 2000. 02-344-9721.

the territory never became integral to Mexico because the Mexican settlements always remained isolated from Central Mexico.

Spanish control of the region ended when Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, whereupon the northern colonies became Mexican possessions.

### Mexican independence

Mexico's struggle for independence began in the early 1800s, waged by the Indio and Mestizo masses who resisted the Spanish colonial rulers. In 1821, the leadership of the movement was assumed by the monarchist clergy and "criollo" upper classes who opposed the Spanish bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1820 and declared Mexican independence. They met with little Spanish resistance. (Criollos were the primarily Spanish-blooded descendants of the Conquistadors.)

Mexico was declared independent in February, 1821, and in 1822 Augustin de Iturbe was proclaimed Emperor Augustin I of Mexico by a criollo-dominated constituent assembly.

Iturbe was a criollo who had fought for Spain against Mexican independence before the Spanish revolution. After the Spanish revolution he became the chief spokesman for Mexican monarchism.

But Augustin's reign was brief; in October 1824, he was forced from the throne by Mexican republicans and a federal republic was established.

### How the West was stolen

The U.S. had become a powerful capitalist country by the time of its conquest of Mexico's northern provinces.

The U.S. was expanding rapidly, wanted more land to exploit, and was prepared to use military might to steal land from the Indian and Mexican inhabitants. Vicious racism fueled the imperialist drive and provided the rationalization for the brutality employed in the theft of Mexican and Indian land.

Mexico, newly independent in 1821, was still technologically backward. It was just beginning to emerge into capitalism, and was no match for the ruthless U.S.

Inside Mexico, after the republic was established, a severe political struggle further weakened the country in relation to the United States. Mexican centralists, who wanted a strong central government, tangled with federalists, who wanted more power for the state governments. The northern Mexican states tended toward federalism, but this made them an easier target for U.S. annexation, since neither the masses nor the ruling classes felt any great sense of loyalty to the central government in Mexico City.

The combination of political instability and underdevelopment made Mexican territory an easy target for burgeoning U.S. capitalism. The vast territory was ripe for colonization and development, and the land-hungry Anglos were militarily prepared to seize the opportunity for expansion.

### Texas

The single-crop plantation system of the South had rapidly exhausted the land and caused a powerful push westward in search of unspoiled land. And the southern U.S. slave states bordered east Texas.

However, virulent power struggles already raged

between the northern industrialists and the southern slaveowners, and a conflict was building that would erupt in the explosion of the Civil War in 1861.

Because of this political rupture between North and South, slaveowners were unable to gain the backing of the federal government for incursions into Texas.

So unofficial and independent military invasions, called "filibusters," began in 1819, two years before Mexican independence.

After independence, the new Mexican government tried to maintain some measure of control over the Anglo influx by issuing land grants to Anglos. Some southern slaveholders, led by Stephen Austin, were granted permission to settle in Texas as long as they promised to be loyal Mexican citizens.

Within 15 years, through some legal and much more illegal immigration, U.S. southerners flooded Texas. By 1834 there were 30,000 Anglos, 2,000 Black slaves, and 5,000 Mexicanos. The Mexicanos, who were centered in the Rio Grande Valley, became a minority population in their own land.

The Anglo immigrants, led by cotton plantation owners, were racist, reactionary, and genocidal from the start. (Vehement racism in Texas continues to the present day.)

The short-lived Republic of Texas (1836-1845) was established after a brief and bitter war of rebellion by Anglo Texans against Mexico. To combat the Texans' rebellion, Mexican President/General Santa Anna launched a military campaign against them beginning in 1835.

At the battle of the Alamo in San Antonio, a rebel army of several hundred refused Santa Anna's demand for surrender. The Anglo rebels were defeated and the handful of survivors killed, a humiliating defeat for the Anglos. Though this event was characterized by the Texans as a wanton, unnecessary massacre, and initiated the chauvinistic cry, "Remember the Alamo," the battle was not an atypical act of war.

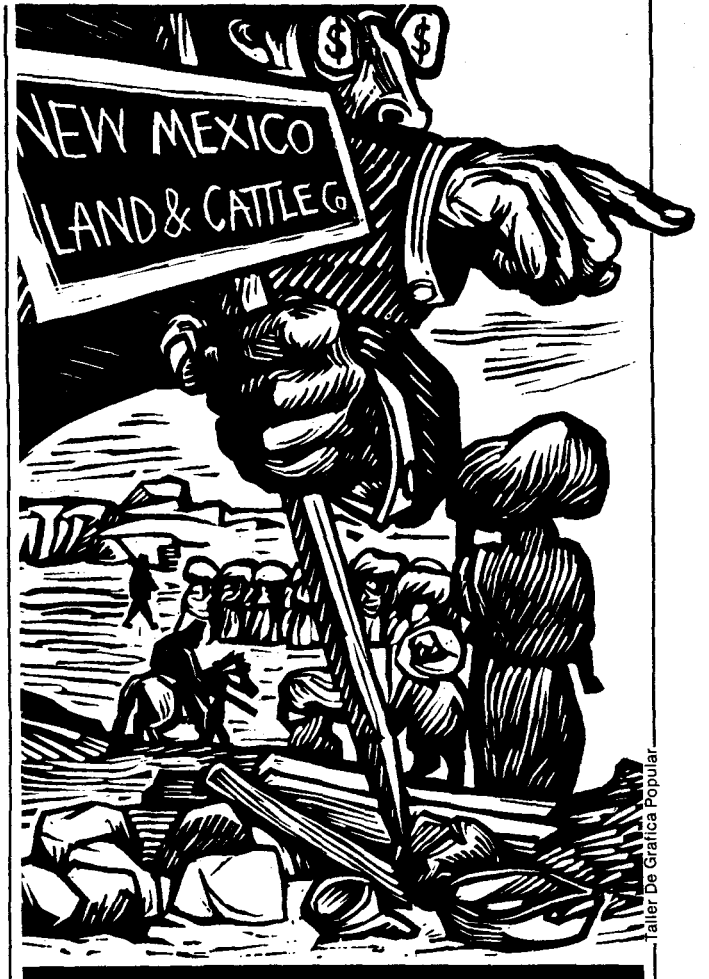
Santa Anna further inflamed the fury of the Anglos in the town of Goliad, where his troops captured an Anglo raiding force that was not involved in the rebellion. Although they surrendered, Santa Anna ordered them shot. The Anglos retaliated in a massacre of more than 1,000 Mexicans at the San Jacinto River battle that ended the war.

Santa Anna's army of peons paid the price of his excesses and carelessness. He lost the battle of San Jacinto against a far smaller Anglo army because of his arrogance in not posting guards. Captured in a surprise attack, he surrendered Texas to save his own skin.

But the surrender was invalid; it was immediately repudiated by the Mexican Congress, and no treaty was ever negotiated. The Texas/Mexico border remained in dispute. Texas claimed the land to the Rio Grande and Mexico claimed the land north of the Rio Grande to the Nueces River.

During the period of the Republic of Texas, the Texas Rangers were formed as an army of occupation. They were given license to kill, rape, and terrorize Mexicanos, which they did with a vengeance. (Later, the Arizona Rangers were formed on the same model.)

Lynchings of Mexicanos, by the Rangers and others, were common up to the time of the modern civil rights struggles. Texas early on became a police state, an exact parallel of the police state formed against Blacks in the rest of the South.



*The theft of the ejido (communal lands) followed soon upon the U.S. conquest of northern Mexico. The famous "Santa Fe Ring," formed by Anglo lawyers and politicians, took millions of acres in what is now New Mexico by trickery and force.*

But the Republic of Texas was merely a way-station on the road to U.S. annexation. After ten years of consolidating power in Texas, the southerners requested and gained annexation to the U.S. In 1845, Texas became the 28th state of the Union.

### Mexican-American War (1846-1848)

The U.S. continued its war of conquest against Mexico with naked brutality, undisguised racism, and national chauvinism which the Mexican people have never forgotten.

War was provoked with Mexico by the U.S. annexation of Texas, the independence of which had never been recognized by Mexico. U.S. troops were then dispatched into the disputed border territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Mexicans were the overwhelming majority in this region (and remain so). When Mexico sent troops into this contested zone in 1846, the U.S. gleefully claimed that it had been invaded, declared war, and crossed the Rio Grande into undisputed Mexican territory.

No match for the U.S., the Mexican army was poorly equipped, fed, and trained. It was comprised largely of Indio conscripts who were themselves viciously oppressed by the criollo ruling class, whose corrupt factions were more afraid of each other and of the masses than they were of the North Americans.

The U.S. army was largely made up of Texas volunteers who raped, pillaged, scalped, murdered, and massacred the Mestizo and Indian civilian population. Said U.S. Lieutenant George C. Meade, "They are a set of Goths and Vandals without discipline, making us a terror to innocent people."<sup>16</sup>

Widespread desecration of churches occurred, and the Mexican eastern seaboard cities of Matamoros and Vera Cruz were completely destroyed by bombs from the U.S. fleet deployed in the harbors of these cities. U.S. bestiality was so monstrous that 250 soldiers, mostly Irish Catholic, deserted and fought for Mexico.

New Mexico was invaded by the U.S. army during the war and the Mexican governor was bribed to capitulate. But spontaneous rebellion later broke out in Taos, among Mexicanos and Indians armed mostly with bows and arrows. The rebels were massacred.

After invading most of the Southwest, the U.S. Army drove into the heart of Mexico. On September 14, 1847, U.S. troops occupied Mexico City.

Mexico was forced to surrender and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848. The treaty ceded Mexico's northern territory, half of its entire land mass, for a measly \$15 million (\$10 million less than the U.S. had offered shortly before the war). This vast area of one million square miles comprises the present states of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, California, and part of Colorado. Mexico was also forced to recognize Texas as U.S. property. The Mexican-American War (in Mexico, the war

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### OREGON

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Spokane: W. 3005 Boone, Spokane, WA 99210. 509-327-9196.  
Tacoma: P.O. Box 5464, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-759-5382.

### AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 334, Fitzroy, VIC 3065. 03-386-3452.



is known, more accurately, as "the North American Intervention") lasted from 1846 to 1848. Mexican casualties were as much as four times higher than U.S. casualties.

#### The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

With the signing of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mexicanos in the ceded area became the only people in the U.S., other than the Indian peoples, to be annexed by conquest and "protected" by treaty.

Hence, continual abrogation of Chicano rights by the U.S. government is not only unjust, but violates the provisions of a treaty which the U.S. still claims to honor.

Article IX of the treaty guaranteed Mexicanos in the ceded territory full citizenship rights under the U.S. Constitution and the free enjoyment of liberty, property, and religion. But the racist terror perpetrated against Chicanos has effectively denied them the most basic rights of citizenship.

Article X, later rejected by the U.S. Senate, guaranteed that previously held Mexican land grants would remain in force. When Mexico protested the Senate's deletion of the article, the U.S. issued a Statement of Protocol stating that it did not intend to annul the grants and that the grantees could get their titles acknowledged in U.S. courts.

But in spite of the guarantees, nearly all the land grant territory was stolen by violence and legal sleight-of-hand within 20 years of the conquest of each region. Mexicanos living in the Southwest territory became a colonized or conquered people, rendered politically and economically powerless, and further oppressed by a foreign culture and language imposed on them by force. Chicanos became victims of cultural genocide.

The U.S. did not simply send in small numbers of colonizers to rule over the existing Indian and Mexican population, as Spain had done. The U.S. conquest was based on an invasion by overwhelming masses of Anglos, who transformed the territory from a distant colony to an extension of the United States. The native population of Mexicanos and Indians became oppressed minorities in their own homeland.

The U.S. colonizers adopted the model the English had used to colonize the eastern U.S., and later to colonize Australia and Canada.

With the U.S. conquest, the Mexican population became colonized as the North American Indians already had been. Mexicanos, a Mestizo mixture of Mexican Indians and Spaniards, found themselves racially identified as *Indians* by the invading Anglos, and were targeted for the same oppression.

#### California

The mass invasion of Anglos into California occurred virtually overnight when large gold deposits were discovered there only nine days after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The 1848 Gold Rush was on, and northern California was flooded by gold-hungry Anglos. By the end of 1848, 67,000 Anglos were there, and by the end of 1849 there may have been as many as 250,000.<sup>7</sup>

The Mexicano population of 7,500 was totally overrun. Many miners from Sonora, Mexico had arrived first, but once their skills, knowledge, and Spanish-based system of mining law had been appropriated, so were their claims. Their holdings were violently stolen and they were ejected from the gold fields.

In the 1880s, the tide of Anglo immigration shifted to southern California, where most of the Mexicanos lived, and massive lynchings and land seizures drove many native Californians south to Mexico.

The violence toward Mexicanos begun in this period has remained standard operating procedure in southern California to this day.

#### New Mexico

U.S. domination in New Mexico was postponed for a time because the Apaches still commanded the area. The Mexican population was, in effect, protected from Anglo encroachment. But the Apaches were finally defeated by the U.S. Army in the 1880s.

The level of mass terror by the Anglos was never as high in New Mexico as in the rest of the Southwest, because in New Mexico the Mexicano population was much larger than elsewhere. Chicanos still comprise a majority in most of the state. New Mexico also had, and still has, a very large Indian population.

Mexicano numerical domination, however, did not prevent the theft of their land. Excessive taxation, required registration in English-speaking courts (without notification to the Mexicano own-

ers), and outright fraud were perpetrated by the Anglos. The infamous Sante Fe Ring, formed explicitly to take land from the Mexicanos, stole two million acres of private land and 1.7 million acres of communal land between 1880 and the turn of the century. Today, all that remains to Chicanos in New Mexico are a few small residual holdings from some of the original Spanish communal land grants.

#### Aftermath

In the wake of the heinous U.S. conquest, Mexicanos throughout the Southwest were deprived of most of their land base, and consequently of the foundation for their national culture.

The overwhelming majority of Mexicanos became workers, part of the U.S. proletariat. Skilled in the enterprises of ranching, farming, and mining, their labor was essential to building the economic empire that is the Southwest today.

Like Blacks, the Mexicanos entered the U.S. working class as a super-exploited minority. White giant-entrepreneurs perpetrated racism among the white small-landholders and the white workers in order to perpetuate super-exploitation and severe repression of Mexicanos.

Chicano history, from the bloody U.S. conquest to the present, is a history of continual resistance against racial, national, and class oppression—and of continual attempts to mobilize white workers to defend Chicanos, other workers of color, and themselves. □

#### Notes to the Text

1. The U.S. Bureau of Census provides nearly meaningless statistics regarding persons of Spanish/Hispanic origin. Although major efforts were made in the 1980 census to avoid the disastrous errors in this category that occurred in the 1970 census, the government continues to undercount minority groups and to avoid delineating more precise definitions of certain populations.

For example, Table #39 of the *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1982-83* (page 34) lists "Population of Spanish Origin, by Age and Type of Spanish Origin—States; 1980." There is a column headed "Mexican" with a national population figure of nearly 9 million. On the 1980 census form, persons who checked "yes" to the category of Spanish origin or descent were asked to further refine this answer by *self-defining* as Mexican, Mexican-American, or Chicano. But they were not allowed to pick just *one* of these terms, they could only check a box that included all *three* terms. Persons who rejected this hodge-podge option and wrote in "La Raza" were counted into this same category.

The actual number of Chicanos is undoubtedly far higher than anyone can estimate because of the definition problem in the census categories and because the government always undercounts minority groups. For a discussion of these problems see: *1980 Census of Population and Housing: User's Guide, Part A. Text (PHC80-R1-A)*, ch.3: "Procedures" and ch.6: "Data Limitations." See also *Part B. Glossary (PHC80-R1-B)*, p. 44.

2. Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1967), p. 43.

3. Leon Trotsky, *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1967), pp. 154-55.

4. Alfredo Mirandé, Evangelina Enriquez, *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 10-11.

5. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1. (New York: Random Modern Library, 1906), p. 823.

6. Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 103.

7. *The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism*, (No place given: Revolutionary Union, 1975), p. 10.

The statistics presented in the RU document are given without a source for verification.



*National Chicano Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam, August 29, 1970. Chicanos took the lead in antiwar organizing throughout the Southwest. The Chicano movement, deeply rooted in the labor and radical traditions of both the U.S. and Mexico, continues to be central to the radicalization of the entire U.S. working class.*

#### About the Authors



Yolanda Alaniz' entire life experience led her to become a theoretician of La Raza.

Raised as a farmworker in the Yakima Valley of Eastern Washington—known as the Little Mississippi of the Northwest—Alaniz was aware

from the beginning of the racism and poverty that blight the lives of Chicanos in the U.S.

She became a Chicana activist while attending the University of Washington in Seattle during the early '70s. Her battles with sexists and cultural nationalists in the movement and her experience in helping to organize a union of low-paid service workers on campus led her to become a socialist feminist. She has been a member of the Freedom Socialist Party since 1976.

Alaniz firmly believes in the political integration of all movements for social and economic change. Time and again, she has tested her convictions against separatists and anti-radicals in the Chicano movement and at race and sex liberation conferences around the country. Her willingness and ability to fight to the end for her ideas has won her national respect.

This document is her testament and tribute to the revolutionary power of La Raza.

Megan Cornish was eminently qualified for the task of co-authoring this document. A long-time radical, she was active in the anti-Vietnam war movement during the 1960s, and has been a member of the FSP since 1972.

Cornish has devoted years of study and research, in collaboration with Alaniz, to the question of nationalities. Her paper, *The National Question in the United States*, which applies the Leninist criteria for nationhood to the Black and Native American liberation struggles in the U.S., was presented at the first national conference of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party in October 1978. It was adopted as a resolution at the 1982 national convention of the Freedom Socialist Party.

Cornish is currently a member of the Employee Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL) in Seattle, battling a management that has gained national notoriety for race and sex discrimination.

*The next installment of The Chicano Struggle: A National or a Racial Movement? will extend our analysis of the Chicano movement as we examine the history of Chicano resistance to exploitation up to the 1930s.*

**Supplement Cover Graphic:** In the foreground is a detail of a mural in Santa Fe, New Mexico, "Liberty and Education," painted by Los Artes Guadalupanos de Aztlán. The eagle is a popular symbol of La Huelga (the strike or the struggle); superimposed is a section from Diego Rivera's epic mural, "The Mexican War of Independence—1910" at the National Palace in Mexico City.

# The CIA's reactionary Afghani rebels

**Editor's Note:** The following article was first printed in the May 10, 1983 edition of Seattle's University of Washington Daily newspaper. It casts a cold light on the methods employed by the U.S. government and bourgeois media to foster the myth of "Russian imperialism" in Afghanistan, and to bolster American imperialist influence thereby.

The author is a member of the UW community from Afghanistan who wishes to remain anonymous for fear of harassment by the U.S. government.

**B**eware. You have been lied to. However harshly you may choose to judge the Soviet role in Afghanistan, and irrespective of your opinion of the Soviets in general, a simple fact cries for recognition—media coverage of the Afghan reality is largely engineered to fulfill existing cold war needs, not to enlighten and inform.

Consider the powerful imagery which permeates the consciousness of a vast majority of Americans. First, there are the romantic Afghan *mujahideen* who barefistedly challenge Soviet military might, dedicating their lives for freedom. Meanwhile an impotent Western world looks on with horror at the invasion of a sovereign country. At the same time, a hospitable, humanitarian Pakistan generously opens its borders to fleeing Afghans at enormous cost to itself.

Wherein lie the distortions? What is not being told?

## "Freedom" fighters

Consider the following. Aside from an occasional surreptitious allusion, a conspiracy of silence surrounds the charter of the *mujahideen* groups. What propels them to fight? What, in their perception, are the principle objections to the Soviet-supported Afghan communists?

Ask a *mujahid* why he fights. For Islam, he invariably replies. Islam, as interpreted to him by conservative village *mullahs* (clergy) and powerful feudal lords, is the centuries-old tribal way of life. When Afghan communists overthrew the Daud monarchy in 1978, they proceeded, albeit clumsily and ham-handedly, to reverse ancient and oppressive traditions. Feudal lords were dispossessed of land

through land reform, the sale of brides was outlawed, and education for girls was made mandatory. *Reversal of these reforms are among the principal demands of the mujahideen groups, whose conservative leadership has successfully posed these developments as an assault on Islam.*

Paradoxically, it is the communists who have mid-wifed the infinitely retrogressive *mujahideen* movement. Feudal lords and *mullahs* organized the murder of government sympathizers and the destruction of government facilities. In rural areas, suspected communists were killed and, on occasion, skinned alive. In blind retaliation, Kabul ordered blanket punishment. With Russian help, villages were bombed and crops destroyed. This senseless devastation mobilized mass anti-government feeling. As the violence escalated, the chance for emancipating Afghanistan slipped away.

The U.S. media, which regularly lynches Ayatollah Khomeini for his fanaticism, nevertheless maintains a deafening silence on the much more extreme goals of the *mujahideen*.

## Raising the cost

When was the last time you read an honest analysis of the U.S. position on Afghanistan?

Public statements to the contrary, U.S. State Department officials are almost openly delighted to see the Russians in the Afghan quagmire and would be sorry to see them go. Position papers speak of "raising the cost of Soviet intervention" through the Pakistan-based, CIA-supplied *mujahideen*. In their cynical calculations, negotiated peace is the ultimate threat to an otherwise excellent situation in which the Soviets are losing men, material, and morale, as well as political prestige before the world of nations.

It should be no surprise that in spite of Russian offers for a negotiated withdrawal, the U.S. has not permitted Pakistan—which holds the key to any negotiated settlement—to enter into talks. All sides recognize the impossibility of a unilateral Soviet withdrawal. One consequence, as observed by a Kabul-based Western diplomat, would be the massacre of tens of thousands of city-dwellers by vengeful *mujahideen*. Although Kabul communists have alienated the countryside, they do enjoy a measure of sup-



Steve McCurry

port in the more secular-leaning urban population.

## The Pakistan connection

Lest readers persist in the illusion that U.S. opposition to the Afghan government is on account of the latter's undemocratic nature, let them consider the relation of the United States to its close ally, Pakistan.

In 1977, a ruthless military oligarchy in Pakistan, led by General Zia-ul-Haq, seized power and promptly hanged the popularly elected prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Upwards of 50,000 political prisoners currently languish in Pakistani jails. Political activity is banned, the constitution has been abrogated, the judicial system destroyed, and arrested persons are formally assumed guilty unless they can prove their innocence. The regime admits to hanging 1,200 "criminals" yearly. Amnesty International cites numerous cases wherein journalists, teachers, and students have been systematically tortured.

Among the most notable achievements of the junta has been the introduction of supposedly "Islamic" punishments—public floggings, amputation of hands for theft, and stoning unto death for adultery. Currently, the most visible opposition to the regime comes from Pakistani women, whose few and hard-won rights have been dispensed with.

But say what you will. For Washington, Pakistan is very much part of the "Free World."

For Pakistani generals, whose genocide of the Bengali population in 1971

caused 10 million refugees to spill into India, the presence of Afghan refugees is an infinite blessing. Vast amounts of Western and Saudi aid have poured into the country, propping up a wholly corrupt and hated regime. Whereas all of the three military governments in Pakistan's history have received U.S. backing—and there was no Russian "threat" then—the importance of Pakistan as a tool for harassing the Soviets gives the present regime a utility far in excess of its predecessors.

Piteous appeals by Pakistani generals for Afghan refugee relief aid contrast sharply with their total disinterest in the conditions of abysmal poverty in rural Pakistan. Indeed, it is remarkable that the Afghan refugee population in Pakistan, impoverished though it be, is substantially better off than the indigeneous peasants of northern Pakistan in terms of access to food, clothing, and medical facilities.

## Shared views

After being entertained with great pomp and ceremony in Washington last January, General Zia-ul-Haq returned home gloating with \$3.2 billion dollars to spend, 40 F-16's, and a bloated ego. In a nationwide broadcast, the General described his foreign tour as "success beyond expectations." He did admit with some scorn that, "They talk a lot about human rights in the West," but added, "My views were appreciated very much in the United States and Canada."

U.S. leaders have always had a soft spot for the militarist champions of "democracy." □

What a trying time for your reporter! I've been dragging my notebook and feather boa all over Washington, D.C. trying to find out what's been happening with the cold war. But ever since President Reagan went hog-wild for covert activity, this town's been tight-lip city.

Here's what Reagan, sparkling with the crystal logic he's noted for, said to the *Wall Street Journal*: "I believe in the right of a country to practice covert activity. And while your people have a right to know, you can't tell 'em without letting the wrong people know, those that oppose what you are doing."

## MALICE BEFORE THOUGHT

by Ms. Tami

This left me and the Gang of 200 Million out in the cold. But on a hunch, I sent the White House a list of questions. Late today, the press corps and I were granted some interviews.

I asked why the U.S. invaded Grenada. There were so many opinions on this! Reagan replied, "Grenada was a Soviet-Cuban colony exporting terror and undermining democracy. We got there just in time." Reagan didn't just settle for undermining democracy, ei-

ther, he destroyed it.

Secretary Schultz said the invasion was to end "an atmosphere of violent uncertainty." Given this rationale, the Marines will next invade unemployment offices, food banks, and the homes of all single mothers living below the poverty level.

Secretary Weinburger stated, "The form of government we want to get into Grenada is a form of government that enables the people to choose the

kind of government they wish." In that case, we can only hope the Marines invade the U.S. next.

But that will have to wait. Everybody knows that Nicaragua is next. I asked the current U.S. position on Nicaragua. "Oh, about eight miles off the coast. We have experience down there, you know. The Marines have already invaded Nicaragua twice since 1912. They occupied the country for nine years. It's been awhile, but you know how nostalgic Ron is for the good old days."

The cold war is heating up, folks! They ought to make a movie—how about "Bonzo Goes Bang-Bang"?



## Nicaragua, El Salvador next

# U.S. STORMS GRENADA

BY SAM DEADERICK

**I**ndependent Grenada became a U.S. colony in the early morning hours of October 25, when 2,000 Marines and Army Rangers invaded and seized the island.

Within a week the occupying force had reached close to 6,000, one for every 20 Grenadian citizens.

Sixty-nine Cubans and an unknown number of Grenadians were killed defending the island. The U.S. claimed 18 casualties (although the British Broadcasting Corporation reported that at least 42 Americans died and that the U.S. was covering up the actual figures).

House and Senate Democrats, with only one or two exceptions, lined up to support the invasion.

The U.S. swiftly installed Sir Paul Scoon as head of an interim administration. (Scoon had been appointed governor-general under former Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy, in 1978, and nominally retained in that post after Gairy's overthrow in 1979.) Scoon immediately declared a dusk-to-dawn curfew and a ban on all public meetings. So much for U.S.-installed "democracy."

The U.S. actions sparked revulsion and rage around the world, and demonstrated once again that the U.S. will go to any length to secure ownership of the western hemisphere.

### The Grenadian revolution

Until 1974, Grenada was a British colony. In that year, after a series of mass mobilizations led by the New Jewel Movement, independence was granted. The New Jewel Movement was composed of a range of opposition forces, including Marxists, social democrats, and other activists inspired by the U.S. Black movement and the Cuban Revolution.

Elections were held in 1976, and Sir Eric Gairy, who had been appointed prime minister in 1967 by British authorities, won through election fraud and repression. His rule rested on special security forces, the "Mongoose Gang," which specialized in murdering opposition figures.

On March 13, 1979, while Gairy was in the U.S., 50 New Jewel activists declared his regime overthrown. A general strike was called in support of the overthrow, and Gairy's forces were dismantled. Only one person, a policeman, was killed during the seizure of power.

The new People's Revolutionary Government made enormous progress in improving living conditions on the island. The literacy rate rose from 60% (30% among women) to 98% among all adults. Unemployment was brought from 49% to 14.2%. Unionization rose to 90% of the workforce. Sex discrimination and harassment against women were outlawed. Access to free public health was made available to the entire population. Mass organizations were formed to discuss all major government proposals.

The U.S. cut off all aid to the new government, but Cuba and the USSR accepted Grenada's aid requests. Grenada built strong alliances with those two governments and with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

### Split in the New Jewel

Two weeks before the invasion, a conflict in the New Jewel Movement erupted into armed confrontation and opened the door to U.S. intervention.

A faction led by Bernard Coard and General Hudson Austin won a majority in the central committee against Maurice Bishop, the prime minister. They removed Bishop from office, placed him under house arrest, and formed a military government.

On October 19, a civilian crowd of Bishop supporters released him and marched to army headquarters at Fort Rupert. Government troops fired on the crowd killing several, seized Bishop and his closest New Jewel supporters, marched them into the fort, and shot them.

The government then placed a 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew on the island, and disarmed the popular militia.

The lack of adequate information makes it very difficult to evaluate the conflict within the New Jewel Movement.

The Coard/Austin group claimed that Bishop was attempting to institute "one-man rule," that he was moving too slowly on nationalizations, and that he was attempting conciliation with the U.S. But statements after the coup and before the invasion indicate that the Coard/Austin group was planning a program to spur private enterprise, so the actual political differences remain obscured.

In any case, the Coard/Austin group's military coup and execution of the opposition, with no popular support, was a criminal blow against the Grenadian revolution. Their 24-hour curfew further alienated the population and left Grenada virtually defenseless.

The confusion and governmental crisis provoked by the coup provided the opportunity Reagan had been waiting for.

### Pretexts

U.S. invasion plans had been underway for some time. In 1981, U.S. armed forces staged a mock invasion of a Caribbean island code-named "Amber." All observers immediately recognized the exercise as a practice run for the invasion of Grenada.

When Reagan finally moved in, his pretexts were ludicrously flimsy. The U.S. claimed that the 1,000 Americans on the island, including 800 medical students, had to be rescued before they were taken hostage; that U.S. forces were responding to a request by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) to "restore order and democracy in Grenada"; and that Grenada was a "Soviet-Cuban ally being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy."

But the students were never in danger. Austin repeatedly guaranteed their safety to American officials, and even provided government vehicles for their safe movement between campuses. The day before the U.S. invasion began, the airport was opened so any student who wanted to leave could do so. But they were unable to fly out because Barbados, which was preparing for the invasion with the U.S., refused to let a commercial airline fly to the island. Several U.S., British, and Canadian citizens left on charter



flights with no interference. The students faced danger only after U.S. troops arrived, guns blazing.

The "request" from the OECS countries for U.S. participation in an invasion was made in the U.S. Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams has revealed that U.S. officials approached him concerning a possible invasion on October 15, four days before Bishop was killed. The formal request for U.S. participation was drafted in Washington, and forwarded to OECS countries, according to Bernard Gwertzman in the *New York Times*. In any case, what right does the OECS have to invade a country simply because they disagree with its government?

As for the alliance with Cuba and the USSR, what gives the U.S. the

right to dictate who will be aligned with whom? And if the Grenadians want to establish a socialist system, what gives the U.S. the right to invade and impose U.S. control?

The invasion itself proves that it is the U.S. that wants Grenada as "a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy." Already, according to the British newspaper, *The Guardian*, the U.S. has begun to transform the island's uncompleted international airport into a military facility.

### The real reasons

Why did the U.S. risk international opprobrium to seize this tiny island?

The U.S. feared the alliance between Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba, and the opposition forces in Central America countries under U.S. control, such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The U.S. needed a victory over this regional opposition and to issue a warning that henceforth it would use the full weight of military force against them. The invasion was also a direct threat to Nicaragua and Cuba, the two countries that have accomplished anti-imperialist revolutions, and a testing ground for further anti-Soviet adventures.

On the domestic scene, Reagan badly needed a pre-election military victory, to divert attention from the disastrous bombing in Beirut and to demonstrate that he can act decisively and successfully in military matters.

The administration banned all press from the island during the invasion to undercut the popular opposition that would have inevitably arisen here from the sight of U.S. Marines shooting English-speaking Blacks. The lack of coverage sanitized the operation for U.S. consumption—no messy bloodstains on the evening news.

### Who's next?

Grenada is an indication of things to come. Nicaragua is currently preparing for imminent invasion, and it is not inconceivable the Reagan administration will attempt an invasion of Cuba itself.

The U.S. will find neither of these countries so easy to topple as Grenada. Nicaragua has provided arms and military training to virtually its entire population. And the Cuban construction workers' remarkable self-defense, with only small arms, against U.S. Marines was a small taste of the immovable resistance U.S. forces would face in any invasion of Cuba.

Reagan's Central America initiatives are faltering. The *contra* war against Nicaragua, while causing economic hardship throughout the country, is rallying Nicaragua's people and world opinion solidly around the Sandinista government. In El Salvador, the FMLN rebels are gaining ground, and escalated murder by rightwing death squads long ago lost the U.S. puppets the support of all sectors of the population.

In the U.S. itself, the greatest aid that can be given to the people of the Caribbean and Central America is the formation of a mass anti-war movement, demanding that the U.S. pull out of the region entirely and allow the peoples south of the U.S. border to exercise the democracy that Reagan speaks of so reverently, but sends his gunboats to destroy. □

## EDITORIAL

## FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST TICKET!

For the first time in a long time, some of the U.S. Left is mounting a serious campaign to overcome traditional divisions and provide an anti-capitalist presidential alternative in the 1984 elections.

It's happening at the best time for the ever-growing number of voters who've felt the devastating crunch of Reaganism—and seen with disgust that whatever the Republicans do, the Democrats stand in line to support.

It is up to the U.S. Left to provide a real choice on the 1984 ballot, and the Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket (SCULPT) seeks to do just that.

**Hammering out an alternative**

Spearheaded by California's Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), SCULPT consists of the PFP, Freedom Socialist Party, Proletarian Tasks Tendency, Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International), Peace on Earth, and independent leftists. Together, they have hammered out an encompassing, clearly socialist platform. And they've done it in an atmosphere of democracy and commitment to a united electoral front of the U.S. Left.

SCULPT doesn't pussyfoot around on the issue of socialism vs. capitalism. Only socialist candidates will be considered for nomination for President and Vice-President. And a socialist economy, where workers and not big business control the production and distribution of goods and services, is a central plank of the platform.

SCULPT also calls for full employment, 30 hours of work for 40 hours' pay, and jobs programs to equip workers with skills for 21st century technology—measures which cannot possibly be implemented under the profit system.

As if this isn't enough to cause capitalist apoplexy, SCULPT also asserts the right of every worker, including public employees, to unionize, strike, picket, and boycott. It condemns runaway plants, a major cause of U.S. unemployment, as exploitative of foreign workers as well.

The platform specifically advocates building an anti-capitalist party of labor to represent the interests of all workers and their allies.

**For human rights, against imperialist war**  
Unwilling to dabble in glossy generalities about

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basic human rights, SCULPT explicitly demands equality for Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, women, lesbians and gays, and Jews, as well as commitment to Native American treaty rights and sovereignty. It calls for an end to all sexist, racist, and homophobic attacks, and for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families.

The platform takes a firm stand on women's rights, including abortion on demand; upholds everyone's right to free education and healthcare and quality, affordable housing; demands abolition of the present prison system, government spying, the draft, and an end to police brutality.

In the international arena, SCULPT calls on the U.S. to *initiate* global disarmament and to withdraw its troops and war materials from reactionary governments. It gives unqualified support to anti-capitalist revolutions everywhere.

**Republicrat shell game**

The emergence of SCULPT's bold socialist program is grounded in the swelling protest among this nation's oppressed against mounting poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and militarism. It directly reflects the pressing impetus for political power *independent* of both capitalist parties.

Clear signs that an increasingly vast number of voters have reached their limit of tolerance for politics-as-usual can be seen in Harold Washing-

ton's mayoral victory in Chicago, the ever-widening "gender gap," and growing voter apathy toward traditional two-party run-offs.

All this has thrown establishment pols into pre-election panic. Republicans scurry around trying to "mend fences" with women, Latinos, and Blacks, while Democrats posture again as champions of workers and the poor against Reaganism. Reformists in the women's, minority, labor, and lesbian/gay movements are attempting to steer their "constituencies" into the Democrats' camp.

But voting Democrat solves nothing. Congressional Democrats voted overwhelmingly for Reagan's austerity and militarist measures—many of which were originally proposed or initiated by Carter. The presence of a few liberal dissenters—impotent gadflies at best—merely preserves the illusion that alternatives exist within the two-party system.

Democrats are pro-capitalist. They defend the right of profiteers to profit and exploiters to exploit. History proves that whatever their race, sex, sexuality, or pre-election rhetoric, Democrats in office mean business as usual. Mondale, Glenn, Jesse Jackson, et al., offer no real alternative to Reagan.

But SCULPT's socialist program does.

**The time is now**

SCULPT's focus will be primarily in California for the 1984 elections. But some socialist parties across the country have expressed interest in running SCULPT's presidential candidates on their own state ballots.

The more who join in, the better. This is the time for outspoken protest and resistance—in the street, on the picket line, and at the ballot box. And whatever happens in next year's elections, SCULPT has laid a promising foundation for collaboration among U.S. socialists, inside and outside the electoral arena.

SCULPT's nominating convention will be held in San Francisco on November 25, 26, and 27. It is open to any pro-socialist group or individual. For platform information, contact: Emma Mar, State Chair, Peace and Freedom Party, P.O. Box 24764, Oakland, CA 94623. 415-451-9457. Help provide a socialist choice in 1984!

—MONICA HILL

## VOICES OF COLOR

*lesbians of color conference*the politics of  
"sisterhood"

BY NANCY REIKO KATO

"Sisters Bonding" was the theme for the first national Lesbians of Color Conference, held September 8-11 in Malibu, California. Over 200 women of color, among them Latinas, Chicanas, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Blacks, and Caribbean women, attended. They included lesbian separatists and cultural nationalists, leftists, and independents. The radical wing of the lesbian/gay movement was represented by Seattle's Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights. Socialist feminists also attended, represented by National Radical Women.

Los Angeles Lesbians of Color organized the conference so that "we may begin to know each other, reach out, touch and trust, to form lasting alliances and friendship. . . ." Unfortunately, what they had in mind were primarily personal and social, rather than political, alliances.

There is nothing at all wrong with getting to know each other. But at a time when lesbians of color desperately need to mount national strategies to fight against everything from anti-abortion attacks to gaybashing to social service cuts to repressive immigration legislation to union busting, getting to know each other is not enough.

This conference had great potential as a starting point for strategizing and organizing against right-wing reaction. But it shortchanged those women who came for serious political discussion and active proposals for fighting back that they could take home to their communities.

Most of the workshops were aimed in an anti-

political direction, dealing with things such as personal identity, spirituality, and self-growth. A visible portion of conference attendees came merely to have a good time and to develop social networks. They wanted their own space—to retreat from political commitment.

**Anti-political politics**

But there is no real retreat from politics, or from the racism, sexism, and class oppression that permeate capitalist society, including the movements for social change. The anti-political atmosphere at the conference actually gave rise to two very definite brands of political ideology, lesbian separatism and cultural nationalism, both of which express *capitulation* to racist and sexist divisiveness and thrive in an atmosphere of political retreat.

Separatism and cultural nationalism are *exclusionary* by nature. Separatists see men—and straight women—as the enemy. Cultural nationalists see culture and color as the only bases for interaction and alliance. Both attack all those who do not look, think, or act like they do.

There were two groups of women who came under fire from the separatists and cultural nationalists at the conference: straight women of color with long histories of solidarity with the lesbian/gay movement who'd been invited by the conference organizers to give workshops, and light-skinned lesbians, who weren't colored enough to suit the nationalists.

Straight-baiting started at a meeting called on the second day to discuss issues which weren't being addressed at the conference. A separatist jumped up

and proclaimed that she didn't "want anything to do with a woman who plugs into a man." Cultural nationalists also attacked the light-skinned lesbians present. Not surprisingly, both they and the separatists *opposed* discussing the issues of racism, sexism, and class oppression in society and what can be done to end them. One remarked that she had come to the conference to get away from all that.

**Defending our allies**

A majority of the women at the meeting defended the right of straight and light-skinned women to attend the conference. One Latina stated, "We must be *inclusive*, not *exclusive*." Radical Women member Merle Woo pointed out that many straight women have given unwavering support to lesbian and gay rights at the expense of being unmercifully lesbian-baited themselves. Woo pointed to fellow RW member Nellie Wong, a nationally-known poet who has consistently defended lesbian/gay rights in her art. Wong, she said, like the other straight women at the conference, is an ally to be welcomed rather than repudiated.

As a result of the attacks, Radical Women members—Woo, Wong, and Nancy Kato from the Bay Area, Emily Woo Yamasaki from New York City, and Midge Ward from Seattle, a Native American activist who also represented the Stonewall Committee—drafted a resolution that excoriated:

... the divisive and self-destructive politics based on sexuality and skin color.

to page 18



## The low estate of



higher  
education

Su Dockall/Free Press Socialist

**Exit 13: Oppression and Racism in Academia** by Monte Piliawsky.  
Boston: South End Press, 1982.  
Paperback, \$7.50.

Make a right turn at Exit 13 off Interstate 59, and you enter the University of Southern Mississippi—a world of total academic repression and a virulent microcosm of American higher education in general.

Ex-USM professor Piliawsky takes a look at life at USM, and in five essays examines how American universities and colleges have been structured to meet capitalist needs. These institutions, he asserts, are actually *vocational* schools "to train a disciplined and skilled labor force, and to provide a mechanism for political control in the interests of social stability."

Piliawsky has wanted to tell the USM story for years, and in so doing, to make sense of the seeming chaos he experienced there. He was hired in 1970 to teach political science and fired a year later. No questions of incompetence were raised against him; he was told only that the reasons were non-academic and that "it didn't work out." His case was the rule, not the exception: between 1970-73, 211 faculty members left USM. Not all 211 were fired, but the turnover is extraordinary unless one hearkens to USM president General William McCain: "I have found that when there is trouble with students, there are usually some faculty members in the background." "Trouble" to McCain, a frequent contributor to the monthly journal of the ultra-racist White Citizens Council, is usually represented by "liberals, socialists, communists, planners, do-gooders, one-worlders, bleeding

hearts, and others" with whom he does not politically agree.

### Mississippi goddamn

No wonder that the USM story reads like a combination of *Alice in Wonderland*, *Catch-22*, and *Mein Kampf*. Operated on a political spoils system, USM is run by retired generals and other military types. From 1955-75, General McCain set the university's academic tone. Found guilty by the American Historical Association of plagiarizing a woman's master's thesis in an article he published, the General claimed it was "not worth bothering about." USM's trustees ignored the matter.

USM tried with diabolical intensity to prevent its own integration. In 1959, veteran Clyde Kenard, the first Black to attempt to enter the school, was arrested the day he applied for admission, framed later on spurious felony charges, sent to prison, and allowed to die there of cancer without medical treatment, despite protests in his behalf.

That the same system that killed Clyde Kenard is still in place at USM speaks volumes about progress in today's "New South."

### Separate and unequal

Piliawsky's general examination of American higher education begins in 1967 when the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education—whose members included directors of the Rand Corporation, TIME Inc., the Institute for Defense Analysis, and American Airlines—successfully recommended that a two-tier system be created to reserve elite four-year schools for the "ablest" students, i.e., the primarily white middle and upper-class students who could afford the tuition and whose superior prior schooling prepared them to pass the college entrance exams. The growing numbers of poor and non-white students clamoring for education were assigned to two-year community colleges and lesser four-year schools.

Said the Commission: "'Elite' institutions... should not be homogenized in the name of egalitarianism."

Today, of those students channeled into community colleges—many of which are financially troubled and wracked by cutbacks—few finish the programs; fewer still transfer to four-year schools. The students of color who do are less likely to find jobs than whites *without* college. Women graduates continue to earn less than men with only a high school diploma.

Failure, however, is made individual—"they had their chance" says the system. But, as Piliawsky demonstrates, the real determinants of USM success are still race, class, and sex.

Exit 13 also discusses the purging of radicalism from higher education, the triple jeopardy of Black women in Mississippi today, and much more. Though the book is repetitious and poorly organized overall, Piliawsky's extensive documentation and richness of examples more than make up for it.

Most of all, Piliawsky makes clear that America's ivy-covered campuses are not "above" capitalism and its inequalities, but are factories that help breed and maintain them.

—TAMARA TURNER



Clara Fraser

## Camelot, Shamalot

SOMETIMES, AS I READ THE PRESS and watch tv, I get the feeling that I don't live in the same United States as the one being described. I certainly don't live in the same country depicted in the endless sagas of Kennedyiana that inundated us in November, on the 20th anniversary of his assassination.

The Kennedy dynasty was hardly the epitome of glamour, charm, wit, wisdom, compassion, intellectual acumen, and fine art appreciation. The Kennedy clan was an intrinsic sector of America's royalists, aristocrats in much more than demeanor and style.

They were economic robber barons. They hobnobbed with the most unsavory reactionaries. They were virulently anti-labor; Bobby almost destroyed the Teamsters. Their racism provoked rivers of blood in the South. Their view of women was demeaning and exploitative. Their voracious yen to forge a global empire for the almighty dollar found us jolted and revolted at every turn.

• • •

KENNEDY PLACED MISSILES in Turkey. He drove the Loving Cuban émigré swine to the Bay of Pigs—where an infuriated populace quickly dispatched them. And he was totally responsible for U.S. immersion in Vietnam. He was out to show up the defeated French forces at Dien Bien Phu, and the colonial worlds of Southeast Asia and Latin America were siren songs to his expansionist lust.

On one rainy day in Seattle in 1963, hundreds of University of Washington students and other antiwar protesters demonstrated as JFK's caravan drove onto campus. I saw his face as he caught sight of us, and there was no charisma there. He was icy and furious and grim; he hated us. He feared *our* vigor.

• • •

IN ALL THE RETROSPECTIVES about Kennedy that were inflicted on the public, there was nothing related to the assassination theory. No analysis of the whys and wherefores of Lee Harvey Oswald or the motives of Jack Ruby, a petty hood, tavern owner, and chum of the mob and the cops. The media moguls are not anxious to call attention to the vast conspiracy that cozily interlocked J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI, the CIA, the Mafia, the southern Bourbons, and all the other unsavory men who also gave us Watergate, the execution of the Rosenbergs, the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., and more.

Oswald pulled a typical Nazi trick after his arrest: he screamed for legal defense from the ACLU and announced that, before moving to Dallas, he had been the New Orleans chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He subscribed to the *Daily Worker* and *The Militant*, he said.

The press sought out Fair Play for Cuba representatives. The Seattle branch, as well as the cops, duly represented the Seattle head of the committee, who just happened to be me.

For awhile I thought I was going to be arrested for murder, or conspiracy to murder, or evil associations, or wrong-think. I should have been scared, but I was too indignant about Oswald. I loved the Cuban Revolution and the Fair Play Committee that defended and popularized it. So I sounded off to police, to reporters, to busybodies.

Never heard of Oswald, I said; we never even had a New Orleans branch. Oswald was trying to pin the blame on Fidel, I said, when in fact his bosses were out to get Fidel. (Later, of course, we learned of all the CIA attempts to kill Castro.) It's a crude frame-up, I charged, like Hitler's Reichstag fire provocation. I'm a socialist organizer, I said, not a terrorist, and that goes for the Socialist Workers Party, *The Militant*, and FPCC.

The press carefully published my denials, along with my address, and then dropped the subject. What the cops and FBI did was to generate the usual stoolpigeon operation and paper work avalanche (which cost me hundreds of dollars 15 years later when I requested my file). For weeks after the two murders, I received threatening phone calls, and our friends patrolled the woods around our house at night.

But this was only a mild anti-climax after the Cuban missile crisis. I had given mute thanks to Khrushchev and Soviet common sense when that incident was defused. The Day After will be unthinkable, but the day before wasn't much fun, either.

• • •

THE HUMAN RACE is still afflicted by the macho legacy of the Kennedy regime. Let's not besmirch the glowing legend of King Arthur, Guinevere, and Lancelot by comparing them to the denizens of the White House in 1963. It isn't fair to the British.



"Oh yes, it handles much better now. . . more competitive."

## ...Jetliner

from page 1

Ronald Reagan cynically and cold-bloodedly sacrificed the lives of 269 people to gain propaganda advantage over the Soviet Union. That's called mass murder.

### Innocent error?

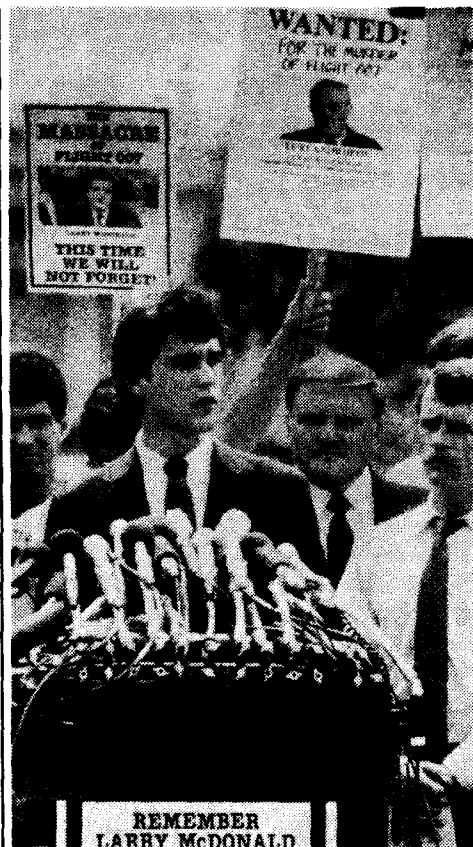
Just how did the plane end up in Soviet air space, hundreds of miles off its original path?

The U.S. intimated that some sort of navigational error had occurred. This is ludicrous. The KAL jet was equipped with a triple-redundant navigational system that made an error of this magnitude virtually impossible. And even if the system had somehow failed, why no lights or radio contact?

When Ted Koppel of ABC's "Nightline" asked Airline Pilots Association vice president Captain Tom Ashwood if such a multiple systems failure was possible, Ashwood replied, "To have them all fail simultaneously, or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical."

The plane was also equipped with a weather radar system capable of picking up large land masses. This radar is generally pointed downward on that route to insure strict avoidance of Soviet territory.

It is highly unlikely, to say the least, that the plane was lost. On the other hand, the use of KAL flights for spying missions is not at all unlikely. Ernest Volkman of *Defense Science* magazine stated that KAL jetliners regularly overfly the Soviet Union for espionage purposes and are "notor-



The son of Georgia Rep. Lawrence McDonald, John Bircher killed in the crash, addresses a rightwing rally.

ious" for carrying spy equipment. As long ago as 1976, the editor of *New Korea* told a Congressional subcommittee that Los Angeles to Seoul flights routinely carry one or two Korean CIA agents.

### A right to shoot

Even some leftists have asserted that, *no matter what the circumstances*, spy flights or no, passengers or no, the Soviet Union had no right to shoot down the plane. Nothing, in

their opinion, can justify an act that jeopardizes innocent lives. This is tantamount to saying that the Soviets have no right to defend their territory against imperialist encroachment. It is a denial, in fact, of their right to exist.

The Soviet workers' state is encircled from Germany to Japan by imperialist forces bent on its destruction. The U.S., which has never believed in peaceful co-existence with the USSR, has for three years talked increasingly of first-strike anti-Soviet war. The KAL jetliner, overflying the most sensitive Soviet military installations, in a part of the world where the U.S. arms buildup is heaviest, refused to respond to Soviet signals and attempted to escape. Who knows what secrets it might have carried off with it, or the possible consequences to the Soviets, if it had managed to get away.

Who, in light of all this, would deny the Soviets the right to stop that plane by any means necessary? Only those who believe that the Soviet "evil empire" is a reality, and that U.S. imperialism has the right to encroach where it wishes—in defense of its "interests," of course.

### Who benefits?

The Soviet Union had *absolutely nothing to gain* by shooting down an unarmed passenger liner. What conceivable benefit could outweigh the disastrous political consequences of such an irrational act?

The U.S., however, had plenty to gain. The tragedy offered Reagan unparalleled propagandistic ammunition against the USSR. It weakened the Soviet position in arms-reduction talks, undercut Soviet prestige within

the European anti-missile movement, and enabled Reagan to rush MX missile funding through Congress.

Additionally, it diverted attention from the 2,000 Marines who were deployed in Lebanon the day the KAL news broke.

Lastly, it gave presidential candidate Reagan the opportunity to pose as a moderate, thoughtful statesman, instead of a warmonger, when he declined to impose sanctions on the Soviets after the tragedy.

### Prelude to war

But Reagan *is* a warmonger. The fact that the U.S. could send 269 airline passengers to their deaths reveals the extent of its commitment to provoke the USSR into full-scale military conflagration.

Reagan is playing with fire, and nuclear fire at that. But then, he has no choice. Anti-imperialist revolutions abroad and economic decay at home have dictated the U.S.'s headlong plunge into military belligerence that, unstoppped, can only lead to nuclear annihilation—and soon.

The U.S. has gone into Grenada. The invasion of Nicaragua is imminent. How long before Cuba is pounded by U.S. bombers? What next in Lebanon? How long until war on the Soviet Union?

There is no way out of crisis for U.S. imperialism except through war. If we are to stop imperialist war, we must fight, defeat, and destroy the war-makers and the capitalist system that breeds them.

This is not just our hope, it is a necessity; the survival of the planet depends on it. □

## ...Conference

from page 16

We could have endless discussions of who a *real* lesbian of color is and never get around to setting about fighting the real enemy. Some lesbians of color are looking for a safe space, thinking safety is where we are all the same. But, in reality, safety is where we can unite with others to defeat the right wing, capitalism, and the patriarchy. Safety is not obtained by shutting out our allies.

### Where the action was

Despite the separatists, cultural nationalists, and the general anti-political tenor of the conference, there were a few sessions with good political discussions that struck a note of reality in dealing with the oppression of lesbians of color.

A statement from the Indian Women's Circle, which focussed on the genocide against Native people, called on lesbians of color to support Indian women's leadership in the social change movements and demanded the right to self-determination for Native Americans. Also, the Open Rap Group for Asian Lesbians proposed compiling an Asian lesbian anthology and presenting a panel on Asian lesbians at the next National Women's Studies Association Conference.

Nellie Wong gave a workshop entitled "The Battle to Overcome Racism in the Women's Movement." Almost a quarter of the women at the conference sat in to hear Wong stress the importance of women of color and white women uniting to fight against the color line in the feminist movement. Wong emphasized the importance of confronting racism inside the movement and that white women have a special responsibility to fight it. She stated, however, that racism, like sex-

ism, cannot be fought on an individual basis and that only a movement uniting lesbians of color with all women, people of color, and the entire working class can make the political, social, and economic changes necessary to end our oppression.

Another workshop, entitled "Politics: Knowing and Acting," featured talks by Merle Woo, who was fired from the University of California/Berkeley for being a lesbian and a socialist feminist; Kwambe OmDahda, a lawyer and founder of Lesbians of Color; and Mitsuye Yamada, a teacher and poet who is co-featured in the film "Mitsuye and Nellie: Asian American Poets."

Woo explained that her fight to regain her job is both a direct challenge to the political discrimination perpetrated at UC and "a way of educating people about multi-issue, socialist feminist ideas." OmDahda gave a good presentation on the legal rights of lesbians, and Yamada stressed the importance of grassroot struggles.

A resolution in support of Woo's case was passed in this workshop. Unfortunately, there was no place on the agenda for formal resolutions to be adopted by the conference as a whole—a result of the organizers' refusal to take political responsibility for the lesbians of color movement.

### Real ties that bind

There are some hard political lessons to be learned from this conference, and a need for continued discussion on sexual and skin color politics in our communities.

We can only hope that the bankrupt politics of lesbian separatism and cultural nationalism will be totally rejected from our movement, that never again will the separatists and nationalists be allowed to launch shameless attacks on light-skinned lesbians and the straight women of color who stand with us, and that bonding between sisters will be based on a movement that *unites* us in the fight to end our oppression. □

3:30 p.m.

He tells me  
just this moment  
he is taking  
one day's vacation  
tomorrow  
and I ask  
shouldn't I call  
the home office  
tomorrow morning  
to inform them  
of the change  
in the staff report  
and he says no  
he doesn't want  
them thinking  
we don't know  
what we are doing  
as he has things  
to do at home  
and I write a note  
in shorthand  
in my mind  
and as he tells me  
he turns away  
to the next office  
to circumvent  
his white lie  
coming through  
my teeth  
and I know it  
though I am  
underprivileged

Nellie Wong





Hilda Rice: "If they come to build the dam, they'll have to carry me out with the dirt, in the bulldozer."

## Australia

# Aboriginal people battle land grab

BY ALISON THORNE

A few miles north of Alice Springs, a town in Australia's Northern Territory, is an area called Inketyne. Inketyne is Australian Aboriginal (Black) land.

The major site in Inketyne is Welatye Therre, where women of the Arrernte people have danced and sung for millenniums to assert and strengthen their relationship with the land. Welatye Therre is a sacred place representing women's breasts, which signify the nurturance of the land.

Welatye Therre is registered as a sacred site under Northern Territory legislation, and protected from white Australian encroachment—in theory. But the Northern Territory government plans to build a dam and flood the site to create a recreational lake for white settlers and tourists. Blacks and their supporters, prime among them Australian feminists, are outraged. Responds Northern Territory Chief Minister Everingham cynically: "The site will not be physically damaged," but only "submerged."

The Arrernte people are fighting back. In April 1983, traditional custo-

dians of the land set up camp near the site to prevent the flooding. Said Hilda Rice, a senior member of the group, "If they come to build the dam, they'll have to carry me out with the dirt in the bulldozer."

### Pushed off the land

Until 1825, Inketyne was undisputedly Aboriginal land. In that year, England extended the boundary of Australia to include the area.

The Arrernte people were suppressed and their land fell under English law. Much of it was subsequently taken over for the town of Alice Springs and surrounding cattle stations. Blacks were allowed to survive only in those areas the invaders did not want. "Ownership" of the land around Welatye Therre was passed to the Northern Territory government in 1978.

### Fighting for land rights

The fight to save Welatye Therre is a crucial chapter in the Aboriginal peoples' struggle for land rights and national self-determination in Australia. The land rights struggle—which closely parallels the land rights and

fishing rights battles of Native Americans in the U.S.—is the rallying point for Aboriginal militance and growing international support.

For this reason, and the fact that Aboriginal land sits on rich deposits of uranium and other minerals, the Australian government and big business have launched a systematic assault against land rights in recent years.

Last year, another Arrernte site, Injalkajamama, was bulldozed to make way for a freeway. Currently, the Kokatha and Pitjantjatjara people are fighting plans by Australian and British uranium interests to build a road through sacred Dreaming lands in South Australia.

Hope that the recently-installed Australian Labor Party government might reverse the outgoing Liberal Party's anti-land rights policies is rather dim. While Labor stands officially in favor of land rights, Prime Minister Bob Hawke has said and done nothing to reverse the encroachments. His support of the uranium industry signifies he is unlikely to do so in the future.

Hawke is typical of Labor Party mis-leaders who administer the state for the benefit of capitalists and to the detriment of the workers and oppressed minorities that Labor claims to represent. It is *incumbent* on the ALP rank and file to recognize that Hawke's silence on land rights is a strike against them, and to solidarize

with the Aboriginal people's struggle.

### They shall not be moved

The Arrernte people are determined that Welatye Therre will not be desecrated. Their resistance has attracted world attention, and gained a temporary victory when the Everingham government was forced to retreat from its plan to flood the site on June 30.

An official inquiry into the matter has been launched and some months will elapse before any final decisions are made.

The protesters at Welatye Therre, who have many children at the site to look after, need increased support if they are to maintain their occupation. They lack shelter and transportation, and depend on supporters to bring them supplies.

It is a great tribute to their courage and determination that, despite these adversities, they persist against the despoilment of sacred land.

Increased support from feminists, ALP rank and file, and social justice advocates in all countries will enable the Arrernte people to win their struggle for Welatye Therre. Donations and support messages should be sent to: Welatye Therre Defense Committee, c/o P.O. Box 2363, Alice Springs, NT 5750, Australia.

Send letters of protest against the recreational lake project to the Federal Aboriginal Affairs Minister, Mr. Clyde Holding, Parliament House, Canberra, ACT, Australia. □

## ...Strike

from page 3

democracy; for discussion of real issues in meetings; for access to information during bargaining; for input into all discussions and negotiations; and for consideration, support, and action on their proposals.

### Into the 21st century

The 1983 phone strike victory reversed the trend of union losses since the PATCO strike two years ago. Now comes the fight for the unions' survival, for greater victories, and soon, for workers' control over the entire communications system.

Phone service, essential to modern life, should—like all industry—be run by the workers, not profiteers whose interests are inimical to workers' sur-

vival.

Future victories will hinge on how boldly the unions confront their tasks, above all how much the leadership reflects the needs and demands of the women and people of color in operator and clerical services. These are the workers who looked ahead during this strike, who demanded retraining, who proved most ready to fight for the future. They are the workers who will push labor into the 21st century. □

## ...Woo

from page 6

women's community, and the whole shebang from society at large. *That's censorship.*

So for radicals, the struggle against censorship is central to our struggle for liberation.

### Persistence, persistence

I was the only educator in Asian American Studies (AAS) to teach the interconnections between race, sex, sexuality, and class, the only one to talk about lesbian and gay and feminist issues. The ladder-rank faculty in AAS meanwhile sold students, community activists, feminists, radicals, lesbians and gays down the river.

These faculty members became agents of the University and lined up against the student tutors and me because we were outspoken. If I had played the game, I might have been tolerated; ranked-faculty might have bragged that they, too, had "one of those."

But I wouldn't ever have been part

of their buddy system, attending their socials and book parties and moving up the ladder. I would merely have been tolerated and joked about. And fired when they felt it was expedient.

So you see, none of us has anything to lose by speaking out. What do we have in our silence? Do we really think that in this time and place silence will give Third World men and women, or Third World lesbians job security? We would just be practicing more of the self-denial and censorship that we have practiced for centuries.

I intend to fight that self-denial. We, the Merle Woo Defense Committee and I, are taking my case to the state and federal courts, charging UC/Berkeley with violation of my First Amendment rights, violation of due process, and discrimination based on race, sex, sexuality, and political ideology. We are also trying the case in the community where it belongs, writing our briefs with an eye to the general reader. We want the case *public* in order to educate and to expose the University's institutionalized oppression and censorship.

These issues have gained us national and international support. People

have endorsed the case and donated money who don't even know who I am, but who know that what has happened to me can eventually happen to them. Many know that we're living in a terrible economic depression, that we're seeing the decline of capitalism, and that fascism is beginning to stretch and gape its jaws.

Cases like mine are very important means to an end. They help expose the nature of our oppressive capitalist institutions—how they censor and subjugate all who are not straight, white, and male, in order to meet the political and economic needs of the profit system.

By exposing the system for what it is, by speaking the truth in a public arena, by organizing people, and by educating, picketing, demonstrating, and striking, we are on the way to closing this system down. We will create a new, free society where all can speak out fully and with dignity; where we will produce for need and not for profit; a free, all-embracing society, which will give men and women the chance to reach our fullest potential. This is our basic right as human beings. □

## CRSP

### COMMITTEE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

Dedicated to the regroupment of world Trotskyists. The workingclass women, gays, people of color, and white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in freewheeling discussion and social actions on a widespread front.

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# Asian Americans: Scapegoats for a nation in crisis



Cop violence erupts at police brutality demonstration in New York City, 1975.

Corky Lee

BY SANDY WELSTED

**B**uy American" bumper stickers, baseball bats, and billy clubs—these are among the weapons so far employed in the growing domestic war against Asian/Pacific Americans and immigrants.

An anti-Asian pogrom is in the air, inspired and orchestrated by the U.S. government, Ford, GM, Chrysler, the textile barons, and other big guns of American industry.

The bosses blame Japanese industry for the decay of U.S. capitalism. Politicians scapegoat Southeast Asian refugees for the jobs and social service crises. They aim to set the poor and unemployed against a visible, vulnerable, "foreign" minority and thus escape their

own responsibility for the accelerating U.S. social and economic breakdown.

The list of murdered and maimed grows daily:

● Vincent Chin, a Chinese American man, was beaten to death with a baseball bat last June in Detroit by two white auto workers who "mistook" him for Japanese and blamed him for unemployment. The killers were fined a measly \$3,780 earlier this year and allowed to walk free with three years' probation—a slap on the wrist tantamount to telling them to "go and sin again."

Only after a nationwide campaign was mounted by Chinese Americans in Detroit did a federal grand jury agree to re-view the case. In November, the jury indicted Chin's killers on two counts of federal civil rights violations, a penalty

that could bring them life imprisonment.

● Thong Hy Huynh, a Vietnamese refugee attending high school in Davis, California, was knifed to death this spring by a fellow student who prefaced the murder with racist slurs.

● Kampuchean activist An Pech was bludgeoned to death on the porch of his Dallas apartment in July by an unidentified Black man. Neighbors stated that tension ran high between poor Blacks and refugees jammed together in the neighborhood.

● Sae Cheo Muang, an elder Southeast Asian woman, was discovered hanging from a tree in Pomona, California in late August. Onlookers merely stared and giggled. Police were quick to call her death "suicide."

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Volume 8, Number 4 Winter 1983



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