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Newsletter #168

A call to resist illegitimate authority

September 1984

## The Rainbow and Coalition Politics

Radical America: The Mel King Campaign and Coalition Politics in the Eighties. (Double issue: Vol.17, No.6 & Vol.18, No.1). Available from Radical America, 38 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143. 128 pages. \$5 (postage paid).

#### **KEN TANGVIK**

ust as Jesse Jackson's thunderous speech stood out at the Democratic convention in San Francisco, the emergence of the Rainbow Coalition stands out as the most exciting political event of the year. Undaunted, inspite of the vicious attacks by the mainstream media, Jackson did more than just survive the Democratic primaries: he sparked a movement described by Cockburn and Kopkind in The Nation as "potentially the most wrenching historical development since the labor struggles of the 1930's." Anne Braden of the Southern Organizing Committee has called the Rainbow Coalition the most important political thing that has happened in this century. Although Jackson's platform issues were expectedly dumped by the "moderate" leadership of the Democratic Party at the convention, the Rainbow Coalition will surely influence American politics for a long time to come.

For many leftists and peace activists, the Rainbow Coalition and Jackson's candidacy prompted their first foray

into electoral politics. While traditional electoral activism, which is used to secure benefits from established interests, has turned many progressives off. Rainbow politics are different. They are not politics as usual, but a people's movement that carries forward the lessons of the civil rights movement. They are about demanding a more equitable distribution of wealth and raising local issues within national and international contexts so that the links between the increasing militarization of our society and the quality of life in our cities are made clear. Racism at home is linked to U.S. government and corporate policies toward South Africa. Jackson dared to raise the issues of Central America, a Palestinian homeland, racism within some labor bureaucracies. He challenged and stunned the democratic cold warriors by humanizing Arab people and going on successful missions to Syria, Cuba and Nicaragua, where he praised the efforts of the Sandinista government. In this process, millions of those who had been "locked out" became part of a powerful mass movement. The Jackson campaign presented a unique opportunity to build an influential, multiracial, anti-miliary movement that could continue to push ahead after the elections.

Where is the national Rainbow Continued on next page



Photo by Ellen Shub

Coalition going? For the present it seems that the Rainbow will be involved in a massive Dump-Reagan campaign that will involve registering millions of new voters and raising the important issues that the Mondale-Ferraro team will continue to avoid. But the future of the newly arisen Rainbow Coalition is unclear. Most likely it will remain a movement that will be active both within and outside of the electoral arena. Potentially, the Rainbow could form the foundation of an independent political force in the U.S. (green is a color of the Rainbow), but for the immediate future local Rainbow Coalitions that were formed in diffrerent neighborhoods, towns, cities and states will define their own activities, their own issues, and how they will relate to electoral politics. Ultimately, the strength of the Rainbow will be determined by its level of organization in the grassroots.

#### **Boston's Rainbow Coalition**

A few months before Jesse Jackson announced his candidacy for President, a Rainbow Coalition formed around the Boston Mayoral Candidacy of Mel King, a well-known black radical activist who had served several years in the Massachusetts State Legislature. After winning the preliminary election, King eventually lost in the final, but his coalition of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, lesbians, gays, women, progressives and peace and neighborhood activists shocked local and national political pundits and dramatically changed the political scene in Boston, a city world famous for its history of racism. In the final elections, King received 20% of the white vote, more than Harold Washington in Chicago or Andrew Young in Atlanta, even though King ran a more radical campaign in a more overtly racist city. During the campaign, King consistently promoted the idea of a "Rainbow" as he traveled through Boston's diverse neighborhoods. When Jackson came to Boston last October to boost King's campaign, he described King as "the godfather of the Rainbow."

Recently, Radical America, a 17 year old Boston-based socialist/feminist journal, published The Mel King Campaign and Coalition Politics in the Eighties, an exhaustive 128 page analysis of the Rainbow Coalition with a focus on the Boston experience. Interestingly enough, the *Radical America* collective, whose members worked hard in the King campaign, has historically represented a segment of the Left most cynical towards electoral politics. They state in their introduction:

While we became involved in the Mel King campaign, none of us has abandoned our reservations about electoral politics. The lessons learned from the civil rights, anti-war, women's and gay movements still live. They taught us that it is powerful and disruptive movements outside the electoral arena that force the system to bend. We remain cynical of the gains to be made by seeking influence with the bureacractic terms of electoral parties and politics and aware of the dangers of loss of a radical vision. And yet, the reality is that Reagan is in power, the Left isolated, the Right strong and vicious. Still, we believe we must continue to ask questions and not assume answers about how electoral work fits into attempts to defeat Reaganism, and to reverse its policies. We remain resistant to the headlong rush into electoral politics, even to the idea that "above all we must defeat Ronald Reagan.'

Mel King's campaign is significant as an electoral effort which stretched, as far as any we know, the possibilities of making electoral politics serve the dynamics of social movements. And yet, the articles in this issue mostly all point to the gap between the dream of the Rainbow Coalition and the political realities of work in the campaign. We must not forgo assessing the costs and losses of electoral strategies, even as we participate in them. For local Boston activists, we must sharpen the questions that this campaign has raised.

Indeed, there are many questions to be raised in the formation of a genuine Rainbow Coalition and the editors of Radical America have performed a great service by addressing many of the most important and difficult of these questions. Of the 10 articles in the issue, 8 deal specifically with the King campaign, one examines the dynamics behind Harold Washington's victory in Chicago and another looks at the emerging black electoral activism in the U.S. The 8 articles written about the King Campaign are written by blacks, feminists, Latinos, Asians, lesbians and community activists who were involved in the campaign. The other two articles are included to emphasize that the Mel King campaign did not happen in an isolated setting, but is part of a sweeping nation-wide movement. Although critical, *Radical America* views the King campaign as an extraordinarily positive and significant event with immense possibilities for the future.

In the first article, James Green traces the political changes in Boston between 1963 and 1983 that led to the making of Mel King's Rainbow Coalition. He points out the major differences between the populist coalition of Ray Flynn (the present mayor of Boston who defeated King in the final election) and the Boston Rainbow. Green argues that while populists promise equal opportunity and "fair shares" through Democratic reform and economic justice, they usually fail to attack the structure of social inequality or to combat the discriminatory attitudes that can easily poison interracial coalitions.

Green looks at the development of the Boston Rainbow Coalition which grew out of the black-led anti-racist movement in Boston and shows that the Rainbow is much more than a populist movement. While Flynn appealed to people's economic interests, he refused to accept the fact that racism existed in the city of Boston. Flynn felt that all people could be united around common economic grievances without addressing racism *Continued* 



directly. However, King clearly articulated the connections between issues of poverty, racism, sexism, imperialism, and the arms race. King used his Boston Jobs residency program to appeal for unity between white and minority workers in the city but he also attacked white unions for refusing to support affirmative action. While Flynn offered more police protection for women and equal rights for gays, King talked about confronting sexism and homophobia in our society. Going into racist white neighborhoods, King appealed not only to people's economic interest, but to their self-respect as human beings. These are some clear examples that show the differences between Rainbow and populist strategies.

Green, as well as John Demeter, who wrote on his experiences campaigning in the Italian North End of Boston, showed how difficult it ws for King and his campaign to raise the issue of racism when the liberal media in the city described such attempts as provocative, divisive and polarizing. Similarly, Jackson was portrayed in the media as anti-white or unreasonable whenever he strongly raised the issue of racism. Demeter also describes his experiences campaigning for a black candidate in a neighborhood where blacks are not "allowed" to live or even visit.

Both the external and internal difficulties of addressing racism pose cultural problems within a Rainbow Coalition. In her article "The Mel King Campaign and the Black Community,' Candice Cason points out that in the interest of unity, or due to the pressure of "getting on with business," conflicts reflecting racial and cultural differences, about both organization and content of political work were managed, rather than engaged. She notes that power struggles will inevitably ensue when a multiplicity of individuals and interest groups with various agendas compete in the context of a coalition. Cason also points out the difficulties involved in maintaining a strong, autonomous black organization and how the formation of a black community organization after the campaign can be seen as a manifestation of the general need for independent organization among minority nationalities, whose cultures are always subject to subordination, intentional or unintentional, by the dominant culture.

Other complexities of building a multi-racial coalition come from

understanding the importance in Boston of Latinos, Asians and other Third World groups and the contradictions within and between those groups. Two articles in this issue, by Mike Liu and by Mauricio Gaston and Melania Bruno, address such problems. In both the Latino and Asian communities, the Mel King campaign sharpened contradictions already existing between conservative patriarchal political machines and younger progressive rebels. King supporters among both groups saw that national and international issues may play an important role even in local elections. Gaston and Bruno point out that there is a serious, complex and bitter struggle, still fluid and relatively undefined, in the Latino communities in the U.S.

Margaret Cerullo and Marla Erlien examine the King campaign from a feminist perspective, looking at the difficulties of maintaining a feminist presence throughout the campaign, as it provided an opportunity to explore the prospects for feminism in coalition politics, particularly in coalition where race is the focus. They realized that raising feminism in a way that didn't seem to distract or compete with the anti-racism focus of the campaign could prove very difficult. They also look at the problems of organizing in neighborhoods where there are powerful heterosexual, racist and sexist norms. The writers conclude that if feminist concerns are not to be marginalized or reduced to manageable equal rights demands, feminists must join coalitions as an organized force and not as individuals.

Cerullo and Erlien join Kate Raisz and Jessico Shubo to look at lesbians and gays in the Boston Rainbow. They raise issues such as autonomy and neighborhood vs. constituency organizing in relation to their community. They point out the split in the lesbian and gay community between those whose strategy is to integrate into the city's existing power structure and those who see their political power originating in a social movement. They also look at the immense gap in politics, particularly race politics, and in social and economic power, between the gay and lesbian communities. The authors examine homophobia within the Rainbow and the difficulty of getting other activists to take lesbian/gay issues and concerns to the public during the Campaign.



There were many problems in the King campaign that seemed produced by its very successes in the electoral arena. In American left-wing politics, the candidates are usually marginal, "not serious," either in their treatment by the media or in public consideration. Candidates perceived as serious are not usually radicals, or are closeted radicals. However, sometime in the summer of 1983, Mel King became non-marginal without losing his identity as a radical. His victory in the preliminary, though, had a mixed effect on the campaign. As Ellen Herman suggests in her article, the euphoria and the satisfaction of feeling powerful was offset by a centralizing tendency that weakened the campaign as a social movement and, she proposes, even as an effective electoral machine. The question remains whether it is possible for any electoral effort to achieve success while maintaining a democratic, decentralized and diversified structure and strategy.

Finally, two articles, one by James Jennings and the other by Abdul Akalimat and Don Gills, look at the King campaign from a national perspective. The Harold Washington article is a detailed analysis of Chicaco politics and how the black community mobilized to elect their first black mayor. Jennings examines the new black electoral ac-

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# **Crackdown on Sanctuary**

### LINDIE BOSNIAK & JANE RASMUSSEN

In Central America, refugees are subversives; here they're deportable aliens. If you aid refugees in Central America you become a subversive or dead. If you aid them here you become a felon.

The Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America.

n February 17, Diane Muhlenkamp, a Catholic nun, and Stacy Merkt, a lay worker at Oscar Romero House — a diocesan-supported refugee center for Central American refugees - were detained at 4 a.m. along with three Salvadoreans and a journalist near San Benito, Texas. The six were picked up during the first leg of the Salvadoreans' journey to sanctuary in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the Old Cambridge Baptist Community was awaiting them. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials stopped their car — owned by the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville, Texas - without a warrant.

A second set of arrests occurred on Marth 7th near Nogales, Arizona. The U.S. Border Patrol detained religious lay workers Phil Conger and Katherine Flaherty, who, at the time of their arrest, were acting as representatives of several congregations in Tucson which provide sanctuary and transportation relays for Salvadorean and Guatemalan refugees. They were detained along with four Salvadoreans. The six were stopped in an automobile registered to the Southside Presbyterian Church, site of the first sanctuary declared in the United States on March 24, 1982.

These episodes mark the first direct attacks leveled against the church-led movement to provide U.S. sanctuary to Salvadorean and Guatemalan refugees. Besides aiding thousands of Central American refugees by providing them with shelter, transportation to sanctuary in other locations and other material assistance, the two-year old movement has proved to be an important educational and mobilizing tool against U.S. involvement in Central America.

The cases have proceeded differently in the two states, however. After being held for several hours, Conger and Flaherty were relesaed from custody. Despite threats, the government has brought no charges against them. Behind the delay appears to lie a sharp difference of opinion between local and Washington-based federal officials about whether to press for convictions. The INS Regional Commissioner, Harold Ezell, characterized the case as "extremely sensitive and of great import to the Immigration Service .... We're not going to let it fall through the cracks." Ezell added that his office would be clearing its statements with INS Commissioner Alan C. Nelson in Washington.

In contrast, the U.S. attorney for Tucson held a press conference on March 28 in which he responded to questions about the directives he has received on the case from Washington. "I can tell you truthfully I have not talked to a single person from the Department of Justice.... They deem this a local matter. We're treating it as a local matter, and it's not being orchestrated by anyone anywhere."

According to Conger who is Project Director for the Tucson Ecumenical Council Task Force on Central America, the U.S. Justice Department wants to use the arrests as an opportunity to crack down on the nationwide sanctuary movement, while the local U.S. attorney's office is more reluctant to proceed with the case since it is aware that sanctuary efforts enjoy significant local support.

The Texas authorities don't seem as concerned with the movement's popular support. By most accounts, Muhlenkamp and Merkt's encounter with the law was accidental. Such routine checks are common to the border area. Nevertheless, the decision by the government to prosecute was deliberate and marks an end to the practice of avoiding confrontation with sanctuary activists. On March 13, the religious workers were charged with three felony counts, while the decision to indict *Dallas Times Herald* reporter Jack Fischer was delayed, pending further investigation. Muhlenkamp and Merkt were released on personal recognizance bonds and are currently awaiting trial, which, according to their attorneys, will probably be set in May or June. They each face up to 15 years imprisonment and \$15,000 in fines if convicted.

The refugees were charged with the misdemeanor crime of entry without inspection. They were released on \$9,000 bond each, an unusually high amount for persons charged only with illegal entry. Their bond was posted by Lutheran church groups.

The offensive against the sanctuary movement in Texas has not stopped with these arrests. On April 13, INS arrested Jack Elder, director of Casa Oscar Romero. He has been charged with transporting illegal aliens. The government is currently holding three Salvadorean refugees who received assistance from members of the underground railroad and sanctuary communities in the Rio Grande area. Father Wally Kusuboski, a defense attorney for arrested lay worker Stacy Merkt. says the goverment is expected to use these refugees as material witnesses to try to bring indictments against three or four more sanctuary workers in the Rio Grande valley. Kusuboski believes that the goverment is attempting to close down the underground railroad in Texas, thus preventing Salvadoreans from making it further north. By their presence and their personal testimonies, refugees in communities throughout the country help increase the already deep-felt opposition to U.S. policy in Central America among church groups and in the public at large.

#### Sanctuary and the Law

Those involved in the sanctuary movement know full well that the act of providing refuge for Central Americans fleeing their countries is defined as a felony by U.S. law. That has not deterred the mushrooming of the movement. According to the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America — a clearinghouse for much of the nation's sanctuary activity — in only two years, the movement has grown to embrace over 110 congregations of almost all religious denominations. Renny Golden, a founding member of the task force, estimates that well over 70,000 people could be charged with defying U.S. law for providing shelter to refugees or for participating in the underground railroad. And the movement continues to grow. According to *The New York Times*, at least one church joins the sanctuary movement weekly, while hundreds of others help by providing food, clothing and other assistance.

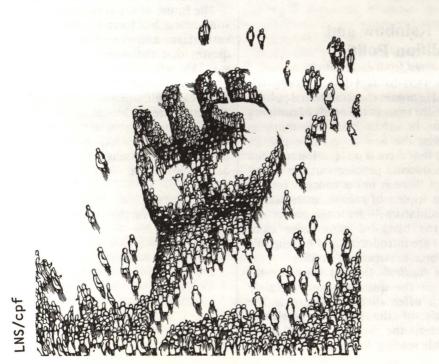
Each congregation or community that considers providing sanctuary painstakingly examines the decision to challenge U.S. law. Those who have chosen to participate do so out of an allegiance to a moral imperative which, under current conditions, entails risking imprisonment, fines and felony records. Individuals convicted of harboring, transporting and conspiring to transport persons not lawfully in the United States face up to five years in jail and a \$2,000 fine per alien for each count.

"We are breaking the laws of our government because of a higher moral law ... the need to save the lives and protect the liberty of these refugees," explains Dick Simpson of Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ in Chicago.

Jim Corbett, a Quaker and one of the founders of the sanctuary movement, similarly states, "For those of us who would be faithful in our allegiance to the Peacable Kingdom, there's also no way to avoid recognizing that in this case collaboration with the U.S. government is a betrayal of our faith.... When the government itself sponsors the torture of entire peoples and then makes it a felony to shelter those seeking refuge, law-abiding protest merely trains us to live with atrocity."

Sanctuary is a concept which has a long and solid tradition in Judeo-Christian doctrine. Historically, the churches played a critical role in the underground railroad for runaway slaves during the last century, and were also in the forefront of the movement to provide protection for conscientious objectors and AWOL servicement during the Vietnam War.

U.S. church people say too that they've been challenged to re-examine their moral and political obligations at home by the witness of Central American Christians. "The willingness of the church in Latin America to stand with the poor, the tortured and the oppressed is a very powerful example," says David Chevrier, pastor at Chicago's Wellington Avenue Church. "Their fearlessness in the face of incredible intimidation and terror, torture and death. It makes what we're doing so little and the stregnth needed to do it so minimal in light of it. The connection between faith and what the church is doing in Central America is very important."



#### **Churches "Playing Games"**

Until the Texas and Arizona incidents, the Immigration and Naturalization Service had apparently sought to avoid confrontation with the sanctuary movement. Obviously aware of the sanctuary activity, they chose not to act. Bill Joyce, assistant general counsel to the INS told the Christian Science monitor in 1982 that "this Ithe sanctuary movement] is just a political thing the churches are dreaming up to get publicity, a game to pressure the government to allow Salvadoreans to stay here. If we thought it was a significant problem, then maybe we'd take a look at it. But there are plenty of illegal aliens out there."

Yet in spite of its disparaging portrayal of the movement, INS has always emphasized its legal right to take action whenever it sees fit. "We are permitted to enter church property with a proper warrant of inspection. God will not strike us dead if we go in. But as a practical matter, we have more than we can handle apprehending illegal aliens at the worksite." said David Ilchert, northern California regional director of INS.

That the sanctuary movement did not face notable harrassment by the U.S. government until the Texas arrests does not, however, mean that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been entirely passive with respect to the growing support movement for Central American refugees. On the contrary, it hs been escalating attacks against exiles and curtailing their meagre legal resources. For example, INS commonly coerces Salvadoreans into waiving their rights, including the right to counsel, the right to a hearing and the right to appeal for political asylum. Refugees are often physically or verbally abused during arrest and while in detention, and attorneys are routinely denied access to their clients. These and other violations of the refugees' due process rights are being challenged by a class action suit in Los Angeles, Orantes-Hernandez v. Smith. A federal District Court judge in Los Angeles ordered a preliminary injunction against these practices in April 1982 while the case is pending. Though the injunction is still in effect, violations commonly occur. The case will be tried this summer.

The government's most recent tactic in its offensive against the refugees and *Continued on next page* 

#### **Crackdown on Sanctuary**

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their defenders is the transferral of large numbers of apprehended aliens to detention centers in remote rural areas, where their bond redetermination and deportation hearings also take place. In recent months, for instance, most Salvadoreans detained in San Francisco have been sent to a holding facility in Florence, Arizona. Such a practice isolates the refugees from any family, friends and other support systems they may have in this country, and renders it virtually impossible for them to gain access to legal assistance and to bond out of jail while they await their deportation hearings. Feeling virtually certain they will be sent home after a long incarceration, many opt to return at once.

#### **Underground Railroad Surfaces**

In response to the arrests of the Texas sanctuary workers, sanctuary and underground railroad activists organized a public car caravan carrying a Guatemalan refugee family of seven to sanctuary. The fifteen-car caravan left Chicago on March 16 and arrived in Weston, Vermont on March 24, doubled in size. The cars were covered with signs calling for "INS Hands Off" and "Save Central American Refugees." According to Renny Golden, the organizers decided that if it was no longer safe to transport refugees clandestinely, they would surface the railroad, forcing the Reagan Administration to make public "the sinister nature of its deportation policy," and with it, "its bloody foreign policy." The carvan received significant media attention and public support along the way, and the authorities did not interrupt or harrass the caravan in any manner.

Whether or not the federal authorities plan to launch an all-out offensive against the sanctuary movement is still not apparent. The political costs involved in prosecuting large numbers of religious workers and dragging refugees out of churches before national television cameras would be high. Yet if they don't take action, the sanctuary movement will continue to help turn public opinion against U.S. involvement in Central America. The government is aware that the real goal of the movement is not to proliferate sanctuaries and clandestine transporation relays for Central American refugees. Rather, its goal is to eliminate their necessity by stopping the U.S.-funded war in Central America. It is this underlying objective, and the potential of the movement to help achieve it, that represents its true challenge to the government and the real strength of its work.

Editors Note: since this article was written, Stacy Merkt was convicted on all three felony counts and released with a suspended sentence and two years probation. The government decided to press charges against Phil Conger but he was eventually released with no conviction. Jack Elder is awaiting trail. And Sister Diane Muhlenkamp agreed in a pre-trial hearing to testify for the prosecution in exchange for a government promise that charges would not be brought against her for one year.

Linda Bosniak is a legal worker and collaborator with San Francisco's Central American Refugee Defense Fund (CARDF). Jane Rasmussen, an attorney, is CARDF's executive director. CARDF, a project of the National Lawyers Guild, provides information for and maintains communication with lawyers, legal workers and others involved in social service and legal policy advocacy for Central American refugees. For more information, write CARDF, 558 Capp St., San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 285-8040. This article was excerpted from NACLA Reports (Volume XVIII Number 3), May/June 1984.

## The Rainbow and Coalition Politics

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tivism that he says has a strong left bent. He argues that traditional politics has failed to meet the needs of ordinary citizens in urban black communities and that the new progressive politics shows that there is no solution to social and economic problems at the urban level if there is not a concern for the "giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism." Jennings points out that the black-led progressive campaigns are introducing and leading this new force in American politics.

The *Radical America* issue doesn't raise all the questions and certainly doesn't offer all the solutions in the analysis of the Boston experience. However, the journal is extremely valuable reading for anyone who is in-

terested in working with or understanding the Rainbow Coalition. As well as helping to initiate a necessary national political debate around some very difficult and important questions, the issue will also provide practical assistance for those dealing with external and internal struggles of the Rainbow Coalition both within and outside of the electoral arena.

#### The Boston Rainbow Continues

Since the 1983 mayoral elections, the Boston Rainbow Coalition has staved together and formed a structured membership organization with an elected leadership that represents the diversity of the city. The black community has formed an autonomous organization that maintains a presence within the Rainbow and neighborhood and constituency groups continue to organize. Activists who have never participated in electoral politics have found leftover benefits from an electoral campaign such as voter identification lists and community contact lists that can be very useful for gathering petitions and organizing around issues of housing, Central America and other local, national, and international isues. Also, the connections made between progressives from all over the city during the campaign provides a new network of strength that can enable activists to successfully mount city-wide mobilizations when necessary. Meanwhile, the debate rages over the role the Boston Rainbow will play in electoral politics.

The future of the Boston Rainbow is still unclear but there is a high level of enthusiasm and commitment that indicates that the movement is here to stay. Hopefully, the Boston Rainbow and the Rainbow Coalitions formed in diverse communities across the country will continue to bloom and coalesce. With a base of power at the grassroots level, the Rainbow has the potential to bring about the changes this country so desperately needs.

Ken Tangvik, a Resist staffperson, is active in the Boston Rainbow Coalition. Midwest Center for Military Counselling (MCMC), C/O Foss, Schuman & Drake, 11 South La Salle St., Chicago, IL 60603.

MCMC along with the Gay Rights Task Force of the National Lawyers Guild and the Military Law Task Force of the National Lawyers Guild is producing a manual entitled Fighting Back: Handling Lesbian and Gav Draft. Military and Veterans Cases. Standard draft and military works (handbooks, lawyers manuals) do not address the issue of gays and lesbians in the military with much clarity, if they address them at all. Yet, no governmental branch, agency or policy is more oppressive to lesbians and gays than the military. Military regulations define a homosexual as any person who desires to engage in homosexual acts, whether or not they actually pursue this desire. Based on the opinions of sex researchers, this definition could encompass up to 50% of the entire military service. In other words, if the military wants to get rid of someone, as they have recently been attempting to discharge women, they can very easily accuse someone of being a homosexual. Thousands of people are processed out of the military every year and hundreds of thousands more are stigmatized, repressed and intimidated for thinking, acting or looking "homosexual." This manual begins with a general overview of the history of military attitudes about homosexuals and some counselling notes that are important to lesbian and gay cases. Next there is a close analysis of the current DOD policies concerning homosexuality. And following chapters serve as a practical guide on gay issues in draft cases; on securing discharge for homsexuality: on resisting discharge on homosexuality; and on special problems facing persons separated for homosexuality. Resist's grant will help with promotional costs of Fighting Back.

#### Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), 17 Murray St., NY, NY 10007.

The sterilization Committee of CARASA recently applied to us for a grant to help them conduct a study of the voluntary sterilization program at a large NYC hospital. The goals of this project were to determine how effective counseling is in determining women's decisions about sterilization: to determine what population of women participate in voluntary sterilization programs; to assess the relationship of the sterilization counseling program to the abortion clinic and family planning services: and to ultimately develop a training packet for counselors. The Sterilization Committee has been working closely with the sterilization counseling program at St. Lukes-Roosevelt hospital since January 1983. They have been interviewing women who participate in the program both before and after their counseling sessions. They have been sitting in on individual and group counseling sessions as well. CARASA started its work in the mid-1970's when practices of involuntary sterilization were brought to public attention through litigation on behalf of women sterilized in government funded programs. These cases revealed instances of young lower-income women who were sterilized without informed consent. Consent was often obtained in a language that patients didn't understand or under the threat of losing welfare or Medicaid benefits. Since that time, new federal regulations require informed consent counseling in the patient's preferred language regarding permanency, risk, benefits and alternatives to sterilization. CARASA's current study is

meant to determine whether the federal requirements are sufficient. Many experts feel they are not. Resist's grant will help CARASA pay a summer staffperson.

#### **RESIST GRANTS 1/84 - 6/84**

#### **Disarmament and Anti-Draft**

- People's Test Ban National Clearinghouse (Portland, OR) \$250
- Disarmament Resource Center (SF, CA) \$350
- National Mobilization for Survival (NYC) \$150

Militarism Resource Project (Philadelphia) \$599

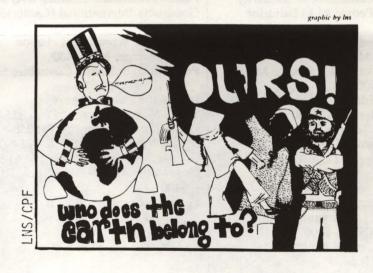
- Sky Valley Peace Council (Monroe, WA) \$150
- NY Mobilization for Survival (NYC) \$450

New England Euromissile Campaign (Cambridge, MA) \$200

- National CARD (Washington, DC) \$100
- Vietnam Vets of America (MA) \$200 Peace and Justice Youth Project
- (Oakland, CA) \$250
- Peace and Justice Summer (Cambridge, MA) \$250
- Griffiss Action Coalition (Syracuse, NY) \$300
- National Conference on Registration and the Draft (SF, CA) \$200

Boston Mobilization for Survival (Cambridge, MA) \$400

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Resource Center for Non-Violence (Santa Cruz, CA) \$200

Philadelphia Jobs with Peace \$250 National Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (Washington,

DC) \$400

Griffiss Plowshares Seven (Syracuse, NY) \$150

Anti-TMSA Coalition (Boston) \$100

#### Lesbian and Gay

Lesbian and Gay Organizing Committee (NYC) \$500

Gay Rights Task Force of the NLG (Chicago, IL) \$400

Gay Community News \$400 Gay and Lesbian Speaker's Bureau (Boston) \$100

#### **Anti-Racist Organizing**

Black and Proud Liberation Elementary School (Jackson, MS) \$100 Black Vets for Social Justice (Brooklyn, NY) \$250 African Peoples Socialist Party (Oakland, CA) \$250 United League of Holmes County

(Lexington, MS) \$200 Jamaica Plain Rainbow Coalition

(JP, MA) \$100

#### **Central America Solidarity**

Joint Legal Task Force on Central American Refugees (Seattle, WA) \$500

Commite Centroamericano (Chelsea, MA) \$500

Comite de Apoyo Pro-Alfabetizacion (Brookline, MA) \$488

San Diego Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador \$500

Casa El Salvador Farabundo Marti (Allston, MA) \$500

Casa El Salvador Farabundo Marti (NYC) \$500

Sanctuary Education Committee (Cambridge, MA) \$100

Guatemala Refugee Tour

(Watertown, MA) \$100 Central America Legal Defense Committee (NYC) \$300

Central America Referendum (Somerville, MA) \$300

U.S. Tour of Nicaraguan Health Workers (NYC) \$300

Cincinnati Central America Task Force (OH) \$400

Central America Research Institute (Berkeley, CA) \$300

#### Committee on U.S./Latin American Relations (Ithaca, NY) \$250 Nicaraguan Working Group (Providence, RI) \$350

#### **Native American Rights**

Treaty Campaign Fund (c/o Cambridge, MA) \$100 D-Q University (Davis, CA) \$200 Committee on Native American Struggles (Milwaukee, OR) \$100

#### Labor

Tennessee Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (Knoxville, TN) \$500 Southern California Unions for the Freeze (LA, CA) \$150 National Alliance Against Racist and

Political Repression (NYC) \$400 Midwest Center for Labor Research (Chicago) \$500

Massachusetts History Workshop (Cambridge, MA) \$250

#### Women and Feminist

Dorchester Women's Committee (MA) \$250 Asian Sisters in Action (Cambridge, MA) \$200 American Civil Liberties Union (Little Rock, AR) \$1,000 Boston R2N2 (JP, MA) \$400

#### **3rd World Support**

East Timor Action Committee (Cambridge, MA) \$400 Campaign Against Military Intervention in the Philippines (NYC) \$250 Pacific Peacemaker (Seattle, WA) \$100 Grassroots International (Cambridge, MA) \$600 Women for Women in Lebanon (Cambridge, MA) \$400 Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee \$100 Information and Support

Third World Newsreel (NYC) \$350 Homefront (Hartford, CT) \$250 Insight Productions (SF, CA) \$400 Community Works (Boston, MA) \$400 Community Voice (Providence, RI) \$400

Fund for Community Progress (Providence, RI) \$400 Northland Poster Collective (Minneapolis, MN) \$200

#### Other

Seacoast Clamshell (Portsmouth, NH) \$350 Southern Organizing Committee (Louisville, KY) \$500 Conference on Social and Criminal Justice (Cambridge, MA) \$200 Plutonium Players (SF, CA) \$225 Student Alliance for our Future (Boston) \$100 Peaslee Development Committee (Cincinnati, OH) \$250 Marion Prisoner Rights (Chicago, IL) \$100 Alliance for Justice (Boston) \$300 City Life/Vida Urbana (JP, MA) \$450 Community Organization Toward a New Survival (Roxbury, MA) \$300

#### Loans

National GI Assistance Project (Washington, DC) \$500 National CARD (Washington, DEC) \$500 Dollars and Sense Magazine (Somerville, MA) \$1000

#### The Resist Pledge System

The most important source of Resist's income is monthly pledges. Pledges help us plan ahead by guaranteeing us a minimum monthly income. In turn, pledges receive a monthly reminder letter (in addition to the newsletter) which contains news of recent grants and other Resist activities. So take the plunge and become a Resist pledge!

Yes, I would like to pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_\_ monthly to the work of Resist.

Name\_

Address \_\_\_\_

City\_\_\_\_State\_\_\_Zip\_\_