

places. Here is what Baldwin said that was relevant to this issue:

"People who cannot suffer can never grow up, can never discover who they are. That man who is forced each day to snatch his manhood, his identity, out of the fires of human cruelty that rages to destroy it, knows, if he survives the effort-and even if he doesn't-something about himself and human life that no school on earth can teach. He achieves his own authority, and that is unshakable. This is because, in order to save his life, he is forced to look beneath appearances, to take nothing for granted, to hear the meaning behind the words, if one is continually surviving the worst that life can bring one eventually ceases to be controlled by a fear of what life can bring."

So, for those who face oppression and injustice, coping skills allow one to not be afraid any more. And those skills that you must develop in order to survive allow one to go forward and to know exactly who you are. But those who are privileged and those who receive advantages, both material and psychological, we haven't a clue who we are, and we better get clear on it, or this mess is not going to ever, ever change.

--- *Tim Wise is a lecturer and author, and Director of the Association for White Anti-Racist Education (AWARE) in Nashville, Tennessee.*

Immigration, Race, and Racism

Lillian Galedo

The history of America is a history of immigration. Immigration is an amazing lens through which to view not only our own history, but also the history of the world. It provides insight into the uneven development of nations; of the legacy of slavery and colonialism which is at the root of underdevelopment and dislocation; the push and pull factors that prompted our ancestors' decisions to come to the US. Immigration is also a reflection of the inescapable truth that the planet is ever evolving into one global (capitalist) economy with one global workforce.

Immigration has been a tool of "nation building" by the US since pre-revolutionary times. It provides insight into who we define Americans to be and by examining our immigration policies, exposes the racist edge that has been at play in nation building for hundreds of years.

Except for African slavery and the Mexican presence in the Southwest, the masses of immigrants came to the US in three major waves of immigration, each covering approximately 50-year periods.

Before the Civil War, open borders were operative until the first great wave of immigration from 1840-1880s. 26 million immigrants came mainly from Europe - England, Ireland and Jews from Germany.

The second great wave began in the late 1880s. This period saw a vast increase in the diversity of immigrants coming to the US. These were immigrants from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. These sending countries comprised more than 40% of immigrants between 1890 and 1920. During the 1910's Canadians were the fourth largest group and by the 1920s Mexicans

were the fourth largest immigrating group.

With this diversity we began to see the rise of organized anti-immigrant policies and legislation. Successive waves of immigrants were viewed as less capable than their predecessors, less hard working, less able to learn "American ways", and less able to assimilate. These attitudes produced the first restrictionist measures resulting eventually in the 1921 Quota Act, which essentially limited immigration to Europeans.

The third wave of immigration began in 1965 with the repeal of the Quota Act and the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which equalized immigration from all countries. From the 1960s to the present, 20.1 million people have immigrated to the US as permanent residents. Asians and Latin Americans made up 84% of immigrants since 1965. According to the 2000 census, 85% of the foreign-born population are from Mexico, Central and South America, Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. These immigrants however, still only constitute 10.3% of the total US population.

From the post-civil war period to the 1920s the US moved from virtually unrestricted immigration to the most severe limits in the country's two hundred-year history. Historically, restrictions in immigration policy have been directly correlated to race. The first restrictions - soon after the Civil War - were on Africans who had been brought to the US as slaves. The Naturalization Act of 1790 prohibited citizenship of "non-whites", setting a racist precedent for future anti-immigrant laws. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 established lengthy residency requirements prior to application for citizenship, placed restrictions on which ethnic groups could apply for citizenship, and permitted the President to order the deportation of all immigrants judged as "dangerous" to national security.

In 1875, Asians were the first group to be restricted through legislation that excluded criminals, prostitutes, and contract laborers from Asia. In practice, this law deterred few immigrants, because it could not be enforced. In 1882, Congress passed legislation specifically aimed at barring Chinese laborers, while allowing the entry of Chinese students, teachers, merchants, and "tourists". This law was also weakly enforced, particularly for European and Mexican contract laborers.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw the exclusion of Japanese and by 1917 legislation was passed which excluded all immigration from Asia. In 1920 the US border patrol was established, which then precipitated the designation of immigrants who were now "illegal" or "undocumented", a misdemeanor with penalties.

The Quota Act of 1921 restricted immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia and other parts of the world in favor of immigration from England, Germany, and Scandinavia. From 1921-1933, over 300,000 Mexicans, including those who were US citizens, were repatriated to Mexico.

The Cable Act of 1922 and the Tydings-McDuffy Act of 1934 denied citizenship to immigrants based on their ethnicity and aimed at denying enfranchisement for non-whites. The Tydings-McDuffy Act in 1935 also limited immigration from the Philippines to 50 persons annually, and barred them from citizenship and relief under the New Deal.

The Alien Registration Act of 1940 required registration and fingerprinting of aliens, criminalized speech against the US government, and increased the grounds for deportation by

adding the classification of "subversive" and "excludable" to the list of persons who could be deported.

Executive Order 9066 in 1942 incarcerated 120,000 Japanese-Americans, including native-born citizens, on the grounds of "national security".

Recent anti-immigrant measures

The 1990's began some of the worst examples of the intersection of race, anti-terrorism, and disenfranchisement for the immigrant population. 1996 was a particularly bad legislative year for immigrants.

Coming off the first bombing at the World Trade Center, the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act was passed in 1996. This law granted the Secretary of State the authority to determine any foreign organization a "terrorist group" without requiring disclosure of any evidence. Individual non-citizens could be accused of terrorism and deported based on "classified evidence" that even the accused had not been allowed to see. This little-known law set the stage for the administration's treatment of immigrants following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 increased border enforcement, made it more difficult to gain political asylum, increased the amount of income required for people seeking to sponsor immigration of their relatives, increased jail terms for nonviolent, non-criminal immigrants and expanded the list of crimes requiring automatic deportation.

The Welfare Reform Act of 1996 ended monetary and medical assistance for most immigrants.

Anti-foreign and anti-immigrant hysteria in the post-September 11th period

Since September 11, 2001, under the guise of national security, newcomers to the United States have been stigmatized and treated like suspected participants in a worldwide web of terror against the US "way of life". The post 9/11 period is one of greatly expanded right wing and repressive laws, policies and court decisions against immigrants which might not otherwise have found broad acceptance - some of these policies have been in the making for the past twenty years. The post-Sept. 11th period has provided the opportunity for the enactment of these policies by the Bush Administration. And, as mentioned earlier 84% of the foreign born in this country are people of color.

Racial profiling

Immediately following 9/11 racial profiling was accepted as an appropriate government response in the interest of national security. In the first week after Sept. 11th, 1200 Arabs, South Asians, Muslims, and Sikhs disappeared at the hands of the government. 300 remain in detention, only one has been charged with terrorism in connection with Sept. 11th. Those who have been released report that possibly 2,000 are still detained, but this is unverifiable because the government won't identify whom they are still holding.

5,000 Arab males have been interviewed and an additional 3000 Arabs are targeted for interview. Another 6,000 Middle Easterners and South Asians are in a pool of 314,000 immigrants with deportation orders for various immigration-related violations. Those with orders of deportation are vul-

nerable to be picked-up and summarily deported at any time.

Amnesty International reports that hundreds of people detained were deprived of basic rights guaranteed under national and international law and that the INS is detaining people on routine visa violations and holding them for weeks or months until the FBI "clears" them.

Increases in hate crimes against Muslims and Arabs

The Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee compiled over 200 incidents of hate crimes and harassment against Arab Americans, Muslims and others in the first two weeks following Sept. 11th. The National Asian-Pacific American Legal Consortium documented nearly 250 bias-motivated incidents targeting Asian-Pacific Americans and South Asians in the three months after Sept. 11th. The South East Asian-American Leaders of Tomorrow documented 645 incidents against Arabs, South Asians, Muslims and Sikhs.

There have been numerous assaults, fire bombings, and at least six fatalities related to hate crime.

The role of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the USA Patriot Act, and the Homeland Security Act

Over the past year, the INS increased raids and launched initiatives on immigrant workplaces and communities in a modern-day witch-hunt. Operation Tarmac, Operation Vanguard, and Operation Absconder are the names of some of these programs.

The USA Patriot Act takes particular aim at the rights of immigrants. It limits immigrants' access to the courts and provides for the removal (deportation) of immigrants for minor offenses. The Homeland Security Act proposes to centralize customs, INS and Border Patrol under the Office of Homeland Security. In doing so, defense of immigrants' rights will be made more difficult by having to deal with such an unwieldy bureaucracy.

There are proposals to restrict tourist visas to no more than a thirty day stay, and increasing restrictions on students' visas. The number of refugees to be admitted is to be reduced to 50,000. Undocumented immigrants fired for labor organizing will have no legal protections.

Economic impact on immigrants

Layoffs in the tourism and service industries have disproportionately impacted immigrant workers.

The implementation of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (passed in November of 2001) will result in the lay-off of thousands of airport screeners, most of whom are immigrants and people of color. Here in the S.F. Bay Area, nearly newly hired federal workers will replace 1500 by November of 2002. This has disproportionately impacted the Filipino community who makes up nearly 70% of airport screeners in the S.F. Bay Area.

The effort to expand Free Trade agreements in the Americas would also include stricter immigration control provisions, further militarization of the borders and greater restriction of labor mobility while increasing the mobility of capital.

The existence of 150 million migrants worldwide is testament to global economic pressures and the political dislocations faced by workers. The Philippines is an example of

increased military buildup sponsored by the US post 9/11. This will undoubtedly cause more dislocation. Today, labor is the Philippines's greatest export and remittances from overseas workers are the second largest contributor to the national economy.

What the U.S. does in terms of immigration and refugee policy is often the model for other countries.

Alliance building with immigrant communities

In the post 9/11 political climate immigrant communities are under siege. We call on the progressive community to support and help build the immigrant rights movement to defend ourselves against these attacks. The labor movement must in particular take up this challenge. We must build support for the legalization of undocumented workers, to bring them out of the shadows so that they can protect their rights and resist the expansion of guest worker programs. Guest worker programs are not a solution to the economic problems of countries like Mexico, the Philippines, India and China where most guest workers come from. What we need to do is promote true economic development so those workers are not forced to find jobs outside of their own countries.

We must support increased funding for citizenship programs.

We must oppose local cooperation between the police and the INS.

We must build support for the UN-sponsored International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and the Members of Their Families, currently ratified by 19 countries, not including the United States. This Convention can only take effect when 20 or more countries have signed on.

We must help the public understand the relationship between foreign and domestic policy and the relationship between our country's behavior around the world and the dislocation of peoples.

We must build popular resistance to the racist notion that we must sacrifice the rights of immigrants for greater national security.

--- *Lillian Galedo, Executive Director of Filipinos for Affirmative Action, is a long-time Bay Area activist in the Filipino*

Racism and the Prison Industrial Complex

Gina Dent

I have a big task in front of me, and I'm glad I have lots of friends in the audience who have been working on the prison issue for far longer than I have. So, I'm going to presume that I'm talking to an audience that understands the relationship between racism and the prison-industrial complex. Is there anyone I need to convince that the prison-industrial complex is racist?

OK, so we can go on to something else.

I have three sections: the first is more for those who are a little less informed--there's a nine-year-old friend of mine in the audience--about what the prison-industrial complex actually means. And then I want to talk about how the prison system structures its racisms. Finally, I want to talk about the forms of racism that we might also be participating in, in trying to struggle against the prison-industrial complex, as a kind of further challenge to us.

So, first I just want to say that it always amazes me when I have students who think that the prison-industrial complex is the building. It's really important that we think about what that complex means. I'm going to follow from the remarks this morning that already laid out so many of the statistics around incarceration that I think all of us have heard many, many times.

In addition to what Manning Marable had outlined in terms of the way in which US corporations have engaged in corporate flight, we know that there's one business that has been growing inside the US. Tim Wise also referred to this in terms of the prison building in Iowa. So I don't also have to lay that out. But, what I do want us to think about are the ways in which there is still an export in US-style prisons and the reasons that it's difficult to think about that in certain kinds of contexts. I'm going to allude a little bit to Fran Beal later because I knew you were going to talk about Durban and, one of the things that was so striking to me when I was there was that, when Angela Davis, who is here, was talking about the prison-industrial complex, the whole room--there was this big, noisy room, all ready to hear her--and when she started talking about ending prisons the whole room got quiet, and people started to grumble, and people really didn't want to hear it.

Part of it is has to do with one of the lines we heard a lot while we were there: that there needs to be prison building, now, in South Africa, because there's a crisis around crime, as a result of poverty, but once they eradicate poverty, they'll be able to get rid of the prisons. Well, we know--Tim Wise said it before--if you build it, they will come. Well, now there is a maximum security prison--a super-max--in South Africa, run by Wackenhut. That is some news to people and that's good. We really need to think about why that could be in the context of radical organizing against racisms. Why does that make sense at this particular time in South Africa in a way that it doesn't make sense to a lot of people in this room. Today, I want to remember that, but I want to bracket that for a moment.

The other thing that we know about the way in which globalization has affected the prison-industrial complex (PIC), is the export of US-style prisons. Some of you may know, for example, about the hunger strike that's been going on in Turkey for over a year, I guess a year and a half, which is against the US

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