Copyright @ 1983 by Cherrie Moraga

All rights reserved.

means, without written permission from the publisher. No portion of this book may be reproduced in whole or in part, by any

The author is grateful to the New York State CAPS grant and the Mac Dowell Colony for the Arts fellowship which assisted in the completion of this work.

Some of this work previously appeared in: IKON, Azalea, Third Woman, Lesbian Poetry: An Anthology (Persephone Press, 1981), Cuentos: Stories by Latinas (Kitchen Table Press, 1983), Conditions, Thirteenth Moon, Sinister Wisdom, and This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color (Persephone Press, 1981).

Library of Congress Number: 83-061474 ISBN 0-89608-195-8 (paper) ISBN 0-89608-196-6 (cloth)

Cover design by Ellen Herman.

Typesetting, design, and production by the South End Press Collective.

especially for Barbara Para mis compañeras

for the duration.

AMAR EN LOS AÑOS DE GUERRA

Introducción

Sueño

My lover and I are in a prison camp together. We are in love in wartime.

A young soldier working as a guard has befriended us. We ask him honestly—the truth—are we going to die?

He answers, yes, it's almost certain. I contemplate escaping. Ask him to help us. He blanches. That is impossible, he says. I regret asking him, fearing recriminations.

I see the forest through the fence on my right. I think, the place between the trees—I could burrow through there—toward freedom? Two of us would surely be spotted. One of us has a slim chance. I think of leaving my lover, imprisoned. But immediately I understand that we must, at all costs, remain with each other. Even unto death. That it is our being together that makes the pain, even our dying, human.

Loving in the war years.

1.

Este libro covers a span of seven years of writing. The first poems were written in 1976 when I was still in Los Angeles, living out my lesbianism as a lie on my job and a secret to my family. The two main essays of the book, "La Güera" and "A Long Line of Vendidas" were completed in 1979 and 1983, respectively.* Now I write the final introduction here in Brooklyn, New

^{*} The selections are not arranged chronologically in terms of when each piece was written. Rather I have tried to create a kind of emotional/political chronology.

York—"out-to-the-world" it feels to me to be in print.

Tonight the summer heat takes on the flavor it had when I first moved into this room—makes me tired by the thought of all this moving and working. How slow and hard change is to come. How although this book has taken me from Berkeley to San Francisco to Boston, Brooklyn, México, and back again, sigo siendo la hija de mi mamá. My mother's daughter.

My mother's daughter who at ten years old knew she was queer. Queer to believe that God cared so much about me, he intended to see me burn in hell; that unlike the other children, I was not to get by with a clean slate. I was born into this world with complications. I had been chosen, marked to prove my salvation. Todavía soy bien catolica—filled with guilt, passion, and incense, and the inherent Mexican faith that there is meaning to nuestro sufrimiento en el mundo.

The first time I went to the Mexican basilica where el retrato de La Virgen de Guadalupe hovers over a gilded altar, I was shocked to see that below it ran a moving escalator. It was not one that brought people up to the image that we might kiss her feet; but rather it moved people along from side to side and through as quickly as possible. A moving sidewalk built to keep the traffic going.

What struck me the most, however, was that in spite of the irreverence imposed by such technology, the most devout of the Mexican women—las pobres, few much older than me—clung to the ends of the handrailing of the moving floor, crossing themselves, gesturing besos al retrato, their hips banging up against the railing over and over again as it tried to force them off and away. They stayed. In spite of the machine. They had come to spend their time with La Virgen.

spend their time with La Virgen.

I left the church in tears, knowing how for so many years I had closed my heart to the passionate pull of such faith that promised no end to the pain. I grew white. Fought to free myself from my culture's claim on me. It seemed I had to step outside my familia to see what we as a people were doing suffering. This is my politics. This is my writing. For as much as the two have eventually brought me back to my familia, there is no fooling myself that it is my education, my "consciousness" that separ-

ated me from them. That forced me to leave home. This is what has made me the outsider so many Chicanos—very near to me in circumstance—fear.

I am a child. I watch my mamá, mis tías en una procesión cada día llegando a la puerta de mi abuela. Needing her, never doing enough for her. I remember lying on my bed midday. The sun streaming through the long window, thin sheer curtains. Next door I can hear them all. Están peleando. Mi abuela giving the cold shoulder, not giving in. Each daughter vying for a place with her. The cruel gossip. Las mentiras. My mother trying to hold onto the truth, her version of the story, su integridad.

I put my head back on the pillow and count the years this has been going on. The competition for her favor. My grandmother's control of them. I count my mother's steps as I hear her click high-heeled angry down the gravel driveway, through the fence, up the back steps. She's coming in. Estará llorando. Otra vez. I tell my sister reading a book next to me, "How many years, Jo Ann? It can't be this way for us too when we grow up."

Mi abuelita ya está muriendo muy lentamente. Cierra los ojos. Cierra la boca. El hospital le da comida por las venas. Ella no habla. No canta como cantaba. She does not squeeze my mother's hand tight in her fight against la sombra de su muerte propia. She does not squeeze the life out of her. Está durmiendo, esperando a La Muerte.

And what goes with her? My claim to an internal dialogue where el gringo does not penetrate? Su memoria de noventa y seis años going back to a time where "nuestra cultura" was not the subject of debate. I write this book because we are losing ourselves to the gavacho. I mourn my brother in this.

Sueño: 5 de enero 1983

My grandmother appears outside la iglesia. Standing in front as she used to do after la misa. I am so surprised that she is well enough to go out again, be dressed, be in the world. I am elated to see her—to know I get to have the feel of her again in my life.

She is, however, in great pain. She shows me her leg which has been

operated on. The wound is like a huge crater in her calf—crusted, open, a gaping wound. I feel her pain so critically.

Sueño: 7 de enero 1983

En el sueño trataba de tomar yo una foto de mi abuela y de mi mamá. Mientras una mujer me esperaba en la cama. The pull and tug present themselves en mis sueños. Deseo para las mujeres/la familia. I want to take the photo of my grandmother because I know she is dying. I want one last picture. The woman keeps calling me to her bed. She wants me. I keep postponing her.

Después soñé con mi hermano. El ha regresado a la familia, not begging forgiveness, but acknowledging grievances done by him. Somos unidos.

2

Can you go home? Do your parents know? Have they read your work? These are the questions I am most often asked by Chicanos, especially students. It's as if they are hungry to know if it's possible to have both—your own life and the life of the familia. I explain to them that sadly, this is a book my family will never see. And yet, how I wish I could share this book with them. How I wish I could show them how much I have taken them to heart—even my father's silence. What he didn't say working inside me as passionately as my mother wept it.

It is difficult for me to separate in my mind whether it is my writing or my lesbianism which has made me an outsider to my family. The obvious answer is both. For my lesbianism first brought me into writing. My first poems were love poems. That's the source—el amor, el deseo—that brought me into politics. That was when I learned my first major lesson about writing: it is the measure of my life. I cannot write what I am not willing to live up to. Is it for this reason I so often fear my own writing—fear it will jump up and push me off some precipice?

Women daily change my work. How can it be that I have always hungered for and feared falling in love as much as I do writing from my heart. Each changes you forever. Sex has

always been part of the question of freedom. The freedom to want passionately. To live it out in the body of the poem, in the body of the woman. So when I feel a movement inside of me and it is a fresh drawing in of new life that I want to breathe into my work, I also feel empowered and long to be a lover like youth.

I watch my changes in the women I love.

C

Journal Entry: 2 de julio 1982

It takes the greatest of effort to even put pen to paper—so much weighing on me. It's as if I am bankrupt of feeling, but that's not really so. My lover comes into my room, sees me face flat on the bed, gathers me into her arms. I say I am depressed and she reminds me of how I tell her so often how depression is not a feeling. Depression covers a feeling that doesn't have a chance to come out. Keeping it down. Keeping the writing back.

So often in the work on this book I felt I could not write because I have a movement on my shoulder, a lover on my shoulder, a family over my shoulder. On some level you have to be willing to lose it all to write—to risk telling the truth that no one may want to hear, even you. Not that, in fact, you have to lose, only that el riesgo siempre vive, threatening you.

I know with my family that even as my writing functioned to separate me from them (I cannot share my work with them), it has freed me to love them from places in myself that had before been mired in unexpressed pain. Writing has ultimately brought me back to them. They don't need this book. They have me.

The issue of being a "movement writer" is altogether different. Sometimes I feel my back will break from the pressure I feel to speak for others. A friend told me once how no wonder I had called the first book I co-edited (with Gloria Anzaldúa), "This Bridge Called My Back." You have chronic back trouble, she says. Funny, I had never considered this most obvious connection, all along my back giving me constant pain. And the spot that hurts the most is the muscle that controls the movement of my fingers and hands while typing. I feel it now straining at my desk.

Riding on the train with another friend, I ramble on about the difficulty of finishing this book, feeling like I am being asked by all sides to be a "representative" of the race, the sex, the sexuality—or at all costs to avoid that. "You don't speak for me! For the community!" My friend smiles kindly, almost amused, at me across the aisle among the sea of grey suits and businessmen. We are on the commuter train and no one would give up their single seat for us to sit together. We speak in secret code. Hablamos español.

"Ah, Chavalita," she says to me. "Tú necesitas viajar para que veas lo que en verdad es la comunidad. There's really no such thing as community among politicos. Community is simply the way people live a life together. And they're doing it all over the world. The only way to write for la comunidad is to write so completely from your heart what is your own personal truth. This is what touches people."

Some days I feel my writing wants to break itself open. Speak in a language that maybe no "readership" can follow. What does it mean that the Chicana writer if she truly follows her own voice, she may depict a world so specific, so privately ours, so full of "foreign" language to the anglo reader, there will be no publisher. The people who can understand it, don't/won't/can't read it. How can I be a writer in this? I have been translating my experience out of fear of an aloneness too great to bear. I have learned analysis as a mode to communicate what I feel the experience itself already speaks for. The combining of poetry and essays in this book is the compromise I make in the effort to be understood. In Spanish, "compromiso" means obligation or committed to communicating with both sides of myself.

I am the daughter of a Chicana and anglo. I think most days I am an embarassment to both groups. I sometimes hate the white in me so viciously that I long to forget the commitment my skin has imposed upon my life. To speak two tongues. I must. But I will not double-talk and I refuse to let anybody's movement determine for me what is safe and fair to say.

The completion of this book finds me in the heart of change. So there is no definitive statement to make here in this last piece that is to prepare you for the story of my life. For that is all this really is/can be—my story. But for whom have I tried so steadfastly to communicate? Who have I worried over in this writing? Who is my audience?

Todavía soy la hija de mi mamá. Keep thinking, it's the daughters. It's the daughters who remain loyal to the mother. She is the only woman we stand by. It is not always reciprocated. To be free means on some level to cut that painful loyalty when it begins to punish us. Stop the chain of events. La procesión de mujeres, sufriendo. Dolores my grandmother, Dolores her daughter, Dolores her daughter swho are my audience.

I write this on the deathbed of my abuela. We have made one last procession to her. My mother, my sister, her daughter and I. My grandmother's eyes are open today. I hold the bone of her skull in the palm of my hand. It is a light bird-weight.

I whisper in her better ear. "¿Abuelita? ¿Me Reconoce? Soy Cherrie, grandma. Acabo de llegar de Nueva York."

"¡Ay, Chorizo!"* She recognizes me. "Mi'jita!" Pulling my head into the deep bowl of her thin neck, she kisses me. "Mi chorizito! ¡Tengo hambre! ¡Quiero Chorizo! ¡Tengo tanta hambre!" She kids as she used to and as always I give her the fleshy part of my arm for her to mimick taking a bite from it.

"¿Dónde está tu mamá?" she wants to know.

"Aquí estoy, mamá." My mother grabs her hand.

"Elvira ¿Y La JoAnn, está aquí también?"

"Si grandma, aqui 'stoy y Erin," my sister says lifting her daughter up to give my abuela a kiss.

"Hi little grandma," Erin says softly.

"¡Ay, mi chulita!" She wraps her thin veined hands around Erin's cheeks, then gnashes her teeth together, shaking her head, pretending like she wants to eat her up. It seems to me that

^{*}Literally, a Mexican sausage. A nickname my grandmother has for me

my abuelita has never been so full of life.

I am holding the moment. La línea de las mujeres, la raíz de nuestra familia. Mi mamá tiene tanto orgullo en este momento. She has taught us well to value these simple signs of love.

I write this on the deathbed of mi abuela. On the table of a new life spread out for us to eat from.

La muerte de mi abuela. Y yo nunca le hablé en la lengua que entendiera.

THE VOICES OF THE FALLERS

Because Jay Freeman was imprisoned at the age of nineteen for over twenty years because she murdered the son of her lesbian lover by throwing him off a cliff. And, because, at the age of nineteen, my high school friend Charlotte, also a lesbian, fell from a cliff and died.

for M.

You were born queer with the dream of flying from an attic with a trap opening door to a girl who could handle a white horse with wings riding her opening away to a girl who could save a woman on a white horse riding her away.

I was born queer with the dream of falling the small sack of my body dropping off a ledge suddenly.

> Listen. Can you hear my mouth crack open the sound

LA GUERA

converting a best to realization of

It requires something more than personal experience to gain a philosophy or point of view from any specific event. It is the quality of our response to the event and our capacity to enter into the lives of others that help us to make their lives and experiences our own.

—Emma Goldman*

I am the very well-educated daughter of a woman who, by the standards in this country, would be considered largely illiterate. My mother was born in Santa Paula, Southern California, at a time when much of the central valley there was still farm land. Nearly thirty-five years later, in 1948, she was the only daughter of six to marry an anglo, my father.

I remember all of my mother's stories, probably much better than she realizes. She is a fine story-teller, recalling every event of her life with the vividness of the present, noting each detail right down to the cut and color of her dress. I remember stories of her being pulled out of school at the ages of five, seven, nine, and eleven to work in the fields, along with her brothers and sisters; stories of her father drinking away whatever small profit she was able to make for the family; of her going the long way home to avoid meeting him on the street, staggering toward the same destination. I remember stories of my mother lying about her age in order to get a job as a hat-check girl at Agua Caliente Racetrack in Tijuana. At fourteen, she was the main support of the family. I can still see her walking home alone at 3 a.m., only to turn all of her salary and tips over to her mother, who was pregnant again.

The stories continue through the war years and on: walnutcracking factories, the Voit Rubber factory, and then the

computer boom. I remember my mother doing piecework for the electronics plant in our neighborhood. In the late evening, she would sit in front of the T.V. set, wrapping copper wires into the backs of circuit boards, talking about "keeping up with the younger girls." By that time she was already in her mid-fifties.

Meanwhile I was college trees in School After already in the college trees.

Meanwhile, I was college-prep in school. After classes, I would go with my mother to fill out job applications for her, or write checks for her at the supermarket. We would have the scenario all worked out ahead of time. My mother would sign the check before we'd get to the store. Then, as we'd approach the checkstand, she would say—within earshot of the cashier—"oh honey, you go 'head and make out the check," as if she couldn't be bothered with such an insignificant detail. No one asked any questions.

I was educated, and wore it with a keen sense of pride and satisfaction, my head propped up with the knowledge, from my mother, that my life would be easier than hers. I was educated; but more than this, I was "la güera"—fair-skinned. Born with the features of my Chicana mother, but the skin of my Anglo father, I had it made.

guaranteed our future. more effectively we could pass in the white world, the better "less." It was through my mother's desire to protect her children from poverty and illiteracy that we became "anglocized"; the to her, on a basic economic level, being Chicana meant being But this is something she would like to forget (and rightfully), for mother can remember this in her blood as if it were yesterday. family, too, had been poor (some still are) and farmworkers. My different class of people." And yet, the real story was that my "braceros," or "wet-backs," referring to herself and family as "a and mother. She often called other lower-income Mexicans from over-heard snatches of conversation among my relatives Spanish at home. I picked up what I did learn from school and Although my mother was fluent in it, I was never taught much conscious level) attempted to bleach me of what color I did have. everything about my upbringing (at least what occurred on a were all Chicano, with the exception of my father). In fact, knew that being light was something valued in my family (who No one ever quite told me this (that light was right), but I Survey.

^{*}Alix Kates Shulman, "Was My Life Worth Living?" Red Emma Speaks (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 388.

N. mother told me crept under my "güera" skin. I had no choice but between what I was born into and what I was to grow up to being the happy, upwardly mobile heterosexual. into my heart, but managed to keep a lid on it as long as I feigned to enter into the life of my mother. I had no choice. I took her life become. Because, (as Goldman suggests) these stories my From all of this, I experience, daily, a huge disparity

mother's oppression-due to being poor, uneducated, and Chiacknowledged and confronted my own lesbianism in the flesh, connection with my mother reawakened in me. It wasn't until I continues to be the most tactile reminder to me that we are not I have learned the most about silence and oppression, and it cana—was realized. My lesbianism is the avenue through which that my heartfelt identification with and empathy for my When I finally lifted the lid to my lesbianism, a profound

free human beings.

silence of it. Silence is like starvation. Don't be fooled. It's knowledge, gone crazed with the knowledge, wallowed in the was a lesbian, had felt it in my bones, had ached with the connection. For me, the connection is an inevitable one. nized-if one is willing to take the risk of making the connecwe have the luxury to realize psychic and emotional starvation. full belly most of her life. When we are not physically starving nothing short of that, and felt most sharply when one has had a tion-if one is willing to be responsible to the result of the It is from this starvation that other starvations can be recog-You see, one follows the other. I had known for years that I

pretty much the same principle. We're both getting beaten any my own family, the difference in the privileges attached to way you look at it. The connection is blatant; and in the case of being a dyke. If my sister's being beaten because she's Black, it's ain't so great since I realized I could be beaten on the street for looking white instead of brown are merely a generation apart. What I am saying is that the joys of looking like a white girl

as is being a woman, as is being just plain poor. The danger lies in deal with oppression purely from a theoretical base. Without an ranking the oppressions. The danger lies in failing to acknowledge the specificity of the oppression. The danger lies in attempting to In this country, lesbianism is a poverty—as is being brown,

> oppressed groups can take place. outside of us, no authentic, non-hierarchical connection among oppression, without naming the enemy within ourselves and emotional, heartfelt grappling with the source of our own

with the "ism" that's sitting on top of our heads? sion. Do we merely live hand to mouth? Do we merely struggle very presence violates the ranking and abstraction of opprescomrades in a flurry of racist/heterosexist/what-have-you panic? To whose camp, then, should the lesbian of color retreat? Her When the going gets rough, will we abandon our so-called

only isolate us in our own oppression—will only insulate, rather than radicalize us. thoroughly and deeply. But to fail to move out from there will The answer is: yes, I think first we do; and we must do so

victim. If he-or anyone-were to truly do this, it would be forgetting how we have been hurt. with the primary source of his own sense of oppression. He must, first, emotionally come to terms with what it feels like to be a for him to create an authentic alliance with me, he must deal had felt raped by men; he wanted to forget what that meant. because, to him, being a woman meant being raped by men. He responded, "You're not a woman. Be a woman for a day. Imagine very well. He wanted to understand the source of my distrust. I to a "battle of the sexes," I might kill him. I admitted that I might impossible to discount the oppression of others, except by again What grew from that discussion was the realization that in order being a woman." He confessed that the thought terrified him him because he was male; that he felt, really, if it ever came down to me that he continued to feel that, on some level, I didn't trust To illustrate: a gay white male friend of mine once confided

society by virtue of our gender, race, class, or sexuality. up whatever privileges we have managed to squeeze out of this among white gay men. Because to remember may mean giving certainly an obvious trend of such "capitalist-unconsciousness" are instances of this in the rising Black middle class, and And yet, oppressed groups are forgetting all the time. There

women of different backgrounds and sexual orientations have been fragile, at best. I think this phenomenon is indicative of our Within the women's movement, the connections among

52

failure to seriously address ourselves to some very frightening questions: How have I internalized my own oppression? How have I oppressed? Instead, we have let rhetoric do the job of poetry. Even the word "oppression" has lost its power. We need a new language, better words that can more closely describe women's fear of and resistance to one another; words that will

not always come out sounding like dogma.

What prompted me in the first place to work on an anthology by radical women of color* was a deep sense that I had a valuable insight to contribute, by virtue of my birthright and my background. And yet, I don't really understand first-hand what it feels like being shitted on for being brown. I understand much more about the joys of it—being Chicana and having family are synonymous for me. What I know about loving, singing, crying, telling stories, speaking with my heart and hands, even having a sense of my own soul comes from the love of my mother, aunts, cousins...

But at the age of twenty-seven, it is frightening to acknow-ledge that I have internalized a racism and classism, where the object of oppression is not only someone *outside* my skin, but the someone *inside* my skin. In fact, to a large degree, the real battle with such oppression, for all of us, begins under the skin. I have had to confront the fact that much of what I value about being Chicana, about my family, has been subverted by anglo culture and my own cooperation with it. This realization did not occur to me overnight. For example, it wasn't until long after my graduation from the private college I'd attended in Los Angeles, that I realized the major reason for my total alienation from and fear of my classmates was rooted in class and culture.

Three years after graduation, in an apple-orchard in Sonoma, a friend of mine (who comes from an Italian Irish working-class family) says to me, "Cherrie, no wonder you felt like such a nut in school. Most of the people there were white and rich." It was true. All along I had felt the difference, but not until I had put the words "class" and "race" to the experience, did my

feelings make any sense. For years, I had berated myself for not being as "free" as my classmates. I completely bought that they simply had more guts than I did—to rebel against their parents and run around the country hitch-hiking, reading books and studying "art." They had enough privilege to be atheists, for chrissake. There was no one around filling in the disparity for me between their parents, who were Hollywood filmmakers, and my parents, who wouldn't know the name of a filmmaker if their lives depended on it (and precisely because their lives didn't depend on it, they couldn't be bothered). But I knew nothing about "privilege" then. White was right. Period. I could pass. If I got educated enough, there would never be no telling.

Three years after that, I had a similar revelation. In a letter

to a friend, I wrote:

I went to a concert where Ntosake Shange was reading. There, everything exploded for me. She was speaking in a language that I knew—in the deepest parts of me—existed, and that I ignored in my own feminist studies and even in my own writing. What Ntosake caught in me is the realization that in my development as a poet, I have, in many ways, denied the voice of my own brown mother—the brown in me. I have acclimated to the sound of a white language which, as my father represents it, does not speak to the emotions in my poems—emotions which stem from the love of my mother.

The reading was agitating. Made me uncomfortable. Threw me into a week-long terror of how deeply I was affected. I felt that I had to start all over again. That I turned only to the perceptions of white middle-class women to speak for me and all women. I am shocked by my own ignorance.

Sitting in that auditorium chair was the first time I had realized to the core of me that for years I had disowned the language I knew best—ignored the words and rhythms that were the closest to me. The sounds of my mother and aunts gossiping—half in English, half in Spanish—while drinking cerveza in the kitchen. And the hands—I had cut off the hands in

^{* &}quot;La Güera" was originally written for and appeared in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, an anthology co-edited with Gloria Anzaldua. (Boston: Persephone Press, 1981).

my poems. But not in conversation; still the hands could not be kept down. Still they insisted on moving.

The reading had forced me to remember that I knew things from my roots. But to remember puts me up against what I don't know. Shange's reading agitated me because she spoke with power about a world that is both alien and common to me: "the capacity to enter into the lives of others." But you can't just take the goods and run. I knew that then, sitting in the Oakland auditorium (as I know in my poetry), that the only thing worth writing about is what seems to be unknown and, therefore,

fearfu

The "unknown" is often depicted in racist literature as the "darkness" within a person. Similarly, sexist writers will refer to fear in the form of the vagina, calling it "the orifice of death." In contrast, it is a pleasure to read works such as Maxine Hong Kingston's Woman Warrior, where fear and alienation are depicted as "the white ghosts." And yet, the bulk of literature in this country reinforces the myth that what is dark and female is evil. Consequently, each of us—whether dark, female, or both—has in some way internalized this oppressive imagery. What the oppressor often succeeds in doing is simply externalizing his fears, projecting them into the bodies of women, Asians, gays, disabled folks, whoever seems most "other."

call me
roach and presumptuous
nightmare on your white pillow
your itch to destroy
the indestructible
part of yourself

-Audre Lorde*

But it is not really difference the oppressor fears so much as similarity. He fears he will discover in himself the same aches, the same longings as those of the people he has shitted on. He fears the immobilization threatened by his own incipient guilt.

* From "The Brown Menace or Poem to the Survival of Roaches," The New York Head Shop and Museum (Detroit: Broadside, 1974), p. 48.

He fears he will have to change his life once he has seen himself in the bodies of the people he has called different. He fears the hatred, anger, and vengeance of those he has hurt.

This is the oppressor's nightmare, but it is not exclusive to him. We women have a similar nightmare, for each of us in some way has been both oppressed and the oppressor. We are afraid to look at how we have failed each other. We are afraid to see how we have taken the values of our oppressor into our hearts and turned them against ourselves and one another. We are afraid to admit how deeply "the man's" words have been ingrained in us.

our own internalization of it. It's always there, embodied in white-dominated world, there is little getting around racism and there is no easy way around these emotions. Similarly, in a enough." For a lesbian trying to survive in a heterosexist society, society's fear and hatred of lesbians to bed with me. I have yet, the truth of the matter is that I have sometimes taken "old gay" and "butch and femme" roles as if they were ancient over" these issues in the name of feminism. In 1979, we talk of To assess the damage is a dangerous act. I think of how, because even as a feminist lesbian, I have so wanted to ignore my own someone we least expect to rub up against. "not women enough" for her. I have sometimes felt "not man sometimes hated my lover for loving me. I have sometimes felt history. We toss them aside as merely patriarchal notions. And have been afraid to criticize lesbian writers who choose to "skip not quite "caught up" with my "woman-identified" politics. I wanted to admit that my deepest personal sense of myself has homophobia, my own hatred of myself for being queer. I have not

When we do rub up against this person, *there* then is the challenge. *There* then is the opportunity to look at the nightmare within us. But we usually shrink from such a challenge.

Time and time again, I have observed that the usual response among white women's groups when the "racism issue" comes up is to deny the difference. I have heard comments like, "Well, we're open to *all* women; why don't they (women of color) come? You can only do so much..." But there is seldom any analysis of how the very nature and structure of the group itself may be founded on racist or classist assumptions. More importantly, so often the women seem to feel no loss, no lack, no

absence when women of color are not involved; therefore, there is little desire to change the situation. This has hurt me deeply. I have come to believe that the only reason women of a privileged class will dare to look at *how* it is that *they* oppress, is when they've come to know the meaning of their own oppression. And understand that the oppression of others hurts them personally.

The other side of the story is that women of color and white working-class women often shrink from challenging white middle-class women. It is much easier to rank oppressions and set up a hierarchy, rather than take responsibility for changing our own lives. We have failed to demand that white women, particularly those that claim to be speaking for all women, be accountable for their racism.

The dialogue has simply not gone deep enough.

In conclusion, I have had to look critically at my claim to color, at a time when, among white feminist ranks, it is a "politically correct" (and sometimes peripherally advantageous) assertion to make. I must acknowledge the fact that, physically, I have had a *choice* about making that claim, in contrast to women who have not had such a choice, and have been abused for their color. I must reckon with the fact that for most of my life, by virtue of the very fact that I am white-looking, I identified with and aspired toward white values, and that I rode the wave of that Southern California privilege as far as conscience would let me.

Well, now I feel both bleached and beached. I feel angry about this—the years when I refused to recognize privilege, both when it worked against me, and when I worked it, ignorantly, at the expense of others. These are not settled issues. This is why this work feels so risky to me. It continues to be discovery. It has brought me into contact with women who invariably know a hell of a lot more than I do about racism, as experienced in the flesh, as revealed in the flesh of their writing.

I think: what is my responsibility to my roots: both white and brown, Spanish-speaking and English? I am a woman with a foot in both worlds. I refuse the split. I feel the necessity for dialogue. Sometimes I feel it urgently.

But one voice is not enough, nor two, although this is where dialogue begins. It is essential that feminists confront their fear of and resistance to each other, because without this, there will

be no bread on the table. Simply, we will not survive. If we could make this connection in our heart of hearts, that if we are serious about a revolution—better—if we seriously believe there should be joy in our lives (real joy, not just "good times"), then we need one another. We women need each other. Because my/your solitary, self-asserting "go-for-the-throat-of-fear" power is not enough. The real power, as you and I well know, is collective. I can't afford to be afraid of you, nor you of me. If it takes head-on collisions, let's do it. This polite timidity is killing us.

As Lorde suggests in the passage I cited earlier, it is looking to the nightmare that the dream is found. There, the survivor emerges to insist on a future, a vision, yes, born out of what is dark and female. The feminist movement must be a movement of such survivors, a movement with a future.

September 1979

Lecodinish brisipes