



# Revolution is the only solution to the Philippine crisis

With the terrorist bombing of the Liberal Party candidates at Plaza Miranda and the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, Marcos has created the "excuse" and the atmosphere of terror necessary to launch the most extensive and vicious attack so far against the fast growing strength of the national democratic and progressive forces in the Philippines. In the past month he has tightened his grip on the government apparatus and shifted the repressive machinery of the military into high gear. The repression is being directed at destroying the legal mass organizations of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines. (Kalayaan printed the complete MDP programme in the last issue). Over 700 members and sympathizers of the MDP have been arrested WITHOUT CHARGES all over the country. It is clear that Marcos is responsible for intensifying the fascist rule in the Philippines.

## MARCOS IS THE PUPPET OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The recent fascist moves of Marcos and the active encouragement and sanction of the U.S. are desperate defensive measures on their part to attempt to hold back and divert the National Democratic Revolution in the Philippines. When Marcos screams that there is a revolutionary situation existing in the Philippines, he is absolutely correct. There are long-standing contradictions that must inevitably be resolved and the revolutionary storm developing in the country will resolve these major contradictions - this is what the U.S. and Marcos want to prevent.

## NO INDEPENDENCE

The primary contradiction is between the right of sovereignty and independence for the Filipino nation and its present exploited and dependent relationship to U.S. imperialism. Just as the Filipino people were about to assert their independence from Spanish colonialism, the United States stepped in and successfully blocked the revolution of 1898. Since that time, Philippine history can be divided into the American colonial and (after 1946), its neo-colonial periods. The national aspirations for genuine independence continues to be frustrated and the principal obstacle is U.S. imperialism.

All the major sectors of the Philippine economy are controlled by U.S. capitalist interests. Therefore, the Philippine economy is geared towards complementing the U.S. economy (providing investment opportunities, markets, cheap labor, raw materials) and NOT towards developing an independent and stable national economy.

This economic control reflects itself in the political arena - the U.S. government is the most powerful political entity in the Philippines. Militarily, U.S. forces have complete freedom on Philippine territory; even the nominal Philippine Armed Forces are advised, supplied and consequently controlled by the U.S. The educational system and culture of the country are also dominated by American influence. It is clear that the Philippines is an American neo-colony. There is no genuine independence. The Filipino people are growing more conscious of this contradiction everyday and they are beginning to move towards national liberation. It is U.S. monopoly capitalism which benefits MOST from the status quo, and it will do everything in its power to turn back the National Democratic Revolution in the Philippines. Puppet regimes are the means by which the U.S. controls supposedly "independent" governments - Ferdinand Marcos is a puppet of U.S. imperialism!

## NO DEMOCRACY

The second major contradiction is tied up with the first - that is, the contradiction between the masses of Filipino peasants, workers and middle classes and the tiny handful of landlords, compradors and corrupt politicians. This parasitic ruling class could not last one week without the active backing of U.S. imperialism - that is why the two cannot be separated. (U.S. Imperialism also couldn't last without compradors.)

As soon as the U.S. established its rule, over the dead bodies of 600,000 thousand Filipinos and a 6 year war, it came to the rescue of a dying feudalism. The U.S. guaranteed to protect the property rights of the hacenderos and the Church. They integrated this old order into the imperialist system by encouraging the planting of sugar, tobacco and other agricultural export crops. The Landlords who played ball with the Americans profited handsomely and became the backbone of the Filipino ruling class. American schools were opened to the most intelligent sons of the competitive middle class and smaller landlords, in order to train these sons to become the least principled and most self-seeking bureaucrats in the colonial structure. The most corrupt and ruthless of the bureaucrats managed to "work" themselves into the ruling class. Today, the Filipino ruling class consists of these two basic elements: the landlord compradors and the bureaucrat capitalists. They can all trace their fortunes and positions of power to selling out their country to U.S. interests and to the exploited labor of the Filipino people.

The Filipino ruling class is not more than 3% of the population - even if we expand this grouping to include the minor functionaries, bureaucrats and apologists, it hardly approaches 10%. In other words, 90% of the Filipino people have no stake in the present neo-colonial structure - in fact, they are systematically kept at a disadvantage in this political-economic system. The gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" grow wider each year. The few display their luxury around the world, while the vast majority survive at subsistence level (just enough food, housing and clothing to keep alive and functioning).

The political system is thoroughly corrupt and bends only to the "will" of money and influence. Therefore, despite all the high sounding talk about democracy, 90% of the Filipino people are politically disenfranchised with NO REAL control over the direction and policies of their country. THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES. It is clear that when Marcos screams that "democracy in the Philippines is being threatened by communist revolution" he is only trying to scare and confuse the people. The success of the National Democratic Revolution will establish democracy in the Philippines for the first time, that is, the rule of the majority of the workers and peasants over that of the handful minority of parasitic landlords, compradors and bureaucrats.

## MARCOS IS A BUREAUCRAT CAPITALIST

It is essential to realize that Marcos fascism is the product of historical forces that impede the development of democracy in the Philippines. It is no different essentially from all the previous administrations in so far as all of them shared in the tasks of perpetuating feudalism and keeping the Philippines safe for American Imperialism. All these governments have served the same political and economic interests and have made "independence" nothing but a CHEAP FARCE!

Marcos is the sixth president since "independence" was granted in 1946. During the Roxas presidency that inaugurate the American sponsored republic, Ferdinand Marcos was a congressman from Northern Luzon. Marcos was a Roxas boy and like the rest of his kind, made money and prominence from the corruption and debauchery of those post-liberation days. He prospered during the successive presidencies and by the first year of his own presidency, landed among the top income "earners" of the country. TIME magazine called him the "richest man in Asia", and a 1970 report by Franz Pick reveals that Marcos has more "liquid" assets than the Philippine government. The San Francisco Examiner maintains he is worth over 150 million dollars and the Manila Chronicle has labeled him the "richest oligarch" in the Philippines. Like all the politicians before him, Marcos has combined both "public service" and financial success; people whose rise to wealth and power depends on their access to political office, deserve to be called bureaucrat capitalist.



While going to press...

Peoples' Republic of China has been given its rightful seat in the United Nations. A major defeat for US imperialism and reactionaries who have tried to blockade China for over 20 years. An event that is welcomed by progressive and revolutionary people throughout the world.

KALAYAAN in the December issue will cover this event and Peoples' Republic of China in more detail.

### IN THIS ISSUE:

1. Students and the Revolution - a recent essay by Nilo Tayag... 24
2. Prisons... Filipinos in prison... 14
3. Filipino - American Identity, an editorial essay... 22
4. The Discriminated Filipino professional - the case of Dr. Saqueton. - by Rogelio Rodriguez... 29
5. SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT: The Mercenary Traditions of the Armed Forces of the Philippines - essay by Jose Ma. Sison

## MARCOS IS A FASCIST

All fascist attempt to hide their real intentions behind fevered anti-communist campaigns - Marcos is true to form. All the social unrest that exists in the Philippines is being blamed on the Filipino communists. The righteous and growing anger of the Filipino people over the exploitation, corruption and inequality that has existed for generation is blamed on "foreign instigations". This is a stupid argument that cannot hold water - wherever there is exploitation, there will be resistance - continued resistance until the root causes of the injustice have been identified and eliminated. The basic problems of the Philippines stems from imperialism and feudalism and NOT from "foreign subversion" and the Communist Party of the Philippines. Anti-communism is just a trick to scare the middle classes into supporting the government, divert national attention away from the real and pressing problems, while systematically attempting to suppress and terrorize the democratic and progressive forces which are now demanding genuine social change. This is exactly what Marcos is doing; HE HAS GOTTEN SO DESPARATE THAT ANYONE WHO IS IN OPPOSITION TO HIS REGIME IS LABELED A "COMMUNIST". Meanwhile, this "defender of democracy" is having people arrested without warrants or charges and ordering unarmed demonstrators shot down in the streets of Manila. Marcos has established himself as a fascist in the eyes of the world. His mad raving approaches that of Hitler and his ruthlessness equals that of Chian-Kai-Shek. And like them, he too will be defeated in his foolish attempts to hold back the forces of history.

## MARCOS WILL BE DEFEATED!!!

## THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WILL BE VICTORIOUS!!!

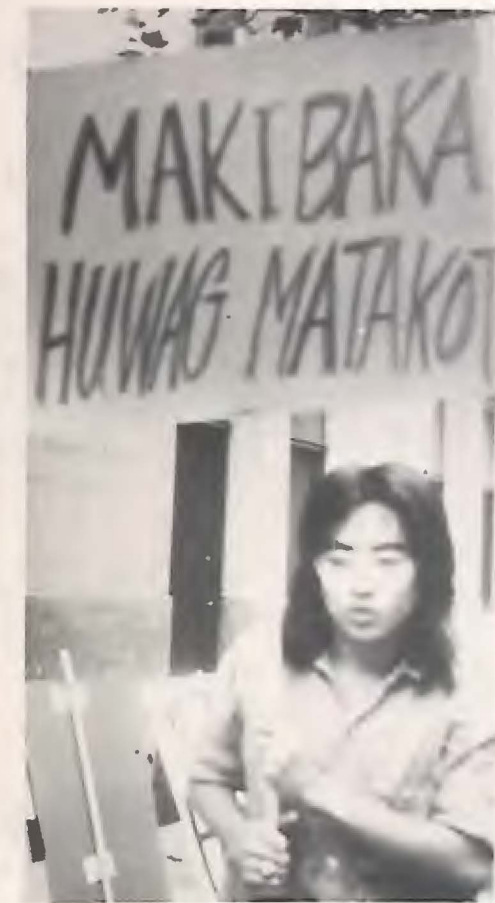
All the U.S.-Marcos plans have backfired - the attempted terror campaign has only served to heighten the level of struggle of the Filipino people for a democratic and a truly independent country. In all of Marcos' ravings about the communists, he has been unable to even locate or apprehend any member of the Party. His pledge to destroy the New People's Army has been met by increased activity and success by the NPA. His attempts to intimidate the legal mass organizations of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines have been answered with greater and more defiant demonstrations almost daily in Manila and other cities throughout the country. The demonstrations have received the wide support and encouragement from the masses of Filipino people.

In short, the "anti-communist crusade", one of the major psychological weapons in the arsenal of U.S. imperialism, has failed in the Philippines. The days are gone forever when U.S. Imperialism and its local lackeys can lie and confuse the majority of Filipino people. Fascism by any other name smells the same and the people can no longer be fooled about who their real enemies are. The road to sweeping and fundamental changes in Philippine society is irresistible. These changes cannot be stopped anymore.

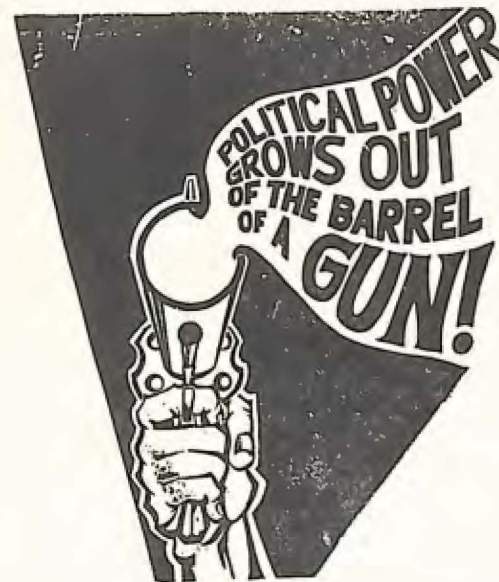
TODAY MARCOS IS THE MOST HATED MAN IN THE PHILIPPINES; politically he is more isolated from the people than any other president has been. Marcos' continued stay as president is the result of the support he is receiving from the United States government, and this makes it even clearer to the people his puppet nature. However, the National Democratic Revolution grows stronger every day, through and through hard struggle, the revolution will remove the basic contradictions in the Philippines, which are U.S. imperialism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism. To argue that mere rhetoric and indignation are sufficient to smash these forces is to mislead the masses into slaughter at the hands of ruthless enemies. Unless the masses are able to destroy the reactionary forces with the very means by which these forces exploit and oppress them, there can be no revolution, no new society, and no real victory. The days of Marcos and his master U.S. imperialism are numbered in the Philippines!!!

## OVERTHROW THE MARCOS FASCIST PUPPET DICTATOR SHIP!!!

## LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!!!



## POLITICS GUIDES



## THE GUN

### REITERATION OF EDITORIAL POLICY

In the light of the most recent developments in Manila the political conditions under which we work have changed. It is important to restate and clarify the principles and positions of KALAYAAN.

From the first issue, the paper made no attempts to hide its political position. The cover page called for the completion of the unfinished revolution of 1898. The paper is named after the official publication of the Katipunan, the 1890s revolutionary movement for Filipino self-determination from Spanish colonialism. Today in the Philippines, KALAYAAN is the name of the newspaper of the Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth), one of the revolutionary youth groups struggling for the National Democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism.

We hold no illusions about the main Marcos, already he has sent agents from the Philippines to "watch" us in an attempt to intimidate Kalayaan into silence. However, we also hold no illusions about the trend of history in the Philippines and throughout the world in favor of revolution. The social forces that will seal the doom of Marcos and the corrupt and exploitative system he presides are developing more rapidly than at any other time in history. There are no reactionary forces capable of permanently holding back this tide of revolution.

To quote directly from our first editorial: "The Kalayaan International is today's answer to the need of the overseas Filipino to be aware of the multi-faceted problems of his people, both here and back home. Like its predecessors, it hopes to serve as the vanguard of truth and dissent, where truth is shielded by ignorance and dissent intimidated in to silent discontent."

Good journalism should be the vanguard in provoking political discussion, clarifying issues, exposing contradictions, analyzing current problems. It should always provide a challenge to the readers. It should never be passive or PRETEND to be "impartial" and has no point of view. However, principled journalism does not in any way mean incoherence. It should always attempt to explain what is "actually happening" and avoid rhetoric. To do this, the paper must be straight-forward and consistent about its perspective (the method in which it interprets and gives significance to isolated facts). It should again and again take the pains to try to show the line of thinking which lead it to take certain positions and to make certain conclusions.

In the Philippines and other countries in the Third World, the class struggle has reached a very high, intense level - conditions are changing quickly. Also here in the U.S. the struggle is developing. In this world-wide battle there can be no such thing as neutrality. KALAYAAN like its predecessors stands firmly on the side of the exploited masses and oppressed peoples. May the KALAYAAN always strike terror into the hearts of reactionaries of all kinds. May it always come to the defense of the people. MAKIBAKA, HUWAG MATAKO!

# ONWARD WITH THE NATIONAL

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

August 21 - proclamation rally of the Liberal Party for this year's local elections. Two grenades thrown at platform. 10 people including a 5 year old boy killed. Liberal Party candidates all injured, two very seriously.

12:00 midnight - Pres. Marcos SECRETLY suspends writ of habeas corpus.

August 22, - beginning of the mass arrests throughout the country - starting at 9:00 a.m. with a raid on Philippine College of Commerce and arrest of its President - Nemesio Prudente and a professor Teodosio Lansang. Later arrested were Roger Arienda, Luzvimindo David secretary general of the Kabataang Makabayan, David de los Reyes and many more progressive elements.

Bombing of City Hall, and the Water Main in San Juan Rizal.

August 23, - The Fascist puppet Marcos goes on nationwide television to announce suspension of the writ - TWO FULL DAYS AFTER HE PROCLAIMED IT!!!! Also accuses Senator Aquino of the Liberal Party of coddling the 'Communists'.

August 24, - Massive indignation all throughout the country. Demonstrations by over 70 organizations start today, occurring daily in the days to come. Many colleges and universities are closed due to student boycott.

Bombings also occurred at the houses of Cong. Cojuangco, Senator Roy, and at the Philippine College of Commerce, already raided by Troops two days earlier.

Students of PCC march to Malacanang Palace to denounce unwarranted detention of Dr. Prudente, and of other professors and students.



August 25, - Manila Times reports 120 nabbed all throughout the country. But they realize it is a conservative estimate. With no word whatsoever from Camp Crame (where the detainees are held) no one could ascertain how many victims were held by the Marcos terror campaign. Student sources say over 700 hundred.

August 31, - Senator Jose W. Diokno resigns from the Nacionalista Party in conflict over the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas corpus.

September 9, - Supreme Court asked to release detainees since there has been government failure to file charges against them within one week from Sept. 1.

September 14, - LARGEST rally ever held in Plaza Miranda - over 60,000 persons attend to condemn President Marcos and his suspension of the writ.

September 17, - The Fascist Marcos partially lifts suspension of writ - in some provinces, but remains in areas of major dissent.

September 20, - announcement that Imelda Romualdez Marcos - the first lady will run in 1973 to stop "the communists."

October 4, - Demonstration in Caloocan against suspension of writ turns into bloodbath. Students ambushed by fascist troops. Three killed over 30 wounded.



Top: photo taken minutes after the bombing. Note platform wreckage and disheveled chairs. Ten people including a five year old boy died in this new massacre of the Marcos Regime.

As the revolutionary consciousness and forces grow among the Filipino people, so too the repression and terror inflicted by the Manila government upon the progressive and democratic elements grows. Contradictions have been such that the Marcos Regime has used outright fascism to crush any opposition.

Under the Marcos regime alone, there has been an endless row of massacres, butchery and untold suffering. The Filipino people can still recall - fresh in their minds, the Lapiang Malaya incident in which supposed 'insane fanatics' were mowed down because they cried for social change. It is still fresh for many minds to recall the *Coregidor* Massacre in which many Muslim brothers were shot to be quieted down. It is still fresh in many minds the *Mendiola* Murder in which students were butchered to crush any national democratic aspirations. The *Culatingan* Massacre, the *Capas* Massacre, the *Tarlac* Massacre, all have their identical story of people versus Imperialism and its lackey, the fascist puppet Marcos.

The Plaza Miranda Massacre of Aug. 21 is only another common occurrence - but one that has become very significant in the totality of the Philippine social process.

For the first time, the Filipino people have been subjected to the most massive anti-communist drive the country has ever known. Under this antiquated McCarthyist guise, Marcos has unleashed in desperation all the reactionary forces he can muster to squelch the national democratic forces, a force that signals the inevitable destruction of the old order and the emergence of the new. The shift of the Marcos Regime to blatant Fascism by the suspension of the writ shows the intensification of class struggle. This overt polarization of political forces exposes the fact that Marcos - puppet of U.S. Imperialism and defender of the local elite, is engaged in an irreconcilable battle with the masses of the Filipino people.



## THE PLAZA MIRANDA MASSACRE IS THE EXCUSE FOR MARTIAL LAW!

The Philippines is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state, with an economy in the stranglehold of American Monopoly Capitalism. Over 70% of the people are farmers, nearly 30% are urban based workers, petty bourgeoisie and only less than 1% owning over 60% of the means of production (land, factories etc.) - are the big landlords, Compradors and bureaucrat Capitalists. This small percentage has in its power the state and all its coercive agencies to lengthen the stay of American Imperialism and local exploiters in the country.

As of mid - 1971, foreign debt is to the tune of 1.9 billion dollars. A rate of growth of 3.5% (one of the highest in the world) in a population of 39 million people. Unemployment is well over 10% and under-employment is anywhere from 30 - 70%.

This economic chaos can be attributed to American Imperialism from its first act of making the country a raw material exporter, finished products importer (Payne-Aldrich Act 1909) to the vulgar and arrogant Bell Trade Act which allowed American Monopoly Capitalism to freely exploit our natural resources.

This of course has been confronted by the people with increasing strength. The New People's Army is gaining many victories in the countryside. The students and progressive elements in the city have raised the banner of national democracy and has bravely faced whatever Fascist tactics used to suppress them.

The Marcos Regime - crumbling as it is - has needed a good 'excuse' for imposing Martial Law. Plaza Miranda was a well constructed 'excuse' to launch the anti-democratic terror campaign. With the suspension of the writ and raising the 'spectre of communism', he has been able to detain over 700 patriotic elements throughout the country, not to mention the maiming of the entire opposition thus insuring a 'victory' for his party this November, and for future November elections.

Marcos' preposterous accusations that the New People's Army had a hand in the bombing can be easily refuted if one studies the programme of the NPA. They do not believe whatsoever in anarchist-terrorist such as the Plaza Miranda massacre. Their strategy has always one of first capturing the countryside and later encircling the cities.

(continued next page)

# DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!!



Top, largest rally held at Plaza Miranda, over 60,000 people denounce suspension of writ and the fascist Marcos. Left: Sen. Diokno one of the speakers protesting the writ suspension.



## A NATION INDIGNANT COMMENTS

Sen. Gerardo M. Roxas, president of the Liberal Party said, "that we have reached that stage is of course traceable to the failure of President Marcos to provide sound and stable leadership. Those who are aware of the technical implications of the President's decision know the gravity of his actions. The citizen's individual liberty is now imperilled and the processes of our courts will be of no avail to secure his right once transgressed by those entrusted with the powers of state."

Such assassination attempts are not the doings of the NPA but rather that of a person whose political bankruptcy causes him to kill off his opposition party and blame the 'communists' so as to also silence the increasing clamor of the students - peasants - worker alliance for a new democratic Philippines.

After the declaration of the suspension of the writ - a survey was taken up in Manila - and it clearly revealed only 14% found the suspension a necessary step. Over 49% adamantly rejected the writ suspension.

For the fascist Marcos regime, it has the mistaken illusion that it has gained a new lease in life. The truth is that the masses will only struggle with greater effort to overthrow this scoundrel - dictator.

EVERYDAY since the suspension, students have demonstrated in huge numbers at Malacanang Palace and Plaza Miranda. There have been killings like the recent Caloocan massacre - but bullets have little effect on a people who have decided to change their society and eliminate oppression and exploitation.

President Marcos, the most beloved puppet of American Imperialism, the most beloved defender of the ruling elite shall soon receive the people's wrath with a fury not even his politico-wife can defend him from.

Rep. Jose B. Lingad, Liberal Party Pampanga declared that the President's actions, "appeared to fall into the pattern precieved by the Liberal Party of the President trying to perpetuate his administration in power."

In a privilege speech which set of floor discussions on the fascist edict, delegate Jose Mari Velez of Rizal said, "the suspension of the writ is a sword of Damocles over the convention for anyone of us here is a target."

Delegate E. Voltaire Garcia II of Rizal said, "the suspension only makes more manifest the fascistic character of the Marcos Regime. By suspending the writ, President Marcos has taken the first solid step towards the establishment of a dictatorship." He predicted that in due time, "Martial Law will be declared."

He further lambasted the "duplicitry" and "deception" in the proclamation. While the proclamation was declared only at 1:00 p.m. of August 23, it was dated Aug. 21, "If we are to take the proclamation at its face value, it appears that for two full days the Filipino people were made to believe that they still enjoyed their constitutional right to personal liberty when in fact, the same was already circumscribed by the proclamation which Marcos kept from their knowledge. However, I suspect that the proclamation was antedated to legalize the obviously illegal arrest made on the activists," Garcia said.

Delegate Jose Lachica of Sorsogon said of the fascist puppet proclamation, "the greatest terrorism perpetrated by the administration."

Sen. Jose W. Diokno of the Nacionalista Party declared that the bombing of the Liberal Party "does not constitute such a danger to the public safety as to justify the suspension of the writ. The suspension with a possibility that anyone - laborer, farmer, student, intellectual, professional, or mass media members - can be arrested, with or without warrant, legally or illegally, creates added tension. Under these circumstances, only the brave would dare to speak his mind fully and freely without fear of inviting reprisal," ...

House Assistant Minority floor leader Ramon H. Felipe of Camarines Sur said, "the suspension is even a bigger bomb than the grenade explosion of Plaza Miranda. We are now in a police state. The opposition is now muzzled. Even our parliamentary immunity is suspended in effect."

The National Press Club through its Board of Directors deplored the suspension as a "severe blow to civil liberties involving the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly without which democracy cannot survive. The suspension of the writ is ill advised and not justified by circumstances invoked to support it. It has grave implications. Even to the right of the people to express themselves freely in the elections. The suspension comes in the midst of an election campaign which necessitates the untrammelled discussion of public issues. Through this proclamation, the Administration has created a climate of fear that would make it difficult for the media and the citizens to exercise their civil liberties, that is to speak out their minds and take their rulers to task for malgovernment - without fear of reprisal from the state in the name of 'public order'. We

condemn the attempt of political assassination at Plaza Miranda, but we are fearful that in the process, to bring to the bar of justice those responsible for this treacherous act the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus could bring more injustice and injury to democratic principle by which free men have given their lives to uphold."

The Amado V. Hernandez Foundation said it views with "grave concern the presidential proclamation. Alarming as the proclamation may be, however, it has not been completely unexpected. Recent events have tended towards an intensification of repressive actions taken by the state against the Filipino people; Jabidah, Capas, Cotabato, Corregidor, Mendiola, Laplang Malaya, May 1st 1971, and Plaza Miranda."

The Communist Party of the Philippines, through its newspaper Ang Bayan issued a press release on Aug. 24, saying:

"The Communist Party of the Philippines on its own behalf and also on behalf of the New People's Army which it leads expresses the strongest indignation over the Plaza Miranda massacre of August 21st which resulted in the death and injury of so many people, including the top leadership of the Liberal Party.

The dastardly act is directed not only against the Liberal Party but also against all opposition and the entire Filipino people. The terrorist character and mad scheming of the U.S. Marcos clique are amply proven not only by the latest massacre and previous massacres but also by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on a nationwide scale and without any basis. Beyond doubt, the Marcos Fascist puppet clique is bent on monopolizing political power through militarist, anti-communist and anti-democratic methods.

The U.S. - Marcos clique has steadily taken the path of military dictatorship against the broad masses of the people. We are witness today to the imposition of an undisguised militarist rule. The U.S.-Marcos regime is employing every method it can borrow from the black book of Hitler in order to create anti-communist hysteria, silence every kind of opposition and monopolize political power at gunpoint...

It is obviously stupid and callous for the U.S.-Marcos clique to blame the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for every evil that its own minions perpetuate. That the blame for the Plaza Miranda massacre should be made to fall on the Party and the people's army long before the actual solution of the case (a solution that will not come because of U.S.-Marcos authorship of the crime) only betrays the criminal responsibility of the U.S.-Marcos clique itself...

There is nothing to fear from the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus or the imposition of martial law. The situation which the U.S.-Marcos clique has created in Greater Manila and throughout the country is no different from the situation in Tarlac, Pampanga, Isabela and many other areas where the Party, the people's army and the revolutionary masses themselves create their own freedom of action by uniting together and taking the initiative into their hands in fighting the enemy.

We unite with all patriotic and progressive forces that are willing to purge the country of the fascist tyranny and puppetry of the Marcos ruling clique. By isolating and destroying the Marcos fascist puppet clique, we advance the revolutionary movement against U.S. Imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism...

PEOPLE'S WAR IS THE ANSWER TO MARTIAL LAW!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Samahang Demokratikong Kabataan (SDK) through its national spokesman, Reynaldo Vea, said: "The SDK is formally opposed to any terrorist attack and is firmly convinced that the recent bombings starting with the Plaza Miranda carnage was the handiwork of Malacanang and the CIA elements with the expressed purpose of justifying and creating hysteria and justifying the suspension of civil rights."

Senator Benigno S. Aquino compared the bombing with the burning of the German Reichstag by Hitler's "brownshirts".

"After ordering the burning of the Reichstag by his own bully boys, Hitler, with a straight face blamed it on the German Communists, whipped up national hatred for the Communists, waged the most massive communist witchhunt in German history," Aquino said.

"After eliminating the German Reds, Hitler proceeded to crush the political opposition, consolidated his power, and established himself as fuhrer," he added.

Carlos C. Rabago, President of the Conference of Delegates Association (CONDA) said, "We are now living virtually in a society characterized by totalitarian dictatorship".

Brig. Gen. Eduardo Garcia puppet P.C. Chief said in Cotabato on Aug. 24, that martial law will be imposed in the country, "if the situation prevailing will not improve."

One of the richest and largest landlords of the country - the Catholic Church in the usual impotent and fatalistic fashion issued an appeal for sobriety!!!! Showing no intention in criticizing the Fascist Marcos, their appeal says, "We intensify such a prayer imploring at the same time, that God grant the grace of repentance for our own sins and a genuine resolve to amend our ways of life in accordance with his commandment as these times bid us observe them."

BULLSHIT!!!

In its consistent stand of sterility, Julio Cardinal Rosales, Archbishop of Cebu said, "Let us not panic. Let us remain calm." AT A TIME WHEN MASSIVE INDIGNATION SHOULD BE THE ORDER OF THE DAY!!

When over 60,000 people flocked to Plaza Miranda on Sept. 14 (the largest in Plaza Miranda history) to denounce the Fascist Marcos regime and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the crowd shattered the air with shouts like:

IBAGSAK AND MILITARISMO!!! (DOWN WITH MILITARISM)

IBAGSAK ANG PASISMO !!!! (DOWN WITH FASCISM)

Macapanton Abbas Jr. of the Union of Islamic Organization assured the masses that the Filipino Muslims in the South were united with the "oppressed people of Luzon."

All the speeches would be interrupted with deafening roars of:

HIMAGSIKAN!!! (REVOLUTION)

IBAGSAK SI MARCOS!!! (DOWN WITH MARCOS)

AMADO GUERRERO!!!



About one week after the Plaza Miranda Incident and Marcos' suspension of the writ of, KALAYAAAN received the following manifesto from a group of Filipinos in the East Coast. We are reprinting it in full as we are in full agreement with the analysis it puts forth.

COMBAT FASCIST TERRORISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

by the Association of Filipino Students, East Coast

On August 24, puppet president Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus, annulled the Constitution and its Bill of Rights and practically imposed martial law throughout the Philippines. Marcos threatened to turn the whole country into a concentration camp, a garrison state. This dictatorial move followed the bombing of the opposition Liberal Party rally at Plaza Miranda which injured the most bitter and effective critics of the corrupt Marcos administration, among them Senators Sergio Osmena, Jr., Jovito Salonga, and others.

With the urging of his US-AID and JUSMAG advisers, the dictator Marcos shifted the blame to the newly-reestablished Communist Party and its reinvigorated military arm, the New People's Army. During the week of August 24, reports the New York Times (Aug. 29), the New People's Army successfully raided an army camp in northern Luzon and destroyed two parked helicopters of the mercenary Armed Forces of the Philippines. Such unprecedented raids and other defeats of the ruling class could not have been accomplished without the mass sympathy and support of millions of Filipino peasants, workers students and other nationalist allies.

It is common knowledge that the Philippine... together with the Philippine Constabulary and other para-military police forces like the BSDU, UTOG, METROCOM, is entirely controlled and dictated upon by the Pentagon, CIA and the US military attaches and liaison men in the U.S. Embassy, Peace Corps, US-AID and other fronts in Manila and elsewhere. To distract from the losses of the reactionary army and shift the blame for the nation's poverty, misery, brutalization on the masses, the puppet Marcos found a scapegoat in the forces of the National Democratic Movement. One logical target is the popular Liberal Senator Benigno Aquino, called by Marcos a Communist sympathizer, whose convincing and fact-filled expose of government corruption by Marcos and his gang has aroused the vindictive wrath of the exploiting class.

(continued next page)

To liquidate his critics and other nationalist elements, Marcos in connivance with other U.S. puppets ordered the arrest and imprisonment of more than a hundred liberal and democratic citizens, charging them as Reds.

Clearly this desperate fascist step of Marcos and his cohorts appears as a climax to the ongoing repression of civil liberties throughout the country and the mailed-fist policy against workers, peasants, Muslim minorities, and even individuals. More than twenty-five persons have been killed in various protest rallies and demonstrations since January 1970 by the shoot-to-kill henchmen of U.S. imperialism. Thousands have been liquidated in massacres in barrios and towns. Strikes, mass teach-ins, and other public gatherings have been suppressed. Since the rapid intensification of mass struggle against feudal landlords, compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists in the mid-Sixties, Marcos and his U.S. military advisers have been looking for a pretext to wipe out all liberal and national democratic forces attacking U.S. imperialism. Now, with the deliberately provoked incident of August 24, Marcos and his puppet clique have found that pretext to clamp down martial law on everyone and carry out fascist terrorism and violence throughout the land.

It is blatantly stupid to foist the bombing of the Liberal Party meeting and other urban violence on the Communist Party guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and the New People's Army. Why would the Party and the NPA hurt the most vehement critics of Marcos and injure the people whom they are trying to help? This would be self-defeating for the democratic revolutionary goals of collective welfare. One of the leading principles of the NPA is to conduct a protracted warfare in the countryside so as to surround the city eventually. To throw a few grenades in crowds and bomb public buildings would not be a Maoist tactic but an anarchist exhibition.

All evidence confirms that the bombings in Manila can only be attributed to the military apparatus of the State and its coercive agencies and hirelings. Marcos' Red-baiting propaganda is a cheap and vulgar trick to divert public indictment of his crimes. There is no question that the incident of August 24 is a planned step of the ruling class and U.S. imperialism to institute martial law so as to destroy its critics: the Liberal Party, the numerous activist and radical groups united under the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, and even members of the progressive, nationalist bourgeoisie.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys - the feudal landlords, compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists - are slowly transforming the Philippines into another South Vietnam or Guatemala, with Filipinos fighting other Filipinos.

According to a Washington Post report (Aug. 24), the Liberal Party accused Marcos of suspending the right of habeas corpus in order to eliminate the chief opposition party, the Liberal Party, and also get rid of liberals, nationalists and activist groups. After the wounding of five of his colleagues, Senator Aquino declared: "We were almost wiped out, and this is now the very reason being used by Mr. Marcos to gag us or put us in his stockades." Not only the Commissioner on Elections and other lawmakers but also civic organizations like the National Press Club have unanimously indicted Marcos as the chief enemy of civil liberty in the Philippines, a traitor-criminal running amuck, to protect the oligarchy and the blood-sucking agents of U.S. monopoly capital in its imperialist aggression against the Filipino people.

Faced with fascist terrorism, the Filipino masses girds itself for a last decisive battle in the war for national liberation. Even the U.S. imperialists cannot deny the widespread social injustice and inequality in the Philippines caused by the vicious greed, exploitation and anti-democratic practices of the ruling class in the disintegrating social system.

On August 26, at the height of the Marcos attempts to launch a fevered anti-communist campaign in order to intimidate the progressive and revolutionary forces, the New Peoples Army (NPA) attacked one of the major army command posts at Echague, Isabela and destroyed two American helicopters and one reconnaissance plane. This successful "strike" by the NPA was a clear and direct response to the Marcos terror campaign being carried out in the cities. It showed what a "paper tiger" Marcos is and what little control his government actually has over the countryside. Marcos, with his wild ranting and raving about a holy crusade against Communism, became the laughing stock of the whole country.

The NPA was formed in 1968 under the leadership of the new Communist Party of the Philippines. Since then the level of "guerrilla warfare" in the Philippines has reached the highest level since the famous Huk rebellion in the early 50's. Today NPA units are operating throughout central Luzon, as far north as Isabela and Ilocos region and as far south as Bicol. The reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) has proved unable to score any significant victories over the New People's Army... the U.S. military advisors of JUSMAG are becoming "increasingly concerned" over this matter...

Filipinos in NY Protest

Everyone today knows that a revolution cannot be imported or exported, a revolution springs from the existing social contradictions between the exploited and the exploiting classes in any country. No one is convinced of Marcos' showman's bogey of a foreign power (Red China) infiltrating his regime and undermining his power. The New York Times (Aug. 29) sketches a rough picture of the economic situation:

The average per capita income of the 36 million people of the Philippines is \$200 a year. But an estimated 50 per cent of the country's wealth is in the hands of 5 per cent of the population; the median income is, therefore, probably closer to \$50. A good part of the tax burden falls on the poor; the rich minority enjoys a life of luxury in exclusive, heavily guarded communities near Manila. This elite also controls the nation's political structure - often, it is charged, through corruption.

Faced by the growing political awareness of the masses, puppet Marcos and his gang reveal their guilt by these panicked military reprisals, threats, and ruthless barbarism. World opinion has time and again condemned the foul and criminal deeds of this puppet clique. The days of puppet Marcos and his clique are numbered.

The Filipino people today are rising to deliver the deathblow against the ruling class: the feudal landlords, compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists. The Filipino people are rising with their brothers in Vietnam, Africa and Latin America to smash the paper tiger of U.S. imperialism and its puppets. Whatever Marcos and his puppet clique may do in the sharpening class struggle in the Philippines, the national democratic forces will continue to march with historical inevitability toward the ultimate victory of the Filipino people.

DEFEAT THE FASCIST TERRORISM OF THE PUPPET MARCOS AND HIS CLIQUE! DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS LOCAL ALLIES! VICTORY TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION!!



Shrouded in black to depict the death of "democracy," she is one of many demonstrators outside the Phil. Consulate protesting the writ suspension. The Consulate is in the background.

ustrial and agricultural development program that is rationally managed, nationalistic and involving the active participation of the masses," the MDRP manifesto said.

The activists also declared their support "for those forces which seek peaceful radical change beyond the confines of the two-party system for this system has failed to be an effective instrument of democratic change." (continued next page)

Nov 30, 1970 - Dread, lack of full commitment, failure to take oneself seriously deals the first blow to unity. The raw, naked fact of levels of commitment or, if you want to be polite, levels of development, is a contradiction among the people that must be dealt with in the opening stages of a People's war. Great numbers of people simply don't meet on the same level in the beginnings of a complex social phenomenon like revolution. You have opening gambits, stratagems aimed at the destruction of the aura of strength and permanence that covers the pig (like a layer of protective fat) to be gone through before people plunge in. Prestige must be methodically destroyed, the myth of invulnerability smashed, before the principal part of the masses will move. The logical point of attack is at the weak points of course. Terrible, merciless attacks at the weak points, where there is less danger the people's vanguard elements, but great damaging effect to the prestige of power. The reaction from power (repression) and the revelation that accompanies "spectacular success" (no matter how small) effects people who are oppressed in a positive way; don't let anyone tell you different. Everyone enjoys seeing the bully beaten at something. And if they see it often enough, they will soon step up for a try themselves.

Love and War GEORGE

Aside from the marathon picket, the demonstrators fielded their local talents in a mini-guerrilla theater of skits, puns and drama. The picketers wore black armbands to "signify the death of civil rights in the Philippines." Speeches by speakers from New York, Princeton, Yale, etc. were heavily punctuated by cries "Makibaka, Huwag Matakot!", "Ibagsak ang Imperialismo", "Impeach Marcos", etc.

Among the revolutionary songs chanted by the demonstrators were *Bangon sa Pagkakagupling* the Tagalog version of the Internationale; *Ang Masa*, and *Bundilang Pula*. The Philippine National Anthem ("Bayang Magiliw") was repeatedly sung by the demonstrators to attract the attention of consulate employees as they were leaving the building at dismissal time. But they continued on their way, disregarding the taunts of the rain-soaked picketers.

Earlier, the consulate officials sought to ignore the pleas of the demonstrators for Ambassador Narciso Reyes to come out and talk with the rest of the group. Secretary Romulo also cancelled his morning conference with his ambassadors at the plush Belmont Plaza Hotel upon learning that the picketers were to demonstrate in front of the Hotel and the Consulate. In the afternoon, while the picketing went on in front of the Consulate building the Secretary and his ambassadors met again, this time without the picketers' attention.

Up to presstime, reports from Manila indicate that this New York demonstration, the first of its kind in the east coast, elicited attention in local media and has created some heartburn for the demonstrators' parents. Most of picketers were students from Ivy League schools and are sons or daughters from prominent families.

**FILIPINOS MARCH IN N. Y.**

**URGE ELECTION BOYCOTT**

Filipino activist groups in New York launched a mammoth march across Manhattan's Central Park upper east side streets, Fifth Avenue up to Dag Hammarskjold Plaza on October 31 as part of the wide protest offensive of overseas Filipinos against the Fascist Marcos Regime and specifically directed against the "sham November 8 elections" in the Philippines.

Participants in this long march also included members of the NY Asian Coalition who expressed their solidarity with the Filipino kpatids and who denounced the forthcoming elections as "another South Vietnam - type electoral exercise."

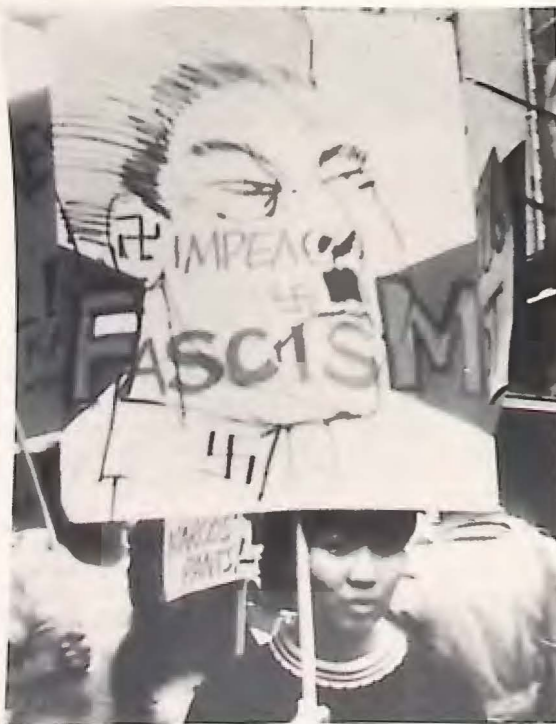
According to the organizers, the march was aimed at a "NO VOTE" campaign to exhort voters in the Philippines to boycott "the farcical elections in which the Marcos Regime uses to legitimize its fascist rule."

"In reality, there is no real democracy nor free elections in the Philippines what with the guns, goons and gold deployed by the Fascist Marcos government," said the October 31 march organizers.

(continued next page)



The Consulate in siege...



**Iranian Bacchanalia**

**IMELDA'S DREAMS**

**COME TRUE**

**... AND HOW!**



AGNEWS ATTENDING PERSIAN 2500TH ANNIVERSARY BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION  
U.S. Veep Spur Agnew and his wife Judy left with Prince Bernhard and Mrs. Ferdinand Marcos

This march is part of a series of rallies, teach-ins and leafletting held in New York for the last two months after the August 21 massacre at Plaza Miranda which resulted in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and in the intensification of the revolutionary ferment in the countryside and cities all over the Philippines.

Filipino students and young professionals had earlier staged a marathon picket in front of the Philippine Consulate building on East 66th St. last month. This signalled the start of the growing manifest discontent of various Filipino groups in the city.

The Filipino activists also marched last Oct. 21 to protest the visit of Mrs. Imelda Marcos to Iran's 2500 birthday anniversary celebration and her jetting into the United States to confer with bankers and U.S. officials for more aid.

Some 15 Filipino kpatids leafletted at the Waldorf-Astoria on plushy Park Avenue. The manifesto denounced the latest Marcosian junket and "her attempts to float trial balloons about her 1972 presidential ambitions."

The picketers succeeded in sending a batch of manifestoes to General Carlos Romulo Philippine Affairs Secretary who was billeted also with the First Lady's party at the Waldorf. Security measures were hastily put up around Ma'am's suite that prevented the determined Filipino activists from giving her a personalized copy.

Another surprise was in store for the First Lady when she arrived at San Francisco International Airport on her way to the Philippines. She was greeted with over 30 Filipino activists protesting too her attendance to the vulgar Iranian celebration and her succession to the Presidency after her Fascist husband. Filipino agents immediately confiscated the manifestoes of the group and the First Lady had to be rushed from the plane to the waiting limousine instead of the walk through the airport terminal.

These attempts by overseas Filipinos throughout the United States in visibly protesting their indignation over the state of the nation is not just a ploy to make the first lady's trip a miserable one, but to show solidarity and concern with the National Democratic Forces back in the country.

Imelda Marcos, wife of the richest man in Asia and not coincidentally the President of the Philippines is attending the infamous 2500 year celebration of the Fascist Shah of Iran.

Imelda Marcos, one of the instant billionairess in the country shall not feel uncomfortable in familiar settings. She is noted with have the largest collection of diamonds and Tanzanites. Since she cannot wear this in the presence of poverty in her country ( per capita income \$50), she drapes this on herself privately in front of a mirror. With the Shah's "bash of all bashes," she can finally display and blind other gangster of her bandied class.

Imelda Romualdez Marcos who traces her ancestry to the Holy Ghost will be welcomed by an Emperor whose descendancy originates from another "spirit", the U.S. C.I.A.

She will definitely learn much from the Shah - especially how to spend money and try to get away with it. An indication of the staggering cost is given in an AP dispatch of 6-9-71 and 6-22-71 and the New York Times of July 14, 1971:

"A microwave communications system which will link the invited heads of state to their capitals has cost \$275 million, a sports arena another \$20 million, champagne and champagne sets for the ceremony has cost \$1 million, two new built hotels for 1000 reporters and cameramen invited from around the world has cost \$30 million."

She will never be homesick with the political situation existing among the students courageously demonstrating against the Fascist Regime of the Shah, a regime that has deteriorated the economic and political condition of the people. Intensive propaganda is underway to attempt to portray the celebration as feting 2500 years of unity between the Shahs and the people; on the other hand, SAVAK (Iranian secret police) is attempting to suppress opposition by stepping up its attacks on the people. Student protests in Iranian universities in December and the Spring forced the authorities to close down the universities. They will remain closed until after the October celebration, in an attempt to avert the development of further opposition on the campuses.

Thousands have been arrested (such as in strikes of the Bus Company workers in February 1971 and workers' strikes in Karaj, near the capital, in April 1971, and in various student strikes) and hundreds imprisoned, tortured and executed ( such as the recent group of 13 Iranian patriots who were tried in a secret military tribunal, sentenced and executed by a firing squad). These and further examples of executions and sentencings revealed by the International press serve to expose the repressive nature of the Shah's regime. They are examples not of stability, but of a people determined to fight for their freedom.

Imelda Romualdez Marcos, the Eva Braun of the Philippines, might even give tips to the Shah on spending. After all, she commonly buys a dozen Givenchy dresses at \$3,000 apiece. The awesome figures spent for the Shah's celebration is being paid by a nation whose children, over half of those between the ages of 7 to 14, are wage earners. Most of the workers in the carpet factories are pre-teen children earning between 15 and 20 cents for a 12 hour day. When 40% of Iranian families live in one room (according to the International Labor Committee), Kings and Queens lounge in the comfort of ornate tents designed by Jansens of Paris to celebrate the 2500 years of Persian royalty!! While statistics show that each Iranian consumes only 2.7 pounds of meat per month, the regime commissions Maxim's of Paris to prepare feasts!! While the Iranian people need schools (public education in Iran has yet to reach the level Japan reached in the 1850's), need doctors (there is only one doctor for every 3,233 persons and only 5% of these doctors practise in the villages where 65% of the people live), need food and housing—the Shah had allocated \$80 million to the celebration. Where, in fact, is this \$80 million and more coming from, but from the impoverished Iranian people?

Fascism is definitely a common trend for both the regimes, of course heavily aided by the United States. The 1968 budget of Iran has 12% used for military purposes not including the \$2.6 BILLION credit to Iran by the U.S. for arm purchases. The Philippines in the same light has 21% of the budget for the military with millions of dollars worth of m-16 rifles and helicopters used against patriotic forces in the country.

But with history clearly driving all driving all Imperialist and their fascist allies to their doom, the students and other progressive forces in both countries have taken the rightful position of struggling against these crumbling entities. Definitely, the Shah of Iran's "bash of all bashes" shall not be taken sitting down by the Iranian people.

Incidentally after Mrs. Marcos' trip to Iran, she will travel (by the people's money) to the United States. The Filipino people throughout the country should be aware of her trip here, its political implications i.e. her intention for presidency in 1972. She is seeking the Nixon "stamp of approval" - the political backing to extend the Marcos Regime in a new "form". Massacres after massacres have existed under the Marcos Administration and the victory of Imelda Marcos for President will usher in more massacres and economic deterioration for the Filipino people.

**OPPOSE IMELDA'S RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT!!!**



# A NATION INDIGNANT



RICE and Corn Administration chief Jose Drilon, left, and Agriculture Secretary Arturo Tanco find rice price tags



above the allowable P2.90 for the costliest varieties, during surprise visits to Manila public markets



SOAKED to the skin in spite of waterproof jackets, marchers walk briskly towards Caloocan City to denounce the killing of four demonstrators in the Oct. 5 rally and the con-

tinued suspension of the privilege of the writ in Greater Manila. Leading the march and rally is Sen. Jose W. Diokno, center, chairman of the MCCCL.

## SHARP RISE IN CONSUMER GOODS' PRICES

Prices of daily household necessities have spiraled by anywhere between 10% (for coffee) and 83% for fish since last year. With the onset of a belated typhoon season, prices may be expected to shoot up further. Big price leaps have been experienced by housewives, particularly among agricultural products led by rice, the main staple of the average Filipino family.

The price of rice of the cheapest variety available in the market according to the figures of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is 2.90 pesos a ganta or 59% more than its price last year of 1.82 peso. With the exception of tomatoes, the prices of other foods have been increasing at the rate of as much as from 33% for bananas to 68% for chicken eggs.

The feed problem which was aggravated by last year's typhoons have actually caused a shortage in the supply of poultry and pork. This explains why prices of the most common meat on the average Filipino family's table have gone up substantially.

### LUCRATIVE EXPORT

Efforts of the country to promote exports have also affected some of the food supplies. Take the case of shrimps. This has become a lucrative export commodity with Japan as the market so that the crustacean's price has been bidded up by as much as 54%.

The same is true of fish. Since Bangus exports have been going up the demand has shifted to other types of fish whose priced subsequently have also gone up. On manufactured household items prices increases, while substantial enough to be considered inflationary, are still much less than in the case of agricultural foods. Sugar which the country for the first time in years is supposed to have a surplus now costs 2.50 pesos a kilo refined, compared to 2.08 last year.

### COOKING OIL

The highest increase, according to the survey was for cooking oil which in the case of Cenvoco was up by 73.3% from 75 centavos to 1.30. Imported evaporated milk which now costs only 75 centavos per tall tin last year is now priced at 1.10. The sharp rise in the prices of basic household commodities reflects how ineffectual the Price Control Council has been in implementing ceilings. While the law authorizes the council to set a ceiling on a broad range of goods including soft drinks, the cumbersome hearings and presentation of documents that precede every decision to set a ceiling has practically rendered the council inutile.

### INUTILE AGENCY

To date, the PCC has only set a ceiling on evaporated milk and rice, two commodities that perhaps only represent about 30% of the food basket of the average Filipino family. In addition to being able to proceed faster to the setting of the ceilings, the PCC does not have enough enforcement facilities to make sure that its ceilings are followed.

### INCREASES IN PRICES

Commodity	Current price	Price a year ago	% of increase
1. Rice per ganta	P 2.90	P 1.82	59.3
2. Fish (bisugo) 1 kilo	3.61	1.97	83.2
3. Shrimps (small) 1 kilo	6.59	4.28	53.9
4. Beef liempo/kilo	7.00	4.50	55.5
5. Chicken broiler/ piece	5.05	3.18	58.8
6. Chicken eggs/piece	.29	.21	38.1
7. Sitao/kilo	1.41	.84	67.8
8. Cabbage/kilo	1.62	.91	78
9. Eggplant/kilo	.93	.60	55
10. Tomatoes/kilo	2.54	2.19	16
11. Bananas latundan/ Piece	.052	.039	33.3
12. Irish potato/kilo	1.50	.89	68.5
13. Garlic/kilo	14.27	8.20	74

### MANUFACTURED COMMODITIES

1. Sugar	2.50	2.08	20.2
2. Cafe Puro	2.15	1.95	10.2
3. Ajax soap	1.35	.98	37.7
4. Cenvoco	1.30	.75	73.3
5. Gawgaw	1.10	.75	46.8
6. Milk/tall can	1.10	.75	46.8
7. Small box of Breeze	.66	.50	32

Sources: Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Times random survey.

## NPA Captive in Getaway

The Philippine Constabulary is not very good at hunting down guerrillas, but even less competent when it comes to holding on to a captive so that he doesn't escape.

Embarrassed officers were obliged to admit last month that a young prisoner, member of Commander Dante's New People's Army, had flown the coop — which was an army stockade in Echague, Isabela province.

Juanito Camalug, 18, not only made a successful getaway, he took with him as many Constabulary weapons and as much ammunition as he could carry — to wit, 3 M-16 automatic rifles, 10 ammunition clips and 200 rounds of ammunition.

### BRAVING THE STORM

## 8,000 march to Caloocan

About 8,000 members of Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties braved strong winds and heavy rains yesterday as they marched to Caloocan City to protest the killing of four persons at the October 4th rally, and the continued suspension of the writ of habeas corpus privilege in the Greater Manila area and other places.

The marchers, coming from various places in Manila and Quezon City were led by MCCCL Chairman Sen. Jose W. Diokno, and Manila Times publisher Joaquin P. Rocas. The marchers were composed mostly of students. The marchers merged at the Manila-Calococan boundary on Rizal Ave. extension after hiking more than 6 kilometers from the National Press Club Building and the boundary of the Manila-Quezon City on Espana St.

At the Calococan-Manila junction, the marchers were met by fascist Metrocom troopers, headed by Brig. Gen. Mariano Ordonez and Calococan policemen led by Police Chief Rosa.

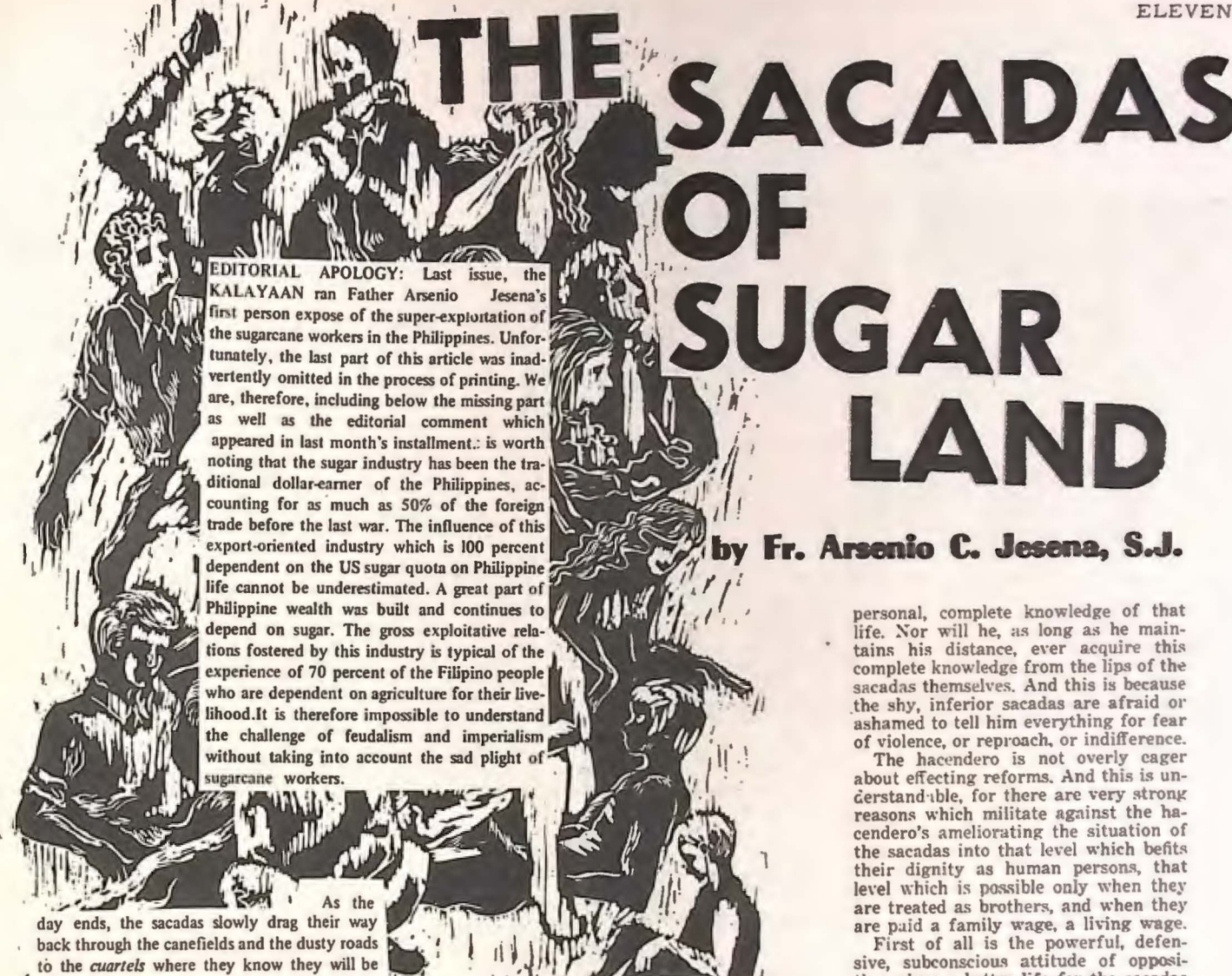
Soaked to the skin, by the rains, some of them shivering, the marchers walked the three-kilometer stretch from the Manila - Calococan boundary to the campus of the Calococan City College where a rally was held.

Senator Diokno, who was among the speakers charged the President with not heeding the cry of citizens to restore the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in the Greater Manila area.

Diokno also accused Calococan City Mayor Macario Asistio of using goons to terrorize and hurt the demonstrators.

Diokno said there was not even a proper investigation conducted by the Calococan police on the killing of four persons who were "mercilessly killed by goons identified as 'concerned citizens of Calococan' during a protest march last Oct. 4."

Camalug was said to be a graduate of the NPA "university" in Isabela, which is the principal stamping ground of Commander Dante and his personal command. Young Camalug presumably made his way back to the NPA fold, for a prolonged hunt failed to find him.



EDITORIAL APOLOGY: Last issue, the KALAYAAN ran Father Arsenio Jesena's first person expose of the super-exploitation of the sugarcane workers in the Philippines. Unfortunately, the last part of this article was inadvertently omitted in the process of printing. We are, therefore, including below the missing part as well as the editorial comment which appeared in last month's installment: is worth noting that the sugar industry has been the traditional dollar-earner of the Philippines, accounting for as much as 50% of the foreign trade before the last war. The influence of this export-oriented industry which is 100 percent dependent on the US sugar quota on Philippine life cannot be underestimated. A great part of Philippine wealth was built and continues to depend on sugar. The gross exploitative relations fostered by this industry is typical of the experience of 70 percent of the Filipino people who are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. It is therefore impossible to understand the challenge of feudalism and imperialism without taking into account the sad plight of sugarcane workers.

# THE SACADAS OF SUGAR LAND

by Fr. Arsenio C. Jesena, S.J.

As the day ends, the sacadas slowly drag their way back through the canefields and the dusty roads to the cuartels where they know they will be met by the same unappetizing food. As they walk on, a cloud of dust would be kicked up by an occasional Mercedes-Benz zooming past the hacendero hurries to an appointment in Bacolod. As the sacadas near the cuartels they see the children they love—dirty and in tattered clothing, children who like them would inevitably fit into the perpetual cycle of ignorance and hardwork.

Some of those who have gone home earlier would be sitting about doing nothing, one of them perhaps, strumming a guitar, but giving forth that music peculiar to the sacadas which always has a plaintive note of melancholy and despair.

No, the sacadas are not happy as they trudge back from their backbreaking work. And to them—for most of them, life would be like these for 30, 40 years—until they are too old to swing an *espalding*. And so, to escape, if only for a moment, from a lifetime of so much labor and little reward, some of them search out for the *tuba* vendor, get drunk and fall into the temporary peace that sleep can give.

### PART III THE HACENDERO

In reading Part I of this report one may get the mistaken impression that the root of the sacada problem lies in the contratista. But the truth of the matter is this: both the problem and the solution regarding the sacadas of sugarcane ultimately rest upon the hacendero.

Because of this, and because of the fact that the sacadas have suffered too much and too long, one is very much tempted to present a vitriolic finale to this report. One can, for instance, isolate the case of a well-known hacendero and point out how he goes to Cebu for a cockfight and loses P120,000.00 there in one day, how he keeps a regular harem of teen-age prostitutes in his Bacolod "office," and how his farm is a constant hotbed of violence and labor problems. But while all this is true of this hacendero, it is not true of every hacendero. One must be very careful lest he blow up an isolated case into a

universal characterization of all the hacenderos.

There are as many kinds of hacenderos as there are haciendas. Nevertheless two facts remain incontrovertible: the contratistas do abuse, and the sacadas do suffer, right now.

Before I write on, I pause momentarily, for already I hear the objections of some hacenderos who point to the benefits they have given the sacadas and who bask in the illusion that by so doing, they have already given their sacadas a perfect paradise. This attitude is utterly infuriating, for it mistakes the minimum for the maximum, and it confuses the infinitesimal for the adequate. Let these defensive hacenderos live and work as their sacadas live and work, and they will see that despite the reforms and the bonuses they so loudly boast of, the contratistas still abuse, and the sacadas still suffer.

And since this is a fact, we must now inquire why such is the fact. Surely, the sacadas would not be suffering the way they suffer a) if the hacendero knew what is going on, and b) if the hacendero were genuinely serious about effecting reforms.

But the hacendero does not know what is going on. Some hacenderos lease their farm through the *arriendo* system, in which case they do not even have to set foot on their farm—they just wait for their percentage of profits at the end of the milling season. Other hacenderos hire an administrator to run their hacienda, in which case they have little or nothing to do with the actual running of the hacienda. However, there are some hacenderos who do manage their haciendas personally. But even these hacenderos do not have a thorough knowledge of the life and problems of the sacadas, because they view everything from a distance—physical and psychological. Here I deliberately repeat what to me is of supreme importance: even when the hacendero does have some contact with the sacadas for as much as twenty years, nevertheless, because the hacendero does not actually experience the life of the sacadas, he does not have a

personal, complete knowledge of that life. Nor will he, as long as he maintains his distance, ever acquire this complete knowledge from the lips of the sacadas themselves. And this is because the shy, inferior sacadas are afraid or ashamed to tell him everything for fear of violence, or reproach, or indifference.

The hacendero is not overly eager about effecting reforms. And this is understandable, for there are very strong reasons which militate against the hacendero's ameliorating the situation of the sacadas into that level which bests their dignity as human persons, that level which is possible only when they are treated as brothers, and when they are paid a family wage, a living wage.

First of all is the powerful, defensive, subconscious attitude of opposition, since a better life for the sacadas would necessarily mean less money and less luxuries for the hacendero and his family.

Secondly, the hacendero is born into the system. Through all the years of his upbringing, and because of the practices in the other haciendas, he is accustomed to seeing the sacadas living and working in their wretched condition. Through familiarity, therefore, the hacendero is lulled into an attitude of acquiescence, acceptance, and preference for the status quo: "The sacadas are sacadas, and so they live that way. It has always been that way. Why change it?"

Underlying this attitude is an even more fundamental, and more insidious one, namely, the rich are rich, and that is that. The rich are born into a privileged class. They are responsible to nobody. They are responsible for nobody, least of all the sacadas who, to their mind, are mere transient workers anyway, and who above all are uncultured, dirty, ignorant, unlovable, poor.

It would seem, then, that the hacendero does not totally know what is going on, and he is not genuinely serious about effecting reforms.

Yet the hacendero is not stupid. He does know of the abuses perpetrated by the contratista. A very good proof that he does know of these abuses is that constant refrain one hears from hacenderos again and again, "I pay well. It is the contratista who deprives the sacadas of their money."

The obvious rejoinder to this is, "Why don't you correct the contratista's abuses then?" It is the hacendero, and not the contratista, who is the boss. Or why not get rid of the contratista system altogether? When I half-suggested this to a hacendero, his reaction was "Impossible!"

No, not impossible. Only difficult, at first. It has been tried, and it has succeeded, for many years.

We have to acknowledge the fact that one or two hacenderos have achieved significant reforms, and that some hacenderos show signs of being genuinely serious about effecting reforms: they are beginning to be bothered about the sacadas' plight.

(continued on p. 28)



Over the last two years in the papers, there have been articles, pertaining to the rebellions, strikes, and other major grievances by men imprisoned throughout the prison system of this country. The basis for their rebellion is consistent with their demands, better prison conditions, an end to the inhumane treatment that they are subjected to at the hands of sadistic prison guards; to receive the minimum wages for their work (that is required by federal law) instead of the slave wages they now receive which amounts to pennies a hour; to be treated like human beings and not caged animals rejected by society as "misfits".

Most recently, we have been made aware of the incidences that have occurred at Attica State prison, New York, where 41 men were killed. And during the latter part of August, 5 men were killed at San Quentin State prison in California. One of the men killed was George Jackson, a black convict held at that prison along with two other black convicts, Fleetal Drumgo and John Clutchette awaiting trial on an accused murder charge stemming from the killing of a prison guard at Soledad State prison in California.

The KALAYAAN feels that it is very important that the readers of this paper and more specifically, the Filipinos throughout the country, understand the conditions and reasons which create this turmoil and rebellion that is taking place in the prisons of this country.



When the outside "free" society view the imprisonment of a man, they see it as a single isolated act of crime against society, they seldom understand it as an accumulative process that has its roots very deeply imbedded in the way which poor people are forced to live in this country.

Deprived of any REAL economic and political power, Third World-working people lack the power to make necessary changes in their communities and day to day lives. For example, if people have no power over the means of production (machinery, factories, raw materials) then they are NOT in a position to create jobs - even if the unemployment problem is critical. It's out of our hands, we can just wait till there is a job opening somewhere and all rush to compete for it. If the housing is substandard and the rents are too high, we have two choices - like it and pay up or get out (in reality it's only two sides of a single choice, another words, NO choice.) If the schools are a joke with very little education going on, too bad; it is not (presently) within our power to rearrange the spending priorities of this government to provide the needed funds and attention necessary to create quality education. We have no real choice, either bear with it or drop out. In short, work, housing, education, the essential things that determine the quality of our existence, are not controlled by us but by the ruling capitalist class. The motivating force of capitalism is expanding profit NOT fulfilling the social needs of the society. So this is the exploited condition under which Third World and working class people live. The basic problems of their communities, which leads to other problems such as "crimes", can be traced NOT to themselves but to the capitalist interests that really control the society.

Filipinos in prison come from poor and working class backgrounds. In many cases they come from homes where it is necessary for both parents to work long hours in order to make a wage that is just enough for their families to survive on. Because the parents must work and because there are no day care centers and no good schools with constructive programs for young people; it puts heavy strains on the family life and structure. A lot of kids start growing up on the local corner. On the streets there is "nothing happening" all the time; kids are easy prey

# PRISONS...

## Filipinos in Prison

By Kapatid Bill Sorro

for gangster-types and dope pushers. The parents are hard working people... sometimes they blame themselves ... sometimes the kids. The people spend too much time blaming each other while the real culprits go by unnoticed.

Non-white children in this country have systematically been denied the learning of their culture and their people's contributions to this society and mankind. Historically, education in the U.S. has been taught from a white racist perspective with white values, morals and standards. The history that has been taught about this country is a distortion of the truth. For non-white people their history in this country for the most part has been a lie, starting with the American Indian, the native American.

For many Filipino young people who live in the "barrios and ghettos" of this country, education is a farce. The quality of it (or lack of quality), its irrelevance to their lives and experience and its general depressing atmosphere, all go to make school a drag. The schools themselves are over-crowded, usually old and run down like so many other buildings in the community, with insensitive teachers (mostly white with different class backgrounds and experiences) few of whom ever live in the community.

School "drop-out" is a common occurrence in Third World communities. Among Filipinos living in these communities, there is an increasing rate of school "drop outs". Young people who become disenchanted and "turned off" to school and the educational system, drop out of school. Out of economic necessity and responsibility they seek what they think will be the answer to school, that is, a job. It's one thing to look for a job and it's another thing to find one, especially if you are young, a high school drop out and non-white. You can look for a month or maybe a year - unemployment can become a way of life and it has nothing to do with laziness, just years of frustration - trying and failing, trying and failing.

Unemployment hits hardest in the Third World communities, welfare lines are the longest, "social aid" programs the most extensive, continuously making the people of these communities feel that it is their fault that they are in this position, and should be grateful for the benevolence of the government. When in fact, it is the government and the ruling class interests of the capitalist system itself that perpetuates this poverty and misery.

For many "crime" is a way of survival. Sometimes it is a way to obtain the necessary money to feed, house and cloth yourself and maybe a family. The majority of black and brown men and women in California are imprisoned for "crimes of survival".

Many young people of the barrios and ghettos find themselves jobless and aimlessly wandering the streets, confused about their situation and what they can do to resolve it. The streets of the poor and Third World communities are filled with many such people, both young and old alike. The alternatives and opportunities opened to many of the people of these communities are few. One of them, and very prevalent among the young is drugs. Drugs (and liquor) have always been intertwined with the lives of the oppressed people. Drugs dull the senses and ease the pain of a living situation which you are not really responsible for but which you feel "guilty" about.

The VICTIMS of the drugs are the ones who get prosecuted here in America! The dope traffic is controlled by the "Mafia". "Organized crime" nets over one billion dollars a year in the U.S.!! The FBI, which was originally formed to combat "organized crime", has made an unofficial peace pact with these gangsters since the 1940's. Instead the senile reactionary J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI spends its time trying to intimidate progressive forces in the U.S., track down draft evaders, and to make things look on the up and up, they round up a few small time "pushers" now and then. The "big boys" go free and rake in dough - the ghetto lives with addiction.

The majority of Filipinos in prison are imprisoned for drug-related "crimes" (because of addiction), robbery burglary, drug sales, etc.. Drug related "crimes" means "crimes" that are committed in order for a person to get the necessary money to take care of his or her "habit". For many drug addicts this amount commonly exceeds \$100 per day!

The Judicial system serves to perpetuate the status quo. Using empty words about "justice" and "impartiality" it only protects the property rights of the "haves" and keeps the "have nots" from getting out of line. A poor man never can quite figure out the "law", but he's afraid of court because he knows it will screw him everytime. The rich man feels quite comfortable in court surrounded by his smooth talking lawyers. The courts of "justice" in America have always been instruments of racism, maintaining and perpetuating this white supremacist society. Where a white is innocent until proven guilty, people of color, especially black and brown people, are thought of from the beginning as being "probably guilty" and the verdict is left in the hands of racist white judges and juries.

Everyone convicted of a crime in this country is subjected to the process of the judicial system. By law, every person must be represented by counsel, a lawyer. For the rich and the more fortunate who can afford a lawyer who is knowledgeable with the "ins" and "outs" of law, there is the good possibility that this person will not be convicted for the "crime" but in fact be given a lesser sentence because of the "professional" representation. A lawyer is in business to make money. His business can only be as successful as the outcome of the cases he wins. Most judges, who before their appointment were lawyers themselves are very conscious of this economic fact, and frequently make compromises favorable to the clients of the PAID attorney.



For the poor, this is definitely not the case. Unable to pay for an attorney, the poor are assigned a "public defender" by the courts. "Public defenders" are paid by the courts and often have daily case loads of 50 or 60 people. Because of these heavy case loads, public defenders can never spend more than a few minutes with their clients. This important time is often spent just outside the court room prior to that person's appearance before the judge.

How can a person possibly relate all the circumstances that surround and are related to the events that led up to that person's "crime"? In a few short minutes relate his family situation, employment or lack of it, all the pressures that he is forced to confront everyday. How? He can't and because of this, what is meted out to him is production line "injustice".

In America, we are told, a person who is arrested has his right of a speedy and fair trial to determine guilt or innocence. But the prisons are filled with men and women who never had their day in court. Most of them are offered "deals" by the district attorney (the prosecutor) who collaborates with the public defender and the judge to "cop a plea" or to plead guilty and to hope for the "mercy of the courts." Most people are in prison for accepting this "deal," believing that they would receive a shorter sentence, probation or even under the mistaken illusion that they would be set free. Because of their willingness to cooperate, 90% of all criminal defendants in the United States plead guilty before trial; less than 1% are tried before a jury.

If you can't afford the bail which is the case for most TW people, then you have to go to prison until a trial date is set - so pleading "guilty" seems to be the only best way out so most people "cop a plea." If you plead "not guilty" you stay in jail anyway and eventually face a racist court. The jury system is supposed to be this great guarantee of "justice," but in reality it is too slow and too expensive and out of the reach of most people.

In California, under the Indeterminate Sentence Law, the final sentence isn't set until that Prisoner has done some time, often a long long time. The Superior Court judge under law, doesn't set a definite sentence, he only prescribes the minimum and maximum terms set by law. California has the highest average term of any prison system in the country for first offenders - three years. With fifty of the most common "crimes" carrying the maximum sentence of life imprisonment - the threat of a long sentence is always real.

Under the California Indeterminate Sentence Law, a minimum and maximum sentence is set by the courts, but the actual time is fixed by the adult authority only a month before the minimum term is to run out. Thus a man given a ten year sentence may not learn of his actual sentence for nearly ten years. (An example: George Jackson for an "accused" 1970 robbery was advised to "take the deal" - he got 1 year to life! And George's case was NOT unusual.)

The Adult Authority has complete control to set the prisoner's sentence and decide when to grant or revoke parole. These are life and death decisions for prisoners, and the possibility of lenient treatment is held out as a "carrot" to keep the men in line. Prison experts say that the indeterminate sentence is designed to let out the "reformed" prisoners and keep the "unreformed" criminals away from the outside "free society." The chance for a short sentence and early parole is supposed to encourage prisoners to walk the line towards "rehabilitation". This "incentive system" wears the mask of "rehabilitation" for the public, while it reveals itself inside the prisons as a dehumanizing form of psychological control, even more effective than the threat of physical brutality. (This is not to say that physical brutality is not used - brutal beatings are a common part of prison life where sadistic guards attempt to keep people "in line.")

The adult authority itself mainly consists of people who have spent their whole lives putting people in prison and guarding them. Since its creation in 1944, the number of appointed members has increased from three to nine, and the qualification have come to emphasize "law enforcement experience." Of the nine men who comprise the adult authority, 7 are white, one black, and one chicano. All of which have been previously F.B.I. agents, police chiefs, prison guards, district attorney, (prosecutors) and long time civil servant of the prison system!

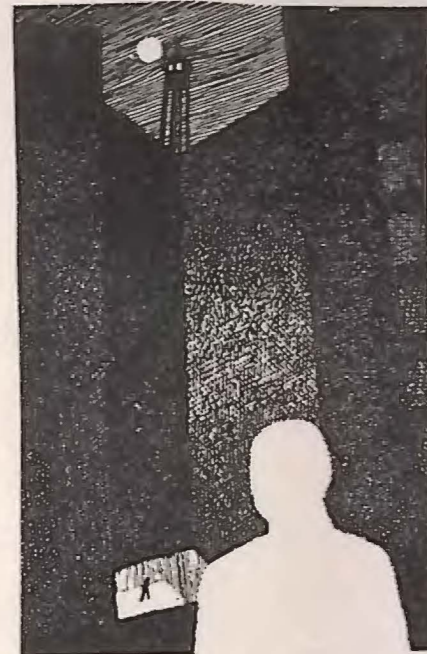
It is these men who make judgments about individual prisoners on the basis of a ten minute interview once a year! In reality, these interviews are "trials" where the adult authority acts as the prosecutor, judge and jury. The adult authority decides if the prisoner is to be paroled or have his term set or extended - all on the basis of his "record" and the statements made by the prison officials and guards. The prisoner does not have the right to a lawyer at this hearing nor does he have the right to see his file (a file is kept on all prisoners concerning their activities and behavior; it is commonly referred to as a jacket and follows the man throughout his time in prison). He is not allowed to question or interview those who have submitted statements about him. If he even hints that a prison, parole or law enforcement official might have made "a mistake" about him, he can count on spending at least another year in prison.

On November 1970, there was a strike at Folsom Prison. Among the demands made by the prisoners were:

- the presence of a lawyer at adult authority hearings,
- defense witnesses at parole revocation hearings,
- an end to indeterminate sentencing and a right to earlier parole,

- the replacement of the appointed adult authority by elected parole board,

The abolition of the Indeterminate Sentencing Law and an end to the complete power of the adult authority over the lives and destinies of the men imprisoned are high on the list of demands made by the prisoners of this state. They are just demands.



Prisons are only a more intense reflection of the "outside society." For black, brown and other non-white people, they are a continuation of the dehumanization process that has its beginnings from the day that person is born into the barrios and ghettos and other oppressed communities of this country.

Many of us believe that the prison movement is something new. It is not. As long as there have been prisons and men and women inside, there has always been resistance. The history of the prison movement in this country paralleled the black liberation struggle. What we, on the "outside free society" are becoming aware of, are conditions that have always existed in the prisons. The resistance to these oppressive conditions are no longer isolated acts of rebellion by a single individual, but organized actions of men (as in the case of Attica where over 1200 black, brown and white prisoners rebelled). These people are no longer fearful of the oppressive prison authorities, guards and are prepared to face the consequences of their acts: solitary confinement, brutal beatings by the guards, (correctional officers) more time, and even as in Attica, to be massacred for daring to stand up for their rights as men, against the unjust prisons and the racist authorities. Prisons have always been the cradle of resistance.

Prison authorities have learned in their many years of oppression that to divide the prison population along racial lines is the easiest and most effective way to control the prison and to repress any organized attempt of the inmates to make demands on them about their living conditions and the brutal treatment they are subjected to. This is done very much like on the "outside free society." Inside the prisons, you have the white convicts in the majority of the better "more qualified" jobs such as, the prison electricians, plumbers, carpenters, bookkeepers, etc. The non-white population finds themselves again in the more menial labor force: the cooks, kitchen workers, machine operators, janitors, etc. The competition for those "more qualified" better paying jobs, (which only amounts to a few dollars a month) is tense. It becomes more intense by the racial antagonisms encouraged by the guards. Whenever we read about a prison killing, it is always reported simply as a black inmate or brown killing a white inmate. What in fact does happen is, that, the guards continuously put once race of men against another, spreading rumors that this black prisoner will be killed by that brown or white prisoner, thereby keeping the prisoners always mistrusting each other and at each other's throats. This perpetuates the racial antagonism to the point where there is constant violence among the "convicts."

However, there is a developing consciousness taking place with the men in prison. This concerns their lives as prisoners, the inhuman conditions they are forced to live under, and the devious tactics that the prison guards and authorities have always used to keep them apart. As a convict class, and therefore experiences the same exploitation and oppression in the hands of the enemy, they all have one thing in common. That they are all prisoners. It is along these lines that they successfully continue to organize. For the convict class, the words "in unity there is strength" has a deep and realistic meaning.

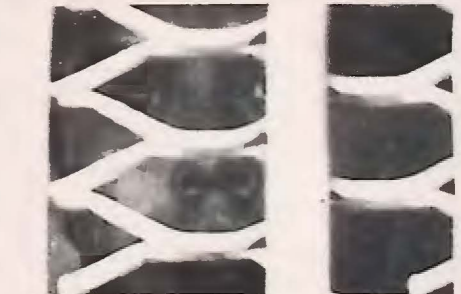
Many of us erroneously think that prisoners live in a closed world, with no connection to the events of the outside. The history of the last two decades of struggle inside however, shows that the prisoners have kept pace with the political currents, on the outside. For Black, brown, and other men inside prison, there is a keen awareness of the political developments taking place in their communities, but there is an even greater desire to understand what these developments and how do they relate to them as members of these communities who are imprisoned.

Prisoners moved beyond the traditional food and shelter complaints of the late 50's and 60's to demand religious freedom and civil rights, while the most recent actions have made revolutionary challenges to the whole prison system itself and the society which this prison system grew linking up with the broader movement. In response, support for the prison movement is growing on the outside. Groups of legal workers are challenging prison conditions in the courts and supporting organizations have developed in the communities throughout the country.

In February of this year, a letter had gotten out of Soledad State Prison to a group of Asian people working in the Japanese community of San Jose called Asians for Community Action. The contents of the letter explained that there were a group of 25 Asians in Soledad who had formed a study group consisting of Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiians. They expressed their awareness of the political activities taking place with their communities, and if it was at all possible for ACA to make arrangements with the warden and the Dept. of Corrections to come and visit with them and relate some of the current information to them and also help them with their studies. And so the Asian American Cultural group of Soledad State Prison was formed, and joint communications of Northern California (there is also a joint communications in Southern California that is also an asian prison program) was formed on the outside.

The people that made up joint communications No. California, were mainly politically active people working in their respective communities: people from ACA in San Jose, active students from UC campus at Davis, workers of the International Hotel at Manilatown, members of the JCYC, and Leway Inc. of San Francisco.

Our involvement with the brothers of the Asian American Cultural Group was short-lived. It seems that the prison authorities found it necessary to begin shipping the men of the group to other prisons throughout the state and purposely breaking up the group. Then telling us that there were not enough Asians left inside Soledad to constitute a study group and because of this our visitation rights would be terminated. This is a clear example of how the prison authorities divide the men inside prison and continue to keep them separate even from their own people outside.



One of the brothers, a Filipino, Vernon Augustine, was railroaded to San Quentin where he has since June of this year been kept in the "Adjustment Center" - the prison within the prison. Vernon was railroaded ("railroaded" is a term used by prisoners to describe the way they can be transported at moments notice to a "tighter security" prison for some "misbehaviour." Prison authorities do NOT have to legally justify their decision to railroad a prisoner.) from Soledad to San Quentin for having "inflammatory literature". This means any kind of literature that the prison feels will weaken their control over the inmate. Books like: Prison history and reforms, material concerning the lives of revolutionaries, leaders such as Fidel Castro, Mao Tse-Tung, Mabini, and even this newspaper, anything they decide can be called "inflammatory" and kept from the inmate. This is all part of a systematic control process, to try to control the prisoner's mind and keep him ignorant of any revolutionary struggles taking place outside the prison and how they relate to himself.

Vernon Augustine is still in the segregated unit of the "adjustment center" at San Quentin, and all attempt that joint communications have made to reach him failed. The prison authorities have blocked all attempts to reach this brother and possibly help him.

continued on page 32

# ATTICA... Seeds of Fascism

On September 9, 1971, 1,300 prisoners at Attica State Prison in New York State, gained control of a section of the prison, took 38 hostage guards and civilians and issued 28 demands to the prison authorities. days later, the National Guard and state police were sent in to "restore order". When they were through, they left 32 dead prisoners, 10 dead hostages and over 150 wounded prisoners. Amerikan "order" had been restored!

The T.V. news and the local newspapers performed their functions well; they encouraged the working people of America to be frightened and confused over this "rebellion of convicts!" The "official" media did not present the 28 demands for the people to examine for themselves. Instead they painted a terrifying picture of the "criminal, revolutionary types" (putting them both together to confuse people), "cold blooded murderers" who threatened the lives of "innocent guards" and had the "nerve" to make demands on the prison system - "misfits" who are trying to destroy American Society. Ordinary people become frightened and insecure - it seems the world is falling apart... so when the news finally comes that these "criminal elements" have been "eliminated" and Attica is once again "under control," many people react in an incorrect way. A reactionary massacre has just taken place before our very eyes, but many people don't see it!! Instead, they feel more "secure" now that the "trouble-makers" have been "taken care of." BEWARE! This is the social dynamics of fascism; fascism is built on fear and misinformation. We must educate ourselves and each other concerning the "prison rebellion," otherwise Attica could prove to be one of the "dress rehearsals" for out-right fascism in the United States.

## ATTICA REVOLT

Fascism in America will on the surface, look like a "race war" because most of America's "freighted" middle class is white and over 85% of the "rebellious" prison population of Attica is black and brown.

## THE FACTS:



Three months BEFORE the rebellion, the Attica prisoners issued a list of deplorable conditions existing within the prison. They demanded the state make some changes (acceptable channels.) THERE WAS NOT EVEN A RESPONSE MADE TO THE DEMANDS!

After the prisoners controlled cell-block D, they elected a negotiating team of Black, Puerto Rican and white prisoners. Disciplined security arrangements were made to protect the lives of the hostages. Decisions were reached democratically and carried out by the prisoners without any need for external force. The level of organization and unity which the prisoners displayed amazed even the prison authorities.

The 28 demands were reasonable and easily justified. (The Attica demands are reprinted in full in this issue). Of the 28 the only two that the prison authorities had not agreed to and were still being negotiated before the massacre were: 1) dismissal of Mancusi, superintendent of Attica, 2) amnesty for those involved in the rebellion. Amnesty is the crucial test because in past prison rebellions the authorities have gone back on their promised reforms and retaliated against the leaders and participants of the rebellion. There is no good reason the state authorities can give for not agreeing to amnesty. If the authorities admit that the demands are reasonable and publicly agree to make the needed reforms and if the prisoners have harmed none of the hostages and displayed themselves to be serious and disciplined, then they have only brought notice to legitimate grievances and there is NO reason not to grant them amnesty. The continued refusal on the part of the Prison authorities to grant the amnesty demand led the prisoners to the following conclusion: That the state was showing once again its "bad faith" and probably had no intention of actually implementing the reforms and changes called forth by the demands and the state probably intended to retaliate against the "rebels" in order to discourage "future revolts" and to isolate and "railroad" the "trouble-makers" who lead the rebellion. This is exactly what has happened over and over again after prison rebellions - prisoners learn from history! The prisoners' decision to hold out on the amnesty demand is perfectly understandable. The unreasonable refusal on the part of the state to grant amnesty only exposes the hypocrisy and real intentions to attempt to crush the prison movement.

The decision to break off the negotiations were made by the state authorities and NOT the prisoners. The prisoners were still prepared to discuss things when the National Guard was sent in.

The prisoners did not kill anyone. The deaths in the Attica massacre were caused by the bullets of the National Guard and state police.



"Nothing is more powerful than an idea, and they have the idea that they are the victims of a racist society, repressed by racist pigs and racist institutions" - Russel Oswald, NYS commissioner of Corrections.

There will always be "poor-peoples' crimes" in a society where most people must compete for the necessities of life; where human aspirations are blocked and frustrated from childhood for the majority of Third World people in the society. It's only natural to find crime in a system based on exploitation - the ghetto "criminal" is only trying to ape the values of the real criminals, the capitalists. To get something without having to work (petty theft); to live high off exploiting other people (pimps); to control a profitable market (pushers). These are the kind of values imbedded into the foundations of capitalism - they work for the real pigs, make them rich "respectable" and powerful, but for the ghetto people, these same values lead to "crimes" and to prisons. (It's only fitting that Nelson Rockefeller should have given the go-ahead for the Attica massacre in the name of "protecting free society," Rockefeller whose family "respectability" and wealth is built on generations of capitalist exploitation and plunder.)

Prisons have always been for the poor and exploited. Their function is to convince the prisoners that there is nothing wrong with the society and get everything wrong with the prisoner - he is a "misfit" and cannot get along in "normal" society. The prison will try its "best" to reform him but there is little hope since most convicts are considered "pathological." We can best understand the prison movement as a political response to this official LIE.

In the last 10 years, a growing political awareness is changing the prisons in America. Prisoners are beginning to view their situation in social and political terms. Discovering the social forces that lead them to prison; forces they had no control over. They are no longer blaming themselves, hating themselves... and the walls are beginning to shake under the strain. The prison movement is identifying the whole American system as basically criminal and pathological and calling for a struggle to create a new system. We must support and strengthen the prison movement in our work outside the walls. We should become more aware of the conditions inside the prisons, support the demands for needed reforms, and militantly oppose any reactionary attempt to smash the prison movement and massacre the prisoners.



Q. What is your name?  
A. I am a revolutionary.  
Q. What are you charged with?  
A. I was born black.  
Q. How long have you been in?  
A. I've had troubles since the day I was born.  
-Robert Blake, black prisoner negotiator, Tombs Rebellion, Oct. 1970

# ATTICA DEMANDS

1. Provide adequate food water and shelter for all inmates.
2. Inmates shall be permitted to return to their cells or to other suitable accommodations or shelter under their power. The observer committee shall monitor the implementation of this operation.
3. Grant complete administrative amnesty to all persons associated with this matter. By administrative amnesty the state agrees:
  - A. Not to take any adverse parole actions, administrative proceedings, physical punishment or other type of harassment, such as holding inmates incommunicado, segregating inmates, or keep them in isolation or in 24-hour lockup.
  - B. The state will grant legal amnesty in regard to all civil actions that could arise from this matter.
  - C. It is agreed that the State of New York and all its departments divisions and subdivisions, including the State Department of Corrections and the Attica Correctional Facility and its employees and agents, shall not file or initiate any criminal complaint or act as complainant in any criminal action of any kind or nature relating to property, property damage or property-related crimes arising out of the incidents at the Attica Correctional Facility during Sept. 9, 10 and 11, 1971.
4. Recommend the application of the New York State Minimum Wage Law standards to all work done by inmates. Every effort will be made to make the records of payments available to inmates.
5. Establish by Oct. 1, a permanent ombudsman service for the facility, staffed by appropriate persons from the neighboring communities.
6. Allow all New York State prisoners to be politically active without intimidation or reprisal.
7. Allow true religious freedom.
8. End all censorship of newspapers, magazines and other publications from publishers, unless it is determined by qualified authority, which includes the ombudsman, that the literature in question presents a clear and present danger to the safety and security of the institution. Institution spot-censoring only of letters.
9. Allow all inmates at their own expense to communicate with anyone they please.
10. Institute realistic effect rehabilitation programs for all inmates according to their offense and personal needs.
11. Modernize the inmate education system, including the establishment of a Latin library.
12. Provide an effective narcotics treatment program for all prisoners requesting such treatment.
13. Provide or allow adequate legal assistance to all inmates requesting it, or permit them to use inmate legal assistance of their choice in any proceeding whatsoever. In all such proceedings inmates shall be entitled to appropriate due process of law.
14. Reduce cell time, increase recreation time and provide better recreation facilities and equipment, hopefully by Nov. 1, 1971.
15. Provide a healthy diet reduce the number of pork dishes, increase fresh fruit daily.
16. Provide adequate medical treatment for every inmate. Engage either a Spanish-speaking doctor or interpreters who will accompany Spanish-speaking inmates to medical interviews.
17. Institute a program for the recruitment and employment of a significant number of black and Spanish-speaking officers.
18. Establish an inmate grievance commission, comprised of one elected inmate from each company, which is authorized to speak to the administration concerning grievances and develop other procedures for inmate participation in the operation and decision-making processes of the institution.
19. Investigate the alleged expropriation of inmate funds and the use of profits from the metal and other shops.
20. The State Commissioner of Correctional Service will recommend that the penal law be changed to cease administrative resentencing of inmates returned for parole violation.
21. Recommend that Menenchino hearings be held promptly and fairly. (This concerns the right of prisoners to be represented legally on parole-violation changes).
22. Recommend necessary legislation and more adequate funds to expand work relief programs.
23. End approved lists for correspondents and visitors.
24. Remove visitation screens as soon as possible.
25. Institute a 30-day maximum for segregation arising out of any one offense. Every effort should be geared toward restoring the individual to regular housing as soon as possible, consistent with safety regulations.
26. Paroled inmates shall not be charged with parole violations for moving traffic violations of driving without a license unconnected with any other crimes.
27. Permit access to outside dentists and doctors at the inmates' own expense within the Institution where possible and consistent with scheduling problems, medical diagnosis and health needs.
28. It is expressly understood that members of the observer committee will be permitted into the institution on a reasonable basis to determine whether all of the above provisions are being effectively carried out. If questions of adequacy are raised, the matter will be brought to the attention of the Commissioner of Correctional Services for clearance.

# The Mercenary Tradition of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

KALAYAAN is including in this special supplement an essay by Jose Ma. Sison concerning the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). This essay is important in the light of the recent fascist developments in the Philippines, because the Army is, and has been in the past, the major weapon in the hands of the corrupt government in attempting to beat down any democratic protests and movements.

In the future years as the National Democratic Revolution in the Philippines grows stronger, it will become even clearer that the AFP is in direct conflict with the revolution. The U.S. government will not only completely prop up the AFP, it will try to tell us that the AFP troops are "protecting democracy in Manila".

In fact however, the AFP serves the Filipino version of the Nixon Doctrine, that is, "Filipinos fighting Filipinos" for the benefit and protection of U.S. investments and markets, as well as for the "security" of the corrupt Filipino ruling class.

This essay has been widely read in the Philippines. It will provide a solid basis for us to understand the essential nature of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. It was first delivered in the form of a speech before the junior and senior classes of the Philippine Military Academy. Although it was written in 1966, it is even more relevant today after the recent moves by the Marcos regime. Jose Maria Sison was one of the founding members of the Kabataang Makabayan

No foreign aggressor can successfully stay in the Philippines without adopting a divide-and-rule policy; without being able to direct a significant number of our countrymen to fight their fellow countrymen.

If we trace the military history of the Philippines, we would realize that a foreign power succeeds in imposing its rule by making use of a part of our countrymen against their fellow countrymen. The Spaniard Magellan thought it wise to side with King Humabon against Lapu-Lapu. This was the pattern of military activity that the colonialists employed to retain control of the Philippines for more than three centuries. One barangay cooperative to the colonizers was used against another uncooperative barangay. Visayan recruits impressed into the Civil Guards were used to pacify Tagalog areas and keep colonial peace and order while fostering regional antagonism. The recruits in one island were used to quell resistance in another island. In trying to expand the area of its colonial domination, the Spaniards made use of their recruits in Luzon and Visayas to fight the great people of Mindanao. Peasant recruits whose own class was being oppressed in the Moluccas, Borneo, Carolines and Indo-China. Dr. Jose Rizal depicted this colonial irony in the story of Cebang Tales and his son Tano, in *El Filibusterismo*. The former was being oppressed by the colonial masters, the friar landlords, but his son was impressed into the colonial military service to fight the inhabitants of the Carolines. Subsequently, when he was re-assigned to his own country, Tano was perplexed why he had to become the instrument for the suppression of his own people. In one engagement he had to fight his own father, with the *nom de guerre* Matanglawin, and in the process killed his own grandfather, Tandang Selo. This is a sad story of a peasant enlisted to fight his own peasant brothers.

I understand that an increasing number of officers and rank and filers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines are reconsidering their traditions and the basic postulates by which commands have been sent down from the top with the most rigid discipline characteristic of the military establishment.

It should be pertinent to ask whether we should allow the Armed Forces of the Philippines to continue in the mercenary tradition of the Civil Guards of Spanish times, the Macabebes, the Philippine Scouts and the USAFFE under direct U.S. command and the Ganaps and puppet constabulary of the Japanese imperialists. Is the military willing to reject this mercenary tradition and replace it with the revolutionary spirit of the Katipunan?

After the successful U.S. imperialist aggression which started in 1898, the aggressor has made use of so many devices in the exercise of its superior military and financial power converting so many of our countrymen into their mercenaries and puppets. We have indeed come a long way from the martyrdom of Gen. Gregorio del Pilar and the uncompromising stand against U.S. imperialism of Gen. Antonio Luna. Only the slogan of "benevolent assimilation" seems to be able to ring a bell and make some of us the running dogs in a successful Pavlovian experiment of U.S. imperialism. These running dogs in every field of our national life can only respond to the imperialist bell; they forget the principle of redeeming themselves as true patriots in the present situation and of redeeming the hundreds of thousands of patriotic Filipinos who dies in fighting the U.S. aggressors only a few decades ago.

From the point of view of our revolutionary patriots who would rather die than surrender and compromise with the U.S. imperialists, our fellow countrymen who went over to the side of the enemy and became the core of the American-trained Philippine military were no different from the Civil Guards who were *indios* but who served the interests of the Spanish colonizers.



Top: Gen. George Pickett, Jr., chief of JUSMAG, and Gen. Rafael Ileta, commanding general of the 2nd military Area, demonstrating M16 rifles.

Bottom: 116 units of M601-1 ton cargo trucks, making a total of 373 new vehicles valued at more than one million dollars delivered to Armed Forces of the Philippines since Gen. Pickett took command in July, 1969.



What seems to obscure the fact that U.S. imperialism continues to perpetuate its aggression in the Philippines is our World War II experience. Because we were on the same side against Japanese imperialism and because there was a brief interruption of direct U.S. rule, many fell into the misconception that U.S. imperialist aggression had already been superceded once and for all by Japanese imperialist aggression and, furthermore, by the promise of fake independence. In truth, when World War II ended and after the July Fourth proclamation of "independence", the United States had succeeded in reasserting its military and economic power over the Philippines. Its reoccupation and reconrol of the Philippines were essentially no different from the re-institution of Spanish colonial power after the brief British occupation of the Philippines during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The USAFFE siding with the U.S. imperialists against the Japanese was essentially no different from Filipino civil guards siding with the Spaniards against the Dutch and the British. We fought a second aggressor only to be more subjugated by the first aggressor. We failed to make use of the war of two aggressors to build up our own national liberation forces that could eliminate both aggressors.

Indeed the anti-Japanese struggle could have given the Filipino people the chance to build up their own national liberation forces. The masses of our people became armed and became highly organized. But they were not armed with the correct thought of fighting for their independence from both Japanese imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Instead, the widespread USAFFE forces accepted and were even proud of their American commanders and they were childishly carried by MacArthur's seemingly innocent and romantic slogan of "I shall return". Little did they realize that it would mean the return of U.S. imperialism, with its bag of unequal agreements which up to now keep our people in bondage. Despite the fact that Wainwright shamelessly surrendered to the Japanese imperialists as a mock climax to the mock glory of Bataan and despite the fact that we, the Filipinos did the fighting and dying in multitudes in the absence of our American "protectors", we would still acclaim the latter as our "liberators". How servile are some of us to U.S. imperialism that we obscure the fact that it was the genius, courage and patriotism of the Filipino people which unfolded a wide-spread guerrilla movement undermining the substance of the Japanese aggression and breaking its backbone before the other imperialist power came to reclaim its colony, destroy Filipino lives and property in its mopping-up operations.

The singular achievement of the Japanese imperialists during World War II was the brutal destruction of Filipino lives. The singular achievement of the U.S. imperialists was the wanton destruction of Filipino homes and property under the pretext of engaging in mopping-up operations despite the fact that the Japanese had already fled the towns and cities in the face of avenging Filipino partisans. The U.S. imperialists wantonly destroyed Filipino property with their air bombardment and artillery fire as if to prepare us for war damage payments, the war damage payments by which we were to be forced to approve the Bell Trade Act; the war damage payments which were given mostly to big U.S. corporations, U.S. citizens and to church institutions. These facts are attested to by the records of the U.S. Congress and the War Damage Commission.

In its attempt to re-institute the mercenary tradition in the military, the U.S. government made it clear that only those guerrillas it would recognize would receive backpay and unrecognized ones would better disband or submit themselves to American purposes. Otherwise, they would be punished for war crimes. Filipino patriots who fought in Central Luzon and Southern Luzon and who wished to remain independent of the imperialist purposes of the United States were arrested, disarmed and subjected to massacres as in the cases of Huk Squadrans 77 and 99. The conditions for civil strife, wherein Filipinos would kill Filipinos, were prepared by the imperialists in order to successfully re-establish their political, economic and military power over the Philippines.

Using its armed power and its local agents, the United States succeeded in destroying the national democratic forces opposing the Parity Amendment and Bell Trade Act. Likewise, under the guise of protecting the Philippines from the Soviet Union and Communism, its erstwhile ally in the great anti-fascist struggle, the United States succeeded in extorting from the Filipino people a series of military agreements which directly transgress our national sovereignty in a manner more profound than economic control can.

The 99-year U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement was effected by the United States. It has meant U.S. extra-territorial control of close to 200,000 hectares of Philippine territory. More than that, it is supposed to grant to U.S. troops exterritorial rights - the "right" to move to any part of the country without being bound by Filipino jurisdiction and sovereignty, particularly when such troops are on military duty. By this "right" the United States assumes that the Philippines is under its occupation and Philippine sovereignty dissolves as U.S. troops by the presumption of their government move to any point in the country. What an arrogant presumption! The U.S. military bases as they are now represent the reinstallation and perpetuation of U.S. aggression against Filipino sovereignty.

These U.S. military bases, as they have been so in other countries, serve as the trump card of U.S. imperialist power in the country. These serve as the grim reminder of the U.S. capability for violence against the Filipino people in the event that they effectively reassert their sovereignty in the uncompromising tradition of the Philippine revolution. Of course, these military bases will be used only after so many intermediate measures of political maneuver by American interests shall have failed. U.S. propaganda will always claim that these military bases are here to prevent a "communist take-over" or to prevent "communist aggression". A national democratic take-over will certainly be called a communist take-over.

In a clear analysis of the problem of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, Senator Claro Mayo Recto gave the lie to the claim of Yankee protection. These bases serve only to oppose the advance of national democratic forces and to protect U.S. investments in time of peace and these actually serve to attract nuclear belligerence from other countries - enemies of the United States, not our own - in time of war.

For a long time it may remain unnecessary for the U.S. government to make any overt use of its military bases in order to protect its foreign investments in the Philippines. It has been said that after all it controls the Armed Forces of the Philippines; the latter can be used to oppose the national democratic movement that wishes to remove U.S. imperialist power in the Philippines. The national democratic movement can always be represented as an exclusive communist "conspiracy" and its organized forces can be subsequently attacked by the puppet armed forces. Even the President of the Republic of the Philippines himself has to be careful of an imperialist inspired or CIA-inspired coup d'etat in the event that he dares to be nationalist in the anti-imperialist sense. President Carlos P. Garcia himself was once threatened with a coup d'etat for dilly-dallying on de-control.

What the Filipino people should see with regard to other military agreements like the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty and the Manila Pact or SEATO Pact is the formal recognition of the "right" of the United States to make military intervention in Philippine affairs, in the case of the first, and the extended "right" of the United States and other countries, members of the SEATO, to make multi-national intervention, in the case of the second. At this moment, while the reactionaries in the Philippines do not yet require overt intervention to maintain their rule, the Philippine government is being required to

expend its limited resources for foreign adventures in the guise of helping put out the fire on a neighbor's house. Many of us do not yet realize that in joining U.S. imperialism, the Philippines becomes and accomplice of the real arsonist.

It is clear that we need to reject the mercenary tradition in every field of our national life, especially in the military. We propose the full adoption of the patriotic tradition of the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution.

The Filipino people fought under the banner of the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution not because they were paid to fight but because they considered it a patriotic duty to do so. It was a people's war; and as a people's war, our revolutionary fighters had to merge with the great masses and they had to keep away from the city strongholds of the alien enemy until such time that the latter had been weakened in the countryside where its forces were thinly spread and where the forces of the revolution could develop strong political bases over expanding areas. As it was applied, the Filipino people's war effectively weakened Spanish colonialism despite meagre weapons at the start.

Before the Filipino revolutionary forces could seize Manila, however, the U.S. imperialists forced as in a coup the transfer of power over Manila from the Spaniards to themselves. Subsequently the Filipino people's power had to be directed against U.S. imperialism. But, it failed because of the flabby class leadership of the Filipino *ilustrados* which initiated severe dissensions within the very ranks of the revolutionary government. The liberal-bourgeois character of the *ilustrados* enraged the anti-imperialist leader, Gen. Antonio Luna, for compromising with the enemy and for their gullibility in the negotiations presided over by the enemy. The *ilustrados* leadership resorted to murder; it had to kill Gen. Luna in order to clear the path for compromise.

During the Japanese occupation, we showed our capability for fighting against modern imperialism. We showed that we were capable of fighting successfully against the Japanese invaders despite the deliberate absence of arms distribution to the masses by the U.S. imperialists before the imminent outbreak of the war; despite the American evacuation and Wainwright's surrender order. As a matter of fact, the U.S. imperialists refused a petition for arms distribution to anti-fascist organizations and the masses as a measure of preparing the people for the anti-fascist struggle.

In the course of the Japanese occupation, the U.S. command in Australia ordered all anti-Japanese forces to maintain a "lie low" policy. This imperialist command obviously implied distrust in the Filipino people. It was afraid of allowing the Filipinos to develop armed self-reliance. The U.S. imperialists cunningly planned to land arms massively to their own agents in the USAFFE only when they themselves were about to land.

We have gained experience and confidence in the people's war of resistance against the Japanese, nevertheless. Although we have again fallen into the hands of the U.S. imperialists, we gained experience as a people in the anti-Japanese war of resistance. We have shown our mastery of the techniques of guerrilla war and our ability to merge with the masses in time of crisis; but we need now to realize that we have to be guided by a thorough understanding of the tasks of genuine national and social liberation and the motive forces that need to be impelled with the proper demands so as to move correctly against the current enemy and then the subsequent one, both of whom we should clearly identify.

We fought successfully against Japanese imperialism; we were successful in fighting and in arming ourselves. But we were inadequate in so far as it

concerned arming ourselves ideologically and politically. Many fell for America's false promise of independence. Many thought that genuine independence could be granted by a foreign power. The "independence" that was indeed granted was empty of substance, particularly for the masses of our people. By arming ourselves with the correct ideology, all of us could have acted more independently and used our resistance forces to assert our independence from both Japan and the United States. For instance, we could have allowed the peasant masses all over the archipelago to enjoy land reform immediately on the lands abandoned by the landlords who sought safety in Manila under the care of the Japanese imperialists and in Washington under the care of the U.S. imperialists. Instead, a few American stragglers were allowed to lead the USAFFE. The leadership of the guerrilla movement was submitted to them on a silver platter. The mercenary backup mentality was allowed to step into the patriotic movement. Until now, some of us suffer the humiliation of mercenaries; of constantly begging for veteran's payments from a foreign government.

If an occasion like the anti-Japanese struggle should again arise, we must make use of all our lessons as a people and strike out on our own as an independent force, independent of the strategic demands of a foreign power like the United States. It is not only that we on our own have learned our lessons or that we have developed as a more forceful nation, but it is also that we find ourselves now at a certain level of world development that is far higher than that on which we found ourselves during the Japanese occupation. National liberation movements are now all over the world; the socialist states have become more powerful. These two forces combined have now the capability of scattering and weakening the imperialist power of the United States; U.S. imperialism is increasingly weakened by the very over-extension of its power and the consistent opposition of peoples all over the world.

The diabolic stories of "communist aggression" concocted and circulated by U.S. propaganda have become too over-used in the Philippines. More and more people are reading about the experience of the socialist countries and how on the other hand they have been the ones subjected to imperialist intervention. The true facts about the Korean War and Sino-Indian border dispute are now coming to light before the Filipino intelligentsia; and the U.S. aggression against south and north Vietnam, U.S. occupation of Taiwan and the hundreds of U.S. intrusions into Chinese territory certainly debunk the claim that China is the No. 1 aggressor and the United States is the No. 1 peacemaker.

"Communist aggression" is one of the myths we are beginning to perceive with greater clarity. As a matter of fact, our reactionary leaders have started to use such contradiction of terms as "internal aggression" and "aggression by proxy". Whenever there are labor or peasant unrests and strikes, or anti-imperialist demonstrations of student s and the youth, the pathological anti-communists see in these dynamic expressions of popular demands "the scheming hands of foreign Communists using local agents".

The soldiers of the government should ask themselves why in strikes they find themselves categorically with the capitalist establishment or in agrarian conflicts on the side of the landlords. In anti-imperialist demonstrations, they also find themselves together with the police lined up against unarmed ordinary people. Oftentimes, they find themselves being briefed that these strikers and demonstrators are "subversive" agitators.

I know for a fact that most of the enlisted men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines come from the peasantry. But why is it that in disputes between the landlords and the peasants, the soldier who is actually

a peasant in government uniform, finds himself being used as a tool of the landlord? Why point your guns to the masses and not to the foreign, big comprador and feudal interests that exploit the people?

The officers and rank and filers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines should have the honor and conviction to fight for the interests of the people. If they should find themselves being ordered from the top to take the side of the U.S. imperialists, the compradors, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists and fight the peasant masses, the workers, progressive intelligentsia, they should have the honor and conviction of changing their sides and throw in their lot with the oppressed who have long suffered from their exploiters.

"Peace and order" or "rule of law" has become the convenient slogan for motivating the soldier against the masses who resort to their right of free assembly and expression. In the first place, it should be asked: Peace and order for whom? Rule of whose law? The exploited masses who daily suffer from deprivations and exploitation must be allowed to organize and express themselves freely. Why should they be quieted down by the force of arms, under the pretext of maintaining peace and order and rule of law? Why should they be prevented from making clear their demands? In taking your side against the oppressed masses, you become no different from the civilian guards of the landlords, the private security guards of the capitalists and the sentrymen of the U.S. Embassy and U.S. military bases.

In tracing the chain of armed power in the country, we can see that the possession of arms is attached to property as indicated by the license laws. So, the private entities who have most private arms are the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists and yet they have the most access to the use of the government police and armed forces. When a certain local situation cannot be taken care of by the civilian guards, the municipal police comes in: and in a series, the Philippine Constabulary, the Philippine Army and Air Force and ultimately, U.S. military intervention. The chain of armed power leads to U.S. imperialism. The most strategic armed protection for the exploiters of this society comes from U.S. imperialism. With this understanding, the masses have a strategic hatred for U.S. imperialism. The exploiters and their armed satellites are recognized as being within the same hierarchy of power, with U.S. imperialism as the presiding power.

U.S. imperialist propaganda keeps on harping that there would be no more serious threat to national security and internal peace and order without the Communists here and abroad. People are compelled to hate Communists or those who are construed to be Communists in the same way that the Spaniards and the friars tried to play up hatred against Filipinos who were called Masons and *filibusteros*. The Philippine military is indoctrinated to have a violent unreasoning hatred for Communists in the same way that the Civil Guards were indoctrinated to hate *filibusteros* by the Spaniards in order to maintain colonial loyalty.

We must realize that the masses will always be restless so long as they are exploited. At certain stages, they may actually be quieted down by the violent force of the state. But when they rise up again, their previous rising, though defeated, serves as a mere dress rehearsal for a more powerful and sweeping revolution. In 1872, our colonial masters thought they had finished once and for all the popular protests. Only fourteen years after, they reaped a whirlwind - not only a stronger wave of the secularization movement among priests but a wide-spread separatist movement which wanted national independence no less.

During the fifties, the U.S. imperialists might have thought that they had suppressed the national democratic movement for good. But as they continue to deprive the Filipino people of true independence, they shall certainly reap a whirlwind - an even more powerful national democratic movement. As the compradors and landlords have repressed the people for so long, they await a time when the people shall in a revolutionary tempest sweep them from the land.

U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism are not the creation of communist agitators. They are the objective results of extended historical processes. If the people join the nationalist or communist movement, we should first of all consider that it is the imperialists, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists who shall have forced them to lose trust in the present system. It is wrong to blame the Communists and all other patriots for the failure of the present system that is dominated by U.S. imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

I understand that the Armed Forces of the Philippines is now trying to engage in a "civic action" campaign more massive than the one initiated by the late President Ramon Magaysay. It is also sending "civic action" groups abroad to help in the U.S. war of aggression in south Vietnam.

As a piece of psychological warfare, "civic action" has only a tactical, superficial and temporary value if the basic problems of U.S. imperialism and feudalism remain unsolved. Even as a tactic, it can easily be counteracted by the masses becoming conscious that "civic action" comes only to critical areas where more basic demands for change are being raised. Thus, there is over-concentration of "civic action" groups in Central Luzon. The masses of many more neglected areas are complaining that they are not being benefitted by "civic action" and that south Vietnam has been given priority. They regard the phrase "civic action" as a mere euphemism to deceive the people of its real military content, particularly its psychological and intelligence functions.

Many intelligent people have access to the literature and armed forces manuals on "civic action" provided by the Pentagon through JUSMAG. They have expressed disgust over the emphasis placed on psychological warfare, espionage and deception of the people. They are disgusted over the obsession of hating the Communists and trying to gain the initiative from them through deception.

We can see very clearly that the "civic action" groups of the Armed Forces of the Philippines will not at all disturb the unjust structure of private ownership of land and the feudal and semi-feudal relations in the countryside. As a matter of fact, they would only attempt to create the superficial image that they are friends of the people, while at the back of that image they uphold the rule of the landlords, the U.S. imperialists, the compradors and the bureaucrat capitalists. They may build roads and bridges, they may build irrigation works and help in agricultural extension work, they may engage in sanitation work and they may perform so many other traditionally non-military projects. They will not change the basic social structure that keeps the masses exploited.

It was U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara who first announced that the United States will make its client-states field indigenous military forces in the guise of "civic action" groups. The idea is to build a different image of the local military and make it more effective in counter-insurgency. The United States is supposed to continue providing the military hardware as the shield but this new dimension, "civic action", is created to deceive the people that the local military is no longer the instrument of feudal and foreign

interests or the obnoxious parasite on the national budget. This entails the intrusion of the military in fields which have been traditionally in the hands of the civilians. In other words, this requires the militarization of operations formerly civilian in character. It is anticipated that the military will gobble up funds that should be allocated to the departments of public works, of health, of education and of others.

An increasing number of constitutionalists are seriously questioning the intrusion of the military into civilian affairs. They are wary of a developing process of fascism that might eventually push out civilian supremacy. What with the increasing control by military men of civilian offices. In accordance with this new method adopted by the Pentagon and implemented locally by the JUSMAG, the military is being made to operate in such a way as to take over civilian operations and to gain political influence. Indeed, it is evident in Asia, Africa and Latin America that when the United States becomes insecure over its control of the client-states it resorts to local fascism; for after all a local fascism depends on the military hardware and financial support of its imperialist master.

Another subversive development that needs careful watching is the reverse intrusion of certain civilian organizations into the military. There are those narrow-minded forces wanting to develop a clerico-fascism of the Franco and Salazar type. They wish to combine the sword and the cross. Not yet satisfied with the undue amount of foreign control and influence in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, a certain sectarian movement has carried over from Spain and Portugal certain fascist techniques and has been systematically "brain-washing" military men and police officers in a manner opposed to the principle of rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto Christ what is Christ's.

A movement within the Armed Forces of the Philippines should be started to reclaim alienated territory of the Philippine government from the U.S. government. We must uphold Filipino sovereignty over the U.S. military bases in the Philippines. We must place these military bases under Filipino command. We should demand the immediate termination of the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement as an instrument nullifying our sovereignty.

The true sons of Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto, Gregorio del Pilar and Antonio Luna within the armed forces should reject U.S. military dictation. They should reject the Military Assistance Pact and the JUSMAG as instruments of foreign control and influence over the Philippine military. They should reject all psychological warfare measures such as "civic action" and others that have been proposed by U.S. counter-insurgency experts to deceive the people who must be patriotically assisted in their struggle to liberate themselves from U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Let us not depend on one power which abuses our sovereignty and takes advantage of our people. Let us stop U.S. indoctrination in the armed forces and the police force so that an anti-imperialist and democratic orientation can be propagated among them.

We should rely on the patriotism, courage and capability of the people in defending themselves. We demonstrated in the anti-Japanese struggle and other struggles that we could actually convert the enemy into a supplier of arms for the masses by capturing them. Let us dismiss the imperialist presumption that we can only be under the protection of a foreign power.

# Dismantle US Bases! Withdraw All US Troops!

Again under the banner of anti-communism, men are being led into anti-democracy. As believers of the freedom of religion, we need to be alert to any clerico-fascist movement that will reverse Philippine history to that long period wherein the exploiting power had a cross in one hand and a sword in the other. We do not want to revive a monster. Those who believe in liberal democracy are now deeply troubled by certain Jesuit priests with CIA credentials. Certainly, we do not wish to have a large-scale revival of Padre Damasos and Padre Salvis.

Let us above all strive for national democracy in this country. For our national security, let us rely above all on the strength and national unity of the people. That national unity can only be created if we are bound with the masses in a common struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The political system is dominated by the political agents of the U.S. imperialists, big compradors and landlords. The officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines themselves have become victims of the petty political discriminations made by one political faction or another of the ruling class of exploiters.

Officers and members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines should learn to disobey U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes and learn to side with the masses their basic demands. Of course, it is really futile to expect the entire machinery of the state to go over to the masses even in time of the most decisive crisis when the ruling classes are entirely discredited. But those officers and men who join the masses in their fight against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism can always hasten the victory of the masses.

In this era of worldwide people's war against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, we are in a position not only to learn from our local experience but also from the struggles of so many other peoples. Let us not repeat the mistakes of Aguinaldo in the Filipino-American War. Let us not again make the mistake of being fooled by U.S. imperialism. In this era of mounting world-wide anti-imperialist movements, the main enemy has become unmistakably clear and objectively the national struggle shall be assisted by external developments to an extent higher than at any other point in Philippine history.

Let us withdraw from the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty because it is a license for the United States to intervene militarily in our national affairs.

Let us withdraw from the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization because it is essentially an anti-Southeast Asian compact controlled by non-Southeast Asian imperialist powers. Let us redeem ourselves in the eyes of our fellow Asians from the ignominy of having long been dominated by U.S. imperialism.

We have long been curtailed off by the United States from a huge part of the world. Many of us have long believed in the servile line that the enemies of the United States are also the enemies of the Philippines.

Let us be more aware of the present world reality. Let us be aware and let us take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialist powers and the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Let us be aware of alliances against U.S. imperialism. Let us join the international united front against U.S. imperialism and all its accomplices. Let us turn the present world situation to our national democratic advantage.



# Filipinos Come Together F.Y.A. Convention Seattle August / 71

"It is obvious that we Filipino Americans, have not really 'made it' in this society. Nowhere at decision-making levels or in economically or politically influential positions is the Filipino found... we have been sterilized of the motivation to achieve and better ourselves, with what we are, disciplined in service to those who have imposed this mind trap on us. This must be changed. We must emerge from this repressed state. This convention is a step in our 'Quest for Emergence.'"

This in part, was the stated purpose for the Young Filipino People's Far West Convention, sponsored by the Filipino Youth Activities of Seattle. (The FYA has been operating in the Seattle area for over 15 years.) The convention took place at Seattle University from August 18-21.

Over 200 youth delegates were present from California, Oregon, Washington, Hawaii, and Guam. The significance of such a large gathering of young Filipino brothers and sisters cannot be appreciably measured. It was historic in the sense of the number of young Filipinos who attend as compared to previous conventions and conferences, in the tone of topics discussed, and in the fact that the 'collective effort' became the guiding philosophy of the Convention.

The tone of the convention was, from the start relevant, exemplified by the title "Quest for Emergence", which indicates an awareness on the part of the organizers that Filipinos face some major tasks as one of the fastest-growing non-white community in America. As stated in the brochure, "it is obvious that we, Filipino-Americans, have not really 'made it' in this society". During the course of the convention, serious questions were raised concerning the term 'made it', or, in what context the words were being used in relation to this 'society.' The myth of this so-called "melting pot society" was shattered when, for instance, Brother Larry Iltong rapped in an informal session about the racism and inhuman abuses inflicted upon himself and other brothers in the 30's, 40's and still today. It was again exposed in a talk on the institutional racism existing within the educational system by a brother from the Bay Area. The fallacy of a "melting pot" society was brought up clearly by the conference, because if it were true that every citizen is treated fairly and equally, then there would be no need for the Filipino-American's "Quest for Emergence."

A very positive aspect of the convention was the rescheduling of the agenda on the second, third and fourth days of the convention, so, that it was flexible to the emerging needs of each day. This allowed the necessary time to deal with problems more effectively and to share mutual concerns and experiences with each other. There was a "stalemate" and what seemed to be a loss of direction during the second morning due to what proved to be a program that was structured too rigidly. The situation was corrected through collective discussion of the convention organizers and participants on the purpose and direction the convention was taking. On the basis of this discussion, the agenda was rescheduled as seemed fit. From, then on, collective discussion and decision-making among organizers and participants became the Seattle convention's vehicle for an "unconventional" convention. A spirit of cooperation prevailed; delegates volunteered time to help clean up and arrange for the various activities and meals. Pinoys intensified their commitment of their time and talents to the making of cohesive forums, workshops, rap sessions and activities.

The rescheduling of the agenda had vast implications for the success of the convention's purposes and future conventions to come. For instance, a "street people" rap session, whose speakers were originally to be chosen from respective communities, was changed to an "open podium" arrangement where any delegate could speak to the audience on whatever was on his or her mind. Uninhibited discussion, often direct and very honest - led many to a new depth of understanding, or at least a new exposure for many of us to the pressing problems of the respective communities, to the struggles brothers and sisters undergo every day, and to new ideas as to the alternatives to these problems. The workshops were "free-floating" so that delegates could attend (without the previous restriction of signing up) any workshop. (Some of the workshop

topics were: Lack of Filipino brotherhood, Street life and the forces militating against Filipino youth motivation, Our colonial heritage - the making of a "happy" second-class Filipino, Filipino-Americans and the Social Revolution). In many of the workshops, much productive discussion took place concerning these very relevant topics.

During the course of the convention, a smaller steering committee formed to work out a plan for a Filipino Referral Center which would attempt to centralize a lot of the information from different Filipino communities in the West. Hopefully, this will serve to intensify communication between the different communities. The next planning meeting was scheduled for Stockton, California.

The Seattle convention's culmination of openness, honest, and true criticism provided a base for understanding, respect, and love for one another. This brotherhood was evident during the last night at the "despidida" farewell party at the Filipino Community Center. The aura of joy, the spontaneity, flowered when a large delegation was about to leave. In the center of the hall, brothers and sisters gathered, exchanged good-byes, and began thrusting skyward the thumb and little finger sign of FYA's symbolic tamaraw - chanting "Mabuhay" and "makibaka huwag matakot!" To the percussion rhythms of the band we formed an endless chain of bodies -- hopping and leaping with our chant, "Mabuhay!...Mabuhay!" exhilarated as one human chain snaking haphazardly - it was beautiful - a memorable event that the delegate brothers and sisters must surely reflect on as a celebration of Filipino Brotherhood.

### NEGATIVE ASPECTS

During the convention, an awareness of Filipino identity brought on a new interest in the Philippines which was seen in many of the delegates; yet, a tendency to look superficially at the history and culture of the Philippines seemed to prevail. Due to the fact that the only exposure to Filipino history and culture for most of the people at the conference was the romantic notions instilled in them by their parents, a misconception of and association with the incorrect aspects of our heritage. For example, the nipa hut and carabao are often emphasized as being part of our proud heritage. But it was brought out at the conference that the nipa hut is in reality a graphic example of extreme poverty that the people are forced to live in due to continued exploitation by the landlords; and that the carabao is used to till the fields because of the impossibility of having a tractor. These are symbols we as Filipinos should not choose as being emblematic of our culture.

Few of the delegates realized that the society and culture of the Philippines are constantly changing. The stagnant cultural impression of the Philippines many people still retained at the convention, was due to the colonial mentality that was enforced upon us via the educational system in America. For the many people attending the conference who were not subjected to the distorted presentation of Philippine culture and society as depicted in the schools, yet maintained the romantic impressions of Philippine culture and society, the major sphere of influence was their parents who still persisted in holding on to the traditional symbols of the past years.

During the conference there was the common problem of people getting their heads (and hearts) all tied up in the "night life" and therefore missing alot of the morning sessions and taking the conference less seriously. This had its negative effect on the conference, since the intention was to have some serious discussions on the problems and situations facing Filipinos in America. Of course the roots of this problem goes beyond just Filipinos - it's Amerikan "youth culture" that systematically attempts to keep the "Pepsi generation" young, stoned and trippy as long as possible in order to keep them from waking up and seriously dealing with the society.

One incorrect idea that was brought up was the notion of "super Flip" - ie., that Filipinos could compete and come out on top of this "rat race" if they put their minds to it. This thinking leads to alot of cultural nationalistic conclusions none of which are true - that there is something "magic" in being Filipino that makes us "by nature" MORE intelligent, MORE artistic, MORE beautiful, etc... than non-Filipinos...so all we have to do is activate that "magic" and compete. The conclusion of course is not good; it places the whole rest of the human race in an inferior position and at the mercy of these "super Flips". This line of thinking doesn't seem to lead to the kind of society we should be trying to create.

Another major controversy at the conference was whether to work in the system or not work in the system. A lot of people got into long and sometimes heated discussions over this which is too bad because it misses the most important point. The thing that should be discussed first is the present social system itself - what are its values?(individualism, competition); where do they lead people?(isolation, frustration); where are the values rooted?(capitalism-imperialism); what is the historical direction of the wholesystem? (downhill-fast); why? This is what should be discussed, otherwise it is kind of ridiculous to be asking people to "choose now or for ever hold your peace"; "in or out, choose now!" when most of us don't fully understand yet the "system" we're being asked to make a choice about. The tone of any discussion about whether to tap the system or do our work outside of it should be like discussing "tactics" as to which of us, at what times and circumstances could serve the people best - where. It should not be discussed in the tone of asking each other to join camps and take sides "in" or "out" of the system.

In one of the speeches people were reminded that in America a Filipino could even become president. First of all this is probably not true and secondly it is misleading. Given the complex structure of American racism and discrimination it is questionable whether a Filipino can get any higher than a clerk or minor official in the U.S. power structure. Given the capitalist nature of that political structure, any Filipino who could manage to get into a position of national influence would have to give his FIRST allegiance to his political backers and NOT to the real interests of the Filipino people living here. Finally, given the imperialist aggression of the U.S. government, it would be a national disgrace to have a Filipino lumped in the same bandit gang as Nixon, Johnson and Co.

### CONCLUSION

The FYA Seattle Conference should be remembered as an important milestone in the Filipino movement in America. Hopefully it will be the first of more conferences of its kind in scope, relevance and participation. All participants had a memorable and educational experience at Seattle. The FYA should be thanked once again for all the work, time, money and care they put into the conference. The hospitality and brotherhood offered to the visitors was in keeping with the finest traditions of the Filipino people. The Conference was a milestone - MABUHAY! MAKIBAKA!

BY KAPATID JOHN FOZ AND GIL MANGAOANG



The recent Youth Convention in Seattle marks an important advance in the Filipino movement in the U.S. Identity is the first big step in the long road to social and political consciousness. To assert our own identity as Filipinos is to demand self determination and to recognize that self determination has been denied to people of color in this country since its very founding, beginning with our Native American brothers and sisters. Our movement for identity is the Filipino contribution to smashing the big American myth called "Melting Pot". The "Melting Pot" theory has ALWAYS been a racist lie, but it is especially used to try to confuse us when we are very impressionable primary school children. As we grow older, we stop believing in the myth in its grossest form, but still many subtle variations of the SAME myth remains part of our thinking patterns. In our quest for true identity as Filipino people in America, we are beginning to purge from our minds this dangerous myth in its many variations.

The myth goes something like this: Once upon a time there was the "land of the free, home of the brave" which god personally created and blessed. People from all over the world rushed to get in... and of course they were ALL allowed in and no one was turned away. Once inside, everyone was given an equal opportunity to succeed. Those who were the hardest working, the most honest and the most intelligent "naturally" got ahead of the rest... way ahead... these men became known by many names such as, the Fathers of Industry, the Men of Finance, The Millionaires (the capitalist pigs). They were loved and admired by everyone because they were "self-made men" and got to the top through their "own hard work and ingenuity". Oh yes, these men were all white by the way, but everyone realized that they were able to "make the best of the EQUAL opportunities opened to ALL. No one had any cause to feel resentment toward them...

Meanwhile, for the rest of the people, life in the new land was a bit difficult, but only at first, in time, with a little hard work, good living and Sunday prayers, everyone advanced forward - fine homes, fine educations, white collar jobs, fine clothes and cars etc., became available to everyone.... This was truly the "Land of Golden Opportunities." Everyone was grateful that they lived in this land, the home of the "Free World", where democracy and equality reigned supreme... But even in this "paradise" there were a few isolated and minor problems. Some people given "all these opportunities" still didn't seem to advance. Of course, it's ENTIRELY their own fault, "they have no one to blame but themselves". Oh yes, it seems a lot of the non-whites had this "problem", they were a little slower to learn things and many were lazy, dishonest and enjoyed living in slum areas. But it was always made clear by the leaders of the country that it was only the one who "squandered their money and were lazy" who could not advance... But even though the non-whites are not so intelligent and take longer to advance, everything will be OK in the future. You see, as a few "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" the rest of "their kind" will learn from their example, and in time, they will ALL become "acculturated correctly" and become "assimilated" into the big "melting Pot" in the sky. Everything is just dandy - god called this place Amerika... and we're all fortunate enough to be able to live here. Remember, there are NO obstacles to success in America; everyone can "make it"!

so compete well, prove yourself and "make it, make it make it" ... LIES LIES, LIES

I read where they called us the silent minority the quiet assimilating filipinos unassuming and so agreeable never really protesting I read where they restricted the quota for orientals and how the statue of liberty covered her eyes in shame and our parents came to share the Amerikan dream yes they made good workers diminutive tonios to help set tables wash dishes pick produce and clean up after the waste makers and our parents stayed to share the Amerikan dream we have grown up silently unobtrusive & patient we have been educated by shit-washed schools and embittered by the concrete streets taught how the pilgrims

# Beyond Nationalism

by **KALAYAAN Collective**

civilized the pagan indians and how the cavalry brought justice to the west and we accepted it as the truth until we awoke and realized that the dream was their dream and not ours

serafin m. syquia

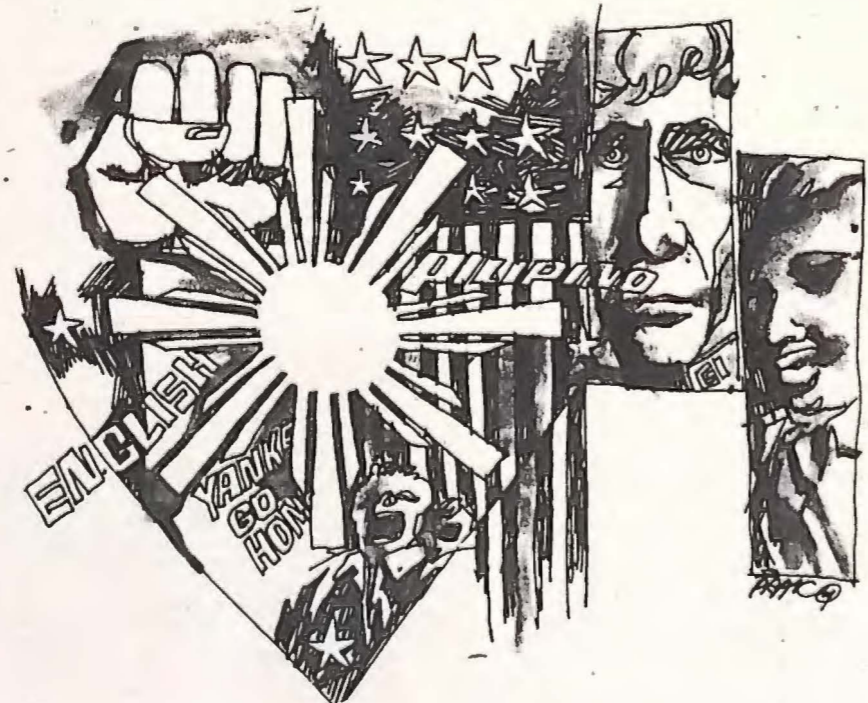
The "Melting Pot" myth has always meant that people "melt" and "assimilate"... and in the end, wind up as "white," middle-class amerikans. Another works, "success" is painted in colors of "white" and "professional", so to "succeed", a Filipino must attempt to deny his or her color and past. Assimilation carries with it a real high price; it requires that we attempt to deny some of the most important aspect of ourselves as Filipinos. With our new "movement" it has become clear that the price is too high to pay for most of us; our answer to racist Amerika is emphatically - NO THANKS! However, there still are those among us that labor under this myth. These Filipinos can be easily identified by their "embarrassment" in openly discussing problems facing Filipino people in Amerika and their "avoidance" of contact and close cooperation with other Filipinos in finding ways to deal with these problems. By this behaviour, they show clearly that they still believe the LIES told to them in grade school that is, that if people have problems in Amerika, it MUST be their own fault - the people must be either lazy or stupid. In reality, it is these people who are the stupid ones; they still think it is a "Filipino Problem" - that the problem IS Filipinos. This is wrong thinking. More and more of us are recognizing that the basic problem is Amerikan Society and Filipino people are NOT the cause of this problem but rather one of the victims of it.

A lot of times, these people parade thinking that they are the most "advanced" elements among Filipinos because they are "making it". In fact however, they are politically the most BACKWARD elements in our community.

Blinded by their own individualism (selfish desire to get ahead), they are like a foolish man who managed to jump from shore onto a ship he thought was going to a better place; he turns to his old friends he left on shore and laughingly makes fun of them for not having been able to "make it" on board. His friends on shore however, are not laughing, instead they are concerned for his safety. From where they are standing, they can see that the ship is in the process of sinking and it will NEVER arrive at the "happy land" that the foolish man expects it to take him to. What a ridiculous sight - him standing on a sinking ship laughing and gloating. The people on land can only hope he recognizes his "ACTUAL CONDITIONS" before he's too far out to sea so he'll have time to jump off and make the long swim back to the land and the PEOPLE he left behind...

Meanwhile however, the people cannot afford to waste too much time standing on shore watching this fool because they know there is a storm coming and they have much serious work to do in preparation for the storm.

Our movement is young but we must begin to seriously try to understand this system we live under, how it works and where it is heading. Is the "system" exploitative and oppressive because of some "mistakes" that can be corrected through "reform" or is it exploitative by its very nature? These are things we must continue to discuss openly and honestly. Our position is clear. Amerikan society as it presently stands, is a DYING ORDER. The contradictions within the very nature of this exploitative system are beginning to pull it apart at its very foundations. Like any complex social system, its deterioration and collapse is however, a long, drawn out and painful process. During this period, people sense "something is wrong" but they are not exactly sure what it is... they feel confused and insecure about the future. Our job should be to continually search out the ROOT CAUSES of things, discuss it amongst ourselves, clear up confusion, and help each other understand what our actual conditions really are. The best way to do this is by examining together the problems that face us everyday. Again the Seattle conference was an important beginning. Concrete problems were openly discussed; Filipinos from different areas exchanged ideas and information. This increased communication is a good thing; it is something we should strengthen and expand to bring us closer together in the future. Already a new pride in being brown, in being Filipino can be clearly seen among us; we are beginning to assert ourselves as Filipinos in Amerika. All these things are good developments and they prove that the myth which kept us confused and separated no longer has a grip on our consciousness ... we are awakening ... MABUHAY!!!



# and Identity

Our movement for identity can help us a lot in gaining a true understanding of the society we live in, that is, in gaining a genuine social and political consciousness. Unfortunately, identity movements are not always a direct path to political consciousness. Sometimes they can get side-tracked, and go in the wrong direction. When this happens, the movement, instead of making it easier for our people to understand "what's really happening", only further confuses them. For this reason, we should guard against these incorrect tendencies and always make sure our movement is "clarifying" and NOT mystifying things.

We should guard against thinking that identity is "discovered" only by looking "within our selves" in a psychological kind of encounter groups. This is the way most middle class white kids see the "identity crisis" and it's basically BULLSHIT. We can never understand what our actual conditions really are by sitting around massaging each other's "egos". Understanding will come through examining the social, economic and political forces that operate upon us. These are essentially the forces that determine how we must live (survive) and the way we view the world. If we don't struggle to change these forces of society that bare down on us, then we will be continually taking head trips and feeling inadequate and frustrated.

We should be very serious about studying the history of the Filipino people and their experience in Amerika. The tactic of the oppressor has always been to try to systematically rob the oppressed people of their history. This has especially happened in Amerika to people of color. The experience of Filipino people here and in Hawaii still is waiting to be fully recorded and more importantly interpreted. This is an important task facing us and it must be done because without an understanding of history, we can never fully understand the present. For example, why is there a Filipino minority in the U.S., and yet not an Indonesian minority while Indonesia is a close neighbor of the Philippines? Things don't just "happen that way". The Philippines was seized by the U.S. as a foothold for Amerika's first major imperialist thrust into Asia. Seventy three years has gone by and the U.S. is still in the Philippines!

Today, still over 30,000 Filipinos emigrate to Amerika every year. An understanding of our history as Filipino people in Amerika cannot be separated from an understanding of U.S. imperialism. Any attempts to separate the two amounts to distorting history.

History holds many lessons for us today, the class nature of Amerika in the 1970's is basically the same as Amerika of the 1930's. The exploitation of Filipinos in the plantations of Hawaii and the farms of California still goes on today. In fact, many of the "old timers" are still in the fields at 70 years old! The capitalist interests that controlled the productive forces of society and reaped huge profits from the labor of the working people are the very same class interests that control things today. History is also a changing process. We can learn from the consciousness of the Filipinos who lead the militant strikes during the 30's and fought against the blatant racist discrimination and attacks; we can witness the set-backs, for example, when during the war so many of our people in their sincere desire to protect their homeland from Japanese aggression, mistook McArthur and Amerika to be the "savior" of the Filipino people. This myth still have a powerful hold on the minds and emotions of many Filipinos living in the U.S. Today with our "quest for emergence" a new upsurge in political consciousness is developing among young Filipino Americans. A new movement to smash old myths. An understanding of history is a valuable tool. It can show us where we're coming from, how far we've gone and the things we still must do.

With our growing desire to identify ourselves as distinctly Filipino in Amerika, comes a deeper interest in the Philippines and Filipino culture. This can be clearly seen in our desire to know more about the history and the cultural forms of the Filipino people. Also, for those of us raised in the U.S., there is a growing desire to study Filipino, the national language.

In relating to culture, there are certain things however our movement should never lose sight of.

First of all, there is no such thing as art or culture that "raises above class". In other words, all cultures reflects the values and serves the interests of the class from which it stems. In all societies, the cultural forms which dominate over the others are those of the ruling class. Throughout history, therefore, the cultural expression on the masses of laboring people has been suppressed and kept from developing into its full potential - we call this folk-culture. Folk culture is the culture of the villages and barrios, it is overshadowed by the "national culture" of the ruling classes that is, the culture of the capital cities.

## makibaka!

... the watchword of our movement

Specifically in the Philippines, the masses of Filipino people have never truly been in control of their own country. The nation has been oppressed by Spanish colonialism-feudalism and Amerikan Imperialism for a period stretching almost 400 years! The local traitors who have sold themselves to the Spanish and Amerikans, have put together a "national culture" which they try to pawn off as the "authentic cultural expression of the Filipino people". In fact however, it is a scattered, phoney and reactionary culture meant to perpetuate foreign rule and influence, confuse people and convince them that foreign things are ALWAYS better than Filipino, and finally to project a "paradise" image of the Philippines to attract tourists to Manila. In other words, the genuine flowering of Filipino culture will come in the future when the National Democratic revolution has gained real independence for the Filipino people. Until then, we should keep in mind the class character of the present "national culture", and therefore we should learn from and develop further the progressive aspects and discard and criticize the backward and reactionary aspects. For example, the "queen contests" that occur so often in our communities can be traced not to the Filipino but to Spanish colonialism. It is an outgrowth of the "Virgin cult" that the Spanish friars imposed on the minds of the Filipino peasants. The purpose was to make it easier for a handful of Spaniards to lord over millions of Filipinos by creating myths that captured the minds of the "natives". The trick was to convince every peasant girl that her "ideal" would be the Spanish senorita and every peasant boy that such senorita was the "perfection of womanhood". Of course, the only ones who had the means and leisure to be senoritas were the daughters of the land-owning class. They were the Spanish mestizas who did not have to work or ever get their hands dirty. Flirting behind a fan was an indication of what helpless, mini-brained snobs they really were. Life for the everyday people NEVER matches the romantic ideal, because of their class oppression, they are continually blocked and frustrated from ever achieving their aspirations. However, what the myth accomplishes is to keep the masses in a state of "awesome admiration" for the life style of the ruling classes - (it's always better to try to keep the people down first through 'myths' before having to resort to FORCE.) Our parents come from the laboring classes in the Philippines. When they came to Amerika, their desire was to finally fulfill childhood dreams. So we see why many raise their daughters to become "Maria Claras". We should always seek the origins of cultural forms and discard those forms which are backward.

Our movement should become more familiar with the poetry and writing of Amado Hernandez and Carlos Bulosan - men whose work was consistently at the service of the masses. On the other hand, we should expose the hypocrisy of the national "Bayanihan" dance troupe who uses many muslim dance forms to create an "exotic" image of the Philippines. While they dance, Filipino Muslims are being massacred and driven from their lands through land-grabbing corporations and "Christian" settlers!! Our movement here is fortunate because at this time in the Philippines, as the class struggle intensifies, a broad cultural revolution is developing in the country, led by patriotic students and intellectuals. The purpose of the movement is to smash the colonial myths and the slogan of the movement is "art must serve the interests of the workers and peasants". This new cultural movement will help us in the U.S., to be able to identify the truly progressive and national culture emerging in the Philippines today.

Our movement should also follow closely the changing developments in the Philippines. There seem to be two major reasons for this. First, everytime we call ourselves "Filipino" we are making reference to the nation and country of the Philippines, whether we fully realize it or not. In other words, just as we call ourselves Filipinos, there are 40 million people living in the Philippines who also call themselves by the same name. Surely, the things that unite us with them should be deeper than just the word "Filipino" or the family pictures we exchange at Christmas time. The responsibility rests with us to understand better the situation that the people are in back in the Philippines and to try to keep up with the changing developments within the country. (This is true especially for Filipinos raised in Amerika who know very little about the Philippines). The second reason is related to the first one. A growing percentage of Filipinos in Amerika are recent arrivals here and their identification with the Philippines is very strong. It is difficult to pull together different elements of our community when some Filipinos watch closely the events in the homeland, while others know hardly anything and show little interest in the Philippines. This situation is not good. It often blocks communication between "recent arrivals" and the "Amerikan raised". It is a cause of disunity and our movement should begin to correct it.

Lastly, our identity movement should avoid the tendency toward extreme "cultural nationalism" because cultural nationalism can lead to a reactionary ideology and into a dead-end ally. We should understand cultural nationalism, where it comes from and where it leads to.

Cultural nationalism can best be understood as a response to the cultural and racial oppression of the dominant "white supremacist" society. When a racist society attempts to encourage "self-hate" on the part of minority ethnic groups, it is only natural that the defensive response to this attempted cultural genocide will be a conscious assertion of nationalism on the part of the oppressed peoples. This is a good development, because it gives us a new critical perspective on the racist-capitalist Amerikan society and can be the beginning point for our struggle to create a new society.

However, a good thing can be turned into a bad thing. For example, this cultural awareness can become an excuse for not dealing with the root causes of the problems we face. In other words, instead of making it easier for us to see clearly our actual condition as Filipino people here in Amerika, we turn our extreme cultural nationalism into "cultural mysticism" as an escape hatch. By attempting to go back to being Filipino and surround ourselves with "Filipino-ness", we can psychologically cut ourselves off from Amerika and become disinterested in the world and the non-Filipino society around us. Even so, this cannot be the answer to our problems, whether we like to come to grips with it or not, we live in the U.S. with a complex capitalist-mass culture which penetrates all aspects of our life. It is impossible to retreat into the past or into a bubble. Our movement for self-determination as Filipino people in Amerika cannot be separated from the broader struggle against the social-political forces that account for the racism and exploitation in the first place.

The most reactionary stage of cultural nationalism is "ethnic arrogance". It can lead to the position that Filipino people are a people ABOVE other people, instead of a people AMONG other people. This is reactionary because it isolates us and will keep us from ever creating a new society based on justice and brotherhood. It can even separate us from other ethnic groups who are equally oppressed by the same racist, capitalist society. We must resolutely combat this tendency in our movement.

Our movement as Filipino people in Amerika is one for self-determination and mutual respect. The movement to remain relevant and grow strong must be rooted firmly in struggle... struggle against the forces of exploitation, oppression and racism... struggle with brothers and sisters who are fighting against common enemies here in Amerika and throughout the world... Long struggle for the creation of a new world where there is no longer any racist oppression or exploitation of man by man

Makibaka! ... the watchword of our movement ... Struggle! MAKIBAKA!

# Students and The Revolution



This article was originally written in Pilipino by Nilo Tayag and it appeared in a recent issue of *Philippine Collegian*, the school paper of the University of the Philippines. (The Marcos regime is keeping Nilo in prison on trumped-up charges.)

The message is directed toward students explaining the importance of their role in the revolution and the talents they have to offer. It analyzes also the obstacles that students must struggle to overcome before they can integrate themselves completely into the revolutionary forces. These problems stem from their class outlook - petty bourgeois (the world outlook of the middle classes.)

The article has many lessons for us here in Amerika. Middle class ideology is very prevalent in the U.S. even among working class, TW people. Many of the problems that face the Amerikan Movement can be traced to petty-bourgeois thinking. Historically, students and intellectuals come from the middle classes, many ally themselves with the revolution, but often times also expect to continue to enjoy the petty privileges of their class, i.e., to have the cake and eat it too.

For those of us from student backgrounds our "commitment" to revolution is often inconsistent and emotional. We begin projects then abandon them half-way through; or when mistakes are being made rather than struggling to correct them and continue on, we become easily demoralized and drop out; or at times when things get "too demanding" we "freak out" encouraging people to stop their work, focus attention on us and try to persuade us to "come back" to the movement. All this stems from petty-bourgeois thinking; it shows our commitment is based on "moralistic charity" toward the people and not on a scientific understanding of the forces of history. For we students, Nilo has many important things to say.

Furthermore, Nilo is speaking about things that are directly relevant to the Filipino professionals who are coming to the U.S. in such large numbers. These brothers and sisters coming here are from the middle classes back home. As the economic and political situation gets worse, the middle class gets squeezed and experiences "hard times". People from the middle classes are in the midst of a contradiction. On one hand they are repulsed by the inequalities and corruption and have strong progressive and nationalistic tendencies. On the other hand, they are torn by their desire to "cash in" on their years of education and hope to realize a good amount of privilege and security. As they turn and leave their homeland which is in such bad need of their skills and dedication and they arrive in the U.S. - this contradiction weighs heavily on their minds; among close friends they discuss the matter frankly; at gatherings they ALL maintain their intention to return home ... SOMEDAY. Hopefully, Nilo's article, as well as his example, will provoke serious

discussions among the recently arrived patriotic professionals and students in the U.S..

Throughout recent history the middle classes have always experienced a serious dilemma at times when the revolutionary situation was intensifying. As far back as 1905 Maxim Gorky, a revolutionary Russian author, wrote concerning the predicament of the middle class:

"Today society is divided into three camps. At one end stand the minority, armed to the teeth with every weapon that can be imagined. At another end stands the majority, armed only with their bare hands, striving ardently for equality. In the middle, stand the middle classes. To the right of the middle classes are the slaves of Capital - who obey their master, the Yellow Devil, Gold. To the left of the middle classes stand the masses of working people, who are learning each day to recognize, and to understand, that the future belongs to them; to know that they will lead humanity into the future..."

The middle classes, situated between these two hostile forces, worry and hasten about. They begin to see that reconciliation between the masses and the elite is impossible. They are ashamed to join the forces of the right. But they fear to move to the left. And both hostile camps are beginning to approach each other. The space occupied by the middle classes becomes smaller and smaller, narrower and narrower. The battle is about to begin..."

I have been assigned to express my thoughts and beliefs regarding a very important subject called "commitment" in English. We can also use the word in Pilipino provided its spelling is modified accordingly and its meaning fully explained and clarified. I say that it is important to clarify our understanding of the word "commitment" because many borrowed concepts that we now use, like "commitment" are loaded with bourgeois and reactionary connotations.

Ordinarily, "commitment" signifies a mindless kind of devotion to a creed, a devotion that does not go beyond speech or writing. In our discussions as people that can be called "committed", we must define commitment as a form of awakened consciousness not simply given to words, but also to a continuous and whole-hearted struggle in order to realize our principles.

We must be able to liberate ourselves from bondage in the realm of language so that our Movement for National Democracy may triumph completely. Although I am not a writer, you will notice that I constantly engage in the fight against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thinking concealed in the foreign language we have been using for many years now in the course of our mis-education. Indeed we need a language that will give us a true understanding - an understanding that will guide the Filipino masses in a united struggle forward to change and progress.

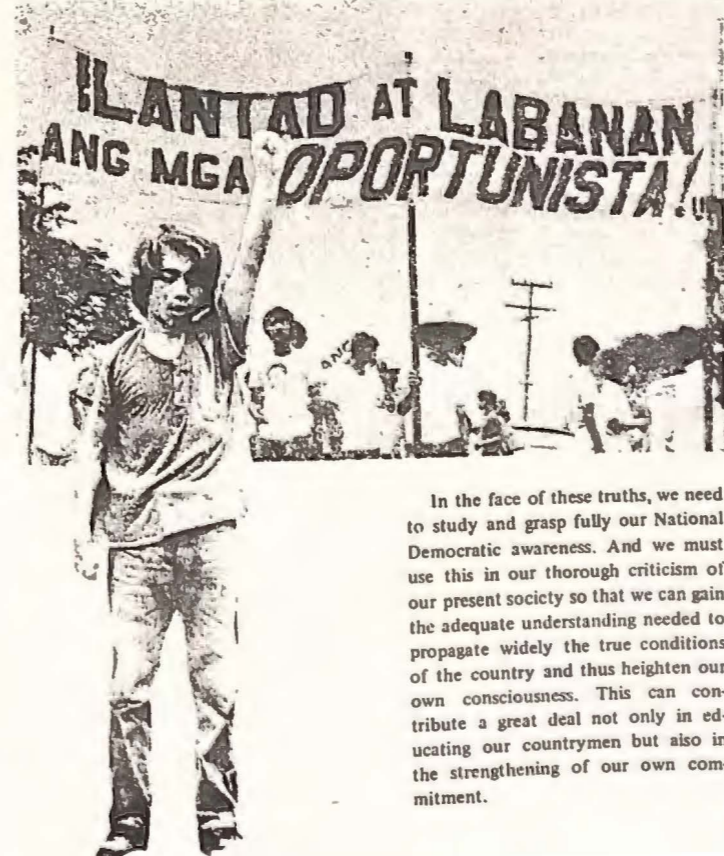
Even the theme of "commitment" confronts me with the problem of discovering a word equivalent to it in our own national language. Up to now, within prison, we strive to study our own language. To strengthen and solidify our commitment, many bourgeois thoughts in what we call "social analysis" must be purged from our minds. This purging of bourgeois thoughts is an extremely important part of our struggles, especially in universities like the University of the Philippines, for in these places the American imperialists insure the domination and advancement of concepts and thoughts that muddle the basic truths of our society, together with the oppression and exploitation that occurs daily. The Movement needs you who have the capacity, ability and preparation to write, publish or disseminate the truth and to expose and suppress those social "research projects" of the bourgeois opportunists that hide behind the title of supposedly "objective scholarship". Write, speak, explain, whether you gave sufficient skill or not, because both writing and speech improve in the course of practice. This is the urgent demand challenging us now, a duty set before you.

We must understand one another. Exploitation is exploitation in whatever language. But it is necessary to spread this truth to the masses and confront the ruling class with it. We need a language free from the sharp claws of imperialism. Coinciding with the destruction of the chains that bind our economy and politics is the cleansing of our understanding and language.

Our discussion of "commitment" is a truly correct and appropriate one, for in my view this is a first step in our endeavor to raise our political consciousness. Involved in our political consciousness are two elements that are connected, first, the perception of the totality of things and, second, and most important, the decision to change the prevailing system of oppression and exploitation. This is appropriate for our discussions because many of the students and professionals among us come from the petty-bourgeois class. In any case, our outlook on life is colored by our origins even though we have already made a choice - a choice that will be tested through direct participation in the struggle and not simply through the mouthing of revolutionary slogans.

The flowering of the victory of this commitment can be seen in a broad movement of the masses guided by the most progressive ideology of the most progressive segment of the working class. Perhaps many of us joined the Movement because we oppose exploitation and injustice. But we must constantly affirm this by criticism and study of the sources and causes of these social injustices. Therefore "commitment" is not wholly emotional, rather it is emotion-with an intellectual foundation.

Because we are formerly petty-bourgeois persons we have never really experienced exploitation directly except in periods of crisis. We still cherish vestigial (slight traces of) dreams and illusions of belonging someday with the ruling class. Many former student leaders of the UP have become fanatical instruments of the ruling class today. Let us fight this tendency in ourselves. And there is no other way for us to embrace absolutely the cause of the working-class except to join them, to live and work with them and renounce completely the petty-bourgeois style of life of personal comforts and vainglory. Therefore our espousal of revolutionary change is empty if we do not transform ourselves and get rid of selfishness, if we do not always think first of the welfare of all.



There is one more thing we need to get rid of in ourselves. This is what some comrades in the Movement have a tendency to boast about, namely, that they came from families which were relatively affluent, and that if they really wished they could rise up in status within the existing exploitative system, as if their association with the masses required the masses to be forever indebted to them. This mentality implies that these comrades have no understanding of who really creates history. Thus they treat the masses, whom they claim to teach, in a condescending manner. Always remember that for we students, what must come first is deep study and close association with the masses before teaching of the masses.

Many petty-bourgeois persons are sentimental, subjective, and endowed with a tendency of inflating any small sacrifice they make - whether this is the eating of *otuyo* in the rice-fields or sleeping on the picket lines. Always bear in mind that our sacrifices cannot even begin to be compared with the cruel exploitation and oppression of even one single generation of the workers and peasants suffered, and still being suffered, at the hands of the ruling class.

Never should the working-class consider it a personal debt (*utang na loob*) to the petty-bourgeois students if they join in the revolutionary movement. A petty-bourgeois student's participation in the Movement is a fruit of his own recognition of the contradictions in our society that impel it toward inevitable change. Consequently the students join by force of a truth that no one can deny. Here they acquire sufficient understanding to work in cooperation with the other revolutionary forces. It is not because they want to display charity toward the workers, but because they know that only in this way can they work for a just livelihood for all, including the petty-bourgeoisie. That is, only through the struggle for a truly National Democratic government.

In the face of these truths, we need to study and grasp fully our National Democratic awareness. And we must use this in our thorough criticism of our present society so that we can gain the adequate understanding needed to propagate widely the true conditions of the country and thus heighten our own consciousness. This can contribute a great deal not only in educating our countrymen but also in the strengthening of our own commitment.

We should not stop our studies in order to wipe out all our doubts and become firm in our convictions. Hand to hand with practice, this will prove the correctness of the path we have chosen. There are many examples in our movement of individuals who joined on emotional grounds or for sentimental reasons who never succeeded in acquiring an unshakable foundation for their emotions. In prison, many of our former comrades became victims of the "idealism" fostered by the priests and the church. They became fanatical slaves of the reactionaries. This is because their commitment did not rest on scientific knowledge, hence they easily succumbed to the bankrupt ideology of the priests and the church. Therefore be steadfast in ideology, study, criticize and involve yourselves directly in the struggle. Then study anew and participate again in a higher stage of the revolutionary struggle.

When a compatriot is convinced, and he can only be convinced if he participates directly in the struggle, he will not fear even death. Why? Because he knows that not only thousands are victimized by the prevailing exploitative system, but millions upon millions. Consequently, we only have our own lives and our efforts during life to struggle for the future freedom for ourselves and for the millions of oppressed people.

Only in the actual participation in the struggle can one acquire a true revolutionary understanding. The true nature of the State is revealed in the actual killing and imprisonment of all those who oppose the wishes of the ruling class. Our immersion with the masses is the only way however, that can teach us that the shooting of peasants is not the only kind of terrorism there is. When we are one with the masses, the death and sickness of so many due to the lack of the basic necessities of life shall form part of our knowledge of the reactionary "violence" inflicted daily upon the people by the exploiting classes.

When all these truths have become clear to us and our knowledge constantly deepens, let us criticize ourselves. In thought we know that change cannot be halted. But are we ready to spend all our time for the sake of the principles we have embraced? More than this, we must ask ourselves if we have implanted in our minds the idea that we have no future ourselves separate from the future of the masses of peasants and workers. Indeed, our future and the future of the masses are one.

by

NILO TAYAG

Let us not ape those hypocrites who claim to be revolutionaries while busily insuring their future success within the existing system, while they publicize in the university that they are the only professional revolutionaries and everyone else is a greenhorn. Others pretend to sympathize with the ideals of the movement while they continue to enjoy benefits from the exploitative government. So long as they exist, going to the countryside every weekend, they can never deny the truth that they are tools and menials of the administration in oppressing the laboring classes. Whatever pretense they assume, whatever noise they make that they represent the welfare of the masses, no one will ever believe them.

Let us reflect on whether we are prepared to sacrifice all our time, not only Saturdays and Sundays but also the whole twenty-four hours of the day and the seven days of the week in order to accomplish our aims within the National Democratic Program. Are we ready to sacrifice our property and, above all, our lives? It is indeed surprising if we would refuse our time and property while at the same time declaring our readiness to sacrifice our lives for the revolution.

Let us strip from our bodies any trace of hypocrisy because this is the result of our cherishing secret desires to possess petty comforts of the body in clothing or food or even our periodic enjoyment in watching imperialist films. We should not forget that whatever we can save can be used to fund the expenses of our comrades in the far corners of our country.

We are now in the historical stage of the movement that cannot be stopped. More than ever, we need men and women whose caliber of understanding and preparedness can respond to the demands and sacrifices placed by history upon their shoulders.

Let us face our duties with unflinching devotion and without doubts. Let us be committed. This is the life we have chosen. Let us do the best we are capable of doing. Let us not waste time. Our use of every moment, however, does not mean haste. We need all the time and energy we can summon to fulfill the tasks imposed on us. Man is not a passive thing in the world; he can change the world including the society to which he belongs.

These things I have dwelt upon here constitute a demand for people who have already chosen the side of the working class. These are people who are already committed. That is why I did not hesitate to talk about the total and unqualified offering of oneself, because I fully know from first-hand experience of the potential and the characteristics of the members admitted to the Student Cultural Action of the U.P. and to the *Kabataang Makabayan*. I have immense trust and undiminished hope that all of you will participate in the revolutionary movement without fear, doubt, hesitation, because we are in the right path shown by history. The future is ours.

# VIETNAM WILL WIN!

This month in Saigon, South Vietnam there will be Presidential "elections" held. The Nixon administration is hoping that the "elections" will go off quietly and that the people in the U.S. will not take notice of the "election" fraud going on there. But like so many of Tricky Dick's plans lately, this one too is going to back-fire right in his face.

It is important for us to understand the Saigon "elections" because it points out clearly many important things about the war in Vietnam and the policy of the Nixon administration.

## AMERICA IS NOT PROTECTING "DEMOCRACY" IN VIETNAM.

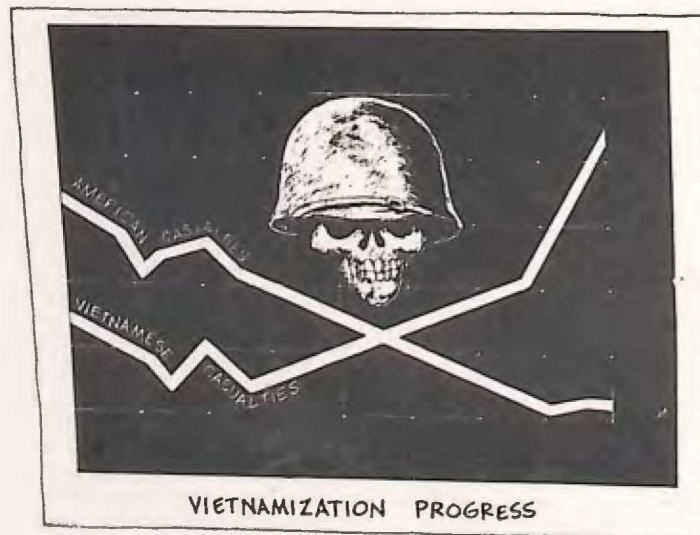
Even Nixon would have a hard time stretching the definition of "democracy" far enough to cover the regime of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon. The overwhelming majority of people in south Vietnam actively oppose the Thieu government. Thieu is clearly associated in the minds of the people with corruption, brutality and the continuation of the war. All the people of Vietnam want the war to end. In the last year, even the most conservative elements in the cities, who have not supported the National Liberation Front (NLF) or the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), have arrived at the position where they would prefer to form a coalition government with the PRG rather than have the war continue under the Thieu regime. Consequently, a broad based opposition to the U.S. backed Saigon government has developed and erupted, even in the cities of Saigon and Hue, which were the last strongholds for Thieu and the Americans.

Despite attempts to black out news, word has gotten through of anti-Thieu, anti-American demonstrations occurring almost every day for the last few weeks throughout south Vietnam. Student groups, militant Buddhists women's groups and even veterans from the Saigon Army ALL participate. Thieu's response has been mass arrests and daily killings - tear gas, concussion grenades and in the end, American M-16 rifles are all used to "maintain law and order". Americans have been warned it's not safe for them to walk the streets and U.S. bases have been put on alert. All this sets the tone for the "free and democratic elections" to be held in Vietnam! It is easy to see why Nixon would want the recent news from Vietnam suppressed in the U.S. - the "Big Lie" is beginning to show.

Another big embarrassment for the Nixon administration has been the refusal of anyone in South Vietnam to even run against Thieu in the presidential "elections". Everyone makes the same charge - that the elections are "rigged" and that there is no sense running because Thieu will "win" no matter what happens. In the years in which he has served as the U.S. in Saigon, Thieu has been able to develop an extensive network of loyal agents and place them in key positions throughout the Saigon government, army, and police structure. The puppet government has relatively little control over the countryside, but even so, Thieu is the only man with enough power within the Saigon administration to be able to keep the present Saigon government from falling apart over night, in spite of the massive American back-up. The Nixon administration recognizing this fact, is giving full support to Thieu AGAINST the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people. Why?

**NIXON'S TALK ABOUT ENDING THE WAR IS JUST A PLOY TO GET HIMSELF RE-ELECTED IN 1972. IN FACT, WHILE IN OFFICE, HE HAS EXPANDED THE WAR IN INDOCHINA AND SHOWN NO INDICATION OF ENDING AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM.**

While widely publicizing the withdrawal of some U.S. troops, Nixon has expanded the war into Cambodia and Laos. And this past week the U.S. has launched the heaviest bombing raids in several years over North Vietnam.



Nixon's "Vietnamization" plan is nothing more than a racist, imperialist dream. It is RACIST because it pretends to pull out the American GI's while continuing to supply all the guns, planes, and bombs for Vietnamese to go on killing each other. Nixon knows that white racist America would not protest the war half so much if it were "only Asian lives being spent". It is IMPERIALIST because it means continuing the war in a different form for the same purpose, i.e., to keep Southeast Asia and the world for American investments and markets. Finally, it's a DREAM because it simply won't work! Thieu and his die-hard supporters are the only Vietnamese who want to continue fighting with the U.S. backing. The Vietnamese people, as a whole, want the U.S. to get out and allow them to settle their own problems and decide their own future....but this amounts to



genuine independence which runs against the interests of U.S. imperialism. Nixon, whose job it is to protect U.S. capitalist interests over and above the interests of the Vietnamese people, has made it all too clear that he has no real intentions of withdrawing from Vietnam.

**IN THE FACE OF A MILITARY DEFEAT IN INDOCHINA, NIXON IS MAKING DESPERATE EFFORTS TO WARD OFF A POLITICAL DEFEAT BY REFUSING TO RECOGNIZE AND RESPOND TO THE 7 POINT PEACE PROPOSAL PUT FORTH BY THE VIETNAMESE ON JULY 1, 1971.**

Politically the U.S.-Nixon Vietnam policy is being attacked by people all over the world. The policy of continuing the war under the title of "Vietnamization", continuing to support Thieu, the most isolated political figure in South Vietnam and refusing to set a definite date for U.S. withdrawal, this policy is now being held onto and supported only by Nixon and the most backward reactionary elements within the U.S.

It has become clear that the U.S. has in fact been defeated militarily in Vietnam. A military victory is impossible because the U.S. is face to face with a people's war where the whole people support either actively or passively the struggle against American aggression. Demoralization within the U.S. military has reached crisis proportions - racial tensions, drugs, fraggings (officers being shot by their own men). The American Command has completely lost the military initiative - every feeble attempt at a "strike" has been turned into a major defeat (eg. the most recent Laos invasion). For years now, American forces have been strategically on the defensive and restricted to their base areas.

On July 1st of this year, Madame Binh, negotiator for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, put forth a "7 Point Proposal for the Peaceful Solution of the Vietnam Question". The Proposal states clearly the conditions under which the fighting can stop and the problems facing the Vietnamese people can be solved peacefully and democratically. The gist of the Vietnamese plan is that the U.S. set a date for the withdrawal of its troops and war materials from Vietnam and end its support of Thieu and his group....in return there will be a "cease fire" between the People's liberation forces of Vietnam and the U.S. forces. Negotiations will then begin "immediately" to assure the safe withdrawal of U.S. troops and the quick exchange of American POW's held in North Vietnam. The Vietnamese people will then proceed "without foreign interference", to form a coalition government in South Vietnam based on "peace, independence, neutrality and democracy" and to organize "genuinely free, democratic and fair general elections in South Vietnam."

What has been Nixon's response to the Peace Proposal from the Vietnamese? Nixon has not even mentioned the fact that such a proposal was put forth this summer! Instead he has deliberately tried to divert people's attention away from it. Within two weeks after the Proposal was announced in Paris, Nixon did two things: 1) He withdrew the top-ranking U.S. negotiators from Paris which undermined the importance of the Paris Talks. 2) He dramatically announced his decision to travel to the People's Republic of China. It is clear that the Nixon administration is afraid that the 7 Point Proposal of the Vietnamese will become known and gain wide-spread support among the people in the U.S., finally forcing him to set the date for total U.S. withdrawal.

Even in the Congress, there is a bill to force Nixon to set a U.S. withdrawal date and last week a group of mothers and wives of American POW's demanded that Nixon respond to the 7 Point Program. More and more people should know about the 7 Point Program and demand that Nixon deal with it.

Let's not have any illusions about Nixon, he will NEVER "voluntarily" withdraw from Indochina. His war policy will have to be so politically isolated both inside and outside the U.S. that he will finally be "forced" to abandon Thieu and "Vietnamization" and set the date for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and Indochina.

KALAYAAN is reprinting in full the Vietnamese 7 Point Program for Peace. We feel that Filipino people should not be fooled into supporting America's aggressive war in Indochina. Nixon is lying when he says that the Vietnamese in Paris are "unreasonable" and "refusing to negotiate". A careful reading of the 7 Point Program will show clearly that the Vietnamese position is both reasonable and justified and deserves our full support.

As Filipino people in the U.S. we are not part of the class that stands to benefit from this war. We are part of the people, however, who are asked to pay for it and die for it. We have no stake in imperialism and no reason to oppose the National Liberation and Independence of the People of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. As a group we should do whatever is necessary to oppose the continuation of this unjust and aggressive war.

**SUPPORT THE 7 POINT PROPOSAL! DEMAND NIXON "DUMP" THIEU AND SET THE DATE FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL! MAKIBAKA HUWAG MATAKOT!**

## 7 POINTS FOR PEACE

by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam made public by Minister Madame NGUYEN THI BINH at the 119th session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam (July 1st, 1971)

Responding to the Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace and national independence, considering the American and the world peoples' desire for peace, showing its goodwill to make the Paris Conference on Viet Nam progress, basing itself on the 10-point over-all solution, and following up the September 17, 1970 eight-point and the December 10, 1970 three-point statements, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam declares the following:

### 1 - REGARDING THE TERMINAL DATE FOR THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES.

The U.S. Government must end its war of aggression in Viet Nam, stop the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, withdraw from South Viet Nam all troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United States and of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp, and dismantle all U.S. bases in South Viet Nam, without posing any conditions whatsoever.

The U.S. Government must set a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

If the U.S. Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Viet Nam in 1971 of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities of

a) the withdrawal in safety from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp; b) the release of the totality of militarymen of all parties and of the civilians captured during the war (including American pilots captured in North Viet Nam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

A cease-fire will be observed between the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

### 2 - REGARDING THE QUESTION OF POWER IN SOUTH VIET NAM.

The U.S. Government must really respect the South Viet Nam people's right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, cease to support the bellicose group headed by Nguyen Van Thieu now in office in Saigon, and stop all maneuvers, including tricks on elections, aimed at maintaining the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu.

By various means, the political, social, and religious forces in South Viet Nam aspiring to peace and national concord will form in Saigon a new administration favoring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will immediately enter into talks with that administration in order to settle the following questions:

a) to form a broad three-segment government of national concord that will assume its functions during the period between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections and that will organize general elections in South Viet Nam.

A cease-fire will be observed between the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the Saigon administration as soon as a government of national concord is formed.

b) to take concrete measures with the necessary guarantees to prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal and discrimination against persons having collaborated with one or the other party; to ensure every democratic liberty to the South Viet Nam people; to release all persons jailed for political reasons; to dissolve all concentration camps and to liquidate all forms of constraint and coercion so as to permit the people to return to their native places in complete freedom and to freely engage in their occupations.



c) To see that the people's conditions of living are stabilized and gradually improved, to create conditions allowing everyone to contribute his talents and efforts to heal the war wounds and rebuild the country. d) to agree on measures to be taken to ensure the holding of genuinely free, democratic, and fair general elections in South Viet Nam.

### 3 - REGARDING THE QUESTION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH VIET NAM.

The Vietnamese parties will together settle the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam in a spirit of national concord, equality, and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the post-war situation and with a view to lightening the people's contributions.

### 4 - REGARDING THE PEACEFUL RE-UNIFICATION OF VIET NAM AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH ZONES.

a) The re-unification of Viet Nam will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, on the basis of discussions and agreements between the two zones, without constraint and annexation from either party, and without foreign interference.

Pending the re-unification of the country, the North and the South zones will re-establish normal relations, guarantee free movement, free correspondence, free choice of residence, and establish economic and cultural relations on the principle of mutual interests and mutual assistance.

All questions concerning the two zones will be settled by qualified representatives of the Vietnamese people in the two zones on the basis of negotiations, without foreign interference.

b) In keeping with the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, during the present temporary partition of the country into two zones the North and the South zones of Viet Nam will refrain from joining any military alliance with any foreign countries, from allowing any foreign country to maintain military bases, troops, and military personnel on their soil, and from recognizing the protection of any country or of any military alliance or bloc.

### 5 - REGARDING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY OF SOUTH VIET NAM.

South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, establish relations with all countries regardless of their political and social system, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, maintain economic and cultural relations with all countries, accept the cooperation of foreign countries in the development of the resources of South Viet Nam, accept the economic and technical aid of any country without any political conditions attached, and participate in regional plans for economic cooperation.

On the basis of these principles, after the end of the war South Viet Nam and the United States will establish relations in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

### 6 - REGARDING THE DAMAGES CAUSED BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN THE TWO ZONES.

The U.S. Government must bear full responsibility for the losses and the destruction it has caused to the Vietnamese people in the two zones.

### 7 - REGARDING THE RESPECT AND THE INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE OF THE ACCORDS TO BE CONCLUDED.

The parties will reach agreement on the forms of respect and international guarantee of the accords that will be concluded.

These reforms will not be achieved by the law alone. No amount of government legislation can give the sacada the compensation which is commensurate with his dignity and his work. In the first place, it is very easy to circumvent the Minimum Wage Law by doctoring the payroll and by bribing the government inspector. In the second place, even if the Minimum Wage Law were complied with, it would still demand the strictest supervision on the part of the hacendero so that the contratista would not be able to steal what rightfully belongs to the sacada. In the third place, the Minimum Wage is not a Living Wage, is not a Family Wage, and the hacendero, if he is sincerely concerned about the well-being of his sacadas must, at the cost of personal sacrifice and disapproval from his peers, personally make an effort to transcend the letter of the law and pay his sacadas not the minimum demanded by the law but a Living Wage which, in the words of Pope Pius XII is

"a salary which will cover the living expenses of a family and make it possible for the parents to fulfill their natural duty to rear healthfully-nourished and healthfully-clothed children; a dwelling worthy of human persons; the possibility of securing sufficient instruction and becoming education for the children; of foreseeing and forestalling times of stress, sickness, and old age."

In regard to reform, therefore, we must stress this all-important point: in the last analysis, because he is the owner, the boss, the policy-maker of the hacienda; because he, and not his fellow-hacendero nor his contratista, has the final say in everything, it is the hacendero, and the hacendero alone who can solve the problems of the sacadas on his farm.

Conclusion

It is clear, from Part I and Part II of this report, that a radical change in the sacada situation is necessary.

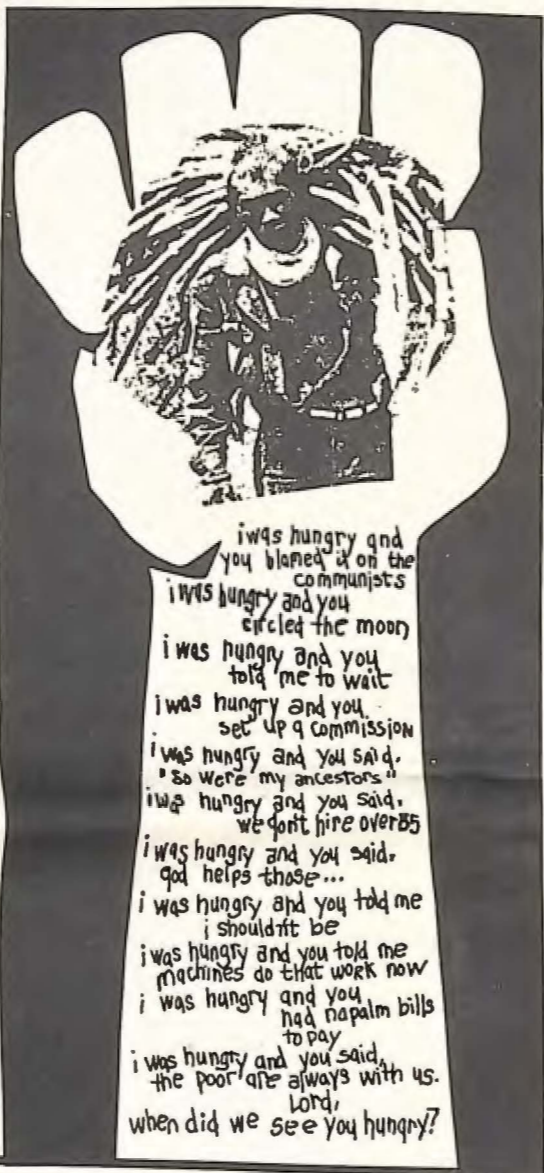
The essential prerequisite to this change is the quality of sincere, efficacious concern that seeks to know the truth, no matter how it hurts, and, in the pursuit of this truth, studies the real situation with complete openness. This study should lead the hacendero to actually identify with the sacadas by himself living, working, and suffering with them fully as a sacada. In case he dares not do this, then he should consult not only himself, nor those whose knowledge of the situation is biased and superficial, but those who are impartial, and who have actually lived as sacadas.

This concern, finally, should have efficacious results along two lines: quantitatively — having seen the real situation, the hacendero then provides his sacadas with what befits them and their families as human beings; qualitatively —

the hacendero must begin to treat and respect the sacadas as persons — he must begin to listen to their thoughts, their anxieties, and their hopes — since they, like him, are all human beings.

The sacada problem is a very complex problem; one which, among other things, also includes the hacendero's own manifold problems.

But after everything is considered, I conclude that much can be done and much should be done by the hacendero to enable his sacadas and their families to live with the happiness, the security, and the dignity which the hacendero would want for himself and for his family if he were the sacada and the sacada were the hacendero.



EDITORIAL COMMENT:

FREEDOM CAN NOT BE GRANTED ...

FREEDOM IS ASSERTED!

The only undeniable value of the preceding article to the tasks of evaluating the crisis of Philippine society and exploring the possibilities of different social systems is in its very graphic presentation of the cruel reality of the exploitation of the sugar workers in the Philippines. After describing the institutions of oppression and expressing doubt on the ability of exploiters to cease their exploitation of the sugar workers, the author nevertheless contends that change can only come from the top, namely from the realization of the landlords of their exploitative nature and their joint resolve to 'do justice to every man.' The author thus opts for a reformism that is totally dependent on the whims and caprices of the exploiting classes... He fails to attack the institution of landlordism, itself cruel and inhuman; rather, he advances the preposterous view that landlordism can be 'human' and 'benevolent.' It is a very paternalistic theory that he advocates which is no better qualitatively than the rest of the moral-cleansing and hypocritical 'ideologies' of change.... He denies the

capabilities, nay the historical necessity, for the exploited classes to fight for their own emancipation.. He assigns the masses to the very passive and reactionary role of waiting for the exploiters to agree to change. History teaches us that freedom cannot be granted. Freedom is asserted and secured by those who desire it and it is always denied by those whose privileges are attached to its denial from the greater number....As such, Father Jesena's 'expose' is nothing but a sugar-coated apologia for the landlord society that he wishes to conserve. He assigns the inequality and the injustice to particular landlords, and not to the system of landlordism itself. Evidently, Father Jesena is still hung-up in the mystification of feudal values and evades a more honest and scientific consideration of exploitation as a social problem that can only be solved if the exploited classes took full possession of their rights. Fortunately, Philippine history does not confirm Father Jesena's ahistorical role for the Philippine peasantry and working class...

THIRD WORLD STUDIES (continued from p. 13)

that social problems within the educational system (e.g. busing) will not be solved by that institution any more than will the other socio-economic political institutions solve the problems they create and perpetuate (e.g. the prison system does not end crimes; urban redevelopment does not alleviate the housing problems of the poor). Third World Studies must offer the alternative to the present educational system for it is not an outside, omniscient, legal, moral authority judging and determining all aspects of peoples' lives. Unlike the present educational system it does not take unchallenged assumptions and fabricated theories and apply them in predicting and controlling peoples' behavior and thoughts. Rather, Third World Studies must begin with the experiences of people to create a new perspective. It must, at all times, be accountable to the people,

that there will never be acceptance and support of an autonomous, dynamic Third World Studies evaluating, questioning, challenging and offering alternatives to the educational system and consequently the sum total of socio-economic-political institutions affecting one's knowledge and awareness of himself and his relationship to

others and his environment. Nevertheless, these must be and are its tasks and goals (a dilemma? No, a contradiction that can only be resolved through long struggle.)

It would be very difficult to get into the specifics of Third World Studies implementation such as life span, timetable, theories and community relevance. Like any new life it's a process unfolding in its own time. Its spontaneity should be seen as a positive feature and asset. It is a refreshing change from the five-year master plans or other meticulously predictable stage-by-stage programs so characteristic of the present educational system and the Western world. Third World Studies will continue to be confronted by economic-social-political challenges as well as new and perhaps more difficult problems in its development. Each studies must develop according to its particular dialectical needs and available resources. Hopefully communications will continue to expand quantitatively and qualitatively among the different Third World Studies throughout the nation. Whether Third World Studies will exist side by side with non-Third World Studies or will blend together to form universal education remains to be seen. It is, however, an exciting and challenging decision which should be welcomed.

Let us hope that such decisions and even problems are welcomed by Third World peoples for this is an indication of Third World Studies life and growth. Let Third World people worry and be involved in the studies so that the other outcomes will not occur. MAKIBAKA!

SPECIAL FEATURE ARTICLE

A FILIPINO PROFESSIONAL

Side by side with the rapidly increasing social and political consciousness of the Filipino people in America is the resolute disintegration of one sacred American myth after another. A particular myth that has just found its righteous place in the dust bin of History concerns the commonly-held belief that Filipino professionals are not exploited or oppressed in this "bountiful land of opportunity" unlike their brothers and sisters in the farm valleys. And that they are "prosperous and contented".

Close to 31,000 Filipino professionals leave the Philippines annually to seek their promised fortune in the United States draining their country of their much-needed services. They casually rationalize their abandonment of their poverty-stricken land with the capitalist ideology that "It's every man for himself". It is a subtle dehumanizing self-centered ideology forcibly instilled in all Filipinos through a colonial educational system still governed by the 1925 Public Instruction Act and supplemented by every conceivable indoctrinating media from Hollywood "cowboy and indian" movies to Wall Street Time-Life magazines, from American T.V. "laugh-in" comedies to folk-rock radio music. It pervades the whole superstructure that is part and parcel of the neo-colonial leash held by the U.S. monopolists over the neck of the Philippine economy.

But when these Filipino professionals do reach their "paradise on earth", little is heard from or about them. Occasionally one hears about Engineer "Johnny" (it is no longer "Juan") de la Cruz working as a gasoline attendant in a corner Chevron station seemingly contented because, he reasons, "I still earn more in this job that I did as an engineer in the Philippines. There I received only 1000 pesos a month but here I get a monthly paycheck of \$500. And, according to my calculations, it is 3 times more than my former Filipino salary." With this logic, a whispered unwritten law circulates: "Don't rock the boat. Despite everything, we're still luckier than those poor folks back home. And besides what do you think they'll say? That we're failures? Naku, nakakahiyah!"

But one such Filipino professional residing in Los Angeles apparently did not hear the whisper, or if he did, scoffed at it. He refused to be cowed down by the injustice he was experiencing and which he realized was being perpetrated on his people. In an Open Letter addressed to his fellow professionals entitled "FILIPINOS, WAKE UP!", he dared to ask,

"How many Filipinos, here and there, have been unfairly terminated or unjustly kicked out for flimsy reasons? to a lesser degree, how many have been suspended, placed on probation or demoted for any fabricated reasons? How many?"

The awakening of this young Filipino professional has provoked a similar awakening in the minds of those like him who are now beginning to dare unmask the Great American Dream for what it always has been, a nightmare for the poor working-class minority people in this racist country. As he discovered,

"Before these demonstrations, there were seemingly just a handful, but when the demonstrations started, and within a span of 6 days, no less than 75 Filipinos approached me and described how they became victims of inequalities, injustices and discriminations — things they just kept to themselves before in silence..."

Who is Dr. Saqueton? What is his case that has attracted so much national attention?



A 1962 graduate of the University of Santo Tomas School of Medicine in Manila, Dr. Saqueton accumulated 6 years of general practice while engaging in side research on Sex Determination and Conception. Nurturing ambitions of furthering his research in this field by joining leading American researchers engaged in the same field prompted the Filipino doctor to emigrate to the United States along with his nurse-wife and their 5 children in hopes too of securing a successful future. Upon arrival here, he encountered unexpected problems relating to licensing.

To comply with official regulations, he took and passed the written examinations conducted by the Board of Medical Examiners of California in 1969. But he was informed that that was not sufficient. Because he was an alien, he was required to take the examinations conducted by the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates (ECFMG), a private association sponsored by the American Medical Association and the American Hospitals Association. Although he had serious doubts about the legality of the ECFMG, he nevertheless took the exam in 1970 and passed it.

SMASHES A MYTH

by Kapatid Rogelio Rodriguez

When informed that only 1000 out of the 7000 foreign doctors who took the ECFMG exams passed, Dr. Saqueton began to openly question the wisdom and legality of depriving qualified foreign doctors, who had already passed the State Medical Board requirements, from being able to practice medicine especially when there exists an acute shortage of doctors in the United States. As Dr. Philip S. Lee, the former Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, announced, "We need twice as many doctors as we now have (640,000 instead of 320,000 in 1967)...This is a shocking situation...But in spite of the need, U.S. medical schools produce only 8000 a year." (Health in America: The Problem and the Practice).

The statistics further showed:

As of 1966, almost 40% of hospitals in the U.S. did not even meet the minimum standards of the medical profession. Thousands of hospitals had no doctors at all, or one or two foreign, often unlicensed, doctors on the hospital premises... The shortage, not only of doctors, but of other health workers is serious. In 1966 two of every three aides (to doctors) were not nurses or trained technicians. (Dr. Milton L. Gross, The Doctors)

The concrete product of Dr. Saqueton's questions regarding the ECFMG and his gradual understanding of the monopoly control of the American Medical Association over all facets of the health system in America was his founding of the International Medical Association (IMA). Composed mostly of Filipino doctors, the association listed down as its objectives:

- 1) to help reduce the shortage of physicians;
2) to help remedy the maldistribution of physicians;
3) to help correct the wastage of medical manpower;
4) to try to correct medical discrepancies;
5) to try giving more decent jobs to foreign medical graduates through the Physicians' Assistant Program while waiting to pass medical exams; and
6) to try to make health workers be more concerned with and conscious of patients' rights and feelings.

The Association, under the leadership of Dr. Saqueton and Dr. Baltazar Dispo, wrote numerous petitions to public officials and organizations urging the abolition of the ECFMG tests "not only because it is illegal and arbitrary but also because it is an immoral source of income for the AMA. Each applicant for the ECFMG examinations pays \$45.00 to take the tests and a very low percentage passes the tests. This represents hundreds of thousands of dollars in examination fees which are not publicly accounted for by the ECFMG."

"Denial of the legal right of these prospective interns to be in their proper positions forces them to accept other employments not benefiting the medical profession, so as to live. Either they are jobless or, at one time or another, they became and some are still any of the following: orderly, nurse's aide, taxi driver, tax consultant, ambulance attendant, EKG technician, insurance claims examiner or medical aide; this is not mentioning the humiliating fact that some foreign medical graduates became domestic aids." (IMA Resolution No.2)

While actively pursuing the struggle for the just rights of foreign medical graduates, Dr. Saqueton found employment as an intern in the Queen of Angels Hospital in the day time and as an EKG technician at night. To supplement his income, he acquired a publisher's license to sell his book, "Your Choice: Boy or Girl? A Drugless Proposal". But the incident that signalled what was to become a series of harassments on the Filipino doctor began with his suspension in early January of this year allegedly because advertisements on his book which appeared in the L.A. newspapers "violated the Code of Ethics of the American Medical Association". Despite his adamant conviction that he had done nothing wrong, Dr. Saqueton agreed to give up publication of his book and to stop advertising as he was anxious to finish his internship in the hospital. His suspension was then changed to a probationary status of six months.

Three months later, Dr. Saqueton was once again summoned to an interrogation by the same committee that had earlier suspended him. This time it was openly because of his activities as president of the International Medical Association (IMA). Re-

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fusing to be intimidated by their questions, the IMA head ran down the objectives of his organization and then boldly accused the committee of being "deaf and blind" to the plight of their less fortunate colleagues and for flagrantly violating certain California Medical Law provisions.

The committee was clearly taken aback by the boldness and frankness of the Filipino physician. After a hurried closed door meeting, the committee announce that "Dr. Saqueton's function and performance as an intern will be reviewed for the next 30 days."

Two weeks later, his wife, a nurse in the same hospital received her letter of termination from the hospital personnel director. Her unexpected termination, according to the letter was "due to a staff reduction". But Mrs. Saqueton was puzzled for she was just given a salary increase two months earlier for "meritorious service". But the whole puzzle began to fit when she saw an advertisement in the Los Angeles Times that very same day from a hospital which needed more nurses. It was the Queen of Angels Hospital!

Outraged at the blatant vindictive action meted out to his wife, Dr. Saqueton wrote an Open Letter to the Nursing Director who had fired his wife and distributed copies of it to all the hospital personnel. The letter strongly protested the discriminatory and spiteful firing of his wife. The Hospital's response was cold and swift: immediate suspension on that very day and complete termination two days later. As if that were not enough, on May 22, without any previous notice, he was also fired from his EKG technician night job.



"I challenge the speaker's charge that we have one health care system for the rich and another for the poor. To us, there are no poor!"

"Is the blackballing beginning? I don't know. But is the possibility of being blackballed a reason for a person to keep quiet and not fight for what he believes is right? How long should others be allowed to suppress a person's freedom of speech and writing just because he is an intern? How far should others be allowed to prevent a man's basic right to work so as to live, despite his full qualifications? How long? How far?"

The qualitative development of Dr. Saqueton's consciousness reached a higher level when he made his decision to stick it out - to confront the injustice rather than to run away from it.

"At this stage, I can still go somewhere perhaps, and start all over again by not mentioning Queen of Angels Hospital and pretend to be starting fresh for internship. Local experiences have shown that hospital directors are not allergic to those with "expulsion" records - whether justified or not. But what assurances can I get that history won't repeat itself? What assurances can I get that no one will ever know my past in the new place where I'll be? And even if, by remaining silent now, I eventually get my medical license, what assurances can I get as protection when for some flimsy reasons, my license is suspended by physicians in power whose mentality may be similar to those in the hospital? IF I "RUN" AWAY NOW, THROUGHOUT MY LIFE, I'LL BE RUNNING AWAY. I might as well face it now and get it over with."

From that initial stage of perception, the Filipino doctor advanced to the stage of conceptualization. He realized that the injustices committed by the Queen of Angels Hospital were merely the "symptoms" and in order to "cure the patient", he had to attack the "disease" itself which he believed to be the "monopolistic" powers and policies of the American Medical Association and its allies.

"Should private monopolistic policies of the AMA and its allies be allowed to forever trample upon the Medical Laws of California, at

the expense of patients? Should private policies of hospitals be forever allowed to trample upon the basic rights and freedom of individuals?"

At this point it is important that we know exactly what the policies of the American Medical Association are. An awareness of the exact nature of the AMA will not only aid us in comprehending more fully the struggle of the International Medical Association led by Dr. Saqueton but also, it will provide us with an insight into the real reasons behind the inadequate state of the health system in America.

"The AMA has consistently opposed child-labor laws, social security for the aged, the minimum wage, the 40-hour week, all pro-labor legislation... When Congress in 1930 granted Federal funds to state health agencies to reduce death rates of mothers and children, the AMA said it "intended to promote communism". In 1939 Dr. Fishbein, AMA President, denounced Federal Unemployment insurance systems as "the first step toward the breakdown of American democracy, a definite step toward either communism or socialism..."

"...In the field of public health, the AMA has actively opposed mass X-ray screening of our people for chest diseases including tuberculosis and cancer of the lung. The AMA has opposed operation of government-sponsored VD clinics and the compulsory reporting of communicable diseases; these latter two public health measures are absolutely necessary to eradicate VD from our people..."

(Dr. Tom Brewer, Fact and Fiction, The Truth about the AMA)

can therefore concentrate our attention on the single obligation to protect the American Way of Life. That way can be best described in one word: CAPITALISM."

The substance behind the International Medical Association's charge that the AMA is responsible for the acute shortage of doctors in America lies in the fact that,

"To function at all, a medical school must be accredited by the AMA. THIS ALLOWS THE AMA TO CONTROL THE NUMBER OF M.D.'s ENROLLED AND GRADUATED, AND TO HEAVILY INFLUENCE THE CURRICULA. Once the MD degree is obtained, a doctor is under heavy pressure to join the AMA or he cannot have access to hospital facilities or get referrals, the typical way in which doctors build a clientele. Opposition to AMA policies can mean ouster from membership and of course, the resulting limitations in one's practice."

(Autopsy on the AMA, SRF)

An understanding of the capitalist economic Law of Supply and Demand will explain the underlying reason behind the AMA's triumphant satisfaction at the continued critical shortage of doctors in America. The Law simply states, the lower the supply of doctors, the higher the demand for them and consequently, the higher one has to pay for their services. As Mr. Nicholas Von Hoffman, the S.F. Chronicle columnist, observed in his November 29 column of last year,

"...the family doctor (is) a retail businessman, struggling to run a small organization which grosses anywhere from \$100,000 to \$400,000 a year. The underlying difficulty is that the doctor has been changed from a professional to a businessman."

And it is this same economic law that should impress upon the American working-class people and particularly, the minorities (the Filipinos especially since we occupy the second lowest rung in the American economic totem pole, just a step higher than the dispossessed American Indian) the deep mortal stake we all have in the struggle of Dr. Saqueton and the IMA to break the monopolistic stranglehold of the AMA over the entire American health system. Consider further these statistics:

"The average expense per patient-stay has continued to climb. It was \$515.59 in 1968, more than double that of 8 years ago. Patient-day costs at the end of 1968 stood at \$61.38, again almost double that of eight years ago.

In 1969 the figure rose to \$67.59 per day. The American Hospital Association (AHA) has projected a cost of \$98.37 a day by 1973." (Dr. Howard A. Rusk, Cutting Hospital Costs)

To bring his cause to the public and to expose the conspiracy between the hospital and the American Medical Association and its allies, Dr. Saqueton and the other members of the International Medical Association organized a picket and a hunger-strike in front of the Queen of Angels hospital last August 23. Among those who had joined the picket were a number of Filipino "community leaders" whom Dr. Saqueton had prevailed upon to support his cause. The Filipino leaders announced that it was the "Filipino national character" that was at stake in the controversy.

Even the Philippine News which had previously confined itself to the coverage of the social affairs of the elite in the Filipino-American community saw fit to include a whole editorial on the issue entitled "The Filipino National Character and the Saqueton Case" declaring that "...there is too much at stake; it is the Filipino national character which has been severely bruised and maltreated and it is high time that this wrongdoing be corrected".



Is the AMA the "disease" in itself or is it the system that the AMA most rabidly adheres to that is actually the "disease" that must be confronted? To be able to answer this, we must know the system and the "philosophy" that motivates the actions and policies of the American Medical Association. The 1967 AMA President Dr. Milton O. Rouse stated it very clearly in his presidential address (June 20, 1967).

"...We are faced with the concept of health care as a right rather than as a privilege... these we must continue to oppose. What is our philosophy? It is the faith in private enterprise. We

-Fight for the implementation of a California Medical Law provision regardless of what the "AMA Almighty" (that's how the chairman, who should resign, considers the AMA) says?

-Help California patients have more badly needed physicians by helping misplaced foreign medical graduates become qualified for internship and eventual licensure?

-Help foreign medical graduates have more decent jobs rather than being taxi drivers, security guards, orderlies, nurses' aides, and so forth - jobs befitting the medical profession?...

-To protect the interests of minority employees and to voice out one's grievances and opinions in writing?

If all the enumerated activities are radicalism... then so be it. I AM A RADICAL!

And he concluded, THE TRUTH MAKES ONE FREE

Four days after the pickets were set up, the Queen of Angels Hospital authorities summoned Dr. Saqueton, the Filipino "community leaders" and the L.A. Philippine Consul-General Pacifico Evangelista to a conference to settle the dispute.

The hospital authorities headed by Dr. Tirso Del Junco (a rich Cuban doctor who fled his country after the Revolution), proposed a compromise. They stated that they were willing to rehire Dr. Saqueton but, without back pay and just for the remainder of his internship. And if he disavowed all his charges against the hospital and retracted his denunciation of the American Medical Association and its allies.

The Filipino "community leaders", headed by the national president of the Filipino American Political Association (FAPA) Mr. Nonoy Mendoza and the Philippine News publisher, Mr. Alex Esclamado, were immediately attracted with the proposal and proceeded to try to convince Dr. Saqueton to grab the chance. The open enthusiasm displayed by the "community leaders" to Hospital's loaded terms compromised whatever bargaining position Dr. Saqueton might have had. And this did not escape the notice of the hospital authorities. They announced that the final contract signing would be held at the office of the Philippine Consul-General later that day.

In their eagerness to please the Hospital authorities with their reasonableness, these Filipino "community leaders" had jeopardized the very principles behind Dr. Saqueton's cause. And in the process, they had not only revealed their low regard for the Filipino national character but they had also exposed the opportunist nature of their shallow commitment.

After Dr. Saqueton had succumbed to the persuasion of the Filipino "community leaders", they all proceeded to the office of Consul Evangelista. There they waited for the hospital authorities to arrive. But no one came. Instead they received a phone call from Dr. Del Junco who announced that the Hospital administration had just met and decided that they would retract their proposal. They would not accept Dr. Saqueton under any circumstances.

All the "community leaders" could say after they realized they had cheapened themselves for nothing was that the hospital authorities had acted "in bad faith".

Dr. Saqueton felt however that it was not just a slap on him but a slap on the Philippine government as its L.A. Consul-General had taken an active involvement in the conflict. Unfortunately, the subservient face of the Philippine government has been slapped too often by the United States that the Saqueton incident would hardly even be noticed.

Bitter but undaunted by the treachery of the hospital administration, Dr. Saqueton resumed his picket and his hunger-strike in front of the Queen of Angels Hospital.

In the ensuing weeks that followed, doubts began to creep into Dr. Saqueton's mind. In a manifesto he distributed, he wrote,

After two weeks of exhaustive demonstrations and a personal hunger-strike, I began to think, QUO VADIS? Shall the Cause win?

His answer lay in the colonial attitude imbed in the Filipino consciousness, the bahala na (leave it to fate) attitude. As he lightly put it in his own unoriginal words, Que sera, sera - what will be will be.

At this time too, his mind was trying to grapple with all the contradictions he had witnessed. The authorities had labeled him a "radical". But reared in an atmosphere of radicalism was conditioned to be anathema, he was hesitant to accept being branded as such. But then, he reflected,

"Even without appearing "radical" in external appearance, the moment one starts to think more progressive and show more concern for others - things different from the usual routine of the "sleeping" majority, he is called a "radical." Me in my white medical uniform with short hairs and no beard was also branded a "radical" by the chairman of the medical education committee of the hospital that expelled me; the same fellow who practically "m-asterminded" my expulsion and previous suspensions and placement under surveillance.

Is it radicalism to have engaged in the following:

-Help other less fortunate colleagues pass medical exams by offering them review classes so they can be interns like me?

EDITORIAL



We feel that we as the Filipino community in the U.S. must deal with the fact that today, Filipino professionals stand as the lowest paid and most discriminated against group of highly skilled highly educated people in America. We admire and support Dr. Saqueton in his principled stand against discrimination and injustice. His campaign to be reinstated in Queen of Angels and the support he has received from the LA Filipino community has finally brought into clear light the "second class citizen" position that Filipino professionals have been tolerating QUIETLY for years.

Dr. Saqueton's fight shows us that taking a stand against such injustice and discrimination will lead us into direct confrontation with the American Medical Association as well as other major institutions in America.

However, it is important for us to realize that such institutions as the AMA can only exist in a capitalist society where for example medical care is treated as a commodity to be bought and sold at market prices. The AMA is only the logical conclusion in such a system, that is to band the doctors together into a "monopoly fraternity" and keep the "supply" of doctors LOW and the "demand" for doctor's service HIGH and in this way monopolize the market (on medical care) and keep the prices for doctor's "services" sky-high and therefore exploit their customers (sick patients). The customers, (us) are at the mercy of the "market" and must accept medicine on the "terms" offered or go without - it is as simple as that! Simple that is for doctors, for the people it means living in constant fear of having a major operation or a long term illness because of the "doctor's bills" which can put people in debt for years!! (Of course there is free medicine for "poor people" but any of us that have any experience in this area knows that the "price" for the "free medicine" is a dehumanization process where you are constantly reminded in a million "tiny" ways that you are getting for "free" something you really don't deserve. ) Meanwhile, people are ideologically conditioned to go into the medical profession as a business for \$\$\$\$. They compete viciously to get into Med School like people grabbing for a bag of gold.

The struggle for justice in America will be a long one because, it is becoming evident to an increasingly large number of people, the very foundations upon which the American system rests is rooted in criminal injustice.

Only when all the oppressed American people recognize who their common oppressor is and embark on the historical task of changing this unjust society into a just one will the struggle for justice in America finally be won.

As of this writing, Dr. Saqueton has ceased his hunger-strike but is still pursuing OUR struggle by picketing the hospital. The International Medical Association has launched a nationwide campaign to inform the public of the injustices committed by the Queen of Angels Hospital and the American Medical Association.

To Dr. Saqueton and the IMA, Struggle, don't be afraid. MAKIBAKA, HUWAG MATAKOT!

And they come out thinking that they somehow have the "right" to sell their knowledge and service to the highest bidder in order to insure themselves a "modest" income of anything between 25 - 100,000 \$\$ a year!! BULLSHIT!!! Any talk about fulfilling the medical needs of the people by most doctors is as hypocritical as bandits saying "grace" before death.

In a non-exploitative society, medical care is not a commodity to be bought and sold but rather a social service available to ALL members of the society - free. It is a right (not a class privilege) assured to every human being - that's what advance "civilization" is supposed to be all about. However, even the slightest mention of free socialized medicine causes the gangsters of the AMA to begin foaming at the mouth, jumping up and down with American flags and screaming about the sacred right of "free enterprise system". The point is that such antics should not be seen as unusual but rather as "perfectly consistent" with the bourgeois values of the social and economic system we live (survive) in.

In supporting Dr. Saqueton, we must understand the true nature of the "respectable" doctors he is standing up against. For they also are our opponents. We must see them as "mouthpieces" of a privileged establishment against the discriminated position that the Filipino medical personnel face here in the U.S. We should know the full extent of the task we are taking on and be prepared for a long hard struggle. In the course of the struggle, we should begin to fight against the "values" of this present society, i.e., materialism and individualism. A good way to begin would be for groups of Filipino doctors and nurses to get together with other people in the community and set up People's Clinics. Such clinics could operate a few days/nights a week and be staffed on a volunteer basis where people would give some of their "after work" hours. Such clinics could provide freely many of the basic medical services, counseling and referrals that many of our people and other working people of the community are deprived of because of the high costs.

SUPPORT DR. SAQUETON!!!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!



We are not discouraged by the actions of the prison authorities to keep us from visiting and supporting our brothers inside the prisons. Since March of this year, we have successfully set up an Asian American Study Group at the California Medical Facility at Vacaville. Joint Communications has received very little to make necessary arrangements for inside sponsorship (all visiting outside groups must be sponsored by someone working on that prison staff; a counselor, therapist, guard etc.) nor have the authorities made themselves available to the prisoners. We visit and have study classes on a weekly basis and because of the prison's unwillingness to cooperate with us, we never know if we will be allowed into the prison next week or if there will be a space available for us to hold classes in. At the writing of this paper, it is uncertain that we will be admitted into the prison this coming week, as we were turned away at the gate last time because there was no inside sponsor. It has been no thanks to any concern for the men inside that the Dept. of Corrections have allowed us to remain at Vacaville. It has been only the diligent work of Joint Communication with the support of active community people that have put pressure on the prison and the Dept. of Correction that has allowed us to remain this long, and even now our presence there as a group is shaky.

It is obvious that the prison authorities don't want outside people coming into the prisons, because when they do, they become educated as to the oppressive conditions that prisoners are forced to live under, and will begin to relate this information to the outside

society that is ignorant of prisons and the prison system. The authorities are fearful of this exposure because as more people are educated about prisons, they will have a better understanding of the reasons and causes of the rebellions that are taking place everyday in this country and will begin to support the prisoners in their just demands.

The prisons are another of the many institutions of this country that have gone unchallenged by the people for too long. Joint Communications is an extension of the political work that we are involved in daily in our communities. We support the revolutionary demands made by the men behind the walls of prison. We are their sisters and brothers, and their cry for help brings the same pain to us, as the one that is constantly ringing in our communities everyday.

We have no choice but to take action. I am not a stranger, an animal, or beast.

I AM A MAN, A BROTHER, A SON, HELP!

HELP - BECOME EDUCATED ABOUT THE PRISON SITUATION - HELP

contact:  
Joint Communications  
c/o Bill Sorro  
848 Kearny St., San Francisco, Calif.  
or  
c/o JACS  
125 Weller St., Los Angeles, Calif.

# FILIPINO RESISTS DRAFT

A few weeks ago, a Filipino kapatid, who was instrumental in the organization of the Philippine-American Community Endeavor (PACE) and the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College, was picked up by the F.B.I. for "draft evasion". He was brought immediately before a judge who sentenced him to a Federal Penitentiary in Texas for a 2-5 year stretch.

Kapatid Patrick had consistently opposed being drafted by the U.S. Military to fight and kill the people of Indo-China whose only crime is their refusal to be a new-colonial adjunct of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. Because he believed in the principle of self-determination as proven by his active involvement in the initiation of a Philippine Studies program in the SF State curriculum Kapatid Patrick would not allow himself to be used to deprive other people of that same right.

(KALAYAAN will feature a longer article on Kapatid Patrick in the next issue.)

But he was not the only victim of this "Uncle-Sam-needs-you" bit. Last summer alone, more than a dozen Filipinos in the Central City ghetto area were drafted into the U.S. military machine to become the ruling class' dehumanized killer robots.



It is imperative that we Filipinos understand the nature of the draft system which forces our young men to kill innocent people, our own people, to serve the interests of the monopoly capitalist class in the United States. And those who dare to refuse are physically deprived of all their rights by incarceration.

In the Draft itself, there is a built-in class discrimination that explains why a greater proportion of poor working-class Third World people are drafted and have the highest degree of mortality. For instance, two of the most often used deferments are the physical deferment and the conscientious objection status. For a physical deferment, one has to get letters from doctors and medical specialists that explain why the medical condition (bad heart, allergies, etc.) prevent the kind of activity the Army demands. Often the letters have to be backed up with X-rays and expensive tests. Who can afford doctor's examinations and special tests?

To qualify for a C.O. deferment, one must fill out an involved application and fill out letters of reference. In order to answer the questions on the forms it is almost a requirement that one has a college education. A person without that kind of education probably would be unable to make the kind of arguments which would persuade a Draft Board.

For information and assistance regarding your draft, there is the ASIAN LEGAL SERVICES at 842 Kearny St., telephone number 781-0978, a Chinatown-Manilatown Draft Help service. Or call up the Manilatown Multi-Service Center, telephone number 989-5402.

Aion which means unity in its Chinese translation, attempts to fulfill the obligation of its title by spanning the various Asian groups, including Filipino, Chinese and Japanese. There is also a photographic essay of the North Vietnamese struggle with related quotes from Ho Chi Minh.

Aion succeeds in bridging the contradiction inherent in combining political and cultural materials by including not only political essays and articles, but also by selecting fiction and poetry which reflects a particular ethnic and political consciousness of Asian contributors.

Graphics by Jim Dong and photo essays stand out particularly as they relate to historical material such as the American concentration camps. This particular photo essay relates America's treatment of the Japanese-Americans during World War II to the

more current political prisoner situation in this country.

This is the second issue of Aion and it doubles the first issue in pages and size. It contains over 100 pages and includes short stories by Jeff Chan, Sam Tagatac; articles by Pat Sumi, Makario Sakay II, poetry by George Leong and Jan Miriditani and illustrations by Reggie Makabasco, Jim Dong and Edna Jundis.

An Asian-American magazine that can act as a platform for the many Asian-American artists in the community is important in expanding Third World Consciousness. An Asian-American magazine dedicated to examining the crucial issues and crises of our community is even more necessary. Aion attempts to fill this gap and hopefully will be supported by the Third World community. .... Copies of Aion can be gotten by writing to: AION, 1242 - 45th Ave., San Francisco, Calif. (\$1.25 + postage)

# FOCUS on the COMMUNITY

EDITORIAL:

## ON BUSING



The recent Supreme Court ruling on desegregation by BUSING and the controversy it has generated will have its effect on the Filipino community and other Third World communities. For this reason, it necessitates a very serious analysis.

At first glance, it would seem that BUSING was a very progressive step forward that merits support. White racist Amerika had finally admitted before the people and the world that it had been practicing de facto segregation all along as concretely manifested in its educational system. The tragic-comic spectacle of white racist parents in Pontiac, Michigan shouting "White Power", "Nigger Lover" and preventing "by any means necessary" the legal enforcement of busing and of the support extended to them by fellow racists (Nixon, Wallace and co.) would certainly influence one to conclude that busing is a correct issue to back. Truly, what the bad guys oppose, we support.

Busing, according to its liberal proponents will do away with segregated schools and it will finally transform this society into an egalitarian one.

Should the Filipino community, therefore, support busing?

To fully answer this question, it is important that we first understand what the problem essentially is - that we differentiate the symptoms from the disease itself and that we guard against subjectivism. Thus, to "cure the sickness of the patient", we must develop the attitude of seeking the truth from the facts. "Facts" are things that exist objectively.

The facts are that in every American town and city, there are schools whose students are overwhelmingly white and there are schools whose students are overwhelmingly Third World. The schools with white students are located in relatively affluent white middle-class neighborhoods and the schools with minority students are located in poor working class ghettos. The white neighborhood schools have relatively superior educational standards and facilities while the ghetto schools suffer from the inferior quality of its teaching staff and facilities.

The truth derived from these facts is that the problem is not one of segregated schools but one of segregated neighborhoods. It is the classic problem of class segregation. On one hand, you have poor working class people, the majority of whom are Third World, residing in substandard communities and who are victims of inadequate housing, education, medical care and a litany of other inequities. On the other hand, you have relatively affluent, white-dominated upper middle-class neighborhoods with none of the inequities that ghetto people have to face daily.

Some of the other facts about the American educational system are first, at a time when more money are needed to expand and improve the educational facilities to keep in pace with the increasing number of schoolchildren, the money allocation for education is being slashed and diverted on federal, state and local county levels. Secondly, the educational system historically (an up to this day) has been very racist in its failure to take account of the cultures and contributions of the people of color who helped build this country. Nowhere has there been any significant funds and efforts directed at correcting this injustice.

Since so much money "must" go to finance the war in Indochina (over 70% out of every tax dollar there is little left for education. In the light of this fact, white racist parents know that whatever little bit there is for education, it'll first go to "maintaining the high standards" of the schools in their neighborhoods. Busing is seen as a threat to them because it might upset the delicate balance of "injustice" that has existed for so long. Besides, they are afraid to have these "troublesome" non-whites roaming around their "respectable" neighborhoods after school hours. And finally, it is "inconvenient" for their children. Therefore, they oppose busing.

Now, when we oppose busing, we must be very clear about the reasons why we oppose it. Otherwise, we'll find ourselves on the same side as the reactionary racist! If our position is unclear, opposing busing amounts to demanding that our children have the "right" to remain in the over-crowded, inadequate school facilities in our neighborhoods. How strange!

So, the position should be clear. We oppose busing, not only because it is inconvenient but because it is like putting Bandaid over a cancerous growth. The problem of inadequate and racist education will NOT be solved by busing children around the town. It can only be solved through massive federal and state funding to improve and expand existing educational facilities in Third World and working class neighborhoods. And through ensuring "community control" of schools so that the non-white schoolchildren are not taught to hate themselves while being "educated" in a racist school system.

OUR OPPOSITION TO BUSING GOES HAND IN HAND WITH OUR DEMANDS FOR BETTER SCHOOLS IN OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AND "COMMUNITY CONTROL" OF THOSE SCHOOLS.

Busing is a liberal solution. We must beware of liberals because their thinking is characterized by "short-sightedness". In fact, they are so short-sighted that they take the same position as reactionary racists without even knowing it!

When you have a house that is wholly infested by termites and dry rot and is about to crumble, you do not offer to paint the house as a solution to make the house look pretty. You CHANGE the very foundations of the house itself, to get rid of the parasitic creatures.

The people will drive the termites away and reconstruct their own house on a just and equitable foundation. Power to the People!

The Filipino community will do the same in driving away liberal solutions for they will reconstruct their own home on a just and equitable foundation. Makbaka, huwag matatok!

TO RISE IN STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

## Filipino Referral Center

The formation of some type of information-sharing system among Filipino communities has long existed in the backs of man minds. Not until the Young People's Far West Convention in Seattle, August 18-21, did this concept begin to take shape. The energies expended there produced a plan for what is called the Filipino Information and Referral Service. This service hopes to embrace all Filipino communities and enclaves in the Far West - Washington, Oregon, California, Hawaii, and Guam.

The first move toward the organization of the center was a meeting of the Task Force which was designated at the Seattle Conference to do the initial proposal-writing. Through the co-ordination of the co-chairmen, Luna Jamero of Stockton and Ben Menor of Mountain View, the task Force met September 11 for a 2-day work session.

With the aid of Rick Morada, OEO field representative, the Task Force focused its attention on defining the problem areas most frequently confronting Filipino people and designing the structure which would facilitate the distribution of information. The definition phase of the work session was implemented by dividing the delegation into sub-committees which dealt specifically with one of seven areas: 1) Housing, 2) Education, 3) Manpower, 4) "Old-timers", 5) Youth, 6) Health, and 7) Steering and budget. Discussion in each group was limited to those points which are considered pertinent by OEO guidelines.

Summaries from each of the sub-committees were presented to the general session after two hours of discussion. At present the Task Force plan is to submit the proposal, first, to the Office of Economic Opportunity for consideration, then, if need be, to private funding organizations.

The following day, Morada, with the help of Morris Arriaga of Stockton's Community Action Council, acted as a mock review board to give delegates practical experience with the manner and type of questioning that they will encounter when the application is formally submitted.

The structure for the Information and Referral Service as it now stands is one of a "hub" office (or headquarters) centrally located on the West Coast - probably in Stockton, California - with smaller "outpost" offices maintained, possibly in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. These centers of operation would each have enough staff to adequately maintain a 24-hour service. The offices would be linked by a "hot-line" to make communication more efficient.

Available at all offices would be a resource bank of programs, organizations, consultants, and technical personnel who have expertise in the seven designated areas. For instance if Seaside Filipinos wanted some help in setting up a low-moderate income, Federally-financed, housing project, they might be re-

ferred to Filipinos of the Stockton community who have worked closely with the Filipino housing project recently funded by FHA.

Also, in recognition of the void of statistical data specific to the Filipino, the Task Force has included in the project proposal, appropriations for an extensive survey of Filipinos in the Far West. This is intended to provide our communities with the solid statistical data needed to implement more comprehensive programs in the future.

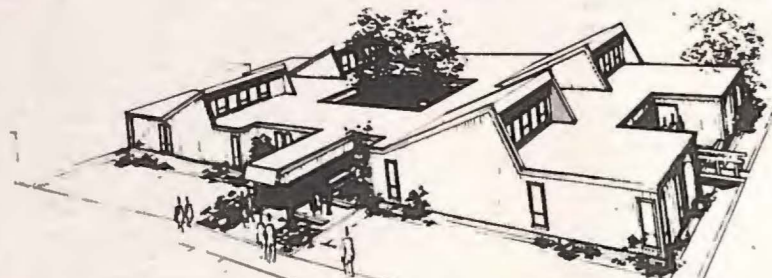
The follow-up meeting has been tentatively scheduled for the week-end of October 23, 24, 25, again, in Stockton. In the interim, delegates are expected to maintain contact with their respective communities regarding the progress of the Information and Referral Service.



ETHNIC CULTURAL CENTER RISES IN SEATTLE

The importance of a physical base for the stabilization of the political gains of Third World people was dealt with resolutely by the minority students of the University of Washington in Seattle. Years of arduous struggle and continued political agitation finally resulted in the UofW Administration acceding to the demands.

Construction began early this year and it was finally inaugurated last Sept. 25 amidst the colorful cultural



presentations of the various Third World students. The impressive structure boasts of: a library well-equipped with educational material on the various minority people; and

four halls for each of the major minorities.

The Director of the Ethnic Cultural Center is Kapatid Roy Flores of the FYA.

INTERVIEW WITH A FILIPINO FARMWORKER

On September 12, the sixth anniversary of the beginning of the United Farm Workers grape strike, thousands of Chicano and Filipino farmworkers heard Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta speak at the dedication ceremonies of the new medical center near Delano. Built on the union's '40 acres' just outside Delano, the clinic will serve union workers. The clinic is named after Rodrigo Terronez, a farmworker and union activist who died in January 1966 at the age of 27 when he was unable to get necessary medical treatment at Delano Hospital. Under union contracts, employers will contribute 10 cents an hour to a health fund which will finance many of the services available at the new clinic. The Rodrigo Terronez Memorial Clinic is the first of a series of projected clinics which will serve farmworkers in Delano and other areas. Kapatid Joe Tolero went down to Delano for the opening of the clinic. While there, he talked with some of the Filipino 'old-timers'. Below is the short account of this experience.

'Come to America, the Land of Opportunity'. So said the farm recruiters to the Filipinos in 1923. 'Come to America and we'll give you jobs, houses, education and money'. These recruitments worked because thousands of Filipinos, mostly the young, came to Amerika.

When they arrived, the Filipinos were given their jobs, working nine or ten hours in the fields for the pay of eleven cents an hour. The Filipinos were given their living quarters-- the labor camps. For this housing they had to turnover eighty cents of the ninety cents they earned in a day. Education, the Filipinos were taught how to pick grapes.

On a trip to Delano, I was able to talk to some of the Filipinos who were enticed by the 'promises' of Amerika. I went to a labor camp, and saw an elderly Filipino sitting in a squatting position, beside the barracks. As I approached him he smiled, and then we shook hands. We exchanged our kumustas, and I asked if he were willing to be interviewed. He said, yes.

Q. When did you immigrate to the United States? A. I came to the United States in 1926.

RECREATION PROGRAM: weekly movies, monthly dinners, weekly bingo games, Sunday morning brunch

Come and see us, share with your own people.



Monthly dinner



Bingo night

mitted minority students who, he alleged, possessed lower qualifications than he did. In deciding the case in DeFunis' favor, the white Superior Court Judge Shorett invoked the 'equal protection for all citizens under the law' clause of the 14th Amendment. Unmentioned was the very unequal fact that out of 2,000 accredited lawyers in the King County area, only 16 are black and there are no Chicanos, Indians or Asians.

The Minority Law Students Association, in which Pete is actively involved, questioned the validity of the tests that have objectively discriminated against non-white people as being '...inadequate measures of potential for future success when applied to minority students... How many white Americans could score well on an admission exam to Black studies written in Black slang and on questions related to Black culture?'

The shock wave set off by the unprecedented court decision to admit Marco DeFunis to the Law School is still reverberating through the corridors of the Administration building, reports the campus paper, 'and the fear that it may echo its way to some unhappy consequence is plainly evident and even more plainly justifiable'. It is predicted that the volatile nature of the issue will bring it all the way up to the Supreme Court. 'And with two vacancies in that body to be filled by a reelection-seeking southward-leaning president, there is cause indeed to consider the whole Educational Opportunity Program to be in real trouble'.

(Editors note: Kapatid Pete Bacho is presently writing an article for KALAYAAN which will discuss the full ramifications of this issue which will undoubtedly have national repercussions.)

Q. How long have you been working in the fields? A. I have been working on the farms for about forty-five years now. It's a hard job but I am used to it.

Q. Are you married? A. No, because the whites would not let us get married. Some of my friends went out of the state to get married, because they do not have that law. (Law: The Anti-Miscegenation Laws prevented the Filipinos in California from marrying the whites, including the Mexicanas).

Q. Sir, how many people live in the barracks? A. There are 19 in this building.

Q. What is the rental fee? A. We pay ninety to one hundred dollars a month.

Q. How are the facilities in the labor camp? A. The toilets are broken, they leak. The sofas are no good. If you go to the kitchen area you will see what I mean.

Q. Did you participate in the 1965 Grape Strike? A. Yes, I was a member of A. W. O. C. When we walked out, the growers gave us three days to go back to work. We didn't go back to work, so the lights and the gas were turned off. We were told that if we didn't go to work we would be kicked out of the camps. Well, we got our things and threw them outside the houses and camped outside. Then they had guards to scare the people back to work. A lot of people went back to work because of the guards, but still a few stayed on with the strike. Then we merged

At this point, the interview was discontinued in order to cover the dedication of the first Union Clinic in Delano. Upon arrival, the car I was in was stopped by picketeers protesting the dedication ceremonies of the clinic. There were waves of American flags being flown from the car antennas. In one instance, a female picketeer was waving a staff and howling, 'Communists!... Communists!!' In the true 'patriotic' way, she ran across the picket lines, grabbed a HUELGA flag and started to rip it to shreds. Failing in her efforts to rip the flag completely, she again howled 'Communists!!'

However, the dedication of the clinic was completed without any major incident and the people used the occasion to reaffirm their determination to continue the struggle.

U.F.Y.O. Organized to meet Community Needs

Raided by S.F.P.D.

On October 5, 1971, three members of the San Francisco Police Dept. came to the United Filipino Youth Organization (U.F.Y.O.) office accompanied by a youth's father looking for his son.

As one staff member talked to one of the policemen, two proceeded inside the office, checked the garbage cans and surveyed the premises. One pig asked the names, addresses, phone numbers, and ages of those in the office. A Sgt. Fowley asked a staff member whether UFYO is official and when answered that UFYO is in the process of being incorporated, (which makes a group official) he said that meant nothing and asked more questions: "Do you have persons with credentials working here?" "Are you with the City and the County of San Francisco?" "Do you work with Youth Guidance Center?" and a number of other questions he had no business asking. When Sgt. Fowley was asked whether he had a search warrant - as he was searching the place for who knows what - he returned the question by saying "What do I need a search warrant for?"

Another officer proceeded to harass and intimidate the staff by saying we are guilty of contributing to the delinquency of a minor/minors as according to him, some of those present were students who belonged in school.

As a result of this particular incident of harassment, two of our youths were busted and were taken to Juvenile Hall.

...like these (and this is not the only one) speak for themselves - that the police dept. lacks the understanding and capacity to deal with Filipinos and Filipino problems, and that the Filipino Community must organize and help one another to deal with our problems.

We, the staff of the United Filipino Youth Organization abhor this recent action of the police dept. We have witnessed more recently, police cars patrolling our office. We realize that in our efforts to love and help our brothers (each other) we are subject to police and other harassments - so be it....

THE STAFF UFYO

On September 17, 1971, a new youth organization opened in the Mission District of San Francisco. The name: United Filipino Youth Organization (UFYO). The aims of the organization is to help alleviate the problems that are confronting the youths of the Mission District. With the Mission District having as much as 20,000 Filipino residents, the youth that belong to UFYO came together concerning the problems such as: HARD DOPE, HIGH RATE OF SCHOOL DROP OUT, etc.

UFYO was a growing idea that soon caught on like wild fire. It attracted many youths from all over the district; youths that were in search of some kind of programme that was concrete, something they could relate to. At present, the membership is about 15 to 20 active young people.

After many summer months of planning and searching for funds, Ruben Estandian (from City College of San Francisco) and Anita Sanchez (San Francisco State College), both residents of the Mission District, and some of the youths from the area were able to secure a store front at 454 14th st., as the headquarter for UFYO.

At present, the group is trying to put together a good programme that will meet the needs of the Filipino kids in the area - some of the ideas are: English and Tagalog classes, political education discussion groups, basketball teams, etc. In the words of Anita Sanchez, "First of all we have some financial worries that keep our minds going all the time, and also setting up an effective programme that deals with the problems of the Filipino Youth. Some of them are not being able to understand or speak English well, not being able to relate to the school authorities just because the way they are treated, and why there is such a high rate of young Filipinos in the Juvenile Hall, why the PIGS treat the kids so bad and scream at the parents. Instead of talking to them, they (PIGS) scream at them!! Also, to understand why our kids do the things they do. And that means an understanding of the social system, educating our kids about the system, and what we could do to help them understand. ...; I think just the fact that we're saying that Filipino people want to take care of Filipino people's problems is in fact a very political act. We can't ignore the fact that we do have to fight for ourselves. We do have to struggle; we're aware of that."

Vallejo Convention
On Saturday October 9, the Mabuhay Filipino-Americans of Vallejo (MAFILA) held a conference for the Filipino community. ... At the conclusion, the Bayanihan spirit prevailed and the growth and development of Filipino people were elevated. All power to MAFILA who made this beautiful thing happen.

Filipino Cultural Presentation at SF Civic Center

NOV. 25



Bagong Silangan, meaning "New Dawn", will be the theme of a Filipino Cultural Presentation at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium, November 25, at 7:30 p.m.



The featured performers will be the award winning Drill Team of the Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) of Seattle. Inspired by the colorful Muslim heritage of the Philippines, three elements of FYA -- the Princessa Drill Team, the Cumbanchero Percussioners, and the Mandayan Marchers -- combine their talents to create a unique cultural offering.

This "new art form" as it is expressed by the FYA, is "designed to project Filipino awareness among the general public." Intricate marching patterns coupled with the sounds of native chants and imported Philippine percussion instruments, with the aid of descriptive narrations make-up Jhabandah -- a ceremonial of the Filipino experience."

San Francisco's own Ating Tao, a Filipino theatrical group will add their talent to the evening's performance.

The show is sponsored by SAMAHAN, a coalition of Filipino youth organizations -- Bayanhan, United Filipino Youth Organization (UFYO), International Hotel workers, and Kalayaan.

November 25, from 2-5 in the afternoon, is also the date of the Filipino Festival a community picnic which will take place at Dolores Park. Filipino food will be sold and the Cumbanchero Percussioners of FYA will be there to provide entertainment.

The six-day tour of the FYA is scheduled to take them to San Jose, Nov. 24; Sacramento, Nov. 26; Stockton, Nov. 27; and Vallejo, Nov. 28.

Tickets for the Nov. 25th show can be purchased at the door or at the United Filipino Association (UFA) office at 832 Kearny. Prices: \$1.50 adults; \$1.00 college students; and \$ .75 high school students and children free.

MABUHAY  
SI

DANITE

