

SEPTEMBER, 1970

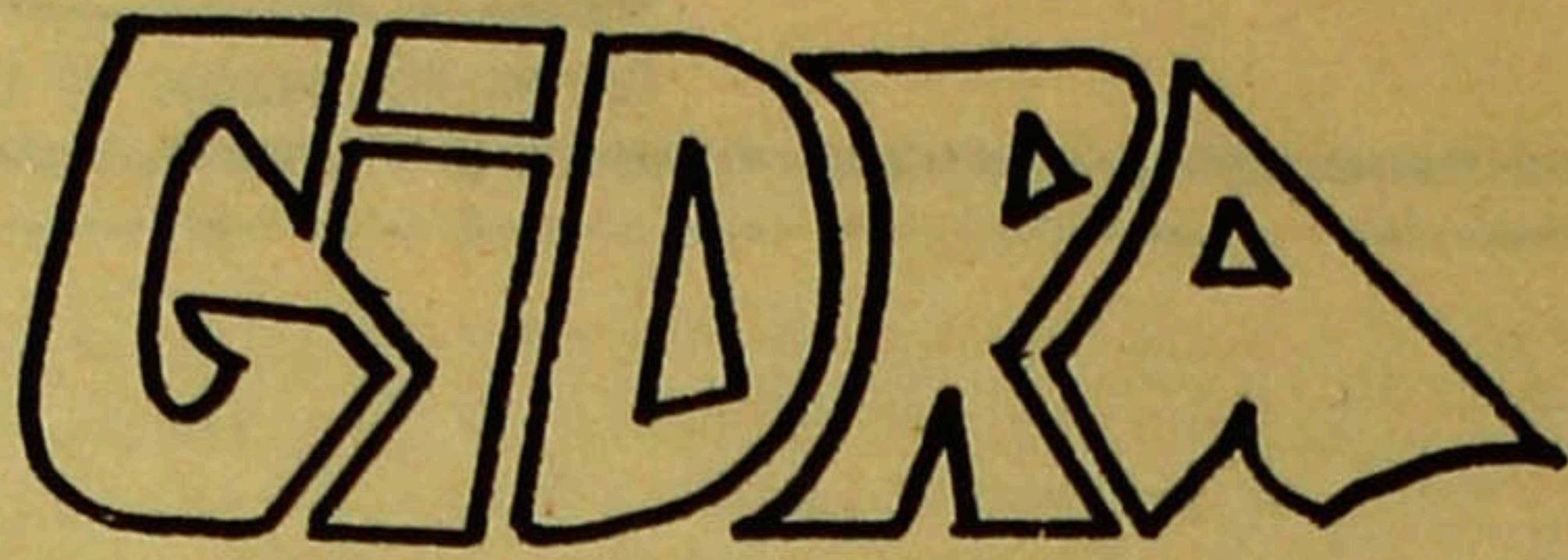
GADRA

News-Magazine of the Asian American Community

Twenty-Five Cents

Back to School





VOLUME II, Number 8 — SEPTEMBER, 1970

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NISEI WEEK

BY MIKE YAMAMOTO

Nisei Week. Issei Week. Sansei Week. A summer celebration of ritual revolution unfolds as the Asian masses take to the streets of Los Angeles in a demonstration of ethnic community pride.

Crowding the sidewalks, wandering in all directions, sharing in the vibrations, Japanese Town is alive with Asians. A comfortable feeling of identity seems to pervade the carnival atmosphere of the Civic Center, on this island in a sea of white power, the observer can see for himself the winds of change that blow the community leftward. Their history is reflected in eyes that have seen too much and yet too little; eyes that have seen sacrifice and struggle with a system that only allowed them survival, eyes that witnessed racism and repression and eyes that respond with rage and frustration.

I have often wondered just what it is that seems to draw so many to this one event. From the distant suburbs to which they originally fled, from every sector of the city, the generations of Japanese return to the first ghetto to join in a festival of race. My own first motive is a general urge to check out the beautiful Asian sisters with their long hair and exotic eyes. Not far behind this is a need to resolve a confused identity, my own culture-clash—a bewildering array of senses, instincts and beliefs. And underlying these motives is probably boredom—a lack of something better to do.

Browsing through the displays reveals a cultural kaleidoscope. One can discover a consistent perspective, a unique sense of beauty from the art and artifact displays. From the Japanese brush painting to the bonsai and flower-arranging exhibits, a constant theme of unselfconscious simplicity seem to define art as a reflection of nature. Maybe there is a lesson to be learned from this view of man's relation to nature. The time is near for the people of the earth to reject the economic and political systems that would literally allow the destruction of life on this planet in order to exploit a short-swing profit. Maybe the next art displays should depict oil-drenched beaches under brownish-green skies. The lesson could very well be that uncontrolled Capitalism is quickly replacing beauty with filth and life with death. We all begin to wonder if mankind can survive its own pollution without radical change.

The martial arts exhibitions (Karate, Aikido, Judo and Kendo) always seem to evoke a great deal of interest. Ritualized violence, formalized aggression—the most primitive instincts of man are channeled into athletic and artistic forms which have evolved into a bizarre cultural phenomenon. The primal screams and quick darting motions are genuinely blood-chilling. I have always been thankful that the martial arts developed within such a strict ethical and religious tradition. Their destructive potential is awesome.

And everybody loves a free parade. A likely spot on First

Street (in front of the seductive sidewalk shops with smiling doors) delivers an endless chain of drum and bugle marching groups in gaudy uniforms and lock-step motion. Waving dignitaries, waving actors, waving politicians and waving beauties—everybody smile and wave, after all, it's a parade. Every other float has Miss Such-and-such from Somewhere-or-other—a plastic Barbie Doll outfitted by Madison Avenue—What the Women's Liberation Movement refers to as "the sexist's ultimate dehumanization of women." And this year, everybody is treated to an educational exhibition of reckless driving by the Hells' Angel motorcycle branch of the local L.A.P.D. And so on and so forth with Japanese dancers to bring up the rear, the parade adds pulse and color to the festival.

The carnival games don't seem to change much if at all. This year, however, is different. Different groups compete for the charity dollar. *Yellow Brotherhood* co-exists with the *Young Buddhists*. *Come Together* and *Hard-Core* are on the same carnival grounds as *California Oriental Police Society (COPS)* and the *American Legion*. The crowd circulates in flowing waves amid the noise of speakers, barkers, music and dime pitches. Win some money at the Dough Ball or settle for a stuffed panda; take home a goldfish or just buy a coke. This year you can throw your dimes and dollars to help make a revolution in the Asian community. This year you can have a ball and help to change the course of history. *This year is different.*

This year's Nisei Week celebration reflects the changing picture of a community. The faces of three distinct generations of an immigrant race are showing more differences than can be accounted for by mere socialization and assimilation. The faces in the crowd tell the story of a coming storm. It is not, however, in the faces of the old. Their faces are tired, serene and somehow resigned. They have struggled with a hostile system and have known the blind alleys and dead-ends, the false promises, the hypocrisy and the lies. They have been brutalized by the system and it seems they have been beaten. The young are much more lucky. They are in a position to know, as their parents could not have known, the reality of the *American Dream*. The young militants in the crowd talk of the dialectic—the politics of conflict and confrontation. The young freaks discuss anarchy, turning on and dropping out. All of the young talk of the alternatives of change and destruction and how the struggle is at hand. *There are angry, somber faces in the carnival crowd.*

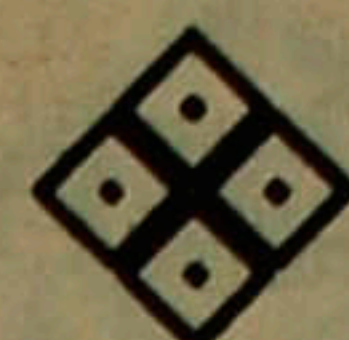
And if you sit in one spot and watch the small children as they run about, laughing and playing, you realize what it is all about. The revolution must come before the children have to choke on the air and gag on the water; before they are old enough to be slaughtered in colonial wars of aggression; before they too are faced with the futility of survival in a racist society. *The struggle is near.*

In the crowd, at Nisei Week, you can sit and watch an unchanging tradition in a changing sub-culture. *It's a trip.*



Photograph by Colin Watanabe

HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI



DELIVERED BY
PROFESSOR KOSAKU YAMAGUCHI
Professor of Japanese History
St. Andrews University
Osaka, Japan
on August 7, 1970
San Francisco, California

Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Osaka Disarmament Council and Beheiren, I would like to extend the warmest greetings of the Japanese peace movement. I would also like to thank the Asian American Ad Hoc Committee on Hiroshima and Nagasaki for its kind invitation to speak tonight.

Twenty-five years have passed since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What meaning do these two events have for us now in the year 1970? I believe that there is only one truly human meaning, and that is the urgent and over-riding need for peace. Anything less is a betrayal of not only the victims but of all people—past, present, and future. This is easy to say, but the challenges and responsibilities to realize peace are immense!

Contemporary Japan reflects, in both positive and negative ways, the great problems which face those of us working for peace. Having suffered the most destructive power of modern science and endured the ordeal of war, "NO MORE WAR" is the appeal that Japanese wish to proclaim to the world. The slogan "NO MORE WAR" expresses our personal experience with the horrors of war and our firm determination to work for peace. Most of you are aware that we in Japan have a Peace Constitution which embodies this appeal. Article 9 of our Constitution stipulates that Japan renounces the use of force to settle any international disputes. For the vast majority of the Japanese people, this article is the first significant step toward the realization of true international peace.

Our commitment to peace is inseparably linked with our unshakeable belief that nuclear weapons of ANY KIND should never be used again BY ANYONE, ON ANYONE, AT ANYTIME. The bomb is now the most terrible symbol of war. For we Japanese and many people around the world "HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI" are synonymous with visions of a future, global nuclear holocaust.

This horrifying vision became a momentary reality in 1954. In that year Japanese fisherman became trapped in radioactive fallout at Bikini where the United States tested a hydrogen bomb. By what might be called an irony of history, America once again "dropped" the bomb and once again Japanese were the victims. To use the current, callous language of the American government, the "body count" was one, but we in Japan at that time easily saw a far greater disaster which included all of mankind. The haunting memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were revived again.

Despite the strong anti-war feelings of the Japanese people, the Japanese government has neither honored the spirit nor the letter of Article 9. We in Japan naturally oppose the presence of any nuclear weapons on Japanese soil. We resent the American policy of bringing such weapons into Japan. According to the Mutual Security Pact between our two countries, prior consultation must take place on this matter. But the American government has ignored this requirement, and the Japanese government in turn has closed its eyes to the American policy of bringing such weapons into Japan. The presence of nuclear weapons violates not only the terms of the Mutual Security Pact but also our Peace Constitution. In addition, American nuclear-powered ships—polaris submarines, for example—which frequently dock at our shores, contaminate our waters with their atomic engines, pollute our spirit with their cargo of nuclear weapons, and continue to pollute the world with what their cargo stand for.

Our two countries have been military allies since 1952 when the first Mutual Security Pact went into effect. The mind staggers at this tragic and absurd relationship!

We who hate all atomic and nuclear weapons are allied with an America which threatens to use nuclear weapons if it is necessary;

We who desperately hope never again to become involved in any war are allied with an America which has been waging the unjustifiable Indo-China War, a war in which millions of Asians

have been indiscriminately killed;

We who favor total nuclear disarmament are allied with an America which our government insists protects us with its nuclear umbrella.

Can one think of a greater absurdity or betrayal?

How can Japan have renounced the use of violence if America's nuclear might is ready to be employed on our behalf?

The Mutual Security Pact of course is the basis of this alliance. This past June it was automatically extended without any Diet debates or deference to public opinion.

The Japanese government maintains what is euphemistically called a Self-Defense Force. This includes an Army, a Navy, and an Air Force. Each year the government increases the appropriations to maintain and expand this so-called defense force. Now surface-to-air or SAM missiles are being installed in Japan. No one should be surprised if in the next few years Japan comes out with an ICBM for "defensive" purposes. The U. S. government is constantly using its great economic leverage over the Japanese government to make Japan more militarily "independent." This is another way of saying that America wants Japan to spend more on military preparedness so that Japan can take over some of the military burdens carried by America. Instead of direct troop commitments, America of course hopes to achieve her objectives in Asia through this substitute process. Get Asians to fight Asians in order to maintain and expand American power in Asia! I think this is the reason for the American backing of the Thieu-Ky regime in South Vietnam.

What we have in Japan is this kind of tragic paradox. On the one hand, there is our Peace Constitution which embodies our appeal for peace based upon our wartime experience, including what we are commemorating this week, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On the other hand, we have our own government's unwillingness to abide by this very Constitution.

I see many similar parallels in the United States. Take the American commitment to the use of the hydrogen bomb, for example. America channeled its most advanced scientific talent and great financial resources to develop and stockpile the hydrogen bomb which could have easily led to an all-out nuclear war. There is now stockpiled by the United States and the Soviet Union together the equivalent of more than 10 tons of TNT for each and every individual on the face of this earth. Imagine that: 10 TONS OF TNT FOR EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL ON THE FACE OF THIS EARTH! Just think of the financial resources, scientific and technological know-how, and dedication it took to stockpile so much. And think of the humane purposes to which this same amount of money, knowledge, and dedication could have been put. They could have helped, for example, solve some of the pressing urban and racial problems which you are now faced with. I personally prefer to think that, if the American people were given a direct choice, free of political doubletalk, they would not elect to pump their resources into nuclear weapons.

This brings me to my central point. Neither in Japan nor in the United States do I see governments which are truly responsive to the people. From the way I see things, both governments have adopted policies which are contrary to the best interest of their people and international peace. I have definite ideas about how this situation might be corrected in Japan, but I will not discuss them here with you tonight.

But I will say this:

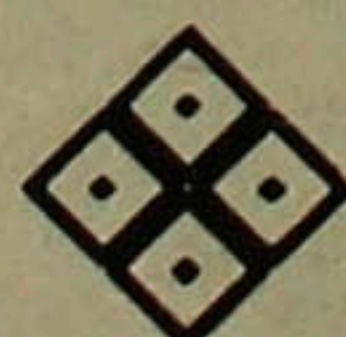
If Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not to become just another historical abstraction, then we must all assume the responsibility to see that they do not;

If the events in the picture which you saw tonight are not going to be repeated, then we must all assume the responsibility that they indeed do not reoccur.

To say "NO MORE HIROSHIMA" is not enough. We must also say "NO MORE VIETNAMS." We must also say "NO MORE LAOS." We must also say "NO MORE CAMBODIA."

I know many of you here are already activists in the American peace movement.

I hope that those of you who are not will soon join the movement. And when you do, you will have to deal with the problem of how to make the American government more responsive to the people, for that is inseparable from the urgent need for international peace which is the true human meaning of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



their meaning today

CHICANO

BY WAYNE MIYAO

Few people know or understand the events which took place on Saturday, August 29, 1970, in East Los Angeles. The Chicano Moratorium, the organizers of the largest anti-war demonstration ever to take place in Los Angeles, have been subject to much racist misunderstanding. The readers of the *Los Angeles Times* and/or the *Herald Examiner* were misled to believe that what took place was a 'riot' which led to the unfortunate death of Ruben Salazar. Little was said about the demonstration beyond the fact that it was anti-war. Nor was there any indication given that the press was at all sensitive to the conditions of the barrio which led to the confrontation.

The demonstration was the largest gathering of minority people against the war in Vietnam. The figure approaching 40,000 people becomes even more impressive and important as knowledge about the history of the Chicano and their present day conditions come forth. The importance of the event, and the turbulence within the community for legitimate reasons—better housing conditions, educational opportunities, and overall social justice—was obscured by the notion of 'wine,' hot sun and damage to property.

The Nixon administration was quite aware of the meaning and implications of the Chicano Moratorium. Witness the following events which span a two week period just prior to, and after the demonstration which anticipated 100,000 people. Agnew makes a speech which puts forth the Administration's desire to aid the Mexican Americans, and how it is a priority. Nixon makes a surprise visit to Mexico's President Diaz. Nixon makes the first public appearance of a President in Los Angeles since Johnson's ill-fated Century City incident, along with the Cabinet members and their wives at the Dorothy Chandler Pavillion. After the Moratorium, Nixon hosts President Diaz in California. Why all this sudden concern?

The Chicano death rate in Vietnam is six times what it should be (per cent of the death toll compared to their percentage of the total population), one and one-half that of blacks, and twice the death toll of whites. The way society operates points out reasons for such statistics. For example, in Los Angeles, 50 per cent of the Chicano youth are 'pushed out' of the high schools, making them prime material for the war machine. To most poor people, the military is a means to 'upward-social mobility.' The draft apparatus works against the poor and uneducated—most people able to avoid the draft are white, middle class youth.

The Moratorium is a grouping of many different elements of the Chicano community. The Moratorium has organized many demonstrations against the war throughout the Southwest and in California since its beginning in 1969. The Moratorium has successfully mobilized a sector of the society which is most vulnerable to the effects of war, educated the community which because of institutional racism is ignorant of its own rights and ability to achieve social justice. The Moratorium has recognized that the people who suffer the most are the Vietnamese, and that the people who are forced to fight wars are the poor at home. Thus a racist and imperialistic war of genocide against the Vietnamese is fought by the sufferers of racism in America. The military works against the poor, while the poor and oppressed are forced to labor and die for the rich. This type of understanding and organization poses a great threat to the war machine and its ability to function. The peace movement's inability to fight institutional racism while trying to end the war in Vietnam made them a vital but weak force. The Chicano Moratorium because of its constituency has wider implications and much more power. It is important that both forces come together in the future.

Two dynamics are at play—racist repression at home, and an increase of militarist imperialism throughout our empire. Repression permeates throughout our society, but expresses itself most blatantly and harshly against people of color. Imperialism is suffering great defeats. The Vietnamese struggle has brought forth the unity of the Indochinese freedom forces. Many people fear that nuclear tactical weapons will be used in Vietnam after the monsoon season. Action in solidarity with the Chicano Moratorium to bring about an end to the war, as well as an increase in other efforts, is imperative.

The 'riot mythology' fails to explain the social conditions of the Chicano, nor does it give any understanding to the legitimacy of their frustrations. One must wade through the mythology and racist stereotypes to respond adequately to the Chicano Moratorium and not let such a power become isolated and crushed by the repressive mechanisms of the society. With the impending threat of nuclear disaster in Vietnam, and repression towards anyone who voices dissent against the war, it becomes even more a mandate and necessary step.

FLASHES!

BY BRUCE IWASAKI

The dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has many meanings for different people: A horrible destructive holocaust; the foreshadowings of the apocalypse; an example of U.S. militarism; a manifestation of American racism. But for this writer, it also provides personal lessons. A historical perspective on the Bomb provides insights into his Asian identity, and to the nature of the tensions between his post World War II generation and the generation of his parents.

Though families and adults were there, it was of significance that so many of those present at the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Commemoration in San Francisco August 6-9, were unborn in 1945. For them, their entire lifetimes have been spent in the shadow of extinction; the technology of destruction has been as omnipresent as television. For them the conjuring up of apocalyptic imagery is easy; for them the concept of revolution is not difficult to grasp. Therefore, history before Hiroshima takes on the pallor of faded photographs; only the here and now has significance. No wonder the heightened sensuality of their youth culture and the problems of communication with their elders. Understandable the difficulties in speaking with adults whose custom is silence—silence not only because of the hardships most younger Asians have been spared—but because of the dashing aside of those simple assumptions about American political morality which the Bomb made untenable. As Jacob Brackman writes: "All prediction rests upon one unspoken absurdity: Let's assume nothing terrible happens."

The young Asians at this commemoration were recognizing the anniversary of the most brutal weapon unleashed upon the earth. But they were also in a subtle way paying homage to a prime source of the alienation in their lives. They were recognizing the device of a society whose alienating influences in the prevailing politics and culture had prompted the political consciousness necessary to participate in such a commemoration.

If the use of atomic weapons had a profound influence on the people of this generation, it has particular importance to Asians. As Reverend Roy Sano, assistant professor at Mills College stated, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "helped us define who we are." At the Saturday afternoon panel discussion on why Asian Americans should be concerned, he noted that the bombings demonstrated that yellows, indeed all Third World people, are expendable as far as American foreign policy is concerned. Asians must be involved because apparently, "Asians can be jettisoned to keep the ship of state afloat." The night before, Yuji Ichioka speaking on the decision to drop the bomb (reprinted in *Gidra*, August 1970) showed how Hiroshima and Nagasaki are instructive in understanding our country today. Kosaki Yamaguchi, a visiting professor at Berkeley from Osaka also discussed present American policy, especially as it affects Japan.

A 50 minute film smuggled from Japan was also shown. In it, repeated examples of human deformity and destruction as a result of the bombs were illustrated. It especially traced the deep personal sufferings of those who survived and their constant struggle to overcome squashed aspirations. Viewing the film, one thought of the line from Yeats: "Heaven blazing into the head: Tragedy wrought to its uttermost."

It was not a pretentious weekend at all. The junior high school auditorium used for speakers and panels was dark and cold. Perhaps 225 attended the Friday night meeting, with less at the others. Workshops might have been planned, but as Floyd Huen said, they hadn't expected so many out-of-towners and it was designed to be a commemoration, not a conference. Though often rather bland, the weekend also held moments of exquisite poignancy, and good times. The Hiroshima-Nagasaki weekend got brothers and sisters with some common feelings about things together for a little sharing and a little unity.

Sunday morning, Nagasaki Day, the final commemoration services were held. After a simple church ceremony including anti-war songs, and poetry readings, (August *Gidra*) the assembly left the unadorned chapel. Outside they formed a line and marched the short distance to the Peace Pagoda at the Japanese Trade and Cultural Center. There, under a bright clear sky, the community gave offerings of origami cranes and incense. It was not a somber affair but a spiritual event that brought one an inner peace even as one looked out at the San Francisco skyline.

The folded paper cranes, symbolizing the yearning for peace, soon formed a delicate pile on the tiny altar. So colorful, gentle, intricate; so much, they seemed, like the brothers and sisters themselves, walking up slowly, one by one, to place them down and offer a purifying pinch of incense. And by merely observing these beautiful brothers and sisters, like so many others serving the people, by watching them perform this simple gesture in affirmation of humanity and in recognition of the threat to it, one could gain some strength and faith. The faith in the ultimate will of the people over the Man's technology.

A thousand flowered people
 spread across this land
 A thousand flowered people
 ignored our Uncle's hand
 they could not bear
 to sell their minds;
 or tie the knot
 that forever binds.
 A thousand flowered people
 set out in eager search
 A thousand flowered people
 abandoned our church
 they could not bear
 to live in lies
 or dwell beneath
 polluted skies
 A thousand flowered people
 based their life on love
 A thousand flowered people
 whose symbol was a dove
 they could not bear
 to cloud the dawn
 or kill for sport
 a spotted fawn
 A thousand flowered people
 have seen the plight
 A thousand flowered people
 have taken flight
 The world

is not ready....

—John Saka



Drawing by Steve Tatsukawa

JAPANESE



MOVEMENT

Japan Movement

BY KOKO MIYAZAKI

Detroit, Michigan

When I went back to Japan after five years, the first thing I noticed was the general prosperity that the people are enjoying, then I got the impression that the movement in Japan is undergoing a transitional period.

Young women's clothes were colorful and stylish; people seemed to spend more time and money on leisure (movies, eating out, baseball games). Television commercials have become as frequent as they are here and are Americanized with a Japanese flavor. My favorite is, "Use dandruff cream, or you will have stains in your mind." There were more new cars zooming along on the narrow roads. (Car salesmen apparently sell second-hand Japanese cars in Southeast Asian countries—they make up 80 percent of the total number in Thailand—to maintain the Japanese market for new cars). Old houses were replaced by new, huge, high-rise buildings in the centers of the big cities; more apartment houses and small individual homes, half-Westernized, were being built in the suburbs and in the middle of rich farming areas. It sounded very bourgeois to me when my brother suggested that we ride the Kodama on the Shinkan-sen (the high-speed rail line between Tokyo and Osaka) to go to Nagoya. Later, I found out that many people, even students in the movement, have started to use this expensive train. 90 percent of Japanese families had television sets when I left in 1965; now 23 percent own color sets. To own a home or car is a prevailing dream among young, middle-class working people. TV and newspaper commercials sell accessories to "my car" or "my home, or goods that would add comfort and convenience for "happy home life." Statistically, in terms of expenditures on groceries, medical care, education, and leisure-time (40 percent of income goes for food, and 30 percent for housing out of a \$3,000-a-year average income), Japan's standard of living is now at the same level as that of the U.S. during the 1950's. In general, people seem to be enjoying their new prosperous life.

Politicians and businessmen are taking advantage of this, by effectively working to encourage big-power nationalism with slogans like "Japan is now one of the big economic nations." Advertisements in streetcars or on television exhibit others such as, "The Japanese GNP is in second place in the world," and "Japan can catch up with the U.S. and surpass her by the end of the 1970's." Expo '70 was widely used and advertised as a showcase for national prestige. In the train or on the walls of the houses one can frequently read, "Unite hand in hand, let's make Expo successful," or "Keep your town clean, and let's make Expo successful."

For the present, superficially it seems that, as a title in *Newsweek* suggested, the great energy of "Japan Inc." is directed toward building up a highly successful, technological, capitalist country, complete with overtones of great power chauvinism similar to that of Western countries.

The Japanese Left has so far been unsuccessful in combating this. During the 40's and 50's, the Marxist Old Left, as represented by the Communist and Socialist Parties (CP and SP), was able to build a certain amount of anti-ruling-class and anti-imperialist political consciousness among organized workers, who were the main force for social change during that period. The Communists, especially, fought bravely for workers' rights and independence from U.S. imperialism. They were systematically repressed during the late 40's and early 50's.

Because the economic situation in post-war Japan was such that workers had to fight for their very survival, the political appeals of the CP- and SP-oriented union leadership were always linked with wage demands. After CP strategy went through a series of drastic and confusing changes and ended up depending entirely on electoral politics after 1952, the linking of political and economic concerns took the form of calling the Left, including the unions, the "Peace and Democracy Forces" (not "Revolutionary Forces") and telling the workers that in order to improve their economic situation, it was necessary to maintain the peaceful status quo by opposing U.S. and Japanese foreign policy, which was a "threat to peace." In other words, the union leaders said, "If you oppose AMPO (the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty) and the Constitutional Revision (an attempt by the Government to eliminate Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution that makes it illegal for Japan to have national military forces), peace and stability can be maintained and your economic situation will improve."

So, when the ruling class started telling workers that the obvious prosperity of the 60's and the success of "My Homism" were, as the Left said, the result of peace and stability which, in turn, was made possible by AMPO, the union leadership had no counter strategy. They merely continued to demand higher wages and an end to the AMPO system. Workers in 1970 quite actually said, "The Socialists and Communists told us that with AMPO, there would be no peace and prosperity. But we have had AMPO for ten years and we have had ten years of peace and prosperity. It is good that they continue to demand higher wages for us, but their political ideas are silly." Responding to this attitude, union leaders are increasingly deemphasizing political concerns and focusing on purely economic issues.

As a result, the unions have become more and more a part of the capitalist machinery. For this year's annual spring strike struggle (Shunto), 7,000 big and small unions struck and concentrated most of their effort on demands for higher wages. One of my friends confided to me that strikes with anti-war or anti-AMPO demands have half a chance of getting broken by the union members themselves. In the case of the Hankyu train company union, they took advantage of Expo '70, which was opposed by the New Left as the symbol of expanding Japanese capitalism. This company provides 90 per cent of the transportation to Expo around Osaka and Kyoto. So the unions, knowing they could get what they wanted by threatening to stop the operation of the trains, struck demanding higher wages. Other unions used this to justify their own demands for increases.

Business management can deal with union demands for higher wages because of the growth in Japanese capitalism. At the general meeting of

the Federation of Economic organizations (Nikkeiren, Japan's largest and most powerful group of businessmen), President Sakurada said, "The increase in wages has been possible because of the increase in the amount of profit stemming from higher productivity." From the side of management, their favorite topic of labor-management cooperation has become much easier to present. "We, both management and labor, as industrial men, feeling common responsibility for our new national economy, have to cooperate with each other for rational decision of wages." (*Asahi Newspaper*, April 23, 1970).

They stress the social responsibility and the public interest of big business. Again, Sakurada said, "Nowadays, the family is becoming more based on the nuclear family and losing mutual feeling toward its local community. The factory and office should be not only for production, research and administration, but also for the human community of peace and order based on love and common belief." Their approach to "human community" is to provide their workers with apartment houses, hospitals, and recreation centers which represent nothing more than the old, traditional, paternal attitudes toward workers.

According to statistics, support for the Socialist party in Sohyo, Japan's largest labor federation with 4,200,000 members, declined from 60 percent to 29 percent from 1964 to 1967. And 60 percent of the members indicated mistrust and apathy toward union politics. But the important point is that more and more workers have started to feel that they have nothing to do with their companies either. Maybe that is why Sakurada had all the more reason to call attention to management's efforts to work out some method which would make work a "human community."

Both union bureaucrats and management paternalists are suffering because prewar, feudal, group consciousness is being challenged by various forms of individualism. "My Homism" and acceptance of democratic ideas by the post-war generation are important in this respect.

Workers are concentrating more and more on "happy (nuclear) family life," but they are nevertheless faced with serious and growing problems. One of these is the high cost of living, which goes up at the rate of five to seven percent a year. Another is pollution (Kogai, public harm), for which industry is primarily responsible. One Japanese ecologist angrily wrote, "Pollution in Japan is the worst in the world, the industries never bothered to install any kind of prevention equipment, for fear that it would raise the cost of production." There is a great political controversy over compensation for 140 deaths caused by mercury pollution in one river over the past 17 years. Fishing and farming in the area were destroyed. Also, because of pollution, I was unable to see Mt. Fuji even once during the two months I was in Japan. A third problem is a newly developing chauvinist and militarist tendency, manifested in the proposal to more than double the military budget for the five years following 1971. Also there is a change in education. While I was in Japan, the Ministry of Education proposed changes in the primary school textbook. For example, they: (1) reintroduced the mythology that the Emperor is a descendant of the son of god and the foundation of the history of the Japanese people, (2) dropped the anti-war interpretation of Article Nine of the Constitution from the social study textbook, and (3) authorized two versions of the textbook, which means that teachers have only two alternatives to choose from. The people understand that these phenomena occur because the Japanese government and business are heavily involved in imperialistic ventures as a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. Their interest in politics is growing. It is reported that during the struggle to stop the nuclear-armed aircraft carrier *Enterprise* from docking at Sasebo in January 1968, letters to the editor of *Asahi*, one of Japan's biggest newspapers, were received in four times the usual volume (Saburo Kageyama, *The Theory of the Newspaper Letters*, 1968). Also, in the city of Sasebo itself, large numbers of town people spontaneously joined militant students in the struggle against the *Enterprise*.

People's interest in politics no longer expresses itself through traditional organizational channels like unions. This is because workers are realizing that unions are part of business machinery; they have become too gigantic and bureaucratic, and they are controlled by people whose main interest is power politics. It has become customary to decide the activities of the union members at the level of executive committees and to pass these decisions down to the ordinary members without any chance of consensus being reached, or even without approval by the members. For instance, fund-raising or gathering votes for the Socialist Party candidates is the obligation of the members as a result of upper-level decisions in most industrial unions.

What about the Communist Party? Do the people feel the same way about the party?

The Communist party has 200,000 members and 300,000 young people in Minsei, its youth league. In terms of its organizational structure, members are placed in cells of five people at the lowest level and every member is required to do some kind of responsible job handed down from the top level of the party. These requests or orders from the top party members seem very important to people who have been looked down upon and not recognized socially. They feel very important being nominated to distribute party newspapers or go door-to-door campaigning for the local party candidate. There are lots of hard-working people at the lowest level with a new sense of mission. Also the party's signing and reading circles, hiking trips, and other organized, recreational activities help to provide a sense of belonging for members and non-members alike.

But the Communist party (CP) has organizational defects similar to those of the SP and the unions. One is that there is no room for the individual to play an independent role as far as party politics are concerned. On one occasion I expressed my desire to find out why the party has so many members to a party member who was a friend of mine during university days. She said she had to consult the party "to find out if she could talk

Japan Movement

to me or not." I was astonished and decided not to talk to her, because I got the feeling that she would just give me the party line without any of her own personal feeling. The other defect that the CP shares with other organizations is that it is playing the numbers game. It is true that CP is dealing with problems close to daily life, such as pollution, establishment of day-care centers, and garbage collection in the apartment complexes. Working on these kinds of projects not only keeps the party members vital and active, but has political potential if the issues are dealt with in such a way as to develop a better understanding of the nature of capitalism and imperialism. But the main reason the leadership of the CP chooses these issues is to draw people into their election campaigns. The CP has adapted the two-stage theory of revolution originally developed by Mao Tse-tung for China: first, the bourgeois democratic evolution, and then the socialist revolution. The Party's claim that Japan is presently in the first stage and that therefore, is to get more votes in the national and local elections. They are heavily involved in the politics of numbers games with the ruling class.

Because the CP deals directly with issues very close to daily life and also provides a sense of belonging, many still feel that the CP is different from the SP and the unions, and perhaps see it as the last hope for solving social problems through some form of Old Left organization. That may explain the recent increase in party membership. Nonetheless, eventually, I think, people will realize that the CP is another traditional organization for the sake of organization, not for the sake of the people's interests, and that members exist for the organization and not the organization for the members.

Some of my friends told me that the Japanese New Left movement developed out of criticism of leftist "organization." I think this sums it up pretty well. The people who felt that their individuality was lost in a gigantic bureaucratic organization, and that the organization was really a party of the power structure, started to form their own groups. Beheiren (Peace for Vietnam Committee), Hansen Seinen linkai (Anti-War Youth Committee), and to some extent, Zenkyoto (All Japan Joint-Struggle Council) are the best known New Left groups.

Beheiren is a very loosely structured organization without membership. They claim that anyone (people with any kind of job—blue-collar workers in the factory, or white-collar workers in the office, or shopkeepers) who agrees with their three basic positions—(1) peace for Vietnam, (2) leave Vietnam in the hands of the Vietnamese, and (3) no Japanese Participation in the war can claim that he is a member of Beheiren and he can participate in their demonstrations for his own reasons. When I talked to the people at the office of the Beheiren, they made the point again and again that the office is not the headquarters of Beheiren. They do not know how many Beheiren groups are in Japan or what kind of activities they are engaged in. Local programs are completely left up to the individual groups. The fact that self-initiated action is strongly respected is the strength of Beheiren. Further, the fact that Beheiren, together with Zenkyoto and Hansen Seinen linkai, was able to draw several thousand people to militant demonstrations on June 15, 1968, 60,000 on the same day, 1969, and 80,000 on April 28 of this year without any kind of organizational pressure (sometimes the CP even pays people to march in its demonstration) shows that a tremendous number of people are ready to act.

Besides its respect for the individual, Beheiren, as part of the New Left movement, has other new aspects that it shares with Hansen Seinen linkai and to some extent with Zenkyoto. First is the realization that people's daily existence (as workers, students, or shopkeepers) is not only threatened by the system but supports it as well. That is, as long as people perform their duties, they maintain the *status quo* and therefore collaborators in, for example, Japan's support for U.S. aggression in Vietnam. As soon as they realize that their own functioning in the system itself is responsible for the preservation of the system, they have the urge to do something about it, which leads to the second point. People act with a desire to solve problems. The ideology does not choose the problem and the method of solution. Their attention is on action rather than on ideological discussion about the future of "Socialist Japan." I suspect that this is something the New Left emphasizes consciously, because, as I mentioned before, the New Left movement came out of the failure of the Old Left, which proved unable to mobilize the energy of the people, being, in addition to its organizational problems, too rhetorically involved in ideology.

My impression is that Beheiren is carrying out some very solid actions. One Beheiren group in the suburbs of Tokyo goes to the nearby U.S. bases every Sunday, calling to the U.S. soldiers to defect and telling them that they can be taken care of safely. I heard that there are more than 280 U.S. soldiers hiding somewhere in Japan. Osaka Beheiren along with Zenkyoto organized a festival at the Osaka-castle park, calling it the "Anti-war Expo by unknown people" in contrast to "Expo by the ruling class."

Zenkyoto is a new form of Zengakuren, the multi-faction mainstream. Up to 1960, Zengakuren (the National Association of Student Self-governing Bodies) was controlled by the CP. At the time of struggle against AMPO, they made a complete separation from the CP due to a difference in strategy. Mainstream Zengakuren had as its main slogans, "Oppose U.S. imperialism," and "Oppose Stalinism and the Japanese Communist Party." Since that time, Minsei (the CP's youth organization) and the numerous anti-CP factions have fought a seesaw battle for control of the various local student self-government associations that make up Zengakuren. Then came the experience at Nihon University in 1968. Neither Zengakuren nor Minsei had much influence over the students, since Nihon University has always been a stronghold of conservatism with most of the student body apathetic. Out of this vacuum, students started to develop

their own tactics and ideology based on their daily existence. They started to question what it means to be a student in the university. They started to question education and the role of the university in present-day, imperialist society. From this point on, as they put together what they called Zenkyoto, "The Joint-Struggle Council," they started to depart from the existing student government organizations, leaving its control to Minsei, which continued to concentrate on university reform and various recreational activities. The main aim of Zenkyoto became the "destruction of the imperialist university," which they see as the supplier of the next generation of technologists for the ruling class, and a supporter of the military and industry through research. Their struggle is to set up "Anti-Universities" (Han-daigaku) or "Liberated Areas" (Kaihoku). In the struggle of Tokyo University, the "Anti-University" lasted more than six months while they were on strike. The students studied topics of their own interest and some of them did research.

Even though the Zenkyoto activists started not from the ideology of Marxism, as did Zengakuren, but from their own existence as students and human beings and built an anti-imperialist movement, they still have not escaped some of the shortcomings of Zengakuren. They tend to have a consciousness of intellectual elitism; they must "show" the masses what kind of struggle is possible for the revolution. They see their role as both to form ideology for the revolution and to raise the consciousness of the masses by militant action. As a result, they often tend to isolate themselves from the very people they are addressing. But the objective basis for such elitism is disappearing, because the number of students who go to college is steadily increasing (25 percent of students go to college, compared to 18 percent in 1955). Also, what is happening inside the university has relevance to the outside society. Yet, there was no effort on the part of the students to explain to the people living nearby why they needed to set up a "Liberated Area."

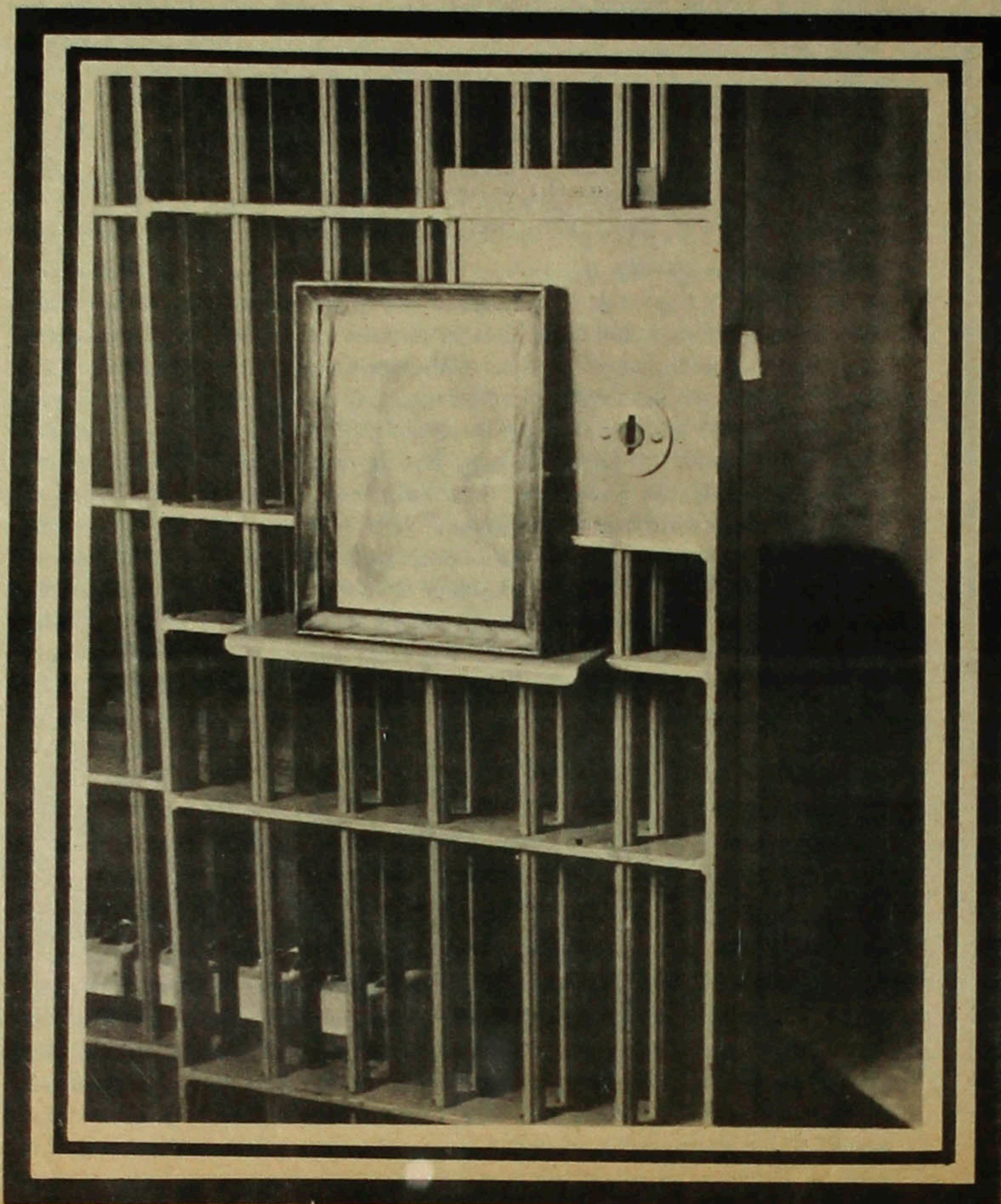
Another problem is that certain factions in Zenkyoto, because of ideological differences, fight one another almost as violently as they fight the special riot police (Kidotai). This, too, appalls the people. Nonetheless I think the Zenkyoto struggle is of great importance because it originated from a consciousness of the individual's existence in an oppressive, imperialist society and developed a consciousness of the responsibility to fight that society continuously, with or without the support of others. Many Japanese students who developed this kind of consciousness did not change their attitude when they ceased to be students. They started to form their own groups among people who share the same ideas in offices throughout the country. Some of this activity developed into the Hansen Seinen linkai (Anti-War Youth Committee), with the help of young workers in factories, who began to realize that workers are not proletarian (that is, class conscious and a force for revolution) just because they work in a factory and are members of the union. The union leaders avoided key issues like *speed up* in return for offers of higher wage settlements. Furthermore, the unions have failed to deal with the alienation of workers as human beings. This is one of mounting sources of frustration for workers living in a highly technological, capitalist society. The members of Hansen Seinen linkai are trying to fight against *speed-up* and alienation of the workers by demanding control over production and machines. At Sony, one worker was reported to have smashed 50 color TV sets. At Mitsubishi, two workers broke several computers. Hansen Seinen linkai is trying to soak up this kind of angry energy and to give it a positive direction, based on revolutionary class consciousness.

There are more than 200 high-school anti-war, Zenkyoto-type groups which have sprung up around issues like the war and the education system. In Japan, high-school students are required to study very hard and to pass the university entrance exams. This takes up the energy and time of the whole high school experience. They are forced to memorize all the facts in the history textbook, chemistry formulas, the principles of mathematics, etc., just to pass entrance exams. More and more students are starting to realize the uselessness and dehumanizing effect of this kind of education.

I met another kind of young people, lots of them, who have refused to grow up to be "adult" (otona) and to lead a "comfortable middle-class life," which seems to them hypocritical and a compromise with the system. Here I can see the beginning of "hippies" in Japan. They have their own "Nakama" (comrade) groups, and I heard that some of them are experimenting with communes called "Buraku" (tribe). They are so far apolitical, but there are common feelings that can be brought to the surface very easily. I witnessed one example of this. When I was in Sakae Hiroba (park) which is the underground shopping center along the subway station in Nagoya, the private guard of the area grabbed two Zenkyoto students who were leafleting. The guard claimed that they hit him. What happened was that one of the students touched the guard's shoulder by accident. Hippies who were milling around the area playing music, immediately formed to protest, demanding the immediate release of the students. The hippies did not share the same political views, but they apparently felt that they share the same fate, since the arrest of the students meant no more free use of the park.

In the last several years in Japan, lots of changes have taken place. The Japanese people have started to realize, at a gut level, that their lives are pressured and threatened by the new AMPO system, the result of the U.S.-Japan communique of November 1969. They are trying to find new solutions for such problems as Japan's participation in the Vietnam War, pollution, education, the high cost of living, and alienation, based on their own individual initiative with spontaneous formulas for collective effort which, I believe, will develop into a long-lasting, successful, revolutionary struggle.

Y.T.S.



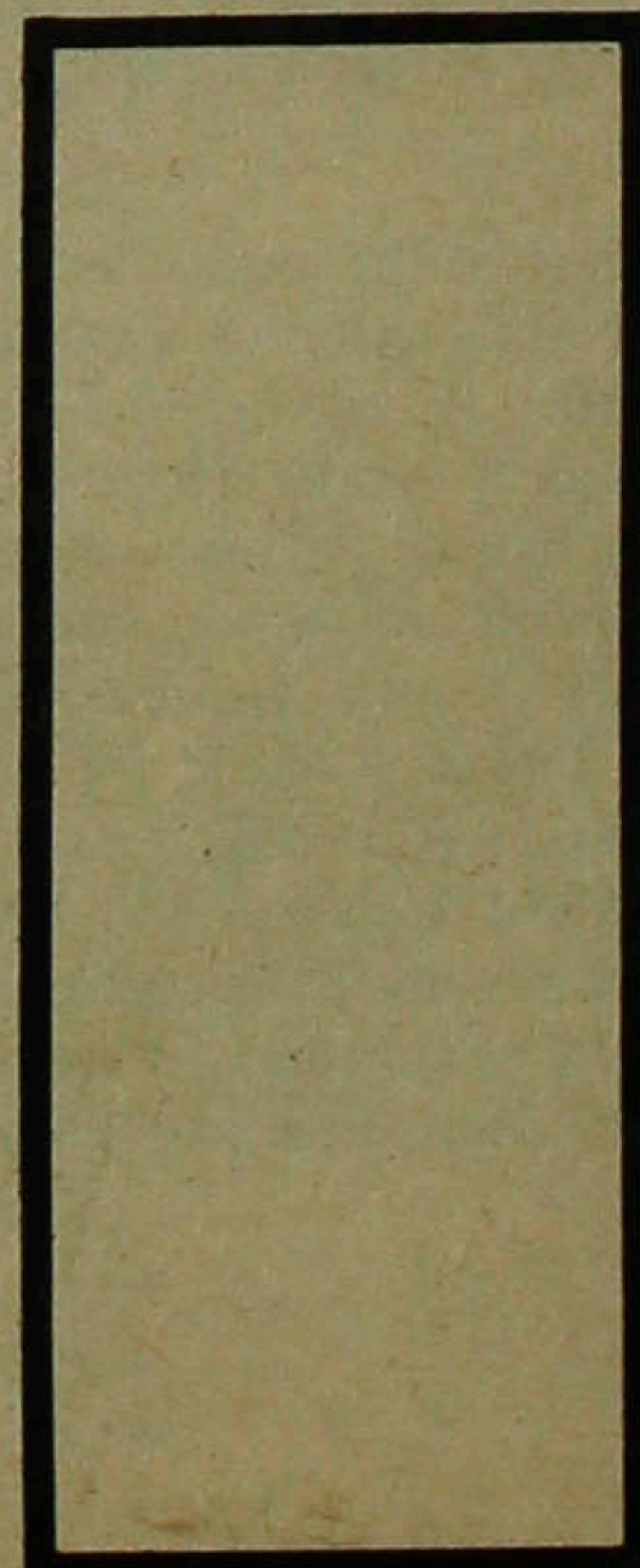
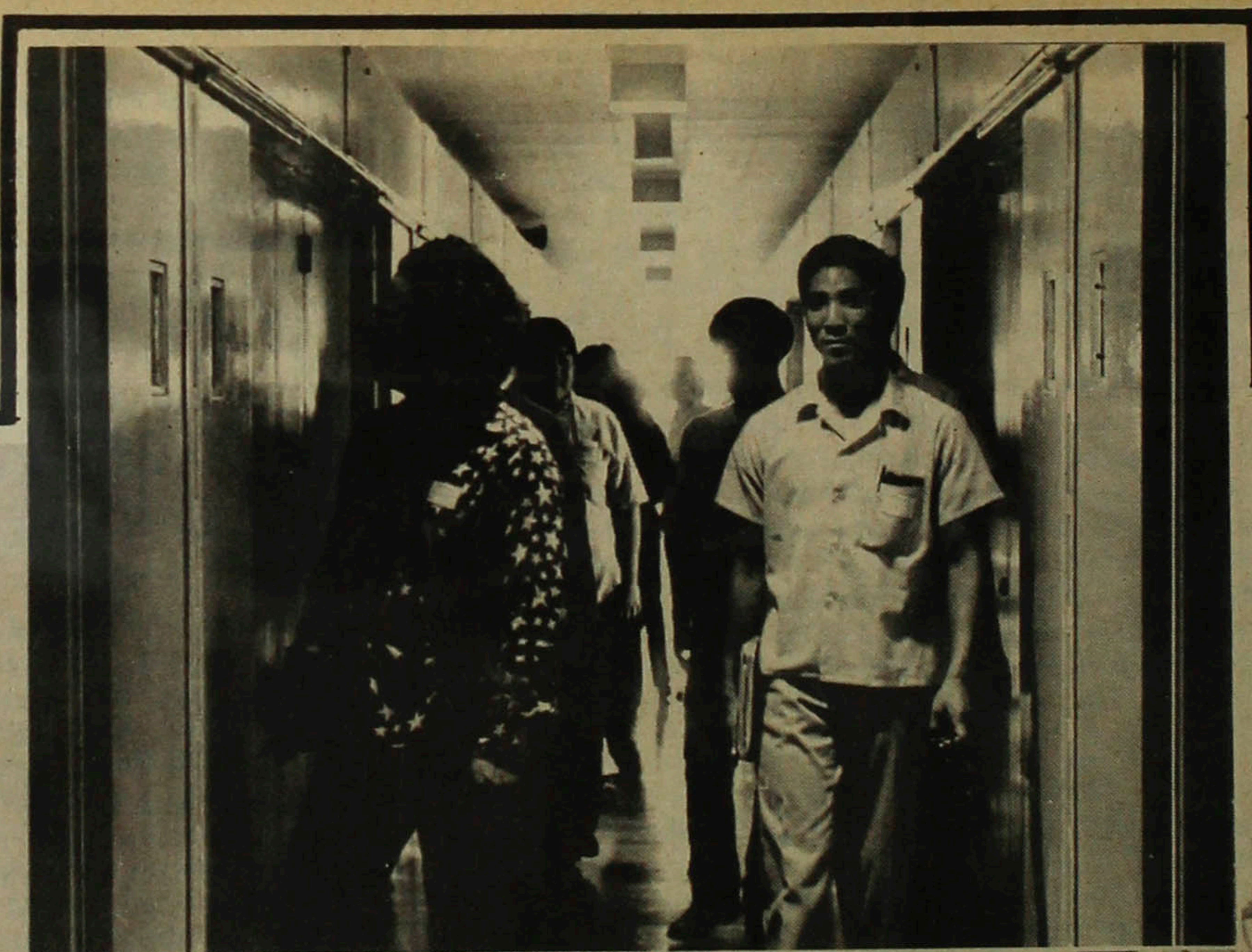
Youth Training School [hereafter YTS] is a penal institution for young brothers. They have high school and college classes as well as occupational training classes. Everyone is required to learn a trade so that when they leave the institution they can find out there are no jobs.

The front walk is lined with multi-colored flowers and green grass. The physical appearance resembles any institution: high school, college, service center, etc., except that the fences are higher and there is an electric current which circulates around the top of this fence.

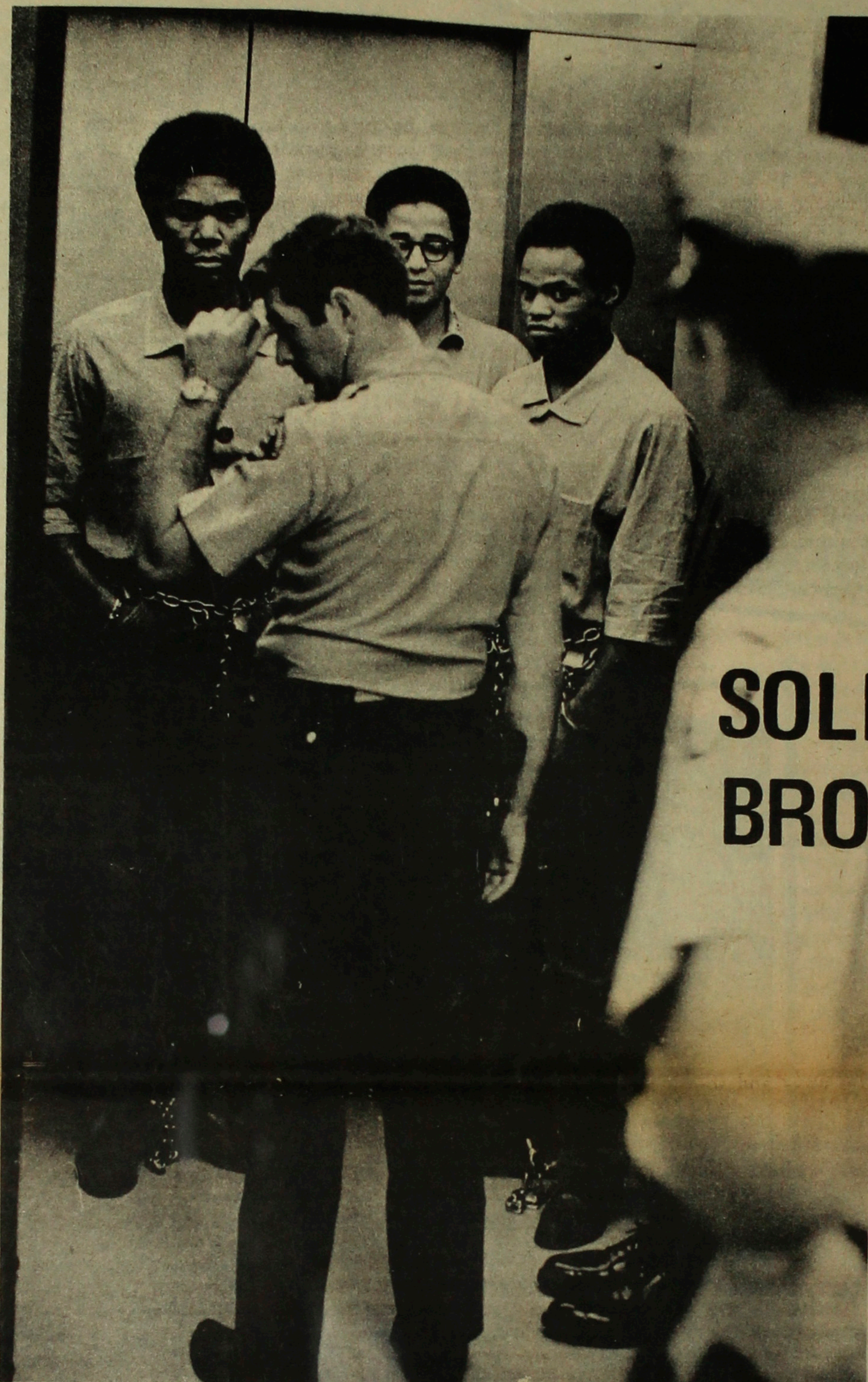
Many Asian brothers and sisters visited YTS for a cultural seminar sponsored by the YTS Asian organization (Asian Betterment & Culture Program) and the Asian American Hardcore. The visitors toured the facility and were treated to an authentic Asian meal. This meal was prepared by the staff chef and it was quite good. In talking to one of the inmates I discovered that this was the first time he had eaten in the staff dining area. Usually his meals were eaten in the mess halls a la institution spaghetti.

During the culture program (music, fashion and martial arts) a brother related the fact that everything happening that day was a front. A way of appeasing the inmates whose real life is trying to survive on hating whitey, Japs, Chinks, Spics, or Niggers. The only for real thing about YTS is that everyone wants out. Sure, you try to adapt. Play football, work, form a cultural organization, anything to keep your mind off of the outside. As a matter of fact, YTS is one of the more liberal facilities and it's nickname is "Disneyland." But understand that regardless of how liberal it is, the brothers inside can't leave when they want to, and in this case, that's all that really matters.

All Power to the Righteous Brothers of YTS!







SOLEDAD BROTHERS

Editors' Note: The following article has been reprinted in its entirety from the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee information pamphlet.

SOLEDAD BROTHERS

On March 17, 1970 three young men were brought into the Superior Court at Salinas, Monterey County, California, to answer to the charge of murder in the first degree. Normally strong, lithe and athletic, they shuffled of necessity because their legs were in irons. Their wrists were shackled to chains bound around the waist and under the crotch. Their entrance, in prison clothes, shackled and bound, was no accident. Fleeta Drumgo, John Clutchette, George Lester Jackson had been groomed since childhood by the police, by the courts, by the prison system, by our racist society itself for the role they were called on to play.

Although they had known each other only in Soledad Prison, the three young men had this in common: they were black. Drumgo was first picked up by the police for some minor infraction of the law at the age of 13, Clutchette at

about the same age.

"In Compton, if you're black and walk down the street, you're going to get arrested," his mother explained.

At the age of 15, George Jackson, illegally driving his father's car, came to the attention of the police.

From the moment of their first arrest, the three were no longer in the care of loving families—and all of them do have loving families—but were channeled over the period of the last ten years through one "facility" or another, groomed for the role of suspect—a better word is victim—when law and order forces were pressured to solve a crime.

From Juvenile Hall or Rehabilitation Camp to County Jail and on to Soledad, they were helped every step of the way by indifferent judges, by indifferent or inept lawyers or overworked Public Defenders, who advised the easiest way for themselves, who saw no other way than pleading guilty to crimes someone else had committed—this is the much-traveled road for black youth with a "record."

"You know the line," wrote George Jackson from his prison cell to a friend outside. "Inside the joint it is the same, only more intense. A sense of terror, betrayal and insecurity prevails at all times, it flows outward from the captain's office, divide and rule, divide and rule..."

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED JANUARY, 1970

On January 16, John Mills, a white guard at Soledad Prison, was beaten and thrown over the third tier railing of Y-wing. He died. For the following eight days, all 137 inmates of the wing were confined to their cells while the prison administration investigated. Three black inmates—John W. Clutchette, Fleeta Drumgo and George Lester Jackson—were isolated in solitary confinement for an additional 21 days. The grand jury of Monterey County, meeting secretly with neither the defendants nor their attorneys present, found the District Attorney's evidence sufficient to indict these three men for assault and murder.

Some have suggested a link between the incident of the 16th and an earlier one in which three black inmates were killed and a white inmate seriously wounded. On January 13, eight prisoners on O-wing were in the recreation yard when a scuffle allegedly broke out. No prison official was present, but without warning O. G. Miller fired four shots from his nearby guard tower. Prison officials, the District Attorney and the same grand jury called these killings "justifiable homicide." Although this incident involved no one present in Y-wing on the 16th, deputy superintendent Black has publicly expressed the administration's view that those who killed Mills did so to avenge the murder of the three O-wing inmates.

THE MEN IN CHAINS

All three defendants now face a death sentence. It seems pertinent to consider who these three black men are and how they came to be in Soledad Prison at the time the alleged crime of killing prison guard John V. Mills occurred. How did it happen that they were "available to be chosen" to be charged with this crime?

FLEETA DRUMGO is 23 years old. He is an only child of a shy, gentle working mother and has no memory of his own father. Half the years of his life have been spent in and out of "correction centers" and jails. The last three years have been spent in Soledad Prison where he was sent on a charge of burglary. Insulted, humiliated, ignored, he has found himself in prison mostly for the crime of being black and poor.

Fleeta Drumgo has his mother's gentle ways and infectious smile, but his life experience has given him strength in his struggle. He would probably have been paroled a year ago had he not tacked political posters of his heroes, Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, on the walls of his cell. When the white guard was killed, Drumgo was about to have a parole hearing, with every expectation that parole would be granted shortly.

JOHN CLUTCHETTE had already been given a parole date—April 20, 1970—before the incidents at Soledad took place. The parole board had ordered him sent to Chino, a training center, before being returned to his home in Compton in time to celebrate his 24th birthday. John is one of eight children. His job with an aircraft company has been held open since the day three years ago when he was arrested on his job, accused of having stolen a TV. His mother had raised bail and they had traced the real thief when Clutchette was hailed by a policeman one day during his noon hour and told to get in the car.

John Clutchette asked: "For what?" The police pushed him into the car. "We'll find something," the officer answered, with a warning not to resist arrest. A couple of unpaid traffic tickets were unearthed—enough to keep John in jail until his trial. Impeded in this way from finding the man from whom he had innocently bought the stolen TV, he was convicted and sent on his way to Soledad and Judge Gordon Campbell's court in the chains of chattel slavery. The actual thief left the area—this was of small concern to the law-and-order record of Compton. They had the TV and they had John Clutchette in Soledad.

His conviction was a self-fulfilling prophecy. Six months earlier his mother had appeared in court to explain why her son had missed one day out of a hundred in reporting to a probation officer (John was on probation for an earlier charge). As Mrs. Maxwell, the mother, left the court, the arresting officer said: "You got your son out this time. If he so much as stubs his toe, we'll put him in the penitentiary next time." An inept lawyer advised John to plead guilty to the charge of stealing the TV "because, after all, he had a record."

The life experience of GEORGE JACKSON illustrates as dramatically the peculiar institution known as black justice

in California and—for that matter—over the other forty-nine of these United States as well.

The Jacksons live in Pasadena. George is the oldest son of five children. He attended Catholic school, was choir boy and frequently served as acolyte celebrating mass. He is handsome, studious, with a strong sense of dignity.

None of this saved him from collecting a "record" with the police before he was 18. A "joy ride" in the family car when he was 15 ended in a slight accident. The car knocked a few bricks out of the side of a small grocery store in the neighborhood of his home. George's father paid the damage and the owner of the store brought no charges. But George was black and too young to have a driver's license. The police took him to juvenile court and he was sent to Las Robles and then to Tracy. His record had begun.

Out briefly in 1958, working at a good job, George made a down payment on a motorbike, which proved to be stolen. The receipt of purchase in the hands of his mother was ignored and, without counsel to defend him, George Jackson was again sent to Tracy, this time for theft.

At Tracy the young man was fortunate enough to have a sympathetic counselor who taught him a skilled trade and arranged probation and a job as a meatcutter. George bought an old car, invited an acquaintance to go riding. This man asked to stop at a filling station, went inside, held up the attendant and came out and told George to "get going." Stopped by the police, George Jackson was charged with armed robbery. His record was on hand to condemn him in court. The only lawyer the Jacksons could afford in their son's defense gave his client's record as his excuse for making no adequate defense, though the white filling station attendant was willing to testify that George had taken no part in the robbery.

The average sentence, even if the 18-year-old had been guilty, is 2½ years. George Jackson was given "one year to life." He has been in prisons—San Quentin or Soledad—for ten years!

The parole board considers this young man a "trouble maker." In one instance, he was placed in solitary—a cell with only a mattress and a hole in the floor—for refusing to be segregated in the back row of the San Quentin television room. (The white inmates who attacked him were not punished.) Again the parole board refused to set a termination date to his one-year-to-life sentence because he argued with the prison barber who was cutting his natural shorter than he wanted.

Because of the failure of the parole board to set a termination date, this ten-year inmate of the worst prisons in California is considered a "lifer." If convicted of assault, a death sentence for George Jackson is *mandatory*.

"If they kill me, Mama, I'll just be dead," he said, "but I'll not be any man's slave."

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION OF JUSTICE IN CALIFORNIA

In the pre-Civil War South, slavery was often called the "peculiar institution." The term is unfortunately applicable to the system of justice meted out to blacks, Chicanos, and, indeed, all poor people today.

THE POLICE

The single dominant factor that set Blacks apart from their white counterparts is, according to the Kerner Report of 1967, contact with the police. In urban communities such as the Los Angeles area where all three of the accused grew up, police harassment is pervasive from earliest childhood. Police invade homes without warrants; they question black youth in the schools, on the street without cause. Arrests are made with deliberate effort to degrade and humiliate; beatings before any charges are made are commonplace. Police brutality is a fact of life. It was not absent in the experience of Fleeta Drumgo, John Clutchette or George Jackson.

The defendants' race has a further bearing on their plight. Had they been white and had they been accused of the same crimes, they probably would not be in prison at all. The likelihood of a black man being accused and convicted of a given felony in the State of California is several times as great as that of a white man.

The fact that 40% of the prisoners in California are black, though Blacks make up only 8% of the state's population, points to use of the penal system as a vehicle of racial suppression within our society.

Continued on next page

SOLEDAD BROTHERS

THE POWER OF THE PRISON AUTHORITIES

The officials of Soledad Prison occupy a most powerful position in this case. Inside Soledad itself their authority over inmates is absolute. Although prisoners have some political rights, such as protection from unreasonable and arbitrary punishment, those rights can all too easily be violated by penal authorities.

This oppression is common to most prisons; in this case, however, it is unusually dangerous, for it has extended beyond the walls of Soledad to jeopardize the chances of the defendants to have a fair trial.

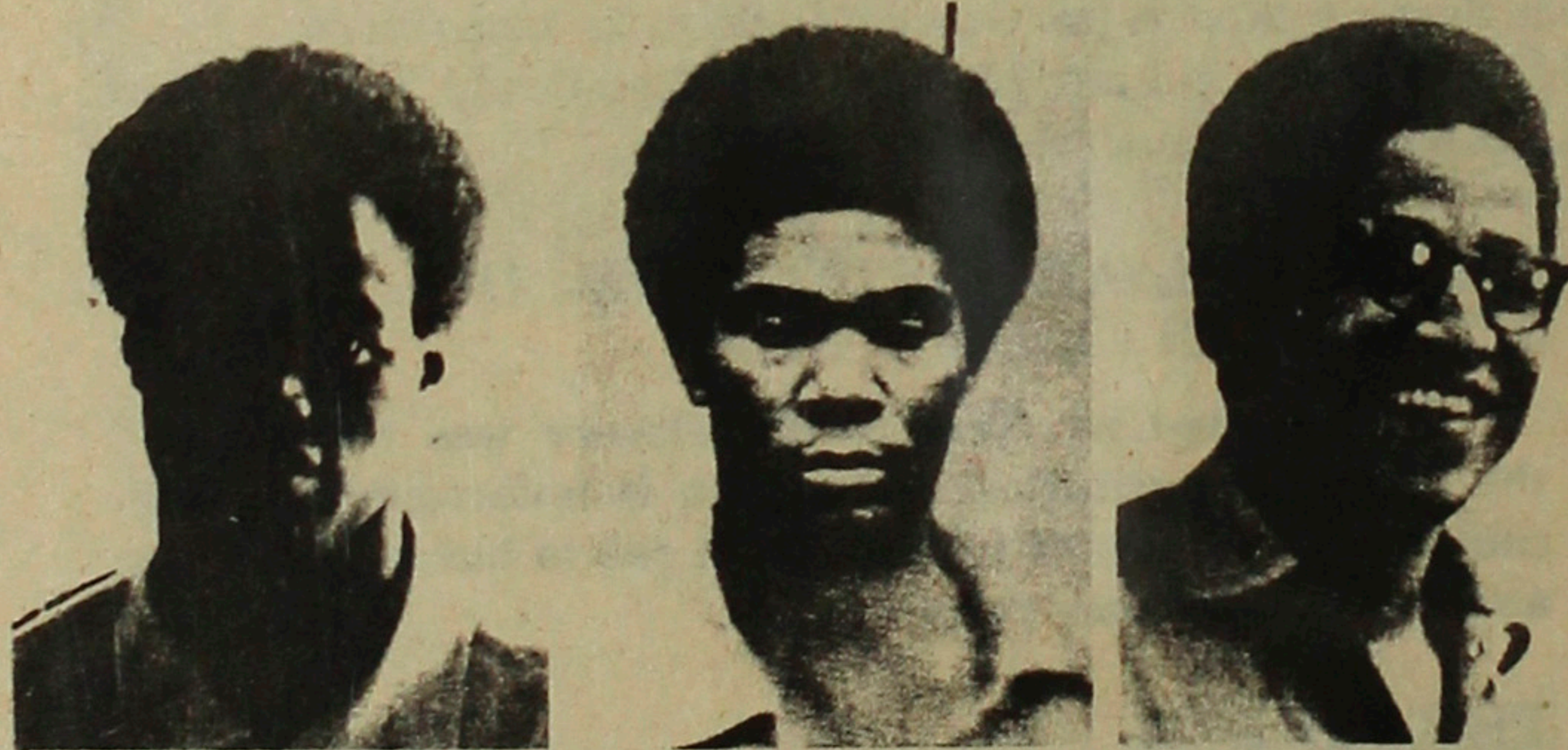
During the 29 days the defendants were held in solitary confinement, communication between them and persons other than prison officials was cut off. They were not permitted to inform their families of their situation; they were not told what charges were being brought against them and had no legal counsel.

The prison authorities seem to resent the loss of exclusive control over the prisoners now that they are defendants with legal counsel; moreover, their resentment appears to be shared by Judge Campbell. Campbell has repeatedly hindered attempts of the defense attorneys to interview the witnesses, who are themselves prisoners, and would not let the attorneys see the scene of the crime until after the area had been remodeled and changed. Had the crime been committed outside prison walls, such obstruction to due process could not have occurred.

THE GRAND JURY

In Monterey County 99% of all felony cases proceed on the complaint-information system. In these proceedings persons under investigation receive a preliminary examination in municipal court, where they are entitled to confrontation, cross-examination and rights to discover and produce evidence. On the basis of this examination, the municipal court magistrate decides whether or not information should be filed in Superior Court.

The indictment process is used in the remaining 1% of cases. Before a grand jury, the District Attorney has control over all evidence and all questioning of witnesses; those being investigated cannot participate in the examination except insofar as they may be called as witnesses in a context established by the District Attorney.



Fleeta Drumgo

John Clutchette

George L. Jackson

The District Attorney has total discretion in deciding whether indictment or information will be used as the means of investigating and charging suspects. Since there are no statutory guidelines for this decision, the District Attorney may bring persons before the grand jury on a punitive basis. This denies to a selected few certain basic legal rights which are enjoyed by over 99% of Monterey County felony defendants, and by 90% in the State of California as a whole.

The fact that information proceedings in this case were abruptly discontinued and indictment proceedings instigated is critical. This reversal indicates that the District Attorney found need to appropriate entire control of the proceedings. The defense claims that this action was a punitive and selective violation of the rights of the defendants. As such, it exposes the danger of injustice inherent in the vague statutes governing the indictment process.

The grand jury is chosen by the judge and a Jury Selection Committee who compile a list of 30 names from which 19 are selected at random. Seventeen of those selected in this case were white; two were black. The substantial Chicano

population of Monterey County was not represented. Moreover, while there are more registered Democrats in Monterey County than Republicans, 13 grand jury members were Republicans, 5 were Democrats and 1 was an Independent. On these bases, it may be reasonably asserted that this grand jury was not representative of the community of Monterey County. At its best, the statute allows this kind of discrimination. At worst, it could permit the judge and committee to select a group of their friends. In either instance, persons who do not fall within the category from which the judge and committee customarily choose are precluded from a hearing by a body of their social equals.

THE COURT

On February 17, the date of arraignment, a date set with less than 24 hours notice to the families of the prisoners and none to the Public Defender, everything pointed to a quiet railroading of these three innocent victims. The mere opportunity to win a fair trial was due to the determination of the young men, the intelligence and quick action of their mothers, and to the existence of an embryo Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners. The intended scapegoats were brought into court shackled like slaves, a court presided over by a patently biased judge who was prepared to cooperate with the plans of the prison authorities. But the prisoners were no longer divorced from family and supporters. Highly competent lawyers were waiting at court and battled for the concession of a week's delay in the arraignment.

On February 24, the defendants were arraigned separately and each excluded from the proceedings against the other two. Since they were charged together, each was thus denied the right to be present at two-thirds of the proceedings in his own case, a violation of the Brothers' right to due process. The court reserved the prerogative to resume this procedure when the actual trial begins, but discontinued it for further pre-trial hearings, perhaps due to the growing numbers of supporters attending the hearings.

The Brothers have been shackled during all their court appearances. Remarking that "their lips are not shackled," the judge has repeatedly denied motions to have the chains removed, though no disruptive behavior has even threatened to occur. The Brothers are similarly bound during their private interviews with their attorneys; the judge has likewise denied motions to remove the shackles at such times.

The court ruled that neither the Brothers nor their attorneys may release to the media statements of fact or of opinion relating to the trial or to any issue likely to be relevant. Thus the press has received only the accounts of the prosecution (before the "gag rule" was imposed) and the grand jury proceedings which, as noted above, excluded the defense completely. On March 17, when final arraignment took place, the judge specifically denied the defense an opportunity to rebut publicly the grand jury transcript.

The defense holds that the judge has imprudently exercised his power over the proceedings and has violated the defendants' right to a fair trial.

Efforts by the defense attorneys to discover the facts of the case have been thwarted by the prison and the court. Eight inmates identified by one of the defendants as witnesses have been transferred to other institutions throughout the state. As long as the court delayed discovery rights, defense counsel was not permitted to interview these witnesses or other inmates of Y-wing who may be able to shed light on the circumstances and events at the time and place the murder allegedly took place.

The prison administration, with the concurrence of the court, has further violated the Brothers' right to an adequate and effective defense by changing the physical aspect of the site, thus making it impossible for the attorneys and their investigators to test the credibility of accounts of the purported eye-witnesses.

The Court denied the defense motion for rights of discovery before pleas were entered. The Judge's unprecedented ruling was that, if he granted the motion and if the defendants then pleaded guilty, the State would have been put unnecessarily to great expense!

On grounds of the unconstitutionality of the proceedings and on advice of their attorneys, the defendants "stood mute"—that is, refused to enter any plea. The Judge en-

tered a plea of not guilty for them and set the case for trial beginning June 22, thus insuring that there could not be enough time to interview the 200 witnesses now dispersed over the entire state.

CALIFORNIA PENAL CODE

In addition to the racist bias evidenced against the defendants, and the obstructions to a proper defense placed as barriers by prison authorities and the Court, the defendants face some of the most oppressive sections of the California Penal Code.

California Penal Code Section 4500, under which George Jackson is charged, specifies a *mandatory* death penalty for assault on a non-inmate by an inmate serving a life sentence. A life sentence has been interpreted by the California Supreme Court to be any sentence which has a top limit of life. The defense claims that the statute is unconstitutional on its face (that is, regardless of any possible application) because it designates a penalty in regard to a particular status (that of "life") rather than a particular offense, assault—which is not a capital crime.

The defense challenges the statute as unconstitutional in its application to Jackson because he is serving an indeterminate sentence which, although its limit is life, could have been set at one year. (As stated above, the average term for second degree robbery is 2½ years.) The California Adult Authority, which may fix a maximum term at any time after service of one year, is exclusively responsible for the continuation of Jackson's "lifer" status over nine years. Neither Jackson nor the judicial system, nor any other body of persons or rules affect decisions of the parole board. An inmate has no right to counsel before his board; decisions as to his prison term, for which no reasons need to be given, are made in rigidly secret circumstances; records are not available to the public, to counsel, or to the inmate—although to any prison employee. Such studies as have been permitted of these records show that black men serve longer terms than white.

Conviction on a murder charge (California Penal Code Section 187) permits the jury an option of the death penalty or life imprisonment, so that Jackson is in the bizarre situation of facing two charges, the lesser of which carries the harsher penalty.

Defense motions for a continuance, including testimony by a psychiatrist as to coercion of inmate witnesses, and a sociologist on the need for access to the 1970 census figures (available July 1) to show how black people, Spanish-speaking and the poor are excluded from Monterey trial juries, were required by Judge Campbell to be presented *in ten minutes* (and denied forthwith). Expensive appeals must follow.

PROBLEMS OF THE DEFENSE

Because both the indictment process and the composition of the grand jury are historically entrenched aspects of California's legal system, an impetus to new interpretation will require forceful and complex legal presentations by the defense.

In the view of the defense, Judge Campbell's order prohibiting defense statements to the press is a clear violation of the rights of Jackson, Drumgo and Clutchette to a fair trial. In theory, the purpose of such an order is to preserve the public and, hence, potential jurors from prejudices and so to insure that the defendants will be heard in a fair, unbiased climate. But in this case, for two weeks before the proceedings began (though not after the Judge's ruling), the District Attorney and prison authorities were at liberty to publicize remarks on the matter; there was discussion in the

press of revenge as a motive for the killing; the press was allowed to interview the widow of the guard and to cover the activities of a number of organizations which raised funds for her. Efforts on behalf of the widow have naturally stirred public sympathy and hence, in conjunction with statements by the District Attorney, have inevitably created a temper favorable to the prosecution. But the public is denied an opportunity to consider the plight of the defendants, for they and their attorneys have been ordered not to respond to prejudices cast by the prosecution. Surely this is damaging to a presumption of the innocence of these defendants.

The transcript of the grand jury hearing in which the defendants were indicted has been released to the press, as is customary, but the defense holds that the document is defective. The fact that the testimony of one witness was cut off, clearly before he was able to yield pertinent information, is held to be characteristic of the District Attorney's whole presentation. At the hearing on March 17, the defense moved that the defendants be permitted to make a public statement of length equal to that of the transcript. In this way, the public might have been informed of questionable aspects of the transcript and so would not be subject to only one view. The motion was denied; no reason for the denial was given. The judge, the jury and the penal authorities seek total power over the lives of the defendants. Only by unobstructed recourse to their legal rights can Drumgo, Jackson and Clutchette hope for a fair trial.

The thousands of black youth trapped in the prison systems through poverty and racial prejudice stand before us in the persons of Fleeta Drumgo, John Clutchette and George Jackson. The wasted lives, the brutal inhumanity inherent in the prison system is here on trial. These three young men are being routed to the gas chamber for refusing to bow down, for trying to save their identities and self-respect. Their lives are in jeopardy for who they are, not for what they have done. Jackson's letters from prison, written over the period of his ten-year incarceration, are soon to be published. Clutchette was given his parole date on December 9, 1969. Two weeks later, the Soledad authorities had instructions to transfer him. Why was he not sent away from racially troubled Soledad at first mention of his parole date?

HOW TO HELP

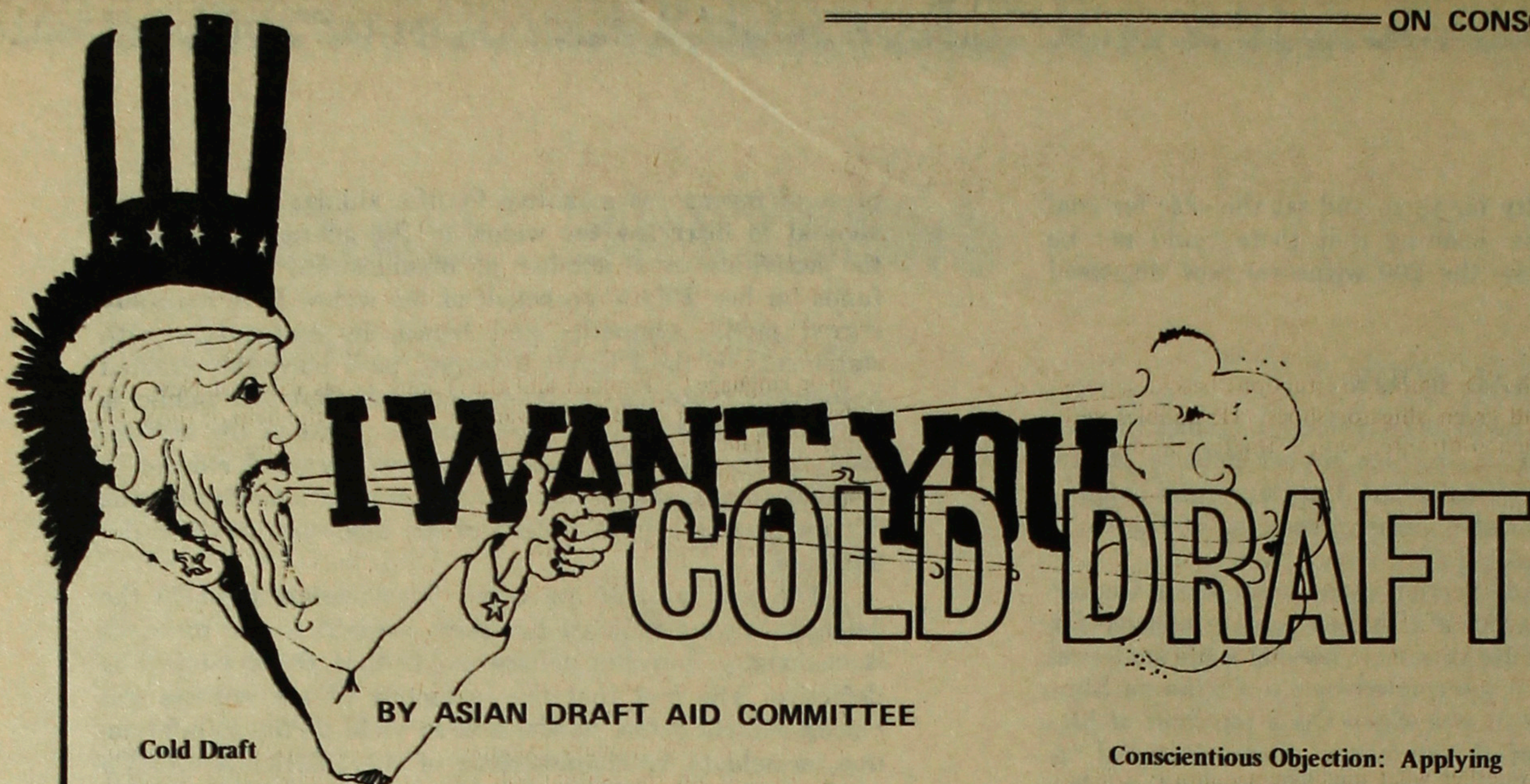
To carry out an effective defense we need help with fund-raising, public education and research. If you can give money, time or expertise, please call or write one of the following:

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Sue Castro,
282 Clipper St., San Francisco..(415) 285-2360
- (L.A. Area) Don Wheeldin,
P.O. Box 3206, Pasadena.....(213) 798-0412
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Joan Hammer,
795 Morse St., San Jose.....(408) 295-9096

Contributions may be sent directly to:
Soledad Brothers Defense Fund
c/o Dr. Linus Pauling, Treasurer
795 Morse Street, San Jose, Calif. 95126

SOLEDAD BROTHERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE: Alamo Black Clergy, Rev. George W. Baber, Prof. Herman Blake, Rep. Julian Bond, Kay Boyle, Rep. George Brown, Beniamino Bufano, Noam Chomsky, Sen. Joseph Clark, Angela Davis, Ron Dellums, G.W. Domhoff, St. Clair Drake, Martin Duberman, Rep. Don Edwards, Prof. Richard Falk, Rev. H. Eugene Farlough, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Jane Fonda, Maxwell Geismar, Jean Genet, Allen Ginsberg, Ralph J. Gleason, Herbert Gold, Corky Gonzales, Carleton B. Goodlett, M.D., Tom Hayden, Rev. Will L. Herzfeld, George Hitchcock, Paul Jacobs, C.B. King, Arthur Kinoy, William Kunstler, Saul Landau, Jeremy Lerner, Harry Margolis, Barbara McNair, Jessica Mitford, Jack Newfield, Huey P. Newton, Tillie Olsen, Dr. Linus Pauling, Marcus Raskin, Mario Savio, Robert Scheer, Peter Dale Scott, Prof. Charles Sellers, Nina Serrano, Philip Shapiro, M.D., Terry Southern, Benjamin Spock, M.D., Morton Stavis, Peter Weiss, Rev. Cecil Williams, Rev. Hazaiah Williams

DEFENSE ATTORNEYS: Floyd Silliman, Richard Silver, Fay Stender, John Thorne



Cold Draft

There is a lot of mystification about what a conscientious objector is under the draft law. The Selective Service System contributes to the confusion with ambiguous and arbitrary discriminations. But any young man of draft age, and also those under 18, should know and understand the rules concerning conscientious objector status. Section 6 (j) of the present draft law provides that no person shall:

be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in the war in any form.

That paragraph requires a lot of clarification and this brief column cannot hope to explain all aspects of defining and acquiring a CO. One very helpful source that should be the property of any male over the age of seventeen is the *Handbook for Conscientious Objectors* (Tenth edition) published by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. It only costs one dollar; write to the CCCO at 437 Market Street, San Francisco, 94105. The book is not only for CO's for it also clearly explains other aspects of the Selective Service machinery. Another crucial requirement for anyone is to see a draft counselor. See a draft counselor. There are plenty of them, especially in California, and their services are usually free. See one now! Many young men come in with a I-A or even an induction notice and want to find some way to get out. Such cases, though not always beyond hope, are extremely difficult, and usually it is wiser to consult an attorney. A draft counselor's role is to listen, give sympathetic advice, and inform counselees of their rights and alternatives.

Conscientious Objection: Defined

Many registrants are turned off or discouraged by the clause "religious training and belief". They think that one must have gone to Sunday school since childhood; be a member of a "peace" church, or believe in God. Or, they wonder if they will be disqualified because they would have fought Hitler, or because they are not pacifists.

According to Selective Service Director in Local Board Memorandum 107, to qualify for classification as a conscientious objector (I-O and I-A-O) you must:

1. Be conscientiously opposed to participation in *all* wars in *any* form (not just to the Asian war).
2. Base your conscientious objection on deeply held moral, ethical, or religious beliefs.
3. Demonstrate that you acquired your moral, ethical, or religious beliefs through training, study, contemplation, or other activity comparable in rigor and dedication to the processes by which traditional religious convictions are formulated; and
4. Hold these beliefs sincerely. The primary test that must be used to judge a CO application the director says, is the test of sincerity with which the belief is held.

One need not be opposed to violence, nor believe in a supreme being. However, claims that are judged as insincere, and those based only on political considerations, pragmatism, or expediency will be excluded.

For a more solid understanding of the criteria for conscientious objection see a competent counselor. But some initial clarification:

Objection to participation to war in any form refers to objection to any form of "participation" not to any form of "war". Thus the registrant making a CO claim is asked to state that he is opposed to war; he need not speculate on whether he would be opposed to all wars in history (such as World War II) nor need he state that he will always be a CO, ("suppose your country was invaded").

Religious training and belief should be viewed as a single concept; i.e. belief pre-supposes training. Furthermore, thanks to the recent *Welsh* decision, "religious training and belief" may include solely moral or ethical beliefs, even though the registrant may not characterize these beliefs as "religious" in the traditional sense, or may expressly characterize them as not "religious". Here, the *Handbook* and an understanding counselor may be helpful in crystallizing your views.

If your objection to war rests on long-established and conventional religious beliefs you should apply for classification as a conscientious objector. If you hold liberal, atheistic, or more unorthodox views you should *still* apply for a CO classification.

Conscientious Objection: Applying

Again, one cannot overstate the importance of seeing competent draft counselors. They can provide constructive assistance to your claim and give other procedural help.

If you are less than 18 and have decided to register with Selective Service and seek Conscientious Objector status, you must be sure to sign Series VIII on the Classification Questionnaire (SS form 100). This is crucial, for any claim for CO after returning form 100 is considered a late claim and is more difficult to get. Thus, even if you think you might be a CO, sign Series VIII. You will be sent the Special Form for CO's, SS 150. Those who did not sign Series VIII and feel they are conscientious objectors should immediately request SS form 150 from their local board. This form is composed of a series of four questions which require much careful thought and writing. Form 150 must be returned to your local board within 30 days, so you should have an idea of how you will answer the questions before requesting the form.

In Series I of the form 150, the registrant signs one of two statements claiming either I-A-O or I-O status. Those granted I-A-O serve in the armed forces in a non-combatant capacity usually as a medic. Those granted I-O are exempt from military service but are prepared to perform civilian alternative service if called. About one-half of those with I-O's perform alternative service.

The first question of Series II asks the registrant to "Describe the nature of your belief which is the basis of your claim and state why you consider it to be based on religious training and belief." Here you should clearly state:

1. the moral, ethical, or religious principles in which you believe
2. your relationship to these principles
3. how this relationship compels you to act toward your fellow men
4. how this relationship has come to result in your filing for a CO classification

The second question asks you to "Explain how, when and from whom or from what source you received the religious training and acquired the religious belief which is the basis for your claims." This is basically an historical question; the board is looking to see whether or not your moral, ethical, or religious beliefs were indeed acquired over a period of time with thought and seriousness.

Question three may be a tricky one for those seeking I-O instead of I-A-O. "To what extent does your religious training and belief restrict you from ministering to the sick and injured, either civilian or military, or from serving in the Armed Forces as a non-combatant without weapons?" Perhaps the best way to deal with the question is to assert the humanity of your beliefs and then explain why your stand is antithetical to serving in the armed forces.

The fourth question should not intimidate anyone from applying for a CO. It asks, "Have you ever given expression publicly or privately, written or oral, to the views herein expressed as the basis for your claim? Give examples." This question asks for evidence of the various ways in which you express your moral, ethical, or religious beliefs. Include here relationships with friends, conversations, political activities, and so forth.

Also of great importance are letters of support from acquaintances. You want people who will be able to vouch for your sincerity in applying for a CO classification, and if possible, attest to your meeting the other criteria upon which the Board will judge your application. If they disagree with your stand regarding military service, all the better, just as long as they believe you are sincere. You should review your answers and letters of support with a draft counselor before you place them into your file.

If you have a deferment now, but feel you are a CO, by all means apply. All other deferments take precedence over I-O, and the local board must give them to you if you qualify. But if that deferment, (e.g. II-S, I-Y, etc.) expires, and you've applied for I-O or I-A-O, the board will consider your claim for CO classification. As stated above, the earlier the claim is made, the more sincere the board will consider you, and the better your chance of receiving your CO.

There are many other details regarding conscientious objection that cannot be covered here. A registrant seeking a CO exemption will have to spend no small amount of time researching and thinking. Evaluate and analyze the moral foundations upon which you base your opposition to this government's policy of imperialism toward other nations, or your gut-level aversion to killing. The struggle to win recognition as a CO is no picnic, but it is one of the alternatives to being used as a tool of the U.S. military.

A REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE

Brother Ray says, "The way you can tell a revolutionary is by his or her humanity."

Using this as a criteria I have had the privilege of meeting a true revolutionary. This individual walks, talks, and definitely lives and breathes for the revolution. He alludes to situations best described by lime colored slacks and green alligator shoes. He bubbles with high cheek excitement when confronted with a situation whose ultimate direction will be that of serving the people. He shucks, jives, and recites poetry that states, "We're hip to Whitey's game, because he treats us all the same." Is he black, brown or red, is he white, yellow or just mellow. It doesn't matter because he's Raphael and he is of my blood, of yours—the same blood that's all.

Malcolm, Kwame, Ho, Bobby, Eldridge, Che, Huey, they are all from the same roots. Some alive, some dead, some in exile, some in jail, some living because of the people's will. Raphael is like the last. The true evaluation of a revolutionary's work is measured by the people. They will decide whether one's work is relevant or successful. They will decide whether what might be a minority today will be a majority tomorrow. This would be our concern—not style, superstardom or rhetoric—the People.

I met Raphael before the *Los Siete-Soledad Brothers National Rally*. We rapped about the community and then he began to teach.

"You have to relate and show that you care," he said; "If there's a brother or sister stumbling on the block, deal with them." What about Political Education? "Man, you have to have it. No quotes or stuff like that. The people have to understand and relate to it. Use their language." Raphael and the Young Lords Party of New York have taken over a TB X-Ray van and now with the help of the workers of Lincoln Hospital they are liberating the hospital for the people's use. It is obvious that the Y.L.P. is practicing their theory and they know it works.

What Raphael ran down is not new, but it reinforced our own struggle within the community at large. Also his positive and charismatic personality was a boost to the revolutionary rigor mortis which many people are finding themselves in.

Understand that this is not specifically an article about Raphael and the Y.L.P. This article is about how we, like Raphael should set a revolutionary example. We must work with the people and bring about the mutual political awareness which is necessary to transform our community programs into revolutionary institutions that really serve the people. We must lay the foundation of a revolutionary tradition which will be practiced and elaborated by everyone new and old to the movement.



Yellow Paint Does Not An Asian Make



Over 250 Asians picketed the opening night of "Lovely Ladies, Kind Gentlemen"—a musical based on the play "The Teahouse of the August Moon." The musical is currently being presented at the Music Center with an all-white cast with yellow make-up.

Photographs by Mike Murase

AN INTENSIFIED MUGGLE!

Dear Gidra,

Hello—this is Jeff in Canada—Vancouver. It's a big limp dick—an anti-climax. I'm disenchanted. People are unfriendly—Asians unapproachable, what there are of them—we're leaving for a commune in Oregon tomorrow.

Anyway—I just thought I'd tell you "brothers and sistuhs" down in sunny LA about my experience when trying to cross the border with about a hundred copies of your rag. This is a blow by blow account, jotted down immediately after it happened—it is all true!

[Tuesday, 7:45 p.m.] We were approaching the Canadian border to have our car inspected, our papers checked, 'n all that other bureaucratic shit...

[7:50] The deputy Canadian inspector searches our car, not very thoroughly I might add, when he happened to see a stack of "literature" (yes, that's what he called it!) sitting inconspicuously on top of the passenger seat.

"Hmmm...literature," he said, "...hold on a minute, boys. I'll have to see what the duty is on these...if any."

So, [7:55] he returned and said that, "You'll either have to pay duty on these, which is \$3 a pound, or take them back to the U.S. side and check them in." So we decided to check them in—so we turned around. (\$3 a pound for Gidras?)

[8:03] So, we turn into the U.S. Customs checkpoint and politely tell the officer, "We were told that we have to check in these newspapers—uh, excuse me—this literature becuz we can't pay duty on..."

"LEMME SEE! This here LITerature, boys...!"

"Yes, SIR!...(pig)."

"IS THIS the ONLY kind you HAVE, boys??"

"Yes."

"Umhuh!"...long pause..."Well, god-DAMN! You mean to tell me that the JAPANESE have their own paper, now, too?! ...the god-damn Indians got theirs, the Mexicans...(pause)...Whatta you guys wanna do, huh? You tryin' to deestroy thee You-nited States of America??"

(under our breath) "Sooner or later, offsuu."

"These all the copies you boys got with you?...okay, then, I want you to come inside and talk with the Inspector about this here LITerature..."

Note: I had, moments before, slipped about 25 copies under the seats of the car!

[8:10] We go inside—big mug shot of President Dick, a flag, right side up...

The big, chief Inspector looked at it—everyone in there with a badge looked at it—just stopped typin', dropped their pencils, we even heard a toilet flush—they was all lookin' at GIDRA—bad, bad GIDRA was being looked over...by the Man...oh, my...

"This is the one EYE don't like...," said the mean No. 1 offsuu, "NUMBA SIXTEEN!" And he pointed to the article I clipped from the Times about the Declaration of Independence being written by Lenin. "Yes-suh, LENIN! I don't like that sonofabitch," he added, "He's a commie!"

"Yes, sir, but that article was taken from the New York Times!!," I said.

"Well, EYE don't GIVE a damn, kid!" And he scowled at me—I saw a big, red, white and blue "Be Patriotic" banner directly in back of him. I laughed.

The inspector kept on reading and looking at the pictures—while I tried to tell him what I thought was the purpose of GIDRA, and how I thought the Asians located in Canada might be interested in reading what Asians are doing and thinking in the States. Very low level, I might say...

[8:40] Fifteen minutes later he said, "Well, okay. You guys wanna check these here...or what?"

"Man, we'll just throw 'em out, shit," we said. "Well, there's a trash can right outside—good-bye!"

So, we handed out copies to a longhaired kid in the room (who was sweating becuz he had a lid in his hubcap) who nodded thanx, gave a few extra to the pigs in the room—and dumped the rest, ceremoniously in a red, white and blue trash can outside the door.

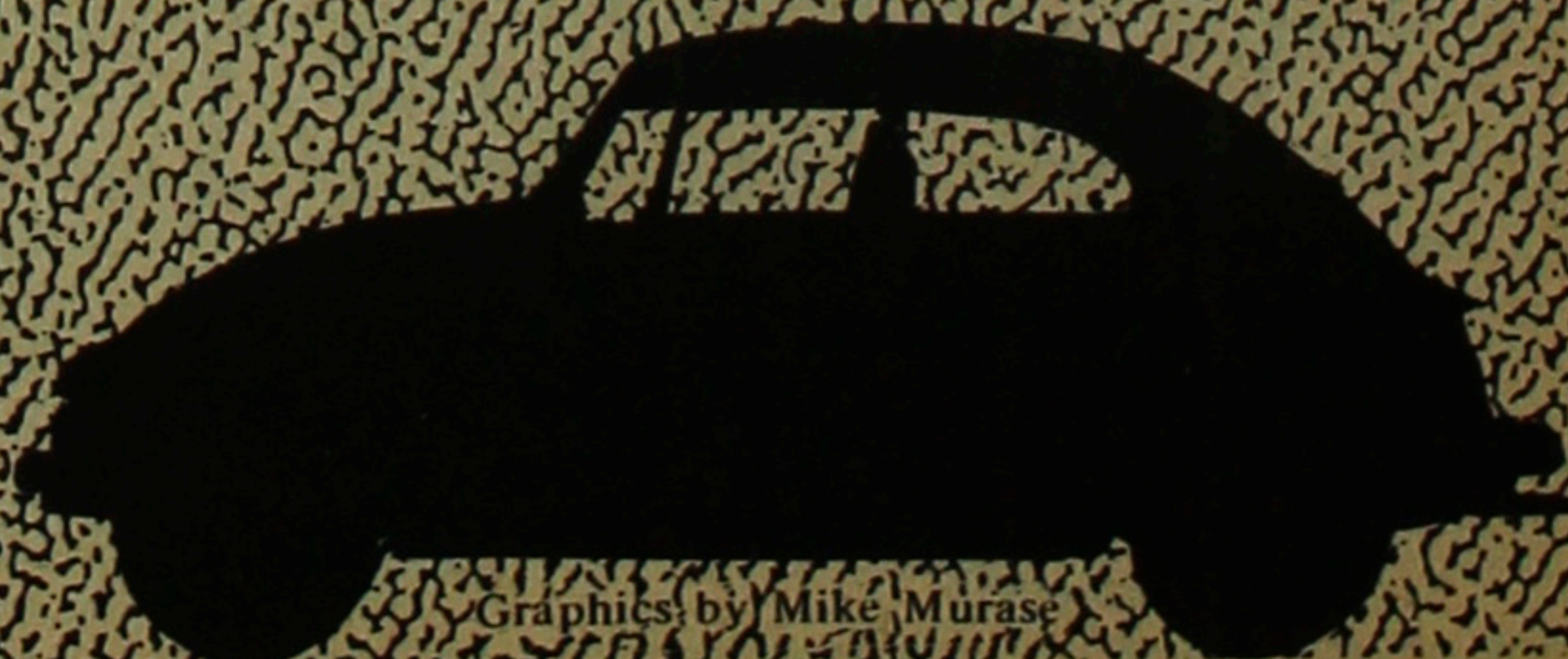
But we still had the 25 copies stashed under our seats—so boldly, defiantly—we drove up to the Canadian border, and successfully smuggled 25 fresh copies of GIDRA into Canada!! Huzzah!! The truth shall prevail over all!! Right on!! We've intensified the struggle with a smuggle!!

Hey, Alan—it was funny at the border—the dude looked at me and said, "Ever been arrested?"...and I said, "No, suh..." Then, he said, "Ever take or use any narcotic, including marijuana?" And guess what I said!! "No, SUH! I never touched the stuff!!! Hee, hee, hee! Oh, shit!

...and all for these ungrateful bastards here in Vancouver. Oregon, here we come!!

Adios!! Ai!!

Jeff



Graphics by Mike Murase

GI Racism Revisted

Getting his material from the June/July issue of *Gidra*, Frank Orr wrote the following article—the source being Norman Nakamura's "The Nature of G.I. Racism." Orr won the Pulitzer Award in 1956 for his editorials. He writes for a central California publication. This article is reprinted from that publication.

THE PRESENCE of foreign soldiers is always an irritant—even when the country in which they're stationed is an ally, bound firmly in a common cause, and with a common history and language. Americans stationed in Great Britain during World War II were resented because they were "overpaid, oversexed, and over here;" and we have a picture of a sign affixed in the university town of Cambridge: "Neither bicycles nor Americans to be leant against this wall."

It's far worse, then, when the alliance is tenuous, the cause not universally accepted, when residents and foreign soldiers on the whole know nothing of each other's history or language—and when they are of different races.

Most American troops in Vietnam mind their own business, of course, and are decent and helpful to Vietnamese civilians and troops. But only a few bad apples

can undo the work of the great majority; and that's what worries Norman N. Nakamura, a Japanese-American soldier recently returned from Vietnam, writing in a publication of the Asian American Community in Los Angeles.

For some Americans, Vietnam is populated not by people but by "gooks". Since they're "only gooks," the careless soldier is relieved of human responsibility, and these are some of the things he's done:

He throws empty cans at children along the roadside, drives close enough to snatch the hats of Vietnamese civilians, fires tear gas into villages, makes obscene remarks to young women, steals, runs ox carts off roads, shoots at civilians, distrusts everyone whose eyes don't match the pattern of his, sneers at their lack of sanitation and despises their soldiers.

Many things contribute to this, writes Mr. Nakamura. Since the enemy is seldom seen, the soldier is taught to distrust Vietnamese. He feels culturally and physically superior. He's frustrated by military discipline, by being far from home, by separation from his family, by an inhospitable climate, by taking part in a war he despises.

These frustrations all come to a focus, the form-

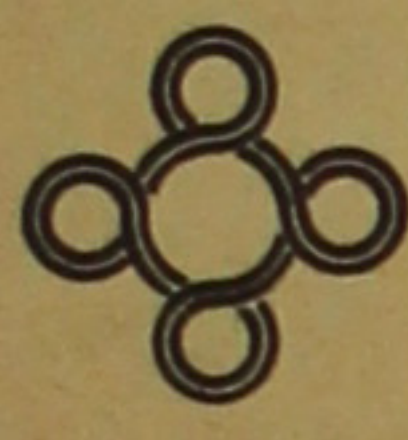




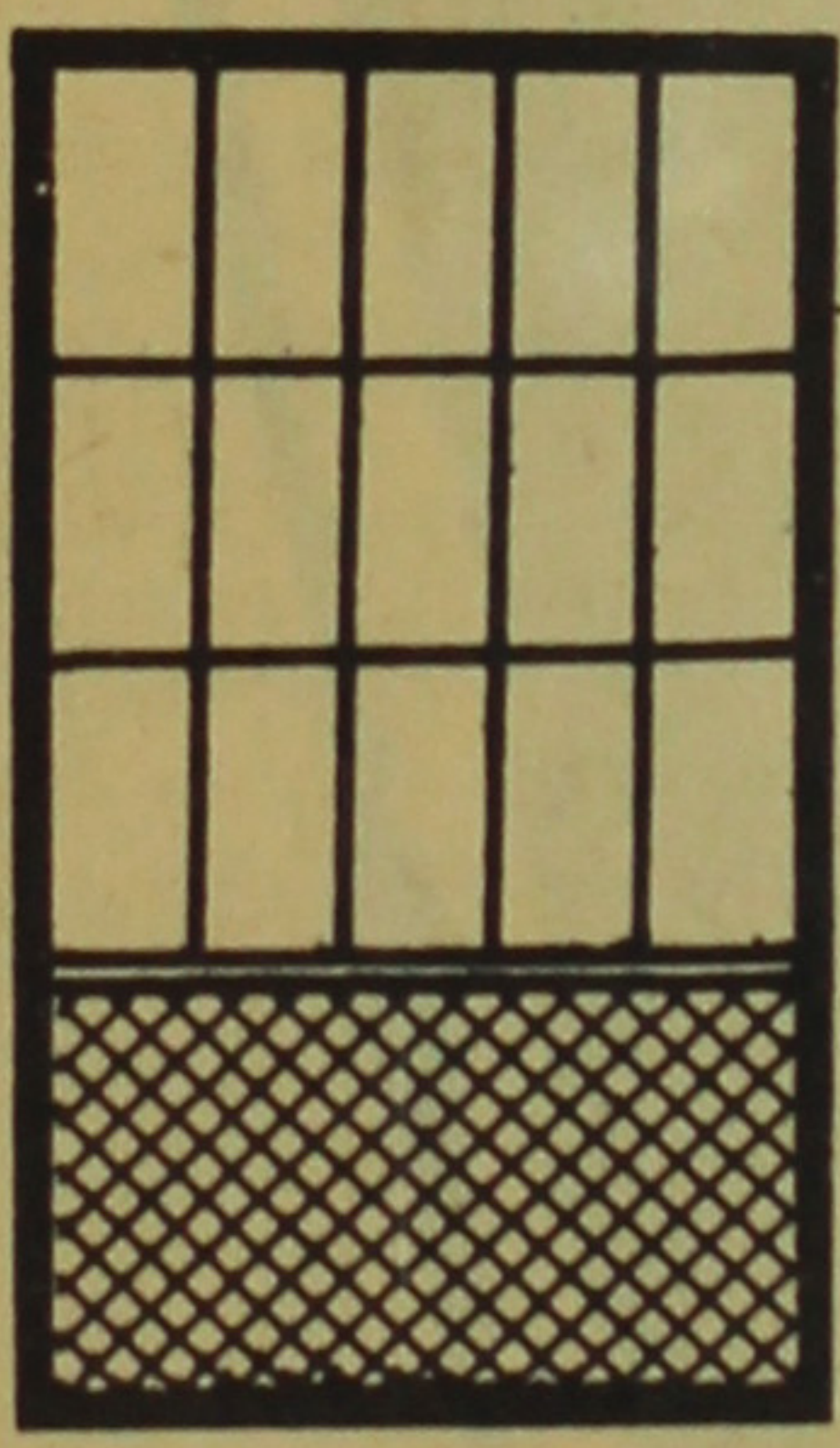
er soldier writes, in his resulting detestation of "gooks," a term which can come to mean other Asians as well:

"Frustration and racism have made racist bullies out of many GIs in Vietnam, but will it end in Vietnam or will it color a negative stereotype toward all Asians? For some GIs this is the first contact with Asian peoples, so it is highly unlikely that this experience would not affect them. Some GIs would go only to Australia on their rest and recuperation leave from Vietnam, because they wanted to get away from people with "slanted eyes."

Mr. Nakamura comes to the same conclusion many others have—that we should be out of Vietnam—but for a specific reason:

"Since guerilla warfare depends upon the support of the people and since many GIs are antagonizing the people, it seems that the presence of such GIs in Vietnam is perpetuating the war. It seems ridiculous and hypocritical to be antagonizing the very people you are supposed to be aiding....Rather than bringing civilization to Vietnam the American GI has brought racism to the Vietnamese people."

—Frank Orr

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