asians unite!

number 2

- america in the pacific rim
- the asian war & asian americans
- genocide-racism : hiroshima - my lai

amerasia

FOR ALL ASIANS IN AMERICA:

For over 300 years, Western domination, intervention, & exploitation in Asia has meant suffering and struggle for the Asian peoples. Our ancestors, escaping from the misery of Western imperialism in Asia and from the feudalism it helped to maintain, hoped to find a better opportunity in America... They found instead more exploitation, more suffering.

Today, as children of imperialism, our lives are free of most of the suffering of the past...BUT WE LIVE WITH MANY CONTRADICTIONS.

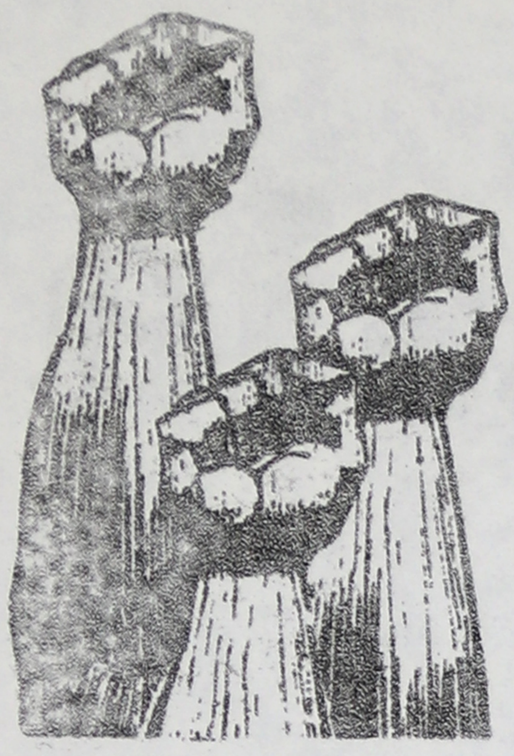
A major contradiction is that in the land of our ancestors Americans are committing gencocide against Asian peoples... people whose biology is identical to ours...and yet, for the most part, Asian Americans know very little about the Asian War -- in Vietnam...Laos...Cambodia...Thailand...the Phillipines...or Korea.

A more subtle contradiction lies in the non-war zones of Asia. In the "free" nations of Asia, a new kind of colonialism exists under thin masks of "democracy." The "cheap" labor of these nations is exploited as before, the rich resources of these countries are used by other people as before, the poor grow poorer. Asian nations have become free of Europeans colonialism only to become economically controlled by new superpowers, the United States and her junior partner, Japan.

The closest contradiction is that in America, there are Asian people who still face exploitation and racism of the most overt kinds.

Do we know the real reasons for the American use of troops and technology in Asia and other Third World countries? Do we understand that big business interests, in perpetuating the Asian War, are also the interests which threaten Asian communities in America?

Establishment media and educational systems can not deal with these questions. In this pamphlet, we are attempting to show the patterns of America's actions in the Pacific Rim, how this "strategy" explains American behavior in Asia, and how this affects Asian Americans.



the people's war

At this historic moment, the summit conference of the Indo-Chinese peoples earnestly calls on the three peoples to strengthen their solidarity and wage a heroic and tenacious fight...so as to make Indochina a truly independent and peaceful area in conformity with the aspirations of the three peoples and the interests of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

from: Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, April, 1970

THE PEOPLE

The only worthwhile thing to consider when we discuss the Pacific Rim countries is the current condition of the people, how they got there, and what is likely to happen to them in the future. The majority of these people are Asian. China has over 700 million newly independent workers; Indonesians number around 125 million; there are about 100 million Japanese and about 34 million strong Vietnamese. By contrast, Anglo-Saxon Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders are few in number. The United States has over 200 million people, about 30-35 million of whom are non-Anglo Saxon, or Third World people. Of these, about one million are Asian, making up the American component of the Overseas Asian Communities. All of these people do not form a homogenous group--they have many different ethnic, cultural, and political characteristics.

However, we must differentiate between two antagonistic groups of people: on the one hand are the ruling groups of the capitalist countries, and their political allies. These include Nixon, Kissinger, the Rockefellers and the DuPonts; Sato of Japan and Mitsubishi; the Bank of America and Ronald Reagan; Rio-Tinto Zinc (of England) based in Australia, and Bank of Tokyo. Less powerful are the dictators and generals who have been installed into power through coup d'etats and/or American political pressure and military support--people like Pak Chung Hi (South Korea); Ferdinand Marcos (Philippines); Thieu-Ky (Vietnam); Thanom Kittikachorn (Thailand); Lol Nol (Cambodia); Suharto (Indonesia); Chiang Kai-shek (Taiwan); and Souvanna Phouma (Royal Laos).

On the other hand, and usually struggling under and against these forces, are the laboring people, the workers and peasants who produce whatever wealth these countries possess. In China, peasants and workers have virtually eliminated an entire group of people: landlords and big businessmen. In the other Pacific Rim countries, however, the vast majority of the peasants and workers, along with the youth and other people without "legitimate power," are still working for, and being controlled by, the bosses of big companies and big government.

THE STRATEGY

Various types of economic and political strategies have been developed in the Pacific Region; they have varied according to the political climate, and technological developments of the times. The current Pacific Rim Strategy looks something like this: *corporate interests such as Kaiser, Union Oil, Bank of America, Castle and Cook (Hawaii), Utah Construction and Mining and Tenneco, want to make a US economic hegemony in the Pacific by making Japan, and Southeast Asia more dependent on the Western countries To do this, America and Japan will form the backbone of the Rim,*

being the most highly industrialized. Raw materials and goods will be obtained from Australia, Canada, and parts of Latin America. The rest of the Pacific Rim countries, largely neo-colonies of the US, are expected to "grow" at tremendous rates, providing huge markets, and cheap labor for the system. In addition, scarce raw materials are desperately sought after, as the Western nations use up their reserves. The US has been using Canadian and Latin American resources for quite a while; the rest of the Pacific must now be more highly utilized, in order to ensure adequate supplies for US and Japanese factories.

Were it to be successful, the effects of this strategy would be:
1) the total dependence of the Pacific Rim countries on US and Japanese corporate powers;
2) a net flow of money and wealth away from the people of these countries to the bank vaults of the big corporations;
3) and the liquidation of the raw materials and the people in order to create wealth for the already highly industrialized nations. Urban-rural imbalance causing agricultural stagnation have already taken place, due to the manpower need for centralized populations and the neglect of the countryside on the part of dictatorial regimes.



Nguyen Van Troi, a young electrical worker sentenced to death for an attempt to kill McNamara, spoke to correspondents immediately before his execution in Saigon on October 15, 1964. He was completely self-possessed. "You are journalists," he said, "and so you must be well informed about what is happening. It is the Americans who have committed aggression on our country, it is they who have been killing our people with planes and bombs. . . .I have never acted against the will of my people. It is against the Americans that I have taken action." When a priest wanted to give him absolution he refused, saying: "I have committed no sin. It is the Americans who have sinned." He would not have his eyes covered before execution. "Let me look at our beloved land." He died with the greatest calm. When the first volley hit him he called out: "Long live Vietnam!" Nguyen Van Troi has become a popular hero, in both north and south Vietnam, among those who oppose the United States.

THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE

Many and various people's struggles have resisted this and other similar strategies. Today's Indochina War is this type of struggle. Other liberation fronts and progressive movements have emerged in Thailand, Japan, Indonesia, the United States, and virtually all the countries where the destiny of Pacific Rim people is manipulated and controlled by unrepresentative governments, and profit-hungry corporate owners who support those governments.

The vast majority opposes the unprincipled minority--this is what's happening around the Pacific Rim today. We must be involved and interested because we are already involved. Asian and other Third World people in the United States are the inheritors of past strategies; we are today still faced with the same enemies and problems. We must join with our people, for it is the right way, and because we have no choice.

america & the pacific rim

> When I speak of the Pacific Rim, I am putting the broadest possible construction on the term—the western coasts of South America, Central America, and our own continent, and extending beyond Australia and the Far East to India. There is no more vast or rich area for resource development or trade growth in the world today than this immense region, and it is virtually our own front yard.... I emphasize that this is a largely underdeveloped area, yet an area rich in an immense variety of resources and potential capabilities. Were we California businessmen to play a more dynamic role in helping trade development in the Pacific Rim, we would have giant, hungry new markets for our products and vast new profit potentials for our firms.
>
> —Rudolph A. Peterson, President, Bank of America, in California Business Magazine, September-October, 1968.

The United States has been a Pacific power for the past century. Its military victory over Imperial Japan in World War Two left it as the only major industrial nation which avoided disaster, and thus free to replace and expand upon the Japanese Empire. Military conquest historically is the first step to effective control; World War Two gave the United States this opportunity at conquest.

Earlier, Commordore Perry in Japan (1853) with his gunboats; the colonization of the Phillipines in the wake of the Spanish-American War (1898); and the deployment of US Marines in the suppression of the anti-foreign Chinese Boxer Rebellion, all signified increasing American belligerence in the Far East.

Asians in America are part of the historical results of these earlier American thrusts into Asia, resulting sometimes in great turmoil among Asian people. The Great Depression of the 1930's, triggered by the collapse of the capitalistic world's money economy, prevented further further colonial expansion on the part of the United States. The coming of the Second World War brought America not only out of the Depression, but into her present role as the Super-power, self-appointed Policeman for the world.

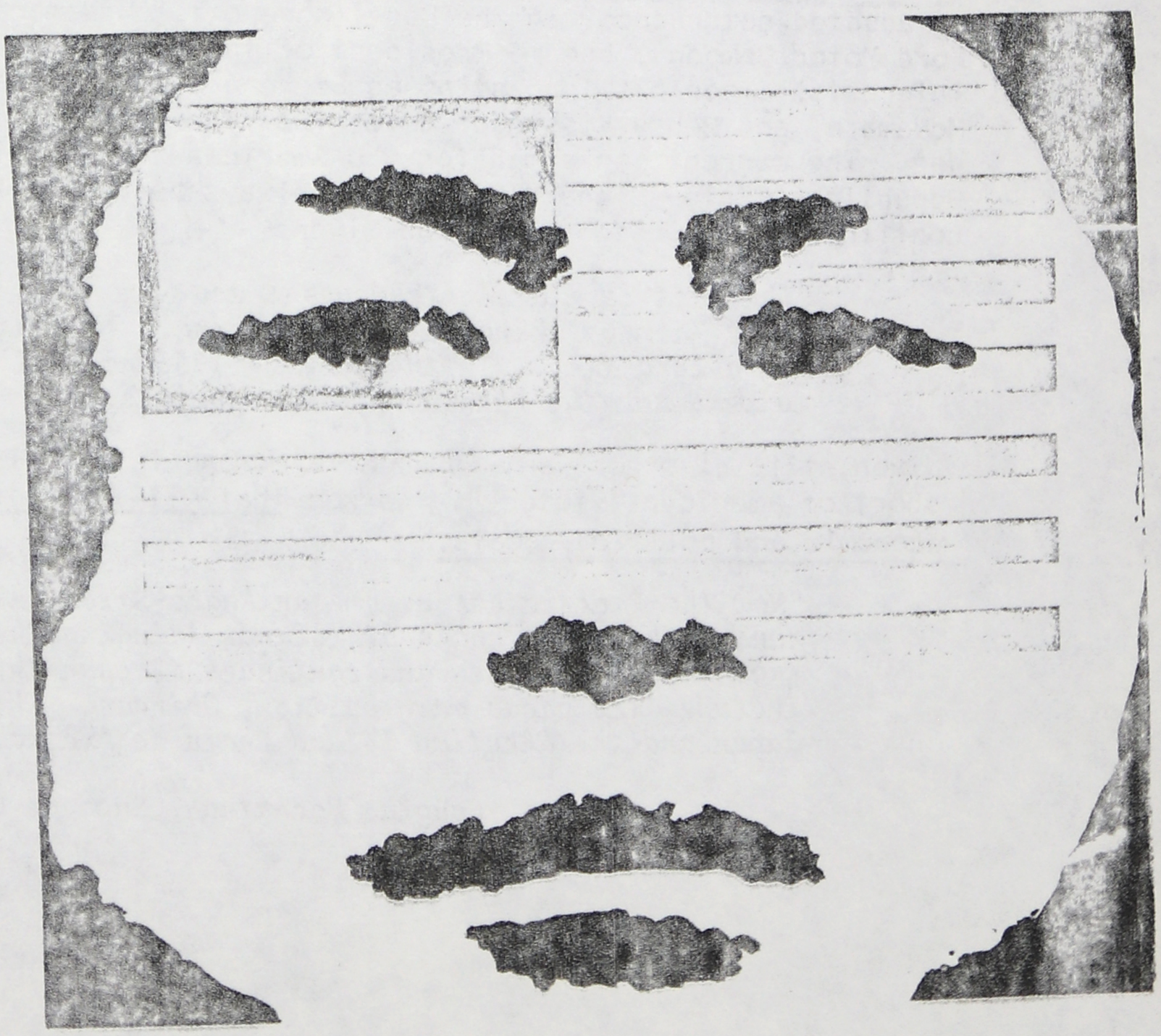
Military conquest is followed by political and economic domination, tailored to benefit the conquering country. Only through stable, secure societies can business and profits prevail. Thus, the American government attempted in Post World War Two to consolidate political control over the various elites and govering parties of the Pacific nations, to "ensure" stability. This political control was exercised in a number of ways, including: forced treaties (Phillipines, Japan, South Korea); and economic "aid"through the Agency for International Development, working with and sometimes under, the Central Intelligence Agency (Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong).

The major charisteristic of these Asian nations is the willingness of the ruling parties to cooperate economically and militarily with the United States, often the sole source of support for corrupt regimes. What are the economic goals of the United States in Asia? Or, more accurately, what goals do American big businessmen have in Asia? Certainly most Americans know little about Asia, and do not understand the vast wealth of that area and its people. There are many, but all point toward higher profits:

1. Access to, and ownership of, scarce raw materials necessary for highly technical, industrialized systems. These materials include tungsten, tin, manganese, nickel, aluminum, iron ore, and other metals. South-East Asia has rich deposits of these minerals throughout its mountains and valleys, particularly in Thailand and the Phillipines. Rich nickel deposits have just been "uncovered" by American interests in once-hostile-but-now-friendly Indonesia (thanks to a CIA-supported coup d'etat of Sukarno in 1967).

2. The control of markets in electronics, oil, and other manufactured goods. The ability to sell goods to the rich elites of each country, as well as to control the sources of oil and other petroleum products, is essential to the well being of American business. Ford Motor Company has been operating in Singapore for over 50 years; Cheesebrough-Pond in Japan and Standard Oil off the coast of Thailand.

3. Exploitation of cheap labor, practially all of the nations mentioned. The wage rates of the Korean and Taiwanese worker are some of the lowest in the world. Most of the products which they produce are shipped abroad to the more prosperous nations of Europe and North America.



What stands in the way of these goals? The desire of the Asian people for self-determination, to be free of outside domination, resulting in nationalistic, and "uncooperative" governments. We have seen, and are now living, some of the consequences of this resistance. Prior to 1967, under Sukarno, Indonesia was hostile to American firms and agencies, and moving rapidly toward China for trade and political alliance, then the right-wing generals backed by CIA pulled their coup, hundred of thousands of Chinese were slaughtered. In South Viet-Nam, guerrilla warfare has escalated to full-scale land wars, with millions of Indochinese, and thousands of Americans dying.

What is the relationship between the "super-rich" (who own big business) and military planners? In 1957, the Military Panel of the Rockerfeller Brothers Special Study Project called for a "concept of the graduated deterrence and flexible response" to replace massive retallation (conventional warfare). Henry Kissinger, presently Nixon's special adviser, was the main force in the Panel. I.F. Stone, famed Washington journalist, comments on the Study:

> *"This was also...a blueprint for the military requirements needed to police the world and protect American Business and other interests against a wide range of threats, in a time of revolutionary turmoil. Symbolically and practically it came naturally from a study project of the private empire Standard Oil and Chase Manhatten administer. For them, it made no sense to have a muscle-bound military machine which could only threaten a universal nuclear doomsday when somebody made a pass at their oil wells in Peru...They formally got from the Democrats what the economy-minded Eisenhower Administration denied them.. Under Kennedy and McNamara the armed forces were reshaped to meet the varying levels of violence required for a Pax Americana..."*

The Rockerfellers had been instrumental in the founding of the Central Intelligency Agency after World War Two. The CIA was an important part of "graduated deterrence" in the Panel's report. McNamara, former head of the Ford Motor Company, became President of the World Bank (controlled by American interests) after his long stint as Secretary of Defense (1960-1967). The CIA, McNamara, and Henry Kissinger determined the essential strategy in the Indo-China War. The current spokesman for the American ruling elite, as chosen by the Republican Party--Richard Nixon--has always been a hawk, particularly in Asian conflicts. I. F. Stone descibes Nixon:

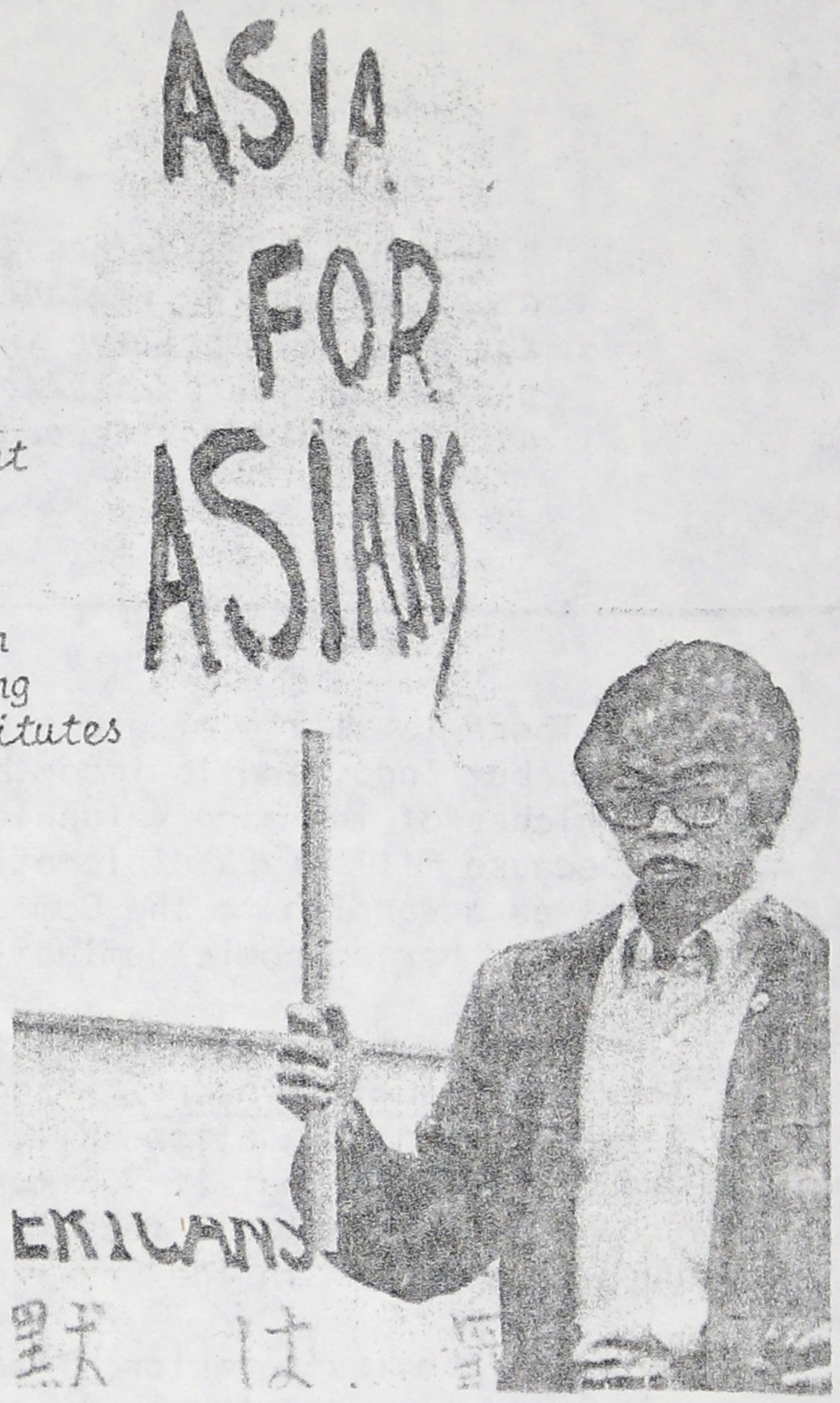
> *"The fact is that fifteen years ago Nixon was doing his best to keep peace from breaking out in Indochina. This has been Nixon's pet war for a long time. In the fall of 1953 he went to Indochina and tried to persuade the French not to negotiate."*

Nixon still does not want to negotiate, and is not willing to negotiate a peace short of American "victory". We see that military strategy is adopted to attain economic and political goals.

> *"Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through the chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia. It starts from the Philippines and continues through the Ryuku archipelago which includes its broad main bastion, Okinawa. Then it bends back through Japan and the Aleutian Island Chain to Alaska."*
>
> *Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of Pacific in 1949.*

"Examined dramatically, but more often quietly, the rest of Asia has been undergoing a profound, an exciting and on balance an extra-ordinarily promising transformation ...In looking toward the future, however, we should not ignore the vital role Vietnam has played in making these developments possible. Whatever one may think of the "domino theory", it it is beyond question that without the American commitment in Vietnam Asia would be a far different place today...
"This was vital factor in the turn around in Indonesia where a tendency toward fatalism is a national characteristic...And with its 100 million people and its 3,000 mile arc of islands containing the regeion's richest resources. Indonesia constitutes by far the greatest prize in the South East Asian area...
"The United States is Pacific power. Europe has been withdrawing the remnants of empire, by the United States, with its coast reaching in an arc from Mexico to the Bering Straits, is one anchor of a vast westward across the Pacific...linked by the sea not only with those oriental nations on Asia's Pacific littoral but at the same time with Occidental Australia and New Zealand, and with the island nations in between."

Richard Nixon, 1967 writing in Foreign Affairs.



Why do Amerians mistakenly fear this genuine resistance as a menacing Communist conspiracy to over run the "Free World?" These paranoic fears were developed immediately after the Bolshevik victory in 1911 in Russia. They were refined by the Red Scare era of Joseph McCarthy, well-timed in coincidence with the tragic Korean War, portrayed as a valiant fight against Chinese hordes, but in actuality a bold plan of the MacArthur group to dominate Asia with a hard line toward Red China. But these fears provide only the Rationale which the government needs in order to continue its policy of forced domination over Asian people and to enlist the support of Americans. We understand what the real reasons are, and who the villians have been: the "super rich", business leaders, and their drive for higher profits through the control of American political and military systems. ■

indochina

"The empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any one of the major powers on the globe...I believe that the conditions of the Vietnamese people, and the direction in which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary."

Senator McGee (Wyoming)
US Senate, 2-17-65

There is little of great economic value in Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia, but Indochina is important to the United States because: 1) of the riches of the more valuable neighboring countries in"free Asia." 2) because military & diplomatic planners are willing to destroy Indochina as a warning to the Communists that America has no intention of giving up her economic domination of the Pacific Rim.

The war that rages in Laos, Cambodia & Vietnam is a product of America's "domino theory" -- self-fullfilled. From the earliest US intervention in Asia after WWII, United States policy has justified on the prediction: that if "Communists" were allowed one more victory that soon all of Asia would face insurgencies and revolutions...that America's undisputed power in the Pacific would be threatened.

For the last quarter of a century the United States government has attempted to undermine the self-determination of Asian nations.--Any Asian government that was not pro-Western or was neutralist, has faced the American abuse of power: economic sanctions, military aid &intervention, and/or para-military mercenaries & the CIA. The American government has established right-wing regimes, military dictatorships, in South Vietnam, Loyalist Laos, Cambodia, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, & Indonesia. These regimes are totally dependent on US military & economic aid for their survival. They are of the wealthy, westernized few who have always aided the colonialists in the past.

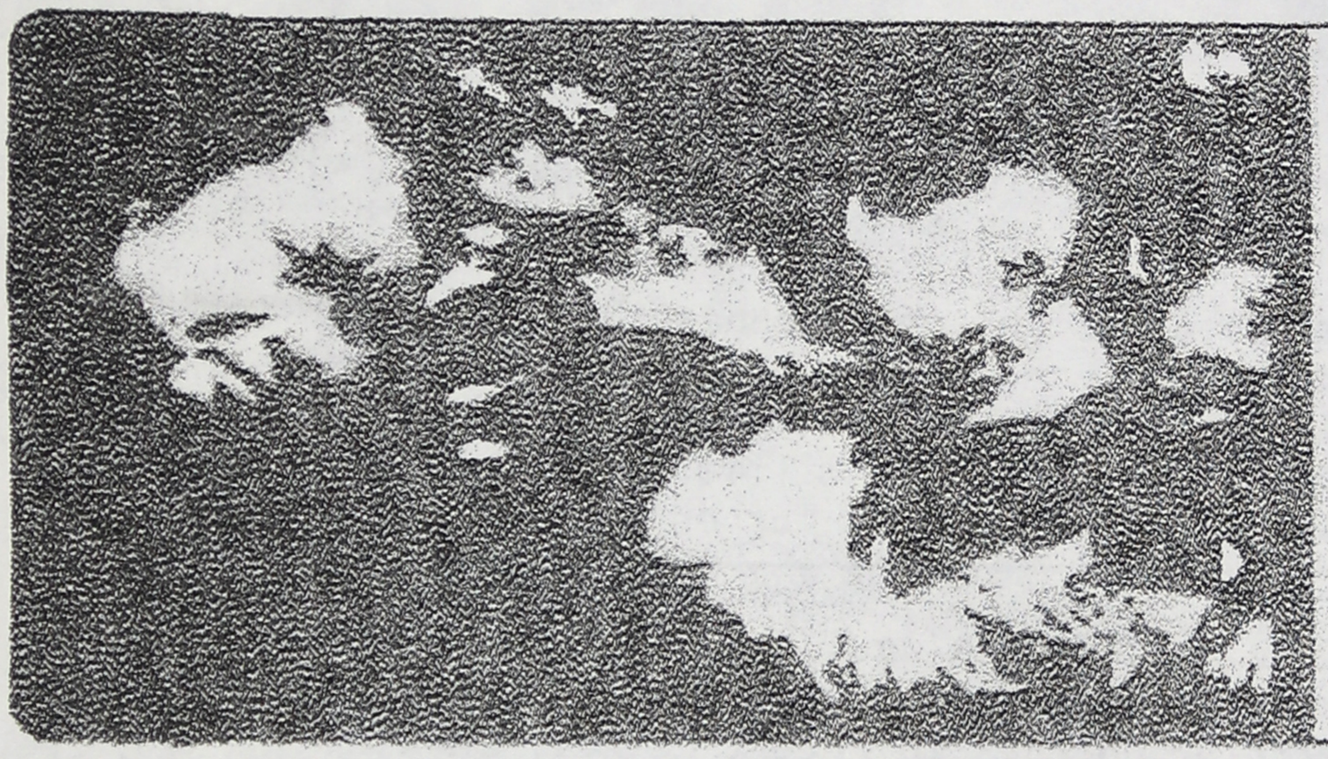
Therefore, it has been through her own actions that the United States has set the stage for revolution and rebellion throughout Asia. By establishing corrupt & repressive military regimes in SE Asia, controlled by the US, our government has fermented rebellion, nationalism & hatred for the Americans.

Our national planners had hoped to make Vietnam a lesson for other Third World countries...and they have. Vietnam has shown the world that the unhuman and arrogant controllers of America are even willing to destroy a people, an entire country, to prove their might.

THE PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA HAVE SHOWN THE WORLD THAT EVEN THE MOST IMPOVERISHED & TINY OF THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS (the so-called underdeveloped world) CAN WIN NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION FROM THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD...THIS IS WHAT OUR NATIONAL CONTROLLERS FEAR THE MOST.

The peoples of Indochina have faced the most brutal, sustained technologically advanced warfare in the history of world...and they are winning. Military escalations engineered by the US has since the late 1950's turned the struggles of the Vietnamese, the Laotians, and Cambodians into ONE WAR against ONE ENEMY -- the United States.

The recent expansion of the Asian War by President Nixon has not improved prospects of an "American victory," it has only made visible what has always been true: that Vietnam is not a separate incident but part of an American war waged against all of Indochina...that Vietnam is the logical extension of American foreign policy in Asia. ■



In Indochina the East is WINNING!

vietnam

"I am sure that the great American people, if only they knew the true facts and the background to the developments in South Vietnam, would agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary. However, in times of war and of hostilities the first casualty is truth."

U Thant, Secretary General of the UN
February 25, 1965

National roots - Vietnam's history as a nation is over 2000 years old. It is marked with long periods of foreign domination and intense nationalistic struggles. The traditional foreign agressor was China who ruled Vietnam for a thousand years (111 BC- 939 AD). This relationship with China is important to understand, for while the Chinese left a deep cultural influence on the Vietnamese, the Vietnamese developed a strong theme of "nationalism free from Chinese domination."

French Colonialism- Western imperialism - Western economic & political control of Asia - expanded in the 19th century with the strength of "gunboat diplomacy," France seized as her share the area known as Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. In the colonial pattern, France westernized a small elite that became alienated from the bulk of their Asian brothers...they became the rich and the civil servants, who cooperated with the colonizers ...and who later cooperated with the Americans.

Vietnam was drained of her resources and the peasants suffered most. Bearing the greatest burden of colonization, they were taxed to the point of losing their ancestral lands. Numerous labor camps & prisons were operated by the French. Educational & medical institutions were almost non-existent. Not surprisingly the French faced frequent peasant uprisings.

Modern Nationalism - During WWI the French promised colonial reforms for Vietnamese cooperation. Over 100,000 Vietnamese served in France but the promises were broken. Exposure to the "democracy" of the French at home compared to Vietnam, fired nationalism that climaxed with insurrections in 1930-1. All nationalistic groups were forced underground & thousands were executed in the French repression. Surviving nationalists united under the reknown patriot, Nguyen Ai Quoc, leader of the Indochinese Communist Party, whose name was synonymous with nationalism...he was later known as Ho Chi Minh.

World War II - The Japanese invasion of Indochina in 1940 increased the national struggle to fighting both the colonizers (who collaborated with Japan) and the invaders. Vietnamese allies at this time included the U.S.

Independence Sabotaged - With the defeat of the Japanese, the Vietminh (a large coalition of nationalists) declared independence with Ho Chi Minh as the first president (9-2-45). France granted "independence" within the French Union in March 1946, but then she seized military control. By 1947 Hanoi was captured and the Vietnamese government turned to guerilla warfare.

> *"Now let us assume that we lost Indochina...the tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming...So when the US votes 400 million dollars to help that war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way to prevent the occurence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security our power & the ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indochinese territory and from Southeast Asia.*
>
> 8-4-53, President Eisenhower, governors' conference

The United States Enters - At first the US was cautious about supporting a colonial war...But in 1949 the success of the Chinese revolution began to shape American foreign policy--Secretary of State Dulles & Gen. Mac Arthur being instrumental in the paranoid policy of containment towards China. (See Korea) By 1950, the US designated herself as "saviour" of the Pacific, In Vietnam & Korea US military intervention began.

By 1950 economic drain from the war and internal dissent would have ended the colonial war, only massive US aid (80% of all military expenses) enabled the war to continue. To camouflage repression of Vietnamese independence, France installed Bao Dai (puppet emperor of the Japanese) as "President" of "independent" Vietnam. The US could then help without seeming to bolster colonialism.

Dien Bien Phu & the Geneva Conference - Despite US support the French faced defeat in the spring of 1954. The US was considering military intervention, in the Pentagon there was discussion of tactical nuclear weapons. Before the US acted, Dien Bien Phu fell & the French surrendered.

The Geneva Conference included: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam(DRV), Cambodia, Laos, China, USSR, France, Great Britain, US & the Bao Dai regime. The US refused to agree to any settlement giving independence to a united Vietnam, The Vietnamese broke the deadlock by agreeing to withdraw all forces to the northern half (they controlled over 3/4's of Vietnam) and to hold elections which would determine the government for all of the country.

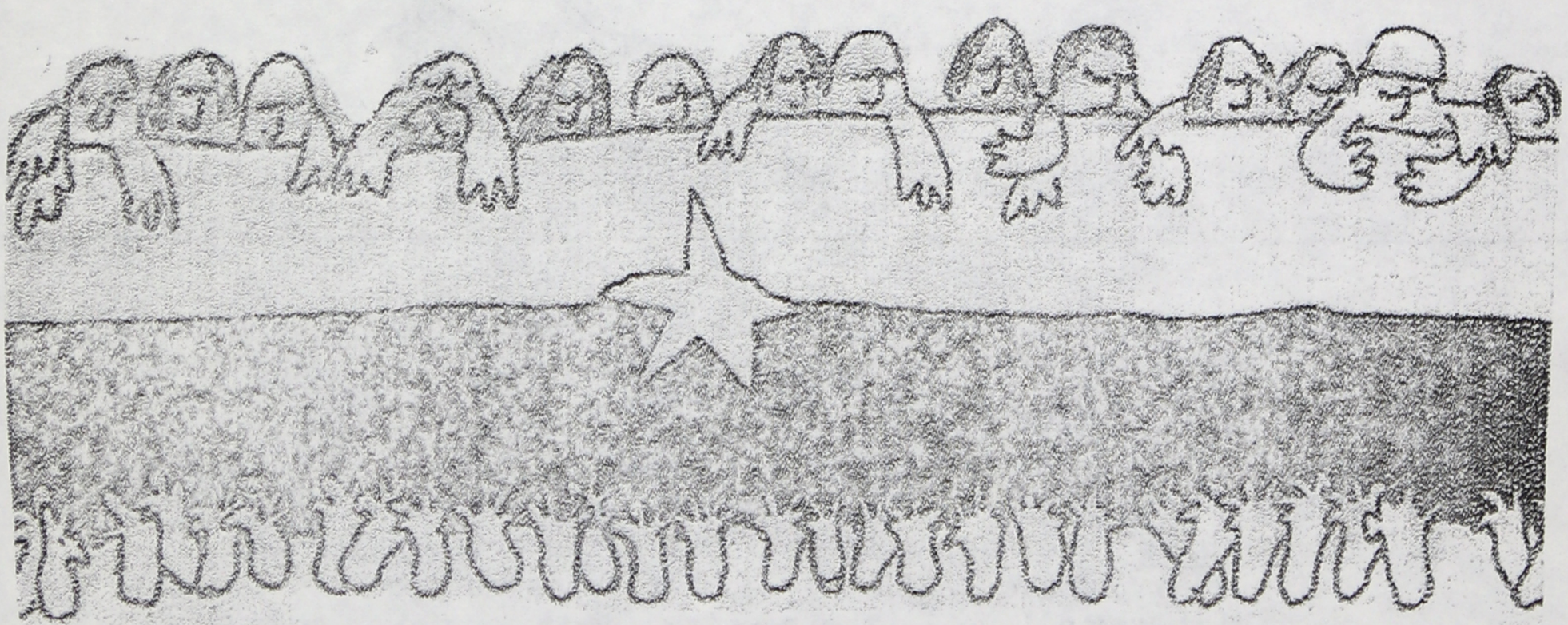
Clearly stated was: 1) division was administrative, not permanent 2) elections within 2 years would unify the nation 3) neither zone would make military alliances or receive military aid. The US did not sign the agreement, but promised not to disturb them by threat or force.

Selecting Diem - Before the end of the conference, the US told France that she must force Bao Dai to appoint Ngo Dinh Diem as Prime Minister, if she wanted to retain any control in Indochina. Diem, then a resident of the US, was known for his cooperation with the French in executing Vietnamese nationalists.

In the North - Devastated by WWII, the Vietnamese faced famines and needed to completely rebuild. In the North progress was endangered by over-enthusiastic adoption of the Chinese collectivization of agriculture. Peasants rebelled & HoChiMinh took personal charge of the state in 1956. Cut off from the South, its economic complement, the north attempted to reinstate relations. Diem refused and Hanoi was force to turn to Russia & China for aid, industrialization & a program of austerity were implemented. Health & educational facilities were established in every village--illiteracy was eliminated.

Diem's Rule - In the south, Diem established a regime clearly unrepresentative of the southern Vietnamese. Northern associates, aristocrats & Catholics filled his government. All land reforms established by the Vietminh were dissolved. Any opposition was called Communist...over 50,000 political prisoners were taken. Buddhists were persecuted. 2% of the population owned 45% of the land, 75% owned 15%.

Diem's 9 year rule could not have existed without the support of the US. The US military support and support for the refusal to hold elections were both clear violations of the Geneva agreement. (Eisenhower noted in his memiors, that if elections had been held over 80% of the Vietnamese would have supported HoChiMinh's government.)



National Liberation Front (NLF) - Rebellion in the south led to the establishment of the NLF in 1960. It was governed by a broad based 30 man central committee. Within 2 years it gained support in 80% of the countryside. Americans have accused the north of controlling the NLF or the "Vietcong"...it must be noted that the NLF formed in a vacuum of leadership from the north. it was Diem's corruption & brutality and a fierce national pride that led to this southern rooted insurrection.[2]

Ky-Thieu - In 1963 growing opposition to Diem and the effectiveness of the NLF, forced America to withdraw support from her "George Washington of Asia." He was assasinated the next day.

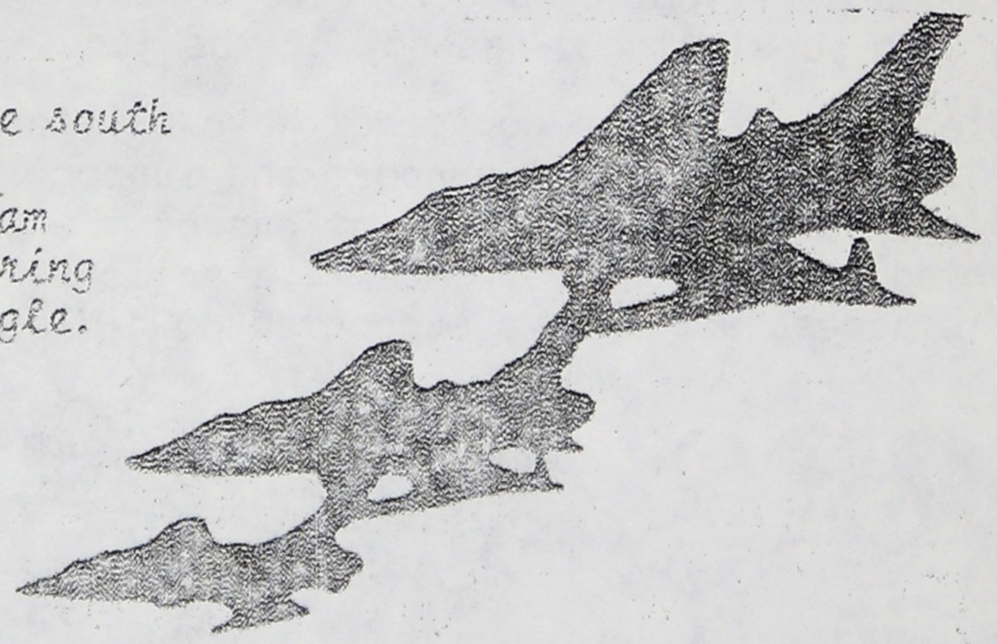
Between 1963 to 1965 there were 13 coups in Saigon. For two years the US rushed to support each new dictator as the "choice" of the people. Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky finally ended the sries of coups. President Thelu and Prime Minister Ky are new faces but conditions in Saigon have not changed. Repression continues, corruption continues and the reliance of the Ky-Thelu regime on the US for survival continues.

Escalation - By 1965 it was clear that the NLF was winning. At this time Vietnam became familiar to the American public because the US greatly escalated her involvement in an attempt to win the war. American troops in Vietnam were increased from 50,500 in 1965 to 267,000 in 1966.

In 1965, using the Tonkin incident, the Senate was stampeded into approving President Johnson's bombing raids on North Vietnam. Little evidence of an attack on the Maddox has ever been uncovered.

When this excuse wore thin, the US rationale became : stopping infiltration of arms from the north. I.F. Stone's devastating analysis of the White Paper on this subject showed how little evidence of massive infiltration arms or supplies. (I.F. Stone's Weekly, 3-8-65)

Infiltration of supplies & men into the south from the north increased significantly after bombing. Bombing of North Vietnam only managed to widen the war and to bring the northern Vietnamese into the struggle.

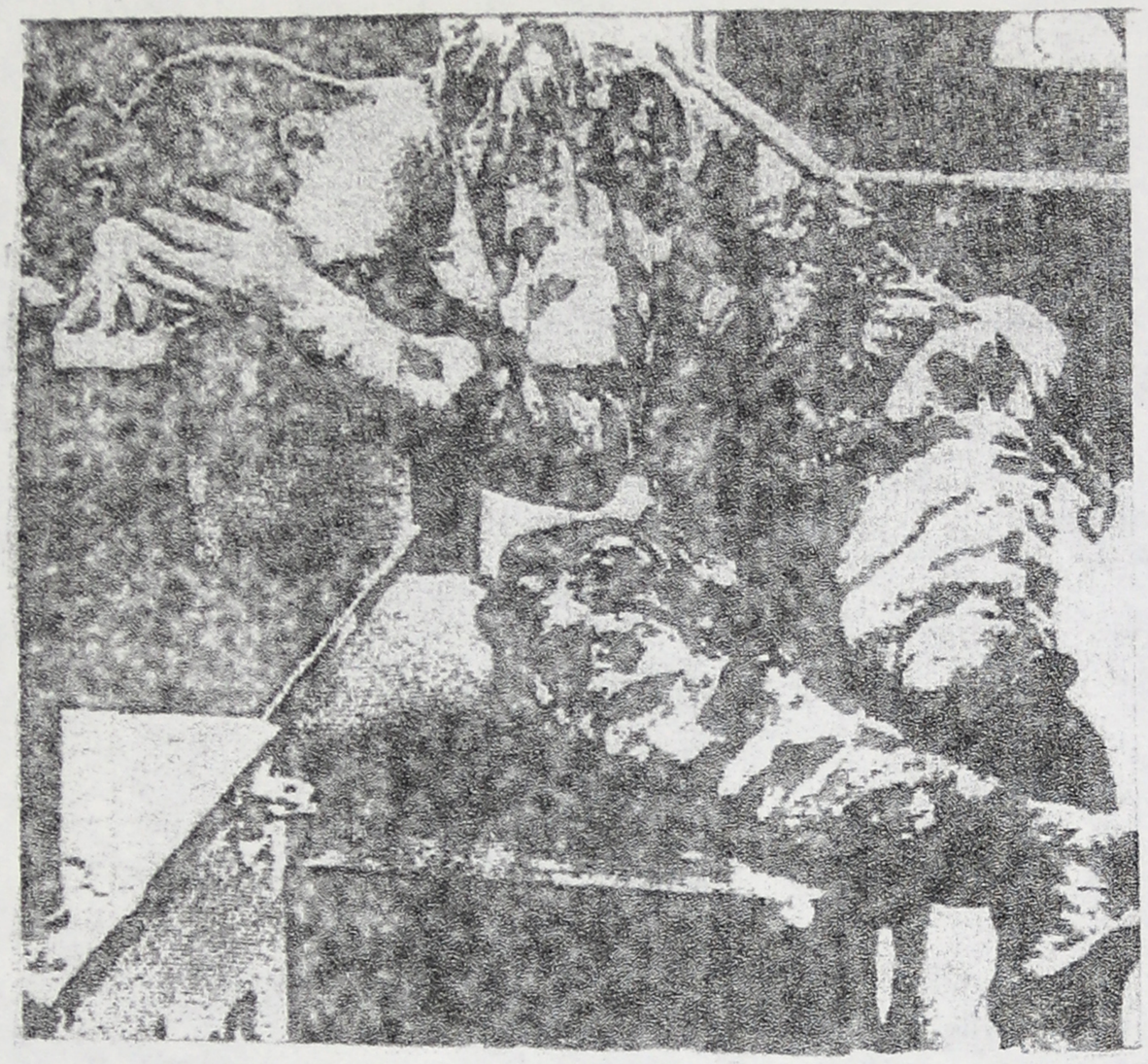


Vietnamization - Nixon's Vietnamization had two goals: "pacifying" the people of South Vietnam and "pacifying" America. Vietnamization does not mean de-escalation of the war. What does it mean?

1. Stepped up technological war...Increased air war (bombing) & the use of high powered artillery to indiscrimately depopulate.
2. "Urbanizing" Vietnam...destroying the countryside through defoliation, craterization by bombing, destruction of villages. Most Vietnamese live in the country, because of war more are being forced into city slums, where they can be controlled & cannot help the NLF.
3. Decreasing American causualties...reducing American ground troops, increasing the number of Vietnamese troops.

In short, Vietnamization means decreasing American deaths and increasing Asian deaths by: relying on technological warfare, and maneuvering the Vietnamese into killing each other, and by forcing peasants into "detention camps" & urban slums where they can be "pacified."

the failure of vietnamization



Vietnamization has failed. It has failed because the Vietnamese do not want to fight each other despite coercion and/or cooptation by Saigon & the US. Many areas of South Vietnam participate in unofficial cease-fire pacts between the NLF & the Saigon army.

The majority of Vietnamese have little to gain & alot to lose from America's War in their country.

US reports speak to the contrary, but US troops are still facing defeat by NLF & North Vietnamuse forces. This may have been a major motive for once again escalating the war into Cambodia.

Once again, a US escalation has only solidified the "enemy"...NLF, N. Vietnamese, Pathet Lao & Sihanouk forces have agreed on a reformed Indochina Front. ■

WHAT KIND OF A WAR IS THIS?

This history should give you some idea of the kind of war America is fighting, let us just summarize & expand:

1. The War in Vietnam & Indochina is basically a liberation war... communists and non-communists alike want America out.

2. In addition to the barbarity of common incidents like MyLai, there is the business-like barbarity of the US's overwhelming technology against such a poor nation. Only a popular guerilla war could sustain against such odds for 21 years.

3. In this war the peasant is the prime victim. Napalming & defoliation has destroyed the livelihood of four to five million (out of 16 million) southern Vietnamese, who have become refugees in their own country.

4. The US is using weapons like anti-personnel bombs effective only against people & livestook. The military also developed a new kind of napalm which stuck better to flesh.

   One and a half million Vietnamese have been killed since US intervention. (Bertrand Russell War Crimes)

5. The war is essentially racist, founded on colonial paternalism & the arrogance so well presented by President Nixon, that "America will not be defeated." A war of this brutality would never be used to "save" a European communist country.

6. The Vietnamese, the Pathet Lao, & Sihanouk's forces are winning!

1. See Felix Greene's Vietnam, 1966.
2. See Kahin & Lewis The United States in Vietnam, 1969.

Sources: For a short & interesting history of how the US got into Vietnam, read Felix Greene's book Vietnam. For a comprehensive, well documented book on the US's involvement there, Kahin-Lewis' The United States in Vietnam (be sure to get the revised edition which goes up to Nixon.)

the n.l.f.

> "Yes, the Americans have bombing planes, jeeps; they can move & fly very fast. But we can be faster than them, because we in the south are already there."
>
> N.L.F. resistance fighter

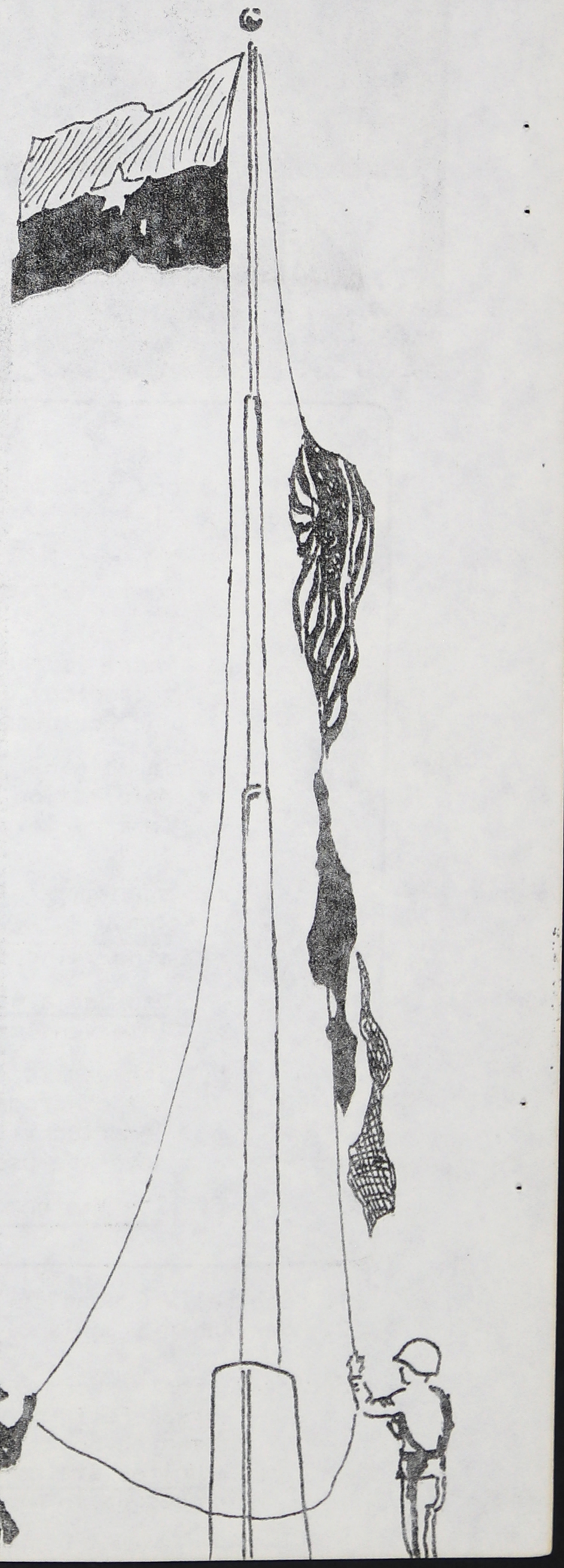
For over 21 years America has been involved in Vietnam. Since 1960, American forces have been fighting the forces of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the NLF or "Vietcong." Yet, very few Americans understand this "enemy."

American diplomats have said that accepting the NLF program "would be tantamount to a U.S. defeat." How many Americans have read this program?

SUMMARY OF THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

(Announced December 20, 1960)

1. To replace the present disguised colonial regime and form a national democratic coalition government including representatives of all strata of the people, of all nationalities, political parties, and religious communities.
2. To bring into being a broad and progressive democracy, to promulgate all democratic freedoms: freedom of expression, of the press, of assembly, of association, of trade unions, of movements. A guarantee of freedom of belief with no discrimination against any religion; and freedom of action to all patriotic political parties and mass organizations irrespective of political tendency.
3. To build an independent national economy, beneficial to the nation and the people; to improve the people's living conditions. Help industrialists and tradespeople to rehabilitate and develop industry both large and small. Apply a rational and equitable tax system; organize social security—with jobs for the unemployed, protection of orphans, the aged, and the disabled.
4. To advance agriculture through reduction in land rents; by means of negotiations to purchase from landowners at equitable prices all land held by them in excess of a given area and distribute it to landless and poor peasants free of charge and without conditions.
5. To develop a national democratic system of education available to all and to further Vietnamese culture. To wipe out illiteracy and expand universities and vocational schools. Develop science and technology and national literature and art; encourage and help intellectuals and cultural workers to develop their abilities. To develop medical services to protect the people's health.
6. To build a national army to defend the Fatherland; to abolish all foreign military bases.
7. To guarantee equality among the various nationalities and between men and women; to protect the legitimate rights of foreigners resident in Vietnam.
8. To pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.
9. To re-establish normal relations between the two zones of Vietnam and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland on the basis of negotiations; and pending reunification ensure for the people of both zones freedom of movement and the right to exchange visits and correspondence and to do nothing that might cause division between them.
10. To oppose aggressive war and actively to defend world peace. To oppose war propaganda; to demand general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.



laos

Jacques DeCornoy (French correspondent) quotes an American in Vietien who says: "To make progress in this country, it is necessary to level everything." DeCornoy comments: "The Americans accuse the North Vietnamese of intervening militarily in the country, but it is they who talk of reducing Laos to zero, while the Pathet Lao exults the national culture and national independence." (Le Monde, 7-68)

Laos-A Nation? Laos is more a geographic area than a nation. Living on a subsistence basis off the land, most of the 4 million peasants have, only with the intervention of the U.S., begun to consider life outside their villages. People of over 60 ethnic groups have been forced by the reality of U.S. bombs to understand that they are "Laotians."

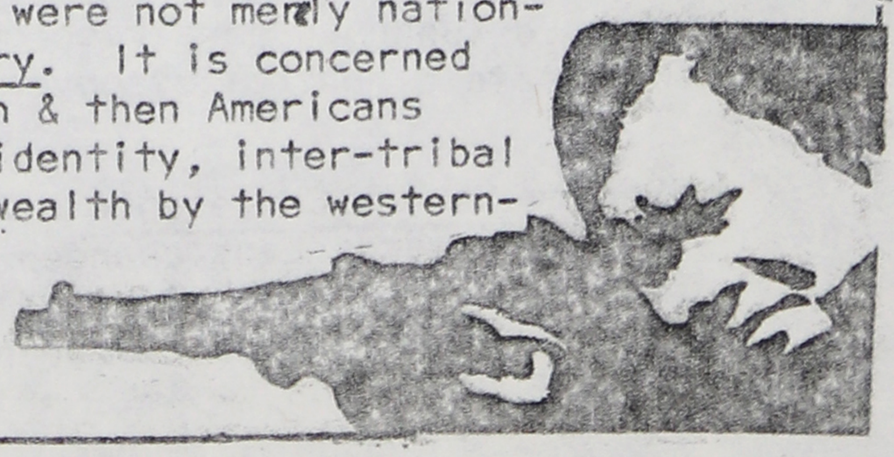
In dividing up Indochina, Laos was an arbitrary administrative region, designated by the French. The French colonizers exploited the regional antagonisms and lack of unity by creating elite groups, by importing Vietnamese to work as virtual slaves on Laotian plantations and encouraging racial hatreds. and by pitting the people of the mountains against those in the lowlands among the Mekong.

Anti- French Independence Movements began after WWII. In coordination with Vietnam and Cambodia, the Laotian resistance seized power. In 1945 Prince Phetsarath proclaimed the independent kingdom of Luang Prabang. Less than 3 weeks later the king, however, announced the continuance of the French protectorate. Phetsarath was forced into exile in Bangkok, but established a provisional government of Lao Issara (Free Laos). The French regained control in 1946.

Phetsarath, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong, the three princes, are brothers. Phetsarath (traditional-royalist), Souvanna Phouma (neutralist) and Souphanouvong (leftist.) The latter two played key roles in Lao Issara under their under their brother.

Souphanouvong was an early advocate of Asian unity against Western imperialism. So when the French granted "limited independence in the French Union (1949), Lao Issara disbanded; Prince Souphanouvong left to the northern hills to organize for complete independence, forming the Pathet Lao (Aug 1950).

This was a significant division: The Pathet Lao were not merely nationalists but were also anti-feudal and revolutionary. It is concerned not only with the external oppressors, the French & then Americans but with change within Laos --building national identity, inter-tribal cooperation, the end of the control of national wealth by the westernized Laotian upperclass.



Indochina Front - In 1951, members of the Pathet Lao, Vietminh, and Khmer Issarak (Cambodia) meto to coordinate their fight against the French. In 1954, the Pathet Lao and the Vietminh fought together in Laos and prepared for the French defeat at Dienbien Phu (1954).

Occupying two-thirds of Laos, the Pathet Lao were denied official participation at the Geneva conference. As with Vietnam, the Pathet Lao agreed to withdraw to the north until national elections in 1955. The south was given to the Royalists. The capital, Vietienne, was to be neutral with Souvanna Phouma as premier.

U.S. Intervention - Secretary of State Dulles had hoped to end revolutions in Asia using as his "tool" SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization), but in Laos their was no puppet like Diem who would ask for military "help," and place Laos under U.S. "protection." Souvanna Phouma seriously attempted to create a neutral coalition government.

From July of 1954 it appears that the U.S. systematically attempted to destroy the Pathet Lao and place the U.S.-controlled right-wing into power. At this time the U.S. rearmed and expanded the Royalist Army (a clear violation of Geneva accords).

"The Americans are willing it seems, to depopulate Laos: the Laotian people at both sides and in the middle (an increasingly untenable position) killing each other -- and the Americans are pulling the strings.

Ramparts, June 1970



Pathet Lao Inte grated into Government--Despite U.S.-backed efforts to exclude the Pathet Lao from the government, Souphounovong became one of two Pathet Lao ministers in Souvanna Phouma's coalition government. The Party of the Pathet Lao won 13 of 20 seats in the 1957 elections.

Long series of Coups:
Late 1958: Minsister Phoui, a rightist, fabricates North Vietnamese attacks to seize dictatorial powers on an emergency basis.
February 1959: General Phoumi (CIA protege and cousin of U.S. controlled dictator Sarit of Thailand) backed by the CIA seized power and arrests Souphounovong and 15 other Pathet Lao leader (later escaped).
August 1960: Knowing that reports of Vietminh attacks were false, Kong Le (unknown paratroop captain) seizes power and attempts to create a neutralist government.

Second Geneva Conference - With the Kennedy administration, the policy towards Laos changed and a neutralist government seemed acceptable. This helped to lead to another conference at Geneva in 1962. A new coalition under Souvanna Phouma included the Pathet Lao, Phoumi, and "neutralists."

The coalition was short-lived as fighting developed between right-wing neutralists and other neutralist forces. In April, 1963, several assasinations occured (including two Pathet Lao leaders) and the Pathet Lao ministers left for the north.

Souvanna Phouma Kidnapped - Just as he had reached an agreement with Pathet Lao leaders for the restoration of the coalition, Souvanna Phouma was kidnapped by right-wing officers under Phoumi. Since then he has been acting as a puppet of the right. All of his neutralist forces then disbanded, joining the right or left.

U.S. Begins Bombing - In May, 1964, Souvanna Phouma agreed to U.S. bombing raids over Laos. The military pretext was to close the Ho Chi Minh Trail (an undefined area of bicycle paths on the Laos-Vietnam border), but in reality the attacks were mainly concentrated on Pathet Lao held territory far from the Ho CHi Minh Trail. Laos is the most heavily bombed area in the history of the world. All buildings of any significant size in Pathet Lao areas have leveled. The people, (20-30%)of the population, live in caves and farm at night. Nearly 700,000 of the four million Laotians are refugees--"encouraged" by the bombings of their villages, they have been forced to seek "protection" in Royalist areas.



Why Laos: The U.S. has always seen Laos as a pawn of the cold war
1) Laos has been used to create a buffer between China and North Vietnam and Thailand, the prize American possession in SE Asia.

2) Laos has been strategically useful as a base for U.S. infiltration into North Vietnam and as the location of radar stations for planes from the bases of Thailand in the bombing of North Vietnam.

3) The origins of the war are derived from the legacy of a Dulles-through- Nixon foreign policy that requires the end to Asian revolution and even the destruction of successful revolutions if necessary.

How Does The U.S. Control Laos

CIA: A structure of American "advisors" parallels the administration of both the royal Laotian government and the army. Final authority, especially in the army, rests directly with the CIA.

Economy: 90% of the Laotioans depend on subsistence farming, only 10% or 350,000 people are in the cash economy. This makes it particularly easy for the U.S. to control the cash economy. An average of $300 million per year has been poured into Laos since 1965 (80% into the army). Most of this money stays in the captial (the only real city in Laos) where 200-300 families control the profits. The only independent part of the economy is the opium trade.

Pacification: Bombing has reduced Laos which once exported food to importing rice. "Strategic hamlets" or "unity camps", as in Vietnam have forced Laotians down from the mountain areas and into slums around Vietienne to live off the "charity" of U.S. surplus foods or to face the genocidal bombing, napalming, and defoliation of their villages.

Mercenaries: The Americans have also followed the historical process of the French, by isolating minorities and cultivating them as mercenary forces such as the Meo tribesmen under Vang Pao. Also troops from Thailand (Thais along the border are related to ethnic Lao) are flown in by the Americans.

WHO IS THE INVADER?

So the war continues in this sparsely populated region of Indochina known as Laos. In 1968 when a bombing halt of North Vietnam was called by Johnson, all scheduled bombing missions simply switched their target to Laos. The bombing rate was maintained & has remained high under the Nixon administration.

Increased bombing has forced the Pathet Lao to become more dependent on the North Vietnamese & Chinese for supplies & arms, but is must remain clear that the Pathet Lao is an indigenous Laotian force & not controlled by the N. Vietnamese or any other foreign power. Increased bombing & US brutality has strengthened the Pathet Lao forces. Peasants are forced by bombing to fight or to live in refugee camps.

The urban rich of Vietienne, dependent on US aid for its new wealth, is too involved with capital politics to offer effective leadership; therefore, a political stalemate has been created between the Pathet Lao & the American controlled RLG, supported by the CIA & other mercenaries. Until a political settlement is reached through armed struggle, Laotians will be killing Laotians while the US pulls the strings.

This "senseless" war makes sense for the US. For Laos is a stalling point in Asia. American planners fear that the peasant liberation movements in Indochina will soon spread to the valuable "American colony in Thailand." Peasant insurgencies exist on many fronts there and they are now becoming coordinated...America needs time to prepare.
(See Thailand.)



The Pathet Lao are Winning



The Pathet Lao have begun to unify the many Laotian peoples into a national government, a government which represents more than Vietienne tax collectors...an unprecedented event in the Laotian tradition.

Militarily, the Pathet Lao have always been successful against any US-controlled forces. Consolidation of territory increased this

In the meantime, the U.S. has fabricated repeated accounts of N. V. hordes in Laos. Beginning with the 1958 incident to seize right wing control to the most recent Plain de Jars scare, the American press has been made to believe that the Vietnamese are invading in great numbers. First reports in the Plain de Jars incident cited 70,000 North Vietnamese in flaming headlines...a few days later the papers with greatly reduced attention stated that their were only around 600 troops involved and that it was not certain that they were North Vietnamese, but may have been Pathet Lao.

The use of this Red Scare tactic must be seriously viewed in context with the entire Asian situation. Laos borders China. The repeated American intervention in Laos must be seen by China as a threat to her security. This raises serious questions as to who is the real threat to world peace? Laos has also been the key to discussion on the use of tactical nuclear weapons in military circles. ■

Sources: There are few materials on Laos. This article based on recent articles by Jacques Decornoy & Wilfred Burchett. A good summary of available materials is in the June 1970 Ramparts.

cambodia

"...we have no incentive to escalate in Cambodia, our whole (Vietnamization) program is defeated...we have no incentive to escalate."

Secretary of State Rogers days before the Cambodian invasion, Chronicle 5-5-70

President Nixon's intervention in Cambodia is consistent with the last 20 years of America's foreign policy...a policy of military pursuit of victory -- not of negotiated peace with the merging governments of Asia's peasants. Like the other American presidents since WW II Nixon has concluded that the only "honorable" way of ending the war is to expand it.

It must be clear that the real motive for expanding the war was because of the failure of America's attempts to win in Vietnam, most recently demonstrated by the failure of the Vietnamization program.

It was not Vietnamese sanctuaries that led American troops into Cambodia: 1) These so-called sanctuaries exist within South Vietnam and Americans have failed with operations similiar to the Cambodian sweep to "clean them out." 2) COSVN, headquarters of the NLF was moved in March to the Mekong delta in South Vietnam. (N.Y. Times, 4-4-70).

SIHANOUK - The double talk about the American government's desire for peace and its respect for neutrality is clearly exposed in the US reaction to the ousting of Sihanouk. Sihanouk rules in the Cambodian tradition of "god-king." The majority of Cambodians, especially the peasants, identify closely with this popular leader.

After WWII, Sihanouk used his influence to maintain control of the nationalist movement and to lessen the power of Communist groups. Since independence in 1954, he has attempted to keep Cambodia neutral. His attempts at maintaining neutrality have included refusing American military aid, checking the flow of NLF supplies from Cambodia, and asking for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

LOL NOL - But because Sihanouk had refused to cooperate with the US, His overthrow was welcomed by American leaders. Lol Nol, former French collaborator, is a right-wing military man. His only base of support is the Khmer Serai, trained by the CIA and responsible for many past coup attempts. A racist, he has led a hate campaign against the Vietnamese. Over 3500 Vietnamese have been reported massacred since he seized power. Lol Nol's weakness must have been an important factor in the Cambodian invasion.

AMERICAN RESPECT OF NEUTRALITY - President Nixon has recently made much of US respect of Cambodian neutrality, but:

1. In 1959, the CIA trained Khmer Serai (important in Lol Nol's coup) attempted to overthrow Sihanouk.

2. Beginning in 1965, the US claimed the right of "hot pursuit" of Vietnamese into Cambodia. A Cambodian complaint in 1969 at the UN listed over 7,000 incidents of shelling & bombing of Cambodian territory. (It has been since then a regular procedure for the US to pay $300. to the family of every "accidental"



Cambodian death...many of these deaths are the result of villages & plantations being bombed with explosives or defoliants.

3. Nixon launched the Cambodian invasion without even consulting with Lol Nol.

4. Because of US bombing & CIA activities within Cambodia, Sihanouk asked the American embassy to leave Cambodia 3 years ago. Also Sihanouk has refused US military aid, but Cambodian military & business elites have received funds from the CIA.

CAMBODIA'S UPRISING - As the result of Sihanouk's ousting & the US invasion, Sihanouk has thrown his support to the native Cambodian Communists, Khmer Rouge, forming the National United Front (NUF). It is the Cambodian Khmer Rouge & thousands of Cambodian peasants which are resisting American & Saigon troops there, not Vietnamese.

INDOCHINA FRONT - Since the invasion of Cambodia, members of the Pathet Lao, NLF, North Vietnam and the NUF have agreed to coordinate efforts against the American forces in Indochina. Further more, the situation becomes even more serious because China has been forced to assume a stronger position over Cambodia...therefore increasing the possibility of her direct involvement.

Lol Nol is now isolated in Phon Phem, the capital. His small force of 5,000 men is surrounded by a hostile countryside. Only massive military intervention, as in Vietnam, can save the Lol Nol regime.

Presently the US hopes that SV reinforcements will buy Lol Nol time, but it is unlikely that the South Vietnamese troops will be effective. The Vietnamese are bitter about the Lol Nol massacres of Vietnamese civilians in Cambodia, and while they may wish revenge, their presence will only mobilize Cambodians around the traditional antagonism between the races.

Lol Nol is recruiting mercenaries from Thailand & professional mercenaries- many who have just come from Biafra - at the rate $1000 and more per week.



So in Cambodia, American intervention is once again bringing racial violence & civil war to SE Asia...but the tide in Indochina in bringing more peasant rebellion ...the days, when American rulers can push puppet regimes upon the people of Indochina, are ending. ■

Sources: There are very few works on Cambodia, this article based on recent N.Y Time articles by John Everingham, & the joint proclamation of the Indochinese forces. Everingham has been traveling with Cambodia since the invasion. For background, try Wilfred Burchett's Mekong Upstream.

thailand

"The raw materials that enable rich countries to grow rich must increasingly be bought from the poor," Robinson (vice president of Stanford Research Institute) told SRI's big business group in 1967. "The institute is heavily involved in the struggle to maintain another Asian bastion of strength for the Free World." He referred to Thailand. --The Guardian, June 11, 1970

Thailand, the "Asian bastion of strength for the Free World," is an American colony. Useful for her strategic location, her harbor in Bangkok (the best in Asia,) her rich natural resources, and her tax-free territories for foreign corporations, Thailand also serves as a staging area for the Indochina war and as a counterinsurgency laboratory. As the US is forced to beat a retreat westward from the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, Thailand's own guerillas threaten the US on at least 4 major fronts.

RECENT HISTORY

Thailand, or Siam, escaped colonial rule by acting as a buffer between the French and British colonial empires. It was ruled by an ancient, absolute, but benevolent monarchy. In 1932 the powers of the king were stripped away and a constitutional monarchy was formed, controlled by the army. Pibul Songgram emerged as the dictator who jailed, exiled, and executed all political opposition and critics of his regive. Ironically, Pibul changed the name Siam to Thailand, meaning "Land of the Free." Under his reign the parliament rarely met and was ignored. He openly collaborated with the Japanese during World War II, formally declaring war on Britain and the US.

After the Pridi Phanomyon, a famous anti-Japanese resistance leader, took over and imprisoned Pibul as a collaborator and war criminal. Pridi encouraged the formation of political parties. He began to carry out agrarian reform and to nationalize the country's resources, which antagonized the middle class parliament.

Pibul's willingness to cooperate with any anti-communist movement made him first choice of the US and Britain. Financially backed by the US, Pibul led a military coup against Pridi. Pridi fled into exile in China.

Pibul remained the dictator for another 10 years. He made efforts to attract US and Japanese investment in Thailand instead of building toward national self-reliance. SEATO, with its headquarters in Bangkok was also established Secretary of State John Foster Dulles with cooperation from Pibul. SEATO was created as a compromise of the British and French in order to remove US opposition to the Geneva Accords. Under its aggrements, it allows the West, particularly the US to "offer" US military aid when "required." Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and the puppet regime in Saigon were the only Asian countries to agree. In 1956 Pibul was overthrown by Sarit Thanarat, a rival militarist. Sarit dissolved the puppet parliament, abolished the constitution, closed down many newspapers, dissolved all trade unions and political parties, abolished elections, and declared martial law. Together with his right-wing brother-in-law, Phoumi Nosovan, Sarit had many important business interests in Laos.

The present dictator, Thanom Kittikachorn, is no less repressive. It is a felony punishable by death for 5 or more people to discuss politics.

THAILAND AS A US COLONY

US BASES AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT - Thai regimes have conspired with the US since World War II. Thai mercenary troops were sent to the Korean War and 12,000 Thai mercenaries are fighting in Vietnam. The 11 US bases in Thailand are used for offensive operations against the North Vietnamese & the Pathet Lao.

80% of the bombing missions over North Vietnam & Laos originate in Thailand. The US Air Force supplies helicopters, planes and pilots to ferry Thai counter-insurgents into the battle zones. The US army trains the Thai Army & police force, and builds the strategic roads & communications networks necessary for rapid military response.

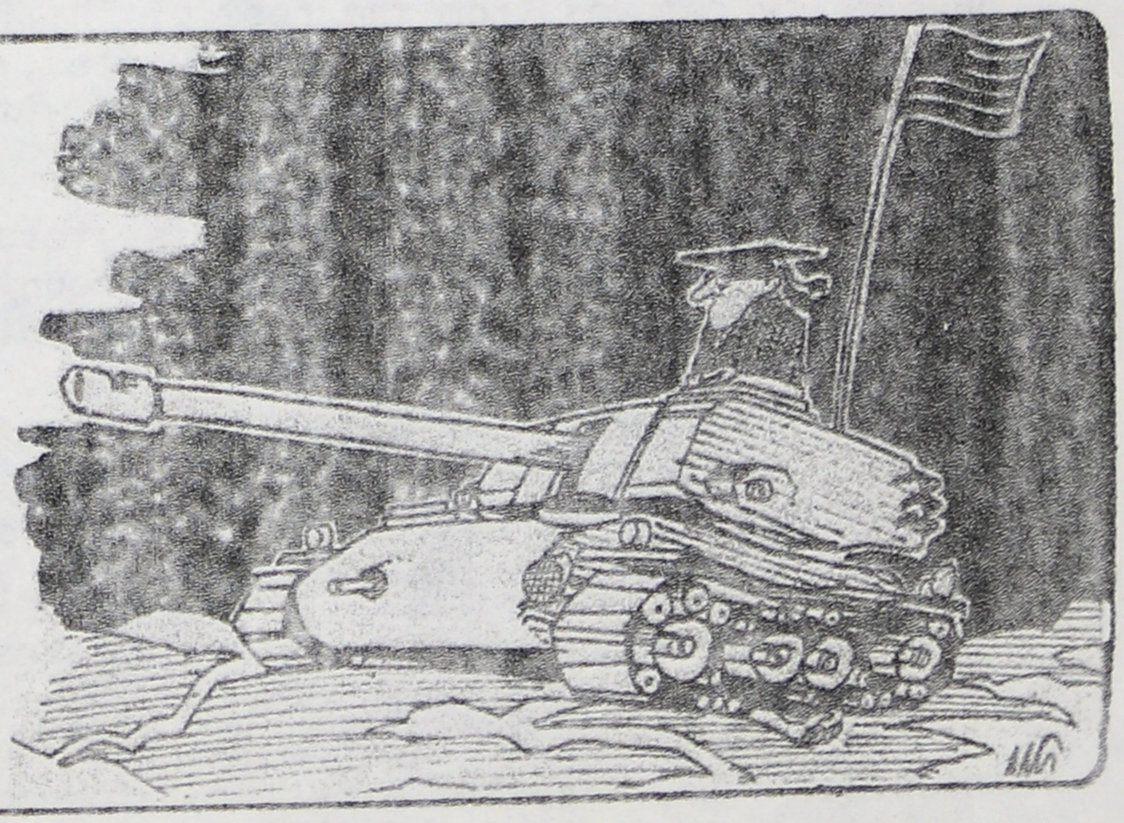
AID -- The Agency for International Development has long masked American counter-insurgency under the guise of "good-will" projects. For, example the Freedom Road built "for the people of Thailand" was actually intended as a supply route for the major US airbases there. The 1968 AID pamphlet on Thailand says: that ist programs are concentrated "on a single objective--supporting the Royal Thai Government in it's efforts to contain control and eliminate the Communist insurgency."

THAILAND AS A COUNTER-INSURGENCY LABORATORY - Private research institutes universities and corporations such as Stanford Research Institute, Cornell Aeronautics Laboratory, the University of Michigan, RAND, and Philco-Ford are doing counter-insurgency research in Thailand. Professors have the opportunity to test assualt vehicles, combat communications, infrared airborne surveillance systems, and "people sniffer " devices that can find a man by the vibrations of his footsteps or body odors. This research is geared toward American use throughout the world & for possible use at home, as hinted in their reports.

Social scientists do studies of the culture, village organization and family structure to develop more effective ways to psychologically control the people.

Berkeley's own Professor Herbert Phillips, anthropology professor & the head of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, did a study on "internal security" He recommended that Bangkok devekop paramilitary village defense units manned by veterans and unemployed village toughs. During the recent strike on campus, this same man gave anti-war talks.

"Thailand is like a laboratory."
Orlansky, Dept. of Defense





"Thailand promises to be an excellent investment and sales area for Americans if the rebel insurgency can be contained."
Chase Manhattan Bank, 4/1/69

US ECONOMIC INVESTMENTS - Thailand is a favorite foreign investment area. The wages are low, labor unions are forbidden and corporation taxes are low. There is a 5 year tax holiday for new firms and technicians can be imported without regard to immigration laws. The US is the second largest investor, after Japan, extracting mostly oil, rubber and tin. While raw materials are drained from the country, the domestic industry produces only consumer goods for the wealthy & the foreigners.

EXPLOITATION & REPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE

85% of the people in Thailand are peasants. Besides the Thais, there are many ethnic minorities in Thailand. There are the Lao (3 million) and Vietnamese (40,000) in the northeast, the hill tribes (250,000) in the north, the overseas Chinese (4 million) and Malays (900,000) in the south.

The people of the countryside have a history of repression and resistance. Anti-Japanese patriots and political leaders were arrested and executed. The North Vietnamese population (mostly refugees from World War II) in particular are forbidden to hold public meetings, to have their own schools or to travel out of the area. The Royal Thai Air Force have bombed and napalmed villages where Communists were reported, making refugees of 40% of the Northern tribal population. About half the refugees were herded into concentration camps while the other half were able to escape to the guerilla held mountains.

URBAN RURAL SPLIT Bangkok is virtually a city-state, culturally and physically removed from the rest of Thailand. It is the home of Thailand's elite--the wealthy, the educated, the government and the foreigners. Peasants have little contact with the government, and when they do it is usually negative.

The western-educated civil servants, teachers and government officials rarely understand the people of the countryside and their customs. The only contact with the government is usually with the tax collector or government troops. Therefore, it is easy to understand why the government is despised by the peasants. Most of the riches of the countryside are drained into Bangkok, into the hands of the rich and the foreign businessmen. Little of Thailand's resources ever find their way to improving the lives of the peasants.

The Thai elite buys up land in the central plains and rents it out at exorbitant prices to tenant farmers. Thai businessmen also control the land around Bankok to use for the service industry and for high-cost housing, thus, creating a critical low-cost housing shortage. Peasants are forced to either remain exploited tenants or become unhoused, unskilled workers in the city.

Any career within the bureaucracy of the government depends on the right connections in Bangkok. Village headmen selected by Bangkok look to the city for values and life style rather than the culture of the village people. The arrogant attitudes of Thai officials daily increased resentment against the regime.

A billboard in Bangkok announces "Bank of America welcomes you to Bangkok." There are expensive air-conditioned Thai-styled homes with modern western bathrooms and kitchens for American business men and their families that the workers and peasants could never afford. Like Saigon, Hongkong, or Okinawa, Bangkok reflects the bastardization of the Asian, of the people's culture by the Americans.

One of the major rest and recreation areas for the American military, Bangkok is filled with nightclubs, restaurants, bowling alleys, bars, and brothels. Thai prostitutes known for being "the most beautiful whores in Asia" are also sent to service the GI's in Vietnam. Americans have also introduced Thai boys to homosexuality. Thai peasant women are presently being used to test a new contraceptive injection as were Puerto Rican women in testing the birth control pill.

The end result is a widening city-urban split in Thailand, making this country ripe for peasant uprising.

THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE

Rassamee, the 25 year-old woman guerilla leader is a powerful symbol of the people's protracted struggle. Although the US and the Thai regime collaborate daily to find and assasinate Rassamee, they have not yet even been able to find her picture. Rassamee, whose name in Thai means "Ray of Light" is the daughter of a famous intellectual, an outspoken champion of the peasants, who founded the socialist party in the northeast. He was captured and killed before the village people by government troops.



Working together with Rassamee in the northeast is Yod Phathisawata, a 55 year-old Communist who has been to Laos and China. Both Rassamee and Yod are high on Thailand's 10 Most Wanted list but have not been captured due to the support of the village people. The guerillas execute the Bangkok bureaucrats and village headmen who have robbed from the people. Teams of armed guerillas visit villages to propagandize and collect rice and money for the struggle. Some live within the villages themselves.

There are 4 major guerilla fronts in Thailand.

NORTHEAST Population made up mostly of Lao and Vietnamese who fled the French colonial war. Most of these people supported Ho and many now work with Vietnam Workers Party's underground organization. Putai and Khmer people of the region are also antagonistic toward the Bangkok regime. The northeastern guerillas have attacked US bases. By the standards of the seasoned NLF guerillas these guerillas are poorly trained, but they are learning through practice.

NORTH - The jungles and mountain ranges of the north are ideal for guerilla warfare. The huge increase of guerilla tribesmen was due to the brutal bombing and napalming of the villages in response to reports of Communist activity. By this May, 8,000 villages had been evacuated and herded into concentration camps.

SOUTH - The population consists mainly of Malays and Chinese. There is a strong movement among the Malays to break from Thailand and to unite with the Muslims in Malaysia.

The National Liberation Army of the south is more powerful than government forces. They propagandize and collect food & taxes from the people. It is closely linked to the Muslim separatist organizations & has the support of rubber plantation coolies & tin miners.

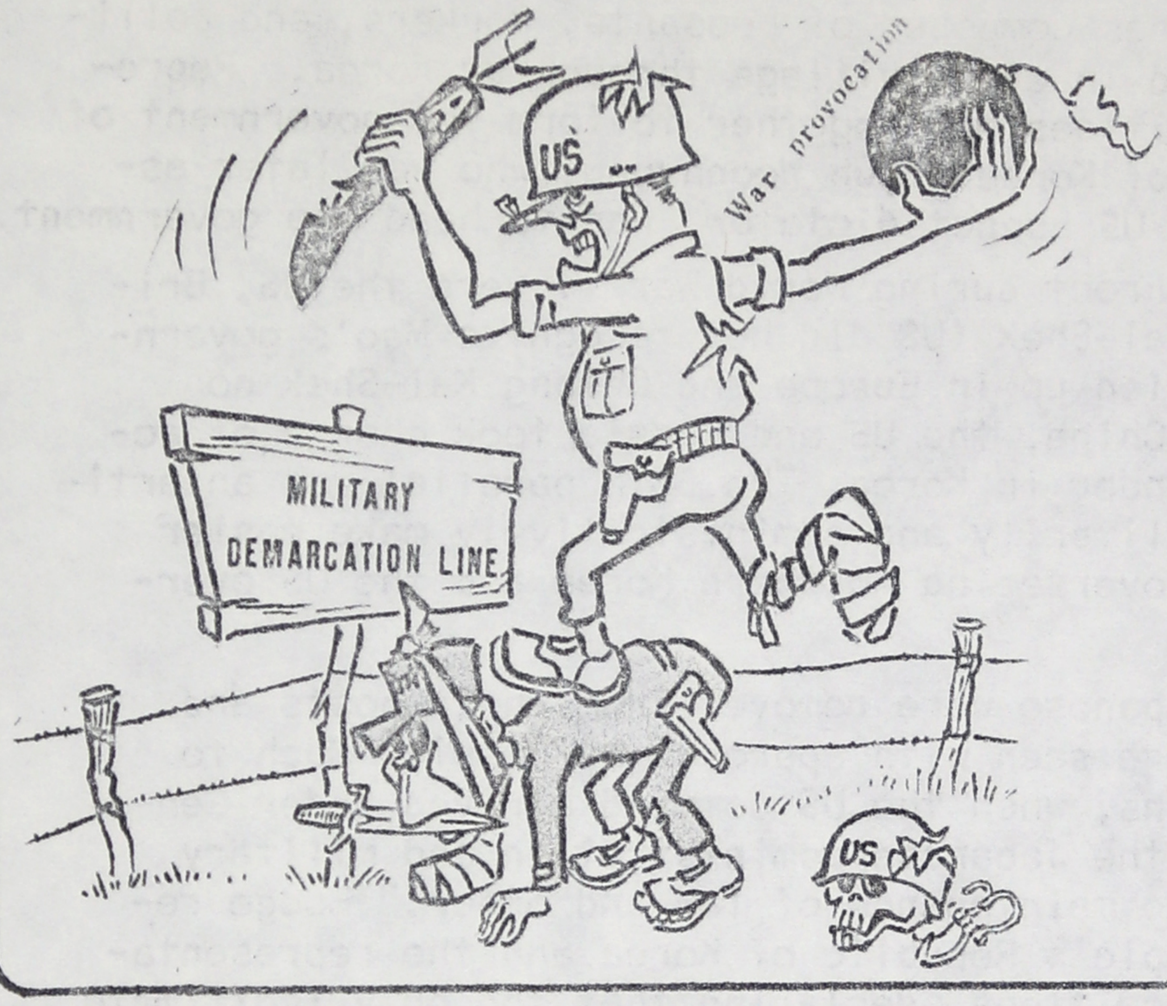
CENTRAL - Communist cells have been discovered in the Central plains, some have received training & education in Laos & Vietnam. In many parts of the country, martial law has been declared because of peasant unrest due land & housing problems.

The Thai People's Liberation Army was formed in January 1969 to coordinate the struggle on the 4 fronts. Despite bombing, napalming & armed camps, the Thai puppet forces are facing a growing guerilla & peasant rebellion.

Kukrit Pramoj, a conservative monarchist, angrily attacked the Americans in his newspaper, Siam Rath for exploiting the Thai people economically, for creating vast numbers of prostitutes and for introducing Thai boys to homosexuality.

His warning to the Americans is indicative of the Intense feelings aroused by US presence in Thailand: Thais might "smash down your embassy, and burn down the United States Information Service...You American beasts, return to your holes." ■

SOURCES:
The Guerrilla Movement in Thailand, Mike Tobin, *Pacific Research & World Empire Telegram*
Thailand: The War That Is, The War That Will Be, Louis E. Lomax (UCLA counterinsurgency research professor)



korea

"The Korean peninsula could become the next explosion point of the world."
--Nixon

In talking to people about Korea, we must be prepared to undercut all sorts of misconceptions developed by this government about the Korean War. People have been given stereotypes of the North, of Communist brutality and brainwashing and manipulation by China and Russia. South Korea has been shown to them as the model country surviving a Communist invasion to build a booming economy with numerous foreign investments. Besides being a good place to do business, South Korea is also helping our American boys fight the war in Vietnam (Asians to fight Asians.) But just as people are beginning to find out the truth about Vietnam, they must also go gack and find out how they were lied to about Korea.

THE ANTI-JAPANESE STRUGGLE

The Koreans have always been one people with the same culture, language and history. They were united more strongly than ever when Korea was seized as a colony of Japan in 1905. Theodore Roosevelt made a deal with the emperor of Japan to approve of Japanese occupation of Korea, if US economic rights in Korea were recognized and if Japan promised to keep her hands off the Philippines , a US colony. The Japanese were cruel colonizers who used the Koreans to produce for Japan. There was fierce political suppression in the form of cencorship, thought-control, and police courts. The Koreans were forced to learn Japanese history and language instead of their own.

Many middle class Koreans, who had the money and mobility that peasants and workers didn't have, left Korea to fight against the Japanese in Manchuria and Russia. Most of these Korean patriots changed from simply wanting Korea for the Koreans (nationalism) to also wanting to change the old feudal system to a socialist or communist society. These patriots, who had fought together with Mao's Red Army against the Japanese fascists, were deeply affected by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, the world's first socialist revolution whose leaders were strongly internationalist. One of these patriots was Kim Il Sung, leader of the North today.

AFTER WW II, BEFORE KOREAN WAR

When Japan was finally defeated in 1945, the patriots came home, most of them already socialists and communists. All of the Korean people rejoiced at the end of forty years of oppression by the Japanese colonialists.

People's committees composed of peasants, workers, and political organizers were formed in every village throughout Korea. Representatives from these committees met together to form the government of the new People's Republic of Korea. Lyuh Woonhyung, who was later assasinated by Syngman Rhee, US puppet dictator, was to head the government.

The allies on the Pacific Front during World War II were the US, Britain, Russia, and Chiang Kai-Shek (US did not recognize Mao's government.) Since Britain was tied up in Europe and Chiang Kai-Shek no longer had any control of China, the US and Russia took charge of accepting the Japanese surrender in Korea. The 38th parallel was an artificial division made to militarily and administratively make easier the surrender with Russia overseeing northern Korea and the US overseeing southern Korea.

Under the Russians, the Japanese were removed from their posts and the people's committees were seen with approval by Russia. Much to the confusion of the Koreans, when the US command arrived under General Hodge a month later, the Japanese administration and military was kept to "facilitate the maintenance of law and order." Hodge refused to recognize the People's Republic of Korea and the representatives from the people's committees, declaring that the only legitimate government was the US military.

In 1949 the situation in Asia looked pretty glum for war hawks like Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and General Douglas MacArthur. Chiang Kai-Shek had been chased off the Chinese mainland despite heavy financial backing by the US. Truman declared that he was cutting off aid to "the fugitive regime of Chiang Kai-Shek."It would be a matter of time before Chiang would lose his membership on the UN Security Council to the People's Republic of China. In South Korea despite the bullying of people during the elections and the banning of all democratic parties, Syngman Rhee (installed by US to govern Korea) and his supporters only got 20% of the vote in the May 30th elections.

THE KOREAN WAR

"Our material might was exemplified by the atomic bomb;
our moral might is exemplified by General MacArthur."
--Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles

From the start, the Korean War was staged by Douglas MacArthur from his Tokoyo headquarters. MacArthur dreamed of destroying Communist China and tried to use Korea to do this. He made it seem as if North Korean Communists started the war. But we should examine who gained what from the Korean War. The war accomplished the following:

1) It reversed the US policy concerning Formosa and gave Chiang Kai-Shek US protection against an invasion from the mainland. The Chinese could, therefore, not reunite Formosa with the rest of China without direct conflict with the US.
2) It gave Syngman Rhee the support of the US and the UN at the very moment when his grip on South Korea would have ended. (The May 30th elections ruined Rhee and his supporters.) Prior to the war, Rhee had almost no support in the US.
3) The might of the US Armed Forces was placed in the Pacific.
4) The withdrawal of occupational troops and the abandonment of US bases in Japan was put off indefinitely.
5) The Japanese bomber bases near Vladinastok, Russia, were to be retained by the US indefinitely.
6) The Korean demands for a peaceful reunification were ended.

So the Communist countries nad nothing to gain and much to lose from a war as opposed to that the "Free World" gained from the Korean War.

Before the war, Rhee made many press statements about wiping out North Korea. He conspicuously shut up one month before the South attacked the North. Before the People's Army marched on Seoul, he and his American wife left for Japan with the country's gold reserves.

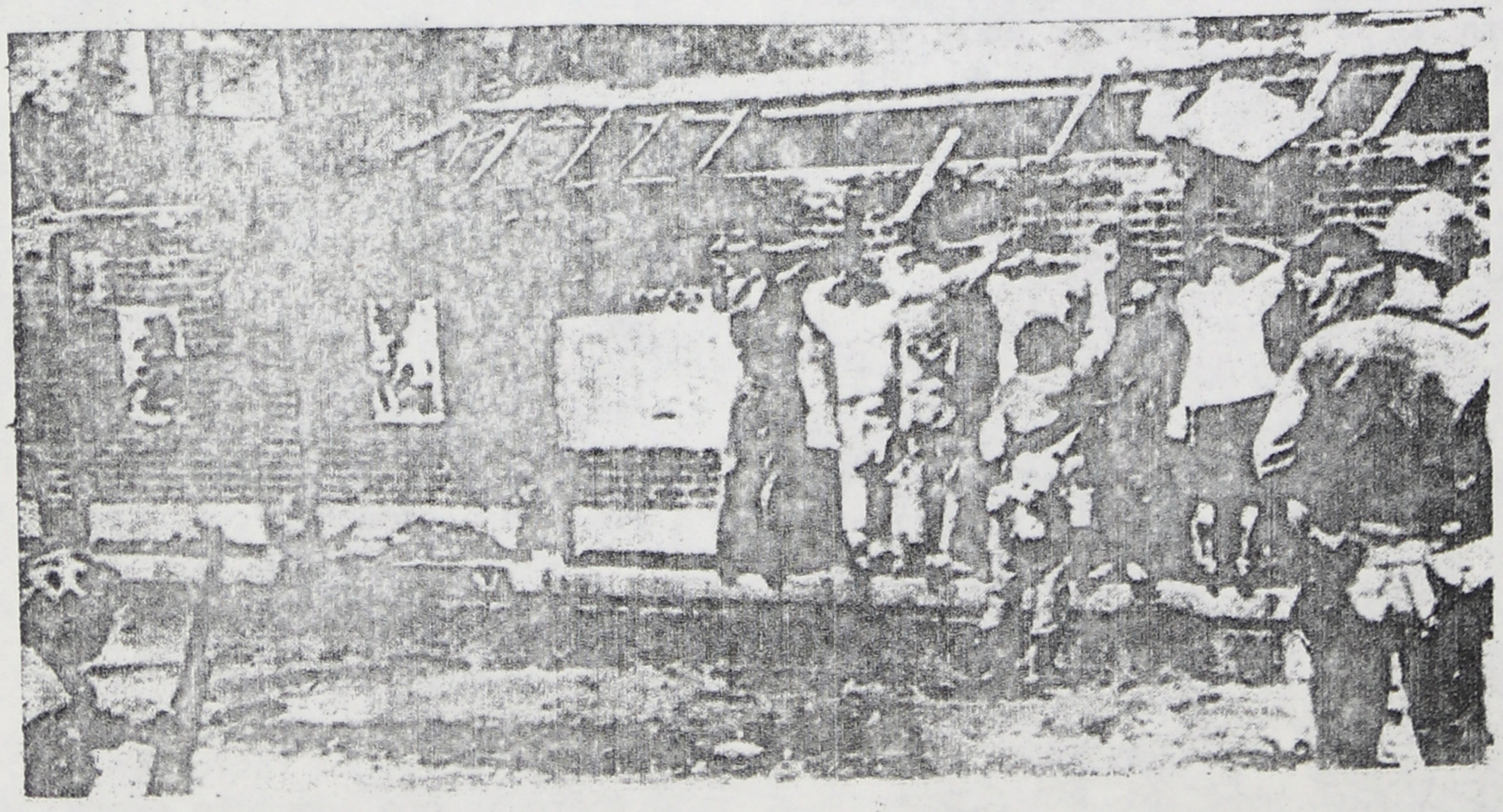
A few hours before the UN was to meet about the Korean situation, Truman announced that the US would support South Korea with military assistance. Many countries that were dependent on American aid voted for what the US wanted when the UN met. The decision that the US should appoint the Supreme Commander to head all the UN forces in South Korea was passed in the absence of the Russian delegate, who was boycotting because China was not recognized.

During the war MacArthur kept trying to bring the Chinese into the war. The Chinese intervened only after several border raids into Manchuria along the Yalu River were staged by "UN" forces. Prior to their intervention, the Chinese issued a warning that if attacks continued on the hydro-electric power plants along the Yalu River, they would send in troops to defend the plants.

At this time MacArthur wrote headlines depicting "hordes" of "Red masses" sweeping down the penninsula killing thousands of American boys. US troops were also noted for killing whole divisions of the Red Army daily. In reality the only reports of contact with the "enemy" was "a few minor patrol squirmishes." Reconnaissance planes actually could not find a trace of the million Red troops.

Destruction of northern Korea was the most heavy. Due to constant bombing, not a building was left standing after the war. Syngman Rhee boasted that the population of the North had been reduced from 12 to 3 million people by the end of the war. Napalm and other chemicals were also used by the "UN" forces against the Korean people. The hardest bombing took place during the so'called ceasefire talks when delegates were knowingly shot at, bombed, and napalmed by US planes in order to humiliate the Koreans into making smaller demands.[2]

"The operation in Korea has been a success."
--General Douglas MacArthur



Yet MacArthur's tactics to mold American public opinion (which just preceded the McCarthy era) achieved the following:

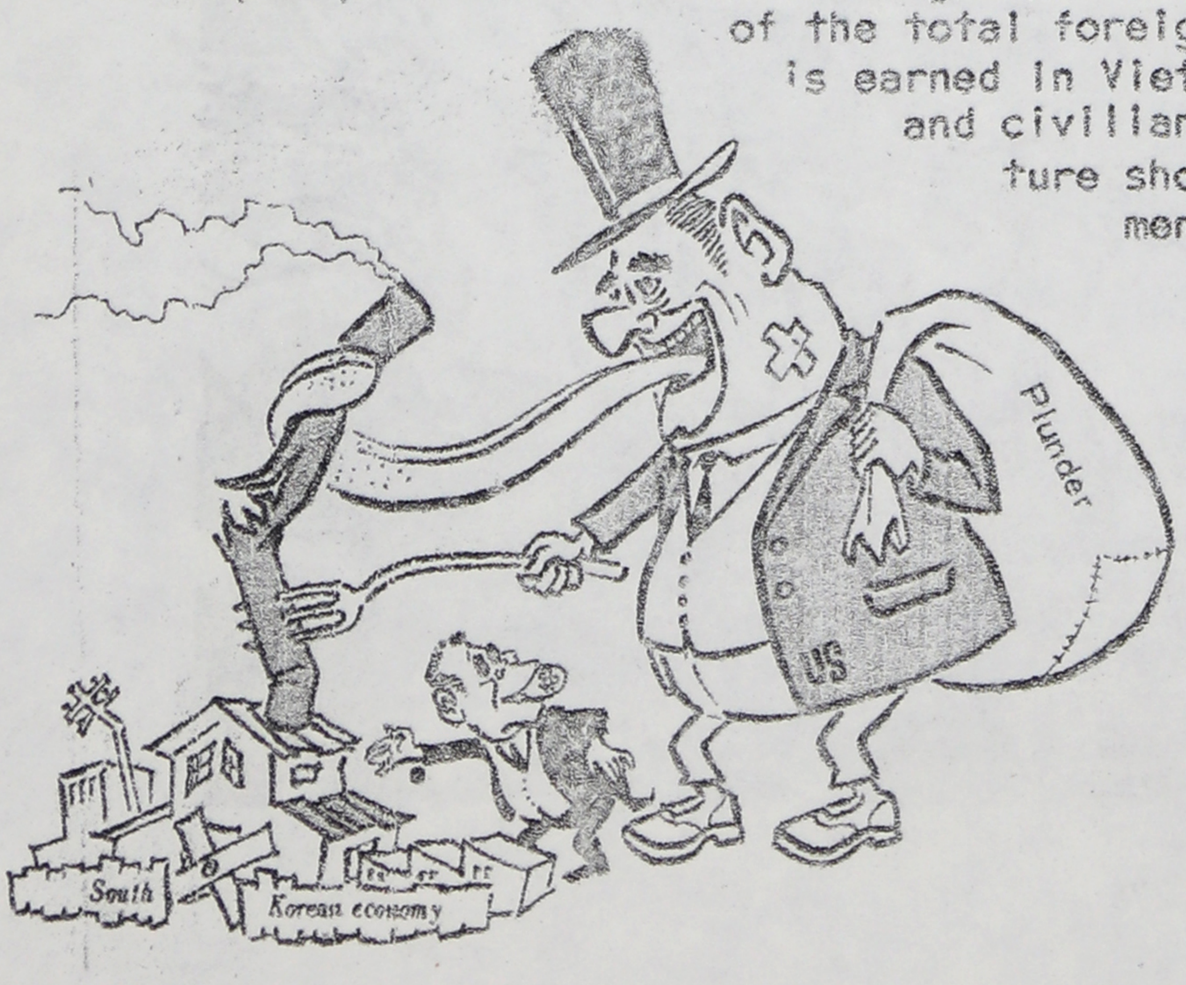
1) Instilled fear and strong anti-communist feelings with American people. Did not acknowledge true struggle of Koreans for the liberation of their people from foreign domination. Created stereotypes of manipulation, brainwashing, police states and coldbloodiness.
2) Led Americans to believe that Asians have no value for life.
3) Divided Korea indefinitely.

Although, MacArthur's hope of dropping the atomic bomb on China was never fufilled (he was fired by Truman for his political moves within the US) the war did instill in the American people racist notions about Asians and many false notions about Communism at the expense of the Korean people.

SOUTH KOREA TODAY

Dictator Syngman Rhee was finally overthrown in 1960 by a student revolution. The more liberal regime headed by Chang Myun lasted 13 months before it was replaced by a military junta, headed by Park Chung-Hee, a former Japanese collaborator. Dictator Park presently runs the South with American-style "democracy" which is characterized by a military dictatorship, political suppression, and American and Japanese control of the economy, i.e., actual controllers of the country are the US and Japan.

American "aid" to South Korea came in two forms: consumer goods and surplus food. Consumer goods such as Coca Cola, toothpaste and chewing gum are sold to South Korea, but nothing is given to develop industry and agriculture so that the South cannot provide for her own people. The South must now import rice and other foods. The US surplus food is dumped into the Korean market at harvest time which forces the farmers to sell at much lower prices. The farmers get no help from the government and can only get loans with outrageous interest rates. Many lose their land and are forced to the cities as cheap laborers. The South Korean regime was set up as a tax free territory for foreign investors. The only benefit for the Koreans is that they are able to work as laborers. Many raw materials the US gets from other parts of the Third World, she refines with Korean labor (South Koreans are the lowest wage earners in Asia.)
South Korea is headed for economic ruin with a trade deficit of $1 billion per year and inflation rising 10% to 20% more each year. Half of the total foreign currency in South Korea is earned in Vietnam by South Korean soldiers and civilland. This bleak economic picture shows that US economic involvment in South Korea is a dead-end street leading into deeper and deeper enslavement for the South Koreans.



Naturally the US would like to avoid economic collapse while still maintaining a poverty level that makes cheap labor possible. The Korean CIA is the world's most expensive police and spy network. In factories there is one agent to every 15 workers, in schools, one agent per 8 students.

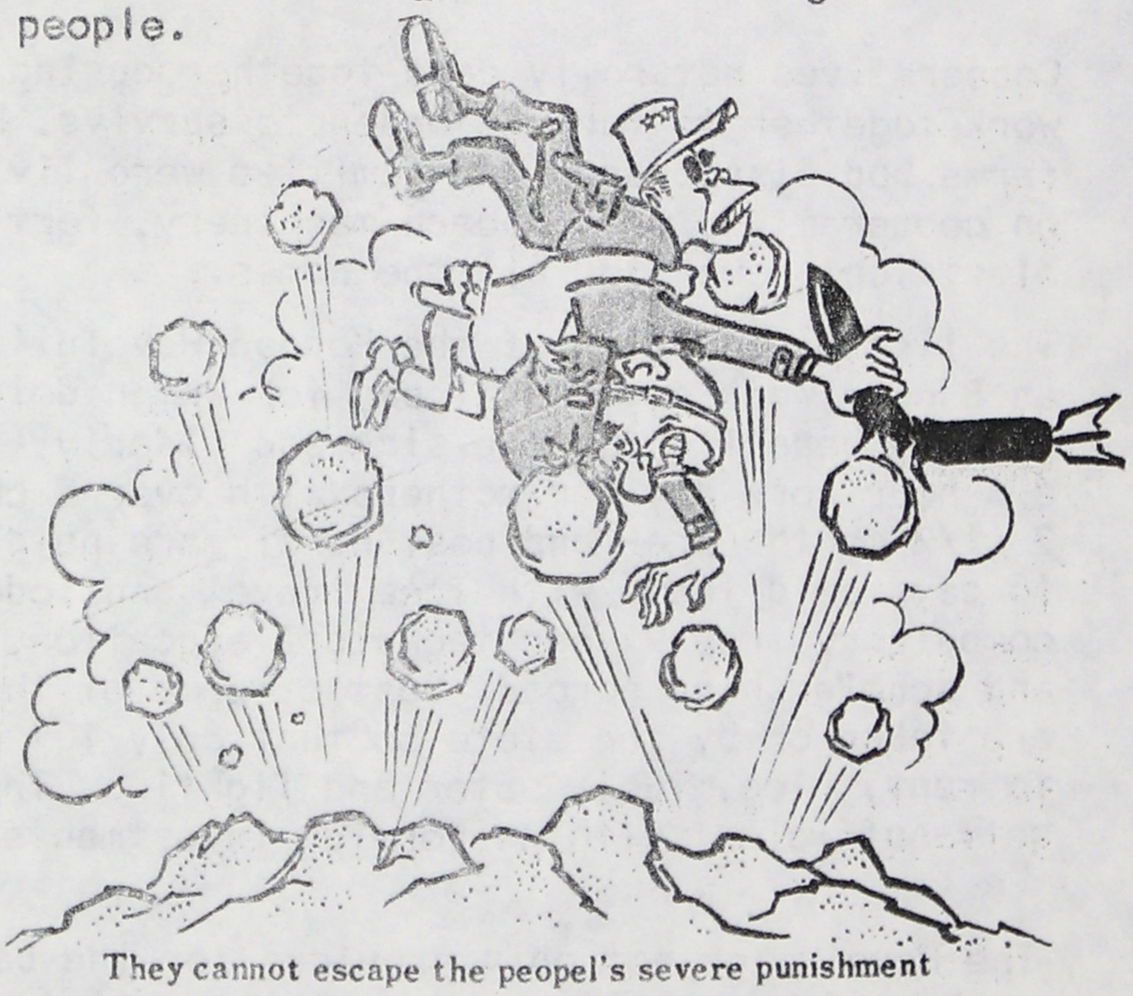
The US gives Korean police control technology and chemical weapons to disperse demonstrators. The National Security Law, passed by Rhee and supplemented by Park, makes contact with relatives in the North punishable by from 5 years to the death sentence. Any discussion of even a peaceful reunification with the North is punishable by from 5 years to life.

A strong program of anti-communism in every school with annual hate sessions against Communism. To show to what lengths the regime has gone, it is illegal to possess writings by Karl Marx or to even listen to Russian music composed after 1917. Southerners are told that famous patriots like Kim Il Sung that they might hear about working in the North are frauds who have taken the same names as the supposedly dead patriots. The North Koreans are portrayed as ugly and evil, starving and living in caves.

The US is still committed to the "defense of South Korean territory." There are still 54 US bases and 60,000 US troops in South Korea. The Republic of Korea (ROK) puppet army is highly Americanized without, of course, the high pay, px privileges, and special legal status. There is some resistance within the ROK army but the worst mercenaries and butchers are sent to Vietnam. There are 50,000 ROK troops in Vietnam.

PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE IN THE SOUTH Finding facts about the resistance of the South Korean people is difficult because of the severe censorship of the South Korean press. But from what has been reported, 80% of the ROK soldiers are discontent because they have been forced to join, often do not even get paid their low wages and are being used to fight against their own people.

There are powerful uprisings from time to time. The strength of the student revolution in 1960 was enough to overthrow Rhee. The people have demonstrated against rigged elections and against ROK-Japan agreements that would set the stage for another Korean war. Recently there has been resistance to Pak's schome to amend the constitution so that he could run for a third term.



They cannot escape the peopel's severe punishment

One of the resistance organizations to emerge is the United Revolutionary Party, a revolutionary underground organization formed in 1964. The URP calls for a provisional government and has a 10 point program similar to that of the NLF. There are armed guerrilla detachments within the South which have killed US military and Korean collaborators. Guerrillas even attacked a police station in Seoul and killed the puppet police chief.



NORTH KOREA TODAY

In ancient Korean legends there is a winged horse, "Chollima," that travels 1,000 li per day to the land of happiness.

The Koreans have worked with the spirit of Chollima to rebuild their country after the war's destruction. Under the guidance of Kim Il Sung, the famous Korean patriot who fought against the Japanese in Manchuria, the North has been following the program of "Juche," or self-reliance. The country was developed with a priority of heavy industry simultaneously with light industry. Kim Il Sung personally visited villages and factories several times after the war to advise and help with the planning. Koreans were educated and developed as technical cadre, not as a source of cheap labor. They worked with such enthusiasm that they achieved the first 5 year plans 2 years ahead of schedule. Today the North is a heavily industrialized country with enough steel output and machines to be able to export these products. Koreans pride themsleves in being one of the 11 countries in the world that produces electric locomotives.

Cooperatives naturally came together during the war when people had to work together to farm in order to survive. By 1958 individual peasant farms had disappeared and families were living and working together on cooperatives with modern machinery, fertilizer, irrigation, and electrical power for all the homes.

The list of benefits of the Korean Revolution is long. There is now an 8 hour work day, equal pay for women doing the same work as men, insurance benefits for the sick and elderly, free medical care for all, a 6 hour work day for mothers with over 3 children, day care centers, 2 1/2 months pre- and post-natal care paid leave for pregnant women, 15 days paid leave with free travel and lodge for workers and peasants, compulsory free 9 year technical education, free university education and scholarships abroad. Cost of some of the basic necessities of life are taken on by the state so that only 10% of a family's income goes to rent, rice, fuel, water and lighting. The country is completely self-sufficient with no foreign investments.

The Revolution not only provides for the basic necessities of life, such as food, shelter and clothing, but is also building a new conciousness in hew workers, peasants and youth. The Korean people are no longer working as isolated individuals alienated from their work, but are now working together for a better life, not only for the Korean people, but for all the world's people. For example, 1/3 of the tractors Korea produces goes to her own use, 1/3 are stored underground for eventual war by Japan and the US, and 1/3 goes to Vietnam. Tens of thousands of tons of chemical fertilizers, rolled steel, small turbines for generating rural electricity and diesal engines have all been sent as gifts to the Vietnamese people.

In recent years US, Japanese and ROK agents have been captured spying, trying to release poisons in the water and generally sabotaging the North. In the Security Pact between the US and Japan, Japan is obligated to intervene militarily if fighting breaks out between North and South Korea again. Japan's military is top-heavy with officers so that she could mobilize an army almost overnight. The Koreans expect that all they have built may once again be destroyed by war. But as Wilfred Burchett said in his book Again Korea--

> *"you can bomb the Vietnamese and Korean people underground, but you cannot bomb them back into the "Stone Age." You cannot bomb out of existence those solid technical, intellectual and moral qualities they have acquired during the years of building and living under socialism. What stone age moralists such as LeMay would like to bomb out of existence is indestructible. If what has been built up in North Korea is destroyed again, the 'abundant fruitful orchard' will grow faster than ever again. And the next time it will spread over the whole country."* ■

SOURCES:
1) I. F. Stone, Hidden History of the Korean War
2) Wilfred Burchett, Again Korea
3) I. F. Stone, Hidden History of the Korean War

NOTE: Authentic Korean cartoons used to illustrate this article.



china

China is a sleeping giant.
Let her sleep, for when she wakes,
The entire world will tremble.

Napoleon

For over 100 years, China has been in constant turmoil. The Revolution of 1949 established the first independent democratic nation in Chinese history. 1949 also marked the end of several centuries of Western intervention in the affairs of the Chinese people.

The British colonialists forced the Manchu regime into the Opium War in 1839, and subsequently obtained control of Hong Kong and access to five ports of trade in the 1842 Treaty of Nanking. The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) directly challenged the Manchu rule, and began a long series of upheavals in Chinese Society, including massive emigration to the United States and other parts of the non-Chinese world. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 to 1901 was a sign of the growing resentment toward foreign powers, ending in the humiliating Boxer Protocol (1901) which gave Western nations free access to Chinese ports.

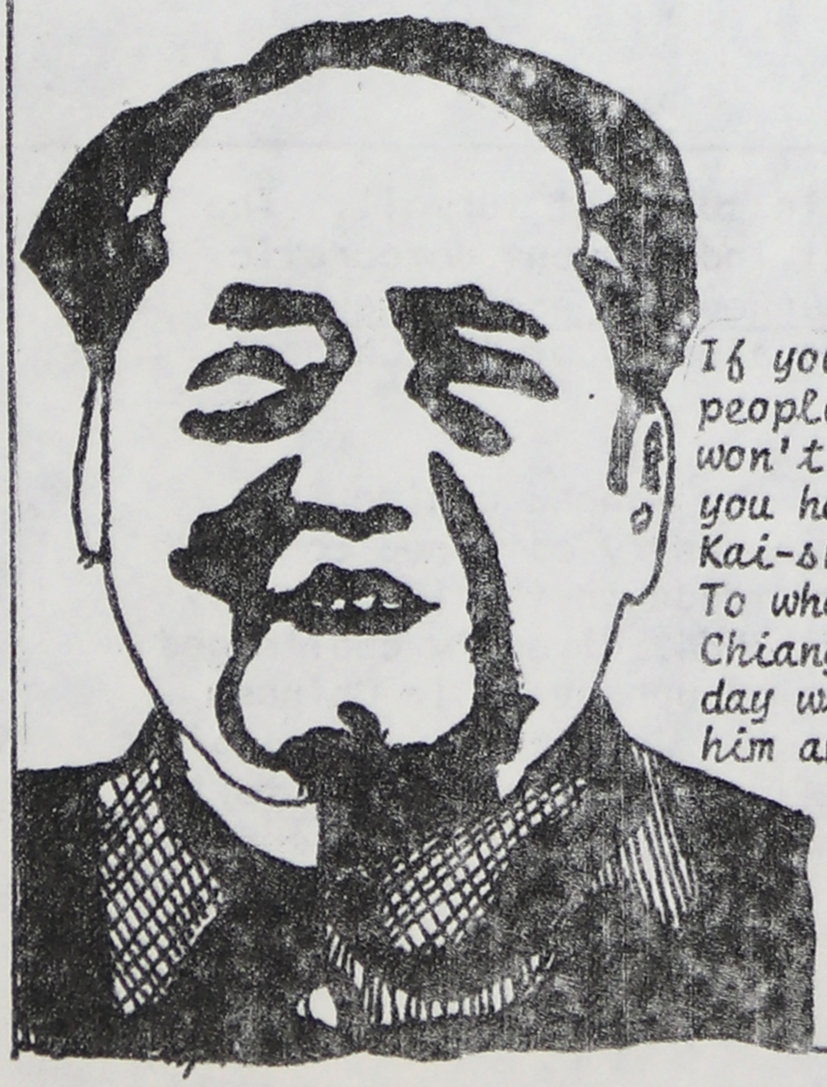
American interests in China remained at a diplomatic level throughout the 1800's. Attempts were made by New England interests to develop railroads in Manchuria, but European powers such as France, Germany, England, and Russia were too well entrenched for large American intervention. In addition, much of the Western United States itself awaited development as part of the white "Manifest Destiny" of economic riches. The seizure of the Phillipines in 1898 and the annexation of Hawaii in the early 1900's were the only concrete moves made by the U.S. in this period. But just as was planned, these areas served well as forward listening posts and staging grounds for future American expeditions into the Asian mainland.

American involvement in China accelerated with the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1949 by the Japanese, capping off a long-term competition with the US in the Pacific for influence and trade. The Japanese had invaded Manchuria in 1931 and had all but holed up the Chinese Nationalist Government in Chungking. US aid to the Nationalists totalled $1.5 billion by the end of the war. Very little aid went to the armies of the Communist Party, which depended largely on captured arms from the Japanese, and on the support of the masses of peasants in the inner provinces.

Between 1944 and 1946, during the last years in the eventual defeat of the Japanese, some American advisers advocated supporting both the Communists and the Nationalists in a coalition government. John Davies, Second Secretary in Chungking, wrote to Washington in 1944,

> *"We must be realistic...We must not indefinitely underwrite a politically bankrupt regime(the Nationalist). And, if the Russians are going to enter the Pacific War (which they did in 1945) we must make a determined effort to capture politically the Chinese Communists, rather than allow them to go by default wholly to the Russians.*

Earlier : *"The Communists are in China to stay. And China's destiny is not Chiang's, but theirs."*



If you Americans, sated with bread and sleep, want to curse people and back Chiang Kai-shek, that's your business and I won't interfere. What we have now is millet plus rifles, what you have is bread plus cannon. If you like to back Chiang Kai-shek, back him as long as you want. But remember one thing. To whom does China belong? China definitely does not belong to Chiang Kai-shek; China belongs to the Chinese people. The day will surely come when you will find it impossible to back him any longer.

Mao Tse-Tung, 1945

It was clear Chiang was then, as he is now, reliant on US aid and firepower for his military and political strength. However, the China Lobby here in the U.S., plus the weight of previous commitments and ideological leanings, prohibited full-scale U.S. support for Mao and his peasant-based Party. As a result, the U.S. sent over $3 billion (significantly twice the amount spent against the Japanese in China) to the Nationalist cause between 1945 and 1949.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. There was some sentiment in the US Senate and public for the recognition of the new Communist regime, allowing the retaking of Taiwan from the KMT regime which had fled there following defeat. Some groups in the U.S. hoped to set up trade and investment agreements with the new government, representing 700 million people. However, the anti-Communist hysteria, built up by the Korean War (1950-1953), and fanned by the Joseph McCarthy Era, permitted the government to take a rigid pro-Nationalist posture, culminating in the intervention of the U.S. Seventh Fleet between Taiwan and the Chinese Mainland.

Since the Korean War, much of the American presence--militarily and economic--in the Pacific region has been explained as protecting U.S. security from Chinese agression. No serious attempt has been made to re-take the Mainland from the Communist Party. There has been much saber rattling from the KMT on Taiwan, but the more realistic diplomatic sources look for ways to open up negotiations with the Chinese Communists toward opening trade and relations. The anti-Chinese fervor has served the purpose of allowing increased military spending, and U.S. intervention in the smaller Pacific Rim countries, such as Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia,

We can be assured that moves will be made in the future by the U.S. military planners to provoke the Chinese government into a confrontation, and possibly into a major battle. Some U.S. planners had predicted that the Chinese would fail miserably in their attempts at industrialization, hoping to help that failure along with trade embargoes and blockades. But the Chinese are succeeding, mostly on their own.



Edgar Snow once complained on how US media distorted news of China. Not believing that the Chinese were happy & prosperous, one magazine took his picture of bathing babies and described them "as starving waifs searching for food."

The reality is that China & the Chinese people have never been better off... Despite US propaganda, no one starves in China...There is no great wealth but the times when children are sold & starve to death are gone forever.

Most importantly the Chinese people can take pride in their accomplishments, free from foreign domination & feudalism

Since the Revolution of 1949, China's economy has persistently -- even if not dramatically -- taken an upward turn. In 1956 the Great Leap Forward campaign was initiated, turning Chinese farms & villages into communes & backyards into factories. Western observers, basing

their conclusion from sketchy & unreliable sources attempted right from the beginning to discredit China's gains. By the time genuine figures were obtained, however, Mao's efforts to rapidly industrialize China were vindicated and her economy proved stronger than ever.

It was then with a viable economic base, that China once again proceeded on the road of continuous revolution in 1966. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a new attempt to transform the country into a true Socialist State. Since national liberation & a socialist economy had already been realized, Mao turned his people's efforts to a cultural revolution -- a revolution to build a new lifestyle and a new man. The Chinese people -- particularly the youth -- valiantly responded to his call to end bureaucratic & counter-revolutionary remnants of the past.

Totally confounded by the rejuvenating dynamism of the Chinese people, Western observers attribute the Cultural Revolution to Mao's need for ego gratification & for regaining lost power. Such a narrow analysis, however, misses the point completely. The Chinese people were at a sufficient level of political & social awareness to begin building a new society of further equality & cooperation.

In the final analysis, it was not Mao but the Chinese people themselves who carried through the Cultural Revolution: they wrote the character posters (self-criticisms displayed publicly)...they collectively disposed of "revisionists" in their government...they showed the need for Continuous Revolution as an essential part of building a socialist state. ■

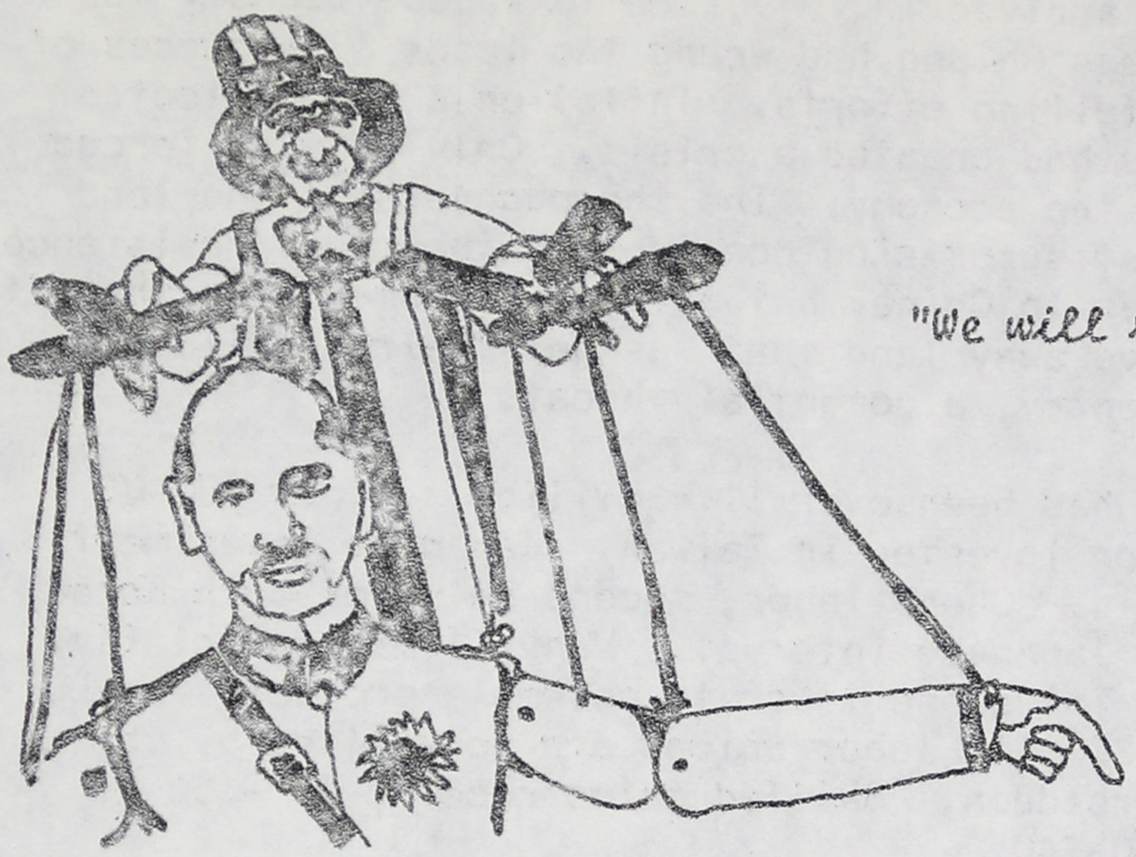
Readings: William Hinton's Fanschen is perhaps the most human treatment of the Chinese Revolution. It is the story of one village in northern China, read like a novel. Edgar Snow's Red Star Over China is one of the best historical accounts.

taiwan

He (Chiang Kai-shek) can't see that the mass of Chinese people welcome the Reds as being the only visible hope of relief from crushing taxation, the abuses of the Army and Tai Li's Gestapo. Under Chiang Kai-shek they now begin to see what they may expect. Greed, corruption, favoritism, more taxes, a ruined currency, terrible wast of life, callous disregard of all the rights of men.

--General Joseph Stilwell, US advisor to the KMT, 1944

Americans have been made to believe that Taiwan is the "Free China." Many Taiwanese want Taiwan for the Taiwanese people. China herself sees Taiwan as her province, which the island was historically and culturally until the Nationalists ripped it off when they were chased off the mainland. Whatever the case, Chiang's unpopular regime could not have been maintained without massive US aid. Since 1947 when the Kuomintang suppressed a Taiwanese insurrection by killing tens of thousands of people and imprisoning over 40 thousand, Chiang has maintained the "political stability" of Taiwan.



"We will return to the mainland."

--Chiang Kai-sheb, 1949

US AID TO CHIANG'S REGIME

Chiang's forces have been backed by the US since 1941 ($1,500 million by the end of World War II.) The regime was corrupt, unpopular, and bankrupt, which was embarrassing for the US. Truman was going to cut off aid to Chiang. But when the Korean War "broke out," Truman sent the 7th Fleet to the Taiwan Straits and military control was exercised over the island.

Because of the strength of China's revolution, increasing US military occupation on Taiwan and elsewhere, and the problem of Chinese representation in the UN, Dulles and Eisenhower created the "two Chinas" policy in 1957. This plan was not acceptable to either Peking or Taipei. For China, reunification was the main issue, for America, maintaining lines of division between Communist and non-Communist worlds was the main issue. To "contain" China the US signed a bilateral military treaty with Taiwan in 1954. The Formosa Resolution pledged US military assistance in the defense of Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands against an "armed attack" by China.

Presently the US has three major military bases in Taiwan which serve as a funnel for US supplies to the Vietnam War. With the bases in Okinawa to be given up by 1972, more bases may be built on Taiwan. Under the Military Assistance Program, Chiang's regime has received more assistance between 1950-68 than the Saigon and Vientiene regimes combined. In addition to this, Taiwan recently received as "gifts," "surplus" military equipment from the Pentagon. Much of the economic aid given to Taiwan goes toward equipping the Nationalist forces with modern American weapons.

In the evasion of Congressional and even executive controls over military commitments in Laos and elsewhere, the CIA has long relied on the services of General Chennault's "private" paramilitary arm, Civil Air Transport or Air america, Inc. This company is based in Taiwan where a subsidary firm Air Asia, with some 8000 employees, runs one of the world's largest aircraft maintenance and repair facilities. Air America's fleets of transport planes are seen in the airports of Taiwan, Laos, South Vietnam, and Thailand. This is the chief airline serving the CIA in its war activities. (Air America has grown with the increased aggression in Southeast Asia so that by 1968, it had amassed a fleet of 200 planes and employed an estimated 11,000 persons.)

When the Nationalists arrived in 1949, the Taiwanese economy was in bad shape. For five years Chiang had wrung the labor & resources of the island to support his failing efforts. Inflation & the neglect of Taiwan's agricultural needs had created a crisis. Only US aid, forced saving & land reform saved the economy. The thoroughness of the land reform in Taiwan, is a first surprising considering the great resistance of the KMT to such a program in China; but it must be remembered that it was easy for the KMT to give away land that was not theirs, while also destroying the Taiwanese gentry, a potential threat.

US foreign aid, alone has been over $1.4 billion. About 100 US firms have over $164 million invested in Taiwan. Japanese investment is approximately double this. Cheap labor, second only to South Korea, is a major reason for US & Japanese interest. Many firms, especially, electronics industries use Taiwanese labor to assemble products for re-export to Japan & the US. All labor unions are controlled by the government, strikes are forbidden. Skilled males receive $40-$50 a month, a skilled female $30-$40.

REPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE

Since 1949 Taiwan has been under martial law. The cost of the excessive military establishment is a drain on the economy. The arrogant Nationalists, the dispossessed elite of old, feudal China, still act like elites. The government maintains a huge bureaucracy which supports directly or indirectly most of these people. The Nationalists are sitting tight for the day when they can "take over the mainland." They persist in asking the US for the backing to start a war with China.

Self-determination for Taiwan is rarely expressed due to the severe repression, everpresent KMT spies and informers and strict cencorship. Students returning from the US and Japan are arrested on suspicion of political activities. A student to Hawaii was imprisoned for participating in an anti-Vietnam War demonstration in Hawaii.

TAIWANESE LIBERATION FRONT Because of the cencorship of the press, not much is known about the resistance. But the existence of the Taiwanese Liberation Front is known since some of its members tried to assasinate Chiang Kai-Shek's son while he was in the US. Pressures caused by poor living and labor conditions of the people, the presence of the arrogant KMT elite, the police state and the approaching death of Chiang Kai-Shek are leading toward a popular uprising of the Taiwanese people. ■

malaysia & singapore

"...the hope is to turn Singapore into the toolroom of Southeast Asia. The bait: Asia's $500 million a year market for imported machine tools and general machinery. From their Singapore base processed and manufactured goods such as refined petroleum, light machinery, semi-manufactured goods, finished textiles, radios and other luxury goods are funneled to the manufacture-poor countries of Southeast Asia."

--Business Week

Malaysia and Singapore were colon ies of the British since the 1800's. Singapore was developed into a city-state base for the East-West trade routes. It is the largest naval base in Asia & a well developed industrial park. Malaysia, just south of Indochina, is a large source of palm oil, rubber, tin, & oil.

A bitter legacy of colonialism, has been the racism perpetuated by the British between the Chinese minority & the Malays. During the WWII the MCP (Malaysian Communist Party) was the only group that offered resistence against the Japanese. After British reoccupation after the war, they publicized the terrorist acts of the MCP as being attacks by the Chinese on Malaysians...that Communists were exclusively Chinese, & visa versa.

The present government consists of British trained Malays. Their British orientation has limited their views & interests, they cannot break their country away from the economic & political domination of the West.

As in most neo-colonies there is an unequal trade balance. The prices of her natural resources go down, as the prices of her industrial imports increase. For example, in 1951 it took 132 lbs of rubber to exchange for a tone of steel, in 1961 it took 441 lbs for that same ton of steel. As a result a national deficit increases, and therefore foreign control increases.

Britain has tried to maintain political control of her Commonwealth countries through economic pacts, but foreign investments are increasingly from the US and Japan. Also, US & Japanese "foreign aid", which amounts to binding loans in which the greatest profit goes to the loaners, has increased. Other prominent economic organizations in Singapore's & Malaysia's development were the World Bank Group, the International Finance Corporation & the Asian Development Bank --established with money coming from the US & Japan. These organizations lend money for improvements, such as new ports & trade facilities, all which just happen to help industrial powers to better exploit the resources of SE Asia.

As the British plan to pull all troops out of South Asia in 1971, the US & Japan will be there to defend the interest of industrial powers. Singapore will become the headquarters for exploiting the raw materials of her neighbors in SE Asia. Tin, oil, copper, iron, rubber & grains are reprocessed, refined, and re-exported to the West.

Singapore is an island off the tip of the Malaysian peninsula Malays watch their resources (& the resources of many other SE Asian nations) drained off into Singapore. Singapore industrializes, yet her people face high birth rate, unemployment, housing shortages & low wages. Singapore is perhaps a perfect example of the urban-rural split caused by foreign investment in Third World countries. An economic & cultural split is caused by an industrialization that takes the resources from the country & pours this wealth into the hands of the rich & the foreigners in the city. A gaudy, western facade of prosperity is created in the cities for tourists, Westerners, & the wealthy...but in the countryside the people grow poorer. Laborers in the city are usually paid higher wages, but when peasants flock to the city they find few jobs & if they do find a job, they find the value of their wages cut by inflation & terrible living conditions.



Singapore was created as a separate state by the British, but Malaysians form the Majority of the population and many feel with the rising tide of nationalism, that Singapore should be part of the Malaysian state. Stereotypes of only Chinese being insurgents disappear as more Malaysian leaders become public. So as Malaysia passes from the British empire to the Pacific empire of the US & her partner, Japan...the seeds of discontent & rebellion are well planted as nearly 3,000* guerillas work in the jungles of Malaysia, and riots continue in Singapore. (* US News & World Report, 6-23-69)■

indonesia

In 1953, faced with the possibility of losing Vietnam & Malaysia for the West, President Eisenhow placed America's exterisve aid to the French effort to re-colonize Indo-China in context by asking "How would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia? , and then asserted that our aid to the French was "the cheapest way...to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory."

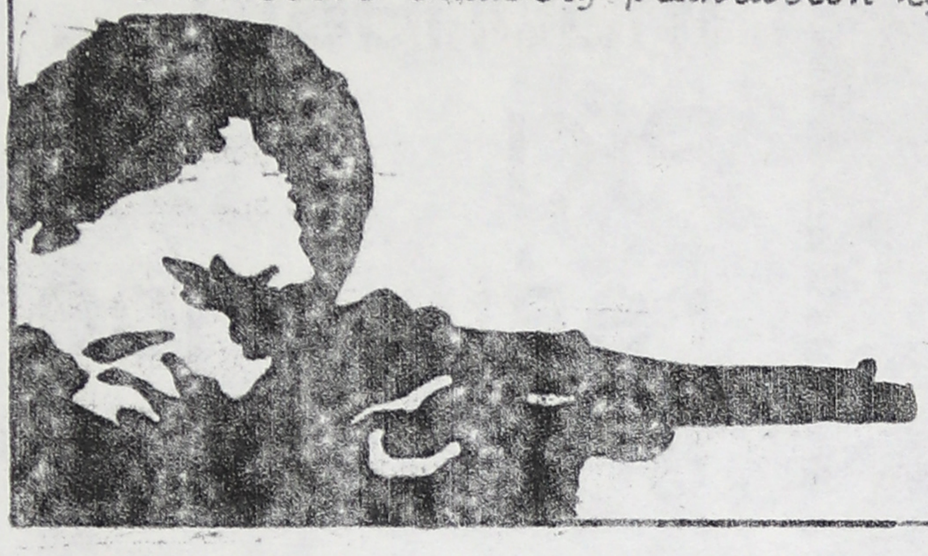
Indonesia, rounding out the Southern portion of the Asian Continent, is one of the largest countries on earth, with over 125 million people of mixed ethnic origins. In addition, she has vast unused natural resources, in her over 10,000 islands. This great nation had been the target of Dutch imperialism since the nineteenth century. Since 1893, oil and other natural resources for Western civilization had flowed from the country. Dutch control was finally overthrown in a four year war of liberation, lasting until 1949.

Until President Sukarno's overthrow in 1965, Indonesia was developing a particularly Asian foreign and domestic policy, frowning on Western investment, and developing a left-wing economic and social program of development. Sukarno had withdrawn from the United Nations, in favor of a Peking-Kjakarta axis, angering the political leaders of the West, who had much to do with the subsequent turmoils surrounding the coup d'etat.

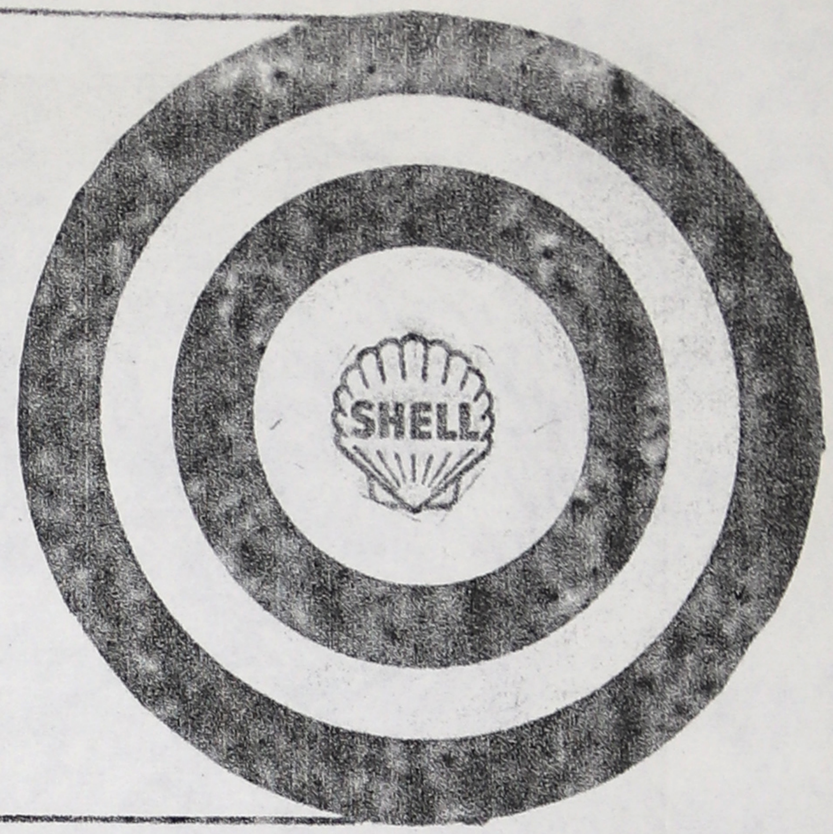
The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), founded in 1920, was his major base of strength, and had developed into the largest CP in the Capitalist world, with around 3,000,000 members, and 3,000,000 more Pioneer Youth before 1965. The PKI attempted an abortive coup in September, 1965, intended to obstruct a planned right-wing coup by a Council of Generals, headed by Suharto, which succeeded in March 11, 1966 in overthrowing Sukarno.

The subsequent program of communist extermination led by the army nearly destroyed the PKI's Central Committee, and drove the remaining cadre into the mountains and outer islands. Estimates of the number killed range from 250,000 to one million; no exact count was taken that was made public.

Most of these events took place with little press coverage in the United States, due to a very effective press blackout on the right-wing bloodbath; most of what was reported was masked by reports of race riots, anti-Chinese massacres, hiding the political motives. In any case, the role of the United States in Indonesia increased drastically after the coup: some observers accuse CIA support and planning of the coup. The trend is too neat for the United States for CIA involvement to be discounted; America has had a big stake in Indonesia for some time.



Raw materials bring most investors to Indonesia and the economy is well on its way to becoming an extractive industry-plantation type of neo-colony.



The upshot of Indonesia's new status has been a cautious but truly extensive inflow of "free world" power into the country--power manifested in the typical forms of re-colonization and "modernization." Soon after the coup and the counterrevolutionary blood bath, the United States extended aid to the new regime. Arms deliveries, training programs and other military efforts have surpassed even the high levels of the early sixties.

Foreign investment and loans from the International Monetary Fund have given paper respectability to the economy since 1965. The loans went for "stabilization", i.e., monetary adjustments, and patchwork repairs in the infrastructure (roads and communication). 125 companies, mostly Japanese and U.S. have pledged almost $800 million to resource exploitation and manufacturing. American "aid" in the form of surplus food sales and loans of various sorts has averaged over $500 million for the past two years.

Aid is now being followed by the preliminary forays of American investors. American Freeport Sulphur is opening a $76.5 million copper mine while U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Kaiser Aluminum (among others) are also interested. American oil companies are just beginning to investigate Indonesia's rich deposits although they are still hampered by the residue of nationalism from the Sukarno regime; the government insists on receiving 65% of the net returns. Fifteen American banks including Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, and First National City have received authorization to open offices. They are participating in the formation of a national investment bank which will give them a large measure of control over Indonesian finances.

Enormous areas of Indonesia's inner waters have been leased to off-shore drilling and exploration. State-owned enterprises are quickly returning to private hand in manufacturing, plantation agriculture, commerce, and export-import trade. Sometimes, in spite of the resistance of the old elite, but more often with their help, a web of western institutional practices, laws and agreements is "modernizing" the Indonesian economy.

Raw materials bring most investors to Indonesia and the economy is well on its way to becoming an extractive industy-plantation type of neo-colony. The island is rich with oil, tin, copper, and many other important materials as well as timber and the most fertile lands in Asia. By the middle of 1968 the government approved foreign investment projects totalling $332.08 million with a five year goal of $2.5 billion. More than three quarter of these projects were concentrated



Indonesia.... PKI resistance continues

in mining, plantations, forestry, and fishing. Projects totalling $57.8 million were approved for manufacturing. Of the total amount a little over a third were U.S. investments and the next two investors were listed as Canadian and South Korean, but the companies are in fact subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. Thus, almost two-thirds of the planned investment in Indonesia will be American-owned. For all of these transfusions of power the Suharto regime has had to mortgage Indonesia's resources, political independence and military discretion.

The Army dominates government and will continue to do so in the future whether there are elections or not. In coordination with industry, plantation owners, and the Indonesian elite, government policy strictly enforces its avowed anti-communism, permits no significant political organizing, and jails any suspected leftists. The 350,000 man army--the largest peacetime regular army in Asia except for that of the U.S.--patrols the countryside and well-trained police keeps order in the town and cities.

Even with the steps taken by Suharto at every level to bring his country into the new Asian order, serious contradictions remain. None of the essential problems of Indonesia have been solved by the New Order. Rather, as in Formosa, everything from fiscal stability to food prices have been re-financed-put off until "economic development" can finally "take off". The policies adopted provide no resolution of the elite-mass problem, no attempt to develop a rational plan of economic recovery and self-sustained growth, and no commitment to popular welfare and participation in public affairs. The ruse of "modernization" covers foreign intervention into virtually every area of Indonesian life--at a cost which will probably reduce the country to bankruptcy in the mid-1970's.

Most importantly, the organization of resistance, despite massive repression, is still on-going. One indicator for this movement is the number of prison-camps scattered throughout the Indonesian countryside. Purges within the Army's ranks itself attest to the power of the PKI. In Central and East Java, clashes between guerrilla forces and the Army have been frequent. The guerrillas, digging into the countryside with tunnels and underground refuge, resemble the Viet Cong.

"By mid-March, 1969, military disguised as civilians were said to be hunting a band of 45 armed Communists in Purwodadi. One of the latter was a middle aged woman named Som, some of whose clothing was found, along with a quantity of arms, in a 'Viet Cong type dug out.' The arms cache also yield 'dozens of spikes made from bicycle spokes' which could be fired from home made rifle butts with springs, and a bottle of 'snake venom' in which the spikes would have been dipped. According to Suwarno no less than '40 per cent' of the 200,000 inhabitants in the Purwodadi area were still 'communist-oriented' and a Communist 'front' had recently been 'infiltrating' all levels of government, including the local civil service as well as the military." ■

Sources: Most of the economic information comes from economics magazines, Fortune, Far Eastern Economic Review, etc. A good economic summary in America In Asia, pamphlet distributed at Concerned Asian Scholars conference this year. Information on PKI mainly Eastern World, June 1969.

australia

Southeast Asians welcome alternative sources of capital and equipment as one way of avoiding excessive dependence on Japan. Australia is rapidly emerging as a third important factor in the area along with the US & Japan...(They) have determined to seek their future as an Asian & Pacific power.

Business Week, 12-13-69

Australia is rapidly emerging as a third important factor in the area along with the US & Japan. The Australians have gone through a crisis of identity, as their old commonwealth ties to Britain wither and she becomes determined to seek her future as an Asian nation & Pacific power.

Australia's position in Asia is being placed in a new perspective. No longer can she depend on her traditional allies, Britain & the US. Vietnam demonstrates to the Australians the problems that beset a "junior partner" under the existing bi-lateral treaties. On many major decisions such as the bombing halts & gradual de-escalation, she is not consulted. Instead, she is relegated to the role of watchdog over American bases and is hampered in her attempts to fight her own style of war, namely counter-guerilla warfare.

Australia has committed herself to bolstering and leading regional alliances such as the Asian & Pacific Council (ASPAC). ASPAC departs from the older Anglo-Saxon pacts such as the Australia, New Zealand, & US treaty (ANZUS) because it is regional. Because its Anglo-Saxon agreements - ie(ANZUS)- do not presently require specific obligations, Australia is forced to seek closer security arrangements in Asia.

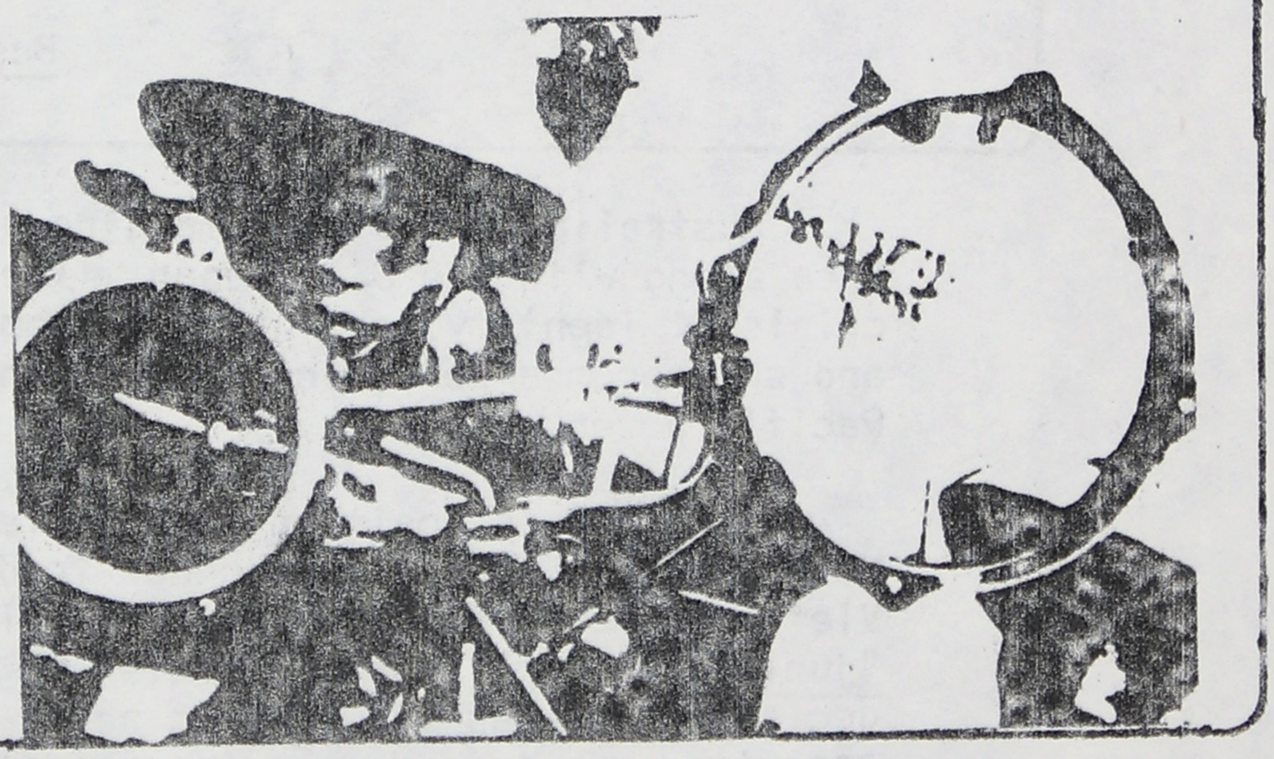
But US influence over Australian defense policy may not diminish as much as the Australians would like. While the present ANZUS treaty does not require specific aid from any of the nations, it does allow the US to intervene, if Australia & New Zealand cannot contain enemy forces. Also, the Vietnam experience has shown that Australia cannot alone wage a war against peasant & Communist uprisings in Asia.

It should be remembered that Australia is the only White Asian nation. This is essential in understanding the alliance between the US & Australia. While the State Department may speak glowingly of US-South Vietnamese relations, US-Korean friendship or US-Thai friendship, there are very few countries which Washington trusts implicity with secret military information or gives access to inner circles of defense policy making.

The countries which enjoy these privileges have 2 striking characteristics in common: they are all former colonies of Great Britain, and are all ruled by the white descendants of European immigrants...Canada, Australia & New Zealand.

Military officers of these countries routinely receive copies of secret US intelligence reports, are kept informed of Pentagon work on chemical and biological warfare and other secret projects. In order to cement this working relationship still more firmly, the Pentagon has initiated Project Mallard, which will ultimately provide a joint "tactical international communication system for the armies, navies, & air forces of: the US, Great Britain, Canada & Australia.

The US does not share military communications channels with any but the closest white allies.



AUSTRALIA & THE PACIFIC DEFENSE STRATEGY

The close relation that developed in recent years among these countries spring, not just from a common language & cultural heritage, But from national policy considerations. The US seeks to replace its forces in Asia with foreign troops whose loyalty to US objectives can be relied upon. Australia & New Zealand must be assured of unhampered trade with & sea routes to countries bordering the Pacific & Indian Oceans.

Australia is,moreover, motivated by policies of racial exclusion. Australians dread the traditional southward migration of Asians, and are willing to offer military assistance to their northern neighbors

In trade for a buffer zone against further migration (Malaysia & Singapore. These racial considerations are not incompatible with US policy which seeks to maintain Western (i.e. white) hegemony in the Pacific-Indian Ocean area.

In the 70's Australia can be expected to remain in the role of containing "communism," as a member of Asian alliances rather than as a "junior US partmer." This will be to the advantage to the US, especially as the last British troops leave South Asia in 1971. The defense of Malaysia & Singapore will then be shared by Australia & New Zealand, with some aid from the US, but American planners hope that these allies will increasingly assume "defense" roles.

ECONOMIC BONDS

Australia has become a prominent member of organizations promoting regional economic cooperation. The first meeting of the Pacific Basin Economic Cooperation Committee was held in Sydney. Australia is also a member of the Asian Development Bank & Private Investment Company for Asia, Ltd. (PICA). The difficulty with these & other regional schemes has been their control by the larger economic powers, notably the US & Japan.

Economically, also, Australia is caught between independence & US influence. The development of some of the world's riches mineral deposits has meant a new turn for the Australian economy. Previously, untouched in the scorching desert of the west, modern techniques are creating possibilities for their mining. Lacking the capital & the technology, Australia must allow American & Japanese corporations to directly invest in joint ventures with Australians.

<u>The US indirectly or directly controls 40% of the Australian industry</u>. Kaiser Steel and Aluminum, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Metal, Utah Mining and Construction, Union Oil, Bank of America and US Steel participate in the extraction of raw materials.

The US & Australia are very closely tied - racially & economically--very soon, Australia will be an important factor in SE Asian history. ■

japan

"Along with this dramatic economic surge, Japan will surely want to play a greater role both diplomatically & militarily in maintaining the balance in Asia."

Richard Nixon, Foreign Affairs (1967)

Since World War Two, Japan has come under the military wing of the American eagle. With her defense "cared for", the reconstructed war-time industries--the zaibatsu--launched the Japanese economy to record heights. Today, it is the third largest economic power in the world, surpassing all nations of Western Europe in annual production. Japan has always played an important military role in Asia, providing advanced military bases for American attacks into Korea (1950-53) and IndoChina (1961-present). Japan's defense industries produce hardware for use in the war. More importantly, under the terms of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (or "Ampo" in Japanese), the United States maintains 138 military installations in Japan itself to ensure "peace and security" in the Far East--peace and security, that is, for American and Japanese business.

This Japanese domination by American interests evolved after the unconditional surrender imposed by General Douglas MacArthur, aided by 2 genocidal atomic blasts on August 6 and 9 in the year 1945. From 1945 to 1962, US military expenditures in Japan contributed significantly to the GNP and paid nearly 20% of Japanese imports. The Japanese economy has thrived off the export of goods (mainly military) to Korea, Vietnam, Thailand and other American ports. In general, Japanese economic health is tied in large part to US military adventures.

THE US-JAPAN PARTNERSHIP

The time has come when the American & Japanese "planners" hope that a meaningful partnership can be developed in the Pacific -- a Japanese & US economic, political & military partnership. Concretely, this means more military participation, more foreign aid to Asian neighbors, & more international joint investments for Japan.

Reasons for the Japanese controllers, big-business & presently the Sato government, to agree to such conditions,are:

1. Within a generation Japan's own resources will be exhausted. Already importing large amounts of raw materials (i.e. 90% of Japan's oil is imported), the "underdeveloped" countries of the Pacific Rim are vital to her survival & growth.

   "The whole of Southeast Asia is our lifeline. We are dependent upon imported raw materials to maintain & develop our industries."

   Minoru Genda, legislator in the Diet

2. In light of the growing Asian revolution, it is in Japan's interest to join the counter-revolutionary forces & maintain access to cheap raw materials.

3. International corporations acts as a buffer against the hatred still felt for the Japanese by many Asian nations.

4. Foreign aid, can be and is beneficial to Japanese economic interests. It increases trade, helps stabilize countries by providing jobs, develops resources (roads, ports, etc) useful for further investment.

5. Increased military expenditures will benefit the zaibatsu at the expense of smaller corporations & the private citizen (as in the US)

REARMAMENT: THE RISING SUN

"...informed sources are telling friends that Japan may be allowed to return to her place in the sun as a military power. This would result from Pres. Nixon's plan to reduce US military costs."

Finance, Feb 1969

American businessmen, government officials & military figures are demanding an expanded role for Japan in the defense of the Pacific empire. Inflation, caused by increased spending abroad from the war, has wreaked havoc on the American economy. Japan has greatly profited from much of this overseas US spending, & spends less than 1% of her gross national product on defense. There is much resentment that Japan is profiting off of the American "free ride."

Another reason for this push, is that Japanese industries are threatening American corporations (i.e. textiles, steel, autos, electronics)...It is hoped that new concentration in defense will divert Japanese industry from these areas.

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, imposed by Mac Arthur in 1947, explicitly prohibits Japan from developing a "war potential." Despite this prohibition, however, Japan is currently rearming. These unconstitutional "Self-Defense" forces of over 250,000 are being expanded.

SMASH THE SECURITY PACT

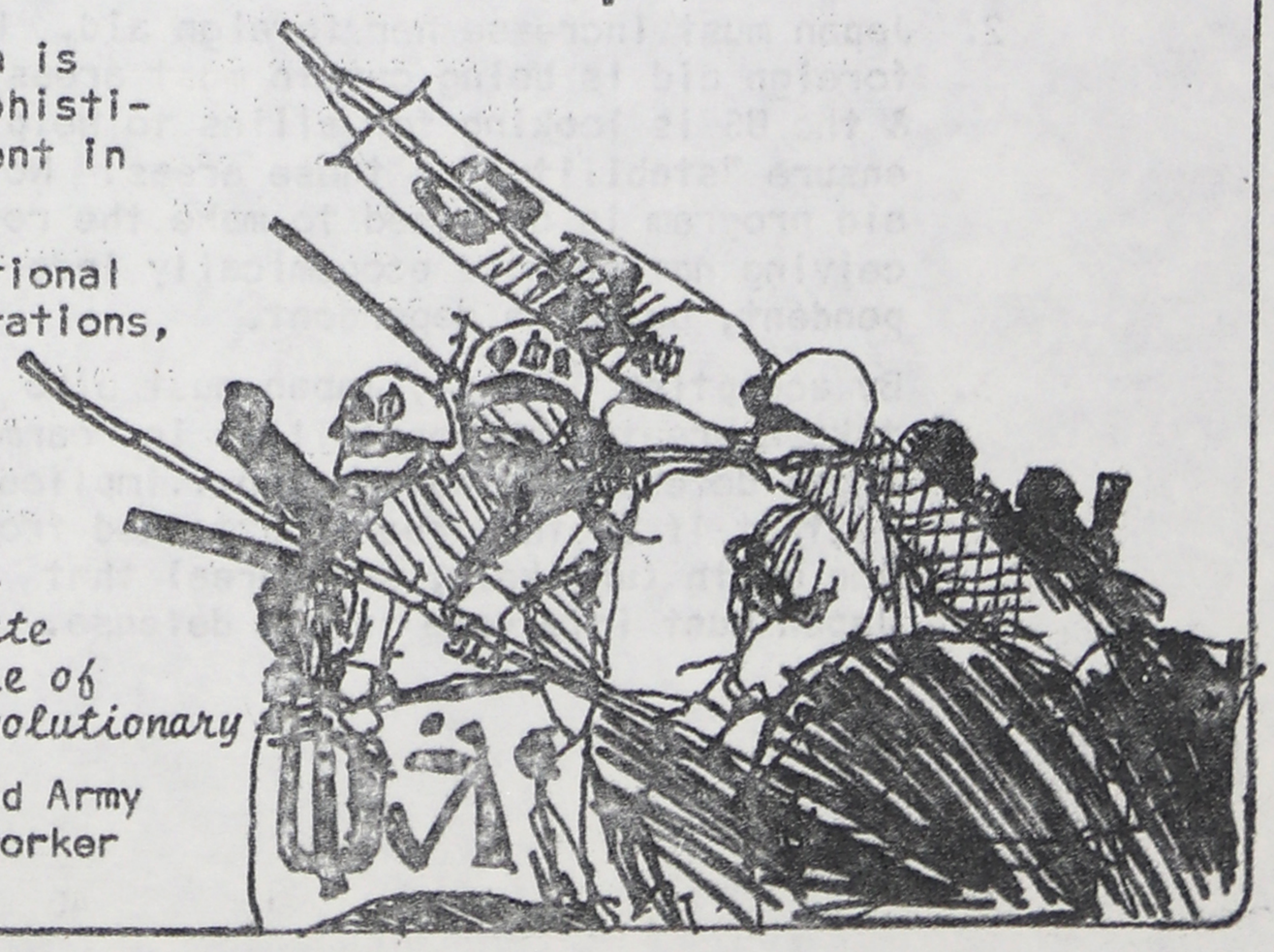
ampo funsai

The student movement in Japan is better organized and more sophisticated than the present movement in this country.

It has progressed from educational reforms, to anti-war demonstrations, to anti-imperialist stands.

"Our most difficult task is that, not only must our movement be anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, but we must be anti-feudal...We must create a new Japanese character, free of feudal mentality, full of revolutionary spirit."

-- Member of the Red Army of the student-worker movement



OKINAWA & THE SECURITY PACT

Okinawa is the largest of the Ryukyus, a chain of islands stretching from Japan to Taiwan. These islands were ruled by Japan until US victory in WWII. Since then Okinawa has become the most important US military base in Asia. 117 military installations are located there.

The local Ryukyus government is subordinate to the United States. The 1 million Okinawans live in a virtual colony. The high commissioner is always an Army general, who holds veto power over local legislation and outlaws labor strikes.

Since the US signed the peace treaty with Japan in 1951, the Japanese have attempted to regain control of these islands. Incidents of racism, abuse of civilians, dangerous storage of nerve gas (which has injured & killed several Okinawans), and the storage of atomic bombs on Okinawa have created a strong national feeling for the reversion of the Ryukyus back to Japan. Last year demonstrations of hundreds of thousands pressured Sato & Nixon to agree to the return of Okinawa by 1972, and for the most part many were satisfied with this announcment.

But the Left in Japan & the Okinawans desire a complete removal of US bases, Prime Minister Sato asked only that the bases be limited to the conditions of the Security Pact: 1) No nuclear weapons, 2) That the US ask prior "consultation" before use of bases for combat purposes. Sato's agreement with Nixon, was basically a compromise to undercut the demonstrations against the Security Pact, and the more basic question of Japanese support for US agression in Asia. The US may still store nuclear weapons on Okinawa "in emergency situations, "prior consultation" can easily become a formality.

What appeared to be a national victory for the Japanese, was actually a series of important concessions:

1. Okinawa was a lever to force Japan to liberalize trade & investment controls, which would allow the US to exert more control on the Japanese economy.

2. Japan must increase her foreign aid. US foreign aid is being cut in most areas, & the US is looking for allies to help ensure "stability" of these areas. No aid program is designed to make the receiving nation more economically independent, but more dependent.

3. By accepting Okinawa, Japan must also take a greater responsibility in rearming & defense of that region...implied is,that if South Korea is attacked from the North (unlikely, see Korea) that Japan must intervene in her defense.



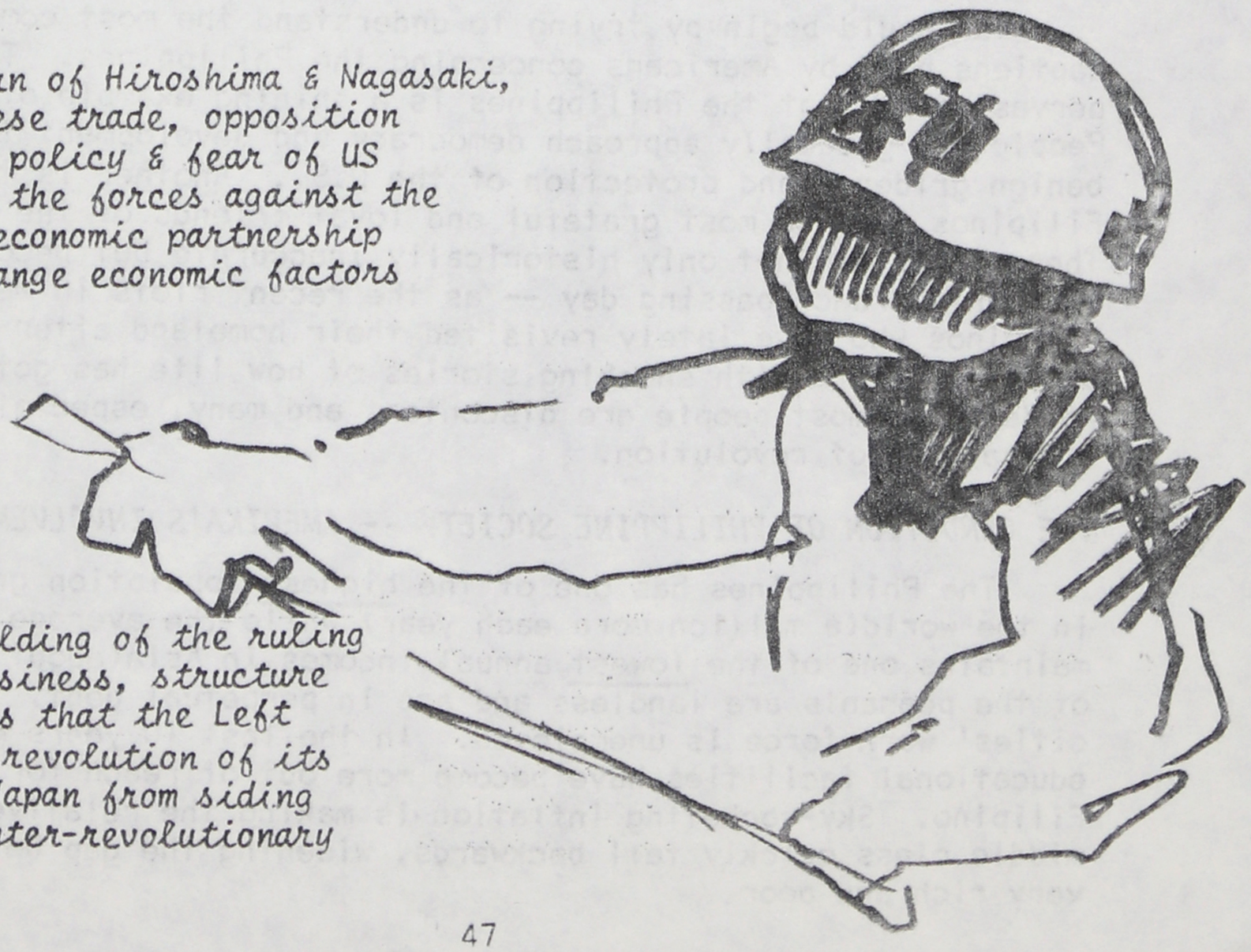
The Japanese people react differently to this situation. Japanese culture has undergone a profound Westernization since World War Two. The leading party has been the Liberal-Democratic Party, from which Prime Minister Eisaku Sato emerged as Japan's present ruler. Supportive of US foreign policies, the LDP depends upon big business and rural-vote support. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party have considerable influence, usually opposing US policies, but have remained minority powers in Japan's parliament, the Diet. The Komeito, based on the Sokagakkai Buddhist sect, now hold 25 seats in the Lower House, and are winning supporters to their conservative politics.

Probably the most well-known aspect of Japanese politics in America are the demonstrations of the student radical groups, the Zenkyoto, formerly the Zengakuren. Opposing US and Japanese imperialism, the Zenkyoto--a coalition of factions and groups with differing ideologies--calls for the end of Japanese imperialism through militant struggle.

During 1969 in Tokyo, over 6,000 radical students were arrested in more than 220 demonstrations. On October 10, 1969, over 80,000 Tokyo workers, students and citizens marched against the renewal of the Japan-American Security. 10,000 shield-bearing riot police were called out, but the demonstration remained extraordinarily peaceful. This year, June 15, militant demonstrations began against the Treaty; on June 23, over 750,000 people throughout Japan spoke out against Ampo. 1970 promises to be a turbulent year in Japan--a testimony to the importance of Japan in the Pacific Rim Strategy.

American and Japanese business interests are now the dominant economic factors in Asia today, often entering as combines. However, Japan's interests have thrust throughout the world. 26% of her foreign investment in 1968 was in Latin America, with 14% being in Asia. Japan undoubtedly will play an increasingly bigger role in the countries of the Pacific Rim, always under the auspices of America's far-flung empire.

Pacificism born of Hiroshima & Nagasaki, hopes of Chinese trade, opposition to US foreign policy & fear of US dominance are the forces against the new military-economic partnership ...but long range economic factors



and the rebuilding of the ruling class, big business, structure in Japan means that the Left must stage a revolution of its own to keep Japan from siding with the counter-revolutionary forces. ■



"WE WILL ESTABLISH TRADING POSTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS DISTRIBUTING POINTS FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS. WE WILL SOON COVER THE OCEAN WITH OUR MERCHANT MARINE. WE WILL BUILD A NAVY TO THE MEASURE OF OUR GREATNESS. GREAT COLONIES GOVERNING THEMSELVES, FLYING OUR FLAG, AND TRADING WITH US, WILL GROW ABOUT OUR POSTS OF TRADE. OUR INSTITUTIONS WILL FOLLOW OUR FLAG ON THE WINGS OF COMMERCE. AND AMERICAN LAW, AMERICAN ORDER, AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, AND THE AMERICAN FLAG WILL PLANT THEMSELVES ON THE SHORES HITHERTO BLOODY AND BENIGHTED, BUT BY THOSE AGENCIES OF GOD HENCEFORTH TO BE MADE BEAUTIFUL AND BRIGHT ...THE PHILIPPINES ARE LOGICALLY OUR FIRST TARGET."

SENATOR HATFOLD--1902

philippines

It is important for us to educate ourselves and others about the Philippines and its relationship to the United States, in light of the deteriorating conditions and growing unrest there. Because the Philippines was once an Amerikan colony, the two countries have close historic ties; therefore any social-political explosion there will have strong repercussions here.

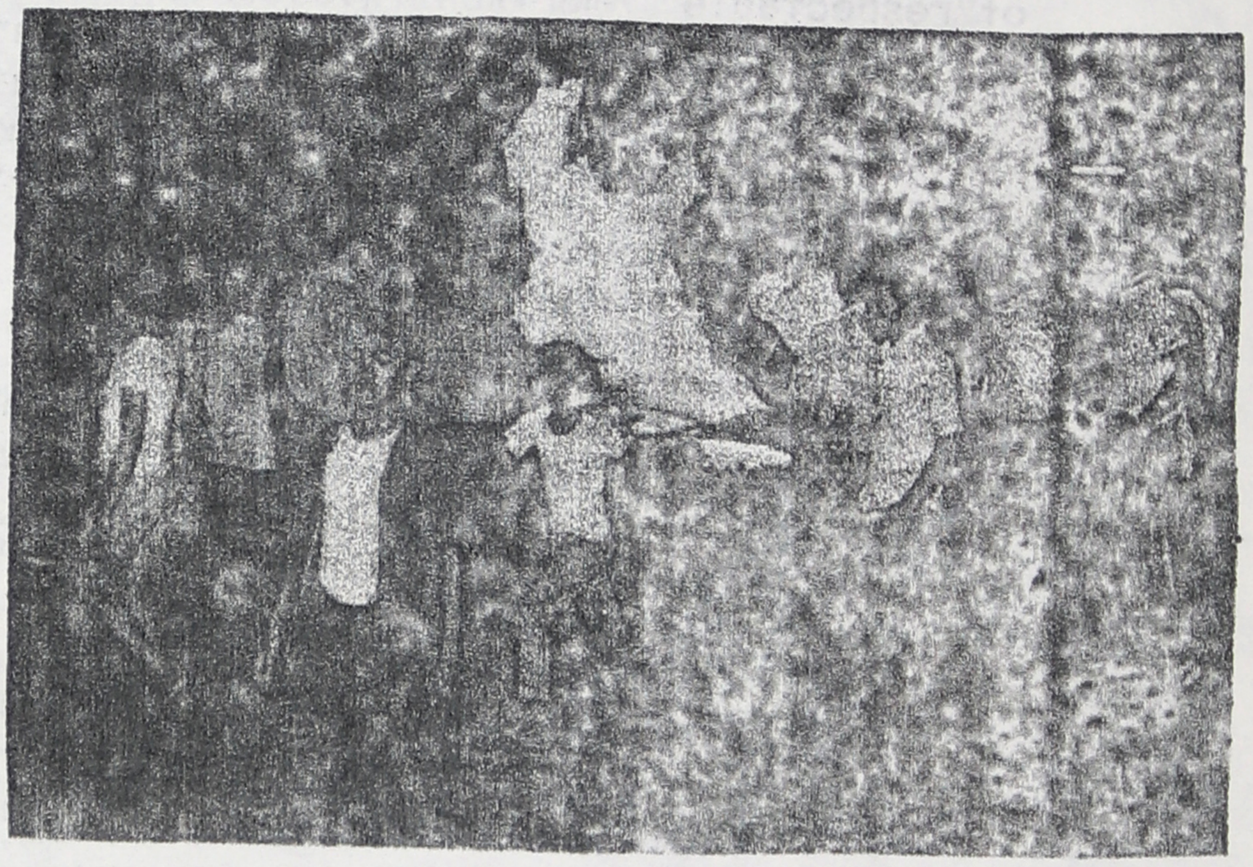
We should begin by trying to understand the most common misconceptions held by Americans concerning the Philippines. The most pervasive is that the Philippines is a shining example of how a "backward" People can gradually approach democracy and development through the benign gridence and protection of the U.S.. Another is that the Filipinos are the most grateful and loyal friends of the United States. These ideas are not only historically inaccurate but become more and more untrue each passing day -- as the recent riots in Manila attest to. Filipinos who have lately revisited their homeland after years of absence, return with shocking stories of how life has gotten much harder, how most people are discontent and many, especially the young, are talking of revolution.

THE CONDITION OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY -- AMERIKA'S INVOLVEMENT

The Philippines has one of the highest population growth rates in the world(a million more each year) while the average Filipino maintains one of the lowest annual incomes in Asia(about $50.). 70% of the peasants are landless and are in perpetual debt. 28% of the cities' work force is unemployed. In the last 10 years medical and educational facilities have become more out of reach for the average Filipino. Sky-rocketing inflation is making the relatively small middle class quickly fall backwards, widening the gap between the very rich and poor.

Meanwhile, the government is close to bankrupt, owing in excess of one billion dollars in external debts. The Vietnam war has caused a great reduction in Amerikan aid. Much of this aid, along with large portions of the domestic budget, is used for an ever-increasing military establishment. The government in reaction to the growing unrest seems to be concentrating more on repression than on the causes of the dissent -- the word "fascism" is being used more often these days, usually coupled with the name of the president,Ferdinan Marcos. The recent devaluation of the peso(3.9/$1. to 6/$1.) will have little stabilizing effect on the economy since the corruption in all branches of the government goes on unabated, especially in the Congress.

Far from being a showcase of stability, we can see that the Philippines is more like a time-bomb...and time seems to be running out quickly! When we attempt to identify the causes of this present state of disorder, we find, on the surface, opportunistic and corrupt politicians, then a well entrenched landed ruling class, and ultimately the economic and military interests of the United States of Amerika.



It is important for us to honestly recognize that Amerika's brutal acts in Hiroshima, Korea and Vietnam are not isolated mistakes but a consistant evolution. The basis for the present policy in Indochina is essentially the same as that which has guided Amerika's actions in the Philippines.

"IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT THE NEARLY ALL-ESSENTIAL THING IS A STRONG PACIFIC FLEET, BASED ON THESE ISLANDS, FOR UNLESS WE ARE SUPERIOR AT SEA OR ARE WILLING TO MAINTAIN A VERY LARGE FORCE IN THESE ISLANDS, WE MUST EVENTUALLY LOSE THEM. A NAVAL STATION WITH AN INADEQUATE FLEET IS OF LITTLE VALUE."

GENERAL WOOD, COMMANDER OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN P.I.--1903

In the late 1800's Amerika needed a military base to back up and secure her economic inroads into Asia; she wanted raw materials, cheap labor and new markets for her fast growing industries ... she sailed into Manila Bay in 1898, established herself over the past 70 years and remains there today.

Amerika has built there the largest Air Force base in Asia and maintains numerous other navy and air force installations; the powerful 7th Fleet moves freely in and out of Philippine waters. Amerika has engineered bilateral as well as SEATO military pacts with the Islands, and some bases there are presently being used in logistical support of Vietnam war missions -- in direct violation of the agreements. No one is fooled by talk of National sovereignty -- the Philippines is of stratigic importance to U.S. military objectives in the area and Amerikans call the shots.

" PHILIPPINES FOR THE FILIPINOS ... DOES THE DOCTRINE EXCLUDE THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE, THE INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL IN THESE ISLANDS? NO; EMPHATICALLY NO. THERE IS NOTHING ... WHICH CAN MAKE MORE FOR THE ELEVATION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE THAN THE INVESTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL IN THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THESE ISLANDS. CIVILIZATION FOLLOWS MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT."
WILLIAM TAFT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF P.I. --1901

In the economic field U.S. interests have long dominated all capital investment. The profits from such investments have seldom gone back into developing the country,but rather are reflected in the rising stocks of"respectable" Amerikan investors. Any schools or roads which Amerika builds for Filipinos must be seen in relationship to the millions upon millions of dollars taken yearly from that country in the form of lucrative profits. U.S. interests control most major export industries. Since all exports are shipped out in the "raw" stage, the country is kept non-industrial and is robbed of all the would-be profits accumulated from the manufactred end-products. This perpetuates the country's dependence on foreign industry and capital.

The country is experiencing the highest rate of deforestation in the world; providing the U.S. and Japan with wood for their booming furniture industries. Filipinos laboring under some of the worse conditions provide sugar for the U.S.. The Philippine soil and labor provide the rubber, Firestone produces the tires-- then sells them back to the Filipinos! Also the Philippines has a huge potential source of wealth in coconut-related finished products, but the Amerikan and Filipino controllers profit quite well from the present arrangement and do not seem pressured into further developing the industry.

This unequal, exploitative relationship produces a vicious cycle of underdevelopment; it's the reality behind the words "imperialism" and "neo-colonialism ", and it characterizes Amerika's relationship to the Philippines and the Third World in general.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATION TO AMERIKA

It is important to keep in mind that most Filipinos are poor tenant farmers and small peasants;



THEY TILL THE LAND GENERATION AFTER GENERATION A LIFESTYLE TYPICAL OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT AND OF ASIA .

The world they comprehend most clearly is that of their family and village. Modern times has brought increased communications, more mobility, but also higher taxes, more government officials and more corruption. For most Filipinos Amerika is a far-off myth -- a land of opportunity, but not particularly relevant to daily life.

For Juan de la Cruz, life has gotten harder because of the landlords and corrupt officials. He's heard that the Amerikans are behind it all, about a war somewhere in Vietnam, but it's still the local politicians and rich who seem to be benefiting most from his childrens' hunger and ignorance. If by chance, Juan comes across an American, he might appear to be a grateful, loyal "little brown brother", but the only reality is that he is impressed and a little intimidated by nice clothes and the myth of power. It would be a FATAL mistake however, to interpret his behavior as a conscious loyalty to the United States of Amerika -- quite frankly, the average Filipino does not think in such "abstract" terms; he's much too concerned with the rising cost of fish!

We live in a time when the masses of all underdeveloped nations are beginning to react against their worsening conditions and move against their oppressors -- the Filipino masses are no exception. When they begin to move on their landlords and corrupt politicians and find that the U.S. is supporting those reactionary forces wnich are fighting to hold back their revolution or even possibly directly attempting to crush it with napalm and B52's; they will begin to see Amerika as their enemy with very little trouble and surprize, in spite of 70 years of "benevolent" Amerikan guardianship!



"PERHAPS THE GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC ... MAY SOME DAY DREAM OF FOREIGN POSSESSIONS."

JOSE RIZAL --1890

It is a well known fact to Filipinos that before Amerikans arrived in 1898, they themselves had already liberated most of their land from the Spanairds, and after years of struggle had formed their own government and constitution. Their heroes were men like Rizal, Aquinaldo, Bonifacio, Mabini -- and yet when the Amerikans came they treated the Spaniards as civilized equals and the Filipinos as "backward" natives! The Amerikans attempted to keep the Filipino patriots out of Manila, so that they could accept the Spanish surrender and not the Filipinos.

Once Amerika was established in Manila, she began to label all Filipino patriots who refused to bow to Amerikan rule as "insurgents", and unleashed a bloody war that lasted over 8 years -- the heroic Filipino resistence was finally brought under control, but only after tremendous expense in money and lives to the U.S.. Meanwhile, the Amerikan officials began to hobnob with the rich and priviledged families who had cooperated with the Spanish. These same families also received the major benefits from Amerikan presence in the Islands and remain today the staunchest defenders of U.S. involvement in the Philippines.

During the late 20's and 30's higher rents began to force many more small farmers and tenants into heavier debt, especially in Central Luzon. Worsening conditions in the northern sections of Luzon also sent thousands of Filipinos from their homeland, either as contract labors to Hawaii, or out to sea as cargo hands or servants and cooks for the U.S. Navy. The general unrest was growing when the socialist and communist parties merged in 1938, but the war came and occupied all Filipinos with the more dramatic issue at hand -- the Japanese invasion.

The Japanese occupation was extremely brutal, however the people resisted with determined stubborness characteristic of the Filipino character. During this period the Americans were truly seen as friends and allies by the majority of Filipinos. Much of the stereotype of the "loyal" and "grateful" Filipino comes from the personal experiences of American soldiers during the war. However, it is important to understand that the major force of the guerrilla resistance was carried out and directed by Filipinos themselves.

> The strongest and most effective force was centered in Luzon and led by socialist-communist elements. It was an independent, Filipino army which did not take orders from McArthur's headquarters, and it was seen by the majority of the people as the vangaurd of Filipino resistance -- this army was known as the "Huks". For the Huks the immediate enemy was the Japanese Imperial Army which had aggressed upon the Philippine nation, but there was another enemy which was the corrupt feudal system which oppressed the masses of Filipino people. Therefore the disruption caused by the war enabled the people to begin to correct some of the traditional inequalities, naturally at the expense of the large land-owning families -- many of whom were also collaborating with the Japanese.

After the war, it became evident that Amerika would grant independence only under conditions favorable to her own economic and political interests. Many Filipinos were confused, to say the least, when McArthur destroyed over 80% of Manila in order to supposedly flush out the Japanese, and then arrived amidst the smoldering rubble to appoint a government made up of some of the most notorious Japanese collaborators and obviously dominated and controlled by the same wealthy families.

> Meanwhile an anti-Huk campaign was launched in which recognized patriots were declared Moscow-oriented traitors and "bandits"! Despite this, the struggle for fundamental agrarian reforms led by the Huks intensified, especially in Central Luzon where exploitation has always been the most obvious. By 1950 the Manila government was out of control in much of the countryside.

At this point the U.S. stepped in with massive military aid and CIA advisors (CIA agent, Landsdale, the pig who groomed Ngo Diem in Vietnam, personally prepared Magsaysay for the presidency in the Philippines.) By 1954 the Huk threat was under control, but just as with the earlier Filipino "insurgents", they were temporarily controlled but never totally crushed, for the rebellion grows out of the exploitation and poverty of the masses of people by the relatively few priviledged and wealthy.

> Since Magsaysay, every promise for land reform has brought NO land reform, and only frustration and cynicism on the part of the poor. The situation today remains essentially the same as it was in the early 50's (even worse). Today, however, the common people know that Amerika supports the government in Manila and that that government is NOT answerable to them,but to their landlords.

Things were happening on other levels, not clearly understood by most peasants, but definitely raising the ire of the young students and small business men. Agreements were signed, ie.parity agreement, Bell Trade Act, Laurel-Langley; military assistence and security pacts, etc, all of which systematicly manage to keep the Philippines economicly subservient and militarily overwhelmed by the U.S.; effectively keeping Amerika in control of both domestic and foreign policy. This situation makes independence a farce and frustrates the growing nationalism, causing both humiliation and anger. For example, Filipino small businessmen are easily out manuvered by Amerikans, since Amerikans under the treaties are assured equal exploitation and investment rights as Filipinos. Additionally in recent years because of new trade agreements with Japan(encouraged by U.S.) Japanese interests also dominate over Filipinos.

In other areas, incidents involving Amerikan GI's murdering and maiming Filipinos and then claiming immunity from Philippine justice has resulted in many pent-up hostilities toward Amerikans; increased tourism has reinforced these feelings as more and more Amerikans with their typical condescending arrogance parade around Manila and Bagio. Students and intellectuals are experiencing increased humiliation at the ridiculous spectacle of the Filipino middle class attempting to copy amerikan consumer culture and Madison Avenue fashions at the expense of their own national creativity and cultural heritage. The tensions in the city is at a breaking point and it breaks violently into the streets with the sounds of shattering glass and exploding molotovs. Undeclared martial law has lately been imposed on Manila....but fascism does not relieve the tension.



The Philippines, its society and people are many things....warm, proud, beautiful...but two things it is NOT: the society is not an Asian showcase of stability, progress and democracy; its people are not unquestioningly loyal and unendingly grateful to the United States of Amerika. The tensions and contradictions in the country are causing much motion.



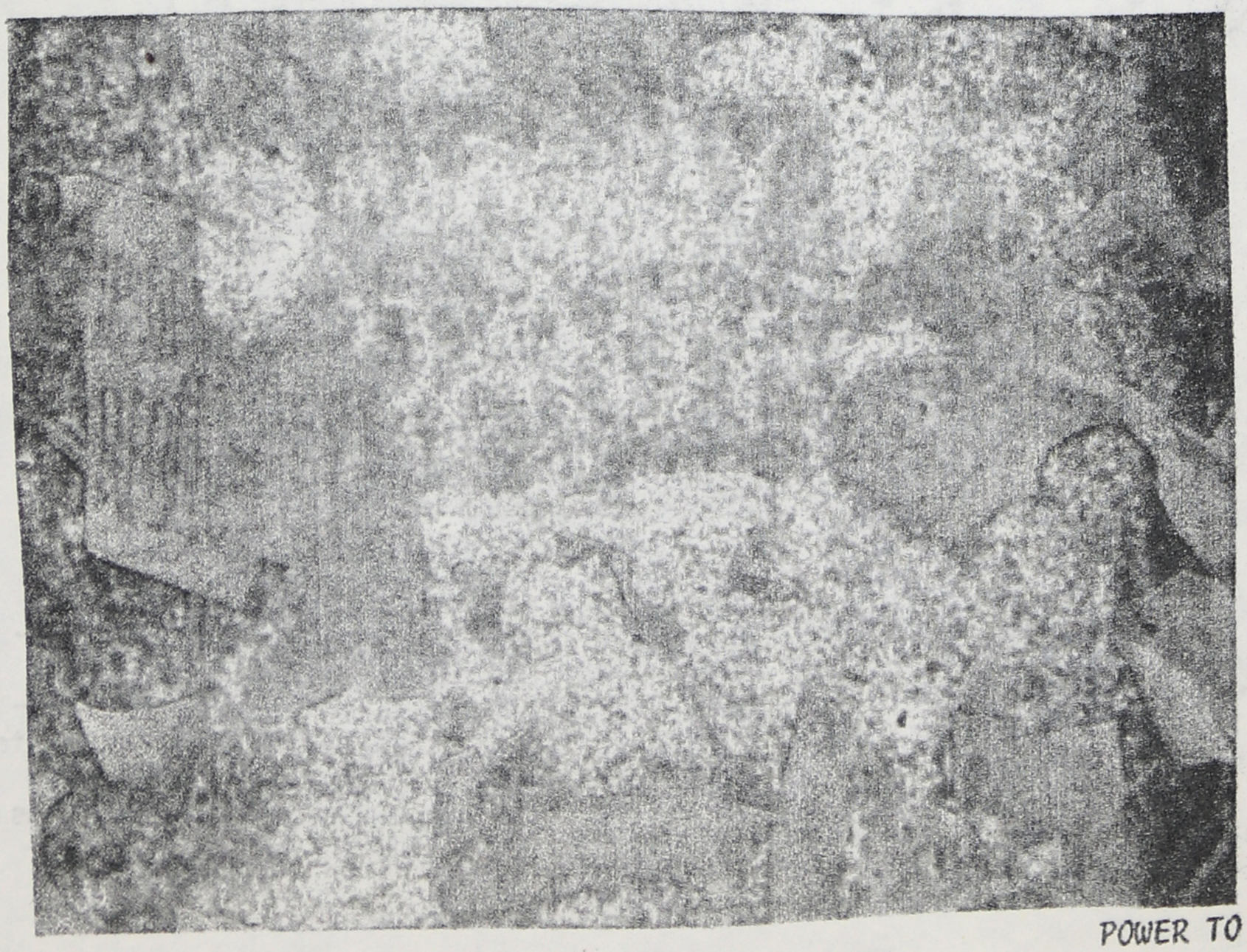
The Philippine nation is young and strong (75% of the people are under 25)....and angry (the first 6 months of 1970 have seen the most disruptive, intensive worker-student demonstrations, strikes and riots in Philippine history.) Jose Maria Sison, a former student leader, has encouraged students to make their struggle more relevant by relating it to the greater oppression of the Filipino workers and peasants. Students are beginning to leave their campuses and go into the barrios and slums to educate, organize and <u>learn from</u> the masses.

In 1968 the Communist party was reconstituted under a more revolutionary ideology, calling for a United Front and Peoples' Democracy through armed struggle and protracted war. The old Huk leader, Commander Dante is the commander of the new Peoples' Army, which is presently engaged in the mountains and countryside and daily increasing the level of armed struggle. The chairman of the party is Jose M. Sison, known to the revolution as Amado Guerrero. the mood of the young and the atmosphere of the country is one of revolution. The goals are true national sovereignty, the end of exploitation of the many by the few, a just allocation and development of the nation's wealth and resources and a Peoples' democracy.

"I HATE VIOLENCE AND FIGHTING, A REVOLUTION WOULD BE A TERRIBLE THING FOR THE PHILLIPPINES. BUT I HAVE TEN CHILDREN TO FEED. PRICES KEEP GOING UP BUT NOT THE MONEY MY HUSBAND BRINGS HOME. IF IT TAKES A REVOLUTION TO FEED MY CHILDREN, THEN I SAY LET'S HAVE IT."

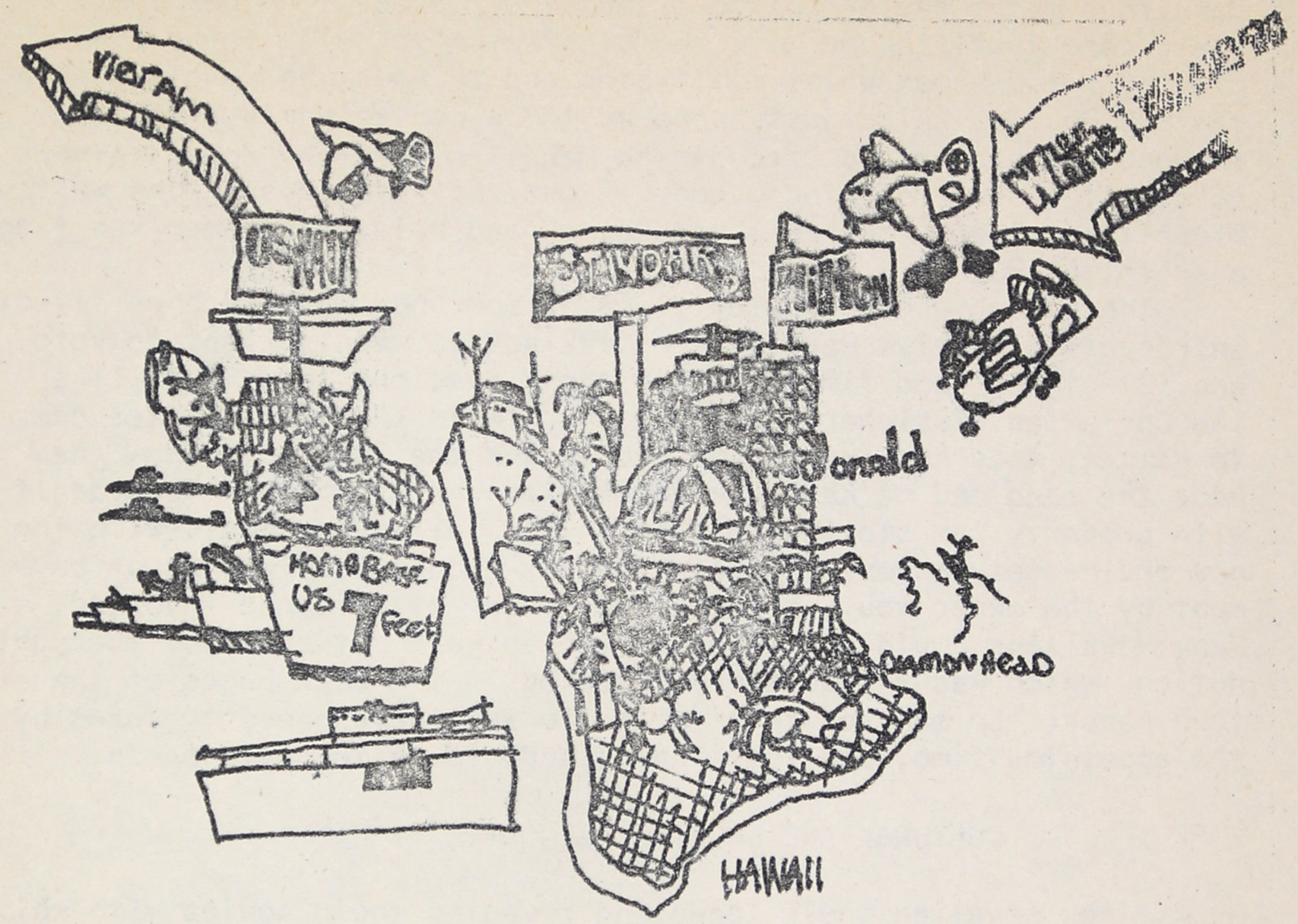
MRS. DIANG SENA, WIFE OF A LABORER-1970

"Bahala na" a saying of patient resignation is being replaced by "Mabuhay si Dante" a slogan of determined, protracted struggle. We should not be surprised. revolutions are too long and too hard and too costly in human lives and emotions to be taken lightly; they occur after all other ways seem to have shown themselves useless in setting the wrongs right. We should never be fooled into believing that a revolution can be imported from another country, for all revolutions are unique and grow from the people and their situation. We should never grow fearful of the universal ideas and ideology which leads and directs revolution in this century, for in our fear we loose sight of the people, who are the real revolution--of Juan de la Cruz, his children and neighbors...for the revolution is fought and sustained on the hunger and suffering of little children and the love and anger of men and women. The revolution is necessary, we should feel good about it.



POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

u.s. in hawaii



A Madison Avenue advertising firm recently created an advertisement for United Airlines in which Glenn Yarborough sings:

Come to our corner of the world,
Come to our corner of the world,
United has been flying to Hawaii for twenty-three years,
That's why we call it, our corner of the world.

The ad strikes upon what is the tragedy of Hawaii, that these lovely islands have become everyone's corner of the world except for those who live there. It belongs to international corporations such as Hilton, Pan American, and Safeway. It belongs to the U.S. Army, Air Force, and Navy with their gigantic bases occupying Hawaii's choicest land. The present and future of Hawaii is being determined in corporate boardrooms in New York, Dallas, and Los Angeles, and in the corridors of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

Not only is Hawaii exploited by Amerikan big business and the military, but the Nixon Administration is using Hawaii as the key base of operations in its Pacific Rim strategy of economic-political-military domination of the entire Pacific/Asian basin. Hawaii's prime role in the Pacific Rim strategy is no accident; the islands have historically been used as the economic/military outpost of the Amerikan Empire in the Pacific.

AMERIKAN COLONIALISM BARE-ASSED

Like the Philippines and Puerto Rico, the history of Hawaii is a blatant example of Amerikan Colonialism bare-assed. In 1893, near the turn of the century, the white sugar planters in Hawaii got up-tight because the 100 year leases they had on rich, fertile sugar fields had less than a year to run. The planters feared that (1) the Hawaiian royalty might raise the land rental which

would cut into their profits, or (2) even more disasterous, the Hawaiians might decide not to extend the leases. Whether their fears were justified or not, the planters moved with force employing a 100 armed white militiamen and an Amerikan naval warship, the USS Boston, which just happened to be conveniently situated in Honolulu harbor and brought the Hawaiian monarchy down. After forcing the then reigning Queen Liliokalani into prison, the white minority declared their new "republic" and raised the Amerikan flag over Iolani Palace.

The new government quickly passed some new laws such as (1) disenfranchising native Hawaiians by taking away their right to vote, and (2) at the same time stealing their precious land, just like the Christian missionaries were doing ("*When the missionaries came to Hawaii, they had the bibles and we had the land . . . now they have the land and we have the bibles*"). One of the new laws dealt with property tax stating that if anyone failed to comply with the new ordinances, anyone who paid the tax amount due in lieu of payment by the owner would become legal owner of the land involved. Many Hawaiians could not read English so were not aware of the public notice, which was deliberately obscured in the back pages of the town paper. So many of them failed to pay their property taxes by the appointed time, and lost their lands to white businessmen.

CULTURAL AND PHYSICAL GENOCIDE

After stealing their lands and ravaging their bodies with white men's diseases (for example, the measles) which nearly annihilated the native population (750,000 pure-blcoded Hawaiians at the time of Cook's discovery and 50,000 pure-blooded and part-Hawaiians today), the whites made token efforts to placate the people. So the Hawaiian Homesteads Act was pushed through Congress putting the Hawaiians on homesteads, just as the American Indian had been forced onto reservations. And like the reservations, the homesteads are bad lands. The government justified apportioning such inadequate land with the following rationale: Since the native Hawaiians are not hard-working like the Asian contract-labor slaves we [the planters] import from the Orient, if we give them this terrible land they will have to struggle extra hard to survive, and hence will learn to be industrious just like the Orientals.

Ironically, it seemed like a good deal since each family paid rent of only one dollar each year. But the gimmick is that homesteaders do not own the land but only lease it and thus are without the property rights to mortage, rent, sell, or develop the land.

The situation of the Hawaiian people today is one of systematic oppression. The myth of the"happy" Hawaiian--smiling and laughing... teaching dumb tourists how to surf...strumming his ukelele while singing his happy song...driving a tour car about his debauched islands--camouflages the fact of his despair and misery. Beneath the "happy-go-lucky," beer-drinking, song-singing image is the sobering agony which renders the Hawaiian with the highest suicide rate, the highest unemployment rate, the highest crime rate, and the highest public welfare rate of all of the ethnic groups in the islands. The Hawaiian youth matches his elders with the highest drop-out rate from irrelevant school systems, the highest glue and paint sniffing rates, and the highest juvenile delinquency rate.

EXPLOITING CHEAP YELLOW LABOR

The white planters exploited asian people they brought in to work their sugar and pineapple plantations. Yellow men and women could work from sunrise to sunset, and their labor was cheap, and their blood and sweat ran easily. First the Chinese, then the Japanese, and finally the Filipinos--the planters played the races off against each other, ruthlessly crushed worker's strikes, and kept asians in their places by an effective colonial tactic of "divide-and-rule."

One of the residues of post-World War II Hawaii is a Pearl Harbor mentality among 3rd World people, especially the asians. Still trying to prove their loyalty and Amerikanism, Asian-Amerikans are afflicted with the obsession of trying to be more white than white, more middle class than middle class, and 200% Amerikan! Because of this blind devotion to the mother country, Hawaii proportionate to its population has suffered the heaviest casulties of soilders in WWII, Korea and now Vietnam. During the Pueblo crisis, Hawaii was forced to bear 16% of the national call-up to active duty of National Guard and Army reserve troops, while constituting less than one-half of one percent of the national population.



WHITE AMERIKA'S PLAY PEN

As the agriculture business of sugar and pineapple are being phased out and moved to easier-to-exploit Pacific basin areas such as the Phillipines, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, another kind of plantation system and economy has come to the fore as the most lucrative and profitable business in the islands: Tourism. Synthetic and phony, the high-rise plantations of the tourist industry sells plastic flower leis and other gross, ridiculous knic-knacs to rake in the tourist trade and huge profits. More than a million tourists come to Hawaii annually, and hotel rooms have boomed from 5,000 in 1960 to more than 15,000 today, with thousands more planned. High-rise hotels and apartment houses clutter the skyline from Waikiki to Diamond Head to accomodate the increasing immigration of a new kind of tourist: old, rich, retired and white--on permanent vacation--settling down in Hawaii and intending to stay until their bodies wither away (they come 40,000 a year).

The whole island environment is being ripped-off to cash in on the profit opportunities. A whole "people-be-damned" maze of freeways, shopping centers, golf-courses, night clubs, and condominiums have been vomited upon the Hawaii scene: no longer is it scenic. From Hilton and Sheraton on down to MacDonalds and Colonel Sander's Kentucky Fried Chicken, economic control is rapidly falling into the hands of international corporations and national chains. Local entrepreneurs are unable to compete successfully and are sold and consoli-

dated. Recently, Boise Cascades in a nighly-publicized case, ripped off a huge chunk of virgin land on the Big Island. Boise Cascades survived the public outcry and is now busily constructing a suburban retirement-resort*developement. Other corporations such as Dilco are building artificial reefs and destroying the sea life that abounds in island waters.

PENTAGON OF THE PACIFIC

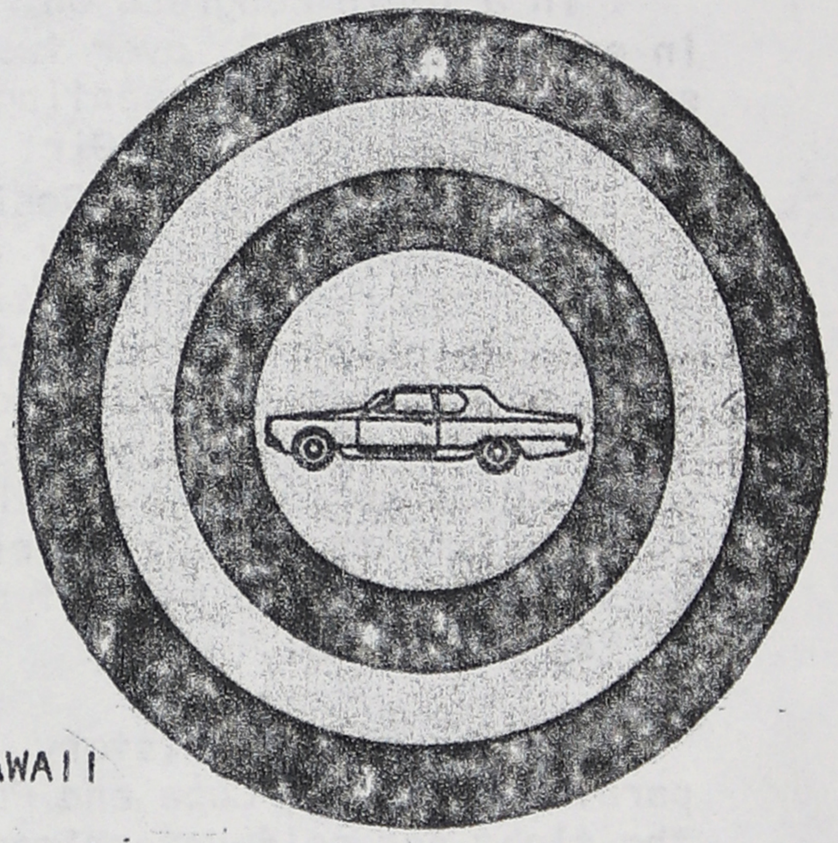
With huge military complexes marring much of the landscape, Hawaii is the Pentagon of the Pacific, with headquarters of the U.S. Army of the Pacific, the 6th Fleet of the Navy, and Camp Smith--CINPAC headquarters--braincenter of the Southeast Asian war, where the brass and their computers daily map military strategy for the war. The defense department is the largest spender in Hawaii (606 million dollars in 1968) and over 50% of island income is derived from U.S. military presence. Not only serving as headquarters for all military forces in the Pacific and Asia, Hawaii is also occupied by 112,404 servicemen and their dependants. With everything from nuclear sub pens to Nike-Hercules Missile sites to Atomic-nuclear weapons storage area to jungle warfare training grounds to overflowing military hospitals with Vietnam-wounded flown directly in, Hawaii is a bristling armed camp and truly an advanced base of U.S. Imperialism and aggression in the Pacific and Asia.

Military-Industrial ties with the University of Hawaii reveal the new direction Nixon's foreign policy strategy has moved: from containment to counter-insurgency, from cooption to counter-revolution. Though the economic emphasis is still strong (witness: (1) UH president Hamilton built up the T.I.M.--Travel Industrial Management School--program on campus, then resigned in 1968 during a anti-war protest movement at the UH and took on the top position in the tourist industry as head of the H.V.B.--Hawaii Visitors Bureau; (2) the U.S. State Department funded East West Center on the UH campus is de-emphasizing liberal arts studies and concentrating on economic/business developement of Asian-Pacific nations through various A.I.D.--Agency for International Developement--programs; and (3) continued research for the private business sector in the islands, especially the sugar and pineapple industry), there is a definite swing to military-repression type of activities.

COUNTER-INSURGENCY PROGRAMS

At the University of Hawaii and in the State in general, the emphasis is on counter-insurgency programs funded by the military-industrial complex. The UH had over fifty Defense Department contracts in fiscal 1969, including a defoliation project in the department of Soil Sciences and Agronomy, and a rice disease (rice blast) project in the school of Tropical Agriculture, with research findings going to Ft. Detrick, Maryland, the Army's CBW testing center. The State of Hawaii leased land to the Army 40 miles from the city of Hilo, so that nerve gas tests could be conducted in the Fall of 1969.On the island of Oahu that same year, deadly anthrax germ warfare agents were tested at the UH agriculture experiment station.The island of Kahoolawe (yes, an entire island) is uninhabitable because of its use of bombing and strafing practice by Navy pilots and gunners, who will be soon flying low over the forests of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. Honolulu is the site of innumerable political/military parleys between Nixon, the Pentagon and their hand-picked lackeys--The Asian military dictators--at which plans are laid to stifle indigenous revolutionary movements.

The UH continues to build up its Peace Corps training center, which is keyed mainly to Asian-Pacific countries. The East West center has been exposed for their A.I.D. program, in which they trained Indonesian police in counter-insurgency and small arms training just prior to the bloody purge in which over a half million communists and proggressive elements were killed; the training of Amerikan military personel in political orientation of S.E. Asia; riot-control training for Okinawan police in the Spring of 1970; and the attempt to import Wesley Fischel (formerly of Michigan State University and one of the key figures in our early involvement with the Diem regieme in Vietnam) as one of the EWC's Vietnam specialists!



"They had paradise. . .but they turned it into a parking lot." Song by Joni Mitchell.

INDIGEN OUS INSURGENCY IN HAWAII

To disrupt, harass and possibly even cripple the Pacific Rim strategy would be a pinched nerve in the central system that is carrying out the U.S. counter-insurgency plan. It is a difficult but necessary task to build an indigen ous insurgent force in Hawaii, and to create a Hawaii Liberation movement. The past two years has seen life becoming increasingly difficult for people living in Hawaii. (Cost of living has zoomed, Hawaii has the highest cost of living of all fifty states, and Honolulu has the highest cost of living of any major U.S. city... unemployment continues to escalate). During this two-year period, some significant political developements have occurred:

I. From attacking servicemen and hippies to attacking corporate interests and the government: For a long time, local people in Hawaii took their frustrations, alienation and bitterness of white racist Amerika out against the most visible and vulnerable element that represented symbolicly the object that they feared and hated ...so they beat up off-duty G.I.'s and long-haired hippies.

But late in 1969, the strongest grassroots movement to date emerged with S.O.S. (Save Our Surf). With a mass base of surfers, ecology activists and young people, S.O.S. developed militant chapters in most every school in the State.

It has served as a catalyst for moving local young people from being anti-G.I., anti-hippie to being anti-Big Business and anti-capitalist.

II. Increasing militancy of welfare people (Under-class) and government workers, bureaucrates and intellectuals (New-class): In the past two years, there has been some good community organizing in the public housing projects, i.e. welfare mothers. Using petitions of grievances, legal appeals, and direct action--many local people who make up Hawaii's havenots are becoming increasinly radicalized. The rank-and-file of the government worker's union are getting more and more militant, staging two wild cat strikes in the past two years.

III. Third World conciousness developing in the student community: In the recent Cambodia actions, a large group of locals got out into the streets for the first time to protest Nixon's escalation. Out of this came C.L.P (Concerned Locals for Peace), who are doing community organizing & political education this summer. Also, students studying on the mainland have returned to work & organize in the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese May 4th Movement of 1919. Both groups are determined to begin a liberation struggle to free their homeland.

SECESSION AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In a Youth Congress on "Hawaii in the Year 2000" held for a week in early June, 1970, over two-hundred fifty young people--mainly high school students--representing a broad base of 70-odd youth groups and organizations (from the Girl Scouts to the 4-H Clubs to church groups to S.D.S. and the Hawaii Resistance) came together to discuss the future of their islands. By the second night of the conference, there was a strong "Hawaii Liberation" caucus formed, which on the final day succeed in passing a resolution calling for secession of Hawaii from the United States by a 2-1 vote margin! The Youth Congress also voted condemnation of the capitalist system, demanded immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and the Pacific basin, called for revolutionary restructuring of the educational, health, and housing system, and made it plainly evident that they wanted no part of Pax Amerikana!

Since Hawaii's history, geography, economy and culture closely parallels that of Cuba and Puerto Rico, Hawaii nationalists beginning the fight for self-determination and national soverignty are studying the lessons of the Cuban revolution and the liberation struggle going on currently in Puerto Rico. Though secession and liberation sentiments in Hawaii are taking root, nobody in the power structure is taking it very seriously. The newspapers viewed the Youth Congress 1970 secession movement as "humor on the part of the youngsters"...someday, they will discover that secession is no joke and that the Hawaii Liberation front comprised of the various insurgent forces emerging in Hawaiian society, is deadly serious about liberating Hawaii from Amerika. The State motto: "The Life of the land is perpetuated in Righteousness" will be only realized through struggle that gives the people back their land, so that they can begin building a free and just Hawaii. "Imua!" (Forward to the Struggle!)





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california

California is an integral part of the Pacific Rim. Economically, her wealth surpasses all countries in the world except for seven: US, the USSR, Japan, W. Germany, Great Britain, China, France. She is the eighth largest economic bloc in the world. Historically, she has always been the US staging ground for US business & military thrusts into the Pacific.

California is America's main portion on the Pacific Rim. It is also the most important in terms of power. It is involved in several ways:

1. MILITARY

Military installations--Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines--abound throughout the State. San Francisco is the Western Defense Supply Agency, managing about $1.6 billion per year in military procurements.

2. DEFENSE INDUSTRY

A total of $6.8 billion worth of defense work has been concentrated in California by the Department of Defense (DOD). Approximately 65% of this is in aerospace, including missles and bombers. The total capital investments in defense (mostly by private companies, and including buildings, equipment, etc.) come to something between $30 and $50 billion.

3. RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

The University of California, Stanford University, and the Claremont Colleges in Los Angeles provide much of the technical knowledge and skills necessary for the functioning of the defense industries. University-connected agencies such as the Stanford Research Institute, RAND (Santa Monica), Livermore Radiation Laboratory, and Los Alamos provide sophisticated research and development laboratories and coordinating centers for atomic power and its strategic uses.

4. SHIPPING & TRADING

San Francisco is the main center for shipping with Asia, both military and non-military. Pan-American Airways has done a lucrative business shipping for the Department of Defense to Vietnam. California Agribusiness has sold rice and scab grapes to soldiers and civilians in Vietnam, including about 80 million tons of grapes in 1968.

The Bank of America is the world's biggest, with over 950 branches in California alone, and $25 billion in assets. The Bank of America has over 30 branches throughout Asia, intended to facilitate and encourage business investment by American and non-American firms. On the Bank's Board sit some of the most powerful men in American business circles, representing concerns such as Pan American Airways, Dillingham Corporation, Bekins Van Lines, and American Telegraph and Telephone.

Utah Mining and Construction Company, based in San Francisco, has extensive interests in Thailand, including building Air Force bases. Kaiser Industries and Bechtel Corporation, both California-based firms, have acquired interests in Thailand, Pakistan, and are looking elsewhere in Asia. Standard Oil of California is in the forefront of the oil hunt in Southeast Asia, as well as Northeast Asia.

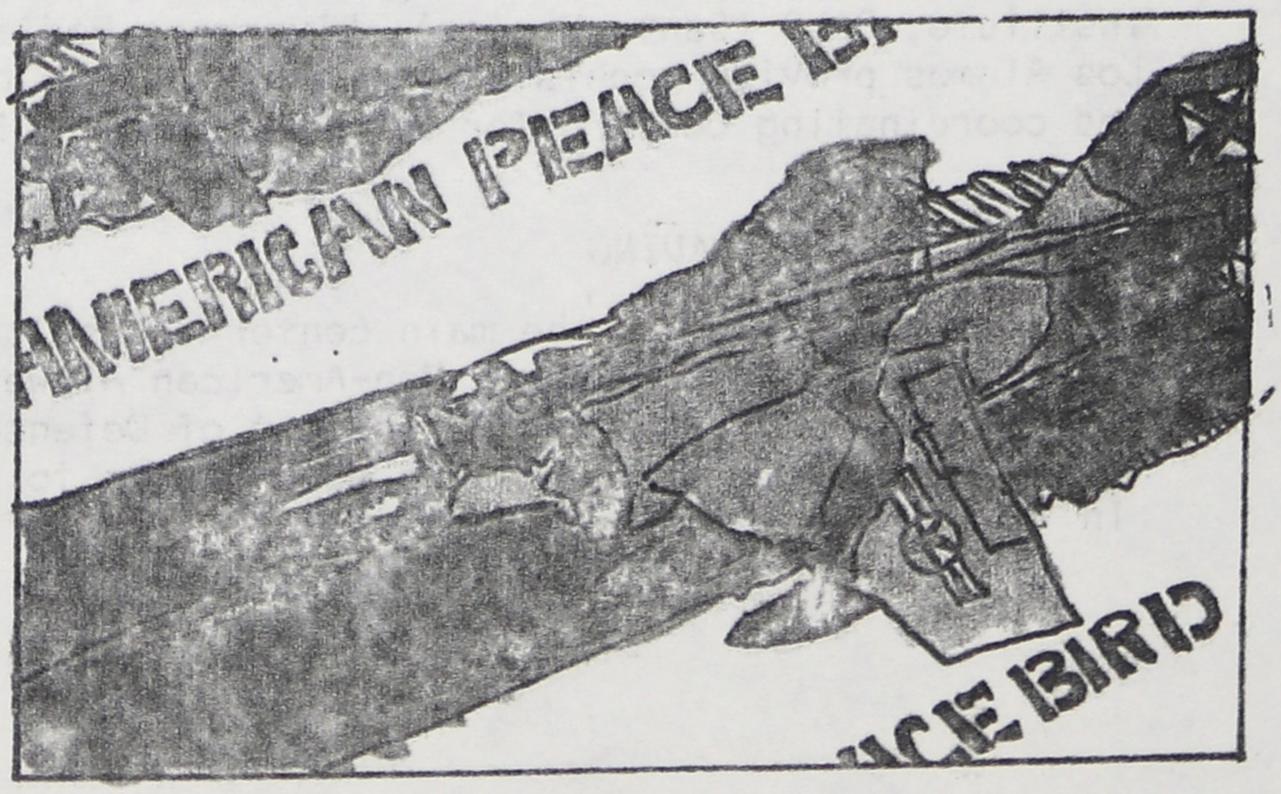
This dependence on defense industries, military installations, and trade with Asia make for a mentality and political situation conducive to imperialist policies, unless drastic changes are made in the priorities of the American economic order. Much of California's post-war prosperity can be traced to these groups of interest.

More directly, California has benefited--Big Business in California has benefited--from the war in Vietnam, and now in Indochina. There has been a 20% increase in government employment since the start of major ground action in 1965. The gross product of the San Francisco Bay Area has tripled since 1965, mostly due to military shipping, both air and sea. This increase has put San Francisco past Los Angeles in gross product.

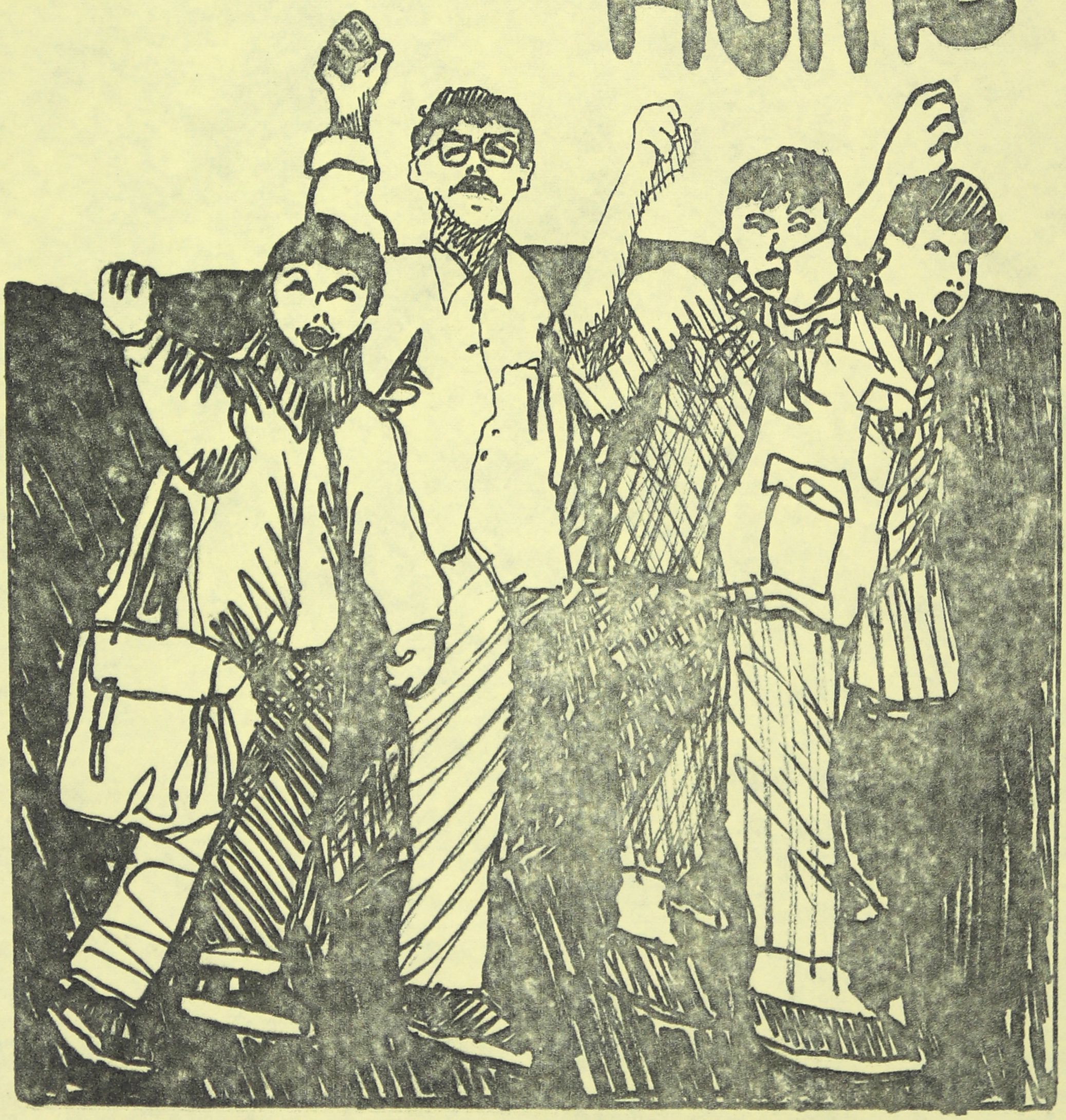
Big Business growth has resulted in financial-district expansion in San Francisco, threatening the existence of the Chinese and Filipino community. Unemployment due to inflation and cut-backs caused by the war signify the unhealthy nature of the economy.

Department of Defense purchasing of scab grapes at the very height of the grape boycott conducted by the Farmworkers' Union show the tremendous power of Agribusiness, as well as the sentiments of the Federal Government.

It is useless to ignore the facts. We must begin to see the truth in California's prosperity; much of it is stained with the blood of Asian people, at home and abroad. ■



Bringing it Home





our people

our struggle

We are Asians in America.

What does this mean? This means that we have a common heritage--we have come from across the Pacific Ocean, most of us to seek better job opportunites, and to gain more personal freedom. But why did we & our forefathers leave our Asian homelands over the last century? Because the Philippines, Japan, China, Korea & other Asian countries underwent fantastic changes & rebellion, much of it due to Western colonialism & constant intervention.

The Pacific Rim has been our home, for we have lived here...But it has also been the target for American & other Western business exploitation, which has used & needs cheap Asian labor.

Most Asians come to America as laborers. Few government officials or well-to-do Asians immigrated to America; we are mostly of the poor, laboring & peasant class. To some extent we found economic conditions better her, but socially hostile. America was at the heighth of expansion & growth in the late 1800's when many Chinese & later Japanese and Filipinos...when our labor was no longer needed, when white immigrants flowed West, when we offered competition --immigration quotas were established & we were persecuted. Later when the tremendous growth of WWII took place, Chinese & Koreans were allowed to immigrate again.

Some of us were able to earn a little more, our children attended college...where they learn how to become useful to the same institutions which have exploited us in the past & are exploiting Asian people still. But of our culture, our history & achievements ...we learn little... we find only ugly, unidentifiable, racist distortions.

The reality is and always has been that whatever wealth the Asian community has created was in spite of the big business interests of this country. When we were no longer needed to do their dirty work, we faced lynchings, quotas, concentration camps. Our people had little to say over our own communities, where we lived or worked. We took the least desired parts of cities and built our communities...but as our land became valuable, city planners & developers have attempted to destroy them , replacing them with freeways, or housing for wealthier & usually white residents, or with towering business buildings, or plastic commerical centers...the Asian people were only an obstacle to be forgotten. We took swamps and developed rich farms in the valleys, but as they began to compete with the "white man's" markets, they were stolen with "laws" and squashed by the growing monster of agribusiness.

Meanwhile, these same government & business interests were also pushing around people like our forefathers, who remained in our mother countries. They intervened in Asian affairs and joined with the traditional elites & rulers of those countries to exploit the masses of people.

Today, Asians in America and Asians in Asia are still being pushed around by American business interests, by interests of America's own ruling class. We have seen over the last 100 or more years, that these people care little for our people...We can only depend on each other.

He needs big buildings and offices to run his shipping enterprises and business investments overseas. He needs convention centers, when our people have need for tuberculosis & mental health centers.

In San Francisco, the Filipino & Chinese community is being attacked. The once bustling Manilatown of 10 blocks is now down to a one block remnant and that one block, the International hotel, is struggling for its life. Just as in Indochina and throughout the Pacific Rim, the needs & feelings of the Asian people are not important to the forces attacking our communities...only here its Redevelopment & Milton-Meyer, Inc. instead of napalm and Standard Oil or Kaiser Steel-- they are blood brothers.

Do we consent to being pushed around? HELL NO!



THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY
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DIG IT?

Our Filipino Asian brothers in the Delano Farmworkers Strike (over 5 years old now) have shown us the way: unity and dedication to the cause. They have worked as a family with Chicano brothers in a truly Third World struggle. We, too, should learn to work in a common struggle--for just like us, the Native American, people of La Raza, and Black people are laborers in America. They too have stood up for their people, and against the same enemy which have also pushed around and used their ancestors, while stealing their lands, chaining them as slaves, and forcing them to work for sub-human wages.

Do we help our communities by supporting government programs and "yellow capitalism" ventures? Why should we, when these are initiated and financed by the same people who have screwed us in the past? There is little evidence that they will not do so in the future. We serve our people by being one of them, and thus working for our own interests.

We can help to educate our people to the common enemy threatening all Third World people. We can them understand this land of opportunity for what it really is.

And, by working alongside our people, we can learn from them about the common, day to day struggle for survival and existence.



We need to see that the ladies of Chinatown sew fancy chiffon dresses for the Emporium and Capwell's, not for the Chinatown Five and Ten; and for less than 70¢ an hour. We should be *outraged* by this...we need to recognize that white tourists leave little money with the people, but rather with the rich merchants, who do little for their own people... that the gardener exists because white people can pay for their lawns trimmed, while Third World people have no lawns at all...that farmworkers produce food and wealth and health (not Safeway's or Libby's Foods) for people who can afford it, that they should be rewarded their just fruits for their labor... that even so-called managers, technicians and small businessmen exist because white society needs certain functions fulfilled for their own ends--to make money, make bombs and planes, and to sell their mass-produced, artificially-needed products.

We need to see that we live and die as a group, within a hostile, racist environment. Either all of us prosper, or all of us suffer. We are a group, just as the Vietnamese are a group, because we have the same struggle based on the same heritage. We share a history--a noble story of dedication to survival--in ghettoes, internment camps, and sugar-cane fields--and struggle for self-improvement and pride. We must oppose all those who threaten our survival as a people, and who destroy our self-improvement--at home in America, and throughout the Pacific Rim region, and the world. This task is made easy for us, because it is the same aggressor, at home and abroad. IT IS EASIER, AND MORE CRUCIAL, THAT WE FIGHT HIM AT HIS VERY DOORSTEPS--IN THE BIG CITIES AND IN THE SUBURBS, WHEREVER BIG BUSINESS AND WAR-HUNGRY GOVERNMENT LIVE, AND GET FAT, ON THIRD WORLD SWEAT AND BLOOD. ■

delano

The objective of the Delano Grape Strike was primarily economic. The meager request was but ten little red pennies. When you look at a penny you see the words "Liberty", "In God We Trust", and the Latin words connoting unity and diversity. You also see the engraving of the Great Emancipator. These few pennies were just a morsel on the rich growers' table, but the system has nurtured his greedy ambitions to unbelievable proportions....

--Phillip Veracruz

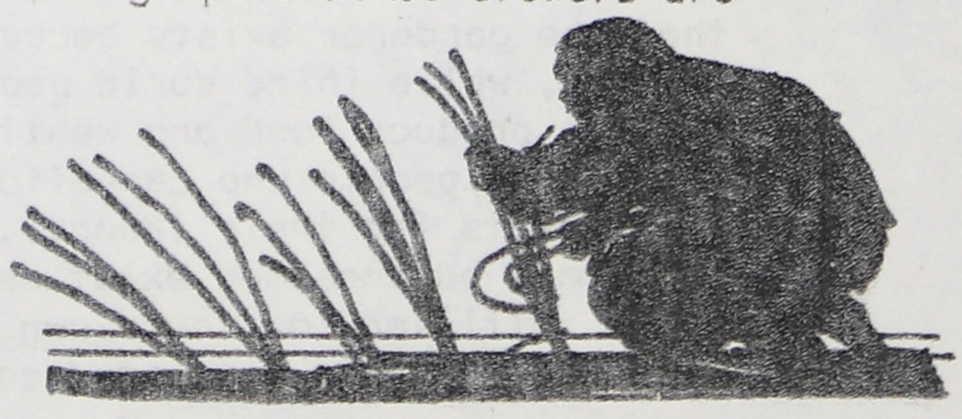
The following 2 articles are from El Malcriado, newsmagazine of the UFWOC (United Farmworkers Union). Many Asians do not realize the large role that Asians have played in farm labor, especially in California. Chinese, Japanese, and now Filipinos have been imported at one time or the other to work in the fields.

Farm workers' children love pennies. As they grow up they begin to realize it takes more than pennies to live, to get an adequate education and survive.

In their confusion they fight among one another for the morsels that fall from the master's table. They mistake one another for the enemy. But recently, they have seen a way out of this chaos. They have begun to think together and re-evaluate their direction for coordinated action. Their spirit demands freedom, social justice, economic progress and independent political judgment and action.

We are the children of yesterday, cursed by poverty and oppression. Dim hope flares up with the unprecedented encouragement and involvement of millions of sympathizers and generous supporters who sacrificed to make life more pleasant, decent and enjoyable for others. It is just a natural response that we band ourselves together in a Farm Workers Union for mutual benefits and protection.

The local grape growers here in Delano are like the greedy dog with a big bone in his mouth. While crossing a stream he sees his shadow and tries to grab the other dig's. He drops his own bone in the process. This is what is happening in the grape strike. Growers are



losing their market. Their grapes are rotting in cold storages and many of them no longer have credit with the banks.

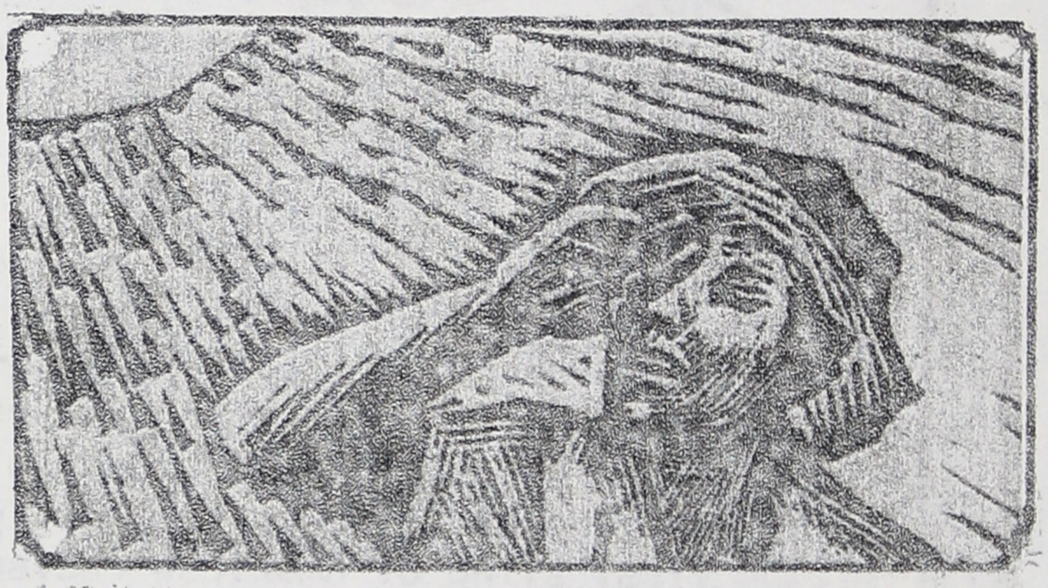
Meanwhile, the poor workers sweat and suffer to produce the boss's wealth but are denied even a minimal wage for subsistence. They get sick from harmful pesticides and frequently become victims of malnutrition, which is a fancy word for slow starvation.

And so we fight on because even though we are the much despised and hated minorities, the blacks, the browns; we are at the same time indispensable as the labor force in the multi-billion dollar industry which is now called Agri-business. We are tolerated for convenience if we observe the ugly rules of color lines. We are permitted to cross them to work or spend our money, but not to live. We must not be allowed to dilute the super-race.

The railroad tracks in Delano are the color line. In the eastside the whites live and enjoy their sense of superiority. Though among them one is poor and ignorant, he hates Mexicans because they compete for jobs and are paid less. Besides in the cowboy movies he learned that a wild Mexican can throw a knife at his back. He believes that it would be much better and safer if there were no Mexicans at all.

Anglos in the eastside of Delano don't like blacks either. After all, black ancestors were brought here in chains to work in the cotton fields of the south while theirs came from civilized Europe where the King of France had his head chopped off, where Napoleon butchered thousands of people and where Hitler gassed six million Jews. Perhaps many of them believe that Lincoln made a mistake of freeing the slaves because the kind act gave them hopes. They feel that blacks are "too militant and cannot be trusted in dark alleys." They resent the long-haired radicals who have the guts to say that the American Dream is a nightmare.

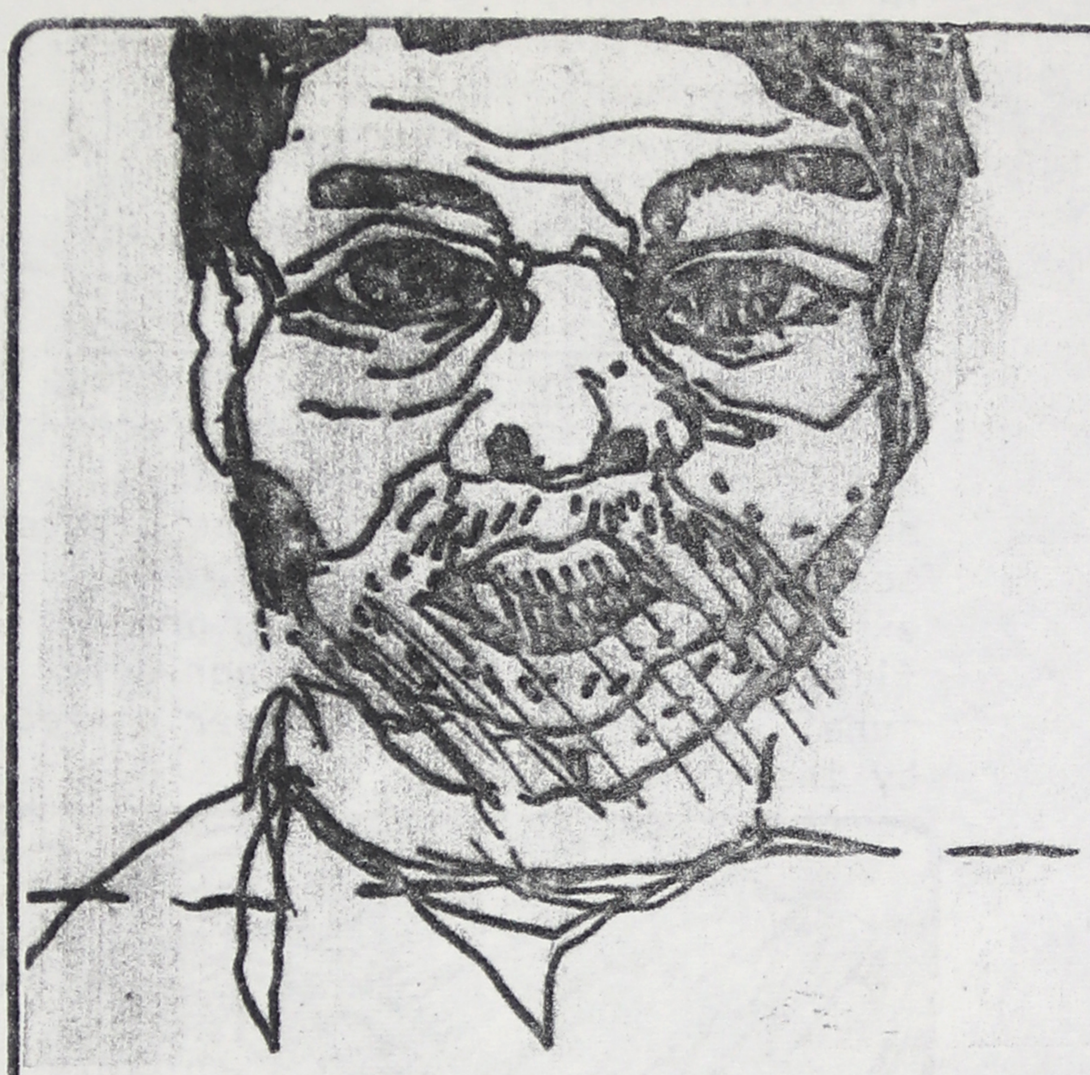
In their ranches, the growers maintain segregation. Anglos, Filipinos, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Japanese, Arabs, etc., have their own bunk houses and kitchens. Each group is completely a stranger to the other even if both worked for the company for years. The sinister idea is to keep workers divided. When one group forms a union and strikes for recognition and strikes for recognition and collective bargaining, the others scab on their fellow-workers. So, exploitation goes on for big profits and prosperity in the agricultural industry and it is never shared by the workers.



People who are segregated by race, nationality or language from others have no mutual understanding nor trust. Isolation fosters suspicions, fear and racial hatred. Thus, discussion, agreement and unity among workers is impossible to achieve for the ultimate goal of unionization. On the other hand, the growers become richer, more powerful and ruthless under the shield and influence of the farm bureau federations.

In the farm workers union, all races meet and join together to achieve an ideal--mutual understanding, sincere cooperation and true brotherhood. The farm workers movement in Delano is the closest approximation of the ideal that I have seen in many years. My hope is that our unity and brotherhood will be permanent.■

Mr. Veracruz is a Vice-President of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee, and President of the Delano Filipino American Political Alliance. His writings have appeared often in the UFWOC newspaper, El Malcriado.



the story of one man

"I kept hearing the United States advertized as the 'land of plenty' by the Chamber of Commerce and the steamship companies. This, and the promises of a job made me decide to come over to the mainland. It was 1928 and when I tried to take out papers for my fiancee and myself I felt the first sting of American racism, something I was to encounter many more times here in the US. I was told that she could not come over with me, that only able-bodied young men were accepted. So I came over alone, hoping to later bring her over or to return to the Philippines after I had made some money working here.

I had studied English in school back home and hoped to go to night school here while I worked during the day. When I went looking for employment I soon found out that no Orientals were hired in any of the stores. I was forced to work in the fields.

It was during the depression and I was paid 10¢ and hour then. Many of us were living in large labor camps owned by the grower and at the end of the week, by the time we finished paying for the food and housing and what we bought at the company store, many actually owed money to the boss.

It was Delano that was one of the most racist and discriminating towns. In 1934 I remember seeing a Delano police push a Filipino brother just because he was standing on the sidewalk, and when he protested they beat him very hard and took him to jail. The first time I went to the Delano theatre, when I sat down the attendant came and asked me to move to the other section where the Mexicans and Orientals were supposed to sit. I got up and woked out and never came back.

But the thing I remember most here in Delano was when I was crew boss and one very hot day one of my men collapsed in the field. I took care of him and I would go get the money. I went to the Westside, to a Filipino who had a store and borrowed the money. I hurried back to the hospital and found the Filipino brother sitting in the same place in the waiting room where I had left. He was dead." ■

--Nick Yap



don't go

This interview was conducted by the New York Asian group, I Wor Kuen. These events took place from June 1967 when Sam Choy first enlisted to May 1969 when Sam was released from prison. Sam's case may be an extreme example of what Asian Americans have faced in the military and especially in Asia, but it is not an isolated case. His experiences are common to most Asian American GI's.

HOW OLD ARE YOU SAM?
Twenty.

HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU ENLISTED IN THE ARMY?
About 17, I was a junior in high school...I didn't like school and they said they would make a man out of you and give you a skill.

WHAT HAPPENED?
First I went to "bootcamp" for 6 months. I was the only Asian in bootcamp. It wasn't too bad though. When we got the call to Vietnam one-half of the company didn't show up.

A HALF? WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM?
I don't know, I never found out.

WHERE WERE YOU STATIONED?
Duk Foi, thats a small supply post. I don't even know where it was, they never told us.

WHAT WAS YOU JOB?
I was with a combat unit, up next to the front lines. I was heavy equipment operator. They didn't want me to be on the front lines, they didn't trust me.

WHAT KIND OF TREATMENT DID YOU RECEIVE?
Well, a couple of days after, the Viet Cong started shelling us. Then the other G.I.'s started making comments about me looking like a Viet Cong.

HOW DID YOU REACT?
I didn't do nothing. It went on and got worse. They asked me what I was doing on their side. I told them I was just doing a job. I didn't have any political awareness.

WHEN WAS THIS HARASSMENT THE WORST?
Right after they got back from patrol. They really gave it to me. They started asking me where I was born, where my parents were born, was I a Communist. They even asked me what I thought about China. They thought I could turn traitor anytime.

WHAT KIND OF JOB DID YOU HAVE AT THE BASE?
They made me the cook. The mess sergeant was mean. He made me do all these things and kept bossing me around all the time.

I couldn't take it anymore. One day I got so mad I threw a knife on the floor after he called me a chink. He ordered me to pick it up I refused. He started yelling at me. I still refused.
He kept yelling all kinds of remarks like: slant-eyed chinaman, gook, chink, and he went on and on. I just got madder.

So he went to get the staff sergeant. I went to get my rifle. I waited for them to come back and when they did, they started to sweet talk me to give my rifle up. I said if you come closer, I'll shoot. I fired a warning shot and they froze. Then I left the tent & corporal came after me. He tried to grab my rifle. I fired once and he froze...Then the MP's came and I shot at them too.

By this time I was near the perimenter of the base and was thinking of joining the Viet Cong; at least they would trust me. But the MP's sent for tanks & armored carriers to come after me, so I got caught.

WHAT HAPPENED THEN?
They beat me up and sent me to the hospital for observation. They knew they were wrong but they put me up for court-martial.

DID YOU HAVE ANY FRIENDS TO HELP YOU OUT?
No, the only friends I had were the blacks. They coudn't do anything though, they were just regular G.I.'s and even if

they did, they'd get in trouble. They used to protect me from the white G.I.'s when they picked on me like, I took showers only with the blacks for protection and because they were my friends.

HOW LONG WAS IT BEFORE THE COURT-MARTIAL?
Four months. They sent me to Long Binh stockade first, that's where all the GI dissenters were.

The place was bad. The conditions were unfit for animals. Everybody was in a cage. Most of the dissenters were black, they were there because they refused to fight anymore. The place was so bad they had a riot. It lasted all night and into the morning. The black G.I.'s were beating up the guards and smashing everything. They were getting back for all the treatment they had been given. The army had to surround the camp before it stopped.

WHAT DID THEY CHARGE YOU WITH?
Aggravated assault and culpable negligence.

DID ANYBODY KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO YOU?
No, they censored all my mail. I couldn't even tell my parents.

WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?
The army sentenced me to 18 months of hard labor at Fort Levenworth. There was a maximum sentence of 7 years but they made a deal with me, if I pleaded guilty then I would only get 18 months.

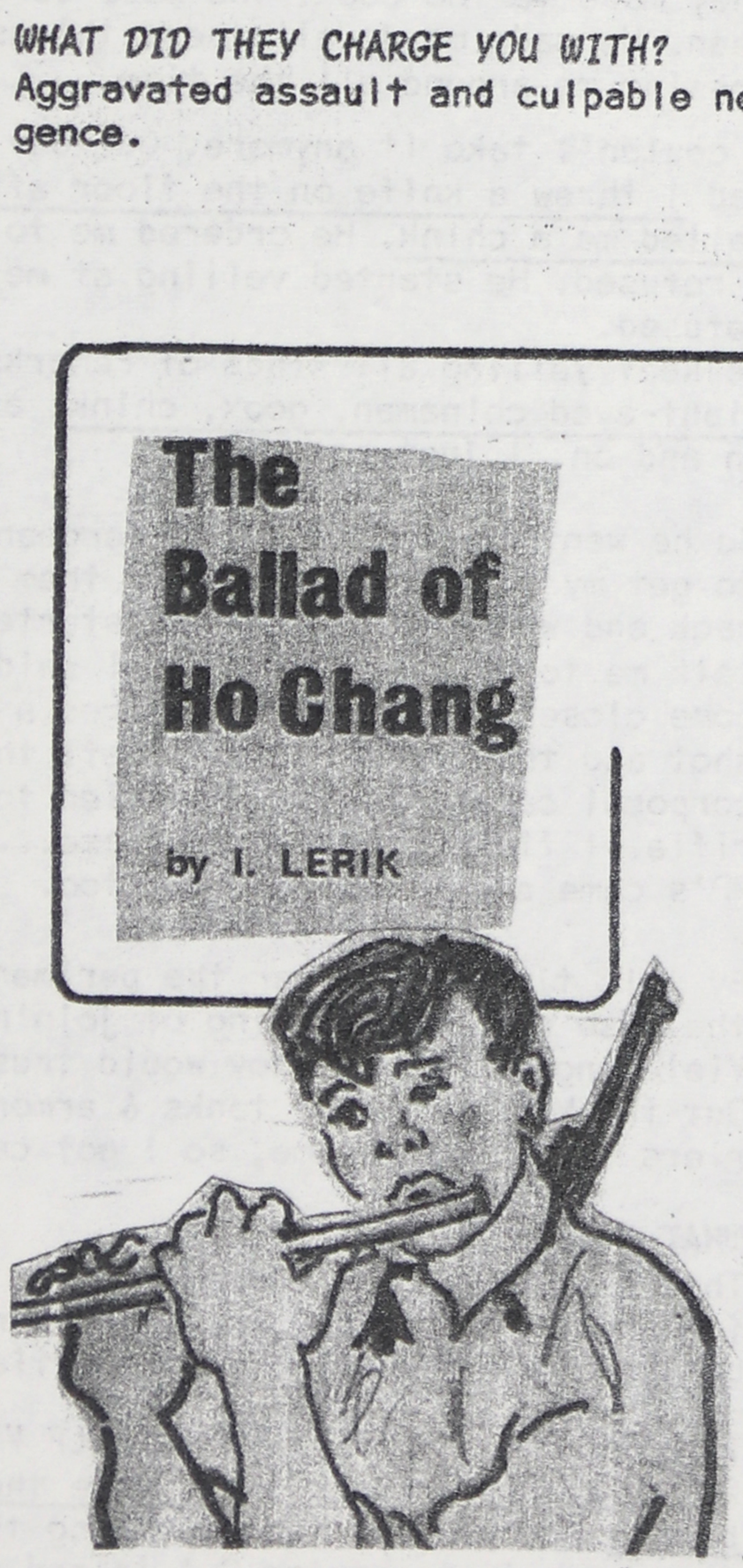
WHAT HAPPENED AT FORT LEVENWORTH?
Fort Levenworth is the worst place in the world. They beat me up everyday, like a time clock. It makes me mad and sick to think about it. Right now, I don't want to think about it anymore.

I only served 9 months. I kept quiet, so they discharged me.

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE?
One thing, I want you to tell all the Chinese kids in Chinatown that the army made me sick they made me so sick that I can't stand it. ■

The Ballad of Ho Chang

by I. LERIK



The following is an adaptation for Gidra from an article originally published by Zendik Papers of Hollywood.

Ho Chang rests his rifle across a branch and focuses its telescopic sight on the American infantryman wading in the rice paddy. Ho Chang is seventeen years old. He is a guerilla fighter—a skilled assassin, a sniper. Concealed high in a tree, a tree that short years ago he climbed in play, he reaches and methodically plucks a leaf from his line of fire. He feels his familiar anticipation for the kill...killing is his single remaining pleasure.

Ho Chang is a fanatic. He became a fanatic six months earlier while watching his mother, father and beloved sister run screaming from the pyre of curling flame and smoke that had been their home. He watched his loved ones—each a gaping mouthed, wildly gestulating torch stumbling crazily through the village and finally sprawling, laying in the dust—eyeless, hairless, black, smoking hulks that twitched and emitted sounds not human. In the terrible racking, sobbing agony of his grief the boy, Ho Chang, knelt beside the charred remains of his family and pledged that he too might die—but only his fire-seared soul would die. Their hut had been struck by a napalm bomb dropped from a low flying American fighter...

DON'T GO

The American infantryman, Private Robert Sasaki is in his first day of combat. Always a peaceful boy and raised on the Westside of Los Angeles, Private Sasaki, other than playful wrestling on the lawn with neighbor boys, had never been involved in physical conflict until today...Today he has killed three people.

A few hours earlier his squad was fired on from a dense thicket by a number of the enemy. The boy beside him, his only close friend in the service, suddenly stopped and turned, a surprised expression on his face and a small, red, oozing hole in his forehead. The boy was dead before his body hit the earth...

DON'T GO

Alone now, lost from his squad, wandering aimlessly, helmet gone but still carrying the heavy rifle with its blood-dipped bayonet dried to a rust hue. He slogs through the rice paddy, its muddy water almost to his knees...Dazed, oblivious, mumbling to himself, his mind returns home...to Los Angeles, to the high school he last year graduated from, to sixteen year old Donna who still attends the school—Donna, who promised to wait, who writes long, chatty, lonesome letters on ruled notebook paper, who has been with no other boy. Both slim, both with hair long and straight, both tanned, with suede boots and bell-bottoms, walking hand-in-hand down the street looked much the same. School days together, stoned together, laughing together, their clear eyes closed, staring inquisitive, innocent, learning one another, touching one another, loving one another in gentle tentative passion...

DON'T GO

The sergeant shouted a command and Private Sasaki in a blurred rage of revenge followed his combat training. Running, zig-zagging, firing from the hip, he charged the thicket with his squad. A flurry of shouts, of confusion and violent hand-to-hand combat resulted in Private Sasaki shooting two uniformed boys and pulling his bayonet from deep in the breast of a third—a slim uniformed enemy, a girl enemy, a girl younger than he. Their eyes had locked...His in young horror, hers in brown, graceful, tilted, long-lashed acceptance that glazed to death while he watched and whimpered...

DON'T GO

Others wait: his younger brother who brags of a big brother hero in uniform; his father, veteran of an earlier war, 442nd Combat Team, proud of his fighting son, his mother, a science of mind student who, in spite of often graphic, televised combat death, successfully impersonalizes the war news and insures Robert's safety by prayer and daily holding an imaginal vision of his safe return...perhaps a medal, a slight, romantic wound. His familiar stock GTO has been sold but not his pool cue—the cue he wrapped and finished himself waits stored in the closet.

DON'T GO

Private Sasaki's head looms large, framed in Ho Chang's telescopic sight. Ho Chang feels grim satisfaction at the imminent destruction of another American and carefully begins squeezing the trigger. He pauses. Deciding against quick death, he lowers his sights on the enemy figure. The rifle jumps, kicks solidly, satisfactorily against his shoulder and a violent crack of sound shatters the insect-buzzing, bird-calling tropical day...the immediate absolute silence that follows hangs still and ominous on the warm heavy air...

DON'T GO

The hate-altered hollow-nose bullet leaves a small, smoldering hole in Private Sasaki's tunic, enters his side below the ribs and above the hip bone. Expanding rapidly it plows a deep trough across the abdomen, leaving his body in a slightly lower location on the left side. Private Sasaki throws up his hands and, as a wind-up toy soldier, whose spring has spasmodically burst, staggers crazily, wildly, awkwardly. He does not fall. Stunned by the bullet's slamming impact, he fails to understand what has happened...but immediately the numbness begins to change to pain, a trail of dull pain across his belly. He looks down and in confused stupor, unbelts his tunic. His shirt front is soaking red...blood...

DON'T GO

He stands there swaying in shock and bewildered comprehension and with fear-fumbling finger, tries to unbutton the shirt. Sweat pours over his face and his lips move trembling. The real pain hits him then. Its white hot sear is terrible. He rips frantically at the red seeping cloth—buttons fly—the shirt opens. Private Sasaki blinks unintelligibly at a jagged, gaping, horizontal wound across his lean, smooth skin, young belly. A wound from which in entrails now bulge, a wound that now sluggishly disgorges long grotesque ropes of mangled gut, of yellow, dismembered, quivering glands, of blue muscles—a dangling, mutilated mass of brown, leaking intestine that drops and dangles and splashes the muddy water of the rice paddy....

DON'T GO

Private Sasaki begins shaking his head in unbelieving protest. He mumbles, "No...no...oh God...no..." Swaying, crying, still moving his head in denial, he clumsily grasps the mangled mess of maimed entrails and begins to stuff them back into himself, into the pulsing open wound of his belly. The blood, the undigested food, the waste from the destroyed colon are an overpowering stench of slime that stubbornly slips and slides between his fingers. A few seconds he plays the hopeless game. His legs begin to shake violently, to jump uncontrollably. They buckle...

Still striving to hold his intestines within himself, Private Sasaki slowly sinks to his knees. He kneels there, the muddy water mixes into the wound and his blood spreads out upon the scummy surface of the rice paddy. He understands then, the futility—dimly understands his death as head bowed, he watches his weakened hands fall away and his bulging intestines stream—floating long reaching tenticles across the water.

DON'T GO

The sun catches the colors of his death—a lovely reflected spew under the noonday, tropical sun. Private Sasaki's tears splash the water. His face works. No glory, no thoughts of country, no audience, no movie soldier brave, clenched cigarette, wisecracking death, no patriotic slogans in his fading mind. As thousands and thousands more of dying soldiers before him, he pitifully asks for the woman who bore him and taught him—softly, quietly, he speaks her name....

DON'T GO

He sobs his last now, shakes his head sadly, futilly once more and painfully whispers, "Donna...Donna...Love...I..." His mouth moves grotesquely and open-eyed he falls, splashing forward into his floating guts. And upon the sunlight surface of a far distant, native, rice paddy only a red smear remains... nineteen years of clean young promise gone. Shot to Hell... ■

The heritage of the Asian is STRUGGLE. It lives in each one of us....

in Juan de la Cruz who came as a cargo hand to Amerika where he was hated... No jobs for him, he survives as a dishwasher and then as a farmworker in the valley....In the late afternoon of the Delano sun he patiently awaits the imminent victory of his people.

in Tohru Yamasaki who turned California swampland into gardens....his land and labors stolen in "relocation"....embittered and aged by concentration camps, he faces "relocation" again....Redevelopment replaces homes with the concrete structures for business in the thin mask of "cultural center."

in Chin Hoy Sum, who built the Golden Gate Bridge and the streets of San Francisco....who cooked and served white tourists and now sits in Portsmuth, watching with anger the 40-story Holiday Inn tower above his community....no Asian faces on the construction crew....luxury housing for tourists, but no low cost housing for the Chinese and Filipino people.

STRUGGLE

in Mrs. Nakamura who raises her voice and says "NO!"....A widow of the 442nd, this war she cannot support....she is not the "quiet American"....she is proud that her son will not go.

in Mrs. Silla who joined her relatives here, full of hope to a harsh Amerika in Central City....high rents, high prices....her language, her color, her husband cannot earn enough money....her children grow bitter....she will find some way, some work....her family will survive.

in Wong May Lai, who sews wedding gowns in the dark alleys of Chinatown.... her family of eight lives and survives in a one bedroom apartment in the midst of the highest density, tuberculosis, and suicide rates of the city....yet she and her children draw strength from a community of warm golden faces....her baby grows fat.

STRUGGLE

in the college student who has listened to rallies and has politely discussed the war and Amerika for years....who finally moved from watching, from intellectualizing over Amerikan oppression outside of and within this country to STRUGGLE....who threw down her books and joined a march, an Asian march....who for the first time felt a unity with her brothers and sisters and within herself....raising her fist she surprised even herself as she heard her voice yell firmly "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win."

in the Galileo student, one of the hundreds of students suspended last year for organizing Chinese New Year walk-out....who struggles together with fellow students to replace the prison-warden administration and faculty with creative community oriented Asians.

in the Gardena street kid who moves from the weakness of hard drugs to organizing for self-help and community service....who has recognized "his" problem as the whole society's problem and together with his brothers and sisters, he continues the history of Asian struggle.

STRUGGLE

The Asian-American struggle began when the first Asians fought to survive on the soil of hostile Amerika....it continues in the big crowded cities and the hot valleys today....it continues on a new level, the struggle beyond subsistance, to build a true community, one which takes care of its people's health, housing, food and education....one which controls its own destiny.

The Asian-American heritage is STRUGGLE....It started long ago, it continues today. We move beyond the struggle for survival to the struggle for self-determination.

STRUGGLE

This is your heritage.... DO IT!

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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asians unite!

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