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# GIDRA

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Trying to be "anti-capitalist," it seems funny that we should have to talk about money. But money, no matter what evil connotations it carries with it, is necessary for us to carry on our work. With this understanding, we at *Gidra* are continually striving to find methods of acquiring the funds necessary to survive without sacrificing or compromising our politics. Last month, *Gidra* and *Chinese Awareness*, a Chinese-American publication, had their First Annual Chow Mein Fun Brunch which drew sufficient funds to get us to this point, period. From that point, contradictions arise: do we *continue* to drain money from the community to do our work, or do we try to find other outside means of support? Is the concept of self-reliance a realistic possibility for us: would we be able to survive without having to look outside the community for help? Last month, besides the fun brunch, we made an effort to acquire funds from Asian American businesses (see page 18). Based on first impressions of the early *Gidras*, the majority of those businessmen and women we contacted were reluctant to advertise because they felt that "the paper is too radical." However, by reaching out on a personal level, some were willing to lend support. Still, the question remains, the 'head-scratch' still bothersome: What changes must be made in *Gidra* to make it "more palatable" to the Asian American community—and if we made those changes, would *Gidra* still be *Gidra*?

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Audre Gail Muira, a former staff member of *Gidra*, passed away on June 16 at the age of twenty-one. This issue is dedicated in her memory.

We live in a world of confusion  
always reaching for answers . . .  
never trying to understand.  
Compatibility lies within the mind  
yet the dumb have foresight to see it.  
Why then can't we?

Questions again and no answers.  
No hand to reach out to . . .  
no voice to console us.  
How is it possible?

Always questions . . . always illusions  
fearing what we cannot see.  
Are we afraid of each other?

If you can't see me be unafraid.  
I'll take your hand . . .  
I'll be your friend . . .  
for I know your voice and have felt  
your heart touch mine.  
You are my brother . . . we help  
each other to know life . . .





## THIRD WORLD PEOPLE'S

# ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

An Emergency Summit Conference of Asian, Black, Brown, Puerto Rican and Red people against the war and in support of all liberation struggles was held in Gary, Indiana on June 3-4, the first such meeting ever held in the United States.

Over 300 delegates, including representatives of more than 50 grass-roots organizations and united front coalitions attended the historic conference. The composition of the people was predominantly working class and oppressed people. Major presentations were given by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Director of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado; Hank Adams, Chairman of Survival of "Indians" in Tacoma, Washington; Mad Bear, National Director of "Indian" Nationalist Movement of North America and President of the League of Nations of Pan-Am "Indians"; Chairman of the conference was James Forman, Executive Secretary of the Black Workers' Congress.

All of us who met at Gary have been daily faced with the problems of not only the aggression of the United States against the Indo-Chinese people and the ways to respond, but also how to deal with the concrete problems that we face as oppressed nationalities in North America. Our meeting in Gary laid the foundation for systematic, sustained, and vigorous activity about our concrete problems in North America and the war in Indo-China.

The significance of the conference was:

- (1) It brought together for the first time on a national scale representatives of organizations from all the oppressed nationalities in North America in a spirit of unity to discuss common problems and forms of joint action against the war in Indo-China.
- (2) It started the process of breaking down years of antagonistic feeling that have been built up between the various oppressed nationalities.
- (3) The resolutions of the Conference spoke concretely to how we could aid each other in our joint internal struggle inside North America, as well as how we could aid the Indo-Chinese

people whose struggle is directly aiding our fight here.

(4) Many workers came from different parts of the country, representing rank-and-file caucuses and labor organizations. They were highly impressed with the developing unity among people of color in North America; they pledged to go back to their work places and intensify agitation against the war in Indo-China and to build more unity among the oppressed nationalities.

(5) In the midst of a developing world crisis that seriously affects all our lives and demonstrates that the U.S. military is gaining the upper hand, the oppressed nationalities responded with a vigorous program. We seized the initiative and pledged to renew our efforts to deal with our opposition in North America. We are trying to fulfill our international duty to our brothers and sisters in Indo-China and the liberation movements throughout the world.

(6) We came, we met, we discussed, we shared experiences, we formulated resolutions, but most importantly we also established a working machinery to carry forth our work in the future.

The conference agreed to establish a "Solidarity Committee of Asian, Black, Brown, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Red People." (The Peoples' Solidarity Committee). Its main political principles are Victory to the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples, and complete support for the Seven Point Peace Proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Solidarity Committee will aid to develop a broad-based movement against the war and in support of all liberation struggles, with emphasis on involving working class people of the U.S. In forming the Peoples' Solidarity Committee, the conference recognized "an indivisible struggle against racism, capitalism, and imperialism amongst ourselves in North America and the people of Indo-China. The fight for freedom and justice, and the fight against hunger and disease, the fight for a better life,

is the same struggle whether it occurs in the barrios, the black ghettos, the "Indian" reservations, at the point of production, the back streets of Chinatowns, or South Vietnam."

The conference also agreed to establish a National Clearing House of information to build communications and solidarity among Third World peoples in the United States; to support a People's Solidarity Day on August 19, 1972, with the purpose of demonstrating solidarity with the Indo-Chinese peoples and among the oppressed nationalities of the U.S.; to support a Unity Treaty of Oppressed Minorities that was introduced by Mad Bear.

Other resolutions adopted included a proclamation of September 23, 1972 as a Day of Solidarity with the Puerto Rican National Liberation struggle (September 23rd is the anniversary of the Grito de Lares, a historic event marking the birth of the Puerto Rican nation.) In addition, the conference recognized and agreed to support Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day, August 6, in opposition to the use of nuclear weapons against civilians during World War II and the inhumane type of warfare being used in Southeast Asia today.

Several resolutions of support for the Red peoples' struggle were also adopted, including the demand that the United States stop drafting Indians into military service because it is a violation of their sovereign, treaty rights. Support was also voted for the African Liberation fighters, and all other revolutionary forces around the world.

Finally, the conference adopted with warm enthusiasm the resolution of 7-year old Tracy Pace, one of numerous children who attended the conference, which stated: "We should get together as one group. Then we should talk it over. And don't stay away from each other. We should join a big organization and make a whole new whole together..."

The Peoples' Solidarity Committee is seeking political and financial support to continue its work. Please address all communications to: The Peoples' Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 46, Gary, Indiana 46401, (219) 883-7481, attention: Sandra Scott.

In recent months, the war in Vietnam has brought mixed feelings among various segments of our community. Some people couldn't care less. The news has become so alienating and dry that the things we hear just go in one ear and out the other. Some are pleased with the recent escalation and are saying to themselves and to others that "it's about time we bombed the shit out of those gooks." Others are frustrated that this senseless war continues, but don't know what to do and just say, "fuck it, we can't do anything anyways." Some got so pissed off at what was taking place, and couldn't believe that Nixon would escalate the war to such a degree that they felt the need to express those feelings and try to get people involved in the issue around the war. Demonstrations were organized, actions were taken to express anger at Nixon's policy, —a policy that would cause tensions with major world powers that could have drastic effects on the whole world situation. It escalates the war to the point that the only step to be taken next would be the use of tactical nuclear warfare.

But with time, many felt, "well, what's the use, no matter what we do, we can't stop this maniac from continuing the war," and soon they lost any enthusiasm and drive for continuing any struggle against him and his policies. But fortunately, there were those around who urged people to increase the political work around the war. They carried many of us through that period of defeatism, to regain, finally, that commitment to say "we have to stop this mother-fucker or all will be lost."

On June 3-4, a conference was called in Gary, Indiana, to bring together Red, Black,

Brown, and Asian people that felt the need—along with others who could not attend the conference—to increase the activity around the issue of the Vietnam war. The conference was beautiful for we learned that we weren't alone in this struggle and that Third World people all over the country were feeling the same frustrations, and anger about the war. Now, upon returning, we are trying to regenerate that feeling of solidarity among all people within our community to the point that we can identify with the Vietnamese people's struggles to determine what is best for their nation.

As Asians in this country, we should feel the need to relate to the Vietnamese struggle as part of our own. It may be along a nationalist line—where we see other Asian people being fucked over by the United States. Or along humanistic lines, where we see and feel the inhumanity in the war, comparing it to the treatment and oppression that our grandparents, parents, and we ourselves have faced in this country.

As Asians and as Third World people, we should keep in mind all the contradictions that our community must face, such as drug abuse, and the lack of the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, relevant education, and meaningful work. The Vietnam issue is not an isolated issue; it directly affects the conditions that exist within our communities. We look at inadequate housing and the unemployment situation, while we see the billions of dollars that are poured into a war and a war economy that is viciously executing innocent people. At home, the U.S. has involved innocent civilians in a war industry that they

have no control over, creating instead a game among certain major powers to control the lives of working class people for the benefit of themselves. We see this in Vietnam with the destruction of land and human lives, or here at home in subtler terms ranging from unemployment and job insecurity due to an unstable, war inflated economy, to drug abuse, to the denial of the five basic needs for Isseis within the Japanese community and other oppressed people in all communities.

The Gary, Indiana conference was a major step for the people of color within the United States. It has brought together Third World people for one basic cause and that is the Vietnam war. The war issue at this time directly effects each of us and in order to strive for the betterment of conditions we must unite to present a united front that will benefit everyone.

In Los Angeles, people have gotten together to form the Third World Peoples Coalition, composed at this time of Black, Brown, and Asian people. The planning of petition drives, forums, demonstrations and fund raising projects are now under way. At this point we are gearing up our activities for August 19th which is proclaimed as Third World Solidarity Day. Interested people wanting to work and plan are asked to contact Mike Yanagita or Kenji Kudo at 689-4413. We realize only when we join forces will we be able to make constructive change take place within this country.

Third World Peoples Coalition  
—Asian Contingent



# IN FORTUNE'S EYES

People are tired of reading articles like this. Nobody likes the war, everyone wishes it were over, there would seem to be no more arguments. But curious and depressing: look at the antiwar movement, e.g. that Phoenix-like quasi-organization, Asian Americans for Peace, which in April had a rift over the use of "imperialism" in their literature. And—not curious though most infuriating—we find Nixon's war not merely continuing but rapidly escalating. There is a relationship and it is not trivial. The institutions of education and media have systematically befuddled the American people's understanding of the true nature of this war—and hence, how to attack it. Yet radicals, who have always been more correct about Vietnam than liberal protesters, have not usually or thoroughly educated people to their analysis. After such knowledge, what forgiveness? Another article? The assumption is, I guess, that comprehension will cause action, that writing a piece will prepare for the day when we will (by need or choice) be using a piece. Great expectations.

We will not introduce an understanding of the war's imperialistic nature by printing bolder type on leaflets or shouting louder slogans at rallies. An analysis of imperialism is not a pulpit from which we rap behind, but a lens to see more precisely. Its function is to discern the links that make history intelligible and current events accessible for productive action. So, try again.

## The Costs, the Reasons

A war that has cost so much: 1.2 million Vietnamese military personnel killed on both sides over the last decade; over 10 million Asian civilians killed, wounded or made refugees since 1964; 45,000 American deaths; more than \$120 billion of our tax money spent; some 14 million tons of munitions detonated in Southeast Asia; the land scarred by twenty million craters—the calculation of such numbing losses simply cannot be explained by the Sunday school sermons we've gotten the last twenty years from all our national leaders. But neither is it adequately explained by liberal critics who point to anti-communism, military adventurism, saving face, or power-seeking bureaucracies. No. Look not to government agencies; they *serve* rather than create the aims of American foreign policy. Rather attribute

**1.2 million Vietnamese military personnel killed; over 10 million Asian civilians killed, wounded or made refugees; 45,000 American deaths; more than \$120 billion tax money spent; some 14 million tons of munitions detonated; the land scarred by 20 million craters . . . attribute the aims of policy to the interests of U.S. big business.**

those aims to the interests and needs of U.S. big business. In proving then, that the war is at once classic illustration and climactic instance of economic imperialism, we must show that the issue is one of foreign versus local control, that the U.S. is using its political and military power to prevent the development of Vietnam by the Vietnamese and the organization of the Asian political economy by Asians. And since the terrible costs indicate the United States' utter commitment to Vietnam's political "salvation," we must also show that this small country is somehow crucial for the security and expansion of the American economic state.

At this point we usually begin losing our audience—in no small measure because often, due to a dearth of concrete facts, we begin waving our arms a lot. For those people patient enough to sit and talk with us, the most serious argument is that there is simply a lack of current U.S.

economic involvement in the region. Direct private investments in the Far East (excluding India, Japan, and the Philippines) are valued at less than \$1 billion—just over one percent of all U.S. direct private foreign investment. All of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia and the Philippines, absorbs about three percent of all U.S. exports. Even many of the vital raw materials found there can be ripped off from some other area of the Third World. (CCAS, *The Indochina Story*). Our sceptical friends have the same statistics we have and they raise a good question: would smart imperialists expend so much to defend such a small economic stake? Surely there is a more non-commercial, more purely "political" explanation. But there are flaws in this reasoning to which we have counterarguments.

## Potential Interests

A direct American commercial interest in Vietnam exists. That it is for the most part po-

tential makes it no less real. Everyone has read the quotes; they are not in themselves rigorous proof, but they are illuminating. And they're handy for leaflets. A sample:

"This campaign threatens to absorb the manpower and the vital resources of the East into the Soviet design of world conquest. It threatens to deprive the free nations of some of their most vitally needed raw materials."

President Truman, speaking on Asia, 24 May 1951

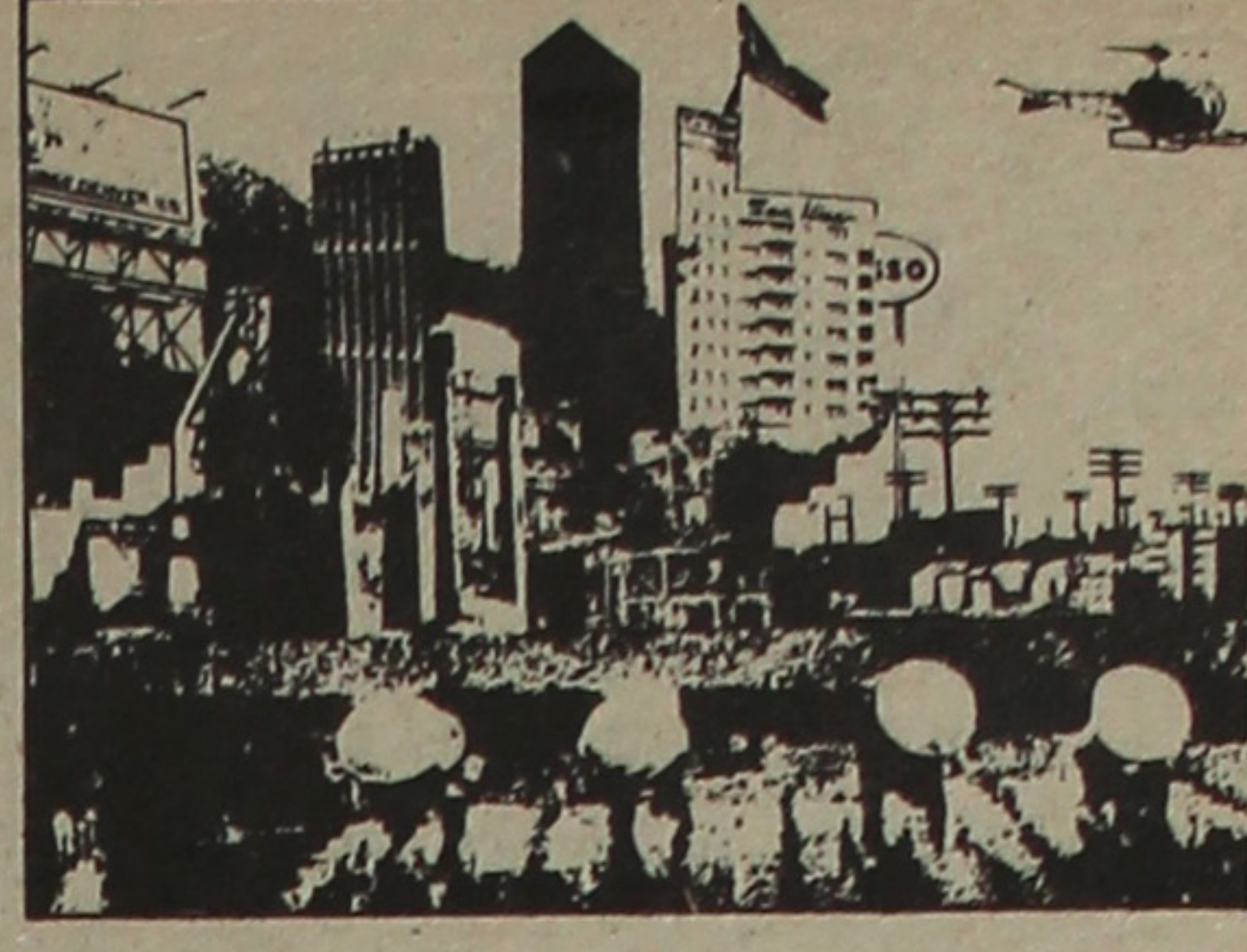
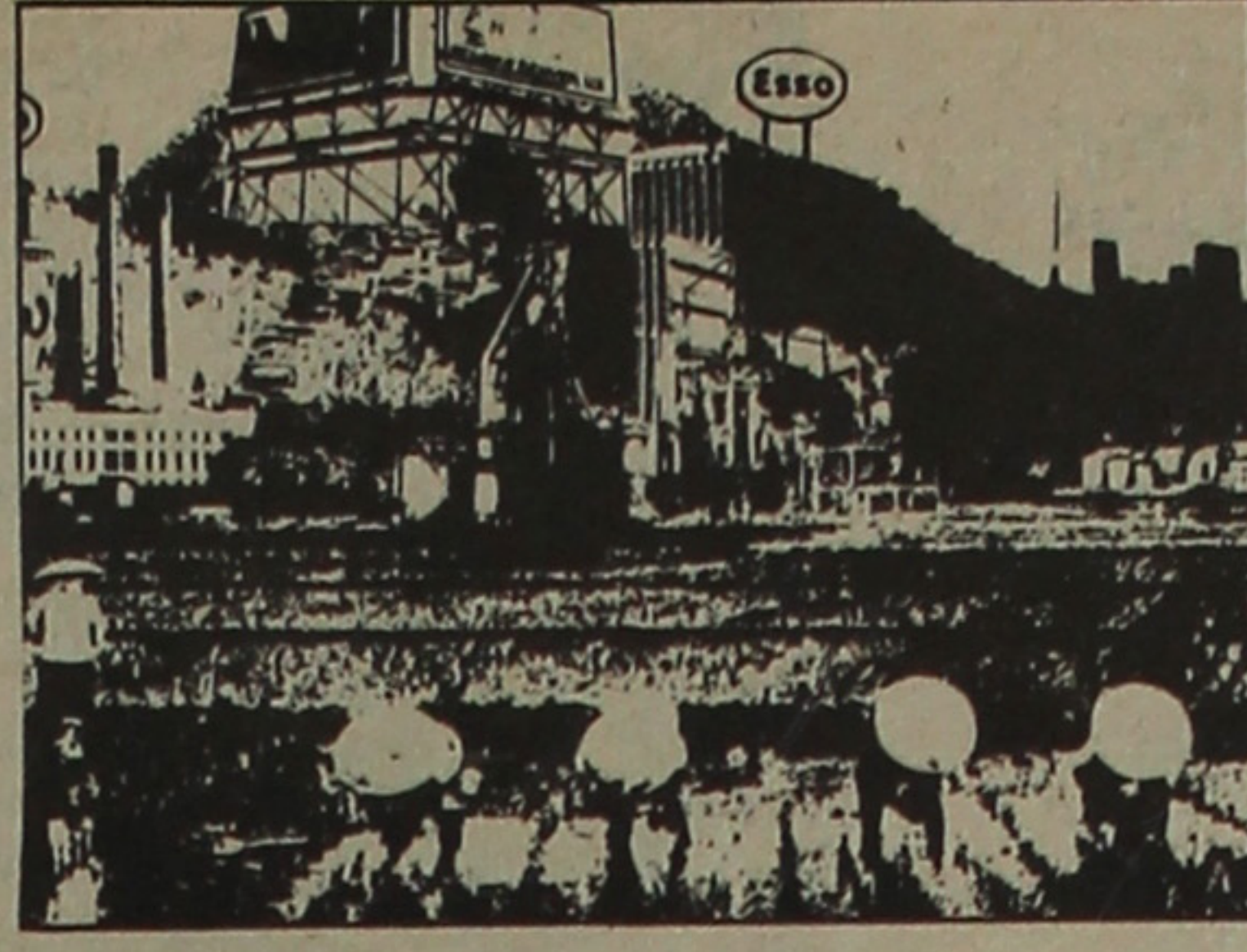
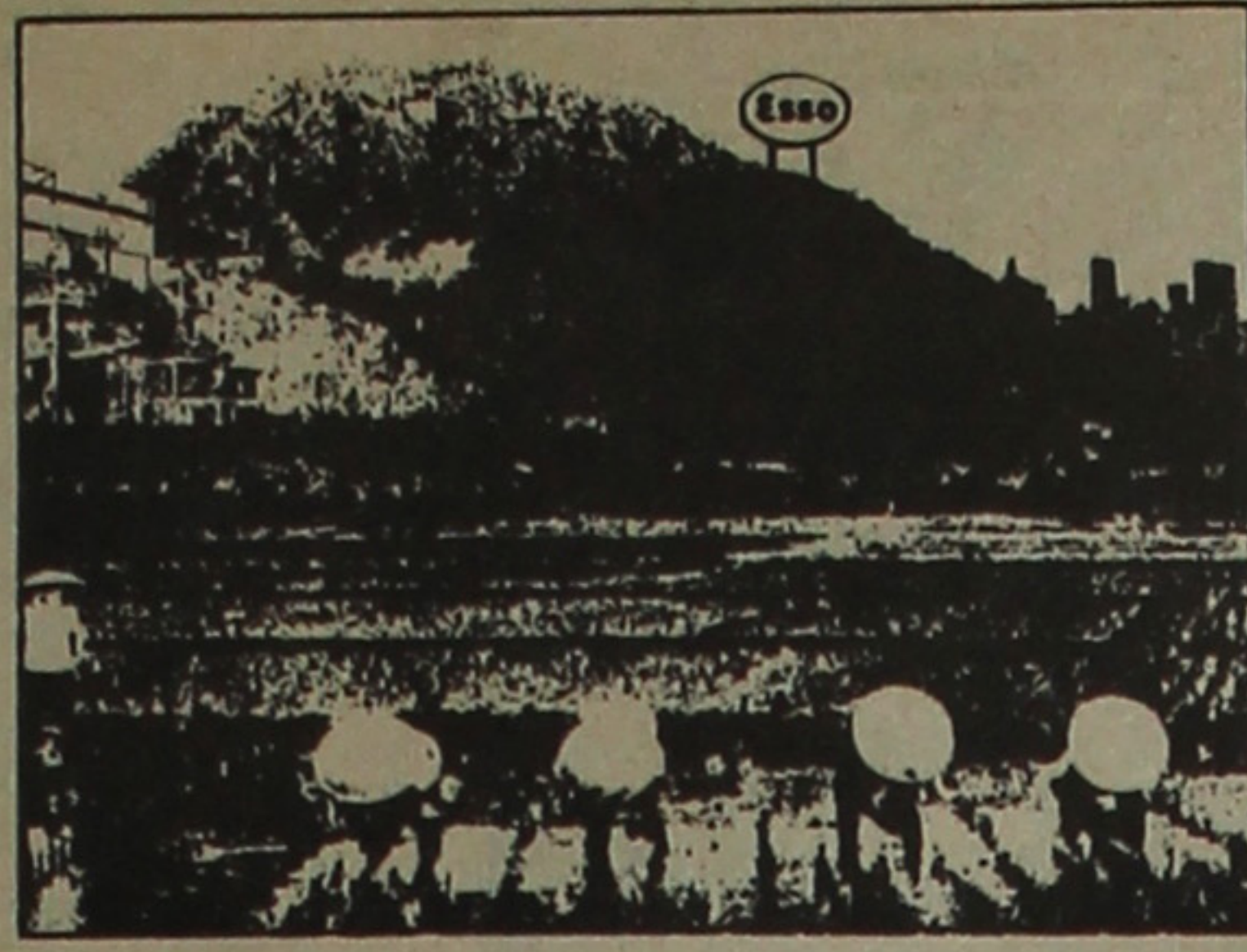
"If Indochina goes, several things happen right away. The Malayan peninsula, the last bit of the end hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible—and tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming."

President Eisenhower, 4 August 1953

"He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philip-







piners and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined.”

Henry Cabot Lodge, *Boston Globe*, 28 February 1965

“That 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 condition of the Vietnamese people, and the direction in which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary.”

Senator McGee (D-Wyo.), in the Senate, 17 Feb 1966

Amid all these giant corporate investments, we lose sight of the men who make these careful financial decisions—these “avaricious businessmen.” They are probably like “urbane fortyish” New Yorker Herbert Fuller. According to *Fortune*, he headed a group of investors who, since 1958, have been promoting a \$10 million sugar mill at Tuy Hoa. “I am in it for the money,” Fuller says, “We could get back our investment in two years.” Like all entrepreneurs, Fuller once again is pushing ahead with plans because he assumes the U.S. is now committed to saving South Vietnam. Saving indeed.

### The Militarized Economy

Another rebuttal: those who argue against the imperialist analysis because the war is so uneconomical do not grasp the economics of state capitalism. The “militarized economy demands a militarized politics; a militarized politics demands a militarized economy. Vietnam, as conflict colony, helps turn this wheel.” (Oglesby, *Containment and Change*.) Although the war has generated numerous annoyances in fiscal management for capitalists, (triggering Nixon’s economic stunts), over all, the war is good for the economy. It is good because the economy is dependent on federal subsidy—military subsidy in particular.

Militarism is indispensable to the domestic economy. Among the top one hundred corporations, sixty-five are significantly involved in the military market. Military spending has been responsible for a large part of the economic growth since World War II; indeed, the fluctuation of military spending has virtually determined the cyclical pattern of the economy. The aerospace, communications, and the electronics industries, those areas that have most spurred economic growth, are highly involved with the military. The Pentagon has underwritten much of the technological development that has occurred: 75 percent of all research and development activity is paid for by the government, and of this, one-half comes from the Defense Department, 38 percent from NASA and the Atomic Energy Commission. (Melman, *Our Depleted Society*.)

### Protecting the “Free World”

There is a related point which is part of yet another argument for an imperialist analysis. It asserts: Militarization of the economy is an integral part of American capitalism because of the natural importance of international opera-

tions to capitalism. No mistake: foreign policy decisions are not made in corporate boardrooms; things, so far, are not so simple. But while liberals see U.S. military interventions as irrational blunders, we note that the multinational corporations have quite sound financial reasons for wanting to preserve the “free world.” In this case, a country is free when American firms are free to do business there if they have the means and desire to do so. It is free when there is free enterprise. From the corporation’s point of view then, U.S. interventions are quite rational. Defense of the free world and foreign profits is itself a profitable activity, those returns coming primarily through foreign investment and military contracts.

Losing Vietnam means at least two things. On an elementary level, a successful revolution in Southeast Asia not only deprives the U.S. of any potential profits there, but also sets a “bad example” (in the corporate view) for national liberation struggles in many more valuable countries. The second meaning is less obvious, but ultimately more serious. It can be outlined briefly. Imagine—given its current spectacular growth and development both politically and economically—a China fifty, even twenty years from now. Reflect, as our statesmen and corporate heads surely must, upon a world where the initiative for global economic, political and cultural action is no longer concentrated in the West. Visualize that is, a world in which an independent and dynamic Asia exists. (Oglesby, *Containment and Change*.) As a strong, independent China emerges, it will cause a drastic reorientation of forces in Asia. In response, the U.S. has had to intensify its efforts to hold Southeast Asia in order to counter the Chinese challenge to its hegemony.

Four key facts: (1) China’s principal imports needed to accelerate her growth are rubber and rice. (2) The principal export commodities of a normalized South Vietnam will be rubber and rice. (3) Japan’s accelerating industrialization will draw more workers from farm to factory as it increases demand. Anyway, Japan has always been a food importer and will become a greater one. (4) Japan is among the world’s strongest shipbuilders, steelmakers and textile makers; they need markets. China could use all three, and a developing Vietnam will certainly want steel and probably ships.

It seems obvious and inevitable: What the West faces in Asia is the formation of a regional economic system which must include Japan and which, by sheer mathematics, will be dominated

Enough. A better picture comes from looking at how U.S. businessmen looked at Vietnam at the time of massive invasion by U.S. troops. A March, 1966 article in *Fortune*, the voice of liberal corporate capitalism, enthusiastically hailed “a South Vietnam preserved from Communism” as potentially becoming “one of the richest nations in Southeast Asia.” It’s fascinating with what unabashed zeal these capitalists plan and project the future of another people. A colorful map accompanies the article entitled, “A Geography of Opportunity.” South Vietnam “has considerable natural wealth that could be developed (read: exploited) to its fullest potential only if the war were ended.” For example, rice production in the Mekong Delta could triple through intensive farming methods; South Vietnam could grow “more than enough sugar and cotton to meet its needs though it now imports these staples”; abundant shrimp, fish and pork have the potential to become large export

**The U.S. role in Vietnam is imperialistic because of (1) the potential economic value of that region; (2) the support of the corporate state through a militarized economy and suppression of Third World revolutions; and (3) the attempted prevention of an Asian Asia.**

items; and “production of natural rubber, the country’s principal export crop in recent years, also could be vastly increased.” It will not be from miracles that such commodities burst from the land and into cargo ships—that will require capital.

What did you think about the war in early 1966? *Fortune* reveals what American businessmen thought. U.S. investments amounted to a “negligible” \$6 million at that time, including \$1 million from Parsons and Whittemore in a paper mill near Bien Hoa, and Foremost Dairies’ controlling interest in a new condensed-milk plant and a half interest in some new textile plants. However, it revealed that Esso and Caltex, already having storage and marketing facilities, were planning a \$16 million oil refinery in which Shell Oil and the South Vietnamese government would also participate. At that time, the biggest private employer in the country, with 25,000 Vietnamese on the payroll was RMK-BRJ, the cryptic name for four American construction firms: Raymond International, Morrison-Knudsen, Brown & Root, and J.A. Jones. This giant combine was the major contractor for the enormous military construction program—the “economic infrastructure.” “Under a contract that may eventually reach \$700 million, the big concern is laying down fourteen permanent jet airstrips, building or enlarging three deep-water ports, and erecting dozens of barracks, military hospitals and other facilities.” The article does not mention some of those other facilities: prisons, including the infamous tiger cages.

Photographs by Philip Jones Griffiths in Vietnam, Inc., Macmillan, 1971.





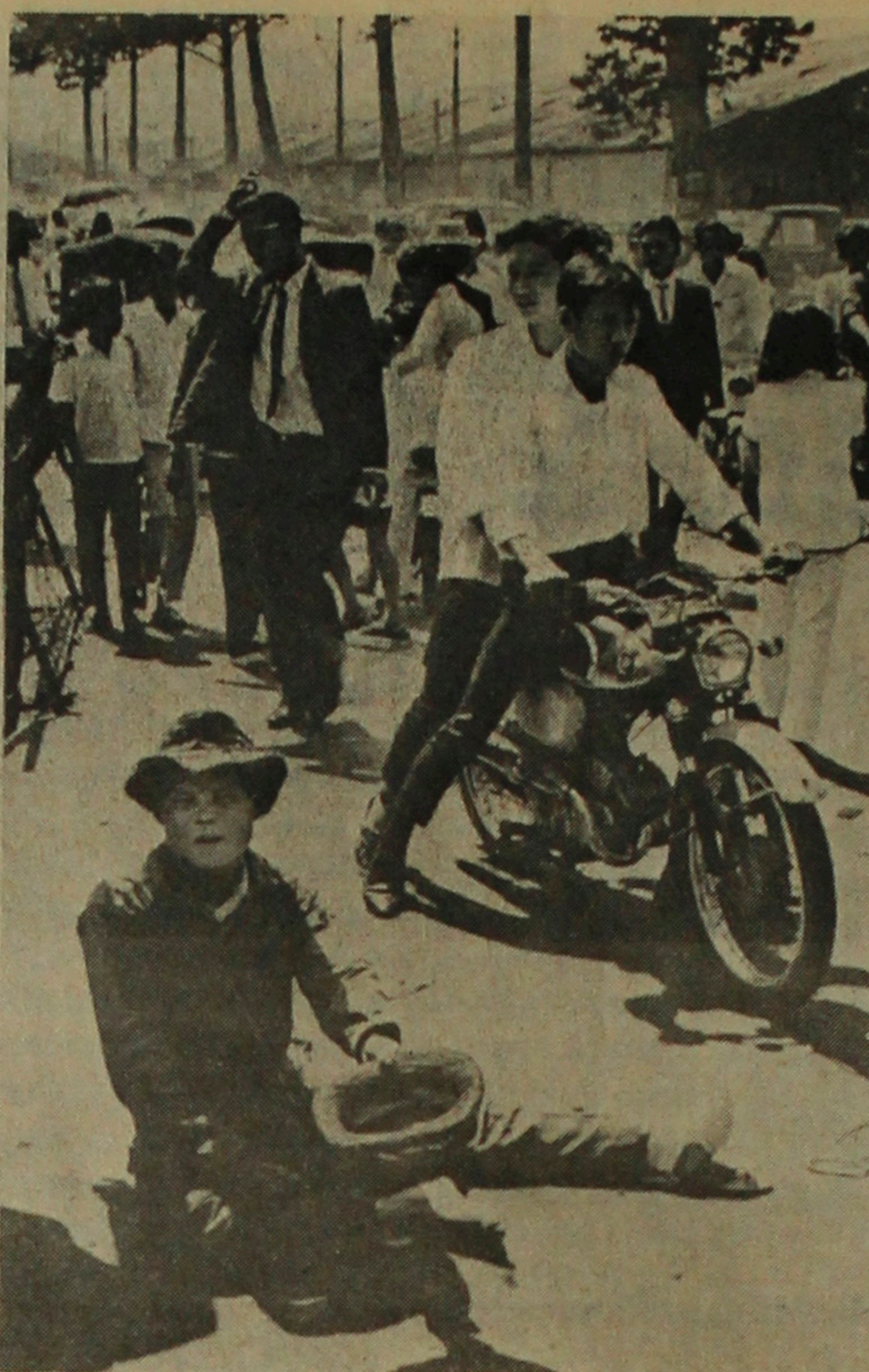
by China. Furthermore, this system's power is inherent in the hitherto untapped potential of the Pacific situation itself. For America, this is the threat, a threat it feels most keenly primarily because among Western powers, it has most eagerly sunk its economic fingers into Asian soil and Pacific waters. The U.S. purpose, then, has been to frustrate the drawing together of this geo-economic system through imposition of political and military barricades. To frustrate, essentially, the independent organization of the Pacific political economy.

We hope—even at the expense of some loss of patience—that the foregoing dispels that aura (gloom?) of mere rhetoric which surrounds the word “imperialism.” That word is real. It means the forcible management of one state's political economy by another state. And when we examine the impact that that word makes concrete, we approach a thorough ideological description of the Vietnam war. The U.S. role there is an imperialistic one because of (1) the potential economic value of that region; (2) the support of the corporate state and defense of the “free world” through a militarized economy and suppression of Third World revolutions; and (3) the attempted prevention of an Asian Asia.

As you will observe however, this article isn't over yet. Suppose it has all been but history disguised as analysis. To clearly expose imperialism, it seems we must show what America's economic stake is today—even what the plans are for tomorrow. (After all, radicals, who have not seldom floundered in that gap between fate and will, are even less seldom reticent about predicting the future. Have it your way, say our sceptics.)

#### Heightened Bombing

Okay. Why is Richard Nixon so prepared to go out on so many diplomatic limbs? Why is he so determined to maintain U.S. control at any cost? With 200 B-52s committed, the air war now vastly exceeds the size and scope of any previous period in the war. A typical bombing run involves three B-52s which can “carpet bomb” an area one-half mile wide by three miles long with as many as 700 demolition bombs, weighing as much as 250 pounds each. Combined with the smaller fighter bombers, an average of 500 sorties per day are being mounted in South Vietnam, and an average of 250 daily over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. With the target list expanded, in the past two months the U.S. has attacked in the North: over 35 schools; 20 medical establishments (including eight city and provincial hospitals); twelve churches and pagodas; 32 stretches of dikes on main rivers; 24 dams and irrigation works; and many homes. (“Voice of Vietnam,” Havana). “Never before in the Vietnam war, or perhaps in any war, has air power been used with such ferocity. Military sources have confirmed, for example, that strikes by B-52s stratofortresses, each of which drops 24 tons of bombs, have been used against enemy groups as small as 20 or 30 men.” (New York Times, 27 May). These atrocities have become so common that press briefings about the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong have become



routine. “‘A target is a target is a target is a target,’ the officer said.” (New York Times, 22 May). It seems this callous attitude and horrendous destruction may worsen. On June 9, the New York Times quoted “military officials” who stated that Nixon may soon decide to escalate the air war by bombing civilian targets, such as large cities and the flood control dikes of the Tonkin Delta in the North. We will not argue against the possibility that Nixon is a madman. But U.S. business does have concrete economic stakes in Vietnam, there are future plans, and they are both tied in with the military strategy and the cultural imperialism—actually Americanization—that is being unleashed upon the Southeast Asian people.

#### Plans for Vietnam

Here again that March, 1966 *Fortune* magazine article serves as prophecy turned history. “It is not a bit too early for the U.S., which has sent some of its finest military minds to the Vietnam war, to send eminent experts on agriculture, transportation, education, and industry to prepare plans for South Vietnam's post-war economic development.” And what conclusions have these eminent experts reached? Consider the words of David Lilienthal, former chairman of TVA and the AEC, who headed the U.S.-Vietnam Joint Development Group, an agency created by Lyndon Johnson. (This introduction serves to inform that the following observations are not the ravings of a psychotic, but the considered opinion of an authentic corporate liberal. Greater cause for shudders.)

“Vietnam has not been destroyed by the war. Indeed, in some respects it has been strengthened: it is true that large numbers of its citizens have been displaced

from their homes, but others have acquired new skills which will be valuable to the growing economy in the postwar period; it is true that serious damage has been done to some parts of the country's infrastructure, but none of this is irreparable, it is, in fact, being repaired, and other infrastructural facilities, particularly posts and airfields, have been expanded during the war to an extent which will be more than adequate for peacetime use.... There are grounds for encouragement in these circumstances.”

This twisted optimism handily glosses over the crucial fact that the South Vietnamese economy is a catastrophe. It is so because it is the total creation of the United States, as artificial economically as the ARVN are militarily and the Thieu regime is diplomatically. The overall total U.S. aid to South Vietnam during the sixties was \$4 billion of economic assistance, \$7.75 billion of military, and about \$5 billion for related infrastructure costs. The economic symptoms of this 100 percent dependent economy are several:

1. *Manpower* is absorbed almost entirely in U.S. sponsored sectors, the largest of course being the military. Only 3 percent of the entire work force is employed in local industry. Meanwhile, according to Thieu's own Minister of Economy, unemployment has never been so bad.
2. *Inflation* increases a chronic 25 percent per year. The price of rice has risen 50 percent in the past year; other food items even more—up to 80 percent—despite the currency devaluation last November. Wages on the other hand have risen only slightly—if at all.
3. *Corruption* infects the economy at every level. Saigon soldiers supplement their meager income by using their U.S. supplied M-16 rifles to commit armed robbery. Their wives are forced into prostitution. Robert

Western clothing, especially miniskirts, have become increasingly popular, as has television. Apply now the wisdom of a well-mythologized corporate liberal: “American ways can form the tastes and desires of newly emerging countries—when our aid ends, the need for our products continues.” John Kennedy.

Shaplen, a Far East correspondent for the *New Yorker*, writes that in Saigon, “a conservative estimate is that fifteen thousand Americans, in uniform or out, have been involved in this process of corruption. These Americans have encouraged the blackmarketing of all sorts of goods, have encouraged pilferage for payoffs, have raked in huge profits from the smuggling of drugs and other goods, from the illicit trade in dollars, from the operation of night clubs, from the importation of American call girls, and so on.” (15 April).

4. *Taxes* of an adequate nature are beyond Saigon's ability to collect from its own population. The revenues it collects through direct taxes is less than one percent of the amount of military aid alone provided by the United States.

5. *Imports* are the basis of the economy. It is a textbook principle that in a healthy economy, imports and exports should be roughly equal. But because of the war, South Vietnam's export capacity is virtually nil. “The most pressing necessity for it now is to find a way to increase exports to offset all the imports, which outnumber them now by about 100 to 1.” (New York Times, 24 January 1972). A clear example is rice. Once the “rice bowl” of Southeast Asia with an export level of 250,000 tons in 1959, South Vietnam had to import 850,000 tons by 1968.

#### Infrastructures

With all of this catastrophic news, how can these “postwar developers” smile? Two factors appear which show that this war has been fought as much to create economic opportunity as to seize the existing resources. First, there is the physical infrastructure created by the war. Think





how these planners beam when they consider the "roughly 2,400 miles of hard-surfaced main highways built or rehabilitated for military use, countless bridges, a renovated 500-mile railway system, and an extensive communication network of modern microwave, telephone, and teletype systems." (*Fortune*, October 1971). 200 airfields and six major ports have also been built amid the ruins of South Vietnam.

"In the end, perhaps the most important legacy of U.S. investment in South Vietnam will be introduction of modern industrial organization. Exposure to Western ideas and technology has profoundly changed traditional Vietnamese attitudes. During the years of war an estimated 300,000 Vietnamese have received training in specific skills..." (*Fortune*, October 1971). This illustrates what is meant by the "social infrastructure." The growth of a cheap and relatively skilled labor force trained to industrial life is the second factor which provokes the glee of American capitalists. A confidential report to the U.S.-controlled Asian Development Bank by Columbia economist Emile Benoit notes that this labor force "can probably be directed to the production of components of assembled goods that will be marketed by multinational corporations." (Chomsky, *Ramparts*, May 1972). This report, notes Jacques Decornoy of *Le Monde*, sees the future of Southeast Asia "as a kind of paradise for international bankers and investors." Vietnam's projected economic role then, will be (1) to continue as a market for U.S. investments; (2) to be a purchasing point for subsidiary companies to obtain goods from the U.S.; and (3) to supply rice, lumber, rubber, and other goods to countries like Japan.

Tom Hayden writes, "Thus, even before the war ends, the U.S. is shaping a new economic system in which the Vietnamese people are supposed to play a vital but subordinate role, and in which their economy and national independence will be in the hands of the U.S. and Japan." The evidence argues that instead of withdrawing, U.S. interests are probing deeper into Southeast Asia. The American people—whom we have not reached with our imperialist analysis—do not know that after spending \$120 billion in Vietnam since 1965 (*Fortune*, October 1971), the government plans to use their taxes to support a Saigon dictatorship another ten years. They do not suspect that the Vietnamese people will have no say in their future if these plans succeed, since the production and distribution of resources in South Vietnam will be decided by foreign investors. They are oblivious to the possibility that the Saigon regime will continue to draft youths into combat to defend Standard Oil, General Electric, Ford, Sony, and Coca Cola against expropriation.

#### Theory of Forced Urbanization.

With these goals acknowledged, the U.S. military conduct falls under a new light. It is for political and economic reasons that the U.S. continues its policies of forced urbanization. It wants to isolate the NLF in the countryside, while insuring a vast supply of cheap urban labor. Thus millions have been forced from their homes through massive bombing, defoliation, and gunpoint round-ups. Senator Kennedy's subcommittee estimated that there are presently 1.5 million homeless or displaced civilian refugees in the South. (*New York Times*, 25 May 1972). A total of 9 million of the 27 million people of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam have been dislocated. Most of them pour into the cities. "When John Kennedy came to office, South Vietnam was a 90 percent rural country; today it is 60 percent urban. Cambodia and Laos are going in the same direction faster." (Hayden, *The Love of Possession is a Disease with Them*). Saigon is the most densely populated city in the world. Averaging about 150 persons per acre, the city has "some blocks where nearly two thousand people are crowded into three or four acres." (*New Yorker*, 15 April). Designed to accommodate 300,000 people, the city of Saigon proper contains three million, of whom it is estimated, ten percent live in splendor, forty percent live a lower-middle class life of survival, and fifty percent live in abject squalor. Meanwhile, due to the American presence, local businessmen have built luxury apartments for G.I.s in the cities. "In Can Tho, new apartments that a year ago would have rented to Vietnamese for \$30 a

month are now being rented to American military men for \$200." (*Fortune*, March 1966). These are Lilenthal's "grounds for encouragement."

#### Cultural Genocide.

A basic U.S. assumption is that, after driving people into the cities as refugees, a *cultural* transformation is the attitudes of the South Vietnamese can be wrought. By introducing the American market system and material values, the U.S. hopes to create human beings susceptible to the sort of economic penetration that is planned there. Harvard economist Arthur Smithies who works for the CIA and RAND, sums it up: "A Honda-riding generation may be more capable of economic development than a buffalo-driving one." A million Hondas, in fact, are said to have been imported into Saigon in the last four years. The beginnings of a degenerate Western consumer culture among the upper class is well under way. Shaplen describes one aspect:

All these smaller motor vehicles as well as many of the larger ones, use kerosene or low-grade gasoline for fuel, so the Saigon air is constantly full of smoke and fumes, and a haze never leaves the sky. To make matters worse, there are thousands of motorcycles, almost all Japanese made, which swarm like locusts and make life more hazardous than ever for pedestrians. A wild Jet Set of Honda-riding youths races down Tu Do each night.... (*New Yorker*, 15 April).

Western clothing, especially miniskirts, have become increasingly popular, as has television-

course, deliberately encourage these trends because they are in the U.S. economic interest. Each G.I. spends \$45 a month merely on recreation—half again as much as the *total* earnings of the average Vietnamese city worker. And when these boys want their night out on the town—"You can't expect them to live like monks," said one American official." (*Fortune*, March 1966).

The sleazy wink, the casual shrug implicit in that excuse, parallels, it seems to me, so much of America's attitude and behavior toward Third World people. A situation where actions are truly prostituted—where values are ignored, principles debased solely to the act of buying and selling. Fitting then, that all that is racist, sexist, and utterly materialistic—all that America is and does—is summed in the following glib quote from the same article: "The comely bargirls who entertain American G.I.s have enjoyed the steepest income rise, in relative terms, and are spending money on luxuries they have never enjoyed before." The benefits of free world salvation.

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even some of the poorest families reportedly own sets. In Saigon, night clubs blaring rock music have sprung up, and the city has acquired an elaborate hippie culture and language. We should attempt a generalization. Apply now the wisdom of a well-mythologized corporate liberal: "Too little attention has been paid to the part which an early exposure to American goods, skills, and American ways of doing things can play in forming the tastes and desires of newly emerging countries—or to the fact that, even when our aid ends, the desire and need for our products continue, and trade relations last far beyond the termination of our assistance." John Kennedy. (*New York Times*, 8 September 1963).

In the degrading bar-culture of Saigon there are 400,000 registered prostitutes. Suffering a venereal disease rate estimated at sixty-five percent, they have become separated from their families and cultural ties, as well as facing a hopeless future of drugs and suicide. Hayden writes: "The NLF and various nationalist organizations struggle directly against this cultural degradation. The NLF slogan is that 'there are more bars and brothels than hospitals, more prisons than schools.'" Americans of

#### Our Liberation.

As Third World people struggling to define our own culture, Asian Americans can identify with a people who, even now, are being robbed of theirs. Feel solidarity with a people oppressed by imperialism as we are by racism. But our role is not to be sympathizers, not to be rooters on. Our battle against imperialism is not simply to sit and wish a hastening of Vietnam's inevitable victory. It would be a betrayal of history if we were to reduce their struggle to a sort of political poster of the mind—possessing an inspirational romanticism that paralyzes us with awe. The Vietnamese people's military victory is not our political revolution; they are not the means, the agency for our liberation from imperialist capital. They constitute instead the living embodiment of the *need* for that liberation. Our liberation must be lived and won by *us*. There is no one else who can; there is no one else who should.

—Bruce Iwasaki

This essay owes heavily to two valuable books on the war, one a New Left classic, the other a very up to date analysis. They are Carl Oglesby, *Containment and Change*, (Macmillan, 1967), and Tom Hayden, *The Love of Possession is a Disease With Them*, (Holt, 1972).



# Asian Joint Communications



Asian Joint Communication members and Asian prisoners involved in a struggle session during weekly meeting with So.CC and CIM Institutions.

## "THE GREASY PIG!"

Had someone taken a butcher knife and slit my throat, at birth, I would have missed the greatest "Drama" of all Dramas. This drama continues to receive all the top awards, years after year. At last, the final curtain is about to come down on this act. They have tried desperately to change the characters, in order to make it a better drama. But the People are hip, and have watched too long the sick actors, who play the parts, over and over again, giving lip service and making promises that only the powerful will benefit from. We have watched this drama encore; thinking somewhere along the way it would get better, but the people realize at last that nonviolence doesn't provoke pity. If you think that this is a lie, ask Martin Luther King...If you think non-violence will provoke pity, ask the 6 million Jews that "Hitler EXTERMINATED!" So it is with anything else—As long as we watch the drama, the actors will continue throwing "The Greasy Pig."

This is written by a convict in the pig's pen, to all the other convicts in the Pig's bigger pen, the outside. A convict becomes aware that the outside is just a larger play area. Both the prison society, and the outside society are sick, and made this way because of utilitarianism. In this unnatural environment it's very difficult, if possible at all, to be objective. Anyway all the facts are subjective, and since there is no real difference in the outside and the inside, everyone will dig where this writer is coming from anyway. Fear, coercion or whatever the term one wishes to apply to "rehabilitation" and "reform" is just another way to keep the people going for the greasy pig. The truth is these storage warehouses are continuing to dehumanize, degrade and do absolutely nothing that will cause a person that is leaving (getting out of the joint) to realize his responsibility to himself as well as to the community which he will one day return. Instead, its quite the contrary. Divide and conquer, practice race hatred, destroy and corrupt the morals of the convict, so that he will soon return to the prison environment, all part of the Greasy Pig. Utilize him, and keep him in slavery so that the prison industry

EIGHT GIDRA 7 JULY, 1972

## Support the Asian Prisoners Banquet

The Asian Involvement Cultural Group is holding its First Annual Banquet at the California Institution for Men complex in Chino, California on Sunday, July 16, 1972, from 5:00pm to 10:00pm. Menu will consist of Asian-Oriental Food. Entertainment will feature two heavy musical groups, "Hiroshima" and "Barkada." Children under twelve will be admitted free. To defray expenses for food, \$2.00 per person will be charged; the proceeds from this gala event will be channeled toward the establishment of a Half-Way House for Asian-Oriental-Polynesian prisoners upon their release from confinement. If as a member of the community you are interested in celebrating our first year of existence with us please contact the following for additional information:

Miss Janice Yasuda or any member of  
Asian Joint Communications  
125 Weller Street, Suite 305  
Los Angeles, California 90012  
Phone: (213) 689-4413



will continue supporting the politicians. There are millions of dollars spent and made every year from convicts' slave labor. When we realize it costs more to keep a man in prison one year, than it does to send a person to college for five, we begin to realize that prisons are big business. And it becomes clear that if the convict was a burden on the tax payers, there would be more releases instead of more prisoners. So, as long as there is a division among the people; as long as we are exploited by the system, and allow racism to exist among men that are affected by the same disease, as long as no one seems to care what happens inside the storage warehouses; as long as these things prevail...we'll continue "GOING FOR THE GREASY PIG"

yours in struggle  
Lawrence Taylor (Anquinne Kuzenga)

## A BURNED OUT DOPE FIEND SPEAKS

Located in beautiful (cough) smog free (cough) Norco, California this resort was designed to cure all ills. Just take the Riverside Freeway to the Main Street turn-off, go north on Main to 6th Street and you're there. You can't miss it because we are supplied with a double fence equipped with Constantina wire plus gun towers to keep people OUT. So you are almost guaranteed absolute privacy from the public plus solitude from the hustle and bustle of the city. This resort has a multitude of recreational facilities within walking distance of your assigned bungalow. For instance we have an Olympic sized pool for your use when it's filled, a bowling alley if you care to set your own pins, a gym for people who enjoy the smell of sweat, a track with facilities for baseball and football, plus a number of handball courts. We have supplied through great preparation a vast green park for your leisure stocked with green grass, tall trees, beautiful benches and infested with friendly gnats. Every week at our own theater for your viewing pleasure we show only the best low budget, third run flicks. For a minimal committment you can take advantage of all this and more.

Every bungalow is supplied with a black and white T.V. set and a ping pong table. Each person has his own living area equipped with a bed and a locker to keep your own personal belongings (please supply your own LOCK). Fresh linens are brought to you weekly. Our own laundry is operational five days a week which distributes the clothes which we furnish on the exchange system (one for one). The dining room provides three meals daily supplying all of the necessary vitamins and proteins to remain alive. For those who have not completed elementary or high school, you can also take advantage of our educational facilities. Or, if you're really ambitious, you can participate in group therapy supervised by an untrained therapist. There are also medical and dental facilities for your convenience, designed to handle the smallest of emergencies. Our canteen provides most of the odds and ends necessary like cosmetics, snacks and

Con't page 9



tobacco. Sort of like a disorganized Tic Toc.

Would you believe that all of this is available absolutely free? Well, it is! All you have to do is contact the local District Attorney and he will be able to strap you with a seven year lease, with supervised leave included. The seven year lease is the most popular but there is also a trial two and a half year lease available. Remember all this is available free of charge—it is run solely on tax dollars. Just contact the local D.A. in your town. Restricted to California residents only. Sorry, no pets allowed.

The preceeding was brought to you by a burned out DOPE FIEND.



Living Quarters???

## ORIENTAL WOMAN

### The Charisma of Life-Struggle-Unity

Words as phrases are of little worth as I try to express the internal joy of our meeting. As we sat and gazed into each others eyes, across the table, your gentle smile of warmth soothed the loneliness of my heart. The words which fell from your lips were the echo of eternity, the dawn of creation, the hymns sung by a contemplating spirit as wisdom descends upon his soul. Your touch, in one moment, filled my soul like a lover experiencing a thousand nights in the garden of pleasure. Your unselfish acceptance of my person internalized the beauty of human compassion and understanding; which is my environment (prison life) is an interpretation of weakness.

Could it be that you are; the reflection of antiquity; the present reality of beauty; the inspiration for tomorrow; the mistress of my thought; or are you the sum-total of that which "is", the being of my existence???

The key is grounded in your being. For it was a glance, a word, and the softness of your touch, which perpetuated the vision of life's meaning (like the epitaph found up in the tomb of true existence.)

MAKIBAKA, HUWAG MATAKOT  
Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win

A prisoner's thoughts



Lynn - Chiyo - Ken

## LETTERS

May 28, 1972  
Lompoc, California

Dear Brother Doug,

I am writing this letter to find if you can help me and some other Asian brothers here in the Federal Correction Institution at Lompoc, California.

There is a total of five brothers here (there's more here that have Asian blood lines that are from Hawaii) and the only contact we have with any other brothers or sisters is from the Asian-American group from Santa Barbara. In this institution we have groups here for people of Nordic descent—Indian—African—but no Asian group. Th Asians here attend the Hawaiian's meetings and we are Honorable Members. Also, the Asian-American group comes up from Santa Barbara once in a while with literature and films. The reason I am writing this letter is because I have only just recently realized my own background and I would like to know more. I would also like to know if there is any chance of contact of other Asian brothers and sisters with us here. If I can explain why I just became aware, I'll try and condense it.

I'm a musician from Chicago that was born with a Japanese father and Puerto Rican mother. Right now I'm here for refusing induction in the service. To explain my heritage would take a little time, but I don't look Japanese or Puerto Rican. I speak Spanish and I understand Japanese to an extent. I learned most of the Japanese from my aunt since my father knew none or he was ashamed to admit it. He still feels the pain of the relocation centers from the past war. Well, to begin, I wasn't raised in an Oriental community. I was raised in Spanish Harlem in New York and had very little contact with any Asian brothers or sisters. I was accepted by the Spanish community as a blood even after I told them I was half Japanese. So as I grew up I knew nothing of the verbal assaults on my people in other parts of this country until I went back to Chicago to stay with my aunt (she lived in a Japanese community). I was never accepted by the Japanese neighbors or girls of Japanese descent. Thus, my fear of Japanese girls. To this day I can't even talk to one. I've never found out why either. Later, I married a girl from Mexico which ended up in the drain. Only just recently have I seen and heard and felt what my brother's and sister's families must have felt when they became aware of the incarceration of our mothers and fathers. Now I realize what my father went through. I cannot pity him because it wouldn't help him any. Instead, I must become more

aware of my ancestry and I must be in a position where I may find a "Yellow Pearl" and marry so I can ease my own mind. As it is now I feel I have always been searching for the communication of an Asian brother or sister, so that I may be able to gain the knowledge that I need. Only since I have come here have I realized my alliance to my people. I speak the thoughts from my brothers here.

Thank you,  
David Moriyama  
Box W 790-156  
E Unit  
Lompoc, California 93436

P.S. Please answer us soon.

May 23, 1972

Hi People,

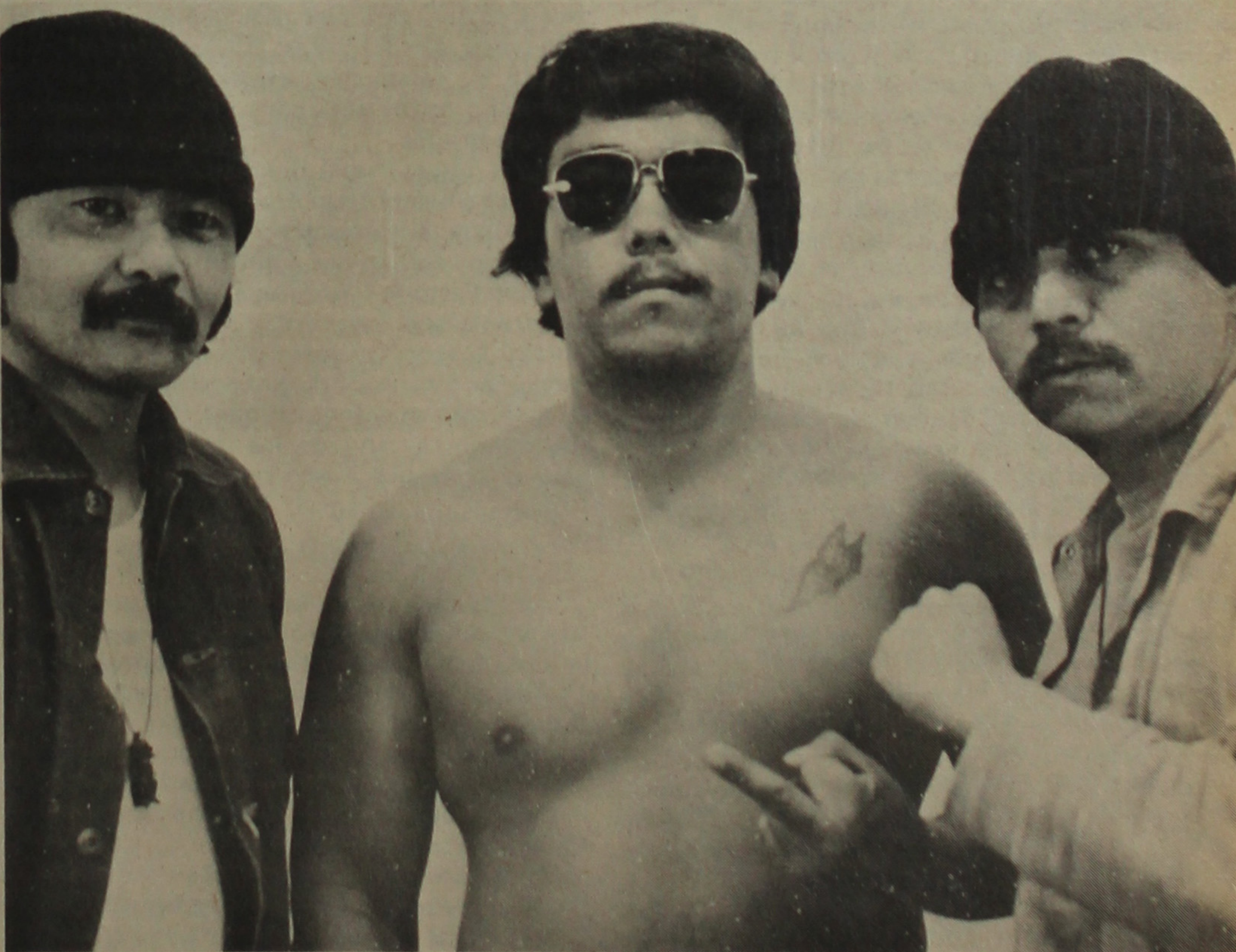
This is No. 34244 (as the "Joint" refers to me). On the streets I'm known as Ted Saito. I'm presently doing time at the Federal Correction Institution at Lompoc, California.

I was at CRC in 1968, Tehachapi (C.C.I.) in 1970, and McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary in 1971. I just got transferred back to Sunny Cal last week. While I was at McNeil I was trying to get a hold of a "Gidra" so that I could show it to the Hawaiian brothers up there. It was a big hassle due to the correspondence restrictions. Now that I'm at Lompoc, the situation has changed. Once more I'm surrounded by Hawaiian brothers but these dudes are together. They are in touch with the "Asians" from UCSB and one of the sisters who came into a club meeting dropped a "Gidra" on them. I copped it and decided to once again try to obtain a subscription. The mail restrictions in this joint are very loose and so there should be action.

When I was at "Tehach," me and my homey "Jeff" were getting editions of the paper from "Hard Core." What ever became of them? I wrote to them and a brother named Tommy shot me a Christmas card but that was it. The joint (McNeil) slacked off on the cards from unauthorized correspondents during the "Holiday Season."

There are twenty Asian brothers doing time here. If we could get but one copy of a paper that's relevant to us, we'd pass it around and everyone would be able to keep abreast of the struggle and the intensity of the Movement, thereby preparing us to meet and accept the challenge that lies in store for us upon our release.

Yours in unity,  
Bro. Ted



Dare to struggle - Dare to win! Only through Unity can we be friends.





# WAKI BAKA

International Hotel, San Francisco  
*"Low Cost Housing is Our Right!  
 ShoreNSTein! We're Gonna Fight!"*

The Chinatown-Manilatown community in San Francisco is slowly being eaten up by San Francisco's Financial District, "the Wall Street of the West." This Asian community stands in high contrast to the affluent office buildings, plush hotels and bright night clubs that surround it. With the highest population density of elderly persons in the nation, and with the highest tuberculosis and suicide rates in the nation, 6,000 newly arrived immigrants continue to move into the community yearly.

International Hotel, built in 1907, is a part of this community; it serves mainly elderly Filipino, and Chinese pensioners with low income housing facilities.

During August-September, 1968, the owner of the Hotel, Milton Meyer, Inc., issued a notice of eviction to the tenants of the hotel with plans to tear it down to make a high profit parking lot serving the nearby Financial District. The United Filipino Association, assumed leadership for the struggle that was to follow. Protest and demonstrations were mounted in the community to save the hotel. Walter ShoreNSTein, owner and president of Milton Meyer, Inc., agreed to meet with the UFA. They never met. In March, 1969, the day before the lease was to be signed, a "mysterious" fire destroyed over 40 rooms of the Jackson Street wing and took the lives of three men. Shortly after, the city condemned the hotel and ordered ShoreNSTein to comply with reconstruction within 30 days or face demolition—ShoreNSTein just sat back and waited.

The UFA along with tenants who wanted to stay at the hotel, students, and progressive liberal groups escalated their demonstrations against ShoreNSTein and Mayor Alioto. During this time, hotel tenants were harassed and intimidated. Kitchen facilities were locked up. The electricity was cut off. Sanitary facilities were not maintained. The city relocation agency began to disperse tenants out of the Hotel. Mr. Wing Lew, an elderly tenant at the Hotel for 20 years, was forcibly moved to another hotel three blocks away. Mr. Wing Lew, who can hardly walk, literally crawled back to the International Hotel.

When the press and TV got hold of the International Hotel struggle, ShoreNSTein agreed to meet with the UFA. Finally, because of pressure from the public and the mayor's office, ShoreNSTein signed a three-year lease but made addi-

tions requiring (1) that the UFA pay \$40,000 rent each year (an increase over the previous \$13,000); (2) that the UFA pay the \$26,000 yearly property tax that ShoreNSTein is supposed to pay; (3) that the UFA be responsible for the repair of the fire-damaged wing of the hotel (a cost of over \$80,000); and (4) that the UFA hold over \$10,000 in fire and liability insurance naming Walter ShoreNSTein as beneficiary. Clearly, ShoreNSTein was going to make the people pay for his troubles.

During these past three years the people have grown in spirit and solidarity with the struggle for the hotel. On-going programs of Sunday morning brunches, excursions out of Manilatown-Chinatown, Wednesday bingo and films, free health services by student nurses, have had great success from the tenants. The damaged wing of the International was fully repaired by volunteer labor from Asian American students and some materials donated by the community. All the rooms of the hotel were cleaned out and painted with bright cheerful colors. The electrical system had to be completely reworked to meet city standards. As the work continued so did the spirit of the people.

The International Hotel has become a symbol of the growing Asian American consciousness. Many community organizations, (such as Wei Min She, Asian Legal Service, Chinatown Co-operative Garment Factory, I Wor Kuen) are located in the storefronts and basement of the International Hotel. A very real sense of community exists among the tenants of the hotel and they have organized into the International Hotel Tenants' Association to carry on the struggle for a new lease (the former lease runs out on June 30, 1972.)

## Tenant Agreement

"We, the tenants of the International Hotel, are forming an association to represent us in our fight to save the International Hotel. The name of this association shall be the *International Hotel Tenants' Association*. The goal of this association shall be to work together to save the International Hotel until permanent low-cost housing is built in the Manilatown-Chinatown community.

"We believe it is important to work toward this goal because of the following reasons:

- (1) "That in our community there is no available housing which we can afford.
- (2) "That the International Hotel is the home of Filipino and Chinese people, many

of whom are elderly and handicapped. We want to continue to live in our Hotel because it is close to the stores and restaurants which serve our native foods. Because of this convenience, we remain self-reliant and independent which would not be possible in any other area outside of Manilatown-Chinatown.

(3) "That the bonds between the people of Manilatown date back to the early 1900's when the first Filipinos came to America. Today many of us have few friends or relatives in this country. Our only close friends are our neighbors in the International Hotel and in the Manilatown-Chinatown community.

To destroy the International Hotel would be to destroy the Manilatown community. Our people would be dispersed and the unity of our people will be destroyed forever."

The International Hotel Tenants' Association is determined to stay and fight for their right to low-cost housing. They represent the 130 tenants staying at the hotel, comprised of 60 percent Caucasian, Latins and Blacks. Along with the Hotel staff, student and community workers, the struggle for low cost housing at the International Hotel continues today.

## Chronology

(The following is an account of the present struggle and the progress gained by the people and for the people.)

Tuesday, May 23, 1972: IHTA, representing the 130 residents of the International Hotel, announced their intention to affirm their right to live at their hotel. Three demands, which were later presented to ShoreNSTein's office, were stated to the press. Essentially, the demands wanted recognition of IHTA as the legitimate representative body of the International Hotel tenants, meaningful negotiations for a reasonable and humane lease, and that no more housing in Chinatown-Manilatown be torn down till alternative housing is built.

Thursday, May 25, 1972: 100 tenants and supporters picketed a \$100 a plate fund raising dinner for Hubert Humphrey at the Fairmont Hotel. The purpose was to ask Senator Humphrey that if he supported poor and elderly people to have low-income housing, then he should consider asking his northern California Finance Manager Walter ShoreNSTein to come to agreement





with IHTA.

Friday, May 26, 1972: Over 100 people again picketed Humphrey this time at the Saint Francis Hotel where he had a luncheon date with the Commonwealth Club. On his way out, Humphrey said he would look into the matter and see what could be done.

Monday, May 29, 1972: A meeting was held at the Humphrey Campaign Headquarters with IHTA and Humphrey supporters. The Humphrey supporters agreed to relay the IHTA message to the Senator's personal aides but could not promise anything concrete. Later that day, three leafletters from IHTA went to Jack Tar Hotel where Humphrey was to speak to the Service Employees International Union. Frank Wilson, a Humphrey campaign lieutenant, met with Bill Austin, a representative of the International Hotel Tenants' Association, at the Jack Tar Hotel. Wilson tried to intimidate Mr. Austin by accusing him of employing blackmail tactics on Mr. Humphrey. Realizing this wouldn't work, Wilson then shifted to "softer sell" tactics reminding Mr. Austin of how the Senator had always supported the workingman, the poor, and the people's right to low-cost housing; and therefore, should not be subjected to blackmail. He stated that the International Hotel matter is Shorenstein's private business and does not concern the Senator. Wilson then called Mr. Lloyd Han, another close Humphrey aide. Mr. Han said that Humphrey would talk to Shorenstein and personally encourage him to meet with IHTA.

Tuesday, May 30, 1972: IHTA was informed that Shorenstein's lawyers agreed to meet with them.

Thursday, June 1, 1972: Shorenstein's lawyer Jerry Halisey dropped by the hotel to talk with the tenants. Halisey requested a membership list of the Tenants' Association. When asked by the tenants when they could meet Shorenstein, Halisey replied that they must first submit a financial statement of the Association before he would consider meeting with the tenants. A list of names of the Tenants was submitted to Halisey that Saturday. Halisey gave them a "don't call us, we'll call you" answer. Later that day Asian Americans in Los Angeles picketed Humphrey at the Grand Central Market. The purpose of the picket was to, again, remind Humphrey to remind Shorenstein that IHTA had support from the Asian American communities all over California.

At that demonstration Humphrey spoke to the demonstrators stating that he had spoken to Shorenstein about it.

Wednesday, June 7, 1972: At a Tenants' Association meeting, Alice Barkley, a member of the negotiating team discussed with the tenants three alternative proposals that we could negotiate with Shorenstein. The tenants also agreed at that meeting to meet with Mayor Alioto, to discuss the rent-subsidy program. A delegation from among the tenants was selected to meet with Alioto.

Thursday, June 8, 1972: Alice Barkley called up John DeLocke, Alioto's administrative assistant, to set up an appointment for the tenants. DeLocke informed Alice that another Filipino group had already set up an appointment with the Mayor. Investigation by the International Hotel workers revealed that the Filipino group was composed of some UFA officers acting as a separate group interested in purchasing the hotel from Shorenstein. When the tenants discovered that Ness Aquino of the Mabuhay Restaurant was involved in the deal, they went down to confront him about it. Ness informed them as to how the group was formed and who composed it. The central figure named was Tony Ubalde, former UFA president. The tenants and International Hotel workers then decided to confront Ubalde.

Monday, June 12, 1972: A delegation of tenants and International Hotel workers went to Glide Church to talk with Reverend Tony Ubalde to clarify his role in the issue. They told Ubalde that Shorenstein was trying to put two Filipino groups against each other and we shouldn't allow him to do this. The fact that Shorenstein was secretly meeting with Ubalde's group was directly connected with the fact that he could and did stall a meeting with the tenants. Ubalde then realized that that was precisely Shorenstein's game. He then called up Shorenstein and told him that he should negotiate only with the tenants and that the UFA fully supports their Association.

Tuesday, June 13, 1972: Shorenstein met with the tenants. It was clear at the meeting that Shorenstein was upset by the picketing. He said that he wasn't bothered by it but he "scolded" the tenants for holding it to embarrass him and his candidate Humphrey. He said that the tenants were not being reasonable. Acting like a

... this is Shorenstein

very rich capitalist (which he is) who wields a lot of power (which he has), Shorenstein rudely told one of the tenants' negotiators to "wipe that smile off your face!" Surrounded by his lawyers and staff, Shorenstein expressed his "concern for the tenants" as the motive behind his calling the meeting and to call a stop to those pickets who were exposing him. Proof of this, he said, was that he agreed to the original lease!

The purpose of the tenants in meeting with Shorenstein was to clarify four main points:

- 1) How much does Shorenstein want for the new lease? (He wants the same unfair lease the UFA signed in 1969.)
- 2) Will he give a lease-purchase? (Yes, but the down payment he demands is well over the tenants' means.)
- 3) The Tenants' Association is not responsible for the UFA's debts. (That was made clear, the UFA also made it clear.)
- 4) To work out the details of the *Interim Management* of the International Hotel. (Shorenstein agreed that for 90 days, starting July 1, 1972, the Tenants' Association would hold the *Interim Management* paying Shorenstein \$4,000/month which includes the property tax.)

The struggle of the people's right to low-cost housing continues today. In Seattle, Washington, the Chinatown community is protesting the proposed King County Domes Stadium. It would have a very negative effect on Seattle's elderly Asians living in the International District. There is talk of two more hotels being closed down affecting 180 residents there.

The elderly and poor people of Asian American communities are struggling for themselves and other Third World people in similar housing situations. We ask for your support in our struggle. We ask you to question those who would lead you to believe that these issues are not important. And finally, we ask you to believe that these important problems do exist and need to be solved.

—Ka Florante Ibanez and June Cogbill  
To find out how you can help, call or write:  
Bill Sorro (415) 989-7803  
International Hotel  
San Francisco, California



The following is a chronological history of Okinawa compiled by members of San Francisco's J-Town Collective. The references for this chronology were: *Okinawa: the History of an Island People* by George H. Kerr, 1970, Charles Tuttle & Company, and *AMPO: the Newsletter of the Japanese New Left*, No. 7-8, 1971, Tokyo, Japan.

In the past, *Gidra* has presented several articles on the situation in Okinawa, as well as a few related articles on Japanese militarism, and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (Ampo). These articles can be found in *Gidra*: Volume 3, No. 4; Volume 3, No. 11; Volume 4, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6. Other information can also be obtained in *New Dawn*, the publication of the J-Town Collective. The best reference for information and analysis of the Okinawan situation is *AMPO*, which has devoted many special issues to the Okinawan struggle.

# OKINAWA:

# A

# OF

## PRE-WAR HISTORY CHRONOLOGY

**Prehistoric Period:** Not much known; some evidence early inhabitants were racial blend similar to Japanese; native Okinawan language bears similarities to classical Japanese spoken over 1000 years ago;

**606 AD:** First written account of Okinawa in Chinese chronical;

**700 AD:** Japanese Buddhist priest wrote of his discovery of Okinawa.

### 14th CENTURY

Powerful families appeared and fought for control of country; main island (Okinawa) divided between three powers:

- A. Nanzan (Southern Mountains)
- B. Chuzan (Central Mountain) the most powerful of the three;
- C. Hokuzan (Northern Mountain)

Because of outside contact Okinawa absorbed many cultural influences; assimilated into development of own unique culture and traditions; samisen imported from China; music and dance were true folk arts; weaving, dyeing, pottery introduced and refined;

**1372:** Chuzan entered into tributary relations with China, then the most powerful country in Asia (probably the world) and the center of Asian culture;

**1465:** First (and last) invasion of foreign land by Okinawans; Sho Toku led successful expedition to Kikai Island, a dubious prize north of Okinawa; people decided whole affair stupid and waste of money; overthrew Sho Toku; aggressive war not waged since;

**1477:** Throne taken by Sho Shin; reigned 50 years; carried out many reforms including disarming the country; Okinawa had century of unbroken peace after Sho Shin became king; most of Asia was torn by war and piracy;

**1609:** End of Okinawa independence; 100 ships carrying 3000 warriors led by Kabayama Hisataka invade Okinawa (who had no major military action for 200 years); start of 300 years of cruel exploitation and colonial rule by Satsuma Han;

### 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY

China prohibited trade with Japan; Tokugawa Shogunate isolated Japan and monopolized all trade; Satsuma Han used Okinawa's traditional Chinese tribute system to take all of Okinawa's trade profits and all profits Okinawa labor was able to produce;

### 19TH CENTURY

Expanding economic, political, and military interests of four great western powers:

- A. Russia moving in from the north
- B. Great Britain up by sea from Southern Asia
- C. France up by sea from Southern Asia
- D. United States from the east

demand that Japan must be opened at any cost;

**1853:** U.S. sent five warships under Commodore Mathew Perry to open Japan; ignored local customs, confiscated buildings, demanded the use of a temple as enclosure for sheep and cattle, had himself carried around in sedan chair by Chinese coolies, staged parades to display his weaponry, burst into king's palace uninvited;

**July 11, 1854:** Under direct threat of violence Okinawans were forced to sign a treaty with the United States; Perry also demanded gifts including a bell cast in 1456; this bell is now at the United

States Naval Academy where it tolls out the score of the Army-Navy football game;

**January 1868:** End of Tokugawa military government of Japan and begining of Meiji (Era of Enlightened Government); drive to industrialize; Japan became unified, centralized, and an expansionist capitalist nation;

**October 14, 1872:** Okinawa changed from kingdom to a Japanese has (feudal domain) and king appointed lord of new han;

**March 27, 1879:** Okinawa became Japanese prefecture (Okinawa ken); decisively destroyed any hope of Okinawa independence and began period of assimilation into Japan despite widespread opposition and resistance; Japanese police agent was captured by hundreds of island people and beaten; rebellion crushed by large Japanese police force;

### EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Japan's discriminatory practice to Okinawa; taxes, compulsory Japanized education, military conscription, vigorously pursued; civil rights/economic development delayed;

**1920's:** Political and intellectual liberalism in Japan's main cities; economic status of Okinawa Prefecture was in state of complete breakdown; start of mass emigration to Hawaii, South America, or to plantations in Japan's new colonies;

**1930's:** Emergence of Japan's blatant militarism, fanatical nationalism, and anti-liberal and anti-democratic prejudices;

### WORLD WAR II CHRONOLOGY

**December 7, 1941:** Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; attempts to instill militaristic spirit in Okinawans; thousands conscripted;

**March 1944:** Preparation for invasion of Okinawa; Japan prepares for defense and U.S. prepares for offense; over 100,000 Japanese troops on Okinawa; underground fortress, suicide plane bases; all Okinawa turned into fortress; no thought for Okinawan people;

**April 1, 1945:** U.S. lands on Okinawa;

**June 23, 1945:** Okinawa campaign ends; 62,469 Okinawans, perished;

**August 6, 1945:** Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima by U.S.;

**August 9, 1945:** Atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki by U.S.;

### POST WAR HISTORY CHRONOLOGY

**August 29, 1945:** U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy For Japan; MacArthur became Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers; occupation of Japan and Okinawa as enemy territory; Okinawa in desparate condition; 20% of population dead; 90% of dwellings and almost all factories destroyed; island vegetation trampled; bombed, burned; farmland ruined; population gripped by famine and disease; Okinawa completely ignored by the U.S.; became the dumping ground for the misfits of the U.S. Army; tremendous number of crimes by G.I.s against Okinawan civilians.

Three events led to sudden reversal of U.S. policy on Okinawa:

- A. Worsening of U.S.-Soviet Union relations (Cold War);
- B. Founding of the People's Republic of China; start of permanent military installations on Okinawa (\$50 million in 1950 U.S. budget);



# HISTORY OPPRESSION



C. Start of the Korean War; military importance of Okinawa decisively established;

**1950:** Official name of ruling body changed from "Military Administration of the Ryukyu Islands" to U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR); ruler of island was U.S. High Commissioner, a high ranking general appointed by Secretary of Defense;

**September 1951:** San Francisco "Peace" Treaty signed by 49 countries; brought peace to Japan and tightened grip of U.S. war machine on Okinawa without annexing it; clause 3 was special brainchild of John Foster Dulles; hinted that U.S. might make Okinawa into U.S. trusteeship; none of the parties involved including Japan took measures for people of Okinawa to approve although a protest petition against the treaty was signed by 199,000 Okinawans (72% of eligible voters); Okinawa legislative assembly and various governors of islands sent protest telegrams to Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, to Dulles, and to chairman of the peace conference; only India refused to sign on grounds clause 3 was concealed form of colonialism; this date marks the start of the land struggle and reversion movements of Okinawa;

**April 28, 1952:** San Francisco Peace Treaty goes into effect; remembered in Okinawa as day of humiliation and betrayal; Japan had purchased brief period of peace and democracy by selling an entire prefecture into bondage of the U.S. war machine; April 28 has become "Okinawa Day," a day of major demonstrations both in Okinawa and in Japan;

**November 1952:** USCAR issues ordinance whereby land taken by force would be compensated to landowners; compensations grossly unfair and 98% of landowners do not comply with the ordinance;

**April 1953:** USCAR issues "Land Acquisition Procedure" ordinance; if farmers did not sign a rental contract within 30 days of being shown acquisition notice, his land could be seized; USCAR interferes in election in 4th election district; a member of Socialist Masses Party forbidden from taking office; Socialist Masses Party and People's Party form joint struggle committee and passed following resolutions:

- A. immediate reversion of Okinawa to Japan;
- B. opposition to colonization;
- C. expansion of the right of self-government;
- D. direct election of the Okinawan Chief Executive;
- E. end to interference in election;

USCAR ordered Joint Struggle Committee to dissolve and ordered new elections; no candidate came forward;

**July 1953:** Third election ordered by USCAR; lone conservative Democrat ran unopposed and became Diet member automatically;

**1953-1955:** Continuous base expansion; farmers systematically driven off their land by armed troops;

**1954:** USCAR anti-communist campaign; ordered Diet to pass bill outlawing Communism; Diet could not pass law because of pressure of strong opposition;

**April 1954:** USCAR presses on with anti-communist campaign; imprisoned Senaga Kamejiro (People's Party Diet member) who had great mass support and offered most powerful resistance to U.S. military; destroyed Senaga government on trumped up charges;

**1955:** Congressman Melvin Price of House Armed Services Committee comes to Okinawa in response to farmers' direct appeal on land question;

**June 9, 1956:** Price report made public; went out of its way to argue that U.S. rule on Okinawa was right and proper; Okinawans came to realize that injustices were not mistakes made by the military government but policy of U.S. government;

**June 20, 1956:** Public meetings in 59 towns and villages to protest Price Report;

**June 25, 1956:** 150,000 people gathered in two massive meetings at Naha and Koza; land struggle moves from dispossessed farmers to island-wide movement;

**1958:** By this time, land struggle movement won two concessions from military and temporarily subsided;

A. land rent payment to landowners raised 6 times that recommended by Price Report; however, bigger payoffs do not alter the fact that the farmers were forced from their homes and their land seized; nor was the bigger payoff what the farmers really wanted;

B. farmers were able to receive yearly rent instead of lump sum payments; also value of their land reappraised every 5 years;

**1960:** Japan-U.S. Mutual Security (AMPO) revised and extended; in Japan millions signed petitions, hundreds of thousands went on strike or took to the streets; Prime Minister Kishi forced to resign; Eisenhower forced to cancel trip to Japan; U.S. puts Hawk and Mace B missiles on Okinawa making clear its intentions to make the island into a fortified nuclear base;

**April 28, 1960:** Founding of Okinawa Prefecture Reversion Council (Fukkikyo); joined together for first time the reversion movement, the land struggle movement, the anti-nuclear weapons movement, and the movement against the oppressive New Combined Criminal Law;

**July 20, 1960:** Eisenhower visits Okinawa instead of Japan; AMPO officially approved by Japanese Diet; protest organized by Fukkikyo to peacefully present petition to Eisenhower; riot evolved;

**January 13, 1965:** Sato government of Japan issued joint statement with Lyndon Johnson; agreed that U.S. military presence in Okinawa was essential to security of Far East;

**February 7, 1965:** U.S. began bombing North Vietnam; 3rd Marine Division based on Okinawa moved to Vietnam;

**February 8, 1965:** Entire Hawk missile wing transported from Kadena to Da Nang;

**July 28, 1965:** U.S. military informs Japan of moving B-52 bombers from Guam to Itazuka (on Kyushu) to protect planes from typhoon; instead, B-52s land at Okinawa's Kadena air base;

**1967:** Introduction of two laws already in effect in Japan to break Okinawa Teachers Association, backbone of the movement;

- A. prohibits teachers from engaging in political activity;
- B. prohibits teachers from participating in labor activity including strikes; also system to check up on teachers efficiency by higher officials;

**January 31, 1967:** Both bills pushed through committee meeting under police guard;

**February 1, 1967:** Mass demonstration forces cancellation of the Diet session considering education bills;

**February 24, 1967:** Conservatives try to open Diet session; 25,000



# OKINAWA

people demonstrate, dragging police away; forced abandonment of education bills; if Okinawa reverts back to Japan these laws automatically go into effect;

**January 1968:** Lyndon Johnson announced Okinawan Chief Executive to be chosen by general election; up to this time appointed by Civil Administrator; this concession granted because U.S. needs bases on Okinawa for a long time to come;

**November 1968:** Choby Yara, chairman of Okinawan Teachers Association and fighter for reversion was progressive candidate; Junji Nishime, mayor of Naha was conservative candidate;

**November 10, 1968:** Yara won hard fought campaign with reversion line;

**November 19, 1968:** Explosion of B-52 bomber inside Kadena Air Base next to Chibana ammunition depot where nuclear weapons were stored; brought into sharp focus that the bases, far from being an economic windfall with a few disadvantages, are instead, an immediate and concrete threat to life; that incident could have been the total destruction of Okinawa; combined with Japan being a willing partner in Security Treaty system this incident changed the Okinawan movement from nationalistic stance (pro-reversion) to anti-war-anti-military stance; wave of meetings and rallies held; led to formation of the Prefectural People's Joint Struggle Committee for the Protection of Human Life (Kenmin Kyoto) which scheduled a general strike with demand that all B-52s be removed from Okinawa; Teachers Union, Okinawa Prefectural Labor Union, Public Officials Union (Kankoro) and Base Workers Union (Zengunro) were scheduled to participate;

**January 11, 1969:** Civil Administrator issued "General Labor Directive"; 10th clause stated: all persons prohibited from engaging in any picketing, rallies or demonstrations intending to disrupt the activities of U.S. military or important industries; directive criticized all over Japan; Japanese government stopped the directive but inherited the responsibility to stop the strike; exerted pressure on Yara government through promise and threat:

A. Promise: Japanese government will enter into negotiations with U.S. for removal of B-52s;

B. Threat: General strike will certainly delay reversion of Okinawa to Japan;

Yara government trapped by reversion ideology;

**February 2, 1969:** Executive committee of Kenmin Kyoto called off strike; angry workers almost staged uprising; a number of wild-cat strikes occurred; B-52s not removed; movement was lied to and effectively coopted by Tokyo government;

**September 1969:** Reclamation work for Toyo Sekiyu oil refinery on edge of Nakagusuku Bay begins without any advance notice to villagers in area; demonstration held immediately demanding suspension of construction; demand refused; struggle commenced;

**November 16, 1969:** Militant support rally held; no political party took part because of cooption by Tokyo;

**November 21, 1969:** Sato and Nixon issue joint communique from Washington; agreement of two main points:

A. Renewal of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty;

B. Reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control in 1972;

**December 4, 1969:** U.S. military suddenly announces plan to dismiss 2400 Okinawa base workers by Spring 1970 because of budget cuts: real reasons:

A. as part of reversion strategy, separate Okinawan people from direct confrontation with the bases and from Americans generally; it is expected that the bases can be better protected indirectly by Japanese government that directly by U.S.; thus Okinawa rule taken over by Security Defense Forces; therefore, reduction of friction and reduction of ability of Okinawans to exercise power over bases through strikes;

B. both U.S. and Japan want to smash base workers union before reversion; part of government integration policy to absorb the militant Okinawan working class movement into co-opted mainland unions;

Another confrontation at Toyo Sekiyu refinery site; police attack village barricades; barricades re-erected;

**December 14, 1969:** Confrontation at Toyo Sekiyu refinery site; emergence of goon squads from Toyo Sekiyu workers union;

**December 28, 1969:** 18th convention of Zengunro; strike vote passed with 95% support; ultimate demand: removal of bases; but as long as they are there they want to keep their jobs for two reasons:

A. simple economic necessity; the bases have destroyed other forms of employment;

B. retention of potential foothold of power over the bases;

**January 8-9, 1970:** First wave of strike.

**January 19-24, 1970:** Second wave of strike; functioning of base seriously disrupted; army computer center out of operation; military transport completely paralyzed; Naha naval port dockworkers stayed off jobs in sympathy; psychological state of crisis prevailed on bases; strikers attacked by "A-sign businessmen"; A-sign is on-limits certificate given to establishments whose business is to fleece GIs (pimps, bartenders, and other hustlers); military retaliated by taking disciplinary action against 2,000 workers;

**January 22, 1970:** 200 villagers broke into Toyo Sekiyu construction site and set fire to bulldozers, cranes, dump trucks and the construction office; first time for this kind of action; showed true colors of Yara administration which resorted to fierce repression;

**April 1970:** Baseworkers movement betrayed by Union chairman Uehara who accepted a truce accord without cancellation of dismissals and without submitting agreements to union members for vote; struggle showed that workers themselves were most radical;

**September 10-11, 1970:** Uehara truce ends; another strike held; change in slogan from "Return the bases" (a demand addressed to U.S.) to "Seize the bases" (a statement of intention); emergence of solidarity and support by GI movement; signals a new level of struggle for liberation against two imperialist powers which jointly rule Okinawa; this strike headed by Hansen workers movement (Anti-war Youth League) a new revolutionary movement of young workers;

**December 20, 1970:** Koza uprising; American ran down Okinawan with car; MPs released offender without checking to see if victim was all right; 10,000 citizens took over control of the streets; held back police with rocks and molotov cocktails; overturned and burned 80 American owned cars; 6 military police cars destroyed; 500 people smashed through the gate at Kadena air base burning several buildings; High Commissioner Lampert announced immediately that planned removal of poison gas would not take place;

**December 31, 1970:** Kunigami farmers invade U.S. marine artillery range; drove away troops guarding it; prevented firing practice scheduled that day;

**April 28, 1971:** Okinawa Day; 20,000 people meet in Yoyogi Park in Naha City;

**May 16, 1971:** Anti-war GIs hold their first public anti-war rally; proclaim solidarity and support both strikes;

**May 19, 1971:** General strike to crush the Reversion Treaty based on Japan-U.S. Joint Communique of 1969; strike was mishandled but schools were closed and many base workers walked off their jobs;

**May 21, 1971:** Arrival of 200 rightists from Japan to take part in Crush the General Strike Rally;

**June 17, 1971:** Okinawa Reversion Treaty signed simultaneously in Tokyo and Washington; Okinawa governor Choby Yara was prevented from attending ceremonies;

**June 22, 1971:** Japan Foreign Minister Aichi met at Naha by demonstrators shouting "Aichi Go Home";

**June 25, 1971:** 200 SDF members who entered Okinawa on LST were blocked from entering Naha Port by port workers who were picketing main gate of Naha military post;

**June 25, 1971:** two members of Maritime SDF beaten up by two Okinawan youths;

**September 18, 1971:** Sato sends Emperor Hirohito on 18 day tour of Europe; greeted by demonstration;

**September 25, 1971:** Commando unit of four Okinawans living in Japan invaded Imperial Palace to confront Emperor with letter of protest;

**October 15, 1971:** Okinawa office of Japanese government fire-bombed;

**October 19, 1971:** Japanese Diet meets to debate Okinawa question; Sato's speech interrupted by firecrackers; long banner reading "We Smash Okinawa Reversion" unfurled; leaflets scattered; action by Okinawan Youth League;

.....  
**May 15, 1972:** Okinawa reverted back to Japan.



On May 15, 1972, the reversion of Okinawa to Japan took place and Okinawa became a Japanese prefecture. However, the reversion does not change the conditions on that island against which the people are fighting. Under provisions of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (AMPO), the U.S. has the right to maintain whatever military forces it desires on and around Japan. The reversion did not result in the removal of the U.S. air bases, equipment, and men; it probably will not result in any positive changes in the economic and social life of the Okinawan people. The struggle of the Okinawan people continues, now, against a two-fold enemy.

The struggle in Okinawa is especially important to me because I am a Japanese in America. I was born in Japan (a strongly reviving militaristic-imperialistic nation) but have lived in the U.S. (the most powerful imperialistic nation) for most of my life. I have felt solidarity and a certain amount of identity with the revolutionary people of Vietnam and Southeast Asia, China,

Korea, and the Philippines that has given me pride in being Asian in America. But being specifically a Japanese (or Japanese American) has given me no revolutionary nation to directly identify with either culturally or personally.

It was only recently that I learned of the Okinawan people's massive militant movements against the reversion, Ampo, the remilitarization of Japan, and the war in Southeast Asia. I have also only recently learned of the support movements and revolutionary movements in Japan of students and workers and of the people of Sanrizuka, all of which has raised my spirit of solidarity with the people of Japan. Their struggles are just as difficult as the struggle here for we both are in the process of building a revolution in the bellies of two very powerful monsters. And in this process I am now proud to be Japanese, an Asian, one of the Third World peoples, a part of humanity, struggling for revolution in my life.

Tracy Okida



*This was translated and sent to the brothers and sisters in the U.S. by the comrades of the Okinawan Youth League.*

With their decisive defeat in Vietnam and Indochina, the U.S. imperialists were confronted with the deep-rooted strength of the struggles for national liberation within the peoples of Asia. They have now changed their strategy of invasion into Asia to include the help of Japanese imperialists.

The first task of the Japanese imperialists as the deputy for U.S. imperialists is the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972, and the ordering of its "Self-Defense Forces" to Okinawa.

It is undoubtedly clear to everyone that this '72 reversion and unification of Okinawa is another mistreatment of Okinawa—the third in history.

We are determined to stop the reversion with which they are trying to mobilize our motherland into militarism again, and also in terms of our true solidarity with all the peoples of Asia for our liberation, we have to smash the Diet Assembly for the ratification of Okinawa's reversion for us to determine the destiny of Okinawa ourselves.

We youth of Okinawa have experienced the movement for the reversion of Okinawa under the oppressive domination by U.S. imperialists, through which we were taught that the only way for our liberation is to become literally Japanese citizens—Okinawa becoming a prefecture of Japan. However, when we started to search our identity seriously, we found ourselves living on mainland Japan as 'aliens.' Then we recalled...

...What has Japan and the Japanese done to Okinawa and Okinawans in the past? Then we started to think...

...Okinawa is not to achieve its true liberation by our becoming citizens of Japan! Then

we realized...

...Did we say to anyone that "We want to become Japanese" when we were born? Then we cry out from the bottom of our hearts, "This land Japan is not our fatherland!" The Japanese have no right to determine the destiny of Okinawa.

We think that our struggle for the liberation of Okinawa is a struggle for national liberation based on a class perspective. True democracy has nothing to do with chauvinism and nationalism. As each individual has his or her particular character and life, each national group in the world has its particular history and particular political circumstances of being controlled by imperialism.

All struggles for national liberation have got to be carried on with a correct strategy, with a correct judgement of the particular national nature and the existing circumstances. Without such national consciousness, a truly international perspective cannot be developed. Only through positively subjective national struggles can a true international solidarity for liberation be developed.

It is not correct to debate over the liberation of Okinawa—whether it should be independent or reverted to Japan.

The conditions in Okinawa show today that it is in the midst of the tension in Asia. That is why it would be very dangerous for us and might give an advantage to the enemy for us to draw our conclusions without due process, for Okinawa has the role of the imperialists' base for the invasion in the Far East.

The complexity of the question of Okinawa is that no one should try to solve (conclude) the solution in white, black, or gray; nor should anyone leave the question unanswered and blank. Okinawans cannot be that irresponsible to our own land.

# 沖縄 縄

## We Are Ready for Action, Now!

It's not just our struggle for our land, either. We have the struggle of the farmers in Sanrizuka in solidarity with us because the struggle of Sanrizuka is a positive and subjective one. That is, even if the particular demand of the Sanrizuka farmers is land, it is substantially a struggle against the construction of an airport where military aircrafts will leave for the purpose of invasion in the interest of Japanese and U.S. imperialists.

Japanese workers and students in struggle are our friends. But we regret a great deal that some of such Japanese people try to deal with the question of Okinawa only from their partisan political interests, and we cannot help holding back our anger toward our Okinawan brothers and sisters who have submitted themselves to such a tendency without critical thinking.

The struggle of the people of Okinawa to stop the Japanese military's invasion into Okinawa and Asia is in solidarity with and on the same front with the struggling peoples of Vietnam and Indochina.

We must smash the Japanese imperialists and the Diet Assembly for the ratification of Okinawa's reversion to Japan by all means possible. And determine the destiny of Okinawa for ourselves, for the true liberation of Okinawa and for building up a true solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, including the Japanese people positively in struggle. We are ready for action, NOW!

The power structure is overwhelmingly strong. But that does not mean that it can interfere with our ideas and rights to live as human beings. *We must liberate Okinawa by all means!*

—Action Squad of the Okinawan Youth League



# AMPO

## A Report from the Japanese New Left No. 9-10



The "Ampo" treaty system (U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty) is the basis of U.S.-Japanese collaboration in the pacification of Asia. It is a sophisticated, evolving relationship affecting the lives of people all over the world. It has produced a national way of life intolerable to the Japanese people, who are resisting it with every means at their disposal.

*Ampo*, the English language magazine, is one small, but important means. It is not impartial, nor is it meant for impartial readers. In the interests of meaningful international solidarity, *Ampo* tries to report accurately the view of Japan and the world from the perspective of the people who are in struggle here. Militarism, monopoly capitalism, repression, pollution, racism... coming down on us here and on you, there in Amerika. To what extent will we understand each other's experience and stand together?

Subscriptions are \$6.00 per year (for six issues.) For subscriptions, write to: *Ampo*, 1232 Market Street, Room 104, San Francisco, CA, 94102. (For editorial correspondence, write *Ampo*, P.O. Box 5250, Tokyo International, Japan.)

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### AN "AMERASIAN SUMMER" IN PASADENA

Whether people are willing to face it or not, parental difficulties, identity crisis, and drug abuse exist within the Pasadena Asian community. Ignoring these difficulties as the community has done in the past, has not alleviated them. We realize that these difficulties are not the problems in themselves, but that they are symptoms of a much greater problem, the problem of a plastic world called Amerikan society. Until we can deal with the social sickness that exists, things like drug overdoses, suicides, busts, and the draft will continue.

School's out, nothing to do. Young people will be searching for alternatives, and a sense of belonging. Problems stemming from a racist school system, parental pressures, cultural pressures, all complemented with the mass media's castration of Asian people will be mounting in the upcoming months.

In an attempt to deal with some of these problems, PAC Involvement will be staffing a Drop-in Center and Hotline.

Hotline: 792-5247, Fri. and Sat.,  
8pm-12pm

Drop-in Center:

Mon. - Art Workshop 7pm  
Tues. - Asian Sisters meeting 7:30  
Wed. - P.E. class 8pm  
led by Franklin Odo  
Thurs. - Weekly films 9pm

Fri. - Hotline 8-12pm  
Sat. - Hotline 8-12pm

Every individual, at one time in their lives, has felt an intense loneliness, somehow alienated from his/her peers. The human need for sensitive relationships is a common feeling among all people. In "Personal Encounter," male/female relationships, personal problems, etc., can be discussed on a one-to-one basis. This will not be a counseling system in that one person will come down as the psychiatrist helping the emotionally disturbed person. Instead, it will be a total sharing experience where two individuals can both learn from each other. Group discussions and sensitivity groups will take place on a monthly basis or whenever people feel they are ready to relate to people in groups.

In addition to the human need for deep, personal relationships, every individual needs to be able to relate to and be accepted by groups. In these group encounters, we also hope to reach those individuals who have been alienated from the Asian community and bring them into society.

The Drop-in Center will also be used as a library-study center. A collection of literature relating to Asian struggles and other pertinent information will be available to individuals who wish to expand their awareness as Asian American individuals. Essentially, the library-study center will be a facility for self-education.

### ITA OPENS COMMUNITY DROP-IN CENTER

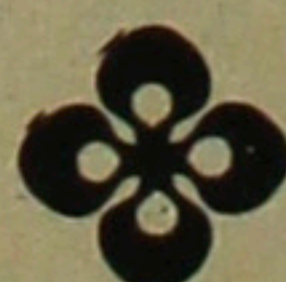
Involved Together Asians (ITA) announces the opening of our community drop-in center. We would like to take this opportunity to meet you, the people. We are a people's group whose main function and design is to participate, educate, and to create community involvement. Therefore to effectively fulfill our purpose and affect constructive change, we invite you to participate. We will be opening on July 16 from 10am to 10pm. Our address is 2002 Purdue Ave., West Los Angeles, CA 90025.

KAIHO!!!



### ASIAN UNITY DANCE SET FOR PASADENA

In an attempt to create an atmosphere of brotherhood and sisterhood within our community, our group, Asian Unity, was formed. We are a new group working out of the Asian community of Pasadena and are still in the process of developing some type of direction for ourselves. To help us learn to work together as a group, we are throwing a unity dance for our brothers and sisters on July 29 at the Pasadena Japanese Cultural Center, 595 Lincoln Ave. The dance will last from 9:30 to 2:00 am and will feature Free Flight and Hiroshima. For more information, call Jan at 798-5261.





Los Angeles, June 18: Today at Senshin Buddhist Church the combined staffs of *Gidra* and *Chinese Awareness* served chow mein to no less than six hundred hungry members of the community.

It was an auspicious beginning in the field of "benefit performances" for both organizations. All the proceeds will be used by the two community-oriented periodicals in order to sustain the work they are now doing.

The early morning hours saw staff members busily setting up tables and chairs, firing up huge stoves, and preparing mountains of food. With almost predictable precision the event shifted into high gear, as both the audience participation increased and the afternoon moved on. As for the "stage action" the movement of the noodles and vegetables was only matched by the fluid grace of the chopped chicken. So excellent was the chow mein itself, that it left the audience begging for more.

The climax of the event was reached with the appearance of Chris & Joanne and Charlie Chin. The audience produced oohs and ahhs as the singing team moved from one ballad to another with the expertise of those who know how to really entertain. It was a "socko" performance.

This writer can only admire the planning and work which was necessary to carry out the "fun brunch." Special thanks should be extended to the "supporting cast" which included: the *On Luck Restaurant* which, with incredible patience and generosity, shared their cooking knowledge and facilities with *Gidra* and *Chinese Awareness* staff members the night before the benefit, and also the Senshin Buddhist Church which allowed us the use of their facilities on the day of the "fun brunch."

Altogether the "fun brunch" was a blazing success. Bravo *Gidra*! Bravo *Chinese Awareness*! Bravo Asian American community!

Lettin' de cat out 'o de bag...

In response to the overwhelming demands of those at the "fun brunch" who asked, "Umm-ummh! That was some *souful* chow mein! How d'ya make it?," we are reprinting the recipe:

**Ingredients:** Celery, onions, raw chow mein noodles, chicken, bean sprouts, shoyu, sugar, vegetable oil, and ajinomoto (Chinese, if possible).

Slice celery, onion and chicken meat. Wash all the vegetables (bean sprouts, celery and onions). Marinate chicken in a shoyu and sugar mixture. Put approximately 1/3 cup of vegetable oil in a wok (or a large sauce pan) over a medium high flame. When hot, add marinated chicken and cook for two minutes, stirring constantly. Add celery and onions and cook for one minute. Add about one cup of "gravy" (made of one part shoyu, one part water, sugar and ajinomoto to taste, and enough cornstarch until a "coffee-with-cream" color is attained) and cover for approximately one minute. Add bean sprouts, mix and cover for thirty seconds. Pour over toasted chow mein noodles. To toast noodles, steam for approximately 20 minutes or until cooked. Rinse in cold water. Drain well and toast on a well-oiled grill or frying pan (the noodles cook much better with lots of oil). After you've done all this, you'll have some of the most *souful* chow mein this side of Asia.



# EAT IT!!



## A REPLY TO A REPLY

May 30, 1972

*Gidra*,

We were appalled to read Mike Murase's reply to Gene Muramoto's letter in support of the candidacy of George McGovern for the Presidency. (See *Gidra*: May, 1972; Page 18.) Admittedly, McGovern is not perfect. However, if Murase is aware of one who is (himself perhaps?), we suggest that he has material for beginning a new religion.

In Murase's reply, we find a persistent tone of martyrdom, a desire to go completely down the tubes, based apparently on the belief that since things are bad and the best, electable candidate is imperfect, it is somehow purer to go down without any effort to make things better. This smacks disturbingly of a concentration camp mentality.

A parable: Gene and Mike are walking in the woods when suddenly they are confronted by a huge tiger. The tiger roars and begins to charge. Gene and Mike both scream. Gene looks around him and sees on the ground a linnet's feather, a cat's eye agate and a slender shaft of bamboo. With brief (very brief) hesitation, he picks up the bamboo and prepares to meet the animal's charge. Mike, very nattily holy in his Asian brother hairshirt, ridicules Gene and begins a lengthy discourse on the class war. Now, we can see that neither man has much of a chance against the hungry tiger, but were we with the two in the woods it wouldn't take us much time to decide who we were going to stand behind. We prefer the compromised pragmatist to the ineffectual and irritatingly holy purist.

We suggest that we are indeed in the woods and are faced with the techno-bureaucratic equivalent of the hungry tiger. We agree with Mr. Murase that our chances with the bamboo shaft (the vote) are quite meager, perhaps even non-existent. But they are infinitely superior to the chances of the man who prefers to indulge himself in self-congratulatory, naive, rhetorical and oh-so-holy pseudo-Marxist Buddha-Buddha-ing.

With deep regret that such a letter was necessary, we remain

Sincerely yours,

Takashi Matsuoka  
Laura Tokunaga

P.S. We realize that this letter is futile but our anger was such that even a futile letter was better than allowing Murase to slide (and we do mean slide) by. If McGovern is defeated on June 6th or in November, and the man who delivers the inaugural address in January is, once again, Cannibal Orgasm, then Murase will be able to congratulate himself on having contributed to it, and will no doubt slip further and further into his religionistic ramblings—and we are sorry to say that he will have dragged us along with him.

GIDRA / JULY, 1972 SEVENTEEN



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# WELFARE FUND DRIVE

Dear Friends:

A Sansei teenage boy carries a crippled ninety year old Issei downstairs so that the man can be taken for medical care. A blind Issei on welfare is explaining welfare technicalities to an older Issei woman, also blind. A young Sansei lass listens for two hours as an Issei woman welfare recipient tells of her problems with governmental red tape. The Issei speaks Japanese and Sansei understands only English, but the youngsters realizes that there is therapeutic value in letting the old woman ramble about her problems. The lady was later referred to a bilingual volunteer.

These are but three of the 566 direct services provided in January 1972 by *unpaid volunteer workers* for the Japanese Welfare Rights Organization. It's too bad that all of us can't

have the time or the opportunity to help the Issei elderly. This actually is a chance for you to help.

Are you wondering if there is a real need for assisting these Issei and a few Nisei on the welfare rolls? The Japanese Welfare Rights Organization was started in February 1971 with thirty-nine members. On May 20, 1972, only fifteen months later, there were 386 members. Their average age is seventy-seven, and their income range is \$185 to \$213 per month.

In January 1972, the organization performed 566 separate services for their members and non-members. Major categories of service were: Assistance for Alien Registration (186), Counseling (74), Referrals to various social agencies (59), Medicare and Medi Cal (68), Welfare Aid (32), Immigration (31), and other (116). Our Welfare Fund Drive to cover the organ-

ization's expense for one year has a goal of \$8,000 and the drive will be from May 25 to July 3 (contributions after July 3 will be accepted gratefully). *None of this money is budgeted for payroll, as the services are performed by fifteen volunteer workers. None of your contributions will go for fund-raising expense, as three Nisei businessmen have agreed to underwrite this expense.* Here is a case where every penny contributed will go directly to help the Japanese welfare recipients.

Your contributions are tax deductible, and it will work for the entire year to help those who are really in dire need. Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,  
Edward Tokeshi,  
JACL-JWRO Fund  
Drive Chairman

## roses aren't reds

## violets aren't true's

Whereas:

—According to the U.S. Senate Report Investigations, in 1969, the drug companies produced 8 billion amphetamine pills, of which 99% were sold illegally, and over 12 to 15 billion barbiturates, of which 40% entered the illegal market;

—the Controlled Substances Act of 1970 requires federal controls on the production and distribution of various drugs legally produced or introduced into the United States and these drugs are placed in one of five schedules which indicate the degree of control;

—in February 1972 production quotas for amphetamines were reduced by 80% as a result of the drug being moved from Schedule III to Schedule II, allowing for heavier restrictions on its production and distribution;

—this cutback was still "adequate to provide for the estimated medical, scientific, research and industrial needs of the U.S., lawful export requirements, and the establishment and maintenance of reserve stocks," according to Attorney General John Mitchell;

—such measures have been taken with regard to amphetamines, yet no action has been taken to control the production and distribution of barbiturates, thus leaving it in Schedule III where production restrictions have not been adequate;

—barbiturates have been found to be more addictive than any other narcotic, except alcohol, and the danger from withdrawal much greater;

—in Los Angeles County from July 1970 to June 1972, the Coroner's Report indicates that barbiturate overdoses accounted for 32% of all drug-related deaths and 70% of all drug-related suicides;

—in 1970, there were at least 31 deaths due to drug overdose in the Asian community known to various self-help groups in the Los Angeles area;

—Los Angeles District Attorney Joseph P. Busch has testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency that barbiturates such as seconal are being sold illegally because manufacturers over-produce them and do little to control their sale;

—Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine expressed the following concern about the priorities of the Federal Government regarding drug laws and research (documented in the *Congressional Record*, June 10, 1971):

"...In 1971, the Federal Government will spend \$62 million enforcing our drug laws. That's less than the price of shutting down the SST."

"...In 1971, the Federal Government will spend only \$7 million on Drug Education, \$20 million on Drug Research, and \$43 million on Treatment and Rehabilitation. That equals the cost of the Vietnam War for one day in 1968."

Therefore: be it resolved that;

1. The production and distribution of barbiturates be strictly controlled and regulated;
2. Barbiturates be moved from Schedule III to Schedule II;
3. Severe penalties (including criminal prosecution) be imposed upon drug companies and their officials who violate production and distribution controls;
4. Priorities be given to the funding of community-based drug abuse programs.

Asian Community Drug Offensive  
Los Angeles, California





right now, i'm evaluating my own condition and some of the things that are slowing me down. one of the things that i've been thinking about is my use of drugs. you know, it has been a while and it is one thing i enjoy doing, but... no longer acid, whites, etc. and i sure haven't been getting into the hard stuff but...BUT. i have not reached any absolutes, but let me open up my mind to you and let you check some of the things i'm trying to evaluate.

\*\*\*\*\*

i know some people who are turned off by "the movement" because of many "movement people" who use drugs "heavily."

a friend of mine who wanted to get into "the movement" felt compelled to use drugs in order to be accepted by "movement people."

malcolm x, in his autobiography, looks back on his life and gives his thoughts about drugs. for him, it seems to represent a real form of slavery. he speaks to me loudly when he points out who's on top of the pyramid of drugs. (even if you don't hear me, read on.)

SELF-DETERMINATION seems to be one of the main goals of "the movement." are drugs conducive to SELF-DETERMINATION? it seems that every time i come down i feel as if for a period of time i was "frozen."

sometimes when something is bothering me, i get high. is it because i can't deal with it, or is it because getting high is the easiest way?

sometimes when the joint is being passed around i don't feel like getting high—but don't really feel like not getting high either. i end up smoking. sometimes a few hits but usually more than a few hits. is it because i prefer not to make a decision for myself? do i prefer to "flow" with what others are doing around me?

\*\*\*\*\*

at the basic level, i am "the movement." without the smallest unit of i, there can be no larger grouping into a solid larger unit. as "the movement" i want SELF-DETERMINATION. the states of want and being have to be resolved.

IN AMERICA, THERE IS NO ONE WHO IS GOING TO GIVE ME OR WANTS ME TO HAVE SELF-DETERMINATION. i have to start to be.

since i want to move, it is necessary to harness the power that is in i. i determine where my priorities are at. i move.

when I get together with YOU, "the movement" is US. where are YOU?