

EAST ASIAN AND AMERASIAN LIBERATION

Proceedings

Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology

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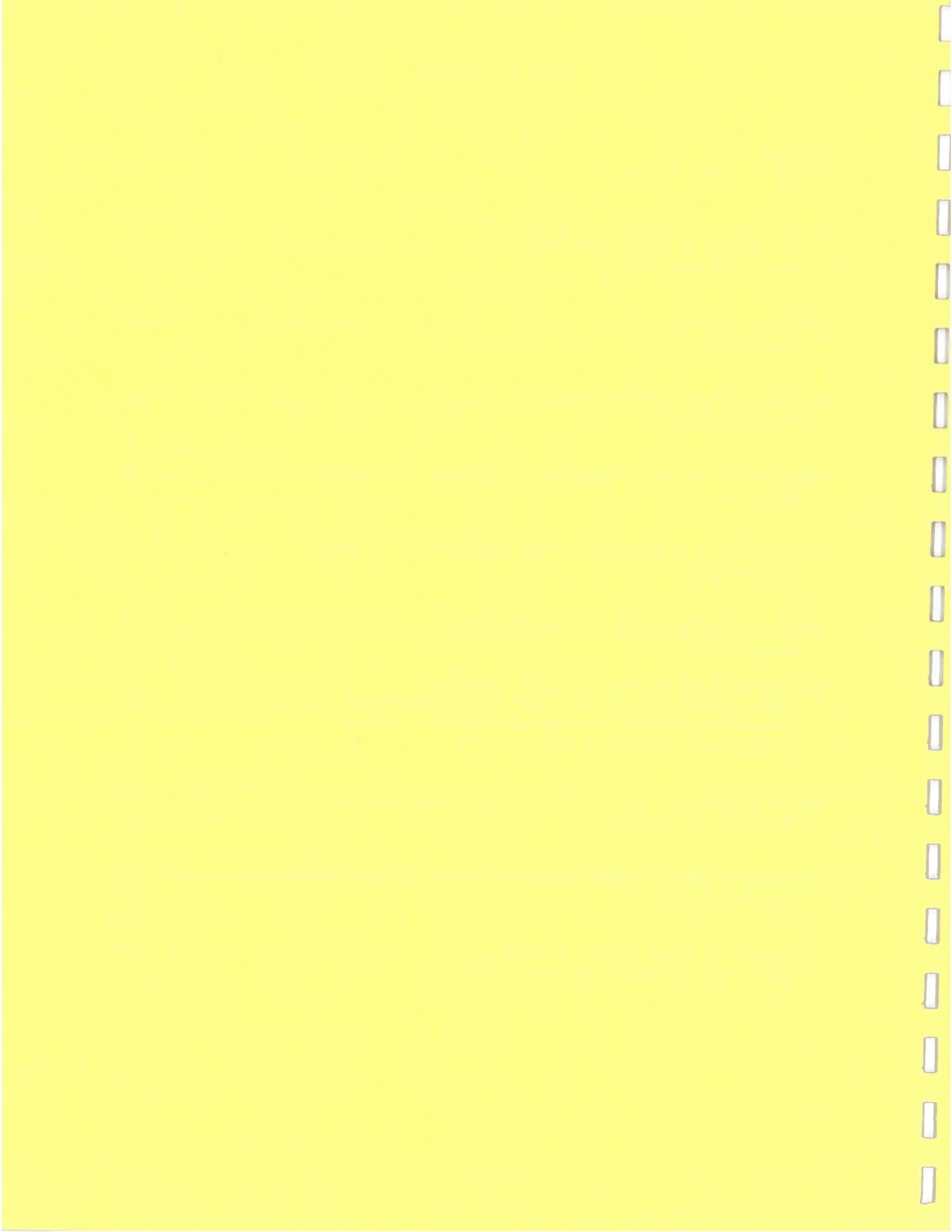
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Roy I. Sano, Editor

ROOTS OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE IN ASIA AND ITS IMPACT ON ASIAN AMERICANS.....	1
Harold Hak-won Sunoo	
REPORT TO GLIDE.....	14
Lloyd Wake	
KOREAN POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY.....	15
Yu Khill Shinn	
THE KOREANS AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.....	18
Ha Tai Kim	
DEPORTATION OF A MISSIONARY FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.....	22
George Ogle	
DEMOCRACY AND MILITARISM IN SOUTH KOREA.....	29
George Ogle	
THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES: AMERICAN CORPORATIONS, MARTIAL LAW, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT.....	35
Corporation Information Center, National Council of Churches of Christ, USA	
THE FILIPINOS.....	39
Teresita C. Bautista	
EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.....	44
Cao thi My Loc	
STATEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA.....	47
Christian Conference of Asia, 1974	



PREFACE

There are words we regret ever uttering. I have plenty in that category. But some of these memories are easier to live with if something better has come along.

The regrettable words I associate with the Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology, Berkeley, California, February 3, 1975, are the words I uttered at the Consultation on Minority Issues and Mission Strategies, Kyoto, Japan, May, 1974. After a challenging statement on "international solidarity" by Dr. Harry Daniels of the Christian Council of Asia, I offered a response. I complained that ethnic minorities in the United States of America have so many pressing needs loading them down that they had no time for additional involvements in international issues in East Asia. I complained that additional appeals for more voluntary work and sacrificial giving would tax weary people whose resources were already limited.

By the end of that Consultation my views changed. We heard histories of Japanese oppressing Korean, Taiwanese, Ainu and their own Eta class. We visited Korean neighborhoods, their "ethnic studies" schools, shops and families. We ate together, we worshipped together, we talked long into the night. After the Consultation I took a very brief trip to the Republic of Korea and had a taste of oppression there, visiting with people under house arrest, and being hassled for a message I was carrying for a friend.

All of these experiences converted me. "International solidarity" was not an added burden to an Asian American. As a matter of fact, the first hand contact with committed Christian struggling for human dignity provided a boost unlike any other lifting of the spirit I had had. I felt as if there was a "liberation" movement which needed to be shared, broadcasted, spread, caught! It was Christian to the core. This was Good News of God's Mighty Action in our midst, today.

Insights into their experiences abroad illuminated our experiences here. The inspiration gained there deepened the commitment to work for liberation amidst the subtle oppressions in the United States. Thus, I regret ever complaining to the conferees about the added burden and the abstraction of "international solidarity" in the struggle for human liberation. And yet, I am grateful for the experiences which have helped me see the substance and the vitality in that once alien phrase, "international solidarity."

We are now on the verge of the era of history centered in the Pacific Basin. The network and interchanges in politics, economics, and culture which now exist across the Pacific is a reality. The church needs to update itself to these realities and build its own machinery and process to facilitate the Mighty Acts of God in humanizing the American Empire's operation in this area, or to promote its replacement by some other systems.

The following manuscripts share in various ways the desire to promote this "international solidarity." Many of the papers come from the Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology, Monday, February 3, 1975, Trinity United Methodist Church, Berkeley, California. It was attended by over 150 persons.

Thirteen persons only left check marks on the registration form because of the possibilities of intelligence agents who might use the information against them! Such is the interlocking system of intelligence work between the U.S. government and foreign powers. The Asian Center for Theology and Strategies (ACTS) is honored to be the sponsor of the conference. We wish to thank Julia Estrella, Yu Khill Shinn, and Kay Sakaguchi who served on the planning committee.

Roy I. Sano
Director (ACTS)

Roots of Social Resistance in Asia and Its Impact on Asian-Americans

A group of concerned Japanese Christians put on a full page advertisement in The New York Times on May 5, 1974 on behalf of Korean Christians who are now imprisoned by President Park Chung Hee's government of South Korea. It was an appeal to American Christians which read: "We, Japanese Christians, are deeply disturbed by the present circumstances in the Republic of Korea, and particularly concerned regarding the plight of Christians in that country who have to endure the religious oppression imposed upon them by the government." (1)

These Japanese, and now many Americans, Canadians, Germans, and many other Christians, have expressed their concern over the situation in South Korea. The expulsion by the Korean government of Dr. George Ogle, an American Methodist missionary who had spent twenty years in Korea, has strengthened the international solidarity of Christians more than ever to support the Korean Christians.

A group of Christian ministers in Korea declared, "Our people have gone through trials and sufferings, social chaos, economic deprivation, and especially the tragic Korean War and the resulting political dictatorship. It is the ardent aspiration of our people that a human community might be restored. However, the hope of the people for such a restoration has been cruelly crushed by President Park's dictatorship and ruthless political repression." (2) Thus the underground Christian movement began to challenge Park's regime whose survival is solely due to American military and economic aids.

The first step in the preparation of this paper was an easy one since the theme, suggested by the sponsor, is "Roots of Recent Social Resistance in Asia and Its Impact on Asian-Americans." Dr. Roy Sano wanted me to deliver in 45 minutes the suggested theme, and brother Roy was more optimistic than I.

My major concern, after the assignment, was to raise questions. Why social resistance in Asia today? We are, at least this group, sufficiently informed about the general conditions there, so I shall avoid any detailed descriptions of happenings, but limit myself to a few essential background facts.

First, let us look at the political condition. Two countries, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, which have been identified as models of Western-type democracy in Asia during the past two decades, have suddenly erupted as two dictatorial governments. Ever since martial laws had been declared both in the Philippines (September 23, 1972) and in South Korea (October 17, 1972), the presidents Marcos and Park became one man ruler of the nations. Under their dictatorial political control, the powers have been concentrated in them personally, and have created dilemmas for both the indigenous people as well as their sponsor--the United States.

After 30 years of political control over South Korea since 1945 by the U.S. government, directly and indirectly, by spending more than 37 billion dollars of American taxpayer's money, and still continuing military and economic aids to a dictator, stability and democracy are further away from Korean people than ever.

Secondly, the economic condition. Both Korean and Philippine economic development with conscientious American and Japanese financial aids are identified as "economic miracle" in modern times, but their "economic miracle" brought no

visible improvement to the livelihoods of the majority. At the same time, foreign investors have gained the highest percentage of profit returns. The result is that the rich have become richer while the poor became poorer.

The necessity for a modernization program among underdeveloped nations is evident, and we have no qualms about their aims. The question is, however, who benefits by it? There are three basic problems which both Marcos and Park regimes must solve in order to bring about successful economic modernization: First, the problem of capital formulation; second, the relationship between the haves and have nots; third, the relationship between the economic development and political interference. How can they accumulate national capital? The most natural situation would be the capital accumulation by the farmers which could then be invested in industrial development. For instance, modern Japanese industrial development was supported with the farmers' forced savings through the Meiji period. Could this method be applicable to the Philippines or South Korea? Probably not, because the farmers are too poor. Consequently, they have to borrow from foreign countries.

As a result of foreign investments and borrowing, two things happened. First, the city capitalists, who are under the influence of foreign capitals, became the policy-makers of national policies; second, the policy-makers have completely neglected the agricultural economy. For instance, both the Korean and the Philippine governments have not invested sufficiently in land improvement, crop rotation, the expansion of the farm markets, the improvement of transportation of farm products, the use of scientific and technological implements, introduction of adequate farm machineries, and financial aid to the farmers. In other words, an equilibrium in development for its agricultural development did not balance the industrial development. As a result, the consumer powers of the majority population remain unchanged at the lowest level and the industrial commodities seek markets abroad, by-passing their potential customers at home.

What can we expect from such an economic policy? What is the result of the "economic miracle" in South Korea? It resulted in the increase of the balance of payment deficit which averaged one billion dollars per year or 12.8% of the average GNP since 1968. With high cost of raw materials, especially of crude oil, the balance of payment deficit will gradually increase. On top of that, about 30% decline of last year's exports will add more economic problems to Park's regime. Recent 20% devaluation of Korean currency and the closing of most of the newly-built factories under the auspices of the "Saemael Movement" in the country-side are good evidence of the economic problems.

None of the "economic miracle" activities are related with raising the living standards of the vast majority of the population. As a matter of fact, the poor are getting poorer than ever. In the case of the Philippines, the Manila regime experienced 25 years of Watergate. It is imperative to redistribute the land among those who actually worked it, but because the policy-makers in Manila are themselves landlords or in their pay, this was impossible.

Third, the social conditions. The irresponsibilities of the decision-makers and the support of the foreign powers resulted in several serious social conditions. First of all, the corruption of the political and economic elites became common practice. For instance, 70% of the economic elites who borrowed foreign capitals with the government's approval declared their business as "unhealthy" by the government, and had the responsible banks to take charge of their business while the businessmen themselves accumulated personal wealth. About twenty-five of the largest Korean companies which closely collaborate with Park's

regime are all dominated by either Japanese or American interests today. Thirdly, the medium sized Korean business firms are squeezed out by the foreign dominated companies. The government favors foreign invested companies through tax benefits, anti-strike law, and duty-free import of raw materials. Fourthly, there is the ever increasing unemployment on the farms, as well as in the cities, in spite of new factories that are built. A high school graduate's starting wage at Masan textile factories, quoted between 65 to 75 cents a day, is an example of the low wages maintained. Fifthly, the vast majority of the population feels that they do not participate in the making of a modern state in their societies.

The rich become richer not because they work harder or are more intelligent than others, and the poor are poor not because they work less or are lazy. The rich are richer because they own not only the means of production, but also receive government support, taking advantage of the cheap labor of the working people. As already pointed out, there is an anti-strike law which prevents the workers to organize and demand their rights in South Korea.

As a result of such conditions, "economic miracle" or modernization has taken place without working class participation, or worse, against their interests. It is obvious that the majority of the people have never had much of a chance to take part in making decisions for their politics, economic life, social life, religious life, and their destiny. They are strangers in their own society.

Fourth, the condition of the church. Any sensitive Christian recognizes that a large portion of the church today is alienated from the great majority of mankind. The reason is simple. The church, a major part of it, identifies with the economic and political power in the present system. The church became friends of the rich, not of the poor; friends of power, not of the oppressed; friends of the rulers, and not of the ruled. The state of affairs is clearly offensive to His children, and therefore to God Himself.

Now let us see some of the characteristics of Korean Christian behavior in a Korean historical setting. I shall suggest the following set of hypotheses in order to understand the present dilemma in Korea.

1. The leaders of the Christian Church in Korea are overwhelmingly conservative, sectarian, ritualistic, and formalistic. Most of the Protestant churches have not changed their beliefs, attitudes, and theologies during the eighty to ninety years of its history.
2. In spite of significant contributions toward self-awareness and nationhood by the church, the majority of the leaders are not influenced by the contemporary trends of the world church.
3. Three characteristic elements of Christian conservatism prevail in Korea today:
 - a. The feeling of regression which occurred during the Japanese occupation continues to dominate the mood of the church even after the liberation of the nation.
 - b. The church lacks a guiding concept in a changing world due to strong foreign influences; indigenous theology has not developed.
 - c. The 'other world' oriented conservatism discourages any meaningful social involvement of the church.

4. As a result, the Christian church in Korea has been alienated from the Korean society until very recent social resistances.

Causes of Social Resistance

Let us now turn to find the causes of all these happenings. Major forces of social resistances in Asia today comes from the youth, college students. It is true in the Philippines, Thailand, Japan, and certainly in South Korea. In the case of Korea, the student body of Seoul National University's Liberal Arts and Science College initiated the very first college student demonstration in October 1973, which spread to a nation-wide protest movement. Let us hear a reason why they resisted Park's government. A statement said: "We break our silent resistance and rise up as our conscience demands. The hopeless corruptions, the unjust oppression, and poverty are driving people to despair."⁽³⁾

The student protesters, unlike in the United States, risked their lives, liberty, and their future. The students demonstrated with traditional courage and dignity against the "barbarous corruption" and immorality of the privileged class.

1. First cause. By the tone of the statement, it is unmistakable to see why the youth lead social resistance today. They are morally indignant about what's happening in their societies. Therefore, I will suggest that the moral issue is the first cause of today's social resistance movement in Asia. We blinded ourselves to the moral question of our Vietnam policy until the students challenged the draft system on the college campuses. Our routines, institutionalized commitments, and familiar duties occupy most of our life without questioning their meanings. Our values which shaped us are no longer protecting us from the shocks of the present. Thanks to the youth, we are more aware of our troubles and true values of life today. It is not unreasonable to look to the lives of our more sensitive youths to understand if a new moral sense is emerging. A new moral sense, like religious visions, is transmitted and given new consciousness through the lives of human beings. Such moral sense provides meanings and purposes that bring our lives together and integrate us more wholly.

I was more puzzled, rather than moved, by defense attorney William Frates, who stated in his opening statement that: "Richard Nixon deceived, misled, lied to and used John Ehrlichman," and described his client as a "loyal servant" who had been "thrown to the wolves" by a willful master.

While it was clear from the outset that Richard Nixon was not guiltless, John Ehrlichman cannot pass his crime to his old master at this late date, because the power wielded by the Nixon White House was the power of an oligarchy. H. R. Haldeman, another member of that Mafia-like team, answered to a proposal by an aide below his own rank, "your job is to do, not to think."

This kind of morality the youth is challenging today. What today's rebellious youth throughout the world share is a common ideology that the present ruling system is hypocritical, unworthy of respect, outmoded, and in urgent need of change. They are speaking out against the repression, double-crossing, and authoritarianism of the ruling class.

They realize that the traditional values of Western industrialized society became devitalized, and living in such societies demands amoral attitudes. They feel that the moral urgency behind the economic system has lost its purposes.

The youth knows what is happening in the modernization programs which Presidents Marcos and Park promised to deliver. To strike out such moral corruption is a natural reaction of the young people. They feel that they are oppressed by the immorality and illegitimacy of the dictators. Such corruption and decadence of traditional morality cause today's social resistance in Asia.

2. Second cause of social resistance by the youth in Asia. I suggest that it is the existence of unequal distribution in the present economic system. There exists not only unequal opportunities for the youth to participate in decision-making processes which are monopolized by the traditional elite, but there also exists the unequal distribution system. In the post-industrial society, it has been demonstrated that man can produce more than enough to meet his material needs. If there is lack of material goods among the Americans, it is because of the distribution system, not of the productive system. The same is true with most of the post-industrial societies in the world today. In these societies, the consistent aim is to increase production, but neglecting the fair and equal distribution to members of the society.

The contradiction exists within the national boundary, as well as on the international level. In other words, the accomplishment of production is blemished by the enormous imbalance of economic distribution in the world today. The contrast is terrifying in view of the overwhelming poverty of the Third World. The problem is not what to produce, but how to meet human needs.

The Philippines has consistently experienced problems of inflation, monetary instability, balance-of-payment deficits, and lack of foreign exchange. The country's foreign debts grew from \$600 million in 1967 to almost two billion in 1970, reflecting government inability to accumulate reserves for domestic investment. The same situation prevails in South Korea. It required martial law in September 1972 to protect American interests and to attract further American investments there. The American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, at this crucial time in U.S.-Philippine economic relations, was quick to support the martial law.⁽⁴⁾

The average Filipino workers in sugar plantations in the Philippines save less than \$50 after six months of hard labor, while the American plantation owners accumulate millions of dollars. Again, the key problem is fair and equal distribution of goods and services rather than production. There will be no social justice so long as we practice this sort of economic practice which has become standard practice in today's capitalist world.

3. Third cause is psycho-historical. Economic affluence does not guarantee a feeling of personal fulfillment, and political freedom does not always yield an inner sense of personal liberation.

Personal liberation also cannot be achieved without freedom of creativity and with freedom from economic want. Psychologists, like Professor Robert J. Lifton, have indicated clearly that there is a constant change in a life-time. There is an emerging concept of an adulthood of continuing self-transformation, of an adaptability and an openness to the revolutionary modern world that will enable the individual to remain "with it" -- psychologically youthful and on top of the present.

What the youth in Asia are demanding is a new society with new value systems, but not to destroy their past in order to bring this about. For instance, Neale Hunter in his "Religion and the Chinese Revolution" states: "The case of the

Chinese experience in communism is an experience which has now become part of the national psyche--the only force on earth which could be described as 'co-extensive with hope', or 'a vision of social justice', or a 'total web of answers' is communism."⁽⁵⁾ The Chinese can call this process "revolution". They cannot use any other word like religion, for communism, in the Chinese eyes, at least, has saved them from the tyranny of religions, including Christianity. What we are saying here is that liberation expresses the aspiration of oppressed peoples and social classes. The oppressed sectors within each society are becoming aware, albeit slowly, of their class interest and of the painful road which must be followed to accomplish the break-up of the status quo. Untenable circumstances of poverty, alienation, and exploitation in which the greater part of the people in the world live gradually demand that they find a path toward economic, social, political, and psycho-historical liberation.

This is the very first step towards a new society. A society that has never existed, or new values which are not even visible, but we are very certain that when we say a new society, new values, we mean they ought to be more humane, certainly a society and individuals of liberation, socio-politically, economically, as well as psycho-historically. As I said earlier, personal liberation requires freedom of creativity and freedom from economic want.

4. Fourth cause of social resistance is a theological one. As a result of Confucian influence during the Yi Dynasty, modern Korean society became a vertically structured class society without horizontal communication. The Christian church came into existence under these circumstances. The Christian church brought good news to the people, but the major frustration of modern Korea was not answered.

Christianity, like Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, was a great disappointment for the Korean people. After the liberation in 1945 from Japanese colonialism, the nation was joyous and hopeful, but that condition disappeared soon, and the people were disappointed. The church did not provide any more hope than the Buddhist temples and the Confucian institutes. The lack of joy and enthusiasm was evident among the Christians, and they returned to the old line of backwardness while their society was liberated from the oppression and gained new hope and self-confidence. The church has remained dull, passive, unproductive, unattractive and a selfish entity.

One third of Korea's political elites during 1950s - 1960s were known as the Christians. Rhee Syngman, the first president was a Methodist, the next president Yun Po-sun is a Presbyterian elder, Premier John M. Chang was a lay leader of the Roman Catholic church, and now Premier Kim Chong-pil claims himself a Methodist. But, they were not influential in changing Korean politics to a more democratic process, an economic system more fair, and social conditions more just in the 30 years of recent Korean history.

How could church leaders not have recognized the injustice of the election of March, 1960? They were blinded by Methodist President Rhee, just as the Americans were blinded by Quaker President Nixon. They appeased the political power of the corrupted regime and lost self-confidence. The church leaders helped to maintain status quo, and built many new church buildings with American aid. The missionaries made colorful reports to the home office, but forgot the alienated masses who were hungry for their leadership. The leadership never came to the poor. The church identified with the rich, the rulers. They became irresponsible and selfish like the rich and the rulers. The church became a tool to fulfill the leaders' selfish ambitions.

Much of the same things can be said of the church leaders in the Philippines, and elsewhere in Asia. The Christian church leaders, both foreign missionaries and natives alike, identify with modern imperialism. They were their tools; thus the people identified the church with imperialism. The true identity of the teachings of Christ was overshadowed by the manipulators, false prophets, and hypocrites who had no intention to deliver the true meaning of religion, or the salvation of society.

At this critical time, brave and conscientious men like Rev. Park Hyung-kyu and his young associates have appeared on the scene. They have committed themselves to serve the needs of the poor. They have realized the need for the restoration of Christian understanding and love. They have found that such understanding and love were needed at the Songjongdong slum, not at the Blue House or the White House--understanding like that of Kagawa Toyohiko, who experienced Christian love among the Kobe slum dwellers and not among the Japanese militarists. The Seoul government fears the power of the young Christians' dynamic commitment to the huge masses of slum dwellers. The regime in Seoul or Manila cannot afford to allow the growth of vitality and dynamism among the young people. No dictatorial government can afford to have such development taking place in their constituency. Premier Kim Jong-pil said that: "Failing to properly recognize reality, some are staging open attempts to create social confusion and divide national opinions by engaging in impatient, irresponsible and academic controversies."⁽⁶⁾ It was his new year's greeting to the Korean people.

The movement is no longer limited within the boundary of the Songjongdong slum. It now spreads wide and fast. The Korean National Council of Churches made a statement on the recent pronouncement of Premier Kim regarding Christianity and the state. The Korean N.C.C. stated: "When the established power abandons the justice of God, goes beyond its limits, and is not faithful to the duties entrusted to it by the people, Christians as witnesses of the Word of God, must have the responsibility to criticize and rectify this power."⁽⁷⁾ The recent statement continued: "Today's human being lives in a matrix of political, economic, and social organizations. There is no individual apart from this organizational system. The church is commissioned with the divine mission to save modern man; and therefore the church cannot divide salvation into individual and social salvations. This means that salvation today should be the 'mission of God' to restore a true human being, liberating him from his predicament within evil social institutions and systems."⁽⁸⁾

Such is the proclamation of the Korean National Council of Churches in November 1974. This is indeed a new concept and a new step for the Korean churches.

Following this public statement, 66 outstanding Korean church leaders and theologians issued another significant proclamation. It said: "Thus, the church is commanded to fight suppression, on the side of the poor and oppressed, to liberate them and to restore their human rights. The church is not an organization which intends to take political power, but in order to carry out its mission the church sometimes is positioned in conflict with a political power."⁽⁹⁾

This is why the resistance in Korea today. The Christians, at first initiated by the youth, reaffirmed their positions in their societies. They rediscovered the true meaning of the Gospel, its relevancy from a modern perspective. It is not a personal salvation, but a personal salvation through the liberation of all men, the socialization of brothers and sisters all over the world. It is a new concept of social justice and peace, reconciliation among men, and harmony between man and nature. As Father Gutierrez said: "A broad and deep

aspiration for liberation influences the history of mankind in our day, liberation from all that limits or keeps man from self-fulfillment, liberation from all impediments to the exercise of his freedom."⁽¹⁰⁾

Is there any wonder why a young college student group of the Yongnak Presbyterian Church, which is the largest single church in Asia, dissolved their own organization declaring that the organization is a meaningless entity in the midst of corruption and decadence of the church itself. Thus the church suffers from a radical contradiction. Her proclaimed intentions are prevented from being realized by her own structure.

Father Luid Jalandoni, a member of the New People's Army in the Philippines, sent the following message to his fellow priests from jail: "I have accepted the national democratic struggle as the Christian answer to the Philippine situation. I have taken a leading role in the movement." Father Jalandoni, as reported by The New York Times on October 18, 1973, is the former chairman of the social action committee of the diocese. A member of a family of wealthy sugar planters, he is said to be one of the most brilliant and highly regarded young priests in the Philippines.

What is most astonishing about such disclosure is that a number of young priests, although they are a tiny fraction of the 4,400 priests in the Philippines, expressed strong sympathy for Father Jalandoni's stand. A statement issued by a group of the priests stated: "No one can deny that Father Luis Jalandoni tried all the means that were then on hand: the law, the courts, the bureaucracies, the pulpit, persuasion and diplomacy, personal contacts and influence, even pressure methods like strikes and demonstrations." But, the statement continued, "the situation had only worsened." Because of such a situation, the priests felt the same anguish and frustration. The statement was read at mass in some churches, and further arrests were made.

This incident was not an isolated one. In the town of San Remigio, on the island of Panay, a Dutch priest was arrested and charged with murder following an armed clash between an underground group and the police in which five youths and two officers were killed. The parish church was even declared off limits to the public. Can one imagine that churches can be "off limit" in the Philippines, where 85% of the population identify themselves as Catholics?⁽¹¹⁾

The gospel asserts in quite unequivocal terms, "a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions." It longs for a new order in which the poor, the meek, and the powerless will inherit the earth. This new order is the very antithesis of the spirit and practice of the church elites today in Korea and other parts of Asia. That's why we are witnessing social resistance there.

How do these political, economic, social, and theological conditions affect us-- the Asian Americans? How do we respond to such conditions? Do we have any responsibility to respond to such conditions in Asia as Asian-Americans? How do we relate the Asian conditions to the Asian-Americans?

Certainly the American scene differs from the Asian scene, or any other classical ones, in that it does not arise from the standard problems of modernization. But the existence of the minority movement in America forces on us the conjecture that America, too, is "transitional" -- not in the same terms as Asian countries, but just as meaningfully.

Before we attempt to answer these questions, we must recognize two historical facts about America that confront us. First of all, we know that "do-good" reform organizations seek peace, elimination of corruption, reduction in the use of alcoholic beverages, and to strengthen the spirit of the Protestantism by destroying the influence of the papists, etc. In other words, the American has been an Utopian moralist who pressures hard to attain and institutionalize virtue, or to destroy evil men and wicked institutions and practices as Professor Seymour M. Lipset has pointed out. The influence of such moralistic pressures can be best seen in the historical oppositions to every war in which the U.S. has participated. They took it as self-evident that they must obey their conscience rather than the dictates of their national leaders.

The second historical fact is that the American society is today no longer dominated by such moralistic concept. A recent policy enunciation in regard to the Middle East oil situation by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is a clear example of this situation. The U.S. is ready to use military force if necessary to pressure the oil producers in the Middle East. Congressman Henry Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin, said it was "immoral" for Mr. Kissinger to suggest that there was even a remote possibility that industrial nations might attack oil producers if the situation became desperate enough.(12)

It is, indeed, the quadrupling of oil prices that threatens the Western industrial societies, including Japan. The western world spent \$7 billion in 1973, \$64 billion in 1974, and expect to spend \$100 billion in 1975. Now, a country like Italy faces national bankruptcy while oil producing countries are getting richer.

Under such a situation, it isn't only the Ford Administration who is thinking in terms of using force to solve the oil crisis, but academicians like Professor Robert Tucker also sees no great difficulty with military action. Professor Tucker has suggested that the coastal strip from Kuwait to Qatar, which accounts for 40% of OPEC (Organization for Petroleum Controlling Countries) production, as a possible location for such action. These states are now militarily feeble. The professor said that they have little population and trees, and "effective control does not bear even remote comparison with the experience of Vietnam."

A policy statement issued by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. said: "America, at a historical moment of great wealth and power, finds herself in a crisis of moral integrity and direction. The extent of political expediency in her political life has been shocking, almost unbelievable to the American people. The very values of success, money, prestige, and power upon which America has depended are now exposed as the means by which the presidency and the inner councils of the national administration have been abused and corrupted. The very values that have been so preeminent are now the scourge of the American conscience."(13)

As we can see there are considerable similarities, although there are differences found in a matter of degrees, in political corruption, unfair economic income distribution, social injustice, and theological want both in the United States and Asia. Neither America nor Asia can survive as they are today. The question then is--is there any option for our societies' survival? Are we able to adopt and coordinate our program and priority? Are we able to challenge the present day condition of America which is dominated by giant corporations and centralized bureaucratic system, and corporate capitalism and militarization?

The American youth, inspired by the Third World, appeals to an idealized conception of democracy in modern society. They attempt to answer such questions by adopting the populist, equalitarian, romantic, and generational rhetoric and style of the early days.

Asian-Americans, as part of Third World people, realize that time is long overdue. We must not let the super-powers become obstacles to the progress of the Third World people. 36 out of 44 large multi-national corporations, which play the major role in exploiting Third World people, are based in the U.S.

The counter-revolutionary forces are trained at International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. Our military occupancies are still all over the world. America is now number one armaments exporting country. In current dollar terms from 1961-71, the United States supplied \$22.8 billion in major weapons systems to 74 countries, including Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Greece, South Korea, Vietnam, and West Germany. The Soviet Union is next with \$14.8 billion in arms to 37 countries, including Egypt, Iraq, Syria, North Vietnam, and East Germany. Thus, during the past two decades the international arms trade rose to 6,000 per cent or estimated \$18 billion this fiscal year, compared to \$300 million in 1952.

Not only that, our mass media, educational, cultural, and religious institutions still remain racist. One of the main instruments of cultural alienation in America historically has been the traditional church. A distinction is made here between the traditional church and the church which is totally committed, because a new church with a new theological concept, concerning the role of the church in society, has appeared. It has given a new hope-- human hope. New hope means a total commitment to people through socio-political actions. There is, in fact, no distinction between the total commitment to people and God. This is a distinct opposition to the old theology. The new theology starts with the people. The care and concern of the quality of human life is its criteria. "If a man says, 'I love God', yet hates his brother, he is a liar." The scripture tells us clearly. Therefore, the new theology, theology of liberation, theology of hope, whatever you might call it, it is right in the mainstream of human history and the Gospel.

Where do you find such theology? You find it among social actions; no other source. Social actions simply mean serving the people--the masses of the poor, the dispossessed, and the oppressed.

We, the Asian-Americans, are the oppressed ones. We know that a society based on fundamentally unjust economic and political structure will tend to make love impossible; exploitation and love cancel out.

Could you find Christian love at the Santa Anita race track in Los Angeles and the Livestock Exposition Hall in Portland, Oregon during the West Coast evacuation days in February, 1942?

I remember distinctly how overwhelmingly anti-Japanese feeling had been demonstrated during the mass evacuation days. Organized campaigns on the West Coast against the Japanese-Americans began systematically in January by the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, with the support of the Hearst papers. The American Legion, the Grange, the A.F.L., and the C.I.O. joined the bandwagon soon, then the syndicated columnists from conservatives like Westbrook Pegler to liberals like Walter Lippman, all joined the ranks of William Randolph Hearst.

The public figures were different from these private groups and individuals. From the Mayor of Los Angeles to President Roosevelt--they all agreed that the President's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942 was a good thing for the nation. Mayor Fletcher Brown said on February 5, 1942: "If there is intrigue going on--and it is reasonably certain that there is--right here is the hotbed, the nerve center of the spy system of planning for sabotage." There was, of

course, no sabotage to be found. Only the national policy became a racist policy. It was, indeed, a shameful event in American history. My question is this--did the Christians demonstrate against the government when 110,000 Japanese-Americans and Japanese residents were arrested against their constitutional rights under the pretense of national security? Did American Christians protest when mass murders took place in California and Wyoming against the Chinese workers during the second half of the last century? Only one American missionary, Rev. Samuel Moffitt, opposed the slave trade in Korea by American businessmen at the turn of the century.

A fundamentally just society would generate love at every level, and love on a scale of an intensity approaching the divine. "Everyone who loves is a child of God, and knows God, but the unloving know nothing of God. For God is love."

We here are striving to understand and to take social action so that damages of an unjust society to personalities, family life, and community life can be rectified. We struggle to integrate with others while preserving and strengthening our own ethnicity even while society is stubbornly rejecting us. We are no longer traditional men who live in the past or old countries where our ancestors left long ago. We are not marginal men who are caught in the middle of two cultures and don't know which way to turn. We are Asian-Americans who live in America with our traditions which contribute to our society. America, however, still remains a racist society.

We have been stereotyped the "quiet Americans," and our community is stereotyped as being "model minority." Visit Chinatown USA and you find an important racial minority pulling itself up from hardship and discrimination to become a model of self-respect and achievement in today's America."⁽¹⁵⁾ Why do they call us the "model minority"? Because we are not vocal in our demand for our rights like the Blacks and are moving along in our own quiet manner with no help from anyone else.

True, Asian-Americans have survived the hatred and oppression of American racism. We are also under the pressure of the "Hayakawa syndrome" and the "Charlie Chan syndrome"--that there are Asians who have "made it" in the American society. It is also true that Asian-Americans, more than any other minority probably, except the Jews, have attempted to turn every adversity into a challenge with a calm, collected, and cool attitude. Undoubtedly, there are a few who feel that they have "made" an American dream, but most of us are confused and are wandering around. As a result, we suffer from an unusual amount of such psychosomatic diseases as ulcers, colitis, psoriasis, falling hair, etc.--which result from permanent unresolved tensions.⁽¹⁶⁾

The serious question is not how we have survived the past, but can we survive in the future? This is the question in the minds of our youths today. A genuine race problem will arise from here on because our youths who have been fully acculturated, but have been discriminated against by the dominating white group in American society because of their racial background. The recent affirmative action by the federal government is a good example. The federal law requires fair employment practices by hiring minority and women in higher educational institutions, but there have been continuous opposition to this practice. The administrators, like President Robben Fleming of the Association of American Universities, have resented the affirmative action as being bureaucratic and confused. They want white males to continuously dominate the institutions by keeping women and minorities out.⁽¹⁷⁾ It is, indeed, an anachronistic and discriminatory practice. It is long overdue justice that has to be overcome, and the sooner the better.

It is not true that "Chinatown USA" is a model community of all minorities. It is also no longer true that our youths react passively to authority and with respect for the elders. Our youths no longer blame themselves for their "failure." Crime in Chinatown is just as bad as anywhere else in the country, if not worse. Mental illnesses and divorce rates are increasing among us. As a matter of fact, Asian-Americans are today assertive, questioning, and active in their concerted effort to change their destinies and their society. Time and conditions have changed.

We know also that American dream--the justice envisioned by the founders of the Republic--has shattered into a nightmare of schizophrenia. Some call this "the logic of industrialization." Whatever the causes, we need to rectify our society. We need to resist all the dehumanizing effects of the old inequality.

Who could do that job better than the church itself?

But the church must arm with a new hope, a new theology of social justice. American church, in other words, must have a Third World perspective, because God has revealed Himself through the masses of the poor. Who can serve them better than we, the Asian-Americans, to bring about a new society with a new dream in America? What is happening in Asia today has a clear message to us, the Asian Americans.

As Bonhoeffer said: "Freedom is not something man has for himself but something he has for others...Being free means being free for others." The message is clear. Only a total liberation concept will free us all. White brothers and sisters cannot be free while the Asian-Americans are bound, and vice-versa. Man, in order to fulfill his historical mission, must make it his responsibility to liberate himself and his neighbors from a breach of contract and restore it to a commitment of friendship. The concern of all the Third World people revolve around the relationship of oppression and liberation. We, the Asian-Americans, are very much involved with this liberation movement. This historical task we must accept with joy and hope.

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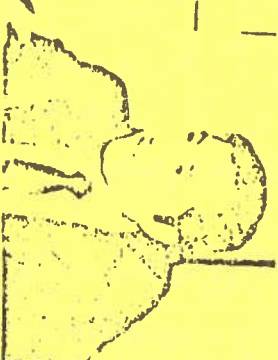
ASIAN-AMERICAN UNITED METHODISTS
VISIT SOUTH KOREA

On the heels of President Ford's visit, a goodwill team of Asian-American United Methodists traveled to South Korea to talk with leaders of the current social/political struggle. They spoke with members of religious, educational, student, women's, and government groups in South Korea, and with an official of the American Embassy.

The team included The Rev. Lloyd Wake, president, Glide Foundation; The Rev. Jonah Chang, director, Asian-American Ministries, United Methodist Church, Oakland; The Rev. Juan Ancheta, minister, Oakland; Dr. Roy Sano, chaplain, Mills College, Oakland; and Kathleen Thomas, staff member, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church.

The Rev. Charles Song, minister, Korean United Methodist Church, San Francisco, long an outspoken critic of the Korean regime, was denied a visa. The Rev. Song, who became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1960, was born, educated, and had worked in Korea. The unprecedented denial seemed to evidence the thorough covering by the Korean CIA of activities of Korean civil rights activists not only in Korea, but in the U.S.

Without exception, Korean civil rights leaders felt that Ford's visit had given tacit approval to the government and that Park's policies would become even more repressive. A mother whose son was jailed for



Kim Dae Jung, now under house arrest in Seoul, would have been the president of Korea without President Park's heavy-handed interference in the democratic process in 1974. Mr. and Mrs. Kim shared a dinner one evening with the team.

alleged anti-Park activities cited an example: before Ford's visit, she had visited her son regularly; immediately following it, she was denied further contact. In one seeming change, the Prime Minister announced after Ford's visit that some

prisoners would be released if they apologized for their "wrong doing." But the visiting team felt no apologies would come from prisoners who felt they acted in good conscience, and a high-ranking officer in the Park government stated: "There are no



Lloyd Wake's Report to Glide
From South Korea



I was in Seoul to observe and to carry the concern and support of all Asian-American and other United Methodists to those in Korea heroically struggling against the dictatorial and oppressive regime of President Park.

At the Seoul airport we were greeted by the sight of soldiers carrying submachine guns, though President Park says: "We do not have martial law in South Korea."

We were frisked three times before clearing airport immigration, though the director general of President Park's personal security force said: "There is no dictatorship in Korea. The people are enjoying freedom" — as long as they obey not laws passed by the Congress but government decrees.

In a restaurant a well-dressed young man seated himself at the next table, leaning and straining to catch our conversation. Were we too paranoid? Was he a Korean CIA? The country is crawling with them.

We were moved to tears hearing the stories of families whose loved ones were in prison because they had openly opposed the dictatorial regime. We heard them singing, shouting, praying: "Paraphrase Park, let my people go." We thought of James Baldwin's words to Sister Angela Y. Davis: "... if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night."

A Korean woman, tiny in stature but with a spirit as majestic as the mountains surrounding Seoul, said: "They can't stop me from speaking out against the denial of human rights. Let them arrest me and put me in jail again. I won't be quiet until the oppression and injustice are ended."

We proudly learned that the impetus for opposition to the oppressive regime comes from that segment of the Church — Catholic and Protestant — that identifies and works with the poor, the powerless, the oppressed. The people it serves are helping the church recapture the essence of historic Korean Christianity, as expressed by Jesus of Nazareth who preached good news to the poor, gave sight to the blind, and liberated the captives.

We heard a United States Embassy official say: "We do not interfere in the internal affairs of this country. Of course, we made a slight blunder in Chile, but what is 8 or 9 million dollars in the hand of those who opposed Allende? It's but a drop in the bucket." No interference, Mr. Embassy Official? What about the 38,000 U.S. troops still in Korea 21 years after the Korean War, and the 12 billion dollars poured into Korea since 1950? We heard the Korean Christian Student Federation, whose leadership had been decimated by imprisonment, plead: "Please tell America to stay out of our country's internal affairs. We can and must solve our own problems. No matter what the cost, we will not give up."

And we thought of other Souths — South Vietnam, South American, South Africa — where U.S. economic forces, backed by political and military might, continue the interference and exploitation.

They frisked us three more times as we left Korea, but they took nothing from us, for we still carry the memories and spirit of the strong and beautiful people of Korea. We say to them and to all people like them here and everywhere: "Dare to struggle and you will win. Right on!"

political prisoners: only lawbreakers who engage in the violent overthrow of the government."

In a statement issued to their Korean friends, the team acknowledged that they found the impetus for struggle against President Park's repressive regime rooted in the Korean Christian Church, and praised its leaders. They added: "We sense a growing ground swell of confidence that a true democracy will eventually be established. In addition to Church leaders, many women and young people play a conspicuous, vital part in this movement. We commend missionaries who play a supportive role to the indigenous Christians involved in the struggle. We share the confidence of many that this element of the Korean Christian Church shall prevail.

"We take issue with the government's contention that those who oppose the government have engaged in violent tactics. We see nothing violent in peaceful demonstrations or sit-ins calling the attention of all the people to the denial of their fundamental human rights.

"We feel that the government's contention that the opposition forces are infiltrated or infiltrated by North Korean communists cannot be supported. Many Korean Christians, having undergone persecution by communists, live in exile from North Korea. We understand why South Koreans are fervently anti-communist.

"The government's preoccupation with security, economic development and stability has caused it to neglect the weightier matters of assuring justice and human rights for all its people. We affirm the people's belief that the strongest deterrent to communist threat from the North is a free and democratic society in the South, with the implicit freeing of political prisoners and revision of the constitution."

Team members pledged to report their findings to the Church and to rally financial resources to continue the struggle in South Korea upon their return to the U.S. They will also express their concern to the U.S. government that its policies in Korea enhance not only economic development but the development of justice and human rights.

KOREAN POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

It is my privilege to make a presentation on the current political situation in Korea. I assume that the topic should be discussed in a transcendent perspective: I am neither a communist revolutionary, nor a pro-government propagandist. I do not intend to identify myself with any people of the anti-government group, either. I say "yes" to universalism, "no" to particularism. However, I understand some problems of universalism: first, since universalism means a detachment from any particular interest, opportunists might survive any social changes in the guise of universalism. Secondly, a person who is really committed to the principle of universalism suffers from his detachment, because he refuses to support any particularistic interest. Everybody takes him as his enemy. For example, pro-government propagandists call him a communist, anti-government forces call him a propagandistic agent of government, and communists call him an anti-communist. Actually, he is none of them.

Universalists fight against demonic power of the existing regime. However, we need to make a distinction between universalists and groups of anti-government forces whose ultimate goal is simply to overthrow the existing regime and take power themselves for the sake of another chance of exploitation. Since national independence in 1945, our country has undergone two dramatic revolutions: the first one is the "student revolution" of 1960, the second one is the "military revolution" of 1961. I would say that the student revolution exemplifies universalism while the military revolution is the best example of particularism. Even though it seems imperative that the Park regime of Korea be overthrown as soon as possible for the sake of democracy in the area, I believe that it is paramountly important to make it sure that this change is brought about by universalistic, not particularistic revolutionaries. Otherwise, the future of the country would permanently be dominated by pseudo-revolutionaries who attempt to exploit the Messianic expectations of the people.

In my view, the present regime should be brought down. Moreover, it must be brought down through the use of pressure. Some argue that we need to strive primarily toward easing repression in South Korea rather than ending the regime itself. Others hold that although the regime must be changed, it must be changed through non-existent democratic due process rather than through the struggle to restore due process. To these arguments, I would respond by saying that the Park regime has survived more than a decade of national turbulence only through use of repressive measures, not by consensus at all. It cannot ease the repressive measures, without giving up power, which it is very unlikely to do. Secondly, the primary reason why I argue for a change of the regime is to restore the political environment in which the due process of democracy is constitutionalized. If it were possible for us to practice the due process of democracy, then it would be unnecessary to struggle for a change of the regime itself, as long as it were responsive to the needs of the people. In short, there is little likelihood either that the repressive situation will be actually eased or that the due process of democracy will be restored unless the regime is ended. Therefore, we are forced into an attempt to change the regime by the use of pressure.

There are many forms of pressure. Among them, we may include another military coup, student demonstrations, prayer meetings of Christians, open statements and declarations of intellectual or religious figures. These are internal forms of pressure. There are external forms of pressure like the decision of the U.S. Senate to stop or reduce military and economic aid to the dictatorial regime, open statements of protest against the repressive situation in Korea by American

and other foreign university professors, churchmen, senators as individuals. Whether these are morally and strategically acceptable forms of pressure is another question which I do not have enough time to deal with at this moment.

The Park regime has efficiently controlled some of the pressure groups by means of threats, harassment, propaganda, and bribery. However it is also true that there are many forces of pressure groups who are immune to the manipulation of the regime. The more than two hundred political prisoners in Korea are people who never yielded to the brutality and temptations of the regime. In Korea, religion is no longer a matter of ritual activity in the sanctuary or a matter of academic speculation in an ivory tower. Religion is a matter of life and death to many of the people in Korea today. Religions have recently been challenged by the secular authority to make a choice between "identification with the present regime" and "separation from it." Since the notion of separation in this regard has been misused as a political instrument by many people who are in power, I feel that it is important to discuss the theological meaning of it.

The notion of separation has been understood in two different senses: (1) it is understood in terms of isolationism represented by prime minister Kim who claims that the regime never persecuted religion. He says that as long as the Christian churches are engaged in performing prayers, reading scriptures, singing hymns and holding evangelical meetings, the government has no intention of interfering with them. There are Christian leaders who support this argument, too. On December 1, I read in a Korean daily newspaper, Dong-A Il Bo, that a church minister who claims to represent most of the Christians in Korea issued a statement to the effect that in accordance with the principle of separation of Church and state, it is wrong for Christian ministers to be interested in any discussion of political issues.

My immediate response to these arguments is to point out the fact that the very people who advocate this have done a great deal in violation to the principle they themselves claim to be committed to, by subordinating Churches to the state. Unconditional obedience of Christians to demonic authorities is certainly a violence to the principle of separation, which presupposes the element of mutual independence. The man who issued the statement above was once appointed by the government as an advocate of its implicit political ideology. He went on a nation-wide tour to indoctrinate the innocent people in the country-side. This is another violence to the notion of separation even in his own terms. Therefore, we need to define the meaning of separation as understood by the conservative Christians and the people in power on two different levels: in theory they mean the divorce of Church from political affairs. In practice, they mean discouraging the Church from attempting criticism of political corruptions. As long as the Church supports the regime, there is no concern with the principle of separation. But, any criticism of the regime by the Church is taken as a serious violation to the principle, no matter how relevant it may be. To my knowledge, there is no one who ever attempted to justify the discrepancy between the theory and practice of separation. The only explanation for the existence of the discrepancy I can make is to say that this is a result of the collaboration of the Church with the state. The person who prepared the Minority Report of Church-World Issues Committee seems to be proud of the "the largest number of" Christian movement during EXPLOR 74 in Korea as an example of Christian Discipleship. However, I would attribute the "success" of the event to: (1) alienation of the people, resignation, and quest for an escape from their unfavorable reality. (2) the massive financial and political assistance of the event by the government.

11

I believe that the principle of separation of Church and state should be understood in terms of functional differences. This idea refuses any subordination of Church to state. According to Dr. John C. Bennett, "church is concerned with ultimate perspectives and broad criteria, rather than giving specific directives for making social policy." The notion of separation of Church and state assumes the independence of the ultimate perspective of the Christian churches on world affairs. In its genuine sense, we might say that any form of violence to the independence of the ultimate perspective of Church is an act of religious persecution.

I assume that many of you are well informed of the fact that numbers of Catholic priests, Church ministers, seminary students and professors of divinity school in Korea have been arrested, tortured and sentenced to from 10 years of imprisonment to death only because of their ultimate perspectives on the corruptions of the Park regime. Despite this, the regime has never admitted that there is any religious persecution in Korea of today. It claims the people were imprisoned because of their political activities. To avoid any impression that there is religious persecution in Korea, the regime regards them as political prisoners who disturbed the law and order of the society.

However, to their dismay, their open acknowledgement of the fact that there are political prisoners in Korea created an unexpected problem. According to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 which says, "it is the sense of Congress that the President should deny any economic or military assistance to the Government of any foreign country which practices the internment or imprisonment of that country's people for political purposes," the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommended that military aid to South Korea be sharply cut because of Park's "increasingly repressive measures." As a hasty response to the horns of the dilemma, the regime desperately denied that there are any political prisoners in Korea, claiming that the prisoners are pro-communists.

The picture I painted above might be the substance of Korean politics today. At a glance, it seems to be nothing but a continuation of the traditional Korean politics. However, there is an element of discontinuity. For thousands of years, the authoritarian form of government seldom created a social dissent and vortex among the people. They took the given order of the society for granted, without trying to change the unfavorable condition of life. Resignation was virtue to them. They were living under the condition of innocence. The situation today is different. The people no longer take any demonic form of government for granted, knowing the origin of the government which is based on the concept of covenant between government and people. When the covenant is broken, they resist, resorting to the cause of social change. They are living under the condition of consciousness.

The transition from the period of innocence to that of consciousness owes to the teachings of Christianity which was introduced to the country about 100 years ago by American missionaries.

Your fathers and grandfathers planted the seed of Christianity in the soil of Korea at the cost of their lives. Therefore, I believe that it would be quite legitimate for you to be concerned about the growth of Christianity in Korea. Your brothers and you planted the seed of democracy in the soil of Korea about three decades ago at the cost of many lives. Therefore, I believe that it would be quite legitimate for you to be concerned about the growth of democracy in Korea. Thank you!

Yu Khill Shinn
Graduate Theological Union

THE KOREANS AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Ha Tai Kim

Southern California has the largest Korean colony in the United States. It is roughly estimated that there are 200,000 Koreans living in the United States, out of which 60,000 reside in the city of Los Angeles and its vicinity. The obvious reasons for this trend are the ideal weather and the concentration of other Koreans to provide economic and cultural help.

According to the U.S. Census of 1970, only 9000 Koreans were registered in Los Angeles. However, due to various reasons, many Koreans failed to register properly, and the actual number at that time was estimated to be approximately 15,000. Since 1970, there has been a greater flow of Korean immigrants settling in the Southern California area. Today, we can conservatively estimate that the Korean population in Southern California will number about 60,000.

America in general - Southern California in particular - is the new land to which the immigrants aspired to come. For them, the new land has its fascinations and its frustrations. Its fascination for the immigrants is to come to a free and abundant country, and breathe in its air of freedom, and make plans for a new life such that they are changing their destinies, which were fatalistically determined by tradition and history in the old country. But immigrants arriving in an alien land find little help or encouragement become frustrated. The frustrations of the newcomers are largely due to their failure to make proper adjustments to the new world.

Immigration to this country involves the change of the cultural environment. The docile Orientals find the aggressive Americans and their way of life to be strange and, in many cases, entirely opposite to what they are accustomed to. When the Orientals begin to imitate the aggressive American attitude, they often become rash and unacceptable to the Americans they are emulating. Hence, frustration inevitably result from cultural shock, causing psychological problems to the extent that people become totally helpless.

Along with the cultural shock, the newcomers are confronted with the language barrier. Even those who have learned to speak and write the English language, often find themselves inadequate in communicating with Americans and in understanding the subtleties of the English language. The language barrier virtually makes the newcomers deaf and dumb and its psychological effects on these people are devastating. Most of the newcomers do not have enough leisure or energy to learn the language, even if there are adult evening schools teaching English to immigrants.

As a result of cultural shock the language barrier and the feeling of helplessness, there is a tendency on the part of the newcomers to isolate themselves from the mainstream of American life. They begin to live by themselves, clinging to the ways of life of the old country. They virtually isolate themselves in an island of Korean culture by building Korea-Town on Olympic Blvd. in Los Angeles, by opening up Korean speaking churches after the model of churches in Korea, and by organizing business and civic associations of their own.

One source reveals that among Koreans over 23 years of age, only 10% have no difficulty in the use of the English language; 25% can barely speak the language;

25% had previously studied but cannot understand English too well; 40% do not know English at all. (The Joong-ang Daily News, Nov. 25, 1974) Proficiency in the use of the English language in this country helps determine one's opportunity for employment, pursuit of education in higher institutions of learning, and social adjustment. Furthermore, the language barrier in the new land is a major cause for mental and physical disorders among the Koreans.

According to a report made by the Korean Doctors' Association in Southern California, most of the immigrants are neglecting their health in the midst of struggle for survival in the new land. It is pointed out that common health problems are tuberculosis due to excessive work, mental disorders coming from the maladjustment to America--especially melancholia resulting from the pressures of American life, which often breaks up family life. It is reported that those whose personalities were well rounded and cheerful in Korea have radically changed since their arrival in America to the extent that they are melancholic, afraid of outside contact, easily irritated. These phenomena are due to pressures coming from hard labor, which they did not experience before they came to this country, inability to communicate in the English language, and the problem of attaining permanent residence status. Another factor is the loneliness of immigrants whose families are separated across the Pacific Ocean. (The Joong-ang Daily News, Dec. 3, 1974)

The most frustrating and serious problem that faces the Korean immigrants in Southern California as well as any other area of the United States is that of employment. Some ingenious people are engaged in self-employment in such trades as maintenance companies, wig stores, restaurants, grocery stores, hamburger stands, gas stations, printing and book stores, insurance agencies, and real estate firms. Most of these people, particularly, restaurant and grocery store owners, work primarily for the Koreans to sustain their livelihood. But when it comes to getting employment in American firms, factories, public and private institutions, there is a great deal of difficulty in securing jobs due to discrimination and language barriers. On the one hand, there is the problem of unemployment is reported to be 18%. On the other hand, when employed, they are usually "underemployed" as compared to their training and skills. Most of those who are employed are not satisfied with the jobs which they hold. There are many Korean immigrants who graduated from Korean colleges and universities who are forced to work as manual laborers: men working as gas station attendants and women working in sewing factories. Although these people are highly educated, their training and skill are not applied to their present work at all. Among those who are highly educated, less than 30% of them hold jobs that are commensurate with their education. In Southern California, the number of Korean University Alumni associations is 20 with each association having memberships ranging from 50 to 400.

A conspicuous case of underemployment involves the "professional men": doctors, dentists, teachers, nurses, architects and social workers. Only a few of them are doing what they were trained for. A physician may be working as a health social worker, if he is lucky enough to get the job, a college degreed nurse may be working as a nurse's aid, or a dentist may be working as a maker of dentures. Whereas the U.S. government gives preferential admission to persons of select professional groups, the licensing bodies are independent of the federal government. It is almost impossible for these professionals to pass the required examinations. Pharmacists are not even allowed to take the state qualification examination in California. There are 600 immigrant Korean doctors in Southern California who do not have the license to practice medicine.

It must be added that underemployment is not confined to the newly arrived immigrants, but extends to the second and the third generation Koreans who were born in this country and have received American educations. The number of these Korean-Americans is estimated to be 4000 in Hawaii and 3000 in California, totaling about 13,000 in the United States. These people are indeed the "forgotten citizens" in this country.

Organizations which serve these newly immigrated Koreans are few and these organizations fall short of meeting the needs of the people. First of all, the over-all service can be rendered to the immigrants through some 80 Korean churches in Southern California. Some pastors and lay leaders render their services to the immigrants on matters of immigration status, housing, and jobs for the new arrivals, helping them become socially oriented. But most of the Korean churches which are flourishing in Southern California are of the evangelistic type which concentrate on the fellowship among the churchgoers in a style which characterizes churches in Korea. Very few leaders of the church are trained for social services in the American setting.

The Korean Association of Southern California is organized to serve the welfare of the Korean community. But it is still in the formative stage and apart from sponsoring some Korean gatherings such as the Independence Day and New Year's Eve parties, it still has a long way to go in meeting the needs of the Korean immigrants. However, it is known that constant inquiries about persons and jobs are made through its office every day. Recently, it was announced that the Association will undertake a project aiding the immigrants by establishing a "center for employment information."

The Asian Community Service Center, located in the heart of the "Korean Town" on Olympic Blvd., provides a substantial service to the Koreans who are struggling for settlement in the Los Angeles area. For the past year, "the Hotline Service" rendered by the Asian Community Service Center, dealt with a total of 471 calls for help involving traffic accidents, business operations, employment opportunities, medical care, and domestic problems. It also gives counsel on legal problems, language problems, social welfare, education, and criminal cases. The Center is planning to sponsor a workshop on family problems for Korean residents in February. The Center is also making an arrangement to purchase a youth center in Los Angeles where a full time counselor will be employed for the benefit of Koreans. (The New Korea, Dec. 26, 1974)

The Korean Senior Citizens' Club sponsors various meetings for fellowship and arranges tours for the senior citizens around the Southern California area.

The Southern California Korean Doctors Association offers a free clinic service in conjunction with the Korea Health Center. The free clinic is given because most of the Korean immigrants do not have their own family doctors and neglect physical check-ups for years.

Conclusion

The kind of solution for the problems we have raised must come from two areas: one from the Korean immigrants themselves and the other from the American society and American government. It is needless to point out that the Korean immigrants themselves must improve their lot in making a better adjustment to the American society. This can be done by improving their language efficiency and by famil-

iarizing themselves with American culture and the American way of life. They must also cultivate their skills, resources, and confidence in leading useful and gainful lives. Furthermore, they must have a feeling that this is their land, not a foreign land, in order that they may pursue their own happiness and enjoy their life in the new land.

Changes in American society will certainly improve the Korean immigrant's plight. Generally speaking, it is desirable that Americans will look at the problems of minorities in a new and more realistic perspective, although a slow and steady improvement has been made recently on this matter. A "new image" of the minorities must be made by Americans so as to make "equal opportunity" work not only in name but also in reality. This new image certainly shall abolish the de facto discrimination against minorities, thus granting not only "equal opportunity" but also recognizing the "equal right to the pursuit of happiness" on the part of minorities.

More concretely, the following specific measures for the Korean immigrants are recommended:

- (1) The government, on the local, state and federal levels, should provide the needed services to the immigrants and undertake direct and specific guidance and assistance for them.
- (2) Vocational education must be set up privately and publically for job-training and continuing education for the Korean immigrants so that they may find suitable jobs in this land.
- (3) Special attention should be given to language improvement by providing more "English as a Second Language" courses and hiring more bilingual teachers and more Korean-speaking counselors at the public schools where the children of the immigrants are concentrated.

DEPORTATION OF A MISSIONARY FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

After almost twenty years of living in Korea as a missionary, I was faced with the possibility of having to leave. The government of Korea was threatening to deport me on charges that I had been active in anti-government politics. My ministry among industrial workers of Korea had let me to speak against the oppressive tactics of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), but my words were not words of politics, but the words of Christian Scripture.

I had no desire to leave Korea. I wanted to stay for many more years, but my one possibility for a compromise settlement had failed. I had hoped that the mediation of a friend would result in a meeting with either Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil or Lho Shin Yong, the Assistant Foreign Minister. My friend, whose name will not be revealed, knew both of these men and their wives. He urged them to meet with me and reach some kind of a quiet compromise solution to the problem. Kim's reply was to the effect that there is nothing to discuss. Ogle has got to write the apology before any discussion can take place. Lho refused to meet with me or talk to me.

There was no middle road open. I would have to apologize, or I would be forcefully expelled.

Only two days previously, on December 6, 1974, I had been summoned by the American Embassy and told by them that the Assistant Foreign Minister of Korea, Lho Shin Yong, had stated that the Korean government had decided to deport me. The only way to prevent that deportation was for me to write an apology and send it to Lho by the afternoon of December 9. I responded to the Embassy spokesman that this was not my private problem. It embraced my Korean and missionary colleagues. Therefore I would have to have their opinions before I gave a final answer. The next morning, December 7, before I could talk with more than a few people, a telephone call from the American Embassy informed me that Lho Shin Yong was very angry that I had not written the apology and again warned that it would have to be in his hands by 12:00 noon on December 9.

Missionary friends from the Methodists, Presbyterians, Church of Canada, Baptists, Jesuits and Maryknoll communities immediately came to my support. After hours of discussion and prayer they issued a statement of solidarity with my ministry and sent a letter to Lho Shin Yong asking for reconsideration of the deportation decision.

Korean friends were incredulous. I had lived in Korea over a span of 20 years. My ministry among the urban slum people and industrial workers was well known. I had committed no crime. Why would the government want to deport me? Most of the Korean brethren felt that the threat of deportation was one more example of the way the government of Park Chung Hee attempts to intimidate people, but probably that threat would not be carried out. I would be under harassment and surveillance for a long time, but the close relationships between the four million Korean Christians and the missionaries would certainly prevent the government from carrying through. The repercussions would, they said, be too great a price for the government to pay.

The friends who figured it was mere bluff on the government's side urged that I sign nothing, make no apologies. Other friends advised the exact opposite: "Better to write a brief statement of apology than risk deportation. The important

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

thing is to stay here to continue your work. Writing an apology after all is not all that important. Write it and then do what you want."

My hope that a choice between deportation or apology could be avoided and a compromise arrived at was lost when neither Lho Shin Yong or the Prime Minister would talk to me. To make the apology was tantamount to betrayal of my entire ministry. I had worked for nearly 15 years among the poor and the industrial workers of Korea. I had made regular pastoral visits to their houses and work places, and along with other members of our Urban-Industrial Mission I had helped them with education programs and had stood by them when the employers had mistreated them or the Korean CIA (KCIA) had beaten them. The Constitution adopted in 1963 and the Korean labor laws guaranteed by the workers' rights to collective bargaining and collective action. Workers had a voice in deciding their conditions of employment. In 1972 President Park threw out the constitution and promulgated another one in its stead. Workers' rights were all but eliminated. Instead of labor and management solving their own problems, the KCIA began to intrude and take over. Much as in the days of the Japanese colonialists, labor problems were put under the jurisdiction of police and KCIA.

I had criticized this system of KCIA interference, and the 1972 Constitution that made this system possible. I had seen men harassed, intimidated, arrested, and beaten only because they sought to protect themselves and their livelihoods against the employer and the KCIA. My criticisms were not those of a politician, but those of a Christian. Scripture teaches us to love our neighbors, to defend their dignity and to establish justice in the land. The Christian Gospel would not permit me to acquiesce in a system that did violence to my brothers. I criticized the Park Chung Hee system of oppression and called for a rebirth of democratic processes. So had many, many of the Korean brethren. Some of them had been sentenced by military courts to fifteen years in prison because of speaking out for justice and human rights.

The Korean government now demanded that I apologize for having preached human rights and justice. To obey that demand would be to deny the validity of my entire ministry and my fellowship with the many Korean brethren already in prison.

Other people would also be affected by my decision to write an apology or not to write an apology. One evening in 1974 Mrs. Woo Hong Sun had visited me. I did not know Mrs. Woo, but she had heard of me from a mutual friend. That evening Mrs. Woo told me a story of how her husband and 20 other men had been framed by the KCIA and then convicted by kangaroo military courts. Seven of the twenty-one men were condemned to death. The others received sentences of 20 years to life imprisonment. Mrs. Woo's husband was one of the ones sentenced to death.

After Mrs. Woo's first visit, I met the wives of the other six men who were condemned to death. Their stories of how the military courts operated matched reports from the families of other political prisoners. In March and April of 1974 over 1300 people had been arrested for political reasons. Between two and three hundred of these were sentenced to long prison terms. Many of them were Christians, including fifteen or twenty Protestant clergymen and a Catholic Bishop. These 300 people were also tried and sentenced by the same military courts which had condemned Mrs. Woo's husband to death. At the so-called trials, without any supporting evidence, the prosecutor announced the charges against each defendant. The defendant

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

was allowed one brief statement before the military judges pronounced sentence. Many of the defendants told of how they had been brutally tortured, but this was ignored by the judge.

Mrs. Woo's husband and the other twenty men convicted with him were tried under the same military courts as the other political prisoners, but the twenty-one of them were accused of being communists who attempted to instigate a bloody overthrow of the Park government. The other 300 political prisoners were said to have acted under the direction of the group of 21 men. Mrs. Woo and the wives of the other twenty men pleaded that their husbands were innocent: they were neither communists nor were they involved in any political conspiracy. Very few of the twenty-one had even known one another. Most were ordinary, hard-working people without political involvement. None of them were Christians. The Korean CIA never attempted to explain how this rather motley group of unknowns could manipulate staunchly anti-communist students and Christian clergymen into taking part in a communist revolution. The Korean CIA asserted that the 21 were communists and that they had instigated the 300 to participate in a communist revolt, but it never bothered to produce any evidence to back up its assertion.

After talking with Mrs. Woo and the other wives, I re-read newspaper and magazine accounts and talked with a variety of people related to the case. It became clear to me that the Korean CIA was framing these 21 men so that it could pin long prison terms on the other 300 political prisoners. These 300 men and women were the real enemies that the KCIA wanted to eliminate for they were leaders in society, the universities and churches who were demanding the restoration of democracy and freedom to Korea. The twenty-one were being used as fall guys in order that the Park government could pin the charge of "communist" against the 300 democratic leaders.

On October 10, 1974, at a prayer meeting I urged the people present to pray for the lives and souls of the seven men condemned to death. They probably had committed no crime worthy of death, I said. KCIA spies in the congregation reported my remarks to their bosses. The next day I was arrested by the KCIA and interrogated for 19 hours. I was accused of aiding and abetting communism. I was released with a warning to stay away from the communists.

When Lho Shin Yong informed the American Embassy that I would be deported, one of his charges was that in October I had spoken on behalf of the seven condemned men. I was not accused of any other action in relation to these men, but the KCIA was apparently afraid. Their entire case against the 300 political prisoners rested on their accusation that these 21 men were communists. My rather innocuous statement that they probably had done nothing worthy of the death sentence could lead to exposure of the fact that the charges against all 300 of the political prisoners were a pure fabrication of the KCIA.

For me to accede to the demand of Lho Shin Yong and write a letter of apology would have meant desertion of Mrs. Woo and the families of the seven men condemned to death. It would have meant a retraction of my sure belief that twenty-one men had been framed by the Korean CIA.

On the other hand not to do as the government demanded would mean almost certain deportation from Korea. Most of my adult life had been spent in Korea. I was only 25 when I came in 1954. My four children had been born there. Three of them had their elementary education in Korean schools. Our friends and colleagues were all

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

there. Korea somehow fit us. We loved the place. I had real emotional identification with Korea. Deportation would cut me off; put me back in the United States where I would be more of a foreigner than I had been in Korea.

When my friend offered to contact Lho Shin Yong and Kim Jong Pil in an attempt to seek some compromise, I prayed that an adjustment could be worked out. Perhaps I could avoid a clear decision. The rejection on their part eliminated the possibility of a middle road. I had to either apologize or be deported.

It was Sunday night, December 8, 1974. I walked up the hill from my friend's house to my home. I was wretched. But the answer came. It came as a still, small, already-formulated decision: do the truth as best you can. My path was decided. I knew it would head to harassment and deportation. I was wretched, but I could do nothing else.

The next morning I wrote to Lho Shin Yong, the Assistant Foreign Minister. I asked for a statement of charges against me saying that I loved Korea and did not want to leave. I also enclosed a brief statement of faith. It read:

Jesus was a poor man. As a poor man he spoke and acted for salvation and justice. I am a follower of this Jesus. I am not a politician. I have no political ambitions. I support no political party. But I do intend to act for the salvation of my brethren, for defense of human rights and the establishment of justice.

The letter was carried to Mr. Lho by a friend. Lho has never acknowledged that letter.

The next day I got my first taste of interrogation at the Immigration Office. It was not unlike what I experienced at the Korean CIA. I was the enemy to be conquered, annihilated. The aim of the interrogator was to catch me in contradictions and get me to confess that I disdained Korea and violated Korean law. The interrogation about the seven men condemned to death by the military courts that had taken place at the KCIA in October was repeated.

In November I had been instructed by the Immigration Office that my visa did not qualify me to teach at Seoul National University where I had been teaching since October 1973. Despite the fact that dozens of other missionaries with the exact same visa are teaching in universities all over the country, I had followed the orders of the Immigration authorities and applied for special permission to continue my teaching. This problem was again brought up. I was accused of having broken Korean law and insulting Koreans because I had taught at Seoul National University without the right visa. I should reflect on these wrongdoings, repent and confess I had violated Korean law.

I was asked to explain every report that had come out in the newspapers about my deportation. (The first newspaper report on the problem was made by the very courageous Tong-a Ilbo, December 9.) Ludicrous as it sounded to me then, and now, they were angry at me because they, including the Chief of the Immigration Office, had not known of any deportation problem until they read it in the newspaper. Why had I caused them so much headache? Why had I not brought the problem quietly to them instead of to newspaper men?

The core of the interrogation, however, was this: the government claimed that my actions in defense of human rights and social justice were political acts. I claimed

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

they were religious acts based on my commitment to Christ and Scripture. The interrogators wanted me to confess that my acts were political and thus in violation of my visa and the laws of Korea. They wanted me to pledge complete compliance to all government actions. I responded that I had great respect and love for Korea. In the fifteen years I had lived in Korea, I had never knowingly broken any laws. The motivation for my actions was not political, but religious. As to the policies of the government, like other Christians, I obeyed the government unless the government violated human rights or denied justice. In the cases where government policy and Christian conscience were at variance, I would try to obey God rather than man.

My first interrogation lasted four hours. That was on December 10. Two days later interrogation over the same matters lasted for five hours. At 7:15 a.m. on the 14th a car began blowing its horn outside of my house. It was Immigration. By 9:30 I was again undergoing interrogation. Again, we started along the same paths we had travelled on the 10th and 12th. Finally I refused to participate saying that if we were going to repeat the same things over again, I would make no further response. I had nothing new to add to what I had said on previous days.

The interrogator, the recorder, and the Chief of the Immigration Office went out. Within ten minutes the Chief was back. He sat behind his desk. Called me to stand in front of his desk and handed me a document. It said I was to be deported to the U.S.A. No reasons were given either orally or written. I asked him if he had made the decision to deport me. (He had impressed on me several times that that was indeed his prerogative.) "Did you on the basis of your findings over the last few days make the decision to deport me?" There was no reply. Obviously he had not made the decision. Lho Shin Yong said that the decision to deport me had been made before he contacted the American Embassy on December 5. All those hours of interrogation were merely to fulfill formal requirements and, if possible, to force an apology out of me.

Who had actually decided to deport me? I do not know, but I can speculate. The decision to deport me was, I believe, directly related to my sermon on October 10 in which I said that seven men condemned to death had "probably done nothing worthy of death." This sermon for the first time brought the plight of these seven men, and the group of 21, to the attention of the public. The case against these men is mainly a fabrication of the KCIA. If this fabrication were clearly exposed, then the entire case of the KCIA against the other political prisoners would also be seen to be a lie.

Such an exposure would cause unrepairable damage to the entire KCIA and especially to the head of the KCIA, Mr. Shin Chik Su and Mr. Lee Yong Taek, the man directly in charge of the case. But most of all it would likely involve the man who was the originator and first director of the KCIA; Kim Jong Pil. Kim is the present Prime Minister of Korea, but he is also commonly known to be the real power within Korea's CIA. It is only speculation, but it would seem that the decision to deport me was probably made by Kim Jong Pil, the founder of the KCIA.

Orders were to keep me under house arrest until deported. No decision had been made, they said, as to when that would be.

A battery of newspaper men had heard the news and were at the house waiting for me. Newspaper reporters, both Korean and foreign, have been helpful throughout the whole

ordeal, but the men of the Tong-a Ilbo have been especially courageous. They have resisted the KCIA oppressions themselves and are now in extreme financial difficulty because the KCIA has pressured business to cut off their advertising. The reporters waiting for me not only wanted the story, they wanted also to comfort my wife and me.

A Jesuit priest, a Maryknoll priest, two Maryknoll sisters, two Presbyterians and two Methodists were also in the house waiting. When our house was surrounded later that afternoon by a couple hundred riot police, these friends refused to leave the house and stayed with us to the end. The fellowship, prayers, humns and tears of that afternoon were like a visitation of the Holy Spirit itself.

One funny relief came when Mrs. Ruth Burkholder of our Methodist Mission appears with a beautiful chocolate, angel food cake with peppermint icing. Somehow she had gotten around the ring of riot police, carrying the cake and sneaked in through our back gate.

I had not been told the date or time of deportation, but around three o'clock in the afternoon, a friend from the American Embassy arrived (the police allowed him through) to tell us that "unofficial reports" coming to the Embassy said I was to go that afternoon at 5:00 o'clock. Dorothy started packing my bags. The "unofficial reports" proved correct. At 5:00 o'clock an Immigration man told me to be ready to leave by 5:30. The government was allowing me thirty minutes to get ready to leave my home of 20 years.

Martin, my 14-year-old son, carried my bag outside and put it in the trunk of a black government car. The girls cried. I kissed my wife and got into the back of the car between two plainclothesmen. The car swung out our gate, but was momentarily stopped, because the riot police had to clear the road of some hundred friends who had stood outside in the freezing cold protesting the government action. Many of them had been standing there for five hours, singing, praying, chanting protests. The last face I saw was Mrs. Chun, the wife of one of the seven men condemned to death. She was crying, running beside the car trying to stop it with her fists.

The gates of the runway at Kimpo Airport opened, and our black car sped through. I was transferred from the car to a bus-like van. There were no less than thirteen guards in the van to escort me to the steps of the airplane. As I was about to leave the van, I turned to the guards and said, "Since I am not allowed to say good-bye to my friends, let me say goodbye to you. May our Father God stay with you." From the rear of the van came a round of applause and the Korean greeting "Go in Peace".

One guard took me by the left arm and started to lead me up the steps, but as soon as I had stepped out of the van, a commotion arose. How they got out on to the airfield I do not know, but there beside the plane were ten or so friends from the press. Some yelled, "Don't go." Others said, "Keep your courage", and others "The day for you to return will come soon. Go and come in peace."

I raised my free arm and shouted "Tae Han Minkook Mansei" (Long Live the people of Korea), "Our Father God be with you. The Lord stay with you."

The guard had taken me up the steps. I was led to a seat far back in the plane, the farthest from the door. It was finished. I was alone. Terribly alone. My insides collapsed. I cried.

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

The 105 minutes between Seoul and Tokyo were the worst minutes of my life. When we landed in Tokyo I decided to join the other passengers in walking to the transient lounge. As I stood up a young cabin attendant came up and said, "You are not permitted to leave the plane."

"This," I said, "is not Korea. Korean CIA has no jurisdiction over an American citizen in an international airport" and proceeded up the aisle. Just as I was about to cut through the little kitchen compartment leading to the door, a second attendant appears and repeated the warning. I repeated what I told the first man and continued toward the door. All of a sudden the exit from the kitchen compartment was blocked by someone whom I instinctively knew to be a Korean CIA agent. (My instinct was later verified.) At the same time the two attendants took hold of me from the rear. I grabbed at the CIA agent's throat and was holding on. A moment of shoving and pushing and loud shouting ensued. We were all quieted down by the sudden appearance of the captain of the airplane, Kim Ho Yun. He was under orders, he said, not to permit me to leave the plane until we arrived in the U.S.A. I told him he was acting illegally. The Korean CIA could rule only in Korea, not in international airports. In as loud and clear Korean as I could muster, I called the Korean CIA a bunch of gangsters and promised Captain Kim that I was going to sue both the Korean Airlines (on whose ship we were travelling) and him for their gangsterisms.

I had my say, but I was still on the plane. I was taken back to my seat. The wrestling spree with the Korean CIA man and the emotional shouting with the captain, however, had had recuperative effects. I did not feel alone. I felt good. I was ready to continue the fight. My Korean brethren would never give up. They would fight until human freedom and democracy was restored. I would do what the Lord had for me in the United States. Tae Han Minkook Mansei.

George E. Ogle
January 1975

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DEMOCRACY AND MILITARISM IN SOUTH KOREA

Korean and American militarism seems to be successfully eliminating democracy in South Korea. The story of Korea during the 1960s was one of unparalleled achievement. Seldom has a small, under-developed nation been able to sustain such a level of economic development. GNP averaged growth rates for the ten-year period of about 8.6 per cent and per capita income expanded from a miserable \$97 per year to around \$350. At the same time a progressive constitution stimulated the development of a democratic society. Citizens had the right to elect their president and legislators by free vote; three branches of government kept each other in check; labor enjoyed the right to organize and act collectively. Korea of the 1960s was far from ideal, but it was a period when government and people shared the common goal of economic development within the structures of democracy. Impressive gains were being made in both. Korean society was beginning to look towards the future with optimism.

In the 1970s optimism has turned to despair. Economic development has slowed down and become heavily dependent upon American and Japanese private capital. Unemployment is on the increase. Politically, the development of democracy has been arrested and a military dictatorship has been installed. During the 1960s Korea's development stood as a symbol of America's ability to stimulate both economic and political development. Now the symbol has been destroyed. Instead of a democratic approach to development, South Korea has become a cruel, military dictatorship. Why? What has brought on the change?

Government spokesmen give a variety of rationalizations for their actions. Chief among these is the argument that economic necessity makes a strong, one-man rule unavoidable. The government's argument goes something like this: In order to improve the standard of living of the people and at the same time stay abreast of the development of other countries, the Korean economy must expand rapidly. By 1980 the yearly per capita income should be about the \$1000 mark. This is more than twice the figure for 1973. There are, of course, other goals also that must be reached. 1974's international inflation, the disastrous increase in oil prices and the depression of world markets for textiles and electronic products have made the achievement of these economic goals very difficult to attain. Therefore, the people must sacrifice and the government must exercise strict control over all of society. President Park must have the complete cooperation of all the people if Korea is to continue to grow and be independent.

Few would take exception with the government analysis as presented above, but the government spokesmen manage to leave out several important factors. First, a controlled economy is not new to Korea. All during the 1960s the economy was managed by successive five-year plans. The people suffered, and sacrificed, but they knew it was for the development of their nation. Secondly, sacrificing for the nation is certainly not to be equated with being oppressed by the Korean CIA (KCIA). Prior to 1971 workers, through their unions, could attempt to redress any wrongs that they suffered. Today a worker or a union that seeks justice for the workers faces a high probability of coming under the KCIA surveillance, or worse. The government argument is based on the assumption that added units of police pressures will result in increased units of industrial production. In fact, however, Korea has had its highest achievements in industrial development during the time of greatest freedom for workers and unions. Korean unions have never been real strong. Strike action by unions in the 1960s was very rare, but nevertheless compared to other periods of Korean history, they were active and comparatively free. In the case of Korea, an argument cannot be made that unions impeded economic development. Yet from 1971, they have been circumscribed and suppressed. The anti-union stance of the last few

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

years has much more to do with Park's political policies than with economic affairs. He cannot tolerate an organization that is independent or semi-independent from his own dictates. The "sacrifice" that the government demands from its people is more than the sacrifice of hard labor for low wages. Everyone is willing to give that type of "sacrifice". What the government demands is the sacrifice of independence. It wants obedience, and to get it, the Park government resorts to an extensive use of police and KCIA.

Park also points to economic crises of 1973-74 as a defense for his policies, but that is pure chicanery. Park's descent into dictatorship began when he violated the nation's constitution in 1969 and forced through an amendment allowing him a third term as president. In 1971 and 1972 before the world economic crisis was upon us, he had destroyed the democratic constitution of 1963 and established himself as life-long "president". The Korean economy was expanding at a very successful rate, foreign businesses were investing heavily and the society was fairly democratic when Park first set himself up as dictator. Exigencies of economic development had little to do with it.

The other argument commonly used to defend Park's power grab is that of national security. The Communist North, it is claimed, poses such a military threat to the South, that Park must have total power in order to defend the South.

While none of Park's opponents in South Korea underestimates the threat from the North, they point out that the North has been a threat for over two decades whereas the Park dictatorship has existed for only the past two years. South Korea has defended itself quite well for eighteen years without Park's one-man rule and without the tyranny of the KCIA. Apologists for Park responded that the threat from the North has so increased in the last few years that extreme measures are now called for and Park has no alternative except to take over full control of the South.

These apologists, however, never explain, or provide evidence, that the threat from the North has in fact increased. Reports from both Korean and American governments indicate the opposite: incidents on the DMZ are down sharply, and the military strength of the two sides has remained virtually unchanged. In 1968, a year of considerable tensions between the North and South, a commando team from the North came close to assassinating Park, but even then he did not declare a state of emergency or abrogate the constitution. Furthermore, the policy of entente between the United States and China, and the United States and Russia would seem to reflect a decrease in tensions throughout the area.

Despite Park's reiterated protests to the contrary, the argument that the communist threat makes dictatorship a necessity in South Korea is far from convincing.

It is pointed out, furthermore, that as a result of Park's policies the internal unity of the South Korean society has been seriously undermined. The Korean people have held as their highest ideal for the last half century that of establishing a democratic society. They did not take kindly to Park's efforts to suppress that ideal. Students, workers, newsmen, professors, churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, refuse to acquiesce to Park's police-state policies. Dictatorship of the military right is as distasteful as dictatorship of the communist left. Park has the guns to force his will upon the people, but there will be no peace. Just as the Korean people resisted the oppression of colonial Japan, they will resist the oppression of Park Chung Hee. As it has throughout 1974, opposition will increase and hostilities will deepen.

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

Government spokesmen defend Park by saying his behaviour is made necessary because of the necessities of economic development and the demands of military security, but in fact neither of these are an adequate nor sufficient explanation. His behaviour derives from something more fundamental than either of these factors. It derives from a greed for political power. Park and his military clique do not intend to give up their power nor their financially lucrative positions as heads of state. A brief outline of some of the events leading to Park's present domination of Korea illustrates the point.

The 1963 Constitution limited a president to two 4-year terms in office. On many occasions, Park promised his people that he would step aside after two terms. Yet, in 1969, half-way through his second term, he reneged on that promise and literally blackmailed his people into passing a referendum allowing him a third term. Unless the people voted in favor of the amendment, Park threatened to resign immediately. He would not finish his term as president. The result would, he threatened, be chaos and possibly a communist invasion. For these consequences he, Park, could take no responsibility. The people gave in and voted Park the legal right to run for a third term.

Park's third election campaign took place in 1971. He promised the people he would retire in 1975 after the third term. The 1971 election, however, turned out to be a humiliation for though there was massive interference in the elections by police and KCIA, a political unknown by the name of Kim Dae Jung won forty-seven per cent of the votes. The blackmail of 1969 and the high handed tactics of 1971 secured a third term for Park, but they undermined any confidence that the people had had in him and his government.

In December of 1971, he declared a State of Emergency and took over full control of government. Ten months later a State of Martial Law was declared. Tanks and armed soldiers took over the nation. On neither of these occasions, however, was there any indication that any emergency did exist in Korea. Presidential decrees asserted that there was an emergency. The facts of the situation were unimportant.

Along with the declaration of Martial Law in late 1972, Park announced that a new constitution was to be adopted by a people's referendum. No discussion or criticism of the new constitution, however, was to be permitted. Under the intimidation of martial law, the Korean people were again forced to give Park what he wanted.

The constitution of 1972, called the Yushin Constitution, effectively eliminated democratic structures of government and allows Park to be virtual dictator for life.

As soon as the guns and tanks of martial law were removed, opposition to Park and his Yushin Constitution began. The Korean people did not want a dictator. 1973 saw large, bitter anti-government demonstrations. Thirty-three of the nation's leading citizens initiated a nation-wide campaign to repeal Yushin. Park feared the opposition and especially the anti-Yushin petition. He knew it would gain support of millions of people. In order to stop the petition, on January 8, 1974, Park issued a decree forbidding any criticism or opposition to the Yushin Constitution. Another decree in early April made it a crime punishable by death for anyone to act or demonstrate against the government. Thirteen hundred people were arrested and 200-300 were sentenced to death or long years in prison.

Since 1971, Park has committed one act of violence after another against his own people, but in an attempt to cover up these acts of violence, he now claims that these 1300 people were arrested only because they broke laws. Park says that no one

has been arrested because he criticized the government. Only law breakers have been arrested. Park and apologists like columnist Jack Anderson, however, fail to mention the fact that the "law" which the 1300 people are said to have violated is Park's decree that forbids criticism of the Yushin Constitution and Park's government. They also ignore the fact that Park's "right" to issue such decrees was secured at the point of a gun.

Why has Korea turned from the road of development and democracy that it followed so successfully during the 1960s? Why has it reverted to dictatorship? The explanation lies not in the threat of communism nor in the exigencies of economic development, but in the fact that one man, General Park Chung Hee, can and does use military force to maintain himself in power.

Role of U.S.A.

Much of the credit for the progress achieved in Korea during the 1960s must go to the United States. Continuing aid in the economic, cultural, educational and military spheres encouraged the Korean people to move on towards democratic development. The fact that the U.S.A. has been instrumental in past achievements makes its present posture of support for the Park dictatorship all the more difficult to understand.

The American policy was clearly stated by Secretary of State Kissinger. American policy towards Korea, he declared, "is not related in any sense to the domestic conditions that have developed there." Under such a policy the U.S.A. has continued its huge support for Korea's military, the chief instrument used by Park to force his will upon the people.

The Ambassador to Korea, Mr. Richard Schneider, faithfully follows Kissinger's compartmentalized psychology. When a delegation of American missionaries met with him to discuss issues of human rights in Korea, Ambassador Schneider treated them to a half hour lecture on the evils of communist society in North Korea and Eastern Europe. Questions of security and military preparedness against the Communist onslaught seemed to be his only concern. Moreover, United States, he claimed does not use punitive measures to secure its own goals inside the society of another country.

The American Embassy, and thus presumably the American State Department, enjoys the fiction of non-involvement. It, for instance, has known for some time that the Korean government's claim that a communist conspiracy attempted to overthrow the Park Government in April of 1974 is pure fabrication. Two hundred to three hundred people have been sentenced to prison terms of from 10 years to life and eight have been given the death sentence under this "conspiracy" concocted by the Korean CIA. Indeed the whole foundation of Korean society has been undermined by this lie, but the American Embassy says never a word. The democratic society, economic development and even the military security that Americans have died for and given billions of dollars to promote are being destroyed by a military dictator who resorts to fabricated conspiracies to hold his people in line, and the American Ambassador assures us that the United States will not interfere in the domestic policies of Korea.

President Ford's visit to Korea illustrates the American policy. The day before President Ford visited Korea twenty mothers and wives of political prisoners staged a sit-down strike in front of the American Embassy in Seoul. Within ten minutes, riot police threw them on to buses and took them off to the police station. These women, through their brief sit-in, attempted to dramatize the plight of human rights

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

in Korea. They also were expressing their faith in the United States. Surely, the United States, as symbolized by President Ford, would not ignore the destruction of freedom!

Twenty-four hours later these ladies, along with the rest of the Korean people realized that the United States was willing to do just that: ignore the destruction of liberty and democracy. Military strength and national security were apparently the only issues discussed by the Americans. Ford supported Park. Within days after Ford left, Park let loose a new arrogance on his people. He had War Veterans march through the streets of Seoul in his support; he called the top Korean military chiefs to the Blue House (comparable to the American White House) and had them issue a declaration that they would crush opposition to Park either externally or internally; and resorting to his tactics of black-mail, he announced that political prisoners would be released, but only if they apologized and everyone else ceased their opposition.

America's promise to modernize the Korean military, Kissinger's simplistic foreign policy and the Ford visit have strengthened Park's determination to press on to a more perfect dictatorship.

Many Americans inside and outside of Korea are appalled by the militaristic nature of our government's policy in Korea. They demand that the United States support not Park's militarism, but the people's desire for democracy. If the U.S.A. acts quickly it might be able to avoid a total breakdown in the Korean situation. The longer Park's dictatorship is supported the more likelihood there is of social turmoil and communist infiltration. Dictators breed communists.

What can be done? The U.S. government has got to clearly delineate a policy that posits development toward democratic structures as a condition for continued economic aid. Unlike his statement about Korea, Kissinger recently was reported to have said that if Chile wants help from the U.S.A. there will have to be "an early return to democratic government with restoration of full civil liberties." (Ft. Lauderdale News, January 2, 1975, p. 14a). This is the exact policy and action needed for Korea.

Surely Vietnam should have taught us the folly of pitting military security and democratic participation against each other. They are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, without the participation and support of the people, the most advanced weaponry is nothing but a self-deception. For twenty-five years Korea has been defended without resort to tyranny and dictatorship. Now the society is being torn asunder by a small clique of militarists and the United States is helping them do it.

The United States is deeply involved in Korea. Ten billion dollars in aid has been given to this country the size of Indiana. The AID program operates in almost every sector of the society. The PL480 program has each year supplemented Korea's food production. United States labor in the form of AAFLI (Asian-American Free Labor Institute) uses AID money to support union leaders controlled by the KCIA and the American State Department helps recruit American businessmen who will invest in Korea. In all of these ways the U.S. Government is involved in Korea and in support of the Park regime. Yet the American Ambassador prates about not interfering in Korean domestic matters. Obviously the U.S.A. is interfering, and on a massive scale. The present Kissinger policy says support Park regardless of his oppression. Indeed without the U.S.A. support Park would find it difficult to continue his oppression.

American interest in Korea over the last 30 years has been a combination of political, economic and military affairs. We have sought development in all three, and throughout the 1960s that policy played an important role in helping the Koreans achieve

successes in all three areas. Now by reverting to a narrow, militaristic policy we are assisting Park Chung Hee to defeat the very purposes for which we have spent \$10 billion and the lives of 30,000 American soldiers. The Kissinger policy for Chile must be applied to Korea. The American Government must clearly state that it supports the abolition of the so-called Yushin Constitution, which institutes dictatorship, tight restrictions on the KCIA and the full restoration of civil liberties.

If such a policy is clearly delineated, sanctions will probably not be necessary. The Korean people would be so encouraged that they would probably take care of the matter themselves. If Park refuses all efforts to democratize the U.S. has the right as an independent nation to reduce military aid, or the PL 480 program or to discontinue AID programs, or discourage American capitalists from investing in Korea. The options for action are numerous. Which Kissinger will prevail in Korea is the fundamental question. Present policies will inevitably lead to deterioration on all fronts. The new "Chile look" can produce potentials for political, economic and military development.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES: American Corporations, Martial Law, and Underdevelopment

On September 21, 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Republic of the Philippines, claiming the Republic was "imperilled by the danger of a violent overthrow, insurrection and rebellion." The suspension of civil liberties, arrest and detention of opponents to the regime, escalated military and police activities against insurgent elements, and other repressive measures also carried apparent benefits to foreign investors. Part of martial law was the effort to neutralize the significant nationalist sentiment critical of the dominant position foreign investors, particularly Americans, have historically held in the Philippine economy. Thus, a New York Times article on January 21, 1973, noted that under martial law "the Philippines becomes eminently attractive to foreign investors."

The declaration of martial law raised questions among a number of U.S. Protestant and Catholic church officials concerned about political and economic conditions in the Philippines. What responsibility could be assigned to U.S.-based institutions conducting business in the Philippines for the political condition of repression and the problems of underdevelopment besetting the Philippine economy? In their concern, the Philippine Joint Action Group of the Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches (composed of Asian secretaries of major Protestant denominational overseas mission agencies), and Christians Concerned About the Philippines, a newly-formed group, in January 1973 requested the Corporate Information Center to prepare a report on U.S. corporations in the Philippines. Initially limited to four months, the study was extended to September 1973 in order to reflect findings from a two-week trip to the Philippines by CIC in August.

This CIC Brief summarizes the report to be presented in September. The information and views expressed here do not represent the opinions of the agencies that requested the study.

The report focuses on an investigation in the U.S. of the historic and current dimensions of U.S. investment in the Philippines, its relationship to the economic development policies of the Philippine government and martial law, and the extent of U.S. involvement in key industrial sectors (sugar, oil, agribusiness, banking and finance, mining, timber, automobile, and rubber) and draws conclusions and recommendations for ongoing research and action. Methodology included questionnaires and interviews with corporate representatives, interviews with a number of U.S. and Filipino government officials, and a survey of literature covering business transactions between the U.S. and the Philippines. There was substantial input

from a cross section of Filipinos now in the U.S.

To what extent does U.S. investment control the Philippine economy and influence government policy? Can the economic development in the Philippines be examined without regard to the role of U.S. corporations invested there? The larger context for this study thus is the ongoing analysis of multinational corporations in light of their impact on Third World development.

Multinational Corporations

An Examination of Multinational Corporations, the March 1973 CIC Brief, showed the extent to which U.S.-based (and a lesser number of European and Japanese) firms conduct business overseas and delineated many of the major questions regarding their international operations. Of major significance in this and other surveys of multinational corporations is the mounting evidence that the chronic underdevelopment throughout the Third World is the direct result of multinational corporate policies. Many critics argue that rather than promoting economic development in the Third World by supplying capital, technology, and managerial know-how, multinational corporations actually foster underdevelopment. According to the 1971 *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, "in the first development decade of the 1960's, it is apparent that large sectors of Third World populations, based on income distribution, family expenditure and dietary surveys, experienced no real improvement in their standard of living, and even became worse off."

Statistics show that in the Philippines from 1956 to 1971 income levels for the bottom 20 percent of the population have actually declined, from 4.5 percent to 3.6 percent, while the upper 20 percent holds 54 percent of the wealth (see Table I). Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise as well.

The largely capital-intensive orientation of multinational corporations, their penetration of foreign countries through local acquisition of would-be nationally-owned competitors, and their ability both to hide profits from taxation and to inflate prices represent some of the ways economic development and living conditions in Third World countries are ultimately shaped by the impact of multinationals. The ratio of capital inflow to profit outflow, for example, demonstrates the widening gap between rich and poor nations. In Asia profit outflow was 5 times capital inflow between 1950 and 1965. U.S. firms receive an average of twice the domestic rate of return on stockholders' equity in Third World countries. In the Philippines return

on stockholders' equity in the timber industry, for example, was 15.8 percent in 1971 but 6.8 percent in the U.S.; in mining it was 53.9 percent compared to 13.8 percent; in beverages 24.5 percent compared to 12.2 percent; and in rubber 36.4 percent compared to 9 percent. Several other industries showed less of a return when compared to the U.S. rate, but generally profits are much higher in the Philippines.

Furthermore, the increasing control foreign banks exercise on local currency deposits favors their multinational industrial counterparts at the expense of loans to local industry. A study conducted by the National Economic Council between 1956 and 1965 on 108 of the largest U.S. firms in the Philippines showed that 84 percent of their financing was done through local currency loans. Profits remitted to foreign beneficiaries were 300 percent greater than capital invested by these companies.

Thus it is not difficult to understand why the multinational corporation has become a major target for analysis, debate, and challenge on its activities throughout the world.

U.S.—Philippine History:

Trade and Investment Relations

U.S. trade with the Philippines dates back to 1800. By the mid-nineteenth century the U.S. received up to 40 percent of Philippine export, including sugar, hemp, and tobacco. U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 introduced an era of U.S. domination over the Philippine economy solidified after a three-year war to suppress a widespread Filipino independence movement. U.S. possession of the Philippines was marked by a succession of trade agreements increasingly favorable to U.S. business interests and engendering Philippine economic dependence on the U.S. The Philippines exported agricultural and other raw materials to the U.S. and imported manufactured products. This typical colonial pattern prevented diversification and industrialization of the Philippine economy.

By 1940 the U.S. provided 77 percent of the country's imports and took 83 percent of its exports. Of the approximately \$91 million in direct U.S. private investment in 1940 in the Philippines, 25 percent was in agriculture, 40 percent in public utilities, 15 percent in trade, and only 8 percent in manufacturing, demonstrating the export orientation of the Philippine economy up to 1940.

Passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 scheduled the Philippines for full inde-

This section, the "CIC BRIEF," appears in each edition of the *Corporate Examiner*. Its purpose is to inform investors, organizations and individuals concerned about corporate social impact of given issue areas. Each "CIC BRIEF" highlights a particular social area — foreign investment, environment, labor and minority policies, military contracting, or consumerism, and focuses on one or more corporations. It also includes reference to groups, individuals, and studies involved in each given issue.

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pendence on July 4, 1946. Upon independence full tariffs were to be effected. The Philippine Constitution attempted to protect the country's natural resources by requiring that 60 percent of the capital associated with industries related to raw materials be held by Philippine citizens. However, this provision did not extend to existing ownership by Americans.

World War II devastated the Philippine economy. The U.S. Trade Act of 1946 aimed to hasten economic recovery and to improve conditions for U.S. economic interests. Quotas were reestablished and free-trade provisions were extended over an eight-year period. Following that, tariffs were scheduled at 5 percent a year until 1973, when full tariffs were to be placed on trade between the two nations. The 1946 act also gave the U.S. president discretionary power to withdraw economic concessions granted to the Philippines if nationalist opposition were allowed to compromise U.S. interests, including power over the exchange rate of the peso and a Philippine commitment not to levy taxes on U.S. products produced for export to the Philippines. Nevertheless, in 1949-50 import and exchange controls were enacted by the Philippine government as a way to curtail chronic balance-of-payments deficits. These measures spurred further U.S. investment in Philippine import-substitution industries, increasing U.S. control of the economy.

The single most discussed provision of the Trade Act of 1946, however, was the exemption of U.S. citizens and companies from the constitutional restriction limiting the exploitation of Philippine natural resources to Filipinos. This so-called "parity clause" clearly violated the Philippine Constitution but was adopted in a national referendum in 1946 and has served as the direct incentive for U.S. investment since then.

U.S. direct investment in the Philippines rose sharply with passage in 1955 of the Laurel-Langely Agreement, the revised U.S.-Philippine trade agreement. The agreement in effect brought to a close the eight-year "mutual free trade" period and provided for the further protection of U.S. economic interests. While granting certain concessions to the Philippine government, the agreement continued to cultivate reliance on U.S. trade and protect U.S. direct investment and parity rights. Further, a provision allowed for possible future increases in the Philippine sugar quota, an industry historically tied to the U.S. consumer market. The scheduled expiration of the Laurel-Langely Agreement in 1974 has been viewed as a major factor leading to the declaration of martial law in the Philippines.

U.S. Direct Private Investment

As early as 1929 U.S. investment in the Philippines totaled nearly \$80 million. During the periods of free trade private investments grew slowly, but after 1950, with the creation of parity rights and decreased trade advantages caused by exchange and import controls of the Philippine government, investments grew rapidly. Between 1950 and 1972 import-substitution manufacturing industries grew 1200 percent, while overall investment increased 500 percent, reaching the cur-

TABLE I

Family Income in the Philippines

Families (ranked from lowest income to highest)	Percent of Total Family Income			
	1956-57a	1961b	1965b	1971c
Lowest 20%	4.5	4.2	3.5	3.6
Second 20%	8.1	7.9	8.0	8.1
Third 20%	12.4	12.1	12.8	13.3
Fourth 20%	19.8	19.3	20.2	21.0
Highest 20%	55.1	56.4	55.4	54.0
Top 10%	39.4	41.0	40.0	37.1
Top 5%	27.7	29.0	28.7	24.8

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics, *Survey of Households, Family Income and Expenditures* — a) year ending 2/28/57; b) calendar year; c) year ending April, 1971.

TABLE II

Percentage of sales, income, assets, and equity controlled by the 47 U.S. corporations ranked in the top 200 Philippine corporations

(Pesos in thousands — 1971 data)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Top 200 corporations	19,588,292	1,249,831	20,353,433	8,488,785
47 U.S. corporations	5,755,228	452,486	5,702,907	2,581,102
U.S. firms' percentage of top 200 total	29.4%	36.2%	28.0%	30.4%

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971.

U.S. involvement is clearer in an examination of the manufacturing sector of the Philippine economy. This is the sector in which Americans are most heavily invested as a result of restrictions that discourage U.S. investments in the agricultural, service, and commercial sectors.

Percentage of sales, income, assets, and equity controlled by 35 U.S. manufacturing corporations ranked in the top 110 Philippine manufacturing corporations

(Pesos in thousands — 1971 data)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
110 Philippine corporations	10,723,372	592,373	10,305,830	4,319,764
35 U.S. corporations	3,605,047	278,753	3,552,295	1,596,352
U.S. firms' percentage of top 110 total	33.6%	47.1%	34.5%	37.0%

Source: *Ibid.*

rent estimated \$700 million—\$1 billion in book value of direct private investment. (Some sources place the real value of current U.S. investment as high as \$2 billion and even \$3 billion.)

Whatever the actual figure, U.S. investment in the Philippines is greater than that in any other Southeast Asian country. While investment in the Philippines represents only 1 percent of the total book value of U.S. direct investment worldwide, it also represents 80 percent of all foreign investment in the Philippines. Thus, U.S. investment is crucial to the Philippine economy as it is currently structured. Other foreign investors in the Philippines in order of size of investments are the Taiwan-based Chinese, Spanish, British, Dutch, Canadian, Japanese, Swiss, Swedish, and Germans.

According to a survey conducted by the Philippine government's Inter-Agency Working Group on Foreign Investment, as of 1970 Americans owned approximately 33% of the equity capital of the 900 largest corporations in the Philippines. Forty-seven U.S. firms or firms with significant U.S. investment are listed among the top 200 corporations in the Philippines. As Table II shows, these 47 U.S. corporations accounted in 1971 for 29.4 percent of sales, 36.2 percent of income, 28.0 percent of assets, and 30.4 percent of equity of the top 200 corporations. In the manufacturing sector, 35 U.S. corporations among the 110 leading manufacturing corporations in the Philippines held an even greater share of business. (For a listing of the 47 largest U.S. companies in the Philippines see Table IV.)

Control of Strategic Industries

U.S. control over the Philippine economy is strengthened by the dominant market position U.S. firms hold in crucial industries. In the rubber industry U.S. companies have long been active in operating Filipino-owned rubber plantations and in the manufacture of rubber products. B.F. Goodrich since 1919, Goodyear Tire and Rubber since 1929, and Firestone Rubber more recently together received 97 percent of all income generated by 13 companies in the field and controlled 73 percent of assets, 91 percent of equity, and 57 percent of all sales. These firms achieved an average return on equity in 1970 of 38.3 percent, compared to 10.5 percent for Filipino firms. In the plantation areas where Goodrich and Goodyear operate facilities fierce fighting has been going on between Muslims and Christian and government forces. Government forces have been used to expel Muslim insurgents from Goodrich's plantation and protect the company's properties.

In the auto industry, Ford Philippines, General Motors, Chrysler, and two other foreign firms control 86 percent of sales of eleven automobile-manufacturing companies. Two U.S. corporations, Harvester and Honiron Philippines, control over 80 percent of the heavy-equipment manufacturing in sales, income, assets, and equity. The future of the auto industry in the Philippines suggests even greater involvement by U.S. and other foreign firms. The "Asian strategy" for the auto industry includes an integrated production and marketing structure involving the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and other Asian nations. In producing its Asian car, the Piera, for example, Ford Philippines utilizes component parts made in several of these countries for assembly and marketing in the Philippines and for export. According to Ford, the overriding considerations in choosing the Philippines were its strategic location, cheap labor, and the privileges provided the company by the government.

U.S. investors also enjoy a controlling position in the mining industry, a sector which over the past several years has increased by importance in foreign exchange earnings and revenue for the government. As Table III indicates, 5 mining companies with significant U.S. equity interests (Atlas Consolidated Mining, Marcopper Mining, Marinduque Mining and Industrial, Lepanto Consolidated Mining, and Benguet Consolidated) account for the highest percentage of business among the 17 largest mining companies in the Philippines. By 1975 mineral exports from the Philippines are expected to account for 26 percent of all foreign exchange earned, the largest single export product.

In the petroleum industry, as well, U.S. corporations dominate. (See Table III.) Of the 10 oil companies refining in the Philippines, 7 U.S. oil companies enjoy a virtual monopoly, with 96.2 percent of all equity and 97.6 percent of all income derived from the business. As the Philippines obtains 90 percent of its energy requirements from imported oil, U.S. firms are in a position to take advantage of a captive market. A 1971 report by the Association of Patriotic Scientists in the Philippines accuses foreign oil firms of charging up to 50 percent more for crude oil than do Filipino-owned refineries.

In the timber industry, 6 U.S. companies are among the top 20 of the 73 lumber companies in the Philippines. Four — Weyerhaeuser,

Boise-Cascade, Georgia Pacific, and one in which International Paper has minority equity interests — are among the top 10 and control 13 percent of all land held in long-term concessions in Mindanao. A Georgia Pacific Corporation spokesman stated in an interview with CIC in 1972 that because the U.S. would run out of certain domestic fibers in the near future, it was necessary that timber companies gain concessions as a "bank deposit" for future needs. As with minerals, timber exploited in the Philippines is exported, principally to Japan and the U.S. The boom in logging over the past several years has been marked by political payoffs and bonanzas for local politicians, as well as by destruction to the environment. The forest destruction rate by logging companies, as well as by squatters who clear-cut for farming, has been estimated at 9 times the reforestation rate.

Agribusiness, too, feels the impact of U.S. multinationals. Del Monte Corporation and Dole Philippines, a subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, enjoy a monopoly of the fruit production and canning industry. In 1971 Del Monte accounted for 61 percent and Dole for 38% of total sales in the industry. About 80 percent of products produced in the Philippines are exported to Europe and the U.S.

TABLE III

Foreign Companies in the Mining Industry

Financial data of top 17 mining firms, 1971 showing share of totals received by companies with foreign ownership

(Pesos in thousands)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Mining industry total (Top 17 Companies)	1,641,819	443,949	2,519,572	1,690,408
Companies with foreign ownership (5)	1,171,749	328,939	1,911,090	1,300,956
Companies with foreign ownership share of mining industry total	71.9%	74.1%	75.8%	77.0%

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971, p. 136.

Foreign Companies in the Petroleum Industry

Financial data on the 10 petroleum companies ranked in the top 1000 Philippine corporations

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Foreign-owned companies*	2,497,669	51,121	2,445,321	1,161,636
Domestic companies**	624,966	1,219	378,905	45,555
Totals for oil industry	3,122,635	52,340	2,824,226	1,207,191
Foreign companies' share of totals for industry	79.9%	97.6%	86.5%	96.2%

* Shell Philippines, Inc., Caltex Philippines, Inc., Bataan Refining Company, Faso Philippines, Inc., Mobil Philippines, Inc., and Getty Oil Philippines, Inc. ** Filoil Refinery Corporation, Filoil Marketing Corporation, Arabay, Inc., Space, Inc.

Source: *Ibid.*

Economic Development and Martial Law

Once the degree of U.S. corporate control of the Philippine economy was established, CIC sought to determine the extent to which Philippine government policies toward foreign investment coincide with U.S. investment interests and how such interests have been affected by the declaration of martial law.

The Philippine economy has consistently experienced problems of inflation, balance-of-payments deficits, monetary instability, and lack of foreign exchange. The country's external debt grew from \$600 million in 1967 to \$1.7 billion in 1970, reflecting government inability to accumulate reserves for domestic investment.

A government program initiated in February 1970 at the advice of the International Monetary Fund aimed to create an open economy with few trade restrictions and with emphasis on the importance of foreign investment, a program of monetary and fiscal austerity, and devaluation of the peso. The 1967 Investment Incentives Act, the 1969 Mariveles Free Trade Zone Act, and the 1970 Export Incentives Act represent government efforts to direct foreign investment into industrial areas considered vital to economic development.

Government economic advisers, known as "technocrats" because of their professional economic and corporate managerial experience, have worked toward complete economic planning, giving preference to expansion or merger of firms rather than competition and encouraging large-scale monopolies as more efficient.

Critics of the Philippine government development strategy argue that the economy is coming under still greater control by U.S. and other foreign investors. Devaluation of the peso, for example, has brought with it greater foreign investment and acquisition of Filipino-owned firms. Monetary austerity and restriction on credit extension have resulted in the failure of many Filipino companies to grow or even survive, while foreign firms obtain credit easily. The National Economic Council's report on financing of foreign firms by local currency, mentioned earlier, estimates that 88.3 percent of the private investment funds for foreign firms will be raised locally between 1972 and 1975.

Nationalist opposition has challenged government policy and the expanding foreign penetration and control of the economy. The Retail Trade Nationalization Law, effective in 1964, prohibited foreigners from engaging in the retail business. A Supreme Court decision in August 1972 ruled that companies in sectors reserved for Filipinos could not have foreign directors or top-management personnel. In the Quasha case, the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. parity rights gained in 1946 will expire in 1974. If enforced, this would require U.S. divestment of an estimated \$100 million to \$400 million worth of agricultural, land, and natural resource interests. The 1972 constitution replacing the 1935 charter, was drafted substantially by nationalists seeking to undercut special privileges granted to the U.S. under the old constitution and the Laurel-Langely Agreement.

Martial Law

The declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972, came at a crucial time in Philippine-U.S. economic relations. Not only was the Laurel-Langely Agreement about to expire, terminating U.S. parity rights and requiring foreign-owned firms to be 60-percent owned by Filipinos, but nationalists were urging even greater restrictions on the rights of foreigners to invest. The martial law regime has essentially suppressed this nationalist opposition and has

promoted a policy of attracting still more foreign capital. Thus, the decree of martial law has carried with it an economic development strategy favoring integration of the Philippine economy into the investment designs of foreign-based multinational corporations. Understandably enough, the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, representing major U.S. business interests there, was quick to support the declaration of martial law.

Some rulings in the aftermath of martial law provide further evidence of its advantages to foreigners. All labor strikes and demonstrations are banned and the Supreme Court decision prohibiting foreign nationals from executive positions in Filipino firms was overturned. Oil exploration concessions have been promised to foreign oil companies. In response to CIC, a number of U.S. corporate spokesmen affirmed that they have experienced no adverse effects from martial law and most agreed that the business climate was improved. Although there has not yet been a dramatic influx of foreign capital into the Philippines, according to *U.S. News and World Report* the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines noted that more than 40 U.S. firms have either started new projects or expressed a desire to do so. Expansion of existing facilities, oil exploration, and new financial involvements by such banks as Chase Manhattan and First National City indicate that the "wait and see" policy followed by some U.S. corporations may be over.

President Marcos' assurances to foreign investment have been formalized in the new constitution, which omits proposals submitted by nationalists. In March 1973 a government proclamation "guaranteed complete freedom of repatriation, covering both the invested principal and gains, and without any time restriction" to new foreign investments. According to President Marcos, "The guarantee on freedom of investment repatriation may now be expected to work along well with such other factors as stabilized peace and order and the related immigration laws [for foreign executives] to develop the Philippines as a major financial center in Asia." The declaration of martial law thus paved the way for the centralization of political power and economic planning under the guidance of "technocrat" professionals.

The Future

On May 11, 1973, *Business Asia* reported that the Confederation of Philippine Exporters had submitted a decree to President Marcos that if adopted could transform Manila into the regional headquarters for many international firms. The confederation noted that the Philippines was in the most advantageous position to attract multinational companies, partially because of the peace and order provided by martial law.

Wider Issues

With this evaluation of martial law and U.S. investment in the Philippines, the wider issue of multinational corporations and their implications for Third World development becomes apparent. The question of whether multinational corporations embody hope for economic development or, on the contrary, perpetuate a structure of underdevelopment becomes paramount. Certainly the penetration of multinational corporations into the Philippines first under the umbrella of U.S. colonial rule and then their current involvement with martial law suggest that any positive contributions cannot be judged without careful consideration of existing political repression and chronic economic underdevelopment.

TABLE IV

47 largest U.S. corporations in the Philippines ranked by sales position among the top 200 corporations in the Philippines for 1971

Sales Rank	Name of Parent Corporation
3	*Caltex Petroleum Corp.
4	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Atlas Consolidated)
5	Exxon Corp.
9	Mobil Oil Corp.
10	*Exxon/Mobil
12	Granexport Corp.
17	Procter & Gamble Co.
18	Baker Commodities
31	Pepsico, Inc.
32	USI Philippines Inc.
33	Atlantic, Gulf & Pacific
37	Del Monte Corp.
38	General Milk Co.
45	*Ford Motor Co.
46	Getty Oil Co.
49	International Harvester
52	Union Carbide Corp.
58	*Goodyear Tire & Rubber
61	*B.F. Goodrich Corp.
65	Honolulu Iron Works
67	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Bislig Bay Lumber Inc.)
69	Colgate-Palmolive Co.
70	*Castle and Cooke, Inc.
73	Consolidated Dairy Products Co.
77	*Firestone Tire & Rubber
78	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Benguet Consolidated)
79	Theo. Davies Co.
85	CPC International, Inc.
90	Wilbur Ellis Co., Ltd.
107	Pillsbury Corp.
113	*Georgia Pacific Corp.
118	Singer Corp.
123	Reynolds International
136	Philippine Rock Products Inc.
141	General Foods Corp.
152	Muller & Phipps (New York)
154	IBM Corp.
157	Warner Barnes & Co.
159	*Weyerhaeuser, Inc.
170	Benguet Consolidated
171	Mead Johnson & Co.
174	Kimberly-Clark Corp.
175	American Wire & Cable Co., Inc.
178	Phelps-Dodge Corp.
186	Scott Paper Co.
188	Eastman Kodak Corp.
197	Hawaiian-Philippine Co.

* Indicates companies reviewed in CIC study; companies not mentioned here but discussed in the report are Bancom Development Corporation of the Philippines and Bankers Trust.

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971; and "The Biggest American Companies in the Philippines," *Manila Chronicle*, June 18, 1971.

THE FILIPINOS

As all third world communities strive to survive in a highly competitive society, such as in the U.S., the Filipino Community is developing new social and political dynamics. However, there is still very little that is known about Filipino Americans and their experiences here in the U.S.

Who are we?

Within the Bay Area, we total 50,000 and throughout the U.S. there is well over 1/2 million, with a growth rate of 24,000 more each year, due, in part, to liberalized immigration legislation. The New York Times of March 5, 1971, has noted this growth rate to be the second largest bloc of immigrants, second only to Mexican immigration.

In order to understand the present and current status of Filipino Americans in this country, we must look back to history for a moment and examine the roots of our experience.

The Philippines, named after King Philip II of Spain, is laced with over 7,000 islands, 3,000 of which have yet to be named. The first wave of migration into these islands occurred 25,000 years ago when Aborigines came from the Asian mainland through land bridges. The second wave was of Indonesian stock. The third and most predominant racial stock which the greater amount of Filipinos belong is Malayo-Polynesian.

Prior to Spanish arrival in the Philippines, extensive trade was going on with countries like China, Japan, The Empires of Shri-Vishaya, and Madjapahit, India, and as far away as Northern Africa. Because of these pre-colonial social relations, Filipinos are composed of many races and influences. Our ancient name was MAI from the Chinese, meaning "Land of Gold." Our words were hinduized with plenty of Sanskrit, food was of Chinese descent, our warrior kingdom life came from Cambodian, Thai and Vietnamese origin, and our religion (Islam) from northern Africa.

In search of a spice route, the Spanish explorer, Ferdinand Magellan, stumbled into a chain of islands in 1521 only to die there in the first recorded battle of resistance by the native inhabitants. Tenaciously, Spain set out to conquer these islands, using the divide and conquer tactic. Philip II ordered that his conquistadores use more of the cross rather than the sword --- a lesson learned from the genocide already committed on Indios in the Americas. This was most effective because previous to Spanish aggression, the islands, particularly the southern part, were transcending regional structures into whole provincial structures buttressed by the eastern spread of Islam. The Spanish colonizers, therefore, gained access to most of the islands except for the southern part, which was never successfully taken over until the American colonial rule.

For 330 years, the sole purpose of the Philippines for Spain was the lucrative Manila Galleon Trade, a trade which linked the empire of China with Nueva Espana and the then Empire of Spain. Spanish mercantilism thrived for the next two hundred years with this profitable venture at the expense of the natives. The natives, through forced labor, were used to build galleons and churches. The whole native populace was subject to taxes, and land ownership was becoming monopolized by a growing class of rapacious landlords and the Catholic Church.

By the 1800's, this oppression and exploitation was resisted by over two hundred revolts throughout the islands. With the decline of the Galleon Trade, the influx of liberal ideas from Europe, the liberation movements in Mexico and the rest of Latin America, the native populace started to identify itself by the end of the 19th century through a national consciousness, a consciousness in reaction to foreign domination.

At the same time, a movement was growing composed of intellectuals from a developing Filipino middle class, among them the famous Jose Rizal, who were able to go to Europe to continue their education. They became exposed to a profusion of liberal ideas and brought them home to write books and newspapers. These were considered subversive in the eyes of the Spaniards.

When these literary expositions still did not move the colonizers, a secret organization was formed, led by Andres Bonifacio, called "KATAASTAASAN KAGALANGGALANGAN KATIPUNAN NG MGA ANAK NG BAYAN," KKK, or the Katipunan. They advocated complete independence from Spain.

By 1896, a national revolution had been set in motion. A Filipino revolutionary government was developed with a constitution adopted from the study of 5 European constitutions. In 1898, the only Spanish stronghold left was the walled city of Intramuros in Manila. It was at this period though that Spain was now at war with the United States, in which case, the expansionist American government saw the economic benefits of securing these islands not only for its physical potential but as a steppingstone to the "unfathomable Chinese market." When the U.S. Admiral Dewey defeated the Spanish in the now famous "mock battle" of Manila, the Philippines was handed over to the U.S. by the defeated Spanish in the Treaty of Paris for the paltry sum of \$20 million dollars, all this at the non-participation of the Filipino Revolutionary Government. This, therefore, brought forth the Filipino-American War, a war never placed in history books. It was a long war. It lasted for seven years.

It took 170,000 American soldiers to squelch a "rebellion." 600,000 Filipino men, women and children died in this war. Any Filipino who uttered the word independence or who displayed the Filipino flag was to be arrested or shot. And on the official record, all those who resisted were considered bandits or pirates.

Beaten by superior forces together with the surrender of our leadership, colonization began again. Our second conquerors came.

English became the medium of instruction. Our colonial education created aspirations incongruent with the true conditions in the Philippines. In a tropical paradise never lower than 75 degrees throughout the year, Filipinos learned songs like Jingle Bells and Dashing Through the Snow. Filipinos were taught U.S. history, not Filipino history, thus our heroes became George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Filipinos learned about equality and freedom yet did not see this materialize in their daily lives.

Around 1907 the Hawaiian sugar industry needed cheap labor. The situation in the Philippines was that trade relations forced the country to become an export producing one and impoverished peasants were lured by promises of prosperity and boundless opportunity. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) needed more cheap labor to replace the already militant Japanese laborers who were demanding unions. A publicity campaign highly deceptive in nature, such as films of money growing on trees and streets paved with gold, was launched to persuade an already desperate peasantry.

And so the Filipinos, leaving their families, came to Hawaii deceived by the HSPA. With this, 107 Filipinos came in 1907, which grew to 130,000 strong by 1932. The typical migrant was young, single, and male. According to the census data of 1930, 80 percent of the Filipino migrants were males between the ages of 16 to 30, the total male population amounting to 93 percent, this bringing about a social imbalance, which can still be felt even today.

By 1924, seeing through the deceptions, Filipinos started to organize in the sugar fields, demanding for an 8-hour day, a minimum wage of \$2 a day, and the right to collective bargaining. These demands were accompanied by 10,000 Filipinos walking off their jobs in so doing closed down 34 out of 45 sugar mills in 1924. This was retaliated by plantation owners with force, massacres, one being the famous Hanapepe Massacre in which 16 Filipinos were killed. The strike lasted for 8 months and once it was broken, thousands of Filipinos were blacklisted and many of them moved to California to work in the growing Agri-Business Industry.

They moved where the crops were. If it was asparagus season in Stockton, they would be there. If it was apples in Washington State there they would go. Filipinos could be found in Alaskan canneries as well.

The migration to California occurred at the period of the depression here in the U.S. With Filipinos flocking in by the thousands through the ports of San Francisco and Oakland, into outlying areas like Stockton and Salinas, they were to be singled out during these hard times as the cause of unemployment, particularly that of impoverished white workers rather than seeing the economic situation at fault. This sparked much anti-Filipino feelings and riots occurred against Filipinos in Watsonville, Exeter, Tulare, Ca., in Yakima, Washington and Hood River, Oregon.

In Los Angeles, the Chamber of Commerce described Filipinos as the "most worthless, unscrupulous, shiftless, diseased semi-barbarians that ever came to our shores." In San Francisco, a judge called Filipinos "savages who were taking jobs and women from decent white boys."

It was in the thirties that a strong demand for the exclusion of Filipinos was made. Much as an exclusion act was averted, such as the one which fell on the Chinese and Japanese, a law was finally passed by Congress, which had the net effect of excluding Filipinos from the mainland U.S., and, ironically, this law was called the Philippine Independence Act. This occurred in 1934 and provided that the Philippines would be granted its "independence" in 1946. By so doing, the U.S. was free to reclassify Filipinos as aliens and thus be subjected to quota restrictions. The quota was established at the miniscule level of 50 per year.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Filipinos encountered verbal abuse, ostracism, legal restrictions whereby they were not allowed to marry women of the majority society (anti-miscegenation), nor could Filipinos own property because they were not considered citizens. Without saying, survival for the Filipino at this time was a life and death struggle.

In the 1940's racism changed its enemy. With WWII, Filipinos, because of Bataan and Corregidor became "brave, brown brothers" and the Japanese were now in concentration camps.

60,000 Filipinos were able to join the army. They joined because of their love for their home country and they were willing to go combat duty. The war gave

Filipinos an opportunity to return to their motherland and, for some, seek wives, whom they brought back to the U.S. after the war. During this period, the second largest wave of immigration from the Philippines occurred.

Immigration legislation passed by Congress in 1965 together with increasing dissatisfaction of the neo-colonial conditions in the Philippines, has contributed to the dramatic upswing of Filipinos emigrating to the U.S. In 1965 the quota jumped from 100 to 20,000. Figures show that 2,545 immigrating in 1965 soared to 25,417 in 1970. In San Francisco, Filipinos make up the fastest growing minority. In Alameda County, Filipinos are found at the top of the immigrating list for the past five years.

San Francisco's Filipino population today totals over 38,000. In Los Angeles, Filipinos number over 50,000. In Portland, Oregon, between 1965 and 1970, figures went from 1,000 to 3,000.

The majority of Filipino immigrants are doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, nurses and other professionals. Because of the discrimination, these professionals have difficulty finding jobs commensurate to their degrees. In San Francisco alone there are 200 unemployed Filipino lawyers. So Filipino lawyers work as clerks, teachers as secretaries or instructional aides, dentists as technicians, engineers as mechanics, and many professionals work as laborers in the fields, linenmaids and janitors.

Filipino American youth find themselves in a predicament with respect to their identity. With the great influx of immigrants come great numbers of youth and many times the cultural gaps between American born and foreign born Filipinos create obstacles to mutual understanding and cooperation. Filipino youth face similar problems as their ethnic counterparts. In addition to the common problems of social acceptance, a lack of positive self-image, and other problems associated with non-whites, the Filipino youth faces these problems as a minority within a minority. He too is most often classified as "oriental," "Spanish sur-named" or simply "other" by the institutions he must deal with on a daily basis.

The dependency on the majority community for educational, financial, occupational and political advancement leaves most young Filipino Americans far behind other ethnic minority groups. A high dropout rate among Filipino teenagers indicate that there is a strong need for relevant education.

Relevant education means Filipino Studies. It also means bilingual and bicultural programs, which strengthen and develop cultural awareness and identity. Relevant education also means available supportive personnel, like counselors, sensitive to the the needs of Filipinos. Opportunities, such as higher education, are not always open to Filipinos because of the high cost.

As for our Filipino pioneers to the U.S., the greater majority of Filipinos were not able to marry and so, today, in the sixties and seventies, many of these Filipinos are still bending their backs in the never-ending toil in the U.S. Agri-Business Industry. For example, in the vast asparagus fields of California's delta, Filipinos still comprise 60 percent of the labor force. These laborers continue to live in makeshift bunkhouses that are cold in the winter and unbearably hot in the summer. Sanitary facilities, hot water, and health services are usually not available.

Other men, no longer able to work in the fields have retired to the virtual

isolation of dingy hotel rooms in metropolitan centers. Their isolation is so complete that it is not rare for elderly Filipinos to die alone in their rooms --- discovered only because of the tell-tale smell of decaying flesh.

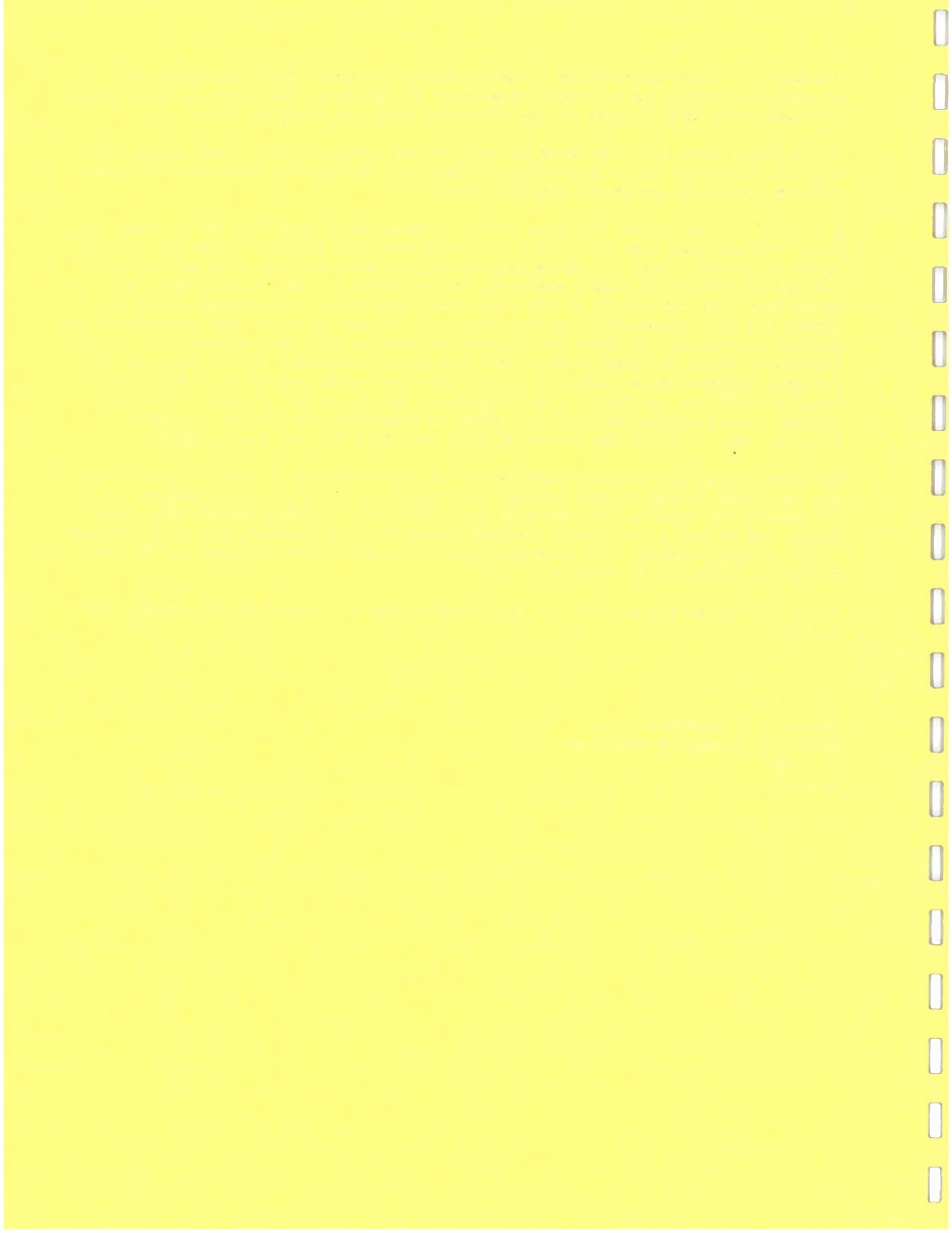
Still others have left the farms to work in the large cities. Their employment, however, continues to be in unskilled jobs, such as busboys, dishwashers, cooks, waiters, janitors, gardeners and chauffeurs.

A profile of the typical Filipino senior citizen would show that he is male, has never married, has lost touch with his relatives, and subsists below the poverty level of income. Even though he may reside in a geographical area served by a variety of social and health agencies, he is rarely touched by such agencies. He prefers the lay advice of his countrymen, distrusts complicated social services, and feels inadequate whenever coming in contact with college educated social service personnel. In those rare instances when he does seek agency help, he is frustrated since he cannot communicate his needs adequately due to language and cultural differences and because social agencies rarely employ bilingual staff familiar with the various Filipino languages and dialects. Because of his low income, single status, and his residence in bunkhouses or hotels, the aged Filipino male often is the victim of poor nutrition and bad eating habits.

For some young Filipinos who have gained an understanding of their rich heritage and past both in the Philippines and here in the U.S., a new consciousness is developing and growing into positive social action. Working the Filipino Community has become a commitment for many young Filipino students and it is through their efforts together with community-conscious adults that changes can be made affecting Filipinos as a whole.

It is through an analysis of the past that we can go forward in the future with insight.

Teresita C. Bautista
Office of Community Relations
12-13-74
TB:w:cb



EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Cao thi My Loc

Recently, two years after the Paris Peace Agreement, Mr. Ford has requested more aid to Saigon in order for the U.S. government to be involved further in Vietnam from where it has supposedly withdrawn completely according to the Paris Peace Agreement and also according to the will of the Vietnamese and American people.

This failure in implementing the Paris Peace Agreement, the deterioration of the Thieu regime and its policy of war and repression backed up by the U.S. government only faces the strong opposition from the people. People can no longer stand the tragedy of Vietnamese killing Vietnamese under the Vietnamization program and they know that the U.S. government is responsible for this killing and destruction.

During the two years after the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement, the U.S. still supports the Saigon regime, it still sends \$10 million per day to keep the Indochina war going, a war which killed and wounded 600,000 people since the 1973 Peace Agreement. The U.S. pays 86% of the operating costs of the Thieu regime, 2/3 of which is direct military spending. U.S. dollars and personnel support the Saigon police apparatus, the one million men army, the bombing raids over liberated territories, the prison which holds more than 200,000 political prisoners, and the concentration camp-type areas where peasants are prohibited from returning to their villages to till their land and are forced to live. The U.S. maintains a huge force of military "advisors" and pilots disguised as civilians to direct the Saigon and Loh Nol military forces in continued fighting with U.S. weapons. The CIA still directs the old Phoenix program now with the name of F-6, the program of assassination and secret war. All this is in contradiction with article 4 of the Paris Peace Agreement which states that "The U.S. will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam."

Since the Agreement, U.S. military organizations have disguised themselves as civilian organizations and continued the war. The U.S. AID continues training, equipping and advising the Saigon police force. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon includes more than 3,000 so-called diplomats and staff who actually direct pacification programs, coordinate the administration of political repressions, and direct the basic strategy of aggression pursued by the Saigon regime.

In addition, the U.S. left behind 10,000 military personnel in Vietnam disguised as civilians and introduced 15,000 new personnel since the Agreement. The U.S. has brought vast new quantities of weapons and war equipment into South Vietnam, and actually increased spending of military aid to Thieu since the Agreement.

All these war acts are the only stumbling blocks against peace in Vietnam. Continuing war in a country where the people are striving for peace, freedom and independence, trying to sabotage the Peace Agreement while the people realize the necessity and the urgency of implementing it will only result in the strong opposition of the people. This opposition now involves many more people: Buddhists, intellectuals, students and even those who in the past showed their support for the Saigon regime like the Catholics,

trade unionists, government workers. Why are they standing up against Thieu? Just take a look at the economic situation in Saigon-controlled areas. Thousands of people go hungry in the urban areas and refugee camps. According to a pro-Saigon newspaper Chinh Luan, "a recent poll conducted by Catholic students discloses that even in the wealthiest section of Saigon, only 22% of the families have enough to eat" (Chinh Luan, Nov. 5, 1974). In answer to this situation, the Popular Front for Hunger Relief was formed. Even, this Front makes Saigon so nervous that the regime has repeatedly carried out repression against it and has consistently prevented it from giving food to the hungry in all parts of the country.

Many Assembly members are courageous enough to take the responsibility of distributing food to the poor. Thieu immediately ordered his soldiers to "use clubs to beat up what he calls the bothersome minority in the National Assembly" and said that if opposition legislators used clubs and knives to fight back, he would bring in tanks to dissolve the Assembly (Dien Tin, Nov. 14, 1974). In Chanh Tam village, where the Popular Front for Hunger Relief is very active, "Thieu's police forces fired into a crowd....burnt houses and religious shrines.... The Thieu regime simply said that it was conducting a regular operation against the Communists in the area."

The press has also been repressed brutally. They are either prohibited from covering the truth or forced out of business.

Politically, the Thieu regime has done everything possible to prevent the creation of the Third Force which is guaranteed representation in the National Council according to the Peace Agreement. In his November 13, speech, Thieu said that all government means had to be used to prevent the creation of a Third Force (Chinh Luan, Nov. 14, 1974). However, in spite of this repression, the Third Force has become stronger. They are now in many opposition movements in South Vietnam and their existence is well recognized around the world. This fact proves that the Thieu regime is getting more and more isolated while the opposition wider and wider.

Militarily, the Saigon army is getting weaker and weaker. The rate of desertion increased drastically, especially after the Peace Agreement. People refused to fight because they see no reason for it. In most cases, Thieu's soldiers just run away, they don't want to be trapped in the U.S. made Vietnamization program. That is why facing the consolidation of the People's Liberation Army, Thieu has repeatedly failed in his land-grabbing operations. The PRG has declared that it doesn't sit idle when Thieu violates the cease-fire, in fact, punishing this violation is an effective way to defend the Peace Agreement as well as the life of the people. The recent case of Phuoc Binh clearly shows this point. For a long time, Thieu has used Phuoc Binh as a base to attack liberated areas, especially the Loc Ninh province which is a PRG stronghold. The taking of Phuoc Binh also means the prevention of further violations and killings. However, the U.S. government through the media, has used the fall of Phuoc Binh as an excuse to ask for more aid to Thieu and for further involvement in the war in Vietnam:

----Kissinger announced his desire to send the U.S. 6th Fleet into the South China Sea as a signal of U.S. intentiveness in Southeast Asia.

----Secretary of War Schlesinger acknowledged that the U.S. is flying reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam in open violation of the Paris

Peace Agreement. He defended the U.S. decision to break the Paris Agreement and virtually repudiated U.S. commitment to the agreement.

----The White House and the Pentagon have asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of \$300 million to prop up the desperate Thieu regime and \$250 million for the Lon Nol dictatorship in Phomph Penh, after promising the U.S. people only days before that they would ask for no budget increase. This is deliberate and outright sabotage of the Paris Agreement.

We must stop these war acts immediately. We want no more blood to be shed. In South Vietnam, people are now asking for Thieu to resign and to be replaced by another government which agrees to implement the Paris Peace Agreement. Only such a government can be qualified enough to negotiate with the PRG and to settle the problems in Vietnam according to the Paris Peace Agreement. People in Vietnam do not want the continuing intervention of the U.S. government and they know that the American people also feel the same way. They know that no matter where the money to finance the Vietnam war comes from--Congress, the Pentagon, or secret funds--it is the American people who pay for it and continue to pay in the form of inflation and economic dislocations.

Only a few days ago, more than 40 Saigon assemblymen wrote a blood letter demanding Thieu to resign. Even these people who themselves are within the Saigon government show their opposition. There has even been communication to the U.S. Congress, asking for more effort to cut aid to the Saigon regime. If this effort is well-built, peace in Vietnam can be restored sooner.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA
HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP
August 28 - 30, 1974
Hong Kong

STATEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA

I. THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

As Christians, our convictions on human rights rise out of faith in God, as expressed in the biblical heritage and historical traditions of the Christian community. At the same time, we recognize the question of human rights as being the concern of all humanity, of all traditions and of all ages.

The Christian witness in the history of the Asian peoples is intertwined with the struggle of the people for liberty and justice. People work towards the transformation of their societies, when these contain feudal structures of paternalistic authority and unjust economic structures or structures of oppression and exploitation. The colonial and neo-colonial structures of domination, and discrimination against racial and religious minorities are examples. One of the basic facts of the Asian people's experience has to do with fundamental human rights that are brutally violated by the powers and structures - political, economic and social.

It is in this Asian historical context that we express our theological convictions on human rights.

We believe that God has created human beings according to his image (Gen, 1:23), in unity of body and soul. He made the basic form of humanity as community. In Jesus Christ, God also took part in the history of people by dwelling among them (Jn.1:14). He suffered on the cross and his body was resurrected as a just vindication of the human body (as well as the spirit) against any harm or destruction. In the end, the whole of humanity will participate in the Messianic kingdom, not as bodiless beings, but as bodies. A concrete form of total humanity is spirit, soul, and physical body. Therefore, we affirm that torture or a destructive act against the body, or against the human spirit and psyche, is against God and contrary to Christian belief.

We believe that God has ordained political power, and has entrusted to that power the safeguarding of basic human rights and just order in human society. Today, in human history, political power plays a central role. But the same political power and its structure is one of the primary sources of forces detrimental to human rights and, therefore, human community. Christians cannot be unconditionally obedient to the authority of the state although we are subject to every human institution for the Lord's sake (1 Peter 2:13).

No earthly power can make absolute claims on man's body and life. No such power is able to impose ultimate chaos on God's created order. No such power can require the people's ultimate allegiance to any particular ideology, even in the name of national security. Today, claims of absolute authority by a political power become more dangerous than so-called subversive activities; for such political authority destroys not only physical and institutional order, but the fundamental community as a whole.

We believe that man has the inherent right to witness to the truth. This implies freedom of conscience and freedom of expression, to speak openly about historical reality, whether political, social or economic. It is the vocation of Christians to tell the truth, for without doing so, there can be no witness to Jesus Christ, who is the supreme Truth. Furthermore, we know that in telling the truth, man shall be liberated (Jn.8:32). The suppression of the freedom of speech and the complete control and manipulation of the mass media are equally as serious as suppression of the freedom of worship and religious expression.

God is the Lord of history, and his Lordship is to vindicate the oppressed, the poor, and the imprisoned. The chief content of God's Lordship in history is in the realization of a just and therefore humane society in which righteousness flows like water and justice like a stream (Am. 5:24). As Christians, we must reject the developmentalists' false utopian premises that prosperity will automatically guarantee human rights. We must point out that human rights cannot be sacrificed in the name of development, that flagrant injustices cannot be condoned for the sake of GNP growth. Without justice and realization of human rights, there can be no development.

We affirm God's solidarity with the people in the course of historical transformation for justice and liberation. We also affirm the solidarity of all peoples, whom God has created and redeemed and is guiding in the march towards his kingdom. We also reaffirm the reality and solidarity of all Christian koinonia worldwide. We are people for community, not isolation; we are on the side of the poor and oppressed; and we are on the march for the Kingdom, rejoicing with our brothers and sisters who courageously act and suffer for the cause of the humanity that God has created and redeemed. We know that this is a part of the travail of the whole creation. It involves suffering as a struggle. Yet at the same time, we know that this is the road to reach freedom and the unity of all people. Thus we march together with hope and patience (Rom. 8:25).

II. SOME NATIONAL SITUATIONS

a) KOREA

We recognize that the Korean people have experienced the tragic Korean War, due to the division of their country, and that the life of the people has been very difficult due to the Cold War state of the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, we recognize that the Korean people have made tremendous sacrifices in order to develop their economy. In this, the government has played an important part. However, no economic development can be justified at the sacrifice of the basic human rights of the Korea people. We are very much concerned about the political system in the Republic of Korea that has brutally violated human rights, by suppressing freedom of speech, jailing arbitrarily the critics of the government, and abusing its power against its own people.

We recognize the historical fact that there has been a long period of conflict between North and South Korea. However, we are very much concerned that the South Korean government has absolutised the conflict in ideological terms. In the name of anti-communism it suppresses ruthlessly its critics and opponents, thereby trying to control the people. We are aware of the fact that the Korean government has made efforts to begin relations with non-hostile communist states,

and this situation seems to be contradictory to the domestic situation where communism is anathema. We believe that this is one of the sources of the suppression and violation of human rights of the Korean people. We urge that the Korean government seek a more peaceful and sober approach toward the problem of North Korea and the problem of unification. We believe that absolutization of the North and South Korean conflict in ideological terms of anti-communism will be counter-productive to peace in Korea. It is our understanding that conflict between North and South as a power conflict is more complex than a purely ideological contradiction.

Therefore, we urge and demand that all prisoners detained under the Presidential Emergency measures be released unconditionally. In view of the lifting of Emergency Measures 1 and 4, we also urge that the military court procedure be abolished, and that fair and due process of trial be restored immediately. (Emergency Measures Nos. 1 and 4 make it an offence punishable by imprisonment for any opposition or criticism of the Constitution).

b) PHILIPPINES

While we recognize the reforms instituted and being instituted by the martial law regime in the Philippines, we feel that in response to the prophetic role that Christ has asked of those who follow him, we must be concerned deeply about the violations of the human rights of the Filipino people.

We believe that the destruction and mutilation of the human body, and the repression of such human rights to liberty, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and organization, freedom of access to information, and freedom to air grievances - are immoral, and no justification based on the "existence" of an insurgency or of a communist threat or for the sake of "development" can justify such immoralities.

We are especially very much concerned about the deaths and physical and psychological tortures of some defenceless prisoners whose guilt has not been proven and who have not even been charged of any crime before the courts of justice.

We also deplore the arbitrary arrests and continued detention of persons from all ranks of life - peasants, workers, students, professionals, intellectuals, political leaders, church leaders - whose only fault is that they have been born to truth and justice.

We also look with much concern and apprehension at the arms and destructive weapons used by government forces and paramilitary units as well as by other groups, against a defenceless and hopeless population who are caught in the middle of a military conflict, and whose deaths and dislocation are growing in number.

c) INDONESIA

While recognizing the need for economic development and political stability, and while recognizing the attempts of the Indonesian government in attaining these objectives, it is, nevertheless, felt that greater concern must be shown for social justice - a better and more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth and prevention of exploitation.

The concentration of wealth and power and their abuses are matters of concern and require a transformation of the economic and social structures whereby greater participation of the people in the decision-making process of the country is facilitated.

We express our deep concern for the political prisoners, recognizing that this problem is an internal affair of the Indonesian nation and government. We therefore encourage and support the Council of Churches of Indonesia in continuing its efforts through the Indonesian government, in seeking a just and humane solution to the problem of the prisoners.

III. CONCLUSION

The abovementioned conclusions were arrived at by the Working Group on Human Rights convened by the CCA as an indication of Christian commitment to this urgent issue. The Working Group, with participants from most of the countries in Asia, has learned of the favorable impact which statements of concern from National Christian Councils throughout Asia have had on the situations described earlier in both South Korea and the Philippines. Such expressions of solidarity within the church are a logical outcome of its universal family character. "When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it."

The Working Group felt, however, that we have to go beyond such expressions of solidarity, towards deeper levels of involvement. Statements must be backed by actions, and Christians must be prepared to place their bodies where the action is. Serious ongoing theological reflection and political analysis must undergird the action of Christians.

The Working Group urges member churches and National Councils of Churches in Asia to take practical steps towards expressing their concern on this vital issue in their respective countries. Such steps would serve as an indication of an outgoing social concern by the church toward all people in these countries, and would establish firmly in the minds of the Asian peoples the image of a church which lives for others. Concrete obedience in the midst of ambiguous local situations will necessarily entail the taking of risks of all sorts, and openness towards working with all others who strive for the total liberation of people.

The Working Group believes that action on the human rights issue in each Asian country would provide a firm foundation for expressions of solidarity and mutual support on an international level. It urges member churches and National Councils in Asia to make meaningful preparations to participate in the proposed Asian Consultation on Human Rights to be held in 1975.



RESOURCE PERSONS

EARL LECTURE WORKSHOP

Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology
Monday, February 3, 1975

- THE REV. JUAN ANCHETA - Pastor of Oakland Filipino UMC, and Fellowship UMC in Vallejo. Rev. Ancheta was a member of the UMC Korea Visitation Team.
- MS. ANNATESS ARANETA - Student at U.C., Berkeley. Ms. Araneta has a sister who is a political prisoner in The Philippines.
- MS. CHRISTINA ARANETA - Oakland, Editor of Philippine news section, Ang Katipunan.
- MS. TERRY BAUTISTA - Oakland Public School Community Relations Assistant; active in Pilipino American organizations.
- THE REV. JONAH CHANG - Director, Asian American Ministries, UMC, and a member of the UMC Korea Visitation Team.
- THE REV. STANLEY DEPANO - Pastor, Beacon UMC, Seattle, Washington, and ACTS visitor in The Philippines.
- DR. WONMO DONG - Associate Professor of Political Science, Southern Methodist University, and chair of Task Force to create a national UMC Asian Caucus.
- FR. BRUNO HICKS - OFM, of Stockton. Spent 10 years actively organizing Pilipinos in Negros Oriental before being deported under martial law.
- THE REV. DR. HA TAI KIM - Professor of Philosophy, Whittier College, and member of California-Nevada Conference, UMC.
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EAST ASIAN AND AMERASIAN LIBERATION

Proceedings

Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Roy I. Sano, Editor

ROOTS OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE IN ASIA AND ITS IMPACT ON ASIAN AMERICANS.....	1
Harold Hak-won Sunoo	
REPORT TO GLIDE.....	14
Lloyd Wake	
KOREAN POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY.....	15
Yu Khill Shinn	
THE KOREANS AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.....	18
Ha Tai Kim	
DEPORTATION OF A MISSIONARY FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.....	22
George Ogle	
DEMOCRACY AND MILITARISM IN SOUTH KOREA.....	29
George Ogle	
THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES: AMERICAN CORPORATIONS, MARTIAL LAW, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT.....	35
Corporation Information Center, National Council of Churches of Christ, USA	
THE FILIPINOS.....	39
Teresita C. Bautista	
EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.....	44
Cao thi My Loc	
STATEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA.....	47
Christian Conference of Asia, 1974	



PREFACE

There are words we regret ever uttering. I have plenty in that category. But some of these memories are easier to live with if something better has come along.

The regrettable words I associate with the Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology, Berkeley, California, February 3, 1975, are the words I uttered at the Consultation on Minority Issues and Mission Strategies, Kyoto, Japan, May, 1974. After a challenging statement on "international solidarity" by Dr. Harry Daniels of the Christian Council of Asia, I offered a response. I complained that ethnic minorities in the United States of America have so many pressing needs loading them down that they had no time for additional involvements in international issues in East Asia. I complained that additional appeals for more voluntary work and sacrificial giving would tax weary people whose resources were already limited.

By the end of that Consultation my views changed. We heard histories of Japanese oppressing Korean, Taiwanese, Ainu and their own Eta class. We visited Korean neighborhoods, their "ethnic studies" schools, shops and families. We ate together, we worshipped together, we talked long into the night. After the Consultation I took a very brief trip to the Republic of Korea and had a taste of oppression there, visiting with people under house arrest, and being hassled for a message I was carrying for a friend.

All of these experiences converted me. "International solidarity" was not an added burden to an Asian American. As a matter of fact, the first hand contact with committed Christian struggling for human dignity provided a boost unlike any other lifting of the spirit I had had. I felt as if there was a "liberation" movement which needed to be shared, broadcasted, spread, caught! It was Christian to the core. This was Good News of God's Mighty Action in our midst, today.

Insights into their experiences abroad illuminated our experiences here. The inspiration gained there deepened the commitment to work for liberation amidst the subtle oppressions in the United States. Thus, I regret ever complaining to the conferees about the added burden and the abstraction of "international solidarity" in the struggle for human liberation. And yet, I am grateful for the experiences which have helped me see the substance and the vitality in that once alien phrase, "international solidarity."

We are now on the verge of the era of history centered in the Pacific Basin. The network and interchanges in politics, economics, and culture which now exist across the Pacific is a reality. The church needs to update itself to these realities and build its own machinery and process to facilitate the Mighty Acts of God in humanizing the American Empire's operation in this area, or to promote its replacement by some other systems.

The following manuscripts share in various ways the desire to promote this "international solidarity." Many of the papers come from the Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology, Monday, February 3, 1975, Trinity United Methodist Church, Berkeley, California. It was attended by over 150 persons.

Thirteen persons only left check marks on the registration form because of the possibilities of intelligence agents who might use the information against them! Such is the interlocking system of intelligence work between the U.S. government and foreign powers. The Asian Center for Theology and Strategies (ACTS) is honored to be the sponsor of the conference. We wish to thank Julia Estrella, Yu Khill Shinn, and Kay Sakaguchi who served on the planning committee.

Roy I. Sano
Director (ACTS)

Roots of Social Resistance in Asia and Its Impact on Asian-Americans

A group of concerned Japanese Christians put on a full page advertisement in The New York Times on May 5, 1974 on behalf of Korean Christians who are now imprisoned by President Park Chung Hee's government of South Korea. It was an appeal to American Christians which read: "We, Japanese Christians, are deeply disturbed by the present circumstances in the Republic of Korea, and particularly concerned regarding the plight of Christians in that country who have to endure the religious oppression imposed upon them by the government." (1)

These Japanese, and now many Americans, Canadians, Germans, and many other Christians, have expressed their concern over the situation in South Korea. The expulsion by the Korean government of Dr. George Ogle, an American Methodist missionary who had spent twenty years in Korea, has strengthened the international solidarity of Christians more than ever to support the Korean Christians.

A group of Christian ministers in Korea declared, "Our people have gone through trials and sufferings, social chaos, economic deprivation, and especially the tragic Korean War and the resulting political dictatorship. It is the ardent aspiration of our people that a human community might be restored. However, the hope of the people for such a restoration has been cruelly crushed by President Park's dictatorship and ruthless political repression." (2) Thus the underground Christian movement began to challenge Park's regime whose survival is solely due to American military and economic aids.

The first step in the preparation of this paper was an easy one since the theme, suggested by the sponsor, is "Roots of Recent Social Resistance in Asia and Its Impact on Asian-Americans." Dr. Roy Sano wanted me to deliver in 45 minutes the suggested theme, and brother Roy was more optimistic than I.

My major concern, after the assignment, was to raise questions. Why social resistance in Asia today? We are, at least this group, sufficiently informed about the general conditions there, so I shall avoid any detailed descriptions of happenings, but limit myself to a few essential background facts.

First, let us look at the political condition. Two countries, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, which have been identified as models of Western-type democracy in Asia during the past two decades, have suddenly erupted as two dictatorial governments. Ever since martial laws had been declared both in the Philippines (September 23, 1972) and in South Korea (October 17, 1972), the presidents Marcos and Park became one man ruler of the nations. Under their dictatorial political control, the powers have been concentrated in them personally, and have created dilemmas for both the indigenous people as well as their sponsor--the United States.

After 30 years of political control over South Korea since 1945 by the U.S. government, directly and indirectly, by spending more than 37 billion dollars of American taxpayer's money, and still continuing military and economic aids to a dictator, stability and democracy are further away from Korean people than ever.

Secondly, the economic condition. Both Korean and Philippine economic development with conscientious American and Japanese financial aids are identified as "economic miracle" in modern times, but their "economic miracle" brought no

visible improvement to the livelihoods of the majority. At the same time, foreign investors have gained the highest percentage of profit returns. The result is that the rich have become richer while the poor became poorer.

The necessity for a modernization program among underdeveloped nations is evident, and we have no qualms about their aims. The question is, however, who benefits by it? There are three basic problems which both Marcos and Park regimes must solve in order to bring about successful economic modernization: First, the problem of capital formulation; second, the relationship between the haves and have nots; third, the relationship between the economic development and political interference. How can they accumulate national capital? The most natural situation would be the capital accumulation by the farmers which could then be invested in industrial development. For instance, modern Japanese industrial development was supported with the farmers' forced savings through the Meiji period. Could this method be applicable to the Philippines or South Korea? Probably not, because the farmers are too poor. Consequently, they have to borrow from foreign countries.

As a result of foreign investments and borrowing, two things happened. First, the city capitalists, who are under the influence of foreign capitals, became the policy-makers of national policies; second, the policy-makers have completely neglected the agricultural economy. For instance, both the Korean and the Philippine governments have not invested sufficiently in land improvement, crop rotation, the expansion of the farm markets, the improvement of transportation of farm products, the use of scientific and technological implements, introduction of adequate farm machineries, and financial aid to the farmers. In other words, an equilibrium in development for its agricultural development did not balance the industrial development. As a result, the consumer powers of the majority population remain unchanged at the lowest level and the industrial commodities seek markets abroad, by-passing their potential customers at home.

What can we expect from such an economic policy? What is the result of the "economic miracle" in South Korea? It resulted in the increase of the balance of payment deficit which averaged one billion dollars per year or 12.8% of the average GNP since 1968. With high cost of raw materials, especially of crude oil, the balance of payment deficit will gradually increase. On top of that, about 30% decline of last year's exports will add more economic problems to Park's regime. Recent 20% devaluation of Korean currency and the closing of most of the newly-built factories under the auspices of the "Saemael Movement" in the country-side are good evidence of the economic problems.

None of the "economic miracle" activities are related with raising the living standards of the vast majority of the population. As a matter of fact, the poor are getting poorer than ever. In the case of the Philippines, the Manila regime experienced 25 years of Watergate. It is imperative to redistribute the land among those who actually worked it, but because the policy-makers in Manila are themselves landlords or in their pay, this was impossible.

Third, the social conditions. The irresponsibilities of the decision-makers and the support of the foreign powers resulted in several serious social conditions. First of all, the corruption of the political and economic elites became common practice. For instance, 70% of the economic elites who borrowed foreign capitals with the government's approval declared their business as "unhealthy" by the government, and had the responsible banks to take charge of their business while the businessmen themselves accumulated personal wealth. About twenty-five of the largest Korean companies which closely collaborate with Park's

regime are all dominated by either Japanese or American interests today. Thirdly, the medium sized Korean business firms are squeezed out by the foreign dominated companies. The government favors foreign invested companies through tax benefits, anti-strike law, and duty-free import of raw materials. Fourthly, there is the ever increasing unemployment on the farms, as well as in the cities, in spite of new factories that are built. A high school graduate's starting wage at Masan textile factories, quoted between 65 to 75 cents a day, is an example of the low wages maintained. Fifthly, the vast majority of the population feels that they do not participate in the making of a modern state in their societies.

The rich become richer not because they work harder or are more intelligent than others, and the poor are poor not because they work less or are lazy. The rich are richer because they own not only the means of production, but also receive government support, taking advantage of the cheap labor of the working people. As already pointed out, there is an anti-strike law which prevents the workers to organize and demand their rights in South Korea.

As a result of such conditions, "economic miracle" or modernization has taken place without working class participation, or worse, against their interests. It is obvious that the majority of the people have never had much of a chance to take part in making decisions for their politics, economic life, social life, religious life, and their destiny. They are strangers in their own society.

Fourth, the condition of the church. Any sensitive Christian recognizes that a large portion of the church today is alienated from the great majority of mankind. The reason is simple. The church, a major part of it, identifies with the economic and political power in the present system. The church became friends of the rich, not of the poor; friends of power, not of the oppressed; friends of the rulers, and not of the ruled. The state of affairs is clearly offensive to His children, and therefore to God Himself.

Now let us see some of the characteristics of Korean Christian behavior in a Korean historical setting. I shall suggest the following set of hypotheses in order to understand the present dilemma in Korea.

1. The leaders of the Christian Church in Korea are overwhelmingly conservative, sectarian, ritualistic, and formalistic. Most of the Protestant churches have not changed their beliefs, attitudes, and theologies during the eighty to ninety years of its history.
2. In spite of significant contributions toward self-awareness and nationhood by the church, the majority of the leaders are not influenced by the contemporary trends of the world church.
3. Three characteristic elements of Christian conservatism prevail in Korea today:
 - a. The feeling of regression which occurred during the Japanese occupation continues to dominate the mood of the church even after the liberation of the nation.
 - b. The church lacks a guiding concept in a changing world due to strong foreign influences; indigenous theology has not developed.
 - c. The 'other world' oriented conservatism discourages any meaningful social involvement of the church.

4. As a result, the Christian church in Korea has been alienated from the Korean society until very recent social resistances.

Causes of Social Resistance

Let us now turn to find the causes of all these happenings. Major forces of social resistances in Asia today comes from the youth, college students. It is true in the Philippines, Thailand, Japan, and certainly in South Korea. In the case of Korea, the student body of Seoul National University's Liberal Arts and Science College initiated the very first college student demonstration in October 1973, which spread to a nation-wide protest movement. Let us hear a reason why they resisted Park's government. A statement said: "We break our silent resistance and rise up as our conscience demands. The hopeless corruptions, the unjust oppression, and poverty are driving people to despair."⁽³⁾

The student protesters, unlike in the United States, risked their lives, liberty, and their future. The students demonstrated with traditional courage and dignity against the "barbarous corruption" and immorality of the privileged class.

1. First cause. By the tone of the statement, it is unmistakable to see why the youth lead social resistance today. They are morally indignant about what's happening in their societies. Therefore, I will suggest that the moral issue is the first cause of today's social resistance movement in Asia. We blinded ourselves to the moral question of our Vietnam policy until the students challenged the draft system on the college campuses. Our routines, institutionalized commitments, and familiar duties occupy most of our life without questioning their meanings. Our values which shaped us are no longer protecting us from the shocks of the present. Thanks to the youth, we are more aware of our troubles and true values of life today. It is not unreasonable to look to the lives of our more sensitive youths to understand if a new moral sense is emerging. A new moral sense, like religious visions, is transmitted and given new consciousness through the lives of human beings. Such moral sense provides meanings and purposes that bring our lives together and integrate us more wholly.

I was more puzzled, rather than moved, by defense attorney William Frates, who stated in his opening statement that: "Richard Nixon deceived, misled, lied to and used John Ehrlichman," and described his client as a "loyal servant" who had been "thrown to the wolves" by a willful master.

While it was clear from the outset that Richard Nixon was not guiltless, John Ehrlichman cannot pass his crime to his old master at this late date, because the power wielded by the Nixon White House was the power of an oligarchy. H. R. Haldeman, another member of that Mafia-like team, answered to a proposal by an aide below his own rank, "your job is to do, not to think."

This kind of morality the youth is challenging today. What today's rebellious youth throughout the world share is a common ideology that the present ruling system is hypocritical, unworthy of respect, outmoded, and in urgent need of change. They are speaking out against the repression, double-crossing, and authoritarianism of the ruling class.

They realize that the traditional values of Western industrialized society became devitalized, and living in such societies demands amoral attitudes. They feel that the moral urgency behind the economic system has lost its purposes.

The youth knows what is happening in the modernization programs which Presidents Marcos and Park promised to deliver. To strike out such moral corruption is a natural reaction of the young people. They feel that they are oppressed by the immorality and illegitimacy of the dictators. Such corruption and decadence of traditional morality cause today's social resistance in Asia.

2. Second cause of social resistance by the youth in Asia. I suggest that it is the existence of unequal distribution in the present economic system. There exists not only unequal opportunities for the youth to participate in decision-making processes which are monopolized by the traditional elite, but there also exists the unequal distribution system. In the post-industrial society, it has been demonstrated that man can produce more than enough to meet his material needs. If there is lack of material goods among the Americans, it is because of the distribution system, not of the productive system. The same is true with most of the post-industrial societies in the world today. In these societies, the consistent aim is to increase production, but neglecting the fair and equal distribution to members of the society.

The contradiction exists within the national boundary, as well as on the international level. In other words, the accomplishment of production is blemished by the enormous imbalance of economic distribution in the world today. The contrast is terrifying in view of the overwhelming poverty of the Third World. The problem is not what to produce, but how to meet human needs.

The Philippines has consistently experienced problems of inflation, monetary instability, balance-of-payment deficits, and lack of foreign exchange. The country's foreign debts grew from \$600 million in 1967 to almost two billion in 1970, reflecting government inability to accumulate reserves for domestic investment. The same situation prevails in South Korea. It required martial law in September 1972 to protect American interests and to attract further American investments there. The American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, at this crucial time in U.S.-Philippine economic relations, was quick to support the martial law.⁽⁴⁾

The average Filipino workers in sugar plantations in the Philippines save less than \$50 after six months of hard labor, while the American plantation owners accumulate millions of dollars. Again, the key problem is fair and equal distribution of goods and services rather than production. There will be no social justice so long as we practice this sort of economic practice which has become standard practice in today's capitalist world.

3. Third cause is psycho-historical. Economic affluence does not guarantee a feeling of personal fulfillment, and political freedom does not always yield an inner sense of personal liberation.

Personal liberation also cannot be achieved without freedom of creativity and with freedom from economic want. Psychologists, like Professor Robert J. Lifton, have indicated clearly that there is a constant change in a life-time. There is an emerging concept of an adulthood of continuing self-transformation, of an adaptability and an openness to the revolutionary modern world that will enable the individual to remain "with it" -- psychologically youthful and on top of the present.

What the youth in Asia are demanding is a new society with new value systems, but not to destroy their past in order to bring this about. For instance, Neale Hunter in his "Religion and the Chinese Revolution" states: "The case of the

Chinese experience in communism is an experience which has now become part of the national psyche--the only force on earth which could be described as 'co-extensive with hope', or 'a vision of social justice', or a 'total web of answers' is communism."⁽⁵⁾ The Chinese can call this process "revolution". They cannot use any other word like religion, for communism, in the Chinese eyes, at least, has saved them from the tyranny of religions, including Christianity. What we are saying here is that liberation expresses the aspiration of oppressed peoples and social classes. The oppressed sectors within each society are becoming aware, albeit slowly, of their class interest and of the painful road which must be followed to accomplish the break-up of the status quo. Untenable circumstances of poverty, alienation, and exploitation in which the greater part of the people in the world live gradually demand that they find a path toward economic, social, political, and psycho-historical liberation.

This is the very first step towards a new society. A society that has never existed, or new values which are not even visible, but we are very certain that when we say a new society, new values, we mean they ought to be more humane, certainly a society and individuals of liberation, socio-politically, economically, as well as psycho-historically. As I said earlier, personal liberation requires freedom of creativity and freedom from economic want.

4. Fourth cause of social resistance is a theological one. As a result of Confucian influence during the Yi Dynasty, modern Korean society became a vertically structured class society without horizontal communication. The Christian church came into existence under these circumstances. The Christian church brought good news to the people, but the major frustration of modern Korea was not answered.

Christianity, like Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, was a great disappointment for the Korean people. After the liberation in 1945 from Japanese colonialism, the nation was joyous and hopeful, but that condition disappeared soon, and the people were disappointed. The church did not provide any more hope than the Buddhist temples and the Confucian institutes. The lack of joy and enthusiasm was evident among the Christians, and they returned to the old line of backwardness while their society was liberated from the oppression and gained new hope and self-confidence. The church has remained dull, passive, unproductive, unattractive and a selfish entity.

One third of Korea's political elites during 1950s - 1960s were known as the Christians. Rhee Syngman, the first president was a Methodist, the next president Yun Po-sun is a Presbyterian elder, Premier John M. Chang was a lay leader of the Roman Catholic church, and now Premier Kim Chong-pil claims himself a Methodist. But, they were not influential in changing Korean politics to a more democratic process, an economic system more fair, and social conditions more just in the 30 years of recent Korean history.

How could church leaders not have recognized the injustice of the election of March, 1960? They were blinded by Methodist President Rhee, just as the Americans were blinded by Quaker President Nixon. They appeased the political power of the corrupted regime and lost self-confidence. The church leaders helped to maintain status quo, and built many new church buildings with American aid. The missionaries made colorful reports to the home office, but forgot the alienated masses who were hungry for their leadership. The leadership never came to the poor. The church identified with the rich, the rulers. They became irresponsible and selfish like the rich and the rulers. The church became a tool to fulfill the leaders' selfish ambitions.

Much of the same things can be said of the church leaders in the Philippines, and elsewhere in Asia. The Christian church leaders, both foreign missionaries and natives alike, identify with modern imperialism. They were their tools; thus the people identified the church with imperialism. The true identity of the teachings of Christ was overshadowed by the manipulators, false prophets, and hypocrites who had no intention to deliver the true meaning of religion, or the salvation of society.

At this critical time, brave and conscientious men like Rev. Park Hyung-kyu and his young associates have appeared on the scene. They have committed themselves to serve the needs of the poor. They have realized the need for the restoration of Christian understanding and love. They have found that such understanding and love were needed at the Songjongdong slum, not at the Blue House or the White House--understanding like that of Kagawa Toyohiko, who experienced Christian love among the Kobe slum dwellers and not among the Japanese militarists. The Seoul government fears the power of the young Christians' dynamic commitment to the huge masses of slum dwellers. The regime in Seoul or Manila cannot afford to allow the growth of vitality and dynamism among the young people. No dictatorial government can afford to have such development taking place in their constituency. Premier Kim Jong-pil said that: "Failing to properly recognize reality, some are staging open attempts to create social confusion and divide national opinions by engaging in impatient, irresponsible and academic controversies."⁽⁶⁾ It was his new year's greeting to the Korean people.

The movement is no longer limited within the boundary of the Songjongdong slum. It now spreads wide and fast. The Korean National Council of Churches made a statement on the recent pronouncement of Premier Kim regarding Christianity and the state. The Korean N.C.C. stated: "When the established power abandons the justice of God, goes beyond its limits, and is not faithful to the duties entrusted to it by the people, Christians as witnesses of the Word of God, must have the responsibility to criticize and rectify this power."⁽⁷⁾ The recent statement continued: "Today's human being lives in a matrix of political, economic, and social organizations. There is no individual apart from this organizational system. The church is commissioned with the divine mission to save modern man; and therefore the church cannot divide salvation into individual and social salvations. This means that salvation today should be the 'mission of God' to restore a true human being, liberating him from his predicament within evil social institutions and systems."⁽⁸⁾

Such is the proclamation of the Korean National Council of Churches in November 1974. This is indeed a new concept and a new step for the Korean churches.

Following this public statement, 66 outstanding Korean church leaders and theologians issued another significant proclamation. It said: "Thus, the church is commanded to fight suppression, on the side of the poor and oppressed, to liberate them and to restore their human rights. The church is not an organization which intends to take political power, but in order to carry out its mission the church sometimes is positioned in conflict with a political power."⁽⁹⁾

This is why the resistance in Korea today. The Christians, at first initiated by the youth, reaffirmed their positions in their societies. They rediscovered the true meaning of the Gospel, its relevancy from a modern perspective. It is not a personal salvation, but a personal salvation through the liberation of all men, the socialization of brothers and sisters all over the world. It is a new concept of social justice and peace, reconciliation among men, and harmony between man and nature. As Father Gutierrez said: "A broad and deep

aspiration for liberation influences the history of mankind in our day, liberation from all that limits or keeps man from self-fulfillment, liberation from all impediments to the exercise of his freedom."⁽¹⁰⁾

Is there any wonder why a young college student group of the Yongnak Presbyterian Church, which is the largest single church in Asia, dissolved their own organization declaring that the organization is a meaningless entity in the midst of corruption and decadence of the church itself. Thus the church suffers from a radical contradiction. Her proclaimed intentions are prevented from being realized by her own structure.

Father Luid Jalandoni, a member of the New People's Army in the Philippines, sent the following message to his fellow priests from jail: "I have accepted the national democratic struggle as the Christian answer to the Philippine situation. I have taken a leading role in the movement." Father Jalandoni, as reported by The New York Times on October 18, 1973, is the former chairman of the social action committee of the diocese. A member of a family of wealthy sugar planters, he is said to be one of the most brilliant and highly regarded young priests in the Philippines.

What is most astonishing about such disclosure is that a number of young priests, although they are a tiny fraction of the 4,400 priests in the Philippines, expressed strong sympathy for Father Jalandoni's stand. A statement issued by a group of the priests stated: "No one can deny that Father Luis Jalandoni tried all the means that were then on hand: the law, the courts, the bureaucracies, the pulpit, persuasion and diplomacy, personal contacts and influence, even pressure methods like strikes and demonstrations." But, the statement continued, "the situation had only worsened." Because of such a situation, the priests felt the same anguish and frustration. The statement was read at mass in some churches, and further arrests were made.

This incident was not an isolated one. In the town of San Remigio, on the island of Panay, a Dutch priest was arrested and charged with murder following an armed clash between an underground group and the police in which five youths and two officers were killed. The parish church was even declared off limits to the public. Can one imagine that churches can be "off limit" in the Philippines, where 85% of the population identify themselves as Catholics?⁽¹¹⁾

The gospel asserts in quite unequivocal terms, "a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions." It longs for a new order in which the poor, the meek, and the powerless will inherit the earth. This new order is the very antithesis of the spirit and practice of the church elites today in Korea and other parts of Asia. That's why we are witnessing social resistance there.

How do these political, economic, social, and theological conditions affect us-- the Asian Americans? How do we respond to such conditions? Do we have any responsibility to respond to such conditions in Asia as Asian-Americans? How do we relate the Asian conditions to the Asian-Americans?

Certainly the American scene differs from the Asian scene, or any other classical ones, in that it does not arise from the standard problems of modernization. But the existence of the minority movement in America forces on us the conjecture that America, too, is "transitional" -- not in the same terms as Asian countries, but just as meaningfully.

Before we attempt to answer these questions, we must recognize two historical facts about America that confront us. First of all, we know that "do-good" reform organizations seek peace, elimination of corruption, reduction in the use of alcoholic beverages, and to strengthen the spirit of the Protestantism by destroying the influence of the papists, etc. In other words, the American has been an Utopian moralist who pressures hard to attain and institutionalize virtue, or to destroy evil men and wicked institutions and practices as Professor Seymour M. Lipset has pointed out. The influence of such moralistic pressures can be best seen in the historical oppositions to every war in which the U.S. has participated. They took it as self-evident that they must obey their conscience rather than the dictates of their national leaders.

The second historical fact is that the American society is today no longer dominated by such moralistic concept. A recent policy enunciation in regard to the Middle East oil situation by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is a clear example of this situation. The U.S. is ready to use military force if necessary to pressure the oil producers in the Middle East. Congressman Henry Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin, said it was "immoral" for Mr. Kissinger to suggest that there was even a remote possibility that industrial nations might attack oil producers if the situation became desperate enough.⁽¹²⁾

It is, indeed, the quadrupling of oil prices that threatens the Western industrial societies, including Japan. The western world spent \$7 billion in 1973, \$64 billion in 1974, and expect to spend \$100 billion in 1975. Now, a country like Italy faces national bankruptcy while oil producing countries are getting richer.

Under such a situation, it isn't only the Ford Administration who is thinking in terms of using force to solve the oil crisis, but academicians like Professor Robert Tucker also sees no great difficulty with military action. Professor Tucker has suggested that the coastal strip from Kuwait to Qatar, which accounts for 40% of OPEC (Organization for Petroleum Controlling Countries) production, as a possible location for such action. These states are now militarily feeble. The professor said that they have little population and trees, and "effective control does not bear even remote comparison with the experience of Vietnam."

A policy statement issued by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. said: "America, at a historical moment of great wealth and power, finds herself in a crisis of moral integrity and direction. The extent of political expediency in her political life has been shocking, almost unbelievable to the American people. The very values of success, money, prestige, and power upon which America has depended are now exposed as the means by which the presidency and the inner councils of the national administration have been abused and corrupted. The very values that have been so preeminent are now the scourge of the American conscience."⁽¹³⁾

As we can see there are considerable similarities, although there are differences found in a matter of degrees, in political corruption, unfair economic income distribution, social injustice, and theological want both in the United States and Asia. Neither America nor Asia can survive as they are today. The question then is--is there any option for our societies' survival? Are we able to adopt and coordinate our program and priority? Are we able to challenge the present day condition of America which is dominated by giant corporations and centralized bureaucratic system, and corporate capitalism and militarization?

The American youth, inspired by the Third World, appeals to an idealized conception of democracy in modern society. They attempt to answer such questions by adopting the populist, equalitarian, romantic, and generational rhetoric and style of the early days.

Asian-Americans, as part of Third World people, realize that time is long overdue. We must not let the super-powers become obstacles to the progress of the Third World people. 36 out of 44 large multi-national corporations, which play the major role in exploiting Third World people, are based in the U.S.

The counter-revolutionary forces are trained at International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. Our military occupancies are still all over the world. America is now number one armaments exporting country. In current dollar terms from 1961-71, the United States supplied \$22.8 billion in major weapons systems to 74 countries, including Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Greece, South Korea, Vietnam, and West Germany. The Soviet Union is next with \$14.8 billion in arms to 37 countries, including Egypt, Iraq, Syria, North Vietnam, and East Germany. Thus, during the past two decades the international arms trade rose to 6,000 per cent or estimated \$18 billion this fiscal year, compared to \$300 million in 1952.

Not only that, our mass media, educational, cultural, and religious institutions still remain racist. One of the main instruments of cultural alienation in America historically has been the traditional church. A distinction is made here between the traditional church and the church which is totally committed, because a new church with a new theological concept, concerning the role of the church in society, has appeared. It has given a new hope-- human hope. New hope means a total commitment to people through socio-political actions. There is, in fact, no distinction between the total commitment to people and God. This is a distinct opposition to the old theology. The new theology starts with the people. The care and concern of the quality of human life is its criteria. "If a man says, 'I love God', yet hates his brother, he is a liar." The scripture tells us clearly. Therefore, the new theology, theology of liberation, theology of hope, whatever you might call it, it is right in the mainstream of human history and the Gospel.

Where do you find such theology? You find it among social actions; no other source. Social actions simply mean serving the people--the masses of the poor, the dispossessed, and the oppressed.

We, the Asian-Americans, are the oppressed ones. We know that a society based on fundamentally unjust economic and political structure will tend to make love impossible; exploitation and love cancel out.

Could you find Christian love at the Santa Anita race track in Los Angeles and the Livestock Exposition Hall in Portland, Oregon during the West Coast evacuation days in February, 1942?

I remember distinctly how overwhelmingly anti-Japanese feeling had been demonstrated during the mass evacuation days. Organized campaigns on the West Coast against the Japanese-Americans began systematically in January by the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, with the support of the Hearst papers. The American Legion, the Grange, the A.F.L., and the C.I.O. joined the bandwagon soon, then the syndicated columnists from conservatives like Westbrook Pegler to liberals like Walter Lippman, all joined the ranks of William Randolph Hearst.

The public figures were different from these private groups and individuals. From the Mayor of Los Angeles to President Roosevelt--they all agreed that the President's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942 was a good thing for the nation. Mayor Fletcher Brown said on February 5, 1942: "If there is intrigue going on--and it is reasonably certain that there is--right here is the hotbed, the nerve center of the spy system of planning for sabotage." There was, of

course, no sabotage to be found. Only the national policy became a racist policy. It was, indeed, a shameful event in American history. My question is this--did the Christians demonstrate against the government when 110,000 Japanese-Americans and Japanese residents were arrested against their constitutional rights under the pretense of national security? Did American Christians protest when mass murders took place in California and Wyoming against the Chinese workers during the second half of the last century? Only one American missionary, Rev. Samuel Moffitt, opposed the slave trade in Korea by American businessmen at the turn of the century.

A fundamentally just society would generate love at every level, and love on a scale of an intensity approaching the divine. "Everyone who loves is a child of God, and knows God, but the unloving know nothing of God. For God is love."

We here are striving to understand and to take social action so that damages of an unjust society to personalities, family life, and community life can be rectified. We struggle to integrate with others while preserving and strengthening our own ethnicity even while society is stubbornly rejecting us. We are no longer traditional men who live in the past or old countries where our ancestors left long ago. We are not marginal men who are caught in the middle of two cultures and don't know which way to turn. We are Asian-Americans who live in America with our traditions which contribute to our society. America, however, still remains a racist society.

We have been stereotyped the "quiet Americans," and our community is stereotyped as being "model minority." Visit Chinatown USA and you find an important racial minority pulling itself up from hardship and discrimination to become a model of self-respect and achievement in today's America."⁽¹⁵⁾ Why do they call us the "model minority"? Because we are not vocal in our demand for our rights like the Blacks and are moving along in our own quiet manner with no help from anyone else.

True, Asian-Americans have survived the hatred and oppression of American racism. We are also under the pressure of the "Hayakawa syndrome" and the "Charlie Chan syndrome"--that there are Asians who have "made it" in the American society. It is also true that Asian-Americans, more than any other minority probably, except the Jews, have attempted to turn every adversity into a challenge with a calm, collected, and cool attitude. Undoubtedly, there are a few who feel that they have "made" an American dream, but most of us are confused and are wandering around. As a result, we suffer from an unusual amount of such psychosomatic diseases as ulcers, colitis, psoriasis, falling hair, etc.--which result from permanent unresolved tensions.⁽¹⁶⁾

The serious question is not how we have survived the past, but can we survive in the future? This is the question in the minds of our youths today. A genuine race problem will arise from here on because our youths who have been fully acculturated, but have been discriminated against by the dominating white group in American society because of their racial background. The recent affirmative action by the federal government is a good example. The federal law requires fair employment practices by hiring minority and women in higher educational institutions, but there have been continuous opposition to this practice. The administrators, like President Robben Fleming of the Association of American Universities, have resented the affirmative action as being bureaucratic and confused. They want white males to continuously dominate the institutions by keeping women and minorities out.⁽¹⁷⁾ It is, indeed, an anachronistic and discriminatory practice. It is long overdue justice that has to be overcome, and the sooner the better.

It is not true that "Chinatown USA" is a model community of all minorities. It is also no longer true that our youths react passively to authority and with respect for the elders. Our youths no longer blame themselves for their "failure." Crime in Chinatown is just as bad as anywhere else in the country, if not worse. Mental illnesses and divorce rates are increasing among us. As a matter of fact, Asian-Americans are today assertive, questioning, and active in their concerted effort to change their destinies and their society. Time and conditions have changed.

We know also that American dream--the justice envisioned by the founders of the Republic--has shattered into a nightmare of schizophrenia. Some call this "the logic of industrialization." Whatever the causes, we need to rectify our society. We need to resist all the dehumanizing effects of the old inequality.

Who could do that job better than the church itself?

But the church must arm with a new hope, a new theology of social justice. American church, in other words, must have a Third World perspective, because God has revealed Himself through the masses of the poor. Who can serve them better than we, the Asian-Americans, to bring about a new society with a new dream in America? What is happening in Asia today has a clear message to us, the Asian Americans.

As Bonhoeffer said: "Freedom is not something man has for himself but something he has for others...Being free means being free for others." The message is clear. Only a total liberation concept will free us all. White brothers and sisters cannot be free while the Asian-Americans are bound, and vice-versa. Man, in order to fulfill his historical mission, must make it his responsibility to liberate himself and his neighbors from a breach of contract and restore it to a commitment of friendship. The concern of all the Third World people revolve around the relationship of oppression and liberation. We, the Asian-Americans, are very much involved with this liberation movement. This historical task we must accept with joy and hope.

This speech was delivered on February 3, 1975 at Berkeley, California as part of the Earl Lecture Series, sponsored by the Asian Center for Theology and Strategy.

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ASIAN-AMERICAN UNITED METHODISTS
VISIT SOUTH KOREA

On the heels of President Ford's visit, a goodwill team of Asian-American United Methodists traveled to South Korea to talk with leaders of the current social/political struggle. They spoke with members of religious, educational, student, women's, and government groups in South Korea, and with an official of the American Embassy.

The team included The Rev. Lloyd Wake, president, Glide Foundation; The Rev. Jonah Chang, director, Asian-American Ministers, United Methodist Church, Oakland; The Rev. Juan Ancheta, minister, Oakland; Dr. Roy Sano, chaplain, Mills College, Oakland; and Kathleen Thomas, staff member, Board of Global Ministers, United Methodist Church.

The Rev. Charles Song, minister, Korean United Methodist Church, San Francisco, long an outspoken critic of the Korean regime, was denied a visa. The Rev. Song, who became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1968, was born, educated, and had worked in Korea. The unprecedented denial seemed to evidence the thorough covering by the Korean CIA of activities of Korean civil rights activists not only in Korea, but in the U.S.

Without exception, Korean civil rights leaders felt that Ford's visit had given tacit approval to the government and that Park's policies would become even more repressive. A mother whose son was jailed for



Kim Dae Jung, now under house arrest in Seoul, would have been the president of Korea without President Park's heavy-handed interference in the democratic process in 1974. Mr. and Mrs. Kim shared a dinner one evening with the team.

alleged anti-Park activities cited an example: before Ford's visit, she had visited her son regularly; immediately following it, she was denied further contact.

In one seeming change, the Prime Minister announced after Ford's visit that some



Lloyd Wake's Report to Glide
From South Korea



I was in Seoul to observe and to carry the concern and support of all Asian-American and other United Methodists to those in Korea heroically struggling against the dictatorial and oppressive regime of President Park.

At the Seoul airport we were greeted by the sight of soldiers carrying submachine guns, though President Park says: "We do not have martial law in South Korea."

We were frisked three times before clearing airport immigration, though the director general of President Park's personal security force said: "There is no dictatorship in Korea. The people are enjoying 'freedom' — as long as they obey not laws passed by the Congress but government decrees.

In a restaurant a well-dressed young man seated himself at the next table, leaning and straining to catch our conversation. Were we too paranoid? Was he a Korean CIA? The country is crawling with them.

We were moved to tears hearing the stories of families whose loved ones were in prison because they had openly opposed the dictatorial regime. We heard them singing, shouting, praying: "Pharaoh Park, let my people go." We thought of James Baldwin's words to Sister Angela Y. Davis: "... if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night."

A Korean woman, tiny in stature but with a spirit as majestic as the mountains surrounding Seoul, said: "They can't stop me from speaking out against the denial of human rights. Let them arrest me and put me in jail again. I won't be quiet until the oppression and injustice are ended."

We proudly learned that the impetus for opposition to the oppressive regime comes from that segment of the Church — Catholic and Protestant — that identifies and works with the poor, the powerless, the oppressed. The people it serves are helping the church recapture the essence of historic Korean Christianity, as expressed by Jesus of Nazareth who preached good news to the poor, gave sight to the blind, and liberated the captives.

We heard a United States Embassy official say: "We do not interfere in the internal affairs of this country. Of course, we made a slight blunder in Chile, but what is 8 or 9 million dollars in the hand of those who opposed Allende? It's but a drop in the bucket." No interference, Mr. Embassy Official? What about the 38,000 U.S. troops still in Korea 21 years after the Korean War, and the 12 billion dollars poured into Korea since 1950? We heard the Korean Christian Student Federation, whose leadership had been decimated by imprisonment, plead: "Please tell America to stay out of our country's internal affairs. We can and must solve our own problems. No matter what the cost, we will not give up."

And we thought of other Souths — South Vietnam, South American, South Africa — where U.S. economic forces, backed by political and military might, continue the interference and exploitation.

They frisked us three more times as we left Korea, but they took nothing from us, for we still carry the memories and spirit of the strong and beautiful people of Korea. We say to them and to all people like them here and everywhere: "Dare to struggle and you will win. Right on!"

prisoners would be released if they apologized for their "wrong doing." But the visiting team felt no apologies would come from prisoners who felt they acted in good conscience, and a high-ranking officer in the Park government stated: "There are no

political prisoners; only lawbreakers who engage in the violent overthrow of the government."

In a statement issued to their Korean friends, the team acknowledged that they found the impetus for struggle against President Park's repressive regime rooted in the Korean Christian Church, and praised its leaders. They added: "We sense a growing ground swell of confidence that a true democracy will eventually be established. In addition to Church leaders, many women and young people play a conspicuous, vital part in this movement. We commend missionaries who play a supportive role to the indigenous Christians involved in the struggle. We share the confidence of many that this element of the Korean Christian Church shall prevail.

"We take issue with the government's contention that those who oppose the government have engaged in violent tactics. We see nothing violent in peaceful demonstrations or sit-ins calling the attention of all the people to the denial of their fundamental human rights.

"We feel that the government's contention that the opposition forces are influenced or infiltrated by North Korean communists cannot be supported. Many Korean Christians, having undergone persecution by communists, live in exile from North Korea. We understand why South Koreans are fervently anti-communist.

"The government's preoccupation with security, economic development and stability has caused it to neglect the weightier matters of assuring justice and human rights for all its people. We affirm the people's belief that the strongest deterrent to communist threat from the North is a free and democratic society in the South, with the implicit freeing of political prisoners and revision of the constitution."

Team members pledged to report their findings to the Church and to rally financial resources to continue the struggle in South Korea upon their return to the U.S. They will also express their concern to the U.S. government that its policies in Korea enhance not only economic development but the development of justice and human rights.

KOREAN POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

It is my privilege to make a presentation on the current political situation in Korea. I assume that the topic should be discussed in a transcendent perspective: I am neither a communist revolutionary, nor a pro-government propagandist. I do not intend to identify myself with any people of the anti-government group, either. I say "yes" to universalism, "no" to particularism. However, I understand some problems of universalism: first, since universalism means a detachment from any particular interest, opportunists might survive any social changes in the guise of universalism. Secondly, a person who is really committed to the principle of universalism suffers from his detachment, because he refuses to support any particularistic interest. Everybody takes him as his enemy. For example, pro-government propagandists call him a communist, anti-government forces call him a propagandistic agent of government, and communists call him an anti-communist. Actually, he is none of them.

Universalists fight against demonic power of the existing regime. However, we need to make a distinction between universalists and groups of anti-government forces whose ultimate goal is simply to overthrow the existing regime and take power themselves for the sake of another chance of exploitation. Since national independence in 1945, our country has undergone two dramatic revolutions: the first one is the "student revolution" of 1960, the second one is the "military revolution" of 1961. I would say that the student revolution exemplifies universalism while the military revolution is the best example of particularism. Even though it seems imperative that the Park regime of Korea be overthrown as soon as possible for the sake of democracy in the area, I believe that it is paramountly important to make it sure that this change is brought about by universalistic, not particularistic revolutionaries. Otherwise, the future of the country would permanently be dominated by pseudo-revolutionaries who attempt to exploit the Messianic expectations of the people.

In my view, the present regime should be brought down. Moreover, it must be brought down through the use of pressure. Some argue that we need to strive primarily toward easing repression in South Korea rather than ending the regime itself. Others hold that although the regime must be changed, it must be changed through non-existent democratic due process rather than through the struggle to restore due process. To these arguments, I would respond by saying that the Park regime has survived more than a decade of national turbulence only through use of repressive measures, not by consensus at all. It cannot ease the repressive measures, without giving up power, which it is very unlikely to do. Secondly, the primary reason why I argue for a change of the regime is to restore the political environment in which the due process of democracy is constitutionalized. If it were possible for us to practice the due process of democracy, then it would be unnecessary to struggle for a change of the regime itself, as long as it were responsive to the needs of the people. In short, there is little likelihood either that the repressive situation will be actually eased or that the due process of democracy will be restored unless the regime is ended. Therefore, we are forced into an attempt to change the regime by the use of pressure.

There are many forms of pressure. Among them, we may include another military coup, student demonstrations, prayer meetings of Christians, open statements and declarations of intellectual or religious figures. These are internal forms of pressure. There are external forms of pressure like the decision of the U.S. Senate to stop or reduce military and economic aid to the dictatorial regime, open statements of protest against the repressive situation in Korea by American

and other foreign university professors, churchmen, senators as individuals. Whether these are morally and strategically acceptable forms of pressure is another question which I do not have enough time to deal with at this moment.

The Park regime has efficiently controlled some of the pressure groups by means of threats, harassment, propaganda, and bribery. However it is also true that there are many forces of pressure groups who are immune to the manipulation of the regime. The more than two hundred political prisoners in Korea are people who never yielded to the brutality and temptations of the regime. In Korea, religion is no longer a matter of ritual activity in the sanctuary or a matter of academic speculation in an ivory tower. Religion is a matter of life and death to many of the people in Korea today. Religions have recently been challenged by the secular authority to make a choice between "identification with the present regime" and "separation from it." Since the notion of separation in this regard has been misused as a political instrument by many people who are in power, I feel that it is important to discuss the theological meaning of it.

The notion of separation has been understood in two different senses: (1) it is understood in terms of isolationism represented by prime minister Kim who claims that the regime never persecuted religion. He says that as long as the Christian churches are engaged in performing prayers, reading scriptures, singing hymns and holding evangelical meetings, the government has no intention of interfering with them. There are Christian leaders who support this argument, too. On December 1, I read in a Korean daily newspaper, Dong-A Il Bo, that a church minister who claims to represent most of the Christians in Korea issued a statement to the effect that in accordance with the principle of separation of Church and state, it is wrong for Christian ministers to be interested in any discussion of political issues.

My immediate response to these arguments is to point out the fact that the very people who advocate this have done a great deal in violation to the principle they themselves claim to be committed to, by subordinating Churches to the state. Unconditional obedience of Christians to demonic authorities is certainly a violence to the principle of separation, which presupposes the element of mutual independence. The man who issued the statement above was once appointed by the government as an advocate of its implicit political ideology. He went on a nation-wide tour to indoctrinate the innocent people in the country-side. This is another violence to the notion of separation even in his own terms. Therefore, we need to define the meaning of separation as understood by the conservative Christians and the people in power on two different levels: in theory they mean the divorce of Church from political affairs. In practice, they mean discouraging the Church from attempting criticism of political corruptions. As long as the Church supports the regime, there is no concern with the principle of separation. But, any criticism of the regime by the Church is taken as a serious violation to the principle, no matter how relevant it may be. To my knowledge, there is no one who ever attempted to justify the discrepancy between the theory and practice of separation. The only explanation for the existence of the discrepancy I can make is to say that this is a result of the collaboration of the Church with the state. The person who prepared the Minority Report of Church-World Issues Committee seems to be proud of the "the largest number of" Christian movement during EXPLOR 74 in Korea as an example of Christian Discipleship. However, I would attribute the "success" of the event to: (1) alienation of the people, resignation, and quest for an escape from their unfavorable reality. (2) the massive financial and political assistance of the event by the government.

I believe that the principle of separation of Church and state should be understood in terms of functional differences. This idea refuses any subordination of Church to state. According to Dr. John C. Bennett, "church is concerned with ultimate perspectives and broad criteria, rather than giving specific directives for making social policy." The notion of separation of Church and state assumes the independence of the ultimate perspective of the Christian churches on world affairs. In its genuine sense, we might say that any form of violence to the independence of the ultimate perspective of Church is an act of religious persecution.

I assume that many of you are well informed of the fact that numbers of Catholic priests, Church ministers, seminary students and professors of divinity school in Korea have been arrested, tortured and sentenced to from 10 years of imprisonment to death only because of their ultimate perspectives on the corruptions of the Park regime. Despite this, the regime has never admitted that there is any religious persecution in Korea of today. It claims the people were imprisoned because of their political activities. To avoid any impression that there is religious persecution in Korea, the regime regards them as political prisoners who disturbed the law and order of the society.

However, to their dismay, their open acknowledgement of the fact that there are political prisoners in Korea created an unexpected problem. According to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 which says, "it is the sense of Congress that the President should deny any economic or military assistance to the Government of any foreign country which practices the internment or imprisonment of that country's people for political purposes," the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommended that military aid to South Korea be sharply cut because of Park's "increasingly repressive measures." As a hasty response to the horns of the dilemma, the regime desperately denied that there are any political prisoners in Korea, claiming that the prisoners are pro-communists.

The picture I painted above might be the substance of Korean politics today. At a glance, it seems to be nothing but a continuation of the traditional Korean politics. However, there is an element of discontinuity. For thousands of years, the authoritarian form of government seldom created a social dissent and vortex among the people. They took the given order of the society for granted, without trying to change the unfavorable condition of life. Resignation was virtue to them. They were living under the condition of innocence. The situation today is different. The people no longer take any demonic form of government for granted, knowing the origin of the government which is based on the concept of covenant between government and people. When the covenant is broken, they resist, resorting to the cause of social change. They are living under the condition of consciousness.

The transition from the period of innocence to that of consciousness owes to the teachings of Christianity which was introduced to the country about 100 years ago by American missionaries.

Your fathers and grandfathers planted the seed of Christianity in the soil of Korea at the cost of their lives. Therefore, I believe that it would be quite legitimate for you to be concerned about the growth of Christianity in Korea. Your brothers and you planted the seed of democracy in the soil of Korea about three decades ago at the cost of many lives. Therefore, I believe that it would be quite legitimate for you to be concerned about the growth of democracy in Korea. Thank you!

Yu Khill Shinn
Graduate Theological Union

THE KOREANS AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Ha Tai Kim

Southern California has the largest Korean colony in the United States. It is roughly estimated that there are 200,000 Koreans living in the United States, out of which 60,000 reside in the city of Los Angeles and its vicinity. The obvious reasons for this trend are the ideal weather and the concentration of other Koreans to provide economic and cultural help.

According to the U.S. Census of 1970, only 9000 Koreans were registered in Los Angeles. However, due to various reasons, many Koreans failed to register properly, and the actual number at that time was estimated to be approximately 15,000. Since 1970, there has been a greater flow of Korean immigrants settling in the Southern California area. Today, we can conservatively estimate that the Korean population in Southern California will number about 60,000.

America in general - Southern California in particular - is the new land to which the immigrants aspired to come. For them, the new land has its fascinations and its frustrations. Its fascination for the immigrants is to come to a free and abundant country, and breathe in its air of freedom, and make plans for a new life such that they are changing their destinies, which were fatalistically determined by tradition and history in the old country. But immigrants arriving in an alien land find little help or encouragement become frustrated. The frustrations of the newcomers are largely due to their failure to make proper adjustments to the new world.

Immigration to this country involves the change of the cultural environment. The docile Orientals find the aggressive Americans and their way of life to be strange and, in many cases, entirely opposite to what they are accustomed to. When the Orientals begin to imitate the aggressive American attitude, they often become rash and unacceptable to the Americans they are emulating. Hence, frustration inevitably result from cultural shock, causing psychological problems to the extent that people become totally helpless.

Along with the cultural shock, the newcomers are confronted with the language barrier. Even those who have learned to speak and write the English lanaguage, often find themselves inadequate in communicating with Americans and in understanding the subtleties of the English language. The language barrier virtually makes the newcomers deaf and dumb and its psychological effects on these people are devastating. Most of the newcomers do not have enough leisure or energy to learn the language, even if there are adult evening schools teaching English to immigrants.

As a result of cultural shock the language barrier and the feeling of helplessness, there is a tendency on the part of the newcomers to isolate themselves from the mainstream of American life. They begin to live by themselves, clinging to the ways of life of the old country. They virtually isolate themselves in an island of Korean culture by building Korea-Town on Olympic Blvd. in Los Angeles, by opening up Korean speaking churches after the model of churches in Korea, and by organizing business and civic associations of their own.

One source reveals that among Koreans over 23 years of age, only 10% have no difficulty in the use of the English language; 25% can barely speak the language;

25% had previously studied but cannot understand English too well; 40% do not know English at all. (The Joong-ang Daily News, Nov. 25, 1974) Proficiency in the use of the English language in this country helps determine one's opportunity for employment, pursuit of education in higher institutions of learning, and social adjustment. Furthermore, the language barrier in the new land is a major cause for mental and physical disorders among the Koreans.

According to a report made by the Korean Doctors' Association in Southern California, most of the immigrants are neglecting their health in the midst of struggle for survival in the new land. It is pointed out that common health problems are tuberculosis due to excessive work, mental disorders coming from the maladjustment to America--especially melancholia resulting from the pressures of American life, which often breaks up family life. It is reported that those whose personalities were well rounded and cheerful in Korea have radically changed since their arrival in America to the extent that they are melancholic, afraid of outside contact, easily irritated. These phenomena are due to pressures coming from hard labor, which they did not experience before they came to this country, inability to communicate in the English language, and the problem of attaining permanent residence status. Another factor is the loneliness of immigrants whose families are separated across the Pacific Ocean. (The Joong-ang Daily News, Dec. 3, 1974)

The most frustrating and serious problem that faces the Korean immigrants in Southern California as well as any other area of the United States is that of employment. Some ingenious people are engaged in self-employment in such trades as maintenance companies, wig stores, restaurants, grocery stores, hamburger stands, gas stations, printing and book stores, insurance agencies, and real estate firms. Most of these people, particularly, restaurant and grocery store owners, work primarily for the Koreans to sustain their livelihood. But when it comes to getting employment in American firms, factories, public and private institutions, there is a great deal of difficulty in securing jobs due to discrimination and language barriers. On the one hand, there is the problem of unemployment is reported to be 18%. On the other hand, when employed, they are usually "underemployed" as compared to their training and skills. Most of those who are employed are not satisfied with the jobs which they hold. There are many Korean immigrants who graduated from Korean colleges and universities who are forced to work as manual laborers: men working as gas station attendants and women working in sewing factories. Although these people are highly educated, their training and skill are not applied to their present work at all. Among those who are highly educated, less than 30% of them hold jobs that are commensurate with their education. In Southern California, the number of Korean University Alumni associations is 20 with each association having memberships ranging from 50 to 400.

A conspicuous case of underemployment involves the "professional men": doctors, dentists, teachers, nurses, architects and social workers. Only a few of them are doing what they were trained for. A physician may be working as a health social worker, if he is lucky enough to get the job, a college degreed nurse may be working as a nurse's aid, or a dentist may be working as a maker of dentures. Whereas the U.S. government gives preferential admission to persons of select professional groups, the licensing bodies are independent of the federal government. It is almost impossible for these professionals to pass the required examinations. Pharmacists are not even allowed to take the state qualification examination in California. There are 600 immigrant Korean doctors in Southern California who do not have the license to practice medicine.

It must be added that underemployment is not confined to the newly arrived immigrants, but extends to the second and the third generation Koreans who were born in this country and have received American educations. The number of these Korean-Americans is estimated to be 4000 in Hawaii and 3000 in California, totaling about 13,000 in the United States. These people are indeed the "forgotten citizens" in this country.

Organizations which serve these newly immigrated Koreans are few and these organizations fall short of meeting the needs of the people. First of all, the over-all service can be rendered to the immigrants through some 80 Korean churches in Southern California. Some pastors and lay leaders render their services to the immigrants on matters of immigration status, housing, and jobs for the new arrivals, helping them become socially oriented. But most of the Korean churches which are flourishing in Southern California are of the evangelistic type which concentrate on the fellowship among the churchgoers in a style which characterizes churches in Korea. Very few leaders of the church are trained for social services in the American setting.

The Korean Association of Southern California is organized to serve the welfare of the Korean community. But it is still in the formative stage and apart from sponsoring some Korean gatherings such as the Independence Day and New Year's Eve parties, it still has a long way to go in meeting the needs of the Korean immigrants. However, it is known that constant inquiries about persons and jobs are made through its office every day. Recently, it was announced that the Association will undertake a project aiding the immigrants by establishing a "center for employment information."

The Asian Community Service Center, located in the heart of the "Korean Town" on Olympic Blvd., provides a substantial service to the Koreans who are struggling for settlement in the Los Angeles area. For the past year, "the Hotline Service" rendered by the Asian Community Service Center, dealt with a total of 471 calls for help involving traffic accidents, business operations, employment opportunities, medical care, and domestic problems. It also gives counsel on legal problems, language problems, social welfare, education, and criminal cases. The Center is planning to sponsor a workshop on family problems for Korean residents in February. The Center is also making an arrangement to purchase a youth center in Los Angeles where a full time counselor will be employed for the benefit of Koreans. (The New Korea, Dec. 26, 1974)

The Korean Senior Citizens' Club sponsors various meetings for fellowship and arranges tours for the senior citizens around the Southern California area.

The Southern California Korean Doctors Association offers a free clinic service in conjunction with the Korea Health Center. The free clinic is given because most of the Korean immigrants do not have their own family doctors and neglect physical check-ups for years.

Conclusion

The kind of solution for the problems we have raised must come from two areas: one from the Korean immigrants themselves and the other from the American society and American government. It is needless to point out that the Korean immigrants themselves must improve their lot in making a better adjustment to the American society. This can be done by improving their language efficiency and by famil-

iarizing themselves with American culture and the American way of life. They must also cultivate their skills, resources, and confidence in leading useful and gainful lives. Furthermore, they must have a feeling that this is their land, not a foreign land, in order that they may pursue their own happiness and enjoy their life in the new land.

Changes in American society will certainly improve the Korean immigrant's plight. Generally speaking, it is desirable that Americans will look at the problems of minorities in a new and more realistic perspective, although a slow and steady improvement has been made recently on this matter. A "new image" of the minorities must be made by Americans so as to make "equal opportunity" work not only in name but also in reality. This new image certainly shall abolish the de facto discrimination against minorities, thus granting not only "equal opportunity" but also recognizing the "equal right to the pursuit of happiness" on the part of minorities.

More concretely, the following specific measures for the Korean immigrants are recommended:

- (1) The government, on the local, state and federal levels, should provide the needed services to the immigrants and undertake direct and specific guidance and assistance for them.
- (2) Vocational education must be set up privately and publically for job-training and continuing education for the Korean immigrants so that they may find suitable jobs in this land.
- (3) Special attention should be given to language improvement by providing more "English as a Second Language" courses and hiring more bilingual teachers and more Korean-speaking counselors at the public schools where the children of the immigrants are concentrated.

DEPORTATION OF A MISSIONARY FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

After almost twenty years of living in Korea as a missionary, I was faced with the possibility of having to leave. The government of Korea was threatening to deport me on charges that I had been active in anti-government politics. My ministry among industrial workers of Korea had let me to speak against the oppressive tactics of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), but my words were not words of politics, but the words of Christian Scripture.

I had no desire to leave Korea. I wanted to stay for many more years, but my one possibility for a compromise settlement had failed. I had hoped that the mediation of a friend would result in a meeting with either Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil or Lho Shin Yong, the Assistant Foreign Minister. My friend, whose name will not be revealed, knew both of these men and their wives. He urged them to meet with me and reach some kind of a quiet compromise solution to the problem. Kim's reply was to the effect that there is nothing to discuss. Ogle has got to write the apology before any discussion can take place. Lho refused to meet with me or talk to me.

There was no middle road open. I would have to apologize, or I would be forcefully expelled.

Only two days previously, on December 6, 1974, I had been summoned by the American Embassy and told by them that the Assistant Foreign Minister of Korea, Lho Shin Yong, had stated that the Korean government had decided to deport me. The only way to prevent that deportation was for me to write an apology and send it to Lho by the afternoon of December 9. I responded to the Embassy spokesman that this was not my private problem. It embraced my Korean and missionary colleagues. Therefore I would have to have their opinions before I gave a final answer. The next morning, December 7, before I could talk with more than a few people, a telephone call from the American Embassy informed me that Lho Shin Yong was very angry that I had not written the apology and again warned that it would have to be in his hands by 12:00 noon on December 9.

Missionary friends from the Methodists, Presbyterians, Church of Canada, Baptists, Jesuits and Maryknoll communities immediately came to my support. After hours of discussion and prayer they issued a statement of solidarity with my ministry and sent a letter to Lho Shin Yong asking for reconsideration of the deportation decision.

Korean friends were incredulous. I had lived in Korea over a span of 20 years. My ministry among the urban slum people and industrial workers was well known. I had committed no crime. Why would the government want to deport me? Most of the Korean brethren felt that the threat of deportation was one more example of the way the government of Park Chung Hee attempts to intimidate people, but probably that threat would not be carried out. I would be under harassment and surveillance for a long time, but the close relationships between the four million Korean Christians and the missionaries would certainly prevent the government from carrying through. The repercussions would, they said, be too great a price for the government to pay.

The friends who figured it was mere bluff on the government's side urged that I sign nothing, make no apologies. Other friends advised the exact opposite: "Better to write a brief statement of apology than risk deportation. The important

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

thing is to stay here to continue your work. Writing an apology after all is not all that important. Write it and then do what you want."

My hope that a choice between deportation or apology could be avoided and a compromise arrived at was lost when neither Lho Shin Yong or the Prime Minister would talk to me. To make the apology was tantamount to betrayal of my entire ministry. I had worked for nearly 15 years among the poor and the industrial workers of Korea. I had made regular pastoral visits to their houses and work places, and along with other members of our Urban-Industrial Mission I had helped them with education programs and had stood by them when the employers had mistreated them or the Korean CIA (KCIA) had beaten them. The Constitution adopted in 1963 and the Korean labor laws guaranteed by the workers' rights to collective bargaining and collective action. Workers had a voice in deciding their conditions of employment. In 1972 President Park threw out the constitution and promulgated another one in its stead. Workers' rights were all but eliminated. Instead of labor and management solving their own problems, the KCIA began to intrude and take over. Much as in the days of the Japanese colonialists, labor problems were put under the jurisdiction of police and KCIA.

I had criticized this system of KCIA interference, and the 1972 Constitution that made this system possible. I had seen men harassed, intimidated, arrested, and beaten only because they sought to protect themselves and their livelihoods against the employer and the KCIA. My criticisms were not those of a politician, but those of a Christian. Scripture teaches us to love our neighbors, to defend their dignity and to establish justice in the land. The Christian Gospel would not permit me to acquiesce in a system that did violence to my brothers. I criticized the Park Chung Hee system of oppression and called for a rebirth of democratic processes. So had many, many of the Korean brethren. Some of them had been sentenced by military courts to fifteen years in prison because of speaking out for justice and human rights.

The Korean government now demanded that I apologize for having preached human rights and justice. To obey that demand would be to deny the validity of my entire ministry and my fellowship with the many Korean brethren already in prison.

Other people would also be affected by my decision to write an apology or not to write an apology. One evening in 1974 Mrs. Woo Hong Sun had visited me. I did not know Mrs. Woo, but she had heard of me from a mutual friend. That evening Mrs. Woo told me a story of how her husband and 20 other men had been framed by the KCIA and then convicted by kangaroo military courts. Seven of the twenty-one men were condemned to death. The others received sentences of 20 years to life imprisonment. Mrs. Woo's husband was one of the ones sentenced to death.

After Mrs. Woo's first visit, I met the wives of the other six men who were condemned to death. Their stories of how the military courts operated matched reports from the families of other political prisoners. In March and April of 1974 over 1300 people had been arrested for political reasons. Between two and three hundred of these were sentenced to long prison terms. Many of them were Christians, including fifteen or twenty Protestant clergymen and a Catholic Bishop. These 300 people were also tried and sentenced by the same military courts which had condemned Mrs. Woo's husband to death. At the so-called trials, without any supporting evidence, the prosecutor announced the charges against each defendant. The defendant

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

was allowed one brief statement before the military judges pronounced sentence. Many of the defendants told of how they had been brutally tortured, but this was ignored by the judge.

Mrs. Woo's husband and the other twenty men convicted with him were tried under the same military courts as the other political prisoners, but the twenty-one of them were accused of being communists who attempted to instigate a bloody overthrow of the Park government. The other 300 political prisoners were said to have acted under the direction of the group of 21 men. Mrs. Woo and the wives of the other twenty men pleaded that their husbands were innocent: they were neither communists nor were they involved in any political conspiracy. Very few of the twenty-one had even known one another. Most were ordinary, hard-working people without political involvement. None of them were Christians. The Korean CIA never attempted to explain how this rather motley group of unknowns could manipulate staunchly anti-communist students and Christian clergymen into taking part in a communist revolution. The Korean CIA asserted that the 21 were communists and that they had instigated the 300 to participate in a communist revolt, but it never bothered to produce any evidence to back up its assertion.

After talking with Mrs. Woo and the other wives, I re-read newspaper and magazine accounts and talked with a variety of people related to the case. It became clear to me that the Korean CIA was framing these 21 men so that it could pin long prison terms on the other 300 political prisoners. These 300 men and women were the real enemies that the KCIA wanted to eliminate for they were leaders in society, the universities and churches who were demanding the restoration of democracy and freedom to Korea. The twenty-one were being used as fall guys in order that the Park government could pin the charge of "communist" against the 300 democratic leaders.

On October 10, 1974, at a prayer meeting I urged the people present to pray for the lives and souls of the seven men condemned to death. They probably had committed no crime worthy of death, I said. KCIA spies in the congregation reported my remarks to their bosses. The next day I was arrested by the KCIA and interrogated for 19 hours. I was accused of aiding and abetting communism. I was released with a warning to stay away from the communists.

When Lho Shin Yong informed the American Embassy that I would be deported, one of his charges was that in October I had spoken on behalf of the seven condemned men. I was not accused of any other action in relation to these men, but the KCIA was apparently afraid. Their entire case against the 300 political prisoners rested on their accusation that these 21 men were communists. My rather innocuous statement that they probably had done nothing worthy of the death sentence could lead to exposure of the fact that the charges against all 300 of the political prisoners were a pure fabrication of the KCIA.

For me to accede to the demand of Lho Shin Yong and write a letter of apology would have meant desertion of Mrs. Woo and the families of the seven men condemned to death. It would have meant a retraction of my sure belief that twenty-one men had been framed by the Korean CIA.

On the other hand not to do as the government demanded would mean almost certain deportation from Korea. Most of my adult life had been spent in Korea. I was only 25 when I came in 1954. My four children had been born there. Three of them had their elementary education in Korean schools. Our friends and colleagues were all

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

there. Korea somehow fit us. We loved the place. I had real emotional identification with Korea. Deportation would cut me off; put me back in the United States where I would be more of a foreigner than I had been in Korea.

When my friend offered to contact Lho Shin Yong and Kim Jong Pil in an attempt to seek some compromise, I prayed that an adjustment could be worked out. Perhaps I could avoid a clear decision. The rejection on their part eliminated the possibility of a middle road. I had to either apologize or be deported.

It was Sunday night, December 8, 1974. I walked up the hill from my friend's house to my home. I was wretched. But the answer came. It came as a still, small, already-formulated decision: do the truth as best you can. My path was decided. I knew it would head to harassment and deportation. I was wretched, but I could do nothing else.

The next morning I wrote to Lho Shin Yong, the Assistant Foreign Minister. I asked for a statement of charges against me saying that I loved Korea and did not want to leave. I also enclosed a brief statement of faith. It read:

Jesus was a poor man. As a poor man he spoke and acted for salvation and justice. I am a follower of this Jesus. I am not a politician. I have no political ambitions. I support no political party. But I do intend to act for the salvation of my brethren, for defense of human rights and the establishment of justice.

The letter was carried to Mr. Lho by a friend. Lho has never acknowledged that letter.

The next day I got my first taste of interrogation at the Immigration Office. It was not unlike what I experienced at the Korean CIA. I was the enemy to be conquered, annihilated. The aim of the interrogator was to catch me in contradictions and get me to confess that I disdained Korea and violated Korean law. The interrogation about the seven men condemned to death by the military courts that had taken place at the KCIA in October was repeated.

In November I had been instructed by the Immigration Office that my visa did not qualify me to teach at Seoul National University where I had been teaching since October 1973. Despite the fact that dozens of other missionaries with the exact same visa are teaching in universities all over the country, I had followed the orders of the Immigration authorities and applied for special permission to continue my teaching. This problem was again brought up. I was accused of having broken Korean law and insulting Koreans because I had taught at Seoul National University without the right visa. I should reflect on these wrongdoings, repent and confess I had violated Korean law.

I was asked to explain every report that had come out in the newspapers about my deportation. (The first newspaper report on the problem was made by the very courageous Tong-a Ilbo, December 9.) Ludicrous as it sounded to me then, and now, they were angry at me because they, including the Chief of the Immigration Office, had not known of any deportation problem until they read it in the newspaper. Why had I caused them so much headache? Why had I not brought the problem quietly to them instead of to newspaper men?

The core of the interrogation, however, was this: the government claimed that my actions in defense of human rights and social justice were political acts. I claimed

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

they were religious acts based on my commitment to Christ and Scripture. The interrogators wanted me to confess that my acts were political and thus in violation of my visa and the laws of Korea. They wanted me to pledge complete compliance to all government actions. I responded that I had great respect and love for Korea. In the fifteen years I had lived in Korea, I had never knowingly broken any laws. The motivation for my actions was not political, but religious. As to the policies of the government, like other Christians, I obeyed the government unless the government violated human rights or denied justice. In the cases where government policy and Christian conscience were at variance, I would try to obey God rather than man.

My first interrogation lasted four hours. That was on December 10. Two days later interrogation over the same matters lasted for five hours. At 7:15 a.m. on the 14th a car began blowing its horn outside of my house. It was Immigration. By 9:30 I was again undergoing interrogation. Again, we started along the same paths we had travelled on the 10th and 12th. Finally I refused to participate saying that if we were going to repeat the same things over again, I would make no further response. I had nothing new to add to what I had said on previous days.

The interrogator, the recorder, and the Chief of the Immigration Office went out. Within ten minutes the Chief was back. He sat behind his desk. Called me to stand in front of his desk and handed me a document. It said I was to be deported to the U.S.A. No reasons were given either orally or written. I asked him if he had made the decision to deport me. (He had impressed on me several times that that was indeed his prerogative.) "Did you on the basis of your findings over the last few days make the decision to deport me?" There was no reply. Obviously he had not made the decision. Lho Shin Yong said that the decision to deport me had been made before he contacted the American Embassy on December 5. All those hours of interrogation were merely to fulfill formal requirements and, if possible, to force an apology out of me.

Who had actually decided to deport me? I do not know, but I can speculate. The decision to deport me was, I believe, directly related to my sermon on October 10 in which I said that seven men condemned to death had "probably done nothing worthy of death." This sermon for the first time brought the plight of these seven men, and the group of 21, to the attention of the public. The case against these men is mainly a fabrication of the KCIA. If this fabrication were clearly exposed, then the entire case of the KCIA against the other political prisoners would also be seen to be a lie.

Such an exposure would cause unrepairable damage to the entire KCIA and especially to the head of the KCIA, Mr. Shin Chik Su and Mr. Lee Yong Taek, the man directly in charge of the case. But most of all it would likely involve the man who was the originator and first director of the KCIA; Kim Jong Pil. Kim is the present Prime Minister of Korea, but he is also commonly known to be the real power within Korea's CIA. It is only speculation, but it would seem that the decision to deport me was probably made by Kim Jong Pil, the founder of the KCIA.

Orders were to keep me under house arrest until deported. No decision had been made, they said, as to when that would be.

A battery of newspaper men had heard the news and were at the house waiting for me. Newspaper reporters, both Korean and foreign, have been helpful throughout the whole

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

ordeal, but the men of the Tong-a Ilbo have been especially courageous. They have resisted the KCIA oppressions themselves and are now in extreme financial difficulty because the KCIA has pressured business to cut off their advertising. The reporters waiting for me not only wanted the story, they wanted also to comfort my wife and me.

A Jesuit priest, a Maryknoll priest, two Maryknoll sisters, two Presbyterians and two Methodists were also in the house waiting. When our house was surrounded later that afternoon by a couple hundred riot police, these friends refused to leave the house and stayed with us to the end. The fellowship, prayers, humns and tears of that afternoon were like a visitation of the Holy Spirit itself.

One funny relief came when Mrs. Ruth Burkholder of our Methodist Mission appears with a beautiful chocolate, angel food cake with peppermint icing. Somehow she had gotten around the ring of riot police, carrying the cake and sneaked in through our back gate.

I had not been told the date or time of deportation, but around three o'clock in the afternoon, a friend from the American Embassy arrived (the police allowed him through) to tell us that "unofficial reports" coming to the Embassy said I was to go that afternoon at 5:00 o'clock. Dorothy started packing my bags. The "unofficial reports" proved correct. At 5:00 o'clock an Immigration man told me to be ready to leave by 5:30. The government was allowing me thirty minutes to get ready to leave my home of 20 years.

Martin, my 14-year-old son, carried my bag outside and put it in the trunk of a black government car. The girls cried. I kissed my wife and got into the back of the car between two plainclothesmen. The car swung out our gate, but was momentarily stopped, because the riot police had to clear the road of some hundred friends who had stood outside in the freezing cold protesting the government action. Many of them had been standing there for five hours, singing, praying, chanting protests. The last face I saw was Mrs. Chun, the wife of one of the seven men condemned to death. She was crying, running beside the car trying to stop it with her fists.

The gates of the runway at Kimpo Airport opened, and our black car sped through. I was transferred from the car to a bus-like van. There were no less than thirteen guards in the van to escort me to the steps of the airplane. As I was about to leave the van, I turned to the guards and said, "Since I am not allowed to say good-bye to my friends, let me say goodbye to you. May our Father God stay with you." From the rear of the van came a round of applause and the Korean greeting "Go in Peace".

One guard took me by the left arm and started to lead me up the steps, but as soon as I had stepped out of the van, a commotion arose. How they got out on to the airfield I do not know, but there beside the plane were ten or so friends from the press. Some yelled, "Don't go." Others said, "Keep your courage", and others "The day for you to return will come soon. Go and come in peace."

I raised my free arm and shouted "Tae Han Minkook Mansei" (Long Live the people of Korea), "Our Father God be with you. The Lord stay with you."

The guard had taken me up the steps. I was led to a seat far back in the plane, the farthest from the door. It was finished. I was alone. Terribly alone. My insides collapsed. I cried.

Deportation of a Missionary from the Republic of Korea

The 105 minutes between Seoul and Tokyo were the worst minutes of my life. When we landed in Tokyo I decided to join the other passengers in walking to the transient lounge. As I stood up a young cabin attendant came up and said, "You are not permitted to leave the plane."

"This," I said, "is not Korea. Korean CIA has no jurisdiction over an American citizen in an international airport" and proceeded up the aisle. Just as I was about to cut through the little kitchen compartment leading to the door, a second attendant appears and repeated the warning. I repeated what I told the first man and continued toward the door. All of a sudden the exit from the kitchen compartment was blocked by someone whom I instinctively knew to be a Korean CIA agent. (My instinct was later verified.) At the same time the two attendants took hold of me from the rear. I grabbed at the CIA agent's throat and was holding on. A moment of shoving and pushing and loud shouting ensued. We were all quieted down by the sudden appearance of the captain of the airplane, Kim Ho Yun. He was under orders, he said, not to permit me to leave the plane until we arrived in the U.S.A. I told him he was acting illegally. The Korean CIA could rule only in Korea, not in international airports. In as loud and clear Korean as I could muster, I called the Korean CIA a bunch of gangsters and promised Captain Kim that I was going to sue both the Korean Airlines (on whose ship we were travelling) and him for their gangsterisms.

I had my say, but I was still on the plane. I was taken back to my seat. The wrestling spree with the Korean CIA man and the emotional shouting with the captain, however, had had recuperative effects. I did not feel alone. I felt good. I was ready to continue the fight. My Korean brethren would never give up. They would fight until human freedom and democracy was restored. I would do what the Lord had for me in the United States. Tae Han Minkook Mansei.

George E. Ogle
January 1975

GEO:kat

DEMOCRACY AND MILITARISM IN SOUTH KOREA

Korean and American militarism seems to be successfully eliminating democracy in South Korea. The story of Korea during the 1960s was one of unparalleled achievement. Seldom has a small, under-developed nation been able to sustain such a level of economic development. GNP averaged growth rates for the ten-year period of about 8.6 per cent and per capita income expanded from a miserable \$97 per year to around \$350. At the same time a progressive constitution stimulated the development of a democratic society. Citizens had the right to elect their president and legislators by free vote; three branches of government kept each other in check; labor enjoyed the right to organize and act collectively. Korea of the 1960s was far from ideal, but it was a period when government and people shared the common goal of economic development within the structures of democracy. Impressive gains were being made in both. Korean society was beginning to look towards the future with optimism.

In the 1970s optimism has turned to despair. Economic development has slowed down and become heavily dependent upon American and Japanese private capital. Unemployment is on the increase. Politically, the development of democracy has been arrested and a military dictatorship has been installed. During the 1960s Korea's development stood as a symbol of America's ability to stimulate both economic and political development. Now the symbol has been destroyed. Instead of a democratic approach to development, South Korea has become a cruel, military dictatorship. Why? What has brought on the change?

Government spokesmen give a variety of rationalizations for their actions. Chief among these is the argument that economic necessity makes a strong, one-man rule unavoidable. The government's argument goes something like this: In order to improve the standard of living of the people and at the same time stay abreast of the development of other countries, the Korean economy must expand rapidly. By 1980 the yearly per capita income should be about the \$1000 mark. This is more than twice the figure for 1973. There are, of course, other goals also that must be reached. 1974's international inflation, the disastrous increase in oil prices and the depression of world markets for textiles and electronic products have made the achievement of these economic goals very difficult to attain. Therefore, the people must sacrifice and the government must exercise strict control over all of society. President Park must have the complete cooperation of all the people if Korea is to continue to grow and be independent.

Few would take exception with the government analysis as presented above, but the government spokesmen manage to leave out several important factors. First, a controlled economy is not new to Korea. All during the 1960s the economy was managed by successive five-year plans. The people suffered, and sacrificed, but they knew it was for the development of their nation. Secondly, sacrificing for the nation is certainly not to be equated with being oppressed by the Korean CIA (KCIA). Prior to 1971 workers, through their unions, could attempt to redress any wrongs that they suffered. Today a worker or a union that seeks justice for the workers faces a high probability of coming under the KCIA surveillance, or worse. The government argument is based on the assumption that added units of police pressures will result in increased units of industrial production. In fact, however, Korea has had its highest achievements in industrial development during the time of greatest freedom for workers and unions. Korean unions have never been real strong. Strike action by unions in the 1960s was very rare, but nevertheless compared to other periods of Korean history, they were active and comparatively free. In the case of Korea, an argument cannot be made that unions impeded economic development. Yet from 1971, they have been circumscribed and suppressed. The anti-union stance of the last few

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

years has much more to do with Park's political policies than with economic affairs. He cannot tolerate an organization that is independent or semi-independent from his own dictates. The "sacrifice" that the government demands from its people is more than the sacrifice of hard labor for low wages. Everyone is willing to give that type of "sacrifice". What the government demands is the sacrifice of independence. It wants obedience, and to get it, the Park government resorts to an extensive use of police and KCIA.

Park also points to economic crises of 1973-74 as a defense for his policies, but that is pure chicanery. Park's descent into dictatorship began when he violated the nation's constitution in 1969 and forced through an amendment allowing him a third term as president. In 1971 and 1972 before the world economic crisis was upon us, he had destroyed the democratic constitution of 1963 and established himself as life-long "president". The Korean economy was expanding at a very successful rate, foreign businesses were investing heavily and the society was fairly democratic when Park first set himself up as dictator. Exigencies of economic development had little to do with it.

The other argument commonly used to defend Park's power grab is that of national security. The Communist North, it is claimed, poses such a military threat to the South, that Park must have total power in order to defend the South.

While none of Park's opponents in South Korea underestimates the threat from the North, they point out that the North has been a threat for over two decades whereas the Park dictatorship has existed for only the past two years. South Korea has defended itself quite well for eighteen years without Park's one-man rule and without the tyranny of the KCIA. Apologists for Park responded that the threat from the North has so increased in the last few years that extreme measures are now called for and Park has no alternative except to take over full control of the South.

These apologists, however, never explain, or provide evidence, that the threat from the North has in fact increased. Reports from both Korean and American governments indicate the opposite: incidents on the DMZ are down sharply, and the military strength of the two sides has remained virtually unchanged. In 1968, a year of considerable tensions between the North and South, a commando team from the North came close to assassinating Park, but even then he did not declare a state of emergency or abrogate the constitution. Furthermore, the policy of entente between the United States and China, and the United States and Russia would seem to reflect a decrease in tensions throughout the area.

Despite Park's reiterated protests to the contrary, the argument that the communist threat makes dictatorship a necessity in South Korea is far from convincing.

It is pointed out, furthermore, that as a result of Park's policies the internal unity of the South Korean society has been seriously undermined. The Korean people have held as their highest ideal for the last half century that of establishing a democratic society. They did not take kindly to Park's efforts to suppress that ideal. Students, workers, newsmen, professors, churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, refuse to acquiesce to Park's police-state policies. Dictatorship of the military right is as distasteful as dictatorship of the communist left. Park has the guns to force his will upon the people, but there will be no peace. Just as the Korean people resisted the oppression of colonial Japan, they will resist the oppression of Park Chung Hee. As it has throughout 1974, opposition will increase and hostilities will deepen.

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

Government spokesmen defend Park by saying his behaviour is made necessary because of the necessities of economic development and the demands of military security, but in fact neither of these are an adequate nor sufficient explanation. His behaviour derives from something more fundamental than either of these factors. It derives from a greed for political power. Park and his military clique do not intend to give up their power nor their financially lucrative positions as heads of state. A brief outline of some of the events leading to Park's present domination of Korea illustrates the point.

The 1963 Constitution limited a president to two 4-year terms in office. On many occasions, Park promised his people that he would step aside after two terms. Yet, in 1969, half-way through his second term, he reneged on that promise and literally blackmailed his people into passing a referendum allowing him a third term. Unless the people voted in favor of the amendment, Park threatened to resign immediately. He would not finish his term as president. The result would, he threatened, be chaos and possibly a communist invasion. For these consequences he, Park, could take no responsibility. The people gave in and voted Park the legal right to run for a third term.

Park's third election campaign took place in 1971. He promised the people he would retire in 1975 after the third term. The 1971 election, however, turned out to be a humiliation for though there was massive interference in the elections by police and KCIA, a political unknown by the name of Kim Dae Jung won forty-seven per cent of the votes. The blackmail of 1969 and the high handed tactics of 1971 secured a third term for Park, but they undermined any confidence that the people had had in him and his government.

In December of 1971, he declared a State of Emergency and took over full control of government. Ten months later a State of Martial Law was declared. Tanks and armed soldiers took over the nation. On neither of these occasions, however, was there any indication that any emergency did exist in Korea. Presidential decrees asserted that there was an emergency. The facts of the situation were unimportant.

Along with the declaration of Martial Law in late 1972, Park announced that a new constitution was to be adopted by a people's referendum. No discussion or criticism of the new constitution, however, was to be permitted. Under the intimidation of martial law, the Korean people were again forced to give Park what he wanted.

The constitution of 1972, called the Yushin Constitution, effectively eliminated democratic structures of government and allows Park to be virtual dictator for life.

As soon as the guns and tanks of martial law were removed, opposition to Park and his Yushin Constitution began. The Korean people did not want a dictator. 1973 saw large, bitter anti-government demonstrations. Thirty-three of the nation's leading citizens initiated a nation-wide campaign to repeal Yushin. Park feared the opposition and especially the anti-Yushin petition. He knew it would gain support of millions of people. In order to stop the petition, on January 8, 1974, Park issued a decree forbidding any criticism or opposition to the Yushin Constitution. Another decree in early April made it a crime punishable by death for anyone to act or demonstrate against the government. Thirteen hundred people were arrested and 200-300 were sentenced to death or long years in prison.

Since 1971, Park has committed one act of violence after another against his own people, but in an attempt to cover up these acts of violence, he now claims that these 1300 people were arrested only because they broke laws. Park says that no one

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

has been arrested because he criticized the government. Only law breakers have been arrested. Park and apologists like columnist Jack Anderson, however, fail to mention the fact that the "law" which the 1300 people are said to have violated is Park's decree that forbids criticism of the Yushin Constitution and Park's government. They also ignore the fact that Park's "right" to issue such decrees was secured at the point of a gun.

Why has Korea turned from the road of development and democracy that it followed so successfully during the 1960s? Why has it reverted to dictatorship? The explanation lies not in the threat of communism nor in the exigencies of economic development, but in the fact that one man, General Park Chung Hee, can and does use military force to maintain himself in power.

Role of U.S.A.

Much of the credit for the progress achieved in Korea during the 1960s must go to the United States. Continuing aid in the economic, cultural, educational and military spheres encouraged the Korean people to move on towards democratic development. The fact that the U.S.A. has been instrumental in past achievements makes its present posture of support for the Park dictatorship all the more difficult to understand.

The American policy was clearly stated by Secretary of State Kissinger. American policy towards Korea, he declared, "is not related in any sense to the domestic conditions that have developed there." Under such a policy the U.S.A. has continued its huge support for Korea's military, the chief instrument used by Park to force his will upon the people.

The Ambassador to Korea, Mr. Richard Schneider, faithfully follows Kissinger's compartmentalized psychology. When a delegation of American missionaries met with him to discuss issues of human rights in Korea, Ambassador Schneider treated them to a half hour lecture on the evils of communist society in North Korea and Eastern Europe. Questions of security and military preparedness against the Communist onslaught seemed to be his only concern. Moreover, United States, he claimed does not use punitive measures to secure its own goals inside the society of another country.

The American Embassy, and thus presumably the American State Department, enjoys the fiction of non-involvement. It, for instance, has known for some time that the Korean government's claim that a communist conspiracy attempted to overthrow the Park Government in April of 1974 is pure fabrication. Two hundred to three hundred people have been sentenced to prison terms of from 10 years to life and eight have been given the death sentence under this "conspiracy" concocted by the Korean CIA. Indeed the whole foundation of Korean society has been undermined by this lie, but the American Embassy says never a word. The democratic society, economic development and even the military security that Americans have died for and given billions of dollars to promote are being destroyed by a military dictator who resorts to fabricated conspiracies to hold his people in line, and the American Ambassador assures us that the United States will not interfere in the domestic policies of Korea.

President Ford's visit to Korea illustrates the American policy. The day before President Ford visited Korea twenty mothers and wives of political prisoners staged a sit-down strike in front of the American Embassy in Seoul. Within ten minutes, riot police threw them on to buses and took them off to the police station. These women, through their brief sit-in, attempted to dramatize the plight of human rights

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

in Korea. They also were expressing their faith in the United States. Surely, the United States, as symbolized by President Ford, would not ignore the destruction of freedom!

Twenty-four hours later these ladies, along with the rest of the Korean people realized that the United States was willing to do just that: ignore the destruction of liberty and democracy. Military strength and national security were apparently the only issues discussed by the Americans. Ford supported Park. Within days after Ford left, Park let loose a new arrogance on his people. He had War Veterans march through the streets of Seoul in his support; he called the top Korean military chiefs to the Blue House (comparable to the American White House) and had them issue a declaration that they would crush opposition to Park either externally or internally; and resorting to his tactics of black-mail, he announced that political prisoners would be released, but only if they apologized and everyone else ceased their opposition.

America's promise to modernize the Korean military, Kissinger's simplistic foreign policy and the Ford visit have strengthened Park's determination to press on to a more perfect dictatorship.

Many Americans inside and outside of Korea are appalled by the militaristic nature of our government's policy in Korea. They demand that the United States support not Park's militarism, but the people's desire for democracy. If the U.S.A. acts quickly it might be able to avoid a total breakdown in the Korean situation. The longer Park's dictatorship is supported the more likelihood there is of social turmoil and communist infiltration. Dictators breed communists.

What can be done? The U.S. government has got to clearly delineate a policy that posits development toward democratic structures as a condition for continued economic aid. Unlike his statement about Korea, Kissinger recently was reported to have said that if Chile wants help from the U.S.A. there will have to be "an early return to democratic government with restoration of full civil liberties." (Ft. Lauderdale News, January 2, 1975, p. 14a). This is the exact policy and action needed for Korea.

Surely Vietnam should have taught us the folly of pitting military security and democratic participation against each other. They are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, without the participation and support of the people, the most advanced weaponry is nothing but a self-deception. For twenty-five years Korea has been defended without resort to tyranny and dictatorship. Now the society is being torn asunder by a small clique of militarists and the United States is helping them do it.

The United States is deeply involved in Korea. Ten billion dollars in aid has been given to this country the size of Indiana. The AID program operates in almost every sector of the society. The PL480 program has each year supplemented Korea's food production. United States labor in the form of AAFLI (Asian-American Free Labor Institute) uses AID money to support union leaders controlled by the KCIA and the American State Department helps recruit American businessmen who will invest in Korea. In all of these ways the U.S. Government is involved in Korea and in support of the Park regime. Yet the American Ambassador prates about not interfering in Korean domestic matters. Obviously the U.S.A. is interfering, and on a massive scale. The present Kissinger policy says support Park regardless of his oppression. Indeed without the U.S.A. support Park would find it difficult to continue his oppression.

American interest in Korea over the last 30 years has been a combination of political, economic and military affairs. We have sought development in all three, and throughout the 1960s that policy played an important role in helping the Koreans achieve

Democracy and Militarism in South Korea

successes in all three areas. Now by reverting to a narrow, militaristic policy we are assisting Park Chung Hee to defeat the very purposes for which we have spent \$10 billion and the lives of 30,000 American soldiers. The Kissinger policy for Chile must be applied to Korea. The American Government must clearly state that it supports the abolition of the so-called Yushin Constitution, which institutes dictatorship, tight restrictions on the KCIA and the full restoration of civil liberties.

If such a policy is clearly delineated, sanctions will probably not be necessary. The Korean people would be so encouraged that they would probably take care of the matter themselves. If Park refuses all efforts to democratize the U.S. has the right as an independent nation to reduce military aid, or the PL 480 program or to discontinue AID programs, or discourage American capitalists from investing in Korea. The options for action are numerous. Which Kissinger will prevail in Korea is the fundamental question. Present policies will inevitably lead to deterioration on all fronts. The new 'Chile look' can produce potentials for political, economic and military development.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES: American Corporations, Martial Law, and Underdevelopment

On September 21, 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Republic of the Philippines, claiming the Republic was "imperilled by the danger of a violent overthrow, insurrection and rebellion." The suspension of civil liberties, arrest and detention of opponents to the regime, escalated military and police activities against insurgent elements, and other repressive measures also carried apparent benefits to foreign investors. Part of martial law was the effort to neutralize the significant nationalist sentiment critical of the dominant position foreign investors, particularly Americans, have historically held in the Philippine economy. Thus, a New York Times article on January 21, 1973, noted that under martial law "the Philippines becomes eminently attractive to foreign investors."

The declaration of martial law raised questions among a number of U.S. Protestant and Catholic church officials concerned about political and economic conditions in the Philippines. What responsibility could be assigned to U.S.-based institutions conducting business in the Philippines for the political condition of repression and the problems of underdevelopment besetting the Philippine economy? In their concern, the Philippine Joint Action Group of the Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches (composed of Asian secretaries of major Protestant denominational overseas mission agencies), and Christians Concerned About the Philippines, a newly-formed group, in January 1973 requested the Corporate Information Center to prepare a report on U.S. corporations in the Philippines. Initially limited to four months, the study was extended to September 1973 in order to reflect findings from a two-week trip to the Philippines by CIC in August.

This CIC Brief summarizes the report to be presented in September. The information and views expressed here do not represent the opinions of the agencies that requested the study.

The report focuses on an investigation in the U.S. of the historic and current dimensions of U.S. investment in the Philippines, its relationship to the economic development policies of the Philippine government and martial law, and the extent of U.S. involvement in key industrial sectors (sugar, oil, agribusiness, banking and finance, mining, timber, automobile, and rubber) and draws conclusions and recommendations for ongoing research and action. Methodology included questionnaires and interviews with corporate representatives, interviews with a number of U.S. and Filipino government officials, and a survey of literature covering business transactions between the U.S. and the Philippines. There was substantial input

from a cross section of Filipinos now in the U.S.

To what extent does U.S. investment control the Philippine economy and influence government policy? Can the economic development in the Philippines be examined without regard to the role of U.S. corporations invested there? The larger context for this study thus is the ongoing analysis of multinational corporations in light of their impact on Third World development.

Multinational Corporations

An Examination of Multinational Corporations, the March 1973 CIC Brief, showed the extent to which U.S.-based (and a lesser number of European and Japanese) firms conduct business overseas and delineated many of the major questions regarding their international operations. Of major significance in this and other surveys of multinational corporations is the mounting evidence that the chronic underdevelopment throughout the Third World is the direct result of multinational corporate policies. Many critics argue that rather than promoting economic development in the Third World by supplying capital, technology, and managerial know-how, multinational corporations actually foster underdevelopment. According to the 1971 *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, "in the first development decade of the 1960's, it is apparent that large sectors of Third World populations, based on income distribution, family expenditure and dietary surveys, experienced no real improvement in their standard of living, and even became worse off."

Statistics show that in the Philippines from 1956 to 1971 income levels for the bottom 20 percent of the population have actually declined, from 4.5 percent to 3.6 percent, while the upper 20 percent holds 54 percent of the wealth (see Table I). Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise as well.

The largely capital-intensive orientation of multinational corporations, their penetration of foreign countries through local acquisition of would-be nationally-owned competitors, and their ability both to hide profits from taxation and to inflate prices represent some of the ways economic development and living conditions in Third World countries are ultimately shaped by the impact of multinationals. The ratio of capital inflow to profit outflow, for example, demonstrates the widening gap between rich and poor nations. In Asia profit outflow was 5 times capital inflow between 1950 and 1965. U.S. firms receive an average of twice the domestic rate of return on stockholders' equity in Third World countries. In the Philippines return

on stockholders' equity in the timber industry, for example, was 15.8 percent in 1971 but 6.8 percent in the U.S.; in mining it was 53.9 percent compared to 13.8 percent; in beverages 24.5 percent compared to 12.2 percent; and in rubber 36.4 percent compared to 9 percent. Several other industries showed less of a return when compared to the U.S. rate, but generally profits are much higher in the Philippines.

Furthermore, the increasing control foreign banks exercise on local currency deposits favors their multinational industrial counterparts at the expense of loans to local industry. A study conducted by the National Economic Council between 1956 and 1965 on 108 of the largest U.S. firms in the Philippines showed that 84 percent of their financing was done through local currency loans. Profits remitted to foreign beneficiaries were 300 percent greater than capital invested by these companies.

Thus it is not difficult to understand why the multinational corporation has become a major target for analysis, debate, and challenge on its activities throughout the world.

U.S.—Philippine History:

Trade and Investment Relations

U.S. trade with the Philippines dates back to 1800. By the mid-nineteenth century the U.S. received up to 40 percent of Philippine export, including sugar, hemp, and tobacco. U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 introduced an era of U.S. domination over the Philippine economy solidified after a three-year war to suppress a widespread Filipino independence movement. U.S. possession of the Philippines was marked by a succession of trade agreements increasingly favorable to U.S. business interests and engendering Philippine economic dependence on the U.S. The Philippines exported agricultural and other raw materials to the U.S. and imported manufactured products. This typical colonial pattern prevented diversification and industrialization of the Philippine economy.

By 1940 the U.S. provided 77 percent of the country's imports and took 83 percent of its exports. Of the approximately \$91 million in direct U.S. private investment in 1940 in the Philippines, 25 percent was in agriculture, 40 percent in public utilities, 15 percent in trade, and only 8 percent in manufacturing, demonstrating the export orientation of the Philippine economy up to 1940.

Passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 scheduled the Philippines for full inde-

This section, the "CIC BRIEF," appears in each edition of the *Corporate Examiner*. Its purpose is to inform investors, organizations and individuals concerned about corporate social impact of given issue areas. Each "CIC BRIEF" highlights a particular social area — foreign investment, environment, labor and minority policies, military contracting, or consumerism, and focuses on one or more corporations. It also includes reference to groups, individuals, and studies involved in each given issue.

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pendence on July 4, 1946. Upon independence full tariffs were to be effected. The Philippine Constitution attempted to protect the country's natural resources by requiring that 60 percent of the capital associated with industries related to raw materials be held by Philippine citizens. However, this provision did not extend to existing ownership by Americans.

World War II devastated the Philippine economy. The U.S. Trade Act of 1946 aimed to hasten economic recovery and to improve conditions for U.S. economic interests. Quotas were reestablished and free-trade provisions were extended over an eight-year period. Following that, tariffs were scheduled at 5 percent a year until 1973, when full tariffs were to be placed on trade between the two nations. The 1946 act also gave the U.S. president discretionary power to withdraw economic concessions granted to the Philippines if nationalist opposition were allowed to compromise U.S. interests, including power over the exchange rate of the peso and a Philippine commitment not to levy taxes on U.S. products produced for export to the Philippines. Nevertheless, in 1949-50 import and exchange controls were enacted by the Philippine government as a way to curtail chronic balance-of-payments deficits. These measures spurred further U.S. investment in Philippine import-substitution industries, increasing U.S. control of the economy.

The single most discussed provision of the Trade Act of 1946, however, was the exemption of U.S. citizens and companies from the constitutional restriction limiting the exploitation of Philippine natural resources to Filipinos. This so-called "parity clause" clearly violated the Philippine Constitution but was adopted in a national referendum in 1946 and has served as the direct incentive for U.S. investment since then.

U.S. direct investment in the Philippines rose sharply with passage in 1955 of the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the revised U.S.-Philippine trade agreement. The agreement in effect brought to a close the eight-year "mutual free trade" period and provided for the further protection of U.S. economic interests. While granting certain concessions to the Philippine government, the agreement continued to cultivate reliance on U.S. trade and protect U.S. direct investment and parity rights. Further, a provision allowed for possible future increases in the Philippine sugar quota, an industry historically tied to the U.S. consumer market. The scheduled expiration of the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974 has been viewed as a major factor leading to the declaration of martial law in the Philippines.

U.S. Direct Private Investment

As early as 1929 U.S. investment in the Philippines totaled nearly \$80 million. During the periods of free trade private investments grew slowly, but after 1950, with the creation of parity rights and decreased trade advantages caused by exchange and import controls of the Philippine government, investments grew rapidly. Between 1950 and 1972 import-substitution manufacturing industries grew 1200 percent, while overall investment increased 500 percent, reaching the cur-

TABLE I

Family Income in the Philippines

Families (ranked from lowest income to highest)	Percent of Total Family Income			
	1956-57a	1961b	1965b	1971c
Lowest 20%	4.5	4.2	3.5	3.6
Second 20%	8.1	7.9	8.0	8.1
Third 20%	12.4	12.1	12.8	13.3
Fourth 20%	19.8	19.3	20.2	21.0
Highest 20%	55.1	56.4	55.4	54.0
Top 10%	39.4	41.0	40.0	37.1
Top 5%	27.7	29.0	28.7	24.8

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics, *Survey of Households, Family Income and Expenditures* — a) year ending 2/28/57; b) calendar year; c) year ending April, 1971.

TABLE II

Percentage of sales, income, assets, and equity controlled by the 47 U.S. corporations ranked in the top 200 Philippine corporations

(Pesos in thousands — 1971 data)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Top 200 corporations	19,588,292	1,249,831	20,353,433	8,488,785
47 U.S. corporations	5,755,228	452,486	5,702,907	2,581,102
U.S. firms' percentage of top 200 total	29.4%	36.2%	28.0%	30.4%

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971.

U.S. involvement is clearer in an examination of the manufacturing sector of the Philippine economy. This is the sector in which Americans are most heavily invested as a result of restrictions that discourage U.S. investments in the agricultural, service, and commercial sectors.

Percentage of sales, income, assets, and equity controlled by 35 U.S. manufacturing corporations ranked in the top 110 Philippine manufacturing corporations

(Pesos in thousands — 1971 data)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
110 Philippine corporations	10,723,372	592,373	10,305,830	4,319,764
35 U.S. corporations	3,605,047	278,753	3,552,295	1,596,352
U.S. firms' percentage of top 110 total	33.6%	47.1%	34.5%	37.0%

Source: *Ibid.*

rent estimated \$700 million—\$1 billion in book value of direct private investment. (Some sources place the real value of current U.S. investment as high as \$2 billion and even \$3 billion.)

Whatever the actual figure, U.S. investment in the Philippines is greater than that in any other Southeast Asian country. While investment in the Philippines represents only 1 percent of the total book value of U.S. direct investment worldwide, it also represents 80 percent of all foreign investment in the Philippines. Thus, U.S. investment is crucial to the Philippine economy as it is currently structured. Other foreign investors in the Philippines in order of size of investments are the Taiwan-based Chinese, Spanish, British, Dutch, Canadian, Japanese, Swiss, Swedish, and Germans.

According to a survey conducted by the Philippine government's Inter-Agency Working Group on Foreign Investment, as of 1970 Americans owned approximately 33% of the equity capital of the 900 largest corporations in the Philippines. Forty-seven U.S. firms or firms with significant U.S. investment are listed among the top 200 corporations in the Philippines. As Table II shows, these 47 U.S. corporations accounted in 1971 for 29.4 percent of sales, 36.2 percent of income, 28.0 percent of assets, and 30.4 percent of equity of the top 200 corporations. In the manufacturing sector, 35 U.S. corporations among the 110 leading manufacturing corporations in the Philippines held an even greater share of business. (For a listing of the 47 largest U.S. companies in the Philippines see Table IV.)

Control of Strategic Industries

U.S. control over the Philippine economy is strengthened by the dominant market position U.S. firms hold in crucial industries. In the rubber industry U.S. companies have long been active in operating Filipino-owned rubber plantations and in the manufacture of rubber products. B.F. Goodrich since 1919, Goodyear Tire and Rubber since 1929, and Firestone Rubber more recently together received 97 percent of all income generated by 13 companies in the field and controlled 73 percent of assets, 91 percent of equity, and 57 percent of all sales. These firms achieved an average return on equity in 1970 of 38.3 percent, compared to 10.5 percent for Filipino firms. In the plantation areas where Goodrich and Goodyear operate facilities fierce fighting has been going on between Muslims and Christian and government forces. Government forces have been used to expel Muslim insurgents from Goodrich's plantation and protect the company's properties.

In the auto industry, Ford Philippines, General Motors, Chrysler, and two other foreign firms control 86 percent of sales of eleven automobile-manufacturing companies. Two U.S. corporations, Harvester and Honiron Philippines, control over 80 percent of the heavy-equipment manufacturing in sales, income, assets, and equity. The future of the auto industry in the Philippines suggests even greater involvement by U.S. and other foreign firms. The "Asian strategy" for the auto industry includes an integrated production and marketing structure involving the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and other Asian nations. In producing its Asian car, the Fiera, for example, Ford Philippines utilizes component parts made in several of these countries for assembly and marketing in the Philippines and for export. According to Ford, the overriding considerations in choosing the Philippines were its strategic location, cheap labor, and the privileges provided the company by the government.

U.S. investors also enjoy a controlling position in the mining industry, a sector which over the past several years has increased by importance in foreign exchange earnings and revenue for the government. As Table III indicates, 5 mining companies with significant U.S. equity interests (Atlas Consolidated Mining, Marcopper Mining, Marinduque Mining and Industrial, Lepanto Consolidated Mining, and Benguet Consolidated) account for the highest percentage of business among the 17 largest mining companies in the Philippines. By 1975 mineral exports from the Philippines are expected to account for 26 percent of all foreign exchange earned, the largest single export product.

In the petroleum industry, as well, U.S. corporations dominate. (See Table III.) Of the 10 oil companies refining in the Philippines, 7 U.S. oil companies enjoy a virtual monopoly, with 96.2 percent of all equity and 97.6 percent of all income derived from the business. As the Philippines obtains 90 percent of its energy requirements from imported oil, U.S. firms are in a position to take advantage of a captive market. A 1971 report by the Association of Patriotic Scientists in the Philippines accuses foreign oil firms of charging up to 50 percent more for crude oil than do Filipino-owned refineries.

In the timber industry, 6 U.S. companies are among the top 20 of the 73 lumber companies in the Philippines. Four — Weyerhaeuser,

Boise-Cascade, Georgia Pacific, and one in which International Paper has minority equity interests — are among the top 10 and control 13 percent of all land held in long-term concessions in Mindanao. A Georgia Pacific Corporation spokesman stated in an interview with CIC in 1972 that because the U.S. would run out of certain domestic fibers in the near future, it was necessary that timber companies gain concessions as a "bank deposit" for future needs. As with minerals, timber exploited in the Philippines is exported, principally to Japan and the U.S. The boom in logging over the past several years has been marked by political payoffs and bonanzas for local politicians, as well as by destruction to the environment. The forest destruction rate by logging companies, as well as by squatters who clear-cut for farming, has been estimated at 9 times the reforestation rate.

Agribusiness, too, feels the impact of U.S. multinationals. Del Monte Corporation and Dole Philippines, a subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, enjoy a monopoly of the fruit production and canning industry. In 1971 Del Monte accounted for 61 percent and Dole for 38% of total sales in the industry. About 80 percent of products produced in the Philippines are exported to Europe and the U.S.

TABLE III

Foreign Companies in the Mining Industry

Financial data of top 17 mining firms, 1971 showing share of totals received by companies with foreign ownership

(Pesos in thousands)

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Mining industry total (Top 17 Companies)	1,641,819	443,949	2,519,572	1,690,408
Companies with foreign ownership (5)	1,171,749	328,939	1,911,090	1,300,956
Companies with foreign ownership share of mining industry total	71.9%	74.1%	75.8%	77.0%

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971, p. 136.

Foreign Companies in the Petroleum Industry

Financial data on the 10 petroleum companies ranked in the top 1000 Philippine corporations

Group	Sales	Income	Assets	Equity
Foreign-owned companies*	2,497,669	51,121	2,445,321	1,161,636
Domestic companies**	624,966	1,219	378,905	45,555
Totals for oil industry	3,122,635	52,340	2,824,226	1,207,191
Foreign companies' share of totals for industry	79.9%	97.6%	86.5%	96.2%

* Shell Philippines, Inc., Caltex Philippines, Inc., Bataan Refining Company, Fiso Philippines, Inc., Mobil Philippines, Inc., and Getty Oil Philippines, Inc. ** Filoil Refinery Corporation, Filoil Marketing Corporation, Arabay, Inc., Space, Inc.

Source: *Ibid.*

Economic Development and Martial Law

Once the degree of U.S. corporate control of the Philippine economy was established, CIC sought to determine the extent to which Philippine government policies toward foreign investment coincide with U.S. investment interests and how such interests have been affected by the declaration of martial law.

The Philippine economy has consistently experienced problems of inflation, balance-of-payments deficits, monetary instability, and lack of foreign exchange. The country's external debt grew from \$600 million in 1967 to \$1.7 billion in 1970, reflecting government inability to accumulate reserves for domestic investment.

A government program initiated in February 1970 at the advice of the International Monetary Fund aimed to create an open economy with few trade restrictions and with emphasis on the importance of foreign investment, a program of monetary and fiscal austerity, and devaluation of the peso. The 1967 Investment Incentives Act, the 1969 Mariwales Free Trade Zone Act, and the 1970 Export Incentives Act represent government efforts to direct foreign investment into industrial areas considered vital to economic development.

Government economic advisers, known as "technocrats" because of their professional economic and corporate managerial experience, have worked toward complete economic planning, giving preference to expansion or merger of firms rather than competition and encouraging large-scale monopolies as more efficient.

Critics of the Philippine government development strategy argue that the economy is coming under still greater control by U.S. and other foreign investors. Devaluation of the peso, for example, has brought with it greater foreign investment and acquisition of Filipino-owned firms. Monetary austerity and restriction on credit extension have resulted in the failure of many Filipino companies to grow or even survive, while foreign firms obtain credit easily. The National Economic Council's report on financing of foreign firms by local currency, mentioned earlier, estimates that 88.3 percent of the private investment funds for foreign firms will be raised locally between 1972 and 1975.

Nationalist opposition has challenged government policy and the expanding foreign penetration and control of the economy. The Retail Trade Nationalization Law, effective in 1964, prohibited foreigners from engaging in the retail business. A Supreme Court decision in August 1972 ruled that companies in sectors reserved for Filipinos could not have foreign directors or top-management personnel. In the Quasha case, the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. parity rights gained in 1946 will expire in 1974. If enforced, this would require U.S. divestment of an estimated \$100 million to \$400 million worth of agricultural, land, and natural resource interests. The 1972 constitution replacing the 1935 charter, was drafted substantially by nationalists seeking to undercut special privileges granted to the U.S. under the old constitution and the Laurel-Langely Agreement.

Martial Law

The declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972, came at a crucial time in Philippine-U.S. economic relations. Not only was the Laurel-Langely Agreement about to expire, terminating U.S. parity rights and requiring foreign-owned firms to be 60-percent owned by Filipinos, but nationalists were urging even greater restrictions on the rights of foreigners to invest. The martial law regime has essentially suppressed this nationalist opposition and has

promoted a policy of attracting still more foreign capital. Thus, the decree of martial law has carried with it an economic development strategy favoring integration of the Philippine economy into the investment designs of foreign-based multinational corporations. Understandably enough, the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, representing major U.S. business interests there, was quick to support the declaration of martial law.

Some rulings in the aftermath of martial law provide further evidence of its advantages to foreigners. All labor strikes and demonstrations are banned and the Supreme Court decision prohibiting foreign nationals from executive positions in Filipino firms was overturned. Oil exploration concessions have been promised to foreign oil companies. In response to CIC, a number of U.S. corporate spokesmen affirmed that they have experienced no adverse effects from martial law and most agreed that the business climate was improved. Although there has not yet been a dramatic influx of foreign capital into the Philippines, according to *U.S. News and World Report* the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines noted that more than 40 U.S. firms have either started new projects or expressed a desire to do so. Expansion of existing facilities, oil exploration, and new financial involvements by such banks as Chase Manhattan and First National City indicate that the "wait and see" policy followed by some U.S. corporations may be over.

President Marcos' assurances to foreign investment have been formalized in the new constitution, which omits proposals submitted by nationalists. In March 1973 a government proclamation "guaranteed complete freedom of repatriation, covering both the invested principal and gains, and without any time restriction" to new foreign investments. According to President Marcos, "The guarantee on freedom of investment repatriation may now be expected to work along well with such other factors as stabilized peace and order and the related immigration laws [for foreign executives] to develop the Philippines as a major financial center in Asia." The declaration of martial law thus paved the way for the centralization of political power and economic planning under the guidance of "technocrat" professionals.

The Future

On May 11, 1973, *Business Asia* reported that the Confederation of Philippine Exporters had submitted a decree to President Marcos that if adopted could transform Manila into the regional headquarters for many international firms. The confederation noted that the Philippines was in the most advantageous position to attract multinational companies, partially because of the peace and order provided by martial law.

Wider Issues

With this evaluation of martial law and U.S. investment in the Philippines, the wider issue of multinational corporations and their implications for Third World development becomes apparent. The question of whether multinational corporations embody hope for economic development or, on the contrary, perpetuate a structure of underdevelopment becomes paramount. Certainly the penetration of multinational corporations into the Philippines first under the umbrella of U.S. colonial rule and then their current involvement with martial law suggest that any positive contributions cannot be judged without careful consideration of existing political repression and chronic economic underdevelopment.

TABLE IV

47 largest U.S. corporations in the Philippines ranked by sales position among the top 200 corporations in the Philippines for 1971

Sales Rank	Name of Parent Corporation
3	*Caltex Petroleum Corp.
4	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Atlas Consolidated)
5	Exxon Corp.
9	Mobil Oil Corp.
10	*Exxon/Mobil
12	Granexport Corp.
17	Procter & Gamble Co.
18	Baker Commodities
31	Pepsico, Inc.
32	USI Philippines Inc.
33	Atlantic, Gulf & Pacific-
37	Del Monte Corp.
38	General Milk Co.
45	*Ford Motor Co.
46	Getty Oil Co.
49	International Harvester
52	Union Carbide Corp.
58	*Goodyear Tire & Rubber
61	*B.F. Goodrich Corp.
65	Honolulu Iron Works
67	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Bislig Bay Lumber Inc.)
69	Colgate-Palmolive, Inc.
70	*Castle and Cooke, Inc.
73	Consolidated Dairy Products Co.
77	*Firestone Tire & Rubber
78	*A. Soriano Y Cia. (Benguet Consolidated)
79	Theo. Davies Co.
85	CPC International, Inc.
90	Wilbur Ellis Co., Ltd.
107	Pillsbury Corp.
113	*Georgia Pacific Corp.
118	Singer Corp.
123	Reynolds International
136	Philippine Rock Products Inc.
141	General Foods Corp.
152	Muller & Phipps (New York)
154	IBM Corp.
157	Warner Barnes & Co.
159	*Weyerhaeuser, Inc.
170	Benguet Consolidated
171	Mead Johnson & Co.
174	Kimberly-Clark Corp.
175	American Wire & Cable Co., Inc.
178	Phelps-Dodge Corp.
186	Scott Paper Co.
188	Eastman Kodak Corp.
197	Hawaiian-Philippine Co.

* Indicates companies reviewed in CIC study; companies not mentioned here but discussed in the report are Bancom Development Corporation of the Philippines and Bankers Trust.

Source: *Business Day's 1000 Top Philippine Corporations*, Quezon City, Philippines, Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1971; and "The Biggest American Companies in the Philippines," *Manila Chronicle*, June 18, 1971.

THE FILIPINOS

As all third world communities strive to survive in a highly competitive society, such as in the U.S., the Filipino Community is developing new social and political dynamics. However, there is still very little that is known about Filipino Americans and their experiences here in the U.S.

Who are we?

Within the Bay Area, we total 50,000 and throughout the U.S. there is well over 1/2 million, with a growth rate of 24,000 more each year, due, in part, to liberalized immigration legislation. The New York Times of March 5, 1971, has noted this growth rate to be the second largest bloc of immigrants, second only to Mexican immigration.

In order to understand the present and current status of Filipino Americans in this country, we must look back to history for a moment and examine the roots of our experience.

The Philippines, named after King Philip II of Spain, is laced with over 7,000 islands, 3,000 of which have yet to be named. The first wave of migration into these islands occurred 25,000 years ago when Aborigines came from the Asian mainland through land bridges. The second wave was of Indonesian stock. The third and most predominant racial stock which the greater amount of Filipinos belong is Malayo-Polynesian.

Prior to Spanish arrival in the Philippines, extensive trade was going on with countries like China, Japan, The Empires of Shri-Vishaya, and Madjapahit, India, and as far away as Northern Africa. Because of these pre-colonial social relations, Filipinos are composed of many races and influences. Our ancient name was MAI from the Chinese, meaning "Land of Gold." Our words were hinduized with plenty of Sanskrit, food was of Chinese descent, our warrior kingdom life came from Cambodian, Thai and Vietnamese origin, and our religion (Islam) from northern Africa.

In search of a spice route, the Spanish explorer, Ferdinand Magellan, stumbled into a chain of islands in 1521 only to die there in the first recorded battle of resistance by the native inhabitants. Tenaciously, Spain set out to conquer these islands, using the divide and conquer tactic. Philip II ordered that his conquistadores use more of the cross rather than the sword --- a lesson learned from the genocide already committed on Indios in the Americas. This was most effective because previous to Spanish aggression, the islands, particularly the southern part, were transcending regional structures into whole provincial structures buttressed by the eastern spread of Islam. The Spanish colonizers, therefore, gained access to most of the islands except for the southern part, which was never successfully taken over until the American colonial rule.

For 330 years, the sole purpose of the Philippines for Spain was the lucrative Manila Galleon Trade, a trade which linked the empire of China with Nueva Espana and the then Empire of Spain. Spanish mercantilism thrived for the next two hundred years with this profitable venture at the expense of the natives. The natives, through forced labor, were used to build galleons and churches. The whole native populace was subject to taxes, and land ownership was becoming monopolized by a growing class of rapacious landlords and the Catholic Church.

By the 1800's, this oppression and exploitation was resisted by over two hundred revolts throughout the islands. With the decline of the Galleon Trade, the influx of liberal ideas from Europe, the liberation movements in Mexico and the rest of Latin America, the native populace started to identify itself by the end of the 19th century through a national consciousness, a consciousness in reaction to foreign domination.

At the same time, a movement was growing composed of intellectuals from a developing Filipino middle class, among them the famous Jose Rizal, who were able to go to Europe to continue their education. They became exposed to a profusion of liberal ideas and brought them home to write books and newspapers. These were considered subversive in the eyes of the Spaniards.

When these literary expositions still did not move the colonizers, a secret organization was formed, led by Andres Bonifacio, called "KATAASTAASAN KAGALANGGALANGAN KATIPUNAN NG MGA ANAK NG BAYAN," KKK, or the Katipunan. They advocated complete independence from Spain.

By 1896, a national revolution had been set in motion. A Filipino revolutionary government was developed with a constitution adopted from the study of 5 European constitutions. In 1898, the only Spanish stronghold left was the walled city of Intramuros in Manila. It was at this period though that Spain was now at war with the United States, in which case, the expansionist American government saw the economic benefits of securing these islands not only for its physical potential but as a steppingstone to the "unfathomable Chinese market." When the U.S. Admiral Dewey defeated the Spanish in the now famous "mock battle" of Manila, the Philippines was handed over to the U.S. by the defeated Spanish in the Treaty of Paris for the paltry sum of \$20 million dollars, all this at the non-participation of the Filipino Revolutionary Government. This, therefore, brought forth the Filipino-American War, a war never placed in history books. It was a long war. It lasted for seven years.

It took 170,000 American soldiers to squelch a "rebellion." 600,000 Filipino men, women and children died in this war. Any Filipino who uttered the word independence or who displayed the Filipino flag was to be arrested or shot. And on the official record, all those who resisted were considered bandits or pirates.

Beaten by superior forces together with the surrender of our leadership, colonization began again. Our second conquerors came.

English became the medium of instruction. Our colonial education created aspirations incongruent with the true conditions in the Philippines. In a tropical paradise never lower than 75 degrees throughout the year, Filipinos learned songs like Jingle Bells and Dashing Through the Snow. Filipinos were taught U.S. history, not Filipino history, thus our heroes became George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Filipinos learned about equality and freedom yet did not see this materialize in their daily lives.

Around 1907 the Hawaiian sugar industry needed cheap labor. The situation in the Philippines was that trade relations forced the country to become an export producing one and impoverished peasants were lured by promises of prosperity and boundless opportunity. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) needed more cheap labor to replace the already militant Japanese laborers who were demanding unions. A publicity campaign highly deceptive in nature, such as films of money growing on trees and streets paved with gold, was launched to persuade an already desperate peasantry.

And so the Filipinos, leaving their families, came to Hawaii deceived by the HSPA. With this, 107 Filipinos came in 1907, which grew to 130,000 strong by 1932. The typical migrant was young, single, and male. According to the census data of 1930, 80 percent of the Filipino migrants were males between the ages of 16 to 30, the total male population amounting to 93 percent, this bringing about a social imbalance, which can still be felt even today.

By 1924, seeing through the deceptions, Filipinos started to organize in the sugar fields, demanding for an 8-hour day, a minimum wage of \$2 a day, and the right to collective bargaining. These demands were accompanied by 10,000 Filipinos walking off their jobs in so doing closed down 34 out of 45 sugar mills in 1924. This was retaliated by plantation owners with force, massacres, one being the famous Hanapepe Massacre in which 16 Filipinos were killed. The strike lasted for 8 months and once it was broken, thousands of Filipinos were blacklisted and many of them moved to California to work in the growing Agri-Business Industry.

They moved where the crops were. If it was asparagus season in Stockton, they would be there. If it was apples in Washington State there they would go. Filipinos could be found in Alaskan canneries as well.

The migration to California occurred at the period of the depression here in the U.S. With Filipinos flocking in by the thousands through the ports of San Francisco and Oakland, into outlying areas like Stockton and Salinas, they were to be singled out during these hard times as the cause of unemployment, particularly that of impoverished white workers rather than seeing the economic situation at fault. This sparked much anti-Filipino feelings and riots occurred against Filipinos in Watsonville, Exeter, Tulare, Ca., in Yakima, Washington and Hood River, Oregon.

In Los Angeles, the Chamber of Commerce described Filipinos as the "most worthless, unscrupulous, shiftless, diseased semi-barbarians that ever came to our shores." In San Francisco, a judge called Filipinos "savages who were taking jobs and women from decent white boys."

It was in the thirties that a strong demand for the exclusion of Filipinos was made. Much as an exclusion act was averted, such as the one which fell on the Chinese and Japanese, a law was finally passed by Congress, which had the net effect of excluding Filipinos from the mainland U.S., and, ironically, this law was called the Philippine Independence Act. This occurred in 1934 and provided that the Philippines would be granted its "independence" in 1946. By so doing, the U.S. was free to reclassify Filipinos as aliens and thus be subjected to quota restrictions. The quota was established at the miniscule level of 50 per year.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Filipinos encountered verbal abuse, ostracism, legal restrictions whereby they were not allowed to marry women of the majority society (anti-miscegenation), nor could Filipinos own property because they were not considered citizens. Without saying, survival for the Filipino at this time was a life and death struggle.

In the 1940's racism changed its enemy. With WWII, Filipinos, because of Bataan and Corregidor became "brave, brown brothers" and the Japanese were now in concentration camps.

60,000 Filipinos were able to join the army. They joined because of their love for their home country and they were willing to go combat duty. The war gave

Filipinos an opportunity to return to their motherland and, for some, seek wives, whom they brought back to the U.S. after the war. During this period, the second largest wave of immigration from the Philippines occurred.

Immigration legislation passed by Congress in 1965 together with increasing dissatisfaction of the neo-colonial conditions in the Philippines, has contributed to the dramatic upswing of Filipinos emigrating to the U.S. In 1965 the quota jumped from 100 to 20,000. Figures show that 2,545 immigrating in 1965 soared to 25,417 in 1970. In San Francisco, Filipinos make up the fastest growing minority. In Alameda County, Filipinos are found at the top of the immigrating list for the past five years.

San Francisco's Filipino population today totals over 38,000. In Los Angeles, Filipinos number over 50,000. In Portland, Oregon, between 1965 and 1970, figures went from 1,000 to 3,000.

The majority of Filipino immigrants are doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, nurses and other professionals. Because of the discrimination, these professionals have difficulty finding jobs commensurate to their degrees. In San Francisco alone there are 200 unemployed Filipino lawyers. So Filipino lawyers work as clerks, teachers as secretaries or instructional aides, dentists as technicians, engineers as mechanics, and many professionals work as laborers in the fields, linenmaids and janitors.

Filipino American youth find themselves in a predicament with respect to their identity. With the great influx of immigrants come great numbers of youth and many times the cultural gaps between American born and foreign born Filipinos create obstacles to mutual understanding and cooperation. Filipino youth face similar problems as their ethnic counterparts. In addition to the common problems of social acceptance, a lack of positive self-image, and other problems associated with non-whites, the Filipino youth faces these problems as a minority within a minority. He too is most often classified as "oriental," "Spanish sur-named" or simply "other" by the institutions he must deal with on a daily basis.

The dependency on the majority community for educational, financial, occupational and political advancement leaves most young Filipino Americans far behind other ethnic minority groups. A high dropout rate among Filipino teenagers indicate that there is a strong need for relevant education.

Relevant education means Filipino Studies. It also means bilingual and bicultural programs, which strengthen and develop cultural awareness and identity. Relevant education also means available supportive personnel, like counselors, sensitive to the needs of Filipinos. Opportunities, such as higher education, are not always open to Filipinos because of the high cost.

As for our Filipino pioneers to the U.S., the greater majority of Filipinos were not able to marry and so, today, in the sixties and seventies, many of these Filipinos are still bending their backs in the never-ending toil in the U.S. Agri-Business Industry. For example, in the vast asparagus fields of California's delta, Filipinos still comprise 60 percent of the labor force. These laborers continue to live in makeshift bunkhouses that are cold in the winter and unbearably hot in the summer. Sanitary facilities, hot water, and health services are usually not available.

Other men, no longer able to work in the fields have retired to the virtual

isolation of dingy hotel rooms in metropolitan centers. Their isolation is so complete that it is not rare for elderly Filipinos to die alone in their rooms --- discovered only because of the tell-tale smell of decaying flesh.

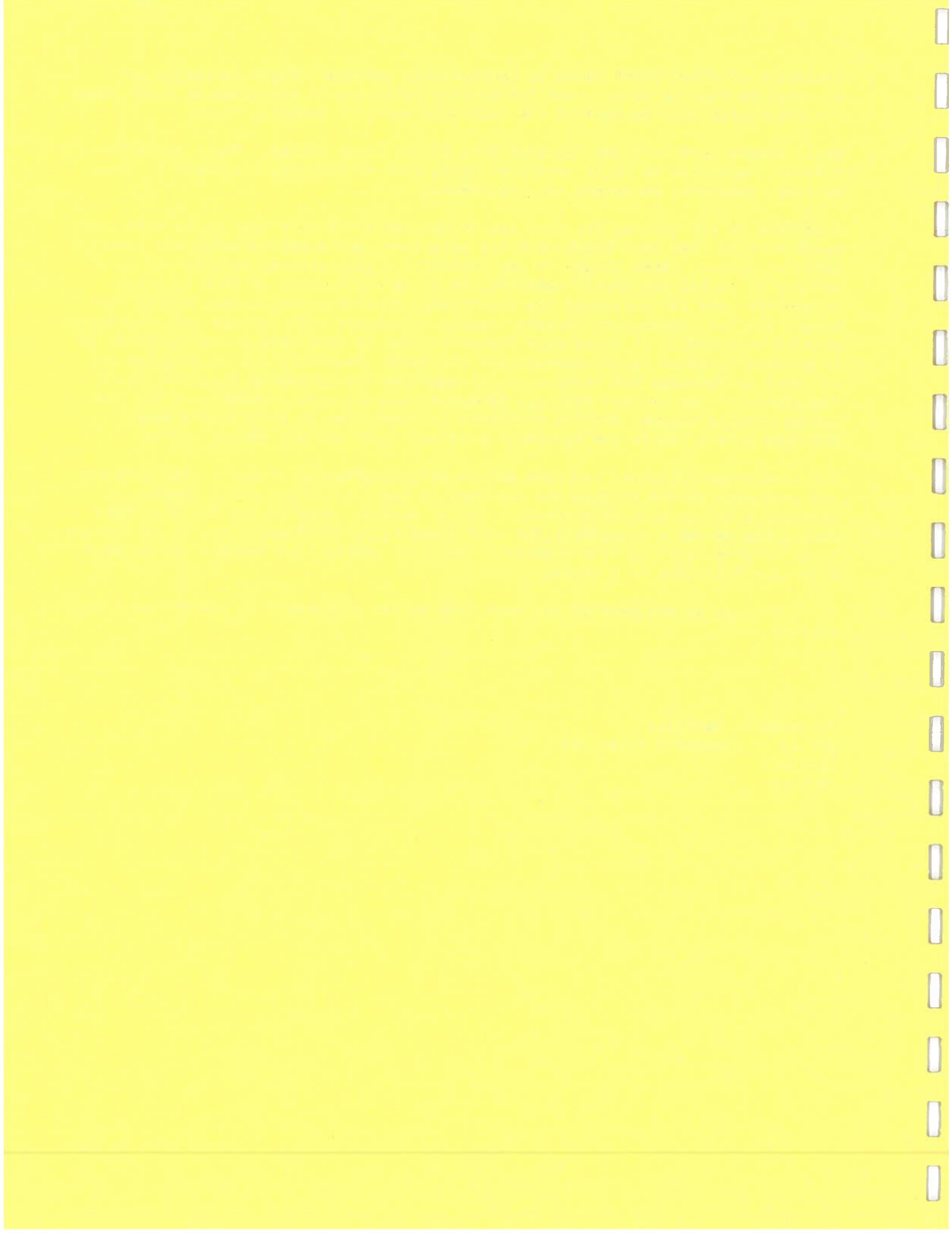
Still others have left the farms to work in the large cities. Their employment, however, continues to be in unskilled jobs, such as busboys, dishwashers, cooks, waiters, janitors, gardeners and chauffeurs.

A profile of the typical Filipino senior citizen would show that he is male, has never married, has lost touch with his relatives, and subsists below the poverty level of income. Even though he may reside in a geographical area served by a variety of social and health agencies, he is rarely touched by such agencies. He prefers the lay advice of his countrymen, distrusts complicated social services, and feels inadequate whenever coming in contact with college educated social service personnel. In those rare instances when he does seek agency help, he is frustrated since he cannot communicate his needs adequately due to language and cultural differences and because social agencies rarely employ bilingual staff familiar with the various Filipino languages and dialects. Because of his low income, single status, and his residence in bunkhouses or hotels, the aged Filipino male often is the victim of poor nutrition and bad eating habits.

For some young Filipinos who have gained an understanding of their rich heritage and past both in the Philippines and here in the U.S., a new consciousness is developing and growing into positive social action. Working the Filipino Community has become a commitment for many young Filipino students and it is through their efforts together with community-conscious adults that changes can be made affecting Filipinos as a whole.

It is through an analysis of the past that we can go forward in the future with insight.

Teresita C. Bautista
Office of Community Relations
12-13-74
TB:w:cb



EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Cao thi My Loc

Recently, two years after the Paris Peace Agreement, Mr. Ford has requested more aid to Saigon in order for the U.S. government to be involved further in Vietnam from where it has supposedly withdrawn completely according to the Paris Peace Agreement and also according to the will of the Vietnamese and American people.

This failure in implementing the Paris Peace Agreement, the deterioration of the Thieu regime and its policy of war and repression backed up by the U.S. government only faces the strong opposition from the people. People can no longer stand the tragedy of Vietnamese killing Vietnamese under the Vietnamization program and they know that the U.S. government is responsible for this killing and destruction.

During the two years after the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement, the U.S. still supports the Saigon regime, it still sends \$10 million per day to keep the Indochina war going, a war which killed and wounded 600,000 people since the 1973 Peace Agreement. The U.S. pays 86% of the operating costs of the Thieu regime, 2/3 of which is direct military spending. U.S. dollars and personnel support the Saigon police apparatus, the one million men army, the bombing raids over liberated territories, the prison which holds more than 200,000 political prisoners, and the concentration camp-type areas where peasants are prohibited from returning to their villages to till their land and are forced to live. The U.S. maintains a huge force of military "advisors" and pilots disguised as civilians to direct the Saigon and Loh Nol military forces in continued fighting with U.S. weapons. The CIA still directs the old Phoenix program now with the name of F-6, the program of assassination and secret war. All this is in contradiction with article 4 of the Paris Peace Agreement which states that "The U.S. will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam."

Since the Agreement, U.S. military organizations have disguised themselves as civilian organizations and continued the war. The U.S. AID continues training, equipping and advising the Saigon police force. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon includes more than 3,000 so-called diplomats and staff who actually direct pacification programs, coordinate the administration of political repressions, and direct the basic strategy of aggression pursued by the Saigon regime.

In addition, the U.S. left behind 10,000 military personnel in Vietnam disguised as civilians and introduced 15,000 new personnel since the Agreement. The U.S. has brought vast new quantities of weapons and war equipment into South Vietnam, and actually increased spending of military aid to Thieu since the Agreement.

All these war acts are the only stumbling blocks against peace in Vietnam. Continuing war in a country where the people are striving for peace, freedom and independence, trying to sabotage the Peace Agreement while the people realize the necessity and the urgency of implementing it will only result in the strong opposition of the people. This opposition now involves many more people: Buddhists, intellectuals, students and even those who in the past showed their support for the Saigon regime like the Catholics,

trade unionists, government workers. Why are they standing up against Thieu? Just take a look at the economic situation in Saigon-controlled areas. Thousands of people go hungry in the urban areas and refugee camps. According to a pro-Saigon newspaper Chinh Luan, "a recent poll conducted by Catholic students discloses that even in the wealthiest section of Saigon, only 22% of the families have enough to eat" (Chinh Luan, Nov. 5, 1974). In answer to this situation, the Popular Front for Hunger Relief was formed. Even, this Front makes Saigon so nervous that the regime has repeatedly carried out repression against it and has consistently prevented it from giving food to the hungry in all parts of the country.

Many Assembly members are courageous enough to take the responsibility of distributing food to the poor. Thieu immediately ordered his soldiers to "use clubs to beat up what he calls the bothersome minority in the National Assembly" and said that if opposition legislators used clubs and knives to fight back, he would bring in tanks to dissolve the Assembly (Dien Tin, Nov. 14, 1974). In Chanh Tam village, where the Popular Front for Hunger Relief is very active, "Thieu's police forces fired into a crowd....burnt houses and religious shrines.... The Thieu regime simply said that it was conducting a regular operation against the Communists in the area."

The press has also been repressed brutally. They are either prohibited from covering the truth or forced out of business.

Politically, the Thieu regime has done everything possible to prevent the creation of the Third Force which is guaranteed representation in the National Council according to the Peace Agreement. In his November 13, speech, Thieu said that all government means had to be used to prevent the creation of a Third Force (Chinh Luan, Nov. 14, 1974). However, in spite of this repression, the Third Force has become stronger. They are now in many opposition movements in South Vietnam and their existence is well recognized around the world. This fact proves that the Thieu regime is getting more and more isolated while the opposition wider and wider.

Militarily, the Saigon army is getting weaker and weaker. The rate of desertion increased drastically, especially after the Peace Agreement. People refused to fight because they see no reason for it. In most cases, Thieu's soldiers just run away, they don't want to be trapped in the U.S. made Vietnamization program. That is why facing the consolidation of the People's Liberation Army, Thieu has repeatedly failed in his land-grabbing operations. The PRG has declared that it doesn't sit idle when Thieu violates the cease-fire, in fact, punishing this violation is an effective way to defend the Peace Agreement as well as the life of the people. The recent case of Phuoc Binh clearly shows this point. For a long time, Thieu has used Phuoc Binh as a base to attack liberated areas, especially the Loc Ninh province which is a PRG stronghold. The taking of Phuoc Binh also means the prevention of further violations and killings. However, the U.S. government through the media, has used the fall of Phuoc Binh as an excuse to ask for more aid to Thieu and for further involvement in the war in Vietnam:

---Kissinger announced his desire to send the U.S. 6th Fleet into the South China Sea as a signal of U.S. intentiveness in Southeast Asia.

---Secretary of War Schlesinger acknowledged that the U.S. is flying reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam in open violation of the Paris

Peace Agreement. He defended the U.S. decision to break the Paris Agreement and virtually repudiated U.S. commitment to the agreement.

-----The White House and the Pentagon have asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of \$300 million to prop up the desperate Thieu regime and \$250 million for the Lon Nol dictatorship in Phomph Penh, after promising the U.S. people only days before that they would ask for no budget increase. This is deliberate and outright sabotage of the Paris Agreement.

We must stop these war acts immediately. We want no more blood to be shed. In South Vietnam, people are now asking for Thieu to resign and to be replaced by another government which agrees to implement the Paris Peace Agreement. Only such a government can be qualified enough to negotiate with the PRG and to settle the problems in Vietnam according to the Paris Peace Agreement. People in Vietnam do not want the continuing intervention of the U.S. government and they know that the American people also feel the same way. They know that no matter where the money to finance the Vietnam war comes from--Congress, the Pentagon, or secret funds--it is the American people who pay for it and continue to pay in the form of inflation and economic dislocations.

Only a few days ago, more than 40 Saigon assemblymen wrote a blood letter demanding Thieu to resign. Even these people who themselves are within the Saigon government show their opposition. There has even been communication to the U.S. Congress, asking for more effort to cut aid to the Saigon regime. If this effort is well-built, peace in Vietnam can be restored sooner.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA
HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP
August 28 - 30, 1974
Hong Kong

STATEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA

I. THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

As Christians, our convictions on human rights rise out of faith in God, as expressed in the biblical heritage and historical traditions of the Christian community. At the same time, we recognize the question of human rights as being the concern of all humanity, of all traditions and of all ages.

The Christian witness in the history of the Asian peoples is intertwined with the struggle of the people for liberty and justice. People work towards the transformation of their societies, when these contain feudal structures of paternalistic authority and unjust economic structures or structures of oppression and exploitation. The colonial and neo-colonial structures of domination, and discrimination against racial and religious minorities are examples. One of the basic facts of the Asian people's experience has to do with fundamental human rights that are brutally violated by the powers and structures - political, economic and social.

It is in this Asian historical context that we express our theological convictions on human rights.

We believe that God has created human beings according to his image (Gen, 1:23), in unity of body and soul. He made the basic form of humanity as community. In Jesus Christ, God also took part in the history of people by dwelling among them (Jn.1:14). He suffered on the cross and his body was resurrected as a just vindication of the human body (as well as the spirit) against any harm or destruction. In the end, the whole of humanity will participate in the Messianic kingdom, not as bodiless beings, but as bodies. A concrete form of total humanity is spirit, soul, and physical body. Therefore, we affirm that torture or a destructive act against the body, or against the human spirit and psyche, is against God and contrary to Christian belief.

We believe that God has ordained political power, and has entrusted to that power the safeguarding of basic human rights and just order in human society. Today, in human history, political power plays a central role. But the same political power and its structure is one of the primary sources of forces detrimental to human rights and, therefore, human community. Christians cannot be unconditionally obedient to the authority of the state although we are subject to every human institution for the Lord's sake (1 Peter 2:13).

No earthly power can make absolute claims on man's body and life. No such power is able to impose ultimate chaos on God's created order. No such power can require the people's ultimate allegiance to any particular ideology, even in the name of national security. Today, claims of absolute authority by a political power become more dangerous than so-called subversive activities; for such political authority destroys not only physical and institutional order, but the fundamental community as a whole.

We believe that man has the inherent right to witness to the truth. This implies freedom of conscience and freedom of expression, to speak openly about historical reality, whether political, social or economic. It is the vocation of Christians to tell the truth, for without doing so, there can be no witness to Jesus Christ, who is the supreme Truth. Furthermore, we know that in telling the truth, man shall be liberated (Jn.8:32). The suppression of the freedom of speech and the complete control and manipulation of the mass media are equally as serious as suppression of the freedom of worship and religious expression.

God is the Lord of history, and his Lordship is to vindicate the oppressed, the poor, and the imprisoned. The chief content of God's Lordship in history is in the realization of a just and therefore humane society in which righteousness flows like water and justice like a stream (Am. 5:24). As Christians, we must reject the developmentalists' false utopian premises that prosperity will automatically guarantee human rights. We must point out that human rights cannot be sacrificed in the name of development, that flagrant injustices cannot be condoned for the sake of GNP growth. Without justice and realization of human rights, there can be no development.

We affirm God's solidarity with the people in the course of historical transformation for justice and liberation. We also affirm the solidarity of all peoples, whom God has created and redeemed and is guiding in the march towards his kingdom. We also reaffirm the reality and solidarity of all Christian koinonia worldwide. We are people for community, not isolation; we are on the side of the poor and oppressed; and we are on the march for the Kingdom, rejoicing with our brothers and sisters who courageously act and suffer for the cause of the humanity that God has created and redeemed. We know that this is a part of the travail of the whole creation. It involves suffering as a struggle. Yet at the same time, we know that this is the road to reach freedom and the unity of all people. Thus we march together with hope and patience (Rom. 8:25).

II. SOME NATIONAL SITUATIONS

a) KOREA

We recognize that the Korean people have experienced the tragic Korean War, due to the division of their country, and that the life of the people has been very difficult due to the Cold War state of the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, we recognize that the Korean people have made tremendous sacrifices in order to develop their economy. In this, the government has played an important part. However, no economic development can be justified at the sacrifice of the basic human rights of the Korea people. We are very much concerned about the political system in the Republic of Korea that has brutally violated human rights, by suppressing freedom of speech, jailing arbitrarily the critics of the government, and abusing its power against its own people.

We recognize the historical fact that there has been a long period of conflict between North and South Korea. However, we are very much concerned that the South Korean government has absolutised the conflict in ideological terms. In the name of anti-communism it suppresses ruthlessly its critics and opponents, thereby trying to control the people. We are aware of the fact that the Korean government has made efforts to begin relations with non-hostile communist states,

and this situation seems to be contradictory to the domestic situation where communism is anathema. We believe that this is one of the sources of the suppression and violation of human rights of the Korean people. We urge that the Korean government seek a more peaceful and sober approach toward the problem of North Korea and the problem of unification. We believe that absolutization of the North and South Korean conflict in ideological terms of anti-communism will be counter-productive to peace in Korea. It is our understanding that conflict between North and South as a power conflict is more complex than a purely ideological contradiction.

Therefore, we urge and demand that all prisoners detained under the Presidential Emergency measures be released unconditionally. In view of the lifting of Emergency Measures 1 and 4, we also urge that the military court procedure be abolished, and that fair and due process of trial be restored immediately. (Emergency Measures Nos. 1 and 4 make it an offence punishable by imprisonment for any opposition or criticism of the Constitution).

b) PHILIPPINES

While we recognize the reforms instituted and being instituted by the martial law regime in the Philippines, we feel that in response to the prophetic role that Christ has asked of those who follow him, we must be concerned deeply about the violations of the human rights of the Filipino people.

We believe that the destruction and mutilation of the human body, and the repression of such human rights to liberty, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and organization, freedom of access to information, and freedom to air grievances - are immoral, and no justification based on the "existence" of an insurgency or of a communist threat or for the sake of "development" can justify such immoralities.

We are especially very much concerned about the deaths and physical and psychological tortures of some defenceless prisoners whose guilt has not been proven and who have not even been charged of any crime before the courts of justice.

We also deplore the arbitrary arrests and continued detention of persons from all ranks of life - peasants, workers, students, professionals, intellectuals, political leaders, church leaders - whose only fault is that they have been born to truth and justice.

We also look with much concern and apprehension at the arms and destructive weapons used by government forces and paramilitary units as well as by other groups, against a defenceless and hopeless population who are caught in the middle of a military conflict, and whose deaths and dislocation are growing in number.

c) INDONESIA

While recognizing the need for economic development and political stability, and while recognizing the attempts of the Indonesian government in attaining these objectives, it is, nevertheless, felt that greater concern must be shown for social justice - a better and more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth and prevention of exploitation.

The concentration of wealth and power and their abuses are matters of concern and require a transformation of the economic and social structures whereby greater participation of the people in the decision-making process of the country is facilitated.

We express our deep concern for the political prisoners, recognizing that this problem is an internal affair of the Indonesian nation and government. We therefore encourage and support the Council of Churches of Indonesia in continuing its efforts through the Indonesian government, in seeking a just and humane solution to the problem of the prisoners.

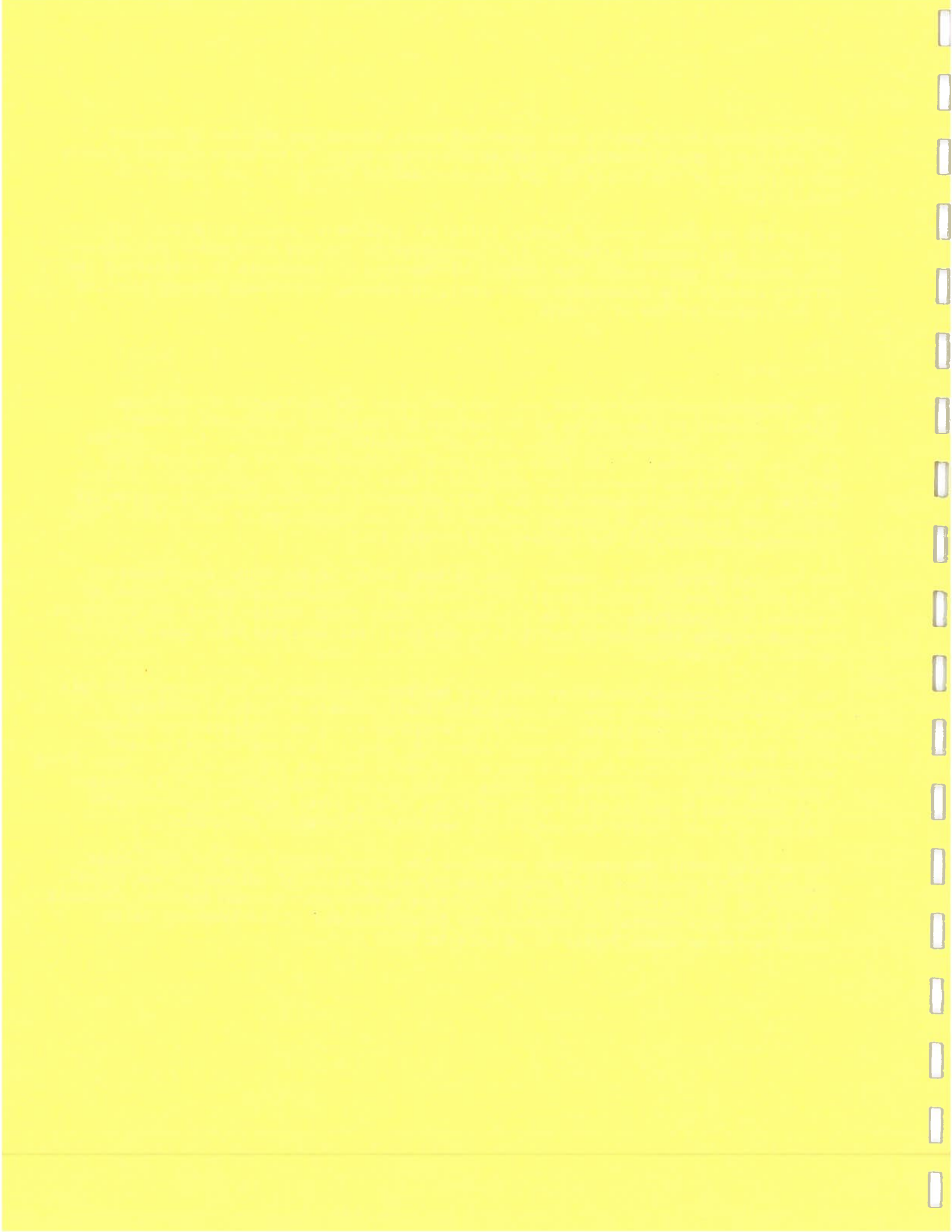
III. CONCLUSION

The abovementioned conclusions were arrived at by the Working Group on Human Rights convened by the CCA as an indication of Christian commitment to this urgent issue. The Working Group, with participants from most of the countries in Asia, has learned of the favorable impact which statements of concern from National Christian Councils throughout Asia have had on the situations described earlier in both South Korea and the Philippines. Such expressions of solidarity within the church are a logical outcome of its universal family character. "When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it."

The Working Group felt, however, that we have to go beyond such expressions of solidarity, towards deeper levels of involvement. Statements must be backed by actions, and Christians must be prepared to place their bodies where the action is. Serious ongoing theological reflection and political analysis must undergird the action of Christians.

The Working Group urges member churches and National Councils of Churches in Asia to take practical steps towards expressing their concern on this vital issue in their respective countries. Such steps would serve as an indication of an outgoing social concern by the church toward all people in these countries, and would establish firmly in the minds of the Asian peoples the image of a church which lives for others. Concrete obedience in the midst of ambiguous local situations will necessarily entail the taking of risks of all sorts, and openness towards working with all others who strive for the total liberation of people.

The Working Group believes that action on the human rights issue in each Asian country would provide a firm foundation for expressions of solidarity and mutual support on an international level. It urges member churches and National Councils in Asia to make meaningful preparations to participate in the proposed Asian Consultation on Human Rights to be held in 1975.



RESOURCE PERSONS

EARL LECTURE WORKSHOP

Second Conference on East Asian and Amerasian Theology
Monday, February 3, 1975

- THE REV. JUAN ANCHETA - Pastor of Oakland Filipino UMC, and Fellowship UMC in Vallejo. Rev. Ancheta was a member of the UMC Korea Visitation Team.
- MS. ANNATESS ARANETA - Student at U.C., Berkeley. Ms. Araneta has a sister who is a political prisoner in The Philippines.
- MS. CHRISTINA ARANETA - Oakland, Editor of Philippine news section, Ang Katipunan.
- MS. TERRY BAUTISTA - Oakland Public School Community Relations Assistant; active in Pilipino American organizations.
- THE REV. JONAH CHANG - Director, Asian American Ministries, UMC, and a member of the UMC Korea Visitation Team.
- THE REV. STANLEY DEPANO - Pastor, Beacon UMC, Seattle, Washington, and ACTS visitor in The Philippines.
- DR. WONMO DONG - Associate Professor of Political Science, Southern Methodist University, and chair of Task Force to create a national UMC Asian Caucus.
- FR. BRUNO HICKS - OFM, of Stockton. Spent 10 years actively organizing Pilipinos in Negros Oriental before being deported under martial law.
- THE REV. DR. HA TAI KIM - Professor of Philosophy, Whittier College, and member of California-Nevada Conference, UMC.
- MS. JEANETTE LAZAM - Community Worker, American Friends Service Committee, S.F.
- DR. ROBERT W. NORTHUP - Director of Japan and Hongkong East Asia Working Group, National Council of Churches, N.Y.
- MR. BRUCE OCCENA - Leader in struggles to retain the International Hotel in SF for elderly Asian Americans; faculty of Ethnic Studies, University of California at Berkeley.
- THE REV. DR. GEORGE OGLE - 20 years United Methodist Missionary (UMC) to Korea, recently deported. Promoter of Urban Industrial Missions in Korea.
- MS. MELINDA PARAS - Oakland, National Spokesperson for Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP), a deportee from The Philippines.
- THE REV. PHILIP PARK - Associate for Asian Church Development, United Presbyterian Church, USA, N.Y. City.

- THE REV. GUS SCHULTZ - Pastor, University Lutheran Chapel, Berkeley, and North American representative on the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) Visitation Team to Korea, Philippines, and Southeast Asia.
- MR. YU KHILL SHINN - Ph.D. Candidate at Graduate Theological Union, University of California at Berkeley.
- DR. HAROLD SUNOO - Professor of Political Science, New York University.
- MS. CATHERINE TACTAQUIN - Spokesperson for former National Committee for Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP), S.F.
- MS. KATHLEEN THOMAS - Member, UMC Korean Visitation Team, and Coordinator of Investor Services, UMC, New York.