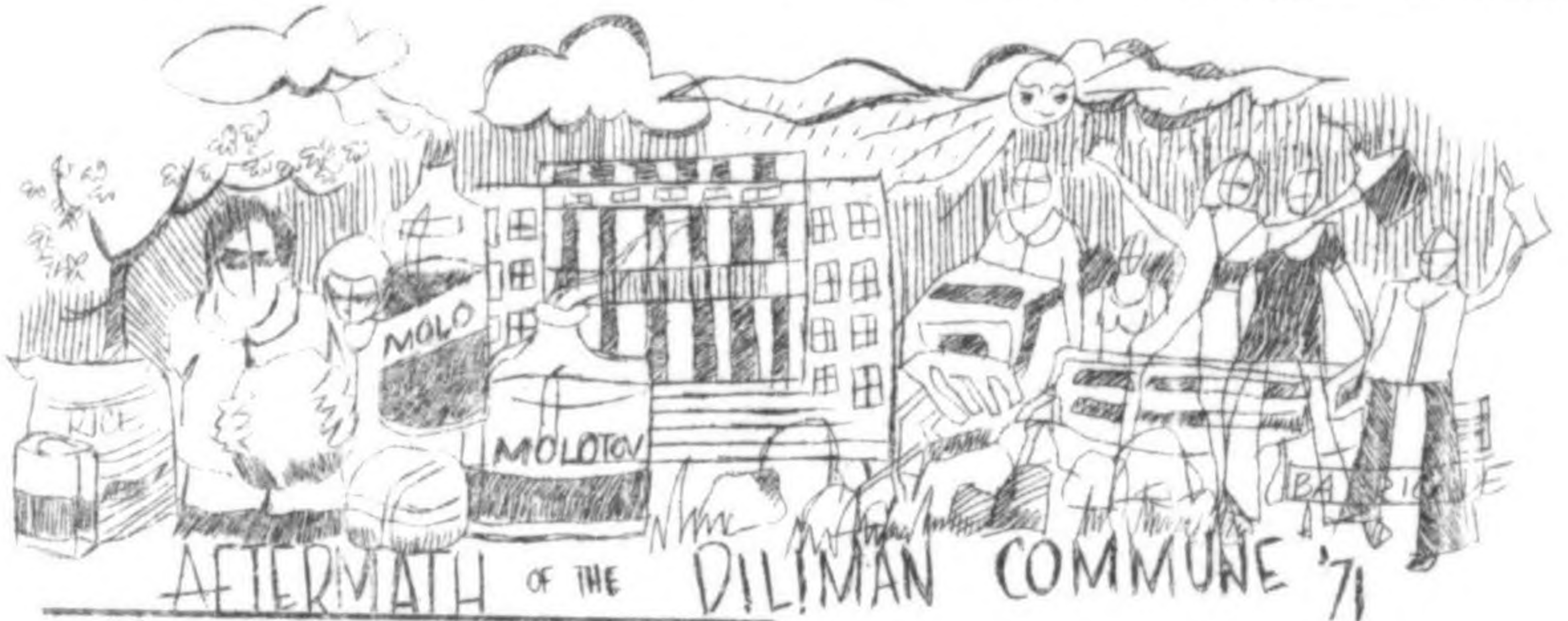




bagong pilipina

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Sex and Revolution
by Jack Belden

I do not wish to make a whole social or political philosophy out of the story of one girl like Gold Flower. She was not a type, but an individual in her own dramatic right. Yet her story has been multiplied to infinity throughout the length and breadth of rural China. The inhuman treatment of Chinese women is well known. But the social, political and religious implications of this treatment, along with its revolutionary significance, has not given much attention.

For the last three thousand years political power in China has been intimately associated with the control of women. There is, of course, no proof that Chinese society passed through stages in which we now see certain savage communities. Nevertheless, a reference to primitive societies may help clarify the role women have played in the battle for power in China. From everything we know of early man it seems safe to say that the first political and social revolutions in human history were caused by wars - that is, the effort of groups of men to secure for themselves more goods than were within their immediate reach.

(Continued on page 4)

by Boots Berbano and Cherry Castillo

The Diliman Commune was a spontaneous reaction to the needs of the Diliman Republic. The idea of a "commune" was developed from the galloping twist of events which was the support of the transportation strike, which was a protest against the unjust increase of prices of crude oil.

The raid of the fascist puppets such as the PC, AFP, Task Force Lawin, QCPD and Metrocom in the University and the resistance of UP students to uphold academic freedom are just offshoots of the basic reason of the barricades and consequently the Diliman Commune.

Although the "commune" lasted only for eight days, its impact to our society was great. The commune can now be used as defensive means to military threats. The commune was that it stood for a symbol of revolutionary importance. The Diliman Commune was used as a rally ground for propagating the cultural revolution. With the support of the Diliman population, the masses of non-academic personnel, workers, teachers, residents and students, the struggle for the

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The Necessary...

freedom of expression, we feel hindered by the demand that our work serve a social function - so long as we esteem the intrinsic value of art more highly than its purpose. Should we want our art to serve a function, we can then struggle to put through the most audacious forms, for we know that revolutionary art belongs to a revolution in the social order.

It is a contradiction, therefore, that because art has such innate power it is tamed and sentenced to mediocrity in some socialist countries, while in the bourgeois countries it develops anarchically due to lack of any responsibilities or roots.

VI

Here is where I am confronted with the problem of making a choice. Behind the imperfections, the contradictions and errors, on which the two sides do I see the possibility of development which corresponds to my ideas of humanism and justice? Shall I be able to conquer my own ignorance and ambivalence, and to consciously intend in my work the political effect which until now was expressed passively, as I offered myself as an anonymous conversational partner to the consumers? Can I give up the comfortable third camp position, which always left me a back door open, through which I might slip into the no-man's-land of pure imagination?

VII

Even to raise the question is the beginning of a reply. In the course of my search for an answer, I see that there are but two alternatives, and that to mangle in uncertainty leads to even greater utility.

When I take the German language -area as my working model, I find in the West that my doubt and indecisiveness are not only accepted but are approved. And why not? So long as I give expression only to my anxiety, to my disgust with this society, this remains only a psychological problem which cannot disturb the ruling class in its power. No one objects when I describe the state of my hopelessness; for my hopelessness

confirms further the strength of their institutions. My most absurd ideas, my scorn, my irony find buyers because, through these, I merely give evidence of how liberal are the powerful. They feel so certain of their place that I am allowed to endorse the cause of much which seems to me progressive. They accede benevolently if I express the opinion that existing social differences could be totally levelled out. Indeed one of the power elite's central arguments states that these differences have already been eradicated to quite a degree, and employers and employees today find that they have common interests. Here I stand in opposition to their entire world of refined falsification of reality. Because they own the means of communications and education, they have infused all levels of the population with their values. Since they have rendered a Left opposition in part harmless, or, on the basis of apparent success, have given this opposition an illusion of well-being questions about the basic structure of this well-being and questions about its cost are seldom raised. We see then just how threadbare is the concept of humanity and democracy on the coat of arms of the propertied.

VIII

My failure to rally a colour is viewed in the East German state as a sign of decadence. Even my most negative accounts of bourgeois society carry no weight if I do not make an attempt to end my isolation. So long as I imagine that in bourgeois democracy my integrity and freedom of action are safeguarded, I remain a captive of this society; and so long as I think that this society can be changed merely through reforms, I relieve my conscience while the fact that my living is drawn from this society is rationalized.

The attacks on corruption, exploitation and the poisoning of people's minds by the mass media monopolies can lead to nothing, if they do not present a clear alternative. Just as in

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The True Character...

Suharto as dictator-fascist. Russian and American "military aid" killed 500,000 "communists" in the Indonesian coup.

Brezhnev also thinks of a "socialist community" of which the revisionists will lord over.

"International division of labor" is also one of the Brezhnev doctrines. This means that socialist countries will have specific tasks and will provide products which are "needed" by the USSR. It also means that the Third World parties will have to provide for the needs of the USSR.

"The preservation of special interests" echoes the US's "preservation of American interests in the Latin Americas, Asia and Africa."

Is it any wonder then, why our government has been very cordial to the Russians? Or why a Russian cultural deluge is fast encompassing us?

The Russians have distorted socialism, turning back to capitalism. They have turned traitors to the Russian revolutionaries under Lenin and Stalin and have misled the masses of the Russian people. Must we become victims again of different colored imperialists?

Aftermath of...

propagation of the cultural revolution was zealously done.

Indeed UP will never be the same again. What was once the seat of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial education now the stepping stone towards progressive education. Thus the week after the barricades were lifted: protest classes were held. Discussions and assessments of the mistakes and achievements of the Diliman Commune and progressive review of Philippine society were made.

The UP presses which used to print materials like *Life of Shakespeare*, the amoeba and the like, in other words, materials which does not expose the true conditions of the Philippine society were replaced by progressive reading materials like the *BANDILANG PULA*.

The university radio station which used to play and cater to well-

educated bourgeoisie listeners (who else could afford to appreciate Beethoven's symphony, who else could find time to relax at night and listen to bourgeois music?), was liberated and occupied by progressive sector who alternately exposed and denounced fearlessly the basic ills plaguing the Philippine society.

Furthermore, among ranks of students the true colors of revolutionaries and pseudo-nationalists surfaced. Although a majority of residents, non-academic personnel and teachers were for the struggle towards national democracy, still a few ambivalent sector who maintains "individual rights" philosophy exists.

In essence, the Diliman Commune is one means of protest against the evils and problems and misery in our society. It is a means of protest in our protracted struggle towards national democracy.

UP coeds in the front lines

It has been said that after the barricades, the UP will no longer be the same. After the barricades, indifference will always be a crime. The great upheaval that was the Diliman Commune will always be remembered as the great transformation for so many of our coeds. When those who never really cared about teach-ins so suddenly were making pillboxes, molotov cocktails. When those who denounced the activists who disrupted their classes during boycotts were suddenly bringing down chairs for the barricades. When those who never joined demos because of the violence that might crop up, suddenly found themselves in the front lines, pillbox in hand, ready anytime for another military offensive.

This qualitative change among the UP coeds, the once most indifferent group inside the campus is one of the achievements of the Diliman Commune. It seems that what the revolutionary movement has long dreamed of has come true. The spontaneous reaction among the coeds generated by the brutal military suppression of dissent in the campus was least expected. Their willingness to cook and bring food for the students, manning the barricades, their uniting with the revolutionary student forces during the week-long struggle against state fascism has proven themselves worthy of being called revolutionaries.

It must not be forgotten that it all started with the barricades.

Sex and...

In savage societies these goods were often women. Freud's Totem and Taboo - the story of the revolt of a band of brothers against a tribal father's monopoly of women - is an exposition in psychological terms of the fact that political power in primitive society was synonymous with control of the female sex. Jouvenel in his book, On Power, points out the only form of wealth among Australian savages was their serving maids. These women were so valuable that they were monopolized by the Elders whose concubines were always on the increase while the young men had to do without. The absolutist power of the father in clan society came mostly from the possession of women taken in forays against neighboring clans. When young men, chafing at the domination of the Elders, raided enemy tribes for women of their own, their status in their own tribes grew and consequently they altered the balance of political power.

Though vastly more complicated, the patriarchal Chinese society has been rested on the position of the Elders and their possession of women as material sources of wealth. Historically, control of women has been concentrated in the hands of the rural possessing classes. It was the gentry, and not the common peasant, who always had the largest families. The poor peasant seldom had more than one wife, but clan leaders and landlords had numerous wives, concubines and slave girls who not only produced wealth for the landlord by their own labor but also produced numerous sons which gave the gentry local political power. In Honan Province the writer came across a landlord who had a family of sixty-nine members. Through this family, he controlled seven hundred tenant farmers, thirty slave girls, two hundred squatters and seven wet nurses who breast-fed his numerous brood. He was able to buy and sell women because of his wealth and he was also powerful because he possessed women.

Not only Chinese society in general, but even the structure of the state, from the village at the bottom to the throne at the top, was definitely influenced by the status of women as slaves, private property, labor power and producers of sons for the ruling classes. The family was a training ground for loyalty to state authority. The father was the supreme autocrat in the family. Submission of female to male and of son to father found its natural reflection in submission of peasant to gentry, tenant to landlord and landlord to state ruler. From the foregoing it should be obvious that any all-out attempt to free women could only result in the upheaval of the whole social pyramid and a tremendous change in the correlation of forces struggling for power. That is why the Communists fought so hard for equality of women and why the more feudal-minded moralists of the Kuomintang never lost an opportunity to inveigh against the Communist "destruction" of the Chinese family. In the first case, the freeing of women was a means of breaking the old power; in the second case, shackling of women was means of preserving the power.

The inequality of women has also been deeply reflected in Chinese philosophy and religion. Chinese metaphysics recognizes two forces at work in life: the Yang or subordinate female element. Thus the philosophers of the ruling classes made it a law of nature that woman should be inferior to man. Chinese ethics have seldom fought against the evil treatment of women. On the contrary, practical Confucianism, in the words of Arthur Smith, a very wise missionary, committed seven deadly sins against women. I paraphrase his words here:

1. Chinese women are provided with no education and their minds are left in a state of nature and millions of them are supposed to have no minds at all.

(Continued on page 6)

The True Character of Russian Social Imperialism by richie benavides

Russia's sudden appearance as one of the major competitors of the world market has come to the fore. With its appearance comes a new form of imperialism - social imperialism.

Krushchev's rise to power after Stalin heralded the entry of revisionism into the stage of social imperialism. Revisionism before Krushchev was only in theory, but after the bourgeois revisionist were able to get the leadership, revisionism was put into practice in the form of social imperialism.

Revisionism is a twisting of Marxism to suit the existing conditions, even if it totally reverses the Marxist line. It adapts itself to the events of the day, to the choppy and unpredictable petty politics. Revisionism is willing to sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat for imaginary or real gains.

It was Bernstein who forwarded revisionism; revises socialism to opportunism, compromise and petty capitalism. When Marxism was still in the process of realization in Russia after the October Revolution, Lenin was already beset with the burden of combating the revisionists, who were bent on sowing intrigue and general disorder.

Socialism could now be achieved, according to the revisionists, not necessarily through parliamentary struggle and reforms. The revisionists however glossed over the basic character of capitalism. It failed to stress that the inherent contradictions between the worker and capitalist class in a capitalist society are so violent and basic that only when one class overthrows the other can these contradictions be resolved.

By forgetting the basic character of capitalism, revisionism was willing to cater to reforms instead of basic revolution of the system. It was willing to go into unprincipled alliance with the vacillating bourgeoisie. Instead of recognizing the imminent collapse of capitalism, it urged the workers to take advantage of reforms which the obtaining system might grant to them.

The rise of Krushchev further expanded revisionism into social imperialism.

Within the USSR itself serious economic repercussions such as decline in industry, deterioration of agriculture, reduction of livestock, shortage and scarcity of supplies in the state markets have been felt by the Russian people, as a result of the implementation of the revisionist policy. The revisionists have borrowed loans from West Germany and have let Japanese monopoly-capital enter into Siberia.

In order that this revisionist gang can entrench itself in power, it has to engage in aggressive and expansionist wars and go about in competing with the US imperialists for a slice of the world. The Russian Invasion of Czechoslovakia clearly outlines the policy of the USSR.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

Brezhnev has further put forth a five pronged program of social imperialism upon his assumption to power. He has a "theory of limited sovereignty" which declares that the Soviet Union has the right to determine the destiny of another country.

"International dictatorship" asserts the right to render military aid to a fraternal country to do away with the threat to socialism. The Russians sent guns to Indonesia to help in-

(Continued on page 6)

Sex and...

2. Wives and daughters are sold as readily as cattle and horses.

3. Compulsory marriage of all girls forces Chinese society into cast-iron grooves and leaves no room for individual and the development.

4. Concubinage is the natural result of the Confucian practice of ancestor worship which demands that sons be raised to worship a man when he is gone.

5. Since women cannot perform the duties of ancestor-worship, girl children are often murdered by their parents.

6. The family system has resulted in the suicide of wives and daughters, and the death rolls are convincing enough proof of the woes endured by the Chinese women.

7. Finally, the doctrines of ancestor-worship and inequality of women help in the overpopulation of the country.

The lowly position of Chinese women not only had a terrible effect on the women themselves, but also succeeded in degrading and debauching all human relations within society. The Chiang Kai-shek gov't in its twenty-year rule over China produced some improvement, but not much. It is true that Chiang Kai-shek himself believed in freedom of marriage and that he was wedded to one of the most charming women of China. It is also true that in Shanghai, Peiping, and Honkong there were Chinese women who had freedoms somewhat approaching those possessed by American women. But in the countryside, particularly the North China countryside, the position of women was little better than it was fifty years ago. In fact, when you considered that the buying and selling of women had increased in alarming proportions during the last decade, it was almost safe to say that the lot of Chinese women as bad as, or worse than, it had ever been. The reason the Chiang Kai-shek regime could not improve the status of rural women, and very often made it worse, was partly because of the Generalissimo revived neo-Confucianism, the philosophic base for women's

inferiority, but above all it was due to the fact that the Kuomintang never squarely faced up to the semi-feudal land relationships which, unless abolished, guaranteed that farm women would remain serfs and with them, a great proportion of men, too.

This inferior condition of women, however, was not confined to the countryside. Far from it. In Peiping, the ancient capital of Chinese culture, the numbers of middle and primary school girls who were forced by the press of poverty and the order of their parents to perform amorous acts for money ran into the untold hundreds. Many such acts were performed with the mother and father outside the door and the girl's bicycle and schoolbooks by the bed. In Chiang Kai-shek's capital at Nanking, in the Futze-miao district, there were raw upon row of houses where men openly peddled their wives to stray passerby. These were not houses of prostitution, but family homes, and if a prospective customer was in a hurry, the husband directed his wife to leave her dinner or the baby she was nursing and go to bed immediately with the patron.

Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek's financial center, was probably the greatest market place for women in the world. Bought and sold just like merchandise, which is what they were, young females were constantly raked out of the villages and thrown into the Shanghai market in the form of slaves, factory workers, maidservant concubines and whores. Moreover, many of them had little say in what disposition should be made of them. Despite Madame Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement, Shanghai was not only one of the biggest centers of prostitution in the world, but also boasted some of the biggest whore-houses. In fact, many Chinese hotels had its own quota of girls and sometimes each floor specialized in the women of a certain province. In most cases, these girls were not free, but were owned

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Sex and...

by men or groups of men, and sometimes by women. Most often the girls were too scared or too ignorant to protest about the use to which they were put, but sometimes new arrivals from the country tried to fight back, with the result that they were chained to their beds and burned with lighted cigarettes until they became amenable to the demands of their masters.

The enforced prostitution of women resulted in a material and spiritual cleavage of Chinese society. But it was in the more normal sexual relations in the home that this schism produced its most revolutionary effects. Certain atavistic Westerners have promulgated the theory that Chinese women liked their modest position in society. This is utter nonsense. Chinese women had no love for their galling bonds. They saw no "charm" in their modest life roles, but only the terms of their enslavement.

"Officials depend on seals; tigers depend on mountains; women depend on their husbands."

"If I buy a horse, I can beat it; if I marry a wife, I can do as I like."

"When a woman is angry, her husband beats her; when he is angry, he also beats her."

Such sayings told to me by women in the Taihang Mountains clearly enough reveal that they were perfectly aware of their lowly position in Chinese society and had no liking for it. The well-publicized Chinese family system was, to them, just an institution for oppression of their sex.

So little did the Chinese women think of their position in society that often they wished to be born dogs in the next existence so that they might wander where they chose, instead of being shut inside their husband's home night and day. Almost the only time they could leave their homes was when they were kidnaped or sold.

Marriage was such a terrible prospect for women that in some places they formed sisterhoods, composed of maidens who swore

vows to heaven never to get married, believing that their married lives would be miserable and unholy. Until recent years there were cases where bands of maidens committed suicide because one of their number was forced by her parents to be married. Such a determined opposition to the laws of society, of course, produced a revolutionary cleavage in that society.

But this schism in the social body extended over into the male population, too. It is no exaggeration to say that men cannot be free until their women are free. The necessity of producing sons for ancestor worship forced boys into early marriage as well as girls. It was by no means uncommon for boys to be married at the age of ten, though fourteen or fifteen was more usual. That the boys liked this little better than the girls is very clearly evident from the story I have already told of the Field Mouse. So often did boys run away from their child brides that it became a very big factor in the formation of the 8th Route Army. More striking than the phenomenon of men running away from unwanted brides was the dreadful fact that society often forced husbands deliberately to mistreat wives they loved.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

PATALASTAS

Inaanyayahan ang coeds na dumalo sa mga discussion groups tuwing:

Martes at Huwebes-
4:00-6:00 n.h.

Miyerkoles at Biyernes -
2:00-4:00 n.h.

sa caves ng SKUP Home.

Gayundin, tinatawagan ang mga kababaihan na may kakayahan sa pagsulat ng mga artikulong pampolitika at pampanitikan upang mailat halá sa newsletter.

The Necessary...

West Germany an author is expected above all to show political reticence, a clear political attitude is above all required in the East.

IX

Herewith I once more take leave of the narrow concept of language-area and presume the entire world as the effective field of artistic work. In this world the decision is taken. The properties of the earth, a rather small group, take daily troubles to confirm their places and defend them. Having turned the post war chaos to their advantage and enriching themselves enormously once again, they now look upon the awakening energies of the shattered peoples. The spectre that is rising before them haunts not only Europe, but wherever they look. Everywhere they build their bastions, in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the national liberation movements are growing and will not be halted. But in many places, due to their weapons and soldiers, the moneybags still have the upper hand. They still can spread terror by burning villages and devastating the countryside, they still can overpower nations through their brutality and the blackmail of their money.

A power is slowly winning over them, a power based on the principle that the goods of the earth should belong in equal measure to every man. We still find ourselves in the first stages of this far-reaching change. Some lands have extensively overcome the economic difficulties caused by the split in the world and have set up a communist or socialist order, others strive towards this order primarily under the banner of a national liberation struggle. The inner heat of the cold war bursts now and again into open combat, while disharmonies and quarrels regarding this new social order appear everywhere. In this situation the enemies of socialism find numerous opportunities to point out its imperfections and utopianism. The task of an author consists of this: always to speak the truth for which he stands, always to discover, behind the distortions, the truth.

X

The conclusive truth is comprised for me in the general direction of socialism. Whatever errors have occurred and still occur in the name of socialism, they should offer us the opportunity to learn from them and to submit them to a critique which proceeds from the underlying principles of the socialist conception. Self-criticism, dialectic discussion, continual openness to change and further development are permanent elements of socialism. Between the two possible choices which open to me, only in socialism do I see the possibility of overcoming the present disparities in the world.

I grew up in a bourgeois society, and in my work and personal life I have spent the greatest time liberating myself from the restrictions, prejudices and egoism instilled in me by this milieu. I have long believed that artistic work could provide an independence which would open the world to me. But today, I see that art without commitment amounts to arrogance, considering that in those countries where the relations based on the tortured fighters for justice and equality. All of my artistic successes achieved in supposed freedom are brought into sharp contrast by the misery that exists in most of the world.

That is why I say that my work can become fruitful only if it stands side by side with the forces of progress and change. These forces may be noticed everywhere, including the Western world. They would achieve still greater strength, greater unity and a still more far reaching relevance, if there were more frankness within the Eastern bloc and a freer and less dogmatic exchange of views.

(A reprint from Progressive Review)

The Necessary Decision
by Peter Weiss

Ten Working Theses of a Writer in a Divided
World

I

Every word that I write down and submit for publication is political. It is intended to make contact with a large audience and to achieve a definite effect. I turn over my writings to one of the communications media, and then they are absorbed by the consumers. The way in which my words are received depends to a great extent on the social system under which it is distributed. Since my words are but a small and ever diminishing fraction of the market place of ideas, I have to achieve the greatest possible precision if my views are to make their way.

II

The choice of language in which I write has only a craft function. I chose the language I best master. In my case this is German. The advantage in using this language lies in the fact that each word is immediately put into sharp focus. The division of Germany into two states with diametrically opposed social structures reflects the split in the world. The declarations of a German-speaking author at once are put on a scale, where they are exposed to and judged by the two different value systems. This makes my task easier. However, it should be noted that the problems and conflicts I describe are not unique to the German language-area; they are only some of a number of themes that are treated in all languages.

III

Although the split in the world entails many smaller splits with complex and often conflicting tendencies, nevertheless the two distinct power blocs emerge. In one bloc are the socialist forces, partially established and in part emerging, as well as the liberation movements in formerly colonial or subjugated areas. In other power bloc is the social order premised on capitalism, rooted in the entrepreneurial spirit of unlimited free competition, and giving rise to the highest imperialist concentrations. Inside this bloc are pockets of far-reaching democratization, particularly in the Scandinavian states, where the class struggle has forced certain social changes. Ultimately the reforms that trade union movements and "labour" governments can

bring about are restricted by the forces of monopoly capitalism, which will never willingly relinquish its power and property. The most developed welfare state is quite simply a class society on a higher level, where the erstwhile revolutionary proletariat assumes the norms of the bourgeoisie.

IV

It is my task to find out how both sides of this divided world will receive my words. Experience has shown me that within the bloc calling itself the "Free World" a welcome awaits each artistic expression that is imprinted with subjective experience and formal experiment, while social criticism is also esteemed, to the degree that it does not break through the boundaries of the social order camouflaged with humanism and democracy. No aesthetic boundaries are established, and in this area each new discovery will find its clever commercial middlemen and consumers; but the strictest controls are applied to thrusts and this is connected with great difficulties, since he often mistakes the freedom promised him for an absolute freedom. He has to go back a long way before he reaches the point where his freedom no longer is dangerous to society.

V

While in the Western bloc the artistic work that communicates to its consumers an intellectual or aesthetic pleasure or an emotional sensation brings in a large reward, in the socialist countries the social function of the artistic work determines to a large extent its value. The formal experiment, the inner monologue, the poetic image are held to be sterile if they are not useful in the work of changing society.

Having grown up under the impression of an absolute

(Continued on page 2)

Zenaida B. Mariano editor	BAGONG PILIPINA Cherry Castillo, Richie Benavides, Ma- rite Arcenas, Boots Berbano, Liza Go, June Poticar, editorial board members.
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Editorial

Women, arise now!

The misery in which the Filipino masses find themselves at present has its roots in the oppression and exploitation we suffer at the hands of American imperialists, local feudal lords and bureau capitalists, supported by fascist methods they employ to maintain themselves in power. Sharing this oppression under the feudal-colonial conditions perpetrated by the triad of evils, the Filipino women are by far the victims of oppression and exploitation. Hence the Filipino women are treated as mere objects of exploitation: production, consumption and satisfaction.

Ingrained with a feudal sense of values which accords them status subordinate to men, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions make it more difficult, if not hopeless, for women to break away from the chains of a feudal-colonial culture. These conditions corrupt and all the more bind them to, the decadent bourgeois system of values. Thus the Filipino women are merely confined to the church, to the home, to the family.

The status of Filipino women, as a sex and as a social group in the context of Philippine society regards them not only as mere objects of pleasure but naive, insignificant and dispensable beings in the political affairs of our nation. This is the status of Filipino women: unemancipated.

The Filipino women, comprising about one-half of the Philippine population can play an important part, just as the men, in the struggle for national democracy. They are capable of participating actively and effectively in the struggle for national liberation through the national democratic movement.

Recognizing that the oppression and exploitation of Filipino women is subsumed to historical conditions of our society, it is imperative for us, the Filipino women to struggle for national democracy. The Filipino women must help along with the men, the workers, the peasants, the workers, with all the progressive sectors in building an invin-

cible united front to achieve a national democratic society.

The Filipino women's oppression and exploitation however, is not a secondary consideration in all revolutionary movements. This oppression must be expressed, struggled and fought for otherwise, this may unleash a political imbalance in social reconstruction, as it has been said. The struggle of the over-all oppression of Filipino masses is incomplete without a movement expressing the oppression of Filipino women, being a structural part of class oppression in our society.

To the continuing oppression of Filipino women, the women must unite with all the national democratic forces to destroy the real enemies of the people.

Ultimately, it is only the victory of the national democratic elements that shall bring about a national democratic society, a liberated Philippine society that shall truly serve the interests of the Filipino masses.

We are in need of unhampered growth out of old traditions and habits. The movement for woman's emancipation has so far made but the first step in that direction. It is to be hoped that it will gather strength to make another. The right to vote, or equal civil rights, may be good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in the courts. It begins in woman's soul. History tells us that every oppressed class gained true liberation from its masters through its own efforts. It is necessary that woman learn that lesson, that she realize that her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches.

- Emma Goldman,
1911