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The Phenomena and the Politics of the Filipino People's Far West Convention: 1970's - 1980's

Profits Enslave the World

While still across the ocean
I heard of the USA
So thrilled by wild imagination
I left through Manila Bay
And on my way I thought and wondered
What the future would be
I gambled parental care and love
In search for human liberty

But beautiful bright pictures
Was half of the whole story
Reflections of great wealth and power
In the land of slavery

Minorities in shanty towns
Disgraceful spots for all to see
In the enviable garden of Eden
In the land of affluence and poverty

Since then I was a hungry stray dog
To busy to keep myself alive
It seems equality and freedom
Cannot be where billionaires thrive

A lust for power causes oppression
To rob the poor in senseless greed
The wealthy few's excessive profits
Tend to enslave the world in need

By Philip Vera Cruz – (put to music by Chris Bautista and sang at FWC's)

The Filipino American identity movement began in the late 1960's along with the Asian American, Chicano, Native American and Black Power movements of that era. A

particular community phenomenon, called the Far West Conventions (FWC) was to be a lasting influence for networking, planning, and organizing the Filipino American community from the 1970's thru the 1980's. The FWC, usually held on Labor Day weekend, effectively became the annual reunion for community activists and introduction point for future activists. The FWC also due to its broad encompassing nature became a battle ground for community politics in the struggle to encourage a progressive community agenda. This essay will attempt to present the phenomena and the politics of the FWC from my perspective as an early participant and later as an FWC organizer.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's with a large American born and growing immigrant population, especially on the West Coast, young Filipinos graduating from high school and entering colleges faced the prospect of the Vietnam War draft and the influence of the anti-war and peace movements sweeping the United States. At the same time Filipino Americans were adopted as part of the Pan Asian American movement, but usually felt that their concerns were considered as an after thought behind Japanese American and Chinese American issues and concerns. In some cases Filipinos joined with Mexican American issues as in the case of the first Filipino American Experience class to be taught at San Diego State University taught by a Filipina-American, Roselyn Estepa Ibanez, under the Mexican American Studies Program. Perhaps the most prominent partnering was the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union born from both Filipino and Mexican labor organizing.

In 1964, Larry Dulay Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz, and Pete Velasco, organizers of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) led the first grape strike in Delano. Chavez' National Farm Workers' Association (NFW) soon joined the strike. Later, AWOC and the NFW

joined forces to become the United Farm Workers, with Chavez as president and Itliong as vice president.¹

Throughout the West Coast young Filipino Americans (aged from 15-35 years old) began to question their role and history in the United States and the role of the United States in the Philippines. In Los Angeles, in 1970 Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA)² recruited Filipino American teens and young adults to a “weekend identity retreat” lead by members of the Filipino Christian Church and sponsored by the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission. As a participant of that first SIPA identity gathering I became aware of the role of U.S. influence in the Philippines starting with the Philippine American War and the importation of young Filipino men as contract laborers to build the agricultural industries of Hawaii and the West Coast in the 1920’s and 1930’s and as replacement labor for the excluded Chinese and Japanese laborers who came before them. In lieu of formal Filipino American and Philippine history classes, the community shouldered its own self education through seminars, workshops and study groups. In the thirst for knowledge about the American colonization of the Philippines following the Spanish American War and Philippine American War, a new terminology and an understanding of Imperialism was studied. Reading nationalist books from the Philippines by authors like Renato Constantino and Amado Guerrero encouraged more study, especially looking into liberation struggles of Third World countries and Vietnam. As Third World people, and people of color in the U.S., Filipinos joined their voices calling for social justice and equality.

In this context Filipino Americans in 1971 called for the community to gather in Seattle, Washington for what would be the first³ “Young Filipino People’s Far West Convention” (FWC), themed, “A Quest for Emergence”. This first FWC was sponsored

by the Filipino Youth Activities, Inc. (FYA) of Seattle under the leadership of Fred and Dorothy Cordova and help at Seattle University.⁴ It was viewed politically by many as an “Identity / Youth” conference with an opportunity to network and socialize with other West Coast Filipino students and community leaders involved with the emerging social service agencies. Filipinos from the United Farm Workers (UFW), Kalayaan Collective from San Francisco and even two delegates from Hawaii also attended. I had the honor to meet Philip Vera Cruz for the first time and at the FWC Opening Press Conference found myself speaking in a panel with Larry Itliong from the UFW and a few other selected Convention delegates and organizers. As poor students from Los Angeles and having paid for our gas for the road trip by passing the hat at our last SIPA meeting, the Cordova’s graciously offered their yard for our three person L.A. SIPA delegation to set up our tent and campout. The Convention gave the delegates the opportunity to meet, share and ponder our collective Filipino American experience. Since the FWC was not a formal organization, resolutions passed during the closing session were offered in spirit for local organizers to try to implement (where and when applicable) and to express the collective deliberations of the various workshops attended by the delegates. One particular controversy emerged as Fred Cordova, Jr. proposed the concept of a “Super-Filipino” identity. Challenging this concept was the Kalayaan Collective delegation from San Francisco noting that it was a divisive label for Third World peoples. Perhaps the most concrete outcome of the first FWC was a resolution put forward to establish a Filipino Information and Referral Center (FIRC) and called for an interim committee to plan it and seek government funding. However, this was during the period of shrinking

government funded social service programs that effectively pitted minority groups against each other for limited funds.

The 1972 Filipino People's Far West Convention (FWC) was held on the campus of the University of the Pacific in Stockton, CA and themed "Lakas Ng Pagkakaisa – Power Thru Unity". Unfortunately this was the one FWC I was unable to attend. I understand however, from conversations shortly after their participation, that Nessie and Nora Custodio found this FWC disappointing with an over indulgence in youthful partying and lack of seriousness from their perspective as young Los Angeles delegates. The FIRC was the central discussion of this FWC and the organizers included community leaders from social services agencies.

In 1973 the Far West Filipino Convention (note name change) moved to the San Jose Convention Center with the theme of Itulong Ang Pakikibaka. What was different since the 1972 FWC was the exposure of the so-called "Marcos Black List" of Filipino American community activists, many of whom were regular participants of the FWC and many whom at that time had no position on the politics occurring in the Philippines, myself included. Many of us were pre-occupied with the condition of Filipinos in America facing racism and discrimination and as one of those whom were born in the U.S and have never been to the Philippines, I was surprised to see my name on the "Black List". In addition President Marcos shortly afterwards declared Martial Law in the Philippines on September 22, 1972 and many U.S. community activists became shockingly aware of the economic and political injustices facing the Pilipino people.

Also new to the political landscape was the formation of the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) or Union of Democratic Filipinos in July of 1973.⁵ This

new progressive organization was national in scope and would prove to make a lasting impact not only on future FWC's but on the collective Filipino American community. Looking towards examples of other Third World organizations in America, such as the Brown Berets, Black Panthers, and Young Lords, progressive Filipino community activists formed the KDP.⁶ The new group representing the left wing of the community, called for social change in America and support for the National Democratic Front (NDF) and the New People's Army (NPA) against the Marcos dictatorship.⁷

West Coast KDP activists figured prominently in the annual community institution known as the Filipino People's Far West Convention (FWC). The FWC was held through the seventies and early eighties. It played an important role in the political growth and maturation of the West Coast Pilipino community by being a forum through which the prominent issues of the day affecting Pilipino-Americans could be discussed and as a result, concrete action taken. The FWC established two main points of unity: "(1) to take active struggle against racial and national discrimination and (2) to take active concern with the conditions in the Philippines" (FWC). Another important part of the FWC was its working character:

Working resolutions have...also become an important product of the [FWC]. In the past, resolutions have been adopted by the general body which called for definite action. Examples are: the formation of the Educational Task Force and the Student Confederation of Pilipino Students. The Educational Task Force led a campaign to impact the California State Department of Education from adopting textbooks into the public educational system which contained racist images of Pilipinos and other minorities.... These resolutions have proven the real capacity of the Filipino community to organize and move on issues of both West Coast-wide and national scope in a common direction in upholding the rights of equality.⁸

UCLA became the site for the 1974 Pilipino People's Far West Convention (PPFWC) (note name change) and was themed "SULONG – Forward/Onward". As an active part of the FWC Planning/Coordinating Committee, and Co-Chair of the Publicity / Documentation Committee I drove into Los Angeles regularly from UC Irvine as a

representative of the Kababayan Student Organization. Preparatory mini-conference themed “Bukang Liwayway”, the FWC Committee decided to expand the scope to embrace more issues in the Filipino American Community. In addition to the previously familiar workshops of Youth Organizing, Women, Art & Culture, Education and Student Organizing and Funding and Grantsmanship of the previous FWC’s new workshops were added including: Elderly, Military, Religion, Sexism, Immigration, Labor Organizing and New Society (Philippines Martial Law). This broadening encouraged more participation from our local community and about six hundred fifty total delegates registered, making 1974 the largest FWC ever. While we encouraged socializing, the all night partying of the previous FWC’s was not tolerated. Security teams comprised of delegates from various cities helped police their own delegates in the UCLA dorms. UCLA’s Royce Hall became a showplace of West Coast Filipino American contemporary and cultural entertainment. Sponsored by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center and the UCLA Samahang Pilipino student group the 1974 FWC was well received by most of the delegates as reported in the only Documentation Report⁹ that was produced of any of the FWC’s. Financially the 1974 FWC remarkably finished within budget despite the extra delegates that had not made reservations. There were many pleasing memories of that UCLA FWC and the following week I married Roselyn Estepa whom I met at the 1973 San Jose FWC.

However, also reported in the Documentation Report, the FWC witnessed a confusing and political setback during the closing session which frustrated some delegates to the point of their walking out during the lengthy deliberations over resolutions from the Immigration and New Society Workshops. The new KDP was clearly present as an organization involved in both the planning and in the program and

as workshops facilitators. It appeared that the KDP was responsible for the debate on the resolutions. On the other hand many delegates agreed with what the KDP members had to say about society's problems both here and in the Philippines. Melinda Paras was selected by the FWC Coordination Committee to deliver the keynote address which was very well received according to FWC evaluation surveys collected after the Convention. Many were unaware until she was introduced and later, that Melinda was not only a young dynamic speaker but also a National Leader of the KDP. As a member of the Los Angeles KDP Chapter, I found the 1974 FWC overall a very positive experience and I believe the majority of non-KDP delegates felt the same. The Documentation Report seems to bear this out:

Despite its turbulent finish, the convention was not a failure. The convention succeeded in increasing the political awareness and consciousness of the delegates which is one of the primary aims. 9 out of 10 delegates developed new acquaintanceships, learned new valuable information and acquired a heightened sense of awareness. These three factors will prove crucial in building future projects which would benefit all Pilipino communities statewide.¹⁰

“Serve the People – Paglingkuran ang Sambayanan” was the 1975 PFWC's theme hosted on the University of California Berkeley. The controversy of the previous FWC was forgotten and the KDP took an active positive role in planning, fundraising, outreaching and inviting diverse delegations from along the West Coast in addition to the traditional college student participants. A new highlight that was looked forward to in the following FWC's was an educational cultural drama with music. These productions took their inspiration from the political Teatro Compasino and San Francisco Mime Troupe. The 1975 FWC delegates witnessed the revival of “Isuda Ti Imuna – They Who Were First”, the story of the early Filipino Farmworkers of the 1930's based on the novel

“America is in the Heart” written by Carlos Bulosan. Ermena Vinluan was praised for her direction of the production that incorporated songs, dance and music. She and some of the cast and crew were KDP members. (Later “Isuda...” went on a West Coast tour through Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno in 1977 as a fundraiser for the Narciso-Perez Defense Funds, FWC, and West Coast Confederation of Filipino Students.) It is widely believed that these FWC plays / musicals were the fore runners for the present traditional Pilipino Cultural Nights (PCN) enjoyed annually on most of the university and college campuses on the West Coast.¹¹

The two main working resolutions coming out of the 1975 FWC were the formation of the Pilipino Task Force on Education (ETF) to look into the portrayal of Pilipinos in school textbooks, and the West Coast Confederation of Pilipino Students (WCCPS). The next year the WCCPS held its own regional conferences taking up issues of Affirmative Action, Ethnic Studies and Student Organizing. A West Coast wide Student Conference at UC Davis was held in June 1976.

The PFWC of 1976 went back to its roots in Seattle, WA but this time was held at the University of Washington and the FYA was not as active in the planning. Local KDP activists shouldered much of the work and the National KDP encouraged other KDP Chapters to organize delegations to attend. The FWC took up some of the local community issues like organizing the seasonal Alaska Cannery Workers (predominantly Pilipinos) and defended the continued workshop on Martial Law. Some attendees of the FWC felt strongly that the issues concerning the Philippines should not be discussed and that the FWC concerns should be focused on issues facing Filipinos here in America. Others thought that the Martial Law Workshop only presented the Anti-Marcos position.

Throughout all the previous workshops dealing with Martial Law, representatives of the Philippine Government were invited to present the benefits and their side of the New Society, but they consistently declined every year.

In 1977 the PFFWC moved to UCSD and I was elected by the local FWC Steering Committee to serve as the Convention Chairperson. I had just graduated from UC Irvine in June but had been living in National City for the previous six months and was working in El Cajon. There was a small KDP Chapter in San Diego but a broad Steering Committee and Planning Committee that included active and retired military, social service organizations, educators, nurses, and youth who put together another exceptional FWC. The Convention opened with film footage of the “Fall of the International Hotel”. The International Hotel, a former San Francisco Chinatown housing facility for low income and elderly had lost its struggle for providing low cost housing and the tenants who were mostly elderly Filipino men were evicted along with local community activists who had stood their ground as the San Francisco Police on horseback forced their way through a human barricade that was ten people layers deep with arms locked together and comprised of many diverse Bay Area organizations and individuals who came to defend the International Hotel. The FWC Cultural Play that year was titled “Tagatupad” and concerned Senior Housing. The Convention speakers that year included Philip Vera Cruz of the UFW and Filipina Narciso one of the two nurses accused of murdering V.A. Hospital patients in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Controversy arose again during the call for resolutions when another Asian American left organization wanted to present a resolution that the FWC Support the National Democratic Front and New People’s Army in the Philippines against the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship. KDP

members countered that while the KDP agreed with that level of support, that it was not appropriate to ask the whole FWC Convention body, made up of many diverse viewpoints on the Philippines to take up such a resolution requiring a high level of unity. Previous resolutions concerning the New Society had called for an end to Martial Law and restoration of Civil Rights and presented documented accounts of human rights violations and U.S. Military spending to the Philippines under Martial Law. This was the level of unity that the FWC delegates were comfortable with. The other group withdrew its resolution.

In 1978 “Magkaisa! Unite and Fight For Our Rights” brought the Filipino People’s Far West Convention (FPFWC) (note name change) back to UCLA. This year the Musical Drama called “Sakada” presented the plight of Sugar Workers in the Philippines. In addition there were two special workshops added: Bakke Case (Reverse Discrimination) and Prop. 13 (Property Tax). Both special workshops proved to be very timely and informative.

In Sacramento, CA “Bumangon at Magkaisang Kumilos – Rise to the Call for Action” became the theme for the FPFWC in 1979. “Visions of a Warbride” engaged the FWC delegates with its story based on the 2nd wave of immigrants who served in the U.S. armed forces during World War Two and started families in America. In “Warbride” I saw my own family’s story, my father a Navy man and marrying my mom as a young girl of just eighteen and settling in Los Angeles. A new organization came from the 1979 resolutions, the National Task Force for the Defense of Immigrant Rights (later renamed as the National Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization or NFIRO).

The 1980 FFWC was called “70’s Decade of Awakening, 80’s Decade of Action” and was held in San Francisco. “Ten years after, the FWC’s political growth has contributed to the maturity of the West Coast Filipino community.”¹²

This year we chose the issue of immigrant rights to be the main focus of the convention. We sincerely think that this issue not only affects the San Francisco Filipino community but Filipino communities all over the U.S. as well. However, in particular to San Francisco, the discussion of immigrant rights is very fitting and timely. Presently, the San Francisco-Bay Area has the second concentration of Filipinos within the U.S., majority of whom are third wave immigrants¹³ (arriving after 1965).

The opening session was highlighted by a slide show “Immigration to America and the Rise of National Chauvinism” developed by the National Task Force for the Defense of Immigrant Rights. The convention program included a history of the FWC’s as well as a brief history of the waves of Pilipino immigration to America. In accordance with the 1980 FWC’s focus, the cultural night featured “Huwad na Pangarap”: A One-Act Drama with Music, depicting the experience of third wave immigrants “...confronted by the hardships of reality in this country, the immigrant grapples with the need to resolve the gap between his aspirations and the conditions he faces as a worker in America.”¹⁴

The following year, the 1981 FFWC “Build a Progressive and Active Filipino Community – Our Link with the Past, Our Hope for the Future” was celebrated with sadness back again in Seattle, WA. Two young community activists and Union Officers of the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 37 were murdered in their Union Hall on June 1, 1981. They were Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes and they were also members of the KDP. It was later to be proven that the gunman had links to the Marcos Dictatorship and the assassination was an attempt to silence the growing international trade union ties being developed with Unions in the

Philippines. During the nation ILWU convention held a month before they were murdered, Silme and Gene successfully passed a resolution calling for investigating labor delegations to visit the Philippines and to meet with their union leaders. They were also instrumental in the reform movement in their own Local 37.¹⁵ The cultural night was also dedicated to their memory and the theatre production “Tagpaglikha” focused on workers. The word “Tagpaglikha” literally means the maker, the builder or the creator. It denotes the essential role Filipino workers play in building, creating and molding life in America. It captures the Filipino working class experiences and their labor contributions in the various American workplaces.¹⁶

It is interesting to note that two FWC articles appeared in the October 1981 UCLA Asian/Pacific Newsmagazine, “Pacific Ties” written by UCLA Pilipino students that expressed disappointment with the Seattle FWC, mainly on the grounds that they felt the FWC’s were KDP dominated and that they observed very few youth and students in attendance. Their criticisms were addressed by other members of the Los Angeles delegation (which they were a part of) in the following issue of “Pacific Ties” noting the broadening of the age and occupation diversity of the FWC’s should be viewed as progress from being principally Youth oriented and that the KDP were never the only organizers or planners that produced the annual FWC’s. It was always a local FWC committee of those interested and willing to work for the benefit of the community. There has never been any paid positions nor honorariums associated with the FWC’s.

The following year the 1982 FFWC moved to Cal State Los Angeles for the last time. The final FWC theme was “Respond to the Issues of the Day”. The general plenary sessions reflected the theme with the panels: Simpson-Mazzoli Bill – Landmark Revision

of U.S. Immigration Policy, U.S.-R.P. Relations – Extradition Treaty and U.S. Bases Agreement, and Nuclear Disarmament – International Movement for Peace. The workshops also broadened their issues to beyond the Filipino community with titles: Students – Minority Access to Education, Marcos’ State Visit – Impact on the Filipino Community, Women’s Rights – The Issue of Safe and Legal Abortions, Organizing for Immigrant Rights, and El Salvador and the U.S. Government Interest. I’m not sure how the decision was made that this would be the last FWC. In interviewing some of the local organizers of the 1982 FWC in Los Angeles, they all seemed to draw a blank.

I believe that as the Filipino community matured and as the social movements of the 1960’s and 1970’s faded we were overall faced by a variety of factors touched upon by Glenn Omatsu in his Editorial Forum/ Introduction “The Four Prisons and the Movements of Liberation”.

...Some mention the strategy of repression – including assassinations – launched by U.S. ruling circles in response to the mass rebellions. Others cite the accompanying programs of cooptation designed to channel mass discontent into traditional arenas. Some focus on the rise of the New Right, building to the Reagan presidency. Still others emphasize the sectarianism among political forces within the movement, or target the inability of the movement as a whole to base itself more broadly within communities....But one additional factor needs to be highlighted: the devastating corporate offensive that occurred in the mid-1970s.¹⁷

Contributing also, as was given a glimpse by the issues of the last Los Angeles FWC, was the shift in focus to broader issues moving beyond the Filipino American community that affected all communities and especially those of color and recent immigrants. The KDP

as an instrumental contributing organizer also was affected by this shift in focus as some activists decided to focus more on the Philippine struggle while others moved to other broader American left organizations such as the Line of March and United States Anti-Imperialist League (USAIL) and still others focused on raising families and careers. For whatever personal reasons people discontinued working on the FWC, its legacy is still found in community organizations, on college campuses, and in our current community leaders, many of whom were FWC delegates. I close with a quote from an email by Judge Casimiro Tolentino dated November 26, 2003.

Except for the first Far West Convention and the last one I attended most of the FWC. I was on organizing committee for the UCLA (1974 and Sacramento (1979). I was on several panels for various FWC, but on the labor/employment panels with Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes for the FWC's from 1977-1980.

For me, the FWC was a tremendous impact on my own consciousness as a Filipino in America, for my appreciation of our history, and the context of where Filipinos interacted with people of color. We were not an isolated entity, but part of a larger struggle for empowerment, and to control our destiny as a people in America.

FWC forced you to look not only inside (history, culture, heritage, arts), but also outside (black consciousness, La Raza, feminist, racism) and how they impacted on each other.

Personally, it allow me to share my own thoughts and direction as to where I believed our community should be heading with respect to civil rights, Farmworkers rights, labor/employment rights.

Again, on a personal level, it allowed other Filipino students to get know other Filipino students, and share each other's stories. I know many couples who would have not met because of the FWC. It allowed me to network with students from San Diego, to Stockton, to SF, to Seattle, and Hawaii..we were all struggling with developing Filipino history classes, helping the Pinoy farmworkers, writing our own history, developing media to disseminate the same. The network continued through our adult live--providing continuing impetus for community organizing and new projects. We became members of Board of Non-Profits, founded new grassroots organization (Visual Communications, Legal Center, LEAP,

professional organizations), and continued to organize conferences/seminars/teach-ins on community issues such as Filipino veterans, language rights, employment rights, and civil rights.

Notes and References

Filipino and Pilipino are used in this article based on how the respective authors used the spelling. I personally also tend to use both spellings interchangeably. The Struggle to “P” or not to “P” as Uncle Royal Morales (community activist) was so fond of stating came about from the Pilipino Identity movement’s desire to identify its self as a progressive movement (similar to the shift from Mexican Americans to Chicano and Oriental Americans to Asian Americans). It also was to recognize the lack of “F” in the Pilipino language and thereby a rejection of the English imposed instruction in the Philippines during the American colonization following the Philippine American War. There is also the argument that Pilipino is the proper spelling when referring to Philippine nationals or those in the Philippines as opposed to Filipinos in America. As an early compromise, some organizations adopted within their name “Philippine-American” which has since been neglected in favor of Pilipino American especially among student groups. Scholars and Academics tend to favor Filipino American, but in my opinion both are correct.

¹ Salomon, Larry, "Filipinos Build a Movement for Justice in the Asparagus Fields," Journal of the Center for Third World Organizing, Oct. 31, 1994

² Soriano-Hewitt, Ester. “The Bayanihan Sprit: The Search to Involve Pilipino Americans”, GIDRA ,20th Anniversary Issue

³ Technically in the summer of 1970 another Filipino American gathering of students and community leaders was held in San Francisco and is considered a precursor for the annual FWC’s held after 1971. One of the main organizing groups was the progressive San Francisco based Kalayaan Collective which also published the Kalayaan International Newspaper.

⁴ Filipino Youth Activities of Seattle, Inc. , About FYA: Chronology. <http://www.fya-pinoy.org/>

⁵ KDP Founding Congress Paper, Kalayaan International, July 27-28, 1973.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ While carrying out the struggle against what it called the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the KDP took on the struggles of Filipinos for their democratic and human rights in America. Against the backdrop of civil rights and anti-war protests, overt and covert discrimination of Pilipinos.

⁸ Ignacio, Jr., Abraham Flores, “Makibaka Huwag Matakot: A History of the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino” aka (KDP) Union of Democratic Filipinos, <http://www.magandamagazine.org/07/makibaka4.html>, 2002.

⁹ Documentation Committee, “1974 Pilipino People’s Far West Convention – Documentation Report”, Los Angeles FWC Coordination Committee. 1975

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Gonzalvez, Theo, “...More Than a Band: Making Music in Filipino America”, Panel Presentation at the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) 9th National Conference, Loyola Marymount University, July 27, 2002.

¹² 1980 Filipino People’s Far West Convention Program, San Francisco, CA 1980.

¹³ 1980 FWC Steering Committee, “A Message from the Steering Committee” 1980 Filipino People’s Far West Convention Program, 1980.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ 1981 Filipino People’s Far West Convention Program, Seattle, WA 1981.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Omatsu, Glenn, “The Four Prisons and the Movements of Liberation”, Amerasia Journal “Salute to the 60s and 70s: Legacy of the San Francisco State Strike, 1989
