

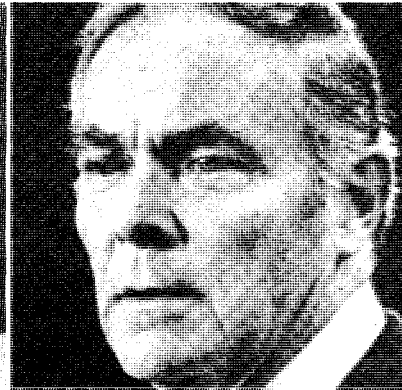
Extradition Treaty Battle Heats Up



Reagan



Marcos



Haig

Senate Bills Tie Extradition to Foreign Policy

By MA. FLOR SEPULVEDA

Several bills now pending in Congress would make serious and dangerous alterations to U.S. extradition law. Two bills in the Senate and one in the House would, if passed, move the determination of what is a "political" crime out of the jurisdiction of the courts and into the State Department.

This major overhaul of U.S. extradition policy, coupled with the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty now before the Senate, poses an immediate threat not only to the 1.5 million Filipinos in the U.S. but to other immigrants and U.S. citizens as well.

Senate Bill 1639, authored by arch-conservative Strom Thurmond, and the other bills are

aimed at immigrant minority communities who, because of opposition to repressive regimes in their home countries, are automatic suspects in the Reagan administration's drive against "the international terrorism."

U.S.-R.P. EXTRADITION TREATY

Touted as a deterrent to crime, the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty was concluded by the two governments on November 27, 1981. The treaty, which is now awaiting ratification in the Senate, would make it possible for Marcos to ask for the extradition of Filipino nationals and U.S. citizens charged with acts that are considered crimes by both countries.

The proposed treaty lists 42

such crimes, yet also states that other unlisted crimes may also be considered a basis for extradition, including crimes which are not termed the same by both countries. Although the treaty provides that "extradition shall not be granted if the offense for which it is requested is a political offense or is connected with a political offense," it deems that the Executive Branch (as opposed to the courts) shall have the authority to decide whether the offense is political or not.

A recent move by a Philippine Court of First Instance, ordering the arrest of 40 persons, some of whom reside in the U.S., for violations of the Revised Subversion Act, reveals the intent of

Continued on page 5

AK Editor Among 40 Wanted by FM

The Marcos regime set the groundwork for the extradition of U.S.-based opposition leaders January 5 with their "indictment" on subversion charges by a Manila court.

Prominent among those ordered arrested by Quezon City Court of First Instance Judge Ernani Cruz Pano is *Ang Katipunan* editor and former Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) national coordinator Rene Cruz. Cruz was listed by his full name Renato Ciria Cruz.

The connection between the government charges and possible extradition of the accused was explicitly made by the Marcos-controlled Manila newspaper *Bulletin Today* (January 6, 1982).

"The Philippine government," the *Bulletin* said, "is expected to

yet been ratified by the U.S. Senate and the Batasang Pambansa."

"Marcos is proceeding on this matter with indecent haste," Cruz said. "He must have total confidence in the Reagan administration's support if he thinks he can casually brush aside U.S. laws and impose repression in the U.S." Cruz also pointed out that subversion charges against him and other U.S.-based opposition leaders are for acts in the U.S. which are covered by constitutional guarantees for freedom of speech and assembly.

Among the 40 persons accused of subversion are Benigno Aquino, Charito Planas, Raul Manglapus, Steve Psinakis, and Raul Daza. The majority of those accused are Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP) leaders and members whom the Marcos dictatorship earlier linked to a wave of bombings in Manila in 1980.

The case against the 40 was originally filed on February 24, 1981. The charges focused on alleged assassination plots, bombings, and other acts of urban terror. The government's star witness was Los Angeles businessman Victor Lovely, wounded in a Manila bombing incident, who according to the government, provided information on links between the Manila bombings and U.S.-based oppositionists.

According to the *Bulletin Today* story on the case, "The com-

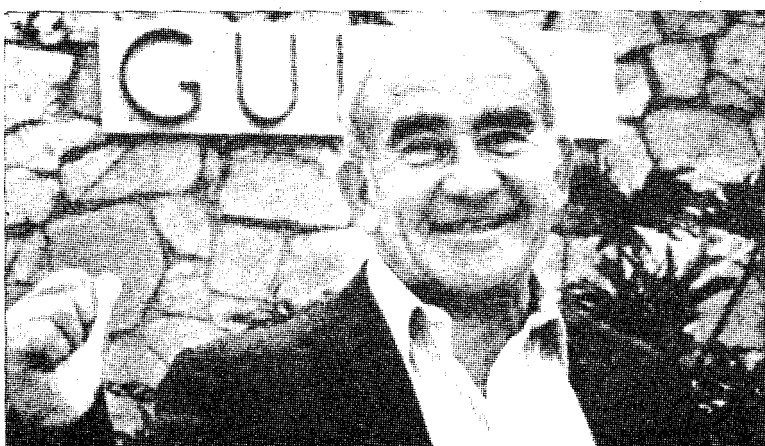
Continued on page 5



Rene Cruz

file extradition proceedings against the respondents who are now living in the U.S. However, it was said the proceedings may not prosper at this time, considering that the extradition treaty has not

Nat'l Group Formed to Fight Treaty



Ed Asner, known for his role in the TV series *Lou Grant* and president of the Screen Actors Guild, recently joined the national committee to oppose the U.S.-R.P. extradition treaty. (AK Photo File)

The extradition treaty between the U.S. and the Philippines is drawing considerable opposition from various academic, church, human rights, and civil libertarian quarters.

This was demonstrated by the speedy formation of the National Committee Opposed to the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty which issued a statement denouncing the treaty within two weeks of the State Department release of copies of the agreement. The committee includes activist groups as well as individuals including a Nobel Prize laureate, a former U.S. delegate to the United Nations, and a well-known movie star/activist.

In its statement, the committee asserts:

"We must not allow the Marcos regime to extend its repressive arm to the Filipino community in the U.S."

"We must denounce the treaty as an abrasive infringement on the constitutionally-guaranteed rights of minorities, perpetuated by the Reagan administration in its effort to create domestic legitimacy for a reactionary foreign policy."

"Finally, we must expose it as one prong of a generalized assault on civil liberties that is now being mounted by the administration in the name of national security."

Acting as Interim Coordinators

of the committee are Walden Bello and Geline Avila. Both are also concurrently the National Coordinators of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD).

Acting as resource and adviser is Rene Cruz, former CAMD coordinator and among the 40 people who are targets of arrest warrants issued by Marcos recently. Cruz is among the U.S. residents in the arrest list who the Philippine government wants extradited as soon as the treaty is ratified by the Senate (see related story on front page).

The committee is spearheading a letter-writing campaign to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and is planning teach-ins and other protest actions nationwide. It also wants to participate in Senate hearings on the treaty.

In addition to the treaty, the committee is also battling bills in the House and Senate. These bills seek changes in U.S. extradition laws in order to facilitate the implementation of treaties similar to that with the Philippines.

Richard Falk, Professor of International Law of Princeton University will testify on behalf of the Anti-Treaty Committee, before the House Judiciary Committee—

Continued on page 8

IN THIS ISSUE:	
L.A. Consul Admits Spying	8
Immigrant Families' Reunification Threatened	7
What's Happening in Poland?	10
FBI Puts Heat on Marcos Foe	9

ANG KATIPUNAN
P.O. Box 2759
Oakland, CA 94602

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 3383
Oakland, CA

THE REAGAN-MARCOS ASSAULT ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

The Filipino community's freedom of speech, political association and political belief are in immediate danger. A good portion of this *AK* issue is devoted to reporting this danger. The danger comes in what is shaping up as a concerted Reagan-Marcos drive to extend the power of Philippine martial rule to the community here. Lest this warning be brushed aside as "crying wolf," let us sum up the essential elements of our news reports as evidence.

1. Immediately following Reagan's endorsement of Marcos, the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty was signed. It now awaits Senate ratification. This treaty is termed by State Department officers as a "modern treaty" because it includes unprecedented provisions such as one that gives the Executive branches of both governments the power to determine which acts are political in nature and which ones are simply "non-political" extraditable crimes. However, if this treaty is ratified, it cannot be implemented immediately, unless the existing U.S. Extradition Law is changed to fit its "modern" provisions.

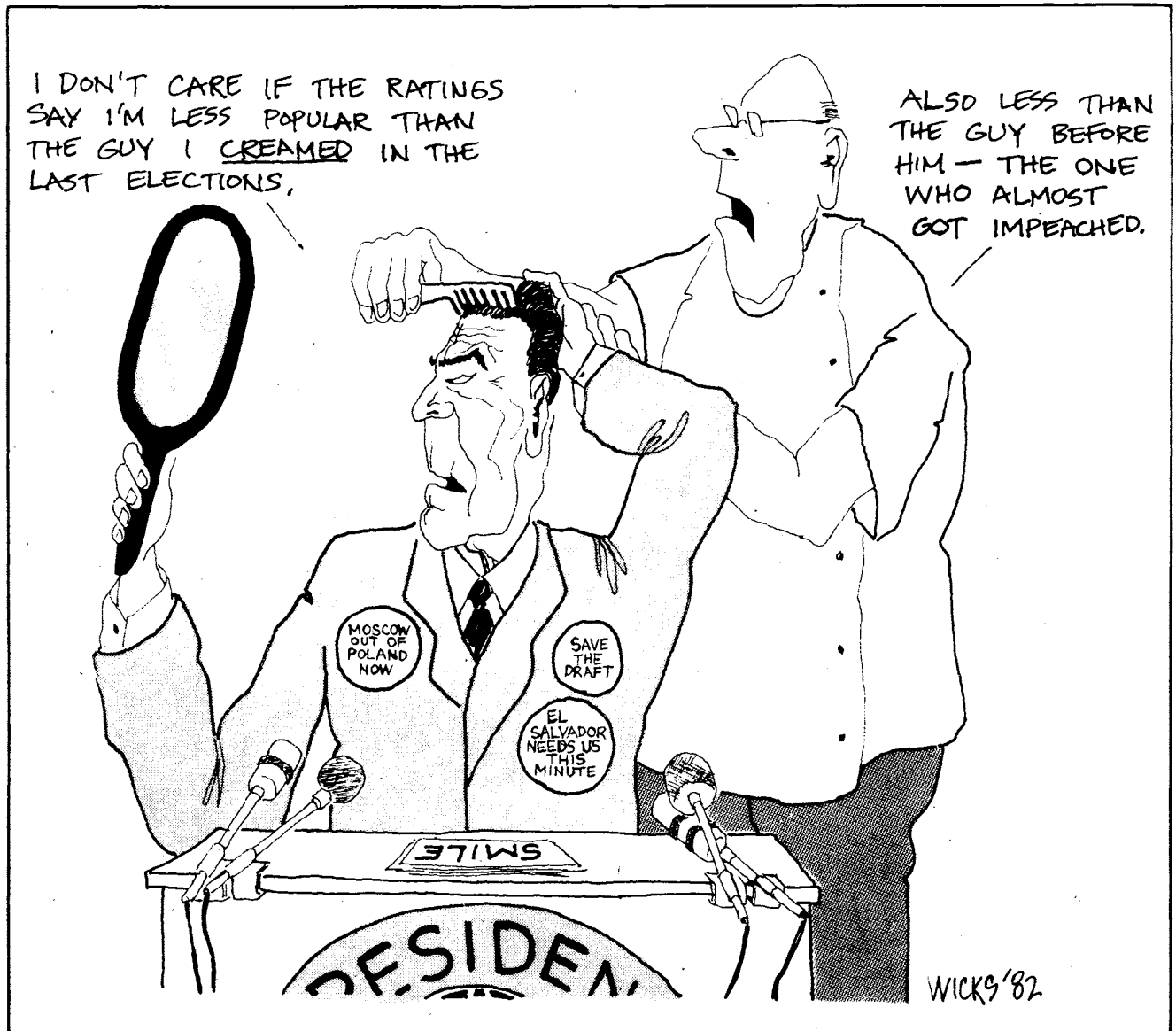
2. Enter the State Department, who, with the Justice Department and Congress conservatives like Sen. Strom Thurmond, is now seeking to change the Extradition Law to accommodate the likes of the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty. There are now bills before the House and the Senate which, if passed, will transfer from the court to the Secretary of State the power to determine which crimes are political. In addition, these bills carry ominous provisions such as one that would immediately place someone accused of an extraditable crime in jail for up to 60 days at the simple request of a foreign government! These provisions, Sec. Alexander Haig told the Congress, are crucial to America's ability to "honor its international obligations."

3. Meanwhile, back in Manila, Marcos released arrest warrants for 40 people accused of terrorist bombing and/or of being leaders and members of groups his regime considers "subversive." A good number of these wanted people and groups are in the U.S. Marcos announced that he will request extradition proceedings for the U.S. residents as soon as the extradition treaty is ratified. And of course, as soon as the State Department, Thurmond, et al., are successful in changing the U.S. Extradition Law.

4. The methods for determining Marcos' list of extraditable people are frightening. The most widely publicized is the one openly launched in cooperation with Sec. Haig—the Grand Jury and FBI investigation of the Psinakises in connection with the Manila bombings. The least publicized method is one that would do Hitler proud. How it was ascertained that some U.S. residents and groups not linked to the bombings are "subversive," included getting the "expert opinion" of L.A. Consul Armando Fernandez. The consul admitted in a Manila court that part of his tasks is to spy on community activities and groups. Among the subversive activities he cited are demonstrations, "overt" distribution of literature critical of the regime, fundraising for persecuted Philippine groups and a community festival called Philippine National Day. These forms of constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms are what some people are to be extradited for!

Reagan's active collaboration in undermining the freedom of an entire community is not consistent with this country's declared passion for civil liberties, but it is *not* consistent with U.S. foreign policy. This goes to show that U.S. foreign policy is not necessarily fond of democratic rights. Indeed, when Reagan declared war on "international terrorism" he did not mean war on the regimes of Marcos, Chun, Pinochet, Duarte, and Duvalier. He meant war on their opponents whose resistance to terroristic rule Reagan deems a threat to the "Free World."

Thus, the Filipino community is not the only victim of this foreign policy. Salvadoran and Haitian refugees are summarily being deported to certain persecution and death. The anti-Duvalier rebels recently imprisoned by U.S. authorities face extradition, yet anti-Castro terrorists who train here openly have gone unmolested. The U.S. is also reviewing previous extradition treaties for "modernization," which means the civil liberties of even more communities are also in danger. That the constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms of whole sections of the U.S. population are being undermined should be seen as a threat to the rights of the entire citizenry. This is how the oft-repeated observation "U.S. support for repression abroad breeds repression at home" unfolds in real life. We call on everyone to oppose the Reagan-Marcos assault on democratic rights and to oppose the White House's unjust foreign policy. □



OUR VIEW ON POLAND

Are we going to protest martial law in Poland as we have opposed martial rule in the Philippines? To be frank, no. Joining a chorus led by this country's top warmongers and America firsters does not appeal to us. Seeing Ronald Reagan rail against Polish martial law while defending and funding martial rule in the Philippines, Chile, El Salvador, South Korea and elsewhere tells us there is no wisdom in adding our voice to his.

That Reagan has suddenly found a soft spot in his heart for Polish workers while busting unions here and financing their suppression in Third World countries should be sufficient warning that there is more to the Polish crisis than he, the media and anti-communist prejudices would have us conclude. But we have more reasons for taking what is at present an unpopular view on Poland. We encourage readers to see page 11 of this issue for a more detailed discussion of this view. Here we merely stress some important points.

The stakes involved in the Philippines and Polish situations are qualitatively different. In the Philippines the Marcos dictatorship stands in defense of U.S. economic and military domination. It seeks to preserve by force of arms imperialist, landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist rule. The movement in opposition to it is determined to abolish this rule and to seek a path of social development independent of the worldwide system of imperialist exploitation. However, once this movement is victorious, it will have to thwart imperialism's attempt to return to power—a task we believed ultimately depends on the successful establishment of socialism in the Philippines. This is the historic option liberation movements in the Third World must take if they are to overcome the overwhelming power of the imperialist world system. The U.S. government is very much aware of the goals and historic thrust of the world's national liberation movements. Thus, it supports at all cost the military regimes that are trying to defeat them.

Poland's Solidarity does not share the goals of today's revolutionary movements. Its leaders ignore the fact that socialist rule in Poland, for all its difficulties, has brought more progress than any of the country's previous capitalist and landlord rulers. Socialism, for example, enabled the country to rise from the utter devastation of World War II to become the world's 10th industrial power. Solidarity's leaders have another goal. Just prior to martial law, they were forced to become more explicit about their aim—the dismantling of Poland's socialist foundations and bringing capitalism in its stead. This goal, if achieved, would deliver Poland back to the imperialist orbit. This is why Solidarity has such staunch allies in the Western powers and the Catholic Church and why Reagan's heart "bleeds" for the Polish workers but not for the Filipino and Salvadoran masses.

Solidarity's leadership has succeeded in fusing this hidden goal with the legitimate grievances of the Polish working class. Solidarity has used this class' collective power and militance to further this insidious goal. This success however, does not mean the Polish masses have accepted the logic that capitalism is their ultimate salvation. This explains why, even Solidarity leaders admit, the first public exposure of tapes recording Solidarity's aim of dismantling socialism proved very damaging to the organization. Nonetheless, Solidarity still captures the imagination of the disenfranchised masses and the Polish government is clearly isolated from its natural base.

For this predicament, the Polish socialist leadership has no one to blame but itself. The problem, we believe, is not that it brought "too much socialism," but that it brought too little of it. The Polish leadership has stubbornly revised proven principles of socialist construction and squandered socialism's initial gains for the sake of short-term, "quick results." Instead of educating the Polish workers to the difficult challenge of building socialism, whose birth pains are made even more excruciating by the hostility of the capitalist world, it promised them an easy road to socialism—"goulash socialism."

For example, for "quick results," the Polish leadership has had to borrow heavily from foreign capitalist banks, obscuring the reactionary nature of these institutions. To appease the rich peasants and the Catholic Church, the government disregarded their anti-socialist nature, and reversed the initial gains in collectivizing and modernizing agriculture by subsidizing inefficient private farming. The heavy cost of increasing foreign debt, and subsidizing backward agriculture had to be borne by the working class mostly in higher prices for goods. Now, the government is paying for these errors in even costlier terms. The Polish working class is profoundly depoliticized and vulnerable to the influence of demagogues. More, the Polish economy is highly susceptible to manipulation by imperialist banks.

The recent crackdown will not of itself save what remains of socialism. The Polish leadership has to reject its "easy road." It has to set socialist construction as a task that requires not only scientific economic policies, but political militance as well as against the attempts of imperialism and its allies within Poland to regain power. It is a task that requires sacrifices that can only be sustained by the political and ideological development of the Polish working class. For all its serious problems, we do not believe that Polish socialism should be given up as a lost cause. The alternative is much too frightening and bleak. For all of Solidarity's militance, it offers nothing more than the return of the very system millions of people, especially in the Third World, are already paying their lives to destroy. □

"Playing into Marcos' Hands":

New Opposition Parties Called 'Dangerous'

Elite opposition forces within the Philippines have announced the formation of two new political parties.

The move came late last December on the heels of President Ferdinand E. Marcos' call for a stronger legal opposition (See AK, Vol. VIII, No. 21).

While the development was welcomed by the Philippine President and members of the elite opposition based in the U.S., leadership of the Committee Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) described the emergence of the two parties as "dangerous."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS vs. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS

Ruben Canoy of the Mindanao Alliance and Francisco Tatad, former Information Minister turned Marcos critic, announced the founding of the Social Democratic Party of the Philippines (SDP). Both men are members of the *Batasang Pambansa* (National Assembly).

According to *New York Times* reports, the two assemblymen represent fourteen members of various opposition groups.

The organizers of the second group, the Philippine Democratic Party (PDP), are said to be Cagayan de Oro Mayor Aquilino Pimentel and Luis Jose. The PDP allegedly draws its membership from fragments of the former Christian Socialist movement in the Philippines.

GOVERNMENT INCENTIVES TO ENCOURAGE OPPOSITION

The PDP is inspired by suggestions emanating from U. S.-based Christian Socialists, chiefly former Senator Raul Manglapus. Pimentel met with Manglapus and others during his visit to the U. S. late last year.

According to former Senator Salvador Laurel, the PDP enjoys the support of the United Democratic Opposition or UNIDO. PDP forces have denounced the SDP



Aquilino Pimentel



Reuben Canoy

as a "loyalist opposition party" lacking in credibility.

The SDP announcement follows a proposal by Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez for government subsidies and a temporary moratorium on the ban against turn-coatism to encourage the growth of opposition parties. Both Laurel and Canoy have issued statements assailing the Perez proposal.

Former Senator Benigno Aquino, now based in the U. S., told the *Ang Katipunan* that he views the emergence of the two parties as a positive development. "In fact," he added, "this is only the beginning."

PLAYING INTO MARCOS' HANDS?

Aquino revealed that elite opposition forces plan to establish a

number of new parties under a single umbrella organization.

CAMD Co-coordinator Geline Avila, however, described the emergence of the SDP, PDP and other potential opposition parties as "extremely dangerous."

Avila fears that groups such as the PDP and SDP may, in fact, play directly into Marcos' hands.

"In order to lend credibility to his so-called normalization program," Avila noted, "Marcos needs an opposition, this opposition may differ with him over various issues—some of them substantial, but it must not challenge the overall mechanisms of fascist rule."

"We will have to watch these groups and see whether they confine themselves to the parameters prescribed by Marcos," she added. "And we must bear in mind that there is no such thing as a genuine opposition which does not demand an end to fascist rule in the Philippines." □

Marcos Accused of Son-in-Law's Kidnap

"If they really think the President is involved, they should be coming to him on bended knees to beg for their son's life."

Thus spoke Philippine First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, as quoted in the *New York Times*. She was commenting upon the most sensational scandal story to surround the sensational Marcos family to date.

The scandal concerns the disappearance and possible murder of sportsman Tomas "Tommy" Manotoc, husband of the Marcoses' eldest daughter Maria Imelda "Imee" Marcos. Although they have received a ransom note for their son from the alleged kidnapers, the Manotocs insist that the note is a fraud and that the first family is actually responsible for their son's disappearance.

FIRST FAMILY DISAPPROVED OF RELATIONSHIP

Tommy Manotoc was last seen on the evening of December 29 dining with Imee at an elegant Manila restaurant. By the next morning, a series of increasingly frantic calls between Imee and the Manotoc family confirmed that he had disappeared.

Responding to the Manotocs' charges as reported in the international press, Malacanang initially denied that the marriage occurred altogether. Official records, reveal that the marriage was formalized in Arlington, Virginia, on December 4, last year.

In a later Malacanang statement, Marcos said that such a marriage would not be recognized "because divorce is illegal in the Philippines." Mr. Manotoc was divorced from his first wife, beauty queen Aurora Pijuan, late last year in the Dominican Republic.

The First Family was known to disapprove of the relationship between their daughter and Tommy. Mrs. Marcos allegedly made her feelings known in no uncertain terms to the couple in early December.

SUSPICIOUS RANSOM NOTE

Shortly after Manotoc's disappearance, a suspicious ransom note was sent to the Manotoc family demanding \$2.5 million in cash and the release of political prisoners Jose Ma. Sison, Bernabe

"who have sent a ransom note to the family."

The family did not receive any such note until 5 a.m. the following morning.

SPARKS FLYING

Inside the Philippines, the controlled press has given little minence to the disappearance or to the Manotocs' charges.

But outside of the country, the sparks are flying.

Marcos himself has called the Manotoc accusation "contemptible and cheap." An official government



Tommy Manotoc with former wife Aurora Pijuan. (Newsweek)

Buscayno, Sauturnino Ocampo and Fidel Agcaoili.

But the family found the note highly irregular. While purportedly written by their son, Tommy, the note was written in Tagalog. The family normally addresses each other in English. In addition the note was signed incorrectly bearing the signature "Tom," a nickname not used by the kidnaped Manotoc.

Even more suspicious was the fact that the Marcos regime seemed to know about the ransom note before it was received by the Manotoc family.

At 8:00 P.M. on Dec. 30, a representative of the Philippine Ministry of Information revealed that Tommy had been kidnaped by subversive or criminal elements

statement spoke of "a plot to embarrass the President" and accused the Manotocs of being "more concerned with making propaganda..." than in finding their son.

The controlled Philippine press has accused the international media of receiving information from opposition leaders abroad. The young Manotoc is the nephew of opposition forces Eugenio Lopez, Jr. and former Senator Raul Manglapus.

EMBASSY STAFF TERRIFIED

Reliable sources on the East Coast report that members of the Philippine Embassy staff in Washington are keeping a terrified silence

High Court Ruling Upholds FM Martial Law Powers

Ferdinand Marcos can keep "suspected subversives" jailed indefinitely even though martial law has been lifted.

This little-known Supreme Court ruling was handed down on November 19 in the midst of a two-week old hunger strike staged by political prisoners in Camp Bagong Diwa in Metro-Manila. Among the detainees' demands was the release of those who have been held without formal charges.

The ruling denied a petition submitted by Satur Ocampo, former business editor of the defunct *Manila Times*, and four other political prisoners. The five have been in jail from two to six years and face no charges.

RELEASE OF THREE—A SMOKESCREEN

The release of three hunger strikers, one of them gravely ill, days after the ruling was a mere smokescreen, claimed regime critics.

The November hunger strike, staged to protest government inaction on detainees', was timed to coincide with the 24th annual

conference of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The release could have well been a gesture when the international body condemned the widespread torture of political prisoners.

MILITARY CUSTODY UPHOLD

Two days after the release of the three detainees, the Supreme Court dismissed a petition contesting military imprisonment. Jose Ma. Sison, Juliet de Lima Sison, and Bernabe Buscayno were denied the issuance of the writ of habeas corpus and will remain in military custody.

Trial of the three will continue to be conducted by a military court. Already the hearing, dubbed by Sison as mere "perpetuation of testimonies," has been fraught with government propaganda such as excessive publicity of "evidences."

The Supreme Court rulings, although less publicized than gestures of magnanimity, served to uphold Marcos' martial law powers despite its formal lifting and normalization. □

over the entire matter.

The reason? Some of them, in particular a Major Perico on the Ambassador's staff, aided Imee in her Arlington marriage. Mrs. Marcos is reportedly on the war-path against all persons connected with the marriage.

One source claims that Perico is considering defection or petitioning for asylum.

While a number of observers in the U. S. have found the Manotoc accusation incredible, members of the Filipino community greeted the affair with a caloused acceptance.

"You know Imelda would never accept a mere basketball coach for her daughter, commented one. "If Prince Charles was no longer

available, you know she was aiming at least for a European earl or count.

One West Coast Observer, asked by the AK if Marcos and Imelda were capable of rubbing out their own son-in-law replied "He began in this whole business by rubbing out Nalundasan, didn't he? Nothing is impossible where the Marcoses are concerned."

The rival of Marcos' father for a seat in the Philippine Senate. Nalundasan was killed after he won the election. Marcos was accused of his murder and jailed. He argued his own case and was acquitted. Many are convinced, however, that Marcos was indeed the murderer.

Buod ng mga Balita

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SPEARHEADS ANTI-DISAPPEARANCE DRIVE

Last December, Amnesty International launched a campaign to stop government sanctioned "disappearances" of political opponents.

Members and followers in over a hundred countries worked in a global effort to publicize the thousands of disappearances and abductions by repressive government forces. Many victims are feared dead or remain unaccounted for. Governments claim no knowledge of them.

High on the human rights organization's list was the Philippine government. They cite two disappearance cases: Petronilo Torno and Carlos Tayag. Torno was a trade union president who was removed from his home in 1980. Tayag was an ordained deacon under the Roman Catholic Benedictine Order and was last seen in 1976. Neither has been accounted for in spite of efforts by families and friends to locate them.

Disappearances take several forms in the Philippines. Most people simply never reappear while others are found dead and mutilated in remote areas of the countryside. Others are confined to "safehouses" where they are interrogated under torture. They are then either transferred to detention centers or are never found. □

NPA AMBUSH 8 PC IN LEYTE

In a December report, eight Philippine Constabulary troops were killed in Calagitán, Hinunangan, Leyte del Sur in two separate ambushes.

Fifty New People's Army (NPA) fighters staged the attacks within five hours of each other.

The incidents triggered an alert in the province's military camps for further armed strikes. □

INTERNATIONAL WRITERS APPEAL FOR JAILED COLLEAGUES

Some 70 writers from 12 countries urged President Marcos to release Filipino writers in jail and investigate the disappearance of a local journalist.

Last December, the International PEN Movement held a four-day conference in Manila to express concern for their colleagues under detention as well as the continuing threat to re-arrest others.

One of their resolutions called for a thorough investigation of the disappearance of local poet-journalist Henry Romero of the *Bulletin Today*. Mr. Romero vanished under mysterious circumstance in 1977.

They appealed to Marcos to release those writers not charged with any crimes. They also demanded the transfer to civilian courts of those already charged and a discontinuation of the practice of solitary confinement. □

ASEAN—SECOND ONLY TO U.S. IN JAPANESE FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

How important is ASEAN—the Association of Southeast Asian Nations—to Japan?

The answer, in financial terms, is "very."

According to recent statistics, Japanese direct investments in ASEAN at the end of 1981 is second only to its investment in the U.S. Total Japanese investment in the area is now \$7 billion as compared to \$8.8 billion in the U.S.

Japanese money has had a significant impact on the people of the ASEAN countries, spawning over 330,000 jobs, 73,000 of which are in the Philippines. Indirectly, financial experts suggest, Japanese money may have created another three million jobs.

It is the cost of those jobs which has drawn Japanese money into the area. According to *Inside ASEAN*, Japanese firms regard ASEAN more favorably than either Taiwan or Korea because of its low wages.

In the Philippines, Japanese investments are second only to those of the U.S. and are directed primarily into light manufacturing, assembly and plantation agriculture. □

Army Launches Three-Pronged Attack in Sulu Archipelago

Delayed reports from Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) forces in Tripoli, Libya, reveal that the Philippine military launched a major offensive against the Moro people in the Sulu Archipelago last November.

Involved were simultaneous attacks on the island provinces of Tawi-Tawi, Basilan and Lupah Sug. All are MNLF strongholds. The sieges lasted three days.

Several days later, the Philippine Armed Forces launched another punishing operation against the Moro inhabitants of neighboring Pata Island. High casualties and enormous property losses were reported.

SECOND MAJOR ATTACK ON PATA

This was the second military offensive against the people of this island of no more than 72 square kilometers. Last year from February through May, 20,000 troops attacked the island, massacring several thousand people and wounding five thousand more. Towns were reduced to ruin by military shellings and incendiaries.

Last year's massacre came in response to a popular uprising



Military offensives in the southern islands have left many towns, as in Jolo above, ravaged. (AK Photo File)

against the military on the island.

Since September of last year, heavy fighting has continued on the new MNLF Front of Palawan Island on the South China Sea side of the archipelago. MNLF forces there have reportedly inflicted heavy casualties on the Phil-

ippine Army.

In Mindanao, millions of refugees continue to roam the countryside impoverished, sick and hungry.

MNLF forces reiterate their call for an international investigation into the atrocities in the southern Philippines. □

Philippine Claim to Sabah Hits News

Once again the long-dormant Philippine claim to the Malaysian state of Sabah is in the news.

Rumblings from within the *Batasan Pambansa* or national assembly demand that President Ferdinand E. Marcos reveal to the *Batasan* the precise nature of his 1977 agreement with former Malaysian Premier Datuk Hussein Onn. At that time Marcos promised to drop the Philippine claim.

Other voices urge that he at least seek assembly approval to drop the claim.

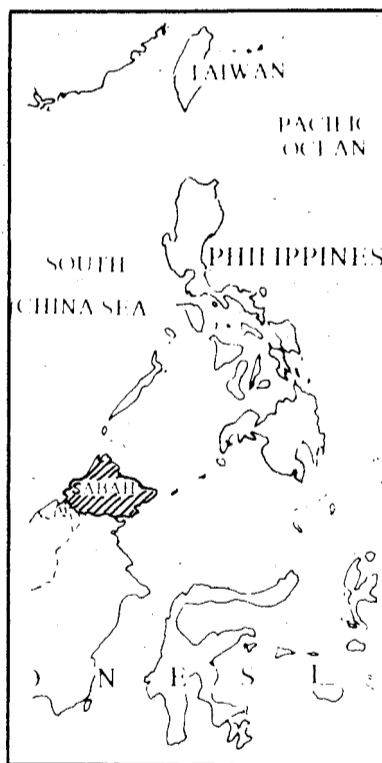
Marcos, however, has urged *Batasan* members to cease public debate because sensitive security matters are involved. He has informed the Malaysian government that opinions expressed by *Batasan* members do not represent an official government policy.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has publicly urged the press to downplay the matter. CLAIMED BY SULU SULTAN

The Sabah issue remained a source of fiery debate and icy diplomatic relations between the two neighboring states throughout much of the sixties and seventies. It arose shortly after the 1963 federation of the Malaysian states when then President Diosdado Macapagal formally announced the Philippine claim.

Macapagal's position was based on the fact that Sabah was formerly under the rule of the Sultan of Sulu. At the end of the 19th century, it was ceded to the British to become British North Borneo. The British claim that the transaction was an outright sale while the Sultan insists that it was a mere lease.

Marcos took up the issue following his 1965 election. Matters were further inflamed after martial law when Tun Mustapha, then Sabah Governor, expressed sup-



port for the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Sabah allegedly became an MNLF base area.

USED BY OTHER RESISTANCE FORCES?

It was only after Mustapha's electoral defeat that Marcos announced his willingness to drop the claim.

Malaysia welcomed the pledge but while Malaysia insists that its territory is not used, it has never been able as a base area, to insure that Sabah is free of MNLF forces. It is extremely close to the Sulu archipelago, a key MNLF stronghold, and the Tausugs, expert sailors, have for years navigated between the two areas to conduct trade.

Perhaps in recognition of Malaysia's inability to control the area, Marcos never formally relinquished the claim.

The renewed interest comes on the heels of recent allegations that Sabah is being used as a base area, not only by the MNLF, but

by other resistance forces in the Philippines. In particular, the Marcos regime claims that forces close to the April 6 Liberation Movement, associated with the wave of urban bombings of the last several years, has held meeting there recently. Reports allege that Sabah has served as an illegal port of entry for resistance forces based abroad.

ASEAN UNITY ALL IMPORTANT

In spite of Marcos' emphasis on diplomacy, observers suggest that he himself is behind the renewed rumblings. Marcos' control over the *Batasan* via the ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (KBL New Society Party) is too strong for a major issue to be brought up without his blessing, they insist.

If Marcos is indeed behind the recent indirect attack on Malaysia, his approach represents a significant change in tactics.

In earlier days, anti-Malaysia attacks were widely publicized and the Philippine claim was stated government policy. Today the attacks come from the assembly while Marcos speaks soothing words to the Malaysian government.

But times have changed since the days when the Sabah claim was key to Philippine foreign policy. Today the staunchly pro-American Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) - the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore - represents the center of U. S. support in the region. Pressure is on to maintain its unity in the face of what the Reagan administration sees as a worldwide terrorist conspiracy.

Clearly Ferdinand Marcos has gotten the message. For all his frustration over the role he accuses Sabah of playing, he is not rocking the boat. □

Reports from Around the Country:

NPA Activities Reach New Heights in '81

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

Belated reports from Philippine underground publications reveal that the New People's Army (NPA) fulfilled its promise of escalating the level of people's war in 1981.

Their intensified guerrilla war resulted in a record rate of ambushes yielding a high number of weapons and large supply of ammunition. This steady advance occurred on many fronts throughout the entire archipelago.

CENTRAL LUZON: RECORD ARMS CATCH

On August 16, NPA units in Nueva Ecija broke up into separate teams and proceeded through five barrios of Muñoz and Gen. Natividad. Before the night was over, they seized 30 weapons without firing a single shot. This was the largest arms confiscation by the NPA since 1976 when 46 weapons were captured in five barrios of Mabalacat, Pampanga.

The Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) members were caught by surprise and easily surrendered their weapons. Their key factors in the operation's success were careful preparation of items needed for the seizure—particularly uniforms, a keen investigation of CHDF movements by local

activists and the NPA, and a brief training course on military tactics.

The NPA afterwards gathered all the barrio people to discuss the raid and disarmament. The CHDF men expressed surprise that they were not harmed and said that there was a big difference between the people's army and the abusive Marcos military. The

barrio people cheered the NPA when they departed.

WESTERN VISAYAS: KEY PC FIGURES KILLED

Seven military officials were ambushed by the NPA on June 15 as they crossed the Nasuli River in Maasin, Iloilo in a land-cruiser.

Killed were Maj. Dionisio Mag-

panay, Assistant Chief of Staff of Home Defense; Capt. Emmanuel Garcido, and five other soldiers. Except for one CHDF member, all casualties belonged to the regional command of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) in Western Visayas. The NPA recovered 11 weapons, many rounds of bullets, and a military logistics map.

In addition, the NPA blocking force was able to repel a 13-man reinforcement of enemy troops.

In Nabas, Aklan, the NPA surprised and overtook a police station on July 19. After riding into town in a truck, they cautiously moved in and cordoned off the municipal hall, catching the policemen off-guard. Not one shot was fired and they netted four weapons and many rounds of ammunition.

EASTERN VISAYAS: AMBUSHES AND CONFISCATIONS

In Taft, Eastern Samar May 3, the NPA ambushed a two-truck convoy carrying a platoon of an engineering battalion. After letting one vehicle go by, they opened fire on the second, killing the driver and causing the truck to plunge into a deep ravine. Twelve soldiers were killed and eight more seriously wounded.

On June 7, an NPA unit attacked PC troops on board a weapons carrier at Tumnamos bridge in Sta. Rita, Western Samar. The guerrillas seized five weapons and over a hundred rounds of ammunition. Four soldiers were killed including a captain.

In yet another episode, the NPA ambushed military officers in Barrio Pikit, Parnas (Wright), Western Samar. Maj. Ricardo Minosa, deputy commander of the 15th Infantry Battalion (PA) along with a captain and soldier were killed. One baby armalite was seized.

MINDANAO: VICIOUS MURDERERS EXECUTED

In Butuan City, Agusan del Norte May 22, PC Sgt. Henry Elizalde was executed and his

M-16 rifle was seized. Elizalde had long been abusing local residents and even engaged in murdering detainees.

Red fighter surprised CHDF men in Barrio Tinaan in Mag-saysay, Misamis Oriental on May 26. They confiscated two rifles and meted the death penalty on Delfin Vallarin, a barrio captain who terrorized the barrio people and NPA.

LOCAL BULLIES PUNISHED

In Northwestern Luzon, NPA guerrillas seized weapons from two local bullies in two different provinces on June 8.

One unit divested an Ambaguey police chief named Vicente Puliknek in Nueva Viscaya of two pistols. He was notorious for dispossessing poor peasants of their land and crops while extorting "taxes" on poultry and livestock. When he failed to mend his ways after repeated NPA warnings, they entered his home and disarmed him. After the operation, a barrio meeting was held to explain the objectives of the armed struggle.

In another region, an Ifugao provincial governor Zosimo Paredes had his chainsaw seized from his logging concession at Masbang Klangan, Ifugao and Nuev Vizcaya. A former brigadier general and commander, he was appointed by Marcos in 1976.

Paredes grabbed lands to become a big landlord and businessman. His logging concerns destroyed the livelihood of over a hundred families in Ambaguey.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO MARCOS REGIME

The NPA resolved early last year that 1981 would witness a higher level of guerrilla warfare throughout the countryside. People's war, they said, would enter "a new substage of the strategic defensive."

Their intensified level of military activity from all parts of the country indicates that in 1981, the NPA has established itself as the only credible alternative to the U.S.-backed Marcos regime. □



The New People's Army's intensified guerrilla warfare last year yielded a high number of weapons and ammunition.

Extradition Bill . . .

Continued from page 1

the Extradition Treaty. Among those issued arrest warrants on January 5 are prominent anti-Marcos foes in the U.S., including former senators Benigno Aquino, Raul Manglapus and AK editor Rene Ciria Cruz.

According to the *Manila Bulletin*, the Philippine government has already begun extradition proceedings against those charged—despite the fact that the treaty has not yet been ratified. (See story on page 1.)

U.S. EXTRADITION LAW

The enforcement of the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty to the linking of the Marcos dictatorship and the Reagan administration. However, will be held up until such time as the U.S. "modernizes" its current extradition law. Under current law, extradition offenses are the jurisdiction of the federal courts. The U.S. has 90 extradition treaties which it is planning to update and renegotiate.

This "updating process" has created controversy over the definition of a political offense and the extent to which American courts provide judicial protection to "fugitives in this country fleeing criminal charges from their countries."

"Terrorism is playing havoc with the law of international extradition," decried a *New York Times* editorial on December 29, 1981, which advocated curtailing the role of American courts "in an essentially diplomatic process." This approach makes the extradition process, supposedly a part of the judicial system, the handiwork of the State Department. It would render persons requested

for extradition, stripped of constitutional guarantees of due process and subject to the whims of U.S. foreign policy.

The proposed Extradition Act, SB 1639, accomplished exactly this.

ACLU PROTEST

Protesting the consequences of the Act, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in a letter to Senator Thurmond, noted: "The proposed Extradition Act would make major adjustments substantially at odds with the principles of civil liberties and human rights . . . In their place, SB 1639 would establish an extradition process undoubtedly subject to political manipulation."

The ACLU refers to several repressive provisions of the Act. One section provides that an arrest can be made *without* showing probable cause. The Requesting State need only file a complaint to warrant the arrest of a suspected individual and that person can be held in "provisional detention" for up to 60 days, without bail.

During this time, the Requesting State must produce the necessary documentation and evidence for the issuance of a valid arrest warrant. This process would allow the indiscriminate arrest and detention of persons on the mere suspicion and recommendation of the Requesting State.

Another provision would strip federal courts of jurisdiction to prohibit extradition on grounds that the offense is of a political character. Authority to determine such offenses shift to the exclusive control of the Secretary of State. Thus, foreign policy considerations will take precedence over the

rendering of justice.

This is clearly evident in Sec. of State Alexander Haig's support for the proposed Act: "Taken together these provisions reduce the risk of adverse foreign policy consequences which flow from extradition either improperly initiated or improperly refused."

For Haig, the elimination of jurisdictional ambiguities, allows the State Department a free hand in determining what best serves U.S. interests.

EXTENSION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Just how the State Department and Alexander Haig would handle an extradition case, leaves little to the imagination. Haig, a self-proclaimed warrior against "international terrorism," will spare no effort in implementing the rightwing foreign policy of the Reagan administration.

Openly aiding repressive but "friendly" allies of the U.S., whose sorry records on human rights violations are all too well known, the Reagan administration is expected to persecute foreign nationals who oppose U.S. support of dictatorships abroad.

Since taking office, the Reagan administration has endorsed the Marcos regime. From Vice President George Bush's lavish praise: "We love your adherence to democratic practices and principles" to Haig's promise to crackdown on U.S.-based "Filipino terrorists," to the approval of a \$151 million aid package to the Philippines, U.S. support for Marcos is now stronger than ever.

The Extradition Treaty is a logical extension of the U.S.' posture towards the Philippines. Both governments are banking on the fact that the U.S.-R.P. Treaty and the new Extradition Act will enable the Marcos dictatorship to persecute opponents in the U.S. with direct help from the White House. □

40 on List . . .

Continued from page 1

plaint was later amended to include new respondents as well as additional organizations under the as illegal organizations under the anti-subversion law." The amended complaint charges the respondents with being officers or members of organizations alleged to have "committed acts of sedition and subversion with the open or covert support of a foreign power and foreign sources."

"What Marcos is doing here is very clear," Cruz pointed out. "It is one thing for him to accuse U.S.-based oppositionists with organizing and providing resources for actual bombings in Manila. By extending the charges to include acts in the U.S. which are protected by First Amendment guarantees, Marcos clearly wants to suppress all forms of opposition to him in this country."

Cruz was included among those charged as a result of the Lovely testimony published in the Los Angeles newspaper *Asian American News*. However that same

report shows that Lovely did not link Cruz to the bombings. Cruz is mentioned only as coordinator of the AMLC (Anti-Martial Law Coalition, precursor of the CAMD). Lovely also incorrectly identified the AMLC as being under Benigno Aquino's leadership.

It was only March 26, 1981 that the dictatorship tried to lay the basis for the charges against Cruz when Los Angeles Consul General Armando Fernandez testified for the government. Fernandez tried his best to show that the AMLC and therefore Cruz were violating U.S. as well as Philippine laws. But the only acts Fernandez listed were demonstrations, leaflets and even Philippine National Day celebrations.

"If Marcos and Reagan think that Filipinos who participate in Philippine National Day celebrations are subversive," Cruz said, "they had better be prepared to deport the 15,000 throughout the U.S. and Canada who participated in them." □

FILIPINO COMMUNITY NEWS

Local 37 Leaders Optimistic:

A Beleaguered Union Looks to the Future

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—For a union that has had its share of turbulent ups and downs, the Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 37 ILWU continues to be the staunchest defender of hundreds of workers who ply the Alaska canning industry on a seasonal basis.

Threats, corruption, violence sometimes leading to murders, have plagued the union from its inception.

The very existence of Local 37 serves as solid proof that the union has not buckled down from its scarred past.

In fact, the union's present leadership breeds an air of optimism that gives its rank and file a sense that "things are beginning to shape up" once again.

HISTORY OF CORRUPTION, MILITANCE

As in any union, much of the turbulence can be triggered by its very own leadership.

From the start, Local 37's leadership has been usurped by leaders who have comfortably settled into an acquiescent relationship with the Alaska salmon canning industry.



Nemesio Domingo, Sr.

This leadership, representing the old guard of the union, prospered in the corruption that linked Local 37 to cases of bribery, organized gambling and blatant terrorism.

Consequently, the union became unresponsive to the everyday needs of hundreds of Filipino cannery workers whom it purportedly served.

However, the union's history also had its periods of militancy when dedicated trade unionists won many significant reforms for its membership in the 1940s.

A rank and file committee led by Chris Mensalvas, Leo Lorenzo and Mario Hermoso presented



Terri Mast

demands for reforms to the local leadership, and at the same time, began working with the International to "get things back on the track."

The McCarthy period in the 1950s saw an orchestrated effort to crush a budding progressive leadership that sent many of Local 37's leaders to jail while others were threatened with deportation.

The onslaught dealt a heavy blow to the union, leaving the reigns of leadership to Gene Navarro, a corrupt and tyrant leader, who remained unchallenged until his death in 1977.

Today, this beleaguered union is once again attempting to stage



David Della

a comeback, with a progressive leadership determined to put Local 37 on its right tracks.

As the union inches its way forward, the process proves to be an uphill battle.

PRICE WAS HIGH

The recent recall of union president Constantine "Tony" Baruso last December ended the reign of the old guard in Local 37, representing a significant victory for the reform movement led by a core of militant trade unionists under the banner of the Rank and File Committee.

Baruso, who assumed the presidency after Navarro's death

in 1977, continued a corrupt dynasty that inevitably came to grips with union reformists led by fellow officers Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

Domingo and Viernes, secretary-treasurer and union dispatcher respectively, posed a serious threat to the old guard leadership that eventually led to their assassinations on June 1st of last year.

The grief that was to engulf the union after the deaths of Domingo and Viernes, did not deter Local 37's resolve to drive out the last vestiges of the corrupt old guard leadership.

While the price was high, union reformists felt the gains would have positive long-term effects on Local 37's future.

"The murders were damaging to the credibility and functioning of Local 37," remarked Terri Mast, newly-appointed union vice president and chairperson of the Rank and File Committee.

"The union needed leadership that could re-direct the path of Local 37, and people who could rebuild and strengthen it."

"While he was never convicted or charged, everytime Baruso was implicated in the murders, the

Continued on page 7

Where is Our Union?

The following article was taken from the *Alaskero News*, the newsletter of the Rank and File Committee in Local 37. The article offers a historical perspective on the post-World War II struggle to reform the union. As the newsletter's own introduction notes, "Today, we face the same hurdle, change will not come from a small group of individuals, but only after the majority of our membership decides to take up the responsibility for union reform. We see today's union reform as a continuation from yesteryears." —Ed.

Reprinted from the *Alaskero News*

It was a hot summer right as the SS Santa Cruz steamed northward to Bristol Bay, Alaska. Aboard were twelve hundred men hotter than that summer day in June, 1946. Packed like sardines, the men were squeezed together into what ever space was available in the three decked ship.

Anger could be seen on every Alaskero's face. They were angry because of the rubbish food, filthy

toilets, and dirty decks and hulls. They were mad at the company for treating them like cattle and not men. They were bitter towards their union which hadn't lifted a finger to object to their treatment. They were twelve hundred men hot with anger, like volcanos ready to explode.

IN OUR HANDS AND IN OUR HANDS AND MINDS LIES SUCCESS

The Bristol Bay bound workers voiced their anger. The discussion rose from a light murmur and then erupted into a loud angry protest. "Where is our union?" one worker asked. "Thirteen long

years and we still haven't got a union strong enough to change things like this."

A little man named Chris Mensalvas jumped on a make shift stage. "Listen brothers, if our union leaders will not do anything for us, then we, the union members, the rank and file, should do something. We are the wheels that run these canneries. We are the true power that the companies are afraid of. For in our hands and minds lies the success of the union. Brothers! Let us meet and change our situation."

"But brothers!" a doubtful member asked. "How are we going to

go about it, when the union officers pack guns and have goons as body guards? How are we going to stop them from tampering with the ballot boxes?"

"Yeah....." a few doubtful men chorused.

But from a corner a loud voice could be heard. "But brothers, can't you see our union was build by blood. The intimidation of Briones and others can not last if they see twelve hundred angry rank and filers. Change is very difficult and will cause hardships. Furthermore they will try to intimidate us. But isn't it much better to sacrifice now, rather

Continued on page 7



1950s—Filipinos crowd Union Hall in Seattle hoping to be dispatched to Alaska canneries.

(Local 37 Yearbook)

Fifth Preference to Close?

Rightists Want to Stop Reunification of Immigrant Families

By JESSICA ORDONA
San Francisco Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO—A right-wing Republican bloc in the Senate is leading an attempt to close the fifth preference visa category which allows naturalized U.S. citizens to petition their brothers and sisters as permanent residents.

The Asian Task Force, in a press conference here December 23, viewed the Senate proposal as an attack on the reunification of Asian and Mexican families and as a further indication of the darkening mood against aliens.

"There is a reaction to Asian and Mexican immigration," reported Task Force member Tom Suhr, a private immigration lawyer and formerly with the Legal Aid Society. "In Washington, the mood is restrictive and the politics is conservative."

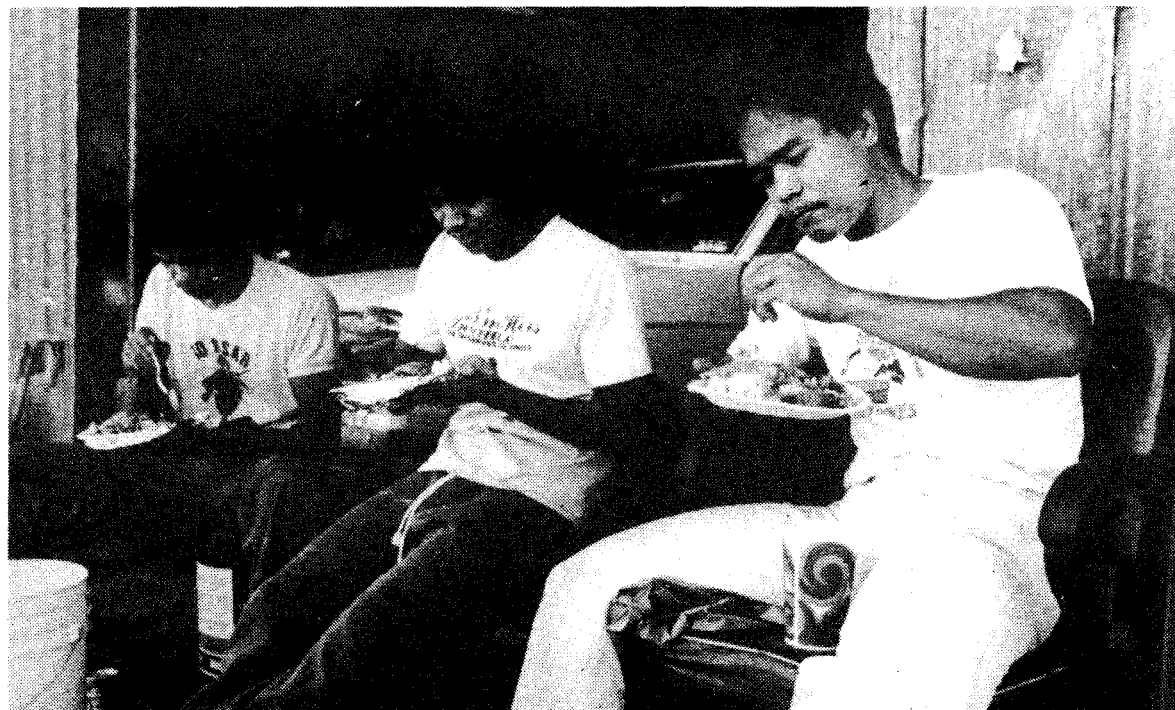
Republican Senator Alan Simpson from Wyoming, the new chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee, held hearings in November last year on the elimination of the fifth preference.

The extended family, Simpson said, "is not as important to American families as it may be to other cultures."

HEAVILY BACKLOGGED

Fifth preference immigrants, according to Suhr, makes up "about 20% of the total number who immigrate each year."

"For the Philippines, the quota is 20,000," he noted. "Therefore,



Family reunification through sponsoring of brothers or sisters is endangered by eliminating 5th preference visas. (AK Photo)

approximately 4,000 would be restricted with no chance of joining their families in the United States."

Of all available categories, the fifth preference is currently the most heavily backlogged for all countries. For the Philippines, the waiting list extends as far back as 11 years, with the State Department processing this visa category as far back as April 1970.

"This demonstrates that the category is an important one because it is heavily filled," explained Bill Hing, Task Force

Chairperson and an immigration attorney teaching at the Golden Gate University Law Department.

CONSERVATIVES LEAD ATTACK

"We fought this kind of proposal two years ago. Senator Simpson was in the minority when the Select Commission recommended to keep the fifth preference open," stated Hing.

Established under the Carter administration, the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy—after several rounds of losing vote tallies—voted 14-2

to retain the fifth preference last March.

Now that the Republicans have taken over the Senate, explained Hing, Simpson is recommending its closure again.

"It has always been the right-wing members of Congress who react to the large number of immigrants," he noted.

"When times are hard, unemployment high, immigrants are an easy economic scapegoat," Suhr added.

"When the mood of the country is depressed, government officials can exploit the issues and imple-

ment repressive legislation."

Suhr further explained that Simpson's proposal offered a point system where people can enter based on a "rating," meaning selections are based on criteria like high educational background, financial resources, or special skills.

"This will encourage an 'elite' preference system and limit family reunification considerably," Suhr added.

TASK FORCE FIGHTS BACK

Suhr stressed the need to "get together with other immigrant communities such as the Latino community and sympathetic liberals, and push to have this proposal dropped."

The Asian Task Force is currently gathering petitions and letters to be sent to Senator Simpson's office. The petition campaign, addressed to the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, Subcommittee on Immigration, "strongly urges that the immediate family of the beneficiary be entitled to accompany the principal beneficiary in accordance with existing law."

"Although things are unpredictable in Washington," Suhr commented, "our chances are good if we can organize broadly."

For more information about the campaign, contact Bill Hing (415) 442-7294 or Tom Suhr (415) 444-6688. □

Local 37 Looks to the Future . . .

Continued from page 6

union's reputation was further smeared," Mast added. (During the investigation of Domingo and Viernes' slayings, it was discovered that the murder weapon belonged to Baruso.)

But the murders that took place were not the only rationale behind Baruso's ouster as union president. He was implicated in a fraudulent union election in which he was a Candidate and also investigated by an FBI grand jury for alleged bribery.

The union dissatisfaction with Baruso had been long-standing. According to Mast, his collaboration with the Alaska canning industry—though it appeared in more subtle forms—had always been evident.

David Della, union Executive member and an organizer with the Rank and File Committee, attested to the charges around collaboration charges, by recalling his own experiences with Baruso in grievance meetings with canning companies.

"As union president, we expected Baruso to play a strong role in defending our contracts," Della stated. "Instead, Baruso never really questioned violations in front of company representatives," he explained.

Della added that Baruso dismissed grievances filed by members against companies, sometimes "throwing complaints in the garbage can."

Mast concluded that the recall itself was a clear cut indication of

the membership's growing support for the reform movement.

REFORM MOVEMENT GARNERS SUPPORT

Despite Baruso's cries that only a "handful of people" actually voted for his recall, Mast said the ouster was a mandate from membership. (The vote garnered 323 for Baruso's recall and 170 against.)

But support for the reform movement is not unanimous among the union's rank and file, Mast admitted. One sector of the union who feels obligated to the old guard leadership, is the manongs.

Nemesio Domingo, Sr., 73, father of the slain Silme Domingo and currently the union president conceded it "won't be easy for the manongs to change."

Mr. Domingo expressed his own hesitance in "supporting the reform movement at times," but now, "I want to continue the work that Silme and Gene died for."

Mr. Domingo indicated that manongs were successfully intimidated by Baruso, and feared they would lose their jobs if they voted against him.

Della on the other hand, attributed much of the recall support to the recent wave of Filipino immigrants and white workers, because these sectors felt "no allegiance to the old guard," and were not trapped by the "cumpadre system," (an old feudal attitude, attributed to an equal exchange of favors.)

"Right now, the main task is to

pick up from where we left off and reconsolidate Local 37," Mast stated.

FUTURE WORK A CHALLENGE

Among the priorities deemed important by the union, is the education of the membership on the principles of trade unionism. "One key education area is the shop steward training program," she noted.

According to Mast, "this is the third year that shop stewards have come to the union for training." More than 100 stewards have been schooled by the union, and "this program is essential in building a strong union."

Mast further explained that shop stewards will become more crucial because "Over the years, while there is an increase in grievances filed, there will be a need to deal more decisively with contract violations."

"For many of our workers," Mast emphasized, "the only contact we have with the union is through the shop steward who must represent the rank and file's voice in Alaska."

Della agreed that the shop stewards' role will be more significant in that "According to the Fish and Game Department in Alaska, we might have the biggest salmon run in history."

This year plans to create a new subcommittee such as finance, publicity, and education are also underway to actively involve membership in the day to day life

Continued from page 6

than face this same hardship year after year."

"Right!" echoed some of the members.

The angry and desperate men saw the ring of truth in the words of the speakers. They saw themselves as the power that could change things.

They met that night, they elected a committee to lead their fight for better conditions. Chris Mensalvas, Leo Lorenzo, and Mario Hermosa were elected to the steering committee.

1,200 WORKERS BEACHED, COLD, AND STARVED

Bad came to worse for the 1200 men. The S.S. Santa Cruz suffered mechanical problems and went aground. For three days and three nights, the 1200 men suffered from extreme cold and hunger, as

of the union, Della noted.

The dispatch system will also be revamped, based on the experiences and lessons from last year he added.

Perhaps the most challenging task ahead of the new administration would be the contract negotiations in the spring, predicted Mast.

"We cannot have big illusions that we're going to win a lot of victories, given the status of weak labor movement on the whole," Mast stated.

While sober expectations are mixed in with a strong desire to bring Local 37 "several years ahead of our times," the new

they were forced to stay on the berth. They became more determined to chart their course for union reform. They steeled themselves, like swords forged by fire and water.

The Bristol Bay workers kept their determination through the long hard season. When the workers returned to Seattle they held a meeting. They developed a fighting program. It was a program for change. It was a program for the rank and file of their union.

For its name, the committee adopted the Rank and File Committee. The RFC's role would be to support union officials who worked for the best of the membership and oppose that do otherwise. They would inform the membership of the day to day development of important events affecting the union. And most importantly of all they vowed to build and strengthen the union.

breed of union leadership exudes a wave of optimism that's sweeping the union.

For those in the reform movement, they're working extra hard to bring into life the dreams held not only by Domingo and Viernes, but the militant trade unionists who spearheaded the first reform movement in the 1940s.

Today's union reform is just a continuation, and as President Chris Mensalvas said in 1952: "We will continue to fight as cannery workers, and fight we will until such time that our people can shout with the human courage and dignity of real workers." □

Where is Our Union . . .

Court Testimony Revelations:

Consulate Official Linked to Espionage

'We Abhor Spying': Angry Reaction to Consulate's Testimony

While Ambassador Armando Fernandez' recent testimony on activities of alleged subversive organizations in the U.S. provoked much anger in the Filipino community. Members of organizations tagged as "subversive" by the consul general, however, weren't surprised at the revelations.

The following were comments gathered by our Los Angeles correspondent:

FLORANTE YBANEZ, KDP

"This is nothing new. Before the news broke, we were fully aware of the Consulate using Marcos agents posing as photographers in gathering photos of activists and supporters at demos against the [Marcos] regime.

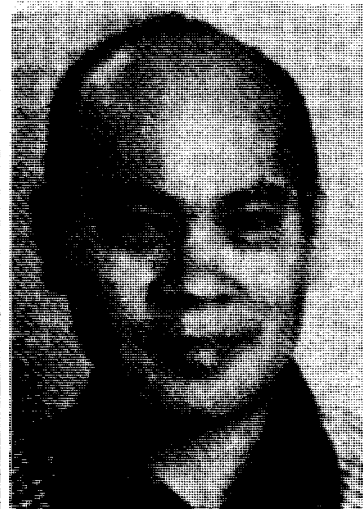
"What is significant is the open admission by Fernandez that his office is involved with systematic monitoring of opposition activities."



MRS. REMEDIOS GEAGA, past president of the Filipino American Community in Los Angeles (FACLA)

"Whoever's here in the U.S. should abhor the thought of a representative from the Philippine government spying on their [anti-Marcos groups] activities.

"He [Fernandez] has no damn business going beyond the bounds of responsibility, which I think should be limited to public relations and the promotion of trade!"

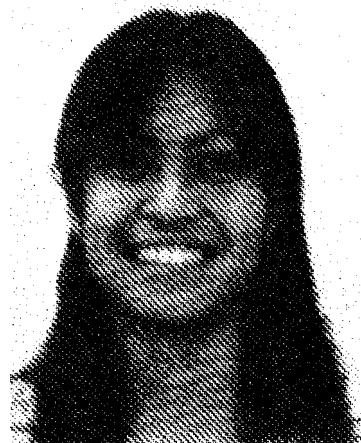


HERMIE ROTEA, publisher, Philippine Press

"It's not true that it [Fernandez' court testimony] received wide coverage in the Philippine media. Otherwise, I would have printed the court document much earlier!"

MINERVA MABINI, CAMD

"It's important to expose the true intentions of the Consulate. This admission exposes the essence of the dictatorship, which includes repression and intimidation of Filipinos outside the Philippines."



MARIA ABADESCO, KDP

"Fernandez needs to publicly define what he means by 'subversive.' Since we have been conducting our activities openly for years, I—as well as the community—don't see anything 'subversive' in these community events, for example the Philippine National Day, that we've spearheaded for a number of years!

"It is understandable that Fernandez, a representative of a highly-criticized repressive regime, would find activities that speak of truth and realities as 'subversive.'"

Abadesco particularly questioned how the ambassador got hold of the KDP One-Year Plan.

"This is strictly an internal document, for KDP members only . . . how he got a copy is highly suspicious."



DANNY LAMILA, MFP

"Responding to a report that a pro-Marcos organization, CONPUSO, is planning to build a Philippine Center in Los Angeles, he said:

"This will probably serve as a spy center for the Marcos regime here in Los Angeles." □

SERIO OSMENA III, known Marcos critic

"I'm not surprised at all. Gen. Ver [Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff] is known to have placed a man in every Philippine Consulate.

"There are presidential security personnel in every consulate, usually undercover as financial or professional attaches."



Consul General Armando C. Fernandez and his staff recently met with Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, Deputy Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines. Fernandez exposed his office's surveillance of anti-Marcos opponents here in the U.S.

By SALVADOR MORANO
V. VILLAPANDO

LOS ANGELES—Despite vehement denials made by a consul general stationed in the largest Filipino community in the U.S., court documents revealed the high ranking Filipino diplomat was actively engaged in "spying" activities of publicly-known anti-Marcos organizations in the U.S.

Testifying before a Quezon City criminal court March of last year, Consul General Armando Fernandez openly admitted to monitoring activities of leading U.S. based anti-Marcos groups, namely: the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP); the Anti-Martial Law Coalition (AMLC); the Anti-Martial Law Alliance (AMLA); the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP); the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP); and the April 6th Liberation Movement.

In the Court of First Instance hearings before Judge Emani Pano (Southern Judicial District, Branch 8), Fernandez labeled these organizations—composed of Filipino-Americans—as subversives "which seek to overthrow the duly constituted Philippine government."

Responding to Judge Pano's inquiry if monitoring activities of

subversive organizations was "one of your functions in the Ministry," Fernandez retorted: "Yes, your honor."

The hearings coincided with the Marcos regime's investigations of the 1980 bombings in Manila, wherein alleged terrorist Victor Burns Lovely, Jr. purportedly named his bombing conspirators based in the U.S.

Apparently, Fernandez issued a lengthy report on these organizations' activities in the form of an affidavit, replete with the groups' publicity materials and documents as exhibits.

"Are you supposed to submit a report on the activities of these various organizations," Judge Pano asked.

"Including periodic reports, including annexes (exhibits), yes" Fernandez responded.

"In my periodic reports to the Ministry," he testified, "I called attention to the fact that these are subversive organizations, and they may be violating some existing U.S. laws."

Among the exhibits attached to Fernandez' affidavit were various AMLC, AMLA and MFP publicity materials, including the KDP's one-year plan, "a highly classified internal document."

He reported these materials were secured from "overt sources

openly distributed by these organizations themselves, through various means . . . during the Philippine National Day celebrations we observed, pickets in front of the Consulate and other special events they conduct."

According to the court document, Fernandez also "disclosed" identities of leaders of these organizations, namely: Rene Cruz of the AMLC, MFP president Raul Manglapus and "Mr. Alvarez, Mr. Gillegos, [and] Mr. Osmeña."

FERNANDEZ 'LAUGHS' OFF CHARGES

Responding to the "spying" charges initially reported in the December 1-15 issue of the Los Angeles *Philippine Press*, Fernandez scoffed at the "spurious and malicious charges," that he is involved in espionage on members of the Filipino-American community.

"We have never nor do we contemplate monitoring each Filipino-American," he said.

However, Fernandez claimed: "The major function of all diplomatic establishments is to safeguard the interests of the home country, and to be blind to violent threats against our government, threats made public in print, would be unpardonable." □

Group . . .

Continued from page 1

Subcommittee headed by Rep. Richard Hughes on January 26 hearing on extradition law.

"This treaty is by no means a 'normal' international agreement to have criminals sent to the Philippines to be tried there," emphasized Walden Bello. "This treaty and the State Department-inspired extradition bills are a lethal political weapon colluded on by the Marcos and Reagan administrators."

CAMD, PSN, and KDP, who are in the core of the committee, have been frequently attacked by the pro-Marcos press both in the Philippines and the U.S.

The Congress Task Force, the research and lobby arm of the CAMD and PSN, has also come under attack from the U.S. radical Right, for its efforts to expose U.S.-World Bank control over the Philippine economy. Together with *Counterspy* magazine, CTF has been accused by *Human Events*, President Reagan's favorite newspaper, of "manipulating" the *Wall Street Journal*. □

SEE BOXED LIST

Among those who have joined the National Committee to Oppose the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty are:

George Wald, Nobel Prize laureate from Harvard; Richard Barnet, Co-Director of the Institute of Policy Studies; Brady Tyson, former member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations; Frances Moor Lappé, social critic and author of *Food First*; Noam Chomsky, noted linguistics professor and peace activist; Richard Falk, professor of International Law at Princeton University; Marilyn Clemson, Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights; Benigno Aquino, former Philippine senator; Peter Weiss, noted civil rights lawyer; Herbert White, head of the immigration task force of the United Church of Christ's Board of Homeland Ministries; Harvey Cox, theologian from Harvard; Diana Passmore, National Coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People; James Petras, professor of Politics at the State University of New York; Matthew Rothschild, associate editor of *Multinational Monitor*; Heidi Parver, National Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador—U.S.-CISPES; Richard Grossman, Director of Environmentalist for Full Employment; David MacCarthy, National Coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with Guatemala; Danny Davis, Chicago City Council; An Ekbal Ahmad, prominent civil rights activist; Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General; and Leonard Weinglass, lawyer for the Chicago-7.

Among the 20 national and local organizations which have joined the committee so far are: Environmentalists for Full Employment (EFE); Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD); Philippine Solidarity Network (PSN); Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP); Southeast Asia Resource Center (SRC); Agape Fellowship; the Asian Human Rights Coalition of Los Angeles; Center for Constitutional Rights; Chicago Peace Council; Friends of Haiti; CARECEN—Center for Central American Refugees.

The National Committee is asking that letters in opposition to the treaty be sent to the Senate. Letters should be addressed: Senate Foreign Relations Committee; c/o Sen. Charles Percy; Washington, D.C. 200 . □

Marcos Critic Charges FBI With Harassment

SAN FRANCISCO—The FBI has been charged with harassment in its investigation of an anti-Marcos opponent here.

Steven Psinakis, under investigation for alleged conspiracy in the 1980 bombing spree in Manila, charged the FBI with illegal search of his home and petitioned the U.S. District Court to order the FBI to return his confiscated property.

"It is a conspiracy to discredit me personally and picture me as a criminal," claimed Psinakis.

Two FBI raids in his San Francisco home failed to yield any bomb-making devices.

Instead, the 20 FBI agents, San Francisco police, San Mateo sheriff's deputies, U.S. customs agents along with two bomb-sniffing dogs, carted away Psinakis' personal correspondence, a small screwdriver, a wire cutter, and



Steve Psinakis

the original manuscript he wrote about the Marcos regime.

Following the December 17 raid, four FBI agents conducted another search where they seized his typewriter and used typewriter ribbons.

The FBI raids were prompted by agents' discovery of bomb-

making materials in garbage bags outside Psinakis' home, and other evidence related to terrorist activities.

EVIDENCE PLANTED?

In affidavits released by the U.S. attorney's office January 14, federal agents say they confiscated 600 feet of detonating cord, explosive chemicals and other bomb-building devices when an informant searched Psinakis' garbage prior to the December 17 raid.

Charging that the search of Psinakis' home and garbage was illegal, George Davis, Psinakis' attorney, said: "We're operating under the theory that anyone that can steal garbage can plant garbage, too."

Psinakis contended that the materials found in his garbage were planted by a Marcos agent

who picked up his trash hours before the garbage trucks were due.

REAGAN'S COMPLICITY DENOUNCED

Psinakis described the raids as "clearly one more step of the Reagan administration's policy to harass and intimidate, and crush all of the critics and political opponents of the Marcos dictatorship in the U.S."

Assistant U.S. Attorney William Farmer who is directing the case for the Department of Justice, said:

"Reports that this is an effort to proceed against opponents of Marcos are incorrect. Whether Psinakis supports or opposes Marcos has nothing to do with the search."

Meanwhile, a Manila newspaper reported January 6 that

Psinakis is among 40 other Marcos foes who have been charged with conspiracy in a series of 1980 bombings in Manila, and with being members of subversive organizations.

The *Bulletin Today* also reported that while there is no extradition treaty between the U.S. and the Philippines now, the Philippine government plans to have its evidence ready when the treaty is ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The FBI investigation was sparked by an alleged confession made by Victor Burns Lovely, Jr., implicating Psinakis to the bombings in Manila.

Lovely, who returned to the U.S. last September to testify against his bombing conspirators, later refused to participate in the grand jury saying the confessions were extracted from him under threats of torture. □

Grand Juries: A Tool for Stifling Dissent?

By V. VILLAPANDO

The grand jury investigation of U.S.-based opponents of Ferdinand Marcos is probably the most dramatic experience the Filipino community has had with this mysterious and fearsome legal proceeding—if not its first experience.

In recent years, many questions have been raised by civil libertarians about the justness of grand jury proceedings. Especially to a growing number of political circles, the grand jury process is nothing more than an old-fashioned inquisition dressed in modern legalistic garb. It is increasingly viewed as a tool for political repression.

ITS ORIGINS

The origins of today's grand jury date back to the medieval period. It evolved as a method to prevent the ruling monarchs from getting rid of their enemies through the courts.

As a body of citizens that stood between the crown and the people, only the grand jury could determine that a formal charge, or indictment, be issued against anyone.

Thus, a person could not simply be forced to stand trial (which could ruin them even if acquitted) at the whim of a monarch. The more publicly controlled grand jury would have to first issue an indictment.

In the U.S., the grand jury concept was adopted into the Constitution to guard against a similar overriding power of the government.

"In fact, it was a reform," noted San Jose lawyer Dan Mayfield. "The grand jury was a preferable method to a more arbitrary system."

A TOOL FOR REPRESSION?

Today, the function of the grand jury is to determine if a crime has been committed, and if so, whether to—and whom to—indict.

However, prosecutors commonly use the grand jury to curb political dissent, and as an intelligence gathering tool. Grand juries are constituted to investigate activities of citizens whose only "crime"

might be to uphold and express unpopular political ideas.

In the sixties and early seventies, for example, grand jury probes singled out the anti-war movement, black liberation groups and the Weather Underground.

More recently, grand juries have targeted U.S.-based national liberation support movements, especially the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The grand jury appears to have become more of a political instrument used by the government to harass its citizenry.

"It would be a cruel twist of history," stated Judge Shirley Hufstедler of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, "to allow the institution of the grand jury that was designed at least partially to protect political dissent, to become an instrument of political suppression."

WHO CAN BE SUBPOENAED?

Anyone can be subpoenaed by the grand jury. A subpoena is a legal paper requiring a person to appear before a grand jury. The appearance maybe scheduled the next day, and it may be 500 miles away, yet a person can be considered a fugitive and charged with criminal contempt if he/she fails to appear.

Once inside, the prosecutor can ask any question and the person is required to respond. "You can't answer some of the questions and not answer others," explained lawyer Dan Mayfield.

The rules of courtroom fair play (commonly called "due process" and established in the constitution) do not apply to a grand jury proceeding.

The grand jury meets in secret. A person subpoenaed to testify cannot be accompanied by a lawyer inside the grand jury room.

In responding to grand jury questions, one may unwittingly incriminate others for something they may—or may not—have done.

Should a person plead the Fifth

Amendment or protection against self-incrimination, he/she is likely to be granted "immunity," even against one's will. The granting of immunity whereby a person is stripped of the Fifth Amendment rights, leaves the choice of either testifying going to jail for contempt of court up to the person.

For many refusing to testify—even at the expense of a jail sentence is the better alternative. For, if a witness happens to make contradictory statements, this

maybe ruled illegal and the witness may still wind up in jail.

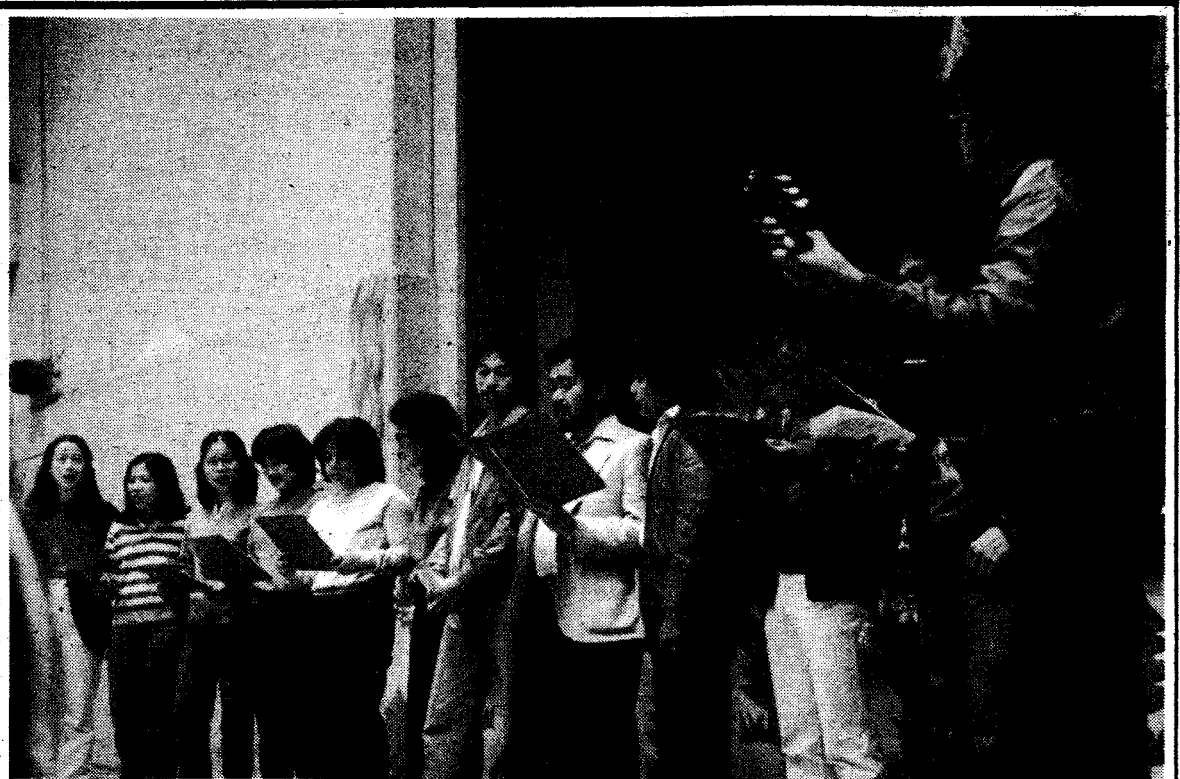
Mayfield explained that someone who refuses to testify can be jailed "for the life of the grand jury," which varies from state to state.

"Generally, the life of a grand jury is one year," said Mayfield. "Some grand juries last 18 months—that then becomes the length of the jail sentence."

However, Mayfield explained that the law allows that not every-

one who refuses to testify goes to jail. "In a sense, that's why we have lawyers, that's why the National Lawyers' Guild has existed, and that's why the Grand Jury Project has existed. Their role is to protect those people."

The Grand Jury Project, Inc., a non-profit organization committed to fighting grand jury abuses and related political oppression, was formed in February 1975. □



As the Christmas Caroling campaign to raise funds for the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) ended, ties between CAMD and its supporters were built and strengthened. One of the significant gains this past year, CAMD reviewed many ties with long-time supporters who actively contributed to the anti-dictatorship movement since the declaration of martial law. "It's inspiring to see our supporters' enthusiastic response to our caroling," beamed Raddy Cadorna, caroling campaign coordinator in San Francisco. "We welcome their active participation in future campaigns."

Subscribe Now!

Clip and Mail

ANG KATIPUNAN

P.O. BOX 2759

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94602

YES, I would like to support your efforts in building a progressive Filipino community.

- One Year Subscription \$7.50
- One Year Subscription Renewal \$7.50
- One Time Donor \$

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

What's Happening in Poland?

By VICTOR UNO
Managing Editor

Recent pronouncements emanating from the White House expressing the Reagan Administration's support for "freedom, independence and democracy" for Poland sound innocently pious yet ring ominously hypocritical to even the most casual observer of recent events.

For while seemingly supporting the desperate plight of the Polish people, Reagan has evoked strict economic sanctions against that country, stopped shipments of much needed foodstuffs and heightened its attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In addition, while condemning martial law in Poland, the Reagan administration's support for brutal military regimes in the Philippines, El Salvador and South Korea raise serious questions about the motivations for Washington's alleged concern. And, finally, while giving support to the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland, it must be remembered that the Reagan administration was responsible for the suppression of the air traffic controllers strike in this country and continues to be responsible for a domestic economic crisis idling almost 10 million workers.

So if the Reagan administration is not the friend of the Polish people, as it would have others believe, what are the motivations behind its attacks against Poland? When the White House speaks of "freedom, independence and democracy," one must go beyond the pious declarations and examine the nature of the current crisis in Poland.

FAILURE OF SOCIALISM?

From the White House down to the various mouthpieces of the U.S. ruling class, numerous commentators and observers are loudly proclaiming the Polish crisis as "the failure of socialism." The irony of massive numbers of workers striking in a socialist country has been more than the western world could hope for, and they can hardly contain their glee over the recent events. Suddenly, the *Wall Street Journal* has become a champion of workers' rights and Ronald Reagan is lighting candles for the Polish masses.

The fact that the crisis in Poland has resulted in the imposition of martial law, with a major section of the Polish people alienated from the government, indicates a problem of immense proportions.

Yet the indictment here would have to rest not on socialism per se, but on the particular policies and politics of Poland's ruling Communist Party, the Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP).

Over 25 years in the making, the current crisis has its roots in the particular development of Poland following World War II and the general scheme of development then hailed as the "Polish road to socialism."

DEFEAT OF FASCISM

World War II brought tremendous changes to the political map of the world. Poland, after years of brutal Nazi occupation, was liberated in 1945 by the combined actions of the Soviet Red Army, the left-led First Polish Army and indigenous communist-led People's Guard forces. Close to 900,000 Soviet men and women were killed in the battle for Poland, and Nazi devastation was near total. Over 20% of Poland's population was killed by the Nazis, 70% of the country's industry was destroyed, transportation and communication facilities were in ruin and Warsaw, the nation's capital, was leveled, with 90% of its building destroyed.

The post-war reconstruction period saw a heated political battle sharpen as the U.S. launched its Cold War assault against the Soviet Union and the emerging socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The coalition government in the Polish People's Republic was abandoned in 1946 by the pro-Western vice-premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, as he fled to the West to fight for his country's "liberation" from the communist threat. Mikolajczyk's main complaint was that in the elections held for the coalition government, his party, the Peasant's Party, was able to garner only a minority of the popular vote.

The popular mandate of the Polish people, which at war's end respected the indigenous anti-Nazi forces more than Mikolajczyk's self-styled Polish Government in Exile headquartered in London, paved the way for reconstructing Poland on socialist foundations. While the Cold War heated up, and Polish emigrés in the West ranted and raved over losing Poland to communism, the country was painfully rebuilt.

SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION

In the post-war period, the Soviet Union, itself devastated by the Nazi invasion with the loss of 20 million lives, helped to rebuild not only Poland, but all of the devastated countries of Eastern Europe.

'Over 25 years in the making, the crisis has its roots in what was hailed as the Polish road to socialism.'

Western capital, which under the Marshall Plan poured into Western Europe and Japan to revitalize capitalist business and industries, was denied to Poland.

Nevertheless, by 1953, Poland's industry had not only recovered, but it had advanced to 3.8 times the 1938 level. The country's average industrial growth rate grew at a phenomenal 11% during the 50s and 60s, far ahead of West Europe's growth. Working closely with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist bloc, Poland was able to make tremendous strides in its economic development.

From 1948 through the early 1950s, Poland's communist party was able to establish the socialist foundations of the country. A backward, largely agricultural country, Poland was transformed into a modern, industrial nation. The economy came under centralized planning and industry was in the hands of the state. Even agriculture was progressively being collectivized, a move necessary to modernize a backward peasant economy and increase the production of foodstuffs with mechanized farming implements. It was on this socialist foundation that all of Poland's economic gains were to be made.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITH GROWTH

Poland's economic progress, however, was not without its attendant problems. Shortages of housing, consumer goods and food were often endured by the populace. Without sufficient education and preparation by the PUWP to endure periods of hardship, the Polish masses would, and did, often react with spontaneous strikes and demonstrations. In addition, declassed remnants of Poland's former ruling classes often seized upon the periods of difficulty to agitate against the young socialist state.

Such was the case in 1956, when food shortages sparked widespread strikes and

demonstrations against the government. The PUWP reacted to the unrest by issuing promises of reforms and installing Wladyslaw Gomulka to head the party. Vowing to bring development to the country with a minimum of pain and suffering, Gomulka charted a new path for Poland, "Poland's independent path to socialism."

In two important areas of socialist construction, Gomulka reversed the process of socialism. In the countryside, to appease the small farmers, the collectivization movement was halted and then reversed. Of some 11,500 cooperative farms, 8,500 were dismantled and returned to private ownership. Today, 80% of Poland's arable land continues to be held by small, private owners, employing primitive and inefficient farming methods.

Gomulka also struck up a compact with PUWP's main ideological enemy, the Catholic Church. Catholicism in Poland, firmly rooted for centuries in the country, has been a base for anti-communism. Allowing the church to flourish unfettered with a promise by the church not to oppose the government, priests are now paid by the state and the national budget allows for the maintenance of religious institutions. By 1971, some 18,000 cathecism centers were established by the church throughout the country, and today, 80% of Poland's population considers themselves Catholic.

amounts to 40% of the state budget. A liter of milk, for example costs the state 10 zlotys (Polish currency) to get it from the farmer. That milk is then sold in a state store for 4 zlotys. Numerous other examples abound.

BANKS OPEN POLAND'S BOOKS

Poland's economic crisis was of such extreme measure by the late 1970s that the banks holding the loans demanded a say over the country's economic policies, fearing a default on the loans. Gierek and the PUWP agreed, such that the *New York Times* (Jan. 26, 1979) would report:

"As part of an effort to obtain a major new loan, Poland has agreed to permit Western banks to monitor its economic policies, American bankers say. They regard the concession as a historic breakthrough in the financial relations with the communist world. . . . The banks involved in the new credit will henceforth track the progress of the Polish economy much as the International Monetary Fund monitors the economies of the non-communist countries in financial distress."

Once the banks opened the books and saw the figures, they demanded, not collectivization of agriculture, but the raising of prices paid by workers for agricultural goods. The government subsidies, they argued, should be used to pay back the loans.

Gierek and the PUWP, unable to see any other way out of their dilemma, relented. The government's attempts to impose price hikes 16 months ago sparked the uprisings of workers which resulted in the Solidarity trade union movement.

THE CURRENT CRISIS

Despite the many grievous errors of the PUWP, the party has remained a force, however weak, for the maintenance of socialism in Poland. Solidarity, as a trade union movement, initially served as a rallying point for workers disaffected from the government's economic policies. Many divergent trends in the union emerged, some forces attempted to take responsibility for resolving the economic crisis while others agitated for an overthrow of the socialist system.

Those forces within Solidarity who called for the overthrow of the government gained a majority of the union's national presidium in early December. The many economic strikes called by the union over the recent period were costing Solidarity popular support, and a secret proposal was made for the overthrow of the government.

Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak, Jan Rulewski, and other Solidarity leaders spoke at length about their plans on December 6. Walesa said that "Confrontation is inevitable and it will take place. . . we are picking a road for a lightning-speed maneuver. . . . After all, let us realize that we are bringing this system down." Bujak said that "The government must at last be overthrown, laid bare and stripped of all credibility. . . ."

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who assumed power late last year, quickly moved the country's military to stop any movement by Solidarity reactionaries to seize power, declaring martial law on December 16. Since then, despite the outpouring of denunciations from the West, the situation in Poland has stabilized.

The numerous problems, however, which provoked the crisis remain. Whether or not the PUWP will be able to rectify its economic policies, reestablish its ties with the Polish workers and gain the confidence of the masses will ultimately decide the fate of socialism in Poland. □

By surrendering the struggle for socialism in agriculture and leaving the ideological training of the Polish masses to the Catholic Church, Gomulka brought Poland into the 70s on very shaky foundations. In fact, the 1970 economic crisis which saw widespread strikes and demonstrations against the government due to food shortages brought about Gomulka's downfall.

SOCIALISM VIA WESTERN LOANS?

The problems created for socialism in Poland by Gomulka were further exacerbated by Edward Gierek, who assumed leadership of the PUWP. Instead of facing the pressing problem of an inefficient agriculture in control of a class of small farmers hostile to socialism, Gierek chartered an industrialization scheme to be financed by Western banks.

Hoping that the factories built on foreign credit would produce goods that would then be sold to pay-off the debt, Gierek borrowed heavily, and extensively, from the West. While in 1970 Poland's hard currency debt stood at \$741 million, by 1980 that debt was an incredible \$25 billion. Interest payments alone amounted to 2.5 billion a year.

Gierek's get-rich-quick scheme failed dramatically. Typical of the blunders was a \$1 billion tractor factory which produces only 500 units a year instead of the projected 75,000. The reason? The tractors could not be sold in the West and were too expensive to sell to other socialist countries. The same consequences resulted for an RCA and Corning Glass Works television factory.

In another seemingly unresolvable dilemma, the government has been trying to keep prices for foodstuffs low for workers while satisfying farmer demands for higher prices. State subsidies for farmers now

John Reed, American Revolutionary:

'American Capitalists are Afraid of Revolution'

Actor Warren Beatty's movie "Reds" is currently drawing hordes of theatre-goers. It depicts the lives of "American Reds" John Reed and Louise Bryant.

John Reed was a journalist who was also an activist. He was considered a top news correspondent during his time. His best known works are "Insurgent Mexico," a highly acclaimed account of the Mexican Revolution and "Ten Days That Shook the World," which is still considered by many writers and historians as the best account of the decisive days of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Reed was a founding member of the American Communist Party and a delegate to the Communist International which was the central coordinating body of all the world's communist parties. Reed died in Russia of typhus of age 33. At that time he was already masked as one of the most dangerous political adversary of the U.S. government. He is the only American buried in the Kremlin.

In "Reds" there was a scene with Beatty as Reed delivering a speech at the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, on the Caspian Sea. The 1920 Baku Congress was attended by nearly 2,000 representatives of national liberation movements and communist parties from Asian countries including Iran, Afghanistan, China, and India. The Russian Revolution was trying to forge anti-imperialist unity with its natural allies, the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the brief scene, Reed's speech on U.S. colonialism was illustrated by a few sentences uttered by Beatty attacking the American colonization of the Philippines. Our readers might want to know what more Reed said. Below are excerpts from his speech at Baku. Reed's books, especially "Ten Days That Shook the World" are available in major commercial and progressive bookstores—Ed.)

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the greatest imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French, and Italian imperialists and probably you think that "free America" will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them.

No. The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, they know what it means to live under the rule of "free America."

Take, for example, the peoples of the Philippines. In 1898 the Filipinos rebelled against the cruel colonial government of Spain, and the Americans helped them.* But after the Spaniards had been driven out the Americans did not want to go away.

Then the Filipinos rose against the Americans, and this time the "liberators" started to kill them, their wives, and children: they tortured them and eventually conquered them. They seized their land and forced them to work and make profits for American capitalists.

The Americans have promised the Filipinos independence. Soon an independent Filipino republic will be proclaimed. But this does not mean that the American capitalists will leave or that the Filipinos will not continue to work to make profits for them. The American capitalists have given the Filipino leaders a share of their profits—they have given them government jobs, land, and money—they have created a Filipino capitalist class which also lives on the profits created by the workers—and in whose interests it is to keep the Filipinos in slavery.

This has also happened in Cuba, which was freed from Spanish rule with the help of Americans. It is now an independent republic. But American millionaire trusts own all the sugar plantations, apart from some small tracts which they have let the Cuban capitalists have: the latter also administer the country. And the moment that the workers of Cuba try to elect a government which is not in the interests of the American capitalists, the United States of America sends soldiers into Cuba to compel the people to vote for their oppressors.

Or let us take the example of the republics of Haiti and San Domingo, where the peoples won freedom a century ago. Since this island was fertile and the people living on it could be put to use by the American capitalists, the government of the U.S. sent soldiers and sailors there on the pretext of maintaining order and smashed these two republics, setting up in their place a military dictatorship worse than the British tyrants.

Mexico is another rich country which is close to the

U.S.A. In Mexico live a backward people who were enslaved for centuries, first by the Spaniards and then by foreign capitalists. There, after many years of civil war, the people formed their own government, not a proletarian government but a democratic one, which wanted to keep the wealth of Mexico for the Mexicans and tax the foreign capitalists. The American capitalists did not concern themselves with sending bread to the hungry Mexicans. No, they initiated a counterrevolution in Mexico, in which Madero, the first revolutionary president, was killed. Then, after a three-year struggle, the revolutionary regime was restored, with Carranza as president. The American capitalists made another counterrevolution and killed Carranza, establishing once more a government friendly to themselves . . .

At the present time the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to

Armenia and enslaving the Armenian nation. It is with this aim that American missionaries have established schools in the Near East.

But there is also another very important reason: the American capitalists, together with other capitalists nations, united in the League of Nations, are afraid that the workers and peasants of Armenia will follow the example of Soviet Russia and Soviet Azerbaijan will take power and their country's resources into their own hands, and will work for themselves, making a united front with the workers and peasants of the whole world against world imperialism. The American capitalists are afraid of a revolution in the East.

Promising food to starving peoples and at the same time organizing a blockade of the Soviet Republics—that is the policy of the United States. The blockade of Soviet Russia has starved to death thousands of Russian women and children. This same method of blockade was applied in order to turn the Hungarian people against their soviet government. The same tactic is now being used in order to draw the people of White Hungary into war against Soviet Russia. This method is also being used in the small countries bordering on Russia—Finland, Estonia, Latvia. But now all these small countries have been obliged to make peace with Soviet Russia: they are bankrupt and starving. Now the American government no longer offers them food; they are no longer of any use to America, and so their peoples can starve . . .



John Reed

the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam.

These same American capitalists incite the American workers and farmers against each other: they starve and exploit the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines, they savagely kill and burn alive American Negroes, and in America itself American workers are obliged to work under frightful conditions, receiving low wages for a long workday. When they are exhausted they are thrown out onto the street, where they die of hunger.

The same gentleman who is now in charge of bringing aid to the starving Armenians, Mr. Cleveland Dodge, who writes emotional articles about how the Turks have driven the Armenians into the desert, is the owner of big copper mines where thousands of American workers are exploited, and when these workers dared to go on strike the guards protecting Mr. Dodge's mines drove them at the point of the bayonet out into the desert—just as was done to the Armenians . . .

But why do the American capitalists promise aid and food to Armenia? Is it out of pure philanthropy? If so, let them feed the peoples of Central America and help the Negroes of America itself.

No. The main reason is that there is mineral wealth in Armenia, and that it is a big reservoir of cheap labor which can be exploited by American capitalists.

The American capitalists want to win the confidence of the Armenians with a view to getting their claws into

A Poem From Prison

the prosecutor

*unabashedly grouchy
pate shining, moustache
twitching, he bellows
a question to his witness,
a mind focus not on replay
but on the following query.*

*he jumps at defense's
objection—"no basis, leading"—
and stammers a counter-objection
as he sneers at his calm adversary.
then he retreats, "I'll rephrase it"
upon the tribunal's behest.*

*(why hadn't he streamlined
his questions, having gone
over them a thousand times
before a mirror—he, military
prosecutor today, lusterless tax
lawyer yesterday?)*

*a big more swagger
a shrug of the shoulder
and a rising inflection
—wry attempts at hauteur—
alas, could not try as he,
infuse logic nor coherency.*

*ah, the tragedy of little men
trying hard to be mountains
the temerity of the trivial
striving to be substantial.
no measure of "by the ways"
and "anyways" can spell the success.*

*poor man, riling this panel
of honorable military men,
what rock they wished for
turned out to be muck—
what awe can they elicit
from his, a court jester?*

*the prosecutor rests
in a quagmire.*

—anonymous
14 August 1981
Bicutan Prison, Philippines

(written after returning from a session of a special military commission hearing, the "perpetuation of testimonies" by the prosecution in the Karagatan-Andrea rebellion case. Officers Clubhouse, Fort Bonifacio, Metro-Manila)

Marcos' Stabilization Plan:

Save the Mines, Starve the Miners

By NENE OJEDA
AK Staff Writer

The recent presidential directive creating a special stabilization fund "to assist mining companies during periods of depressed world markets," may spell relief. At least for some.

The fund will keep mining firms from defaulting on loan payments or from facing closure due to low and unprofitable production.

It will not, however, help mine workers keep body and soul together by increasing their wages. Labor costs, mining company managers complain, compounded the already high costs of equipment and raw materials.

Low metal prices world wide are also blamed for placing the country's once fastest-growing industry in a precarious position. Since most of mining production



To minimize theft in Philippine mines, workers are frisked and made to pass through metal detectors.

is exported, companies are particularly vulnerable to the highs and lows of the international market.

FOUR DISASTERS, SIX IN THE MAKING

Jaime Ongpin, president of the Benguet Corp., the country's largest mining company, estimates that of the 17 mining projects started a little over a decade ago, four are "confirmed financial disasters, while six are disasters in the making."

Two mines have already shut their doors and another two companies have expressed the possibility of putting their mines up for sale.

But the Philippine government apparently hopes not to let these companies fall by the wayside.

The state-owned Development Bank of the Philippines acquired majority ownership of the floundering Western Minolco. Consolidated Mines' Ino Project was rescued twice from defaulting on bank loans—first by local banks acting as guarantors, then by the Central Bank of the Philippines.

TOP PRIORITY IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Before this current slump, the mining industry showed tremendous growth in production. During

the year 1969-1970 alone, production value increased by some 32%. The industry's potential as an earner convinced the newly re-elected Ferdinand Marcos to give it top priority in the government's economic development program.

Industrialization in the Philippines was envisioned with the establishment of ore processing plants. Instead of the traditional raw material exports, the country would export processed ores to a highly demanding market.

The mining industry's almost guaranteed return rate of 20%—P20 earned for every P100 invested—also made it an attractive venture. Especially interested were foreign companies.

The expiration of the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1973 did not discourage foreign investment in what was coming to be the country's most lucrative industry.

The government, through the Bureau of Industry, enticed foreign capital with special privileges: tax exemptions, freedom to repatriate earnings, and liberal immigration policies for foreign technicians.

Indirect investment was another channel for foreign capital. The country's five largest mining companies are tied to foreign companies through bank loans, technical assistance, and production contracts.

98% OF PRODUCTION EXPORTED

The Philippines' rich metallic ore reserves are tapped, in many operations, by 24-hour mining.

The Philippines now rank No. 9 in worldwide production of copper. The country is the top producer of gold in Asia, No. 7 worldwide.

The majority of the country's mineral production is exported. All but 2% of the Philippines' production of copper was sold to Japan. In 1979 copper exports brought in almost half a billion pesos in revenue. Nickel earned P100 million while cobalt brought in P50 million. Japan receives 67% of the country's mineral production while the U.S. takes 11% of total production.

The year 1979 was particularly good for the mining industry. Total mineral production amounted to P9.5 billion. This boosted mining firms' earnings by over 6%.

BOOM FOR SOME

But the bounty of 1979's year of plenty did not reach all. Mine workers—those who dig the mine tunnel and haul out the rich ore—did not enjoy its benefits.

Work for miners, boom year or not, has always been 3,000 to 5,000 feet underground. Here they work in 100° temperatures, clad only in briefs and helmets. Helmets protect miners from falling rocks, and briefs prevent them from smuggling out ore.

Increases in metal prices have prompted mining firms to take ever stricter measures against theft. Miners are now not only frisked but are required to pass



Philippine miners, toiling in 100° temperatures and using primitive equipment, did not benefit when metal prices soared. With the world market on shaky grounds, they face even harsher times ahead. (Fortune)

through metal detectors to and from the mines.

Constant exposure to the detectors' radiation has taken its toll. Over a thousand workers in one mine have left due to ailments such as rapid aging, fatigue and loss of sexual potency.

Workers also labor amidst dust, grime and, at times, toxic gases. Inadequate oxygen is an ever present danger. Skin diseases, TB, and other respiratory ailments are common.

Cave-ins, brought about by blasting ore free from cave walls, claim at least one miner a month.

HARSHER LIFE OUTSIDE THE MINE

Outside the mines, workers face the daily pressures for survival on the P15 minimum daily wage. Malnutrition among the ill-fed children of miners is rampant.

Housing, sometimes provided as a "benefit" deducted from the miner's wage, is often a one-room

affair. Company bunkhouses are shared by two families or a total of 10 to 16 people.

When no such housing exists, miners—often tribal folks—set up shacks near the mines. Sanitation is nonexistent. Latrines are mere holes in the ground.

A MINER'S WAGE—7% OF WHAT HE PRODUCES

The starkness of the miners' plight and the value of the metal they produce was graphically shown in what became the biggest mining strike in the industry's history.

One year ago, in January 1981, Benguet's 6,500 workers walked out in protest of their low wages and horrible working conditions. The organizing union computed that a miner working eight hours a day produces P188 worth of minerals. Deducting the P12 minimum wage, the union showed that 93% of a miner's labor goes

to pad the pockets of those who never even set foot inside the dank tunnels.

Benguet Corporation was forced to compromise with the miners rather than lose P2.5 million each day of the strike.

NO END IN SIGHT

The mining companies can now rely on government support to tide them over until their products can again be exported at profitable rates. But the stabilization fund itself is hardly stable. Its funding and size have not been disclosed. And companies are expected to support it once they are stable.

The mine workers will not have this government support. Instead they may face harsher times with the probable loss of government-ordered cost-of-living allowances (COLAs). More and more the miners are realizing they will have to rely upon themselves to survive. □



Will MOLE's decision to remove cost-of-living allowances and minimum daily wage rates put an end to strikes and walkouts? (AK Photo File)

MOLE's Solution to Labor Woes: Tightening the Screws on R.P. Workers

The Philippine Ministry of Labor and Employment (MOLE) has hit upon a novel solution to the country's labor woes.

Strikes and walk-outs, plagues to the nation's industries, may soon be a thing of the past. The lifting of martial law last year had allowed the flourishing of almost daily protest actions calling for better wages and working conditions.

A major issue has been the cost of living allowances. COLAs,

workers complain, are not being given.

Thus the MOLE removed the government mandate ensuring appropriate wage increases to match inflation rates. Without the COLAs, workers have nothing to complain about.

Low wages have been another sore spot with workers. But the minimum P15 daily wage, already the lowest in Asia, will soon have to go.

Lower wages, says MOLE,

will encourage the growth of new businesses. And this would mean more jobs for more people.

To further wash its hands off any responsibility to the labor sector, the MOLE has withdrawn from the tripartite (government-management-labor) wage scale negotiations.

With almost one-quarter of the population unemployed, company management can well afford to pay the lowest wage it can get away with. □