

Ang **Katipunan**

Volume VIII, No. 11
November 1982 50¢

NATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE OF THE
UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FILIPINOS (KDP)

FM GOES ON REPRESSION RAMPAGE

By NANCY ROCAMORA

"It's just like a gruesome flashback to September 1972," remarked one U.S.-based activist just returned from the Philippines. She was referring to Ferdinand Marcos' current clampdown on the Philippine opposition.

Some had wondered at the hysteria in Marcos' tone on August 8 when he thundered, "You cannot kill all of us! Some of us will be left to finish you!" At that time, he also bared the existence of a "plot" against his regime.

"Don't you know there are crackdowns regularly in the Philippines twice a year in April and in September?" one blasé State Department official told a curious reporter during the Marcos state visit. He dismissed the spate of arrests with a wave of his hand.

But the arrests and killings are continuing and appear far from being just another semi-annual crackdown. There is also method in Marcos' madness. He began with an assault on the urban-based labor movement. By September 7, 81 have been arrested—for subversion—most of them labor leaders.

But labor is just one target in what is now clear is a nationwide drive to paralyze the opposition for good. Other strategic targets are receiving just as severe—if less publicized—assaults. They included the Roman Catholic Church, the leadership of the National Democratic underground resistance movement, the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The opening of the bloody new crackdown, timed as a background for Marcos' recent visit to the United States, was no accident. It was deliberately coordinated as part of the image he wanted to present to his U.S. hosts.

STRANGLING THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Philippine trade union leaders now refer to August 13 as "Black Friday." This was the day the Marcos regime launched its first barrage on the progressive labor movement.

In the space of three hours, troops swept down on the offices of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU, May First Movement) and four affiliate federations—the National Federation of Labor Unions (NAFLU), the National Federation of Labor (NFL), Philippine Alliance of Nationalist Labor Organizations (PANALO), and the Association of Democratic Labor Organizations (ADLO).

Among the 14 arrested on Black Friday were 79-year-old Felixberto Olalia, Chairman of the KMU and the broader *Pagkakaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino* (Unity of Filipino Workers) (see related story, page 3) and Cipriano Malonso, KMU Secretary-General and NFL president.

Five days later, another sweep netted Crispin Beltran, KMU Vice-Chairman and PANALO Vice-President and two labor lawyers. On September 1, yet another series of raids hit the homes of labor leaders and brought in another 23.

Marcos clearly intends to strangle the rapidly growing militant trade union movement which was responsible for initiating a number of strikes within the last year. The severity of his crackdown is not indicated merely by the number of arrests.

Union offices were raided, ransacked and padlocked. Complete cabinets of files and documents were removed.

Understanding the importance of propaganda to the

Continued on page 5



KMU's Felixberto Olalia, Sr.

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

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

Editorials

THE (POLITICAL) OUTLOOK IS CLOUDY

As has often been noted, elections are political weathervanes. In the instance of the November 2 elections, the way politicians from both parties chose which issues to demarcate on tells us that not only is there bad weather ahead, much of it will also be cloudy as far as the American working people are concerned.

Republican or Democrat, every candidate was for jobs, naturally. The official rolls place the number of unemployed at 11 million. With more people seeking explanations, both parties acrimoniously blamed each other while offering tired solutions. The Democrats who had enough years in office to cause their own damage, attacked Reagan's economic policy, though not all of it. Reagan, who pronounced every peak in a wild stock market a proof that his plan is working, blamed the "overspending" Democrats. He did not mention that he pushed for the biggest peacetime military budget ever. Of course, no one said that the problem is bigger than both of them, that their whole system is in crisis. That would have exposed the emptiness of the whole contest.

But if politicians are now speaking to the issue jobs, it is only because more white people are now unemployed. It is now a "real crisis" because more white faces are on the unemployment lines. This mentality partly explains why no one but a handful of Black politicians spoke to the issue of racism, the rise in racist violence, and the racial bias in the austerity program that is in full swing. If anyone spoke to the issue of race, it was to convince white voters as to who was more protective of the rights of "real Americans."

Needless to say, no one took up the cudgel for immigrants and their rights—they cannot vote anyway.

As for civil liberties, no one railed against its erosion. Everyone was for "tougher laws," for more police with more power, all in the guise of fighting crime.

While more politicians astutely played on growing fears of nuclear war, no one challenged the basic aggressive thrust of U.S. foreign policy, its support for fascism abroad, its provocations that are the main source of war today. No one of course was ready to say that what the U.S. does abroad has everything to do with difficulties people face at home.

A few more voters may or may not have gone to the polls but not any more of them got answers to their questions. If organized labor drew more people in militant marches, its leadership had only the aim of channeling discontent towards gains for the Democratic Party. Until the progressive movement develops its own voice, the real issues will not be brought systematically before the electorate. Until then, no real answers to the people's very real questions are forthcoming.

THE FASCIST PARADE (A Not So Belated Halloween Editorial)

From the parade of trick or treaters who have been knocking on Reagan's door, it is easy to get a whiff of what's brewing in many parts of the world and who's really brewing it.

After Ferdinand Marcos got his billion dollars' worth of candy, came Indonesia's Suharto, a real ogre if there ever was one. He and Marcos, you see, are being groomed as Reagan's main enforcers within the ASEAN, a den of pro-U.S. dictators determined to keep Southeast Asia in the "Free World." Their immediate agenda: how to destabilize Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on behalf of Washington.

Then there was Lebanon's Amin Gemayel, who came in a "regular statesman" costume and managed somehow to veil the fact that he has always been a leader of the Phalangists, the fascist "Christian" allies of Israel. Knowing that the U.S. is in the middle of a lover's spat with Tel Aviv, Gemayel safely followed

Reagan's cues and postured as an advocate of Lebanese national unity. He knows where the grease from Israel has really been coming from all these years. Besides he is (get this) courting Arab support for the rebuilding of Beirut, after Tel Aviv bombed it to rubble.

Not to be missed is Menachem Begin, a firm believer in the fantasy that Palestinian rights do not exist, or if they do, they should not. Begin's visiting the centers of Zionist support within the U.S. Jewish community. His backers are busy trying to resuscitate the demagogic line about anti-Zionism being synonymous to anti-Semitism, among other things. After all, many Jews are beginning to see through the "legitimate cause" costume that Zionism has worn throughout all these years. He may or may not see Ronald Reagan because of their current tiff. But it hardly matters. The U.S. is expected to fork over Israel's usual \$3 billion treat anyway.

In or out of costume, these fascist trick or treaters make it a halloween for human rights all year round and they know whose door to knock on for the nicest treats. That's where the biggest, the baddest, and the richest ghoul in town lives. □

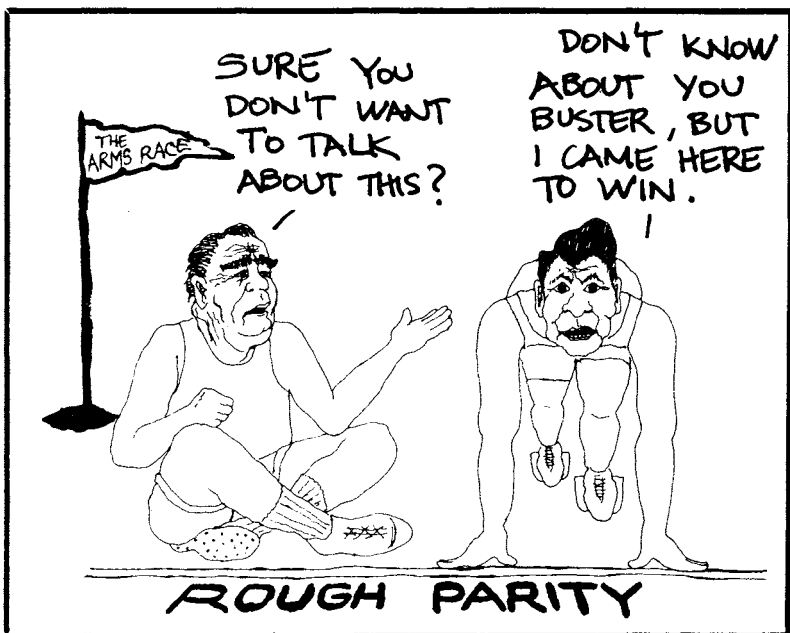
CLUMSY, CLUMSY

Almost two months have passed since Ferdinand Marcos' state visit and his controlled press is still clumsily trying to rescue the regime from the embarrassment stirred by the nationwide protests. The regime's so-called independent press are still spewing out heavy doses of vitriol at the KDP and the CAMD-PSN, no doubt following "directions from above."

From these "reports," one is supposed to conclude that Marcos was received like a conquering hero by the U.S. public and media. It seems the regime is also hell-bent on believing a fantasy it spent millions for. The Filipino community, according to FM's press, showed their overwhelming support for Marcos by turning out in droves to see movie star extravaganzas. A certain Alberto Alfaro of the "Philippine News Agency," even proudly reported that "the Ilocano associations throughout the U.S. were openly supportive of the President." No comment.

The same "reporter" also said that the expected protests fizzled out and that those who came were a tiny mixture of Filipinos and Americans "some of whom espoused such causes as nuclear freeze and world peace." Heaven forbid.

In any case, the Manila press' efforts to recover lost ground make for an entertaining reading. These pampered gents may know how to play cards but they are very poor players. They always show their hand. □



Letters

Congratulations to the *Ang Katipunan* staff for introducing an attractive format, in-depth analyses of political situations and its expressed commitment to the struggle of the Filipino people both here and abroad. I particularly appreciate your fearless presentation of Malacañang-Washington connection in the context of the nature of imperialism today. Enclosed is my subscription for one year. We hope to use your progressive paper as a vital source of information for a Philippine study group here in Windsor.

Jess Agustin
Windsor, Ontario

ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

Publisher: Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

Editor: Rene Cruz

Philippines: Emil De Guzman, Nene Ojeda, Nancy Rocamora
Filipino Community: Annatess Araneta, Vicky Perez, Venny Villapando
U.S./International: Vince Reyes

Art and Production: Wicks Geaga, T. Rocamora

Litter from Manila:

Imelda is S&S, But Virata Has No Ph.D



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

President Marcos' visit to America was a grandiloquent success of immeasurable historic significance and like his usual self, he did not make a single mistake. From the very first day he worked wonders, infusing the trip with his own image and giving the Americans a true picture of the New Republic. And on the seventh day, he rested. President Reagan, greeting our leader like an old best friend, patted him endlessly. I think Reagan did not want FM to go home. I heard him say "Stay!" many times. FM correctly made no bones about his devotion to America, telling Reagan they can use the bases any way they wish. Only one minor problem arose during the official reception. The White House puppy kept barking angrily at Mr. and Mrs. Marcos. "I think he's just jealous and threatened," Nancy Reagan explained as she quieted him down. "There, there dearie—the Marcoses are just visiting," she said. Mrs. Marcos quickly recovered her cool and softly elbowed a startled FM, saying, "*Ang cute ng tata ano?*"

The usually rude U.S. media wilted before FM's faultless defense of the New Republic. At the National Press Club in D.C., he dazzled reporters

who just sat there speechless as he fearlessly answered some of their written questions. On "Meet the Press" (which should be called "Miff the Prez" because the questions are so annoying), FM spoke on human rights, economics, history, war so eloquently sometimes he touched on all of them in one sentence. His media appearances also laid to rest rumors that he is sick. Why, he did not even have to use the two ambulances that always came with the presidential caravan.

The First Lady convinced the U.S. media that although she's an S&S (star and slave) to the people she does not wish to be president. She does not want to lose her "mystique as a woman." I sympathize with her because as she said, she's and S.O.B.—a "soldier of beauty." Anyone who wants the presidency must be into S&M (strife and mediation) and must know when to shout and when to soothe. That's why Virata is not cut out to be president. He's PDQ (pretty damn quiet) and did you know that this supposed scholar has no Ph.D (powerbase and historical destiny)? Now, Gen. Ver is fine because he is a real NAZI (nice, attentive, zealous and important) except that he is always TNT to FM in public (*tango nang tango*) which is very embarrassing. Minister Enrile is a good candidate because he is full of B.S. or business sense except that he's got B.O. (boring orations) and suffers from L.B.M. (loose backing from the military). Anyway, everything must wait until the president is R.I.P. or rested, informed and pre-disposed to making a decision.

The protesters who followed us everywhere were so disgusting we in the entourage had no appetite for our hotel's gourmet meals and fine drinks for the first few days. These protests were "a very arresting sight," Defense Minister Enrile told me. "Yah, I wish I can arbitrarily detain the attention of these misguided elements, shackle them to the truth, take

them along the torturous road of reason, liquidate their erroneous ideas and salvage their redeemable social values," the Minister waxed. I thought he was being too tolerant. I just wanted to beat the hell out of those U.S.-based rebels, but we couldn't do it there.

The real Filipinos though cheered FM. At one of the receptions organized by the tireless Consulates, I met travel agent Cip Sibuto who is president of the Filipino-American Social-Cultural Legal Confederation of Lawyers, Importers, Musicians, Beauty-Contestants, Engineers, Roman-Catholics, and Surigeños or Fil-Am SOCL-CLIMBERS. He is trying to unite the entire community. Sibuto, who says he has 45,006 members, gulped down his mouthful of *lechon* and introduced me to his wife, her brother, his uncle, her brother's wife and kids, their maternal aunts and cousins, their *lolo* and his new wife who was there with her parents, their sons and their wives and their kids. "Just in my family we're a hundred here already," beamed Sibuto. Mrs. Sibuto bristled at the charge that they came for the free food and drinks. "Even without this tasty *bangus* we would not let the chance of a lifetime go by and miss paying homage to our beloved national pride, the Reycard Duet. And oh, the President and the First Lady also, of course," she said.

Cip, quaffing his San Miguel, said he loves FM so much he is thinking of setting up the Coalition For the Marcos Dictatorship. "So, whatabout torture? Look, if your kids talk back at you, don't you give them a whack in the mouth sometimes? Yeah, long live high prices—they force the people to try to earn more. And what's wrong with one-man rule? Even before martial law we only had one president at a time didn't we? Imagine having 12 presidents." Cip is typical of the community leaders I met who have not forgotten their homeland. He deserves one of those consulate awards or an all-expenses paid visit with the President. □

Edgar Jopson Hailed as a Revolutionary Hero

Popularly called Edjop, Edgar Jopson was well known by activists of the early 70's. Edjop was president of both the Ateneo University student council and the moderate National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP). A brilliant student, he graduated *cum laude* in management engineering and pursued two years of law school at the University of the Philippines (U.P.). In 1970, he was named one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of the Philippines.

On September 20, Jopson, a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Mindanao was killed in Mattina, Davao City. Military officials claim that Jopson decided to "shoot it out" when surrounded by government troops.

But unconfirmed reports claim that Jopson's body, when returned to his family, was missing both arms. Military sources refuse to comment on the matter.

Observers fear that the 35-year old Jopson, who carried a ₱180,000 price on his head, was taken alive, tortured and murdered while under detention. They point to the fact that four others were taken alive, Bro. Orlando Tizon, Laura Cortez, Beatrice de Vera and Nataniel Arnejo, and that Jopson alone was slain in the alleged shoot-out. Tizon, Cortez, de Vera and Arnejo are now in Camp Catitipan, Davao City.

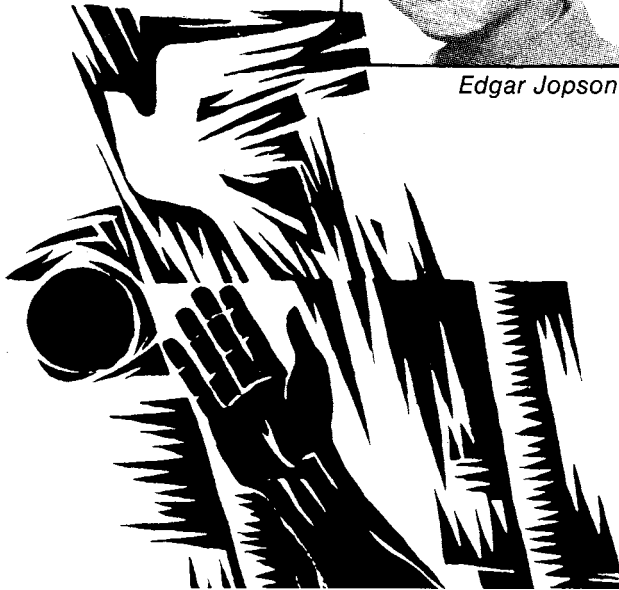
As a student activist, Edjop was a moderate and frequently targeted by more militant student leaders for his reformist outlook. As one observer recollected, "he embraced elections and not revolution."

But times and people change, *The Philippine Collegian*, newspaper of the University of the Philippines, recently noted that some of the same

they have not
silenced
a just man
just because
they have
killed him



Edgar Jopson



student "revolutionaries" who ostracized Edjop have now moved over to the side of enemy. In its tribute, the *Collegian* wrote, "Society kills the brave but slowly eats away the bravery."

REVOLUTIONARY LEADER

When martial law was declared in 1972, Edjop joined the national democratic revolutionary movement. He began doing trade union work as a low-level cadre.

But his outstanding character as a revolutionary leader was quickly recognized. He was a cadre who was "hard working and effective who steadily was given more and more difficult responsibilities because of his excellent cadre qualities," writes Jose Ma Sison in his own tribute to Edjop. Furthermore, he adds, "He took on big and small tasks prudently, militantly, and was always ready to face the risks."

Sison, alleged former chairman of the CPP, persuaded Jopson to head the Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front in 1975 because of his "excellent grasp of large matters matched by his precision for fine details." When Edjop was assigned tasks, he "acted promptly and delivered results."

Throng of Edjops friends came to his funeral, many presumably were his colleagues in the revolutionary movement. A writer friend noted that some of those who came were now successful businessmen and technocrats who were enjoying the life that Edjop shunned without reservations for the sake of his people's liberation. □

Campaign to Free Labor Leaders Heightens



Ernesto Arellano of the *KMU* and Brian Nicholson, British trade union official call for release of imprisoned Filipino trade unionists at human rights conference in Manchester, England.

Raoul Shade Photo

International outrage is mounting over the arrest of Philippine trade union leaders Felixberto Olalia, Crispin Beltran, Bonifacio Tupaz, and scores of their colleagues. Labor unions and trade unionists both inside and outside the Philippines are issuing demands to free them.

In the U.S., the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, was the first to call for the release of their fellow unionists. Its affiliate, ILWU Local 37 in Seattle, has launched a drive to get other unions to support the imprisoned labor militants.

Responding to Local 37's call, the Seattle Postal Workers Union sent a letter to Ferdinand Marcos decrying his actions. In addition, a Greek merchant seamen's union, the Panhellenic Union of Merchant Marine Engineers, compared the Filipino workers' struggles to their own sufferings under past military dictatorships. In their letter, they accused the Marcos government of blatantly violating "basic trade union principles and human rights which the international labor movement has long struggled for."

In Great Britain, Ernesto Arellano, *Kilusang Mayo Uno* leader told the British Trade Union Conference on Human Rights of the severity of the crackdown. The conference immediately called on Amnesty

International to bring national and international attention to the harassment of Filipino trade unionists. It also called on the British Trades Union Congress to press for an investigation of the repression of trade union and other democratic rights in the Philippines.

OLALIA AND THE KMU

In the Philippines, Olalia and his comrades continue to languish in detention. Olalia is reportedly ill with pneumonia after having had to sleep with a single blanket on a cold concrete floor. He is scheduled to face arraignment on November 12. In his statement before the Philippine Supreme Court on August 31, he argued, "I have been working to improve the Filipino worker's painful life under exploitative employers and oppressive conditions . . . How can they now say that I am engaged in nefarious activities?"

The 79-year-old Olalia is president of both the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU—May First Movement) and the *Pagkakaisang Mangagawang Pilipino* (PMP—Solidarity of Filipino Workers), labor federations totalling close to two million workers.

Olalia, son of a peasant family, saw his first political action at the age of 15, when he illegally displayed the Filipino flag and

was beaten by the American occupation troops. He began his involvement in the labor movement at 17. A rank-and-file labor activist in the 20s and 30s, he fought Japan during the war. By 1945, he moved into national prominence with the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO).

With over 60 years of trade union experience, Olalia brings continuity to the progressive labor movement that has its roots in decades of struggle.

The KMU which Olalia chairs today, is the most militant workers organization in the country. With 800,000 members, the KMU has unions in all industries of Philippine society. The KMU has close relations with federations and progressive labor groups in the United States, Europe, and Japan.

CAMD-PSN DRIVE TO FREE LABOR LEADERS

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) and the Philippine Solidarity Network (PSN) who spearheaded the opposition to the Marcos State visit today lead the drive to release Olalia, Beltran, Tupaz, and other arrested trade union leaders.

The groups have already launched a nationwide Free Olalia Campaign, with a special brochure and widespread distribution of letters demanding the labor leaders' release. Resolutions and support are being sought from local and national trade unions.

This year the CAMD-PSN Christmas Caroling Campaign will draw attention to the plight of the detained Philippine labor leaders and solicit support for the campaign to release them.

Numerous U.S. churches, congressional leaders, civil liberties organizations, etc., have already joined trade unionists and labor unions in condemning the repression of labor in the Philippines.

Individuals who wish to express their protest directly are urged to join the letter-writing campaign. All letters to demand the release of Olalia and other labor leaders should be directed to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Camp Crame, Philippines. Additional letters should be sent to the House Asian Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, Washington, D.C. □

When You Subscribe, You Support A Cause

For 50¢ you can buy *Ang Katipunan* in Filipino stores or neighborhoods and churches where KDP members sell them. But our activists have many other things to do such as organizing opposition to the Marcos regime and educating the community on the necessity of standing up for immigrant rights. It is therefore not very easy to reach for *AK* whenever you want it. The best way to get it is by *subscribing*.

More and more of our readers are relying on subscriptions. We are also relying on our growing subscription list as the main way of distributing *AK*. You will

be paying more than \$10 a year but our subscribers know that.

By subscribing, they help us pay for mailing, promotions and other production expenses that street sales at 50¢ a copy cannot cover. By subscribing, they are also helping us finance the regular distribution of *AK* to a growing list of readers in the Philippines.

Subscribe, instead of waiting for us on the street. Subscribe, and we will know that it's one from the heart—and the mind. \$10 a year means a lot to us, and to a lot of people here and in the Philippines. □



AK Life Photo

Why September Terror Plot is Another Marcos Fabrication

Jose Ma. Sison confers with his lawyer at court martial session.

By JOSE MA. SISON

Whenever Marcos raves about a bombing plot and ascribes it to his enemies without ample proof, the people are disgusted and say, "There he goes again!"

The record shows that bombings against civilians and non-military targets have been used so often by him as pretexts to justify further acts of repression and slander his enemies.

The Plaza Miranda bombing of 1971 was his pretext for suspending the writ of habeas corpus, cracking down on the democratic mass movement and extracting from the Supreme Court the notion that he could use the commander-in-chief provision of the 1935 Constitution to whatever extent he pleases on the basis of his mere say-so regarding threats to the state.

Again in 1972, a series of petty bombings occurred to become the pretext for declaring martial law, carrying out a coup d'état against the republic and system of government then existing and hostaging the constitutional convention. Since then, he has consistently conducted a full-blown fascist counterrevolution and the institutionalization of autocratic rule—a fascist dictatorship.

Among several forms of fascist terror, so many bombings have occurred, especially in areas where there is popular armed resistance. The victims are civilians, oftentimes sympathizers of the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army. But the fascist authorities instantly blame the revolutionaries without the slightest shred of credible evidence. The pattern is clear. The Marcos regime has always tried to benefit from anti-civilian bombings.

It is the highest and strictest principle of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New

People's Army to serve the broad masses of the people; and to arouse, organize and mobilize them for the advancement of their own national and democratic interests against foreign, fascist and feudal oppression and exploitation.

In undertaking the military aspect of the revolutionary struggle, the CPP and NPA have concentrated on the seizure of arms from their fascist enemy through ambushes, raids and arrests. The seizure of arms from the enemy means the transfer of military and political power. Even the correct use of explosives against military targets is secondary to the principal purpose of seizing arms.

The firm adherence of the CPP and the NPA to the correct principles of people's war has resulted in the admirable growth of revolutionary arms strength. At the inception of the fascist dictatorship in 1972, the New People's Army had only a few hundreds of rifles in a few provinces. Now, these are in the thousands of some fifty provinces.

Bombings against civilians and nonmilitary targets are repulsive to the people who are the very source of revolutionary strength. These do not increase the arms in the hands of revolutionaries. Only the fascists would resort to terrorist bombings in their frantic and futile attempt to discredit the revolutionary movement.

I urge Marcos and his special terror units to stop making oblique bomb threats and actual bombings against the anti-fascist forces and the people. The trick is already worn out and known to the people.

The people recognize fully that by its anti-national and anti-democratic policies, the Marcos fascist regime has already devastated the economy in a manner that beats the destructive force of so many megatons of TNT. This evil regime should stop trying to make it appear that the workers who are increasingly exploited and

rendered jobless are responsible for the rapidly worsening economic crisis.

It is preposterous that the progressive labor movement and its leaders are being persecuted for the so-called September terror plot. This is obviously a fascist fabrication. It is another pretext to attack the entire working class and the national democratic movement.

It is obvious why on the eve of his tributary visit to the United States, Marcos has started to conduct a vicious campaign of fascist terror against labor and other democratic forces. He wants to impress the U.S. and U.S. transnational corporations that he is their reliable hatchetman. He wants to show off that he can still repress the national democratic movement and assure the imperialists of a "stable and favorable climate for foreign investments." He wants to prove that he can give what the U.S. wants in exchange for his retention as the puppet tyrant in his country.

The real terrorists in the Philippines are the fascists. The open rule of terror involves the ever increasing infliction on the people of massacres, summary executions, tortures, mass eviction and forced evacuation, arson, rape, looting, fake surrenders, arbitrary arrests and detention, busting of democratic organizations and of course, frame-up bombings and indiscriminate bombardments and strafing by military aircraft.

The U.S. imperialists are the international terrorists behind the native terrorists who are given the orders and weapons for terrorizing the Filipino people. The continued close collaboration of the Reagan administration of the U.S. and the Marcos regime is a blessing in disguise because this goads the broad masses of the people to heighten their revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy.

September 7, 1982

Buod ng mga Balita

OPPOSITION LOOKS TO U.S. MEDIA FOR ACCOUNT OF VISIT

Opposition leaders in the Philippines have called on President Ferdinand Marcos to give an accurate accounting of his expenditures during his recent visit to the U.S.

Former Senator Salvador H. Laurel of the United Democratic Nationalist Organization (UNIDO) and Sammy C. Ocea of the Pilipino Democratic Party (PDP) contrasted both the lack of funds to attend to the country's basic needs and the nation's huge foreign debt to the expenses for the state visit.

For data on the magnitude of the expense and the size of the President's entourage, Laurel and Ocea were forced to rely exclusively on accounts from foreign newspapers. In the Philippines, coverage of the visit was slanted to downplay the expense. Further, the Philippine media painted a picture of a dictator welcomed with open arms wherever he went.

Columnist Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo, in one article, played off the outright lies of Malacañang mouthpiece Doroy Valencia ("Filipinos in America . . . spent . . . good money to get a glimpse of President Marcos"; "The opposition threat of massive demonstrations never happened.") against clippings from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Oakland Tribune*.

Members of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) and the Philippine Solidarity Network (PSN) sent clippings collected from newspapers all over the U.S. back to friends to help counter Marcos' warped account.

OFFICIAL SUES OPPOSITION PAPER

Meanwhile, one of the few "free" publications in the

Philippines, *We Forum*, has been slapped with a ₱1 million damage suit by a government official. The editor of the small tabloid was once asked how it managed to function openly as the organ of the moderate opposition. "Because we're small," was the reply.

The current suit was brought by Local Government Deputy Minister Cipriano B. Primicias. Primicias accuses the Editor-Publisher, his staff and a businessman with libel because of a headline which allegedly suggests his involvement in a cement fraud.

The official's suit, if successful, could well mean the end of this "free" publication. □

PHILIPPINE ECONOMY: WORSE THAN EVER

Technocrat Cesar Virata has prescribed the tightest budget ever for the Philippines for 1983, but the state of the economy is bad and continues to worsen.

Virata has proposed an austere ₱65 billion (\$7.64 billion) for 1983, a cutback in spending if measured in real terms. For the first time, development spending on bridges, power plants and general infrastructure will fall behind spending for salaries and the general cost of maintaining the country.

The government's five-year plan had called for a 6.5% growth rate for 1982. The official forecast is now about 4% and the World Bank and a think tank, the Center for Research and Communications, place real 1982 growth at 2.7%.

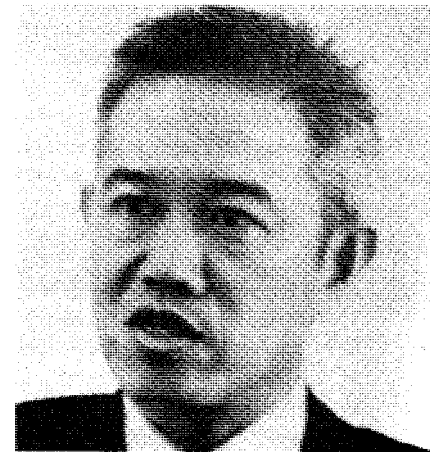
Bankers report that most loan requests are just to keep business going. "Refinancing is the need of the day, not new financing," says Fred Elizalde, President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce.

Meanwhile the economic indicators tell a sorry tale. While imports continue to grow—3% for the first

half—exports decline, reflecting the slump in the economy of the Philippine chief trading partner, the U.S. Exports fell by a full 10% for the first half. The balance of payments deficit grew to \$675 million for the first half alone as compared to \$560 for all of 1981.

PURCHASING POWER OF COMMON TAO SHRINKS

While government efforts to trim the rate of inflation have succeeded somewhat, consumer products still rose at an annual rate of 10.6% for the first half. This is



Cesar Virata

an improvement, however, over the 20% rate of the two previous years.

The crisis in the coconut industry—a quarter to a third of all Filipinos depend on coconuts for their livelihood—has severely cut the purchasing power of the common tao. One index shows a 5.5% drop while consumer goods companies are reporting lower sales.

In fact, only brewers and distillers report increases. "People tend to increase their use of alcohol and spirits for temporary relief," notes the Center for Research and Communication. □

Adapted from the *Asian Wall Street Journal*

Repression Rampage . . .

Continued from front page

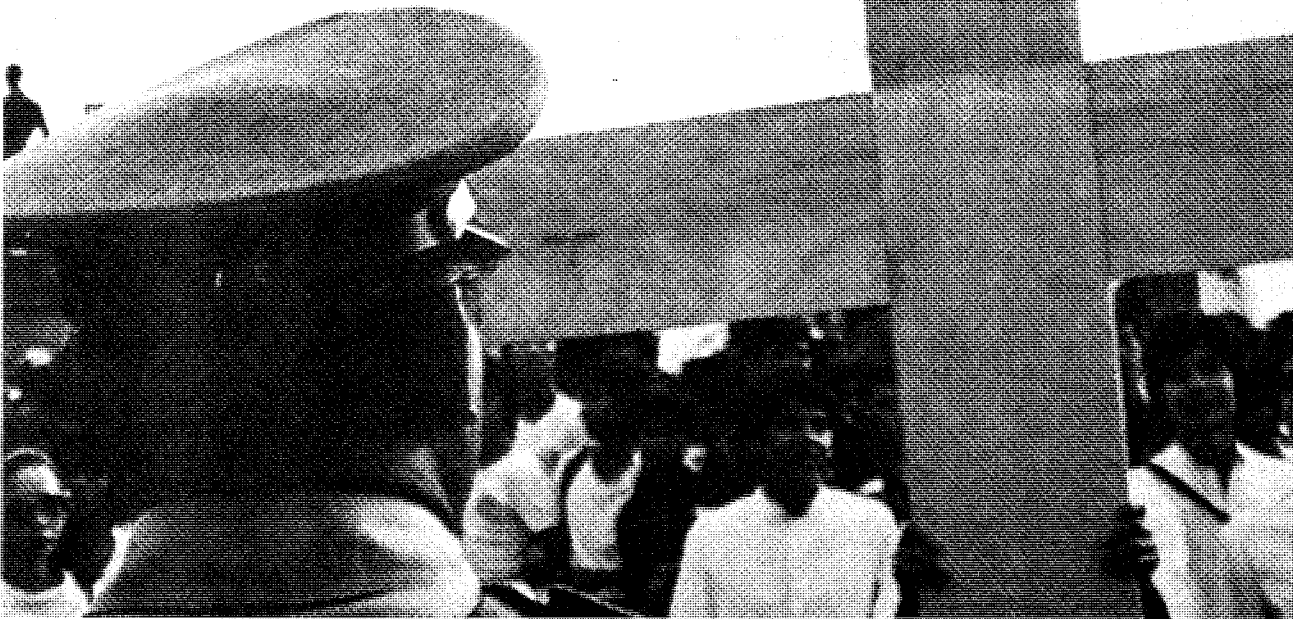
spread of any movement, government troops went for the jugular. Three mimeograph machines were removed from the NFL office. Four typewriters were confiscated from PANALO. Another mimeograph machine was taken from NAFLU and two typewriters from KMU.

The regime has turned a deaf ear to calls from civil libertarians questioning the arrests. It has denied bail to Olalia, Beltran and others. Even Supreme Court Justice Claudio Teehankee, during a bail hearing for the KMU leaders wondered why the military arrested them more than a year after "florid phrases were delivered by the two leaders in the free market of ideas." A report on the elderly Olalia dated October 12 said that he was ill with pneumonia, unable to walk and had only a cold concrete floor to sleep on.

THREE-PRONGED ATTACK ON THE CHURCH

While news of the crackdown on the urban-based labor movement flashed quickly abroad, the Philippine government has moved more quietly on other fronts.

A pattern of actions against church institutions emerged also in August, culminating in the death of one priest and the arrest of another, the house arrest of a third and the arrest and release on bail of one nun. Simultaneously, a bill was proposed which would allow for a "legal"



Seminarians rally in Manila, February 13, 1981; progressive clergy a target of renewed repression.

Alihani

clampdown on the church, and conservatives in the hierarchy moved against progressives within their own ranks.

The new law proposed by Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez in a speech on August 15 aims to stifle the church once and for all as the only remaining forum not yet fully subject to government control. The bill would classify the pulpit and other religious forums as "media."

This, according to Perez, would open the pulpit "to any citizen who may wish to avail himself of the right of reply." Religious personnel who stray into the realm of social commentary, Perez insists, "should be prepared to receive their share of political debris and blunt reputation (*sic*) from those whose domain they have invaded."

Meanwhile, Shielah Ocampo of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that conservative leaders are replacing activist clergy who are involved in social action with more conservative priests and nuns. The trend emerged last July in Mindanao when members of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) denounced the progressive Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Conference (MSPC) for its "tendentious, scheming and manipulative character . . . on top of its ideological bias."

TROOPS MOVE IN

But the clearest signs of the times have come from the regime itself via the military. The parish of Villaverde in Nueva Vizcaya was raided in August. On September 1, operatives of the Eastern Command raided the Paul VI Social Action Center (SAC) of Catbalogan, Samar, arresting one sister and two lay workers. They carted away three truckloads of files and office equipment.

Five weeks later, the military returned to arrest Fr. Edgardo Kangleon, SAC's head. Kangleon was charged with subversion on the basis of the confiscated documents. More recent reports claim that Mons. Norberto Hacbang, head of the Calbayog diocese is now under arrest. Hacbang sounded the initial protest against the raid on SAC.

The church's National Secretariat for Social Action is particularly outraged by the Calbayog raid because it violated a long-standing agreement between the government and church. Supposedly, no religious establishment can be raided and no religious person can be arrested without informing or coordinating with the highest senior religious superior or his representative.

But the pattern has clearly been set. On September 8, only a week after the Calbayog raid, armed men barged

into the Iloilo office of the church-based Task Force Detainees (TFD) carrying away documents, files, cash, relief goods, and other equipment. And in early October, Fr. Zacarias Agatep, a priest from Cauayan, Ilocos Sur, was killed, allegedly in an encounter with government troops.

The military said Agatep was a member of the New People's Army (NPA) and carried a ₱130,000 price on his head. The reward was posted only a day or so before Agatep's death was announced by defense chief Juan Ponce Enrile, leading to speculations that the rebel priest was killed in captivity and not in an encounter. At the same time, Enrile announced a ₱130,000 price for rebel priest Conrado Balweg.

WANTED: DEAD OR ALIVE

But if monetary rewards are any measure, clearly the leadership of the CPP is the military's biggest target. Gen. Fabian Ver, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) crowed with delight over the recent death of CPP leader Edgar Jopson (*see story, page 3*). He identified Jopson as head of the CPP national instructor's bureau and of its Mindanao operations. Jopson had a ₱180,000 price on his head. Ver ordered the immediate promotion of the 21-man team responsible for the raid and announced a stepped-up

effort to capture Romulo Kintanar, allegedly the number two CPP leader in Mindanao with a ₱150,000 price on his head.

Ver, who is also the intelligence chief, boasted that a new AFP intelligence task force, "*Makabansa*," has already netted three other first-line CPP leaders. He identified them as Alan Jasminez, head of the National Finance Bureau, arrested in January; Horacio Morales, Jr., Chairman of the National Democratic Front, arrested in April; and Isagani Serrano, head of the National Commission for the Mass Movement, arrested in August.

Ver revealed that a total of ₱2.2 million in reward money is posted for anyone who can give information leading to the capture, dead or alive, of the 15 top officials of the CPP and the NPA. Besides Kintanar, these include Rodolfo Salas, CPP Central Committee Chairman, ₱250,000; Rafael Baylosis, CPP Secretary-General, ₱200,000; Antonio Zumel, Committee on Education and Propaganda head, ₱125,000; Ignacio Capigsan, ₱175,000; Benito Tiamson, Sotero Llamas and Prudencio Calubid, ₱150,000 each; Santiago Sta. Roman, Ericson Baculinao, Mila Aguilar-Roque, Josefina Corpuz, and Roberto Tacbud, ₱100,000 each.

U.S. STAKES ARE HIGH

On all fronts, it is clear that the Marcos regime means business. And the business has everything to do with the significance of his recent visit to the U.S.

Marcos knows that raising his stock with the friendly Ronald Reagan is the key element in his long-term insurance policy. Marcos needs to prove the degree of control he wields over his country to win U.S. cooperation in his aim of securing the Marcos financial dynasty is future. Thus he proudly boasted to the press during his visit that he has wiped out the first, second and third echelons of the CPP leadership.

The current clampdown fits the Reagan administration's Philippine agenda very well. The state visit revealed that U.S. tolerance for any unrest that could threaten the U.S. bases is extremely low. On the eve of the visit, the U.S. signed a \$50 million aid pact with Malacañang for the development of an economic buffer zone around the bases which are precariously located right in the middle of the New People's Army base areas.

In a fascinating glimpse of U.S. policy in the making, U.S. Navy specialist Alan Cotrell warned participants in the CIA-sponsored Georgetown Conference a few days before the Marcos visit, "There is a chance that any leadership of the Philippines that is less pro-American [than that of Ferdinand Marcos] may not permit the United States to have continued access to basing facilities."

The U.S., he suggested will find itself forced to invade and wrench back the bases should Marcos be succeeded by a regime that is even mildly nationalistic.

Marcos evidently got the message: "Clean up now or else you may end up with a bigger mess later."

GROUNDWORK FOR SUCCESSION

Part of the "clean-up" is insuring an orderly succession. Whether Marcos is ill is no longer an issue. U.S. officials learned from its experience with the late Shah of Iran never to underestimate an ally's health problems. They made sure Marcos had a medical check-up at Walter Reed, a military hospital, to update their own "intelligence." What is now the outstanding question is how long he is going to stay in office, who will replace him, and how orderly the transition is going to be.

Reagan wants someone who can keep everything under control and thereby guarantee the security of the U.S. bases. Marcos is agreeable so long as the Marcos dynasty can be guaranteed a role. Thus, he coyly remarked on U.S. television: "Whoever succeeds me will need the help of the First Lady."

The candidates for succession are few—a mere five to date—and all come from the ruling coalition. Aside from First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, guardian of the Marcos fortune and highly unpopular in U.S. government circles, they included Ver, Army Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, Enrile, and Prime Minister Cesar Virata.

It is widely accepted that a successor will have to be a military man or a clique containing Ver, Ramos or Enrile—if the latter can muster sufficient military support. The President would like to insure that it include Mrs. Marcos as well.

U.S. officials intend to play an active role in the selection process. Recently announced plans to hold ministerial level meetings twice yearly provides the U.S. with a mechanism for evaluating at least two potential successors. Observers are convinced that, along with the business of the moment, exploration, discreet dialogue and horsetrading will be on the agenda every six months when U.S. officials meet with their counterparts, Enrile and Virata.

PREEMPTIVE STRIKES

But Washington is aware that the orderliness of the succession process is as important as determining the successor. Transitions can be very messy. The jockeying among competing factions, if not handled well, could bring the whole house down. And Marcos' ruling coalition is not free from factional bickerings.

The feud between the technocrats and the cronies is well-known. So is the cold abyss that separates Enrile and Imelda. What could make things even more messy is if in the middle of a succession crisis, popular unrest boils over. It is a surefire formula for a "revolutionary situation"—or a situation where the regime is vulnerable to severe destabilization, if not to a complete overthrow.

Thus, an orderly succession requires pre-emptive strikes against potential sources of immediate unrest.

The militant labor movement is an immediate target. Not only because it grates on Marcos' economic strategy of luring foreign investors with repressed and cheap labor, but also because much of its activity is in the urban centers—the seats of the regime's political power.

The church is also an obvious target. The regime, no longer treading gingerly, knows that the pulpit cannot be



Gen. Fabian Ver

tolerated as a platform for agitation in these precarious times.

Of course, the National Democratic Front and the CPP are the most important obstacles to Reagan's and Marcos' maneuvers. These are the centers of the opposition. They are the only forces with the political acumen to grasp opportunities when they arise, and the only ones capable of seizing them with an armed and organized mass following. Two million pesos in bounty prizes and several millions more in military campaigns are a small price to pay if they can lead to the paralyzation of the "brains" of the potential unrests. Certainly, Washington—which pays for all this—does not mind. □

Suit Against Marcos Sparks Denials



Gene Viernes



Silme Domingo

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—The Philippine government furiously denied any involvement with the deaths of union leaders and KDP activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes in response to a \$30 million civil suit filed by the victims' relatives and associates. Two other Filipino respondents denied participation in the murders.

Philippine Information Minister Gregorio Cendaña stated in Manila that the suit is "baseless and purely an act of harassment." He dismissed the suit as merely a propaganda ploy by U.S.-based anti-Marcos activists.

The civil suit, filed September 14 before this city's U.S. District Court, charged that the slayings of Domingo and Viernes were a direct result of an "on-going conspiracy to silence and intimidate the anti-Marcos opposition in the U.S."

It accuses the Marcos government of planning and executing the murders because the victims were actively aiding the militant labor movement in the Philippines. The suit alleges that U.S. intelligence authorities knew about the conspiracy and are actively covering it up.

The Philippine government was officially served legal papers by mail on October 4 in Manila, after earlier attempts to serve President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda failed during the couple's recent state visit to the U.S.

IMMUNITY

In an interview with the *We Forum*, Cendaña remarked: "These people are out to embarrass the First Couple."

Cendaña claimed that the evidence in the murder trials "point to union rivalry as the main motive in the killings."

He further labelled the suit "ridiculous," because "Marcos, as a head of state enjoys immunity from such suits." Former law school dean Antonio Coronel supported Cendaña's claim, saying immunity for Marcos was "absolute and unquestionable."

However, a few years ago, the court proceedings over a similar suit in connection with the Washington, D.C. assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier ruled that foreign governments can be held liable for acts committed in the U.S.

Meanwhile, the National Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (NCJDV) learned that the prestigious Washington, D.C.-based Covington and Burling law firm has been retained by the Philippine government.

Legal responses to the suit from the Philippine and U.S. governments are expected sometime in December. Lawyers representing Seattle Philippine Consul General Ernesto Querubin, named separately in the suit, filed an initial request for a delay in responding to the complaint.

LINKED TO LABOR CRACKDOWN
Responding to Cendaña's statements,

Rene Cruz, *Ang Katipunan* editor and one of the plaintiffs in the suit, said: "The issue at hand is political conspiracy at the highest levels of the Marcos and the U.S. governments, and not immunity—unless Marcos and company have something to hide."

Cruz explained that the recent crackdown on top labor leaders of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement) in the Philippines has strengthened the suit's allegations.

"The suit rests on the theory that Marcos views the KMU as a very serious threat to his regime and in his determination to smash it, has watched it closely and whoever it connects with," Cruz said. "Gene and Silme were seen by Marcos as KMU's contacts in the influential International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union."

The murders occurred shortly after Viernes

met with KMU leaders in the Philippines in May last year, and after he and Domingo defeated pro-Marcos Filipinos in a bitter floor fight at the ILWU Convention over a resolution mandating the union to "investigate labor conditions in the Philippines."

The ILWU has condemned Marcos in the past. It has also refused to process goods or U.S. arms that were to be shipped to U.S.-allied dictatorships in Latin America many times in the past.

David Della, ILWU Local 37 Secretary/Treasurer and a plaintiff along with Cruz, supported his allegations.

Della said that the assassination of the two up-and-coming leaders in the ILWU "was unquestionably aimed at nipping in the bud any link-ups between the Philippine and U.S. labor movements."

Prior to his state visit, Marcos cited an "international conspiracy" against him, and proceeded to arrest the top ranking

leaders of the 100,000-strong KMU.

"First, the murders of our activists. Now the mass arrests of Olalia, Beltran and other KMU leaders with whom Gene met in the Philippines last year. This is not pure coincidence," Della said.

BARUSO DENIES COMPLICITY

Responding legally to the complaint, alleged Marcos agents Constantine "Tony" Baruso and Paul Liam denied any knowledge of the charges made in the civil suit regarding their role in the conspiracy. Baruso, however, did not request for the suit's dismissal.

"We believe the weakest link to this whole murder conspiracy is Tony Baruso," stated Elaine Ko, National Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (NCJDV) spokesperson.

"How can he move for a dismissal when so much evidence points to his involvement in the murders, as well as his involvement with the higher levels of this conspiracy?" Ko added.

Baruso has close personal ties with Marcos himself, and the Seattle Philippine Consulate publicly acknowledged his "contributions" to the local Filipino community, a few months after the murder weapon was found registered in his name.

"We are now waiting for King County Prosecuting Attorney to charge Baruso," said Ko. "As each day passes that Baruso remains a free man, it becomes more evident that he is being protected from any charges, criminal or federal."

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Ko also announced that a national speaking tour is already in motion to expand the Justice Committee's work nationally, and to emphasize the need for public pressure to uncover the real perpetrators in the murders (see box).

Therese Rodriguez of the NCJDV's Washington, D.C. office reported that certain congressmen have expressed "deep interest in the possibility of holding investigative hearings on the operations of Philippine agents in the U.S."

Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Oakland) has written a letter to Prosecuting Attorney Norm Maeleng expressing concern over the delay in bringing formal charges against Baruso. □

Speaking Tour to Focus on 'FM Connection'



David Della



Cindy Domingo



Terri Mast

The Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes is sponsoring a speaking tour of six cities to explain the "Marcos Connection" in the murders of union leaders Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo. Relatives and associates of the two KDP activists will also explain the civil suit targeting the Marcos government and high officials as well as seek support

against a U.S. government "cover-up" that they charge is already in operation.

The speakers include: Terri Mast, President of ILWU Local 37 and Domingo's widow; David Della, Local 37 Secretary/Treasurer and plaintiff in the civil suit; Cindy Domingo, CJDV Seattle and Domingo's sister; Rene Cruz, *AK* editor and suit plaintiff; Leni Marin,

CJDV; and Jan Gilbrecht, DJDV and member of ILWU Local 6.

BOSTON: November 5, 7:30 p.m.

Church of All Nations, 333 Tremont
Contact: Mike Koza (617) 628-6574

NEW YORK: November 7, 2 p.m.

Taller Latino-Americano,
19-West 21st Street, New York
Contact: Armin Alforque (202) 565-8944

SAN FRANCISCO: November 12

7:30 p.m. SEIU Hall, 240 Golden Gate Ave., Contact: (415) 282-1630

WASHINGTON, D.C.: November 13,

2 p.m. Corcoran Hall, Rm 191
George Washington University
Contact: Lorretta Hobbs or Therese

Rodriguez (202) 296-1535

LOS ANGELES: November 19, 7 p.m.

St. John's Church, 514 W. Adams
Greg Santillan (213) 250-0602

CHICAGO: November 11, 7 p.m.

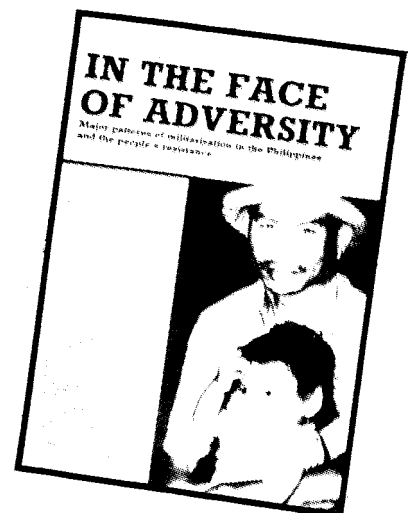
Cross Currents on S. Wilton
Contact: (312) 989-4566

***In the Face of Adversity* documents the intensifying militarization of the Marcos regime in the Philippines, in 1981-1982, and records the valiant struggle of the Filipino people in the face of this onslaught.**

It attempts to present the many faces of militarization, and to indicate the emerging patterns of repression during the past year. It tells of the terror of imprisonment and torture, of the increasing frequency of disappearances and salvagings, and of the more recent revival of strategic hamletting on a massive scale.

In addition, it covers the topic of Filipinos living abroad, and deals with the issue of the growing threat of large-scale US intervention in the Philippines.

Finally, *In the Face of Adversity* records the determined and courageous resistance of the people, and their heroic struggle against the escalating militarization policy of the Marcos regime.



Published in Europe by the Komite ng Sambayang Pilipino (KSP). Order Now. \$3.00/copy from the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship, P.O. Box 173, Oakland, CA 94668.

As Tourism Lags, Hawaii Hotels Want to Bust Unions



By **RAYMOND CAMACHO**
Correspondent

When the 620-room Prince Kuhio Hotel was purchased by the powerful Kelly family of Hawaii, all of its 400 employees were terminated and instructed to reapply the following day. Only 300 were rehired. The boldness of this tactic would not be so surprising were it not for the fact that the

workers were unionized. Among those fired were members and stewards of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 5.

Needless to say, the union is up in arms against the management's arbitrariness. But the Kelly family used a succession clause in labor relations law which says that a representing union must be recognized by new owners "if the business remains

intact" to justify the firings. The Prince Kuhio, the management claims, is no longer intact because it is being "reorganized" into the Kelly family's Outrigger Hotels chain.

Union officials condemned the move as "union busting." Charging "selective discriminatory hiring," Local 5 filed unfair labor practice suits with the National Labor Relations Board. It threw pickets around the Prince Kuhio and called on its 11,000-strong membership to support the action.

While the practice of non-recognition of the representing union by new owners has occurred frequently in other smaller hotels and businesses, it has never happened on such a large scale as the Prince Kuhio firings.

According to Local 5 Vice-President Romeo Mindo, the stakes in the dispute are high. "What the Prince Kuhio owners are doing is basically union-busting. Other hotel owners are watching this case very closely to see if they can make similar moves. It's a matter of survival for the entire union."

INDUSTRY TIGHTENS GRIP

The Prince Kuhio's brash assault on the established union is a sign of what is in store for the hotel industry's 40,000 workers. The industry is in crisis and while hotel giants scurry for big gains at the expense of smaller enterprises, the squeeze for more profits ultimately victimizes the wage workers.

In the 60s and 70s the hotel industry enjoyed an economic boom. Tourism was flourishing from the flow of mainland tourists and government support.

Within the past few years, however, the nationwide economic crisis has cut deeply into the standard of living of average workers, greatly limiting their ability to finance vacations in Hawaii. Thus, small and medium-sized hotels have "buckled under" in the industry's competitive market.

The Kelly family owns or is the principal holder of 15 hotels in Hawaii, all but one

of which are non-union. The family's Outrigger Hotel chain is one of the few businesses in Hawaii benefitting from the difficulties of small and medium-sized hotels and resorts. Other major hotel chains, the Hilton, Sheraton, and Hyatt have also increased their holdings by buying out floundering hotels.

The state, dependent on tourism as its main industry has intervened to bail it out. According to the State's Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, the tourist industry provides an estimated 110,000 jobs, 40,000 of which are employed in the hotel sectors.

The bailout is a \$4.5 million packaged promotion of tourism in Hawaii. The program—"Hawaii '82" is expected to lure tourists internationally, from Western European countries, Canada, Australia, and Japan.

WAR ON UNIONS

Despite the tourism bailout, the hotel industry has moved to make the most out of the crisis by lowering the cost of maintaining its workers. To do this, it has placed many workers "on call" or on part-time schedules, making them ineligible for benefits.

More, the industry has virtually declared war on the unions. Industry, spokespersons point to the unions' efforts to protect workers as a "hindrance" to its economic gains. "Unions have tied our hands," they claim.

With less than a third of the hotel industry's workers organized, union-busting such as employed by the Kelly family, could take a heavy toll not only on unions but also on non-unionized workers.

The majority of jobs in the industry are unskilled (housekeepers, janitors, laundry-keepers, and bellboys) and are overwhelmingly held by immigrants such as Filipinos, Indochinese and Samoans. Semi-skilled positions, i.e., groundskeepers, maintenance, are often held by whites (*haoles*) and local Japanese, and are out of reach of the majority of immigrant workers.

In the unorganized hotels, workers are frequently subjected to forced overtime, speed-ups in the form of added workloads, indiscriminate firings and denial of benefits.

MORE THAN BREAD AND BUTTER

In the preceding years, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union and the ILWU Local 142 challenged these adverse conditions and were successful in reversing some of them as a result of bargaining and strike leverage. Union efforts have also led to some hotels offering "better" or comparable economic packages. The rising trend in union-busting then, is aimed at destroying whatever leverage organized hotel workers have and at expanding the more exploitable unorganized ranks.

Many of the workers on Local 5's picket lines therefore, realize that the Prince Kuhio dispute is more than just a bread and butter issue.

According to Abe Ignacio, a Local 5 member and former Prince Kuhio employee, "The defeat of the union in this attack could mean a setback of a couple of decades of work to protect hotel workers." □

Economic Fears Haunt Tourism Workers:

Once at the Bottom, It's Hard to Get Anywhere Else

By **LUDY RAMOS**
DEAN ALEGADO

Carmen Tagupa works as a laundry attendant at the Tropical Management Resort, a non-union hotel in Waikiki. Carmen, who is 45 years old, works seven days a week to support a family of six.

Her husband, a landscaper, lost his job nine months ago. Without the help of her eldest daughter, Chona, who works at a local candy manufacturer as a wrapper and boxer—there is no way they can guarantee having three meals a day for the family, Carmen admitted.

Nating Pavon is a 60-year-old housekeeper at the Quality Inn, another unorganized hotel in Waikiki. Her husband, Roberto, works as a janitor in downtown Honolulu. None of their five children have been able to find jobs, but like most Filipino immigrants, Nati and Roberto still send money back to their families in the Philippines.

Because of the cost of living in Hawaii is one of the highest in the nation (second only to Alaska), workers like Roberto are often forced to hold two jobs. Aside from his janitorial job, he also works parttime as a kitchen steward.

Since there is no union at the hotel Nating works for, her supervisor arbitrarily determines what her job quota for cleaning rooms would be. On the average, Nating cleans between 20-22 rooms a day, while in organized hotels, most housekeepers work only 16-18 rooms a day.

Ruperto Espiritu, 62, is also feeling the pinch although he belongs to a union. As a janitor at the Hilton Hawaiian Village, he is nearing retirement age. This has forced his wife Cora—who also works at the Hilton as a parttime housekeeper—to also work fulltime as a seamstress at a local sewing factory. Ruperto feels fortunate, however, that "the union organized our hotel, and will make sure I get my retirement benefits."

Carmen, Nating and Ruperto are among the 110,000 workers in the lodging, food and beverage, entertainment and travel sectors who keep Hawaii's tourism machine running.

With employment rising and the tourist industry faltering, job security becomes the number one source of fear for most Filipinos and other ethnic minorities. And rightly so.

As in the "old plantation days," job placement and mobility in the tourist industry is highly divided along racial and ethnic lines.

Top management and executive positions are almost always held by *haoles*. Semi-skilled and much better paying jobs such as mechanics, tour bus drivers, travel agents, receptionists, chief cooks, and waiters are designated for "locals" or Hawaiian residents. Unskilled and labor intensive positions, i.e. housekeepers, laundry attendants, janitors, dishwashers, busboys, and kitchen helpers, are "reserved" for Filipinos, Koreans, Samoans, Indochinese, and other immigrant workers.

These are the lowest paying, dead-end jobs with little chance of promotion. This occupational segregation along racial and ethnic lines, has ensured that this sector remains filled all the time, given the constant flow of immigrant workers. Being the most vulnerable to layoffs and cutbacks, it is also the most unstable, and is characterized by a high rate of turnovers.

"This situation is ideal to most employers," observed Helen Toribio of the KDP. "It makes sure these workers are kept economically desperate to work under any given condition."

While the future looks dim for all tourist workers in Hawaii, it looks even dimmer for people like Carmen, Nating, Ruperto and other immigrant workers at the bottom rung of the workforce. □



Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 5 picket Prince Kuhio Hotel.

The 1930 Watsonville Anti-Filipino Riot Revisited



The sight of Filipino men mixing with white women often led to race disturbances in the 1930s when anti-miscegenation laws were in force. AK File Photo

By ANNATESS ARANETA
VINCE REYES

The bullet tore through the wall of the bunkhouse and pierced Fermin Tobera's heart. As the young Filipino farmworker lay dying the enraged group of whites kept shooting at the bunkhouses. Windows shattered, the walls suddenly blossomed with angry holes as heavy slugs came whining through. The Filipinos huddled in the safety of closets or hugged the floor. This was Watsonville on January 22, 1930. Tobera was the lone fatality in "The Watsonville Race Riot."

For the migrant Filipino workers in that small California town, the riot was the American Dream turned into nightmare. But even as their screams reverberated to the Philippines and made its people indignant, Watsonville was but a sign of the times. A frightening episode, true, but only an episode in an endless story of racial hatred and violence that Filipinos on the West Coast were living through.

A dance provoked the riot. In Watsonville, Filipinos were not admitted into dance halls used by whites. So, the lonely, mostly single farmworkers decided to hold their own dance at the Palm Beach Hall. They sent for women from out of town to be dance partners for 10 cents a minute. Although local white women did not participate, the town's white men became furious at the sight of "brown boys" dancing with white women. One reporter captured their sentiments this way:

"Taxi dance halls where white girls dance with Orientals may be all right in San Francisco or Los Angeles, but not in our community. We are a small city and have had nothing of that kind before. We won't stand for anything of the kind."

On January 19, 1930, Watsonville residents staged anti-Filipino demonstrations. The demonstrations turned into man-hunting parties. Hundreds of white youths sought Filipinos to pistol whip them. Around the town, scattered fighting between whites and Filipinos broke out.

At one point, news spread that Filipinos were holding a meeting at the Palm Beach resort. A mob of angry young whites headed for the resort, but were held at bay by the owners and later by sheriffs.

But the whites still seethed with rage and finally, on the fateful night of January 22, 1930, hundreds of men and youth invaded Filipino bunkhouses.

The January 23, 1930 *Evening Pajaronian* recorded the following:

"To the accompaniment of pistol shots, clubbings and general disorder . . . it is believed that 700 trouble-seekers, armed with clubs and some firearms, attacked Filipino dwellings, destroyed property, and jeopardized lives. The most serious rioting occurred on the San Juan road in Pajaro about 10 o'clock... when a mob estimated at 250 men entered several Filipino dwellings and clubbed the occupants."

"Near midnight, a carload of rowdies drove to the ranch and began firing into it. The unfortunate men (or boys) trapped like rats were forced into a closet where they huddled and prayed..."

Fermin Tobera never made it to the closet. The *Watsonville Register* gave a detailed account of his death. Some Filipinos abandoned their dwellings for safety. The *Pajaronian* reported:

"Forty-six terror-stricken Filipinos, beaten and bruised, cowered in the City Council room... After being rescued from a mob of 500 infuriated men and

boys, who being robbed of their prey, shattered windows and wrecked the interior of the brown men's dwellings."

A handful of participants in the riot were given 30-day or 2-year prison sentences. Seven of them would later be involved in another race riot against Filipinos in Salinas. The person who killed Tobera remained unknown.

The "brown men" of Watsonville were part of a flood of brown men that flowed into the farmlands of California at the behest of big agriculture. Fruit and vegetable farming was now big business, an industry that required intensive labor. Growers and owners of huge tracts imported "coolie and peon" labor from the Orient and Mexico. Pulled in by the bait of "opportunity and fortune," Chinese, Japanese, Mexican and later, Filipinos came to the US to be used as low-paid farm laborers. When workers organized for better living and working conditions threatening to cut profits for agribusiness, a vicious pattern of Exclusion Acts stopped the immigration of each group.

Filipinos, comprising the last Asiatic group to work the fields, were brought in to replace Mexicans, when the latter became restive and were being deported in huge numbers.

Being mostly single men, Filipinos were at first hailed as ideal workers. Not having families to bind them in one place, they could move with the planting seasons, following the crops. They were transients who had no stable communities and were therefore, more malleable. To the growers, they were a more exploitable group of farm laborers. The growers also perceived Filipinos as being "built close to the ground" and suited for "stoop labor," such as cutting asparagus.

Filipinos were easy to isolate since they had no rights. They were not eligible for citizenship. Like earlier Asian immigrants, they were held in check by discriminatory laws that barred them from marrying white women, living in certain neighborhoods, eating in "whites only" restaurants, or from entering certain entertainment halls.

Unlike their predecessors, however, Filipino immigrants could not easily be stopped by exclusion laws.



Immigrant workers in the 30s were mostly single men.

Due to the "colonized" status of the Philippines prior to 1946, Filipinos in the US were ambiguously considered "US Nationals." Because of the geographic distance between the US and the Philippines, Filipinos could not be deported en masse, unlike the Mexicans. So, as racial hatred grew, Filipinos had to bear its full brunt. They were immobile targets, pariahs who could not be gotten rid of. Deepening as it already was, bigotry would only go deeper when Filipinos spontaneously began organizing, first among themselves, then with other farmworkers.

California, especially rural California, in the early 30s was not a good place for race relations. The whole country was hurting from unemployment and all the curses of the Great Depression. Throngs of dispossessed poor whites from Oklahoma, Arkansas and other mid-southern states trekked to California looking for work. The dire scarcity of jobs, and the visibility of numerous imported labor in the fields, provoked the whites' prejudices against "furriners" and non-whites. The State's Department of Industrial Relations acknowledged that the prejudicial feelings against Filipinos had some roots in economics, in the competition for jobs.

But it cannot all be reduced to job competition. Although Filipinos dotted the fields, they were at the very bottom of a non-competitive sector of the working class. What they had was low-paying, and back-breaking. Their working conditions were often subhuman. Aside from farmwork, they could hardly seek any other kind of employment. Nevertheless, the sight of them at work, or "just around" incited resentments among whites who generally consider it their birthright to be first at getting the "right" jobs, education, shelter, and all other human needs. During the depression especially, this "birthright" was not taking a lot of whites anywhere as "there just wasn't enough jobs to go around." Someone, or some people had to be blamed for this scarcity. This complex of fear, resentment and ignorance ignited every racial attack on Filipinos that was seemingly touched off by trivial incidents such as white women dancing with Filipinos.

It was advantageous to growers, industrialists, and the government to mislead the white population into venting their ire on foreign workers. It deflected people's criticisms of business and the government's role in the economic mess. And of course, for as long as the working class remained racially divided, it was also distracted from fighting for its collective interest.

The riot in Pajaro, Watsonville was but a concentrated picture of the desperate situation of Filipinos in the 30's. They could never tell when they would stir racist wrath. It could be while stealing a glance at a white girl, or walking down the wrong side of town. If compelled to defend themselves, they invariably ended up in jail.

When Fermin Tobera's body arrived in Manila, throngs of angry Filipinos lined the streets. A "National Day of Humiliation" was observed with a massive demonstration on February 2, 1930. The crowd thundered demands for Philippine independence and denounced the inhumane treatment of Filipinos in the United States.

At the government-sponsored funeral, attended by 10,000 people, an official charged that the bullet that killed Tobera "was not aimed at him particularly; its principal target was the heart of the race." The Philippine press referred to Tobera as a "martyr of American intolerance."

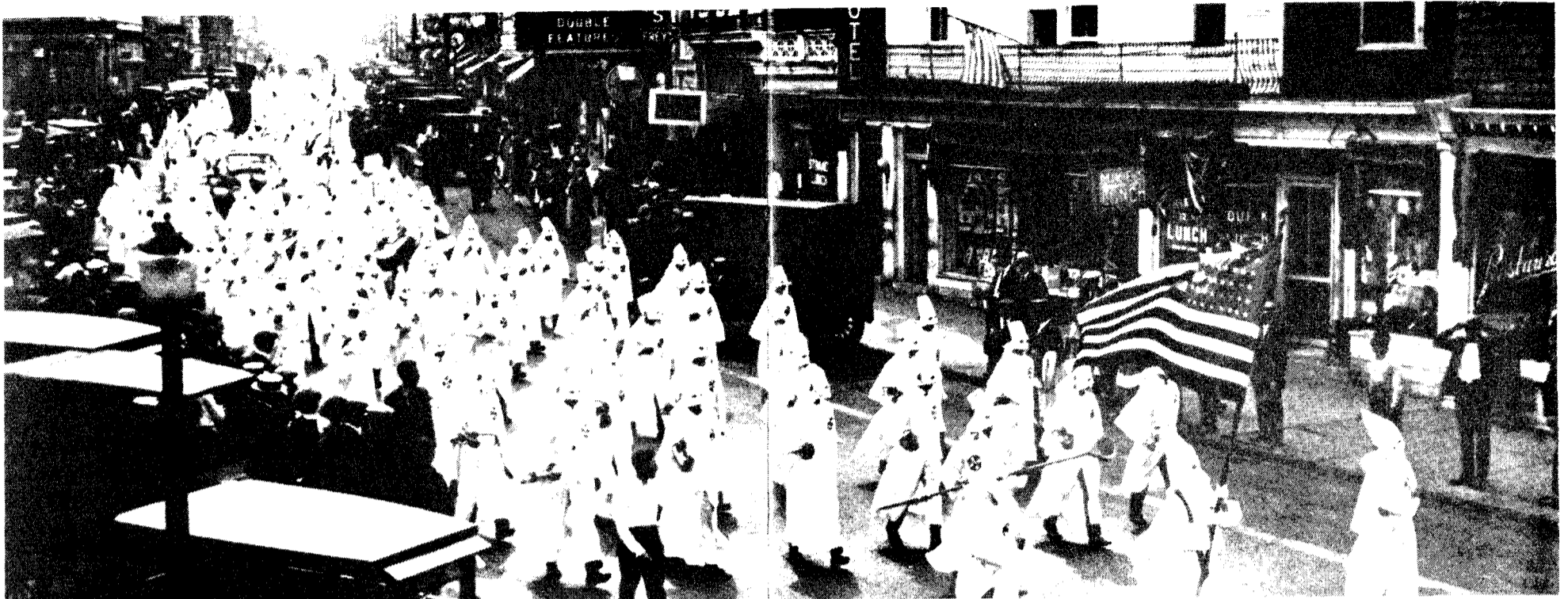
Justice was never meted out for Tobera's death. Nor was the Watsonville riot the last racial attack on Filipino immigrants in the US. Other towns along the West Coast witnessed similar riots: Exeter, Imperial Valley, Tulare and Stockton in California; Yakima in Washington, Hood River and Banks in Oregon, etc.

Finally, in 1935, a quota of 50 Filipinos per year set an extreme restriction on Filipino immigration to the US. It meant the "ideal workers" were no longer such. In essence, this meant exclusion. □



Taxi dance hall: riot started in one of them.

Hard Times Fuel Upsurge of Racist Violence



Once powerful in the early 20s, the Klan is again gaining momentum.

By **VICKY PEREZ**
VENNY VILLAPANDO

As a minority, the Filipino community has had its own share of struggles against racial discrimination and harassment. The experiences of H-1 nurses, accountants, 4-H agricultural students, and individuals like Leticia Monserrate, Dr. Bienvenido Alona, Narciso-Perez were all issues of racism and national discrimination.

However, the Filipino community has not aligned itself with other minorities in the struggle against racism. The slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all," unfortunately, is still not a popular concept, given our community's limited political experience and consciousness and given the preponderance of backward ideas about other minorities. The following article shows how the growing racist attacks against blacks is in reality an attack on all minorities—Editor.

An upsurge of racist violence, with the black community getting the brunt of the attacks, is gripping the country ever since the Reagan administration took over, and the trend is expected to worsen.

Within 20 months since Reagan assumed office, a white service man in Buffalo randomly killed blacks and carved out their hearts. In Mobile, Alabama, a 19-year-old black youth was murdered as a result of brutal lynching, and his tortured body found hanging from a tree. In New York, a black transit worker was dragged from his car and savagely beaten by a gang of white youths.

Recently, the Los Angeles Chief of Police justified police murder with the theory that police chokeholds kill blacks because their "veins or the arteries do not open as fast as they do on normal people." A more dangerous pattern is the rise of violence directed against the organized civil rights, anti-racist movement. In Fort Wayne, Indiana, Vernon Jordan, a prominent civil rights leader was shot by an "avowed racist." In Gainesville, Georgia, Charlene Mitchell, Executive Director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repressions and her husband Mike Welch were dragged off an AMTRAK train. After they were beaten and jailed, both veteran human rights activists were later convicted on charges of public drunkenness and interfering with a policeman.

Despite these blatant acts of racist violence, few, if any of the murderers and racist thugs have actually been convicted or apprehended.

Instead, the Reagan administration has lifted restrictions on the use of deadly

force by the police, expanded the repressive powers of the FBI, the CIA and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—the racist terror being an integral part of a broad-based attack against blacks and minority peoples in this country.

KKK EMBOLDENED

As a result of a growing atmosphere conducive to racially-motivated attacks, racist and terrorist organizations led by the Ku Klux Klan are getting resurrected after a long period of dormancy.

In an unprecedented show of audacity, the Klan recently announced plans to stage a march and rally in Washington, D.C. November 6, "in defense of white supremacy" against immigrants, racial minorities, semitics, unionists, and communists.

The "New Klan" which now operates in at least 22 states and its armed auxiliaries are bent on gaining respectability through a vigorous media and electoral campaign. They are actively recruiting in high schools, the U.S. armed forces, local law enforcement agencies, prison guards, and has paramilitary training camps in Alabama, California, Illinois, North Carolina, Texas, and Georgia, and youth camps operated in Illinois, Indiana, Oklahoma, Colorado, and Alabama.

Despite its attempt to gain a new image, the Klan is essentially the same terrorist gang that it was in 1865, when the KKK was founded as the center of violent opposition to human rights for black people.

FERTILE GROUND FOR RACISM

Despite all the rhetorics about his "fight terrorism on all fronts" crusade, the Reagan administration's rightwing policies has contributed to the recent upsurge of racist violence.

Double-digit unemployment levels and the massive cutting back of social services that would have otherwise served as an economic buffer, have fomented anger and desperation in the working class. This time, however, a vast number of previously "secure" white workers are finding themselves in the unemployment lines.

Displaced and frustrated, many white workers are becoming touchy about the "few rights they have in this country," i.e. their supposed rights over minority workers to better jobs, education, housing, etc. The notion of white rights, reinforced by racist legal initiatives in Congress and in the courts has congested a "reverse discrimination" mentality.

Pitting part of the class against another, racism has served as blinders as the class, preventing it from seeing the real sources of its economic hardship. As a result,

whites are effectively misled by the scapegoating of the most powerless sector of society.

Hell-bent on pursuing its programs of military build-up and incentives for big business, Reagan has launched an all-out attack against the poorest sector of the working class, namely racial and immigrant minorities—already the sorry victims of the "white rights" mentality.

Since he assumed office, Reagan has slashed social programs such as food stamps, welfare, abortion rights, housing subsidies, CETA jobs, while simultaneously supporting arch-segregationists against busing, tax breaks for racist schools, etc.

According to him, blacks "would be appreciably better off today," if they did not have these support programs. In addition, Reagan asserts that "blacks were better off in the 50s"—the time when "Jim Crow" (racial segregation) was the law of the land!

Thus, seeing no obstacles from Washington, racists and bigots on all levels have declared an "open season" on the rights of minorities.

RACISM, VIOLENCE AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

Since its inception, the U.S. government has been the legal defender of racism, through its laws and enforcement agencies, i.e. police, courts, etc.

From post-Civil War to 1954, Jim Crow laws sanctioned forced separation of races. People of color were in violation of the law if they entered areas only designated for whites. Violence was systematically used against blacks by government officials and white vigilantes to keep them in their designated place—in the poorest neighborhoods, the worst jobs, the worst schools and health facilities. With little means of survival, blacks were kept in a constant state of economic depression, enabling their use as cheap labor for

industry long after slavery had been "abolished."

The term "separate but equal" justified forced segregation until 1954, when the Supreme Court finally ruled that there is no equality in separation, and removed the laws from the books. It was not until 1964, under pressure from millions of anti-racists protesting still-enforced segregation, when Congress officially "outlawed" racial segregation. In 1965, the poll tax that prevented black and poor whites from voting and holding political power was eliminated with the passage of the Voting Rights Act in Congress. While these represented gains in the struggle against racism, these gains would be short-lived.

Less than 20 years have passed and the Right is already setting back the gains of the anti-racist movement and are resolved to put "people of color" in "their place"—dirt poor and powerless. Racist violence is one effective way of seeing to it that that happens.

'WE WON'T GO BACK'

"We won't go, back to Jim Crow," is one of the more popular chants at anti-racist demonstrations which are becoming more frequent across the country. It represents the growing sentiments among blacks against the rash of racist violence and attacks on the rights of people of color.

"We are determined to turn this attack around," says Francis Beale of the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC).

"We are moving to stop the encroachment on the rights of people of color and the rights of our class as a whole—against the oppression of any sector. In the short run, we want justice done, and the Klan banned. They are a living threat to the rights of the majority of people in this country. In the long run, we have to pull up the roots and large interests giving life to racism and the violence it breeds." □

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 \$10.00
 One Year Subscription Renewal \$10.00
 Sustainer _____

\$12.00 Canada

\$15.00 institutions
and foreign

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Report Documents Fascist Horrors

Report of an Amnesty International Mission to the Republic of the Philippines 11-28 November 1981, Amnesty International, \$5.95.

A key irritant to Ferdinand Marcos during his recent visit to the US was the recently published Amnesty International report on continued human rights violations in the Philippines.

The shocking disclosures in the document - timed for release on the tenth anniversary of martial-law - provided grim evidence that undercut Marcos' claims of "normalization."

"One of the most painful things I experienced all day was the continuous pounding of my testicles. One of them sat on the sofa by my knees. By means of what seemed a small wooden hammer, my testicles would be hammered by quick sharp blows.

"Sometimes they would pour hot water over me. While I lay there, they would keep the scalding going. They started at the feet, next the legs, thighs, then my private parts, stomach, chest and finally, my face.

"Once, contorting with pain and attempting to avoid any more scalding, I fell (off the sofa) and hit the floor which by then was a pool of water, vomit and my urine..."

It was the testimony of Sixto Carlos, Jr., who was arrested in April 1979 and as of June 1982 had not been formally charged. His detention was not acknowledged by the authorities until September 1979.

Rudy del Carmen, a 31-year-old farmer, married with one child, was arrested without warrant on August 16, 1981, at home in Barrio Bacuyangan. He narrated to his wife his torture at a PC detachment post at the International Lumber Company site.

His wife told Amnesty, "First, he was stripped naked. Then the soldiers squeezed his testicles with pliers. They poured vinegar with pepper on his eyes. They poured gasoline on his feet and burned them. The butt of an armalite was struck against his body. They forced him to drink two litres of water through his nose. He moved his bowel and vomited blood. In addition, they gave him electric shocks."

After being permitted to go home on August 19, del Carmen fled the area of his home. He was killed on August 30, 1981 by PC soldiers, allegedly while "trying to escape."

And then there are the "disappearances." Trade union organizers Antonio Santa Ana and Jemeliana Paguio had reportedly assisted in organizing strikes, overtime bans and protests against excessive quotas



Victims of extra-legal executions.

and unfair working practices in the Bataan Export Processing Zone. They were arrested without warrant on June 24, 1981. Vivencio Santos was arrested on June 8, 1981 reportedly for participation in the boycott movement.

All three were detained in Camp Tolentino, Bataan. They have been missing since July 7, 1981 when, authorities allege, they escaped from detention. Their families fear that they were killed in detention.

COMPELLING CONCLUSIONS

The 127-page report documents, in total, fifty cases of illegal detention, torture, disappearance, and arbitrary killing. According to Michael Posner, a member of the 3-person investigating team sent to the Philippines, these cases are all from first-hand testimony and represent only a small portion of the total number submitted to the team.

Based on the testimonies "gathered from all but two of the 14 military regions and sub-regions," Amnesty mission drew several compelling conclusions:

- that despite pronouncements by both Marcos and Reagan to the contrary, human rights violations

have continued and increased since the official "lifting" of martial law in January 1981.

- despite government denials, "there appears to be strong *prima facie* evidence of involvement of government agents" in these violations.

- the "failure of government to take effective action in implementing investigations, making known the findings and disciplining the culprits strongly indicates that the government tolerates, if not condones, such abuses.

- "extra-judicial executions," which are officially explained as having occurred during encounters between government forces and the armed opposition, have proven in many cases to have taken place during detention.

- the conspicuous growth in the armed forces and the proliferation of special armed forces, paramilitary and intelligence units has led to a multiplicity of government law enforcement agents operating on the local level. All these military and paramilitary units have reportedly been engaged in human rights violations.

"HEARSAY AND RUMOR"

Confronted with such devastating evidence, Marcos was caught off-guard during his recent US state visit. His first line of defense was to blame the hostile media for "sloppy reporting" and Amnesty International for relying on "hearsay and rumor." At several points, Marcos laughed off questions about Amnesty's findings, charging that the group had never visited the Philippines.

Posner refuted him with a detailed account of Amnesty's 17-day mission. Posner added that the Amnesty delegation discussed its findings with Dep. Minister of Defense Carmelo Z. Barbero and four senior members of his staff before returning to the US.

Marcos' televised attacks on Amnesty International were "a shameful spectacle of a dictator haunted by the ghost of his own repression," said Philippine Solidarity Network activist Hilary Crosby.

To Marcos' relief however, Ronald Reagan stepped into the ring and unilaterally handed down his decision: his ally has made significant progress on human rights. Asked whether Marcos had a long way to go, Reagan answered, "We all do."

But for all the embarrassment, Ferdinand Marcos seems to remain unaffected.

The AK has received reports concerning Loreto Castillo, one of the 50 cases included in the Amnesty document. Castillo recently signed a written testimony detailing his harassment by two PC officers who reportedly tried to force him to sign an affidavit denying that he was tortured or that he reported the matter to the Amnesty mission last November. Unless he signs the retraction, Castillo testified, the officers threatened to charge him with subversion. □ By WICKS GEAGA

World's Biggest Loan Shark Exposed

DEVELOPMENT DEBACLE: THE WORLD BANK IN THE PHILIPPINES by Walden Bello, David Kinley and Elaine Elinson. Published by Philippine Solidarity Network and IFDP, 1982. 256 pp., paperback. \$6.95

A year ago, when the Philippine Solidarity Network released the explosive Ascher Memorandum to the press, the World Bank was aghast. The secret report, which had been commissioned by the Bank to determine its future lending policy toward the Marcos regime, revealed just how shaky the Bank's Philippine junior partner was.

In stark terms, the Ascher Memo stated that the Philippine economy was in crisis. The Land Reform program had failed, the external debt was mounting uncontrollably, and the most likely alternatives to Marcos were "nationalist groupings, especially the New People's Army led by the Philippine Communist Party" which would not relish working with the World Bank or "others viewed as agents of U.S. economic imperialism."

If the Bank was caught with its pants down over the 14-page Ascher Memo (at the time, they grilled employees in the Philippine section, instituted wastebasket checks, and even fired the Public Relations Director over the way he handled the affair) one can imagine the uproar in their luxurious Washington headquarters over the September 1982 publication of *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines*. This exposé of the role that one of the world's most powerful financial institutions played in one of the world's poorest countries is based on 6,000 pages of secret World Bank documents. And it is a damning indictment.

Authors Walden Bello, David Kinley, and Elaine Elinson skillfully weave blatant self-incriminations from the confidential Bank documents with a sophisticated analysis of the internal workings of the powerful weapon of U.S. imperialism.

The book reveals in colorful and painstaking detail

how the World Bank's billions—poured into the country in massive doses during the martial law decade—have spawned increased poverty, more landlessness, more restrictions on labor, and heavier repression than ever before.

This may sound like a strong accusation to those who consider the World Bank as a neutral disburser of funds for development or by those who think that the institution is a liberal alternative to the domination of a Third World economy by U.S. private financiers and corporations.

However, *Development Debacle* shows that these notions are at best, naive and at worst, a complete inversion of the truth. For the World Bank is a very powerful, yet very secret institution. Perhaps its worst enemy is the Xerox machine. And well it may be. The leaked documents, under the authors' careful scrutiny, reveal just how devastating the World Bank strategy has been for the Philippine economy.

During the martial law period, the World Bank sunk \$2.6 billion into the Philippines. And now, the Philippines finds itself in a situation not unlike the typical Filipino peasant—deeper and deeper in debt to the proverbial landlord. The Philippines now has an external debt of \$15.8 billion. Its debt service ration comes to \$1.6 billion each year. It is the Third World country most indebted to the IMF—and second only to Great Britain in total indebtedness.

Despite the "Basic Needs" program of former World Bank head Robert McNamara, (touted as uplifting the poorest of the poor) the World Bank itself states that over half the population in the Philippines live below the poverty level. Some observers put the figure as high as 80%. Landlessness among rural workers has increased and the rural income has dropped by 53%. Urban wages have also dropped by half, a figure the Bank itself calls "startling."

Thirty percent of the people in Manila live as squatters in substandard housing. In fact, one of the most telling revelations comes from a World Bank officer in an assessment of why they failed in a slum

upgrading project in Tondo. Complaining that the Bank was unable to collect rents from the relocated slum-dwellers for their newly upgraded sites, the Bank official writes "They'd rather spend on better food than rent. In Tondo, and in other places, we've constantly come up against the reality that poor people and the Bank have different priorities." (Emphasis added.)

The Bank's long-range plan for reorienting the Philippine economy known as the export-led growth strategy turned out not to be the cure-all for the stagnating economy as it was promoted.

The scheme, which left goods produced and assembled in the Philippines bereft against a hostile world market, was doomed to failure. The growth rate in the Philippines is now only 2.5%, the lowest in all of Asia except for Papua, New Guinea. Hundreds of Philippine-owned enterprises have gone bankrupt—unable to compete with foreign multinationals which thrive in Marcos' garden of Bank-promoted incentives. Plant closures have meant that 300,000 workers lost their jobs in 1981 alone, and unemployment is now hovering around 30%.

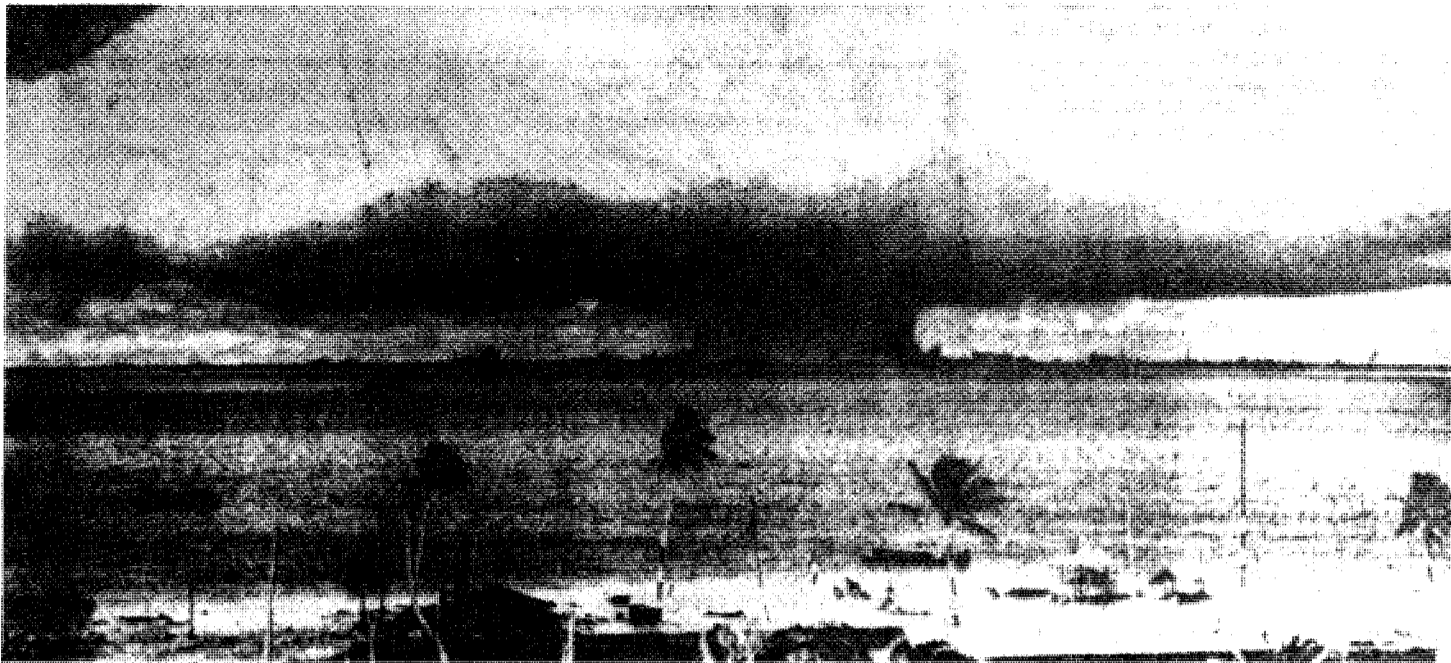
Debacle documents each aspect of the World Bank program with chapters on Rural Development, Urban Projects, Export-Oriented Industrialisation, the Structural Adjustment Loan and more. The authors also present an important historical overview of what ties the Bank, the Marcos regime and the U.S. together. In other words, they give a cogent analysis of why the Bank does what it does.

The conclusions are sobering because the Bank is using the Philippines as a model and is promoting the self-same failed strategy in Indonesia, India and many other Third World countries. The implications of this excellent study then, go well beyond the borders of the Philippines.

Development Debacle is required reading for anyone who wants to understand the inner workings of U.S. imperialism. The impact of this important book will be felt not only in World Bank headquarters, in Malacañang Palace, but also in the movements that need to be armed with knowledge to fight these institutions. The revealing of secrets is vital political work and *Development Debacle* may become the *Pentagon Papers* of the capitalist world's lending institutions.

By RENE CRUZ

Micronesia: Living Under the Glow of U.S. Nuclear Tests



Bikini atoll was the site of 23 atomic and hydrogen bomb tests between 1946 and 1958.

By VINCE REYES

For Westerners there exists a certain lure to the South Pacific. Travel advertisements describe a "string of pearls" where an idyllic life under the warm tropical sun is made pleasurable by rare fruits and the charms of native women in grass skirts. Many an American has dreamt of retiring to the islands where supposedly little has changed over the centuries.

Micronesia—2,000 islands speckled across 3 million square miles of equatorial Pacific—most people only vaguely know where they are. Many maps do not even bother to put them in print. Two thousand miles from Hawaii, as close as 500 miles east of the Philippines and just north of New Guinea, Micronesia is divided into the Mariana Islands, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau.

Despite its beauty, Micronesia is considered by some a "paradise lost." Overrun by Spanish, German, Japanese, and American colonialism, the population was also caught in the throes of bloody battles during WWII. But more devastating have been the scores of atomic blast tests which have vaporized islands, ruined the lands for the next 60 to 90 years, exiled whole cultures and exposed whole populations to atomic radiation.

UNDER THE MUSHROOM CLOUD

Intense political maneuvering is taking place to keep the islands intact for the same—for military use by the United States government. Congressional hearings are being held to determine the future status of the islands and their relationship to the U.S. The islands are now under a unique "trust territory" status.

They were given that designation by the United Nations in 1947 as the islands were considered "strategic" in terms of U.S. military activities. In return the U.S. was to "promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate . . . and to this end shall promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants . . . encourage the development of fisheries, agriculture, and industries; protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources . . . protect the health of the inhabitants . . ."

These were nice words but Micronesia was virtually ignored for the first 15 years of the Trusteeship except for repeated atomic and hydrogen bomb tests in the Marshall Islands. The tests completely vaporized six islands while seriously contaminating hundreds of people from radioactive fallout. The people were told that the blasts were "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars."

The people of Bikini and Enewetok were forced to leave their ancestral homelands. Although nuclear bomb testing was terminated in 1958, Kwajalein, the world's

largest atoll, became a target for inter-continental missiles shot from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Marshallese were subsequently evicted and moved to neighboring islands. Up to now, thousands of Marshallese are looking for jobs, and live on the 66-acre island of Ebeye in conditions, which according to a U.S. Congressional report, are "bordering on a patent violation of basic human rights."

U.S. MILITARY DESIGNS

Now, the U.S. has even more plans. For example, for the island of Belau (formerly Palau), there are blueprints for a 30,000-acre jungle combat training ground (which would take up one-third of a main island); the exclusive use of Malakal Harbor for the U.S.; and a 2,000-acre storage base for nuclear and conventional weapons at Ngaramasag Bay. The waters off the area may also serve as a base for Trident nuclear-powered submarines.

From the U.S. point of view, the islands are an invaluable piece of military real estate. They are geographically situated in a way that complements the bases in the Philippines as the "defense" point for the outer rim of the Pacific. The entire realm of the islands covers more than the United States but all of the islands together only equals about 1/20 of the land mass of Rhode Island. From a purely militaristic perspective, bases and weaponry dispersed over such a wide area would make it difficult for an enemy force to destroy all at one time.

Earlier this year at the Maui Status Talks in Hawaii, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Noel Koch clearly stated that the U.S. has a need "for secure and strategically located bases for U.S. military operations in the South Pacific."

Knowing that the trusteeship would expire on September 30, 1981, the U.S. tried to entice the Micronesians into a "free association" status based on the Compact of Free Association. It offered internal self-government but made the U.S. responsible for "military defense."

POLITICAL MANEUVERING

In April 1979, the people of Belau made their feelings known about U.S. military plans by passing the world's first "non-nuclear, non-military constitution" banning all nuclear materials including weapons and waste. While the Constitution was passed by a 92% majority, the U.S. pressured the Belau legislature to nullify the elections. A referendum was subsequently held in October 1979, which approved a new Constitution deleting the ban on nuclear weapons.

U.S. taxpayers unknowingly spent \$100,000 on an elaborate campaign promoting the U.S.-approved Constitution. An additional \$150,000 of the Belau government funds were also spent. But 80% of the voters rejected it anyway, and in July 1980 the first Constitution was

again accepted by a vote of 78%. Four months later, legislators who sided with the U.S. were thrown out of office.

Despite the Belau people's adamant stand against U.S. military presence, the U.S. is still looking for ways to militarize Belau. Last August 26, a compact was signed by U.S. Ambassador to the Pacific Fred M. Zeder, a Reagan appointee and Lazarus Salii, Ambassador of the Republic of Belau in which the U.S. agreed not to test or store nuclear weapons in Belau except "in transit." The catch is that "in transit" may mean an indefinite period. The compact now has to go before voter approval. The U.S. Congress will also vote on it. However, few understand the issues involved or even acknowledge its controversy.

NUCLEAR NOMADS

The people of Bikini are in an even worse situation. The Bikini atoll was the site of 23 atomic and hydrogen blasts between 1946 and 1958. The land was deemed uninhabitable for the next 60 to 90 years.

The Bikinians were evacuated to a smaller island where the fish, their major food source, turned out to be a poisonous variety. After almost starving to death they were moved to another island, Kili,

They were evacuated again. Bikinians have now filed a \$450 million suit against the United States for the loss of their homeland.

NOT NEW TO IMPERIALISM

The islands have been under one form of military domination or another for most of this century. The Japanese took the islands by force during WWI and set up a military headquarters in Truk. In 1919, a League of Nations Mandate let the Japanese rule the islands "as an integral part of the Japanese empire."

Japan developed the islands for its own military and economic gains, building roads and harbors and expanding the agriculture and fishing industries. Micronesians however, benefitted little as they stayed at the lowest rung of the labor ladder while skilled workers were imported from Japan and Korea. Education for Micronesians stopped at fifth grade.

The Japanese built military bases throughout Micronesia in preparation for WWII. After Pearl Harbor, the U.S. fought its way through Micronesia. Tens of thousands of Japanese and Americans lost their lives while the Micronesians—innocent victims—lost 5,000 people.

A Micronesian reflected that "The Japanese, like the Germans and the Spaniards, promised that they will protect and defend us. But we found out that the Japanese military bases did not even defend us during the war . . . whole islands turned into battlefields . . . our relatives, our elder people died. It's their war, but we lost our life from it."

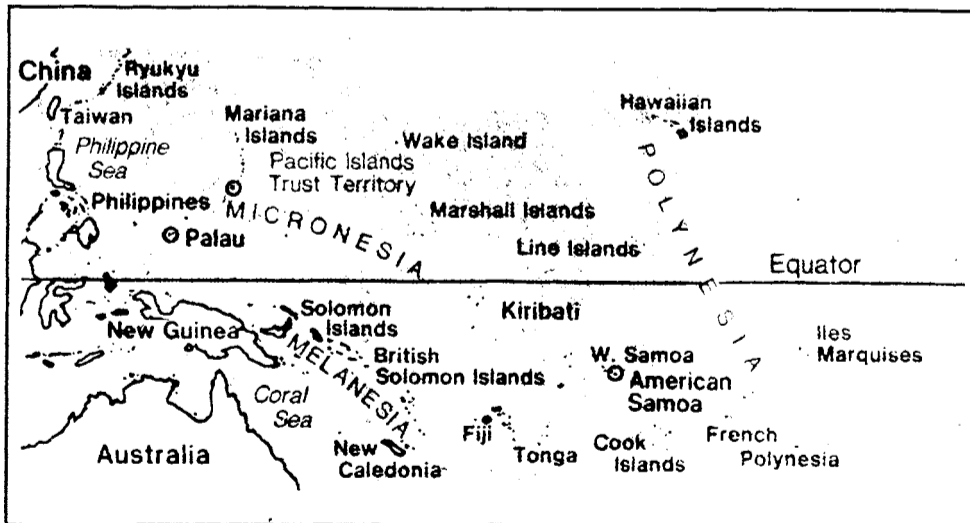
After the U.S. took control, U.S. military leaders ordered the roads and 95% of the buildings destroyed to wipe out any vestiges of Japanese imperialism. As a result, Belau now has fewer paved roads than it did 45 years ago.

OPPOSITION GROWS

U.S. rule completely changed Micronesia's economy. The number one industry is government. Belau has 1,200 government employees whose salaries consume 80% of the national budget. If the U.S. had the same proportion of government workers there would be 18 million people on the federal payroll instead of the now existing three million.

U.S. industries have also found a market for automobiles, televisions, video games, processed foods, and other personal items. Any semblance of prosperity has been created artificially through U.S. assistance and salaries to government employees.

Opposition to the use of Micronesia for



where their traditional fishing and boating skills were useless because there was no lagoon. The size of the island was too small to be agriculturally self-sufficient. In addition, the island is hit with fierce tropical storms from November to May, cutting off food and supply deliveries. The people mainly subsist on U.S. surplus food.

In 1969, the Bikinians were allowed to return home only to find a large mass of scrub vegetation. The only animals left were rats. The island was cleared for habitation but in 1978, new radiological tests showed a higher than normal strontium, cesium and plutonium levels in people's systems from eating native foods and fish.

nuclear stockpiling and testing has grown dramatically in recent years. The Pacific Concerns Resource Center was established in 1980. The organization is a network of anti-nuclear groups from the South Pacific region including Hawaii, Japan, Australia, and the United States.

The network's stand against U.S. military presence and the threat to the fragile human societies of Micronesia objectively locates its struggle within the international anti-imperialist movement. The network also supports Micronesia's desire to be part of the non-aligned movement. The threat it poses on U.S. plans has prompted U.S. Ambassador Fred Zeder to remark that this anti-nuclear, anti-intervention movement is a direct enemy of U.S. interests. □

by NENE OJEDA

(Andres Bonifacio, acknowledged "Father of the Philippine Revolution" was born November 30, 1860. Valuable lessons can be derived by contemporary Filipinos from his life and times.)

Andres Bonifacio, catalyst of the final revolution against Spain, went to his execution calmly. Sick from a wound inflicted by his captors, Bonifacio talked to his executioner in Tagalog for the latter was not a Spaniard. In fact, he was being shot on orders of the new leaders of the revolution he had started. Bonifacio must have smoldered with bitterness against Emilio Aguinaldo, an ilustrado whose faction saw fit to oust the "uneducated peon" from the center of revolutionary leadership.

But most likely, Bonifacio went to his death without really being able to fathom the deep divide that separated him from Aguinaldo and his educated colleagues. These were jealous and ambitious men. It must have seemed so simple as that to him. The complexities that separated the ilustrados as a class from his own must have escaped Bonifacio. For while he had the instincts of the young working class that he led, both were also a product of their times and its limitations.

His class was indeed different from Aguinaldo's. It was Bonifacio and his group of laborers and civil service clerks that made the historic decision that would signal the end of Spanish rule. At Pugad Lawin, the more than one thousand hurriedly-gathered members of the *Kataastaasang, Kagalang-galang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKK) heeded Supremo Andres' call for open rebellion, stood up and tore their *cedulas*, symbols of Spanish colonial hold. In one voice they proclaimed the start of a revolution to wrest from Spain their independence: "Long Live the Philippines!"

With the historic Cry of Pugad Lawin on August 23, 1896, three hundred years of an almost equal number of uprisings against friar injustice and Spanish oppression came to be one revolution for national liberation. The Cry of Pugad Lawin also marked the courageous step taken by the Filipino workers and peasants beyond the ilustrados' futile pleas for reform and equal recognition from Spain. For while nationalist sentiments were first articulated by the ilustrados, they had to be swept into the revolutionary current by the "uneducated" masses that they despised.

The ilustrados, sons of the Filipino middle class that emerged in the latter years of the 19th century, were afforded higher education, if not in the Philippines, in the universities of Europe. Liberal ideas of the time found their way into the receptive minds of the ilustrados. Though from different regions, these overseas Filipinos found a common heritage of Spanish colonialism lording over them. Awareness of their homeland's pre-Spanish political and economic history fed their cultural pride. They demanded reforms in the administration of their country. They wanted equal representation in the Spanish Cortes. Most of all, they wanted the obnoxious friars removed.

The ilustrados began the Propaganda Movement. Their writings strongly portrayed and attacked friar injustice and oppression. No doubt Masonry, at its peak in Europe, influenced the ilustrados' anti-church sentiments.

But far from their homeland, the exiled Filipinos remained ineffective and changed little of their countrymen's lot. The propagandists' writings, already heavily censored by the authorities, reached a limited audience—they wrote in Spanish. Local ilustrados, coming in contact with these materials were nevertheless agitated into organizing small circles of critics in their provinces. Many more were involved in the illicit distribution of irreverent materials.

Andres Bonifacio, a young warehouse worker, joined the charter founding of Jose Rizal's *La Liga Filipina*. Rizal, the Propaganda Movement's chief spokesman, had recently returned from Spain and sought to bring together Filipinos in the homeland to demand the same reforms

Andres Bonifacio's 122nd Birth Anniversary

A Leader of His Class, A Victim of His Times



they asked for in Spain. Rizal's arrest and forced exile three days after the Liga's founding was enough reason for Bonifacio to seek other ways of solving the problems of his countrymen. Although fired by the ilustrados' graphic summation of Spanish misrule, Bonifacio saw the futility of the ilustrado's reformist demands. Ilustrado personalities would portray Bonifacio as "hot headed," leaving out the fact, of course, that their own "cool headedness" and reformism merely reflected their vacillations. They, after all had a lot more to lose than Bonifacio's peons in an out-and-out insurrection against Spain.

The long and short of it was on the evening of July 7, 1892, Bonifacio and a handful of followers vowed to free the Philippines from Spanish rule. Under the lone, flickering candlelight, they signed in blood an oath to work for the welfare of



the motherland. Thus the KKK, a secret, separatist society was born.

Because of the everpresent Spanish militia and the cruel punishment of "suspicious subversive activities," and the KKK's own strict initiation rites and high standards, membership of the society grew slowly its first three and a half years. With the first and only publication of its official organ, *Kalayaan* in March 1896, the KKK swelled to 30,000 (some historians say up to 120,000). Chapters sprung as far north as Nueva Ecija and south, in the islands of Palawan and Panay.

The KKK's program appealed to many for it demanded the dignity Spanish rule reserved for its citizens. The KKK promised mutual help and the defense of the poor and oppressed. Faced with continuing economic hardship and increasing Spanish

abuse, the masses of Filipinos were only too desperate for change even if it meant open rebellion. Though limited in its resources (KKK members were drawn from the lower - middle and lower classes of society) its propaganda, written in the simple yet fiery language of the masses, won many adherents.

The KKK never ceased to appeal to the middle class to join its path. Secret emissaries were sent to request political and monetary assistance from the ilustrados. Many were appalled at the masses "presumptuousness." Rizal, hero to many *Katipuneros*, refused to acknowledge the KKK's plan of action. In exile, Rizal informed them that while they prepared for war, he planned to set sail for Japan to become the director of a college for Filipino students.

The premature discovery of the KKK did not stop it. What it lacked in arms, it made up in an almost desperate determination to win freedom. In many localities, men, women, and even children fought the Remington-armed *Guardia Civil* and infantrymen with nothing but bolos and sharpened poles.

The eruption of almost simultaneous uprisings in various parts of the country taxed the colonial army. Not expecting the scope of the revolution, the Spanish administration reacted with vengeance. Though they were not in any way directly responsible for the masses' uprising, many ilustrados were arrested and executed. Rizal, a reformist to the end, was executed on December 30, 1896, for fomenting the revolution he called insane and absurd.

Rizal's execution served to win over more adherents to the revolutionary cause. The ilustrados, skilled and experienced, quickly took over the leadership of local revolts. This almost forced embrace of the KKK's revolutionary aims by the ilustrados meant that their interests and that of the lower classes would co-exist in one movement—with the ilustrados at the head of it. The rise of ilustrado leadership would later determine the fate of the revolt of the masses. And Bonifacio's fate too.

Indeed in Cavite, the KKK began showing the strains between two rival provincial councils. One, the Magdiwang faction, led by Bonifacio's uncle-in-law, Mariano Alvarez; the other, presided by Emilio Aguinaldo's cousin Baldomero. Emilio Aguinaldo, the young gobernadorcillo of Kawit, was clearly behind the Magdalo faction. Both groups had shown their military capacities, both winning victories against Spanish soldiers. Yet the

rivalry was such that Aguinaldo's men did not aid the Magdiwang towns that came under Spanish attack.

Bonifacio, believing he was called to settle the rivalry, went to Imus, Cavite, on December 31, 1896. Aguinaldo and his men were well prepared, proposing the establishment of a revolutionary government to replace the KKK. By late March, another convention was called, this time to decide on the vaguely-agreed upon proposal at Imus. The Tejeros Convention also kept Bonifacio out of the leading post to which Aguinaldo was elected. He was "too unrefined" and "lacked education," Aguinaldo's followers claimed.

Bonifacio refused to acknowledge the newly-established revolutionary government in his *Acta de Tejeros*. He wrote Emilio Jacinto, his close friend and aide, and considered by many as the "Brains of the Katipunan." The new government did not represent the whole country since only the Cavite members were present, Bonifacio charged. Self-righteously, Aguinaldo called Bonifacio's action treasonous and ordered his arrest.

Bonifacio and his brother Procopio were arrested and a jury trial of Aguinaldo's men was conducted. With fabricated evidence against him and a defense attorney openly siding with the prosecutor, Bonifacio was convicted and ordered executed. Aguinaldo later claimed to have commuted this sentence but was said not to have felt remorse when his message was delivered "too late."

Bonifacio, spearhead of the 1896 Revolution was executed on May 5, 1896. The revolution born of the masses' determination to better their lot continued, even in the face of the Aguinaldo leadership's turn toward compromise with the Spanish government.

Less than a year after its establishment, the revolutionary government went into exile in Hong Kong for the sum of ₱400,000. There they quarrelled over the spoils. With the help of American money, the revolutionary government returned to the Philippines. The rest is history. The ever-compromising ilustrados could not withstand the new colonialists' might and profferings.

It is doubtful, however, whether Bonifacio could have remained at the helm of the revolution had he survived. True, unlike the ilustrados, with their education and their ideas of rational and orderly change, Bonifacio and his class had nothing to lose but the oppression they had endured. This explained the KKK's decisiveness and courage. But, the Filipino working class was much too young and too small and the ideas that guided it were the ideas of another class.

Though of lowly origins, Bonifacio and the earlier leaders of the KKK had enough education to absorb the progressive ideas of the times and share it with the rest of the people through their raw and fiery writings. But these were the ideas of the French Revolution, a revolution led by the ilustrados' counterparts in Europe. These were the ideas that ilustrados had mastery of because they were theirs and they fit their class' historic, albeit narrow, aspirations.

The self-conscious ideas of the working class, the body of thought that would make workers profoundly aware of their distinctions from other classes had not reached Bonifacio and his warehousemen and printers. The ideology that would have armed Bonifacio against the self-serving notions of the ilustrados was already beginning to haunt Europe. But these ideas of Karl Marx took a long time reaching the Philippine isles.

And when they finally did, the new American colonialists and their ilustrado allies were shaken to the bone—as if Andres Bonifacio, whose role they denigrated in official history books, were risen from the grave. When the Communist Party of the Philippines was founded in November 1930, they suppressed it brutally. The American authorities were all too aware that they were dealing with new Bonifacios, with a Filipino proletariat that now had ideas of its own, and for its own. The Filipino working class had come of age and Philippine revolutionary history would never be the same again. □