

# Ang **Katipunan**

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## CHRISTMAS WITH THE FIRST COUPLE:

### A Time for Soul-Searching and Other Military Operations



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

In a world filled with greed, corruption, debauchery and other forms of low life, Christmas with the First Couple makes me feel right at home. It is a welcome break from my miserable daily existence of consorting with the rich, the beautiful and the powerful at the 365 Club, at the stock exchange, or at the fabulous first class hotel dining rooms we can be rightfully proud of as a people. I can only take so much of the endless cocktails with foreign ambassadors or influence peddlers who constantly seek the expert opinion of your humble dean of Filipino columnists.

I find that Christmas with my First Friends is a time for soul-searching. Security Chief Gen. Fabian Ver, who meets me at the Palace gates, is so wedded to his work that he does not understand this. "Should I issue an Arrest, Search and Seizure Order for that, Doroy?" Ah, such a simple but dedicated man, a good friend.

Everyone who counts is here—cabinet ministers (already into their third scotch and soda), the Marcos children, the AFP bigwigs, the U.S. ambassador, the kidney specialist. The First Lady clasps my hand warmly. "The envelope is a specially fat one Doroy,

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## How 1940s Red Scare Victimized U.S. Filipino Labor Leaders

See pages 8 and 9.

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## Editorials

### With 'War on Earth' and 'Ill-Will Toward Humankind'

Come Christmas and the White House will be offering us the usual greeting, "Peace on Earth, Goodwill Toward Men." Perhaps President Reagan might even sit by the fire on TV to warm us with his oh gosh sincerity.

It will be tough getting into the spirit though, when all we have gotten from these White House gents is the threat of war and strident expressions of ill will toward working people. Even the established media can no longer hide the growing bitterness among the common folks.

Amidst the grassroots cry for a bilateral nuclear freeze, what do we get? A high-powered Reagan push for the dreaded MX missile system. Peace on Earth. To add insult to insult, the Reaganites would have us believe that the U.S. disarmament movement is a KGB creation. Presumably, preventing nuclear war is such an evil notion that only the Soviets could possibly like it.

Only a really dense pack of politicians would push for a \$26 billion MX program yet refuse to even consider releasing a few billion dollars for the creation of public jobs. Budget director Stockman is even proposing deep cuts in public health so that his boss would have a few more billions for the likes of the "MX Peacekeeper." Merry Christmas.

Reagan though had to back off from taxing the unemployed (the idea was to discourage people from going on unemployment, the assumption being there is work to be found if people only looked for it!), because the flak got too thick for comfort. Turned out that the 11 million currently unemployed are not all blacks and minorities—the usual victims of his penny-pinching—so he could not ignore the flap.

The President's recent "goodwill tour" of Latin America included a virtual declaration of war on free Nicaragua. This followed the public disclosure of the \$19 million secret war that the U.S. is already conducting from neighboring Honduras. The tour also served as a podium for declaring his butcher allies in Latin America as democratic regimes that are making progress in human rights. He thinks we still believe in Santa.

But why is America's leadership being just plain nasty? Actually, Reagan et al. have no other recourse, and since their task is to protect the interest of the U.S. ruling elite, things will be even nastier. The U.S. economy is showing all the worst features of production for private profits or the results of the boom and bust treadmill and steep competition from rival capitalist countries.

The U.S. corporate elite is also in deep political trouble worldwide. More and more people are up in arms against U.S. domination, expanding the socialist community. Nuclear blackmail against Eastern Europe, support for fascism against liberation struggles, destabilization, intervention—these are the U.S.' only means in stopping the disintegration of the international economic and political order that it dominates.

So when Reagan comes on the screen during the holidays, do not focus all your temper on him. The problem is Reagan but at the same time not Reagan solely. If he is outrageous a lot of times and appears to be a nitwit sometimes, it is because he is the perfect reflection of a system whose irrationality becomes more visible especially at times like these when the cracks are getting deeper. □

### Simpson-Mazzoli Bill Nears Passage—Stop It!

The current lameduck session in Congress could be a fateful moment for immigrants in this country. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, a so-called immigration reform legislation, is going to the full House of Representatives for a vote. If passed, it will be as good as law.

Simpson-Mazzoli is a highly restrictive piece of legislation that enjoys bi-partisan support as well as the backing of the major press and organized labor. It is touted as "a real jobs bill" by its backers to appeal to the deepening insecurity of American citizens.

Its underlying assumption is that immigrants cause the problems of unemployment and diminishing opportunities. Through employer sanctions, stiffer fines and harsher punishment, Simpson-Mazzoli will further terrorize an underclass of undocumented immigrants, making them even more vulnerable to employer exploitation. It will make political asylum for refugees from U.S.-backed regimes almost an impossibility. It will limit permanent immigration while increasing the number of temporary workers with restricted rights. Its

real aim is the creation of new generations of immigrants who by law will have less economic, social and political rights—all for the benefit of corporate coffers.

The Senate has already approved the bill. If it passes the house, every succeeding step will be *pro forma* given the bi-partisan support that it has. Reagan, of course, will sign it—it is just the reshaped version of his immigration plan. Simpson-Mazzoli should be stopped. Mailgrams of protest must be sent to local congresspersons, and to Rep. Tip O'Neill, Speaker of the House, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20510. □

### Halt Thurmond's Sly Move for Extradition

In a shady parliamentary maneuver, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-NC), the rightwing stalwart who heads the Senate judiciary committee, plans to attach repressive extradition legislation as an amendment to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, SB 2411. While extradition legislation in the form of SB 1940, has already been passed by the senate, Thurmond hopes to circumvent the consideration of parallel legislation HR 6046 in the House of Representatives. In other words, to curtail discussions on this controversial issue.

If the extradition amendment to the LEAA passes in the Senate, then it would go to a Senate-House conference committee which Thurmond hopes will uphold it. His hopes are based on the fact that both Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ) House judiciary committee head and Rep. William Hughes (D-NJ) House subcommittee chair both support the restrictive extradition legislation.

This process, however, would amount to a subversion of the full House's constitutional right to debate the extradition legislation which virtually eliminates the "political offense exception," a traditional principle of U.S. extradition law which holds that no one would be extradited for political reasons.

Apprised of Thurmond's intentions, Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO) has told Sen. Howard Baker (R-TN), senate majority leader, that he would oppose any extradition amendment to LEAA. CAMD/PSN has launched an emergency mailgram campaign to oppose Thurmond's extradition amendment. Send mailgrams to Sen. Howard Baker, Senate Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510; copy furnished Sen. Gary Hart, same address. □



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HAPPY HOLIDAYS FROM YOUR PEN PALS —the AK Staff

### Soul Searching . . . .

*Continued from front page*

you've been good to us." I thank Ma'am for her generous handshake and a prosperous new year. I tell her this get-together always makes me do some soul-searching: "Cardinal Sin once told me to search for my soul, too," she says. "But I couldn't find it so I gave up." Ah, such an open and loving woman, a good friend.

The President sits alone, lost in deep thought. I have been accused of being his secret spokesman. But that is not true. It is just that I know so well how he thinks I can always predict what he is going to say. "This is not a very merry Christmas for me, Doroy." I knew he was going to say that. He has been hurt by unfair criticisms. But the real problem is he has also been hit by fair criticisms. "Now, how can a strongman go about the business of being strong if there is criticism?" we both blurt out at the same time.

"My fortune teller, Severino, told me something of grave importance," FM mutters somberly. Severino Sebentiseben, a child genius born on July 7, 1977, is FM's special personal adviser. "Doroy, Severino said that a child will be born today who will be the new ruler of the Philippines. Doroy, this is dangerous. December

25 is not divisble by seven. It is not my lucky number." He has to do something about his, I say to him. Our futures are at stake.

"I have already ordered the NISA, MISG, and all intelligence units to survey all hospitals, midwiferies, mangers, and homes to keep tab of the newly born," he assures me.

He taps me on the shoulder and I know he wants counsel. "You and I think alike, so tell me, what will keep me in good health, in good spirits, and in power?"

I ask if he has promised his soul to God. "It's too late Doroy," he replies. "I have already promised it to the you-know-who."

"To the Devil?"

"No Doroy, to the Americans." How could I have not predicted that reply.

I do not advise him to give to the poor. I know he is no longer comforted by that. The Marcoses used to give away bags of sardines, rice, corned beef, T-shirts, and cologne to the poor at Christmas. But FM has learned from Ronald Reagan that charity does not help at all. "Give a man a can of sardines and he'll eat once, but give him a fishing pole and he will eat forever," FM explained this economic policy to me once.

But what does he get in return for this intelligent approach to poverty? Fishermen from Malabon and other shore towns demanding that FM give them can

### We're Taking a Short Break, etc. . . . .

The AK staff will be breaking for the holidays. This gives us time to summarize the progress of the news-magazine as well as plan for the coming year. Also, it is time for personal vacations and being with our folks and so on. Therefore, we will not have a "January" issue and you will be seeing us again at the beginning of February. To make up for the slack somehow, we have added four more pages to this issue to accommodate a movie review and a page of poetry and additional space so that our pages won't be so cramped. Some of our staffers are moving on to other political responsibilities and will be replaced by new writers. We will announce these changes in staff assignments in February. Lastly, remember us this holiday season through donations and subscriptions you can give as gifts to your friends.

opens instead "because the Japanese now catch all the fish and sell them back to us in cans." Then the unemployed said they were dying to make a living and did that mean they would be given coffins? Filipinos are really philosophers sometimes. [*He means "pilosopo"—Ed.*] Next came the KMU trade unions who said they do not use fishing poles to make a living so why does FM not turn over to them the multinationals' factories instead. Of course, the peasants followed suit asking for the haciendas so they can plant and eat forever. Then they all started saying that the Marcoses should turn over the government to them so they can rule themselves forever. It's the communists who give them these ideas.

Everyone is asked to come to the dinner table. Leave it to the First Lady to orchestrate a sumptuous holiday feast that combines traditional native fare (*rellenong manok, hamon, pansit molo, halayang ube, Coca-Cola*) with haute cuisine from her travels abroad (*pate, Coq au Vin, Moutet Chandon*, fish and chips). And for FM who is watching his diet, a designer dextrose expressly ordered from Paul Bocuse, France's master of *nouvelle cuisine*. At the Palace grounds, the whole town of Tacloban, flown in by ten 747s, simulate the First Lady's childhood midnight mass festivities. It is complete with sidewalk *bibingka* stands, and the old

*Continued on page 4*



Four salvaged Ilocano farmers: torture and disappearances are on the rise as the government's crackdown on dissent intensifies.

(Pumipiglas)

## Repression Goes From Bad to Worse

"The days of the friars are long gone," boomed Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos November 28 in a televised address. Any Catholic priest who aids rebels, he added, is to be prosecuted under the anti-subversion law.

With this speech, Marcos set aside any pretense of special treatment for clergy engaged in social and political activities. It was one of many recent attacks, direct or indirect, publicized or not, aimed at the church which in the last month has become the chief target of the regime's repressive drive.

According to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the regime is principally concerned with "rebel priests," those who have left their parishes to join the New People's Army (NPA) and take up arms against the regime. But sources within the Archdiocese of Metro-Manila insist that the entire church has been on trial via the media and that procedures for church-government cooperation have been consistently violated.

### 18 CHARGED IN SAMAR

On November 26, 6 priests, 2 nuns and 18 church lay workers were charged with subversion before the Catbalogan Court of First Instance in Western Samar. Several were affiliated with a social action center in Catbalogan raided last September.

At the time of the raid, 2 nuns were arrested and released the following day. One month later, Fr. Edgar Kaugleon was arrested for subversion while saying mass. Kaugleon is among those charged.

Government sources claim that all belong to front organizations of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The others charged include Msgr. Norberto Hacbaug, Fr. Josefino Gonzales, Fr. Edgar Dones, Fr. Pedrito Lucero, Fr. Jose Pepe, Sr. Elene Gutierrez, Sr. Thelma Oauron, Ludvina Babautes, Loreta Diego, Fe Palimba, Teodoro Reyes, Antonio Asistio, Juanito Delimaba, Norma Salayao, Virginia Adriasola, Boy Sabandal and Jose Mabulay.

### 20 PRIESTS HUNTED

At the same time, Davao City Fiscal Emmanuel Galicia approved charges against

Fr. Orlando Tizon and 4 others for conspiracy to commit rebellion and illegal possession of explosives. The 5 were captured in a raid in that city which netted CPP leader Edgar Jopson. Jopson may have been tortured to death following the raid. (See AK, Vol. VIII, No. 11.)

In Kabankalan, Negros Occidental, Fr. Brian Gore, and Australian priest, was arrested along with 6 other Filipinos last October. Gore and the others were released only after 3,000 supporters staged a four-day vigil outside the prison and Gore's order, the Columban Fathers, put up bail equivalent to \$12,000.

Government sources claim 20 other priests are being hunted. Particularly galling to the regime is Fr. Conrado Balweg who appeared recently in a British Broadcasting Company film comparing his service to the people as a priest and as an NPA fighter. Balweg carries a ₱150,000 reward on his head—dead or alive. Fr. Zacarias Agatep was killed last October allegedly in an encounter with government troops in Ilocos Sur.

### CMLC AGREEMENTS VIOLATED

While Gen. Fabian Ver, Chief of Staff of the Philippine armed forces, insists that relations between church and government remain "cordial," Jaime Cardinal Sin has called for a dialogue on the matter.

Church sources complain that special agreements worked out by the Church-Military Liason Committee (CMLC) to cover the arrest of church people have been violated. *Cor Manila*, official magazine of the Archdiocese of Metro-Manila, expressed concern that, of the thousands of priests, nuns and lay workers arrested in the last ten years, none had been brought to trial. The magazine further condemned continued media attacks against the church.

### OTHER SECTORS HIT

To protest the continuing arrests of clergy in the area of Samar, priests have refused to say mass. Meanwhile, the conservative Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) responded to charges that the church is "heavily leftist and subversive" by blaming the government for creating a repressive atmosphere forcing some of their members to the hills.

But while the church has received the lion's share of the regime's wrath lately, the current events are merely part of an all-sided crackdown launched to coincide with Marcos' US visit last September. Reports from other sectors continue to pour in as well.

A former UP student leader, Eduardo Vargas, was last seen in Cebu with 15 armed plainclothesmen in mid-October. Reports from Quirino province reveal that 200 were arrested and detained for unknown reasons at a military camp in Aglipay.

One of the most chilling reports comes from Many, Davao City, where mass arrests, torture and other violations of human rights drove 700 so-called rebels to "surrender." 18 were tortured and one Rogelio Masancay lost his mind following the torture. Many remain in prison.

Finally, the labor sector, hardest hit during the initial stages of the crackdown, continues to feel the pressure. Most of its leaders remain in prison while an international campaign presses for their release. Reports from Manila reveal that all telegrams expressing solidarity sent to the office of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU, May First Movement), a militant labor coalition, have been returned, unopened to senders. □

## Top Prisoners Go on Hunger Strike



Metro Manila political detainees: striking prisoners demand releases, better conditions.

(Lenny Limjoco)

Responding to the recent increase in arrests and torture throughout the Philippines, 34 political prisoners on November 29 launched an indefinite hunger strike.

Fasting are political prisoners from detention centers all over Metro-Manila including such well-known figures as Jose Ma. Sison, currently held in isolation at the Military Security Unit, Bernabe Buscayno and labor leader Felixberto Olalia,

Sr., in Camp Crame and Satur Ocampo and Sixto Carlos in Bicutan Detention Center.

The prisoners demand the release of 14 fellow detainees, 24 currently held in Bicutan, 42 in Camp Crame, 7 in the Bagong Bautay Prison Camp and one still in Catbalogan, Samar.

They further call for an end to solitary confinement for Jose M. Sison, Bernabe Buscayno and Ruben Guevara, a transfer

to Bicutan for 8 prisoners from the harsh conditions at Crame with the constant threat of further torture, increases in detainee food allowances from P6 to P8 per day and a general improvement in their living conditions.

Among those participating in the hunger strike are the recently captured Olalia, Isagani Serrano, Noel Etabag and Alau Jasmynes. Others include Guevarra, Rogelio Aberca, Fidel Agcaoili, Rodolfo Benosa,

Nestor Bodino, Danilo de la Fuente, Manuel Gomez, Edwin Lopez, Alfredo Mansos, Alex Marcelino, Rene Marciano, Joseph Olayer, Marco Palo, Bal Pinguel, Rolando Salutin, Benjamin Segundo, Edwin Tolalian and 2 members of the April 6 Liberation Movement. They are joined by 4 members of the Grupong Anak Pawis and 1 prisoner from Bagong Bantoy.

# Buod ng mga Balita

## DAVAO GETTING RED HOT

Military authorities reported that 40 dissidents ambushed and killed 16 government operatives in early November in Barangay Lapon, Sulob, Davao del Sur. Killed were Mayor Sebastian Mondejar, seven policemen, seven militia men, and two Philippine Constabulary soldiers. According to Col. Dionisio Tan-Gatue, acting PC regional commander, the victims were responding to an "emergency call" when they were waylaid. The victims' firearms were taken by the ambushers after the attack.

In Davao City, the government's military operations have stepped up considerably in response to the New People's Army's increasing popularity. This had resulted in the killing of Edgar Jopson, a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and the arrest of four others in September 20. This has also resulted in increased denunciations by residents of government-perpetrated mass arrests, torture, and death threats.

The government is reportedly very sensitive about the growing strength of dissidents in Davao because it is also protecting three mining operations in the area: North Davao Mining Company, Apex Mining Company, and Sabena Mining Corporation. Complaints about these corporations' activities have grown: families dislocated from their means of livelihood, construction workers killed due to an engineering blunder, pollution which deprives the inhabitants of their only source of drinking water. Workers were quoted saying, "We are also human beings with dignity. Should we be deprived of our livelihood so that the corporation will flourish? It is claimed that mining operations are encouraged for national development and the public interest. Are we not part of this so-called national development?" □

## MERCHANTS OF DEATH

Gen. Fabian C. Ver, Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) Chief of Staff, announced an initial earning of ₱17 million from exporting Philippine-made radio communication sets and mini-cruisers from August 1981 to July 1982. He also said that more countries are interested in buying locally manufactured armaments such as M-16 assault rifles, mortar tubes, mortar ammunition, calibre 5.56 ammunition, grenades, gun barrels, M-16 magazines, air force practice bombs and 100-kilogram bombs.

Local armaments production started in 1974 as part of a "self-reliance defense program" (SRDP). Aside from the program's economic advantage, it has also enhanced the Marcos government's military arsenal. The country's arms manufacturing capability was acquired under a technology transfer agreement with the U.S. government. Ver just recently released ₱91.6 million to finance on-going SRDP projects in various units of the AFP.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile

and Trade and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin filed a request for permission with the U.S. State Department to export XO rifles. Permission from the U.S. is needed because the rifles are co-produced with Colt Industries, a U.S. firm. Thailand and Morocco reportedly want to import XO rifles from the Philippines. Thailand has initially requested for 65,000 rifles, valued at \$250 each. □

## TROUBLE IN THE FREE TRADE ZONE

Strikes, walkouts and other forms of labor unrest forced the Philippine government earlier this year to form an investigating team to deal with complaints about conditions in the Bataan Export Processing Zone, in Mariveles, Bataan. The team, appointed by Labor Minister Blas Ople from the Manila-based Ministry of Labor and Employment, submitted its findings at the end of August. Its report confirmed old complaints about the substandard living conditions of the 25-28,000 workers in the zone, and charges that a number of companies have not been complying with labor laws.

In response to these findings, Ople was forced to make big promises: a "labor center" where workers' disputes would be settled immediately; improved housing; and an "institute of occupational health and safety."

Due to the lack of public funds, Ople suggested to the National Economic Development Authority that some of the \$200 million Economic Support Fund (ESF) paid by the U.S. government for keeping the U.S. bases in the Philippines be allotted to the housing project. However, it later learned that the Ministry of Human Settlements, run by First Lady Imelda Marcos, had set its eyes on the \$200 million grant. Further dimming Ople's access to the fund, President Marcos formed an inter-ministerial body chaired by Imelda to advise Malacañang on ESF projects. As for the safety institute project, Ople met with officials from the Japanese government, ten of whose firms have investments in the zone.

One of the major grievances of the workers in the zone, however, has been the attitude of zone police, who have powers to arrest and detain workers considered disruptive. Only last May, when the zone police were called in at the request of the management of Inter-Asia Container Industries, a Japanese-Filipino venture to intervene in a strike, the police hosed the 12 strikers with water, arrested and detained them in the zone police station. Right after that, about 20,000 other workers in the zone staged a three-day sympathy strike which caused the manufacturing to stop in almost all the firms in the zone.

Due to the great importance being placed by the government and the World Bank on the export processing zones, workers in the BEPZ have also been targeted by the government's labor clampdown. On August 13, when *Kilusang Mayo Uno* leader Felixberto Olalia was arrested, two Philippine Constabulary platoons with a total of 40 men and 1,000 National Intelligence and Security Authority agents moved into Mariveles, setting up numerous roadblocks and checkpoints, and searching all vehicles and luggage. □

## FM CRONY SUES TIME FOR LIBEL

Filipino businessman Ricardo Silverio filed a ₱52 million damage suit against Time, Inc., publisher of *Fortune* and *Time* magazines. Silverio accused Time, Inc. of libel as a result of statements made by Fortune magazine staffer Louis Kraar in the "Meet the Press" interview of President Marcos during the strongman's U.S. state visit last September.

According to Silverio's lawyers, Dakila Castro and Bellaflor Angara-Castillo, Kraar insinuated in his statements that Marcos bailed out Silverio and his companies from their financial difficulties because Marcos and Silverio were friends. They charged that this "malicious statement" is a product of a conspiracy between Fortune editor-in-chief Henry Anatole Grunwald and Kraar. As a result of the suit, the Rizal Court of First Instance froze Time, Inc.'s properties in the Philippines worth ₱400,000.

Opposition figures have noted that while the Philippine government is claiming Marcos' U.S. visit as a "complete success," it is at the same time being very vindictive against its critics. The government-controlled press as well as Marcos-financed U.S. Filipino newspapers have not stopped attacking "U.S.-based rebels" ever since the visit. Oppositionists charge that Silverio's suit smacks of revenge against critics who spoiled Marcos' supposedly successful visit. □

## ANOTHER DAY, ANOTHER BOMBING

Four Filipinos living in Southern California are being charged with rebellion by the Philippine government in connection with a "new bombing plot." The government accused Los Angeles businessman Danilo Lamila, travel operators Martin and Zosimo Brizuela, and Eliseo Swing of conspiring to bomb several big hotels in Manila while the Marcoses were away for the U.S. state visit. All four denied involvement and claimed they are being targeted by the Marcos regime due to their anti-Marcos activities abroad.

Elvin Laurel, another L.A. resident, allegedly confessed that he was sent to the Philippines on a bombing mission by the four accused. This "confession" was made when Laurel was arrested after an explosive device reportedly exploded in his coat pocket at the Manila Hilton last September 20. His uncle, Santos Abellanosa of Bagong Bayan, Sta. Mesa, Manila, was also arrested.

Lamila said that Laurel must have been coerced into signing the statement, like Victor Lovely, Jr. who was also arrested after an accidental explosion while in the Philippines. Opposition leaders at home charged that it is Marcos himself who has instigated bombings in order to justify high-handed political actions.

The U.S. government has been conducting a grand jury investigation of U.S.-based anti-Marcos oppositionists in connection with these supposed bombing plots. Also, an extradition treaty between the two countries is pending. Anti-Marcos activists who are being linked to the bombings will be requested for extradition to the Philippines as soon as the treaty is ratified by the U.S. Senate. □

## Soul-Searching . . .

Continued from page 2

parish priest who is giving an impassioned sermon against short skirts and sleeveless dresses, just like it used to be. She also tried to get Brooke Shields and John Travolta to play Mary and Joseph but they could not be reached on time.

Gifts are exchanged in merriment. Ma'am took over the ownership of the Floro Foto chain so she can give it to Bongbong who is eager to apply his training from the Wharton School of Economics. The young man is going to rename the chain, Foto Bongbong. Imee received a blank marriage certificate and she is jumping with joy. Irene, the shy and simple one, was given an electric dishwasher. What joy these cute brats bring to the First Couple; what joy they bring to me, their family friend.

But the exchange gift among succession hopefuls, Ver, Virata and Enrile is a touching scene of unity among supposed rivals. Virata gives Enrile an elegant package with strange ticking sounds—"Just a special clock to tell you when your time has come." For Ver, Enrile has an all-expenses paid vacation to a jetset resort near the Iran-Iraq border—"For the long rest you have deserved all these years." Ver, always the thoughtful and caring colleague, presents both ministers a lifetime supply of Extra Strength Tylenol ordered especially from Chicago—"Because I know the headaches you endure in your jobs." Ah, such brotherhood, such mutual respect, such good friends of mine.

The doorbell rings. More guests? No. Gen. Ver says

it's just a couple of squatters, the woman heavy with child—asking for a place to spend the night. Ver tells them to go to the motorpool, find space between the Mercedes Benzes and they can use an empty oil pan should they need a crib. The First Lady tells Ver to go with the couple because you can never be too careful about the Ming vases and other antiques that dot the Palace corridors.

The merriment goes on but the First Lady sinks into a reflective mood. I ask her about the foreign media's charge that she is prone to being too literal about her political statements. "I'm not going to take that lying down, Doroy. I always give speeches while standing up to a captured audience. The foreign press thinks I'm not deep enough, they don't realize I am a self-educated, sensitive woman. For example, can you hear those midnight church bells? Don't ask for whom the bells toll, they toll for thee." She has a point there.

"Everytime I open my mouth I am ridiculed. It's not fair. Can I help it if I'm a star? If I am on top of the Christmas tree right now it's because I swung from the tinsel, clambered up the branches, stepped on a lot of silver balls and silver bells to get there. But they want me down because they want an angel, not a star, up there instead. Well, I'll tell you how they can get an angel up there. They can take that Christmas tree and shove it up that angel's... oh, man is so unfair when it's only man's welfare I work for." I note a tinge of bitterness there. She sobs and tears dampen the open box of Swiss chocolate on her lap. She's so human, I hold back my own emotions. FM, too grows more somber as the San Miguel Church bells usher Christmas in.

"Sometimes, I wonder if it's all worth it," he confides

to me. "I look at the future and I see myself alone in my Swiss chalet, or in my Kensington flat, or in my Long Island estate, watching the twilight—and I realize it's all worth it." I tell him he also has a beautiful and ambitious wife he can spend the rest of his life with. "That's when I wonder again if it's all worth it, Doroy."

Ver returns shaking his head in amusement. The pregnant woman gave birth to a boy at midnight in the motorpool. "This couple must be a little crazy," he says. "They told me when their son grows up he is going to drive us out of Malacañang and that he is going to live here. Ha! Ha! Ha!"

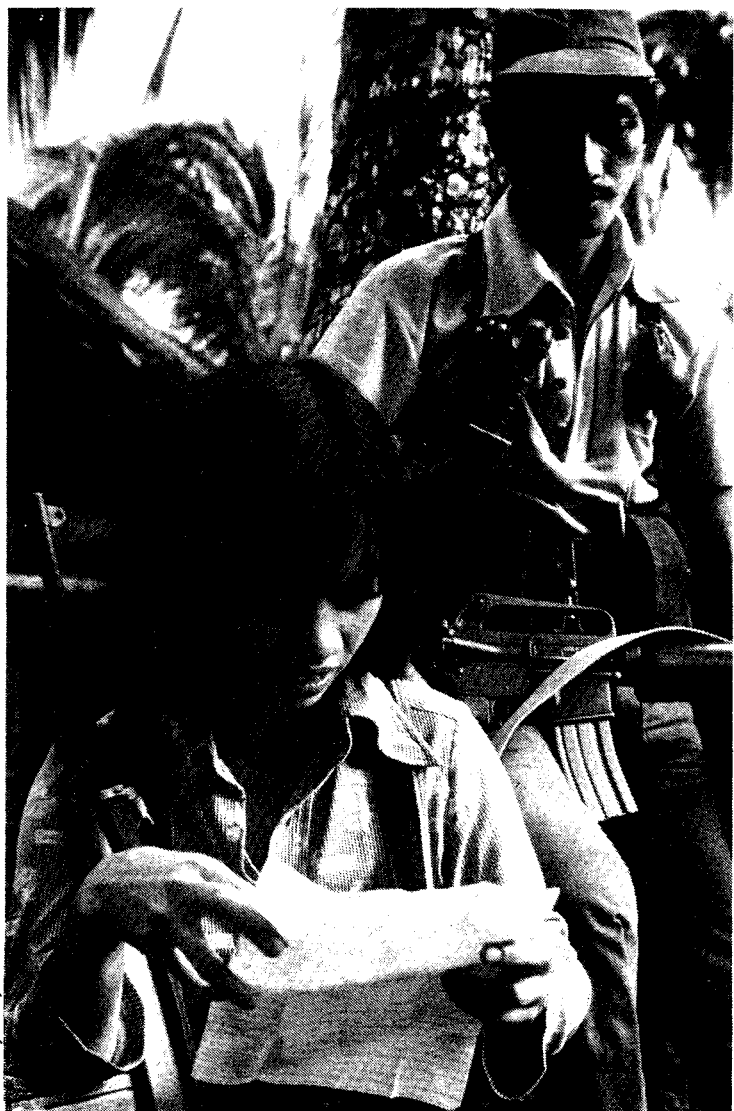
Three old men, he said, showed up bringing perfume and a couple of powdery substances. Bongbong gets excited and asks Ver if they were sniffing the powder. "Durog ba sila, Uncle?" Ver says one guy is named Melchor, no relation to Alex, though.

The President becomes intense and sits up stiffly, clenching his fists. Anxiety fills his eyes. A sudden hush grips the ballroom.

"Defense Minister Enrile, put the army on red alert!" he booms. "Gen. Ver, get Col. Abadilla and a team of your interrogation experts. I've got a job for you at the motorpool and it's got to be done well—and don't let Amnesty International know about this, you hear!"

Thus folks, is Christmas with the First Couple. Amidst the celebration the President is still thinking about his work. He is the champion in running a state. He does not waste time. It is Christmas morn but he wants to celebrate Good Friday already, so to speak. What a commitment, what a ruler, what a friend. The country is in good hands, I tell him. "I knew you were going to say that," he replies. □

# Guerrilla War Taking Big Strides



A quiet moment: NPA guerrilla reads a letter from home.

Practice time: NPA practices on patrol.

## Letter from an NPA Guerrilla, November 19, 1982

Here are some developments in the national situation. In the revolutionary front, we have now 36 guerrilla fronts all over the archipelago, covering more than 50 provinces. Fourteen of these guerrilla fronts are located in Mindanao island alone. The rest are scattered in Luzon and the Visaya islands. We have a 100% increase in armaments (high-powered rifles) and full-time guerrilla units.

We are now in the process of regularizing our troops (NPA Red fighters). The arms are mostly taken or confiscated from the reactionary soldiers of Marcos. In Mindanao alone, we were able to confiscate 176 high-powered rifles in three months, while in southern Luzon alone we were able to confiscate 100 high-powered rifles in six months.

This year (1982) the New People's Army was able to launch a series of coordinated tactical offensives with a rate of once a week in Mindanao and once

every two weeks in southern and northern Luzon. These tactical offensives are in the form of ambushes and raids. The success of the tactical offensives of the NPA prompted the high command of the military to issue guidelines on how to prevent ambushes (or how to effect?) counter-ambushes and passive defense.

This coming year (1983), the U.S.-Marcos regime will surely be shaken by the intensified guerrilla warfare . . . We are now comparatively stronger than the MNLF-BMA in terms of armaments and troops in Mindanao alone.

On the U.S.-Marcos reactionary front, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is acutely isolated from the Filipino people. This is due to the economic and political crisis that besets the government. There is also increased militarization, especially in the countryside, accompanied by rampant abuses and atrocities committed against the

poor barrio folk by military personnel. These, among others for which the regime is held accountable and responsible and unable to solve, are the very causes why the Filipino people have no more faith or have lost faith in the government.

As a result, there is growing polarization of forces (political), the U.S.-Marcos regime on the one hand and the revolutionary forces that represent the people on the other. In between are the small yet significant bourgeois reformist elements that have to be won over to our side . . . These people are pro-U.S. and are very willing to compromise with the U.S. imperialists just to be in power. But instead, President Reagan has given all-out support for Marcos and totally disregarded this so-called legitimate opposition.

This policy of the Reagan administration *vis-à-vis* the bourgeois reformist elements has angered the latter to such an

extent that some of them have become disillusioned and have formed alliances with the revolutionary forces carrying out the anti-fascist, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line. This brings about . . . alliances comprised of bourgeois reformists, national bourgeois, petty bourgeois, worker, and peasant elements. This is now being realized in the different regions of the country . . .

As regards militarization, this is a nationwide phenomenon. In the Bicol region of southern Luzon, there are now 14 battalions of PC and army troopers plus the Philippine Marines and engineering battalions. There are more troopers in the other regions. So in reality, martial law is very much alive and the much-publicized lifting of martial law last January 1981, was just a gimmick cooked up Marcos with the help of U.S. State Department people out to fool the Filipino people. This time he didn't succeed. All for the Revolution. □

### AFP OFFICERS BLAMED FOR LOSSES IN AMBUSHES

In a sternly-worded command letter to all military units, Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos threatened to court-martial military commanders whose negligence resulted in ambush of units under their command.

General Ramos, Armed Forces of the Philippines Vice Chief of Staff, noting the increase in the number and scope of raids and ambushes conducted by the New People's Army on Philippine Constabulary, Integrated National Police and paramilitary units, reminded all regional, provincial, company and separate unit commanders to implement the guidelines, policies and directives on security and tactical measures to prevent considerable loss of lives and property.

Philippine Army commanding general Josephus Ramas, in a keynote speech to an Army intelligence operations seminar conducted by the 5th Infantry Division, echoed the same concern pointing to negligence and incompetence of unit commanders as the two reasons why the military suffered 85% casualties in ambushes by anti-government forces.

A noted Philippine observer, however, attributed the

success of the NPA's raids and ambushes on the widespread support of the people's army received from the rural populace and the consequent low level of morale and discipline pervading the government military ranks.

In a closely-related development, the Philippine Army military command is soliciting the aid of provincial governors and municipal mayors in pursuing its recently adopted "approach first" policy.

The "approach first" policy was formulated to check the increasing abusive acts of Army personnel. The Army has appealed to the local civilian officials to report censurable acts or abuses of military men so that appropriate disciplinary action can be taken against the erring personnel.

"This policy amounts to nothing and is ineffective in its sought aim because the local officials themselves are but ensconced in their well-guarded offices and isolated from their constituencies," according to the same observer. □



The Constable



## Bad News All Around for R.P. Economy

By JOEL ROCAMORA

The Philippines faces 1983 with no prospect of improvement in steadily deteriorating economic conditions.

The continuing slump in agricultural exports means that rural incomes will remain depressed for the third year in a row. Coconut farmers, who constitute almost a third of the country's population, still have to sell their product at prices barely covering production costs.

In urban areas, recessionary conditions led to massive layoffs of workers through most of 1982. While 1982 inflation slowed to 10.5% compared to 13.2% in 1981, this was small consolation to Filipinos who have seen the value of their hard-earned peso decline to only 28 centavos compared to 1972. For urban workers, the purchasing power of their already scandalously inadequate ₱18 (\$2.15) daily minimum wage has plummeted to ₱10.62 (\$1.27).

The Marcos dictatorship's attempt to attract foreign investment, down 31% in the first nine months of 1982 compared to 1981, created even worse conditions for workers. To prevent strikes and other

Import payments meanwhile, grew 1% to \$6.07 billion even as the quantity of imports fell 1.9%.

The resulting trade deficit, for the first nine months of 1982 alone, was \$2.04 billion compared to \$1.63 billion a year earlier. The current account deficit, which includes non-trade items such as insurance payments and profit remittances, was an even bigger \$2.36 billion, up \$670 million from the same 9 months last year.

Loans and investments continued to finance the deficit, but with investments down 31% to \$214M, much of it had to be financed with loans. Through the first nine months, the regime borrowed \$1.89 billion of the \$2.4 billion ceiling for 1982 borrowing. With the total payments deficit for 1982 calculated to top \$800 million compared to \$365 million in 1981, the Marcos regime is going to have to borrow more actively in 1983.

### HIGHER INTEREST, TOUGHER TERMS

The total Philippine foreign debt at the end of 1982 is estimated to reach \$17.9 billion. The *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Richard Nations says that when

investment risk consultant, says that a rescheduling of the Philippine debt may be "inevitable." Leading U.S. bankers, the Philippines' main creditors, agree. But postponing payment on debt due in 1983 would not necessarily be a "calamity," they say.

This outlook is understandable since the main effect of a debt rescheduling would be to make more profits for bankers by placing the Philippines at a disadvantage in future loan negotiations. Although no government loans, as yet, have had to be rescheduled, private borrowers have already started. Atlas Consolidated Mining and Development Corp., one of the country's largest firms, is currently negotiating a \$73 million loan to refinance an old one, and it is having difficulty securing favorable terms.

Two government borrowing schemes, an attempt to float U.S. commercial paper for government banks and a \$50 million loan for the Light Rail Transit Authority are currently stalled. The Central Bank's major borrowing initiative for 1983, a \$300 million syndicated loan, is likely to require higher interest and a shorter repayment schedule.

### IMF/WORLD BANK NEGOTIATIONS

Commercial bank decisions on the Philippines' 1983 loans, in any case, will have to await the outcome of Philippine government-IMF/World Bank negotiations on a \$760 million IMF/WB package to cover the 1982 payments deficit. An IMF/WB team went to the Philippines in October

but the result of the negotiations have not, as yet, been announced.

Leaked IMF/WB documents indicate that the main demands on the Marcos regime will be a scaling down of the regime's development program, a cutback of public services, a crackdown on Marcos-crony privileges, and a lower government budget deficit.

The already approved 1983 budget shows a 36% and 30% decline in "economic services" and "general public services" respectively. Marcos cronies Herminio Disini and Rodolfo Cuenca have had to sell off some of their companies and accept government control of their management. Another crony, Ricardo Silverio is facing charges of violating government regulations. But Manila business circles remain skeptical. Many suspect that once economic conditions improve, crony privileges will return.

Observers also point out that the IMF and WB are likely to relax its demands on the overall budget deficit. In 1981, the total budget deficit was \$12.1 billion. In the first nine months of 1982, the deficit was already \$12 billion. While the development and social service segments of the 1983 budget were drastically cut, the allocation for debt service rose by 54% and the military budget rose by 31%.

For the IMF/WB combine, budget austerity stops where finance capital profits and counterinsurgency begins. For the Filipino people, whatever arrangements Marcos works out with the IMF and the WB, the result will be the same—more poverty and more repression. □



forms of worker protest, the dictatorship cracked down on the May First Movement, the most active labor federation in the country in August 1982.

### TRADE SLUMP

Because the Philippines has a neocolonial economy which is heavily dependent on foreign trade, the key indicators of the health of the economy are its trade and payments figures. According to the Central Bank, export earnings for the first nine months of 1982 fell 8.2% from a year earlier to \$4.03 billion. The decline in export receipts, the worse in over 10 years, was the result of a 36% decline in sugar and 16% decline in copper receipts.

the \$2.25 billion in amortisation and interest on medium and long term debts plus \$600 million in interest payments on short term debt is compared with this year's expected \$7.9 billion export earnings, the country's debt service ratio adds up to 36%. The *Asian Wall Street Journal* reports that a recent Morgan Guaranty Trust study says that the ratio is actually a staggering 91% of projected export receipts.

While the government, using its own formula for calculating its debt service ratio, says that it remains below the statutory 20% limit, most foreign analysts consider the Philippine debt situation increasingly desperate. The Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, a leading

## Whose War...

Continued from page 7

July 4, 1946, the scheduled date of the promised independence.

This destruction gave the United States tremendous clout over the islands despite the formal independence. The war's destruction, according to the U.S. War Damages Commission, amounted to ₱1.5 billion. But war reparations of over \$500, the conditions for independence read, would not be given unless parity rights were awarded to Americans, unless the military bases agreement was signed, and so on and so forth.

The United States orchestration of the resumption of peace also included a very conscious policy towards the various wartime forces. Roxas, the top rice collector for the Japanese was rescued from prosecution as a collaborator. He was later elected first President of the Philippine Republic after independence, a ruler so manipulable because of his wartime deeds. Roxas then proceeded to grant amnesty to other collaborators.

The USAFFE and USAFFE-recognized

guerrilla units demanded and received back pay for the years they waited in the hills for American return. To them was given the formal honor of having defended Philippine democracy.

The Huks, however, recognized by even low-level American military officers as the most effective guerrilla organization, became the target of repression. The Americans knew that they stood against imperialism. The Huks' communist leaders were arrested and jailed by the U.S. Army CIC as "security risks." Huk territory were put under military guard, and Central Luzon politicians and landlords who fled to Manila were reinstated.

The failure of the Huks to turn their anti-Japanese war into a full-pledged national liberation movement against U.S. imperialism stood in marked contrast with their counterparts in Vietnam who effectively transformed their fight into resistance to the return of the French colonizers. It would take two decades or so before Filipino communists could regain their bearings and resume their unfinished task. □

By NENE OJEDA

Few structures in the city remained unrazed. The historic and mighty fortress of Intramuros was reduced to a dust heap. But here was much rejoicing behind the rubble for the machine guns, flamethrowers and bombs that wrought the damage were American. Nowhere was so much destruction so welcomed by so many.

The *kano* have returned! Three years after they left Manila open for Japanese occupation and after they had destroyed anything in the city that could be of use to the invaders. A thousand American soldiers would die in the battle to recapture Manila. The Japanese Army would lose 16,000 men. Thousands more Filipinos would be dead, dying or suffering from the deprivations of war. But so what? The most important thing was MacArthur has returned—as he promised!

This popular summation shows that the vast physical destruction that came with the Americans' return equalled only the profound damage it wrought on the consciousness of a whole generation of Filipinos. The Filipinos fought a just war of resistance against Japanese fascism. But unlike many of their counterparts in the colonial world, they did not emerge from the war as a nation truly independent at last. They could not separate their goals from that of the U.S.

The Second World War came to the Philippines and the rest of the Pacific when Japan, a latecomer in the imperialist game, attempted to lay claim on a region already divided by the bigger Western powers. Unlike its neighbors to the south, Japan was able to resist Western intrusion. Japanese capitalism developed, unfettered by foreign domination. It would soon mature to a giant that needed expanded areas of exploitation. East and Southeast Asia were the logical areas to grab.

At the turn of the century, the Philippines was already an American colony. This did not stop Japan from having a taste of the U.S. cake—and eventually wanting more. By 1935, Japanese businesses produced one-third of the Philippines' jute. Ninety percent of the Philippine deep-sea fishing industry was Japanese-owned. Japan had by then, vast interests in iron, chrome and manganese mining in the Philippines. Davao, in Mindanao, was being dubbed Davao-kuo and was practically a Japanese province.

The Philippines would fit in well within the Japanese scheme called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Philippines may not have the oil badly needed to feed her industrial complexes but Japan saw in the islands an easy market for finished goods. Filipinos have, in their trade relations with the mother country, not only developed a taste for imported manufactured goods but also an apparent acceptance of their role as a producer of raw materials.

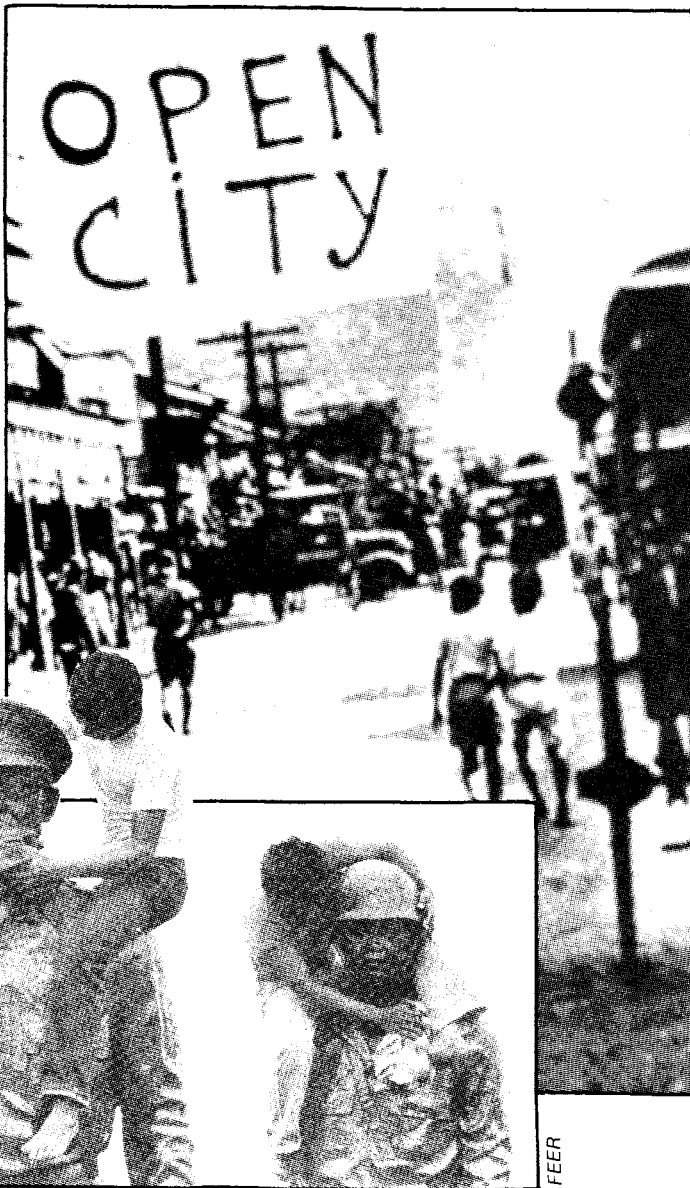
But economic considerations aside, Japan would have to wrest the Philippines if the Co-Prosperity Sphere were to succeed. The United States' armed might in the Far East was centered there, just a couple of sailing days away from the Japanese mainland.

Japan was also keen on the political dynamics in the Philippines and in other countries colonized either by the Americans, the Dutch or the British. It therefore postured as an "anti-colonial" force to drive a wedge between the Western colonial powers and their subjects.

Thus, as early as 1907, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt warned that the Philippines was the U.S.' "Heels of Achilles" in Southeast Asia, and suggested that the Philippines be granted independence sooner than later.

It was not until 1931, when Japan grabbed Manchuria that the U.S. finally relents to Filipino demands for independence. The colony was to be "free" in 15 years, following the transitory Commonwealth government. Ten years after Manchuria, Japan had a foot inside French Indo-China and was dangerously close to going into British Malaya. The consequent embargo of Dutch Indies oil and the freeze on Japanese assets in America marked the

## Whose War Was It Anyway?



worsening of relations between the emerging imperialist power and her Western rivals.

In the early morning hours of December 7, 1941, Japan struck a deadly blow on the U.S. 7th Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbour. Ten hours later, the neatly-lined American bombers at Clark Field in Pampanga became easy targets for Japanese pilots. The Philippines' entire air defense was lost in minutes. The Filipinos, whether they liked it or not, were now at war.

General Douglas MacArthur's 10-year, P800 million Philippine defense programme crumbled. With the U.S.-Philippine air defense knocked out, the Japanese safely landed 43,000 men in 85 transport carriers at Lingayen Gulf on December 22. MacArthur's defense programme had only produced 22,000 troops. Another easy

for the United States.

Not all Filipinos liked MacArthur's promise. Japan's promise to "emancipate" the Filipinos from "the oppressive domination of the U.S.A" initially attracted forces whose hatred for U.S. domination had developed into blind anti-Americanism. Japan resurrected from Tokyo exile Sakdalista leader Benigno Ramos and the aging Katipunan Gen. Artemio Ricarte. Together with Japanese loyalist Pio Duran, they formed the *Makapili* (*Makabayang Kalipunan ng mga Pilipino*—Patriotic League of Filipinos), a civilian militia created in 1943, almost as a desperate attempt to force Filipinos into accepting the Japanese order. Japan then set about restructuring the country's

*"... the vast physical destruction that came with the Americans' return equalled only the profound damage it wrought on the consciousness of a whole generation of Filipinos."*

Japanese landing of 7,000 men at Lamon Bay, and the march toward Manila followed. MacArthur retreated to Australia.

The U.S. Armed Forces in the Far East retreated to the Bataan peninsula. By April 1942, MacArthur's man in Bataan, Col. Edward King, surrendered. From Bataan, his troops of 78,000 Filipino and American soldiers began the Death March to Capas. Many did not survive the Japanese bayonets that prodded the weak and defeated men in the tortuous trek.

A month after the Fall of Bataan, the demoralised Col. Jonathan Wainwright gave up the Corregidor bastion. America, already strapped to the defense of Western Europe, could not send any more men and materiel to the Pacific.

The dramatic high point of these last stages of the U.S. defense of the Philippines was MacArthur's celebrated "I shall return" proclamation. What he did not explain though, was what he really meant: he shall return to reclaim the Philippines

educational system and distorting Philippine history just as America had done years earlier.

There were, of course, those who went wherever the wind blew: pro-U.S. when the Americans were around, pro-Japan when it took over. Chief Justice Jose P. Laurel was inaugurated President of the wartime Philippine Republic in 1943. Laurel was a product of a Japanese university and was a pre-war lobbyist for Japanese businesses in Mindanao. Manuel Roxas, Presidential Executive Secretary, headed the *Bigasang Bayan*, the wartime national rice distribution agency.

But Japanese indignities, ranging from a slap across the face for not bowing properly, to rape of women, to torture or death for suspected anti-Japanese activities, fueled broad anti-Japanese sentiments. Their anti-U.S. colonialist rhetoric immediately became transparent that their Filipino allies became hopelessly isolated.

The other political force that was aware

of the meaning of MacArthur's promise was the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas*. The party entered a popular alliance with its traditional enemy—the colonial Commonwealth government—for the sake of fighting Japanese fascism.

The PKP formed the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon*, a major anti-Japanese guerrilla force operating in Central Luzon as the USAFFE began its retreat into Bataan in early 1942. The Huks, as the units have been called, drew its forces from peasants and workers, its guns from the retreating USAFFE troops and later in ambushes against Japanese military units.

What the Huks lacked in guns it made up in popular support. For three years the Huks resisted Japanese entry and control of the major rice producing provinces. In most Huk territory, price controls were set up to prevent inflation and profiteering that marked the war years in Manila. Through the war the Huks, with a combined force of 15,000 armed men and 35,000 unarmed reserves, engaged the Japanese Army in some 1,200 battles and killed 25,000 Japanese soldiers, spies and collaborators. Popular studies of Philippine history and economy were conducted and became the basis of the peasants' fight against Japanese fascism. But what the PKP failed to do was to warn Filipinos of the political dangers of the eventual return of U.S. imperialism. In fact, it set about to welcome the U.S. as a "democratic ally." This would later prove fatal.

Commonwealth officials, of course, hung on to MacArthur's promise like the damsel who waited for the white knight. The colonial years had popularized a nationalism that included loyalty to America as its cornerstone. Infused with this anti-Japanese but pro-American sentiment, USAFFE stragglers and ROTC recruits formed guerrilla units and waited for the return of American forces. A good number of these units, however, were not only limited by the lack of materiel, but also by the fear they caused among the people they were supposed to be protecting from Japanese abuses. One USAFFE officer, John O'Day, reportedly led in the looting and destruction of several Ilocos barrios. O'Day and his men harassed other guerrilla units into submission. Other guerrilla units, vying for territory, also prevented many pro-U.S. units from fighting the common enemy. The most prominent rivalry was the one between the ROTC Hunters and ex-USAFFE driver Marcos Agustin Markings, which erupted in harassment of the residents of each other's territory, kidnapping, and even killings.

By 1944, the U.S. secured its positions in Europe, thanks to the destruction of the Nazi forces by the Soviet Union, a task which cost the latter 20 million deaths. American confidently turned its eyes on the Pacific. Japan had to be brought down on her knees to beg for peace. American will not forget the embarrassment of Pearl Harbour. The atomic bomb would ensure this. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there were persistent reports that Japan was planning to surrender.

But MacArthur had other plans. He, after all, had promised to return to the Philippines. Abroad the cruiser *Baltimore*, MacArthur convinced the American Joint Chiefs of Staff that the Philippines should not be bypassed if not only for the "national honor" of the U.S. The Filipinos must not lose faith in their American guardian. The reestablishment of U.S. economic and military interests in the archipelago, no doubt, must have been his most powerful argument for that was what the U.S. proceeded to do once peace returned.

MacArthur's return in late 1944 had a devastating impact, literally. Manila was destroyed in the process of flushing out the Japanese Army. The rest of the Philippines was likewise devastated. Property damage caused by American shelling was topped with the stoppage of production. The rice, mining, sugar, lumber, and fishing industries came to a standstill. Irrigation systems were destroyed and as much as 70% of the livestock were lost, crippling the country's agricultural production. The Philippines lay helpless as it approached

*Continued on page 6.*

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

It was terrifying. All the leadership were under deportation proceedings—Ernesto, Chris—can't think of anyone who wasn't under the threat of deportation. We looked out for them to be sure they weren't put on the plane and sent back to the Philippines."

Josephine Patrick, former member of the Committee to Protect the Foreign Born, recalled the plight of the militant Filipino trade union leaders who fell victim to the anti-communist hysteria that swept the country after World War II.

In September 1949, the Justice Department moved in on the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Local 7-C ILWU (which later became Local 37 ILWU), and arrested the union's top leadership: Chris

papers as agitators and traitors.

For Mensalvas, Mangaoang and company, the deportation orders were but another obstacle—a serious one—thrown in the path of their union organizing work. It had taken them years to put their union in sufficient shape to wrest some concessions from an Alaska salmon industry that tried to destroy it at every turn. It was to the credit of these dedicated unionists that they were able to raise their members' wages from \$25 a month in 1934 to \$250 a month plus benefits in 1949.

The cannery workers' struggles began as early as June 19, 1933 when the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union 18257 was established as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. It was a bold attempt to curb the

unity was demonstrated. With this the CWFLU Local 18527 ended the contractor's reign in the salmon canning industry by the season of 1937.

By this time, the American Federation of Labor was already losing its prestige among workers. Instances of racism in the AFofL were rampant. Arbitrarily, its top leadership tried to segregate cannery workers as Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and so on. After a bitter struggle and a 9 to 1 vote, the cannery workers changed affiliation, joining the more militant and communist-led Congress of Industrial Or-

# How the 1940s Re U.S. Filipino

In June of 1946, when the SS Santa Cruz steamed out of Seattle, there were 1,200 angry cannery workers aboard. The men squeezed themselves into bunks, sweating and exhausted from carrying their blankets, suitcases and seabags from three decks below. The bunks, the decks, the food, the lavatories—all were filthy and unfit for human beings.

"Where is our union?" one worker asked. "Thirteen long years and we still haven't got a union strong enough to change things like this!"

Angry and frustrated, these men held a meeting aboard ship and elected committees to lead their fight for better conditions. This would fuel a reform movement and a Rank and File Committee led by Chris Mensalvas, Leo Lorenzo and Mario Hermoso. The Committee vowed to pursue a democratic and progressive program for the membership.

The reformers successfully gained foothold in the Local 7 leadership. In 1947, disgruntled opportunist leaders organized the Seafood Workers Union, a rival grouping blessed by the salmon industry. It suffered a stinging defeat in a representation vote. In two years, immigration authorities would begin their terror campaign against Local 7 leaders suspected of being members of the U.S. Communist Party.

The rampant anti-communist hysteria which stretched to the McCarthy period of the mid-1950s emerged shortly after World War II.

The U.S. had emerged as the leading imperialist power, unscathed by a savage world war that wrought mass destruction on its closest allies. As one observer noted: "No nation in history had ever done so well out of a war . . . The U.S. had gone into the war as one, perhaps the strongest, but still only one, of the world's great powers. It had emerged alone."

World War II ended the depression era



Casimiro Absolar Ernesto Mangaoang Chris Mensalvas Joe Prudencio Ponce Torres

Mensalvas, president; Ernesto Mangaoang, business agent; Ponce Torres, dispatcher; Casimiro Absolar, delegate; and Joe Prudencio, rank and file leader. The government wanted them deported.

Their crime? They were suspected of being communists.

The basis for their arrest was the 1940 Smith Act, or the Alien Registration Act, which was aimed at "controlling alien subversives."

The five were among the countless "non-citizens" who were being targeted by the Justice Department all over the country for their political activities.

Chris Mensalvas and his union co-officers were accused of stirring up cannery workers. While they were going through their deportation hearings, their lawyers would also be attacked. Nationwide, committees defending labor leaders like them would also be attacked by news-

rampant corruption among independent labor leaders, when wealthy Filipino and Japanese contractors organized work gangs of their immigrant countrymen and sold their labor cheap. Payoffs through an insidious credit system was the norm for getting jobs in the canneries. The formation of the CWFLU signalled a turn towards serious unionism.

As early as 1939, cannery workers already were sobered to the fact that militancy in labor organizing may have to be paid in blood. On December 1, 1936, at Seattle's Gyoken Restaurant, CWFLU officers and contractors were meeting to discuss the coming season. Beseda Patron, a nephew of a contractor, assassinated CWFLU President Virgil Duyugan and Secretary Aurelio Simon. Duyugan's funeral brought out thousands of workers in a parade that spanned six blocks in downtown Seattle. The strength of workers in

organizations (CIO). Thus, in October 1937, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCA-PAWA), Local 7 was formed. Shortly after that, Local 7 became coastwide, with affiliation of the Alaska Cannery Union Local 5 in San Francisco, and Local 266 of Portland. Seattle became the main headquarters of this growing union. By this time, Local 7 was supplying nearly a hundred Alaskan canneries with 2,500 to 4,500 workers.

When the war broke out, a number of union leaders and its members were inducted into the armed forces of the United States. Opportunist elements seized this opportunity and fought for dominance. The struggle within the union heightened and took a sharp turn as corruption deepened.

## 'This Union is Witnessing a Renaissance'

Hundreds of supporters and friends from the Filipino and labor communities of Seattle turned out for the inauguration of the new officers of the Cannery Workers Local 37 ILWU last November 1, 1982. The ceremony symbolized the reemergence of progressive forces at the helm of this historic local, 30 years or so after it was disrupted by a government witchhunt and taken over by gangsterism.

Led by Terri Mast, the first elected woman president of Local 37, the new administration enjoined its rank and file to "see ourselves not merely as cannery workers in Alaska or just as a Filipino union in Seattle, but we must begin to see ourselves as part of the overall labor movement in the country."

Mast renewed the new leadership's commitment to continuing the union's "history of militance, one that was established in the 1930s and 1940s."

She paid tribute to the union's early radical leadership "whose principles were based on the interests of working people and their struggle for better working conditions and the welfare of their community . . . these are the same principles we have tried to follow, and which point to our future tasks."

"This union is witnessing a renaissance," exclaimed Trinidad Rojo, 80, who once headed up the Board of Administration of Local 7, FTA in 1947 (later to become Local 37).

"These young leaders are modest, they



are not trying to bluff like other leaders. I am very much in favor of the reforms . . . they are 30 years overdue!" Mr. Rojo extended his offer to share his experiences and help the new administration, an offer welcomed by Mast.

John Caughlan, 73, Seattle labor lawyer and a member of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes' legal team, expressed his optimism about the new leadership. "I'm impressed by the fact that the couple of pilings that had been laid are well constructed and hopefully would really last a long time. Within the

local itself, there's a real feeling of strength and solidity."

Citing the contributions spearheaded by the slain union officers Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, Mast remarked: "In trying to implement our reforms, we lost Gene and Silme but not our goals. A reform movement was started in our union by Silme and Gene, and many of us are determined to weed out the practice of the old leadership, to strengthen our union internally, and to unite our membership towards struggle unionism—the only way we can contend with the seafood industry." □

The late great Filipino w Bulosan, himself a socialist, wor the U.S. labor movement with salvas and other radicalized Fili Bulosan worked tirelessly as gandist—expressing progressi battling anti-communism thro short stories and novels; wri letters, tabloids, and other fo tion.

### Song for Chris Me

How many years did we fig  
You in your violent way. in  
I in my quiet way, with my

They are afraid, my brothe  
They are afraid, of our mig  
They are afraid of the mag  
They are even afraid of ou

Over the years we fought a  
Scarring our lives, breaking  
For the shining heart of a I  
For the nameless multitude  
For the worker and the un  
For the colored and the fo  
And we won and we will  
Because we fight for truth,  
We fight for the splendor a

They are afraid, my brothe  
They are afraid of our mig  
They are afraid of the mag  
They are even afraid of ou

Carlos Builosan  
Seattle, 1954



# Scare Victimized Labor Leaders

that wreaked havoc on the U.S. economy. It spurred the development of new industries that later brought enormous profits to U.S. businesses. In brief, the U.S. appeared "indestructible" in every area: economic, political, military, and ideological.

Ironically, it was also a period that saw the expansion and rise of socialism worldwide as well as the emergence of anti-colonialist movements determined to sever ties from the imperialist orbit.

The Russian revolution and the emergence of the new socialist system in the mid-30s, loomed as a living alternative to the imperialist system, now unquestionably led by the U.S.

Despite its position of strength, the U.S. could not ignore the "spectre of communism" as national liberation struggles began making headway all over the world.

In 1947, the U.S. unveiled the Truman Doctrine aimed at "preventing communism from spreading in some parts of Europe." As China won its liberation struggle in 1949, followed by the Korean War which broke out a year later, the U.S. launched its rabid and fanatical attempt to "roll-back" communism, both internationally and domestically.

The labor movement bore the brunt of the anti-communist hysteria that spread like wildfire immediately after World War II. This movement was a likely target due to the historical militancy it has exercised even before the war started. While labor had put an informal moratorium on strikes during the war, the euphoria set by the post-World War II period produced the atmosphere that it was "unpatriotic" to even think of strikes.

Thus, when 400,000 miners walked off their jobs in April 1946, anti-labor feelings ran as high as the nation's economy was effectively crippled. It was immediately followed by a massive railroad strike in

May of that year, prompting President Truman to remark angrily: "What decent American would pull a rail strike at a time like this?"

Employers formulated a strategy of combining the new Cold War and the old red scare, in curbing labor's advances. General Electric's C.G. Wilson declared in October 10, 1946: "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, labor at home."

In 1947, the Chamber of Commerce published several anti-communist brochures including a report entitled "Communist

thrust of fascism in America." This act contained several anti-Communist provisions, including the requirement of all union officers to take oaths swearing they were not Communists. Opposition was hindered by the fear that unions and union members would be labelled "reds" if they fought the bill.

Despite the remarkable recovery gained by the U.S. economy as a result of the war, it was not indestructible after all. In 1949, unemployment climbed to an estimated five million, as the country skidded towards another depression. The Korean War broke out in 1950, placing the U.S. on a war economy and simultaneously fueling anti-communist campaign domestically.

Labor and immigrants suffered a stinging blow when the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 was passed, forcing three million non-citizens to carry registration

"The foreign born represented in one sense, the most defenseless and on the other hand, the most vulnerable, and sometimes the most militant," explained Seattle lawyer John Caughland. "When you have a combination of those three things, as it was in Local 37, then you're going to have a situation where there will be a serious attack on the foreign born."

But the deportation hearings also brought out the issue of the resident status of Filipinos living in America.

Filipinos who came to the U.S. as permanent residents—at least those who came here prior to the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 and who have not sworn or indicated allegiance of the Philippine Republic after October 22, 1946 (the effective date of the treaty of independence between the Philippines and the U.S.)—are not subject to deportations as aliens.



Cannery workers crowd outside union hall during 1952 dispatching.

Within the Labor Movement, Facts and Counter-Measures." That same year, an orchestrated attack against the movement was launched by the U.S. government, with the passage of the repressive Taft-Hartley Act, denounced by the CIO's John L. Lewis as "the first ugly, savage

cards and threatening 11 million naturalized citizens with the possibility of denaturalization and deportation should they be charged of being "reds." The act created a Subversive Activities Control Board to hunt for "activities prejudicial to the public interest."

C.T. Hatten, the Seattle labor lawyer who served as counsel in the deportation case, contended that Filipinos came to this country not as aliens, but as persons born under the American flag who had a constitutional right to come to the U.S.

Continued on page 10

## A Comradeship Born of Struggle

Carlos closely in ris Men-workers. r propa-leas and poems, leaflets, of agita-

In 1954, two years before his death in Seattle, Bulosan summed up his years of close comradeship with Mensalvas in 'Song for Chris Mensalvas' Birthday.'

When Bulosan died in September 1956, Mensalvas wrote "Reporting for Carlos Bulosan," published in the Communist Party newspaper *Daily People's World* on

December 28, 1956. As another writer put it, this obituary was perhaps the most fitting one for Bulosan for it focuses on him as a political being, as a representative of a larger group. It also expresses an immigrant worker's bitter defiance of the historical forces that made life so tragic for the early wave of Filipinos in the U.S.

### Reporting for Carlos Bulosan

Come the first week in January, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service will miss the annual "report card" of one Carlos Bulosan, a requirement of the more than three million non-citizens residing in this country provided for under the much hated Walter-McCarran Act. For Carlos Bulosan, Filipino American writer, is no longer around to comply with the law of the land.

If there is any doubt on the part of the Justice Department, I volunteer to testify thus:

Carlos Bulosan, 38 years old, died Sept. 11, 1956, Seattle. Birthplace: Philippines; Address: Unknown; Occupation: Writer; Hobby: Famous for his Jungle Salad served during Foreign Born Committee dinners.

Estate: One typewriter, a twenty-year-old suit, unfinished manuscripts: worn out socks; Finances: Zero; Beneficiary: his people; Cause of death: Malnutrition and tuberculosis . . .

So, without invoking the Fifth Amendment, I am willing to testify that Carlos Bulosan is dead. . . but . . . will never die in the hearts of his people.

Chris Mensalvas  
Seattle, December 1956

### alvas' Birthday

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# Cover-Up Charged: Release of Murder Suspect Rapped

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—The celebrated murder-conspiracy case of Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo took another twist when the King County prosecutor's office released a Tulisan gangmember suspected of being a direct participant in the murders. The prosecutor's refusal to bring charges against the suspect has sparked strong criticism of the handling of the case.

Teodorico Dominguez, 25, also known as Boy Pilay, was arrested in Seattle November 18 and held on a \$750,000 bail until his subsequent release without charges on November 21. Norm Maleng King County prosecuting attorney said there is not enough evidence to indict Pilay.

The nationwide search for Pilay that stretched from Maryland to California, began last April during the trial of convicted gang leader Tony Dictado when witnesses implicated Pilay in the murder conspiracy.

Elaine Ko, national spokesperson for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, stated that "the decision to release Pilay has seriously compromised the justice efforts in the murders of Domingo and Viernes, and represents a gross travesty of justice."

"At stake with Pilay," said Ko, "was not just the conviction of another Tulisan

gangster, but the link to the higher levels involved in this conspiracy."

## LINK TO HIGHER LEVELS

Ko pointed out that testimony in the Dictado trial revealed Pilay had knowledge that Tony Baruso, Union Local 37 ILWU former president, issued a \$5,000 contract for the murder of Domingo and Viernes.



Elaine Ko

"Pilay could have implicated Baruso if Maleng had played his cards right," Ko added, "therefore opening the doors to those ultimately responsible for the murders."

## INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE?

Pilay's arrest highlighted his close proximity to the murder case as well as his proximity to Baruso.

Prior to his death, Silme Domingo—his last conscious act—indicated that a "person who was shot in the leg" was part of the hit team. Pilay who walks with a limp, had previously been shot in the leg. Several witnesses placed Pilay at the murder scene on the day the slaying took place.

From Robert San Pablo's testimony, Pilay apparently told him that he test fired the murder weapon (later found to be Baruso's) together with Dictado, and that he was the "lookout" at the murder scene. Together with convicted gangmembers Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy, Pilay is also a Tulisan member.

The issue of "sufficient evidence" to charge Pilay—and especially Baruso—has been a sharp point of contention between CJDV representatives and Maleng's office.

According to the Prosecuting Attorney's office, the investigation of the murders "is continuing," but they claim it would take "an incredible piece of evidence to indict Baruso."

Baruso, who remains a prime suspect in the murder conspiracy since July 1981, is thought to be the "link between the Tulisan gang and the Marcos government" in the politically-motivated slayings.

Shortly after the murders, Seattle police discovered that the murder weapon was registered under Baruso's name. According to the CJDV, Baruso "lied when he said

he never saw the gun before it was stolen, yet some witnesses said he had shown the gun to them."

Baruso was also known to have met with Tulisan leader Dictado two days before the murders took place at the union hall on a Saturday. Domingo and Viernes were fatally gunned down the following Monday.

Robert San Pablo, key prosecution witness, testified during the trials that Boy Pilay told him that Baruso made a \$5,000 contract offer for the murders.

During his trial, Dictado also indicated he knew who gave the orders for the murders, but he could not say more because he feared for his children's lives in the Philippines.

## "IT SMELLS TERRIBLY"

With Pilay's release and the state's unwillingness to charge Baruso, the CJDV now questions how serious Maleng is about pursuing the case, especially now that the U.S. and Philippine governments have been implicated in the murders.

"In all reality, our justice efforts are being stonewalled at all levels," said Ko. "First was the refusal of the U.S. Attorney's office to indict Baruso on federal violations on gambling, bribery and embezzlement inspite of overwhelming evidence, and now the Prosecuting Attorney refuses to bring criminal charges against heavily-implicated suspects."

"We want to know why," she added.

As an editorial by Channel 5 King TV's Don McGaffin commented on the day of Pilay's release, "So Pilay goes free, Baruso implicated with the Tulisan gang, owner of the murder weapon, walks away. Like the giant canneries in which all these players once worked, it smells terribly." □

## Speaking Tour Builds Support for Justice Com'tee



J. Rocamora

Three hundred people show their support for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes at the committee's speaking tour event in San Francisco, November 12.

Similar events took place in Washington, D.C., New York, Boston, Honolulu, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Jose from late October to early December.

In all, some 700 people nationwide were given a fuller explanation of the "Marcos Connection" in the Seattle murders as well as the emerging cover-up of the case by U.S. authori-

ties. Audiences were also alerted to the role of Tony Baruso as the key link to Marcos and that powerful forces are protecting him from prosecution.

Speakers also characterized the justice campaign including the civil suit filed against Marcos and high U.S. officials as a campaign of self-defense. The political adversaries of the progressive movement should be made to pay a political price for every criminal act against activists in order to forestall more fascist attacks, they said. □

## Flash!

### U.S., R.P. Ask for Dismissal of Suit

SEATTLE—In response to the \$30 million civil suit filed on behalf of the relatives of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, both the U.S. and Philippine governments formally moved for the suit's dismissal "on grounds of immunity."

In briefs issued to the U.S. District Court December 6, 1982, the Washington, D.C.-based Burling and Covington, counsel for the Philippine government, noted that under international law, sovereign states can be brought to courts in foreign countries only under special circumstances.

They contended that the civil suit charging Ferdinand Marcos and high-ranking Philippine and U.S. officials with the murders of Domingo and Viernes, is not covered under this category.

The U.S. response, however, also suggested that immunity be specifically granted to Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

"Their grounds for dismissal are totally absurd," retorted Elaine Ko, national spokesperson for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV). "What's at issue here is the ability of foreign agents to come in and out of the U.S., murder U.S. citizens freely, and now they turn around and ask for immunity!"

Ko was particularly incensed after learning that the U.S. had suggested immunity specifically for Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. "It only further suggests that the U.S. will go all out to protect them, even in courts," she added.

## Red Scare Victims . . .

Continued from page 9

and settle permanently.

"It was a battle that all the lawyers all over the U.S. were engaged in the case of the foreign born, not just here in Seattle," said John Caughlan, 73, who at that time was an attorney for the Washington State Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

"That in order to be deportable, they had to have committed an act after entry. And since the Philippines was a possession of the United States, they were nationals and therefore came to the U.S. as nationals, and therefore made no entry under the terms of the statute. Thus, they were not deportable."

While the deportation hearings dragged on for a couple of years, the Filipino labor leaders emerged victorious and none of them were deported.

"Without the political movement at that time, they might as well have gone back home," recalled Caughlan. "The most substantial bulwark was an arm of the political movement then called the American Committee to Protect the Foreign Born."

Substantial support also came from other unions. Defending Mangaoang was an outpouring of telegrams during the hearings:

"Labor unions and our nation as a whole will suffer from precedent set by the proposed deportation of Ernesto Mangaoang unless it is set aside."

—Jerry Tyler, Nat'l Union of Maritime Cooks and Stewards

"The persistent efforts of the U.S. Immigration Service and the Department of Justice to deport Ernesto Mangaoang are, in our opinion, another manifestation of the vicious program of intimidation and coercion exemplified by the use of the Smith, Taft-Hartley, and McCarran Acts in attempts to deprive workers of tried and seasoned leadership of their own choosing in their constant struggle to defend their living standards and their right to speak freely and unafraid on the issues of the day as their conscience may dictate."

—Walter Belka, Secretary, International Woodworkers of America, District No. 2

While no one was actually deported, the government, the salmon industry and their agents, to a large extent, accomplished their objectives in destroying the effective-

ness of the objects of the deportation proceedings.

"It was such a tremendous attack on their union and their leadership, and the attacks came from both inside and outside the union—from employers, from collaborators and agents, and gangsters that were trying to get back into the union, as well as from the government attacking from the outside," Caughlan stated. "It certainly took its toll on the union."

The whole onslaught effectively broke the back of the strong and militant leadership that characterized Local 37 for a number of years. After the McCarthy period of the 1950s, the largely Filipino union was dominated by corruptible elements more interested in personal gains than the welfare of the union's rank and file. Only after three decades would genuine unionists regain leadership—also paid for in blood—to begin a new chapter in the life of this historic union. □



Consulates rely on the more conservative groupings in the Filipino community for support.

## Consulates Mop-Up After F.M. Visit

By ANNATESS ARANETA

Still reeling from intense pressures caused by the Marcos visit in September, Philippine consular officials throughout the United States are scurrying to consolidate their ties with established community groups and personalities.

The consulates relied heavily on social-oriented organizations, professional associations and their complement of status-seeking "community leaders" to drum up cheers for the First Couple's sojourn. Quite evidently, the regime intends to make these sectors of the Filipino community a permanent base of support. For as long as the regime is able to last, that is.

Right after the visit, the consulates mailed out countless copies of *Philippine Monitor*, a tabloid produced by the regime's media center in Manila—summing up the visit's success. Consular officials have, since then, rolled up their sleeves and through their diehard supporters begun some "serious" organizing.

In New York, the consulate is pushing for an East Coastwide Filipino community federation. Before the Marcos visit, community leaders gathered at a conference in Tarrytown, New York on August 29. The conference set up an ad hoc committee to start the groundwork for a network of satellite consular "community centers." Targetted for this organizing effort are the communities in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut,

Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont.

The ad hoc committee has met several times, and convened for a major meeting on November 14 to clarify the guidelines for the federation. Associations of at least 30 members are to link up with regional umbrella organizations, which in turn will fall under the auspices of the proposed federation.

Aside from the obvious political benefits this could mean for the regime, "good community relations" is also important for Philippine trade and business enterprises which reportedly have "big plans" in the East Coast. The consulate is aided by the *Filipino Reporter*, the regime's moutpiece in the New York-New Jersey area.

In Hawaii, Consul General Trinidad Alconcel has also sounded the call for closer liaison between the community and the consulate. Alconcel, speaking before a small gathering of Filipinos at the Susannah Wesley community center stressed that the consulate is "not just an extension of the Philippine government" but a friend that can be relied on in times of difficulties. Most in the audience were part of the consulate staff.

Meanwhile, an early hour TV program entitled "Good Morning, Manila" made its debut shortly after the Marcos visit. The program focuses on entertainment, culture, and night life in the New Republic.

The Los Angeles consulate resumed its

courtship of the community with two nights of free showings of "Pedring Taruc," a movie that glorifies Marcos' land reform program, among other things. The events were the consulate's gesture of appreciation to CONPUSO, the federation that helped pack the L.A. Sports Arena during Marcos' brief stop in the city.

San Francisco has a feisty grouping of Marcos supporters who appear to have lost their tempers when his stop there became awash with controversy. Marcos was met by the biggest protest demonstration he ever encountered on his tour.

The group's first action after the visit was to submit a petition chastising the S.F. Board of Supervisors for opposing an official welcome for Marcos to the city. The petition's proponents were a close circle of people claiming to represent the S.F. Filipino community. Among them were Dr. Sophia Prudenciado, Lorraine Wiles, a mayor's appointee to the Commission on the Status of Women; Vic Hermoso; Dr. Leonilo Malabed, owner of the pro-Marcos *Filipino American*; and Anselmo Revelo, a small restaurant owner; and what do you know—Consul Romeo Arguelles.

Jess Esteva, publisher of the *Mabuhay Republic*, lectured the Board of Supervisors for its "lack of manners" in snubbing a head of state.

Washington, D.C. is one place where the regime was disappointed with the response of the community—it had to

transport greeters from out of town. There was also dissent even among pro-Marcos forces.

Prior to the visit, the embassy formed what was meant to be a nationwide umbrella organization called the Congress of Overseas Filipino Communities (COFCOM), rifts started to dissipate support for COFCOM's formation and for the welcome plans.

One of the organizations, Philippine Heritage Foundation (consisting of 12 groups), disassociated itself from the embassy's plans, charging that the embassy was interfering with community affairs.

The rift widened when one organization, the Combined International Pilipino American Association (CIPAA), backed the embassy. With this move, CIPAA in turn, suffered a major split, with a number of members breaking away to form another chapter in Virginia. The new CIPAA chapter is headed by leaders critical of the embassy's role. As a result, the embassy is taking a low-key approach to the community, for now.

In Seattle, meanwhile, consular officials have been relatively quiet, probably a sign of caution in response to the civil suit implicating the Marcos government in the murders of activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes. It has not been inactive however. It fared better with Silvestre Tangalan's election as president of the Filipino Community Council. Close cooperation with the consulate and the isolation of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) from community affairs are Tangalan's avowed policies.

Philippine consulates are the institutions that enable the Philippine government to influence the internal affairs of the U.S. Filipino community.

The community's immigrant composition enables the consulates to wield an intimidating clout. Most U.S. Filipinos still have to deal with the consulates for passports, etc. Also the need to visit relatives back home periodically, makes many immigrants wary of politically displeasing the "eyes and ears" of the regime.

At the same time these extensions of the Philippine government attract community leaders who gravitate to symbols of power and authority to enhance their personal prestige. Adding to this power of attraction are the established publications supportive of and supported by Marcos. These "community newspapers" provide the limelight for those who are in good terms with the consulates.

The flurry of post-visit activities that sound the theme of "unity as a community" is the consulates' carrot. Of course, they have not dropped the stick. Their semi-official mouthpieces are simultaneously increasing the volume of their attacks on the "divisive elements" in the community, meaning, the activists opposed to the Marcos government. □

### CAMD/PSN Carollers to Drive 'Free Olalia' Issue Home

As Christmas rolls around, the 7th annual Christmas Carolling Campaign of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Philippine Solidarity Network will take up the *Free Olalia* Campaign as its major focus. The carolling is aimed at raising funds and mobilizing opposition to the current labor crackdown.

"It is a fitting theme for our annual carolling," says CAMD National Coordinator Geline Avila, "because the intensified repression is a telling application of Reagan's increased support for the Marcos dictatorship formalized by the Marcos state visit."

Avila notes that the U.S. is determined to smash the Philippine resistance which threatens Marcos' rule and endangers the U.S. bases there which the U.S. considers "irreplaceable."

Through the carolling campaign, letters will be solicited and directed at Philippine authorities and the Asia-Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. Congress to generate pressure for the release of Olalia and the other detained labor leaders.

The carolling format includes a slide show on the Philippines which focuses on the current repression.

"We want to share the Christmas spirit," Avila explains, "by helping restore the freedom of the victims of repression in the Philippines."

The carolling campaign has been the main source of funds for CAMD to carry on its work against repression in the Philippines. Hosts are encouraged in the spirit of Christmas to give generous donations to CAMD.

For information, call your local CAMD/PSN chapter:

New York: (212) 429-5550 Beth  
Washington, D.C.: (301) 933-5239 Jon  
Los Angeles: (213) 258-5496 Minerva  
San Francisco: (415) 282-1360 Edwin  
Hawaii: (808) 847-6614 Dean  
Seattle: (206) 324-8849 Ester  
Vancouver: (604) 874-2549 Lulu  
Toronto: (416) 535-8550 Chit  
Montreal: (514) 935-1196 Linda  
Sacramento: (916) 965-4736 Cynthia



The San Francisco CAMD Carolling Team recently launched its hectic schedule of activities at a Christmas party sponsored by the Filipino Immigrant Services. This year's fundraising project incorporates CAMD/PSN's "Free Olalia" Campaign.

## Movie Review: 'Siberiade'

## An Epic Tale of the Birth Pangs of the Russian Revolution



By WICKS GEAGA

No country has been more misunderstood and mistrusted by Americans than the Soviet Union and its people.

One is either amused by its muscular women tractor drivers, contemptuous of its "power-hungry bureaucrats," awed and puzzled by its "mindless and unsmiling multitudes," or outraged at "the plight of its dissidents languishing in Siberian labor camps."

Such are the pervasive stereotypes that the epic *Siberiade* manages to erode just by being the kind of film that it is—an insightful and honest story brought to life by the masterful cinematic artistry of its creator, Andrei Mikhalkov Konchalovsky. It is currently showing in major U.S. cities.

The skillful development of the characters and storyline against the backdrop of recent Russian history not only undermines long-held misconceptions, but leaves the viewer with a profoundly inspiring glimpse at the vitality and emotional depth that make up a people with a long revolutionary tradition.

In essence, *Siberiade* is an inside, albeit limited, look at the emergence and consolidation of the first socialist society in mankind's history as viewed through the lives of two Siberian families. What is depicted is not a socialist paradise but

rather a social system that, despite all its attendant problems and contradictions, has abolished the economic exploitation and domination of one class by another, as embodied in the three-generation struggle between the Ustyuzhanins and the Solomins. *Siberiade* is a film about history and sacrifice. Its fusion of romance with realism succeeds in portraying without being maudlin, the immensity of the human sacrifice involved in pushing Soviet history from one stage to the next. In fact, the depiction of sacrifice is so objective it may even serve to "confirm" the prejudices of many an anti-communist. But this is also why Western reviewers have had a difficult time dismissing *Siberiade* as agitprop. The epic film won the Special Jury prize at the 1979 Cannes Film Festival.

The film begins in the distant Siberian village of Elan at the turn of the century, with the arrival there of an anarchist who has escaped from the czar's police. While there he befriends young Nikolai Ustyuzhanin and gives to him a piece of chain that was used to hold a revolutionary prisoner in the czar's jails. This symbolic scene establishes Russia's revolutionary heritage early in the film—a tradition that an older and more conscious Nikolai embraces later in the story.

The Ustyuzhanins, existing on the brink of economic poverty, are forced to steal from the wealthy Solomins for their survival. The Solomins, who are the chief village

family, attempt to maintain the status quo by shunning any marriage outside the family. Nevertheless, intermarriage does occur when Anastasia Solomin runs off with Nikolai as the revolution sweeps over Russia. They fight in the Civil War, where Anastasia perishes at the hands of the White Guards.

During the 1930s Nikolai returns to his village with his son Alexei to start a new life. The "new life" that they undertake to build, however, is fundamentally different from what existed before the revolution.

With authority from the new Soviet workers' government, Nikolai proceeds to implement the socialist measures for which the revolution was fought. The expropriation and redistribution of the Solomins' wealth (several generations worth of hoarded furs), sets the stage for the restructuring of village life, where no longer can one family flourish at the expense of the rest.

What follows is the further playing out of this class struggle between the Ustyuzhanins, who now symbolically hold the reins of workers' power and socialist legality, and those among the Solomins who refuse to yield to this new system of justice.

Consequently, Nikolai is murdered by his brother-in-law Spiridon Solomin, who defied his directives and blamed him for Anastasia's death.

Nikolai's poignantly enacted fate not only tells of the personal tragedy of a dedicated revolutionary: it embodies the

harsh reality and immeasurable sacrifice that won the revolution and realized its survival and progress.

The rest of the story revolves around Alexei, who vows to avenge his father's murder. In an unforgettable scene, we find Alexei in the midst of World War II, one of only two survivors of a fierce battle. The exceptional realism with which the slaughter is conveyed, without footage of the actual battle scene, speaks both to the film's high cinematic achievement as well as to historic fact: the millions in casualties sustained by the Red Army in its routing of the Nazi invaders.

In the last long episode Alexei returns to Elan in the 1960s as the foreman of an oil prospecting team. He runs into Taya Solomin, a teenage crush before the war who had waited for him but whom he barely remembers. The victim of Alexei's sexual whims, Taya is the personification of women's oppression which the film insightfully recognizes as one of the still unresolved contradictions within Soviet society.

The unexpected gusher from the almost abandoned oil rig and Alexei's heroic death after he saves the life of a trapped worker form the climax of the story.

The brilliant and poignant finale is a closing reaffirmation of the film's almost flawless cinematic execution. It portrays Filip, a high Soviet official and village native, surrounded by the villagers in the cemetery. With the oil well fire majestically raging in the background, all the characters from the past return and hug Filip. The concluding climax is when Alexei appears and embraces Filip.

While the scene stands by itself as a beautiful poetic statement, the spectacularly uncanny juxtaposition of the village's dead and living inhabitants against the fiery gusher crystallizes into one glorious scene a thoroughly human story about progress under socialism.

While *Siberiade* remains faithful to the socialist realism characteristic of most Soviet films, it simultaneously displays versatility and depth in its use of surreal characters and sequences. The Eternal



Director Konchalovsky

Grandad, who floats in and out of various scenes, personifies the mystical tradition of the past as well as resistance to change and progress. The dream sequence, where Alexei bulldozes his way to Devil's Patch and encounters the ghost of his father, is skillfully executed in black and white.

The historical periods are bridged by the use of old newsreels from World War I, the Revolution, and World War II, effectively reinforcing the film's historical setting.

The demanding roles are matched by fine performances and nowhere is the large cast found wanting in characterization or acting.

*Siberiade's* outstanding quality must be credited to the spectacular photographic work that not only embellishes the magnificence of the Siberian landscape but also captures and paints its different moods into a moving masterpiece.

The inherent limitation imposed by the film's broad scope on the presentation of complex issues becomes the film's main weakness. While it successfully impacts a genuine feeling of the passage of decades through its bold conception, it lacks thoroughness in its treatment of certain sequences.

It is unfortunate that *Siberiade* will not receive the same attention that 80 million viewers gave it in the Soviet Union, precisely because of its origin. But for those who chance to see it, the experience will prove to be elevating. □

## Greeting Cards for ALL Occasions



Note cards featuring the works of Filipino artists are now available from KDP. Use them for birthdays, Christmas, or for just saying hello.

A pack has three cards: Tam Austria's "Mother and Child," Pablo Baens Santos' "Hapò," and Lino Severino's "Vanishing Scenes."

Cards are blank inside—for your message. Each set comes with envelopes.

**Order Now** \$1.50 for a pack of 3 cards  
\$4.00 for 3 packs

Ask your local KDP chapter or order from: Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)  
P.O. Box 2759, Oakland, CA 94602

# Poetry

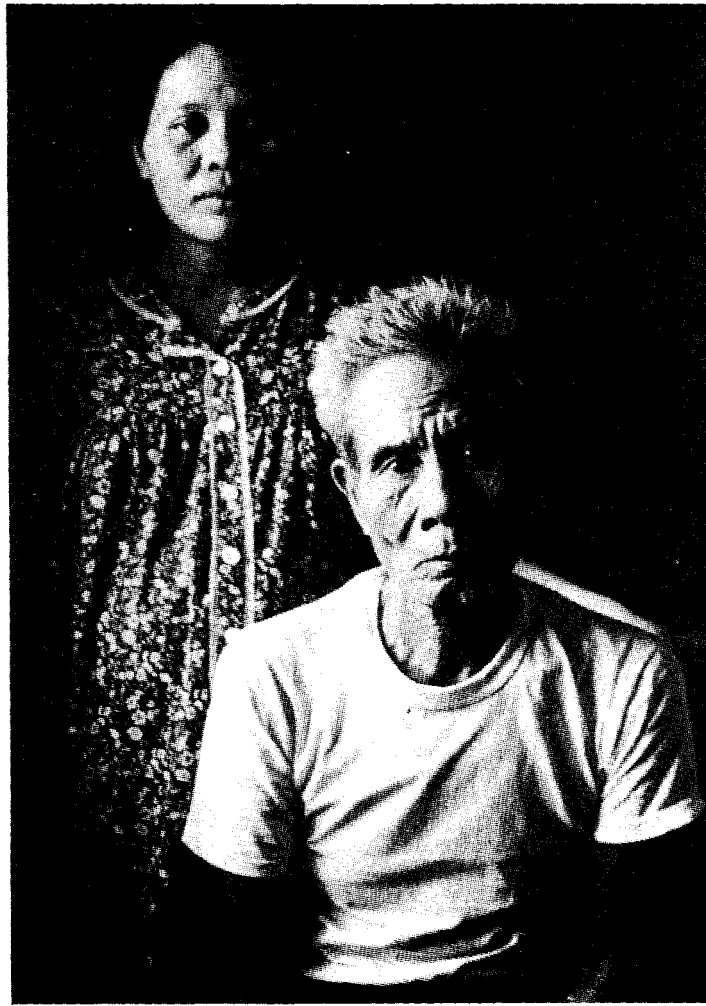
## Doon Po sa Amin

Doon po sa amin bayan ng Panique  
mga mamamayan ay lubhang mas'werte.  
Ang pulis ay pilay, ang meyor ay pipi,  
governor ay bulag, ang hukom ay bingi.

At may isang mutyang ginahasa noon,  
ginahasang mutya'y sa pulis nagsumbong.  
Ang pulis na pilay, nagsuplong sa meyor  
at ang sinangguni'y bulag na gobernador.

Sa hukom na bingi, ang kaso'y dinala  
mga katibaya'y tinakwil ng tenga.  
Doon po sa amin, sa Pniqueng sinta  
bulag, pipi, bingi't pilay ang hustisya.

Teo T. Antonio



## Pasko ng Paglaya

Wala pa ring kurap  
ang tanod sa gola  
Lalong humihigpit  
ang bantay na guwardiya  
May headcount pa rin  
Bukas ay may toka  
Hindi na panahon  
ng atis at santol  
sa Quiapo'y mayroon nang  
tig-pisong mansanas  
Dumadalas na rin,  
awit ng jingle bells  
Mas mahaba na rin  
ang gabi sa araw  
Pahiwatig na nga  
sa nakagisnan na  
pasko raw sa atin.

Subalit  
pasko ano nga ba?  
kung gutom ang bituka  
sa maraming dukha!  
Ito'y pasko rin ba?  
Kung wala kang laya't  
pilit na ikinulong  
ng sistemang  
pagsupil ang layon  
Ito'y pasko rin ba?  
'Di ito ang pasko  
na ginugunita  
'Di dapat matuwa  
kung mata ay luwa,  
Dapat na tantuin  
hanggap walang laya  
kailanaman ang pasko  
ay 'di mahihita.

Ngayon ulinigin  
ang huni ng ibon  
May paskong darating  
sa manhid na pader  
May luntian ang gubat  
may daloy ang batis  
sa gabing pusikit  
May alab ang siit  
paglipas ng dilim  
May paskong darating  
Hindi ngayon, hindi bukas  
Paglaya ng bayan . . . Pasko ng paglaya.

asmar  
4 disyembre 1980

## American History

This is what I say:

I am suffering because I was a radical,  
and indeed I am a radical;  
I have suffered because I was an Italian,  
and indeed I am an Italian.  
I have suffered more for my family than for myself;  
'but I am so convinced to be right that you can only  
kill me once but if you could execute me two other times,  
I would live again to do what I have done already.  
I have finished.  
Thank you . . .

Vanzetti, the dreamy fish peddler,  
hurt but not alone in the alien courtroom,  
voicing the sentiments of millions in his voice;  
to scorning men voicing the voice of starved nations  
in one clear stream of sentiment in his gentle voice  
that justice and tolerance might live for every one.

And remember this always, my son:

In the play of happiness  
don't use all for yourself only  
but down yourself just one step  
at your side and help the weak ones that cry for help  
they are your firends  
they are the comrades that fight for the conquest  
of the joy of freedom for all.  
In this struggle of life you will find more love  
and you will be loved . . .

Sacco, the good shoemaker,  
dreaming of the good future with the poet that never was,  
in spheres of tragic light dreaming of the world  
that never was, as each tragic moment passed  
in streams of vivid light to radiate a harmony  
of thought and action that never came to pass.

Our agony is our triumph: Sacco and Vanzetti.

Carlos Bulosan

## No Celebratory Song

So long  
As Car-parks take  
Precedence over hospitals  
Multi-storeyed hotels  
Over homes for people  
Irrelevant factories  
Over paddy-fields  
For our daily sustenance

I shall  
Sing no celebratory song  
No matter  
How many songs go down  
This tongue  
Will be of thistle and thorn  
Until they right the wrong

So long  
As law comes before justice  
The edifice before service  
The payment before treatment  
And appearance before essence

I shall sing no celebratory song

So long  
As the poet is debased  
And the Businessman praised  
The "realist" rewarded  
And the "idealist" denigrated  
I shall

Sing no celebratory song  
No matter  
How many suns go down  
This tongue  
Will be of thistle and thorn  
Until they right the wrong.

So long  
As foreign investors  
Devastate our state  
And the voice of capital  
Speaks louder than  
The pleas of fishermen

So long  
As blind bulldozers  
Are allowed unchecked  
To gouge our landscape  
And multinationals  
Licenced to run  
Amuck across this land

I shall  
Sing no celebratory song

So long  
As our rivers and streams  
Our beaches, our air  
Our oceans and trees  
Our birds, and fish  
Our butterflies and bees  
Are strangled, stifled,  
Polluted, poisoned  
Crushed, condemned . . .  
By lop-sided development

I shall  
Sing no celebratory song  
No matter  
How many suns go down  
This tongue  
Will be of thistle and thorn  
Until they right the wrong.

Cecil Rajendra  
Malaysian poet



## Pretoria's Aggression...



Black high school students risk arrest during a 1980 school boycott.

Continued from page 15

Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) to wage its destabilization campaign. It was first set up by the Rhodesian Secret Services and now conducts sporadic attacks against the civilian population. In late 1981 MNR forces bombed railways linking Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This is a significant tactic from Pretoria's point of view. The destruction of infrastructures between independent black nations keeps them away from each other and dependent on South African resources. Thus far, the MNR has been contained by Mozambique's FRELIMO government.

Zimbabwe's ascension to black majority rule is causing even more alarm for South Africa. Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime was the last white ruled country left before its defeat by ZAPU in 1980. Almost immediately, the South African government warned Zimbabwe not to offer any facilities to ANC or to the Pan African Congress (PAC). In June 1981, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe stated that Zimbabwe would resist any South African threats—economic or military. The next month, ANC leader Joe Gqabi was assassinated in Zimbabwe, allegedly by South African agents.

Furthermore, the MNR base was moved to Transvaal with South Africa now fully training and supplying their forces. South African forces themselves penetrate into Zimbabwe's territory in support of MNR raids. Landlocked Zimbabwe has been the constant target of attacks on their infrastructure such as roads and bridges.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have a much different relationship to South Africa than Angola, Mozambique or Zimbabwe. Their independence was gained through an agreement with Britain. Their history is closely intertwined with South Africa's through institutions such as the

Southern Africa Customs Union which ensure a very direct South African presence in their economic development. These countries also have a smaller capability for military defense.

All of the countries in the region are tied historically, geographically and economically with South Africa at the very center of the knot. African southern states are linked by a vast network of communications, roads and rail as a result of their colonial periods. These relationships are an important clout for South Africa over the independent black nations. For example, even now Mozambicans work in South African mines which provide a major source of foreign exchange. A Mozambican hydroelectric plant supplies South Africa with electricity. South Africans have a major role in the operation of Mozambique's ports and railroads. Landlocked Zambia buys South African foodstuffs and exports its copper through their ports. Most other countries have similar relationships despite their hatred of apartheid.

Colonialism left Africa with such distorted social and economic development that it will take years to overcome the poverty they now face. South Africa is not letting any independent economic plans take their course. The proximity of free and militant black nations to its borders always threatens to ignite the revolutionary fuse inside South Africa. Thus, Pretoria views the successful national liberation movements surrounding it as the harbinger of its own destruction.

### INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION

Pretoria is isolated internationally. It has incurred sanctions, boycotts and embargoes for apartheid's inhumane consequences. However, not all countries are serious about censuring apartheid. Most

of the West's leading nations, in fact, would prefer to circumvent the international criticism directed at Pretoria and set up "more normal" relations with the regime—for good reason.

As of 1979, West Germany had \$1.57 billion in investments in South Africa; Britain \$1.50 billion; the U.S. \$1.49 billion; followed by Japan, France and Switzerland. Israel has a vigorous arms trade with Pretoria. The latter also exports gold, diamonds, iron, steel, and coal and imports machinery, chemicals and numerous base metals to the leading industrial countries.

The United States, the biggest capitalist of them all, has a vital interest in keeping Mobil Oil, Caltex, Ford, General Motors, IBM, Goodyear, and a whole host of other corporations intact in South Africa.

The problem which confronts the U.S. is how to support South Africa given the international criticism of apartheid. Surely, a country like the U.S., itself torn by racial tension should have little or nothing to do with a nation that enforces the ultimate in Jim Crow.

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration has been warming up to South Africa more openly. It is saying little against apartheid. More military consultation and economic cooperation is also taking place. The U.S. has encouraged South Africa's sabotage of the Geneva Conference on Namibian independence, condoned its incursions into Angola, as well as the tougher domestic restrictions against blacks that it has announced.

In addition, South African officials are now being welcomed to Washington. Reagan has also lifted a ban on the sale of anti-hijacking gear to South African police and military. He also approved a license for the export of a large Univac computer for the expressed purpose of arms production.

### U.S. DUPLICITY

Reagan and Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker agree that as long as South Africa makes a "sincere and honest effort" to end racism the U.S. should support the regime. South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha, of course, continually asserts that he has made "sincere and honest" efforts to end racism since he took office.

To Reagan, "the African problem is a Russian weapon aimed at us," pointing to Soviet aid to African liberation movements as the main danger to peace in the area. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola, which are there at Angola's request, is used as evidence of the Soviet Union's "encroachment" on the region. However, this argument obscures the role imperialism plays in the region. The U.S. understands that every newly liberated black nation is setting an economic course away from foreign domination and in favor of socialism.

Fear of socialism's ultimate destruction of capitalism in the African continent motivates U.S. support for South Africa. The fall of the apartheid regime would be a tremendous blow to U.S. investments and capitalism in general. Thus, the U.S. is in a political quandary. To defend South Africa is to support legitimized racism and all its inhumanity—hardly a just nor a popular position to take. VR

## El Salvador...

Continued from page 16

only 1% of the total applications approved for all nationalities.

The present refugee policy, as in the past, coincides with U.S. foreign policy goals. People fleeing socialist countries are referred to as "political refugees" while those fleeing countries aligned with the U.S. are referred to as "economic migrants." People from Vietnam, Laos, Yugoslavia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, China and Poland are referred to as "immediate action cases."

Referring to the recent denial of political asylum to two Salvadorans in San Francisco, National Lawyers Guild attorney Marc Van Der Hout commented: "We are disappointed, but truthfully, we were not surprised. When we look at political asylum, who gets it and who doesn't, we can see very clearly that political asylum determinations are made not on a legal basis in the U.S., but rather on a political basis."

He added that "If you're a Romanian gymnast or a Soviet ballerina, or perhaps, as recently, a Chinese tennis player you're going to get political asylum in the U.S. If you're from El Salvador or Guatemala, you are not going to get it. That's a reality."

American refugee policy has always encouraged the influx of refugees from the "Iron Curtain" as a tool in its international propaganda against socialism. The exodus from Eastern Europe, Cuba, etc., is bandied as proof of the "inferiority and oppressiveness" of their social systems.

The encouragement of refugees from socialist or newly liberated countries is also a tool for destabilization. The U.S. is fully aware that most of those who flee are the skilled or the educated—people valuable in the economic development of these countries but who cannot withstand the discomforts involved in the process of revolutionary social reconstruction.

On the other hand, the U.S. cannot encourage refugees from allied regimes precisely because it would undermine the political intent of its refugee policy. After all, why should people be fleeing the superior "Free World?"

Furthermore, the U.S. government is trying with all its might to sustain "Free World" despots against growing liberation movements. This policy however, is being buffeted by strong public distaste for the human rights violations of the U.S. allies. Accepting masses of refugees from these allies would be to admit the tragic state of human rights under these regimes. For example, it would hardly jive with the Reagan administration's commendation of El Salvador's "improving" human rights record.

Racism is also an element in U.S. refugee policy. The fear of the influx of colored masses speaking in strange tongues bedevils US authorities. As a State Department official put it, "If we let in Haitians, we will have to let in half of South America and Africa, presumably upsetting the "cultural balance" of this country.

The race consideration comes down more heavily against refugees from allied regimes because of the U.S.' political and racial interests in keeping them out coincide. Race as a factor however, is momentarily set aside if the refugees are from socialist countries. Political considerations obviously took precedence in the acceptance of hundreds of thousands of Indochinese refugees, for example. But even in this case, race does not completely disappear, as illustrated by growing cries of "Enough!" among U.S. officials, or by calls for a "more rational" Indochinese refugee policy wherein other U.S.-allied nations take more responsibility.

If the U.S. can help it then, the only refugees it would rather welcome are those with the proper combination of colors—white as in Caucasian and, most importantly, red as in the type of social system they come from. □

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By VINCE REYES

South Africa:

# Where Racism is the Law of the Land

Some 20,000 Africans are arrested daily and over 100 are legally executed every year. Their biggest crime is being black—in South Africa.

Apartheid (pronounced apart/hate) is South Africa's complex system of racial segregation which determines its population's economic, political and social destiny. For blacks, it means overwhelming poverty, malnutrition, violence, crime, poor housing and separated families. For whites, it means having one of the highest living standards in the world. Apartheid is enforced by a powerful police and military force which uses racialized state terror to keep things under control.

The Dutch began establishing settlements in South Africa in 1652. Like other Europeans before them, they violently seized the land from the indigenous African peoples whom they turned into slaves. The Afrikaaners, as the Dutch became known, were mostly small farmers who produced for export.

The British captured the Cape colony in 1806 and although they also practiced slavery, they outlawed the slave trade in 1838. The Afrikaaners, wanting independent control of the land and African labor, went farther inland to escape British control. They set up settler colonies: the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic in the 1850s.

In the 1870s, diamonds and gold were discovered, prompting a massive influx of British capital into Afrikaaner-controlled territories. British and Afrikaaner farmers joined forces to subjugate the remaining independent African kingdoms. However, conflicts over who would have dominant control over the entire region led to the Boer Wars that ended in 1903.

To settle the dispute with the Afrikaaners and to insure white minority rule over the area, Britain proclaimed the Union of South Africa in 1910. Essentially, it represented a British-Afrikaaner alliance against the African people.

From 1910 to 1948, foreign capital, mostly British, poured into the region. Industry and finance began to develop rapidly. The need for strict control over African labor eventually resulted in the establishment of a "color bar" which reserved all skilled jobs and all the best lands for whites. Africans were forced into the exploited position of tenant farmers. The end result was the consolidation of racist relations throughout society, with Africans becoming the major labor force in industry and agriculture upon which the profit of both Britain and the developing South African ruling class grew.

Black resistance heightened with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. The 20s and the 30s also saw the emergence of various trade union and anti-racist movements. The



AFSC

The population Registration Act of 1950 assigns everyone to one of three racial categories—white, coloured or African. Africans are further divided by ethnic group. They get the worst treatment. Coloured people are those of mixed racial background. Asians (mostly Indians) are also subject to educational, residential and commercial limitations.

The process of classification is arbitrarily based on physical characteristics (nose width, type of hair, skin color) and family history. The government can change individual's classifications at any time which frequently results in the separation of families since different races are required to live, learn and work separately.

The 1913 Native Lands Act denied Africans the right to buy white land and vice-versa. This set up the "87 to 13" ratio meaning that whites were assigned to 87 percent of the land and blacks were allowed to own only 13 percent. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 further restricted blacks to reserves, except for the purpose of living in white urban areas or farms as workers.

The 1950 Group Areas Act formed the basis for very strict residential restrictions. Not only are blacks prohibited from owning property in white areas but they also

cannot "occupy" or live in such areas without special permission ("occupation" may also mean "occupying" a theatre for entertainment purposes).

Blacks, further categorized into ethnic groups, are herded into ten Bantustans (homelands). These areas, despite the government's attempt to pass them off as re-creations of historical African "nations," are essentially reservations. Most Africans do not even have identification with these lands as most were born outside these areas.

The government proposed that the Bantustans become "independent" although this is hardly economically feasible - 85 percent of the Bantustan's budgets come from the Parliament. The lands are agriculturally desolate. George Matanzima, "Prime Minister" of Transkei (a Bantustan) said that "South Africa is not really interested in the development of Transkei. South Africa intended it to be a labor reservoir."

Indeed, the Bantustans are just that—holding places for cheap and controllable black labor. The homeland residents are mostly youth, elderly, women and the ill. There is a disproportionate number of women and most men are waiting for

work. Once work is found, laborers who work in the mining or urban industrial areas are separated from their families.

The wage differentials reveal the extent of racialized exploitation. (See chart.)

The complex set of procedures that regulates African labor is collectively known as the "Pass Laws." All Africans over 16 must register with the Tribal Labor Bureau. Anyone over 16 who is not registered or not working is considered guilty of a criminal offense. The Tribal Labor Bureau issues a "pass" allowing blacks to work for designated employers in white areas for periods of up to one year. Laborers must return to their "homelands" after their period expires. Without a pass, blacks cannot remain in a white area for more than 72 hours without special permission. If an African loses a job in a white area, he or she must leave within 24 hours. Absence from work for more than one day is a criminal offense.

Blacks also cannot vote or participate in government except in the Bantustans. The South African Institute of Race Relations admit that primary and high school education have been compulsory and free for whites but not for blacks. Although the government introduced compulsory education in 1981, only 1.5 percent (45,000) of black students participate. Schools are still segregated and the curricula racially differentiated.

Political resistance, union organizing and so forth, is suppressed and defined by the Suppression of Communism Act. The Act defines "communism" as any doctrine which "aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Republic by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts... which aim at the encouragement of hostility between the European and non-European races..."

The black population is further terrorized by repressive measures such as the Terrorism Act which allows indefinite incommunicado detention without charge or trial. In 1980, an estimated 956 people were detained without trial. The publication of names of persons believed detained is prohibited without police permission. Thus, prisoners frequently "disappear" while under police detention. A 1978 Amnesty International report stated that "All evidence indicates that torture is extensively inflicted on political detainees and the Government sanctions its use." In 1978, out of 99,292 prisoners, 95,015 were black and 4,257 were white. □

## Pretoria's Aggression Against Neighbors is Constant

South Africa is like a wounded monster desperately postponing a demise that is long overdue. Its racist apartheid regime is being challenged from within, along its very borders and internationally.

South Africa is far from being peaceful. In 1980 the South African Institute of Race Relations reported that "the country experienced the most sustained period of unrest since 1976." The over 19,000 blacks prosecuted each year testifies to the repression which has stepped up to counter black civil unrest.

At the center of much of the political resistance is the African National Congress (ANC) founded in 1912. It preceded a number of movements and organizations whose history of combatting white domination dated back to 1652. The ANC captured the fierce nationalism which developed after the blood of countless Africans had already been lost to the superior military technology of the invading Europeans.

The ANC sought nonviolent methods of negotiations but as the time and generations of conflict continued, armed resistance has become more and more the expression of its struggle.

Government reaction to peaceful demonstrations usually results in death such as in the 1976 Soweto uprisings when the

police opened fire and killed 700 to 1,000 students and injured 5,000 others. Since then, protest by African youth have continued. Widespread school boycotts were staged in 1980 and 1981 by blacks, coloureds, and Asians.

In the labor field, militant strikes over pay increases and the improvement of working conditions have rocked the mining industry. Last July, at least 22,000 unorganized black miners were involved in walkouts. Strikes in four gold mines left eight Africans dead—six of them from police bullets.

### PRETORIAN AGGRESSION

The apartheid regime also fears the influence and support neighboring independent black nations give to South African blacks. Thus, the increase in South Africa's defense spending—\$2.47 billion for 1980 from \$1.26 billion in 1976—is a reflection of its intensifying campaign of destabilization aimed at nine different countries in the region.

Its sharpest strikes have been against Angola. Since Angola won its independence from the Portuguese in 1975, it has had to defend its revolution from South Africa's military onslaught. One-third of Angola's southern territory has become a battleground with South Africa currently controlling the border provinces of Cunene and Cuango-Cubango.

Since August of last year, 11,000 South African troops have been attacking Angolan villages, killing thousands of civilians, destroying livestock, machinery, schools, clinics, and roads. Angola's only oil refinery was attacked a year ago and one of its iron mines was bombed last May.

Angola provides aid to the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) which is leading Namibia's independence movement from South Africa. Angola also provides shelter to Namibian refugees created from that conflict. Often, South Africa has invaded Angola on the pretext they were pursuing SWAPO guerrillas. South Africa also gives military assistance to UNITA, a CIA-backed counterrevolutionary Angolan force.

Pretoria cannot afford to lose Namibia. Namibia is second only to South Africa in diamond production and is the third largest source of uranium in the world. Uranium is also key in the development of South Africa's own nuclear arsenal.

The war has had some drastic effects on Angola. Between 50 and 60% of its national budget is spent on defense. Although it has the capacity to produce 90% of its own food, last year it was importing 80% because of the priorities that have to be given to defense.

### REGIONAL BULLY

In Mozambique, South Africa uses the

Continued on page 14

### Manufacturing 1980

	Ave. # Employed	Ave. Mo. Wage
White	314,300	\$1,273.00
Indian	89,000	399.00
Coloured	241,900	355.00
African	772,100	308.00

### Mining 1979

	Ave. # Employed	Ave. Mo. Wage
White	112,021	\$1,056.00
Indian	1,594	518.00
Coloured	14,040	461.00
African	675,604	175.00

SAIRR

whites, meanwhile, incorporated a number of movements that pressed for more repression against blacks to protect white privilege into the National Camp. By 1948, the apartheid system matured with the coming to power of the White National Party.

Presently, racial identification determines all facets of a person's life—from which bus stops to use, to the quality of education or to his place of residence. In short, apartheid determines everyone's economic, social and political rights.

## El Salvador's Refugees in the U.S.:

## Victims of U.S. Foreign Policy



Fleeing survivors of El Salvador's brutal repression become refugees in other countries including the U.S.

By VICKY PEREZ

Many Salvadoran refugees are being rejected by the U.S. government because the repressive country they come from is considered an ally by Washington. The Filipino community will sooner or later be embroiled in the same predicament as more people attempt to escape from the U.S.' "democratic ally" in Manila.

As a campesino and catechist, Julio was well known and respected in his rural hometown. Accused of using religion for subversive purposes, he was ordered by government officials to stop his religious activities. He returned to his home one evening to find his wife and daughter murdered. He collected a few belongings and left for the north. He is now in an INS detention camp in Arizona.

Like most refugees fleeing El Salvador, Julio reached the U.S. tired, hungry and penniless. Salvadoran refugees come with scars that are physical and emotional - almost all of them having lost family members or friends to the military junta.

The repression they are escaping is brutal and pervasive. As with most Central American countries, El Salvador is ruled by the military, protecting the well-being of the minority elite. Ninety percent of the population earn less than \$100 a year, leaving them in hunger, disease and perpetual impoverishment. The average life expectancy is 46 years and every fourth child will never see their fifth year.

These conditions have spawned popular opposition to the government. Groups such as the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), militant unions and religious groups have gained much support in their defense of their people's welfare.

In response, the government, backed by \$184 million in military and economic aid, has launched a program of terror that is now widely known internationally. With a population of just under 5 million, El Salvador has witnessed 10,000 to 15,000 deaths annually. Teachers belonging to unions, religious members suspected of holding the "theology of liberation" and young men not enlisted in the military are automatic candidates for arrest or execution. The burning of fields and homes, the looting and massacres by US-trained troops have forced many Salvadorans to flee and become refugees. There are an estimated 500,000 refugees inside El Salvador. Another 500,000 have crossed the borders into Guatemala, Mexico, Honduras and other parts of the American continent.

In surrounding countries, the situation is the same. Before a U.S. Congressional hearing, Amnesty International reported: "Between April and late June, AI

reported deaths of some 2,186 individuals in large-scale extra-judicial execution. . . Guatemalan security forces continue to attempt to control opposition forces, both violent and non-violent through widespread killings. . . of large numbers of rural non-combatants including entire families, as well as persons suspected of sympathy with opposition groups."

The Guatemalan Patriotic Unity Committee (CGUP) and the Guatemalan Association of Democratic Journalists (APDG) place the number killed by government forces at 8,000 in the first 6 months of the Rios Montt government. In September, the CGUP and APDG reported an average of four people killed every hour. Montt is a Christian fundamentalist fanatic who rules under the banner of "family and God's will." A group of Guatemalan bishops claim that a million people have already been displaced in the country of 7.2 million.

In Haiti, an estimated 40,000 have fled the repression Jean-Claude Duvalier, risking death in the high seas or capture by Duvalier's brutal security forces.

Condemned to poverty, the majority of

refugees from Latin America travel by foot through Central America and Mexico to what they have heard is "the most democratic country in the world." But their quest for refuge and justice is one that the US is not interested in.

The U.S. has been deporting Salvadorans at a rate of 600 to 1,000 a month. Refugees are reportedly forced to leave the country "voluntarily." Some Salvadorans have reportedly been dragged to planes headed for El Salvador even after filing for political asylum. Families being separated, people placed in solitary confinement, hidden away in jails or never knowing their rights are common.

For those who get by the border patrol or INS agents, life is dominated by the fear of being found. Several Salvadorans have perished trying to walk through deserts or have suffocated in airless delivery trucks. During the "Operation Jobs" raids, a Salvadoran woman in the Bay Area bore her baby in a basement, for fear of being caught if she went to the hospital. The baby died, and she is now facing deportation.

## Legal Residents Risk Being Barred from Reentering the U.S.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a permanent resident alien who leaves the U.S. for any reason may be barred from reentering the country without the full procedural protection of a deportation proceeding.

Permanent resident aliens accused by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of any deportable infraction can now be refused reentry after making a brief exclusion hearing. The INS is no longer obligated to grant them reentry, after which they could defend themselves in a deportation proceeding.

A deportation proceeding is a lengthy process where the INS has the burden of showing that an alien should no longer continue holding permanent resident status for a just cause. It is an extended period that enables the alien to stay in the U.S. until the case is decided through the process of appeals.

Exclusion hearings are brief and immigrants are subject to abuse by the INS. In an exclusion hearing, the alien generally has the burden of proving that he or she is entitled to be admitted to the U.S. Usually, in exclusion hearings, the alien is directly under the control of the INS. They are either detained, released on bond or given temporary freedom under their own recognition. In a deportation proceeding, the

INS does not ordinarily hold the subject in custody, especially if he or she has legal status.

The ruling overturned the decision of the California Court of Appeals which sustained the view that a person whose right to reenter the U.S. is in doubt should first be admitted and then given a full deportation hearing.

It is a victory for the Justice Department which argued that if resident aliens are allowed to come in and later, deportation proceedings are initiated, they will have sufficient time to disappear and escape deportation.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for the Court majority, stated that the exclusion hearing must "meet the essential standard of fairness under the Due Process Clause" of the U.S. Constitution. This however, appears to be mainly an attempt to obscure the fact that permanent residents are supposed to have the same rights under the U.S. Constitution as American citizens except for certain limitations such as voting or holding jobs linked to national security. Barring permanent residents from reentry without deportation proceedings is equivalent to the denial of due process which citizen or resident aliens alike have the right to.

The ruling resulted from the case of

For the majority of refugees, the only chance for staying in the U.S. is through political asylum. Getting political asylum however, is one big hurdle. "Foreign policy goals are interfering with a proper case by case evaluation of applications," reports Dolores Ferguson of the Central American Refugee Program. Because they come from an ally country, refugees are not given the benefit of the doubt regarding persecution in their country. The burden of proof falls on the refugee completely."

Providing proof of prosecution in one's home country is a formidable task. Most refugees leave all evidence of political activities behind, as it could mean instant death in the hands of government security. Once they are in the U.S. however, evidence is almost impossible to obtain. Relatives back in El Salvador are usually afraid to gather documentary evidence. Government denials of certain massacres, deaths or death lists make verification extremely difficult. Furthermore, Simpson-Mazolli immigration reform bill's 14-day time period restriction for providing evidence will shut the doors to these applicants.

"Return for many Salvadorans would mean death, or a very uncertain future," Ferguson states, taking issue with the U.S. contention that Salvadoran refugees are exaggerating the dangers they face. "I can only say, they are political refugees."

The UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR), Amnesty International, the Archbishop of El Salvador, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights have documented the extent of political repression in El Salvador.

Despite this, only 49 of the 702 applications reviewed since 1979 have been granted political asylum by the U.S.: 16,582 are still pending. (For Haitians, of the 30,000 that have arrived in this country, less than 30 have been granted political asylum). This treatment prompted the UNHCR to report: "Although in theory, any Salvadoran illegal entrant may apply for asylum, there appears to be a systematic practice designed to secure the return of Salvadorans irrespective of the merits of their asylum claims."

While only 6% of the Salvadorans who applied for political asylum have been granted one, 60% of the Afghan applicants, 41% of the Nicaraguans, and over 1,600,000 Indochinese and Cubans have been granted refugee status by the U.S. Salvadorans represent

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Maria Placencia of El Salvador, a permanent resident in Los Angeles. When she returned from a trip to Mexico, she was stopped at the point of entry by INS officials who reportedly found six undocumented aliens in her car. The INS refused her reentry and a brief exclusion hearing was held to keep her out.

The California Court of Appeals reversed the INS decision, stating she has the right to reenter and undergo a full deportation hearing. The INS through the Department of Justice contested the decision and took the case to the Supreme Court.

"This denial of due process for permanent residents is just another move against the rights of immigrants," states Wilma Cadorna of the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson-Mazzoli (BACASM). "The public is looking for the cause of their hardship, the government is pointing the finger at immigrants."

Immigrant communities will certainly be implicated by this decision. Immigrants visit their homelands as frequently as they can. "With the new ruling, many residents and probably even naturalized citizens, will be afraid to step out of the US border because they could lose their status." Cadorna stated. □