

KBL VICTORY PROPPED BY MASSIVE CHEATING AND VIOLENCE

Large scale fraud, corruption and violence marked the first local elections in the Philippines in almost nine years. Although the cheating and violence are standard features of Philippine election, the January 30 polls distinguished itself as the only election where the campaign period was ramrodded into a 31 days, and only one party—the government's *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (KBL) wielded unshakeable control from start to finish.

As 98 percent of KBL candidates, mostly incumbents, settled into their "newly-won" posts in 69 of 73 provinces, the opposition directed a barrage of charges against the KBL for its cheating.

A fragmented opposition who number a few did not have the advantage of preparing adequately, since they were disarmed by the short notice for the elections, while the KBL quietly prepared in advance. Just as the National Union for Liberation (NUL) attempted to consolidate as an umbrella for the scattered opposition groups, it was disqualified by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC). The Mindanao Alliance was also disqualified. *Pusyon Bisaya* backed out of the race. The LABAN party boycotted the election and sent its explanation to three Manila newspapers. The explanations were



Ferdinand Marcos: The biggest winner in the recent election.

Far Eastern Economic Review

never printed even when LABAN paid for the space.

The Nacionalista Party (NP) managed to pull off a slate, despite KBL attempts

to outmaneuver it and question its legality. But even the gain of the Nacionalista Party did not compensate for the overall weakness of the opposition. If

anything, the NP served to give the election a semblance of competition. As columnist Teodoro Valencia said, "With-

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NRC RULING ON R.P. REACTOR DENOUNCED



The following is a joint statement of the Friends of the Filipino People and the Anti-Martial Law Coalition [Philippines] on the recent decision of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, authorizing Westinghouse Corp. to export a nuclear reactor to the Philippines—Editor.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), January 29, gave the go signal for the export of the scandal-ridden Westinghouse nuclear reactor to the Philippines. By a vote of 3-2, the NRC decided not to evaluate the reactor's dangerous potential impact on the Filipino people.

This decision is irresponsible and downright criminal. The export license

for the reactor has been held up for nearly two years by massive international opposition that has led to the disclosure that:

- The plant is situated on the slope of an active volcano and in the vicinity of three others;
- It is boxed in by three earthquake faultlines within 100 to 300 meters of it;
- It lies in an areas where a tidal wave struck as late as 1971.

HYPOCRISY SCORED

The NRC declared that for it to evaluate health-and-safety issues would constitute a "violation" of the national sovereignty of the Philippines. For a

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WHAT THE "MAKAPILI" SOUGHT TO DESTROY



See page 7

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The war drums have started to roll in this country, sounding out a call for all able men—and women—to fall in line. Registration of men and women between 18 to 26 years of age as the preliminary step to the military draft is underway.

Where does the Filipino community stand on this issue? Some of our community "leaders" have followed War Chief Carter's lead and are exhorting our community to "manifest their willingness to serve their adopted country in its time of need." (*Philippine News*, Feb. 2-8, 1980) Not only have they unquestioningly echoed Washington's talk of the "Soviet threat to world peace" but they have also joined the bandwagon in attacking those who dare to oppose this war hysteria. Thus, Esclamado, publisher of the *Philippine News* and self-proclaimed Filipino community leader who takes pride in his reactionary politics, has proudly pointed out that "while many Americans seem to shun serving in their country's armed forces for the obvious fear of fighting or dying in a foreign land...many Filipinos have already been enlisting in Uncle Sam's army."

While we should denounce this demagoguery as a cheap attempt to obscure the real issue of the present crisis, we have to look at the mistaken ideas that our community holds on this issue.

What are these erroneous notions and where do they come from? First, there is the misplaced sentiment that it is our

responsibility to sign up because "we owe it to this country that has graciously adopted us." This stems from a sense of gratitude ("Utang na loob") for being allowed to live in this land. However, a close look at Filipino-American history will show that we owe nothing to this country. Far from being "free-loading, non-paying houseguests" here, we have been equal contributors to the development of this country. From the first wave of Filipino farmworkers whose labor was indispensable to the development of agribusiness in the U.S., to today's immigrants, our people are part of that mass of workers who man the farms, factories, offices, hospitals, schools, and who keep the American machinery running. We have gotten nothing free in this country that we did not pay for and continue to fight for with our blood, sweat and tears. This is in stark contrast to the role that the U.S. has played in the Philippines, where they have appropriated as their "divine right" the exploitation of our country's resources.

Related to this mistaken idea is the belief that we have to prove our worth as Americans by laying down our lives for this country. As stated above, we have already proven our worth and are proving it daily as we work and struggle to survive in this country.

This notion is a reaction to the racial and national discrimination we are subjected to every day. Being relegated to the status of 2nd-class citizens because

of racism and American chauvinism, many of us feel pressured to prove that we are as good, if not better, than our American counterpart. Thus, any question about the war is silenced for fear that it may be misconstrued as un-American and as an affirmation of our low ranking in this society. Some of us may even secretly harbor the illusion that by laying down our lives for this country, we will no longer be treated as 2nd-class Americans; an implicit admission that if we are at the bottom rung of the ladder, it must be because of something we have done or have failed to do.

The fact of the matter is, no matter how many times we die for this country, we will never be treated equally. Racism and national chauvinism have predetermined which section of this country gets less and last. It is a necessary adjunct of this system where a few have monopoly over the resources of the country while the majority are forced to compete with one another for the remaining scraps. One's race, color, national origin become the artificial yardstick to determine one's share of these crumbs, serving to divide those who would otherwise unite to fight, not for the crumbs, but the elite's monopoly. This is why the minorities in this country, the Filipino community included, find themselves at the lowest strata. It has nothing to do with our people's merits and cannot be combatted by simply "proving our worth."

We should therefore realize that sign-

ing up for the draft is not the sign of being a "good American" or a "model community." We must refuse to be baited into showing our love for this country ("American patriotism") by defending it right or wrong. It is in the name of American patriotism that the people of other countries, the Philippines included, have been exploited and oppressed.

The fact is the present "world crisis" is only a crisis for U.S. imperialism, the system of world domination by the same military and economic interests that rule this country. It is these interests that are right now being threatened in the Persian Gulf, in Iran, in Pakistan. It is these interests that Carter seeks to defend at the cost of the lives of millions of American workers, including Filipinos.

It is evident, then, that these interests which are being touted as "American national interest" are in reality the interests of the American ruling class and do not coincide with the interests of the American people or the peoples of the world. It is in fact the same "U.S. national interest" that is responsible for funneling the American people's tax monies to support an unpopular dictatorship in the Philippines.

Thus, our community must join the progressive sector of the American people and refuse to serve as the cannon fodder for the wars of U.S. imperialism. This is what constitutes our duty and responsibility to this country during these times. □

TUNG GALIAN

WHY MARCOS CAN'T KICK THE ELECTION HABIT

By RENE CRUZ

In the wake of the Jan. 30 fraudulent elections, many sighs are to be heard from Aparri to San Francisco: "Another dirty election, so what else is new?" Indeed, the martial law regime's penchant for elections and other "democratic" exercises have become something of a boring joke. It is a wonder why Marcos continues to bother with stage-managing an already discredited tool.

However, buried beneath the fraud, corruption, violence of the last elections are many lessons for the Filipino people which are worth examining.

First of all, Philippine elections are not particularly known for being honest, thanks to its traditional political leaders. When the American colonialists "introduced" universal suffrage at the turn of the century, their dutiful subjects, drawn from the ranks of the landlord and comprador class, have since contrived the "best" means to win the vote of the masses. Indeed, what better way to delude the people that they had a role in influencing government than by according them the "right" to freely elect their oppressors.

Every election year, the choices rarely varied and boiled down to a choice between the two representatives of the largest landholding families. For Batanguenos, it was either a Laurel or a Leviste, for Illocanos, a Singson or a Crisologo, for Cebuanos, a Duran or an Osmena. The result was inevitably a dirty and bitter contest between the contenders for coveted government posts. The more bitter the contest, the dirtier the outcome. The sharper the rivalry, the more dispensable were the pretenses of fair play and honesty. Elections have been nothing but a power struggle of the ruling elite made public and masked by a brittle veneer of popular participation.

Under martial law, the veneer has become cellophane clear as the options have boiled down to one choice: Marcos rule. The series of fake referenda, plebiscites, interim Batasang Pambansa elections and now, local elections, all attest to the inutility character of any so-called democratic exercise under martial law. In all these exercises, Marcos has sought to put a public stamp of approval on major political decisions regardless of whether this was obtained through dubious and deceptive means. Naturally, any tally of votes from a captive electorate would yield results favoring the captor.

This fact has been acknowledged even by Marcos' Washington benefactors. Marcos' electoral exercises just do not pass the test of what can be considered a reasonably fair contest. What then accounts for his love for elections? Why then does he insist on attempting the impossible—railroading his wishes



Marcos jubilant over IBP elections.

through a constitutionally legitimate venue (elections); "winning" through illegitimate means; and insisting that the discredited results represent the peoples mandate.

To put the question simply: Who is Marcos trying to fool? Clearly there must be more to Marcos' penchant for elections than an irrational fetish over parliamentary forms which fail to mask the illegal character of his regime.

Actually, there is more than meets the eye in the Jan. 30 elections. Recently, Marcos admitted that the elections were indeed corrupt. This admission shows that he is less concerned with appearances or critical reactions from his Western audience.

The real value therefore of the local elections is to institutionalize fascist rule from top to bottom. Marcos knows that key to his survival is his ability to muster a sizeable political base and well-oiled party machinery straddling the country from the village, town and provincial levels of government. In the last two years, Marcos has expressed concern over the growth of "invisible governments" in the Philippine countryside owing to the success of the NPA in securing liberated areas. The "rural flight" of the municipal bureaucracy to urban areas, in effect ceding whole sections of the countryside to the NPA, is indicative of the government's weakening control over the rural areas. Marcos has responded to the NPA "menace" with military solutions but these have only caused the further alienation of the masses from the regime.

The local elections then are Marcos' version of a political solution to a political problem; i.e., the NPA and CPP. First he hopes through an electoral contest to widen the opportunities for the rural elite to participate in government. By doing so, he also weeds out officials with questionable loyalties. Moreover, he hopes to develop a prototype of his

regime on the base level, thereby institutionalizing the heretofore fragile political control of the government in the rural areas. And lastly, by holding periodic polls, Marcos hopes to make permanent the illusion among the masses that legal venues under martial law can still be resorted to. What better way to dull the dissatisfactions of the common tao than to insist on the illusion that "democratic processes" are still operative under a dictatorship. Marcos knows that the handmaiden of coercion is deception.

However, it is doubtful that the local elections is any solution at all. The desire of Marcos to build a durable, loyal and competent bureaucracy that can command the respect of the population is, at best, a pipedream. Those drawn to the service of the dictatorship constitute the garbage flies of Philippine society, eager to "serve" the regime to the extent that they can partake of the spoils of government. It is indeed folly for Marcos to think that he can attract men and women of integrity to become soldiers of the New Society. The opportunists drawn to the ranks of government are the same elements who will continue to undermine the control and effectivity of the martial law regime, contributing to its deterioration from within.

Finally, the regime's habitual turn to elections as a means to diffuse national anger, is fast losing effectivity. The people's disenfranchisement with the government will only increase in proportion to the fraud applied to any "democratic exercise."

The democratic forces in the Philippines were right in boycotting the whole fraudulent event. The Pusyon Bisaya, Mindanao Alliance, Laban and National Union for Liberation were correct in their withdrawal from the race even if their opposition to the elections was principally motivated by disagreements over the rules of the game.

The national democratic resistance,

however, fully aware of the bogus nature of the elections, remained consistent to the stance of boycott. In so doing, the national democratic movement has popularized the lesson that the government cannot be reformed through the ballot box; it must be thoroughly smashed.

MACARTHUR PAYOLA

The recent revelations of the MacArthur payola (see p. 4) throws a cloud of doubt over that period in Philippine history which has been referred to as the high point in Philippine-American relations. Indeed, generations of post-liberation Filipinos have been raised on the tale that it was MacArthur and his troops who liberated the Philippines. MacArthur's dramatic return to the war-torn Philippines has been equated with the defeat of the invading Japanese troops.

Not only is this a gross distortion of Philippine history, but it now turns out that General MacArthur had an asking price for "saving" the Philippines. The price was \$500,000, which at that time represented a big chunk of the Philippine treasury.

This revelation exposes not only MacArthur's true colors, but it also serves to unmask the true role of the U.S. in the Philippines. Because of our miseducation (thanks to the American heritage of colonial education) many facts about the period remain untold. For instance, unknown to many Filipinos, it was largely through the efforts of many unknown and undecorated Filipino guerilla fighters that the Japanese invaders were defeated internally. The USAFFE came in when victory was almost certain. Moreover, during the years of 1942-46, MacArthur and the USAFFE forces retreated to Australia, certainly doing little to assist its "ally," the Philippines.

The retreat of the U.S. forces, and even MacArthur's vacillation over his mission to rescue the Quezon family reveals the true aims of the U.S. during World War II. First, the retreat represented the U.S. reconsideration of the value of the Philippines to its strategic interests in Asia. During the years of the Japanese occupation, the U.S. had virtually ceded Asia to the Japanese imperialists. When Japan was on the verge of defeat elsewhere, the U.S. saw it opportune to return to the Philippines—not to save the Filipino people, but to reclaim its rights as the main imperialist country to exploit the islands. The fact is, World War II was a war between the imperialist powers to divide the world up into their respective spheres of influence. Friendship and good will for the Filipino people was therefore the last thing on the U.S. imperialist mind's when they staged a rapid comeback into the Philippines.

So much for the myth of MacArthur, and his master, the U.S., as the great liberators of the Filipino people. □

ALONA ACKNOWLEDGES
MASS SUPPORT

My dear members of the KDP:

Let me personally convey to you all my sincere and heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the all-out support afforded to my family and myself concerning my case. I must compliment everyone for their undivided and unselfish sacrifices in all forms shown for such a movement, hence I must say with humbleness that indeed, it is not my victory but our victory.

One lesson we must all share is that though we may differ in our own political and religious principles and beliefs, yet when such injustice exists fogged with racism, only through a united front can we overcome such unfairness. It is un-

fortunate that there are individuals (Deputy D.A. Richard Holmes and D.A. Michael Bradbury) in power who would recklessly abuse such public authority and trust for their own personal ambition and selfishness, and only in our vigilance, can we truly live in harmony and in peace not only to ourselves, our family, and in our community.

Again, may I say, many, many, many thanks for everything.

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
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PHILIPPINE NEWS

Buod ng mga Balita

FEER APOLOGIZES TO ENRILE

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* finally apologized to Philippine Minister of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile in a recent February issue. The FEER retracted a statement made in an article of its August 4, 1978 issue suggesting Enrile's association with a private law firm. The article, entitled "Archbishop Sin Fights A Boardroom Battle" written by Rodney Tasker, indirectly suggested that Enrile was continuing to practice law while serving as Defense Minister.

An irate Enrile considered the article damaging since practicing law while holding a national office in government is illegal under the constitution. Enrile went so far as to confiscate all personal possessions of correspondent Rodney Tasker, all issues of FEER and all property of the magazine in the Philippines. On top of that, he threatened to file a million dollar suit unless FEER retracted its statement. □

PAPAL VISIT POSTPONED AGAIN

Contrary to reports that Pope John Paul II will visit the Philippines early this month, an informal Vatican announcement suggested that the Papal visit is rescheduled for November this year. The line-up of the Pope's visits early in 1980, by the end of January, included Bangkok and Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand.

The Pope initially planned to visit the Philippines late last year. He postponed the visit as controversy between the Philippine Catholic Church and the government arose over who would host the Pope's visit. Early February was when he was expected in the Philippines, but given the new postponement, even this time seems too soon as the polarization between church and state continues in the Philippines. □

REWARD OR BRIBE: THE \$500,000 QUESTION

The "great liberator" Gen. Douglas MacArthur was not so noble after all, historian Carol Petillo revealed last month. While researching her dissertation, Petillo discovered MacArthur's acceptance of a \$500,000 cash reward from Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon. She revealed that under the U.S. Army code, it was illegal for MacArthur to accept the cash, which was described by the Quezon government as a "reward in recognition of outstanding service."

The "reward" Petillo alleges, was a bribe to rescue the Quezon family from invading Japanese troops in February 1942. According to Petillo, the U.S. War Department was urging Gen. MacArthur to evacuate the Quezon family to safety in the U.S. when the general said it was impossible. Shortly after, Quezon ordered the release of \$500,000 from the Philippine Treasury to MacArthur and was soon on his way to safety in the U.S. The amount signified a sizeable chunk of the national treasury in those days.

Officials of the MacArthur Memorial Foundation however, are contesting Petillo's allegation. Such "rewards" they claim were not unusual and in keeping with the Spanish customs of the Philippines. □



MacArthur and Quezon: Their relationship is now under question. AP Photo

NEW ANTI-REGIME PLOT DISCOVERED



Gen. Romeo Espino: Intended victim. The Constable

When Ferdinand Marcos last January dispatched Benigno Aquino back to his prison cell with a taunting challenge to try a *coup d'état*, few realized the significance of his comments. For it had not yet been revealed that the Philippine military, on New Year's Eve, had foiled yet another alleged plot against the regime, this one ominously involving retired military personnel as its principal characters.

While word of the crackdown began to trickle out as early as January 18 through a sketchy report by *Agence France Presse*, as of press time, the regime had issued no official confirmation. Sheilah Ocampo, however, piecing together various reports for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, reveals that 200 men, many of them military retirees were picked up New Year's Eve and an unspecified amount of arms were confiscated.

ESPINO TO BE HELD HOSTAGE

The plan of the group was allegedly to seize the headquarters of the Philippine Armed Forces in Camp Aguinaldo and take Armed Forces Chief of Staff Romeo Espino hostage. The political demands upon which Espino's freedom was to depend, remain unclear.

Authorities claim the group's leader, in whose home arms were

found, to be retired Lt. Col. Jose Reyes of the Philippine Army. Reyes, say observers in the U.S., is a career officer who retired young in 1968 and whose anti-Marcos sentiments have long been well-known.

The immediate question for both regime officials and observers is what, if any, relationship do the New Year Eve's plotters bear to the group of businessmen arrested last December and accused of plotting to sow confusion and terror in Metro-Manila beginning on Christmas Eve. This group, allegedly led by *Business Day* editor Eduardo Olaguer, is also charged with producing the document "Some Are Smarter Than Others" detailing the holdings of the New Society's *nouveau riche*, all of them cronies of the First Couple.

Opinion in Manila varies. Some insist that the two groups must be at least loosely connected. Both, it is pointed out, represent angry professionals deprived of access to the tremendous fortunes being made under the New Society and unwilling to accept the leadership of the national democrats in the opposition to the Marcos regime.

Others insist that the Olaguer and Reyes groups are both amateurs and entirely independent of one another. Still others insist somewhat unconvincingly that the discovery of the Olaguer group was deliberately planned by a coordinated terrorist movement to lull the regime into a sense of security while the New Year's Eve crew moved into action.

IMPLICATING THE MFP

The Marcos regime has used the incident to further implicate the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP) in an attempt to overthrow the government. The regime claims to have found documents from the MFP's sixth annual convention held last September lying in the back seat of a taxi. Its spokesmen point in particular to the organization's resolution to arm "Freedom Fighters" in the Philip-

pines as evidence of their connection with these groups.

The MFP, in a *Philippine News* editorial, insists upon the absurdity of the taxi seat story. Its convention and resolutions, the organization points out, have been openly printed and discussed.

More significant is the connection between the convention resolution and the arrest in September of an active AFP officer, Lt. Col. Saturnino Domingo. According to Sheilah Ocampo's sources, Col. Domingo, former Deputy Chief of the Constabulary Anti-Narcotics Unit (CANU), had just returned from a U.S. visit, purportedly to see his wife, at the time of his arrest. The military, however, suspected of him of having met with MFP leader Raul Manglapus to discuss smuggling arms into the Philippines. Domingo has been kept in isolation since that time and the government has never officially announced his arrest.

PSINAKIS' FACTION?

The question of relations between the two alleged groups of plotters and between either group and the MFP remains, and will probably continue to remain, a subject of speculation. The key source of information is the regime and the regime has proven itself highly unreliable, branding as "plotters" and "subversives" whom-ever it chooses.

But the discovery of the latest "plot" forces a reassessment of an assertion made numerous times by MFP leader Steve Psinakakis in his column "It's Not All Greek to Me." Over the past year, as Psinakakis has written with greater and greater enthusiasm on the burgeoning of the so-called "democratic opposition forces," i.e., the anti-Marcos forces which are also anti-national democratic, he has repeatedly insisted that support is growing within the army. Could Col. Domingo, Col. Reyes and his followers be the military faction to which Psinakakis has so enthusiastically referred? □

As World Tensions Build:

MARCOS RATTLES HIS BOLO

U.S. troops enroute to the Persian Gulf stopped in the Philippines a few days ago to spend two weeks gearing up for possible military actions in the Middle East. Earlier, a U.S. fleet was launched from Subic Naval Base in the Philippines to the Indian Ocean. Observing this in light of growing world tensions, Marcos, in a major change of tune, praised the U.S. for its "firm and believable resolve to express concern and to act for the country's (U.S.) allies in more concrete terms."

Among other reports, Marcos referred to the declaration by

the U.S. State Department that it would aid Thailand in the event of a Vietnamese invasion in accordance with the Manila Pact of 1954. The Manila Pact brought together the countries of the U.S., the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand and France in an alliance called SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization). SEATO dissolved five years ago.

Thailand and the Philippines, however, continue to have mutual defense pacts with the U.S.

The announcement by the U.S. State Department regarding Thailand gave Marcos reason

to convene his Cabinet National Economic Development Administration, (NEDA), and the National Security Council to study the possible involvement of the Philippines in U.S. commitments given the existence of U.S. military installations in the Philippines and mutual defense agreements between the two countries.

Along with all the hoopla about U.S. commitments abroad comes an attempt of a puppet to keep in pace with his master's aggressions overseas. □

CEBU RALLY DISPERSED



Over 6,000 people joined the Cebu Human Rights Crusade, December 15, 1979. Solidaridad II

In Cebu City, Dec. 15, 6,000 people—workers, slumdweller, peasants, farmers, stevedores, religious, and youth—gathered at the Redemptorist Church to mark the launching of a human rights crusade.

The crusade which was opened by a Protestant minister, minister, former Senator Jose W. Diokno, and a representative from the urban poor, turned into a spirited march when the participants began shouting "Let us march to Fuente Osmena," (the city's main thoroughfare).

As the crowd made its way through the city, many bystanders joined the march while many others eagerly received the marchers' manifestos. Even doctors and nurses walked off their jobs to join the marchers. By the time the marchers reached Fuente Osmena and began their rally, waiting policemen trained water hoses on the crowd. Despite this attempt at dispersal, the demonstrators clung determinedly to each other until the fire trucks ran out of water.

The crowd then jeered at the police and firemen saying: "Wala

na!" (You ran out), and proceeded to march across the street. At this point the police began arresting at random, nabbing several priests. This did not deter the people who then resumed their march to the headquarters of the Integrated National Police. Here they maintained a vigil until the authorities relented to their demands and released the priests.

The militant and memorable event was a living lesson to the various sectors that strength and victory is earned through steadfast unity. □

Human Rights Day Met With Repression

The human rights movement gained new momentum with the celebration of Human Rights Day, in different parts of the country last December. As expected, the martial law regime reacted harshly against the celebrants who held ecumenical services in Quezon City and Cebu to mark the 31st anniversary of Human Rights Day.

In Quezon City, the Ecumenical Committee on Peace and Justice sponsored an ecumenical service which was attended by factory workers, urban poor dwellers, *batilyos* (fish haulers), religious, students, professionals, and oppositionists.

A group called "Dulaang Walang Tanghalan" (Stageless Theatre) opened the event with a short, but intense play entitled "Iskwat" (Squatter), depicting the life and struggles of the

urban poor.

The play was followed by a message from political detainees read by a member of KAPATID, an organization of relatives and friends of political detainees. The message basically called for the release of political detainees, as a prerequisite to Marcos' "normalization" plan, if the martial law government is sincere about it at all.

The service, at which both Protestant and Catholic priests officiated, featured prayers touching on the current situation in the Philippines. To each narration of torture cases, foreign exploitation, militarization, or economic depression, the people responded with "Panginoon, alam nila ang kanilang ginagawa" (Lord, they know what they are doing).

Cecilia Munoz-Palma, former

Supreme Court Justice, gave a speech as part of the homily, questioning the legality of continued imposition of martial law and supported the efforts of every sector working towards the restoration of human and civil rights.

As the three-hour service drew to a close and people filed out of the Church, observers noticed plainclothes government agents with pocket size cameras. One observer commented: "Talagang wala nga tayong masasabing karapatan sa ilalim ng pamahalaang ito. Kahit sa loob ng simbahan, hindi tayo malayang sumamba." (We really have been deprived of our rights under this administration. We cannot even freely worship inside the church. □

Asia's Biggest Copper Mine Now Operates:

Davao Residents Threatened With Eviction

Delayed reports from the Philippines reveal strong opposition to yet another major industrial project which threatens to force Filipinos from their homelands. The reports also reveal that the well-known Manuel "Manda" Elizalde, Chief of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN), is using his position for the sake of his own economic gain.

Residents of Baranggay New Leyte, Maco, Davao Province, presented a petition to President Marcos late last year opposing plans of the North Davao Mining Corporation (NDMC) to convert the entire baranggay into a dumping site for mineral

tailings.

The petition is a result of careful study and consultation among New Leyte residents. Economic and social dislocation, pollution, dissipation of the whole community and destruction of potential tourist spots are some of the reasons why New Leyte residents opposed NDMC's proposition.

NEGOTIATIONS

New Leyte residents contend that there are alternatives to converting their baranggay into a wasteland. These include the use of already polluted rivers, of a nearby gully, and the construction of a pipe line directly to the sea, the cost of which could

easily be recovered by the corporation.

In a series of negotiations which started in November 1978, the corporation, represented by Panamin Foundation officials, offered to handle the expenses and the job of relocating New Leyte residents to an undisclosed place.

The people of New Leyte have begun to doubt the honesty and sincerity of the negotiations. Recently they learned that an order has been issued to immediately construct four dams which will submerge the homes of 3,000 people. One, to be constructed at the milling

Continued on page 6

Malacañang Zarzuela

IDENTITY CRISIS

By VICTORIA LUNA

Reaching back to the past in search of an identity for the present, a standard New Society technique, can be a tricky business.

No one seemed to object much when barrios shed their Hispanic name and overnight become *barangays* in the interest of national identity. Nor did anyone, except perhaps a few Aetas, object to the revival and promotion of the *Ati-atihan* and other barely Christianized indigenous festivities. Tourists found them ever so quaint and they thus served the dual purpose of attracting tourist dollars and providing another touch of "national identity" to a repressive New Society badly in need of justification.

Then came the campaign to rename the country "Maharlika." All vestiges of the colonial era, claimed proponents of the move, including the name "Philippines," derived from that of the Spanish King Philip, must go. "Maharlika" was selected not only because of its indigenous ring, but because the term, meaning "nobleman," in pre-Hispanic times, suggested the qualities that the Marcos-transformed state should project: nobility, authority, and a touch of class.

THE MAHARLIKA CAMPAIGN

As the move gained ground, the former Japanese-Philippine Friendship Highway was renamed "Maharlika Highway." Mrs. Marcos wrote a song called "Maharlika" detailing the virtues that the term implies. It was recorded and played at frequent intervals over all radio stations, becoming, by definition, a hit. A bill to rename the country was introduced in the Interim Batasang Pambansa and granted serious attention and discussion.

And then an obscure scholar, hitherto unheard of decided to do some research on the linguistic origins of the term "Maharlika." The results, widely publicized in Manila newspapers last January, though questionable from a scholarly perspective, may have killed the Maharlika movement altogether. The gentleman insists that the actual meaning of the honorable designation, derived from Sanskrit, was "great or large phallus."

Ferdinand Marcos is widely known to have a very large head on his shoulders and, what's more, to pride himself on his sexual prowess (Remember Dovie Beams?). But even his bitterest detractors seriously doubt that he would care to be known in the council of world leaders as either President or Prime Minister of the Great Phallus. The gentleman-scholar, in spite of the flaws in his scholarly logic, has thoroughly deflated the New Society campaign.

BATTLE OF THE BARS

Reports from Michael Malloy of *The Wall Street Journal* reveal that the biggest controversy among foreign journalists these days has nothing to do with Ferdinand Marcos or martial law. It is a struggle between principle and cheap beer. The principle: to drink or not to drink in the same bar with Teodoro "Doroy" Valencia, one of the most rabid of Marcos' journalist-supporters.

Doroy's column is renowned for its bitter attacks on foreign journalists as liars, spies and CIA agents. Doroy's favorite drinking place, particularly for Friday evening "happy hour," is the Manila Overseas Press Club which happens to serve the cheapest beer in town.

The Foreign Correspondent's Club deserted its traditional Friday evening haunts not long ago both because of too many run-ins with nasty security guards and beer too highly priced. But its members soon discovered that beer was expensive all over except on Doroy's turf and in Erita district bars. The question of where to drink on Friday evenings has become such a heated one that certain correspondents have even proposed a secret ballot to settle the matter.

The watering hole question may sound trivial to homey sorts over here but should not be dismissed lightly. Much of the foreign news that we read in our daily papers is ferreted out in smoke-filled bars and exchanged, amplified, embellished, and analyzed in a beer-tinged haze. The battle of the bars may yet affect the tone of the news from the Philippines filed by the major international correspondents in Manila. □



Davao Residents . . .

Continued from page 5

site, will convert the valley into a huge mineral tailings pond.

"By the time the mine will be in full blast, New Leyte will be a lost community. It will become a quagmire of mud," lamented an indignant New Leyte resident.

FERTILE SOIL AND HARD WORK

Baranggay New Leyte is a farmer's haven. Nature endowed it with 800 hectares of rich and fertile soil and the beautiful 16-hectare Lake Leonard.

In the mid-sixties, migrants from the Visayas, mostly from Leyte, trekked into the valley, then a virgin forest. Through their hard work and collective effort, they transformed the place into what is now one of the most progressive and productive baranggays of Davao del Norte.

New Leyte income is mainly derived from coffee, vegetables and fish extracted from Lake Leonard. People are self-reliant which is proven by their self-help projects, such as construction of a six-kilometer baranggay road, a four-kilometer baranggay trail, school buildings, and a one-kilometer bamboo water system.

Baranggay policies and ordinance are a product of consultation and participation among residents. At weekly assemblies, discipline, finances, education, and socio-economic projects are discussed.

ELIZALDE'S INTEREST—HARDLY UNSELFISH

But Baranggay New Leyte is also endowed with an enormous deposit of copper and gold which has become, for its residents, more of a curse than a blessing.

North Davao Mining Corporation is a vast copper mineral corporation owned jointly by the Elizalde and Ayala families—two giants of the Philippine mining world. In August of 1979, the corporation began mine construction. The project is expected to reach completion in three years. Actual mining will start in 1982. The project has a conservative life expectancy of one century.

One of the top corporate officials of NDMC, Manda Elizalde, is also chief of Panamin, the group which has offered to "handle" the relocation of New Leyte residents. In his capacity as Panamin chief, Elizalde supervises the relocation



Manda Elizalde with T'boli women: Elizalde's "aid" to national minorities serves his own economic interests.

National Geographic

of minority people threatened by government infrastructure projects throughout the archipelago.

Observers have long contended that Elizalde's attitude toward minorities was hardly the unselfish, charitable

image he tries to project and that his position in Panamin served his own economic self-interest. His role with regard to the non-minority people of New Leyte seems to prove that contention. □

KBL Victory . . .

Continued from page 1

out the Nacionalistas, this election would be one big joke."

UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISMS FROM MARCOS' PRESS

Criticism of the elections was not limited to opposition losers, and anti-martial law groups. The government controlled press profusely exposed rampant fraud by the government party, although much of the criticism was cushioned by excuses that Marcos must have not known what his campaign leaders and candidates were doing. Still, never in the history of martial law has controlled press come out so strongly against irregularities.

In face of admission to KBL cheating and terrorism, Marcos asked the IBP Assembly to pass legislation preventing similar occurrences in the future. He further made insignificant allegations of foul play by reducing them to "local rivalry rather than national policy."

Though cheating may not have been a national policy, wielding national power to control the election determined the outcome from the start. Marcos clearly wanted to make sure the exercise would legitimize rule through legitimizing local loyalists.

WINNING EXERCISE FOR KBL

Paving the way for victory started with a purge of local officials who were replaced by KBL appointees. Although the reasons for the selective termination of officials remain hazy, one government spokesman, Agriculture Minister Arturo Tanco speculated that the firing of five mayors in Batangas was related to suspicions that they have gone to the side of Jose Laurel, opposition candidate for governor who ran on the NP slate.

Arrests and disqualifications of opposition groups and individuals further chipped away not only on the opposition's chances, but also at the possibility of contest altogether.

Outside of eliminating opposition, the KBL used vote-buying as an integral part of winning. In a small town of Batangas, lights came on for the first time when Tanco led the KBL campaign there. Public work projects that were long overdue were his technique for



Small boy stuffs ballot into box last January 30. A symbol of election's legitimacy?

Philippines News Photo

urging the electorate to vote "for those who control the public purse.

Then there was violence. Sixty-three election-related incidents of violence were reported, 20 of which resulted in death. Jose Lingad, candidate who ran for governor in Pampanga said that four of his campaigners were killed during elections. In Negros Oriental, 13 other killings were reported.

Three areas came to focus as the balloting wound up: the town of Mandaluyong and provinces of Batangas and Pampanga. In all three areas, ballot boxes were impounded, tampered with, and vote-counting suspended. It was in these areas that the otherwise scattered and weak opposition posed a real threat to the government party.

In the town of San Fernando, in Pampanga, witnesses helplessly watched policemen and barrio captains switch officials' ballots with fake ones. Some 500 teachers who tended the ballot

boxes were held at gunpoint by police and "armed goons" because they refused to sign falsified election returns. According to the teachers, 75 percent of the ballot were falsified where more than 30,000 votes were cast.

A common form of cheating was the screening-out of persons who might vote against the government. Diosdado Macapagal, opposition candidate for governor at Pampanga, found this out when he was turned away from a voting booth in the town of Lubao, Pampanga, where he has voted in every election for 40 years. Those who turned him away said he was not a registered voter in that community.

In Pasig, "flying voters" was the phenomenon. One observer saw a jeepney make its rounds picking up voters and moving them from precinct to precinct.

In the same town, Aurelio German, a leader of NUL was severely beaten by armed men and a police when he challenged the impromptu issuing of voting

certificates.

As expected, incumbent governor Elizabeth Marcos-Rocha, and her running-mate, Bongbong Marcos, son of the President, won uncontested in Ilocos Norte while their opponents were conveniently jailed just before elections. Bongbong Marcos was proclaimed vice-governor in absentia as he plans to continue his university studies in the United States.

OPPOSITION'S WINNING BLOCKED

The few places where non-KBL candidates won, proclamation of winners was slow to come, if at all.

Carlos Pontawe, an NP candidate ran and won in Cabangon, Lingayen, but was not proclaimed. Neither was Hilarion Pawid, who ran in La Trinidad, Benguet. Earlier in the election, he was charged with "turncoatism" the term used by Marcos to label those who moved from his KBL party to the Nacionalista Party, a party he also claims to head.

Mindanao witnessed the victory of several KBL opponents, among them Cesar Climaco who won as Mayor of Zamboanga City. When Climaco's campaign began to show the probability of his victory however, Marcos accused him of being a subversive and said that he should be imprisoned.

In Kalinga-Apayao, where tribal resistance to the dictatorship is intense, an independent candidate named Jaime Quirino, defeated the incumbent mayor and KBL candidate in 53 out of 61 precincts.

The apparent disappointment and anger that followed the fraudulent election was not confined to the opposition. Two KBL members relinquished their party membership, and requested re-appointment as members of the Nacionalista Party.

Francisco Tatad, former Minister of Information who Marcos fired when he switched allegiance to the Nacionalista Party, and Assemblyman Salvador Laurel, asked to be relieved of their committee posts in the KBL. Ironically, Salvador Laurel sold Marcos the idea of building a KBL party in the first place.

"The bitterness sown by the dirty tactics of some winners won't die even in a decade," admitted Teodoro Valencia, a known apologist for the regime.

National Democratic forces did not waste time getting exasperated over what they predicted would be another rigged election. They called for a boycott of elections from the start. □

FILIPINO COMMUNITY NEWS

WHAT THE "MAKAPILI" SOUGHT TO DESTROY

By the NAFL-FNG

Reactions from members of the Filipino community to the revelation of Mr. Gonzalo Policarpio's collusion with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in surveilling and harassing Ms. Aimee Cruz, National Coordinator of the NAFL-FNG, have ranged from sheer disgust to unprintable expressions of rebuke and virulent condemnation. Indeed, the vile character of Policarpio's practice in attempting to sabotage the NAFL's work cannot be overstated.

A closer look at what Policarpio sought to destroy confirms that he deserves no less than the censure and denunciation that he has received for his acts.

Wherein lies the treachery? Wherein lies Policarpio's responsibility?

Prior to the existence of the NAFL-FNG, hundreds of Filipino nurses were suffering intolerably under a system of deceptive recruitment from the Philippines and cruel exploitation in the U.S. Lured by the promise of a gainful job and a bright future in the U.S., the families of these Filipino nurses invested most of their lifetime savings, just to be able to send their nurse daughter or son to the U.S. with the hope that they could in some way help the families' difficult economic standing.

Many of these nurses would end up facing a deportation order only a few months after their arrival to the U.S.

Three years of meticulous research; rigorous examinations of possible avenues for a solution; sleepless nights of writing and discussions; numerous trips to hospitals to organize the victims, were spent in order to see an end to the injustice. Difficult negotiations, complicated wranglings on terms and conditions for a resolution had to be undertaken with the INS in order to obtain an agreement to halt the deportations of H-1 nurses.

INS' SYSTEMATIC HARASSMENT OF THE NAFL-FNG

As we all know, the days of an open-minded and cooperative INS were few and short lived. As the economy took a downturn in the last two years, it became increasingly the INS' interest to maintain an agreement that was allowing foreign nurses to stay in the U.S.

That was out of tune with the anti-alien chorus that was reverberating in the country. Slowly, the INS reverted

Editor—The following article, which appeared in the *Philippine American Examiner*, was Gonzalo Policarpio's response to the previous issue of *Ang Katipunan* editorial exposing his collaboration with the INS in harassing Aimee Cruz, NAFL National Coordinator.

To be a target of wild accusations by persons of dubious character in a leftist periodical is a big honor in a free and democratic society such as the U.S. But to be acclaimed by these elements would spell instant public repulsion and ignominy.

This partly explains the immediate rise in popularity of President Carter when his effigies were burned by communists in Iran and other countries and the decline of Senator Kennedy's "mystique" when he became the toast of Teheran.

Undoubtedly, the Pope can never be a hero in the Kremlin but Lenin will always be a patriot in Castro's Cuba.

Billy Graham, the famous American evangelist earned the respect of the world when he launched a hardhitting anti-communist line in his first sermon. Former President Nixon capped his first major political victory after his expose and prosecution of communist-leaning government officials in the 1950's. There is, indeed, truth in the saying that whoever fights communist aggression and infiltration is a winner.

Totalitarian communism which espouses an atheistic doctrine and hedonistic philosophy, is the enemy of any



Straight from the "Makapili's" mouth.

freedom-loving individual or group. It excels in the art of deception capable of taking a variety of forms to attack his prey. It exploits the frustrations or sufferings of an individual or group by wearing the mask of "no rich, no poor" concept of society, national democracy, national liberation, People's Republic and call for unity. For the communist ideology is a disease that grew out of depressive manic minds who dreamed of creating a utopia in this world by destroying the existing order.

The bible will say that the only father of such an arrogant idea is the evil one who was cast out from heaven into this world so hatred, contention and enmity against the SUPREME AUTHORITY.

back to its intransigent position to summarily deport H-1 nurses.

Under these conditions, the persistent effort of the NAFL-FNG to fight for the rights of H-1 nurses was effectively a nuisance for the INS. It therefore proceeded to renege on its agreement with the NAFL.

This required the simultaneous discrediting of the NAFL and its leaders and a systematic campaign to harass and demoralize the organization. These acts of harassment escalated in the early months of 1979 in New York and other cities where NAFL chapters were active. This was the time when Policarpio duti-

fully lent his "services" to the INS.

THE PRICE OF POLICARPIO'S COLLABORATION

Up until its expiration on Dec. 31, 1979, the agreement negotiated by the NAFL alleviated the injustice against FNG's greatly.

The availability of the deferred voluntary departure status gave them extra time to adjust and prepare adequately for the licensure examination. Having been freed from the threat of deportation, H-1 nurses were no longer forced to live a "suitcase life" (transferring from one state to another every six months in

order to avoid deportation).

Aside from this, the NAFL-FNG has also published many materials and brochures regarding the problems and needs of foreign nurses in the U.S. The most widely disseminated is the Know Your Rights brochure which lists the terms and agreements of the DVD agreement plus all the rights that foreign nurse graduates are entitled to as nurses and as foreign workers.

On the local level, many NAFL chapters have organized review classes assisting many nurses in preparing for the licensure examination. These local chapters most often are the only source of relief and assistance that nurses can avail of upon arrival in the U.S.

In light of all this, does the NAFL deserve to be destroyed? Should it be wiped out along with its leaders? Will Mr. Policarpio be willing to go from hospital to hospital where Filipino nurses work to distribute materials and leaflets that inform them of their rights? Will he be able to stop the encroaching moves of the American Nurses Association to constantly create more and more hurdles for the foreign nurse before he/she can obtain licensure? Will he organize good and effective review classes for these nurses upon their arrival to help alleviate the pressures and burdens of taking the licensure examination? Does Mr. Policarpio know the anguish of a Filipino nurse who, alone in a foreign country, faces the problem of survival and most of all, fears failure and the bitter prospect of letting the hopes of her family in the Philippines down? Will Mr. Policarpio take up the cause of the foreign nurse? We think not.

THE MAKAPILI'S SELF-INTEREST: HIS MOTIVE FOR TREACHERY

Policarpio seems to be incapable of thinking beyond his own personal interests. Even at the cost of disrupting the work and organization that was and is of great service to our community; even if it meant jeopardizing the rights and the very lives of Filipino nurses, it was more important for him to continue with his rabid and hot pursuit of his personal political disagreements with our National Coordinator.

This is where his narrow self-interest encroaches upon the good of many others and herein lies his irresponsibility... herein lies his treachery. □

Policarpio: A Community "Makapili" Who Fails to Explain His Actions

A COMMENTARY

By AIMEE CRUZ
National Coordinator, NAFL-FNG

Gonzalo Policarpio's response to my charge that I have documents which prove his collaboration with the INS in surveilling and harassing me deserves some close examination.

His response provides us an insight into what goes on in a mind warped with fanaticism and illogical thinking. We can see what blundering logic arises from such an atrophied state of mind, where distinction between fact and fantasy, truth and lies, is miserably absent.

The charge againsts Mr. Policarpio is clear, specific, and if he does not know it, serious. Yet, he did not deny or admit the charge and in the absence of a clear denial, I can only take this as an admission.

What is truly pathetic is that Mr.

Policarpio does not seem to have enough courage nor integrity to stand by and defend his action.

I challenge him to defend and explain his ties with the INS, or I challenge him to deny the charge. But it seems Policarpio lacks the courage to do either.

While not admitting the charge, Policarpio has, however, boldly admitted to one thing: that he is a die-hard anti-communist. And to elude the issues at hand, he proceeds to unleash an incoherent diatribe against communism and what he knows (or does not know, because it was so incoherent) about it. He even goes further to line himself up in the Hall of Fame (or more appropriately Shame) of renowned anti-communists like Billy Graham and Richard Nixon. Mr. Policarpio's skill in skirting the real issues betrays his affinity to the logic of fascist dictators. Take Marcos, who skirts the issue of repression, poverty and gross injustice under his rule by calling every justice-loving and freedom-fighting

Filipino a communist.

Policarpio's ability to throw unexplained political concepts around, with the aim of sowing fear and intimidation among people, is also highly reminiscent of fascist methods.

But let me clear your stupefied mind, Mr. Policarpio. Whether you or I believe in communism, was and has never been the issue. Whether it appeared in a "leftist" periodical or not, is quite beside the point. The issue is, to repeat, there are documents which prove your dubious ties with the INS in harassing me and the NAFL-FNG. What do you have to say about that?

It serves nothing to dismiss my charge as "wild accusations printed in a leftist periodical." Yes, my accusations were wild, simply because the act which you committed was wild. After you provide me and our community with an explanation, then we can proceed to discuss your problems with communism. In other words, stick to the point.

And please, do not consider it an honor to have been a topic in our leftist periodical. Our paper will always expose anyone whose actions like yours can pose a threat or a great danger to the interest of our community. And should you take this as a compliment, that's your problem.

You have much to explain to the Filipino community, the nurse community in particular. Your rabid anti-communism is unacceptable as an excuse to sabotage the work of the NAFL-FNG and its services to the nurse sector of the community.

If your anti-communism can only contribute intrigues, divisions and sabotage to worthy community efforts like that of the NAFL-FNG, then I am confident that members of our community will realize on their own that the bigotry and lack of tolerance which you display will have and can have no place in the community. □

RESISTANCE ABROAD

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
IN R.P., OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES, HELD

A welcome counterpoint to the Cold War fever sweeping the nation's capital was provided this week by congressional hearings on the condition of human rights in the Philippines and three other Asian countries. The open-session hearings, held Feb. 4, 6 and 7, were jointly sponsored by the U.S. House of Representatives' Subcommittees on Asia-Pacific Affairs and International Organization.

HOLBROOKE'S CONTROVERSIAL
NON-APPEARANCE

Observers noted the contrast between the well-documented and impassioned pleas by non-governmental witnesses and the inept performance of State Department representatives. State Department participation in the hearings caused consternation when it was learned that Richard Holbrooke, Undersecretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, skipped a scheduled appearance on February 6 but found the time to be present at a party that evening. Dr. Ben Anderson of Cornell University began his testimony on Indonesia and East Timor by stating, "That Mr. Holbrooke, architect of our government's East Asia policy, should prefer to party than testify, is a matter of grave concern."

SPOTLIGHT ON SALVAGING

Testifying on the state of human rights in the Philippines was Mr. Jim Morrell, associate of the Center for International Policy. Basing his account on a recent trip to the Philippines, personal research, and documentation provided by the respected Task Force for Detainees (TFD) in Manila, Morrell highlighted the increasing incidence of "salvaging" or summary execution by Marcos' security forces. "The most alarming trend," he noted, "is an increase in military abuses in the countryside."

Queried by Rep. Tony Hall (D.-OH), Morrell assessed the overall political condition to be "deterioration on a variety of fronts, leading to greater unity among opposition groups and a trend of rising anger and hatred which can explode into rebellion."

The role of the United States came under fire from another witness, Dr. Edwin Luidens, director of the Office for East Asia and the Pacific of the National



Assistant Secretary for Human Rights, Pat Derian, confers with Marcos.

Council of Churches. "When military aid to a country in Asia is doubled and redoubled after the declaration of martial law," he noted, "the United States can only be seen to be clearly supportive of oppressive, autocratic rule. When our economic aid is used for projects that displace, and therefore destroy, ethnic minority communities against their will, the United States cannot be perceived as supporting human rights."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT
POSITION

Morrell and Luidens' statements contrasted with those of the representatives of the State Department, Michael Armacost, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Patricia Derian, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and humanitarian affairs.

Armacost's prepared statement began with what some observers saw as an attempt to deflect attention away from the countries under investigation by asserting, "The refugee problem is the number one problem of Southeast Asia. We must keep the world's attention focused on the Indochinese refugees."

He then went on to paint a positive picture of trends in the Philippines, claiming "improvements, as shown by the recent local elections, the first held since 1971." The State Department, asserted Armacost, "advances our concern for human rights in the context of our strategic concerns." According to him, "We have been successful in achieving our political strategic interest while also speaking frankly with governments in the area on the issue of human rights."

Armacost's testimony was undercut, however, by his admission that he had been appointed to his position just a week before the hearings. He also conceded that he had no role in preparing this year's State Department report on human rights in Southeast Asia.

CONTRADICTORY TESTIMONY

Derian's testimony was more interesting because of its contradictions. A former civil rights activist in the South, Derian has acquired the image of "swimming against the tide" within the state Department.

Questioning centered around the annual "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" produced by Derian's office for Congress which was released to the public February 4. Asked why this year's report appeared to be more positive toward the Marcos government than last year's, Derian answered, "There are some glimmerings of possible change, like the local elections." To Rep. Donald Bonker's (D.-WA) expression of "disappointment over the report on the Philippines", Derian launched into an impassioned defense of it as "factually accurate."

The report also came under fire for devoting only one paragraph to the issue of salvaging and asserting that cases of summary execution that have been documented by the Task Force for Detainees were "unconfirmed." Derian's reply, that they could not be regarded as confirmed "because there were no witnesses," drew an audible groan from the gallery.

On the other hand, Derian candidly asserted that, "As long as you have martial

law, as long as you have this terrific power of the state, without a corresponding system of justice protecting people in opposition to the state, nothing much has changed."

"I have always seen the Philippines," she continued, "not as a powder keg but number of separate problems. Marcos has been a master politician, cordoning off these problems from one another. Now the separate groups are beginning to come together, especially as things get exacerbated by the problem of the economy. I wonder how long he will have the ability to maintain it."

FLAWS IN HUMAN RIGHTS
REPORTING

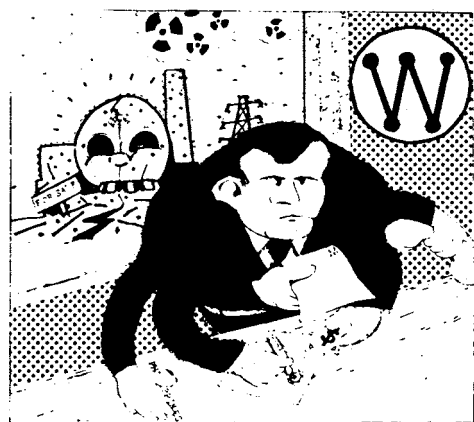
State Department methods of gathering and reporting data on human rights were criticized by almost all the non-government witnesses. Among the problems cited were the tendency to emphasize positive trends while passing over negative ones, the desire not to ruffle a client-government, lack of contact with opposition groups, and the absence of confidence in U.S. embassy officials on the part of the oppositionists.

Pharis Harvey, executive director of the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea, pointed to the dearth of Korean language skills among embassy officials in Seoul. This has led to reliance on Korean interpreters, who are not trusted by dissenters. He also called attention to the pervasive fear that information volunteered by dissenters would find their way to the government because of the close links between the government and the embassy.

Prof. Anderson accused the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia of outright distortion of the state of human rights in that country and East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that is now under Indonesian military occupation. "The American Embassy is wedded to the government, as in Iran," he asserted. "One of the first steps we can take toward changing the situation is to recall Ambassador Masters."

Other witnesses included Dr. Richard Kagan of Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota, speaking on Taiwan; and Harris Wofford and Maureen Berman of the International League for Human Rights. □

NRC RULING ON R.P. REACTOR DENOUNCED. . .



Continued from page 1

U.S. government agency to be concerned with "respecting" Philippine national sovereignty is sheer hypocrisy! When the U.S. trains Marcos police in torture techniques, when it provides Marcos with guns, planes and bombs to kill his own people, this is called "foreign aid." But when Filipinos and Americans demand that the U.S. be responsible for what it exports to the Philippines, it is

called interference.

Clearly, the NRC's "concern" for Philippine national sovereignty is nothing but an attempt to cover up the real violation of sovereignty. For it is the export of the reactor itself that constitutes the violation of the sovereignty of the Philippines.

The Philippines is important to the U.S. first and foremost as the dumping ground for U.S. industrial exports and an area for U.S. capital investment. From the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909 to the current investment policies of the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship, U.S. policy has consistently and consciously set out to keep the country a captive market for all sorts of superfluous, useless and dangerous commodities like those produced by Westinghouse, and preserve it as a paradise for cheap labor for U.S. capital. U.S. corporations and the U.S. government have consistently frustrated the growth of a viable national industrial base which could produce the technology appropriate to the energy and other needs of the Filipino people.

DEFECTIVE TECHNOLOGY

The dumping of this defective product of a technology which is increasingly being rejected in the U.S. is part of a scheme—a conspiracy to save a troubled nuclear industry by palming off their products to repressive U.S. allies that can be commanded to buy them. Twenty-three of the 33 reactors on order, under construction, or in operation in the Third World are found in countries ruled by authoritarian regimes. And true to its nature, the NRC has opted in its recent decision to collude with the Westinghouse Corporation to allow the sale of this reactor to the Marcos regime. After allowing the continued operation of unsafe nuclear plants throughout the U.S. the NRC is now cooperating with the nuclear industry to dump its unsaleable goods in the Philippines. The NRC is nothing but a rubber-stamp of the nuclear industry.

OPPOSITION TO CONTINUE

Since the deal between Westinghouse and Marcos was sealed in 1976, the

Filipino people have mounted a strong opposition to this reactor export. To impose the reactor on a dissenting people, the Marcos regime has had to militarize the area around the reactor site and his troops have already killed two anti-nuclear sympathizers. But the Filipino people continue to speak out openly and courageously not only against reactor export but against the very system of the U.S.-Marcos control that has spawned and will continue to spawn social and ecological scandals such as this reactor.

In the past year and a half, the opposition of the Filipino people against this reactor export has been joined in by people throughout the world. Three International Days of Protest have been held, drawing support in 33 cities, from Canberra, Australia to Tokyo, Japan to Washington, D.C.

The latest action of the NRC in allowing this reactor to go through will not go unnoticed. Join us to protest this dangerous action of complicity with the nuclear industry's attempt to nuclearize the Philippines. □

Atanacio Case Applied:

FILIPINO COUPLE WINS SSI CASE

In a much welcomed move, the Immigration and Naturalization Service finally applied the case of Pablo Atanacio, Board of Immigration Appeals decision (Oct. 30, 1979) to two elderly Filipinos who were receiving SSI benefits. The INS accepted the arguments of Bill Tamayo, attorney with the Asian Law Caucus, that there was "no entry" involved here, similar to Atanacio.

This case marks the first time that the Atanacio decision was applied properly to the SSI recipients, and as a result, the couple involved got back their green cards (alien registration card) and passports on Feb. 4, 1980, without ever having to withdraw from SSI benefits nor without having to file new affidavits of support.

What initially started as a simple trip to the Philippines to visit a dying relative for the "last time," turned out to be a complex, one year battle to retain SSI benefits and permanent residents status for Alejandro Vallecera, 73 and Virginia Vallecera 69, residents of Union City, CA. In December of 1978, the Vallecera received notice that Virginia's sister, 74, was critically ill and that death was near. The couple departed on Dec. 22, 1978 for the Philippines. They possessed a round-trip ticket good for 30 days. While in the Philippines, Mr. Vallecera became ill and required medical attention. Under doctor's orders, the Vallecera were required to extend their stay in the Philippines.

The Vallecera returned to Honolulu on Feb. 8, 1979—45 days after their departure. At the airport they were asked whether they received SSI benefits to which they replied "Yes." The immigration inspector told them that they were "excludable" as "persons likely to become public charges" and informed them that they had three options: 1) return to the Philippines; 2) post a \$5,000 bond and withdraw from SSI; and 3) go to an exclusion hearing. The Vallecera were thereupon ordered to go to a "deferred inspection" on March 16, 1979, at the San Francisco office of INS. At the "deferred inspection" they were given the same three options and chose the

"exclusion hearing" since the other two choices were impossible to fulfill. Because of the then pending Atanacio decision which would rule on this issue, the Vallecera's exclusion hearing was "temporarily suspended" and the Vallecera were given parole status, since the INS had confiscated their passport and green cards in Honolulu.

On May 29, 1979, the Commissioner of INS, Lionel Castillo, issued new guidelines regarding the exclusion of elderly aliens who received SSI benefits. The guidelines stated that in determining whether there was an entry (which would make the exclusion laws operative) the INS should look at five factors:

- Duration of absence
- reasons for absence, especially for exigent personal or family circumstances
- Possession of actual notice of INS enforcement policies in regard to public charge provisions prior to date of this wire (May 29, 1979)
- Whether return travel arrangements had been made at the time of departure from the U.S.
- Whether alien had inquired of Social Security Administration as to effect or continued eligibility for SSI benefits (if alien not absent from U.S. for more than 30 consecutive days).

ATANACIO DECISION COMPARED

In the Atanacio case, the immigration judge applied these factors to the case and held that Pablo Atanacio, a 73-year old SSI recipient, was excludable. On appeal, however the Board of Immigration Appeals reversed the immigration judge and held that Atanacio was not excludable. In its Oct. 30, 1979 decision the Board determined that Atanacio was not making an "entry" into the country and that, therefore, the exclusion laws were not applicable. The Board rested its decision on the fact that Atanacio went to the Philippines because his whole family was leaving and no one would be left to take care of him, all travel arrangements (including a round-trip ticket) had been made by his children, and that Atanacio was a returning

lawful permanent resident.

When the Atanacio decision was released, many immigration lawyers believed that families who had departed to the Philippines because of emergency circumstances, e.g. death in the family, would be protected by the Atanacio decision and would be found not to be making an entry.

After the Atanacio decision was issued, however, the San Francisco INS began sending letters to the aliens whose cases were suspended. These letters ordered them to show up at the INS office with proof that they withdrew from SSI benefits and with two new affidavits of support. When these documents were submitted, the green cards and passports would be returned. However, such an action would hamper the aliens' access to SSI.

On Dec. 4, 1979, the Vallecera received such a letter from the INS and were ordered to appear on Dec. 18, 1979 at the INS office. Their Asian Law Caucus attorney argued that the INS should comply with the Atanacio decision and determine that the Vallecera were not making an "entry." To support the arguments, Tamayo resubmitted copies of the death certificate of the relative, copies of the pictures of the dying aunt and Mrs. Vallecera together, a copy of the round-trip ticket, and a doctor's letter verifying Mr. Vallecera's illness. This same evidence was submitted to the INS before the Dec. 4 notice, but the INS did not give it proper consideration until after the Asian Law Caucus argued their relevance pursuant to the Atanacio decision.

Tamayo argued that under the facts of this case and given the Atanacio decision, there was no "entry" and therefore the exclusion laws were inapplicable.

Tamayo provided arguments for a "no entry" finding:

1. The Vallecera were gone for 45 days but intended to be gone for only 30. Only Mr. Vallecera's illness prevented the timely departure.
2. The Vallecera reason for leaving was for exigent family circumstances.
3. All travel arrangements had been

made by their daughter.

4. They did not inquire at SSI prior to departure regarding their benefits since they intended to be back within 30 days.

5. They were not aware of the INS rule prior to May 29, 1979.

The fact that the Vallecera were receiving SSI was argued to be irrelevant to the issue of "entry." Tamayo argued that the case should thus be dropped by the INS and that the green cards and passports of the Vallecera should be returned to them.

On Dec. 26, 1979, pursuant to an order from the INS, the Vallecera and Tamayo spoke to the Immigration inspector to verify the facts outlined in the prior arguments. After deliberation by the INS, the Vallecera received notice to once again come to the INS office to "complete inspection." On Feb. 4, 1980 the Vallecera were finally given their green cards and passports after the INS determined that they indeed had not made an entry under the Atanacio decision. The Vallecera did not have to file new affidavits of support nor did they have to withdraw from SSI benefits.

JOINT EFFORTS BROUGHT ABOUT VICTORY

The year long ordeal of the Vallecera ended successfully because of several factors, according to their attorney. These were: the Atanacio decision; the efforts of the Asian American Immigration Task Force to clarify the Atanacio decision for the INS; the perseverance to make the INS comply with the Atanacio decision and to examine the facts; community support for fighting SSI exclusion cases, and finally, the Vallecera family's willingness to fight the case.

Had the Vallecera been able to win their case much earlier, perhaps the many other victims of the SSI Exclusion practice would not have filed new affidavits of support nor withdrawn from SSI. Families who have been advised to file these documents are encouraged to fight their case and to force the INS to comply with the Atanacio decision in evaluating their case. □

While financial interest gear for profits . . .

CHICAGO SCHOOLS IN CRISIS

By EDDIE ESCULTURA
AK Correspondent

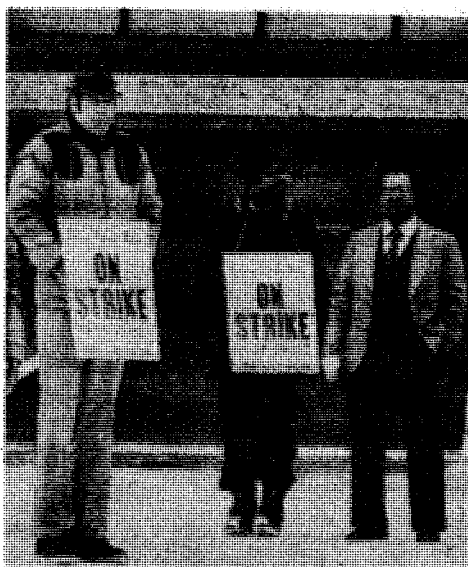
CHICAGO—After a week of strike following another week of walkouts, Chicago's 25,355 teachers went back to school last Feb. 11. According to the Chicago School Board, at least 98 percent of the teachers joined the strike.

The strike was preceded by a walkout that started Jan. 31 after the Board failed to pay the teachers for several weeks in December and January. The Board also cut the school funds by \$60 million resulting in the firing of 1,675 teachers and other employees.

In addition, bank creditors which presently underwrite the Chicago schools, formed the Chicago Finance Authority. This body will oversee the finances of the system and one of their first recommendations is a \$225 million cut by closing down 35 schools and laying off 2,000 employees of the Board.

Mayor Jane Byrne has also proposed a \$106 million cut in next year's budget and dispense off the Board's quarter billion dollar real estate holdings.

The cuts would have mainly affected minority and special education programs and auxiliary services such as research and evaluation programs. About half of the 50 Filipino teachers employed by the Board would have been laid off and hundreds of Filipino children would have



been deprived of their schooling, too.

These triggered the one week teacher's strike. It had the overwhelming support not only of the teachers, but also the parents, church groups and minority organizations, including Operation Push.

The teachers' union demanded that the Board rehire 683 of the 1,675 employees already fired as a result of the \$60 million cut in January. It also demanded the 39-week school year guarantee, and that the city should not renegotiate the two-year contract it

signed with the union last Fall.

STRIKE SETTLEMENT: A BAND-AID SOLUTION

The effectiveness of the strike compelled the city, state and financial interests to grant short-term concessions just to get the teachers back to work. The cuts and lay-offs were drastically reduced. At the same time, the crisis was shifted elsewhere.

At the center of the arrangement was a loan from Chicago Banks (e.g., First National of Chicago and Continental Bank) for \$800 million to temporarily pay off the salaries and stave off the proposed cuts. What one should understand is that before this amount is fully paid, the banks would have realized more than \$200 million in profits. This would come from people's taxes and income from the Board's real estate holdings.

BIG BUSINESSES PROFIT FROM CRISIS

The school crisis was a re-opening of a problem that started way back in the early 1900's. Every year during the last 75 years, the School Board would issue tax warrants for bank loans to be repaid with taxes from the following years. However, tax relief for and tax non-payment by big corporations such as IBM, Aetna Life Insurance and Blythe, Eastman, Dillion (\$274 million between

1972 and 1977) and losses of \$100 million from the Board's real estate holdings, sank the Board into deeper and deeper indebtedness.

By the end of 1979, the Board was indebted to the banks and the Public Building Commission in rentals by \$730 million. Juggling of funds and interfund borrowings could not resolve this problem anymore.

This was the time for the financial interests to move in and seize control of the school system.

At a meeting with Governor James Thompson the financial interests forged an \$800 million deal, a jump in interest rate from 7 percent to 11 percent, and the mechanism to collect the money directly from the tax payers, the Chicago Finance Authority.

TAXPAYERS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS TO SHOULDER THE CRISIS

While the classes have resumed, and the crisis seems to have been resolved, the truth is the problem has just been shifted elsewhere—to the tax payers who will foot the bills while the banks will surely collect their profits. Meanwhile, the Chicago schools are sinking deeply into bankruptcy. This means the education of Chicago's children and the jobs of school employees are continuously at stake. □

CONFERENCES ON FILIPINO IMMIGRANT RIGHTS TO BE HELD NATIONWIDE

Rallying to the theme of "Educate to Organize," hundreds of Filipinos are expected to attend nationwide local conferences addressing the problems of Filipino immigrant rights. Called by the National Task Force for the Defense of Filipino Immigrant Rights, the day-long local conferences will be held in the following cities: Honolulu, Feb. 23; San Francisco Bay Area, March 1; New York, March 15; Chicago, March 22; Seattle, March 23; Los Angeles, April 5.

The National Task Force was formed at the 1979 Filipino People's Far West Convention held in Sacramento, CA. The Convention delegates unanimously agreed that immigrant rights were a major concern for the Filipino community and that an organized effort had to take place to defend those rights.

The Convention recommended that local conferences be held in the major cities to launch local chapters of the National Task Force and to educate the Filipino community in the various areas about the need for a nationwide effort to defend immigrants. The delegates noted that over 50 percent of the Filipino community is comprised of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. after 1965 when the immigration laws were liberalized to allow for more labor in the country.

However, now that the American economy is in a crisis and decline, immigrants are once again being targetted as the cause for the economic problems and are threatened with deportation, mass raids, exclusion, and harassment. Such actions resemble the events that surrounded the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 which limited Japanese immigration, and the Tydings-McDuffie Act

which limited Filipino immigration during the Depression. Discrimination for this most recent wave continues, especially in employment where licensure policies and tests serve to keep immigrants out of the job market.

"The goal of these conferences is to educate members of the Filipino community about the different issues affecting immigrants and to organize them to take action on these issues. A major issue we will address is the INS attempts

to exclude Filipino elderly on the basis that they receive SSI benefits," stated Abe Ignacio, member of the National Task Force staff. "Additional issues, such as the pending legislation to restrict the access of aliens to public benefits and to make affidavits of support legal and binding will also be discussed in the workshops," added Ignacio.

Approximately 600 people are expected to take part in the conferences. "In

our outreach for the conference, we find that many people are interested in the issues and have been waiting for this type of project to start," noted Noni Espiritu, coordinator, San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of the Task Force. "Many of the families who are being affected by the SSI Exclusion harassment will be informing the conference participants about their experiences and about how this form of harassment has impacted their families."

The local conferences will also address the issues of the 4-H Trainees in Hawaii, the H-1 nurses licensure problem, the upcoming hearings by the President's Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, and other local issues. These conferences will be the first major attempt in the history of the Filipino community in the U.S. to address the general defense of immigrant rights on a nationwide scale. With the formation and consolidation of the local chapters, nationwide campaigns on the SSI Exclusion cases and the pending legislation will be in high gear.

Everyone concerned about the rights of Filipino immigrants is encouraged to attend and participate in the conference. For more information contact the local coordinator in your area:

New York: Lourdes Kiuchi 429-1550
Chicago: Esther Simpson 275-4076
Seattle: Dave Della 325-7625
Wash., DC: Odette Taverna 839-1787
San Francisco: Noni Espiritu 861-4476
San Jose: Becky Villones 288-8272
Sacramento: Maxima Villones 392-7950
Los Angeles: Jaime Geaga 613-1519
Honolulu: Cathi Tactaquin 841-6429

National office: 4928 Webster Street, Oakland, CA 94609

HAWAII TASK FORCE CONFERENCE SET

HONOLULU—The need to protect and fight for the rights of immigrants will be the focus of an educational conference here on Feb. 23.

The event will be the first public forum of the Hawaii Task Force for the Defense of Filipino Immigrant Rights. Several community groups and individuals have agreed to help sponsor and endorse the activity.

"Stop Discrimination Practices Now!" has been chosen as a slogan for the conference, which will present an overview of the problem of immigrants' rights, and current issues in the community in Hawaii.

Leo Kitkitoy, chair and spokesman for the Filipino agricultural trainees on Maui island (see related article), has been asked to speak about their experiences in protesting program abuse and exploitation. Cathi Tactaquin will speak on the overall situation of immigrant rights while

Joe Florendo will present the related issues of SSI exclusion and anti-immigrant legislation.

Several resource people will form panels for discussion in workshops following the presentations.

Although the Hawaii Task Force was only recently formed following the Filipino People's Far West Convention last September in Sacramento, the group has been active in investigating the SSI exclusion issue and the case of the Filipino agricultural trainees in Maui.

The Task Force hopes that new people will be interested in joining the group following the conference. Said Florendo, a member of the Task Force, "It's evident that there will be an increasing need for a group like the Task Force to actively defend the rights of immigrants."

For more information, contact the Task Force, c/o 1211 Farr Lane, Honolulu, HI 96819. □

Community Press Reforms

UNIVERSITY ADMITS 4-H ANOMALIES

By CATHI TACTAQUIN
AK Correspondent

HONOLULU—University of Hawaii Chancellor Durward Long has agreed that major reforms are necessary in the Filipino agricultural trainees' program.

Long commented on the issue during a meeting with Filipino community representatives on Feb. 5. Long was responding to a detailed memorandum from several community groups criticizing the training program.

The University of Hawaii is responsible for training in the program, which was publicly criticized by 23 Filipino trainees on the island of Maui in January. The trainees have been placed there with host farmers for a one-year work/study program. They have complained of being abused and used for "cheap labor."

Represented in the meeting with Long were Ethnic Studies and Philippine Studies at the University of Hawaii; the Hawaii Task Force for the Defense of Filipino Immigrant Rights; KDP; Operation Manong; the Philippine Consulate; and the United Filipino Council of Hawaii.

TRAINEES' RIGHTS VIOLATED

Davi Alegado, representing the Task Force, summed up the delegation's concern that the University of Hawaii was largely responsible for the lack of training, the main complaint raised by the trainees. She also pointed out that the agreement signed by the trainees contained several clauses which appear to violate their basic democratic and con-

stitutional rights.

She said that violations of rules and regulations, for which the trainee may be terminated from the program, are not even spelled out. The agreement states that if a trainee is terminated, he must pay his own way back to the Philippines, and all his earnings will revert to the program.

Long indicated that he would review the "unusual terms" of the agreement, and thought that it would require a major revision. However, the agreement was written by the Philippine Agricultural Training Program (PATP), which recruits the trainees in the Philippines. Thus, the University may not be able to directly alter the agreement.

A "Memorandum of Agreement" signed on Sept. 7, 1979, between the University of Hawaii and the PATC, only vaguely defines the school's responsibilities—to select trainees; administer health and personal data forms; develop and supervise technical and non-formal academic training programs; and prepare an annual report on "training progress, problem areas...and recommendations for corrective action..."

TRAINING PROGRAM CHIEF OUSTED

Long had already taken steps to "remove" Dr. Ken Otagaki, acting director of the training program and part of the College of Tropical Agriculture.

Otagaki, Long admitted, had "overstepped" his position, apparently referring to the widely publicized chauvinist and racist remarks Otagaki made against the trainees and the Filipino community.

Otagaki will reportedly be taking a leave to take a Washington, D.C. position—a "cooling off" tactic.

BASIC FLAWS QUESTIONED

While the delegation had favored Otagaki's removal, they pressed that there were more basic issues involved here. Cathi Tactaquin of KDP pointed out that "while the lack of training appears as the main problem, there is something wrong with the program's entire orientation and structure."

She said that while the trainees are all on student visas, academic study or training is made impossible by the very structure of the program. "The fact that the program is supposed to be self-sustaining—paid for by the trainees' low salaries—is a contradiction. This forces them to work long hours at \$2.90 an hour just to pay for everything. How can they study and work 48 hours or more per week?"

The delegates agreed that some sort of subsidization would be needed to help offset the pressure on the trainees to work such long hours, and allow them time for study. Long said he thought the program should be an "academic offering."

Larry Zabala, information officer of the Philippine Consulate, summed up the four problem areas cited by the trainees: 1) lack of training; 2) labor exploitation; 3) financial accountability; and 4) verbal abuses by the farmers.

Zabala had sent a critical report on the program to the Philippine Foreign Ministry—a position unlike the Consulate's stand a couple of years ago when

several mainland trainees were deported for complaining.

Long said that immediate improvements were likely in all areas except for "labor, which is more complex." Dean Alegado of KDP, and an instructor with Ethnic Studies, said that this is a critical problem, however, because the trainees are obviously just being used for cheap labor. He said the head of the Maui farmers' group told him one farmer is expanding his acreage in expectation of getting more trainees this year. (Some 38 Filipino trainees are expected for the 1980-81 program.)

Local newspapers have reported that the Philippines Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB) plans to investigate the complaints. However, neither Long nor the Consulate had been contacted.

(Ironically, the OEDB itself has the reputation of heavily taxing Filipinos wishing to work abroad, and is responsible for placing Filipinos as cheap labor in England, in U.S. hospitals, etc.)

In the meantime, the University of Hawaii is conducting an investigation into the program and has promised to meet again with community representatives and trainees.

Community groups, on the other hand are continuing to gather support for the trainees. Leo Kitkitoy, trainee spokesperson, has been invited to speak before the Immigrant Task Force conference on Feb. 23 in Honolulu, where there is wide concern for the issue. □

CARTER WAR BUDGET BLASTED

Reprint from the *Guardian*

"Misleading and disastrous" were the recurrent descriptions applied by progressive organizations to President Jimmy Carter's federal budget proposals last week.

Leading the attack on Carter's social and military priorities for fiscal 1981 was the Congressional Black Caucus, the grouping of all 17 Black House members. At a Feb. 5 Capitol Hill news conference, caucus chairwoman Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) branded the budget plan "an unmitigated disaster for poor people and minorities."

Antiwar activists were also highly critical of the proposals, noting they contained a 5.4% increase in military spending above anticipated inflation.

"There is no disguising the fact that we are entering the toughest period since the Vietnam war," stated Betty Bono, co-director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "Much of what we have won since that time—like new human rights legislation and avoidance of direct military intervention—will be coming under attack in the months ahead."

"This is a budget that moves us dangerously close to war, toward nuclear disaster," said Black Caucus member Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). "The military chiefs are planning and talking about a conventional war with the Soviet Union and that simply is not at all credible. A face-off like that would turn into an atomic holocaust within hours."

The Black lawmakers also denounced the planned recession contained in the proposed budget, noting that the official nationwide Black unemployment rate already stands at 12.6% as compared to 3.7% for adult white males. The fiscal 1981 plan, which will take effect in October 1980, calls for total joblessness rates to reach at least 7.5% while inflation is expected to run at more than 10%.

"I cannot support a budget that projects 15% Black unemployment and 40% Black teenage unemployment," Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) declared.

Caucus chair Collins, meanwhile, called the budget "deceptive" in that it underestimates the actual deficit for fiscal 1981, pegged by Carter at \$15.8 billion. Rep. Mitchell predicted, for example, that the real gap between spending and revenues would be at least \$10 billion more. The higher figure, Mitchell explained, will result largely from additional hikes in military outlays not calculated in Carter's Jan. 28 submission to Congress.

EMPLOYMENT GOALS POSTPONED

"The illegal suspension" of the goals set by the Humphrey-Hawkins employment act was likewise condemned by Rep. Gus Hawkins (D-CA), House sponsor of the 1978 legislation. Carter's budget unilaterally postpones the act's



targets of 4 percent joblessness and 3 percent inflation by 1983 for two and five years respectively. The law gives the President authority only to recommend alteration of these economic goals, not to declare their cancellation, Hawkins pointed out.

"This budget spends more on creating unemployment than putting Americans to work," Hawkins added. "It allocates \$19 billion for unemployment insurance—twice the amount to be spent on public jobs and five times the total for youth employment programs."

Assailing Carter's proposal for a resumption of draft registration, chairwoman Collins observed, "Our young people are being told that money can be found to send them to war but not to put them to work." Caucus members also criticized the administration's heavily publicized plan to spend \$2 billion to combat youth unemployment.

"It's an election year ploy," said Rep. William Gray (D-PA). "Only \$200 million of that sum will be spent next year—an unconscionable delay in addressing this crisis."

Mitchell, meanwhile, attacked the "specious hypothesis" that large federal budget deficits promote and aggravate inflation. He cited a study by the Congressional Budget Office showing that a \$10 billion cut in the deficit produces only a .1 percent fall-off in the inflation rate.

"There was a federal budget surplus in 1969," Mitchell continued, "and the inflation rate doubled in that year anyway."

Attempts by the administration to blame imported oil price hikes for the current 13.3 percent annual inflation rate were called "incorrect and misleading" by Hawkins. "OPEC alone has not caused the chronic rise in the rate of inflation over the past several years," he said. "Low economic growth, administered prices, climbing interest rates and the decontrol of domestic oil are the real causes of our economic problems."

CORPORATE TAX LOOPHOLES

Another cause of lagging income for the federal government, Mitchell noted,

is the increasing number of tax loopholes and write-offs available to corporations and wealthy individuals. He estimated that the amount of foregone revenues will rise by 59 percent during the next four years, producing a sum of uncollected taxes equal to 30 percent of the entire federal budget in fiscal 1984.

"The squeeze resulting from factors such as these," Mitchell noted, "will mean heavy pressure to cut social programs in order to make up the difference between an illusory and a real budget deficit."

Along with several other progressive groups, the caucus was particularly critical of the share of federal funds being assigned by Carter to the Pentagon. Military spending authorization is set by Carter at almost \$160 billion in fiscal 1981, a 5.4 percent increase beyond anticipated inflation.

"This huge hike is not at all a response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or to the taking of hostages in Iran," declared Rep. Dellums at a separate news conference on the Pentagon budget Feb. 6. "Administration officials came to the Hill months ago asking for these increases. It was all linked to SALT, not to subsequent events," Dellums noted.

An analysis of the Pentagon spending plan prepared by the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy reveals a 9.6 percent increase above the inflation rate in the weapons procurement category. Among the armaments to be built in fiscal year 1981 are 72 Trident missiles, one Trident atomic submarine, 511 cruise missiles, 569 XM-1 tanks and cargo aircraft designed to transport the 100,000-person rapid deployment force to third world combat zones.

The coalition also points to a \$1.5 billion allocation for research and development of the MX missile and a \$400 million boost, to \$3.4 billion, for nuclear warhead production. The portion of "relatively controllable" federal funds to be consumed by the Pentagon—those not tied to previously legislated appropriations—will rise from 58 percent in 1980 to 61 percent next year, the coalition notes.

Speaking at Dellums' news conference, Rep. Mitchell emphasized that "the Pentagon is already sitting on some \$102 billion in unobligated funds appropriated in previous budgets. They can't even spend the money they've got, and yet they come here demanding more and more and more," Mitchell added.

Dellums and other caucus members also denounced the Soviet attack on Afghanistan, calling it "morally wrong and politically stupid." They contended that the USSR would lose much more than it gains from the intervention, particularly in the third world.

But Dellums also blasted Carter for "pumping up war hysteria" by calling the invasion of Afghanistan the most serious threat to world peace in the past 35 years. "It is ludicrous to think that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan presages

a similar move into Iran," Dellums added. "The invasion route to Iran runs directly south from the plains of Soviet Georgia and not west from the mountains of Afghanistan."

James Treires, a budget analyst with the Center for Defense Information here, meanwhile attacked the administration's practice of linking massive spending hikes for the Pentagon with a supposedly similar increase in Soviet military outlays. Treires questioned the CIA procedure of calculating Soviet military pay scales in dollar rates and assuming that the USSR buys its weapons at the same cost as the U.S.

"The estimating techniques used and the flimsy assumptions underlying them would be laughable if produced by a private researcher," Treires asserts. The former economist for the Labor, Commerce and Defense Departments also argued that "contrary to what the CIA says, it is the U.S. and not the Soviet Union that is overburdened with military expenditures."

Dellums addressed this U.S.-USSR military cost comparison as well, noting testimony from defense and intelligence officials which states that some 40 percent of Soviet defense spending is linked to operations along the border with China. "It is simply foolish to compare our outlays with theirs given these kinds of variables," Dellums said.

HAWKS SAY: "MORE"

But while the caucus and peace groups were presenting these critiques of the fiscal 1981 defense budget, high-flying hawks in Congress were demanding still greater outlays for weapons. A group of Republicans on the House Armed Services Committee last week suggested increases in the military authorization of 10 percent rather than Carter's 5.4 percent. The additional \$10 billion or so could be used to revive the B-1 bomber and to initiate a full-scale civil defense program, they argue.

Appearing before this committee, Defense Secretary Harold Brown acknowledged that the military spending request submitted by Carter might be too low, especially since it does not compute any increases in fuel prices for 1981. Brown indicated that the Pentagon would not hesitate to seek additional billions this year and next in the form of supplemental appropriations.

Budget analysts Treires meanwhile told the *Guardian* that some \$4.6 billion in supplemental funds that had already been approved by Congress for the current fiscal year.

Asked at his press conference why he was taking "a rather unpopular position" in opposing the military build-up, Dellums replied, "If you remember, speaking out against the U.S. intervention in Vietnam was a pretty unpopular position in 1964 or 1965. I think it's similar today. When the actual impact of this budget becomes clear, ours will not longer be a minority position." □

British Violations Continue in Zimbabwe

Mounting British violations of the Zimbabwe peace accord have reached such a peak in Zimbabwe that Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere has urged direct U.N. actions.

In a letter to U.N. Secretary Kurt Waldheim, Nyerere asked Waldheim to go to Rhodesia to personally supervise Britain's role as a moderating force during the campaign/election period.

The letter was prompted by Britain's escalating efforts to prevent fair elections and ensure the election of the pro-western Abel Muzorewa. Toward this end, supporters of the Patriotic Front con-

tinue to be arrested and held in detention. At the same time, Rhodesian and British authorities are preventing the return of tens of thousands of Zimbabwe refugees to such an extent that less than half of them are likely to be resettled in time for the Feb. 27-29 elections.

Disregarding the warning of 42 Commonwealth countries, an international call, and a report of British abuses by Amnesty International, the British have steadfastly refused to abide by the terms of the peace accord. Most serious among these violations is Lord Soames' refusal to confine to bases the Rhodesian auxil-

iary forces whom he allows to roam freely throughout the country. Soames' policy of "no restriction" of Patriotic Front opposition forces has created a condition of extreme danger to the Patriotic Front and its supporters. After surviving two assassination attempts in four days, Robert Mugabe claimed that the attack on his life "was just one of many incidents in a strategy mounted by the British, the South Africans and the Rhodesians to disable my party."

Mugabe's life was threatened when someone threw a grenade at his home (which exploded against the outer wall)

and again when an 80 pound bomb was detonated under his car as it approached the airport in Fort Victoria.

Further stressing the already-delicate situation, Lorde Soames has threatened to cancel elections in parts of Zimbabwe where he feels voters are being "intimidated" by guerillas, despite the fact that the obvious incidents of intimidation are being carried out by British military forces and the armed forces of Britain's puppet Mozambique.

In response to the cancellation threat, Patriotic Front co-leader Robert Mugabe announced he would break the ceasefire and go back to war if authorities act unilaterally against the Patriotic Front guerilla movement in any part of the country. □

NPA in Cagayan Valley:

GAINING GROUND



By BEN SHANDEL

GATTARAN, CAGAYAN—In Cagayan Province the Philippine Constabulary (PC) call them "communist terrorists." But to the people of Cagayan's towns and barrios the NPA (New People's Army) are popularly code-named "Nice People Around." In a province largely inhabited by President Marcos' fellow Ilocanos the appellation suggests a growing sympathy for the efforts of the guerrilla army and foretells the future of the martial law regime.

Innumerable encounters were fought between the NPA and the PC during the past year, most bitterly in the central Cagayan town of Gattaran, a fertile valley of 60 barrios with some 25,000 peasants and farmers. The NPA openly

fraternize and work alongside the residents of the remoter barrios while the PC have learned to prudently remain close to barracks. In one significant reversal, the PC conceded NPA control in Barrio Naddungan by evacuating to a better protected locale, blaming malaria for their withdrawal.

STRUGGLE FOR FOOD

Cagayan is historically known for the abuses of the military, private political armies and marauders, but many local people claim the situation is changing. In "liberated" barrios the NPA have eliminated or chased away most of the "bad elements" and have ended such crimes as landgrabbing, tenant harassment, embezzlement, chicken stealing, cattle and grain rustling, and rape. The NPA have also been gaining support in

central Luzon, in the eastern Bicol and Samar regions and in the southern islands of Panay, Negros and Mindanao.

A key struggle in the Philippines is for food. While the Marcos regime has had some success in introducing irrigation and raising farm output in parts of Cagayan, the majority of farmers and tenants have yet to benefit. Government-sponsored village associations called *Samahang Nayan* require their members to use expensive nitrogen fertilizers and pesticides, and pay dues and fees before they can avail of loans for irrigation, new seed varieties and other cultivation technology. At present only 2,500 of Cagayan's 50,000 farmers are members.

U.S.-funded programs for rice development such as the International Rice Research Institute in Los Banos have been criticized for showing little concern for wealth disparities or even for the dangerous side effects of chemical farming. Pesticides, for example, have destroyed much of the country's domestic fish supply, worsening already dismal nutritional levels which are rated among the lowest in Asia by the World Health Organization.

The NPA-sponsored Ten-Point Program of the National Democratic Front, on the other hand, emphasizes the "simple exchange of labor, mutual aid and cooperatives" with "fair prices arranged between peasants and merchants."

EARLY DEFENSIVE

Still in its self-defined early defensive stage with 3,000 to 4,000 soldiers and 100,000 followers nationwide, the NPA expects to gradually win over peasants, workers and other oppressed groups to form the "national democratic front" against the comprador Marcos regime. With 1979 inflation estimated by informed sources at 35 percent, with increasing government corruption, ur-

ban decay and rural poverty, and with no reliable indication of improvement for 1980, mass unrest among the 45 million Filipinos could erupt sooner than expected.

After 14 years in power Marcos is not ready, however, to surrender. He has put some 800,000 troops in uniform including the regular armed forces, "home defense" units, and high school age "Citizen Army Training" (CAT). The government also makes use of an extensive informer network which has led to the murder of hundreds of rural residents suspected of being NPA. And in an apparent attempt to bolster his family dynasty Marcos and his powerful wife Imelda have set up their 21-year-old son, Bongbong, as vice governor or the president's home province, Ilocos Norte, to back up the provincial governor who is Marcos' sister.

BENEFITTING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Military training, however, is also contributing to the unanticipated benefit of the regime's enemies. In one Cagayan town a CAT trainer cooperates with his NPA students and is preparing a citizen's army unit to become part of the people's army in the hills.

The NPA strategy of distributing their forces among the different island region will continue to frustrate the armed forces, preventing from striking a concentrated blow and providing the people's army with an ingenious and critical advantage out of a would-be geographic disadvantage. In Cagayan province, meanwhile, the NPA presence has allowed fiestas, baptisms, harvests, and other popular celebrations to become freer of political interference and terrorism than the barrio folk have known in many years. With "Nice People Around," rural Filipinos after 400 years of colonialism have just begun to taste the fruits of national liberation. □

Flowering of Resistance Art

Double issue No. 70-71 of the *South-East Asia Chronicle* focuses attention upon a little noted aspect of the Philippine resistance struggle: its art. "The progress of liberation struggles is usually measured in rallies and ambushes. It might as well be measured in poems and paintings. Mass actions and military operations are quantifiable. The ideological transformation that moves people to fight revolutions demands more subtle calibration," says the introduction to "Cultures of Resistance."

In an attempt to measure that subtle ideological shift, the *Chronicle* presents examples of revolutionary art and poetry from the Philippine underground as well as an album of progressive art from the gallery scene which has been strongly influenced by the national democratic movement. Accompanying all is a careful study by art historian Nancy Rocamora which analyzes the development of revolutionary art from pre- to post-martial law eras.

DRAMATIC CHANGE

Through examination of examples ranging from 1970 to 1977, the writer discovers profound changes occurring after the declaration of martial law. Rocamora finds the early period of pre-martial law art, characterized by open display of wall posters, handbills, and even oil paintings, derivative, stereotyped, and clinging closely to Chinese examples. Subjects are predominantly symbolic representations of people's struggles. Characters are superhuman



representatives of the various progressive classes in the country.

In sharp contrast, the art of only a few

years later alters both in terms of subject matter and style. The bulk of the examples, now found chiefly as illustra-

tions to underground publications, portray ordinary people engaged in work, study, play, or resistance. Accompanying this change is a dramatic change in style.

No longer is any one style used predominantly as in the pre-martial law Chinese poster period. Drawings, all creatively executed despite crude materials, range from highly realistic to loosely impressionistic to symbolic as content requires.

MARTIAL LAW—THE CATALYST

The reason for the change, the author suggests, is the declaration of martial law itself and the accompanying illegalization of revolutionary art. Whereas in the early period, revolutionary art had been produced principally by students and others of petit-bourgeois background, few of whom had come into close contact with Philippine workers or peasants, martial law changed all that. Artists who wished to continue with the movement were driven underground where they worked closely with the workers and peasants they had previously idealized in their art. Peasants and workers became real flesh and blood people to the artists, no longer abstract theoretical categories.

At the same time, the declaration of martial law propelled the entire national democratic movement forward, forcing it to grow and mature suddenly. The new maturity of movement art was but a natural result of this development. □

The *South East Asia Chronicle* is available through the South East Asia Resource Center, Box 4000D, Berkeley, CA 94709. \$2.00/copy