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NATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE OF THE
UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FILIPINOS (KDP)

'NATIONAL SECURITY AT STAKE'

See page 8

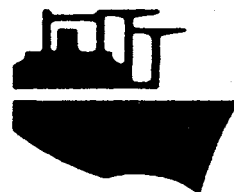
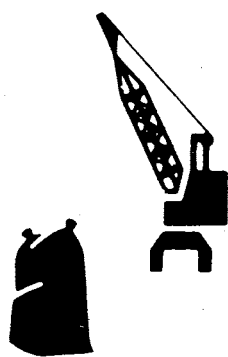
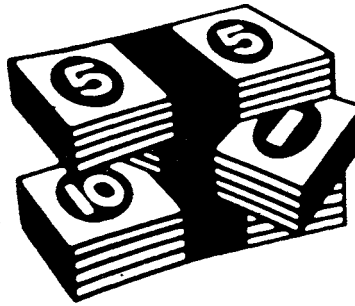
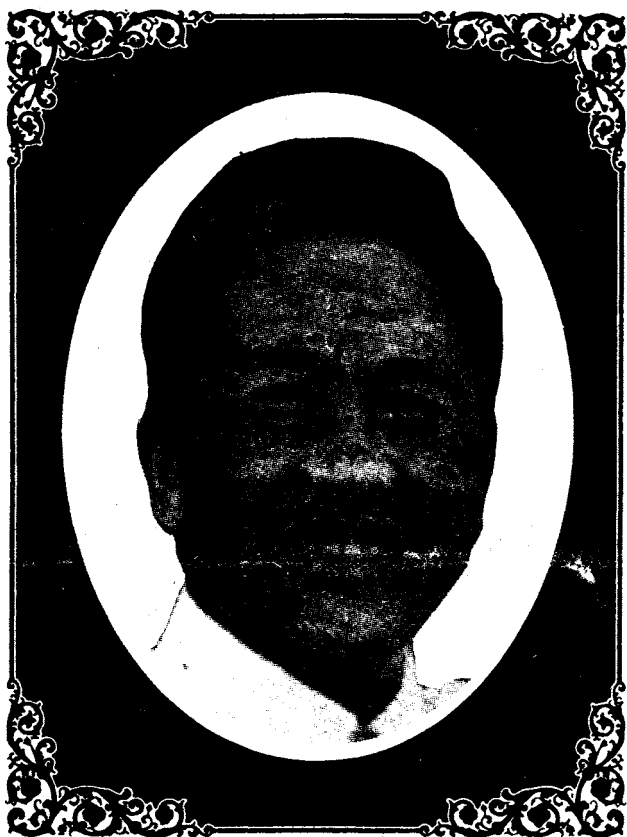
U.S. SEEKS DISMISSAL OF SEATTLE MURDER SUIT



Linked to Baruso
**Key Witness
in Union
Murders
Killed**



See page 8



All the President's Cronies:

'What Are We In Power For?'

By NANCY ROCAMORA

Twenty years ago, Juan Ponce Enrile was a promising corporate law firm employee who was beginning to make a name for himself by representing multinational corporations in the Philippines.

Today, Enrile has realized that promise many times over. Known as the third wealthiest man in the country, he controls the entire coconut industry from financing, to milling, to exports.

Enrile, who is also Philippine Defense Minister, is one of a small group of well-connected or well-placed businessmen which, in less than 20 years, managed to corner some of the juiciest slices of the Philippine economy. Some have appeared on the scene from virtually nowhere. Their success stories are the stuff

that screenplays and soap operas are made of.

In the early 1960s, Roberto Benedicto, a young *hacendero* from Negros, was the man to know in the sugar business. Working for the Sugar Quota Administration, he fronted for the nation's sugar interests.

Today this multi-millionaire does not need to front for anyone. As chief of the Philippine Sugar Commission (Philsucom), he sets the prices. He also controls the mills—if there are still any around that he does not own directly. As head of the Republic Planter's Bank, he determines who gets the crop loans; more frequently than not himself.

Cuenca Construction did modest business back in 1965 competing with other, bigger companies for both government and private contracts.

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Editorials

The Year of Living Dangerously

Filipinos will definitely face more severe repression in 1983. If the tension gripping the Philippine political scene is getting tighter every day, it is because the Reagan-Marcos offensive against "insurgency" is unfolding in all its sophistication.

To the raids and arrests targeting labor, the national democratic left, and even the reformist opposition represented by "We Forum" have been added strong doses of psychological warfare that would do the CIA proud. Hoping to sow treachery within the ranks of the New People's Army, Marcos raised the prices of guerilla leaders' heads. To alienate church activists from the religious mainstream, the regime has prodded conservatives in the Catholic hierarchy, and a few turncoats into a frenzy of red-baiting.

Also, the regime quickly blamed the NPA for the grenade-throwing incidents that killed or wounded a score of innocent civilians in various parts of the country over the holidays. The military has been caught red-handed many times before as the instigators of such incidents, but it obviously believes the technique is still credible.

What ties the increasing arrests and the psy-war into a coherent plan is the "new counter-insurgency strategy" announced recently by armed forces chief Gen. Fabian Ver—the strategy of separating the revolutionary opposition from their mass base. More of the above-mentioned acts should therefore, be expected this year along with a rise in the forcible evacuation of peasant communities to restrictive "strategic hamlets."

It is correct to call this repression rampage the Reagan-Marcos offensive. It is after Marcos' visit to an approving Reagan that the tempo of repression increased;

after the latter made it clear that the U.S. military bases are "irreplaceable" outposts in the defense of the world capitalist system, and after he promised to bankroll the regime's upkeep. Encouraged, Marcos will seek \$500 million more in bases rentals come the negotiations this April.

No doubt, when Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile visits the U.S. this month to start the regular cabinet-level talks arranged with Reagan during the state visit, he will be reporting the progress of their "clean-up" operations to his superiors, and seek the further strengthening of an already well-armed Philippine military. Truly, the shots now blasting Filipino human rights to smithereens are being triggered from the Oval Office.

All indications are that the U.S. Filipino community will also feel the heat of the Reagan-Marcos offensive in 1983. Not only will the regime's actions heighten the potential polarization within the community, the community itself will be the target of repression. The State Department is set to reintroduce in Congress revisions of the U.S. Extradition Law as a prelude to the ratification of the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty. The grand jury probe of oppositionists in San Francisco is still going strong. More ominously, the U.S. government is actively covering up the regime's culpability in the murders of two KDP activists in Seattle—giving Manila a sign that even acts against overseas opponents are permissible.

For the movement in the Philippines and here, 1983 poses the strenuous task of overcoming the joint U.S.-Marcos drive to decisively keep the Filipino people under their thumbs. □

The Road Gets Rocky for Reagan

The recently bared Pentagon plan for a protracted nuclear war with the Soviet Union is a chilling image of the imperial arrogance with which Ronald Reagan

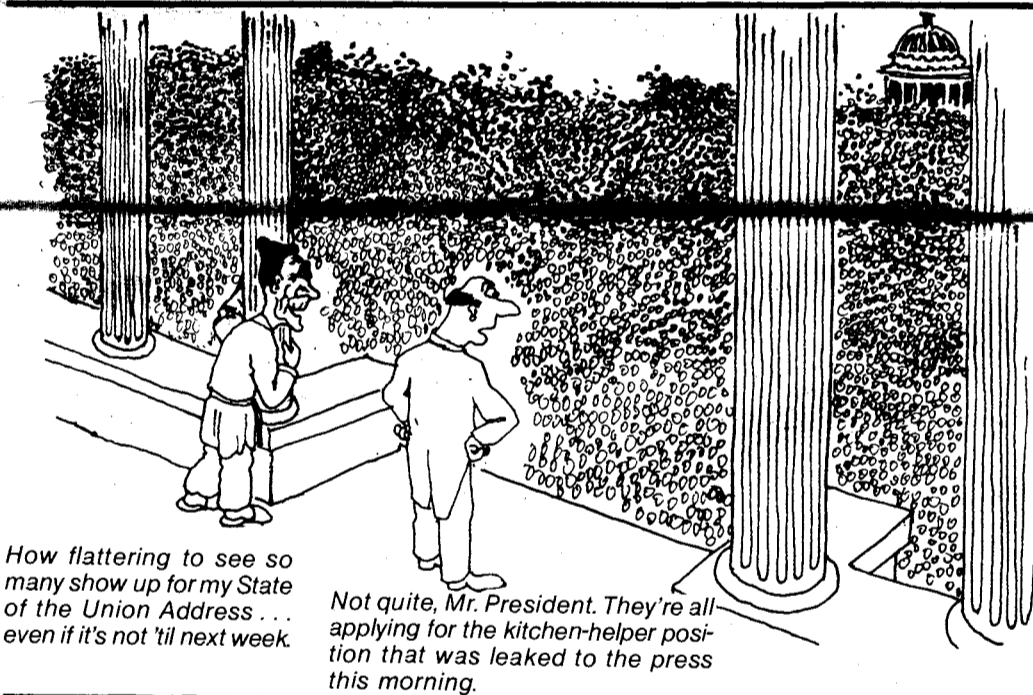
ascended to office two years ago. While calling for "effectively" waging war from outer space, quickly expanding conventional conflicts with Moscow into "global" ones, etc., etc., the plan ignores any possibility of peaceful coexistence with the socialist camp. After all, Reagan means to win—"to prevail," as the plan puts it, against the international forces of socialism and national liberation.

But he might have to temper his arrogance, simply because his plan to bring the world revolutionary process to its knees is not working to his specifications. In fact, dissension is emerging within the U.S. ruling circle due to the problems his crusade is facing.

The U.S. had hoped that by accelerating its nuclear arms build-up, the Soviet Union would be forced to do the same and thereby drive itself to economic ruin. However, a recent CIA report revealed that while Moscow has indeed been forced to raise its military spending, its economy is not slumping—it is even registering marked growth! To make matters worse for the U.S., it is becoming clear that it is, in fact, the U.S. economy that might be driven to ruin by Reagan's military program.

Fear of a projected \$300 billion deficit is now forcing even some avid hawks to call for cuts in the military budget. The establishment media are also beginning to criticize the White House more stridently, wondering whether Reagan knows what he is doing. The fear extends to the question of stemming the tide of national liberation. One Republican senator said the only way to defeat the Salvadoran revolution is to send U.S. troops. But throwing up his arms, he admitted that such a move "would destroy the Republican Party."

So far, Reagan appears intent on his course, seemingly unmindful of criticisms from his rightwing ideological base which is irritated by his "moderation," and of the rising fears of the pragmatic ruling class. It is too early to tell whether all this will be fatal to Reagan's political career. But when he gives his State of the Union address, his up-beat oratory will only mask the fact that he is getting to be in some serious trouble with the same ruling powers that, two years ago, thought he would be an effective executive of the ailing empire. □



How flattering to see so many show up for my State of the Union Address... even if it's not 'til next week.

Not quite, Mr. President. They're all applying for the kitchen-helper position that was leaked to the press this morning.

Letters

On your December 1982-January 1983 issue of *Ang Katipunan*, you made a serious blunder.

The reference of Anselmo Revelo, a small restaurant owner, being a part of the group who submitted a petition chastising the S.F. Board of Supervisors for opposing an official welcome for Marcos to the City is a serious blunder. Anselmo Revelo was neither a part of that group nor is he in favor of the Marcos visit.

As a matter of fact, on the day of the Marcos visit, Anselmo Revelo took off from his small restaurant, brought a carload of his friends, carried placards in protest of the Marcos visit, and marched at Union Square.

I trust that retraction of Mr. Anselmo Revelo's name and involvement on

that part of the article be made with apology on your next issue of your paper.

Anselmo Revelo
San Francisco, CA

Dear Mr. Revelo:

We certainly apologize for this error and we stand corrected. Thank you for clarifying your position and participation in opposing Marcos' visit last September.

In fact, your participation in the Union Square was noted—and we do not underestimate in any way the importance of anyone of the hundreds of people who took the time to show their opposition to Marcos and to repression in the Philippines.

Rene Cruz
Editor

Litter from Manila:

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA



The year 1982 was one of great achievements for the New Republic. The President was not overthrown, the First Lady was not assassinated, and Imee Marcos did not get married. The Reagan administration's accomplishment of reducing inflation in the U.S. meant an improvement in our inflation also. With a modest recovery in the U.S. economy next year, the Philippines looks forward to a better economic picture. I am not saying that our economy is just part of the U.S. economy, or that President Reagan might as well be our president. That's just how these things work. In international affairs, the government pursued successfully its independent foreign policy of friendship with all countries regardless of ideology, just as the U.S. State Department advised. The most significant event of the year was FM's visit to Washington. The visit bolstered the ideological and personal rapport between the two presidents as well as their horseback riding skills. As a developing country the Philippines stands for world peace. The Philippine war against insurgency also gained ground. True, the New People's Army of the CPP has reportedly shifted from defensive to tactical offensive.

But that's just how these things work. The Filipino political opposition in the U.S. suffered a setback when they failed to convince Reagan to dislike Marcos. Instead, their political activities are being curtailed and surveilled by American legal authorities to protect democracy. If 1982 was great for the President, 1983 will even be better regardless of what happens.

The government unveiled an impressive counter-insurgency strategy that focuses on getting the hearts and minds of the people as the way to separate the guerillas from their mass base; to separate the fish from the ocean, as guerillas themselves would put it. I asked Gen. Ver to explain this further. As the one who will guide the strategy's implementation, he has certainly done his homework. "This is a type B3L Adversary Control Model the American forces used in Vietnam, which is simply a full-force detract to a cost-efficient trajectory combining coercion-neutral populace interdiction with reductive projectile usage, page 213 U.S. Army Special Forces Advanced Manual." And how is this a hearts-and-minds strategy? "Simple. You always aim for the heart, and/or blow their brains out. Cost efficient." Will this separate the fish from the ocean? "That, Doroy, is where the Navy comes in." I know that sometimes our soldiers make dumb and stupid mistakes but that is why, according to Ver, we also have intelligence services.

Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo, the grand old man of Philippine diplomacy tried to tender his resignation but FM tenderly refused it, asking him to stay on until the Ministry is completely reorganized next year.

The new chief of the delegation to the UN, Ambassador Luis Moreno Salcedo has nothing but praise for CPR. "Gen. Romulo's keen insight in the workings of the UN has served well in inspiring the staff." I asked the General himself what advice he would leave his successors so they will always be stimulated. "Device? Hoy, sin verguenza, I may be very old but I don't need artificial devices to get stimulated." He obviously misheard me so I asked him again. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS THE KEY TO YOUR SUCCESS AT THE UN?! "Oh that. Ay, just be nice to everyone and always vote with the U.S. delegation. That's what you do for the good of the country. For the good of your career, always be nice to the First Lady." What if the U.S. delegation is absent? "Ah, just vote with Fiji, they always know how the U.S. votes." After next year, we will miss this great diplomatic tactician who for many years has kept our foreign policy from becoming senile.

I was there when fire broke out at the Presidential Palace over the holidays, and it was very sobering. In fact, two things struck me about the whole thing: that the First Family needs better protection, and an antique vase that fell from a fireman's pocket hitting me on the head. When I came to, the guards had arrested the looting fireman but I was in great pain. They took me to the general hospital and I realized that despite the complaints about overcrowding, lack of funds, and overworked doctors and nurses, we still have the best hospital janitors in Southeast Asia. They kept sweeping and mopping even though the corridors and stairwells were spilling with patients that could not be given rooms. As a result everything—even the windows—was clean. Things like these help put our problems in proper perspective. □



NPA cadre with supporters in Mountain Province; new strategy plans to deprive guerillas of their mass base. Inset: Gen Fabian Ver. (D. Alegado/Asiaweek)

Repression Update

Marcos Strikes Again

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Recent reports from the Philippines confirm what many here have long suspected: last September's crackdown has become a permanent state of affairs.

In a hysterical speech last August 8, Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared a virtual state of emergency. A month later, he launched his multi-faceted attack against a wide array of opposition forces, striking simultaneously at the trade union movement, the progressive wing of the Philippine clergy and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Latest to feel the heat has been the media. Marcos signalled the attack on this sector with the closure of the opposition newspaper *We Forum*. On December 7 last year, military authorities armed with a Presidential Commitment order descended upon the tri-weekly paper's office, arresting Editor-Publisher Jose Burgos along with nine other staffers and columnists. The offices and printing presses were sealed off.

Those arrested included a number of prominent opposition figures, among them Joaquin "Chino" Roces, former Editor of the *Manila Times*, ex-Senator Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo and former University of the Philippines Dean Armando Malay.

MARCOS PIQUED

Burgos and company were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government through the use of the paper "in a systematic campaign to foment violence and loss of respect for the President." As the *Bulletin Today* put it, *We Forum* "launched a campaign to ridicule and insult the president to such an extent that he would be assassinated and the assassins would then be hailed as heroes."

Three days after the arrests, Burgos was slapped with libel suits seeking a total of P40 million. Filed by Marcos' former comrades-in-arms, they accused Burgos of "false, malicious and vicious attacks on the bravery and gallantry of Philippine soldiers in World War II."

The tripwire provoking the attack on *We Forum* was a series of articles written by U.S.-based oppositionist Bonifacio Gillego questioning whether Marcos, the most decorated soldier during World War II, had won his medals legitimately.

But while Marcos made no attempt to mask his personal pique at Burgos, the attack on *We* was but part of a broader assault on the media as an institution. The Philippine President made that point crystal clear on December 22, when he issued a stern warning to the press during a speech marking the 47th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP).

'SCURRILOUS LIBEL'

Singling out the *Bulletin Today* published by his good chum and former personal aide Hans Menzi, Marcos assailed the media for "the casual manner with which libel is being committed these days." His particular gripe with the *Bulletin* concerned a letter to the Editor which

alleged that prisoners in Bicutan Detention Center are subject to psychological and physical torture.

"I would like to deny this now openly and I would like the *Bulletin Today* to print this particular denial. Otherwise I will be forced to take action," Marcos warned. "Probably the lawyer of the *Bulletin Today* thinks that the publication of a letter by a third party does not involve them in scurrilous libel," he added. "They better get a better lawyer."

In case the dire warnings were not enough, the entire media establishment was finding itself under the gun.

- Shortly after the *We* closing, Manila TV newscaster Nenez Olivares was forced to resign and called before a special military panel because, she insists, a government official claimed she read the news with a smirk.

- Six reporters and three executives of the *Bulletin Today* were called for an interrogation over two critical articles.

- Porfirio Doctor, Editor-Publisher of the Mindanao-based opposition paper, the *Nationalist Guardian*, was shot dead in broad daylight a block away from the Zamboanga City Police Department.

TURNCOAT PRIEST—GODSEND FOR MARCOS

Meanwhile, pressure on the progressive clergy continued with the regime making full use of all resources at its disposal.

Marcos' latest weapon in his battle against opposition church forces was turncoat priest Eduardo Kangleon. Kangleon's arrest last October in connection with a military raid on the Paul VI Social Action Center in Catbalogan, Samar (see *AK*, Vol. VIII, No. 11), provoked a storm of

protest among Samar priests and laity alike. One priest and two laypersons were arrested in the same sweep and Bishop Norberto Hacbang, chief of the Calbayog diocese, was placed under house arrest. All were charged with subversion.

Two months later, Kangleon decided to join forces with the government in its battle against the National Democratic Front (NDF). In classic turncoat fashion, he obligingly furnished the military with a list of priests, nuns and laymen linked in one way or another with the national democratic movement and the CPP.

Kangleon's assistant from the Catbalogan Social Action Center, student Antonio Assisio, took this cooperative stance one step further by furnishing the military with a list of NDF sympathizers within the student sector.

ENRILE TRIUMPHANT

The Philippine government ordinarily keeps a turncoat a deep, dark secret, using his contacts to track down bigger prey or to prepare for sweeping arrests. But, useful though his list of names might be, Kangleon's principal value to the regime was as a propaganda weapon.

Appealing to the fundamental anti-Communism of the Church, the regime thus chose to have the priest go public with his conversion. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile released a nine-page sworn statement by Kangleon concerning his involvement with the NDF in Samar and CPP operations within the Church sector. "This," exclaimed a triumphant Enrile, "should debunk any claims that the government is involved in a Communist witchhunt!"

Kangleon was quick to deny any torture

or mistreatment at government hands and attributed all talk of Church persecution to propaganda put out by the underground movement. He added his regrets over having joined the opposition.

Riding on the momentum of Kangleon's revelations, the regime quickly maneuvered to improve its position with the conservative Church hierarchy. A joint panel of Church leaders, Defense Ministry officials and military officers was quickly formed to interrogate the priests, nuns and laypersons on Kangleon's list.

WINNING THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE

While Enrile and the military were using the utmost ingenuity in striking at the most visible sectors of the opposition movement, other regime officials signalled their intentions to strike at its very heart: the New People's Army (NPA) and its supporters in the countryside.

Sending out the news on Christmas Day, Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver announced a new counterinsurgency program to be implemented for 1983.

Using language that might have been lifted directly from U.S. directives during the Vietnam War, Ver told the press that Project *Katatagan* (Resolute) aimed to "win the hearts and minds of the people."

The four-pronged program, he explained, is to include development of the AFP into a "people-oriented" counterinsurgency force; depriving the NPA of its base; involving local populations in anti-dissident drives; and using civic action programs to "prevent insurgency from taking root."

For veterans of the Vietnam era, the emphasis on "civic action" sent chills down the spine. During those days, U.S. military planners used the term as a euphemism for bloody and repressive drives against the peasant base of the Viet Cong.

The talk of base deprivation suggested that strategic hamletting, currently limited to areas where the NPA is particularly strong, was to become a national policy.

SQUELCHING THE RESISTANCE ONCE AND FOR ALL

The parallel with the Vietnam War was apparently evident to the Philippine military as well. Less than three weeks before Ver's announcement, Vice Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos accused the NPA of adopting a "Ho Chi Minh strategy."

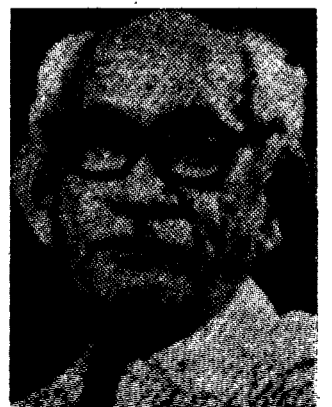
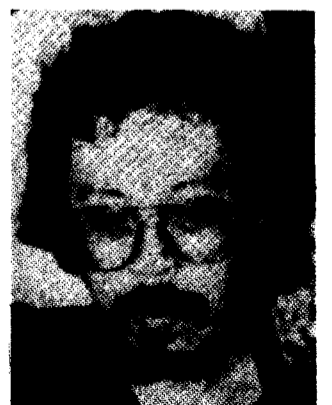
In any case, Project *Katatagan* seemed clearly aimed at stepping up repressive activities in the countryside in an effort to squelch the resistance once and for all.

Observers in the Philippines expect the repressive drive to continue, spilling over into other sectors not yet touched by the crackdown. Ferdinand Marcos gives every indication of having decided to deal decisively with the opposition before it gets out of hand. He thus hopes to demonstrate to Washington his continuing usefulness in keeping the Philippines in the imperialist camp.

With the new climate under Ronald Reagan, Marcos is no longer under pressure to clean up his image. This makes things far simpler. Like the bully that he is, he thus feels free to move openly and at his own pace in his effort to bludgeon his people into acceptance of his rule. □



Priests and nuns protest WE Forum closure; Editor-Publisher Burgos and columnist Chino Roces.



(Asiaweek)

Buod ng mga Balita

SAUDIS BAN FILIPINO WORKERS

The government of Saudi Arabia shook up Philippine economic planners and overseas recruitment agencies recently by imposing an unofficial ban on recruitment of Filipino workers. The move came as a response to alleged misdemeanors by Filipino workers in Saudi Arabia.

Just last month, Saudi courts amputated the right hand of another Filipino worker found guilty of stealing. Roland Daptan was not the first Filipino to experience the Saudis' primitive code of justice which metes out beheadings for major crimes and public stonings for adultery. Members of the Philippine consulate, horrified at the punishments, have been moved to offer asylum to errant Filipinos in the past. This has particularly provoked the Saudis, who read it as a diplomatic affront.

The immediate effect of the unofficial ban has been a reduction in the issuance of visas for Filipino contract workers by as much as 70%. This is a blow to the government's plans and already worsening economy since remittances from workers abroad constitutes the country's fifth largest source of foreign exchange. The overseas employment program further serves as a safety valve for the country's severe unemployment problems.

Saudi Arabia, the Philippines' major labor-export market, provides a full 87% of all overseas jobs. Workers here generate roughly half a billion dollars annually in foreign exchange remittances.

Philippine Labor Minister Blas Ople quickly proposed a meeting with Saudi officials in an effort to persuade them to lift the measure. A permanent ban could have disastrous effects on the already shaky Philippine economy.

The Saudis, however, were in no hurry. The Philippines is one of many Third World countries with an excess of skilled labor and a shortage of foreign exchange. While the Saudis take their time and examine the options, Filipino officials seem to have forgotten all about their concern over Saudi justice. □

CRITIC SUES MARCOS REGIME

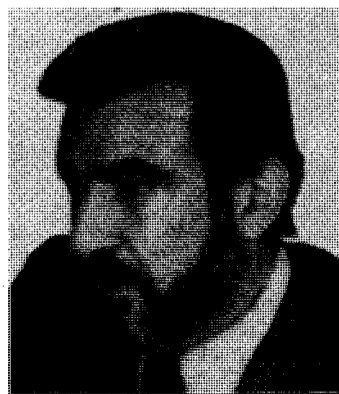
Steve Psinakis, a Marcos critic based in the U.S., has accused the Marcos government of conspiring to portray him as a terrorist.

Psinakis' charges refer to a television program produced in the U.S. and widely aired throughout the Philippines. The program, shown in Los Angeles as well, reported the 1981 raid on Psinakis' home by the FBI. Allegedly included in the program was an interview with San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein commenting on terrorism.

In order to evaluate the show, the San Francisco-based Psinakis sought Feinstein's help in recovering the videotape. The original film was reportedly sent to Manila by the producers, addressed to Minister of Information Gregorio Cendaña. Cendaña allegedly released it for broadcast.

Feinstein's office, however, has denied any involvement with the film and the San Francisco mayor has washed her hands of the matter.

Meanwhile, Psinakis and his lawyers are preparing to file suit against pro-Marcos newspapers based in the U.S. and certain official publications of the regime.



Psinakis

Phil. News

The U.S.-based critic has taken issue with news reports portraying him as a criminal who threatened to kill Victor Burns Lovely, a Grand Jury witness, if Lovely were to name his associates in a reported bombing mission to Manila.

Psinakis accused the propaganda arm of the Marcos government of deliberately and maliciously misquoting him. A *San Francisco Examiner* reporter printed

Psinakis' words about Lovely as, "I hope he will not disclose such names because he will be signing their death warrants." The *Filipino Reporter*, a Marcos paper printed the statement to say, "... he will be signing his death warrant."

Psinakis is one of several Marcos critics in the U.S. targeted by the Marcos regime for extradition. U.S.-based opposition groups point out that the proposed extradition treaty between the U.S. and the Philippines, although still pending, is being used as a tool by the Marcos regime and his supporters in the U.S. government to intimidate its political oppositionists into silence. □

FIRE IN THE PALACE

The Marcos regime, for all its concern over presidential security discovered a dent in its armor last December 28. Malacañang Palace has no fire alarm system.

At the height of the Christmas season, a blazing late afternoon fire forced Philippine President Ferdinand



E. Marcos to escape onto the lawns in his bathrobe and slippers. The fire was attributed to an overheated Christmas tree light. In the absence of an alarm system, members of the presidential security force fired their armalites into the air to warn persons inside of the fire.

According to reports from Manila, damage was extensive, particularly to the Heroes Hall, a set of ceremonial rooms used for state dinners and receptions. There were no initial reports of damage to any of the valuable art known to decorate the area. But two palace personnel were reportedly injured. One fell off a ladder while the other, a palace technician, collapsed from smoke inhalation.

The Presidential Security Force, the largest military detachment stationed in the Metro-Manila area and under the direct command of Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver, moved quickly to regain its bearings once the fire had been quenched.

All firemen were frisked and fire trucks searched for stolen treasures before they were allowed to leave the palace grounds.

Information Minister Gregorio Cendaña, when queried about the gunshot alarm system, insisted that it was simply a "normal procedure." □

BOMBINGS ROCK MANILA, LEYTE

A series of bombings in Manila and the provinces has spread fear throughout the Philippines and provided President Ferdinand Marcos with yet another excuse to intensify his repressive measures against opposition forces. (See related story, page 5.)

A fragmentation-type grenade was hurled at a crowd during the New Year's celebration program at Luneta Park in downtown Manila last January 1, leaving 42

people wounded. In Baybay, Leyte, 11 were killed and 56 others wounded when a grenade exploded in the orchestra section of the Holiday Theatre.

Eastern Command (EASCOM) investigators blamed a three-man NPA liquidation squad for the Leyte explosion. Ferdinand Marcos also quickly attributed the bombings to "subversive elements." Calling upon them to "stop their cowardly and stupid activities, of which no human being can be proud of (*sic*)," he ordered the military to intensify its repressive campaign against opposition forces.

This is not the first time the Philippine president has used public bombings as an excuse for a crackdown. The most notorious occurred in 1971, before the declaration of martial law. At that time Marcos used the Plaza Miranda bombing as an excuse to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. It was widely believed at the time that Marcos himself had engineered the blasts and no suspects were ever caught.

Shortly before the declaration of martial law, Marcos blamed an explosion in a men's room toilet at the Constitutional Convention site on subversives and threatened drastic action. The "last straw" before the declaration itself was the suspicious bombing of Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile's car.

Witnesses at the Convention thought they saw a uniformed man hurrying away from the site of the bombing. To no one's great surprise, in neither case was a suspect found. □

MARCOS HITS THE TOP 10

Ferdinand Marcos has finally made a list of 10 outstanding world leaders. But he is unlikely to be pleased by the honor.

Parade Magazine, the popular weekly supplement to many of the country's Sunday newspapers, recently named him one of the world's 10 worst leaders. In a survey conducted by muckraking columnist Jack Anderson, Marcos finished eighth, just behind the Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Strossner and Chile's military strongman Augusto Pinochet. Heading the list was Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Anderson based his selection on a survey of U.S. foreign affairs specialists from the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency and Congress. After screening 300, he and his research team selected 51 for in-depth interviews. These were asked to rate the worst five leaders and give their reasons. A point system allowed them to select the 10 high scorers.

The winners, Khomeini, Libya's Muammar Qaddafi, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, "Baby Doc" or Jean-Claude Duvalier of Haiti, Menachem Begin of Israel, Strossner, Pinochet, Marcos, the late Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union, and the Argentine junta.

The group represented a political melange ranging from Brezhnev, leader of a socialist country, through Khomeini and Qaddafi, strong anti-American nationalists to some of the world's most brutal dictators.

Anderson himself did not quite agree with all of the choices. He qualified the description of Begin and



blamed his unpopularity on anti-Semitism.

But he and his respondents had no kind words for Marcos. Quoting Amnesty International, Anderson called his human rights record "a horror story." Marcos, he added, "... has resorted to self-glorification and brutal repression to consolidate his dictatorship. He has a flair for nepotism and a First Lady with overwhelming vanity and ambition."

Given the number of infamous rulers who didn't even make the list, Marcos' selection adds up to quite a distinction. Left off altogether were South Africa's Botha, Rios-Montt of Guatemala, Indonesia's Suharto, and Roberto d'Aubisson of El Salvador.

Ronald Reagan is likely to have been displeased at seeing his close allies selected for Anderson's honors—and by his own functionaries at that. But then perhaps the foreign affairs specialists were trying to tell him something. In a postscript to the list, Anderson reveals that Ronnie himself came in Number 12. □

Enrile to Visit Washington, DC

Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile will visit the U.S. early this month for talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. The visit represents the first of the bi-yearly ministerial-level meetings for both Defense and Finance agreed upon during Marcos' U.S. visit last September.

Topping the agenda will be the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement scheduled for renegotiation later this year. The Marcos regime hopes for significantly increased U.S. military aid in exchange for the use of the bases.

The U.S. currently provides the Philippines with \$500 million in military aid and military sales credits spread out over a five-year period. Some sources in Manila speculate that the "security assistance package" Marcos is angling for might run as high as \$1.5 billion. One U.S. paper put the figure at \$2 billion.

ACCENT ON COUNTERINSURGENCY

The two defense chiefs will also take up modernizing and upgrading the Philippine military. The matter is vitally important to both parties given their recent assessment that the New People's Army (NPA) represents a strategic threat to the stability of the region.

Current Philippine policies aimed at strangling the opposition and depriving the NPA of its mass base reflect this evaluation. (See related story, page 3.)

Interviewed recently on the modernization plan, Philippine Armed Forces Chief

of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver revealed that the U.S. has so far provided the Philippine military with 25 F-8H Crusader planes and 15 Huey helicopter gunships. Both the Crusaders and the Hueys—designed specifically for use in counterinsurgency—are part of the current bases agreement aid package.

MODERNIZING THE NAVY

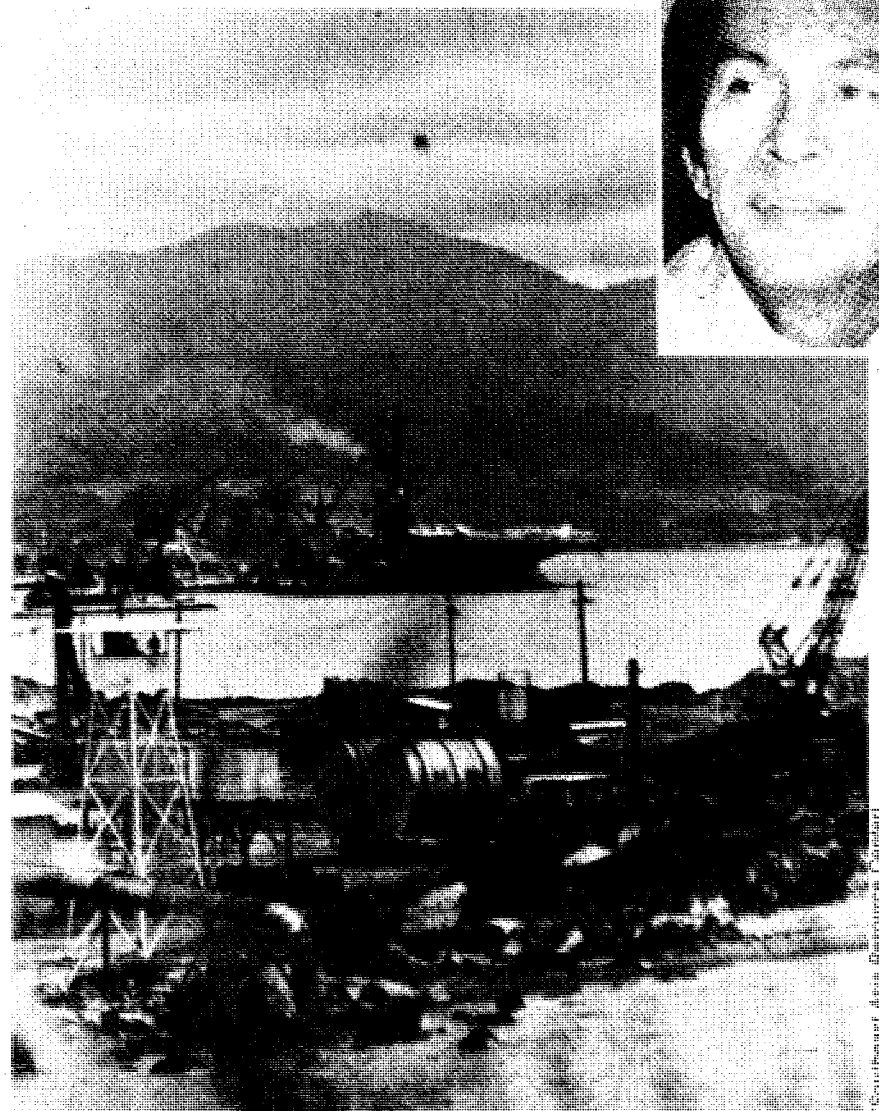
Military sources also announced that the Philippines will be receiving new patrol boats, planes and guns in an effort to modernize the Philippine Navy. Government sources claimed that these are needed in connection with the recently signed Law of the Sea Pact.

But Ver, in a talk with reporters, emphasized the use of small patrol boats for duty in coastal waters. These are vital for containing the activities of a guerilla army in this archipelagic country.

Although Marcos has claimed that the coming talks "[will] not involve the question of armaments," Enrile will be bringing with him a list of weapons crucial to the modernization process as well.

BASES IN THE NEWS

True to form, controversies concerning the bases have begun to hit the headlines. One report claims that a brewing labor union dispute embracing both Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base threatens base operations. A second report exposes complaints of harassment by Filipino storekeepers at Clark. The merchants claim that U.S. Air Force officials have accused



Enrile

The USS Coral Sea at Subic; Marcos hops for increased rent.

them of links with subversive elements and the NPA.

Gripes against the U.S. military become news items each time the Philippines resumes negotiations over the bases. They are part of a publicity campaign to polish up Marcos' nationalist credentials.

Enrile's visit to the U.S. signifies the beginning of that process once again. Members of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Philippine Solidarity Network have promised that his arrival in Washington will not go unnoticed. □

Troop Discipline A Problem

Military Launches Clean-Up Campaign

Reports from the top echelons of the Philippine military reveal that the Marcos regime is finally concerned about the magnitude of the discipline problem within its ranks.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile last November 20 banned all military and police personnel from public drinking places except those on official missions. Violators will face administrative and other penalties.

Only five days later, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver ordered a

thorough study on the deterioration of military discipline. He activated a "rehabilitation battalion," a unit for retraining and reorienting abusive military and police personnel. At the same time, he established a center where personnel undergoing rehabilitation are to be housed.

Unit commanders who fail to discipline subordinates will be relieved of their commissions, while the undesirable soldiers will be dismissed from the service.

The phenomenon of military personnel

engaged in abusive or criminal activities is hardly new. Complaints against the Philippine armed forces and police have poured into headquarters around the country. But officials have consistently denied their validity.

Soldiers and policemen have been charged with theft, extortion, rape, murder and even wholesale massacre of civilians. The new measures suggest that the problem has reached such proportions that it can no longer be denied.

And the reports continue to flow in. The Moro National Liberation Front recently revealed that the notorious Constabulary Anti-Narcotics Unit (CANU) is engaged in pushing heroin and marijuana to the youth of Zamboanga and Sulu.

The sophisticated operation allegedly includes marijuana farming by army troops in Jolo's interior. Residents have been sternly warned not to destroy the crops.

MURDER AND EXTORTION

Elsewhere in the south, Cagayan de Oro City Mayor Aquilino Pimentel, Jr. recently released a statement denouncing two separate incidents involving a patrolman and a military policeman. In the first case, the patrolman shot and killed a 17-year-old boy because he was "in a bad mood." In the second, the drunken MP shot a cab driver.

Reports from Manila suggest that military and police offenses are on the increase there as well. The more noteworthy include the killing of two Makati policemen by a Constabulary Criminal Service agent; a Manila policeman involved in a discotheque brawl; three policemen arrested for a robbery-extortion attempt against a Thai student; and a reportedly drunk policewoman assaulting two men waiting for a jeepney.

'DISCIPLINED TERRORISTS'

The military has been Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos' principal means for maintaining his rule since he declared martial law in 1972. He has thus been extremely generous to military men, sponsoring pay raises and turning a deaf ear to complaints of abuses. Any kind of rehabilitation is thus likely to be difficult.

Some insist that any genuine rehabilitation of the Philippine military is virtually impossible. Says Geline Avila of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship, "The concept of well-behaved, disciplined Philippine troops is a contradiction in and of itself. Marcos needs brute force to survive."

Avila contends that the new government measures are likely to accomplish little. Even with careful training, "at best, Marcos can create a band of disciplined terrorists to enforce his abusive rule." □



Manila's Metrocom on patrol; project hopes to upgrade unsavory image of Philippine military and police.

(AK Photo File)

Cronies...

(Continued from front page)

Today it is assumed that any government infrastructure project will be built by Construction Development Corporation of the Philippines (CDCP). Its owner, Rodolfo Cuenca, has expanded his operations well beyond Philippine shores and handles contracts in Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. He has diversified into cattle ranching, tourist hotels, shipping, mining, and heavy machinery.

Politicians in Davao once referred to Ford merchant and banana planter Antonio Floirendo as a survivor, someone who managed to stay on the right side of every president from Garcia on. Today, they know him as one of the biggest and wealthiest businessmen in the country. He has expanded into pork products, pineapples, sugar, and shipping.

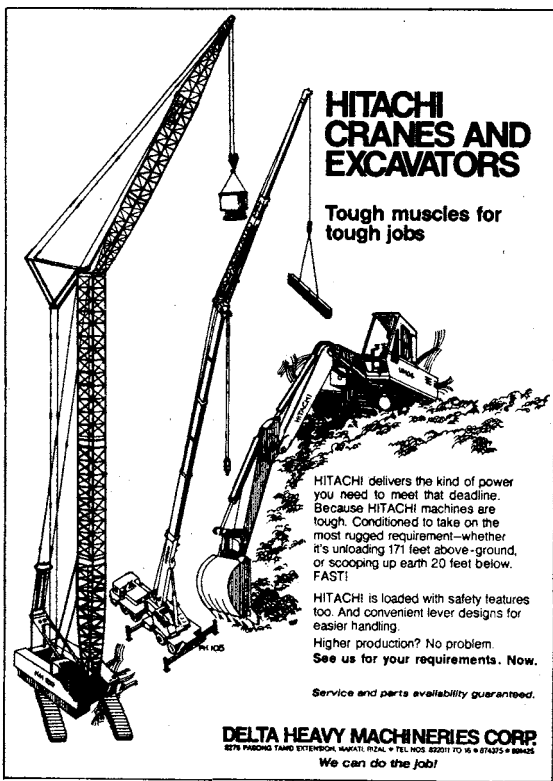
Hardworking CPA Herminio Disini used to keep track of other people's wealth. Disini suddenly rose from nowhere to become owner of 34 major Philippine corporations. His phenomenal success has provided much grist for the gossip mills. Not long ago, this overnight wonder was rumored to have left the Philippines for Switzerland with a nest egg of \$100 million.

Before his collapse, Disini's interests included cigarette filters, paper products, textiles, electrical appliances and machinery, petrochemicals, computer software, oil exploration, financing, insurance, and banking. He was at the center of the Philippine government's notorious purchase from Westinghouse of a \$1.1 billion nuclear reactor—"one reactor for the price of two," as it was dubbed. This deal alone allegedly earned Disini up to \$35 million in kickbacks.

Last but not least within this crowd of golden boys comes Ricardo Silverio, patriarch of the Delta Motors empire. Silverio took over his late brother's successful textile business in Manila's Divisoria in the 1950s. Silverio made his millions supplying Japanese vehicles to the Philippine army. From there, he moved into banking, logging, mining, insurance underwriting, ceramics, and the airline business. Today, he sits atop a P5 billion fortune which is allegedly on the rocks. Rumors say he may go the way of Disini. It may have been short, but it was certainly sweet.

Diverse as their origins are, this exclusive club of millionaires have one important thing in common: a personal friendship with Ferdinand Marcos. They are known as The Cronies.

- Disini is married to the First Lady's cousin, the former governess of the Marcos children.
- Enrile served as Marcos' personal attorney.
- Silverio contributed \$500,000 to Marcos' first presidential campaign.
- Benedicto attended law school at the University of the Philippines with the President and was a fraternity brother in the Upsilon Sigma Phi.
- Cuenca served as a Marcos campaign fundraiser.



Silverio's Delta; exempt from local components law.

- Floirendo, friend to all presidents, is said to pick up the tab for the First Lady every time she travels to New York.

It is common knowledge in the Philippines that the cronies, millionaires in their own right, serve as fronts for the President's own financial interests. Their staggering success has hinged, not upon business smarts or luck, but upon direct access to political power. The examples are legendary.

In 1975 Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 750, imposing a 100% duty on the imported raw materials used by Disini's only competitor in the cigarette filter market, the U.S.- and British-owned Filtrona Corp.

Disini's Philippine Tobacco Filters Corp., however, continued to pay a mere 10%. Shortly thereafter, Filtrona collapsed, leaving Disini with 75% of the market.

Beginning in 1966, one year after Marcos' election, Cuenca Construction landed government contracts—in quick succession: the Northern and Southern Luzon Expressways, the San Juanico Bridge, the Pantabagan Dam, and the huge Manila-Cavite Coastal Road and Reclamation Project. Cuenca continues to collect tolls on the government highways and keeps a full one-half of the 2,700 reclaimed hectares.

Shortly after the declaration of martial law, Marcos issued a decree requiring all cars assembled in the Philippines to contain a quota of locally-manufactured parts. All local automobile assemblers (who were, of course, irritated) were required to set up plants to manufacture carburetors, mufflers, radiators, etc. All, except Ricardo Silverio's Delta, which was exempted by law.

In the early 70s, leases on government property allowed Antonio Floirendo to expand his Tagum Development Corp. many times over. Most useful to his banana business was the 5,000 hectares occupied by the Davao Penal Colony. This valuable piece of property brought with it the cheapest of labor. Instead of paying the minimum wage to his prisoner workforce, this Presidential friend pays only a token fee to the Bureau of Prisons for their bare upkeep.

Boldest of all were Marcos' gestures toward Benedicto and Enrile. In 1977, Marcos empowered Philsucom, a private corporation, to "assume control over any sugar mill or refinery which fails to meet its financial obligations for two years or has become inefficient in its operation." This presidential decree gave the final boost to Benedicto's drive for personal control of the entire sugar industry.

A mere two years later, another decree ordered all coconut mills to sell out or affiliate with UNICOM, a milling combine headed by Enrile and Roberto Cojuangco. Meanwhile, funds from a government-imposed levy on copra had been piling up in the Enrile/Cojuangco-owned United Coconut Planters' Bank. Few of these millions have been accounted for.

The economic power of the Marcos cronies spills over into the political sphere.

Enrile, a Marcos appointee to public office in 1965, is the only one to hold a formal government post. But monopolization of power under martial rule has allowed the President to appoint his investment partners as his key regional representatives. Serving as Regional Managers of the country's only recognized political party, Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*, the cronies are charged with overseeing and funding the party's local activities. "Marcos' bagmen," as they are known, have therefore built their own political strongholds in the provinces.

The crony system represents the newest, and most complex feature of the already long-established institution of Philippine bureaucrat-capitalism.

Favoritism, kickbacks and the general use of public office as a source of economic self-aggrandizement have been standard practices ever since the first Philippine president took office. Any president—any elected official for that matter—was expected to leave office richer than he was when sworn in. "What are we in power for?" asked the Quirino administration's Senate President Jose Avelino, in one of the more honest commentaries on the institution.

Winning an election meant a leg up into the higher echelons of the country's business elite. It was the ticket to new opportunities for wealth and power that might remain long after one's term had ended. The scramble for public office every four years during bureaucrat-capitalism's more primitive years was therefore, particularly intense.

That was before Ferdinand Marcos entered the scene and raised bureaucrat-capitalism to a high art. Having ascended through the conventionally dirty electoral process, Marcos calculatedly began centralizing political power within the office of the presidency, a process completed by the institution of martial rule.

For Marcos, the petty graft and corruption of his predecessors was simply not enough. Unlike earlier presidents he was not contented with dominating a single industry or sector. He instead set out to control the country's economy, or whatever was not already in the hands of foreign interests. To do so, the financial resources of the entire government would have to be placed at his personal disposal.

Rules of etiquette, however, demanded that the president be more subtle and not tackily reach into government coffers and place the cash directly into his own pocket—all of the time. Also, relying on the Marcos and Romualdez families as his sole agents would be too obvious.

Marcos needed a reliable band of business go-getters, tough, ruthless and willing to act as presidential fronts. Cuenca's and Silverio's business sense, Benedicto's sugar industry ties, Enrile's multinational connections, Disini's raw ambition, and Floirendo's survival instincts were all extremely useful. With them, Marcos would forge a new economic elite. Through them, he would become "the richest man in Asia."

But their collective search for easy mega-bucks would not have been possible within the dried-up shell of the pre-martial law economy. Hence, Marcos eagerly championed international capital's development prescription for the post-martial law period. His strategy for self-enrichment fit neatly into

it. "Export-led growth," as it is termed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, meant accelerated production of raw or minimally processed materials for export. While it meant industrialization, it was industrialization for export, and not self-sufficiency. It meant making the most of the relatively easy financing available during the 60s. Indeed, low-interest loans flowed freely from international financing institutions searching for investment opportunities abroad. It meant allowing international capital to avail of low Philippine wages in labor-intensive assembly and light manufacturing export industries. This presented lucrative opportunities for would-be junior partners or agents among the already rich.

Finally, streamlining and centralizing of traditional raw materials exports and financing, as dictated by the

'... Ferdinand Marcos entered the scene and raised bureaucrat capitalism to a high art.'

World Bank strategy, meant that those who were close to the center of political power were well-positioned to knock out medium and lower level competitors not so politically favored. Like laser-guided missiles, presidential decrees favoring the cronies did this job with amazing accuracy.

However, while the cronies lived high on the hog with the new economic strategy, it was a strategy doomed to failure. Even before the World Bank-IMF finished articulating its strategy, the cold winds of protectionism began blowing through the advanced capitalist countries, freezing out imports.

To make matters worse, the sugar glut of 1974 sent world prices tumbling, and the market never fully recovered. The 1979 U.S. grain embargo on the Soviet Union meant that coconut oil suddenly had to compete with a surplus of other, cheaper grain oils and prices plummeted.

Recession intensified the problems. Interest rates began to soar, shaking businesses built purely on loan money to their very foundations.

The cronies found themselves relying more and more on short-term, high-interest loans, forcing the country's foreign debt up an ever-increasing rate. Many of their businesses were driven to the brink of collapse. Some, like Silverio's Philippine Underwriters Finance Co., crumbled beyond hope.

But Ferdinand Marcos had not ascended to the presidency for nothing. Political power built his fortune. Political power would save it from disaster.

Thus, when the cronies started floundering, who should come to their rescue but the Philippine government itself. The bailout scheme was eloquent in its simplicity: government institutions would simply take on the private debts. Tax monies, development loans, retirement funds—all were to be placed at the disposal of Marcos' distressed investment partners.

The Philippine government did far more than merely reschedule existing debts. The National Development Corporation converted Disini's liabilities to shares, bought four of Cuenca's companies and lent P1 billion to Silverio's Delta. The Central Bank pumped massive infusions into Cuenca's CDCP. Development Bank of the Philippines offered Disini P280 million to add to the assets of three shaky financial companies forming a single bank.

"If we don't save them, the country will be in worse shape," remarked a defensive former Minister of Economic Planning Gerardo Sicat. The growth or collapse of Marcos' and his cronies' personal fortunes had become synonymous with the growth or collapse of the country's economy.

For some, the bailouts came too late. Disini willingly handed over his business lemons to the Philippine government and left with his millions to start afresh. Rumor has it that Silverio's departure is just a matter of time; that the First Lady's brother, Kokoy Romualdez, is hovering over the corpse of his financial fiefdom and is eager to snap up Delta.

But no need to shed tears for Disini, Silverio, et al. While some of the cronies may be entering their twilight years, Marcos and his friends are hardly hurting. They have stashed away a few hundred millions for a rainy day, and with regard their recent woes, the Philippine government is picking up the tab. Once more, it is Juan de la Cruz who has been robbed, and for whom real tears must be shed. □

Shades of the Klan: Cross Burnings Terrify Filipino Family

Special to the AK

The David family proudly moved into the first home they had ever purchased Saturday morning, December 11, "expecting to begin a quiet suburban life" in San Leandro, barely 20 miles east of San Francisco.

That evening, someone knocked on their door. Mr. Bienvenido David, 55, opened the door and saw a makeshift cross made of bamboo sticks and newspaper burning on their front lawn.

The following evening at 10, there was another knock, and an even larger burning cross scorched their juniper lawn, with flames that almost reached the electrical lines.

"We bought this house a month ago and came here from San Francisco because we found this town is a peaceful place," said Mrs. David as they packed their belongings, barely three days after they moved in. "All we want is peace of mind."

Contrary to her impressions, San Leandro's racial composition has given rise to complaints from minorities before.

As the first town south of minority-populated Oakland, San Leandro acquired an image in the 1960s as "the whitest of white suburbia," with a population that numbered 99.44% white.

Only a decade ago, the National Committee Against Racial Discrimination described San Leandro as a "kind of racist bastion of white supremacy," a "distinction" shared by neighboring white populated areas of Los Gatos, Concord and San Lorenzo.

By the 1980 census, San Leandro had become a transition community of 64,000 residents, whose non-white population had increased to 22%. The minority population consisted of 1.4% blacks, 13% Hispanics, and 6.7% Asians. Filipinos account for 300 families in the city.

City and police authorities investigating the cross burnings in front of the Davids' house immediately scoffed at initial suggestions that the incident was racially-motivated, dismissing it as isolated acts, "perhaps by idiots."

However, despite the fact that other



Cross burnings have been the KKK's traditional mark of racist terror.

Filipino and Asian families living in the area had not been racially harassed previously, similar incidents in the past fueled speculations that the angle of racism should not be discounted.

Two years ago, someone burned a five-foot wooden cross on the lawn of a black family living in an adjacent neighborhood, and a sledgehammer thrown through their front window. Only last year, two teenagers poured chemicals in the shape of a cross on the lawn of another San

Leandro home occupied by a racially-mixed couple. In Contra Costa County where another Filipino community is developing, other cross burnings have also occurred.

Two weeks after the incidents at the David residence, two white males were charged with arson, trespassing and malicious mischief. San Leandro Police Chief Don Becker said felony arson could not be applied to the case, leaving only the alternative of misdemeanor charges punish-

able by six months in the county jail.

Robert McDonald, Jr., 22, a neighbor of the David family, admitted to igniting the first cross and Geoffrey Paris, 20, who used to live in the neighborhood, lit the Sunday night cross.

Judge Robert Byers told the two men he considered the incidents as "acts of terrorism," while the police admitted reluctantly that "it was racial to some degree." The judge set bail at \$2,000.

While no evidence surfaced directly linking these men to the Ku Klux Klan, the incident provided an insight on the growing influence of the organization's racist ideology, that spans even beyond its membership.

"The fact that one of the makeshift crosses burnt was made of bamboo sticks strongly suggested that these men were consciously racist, specifically targeting an Asian family," commented Lillian Galedo, director of the Filipino Immigrant Services, who visited the David family to lend the social service agency's support.

Wilma Cadorna, spokesperson for the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), San Francisco chapter, noted that the KKK does not concentrate on pure white neighborhoods. "They organize in transition communities, like San Leandro, where white residents are most likely to be threatened by the influx of non-whites. This way it is easier for the Klan to stir up their prejudices," she explained.

Meanwhile, the David family has moved back to their Washington Manor home, but the incident has not allayed their fear—nor those of other Filipinos living in the area—that the same thing could happen again in the future.

Juan Ancheta, a resident of San Leandro for the past 15 years, speculated that the growing influx of Filipino and Asian families may have triggered some tension in the area. "I suspect the whites think they're being pushed out and the Filipinos will take over the city," he said.

Other residents have expressed the need to form watchdog groups in the neighborhood to prevent similar incidents from happening in the future.

"We are still in a state of shock," said Mr. David who recalled their first brush with racism shortly after they arrived from the Philippines in 1978. While lined up to pay the cashier at Merrill's Drugstore in San Francisco, a middle-aged white male kept muttering within earshot how "he hated these 'damned aliens,'" obviously referring to the Davids. □

Study Says Racism is a Fact of Life in California

Racial terrorism in California is encouraged by public institutions such as the police and the school systems, and is aggravated by a declining economy, according to a 300-page report issued recently by the state's Task Force on Civil Rights.

Admitting that racial, ethnic and religious violence "is a fact of life in many California communities," the report's findings are based on more than 450 incidents and eight volumes of testimonies from hundreds of witnesses.

Among the historical racial incidents catalogued in



Today's Klan is menacingly ready for racist terror and violence.

the report included the lynchings of Mexicans in Santa Barbara between 1854-1870; a spate of anti-Chinese violence in Los Angeles where 15 Chinese men, women and children were hanged; the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II; and the cross burnings and bombings against Los Angeles black residents who tried to desegregate housing after the second world war.

The report similarly documented contemporary racial attacks where minority families found their properties defaced with burnt crosses in Novato, or their cars burned and homes vandalized in Bakersfield. It also collected several reports of racially motivated and brutal murders of blacks.

While victims of racial terrorism are supposed to look to the police for protection, "complaints about alleged abuses by law enforcement personnel" were widespread. Many witnesses testified that "abuses by law enforcement were more a significant problem than violence by organized white supremacist groups. (In southern California, Mexican-American residents refer to police forces as "gestapos" who provoke incidents so they can inflict sanctioned violence.)

However, the report also warned that Ku Klux Klan membership is "widespread," if not deeply rooted in California. The rate of increase in Klan sympathizers rose from 6% in 1965 to 10% in 1979, according to the Gallup polls.

Among the disturbing social trends cited by the report that "threaten to escalate racial violence" are:

- "de-industrialization of the California workforce"—from heavy manufacturing to high-technology industry—which will potentially hit minority and white blue-



collar workers, "and may increase frustration and hostility among both groups";

- anti-immigrant sentiments fanned among "economically insecure citizens" as a result of continued Asian and Mexican immigration; and

- cutbacks in social programs which will "aggravate frustrations in minority and white low-income communities."

The report also praised the round-the-clock neighborhood watch in Contra Costa County when black families were terrorized in 1981, and other forms of community-wide responses against racial harassment. □

U.S. SEEKS DISMISSAL OF SEATTLE MURDER SUIT

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—The U.S. government has claimed "absolute immunity due to national security reasons," in its attempt to have dismissed the \$30 million civil suit for the murders of cannery union activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes. The civil suit charges that top Philippine and U.S. government officials were behind the 1981 murders.

In a response motion filed January 21 before the Federal District Court, the U.S. government argued that "the national interest requires absolute immunity for officials engaged in the sensitive functioning of conducting foreign affairs."

The civil suit filed last September on behalf of the families of Domingo and Viernes—also known anti-Marcos activists and members of the KDP—claimed that top levels of the U.S. and Philippine governments conspired to carry out the political assassination in a joint maneuver to smash President Marcos' opposition movement in the U.S.

Rene Cruz, *Ang Katipunan* editor and a plaintiff in the suit, said the national security claim "confirms what we have said all along: that the U.S. knows who's behind the murders and is trying to hide its own role." He also said the national security claim was not a surprise. "There certainly are national security problems for the U.S. if we are successful in exposing their responsibility for the murders. The national security claim is just a cover for how the U.S. implements its foreign policy."

Those charged in the suit include Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda, Gen. Fabian Ver, Seattle Philippine Consul-General Ernesto Querubin, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, current Secretary of State George Schultz, and William French Smith, among others.

The U.S. motion for dismissal specifically asked immunity for Smith in his capacity as U.S. Attorney General because he must "keep foreign policy, political, international and national security considerations in mind in making various decisions."

PRECEDENT: INFRINGEMENT ON RIGHTS

"National security considerations are a lame excuse for infringing on people's civil liberties and constitutional rights," countered Elaine Ko, spokesperson for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

By invoking the doctrine of national security, said Ko, the U.S. government is seeking the civil suit's dismissal even before legal proceedings actually take place.

"In other words, we don't get a chance to seek evidence from them—subpoena documents, take depositions and move the case forward," Ko added.

"The use of national security at this stage in a lawsuit is unprecedented," declared Mike Withey, legal counsel for the civil suit. He explained that in past cases, the U.S. usually allows a lawsuit to proceed, and later use national security to prevent release of pertinent legal documents.

Withey cited the Charles Horman case (on which the movie "Missing" was based), whereby the suit had to be dropped because the State Department refused to provide or release documents to them, because of national security (regarding U.S. government relations with the Chilean junta).

"In our case," Withey continued, "they're playing their trump card very early on . . . in effect they're saying you can't even sue anybody nor can you bring a lawsuit at all."

CJDV spokespersons expressed confidence that dismissing the civil suit on these grounds does not have legal support.

"The danger to civil liberties is so great," remarked CJDV's Cindy Domingo.

"Murder cannot be justified because of national security—that's intolerable and we're going to fight it," she continued. "The U.S. cannot claim 'national security' whenever it wants to protect its foreign policy and its support for dictators like Marcos."

U.S. ORCHESTRATING DEFENSE

The U.S. response to the civil suit confirmed earlier speculations that the U.S. government is "orchestrating the entire defense for all defendants, including Marcos and [Tony] Baruso."

Last December, the Philippine government filed for the suit's dismissal "on grounds of immunity," claiming that under international law, sovereign states can be brought to courts in foreign countries only under special circumstances.

Lawyers representing the plaintiffs rebutted this argument, saying "under international law, acts of international terrorism like the murders of Gene and Silme are outlawed, and . . . there is no immunity for such acts." They cited instances when U.S. courts denied immunity, such as in the cases of Chile's assassination of diplomat Orlando Letelier in 1976, and Iran's seizure of American hostages in 1980.

In addition, they cited a provision of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA) passed by Congress in 1976, whereby immunity cannot be granted to foreign governments or officials who cause death or personal injury to someone in the U.S.

They further argued that it would have a "chilling effect on the rights of the anti-Marcos movement to free speech and to freely express its views against Marcos."

Just as the Philippine government sought dismissal of charges, the U.S. government filed a motion seeking immunity specifically for Marcos and Imelda. CJDV's Ko re-



Cindy Domingo

sponded, "the U.S. will go all out to protect them—even in court."

"It's clear the U.S. is out there to get the Philippine government off the hook, with the Philippines taking more of a backseat role," Ko added.

In addition, the U.S. government refused to furnish official documents relevant to the case, labelling them "state secrets," including:

- communications by the Philippine government requesting the U.S. State Department to file a Suggestion of Immunity for the Marcoses. The State Department's legal advisor referred to this communication December 2, 1982, in asking the U.S. Attorney General to obtain immunity for the Marcoses in this suit;

- documents revealing that the Philippine government offered U.S. consular officials "reciprocity of immunity" as of December 2. This would mean a higher level of immunity for Seattle's Consul-General Querubin—and only four days before the Philippine government's request for dismissal.

Key Witness in Union Murders Killed



Teodoro Domingues (Boy Pilay)

SEATTLE—A key witness in the 1981 murders of union activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, was found murdered January 19. Authorities believe his death "may be part of the bigger picture."

Teodoro Domingues, 25, otherwise known as Boy Pilay, was killed "execution-style" with multiple gunshots to the head. "We're very interested in Pilay's murder, with the assumption it might be connected," said Mary Kay Barbieri, the chief criminal deputy prosecutor for King County.

The Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV), believes the former Tulisan gangmember was killed because of his knowledge of the June 1981 slayings. The CJDV vowed to push the prosecutor's office to reopen the inquiry into the murders of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union officials.

"People wanted to get rid of Pilay because of what he knew," remarked CJDV spokesperson Cindy Domingo. "Pilay told San Pablo [former Alaska cannery foreman] that Tony Baruso would pay the Tulisan gangmembers \$5,000 to carry out the murder contract."

Had Domingues talked, Domingo added, he might have been able to help convict Baruso, the former union president along with the "higher-ups" in connection with the Domingo/Viernes murders.

"We told the Prosecutor's office that unless they charge him [Pilay] and give him some protection, he was going to be dead," said legal counsel Mike Withey.

The Committee for Justice sharply criticized the Prosecutor's Office which initially refused to believe the recent slaying was related to the murders of Domingo and Viernes.

"If Pilay was killed to silence him from further implicating Baruso, the Prosecutor's Office should have indicted Baruso—the person we think is the main link to the higher-ups," Domingo stressed.

Meanwhile, local sources revealed that Baruso had been seen with Tulisan gangmembers at the Golden Nugget, a gambling joint, the same night Pilay was killed. Police had not yet determined the exact time of the slaying.

King County police arrested Valentino Barber, 25, at Pilay's funeral on January 21, in connection with the murder. While no charges have been pressed against him, Washington state requires that formal charges be filed within 72 hours of detention, or the suspect may be released.

At press time, police are looking for

U.S. government involvement has also been the focus of other recent legal developments. Terri Mast filed a deposition in the U.S. District Court January 15 claiming that former union president Tony Baruso contacted the U.S. State Department within 24 hours of the union activists' murders. Mast is the widow of Silme Domingo and current president of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Local 37.

Basing this revealing claim on two independent and reliable sources, Mast specified the exact duration of three phone calls placed by Baruso on June 2, 1981—one of 11 minutes, one of 7 minutes and one of 3 minutes.

Plaintiffs in the civil suit asked the court to require the State Department to produce documentation of these three phone calls. They claim that the "timing, nature and duration of the calls would indicate some prior relationship between Baruso and the State Department."

There has been some speculation that Baruso sought advice from the State Department's Philippine Desk, as two murder suspects had already been tagged (Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy) that day, from Silme Domingo's dying declaration.

In addition, the U.S. government filed a motion January 11 to prevent plaintiffs from securing Baruso's deposition. The court overruled the request the following day, and on January 13, lawyers for the plaintiffs secured Baruso's deposition. Legal counsel Withey refused to divulge contents of the deposition, other than to acknowledge that Baruso denied making the calls to the State Department.

Because U.S. Attorney Gene Anderson in Seattle failed to prosecute Baruso for "lack of evidence," Mast's affidavit also sought to disqualify him from the criminal case. "As the local attorney supposedly representing the public interest in getting to the bottom of the murders, Anderson cannot at the same time represent the State Department, the FBI and everyone else implicated in this case," she said.

"He can't run with the hares and hunt with the hounds," remarked Withey. "Anderson obviously has conflicting loyalties." Lawyers will seek a "specially appointed prosecutor" to oversee the case. □

Esteban Ablang, an associate of Barber, whose car was found with traces of blood and skull fragments. Ablang and Barber were allegedly the last people seen with Pilay on the night of the slaying.

Pilay was also accused in the \$30 million civil suit against Baruso, the Philippine government and top U.S. officials—all charged with responsibility for the Domingo/Viernes murders. Last November 17, he was picked up and questioned by police in connection with the cannery officials' killings.

Silme Domingo's dying declaration, along with other witnesses, had placed Pilay at the union hall where the two victims were gunned down. Pilay's alleged collaboration with Baruso surfaced during the trial of Tulisan gangmembers Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy, convicted hitmen. State witness Robert San Pablo's testimony also revealed Pilay had test-fired Baruso's Mac 10, .45 calibre pistol (the murder weapon) with convicted Tulisan gangleader Tony Dictado. In addition, San Pablo testified that Pilay passed on to him a threat from Dictado, over disputes in gambling shares.

Subpoenaed to testify at Dictado's trial, Pilay had fled to Maryland instead, where he reportedly stayed with his parents.

Police had released Pilay after the November 17 questioning, for "lack of evidence."

In light of the Pilay slaying, Deputy Prosecutor Barbieri stated she is "definitely not" satisfied that authorities know the complete explanation for the 1981 double murder, despite the conviction of three men.

"We don't consider the case over with," said Barbieri. "I don't know if it's ever going to be closed." □

Trudeau/Marcos Visit

Canada Means Business in R.P.

By VINCE REYES

Opposition to Marcos hit the headlines in Canada when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced early December he would make a stop at Malacañang during a business tour through Asia.

Almost immediately, the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) along with 30 other organizations and individuals, issued a statement condemning Marcos' dictatorial rule and called for a cancellation of the trip. A press conference followed with representatives from the clergy and labor. One member of the Parliament, Don Heap, joined the press conference and was instrumental in raising the issue of Philippine human rights violations during a Parliamentary session.

Activities culminated in a mass rally in Toronto on January 14 stressing that Canada's business interests in Asia should not take precedence over developing relations with countries guilty of human rights violations.

Motivation for Trudeau's Pacific trek reveals much deeper intentions than routine diplomacy.

Hardly a key player in world politics, nor an international newsmaker, Canada is attempting to play hard ball in the Asian arena of capitalist trade. But in order to compete with the big guys, Canada has to show its hand—meaning, reveal its foreign policy.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau did just that on his much touted "trade mission" to the ASEAN countries last month where he paid homage to a full lineup of authoritarian dictators, the most notorious being Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines.

Although Canadian capital in Asia is not new (Japan is Canada's second largest trading partner), Trudeau's urgent push to develop trade with the Pacific Rim is.

The signal to charge full steam into Asia was given by Canadian capital's search for buyers of its newly developed and highly lucrative services and technology. With a number of countries whose economies are developing the capacity to use technological products, Asia is a natural target.

But to deal with Asia, is to deal with ASEAN—which makes any venture a highly charged political affair. ASEAN has been constructed for the expressed purpose of destabilizing and containing the socialist bloc in Asia—specifically Vietnam. The ASEAN countries receive tremendous amounts of military and economic aid from the U.S. Canada's program for Asia will thus have to keep U.S. interests clearly at the forefront.

The unclarity of Canada's Asian policy in the past has been an obstacle for ASEAN, which hungrily seeks trade relations with the West. The Trudeau visit has formally articulated Canada's long-range interests in Asia.

AN ECONOMY DIVERSIFIES

"We've been slow in recognizing the potential of the whole Pacific Rim," Canadian Trade Minister Ed Lumley, stated in June 1981 to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "Over the last few years, economic growth in our traditional trading areas—the U.S. and Europe—has been relatively

slow. By necessity, if our companies want to maintain growth, they're going to have to open up markets in non-traditional trading areas. That's exactly what's happening and why we've identified the Pacific Rim."

Canada has traditionally relied upon its natural resources as the basis for its trade. But the profitability of fur trapping, fishing, forestry, and mining eventually limited its potential to compete in the capitalist arena. Therefore, Canada has diversified into service-oriented products for export. Today, less than 8% of the country's total domestic output comes from natural resource industries.

U.S.—TOO CLOSE FOR COMFORT

Since the shift, Canada has rapidly become one of the world's leading industrialized countries. It refines petroleum, manufactures cars and mills iron and steel. Its service industries include data processing, research and consultation. Canadian specialists in engineering, mining, geology, electronics, telecommunications,

and other "high tech" industries are found all over the world.

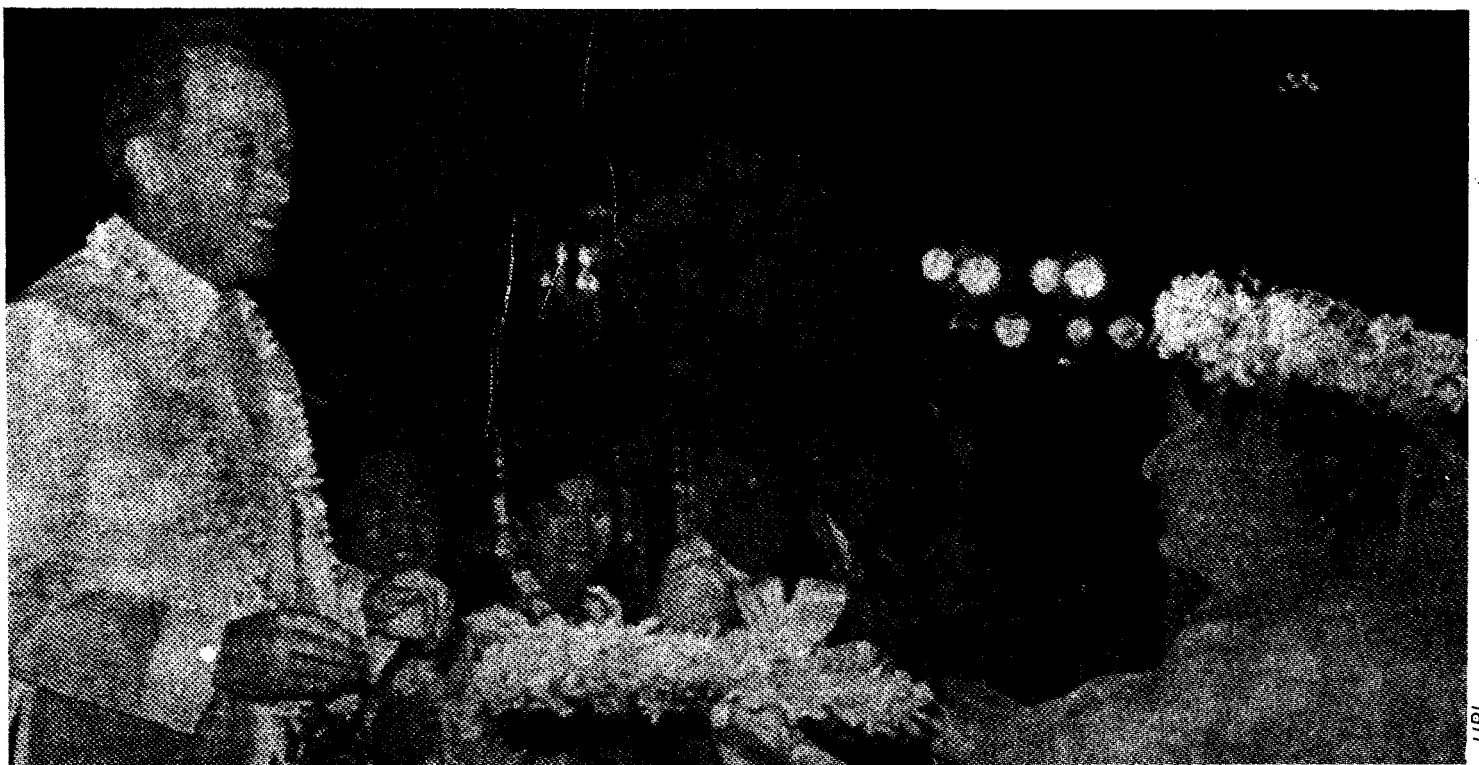
Despite Canada's success, approximately two-thirds of its trade remains with the United States, which, to Canada's dismay, links the success or failure of its economy to that of the United States. When the U.S. closes an automobile plant, Canadian companies which supply parts or technology likewise have to curtail operations. New markets are thus crucial if Canada is to compete with Western Europe and Japan.

BUSINESS FIRST

In spite of its capitalist economy, Canada has traditionally played "middle of the road" in international politics. Its relations with other countries have always been "business first" propositions.

The Asian venture makes it difficult for Canada to continue obscuring its long-term interests. Its own need to expand its markets belies its friendliness to the socialist camp.

If embracing Ferdinand Marcos is good for business, Trudeau is thus fully prepared to do it. He has been content to gloss over topics such as human rights and authoritarianism in his meeting with the dictator. As one Canadian commentator put it, it's a little difficult "to criticize a government for its civil rights record and then turn around and express the hope that the host will buy Canadian telecommunications equipment." □



Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (l) dined with Marcos at his side and held that the Philippines is "the most promising area in the world for economic development."

Profile: Filipinos in Canada

January's Trudeau-Marcos meeting appears to have set the ground rules for Canadian relations for some years to come. (See news analysis, this page.) Canada's unequivocal endorsement of the Marcos regime has given the two countries a definitive go-ahead for commercial and political alliances.

For Filipinos residing in Canada, such an alliance holds dangerous implications—particularly for those critical of the Marcos dictatorship. Widespread protests of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's ASEAN venture has already caused the intimidation and harassment of anti-dictatorship organizations and activists. Now, with the forging of closer political ties between Canada and the Philippines, they cannot afford to have a major portion of the 100,000 Filipinos living in Canada critical of that relationship.

ECONOMIC BOOM, ECONOMIC CRISIS

Today, 100,000 Filipinos make Canada their home. Almost all have arrived within the last 20 years. Large pockets dwell in Toronto, Ontario (40,000); Winnipeg (17,000) and Vancouver in British Columbia (17,000), cities and suburbs where work is to be found.

The mid-1960s represented a boom period for Canada in the fields of manu-

facturing and technological services. This intersected with a growing economic crisis in the Philippines. Filipinos began arriving in 1965. But Canada remained a second choice for most Filipinos, a stepping stone to the U.S.

In 1965, 1,502 Filipinos entered Canada as compared to just under 5,000 for the entire preceding decade. Their numbers grew: 4,180 came in 1971; 3,946 in 1972. Filipinos ranked eighth in nationalities entering Canada during the two-year period.

POOL OF CHEAP LABOR

The first large waves after 1965 were mainly skilled and educated adults. Over half were professionals, one-fourth were secretarial and clerical workers and only 10% were factory/assembly line workers. Most were female, many of them nurses.

Not surprisingly, the most dramatic increase in the Filipino population came after the declaration of martial law in 1972. Over 16,000 Filipinos arrived in Canada between 1972 and 1974.

As time went on, the characteristics of the immigrants began to change. In 1967, 88% of Filipinos entering intended to seek employment. By 1975, only 52% intended to work. The new arrivals were no longer professionals but were dependents—spous-

es, children, parents and grandparents who came mainly for the purpose of reuniting with their families. Fewer and fewer of the newly-arrived possessed college degrees or occupational skills.

But the reality of economic survival in the late 1970s began to force most Filipinos to look for jobs. Skilled and unskilled, educated and uneducated alike became a pool of labor for the low-paying textile, auto parts, and electronics assembly industries.

Certain settlements reflect the distribution of jobs within the Filipino community. In Winnipeg, where the garment industry employed 7,000 workers in 1978, 21% were Filipinos.

Many Filipinos have been forced into what may well be the most exploited sector in Canada today. As domestic workers, they do not possess "landed" status—Canada's rough equivalent to permanent residence in the U.S. They are, in effect, contractual workers on temporary visas. Of 11,000 foreign domestic workers, a full 3,000 are Filipinos. Their tenuous legal status exposes them to blatant exploitation. The majority work for wages far below the minimum, without overtime or benefits. Yet they must pay taxes and unemployment insurance.

Many professionals are underemployed because of a "Canadian experience" job requirement. Filipinos are also vulnerable to layoffs. In Toronto, a massive layoff at a MacDonell-Douglas plant included 500 Filipinos.

NEW LAW BARS DISSENT

Increasing discrimination, coupled with growing anti-dictatorship sentiment, suggests that political organizing will hold a prominent place in the Filipino-Canadian community.

But a new immigration law passed in April 1982 reinforces the insecurity common to most immigrants and discourages political activity. The new bill considers an "inadmissible class in Canada any person who seeks the overthrow of any government." The law places immigrants under constant threat of arrest and intimidation whenever they speak out against the government of their homeland.

For Filipinos who left the Philippines to escape either poverty or persecution, opposition against the Marcos dictatorship thus may endanger their immigration status. Last year, Marcos had already approached the Canadian government to plan an extradition treaty. In light of the new Trudeau/Marcos alliance, such initiatives must be taken seriously.

Filipino-Canadians have now come to view Canada as their home. Immigration to the U.S. is a dream out of a distant past.

But within their new home, immigration laws restrict their activity. In particular, this latest bill looms as a constant threat to the democratic rights of immigrants to support national liberation struggles. □

Mail Order Marriages

More Filipinas Think It's The Way Out of Poverty

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

October 21, 1982
Manila, Philippines

Dear John,

At the outset, let me greet you with a warm hello from the Philippines. I know you will be surprised with this letter but first let me introduce myself.

My name is Dolores Santos but friends call me Dolly for short. I'm 35 years of age, single, quite attractive, of good moral character, and a Catholic. I am not tall either, 5 foot 2 inches and weigh 105 pounds.

John, I know that at my age I am no longer a best seller if I were a book. But modesty aside, I don't look my age and I can speak the lingo of today's youth. Moreover, I have maturity, warmth and sensitivity and many more qualities that a person would like to find in a friend. I am interested to correspond with you and perhaps have a meaningful relationship with you later on. I am enclosing a recent photo, half-body only as I don't have a "full" at the moment. Don't worry, I don't have any physical defects.

I guess I am closing this long letter at this point, and it would please me very much if you can advise soonest. My best regards to you and yours,

(Signed) Dolly

This letter from a potential "mail-order bride" sounds more like an advertisement than an attempt at establishing long-distance friendship. But it typifies the correspondence of growing numbers of Filipinas who have come to the conclusion that marrying an American is their "passport" to a more comfortable life.

While Dolly's letter was spurred through personal contacts (John was formerly her cousin's pen-pal), a lucrative and enterprising business is systematically cashing in on desperate Filipina women eager to free themselves from abject want and poverty.

The phenomenon of mail order brides from the Philippines is growing at an alarming rate, especially in the U.S. and Australia.

Hawaii's John Broussard, who runs the Cherry Blossom mail order bride business, has helped 1,000 men find Asian wives, 60% of whom have chosen Filipinas. He sells illustrated catalogs of Asian women eager to marry.

Last year, Leo Martin, 61, a retired communications worker in Western Australia, paid \$85 to the Filipino Introduction Service for a listing of Filipino women. After receiving pictures and brief biographies of prospective brides, he wrote schoolteacher Aurora

Ibañez, 31. She wrote back and a month later, Martin flew to the Philippines and married Ibañez.

Martin was one of 1,500 Australian men who met their wives through "pen pal" correspondence last year, paying marriage agencies as low as \$20 for an introduction, and as much as \$2,000 for sophisticated options such as videotaped interviews with their potential brides.

In Mountainview, California, 47-year-old Peter Rose heads up an outfit called PR Associates. Rose runs the business with his wife, Carol, a Filipina he met as a pen-pal. For \$20, Peter and Carol will send 45-60 names and faces to their male clientele. In two years, 4,000 men have answered, 100 have married.

GOAL: LEAVE THE PHILIPPINES

The women come from varied backgrounds—college-graduates, abandoned wives, bar girls—but they have the same goal: to leave the Philippines. "Poverty," said *Newsweek*, "... [is] a strong motive for them."

"Most of the Filipinas," said an Australian news-woman who has studied the influx of Philippine mail order brides into her country, "are escaping from grinding poverty. Most of the men they marry are, in my opinion, social misfits."

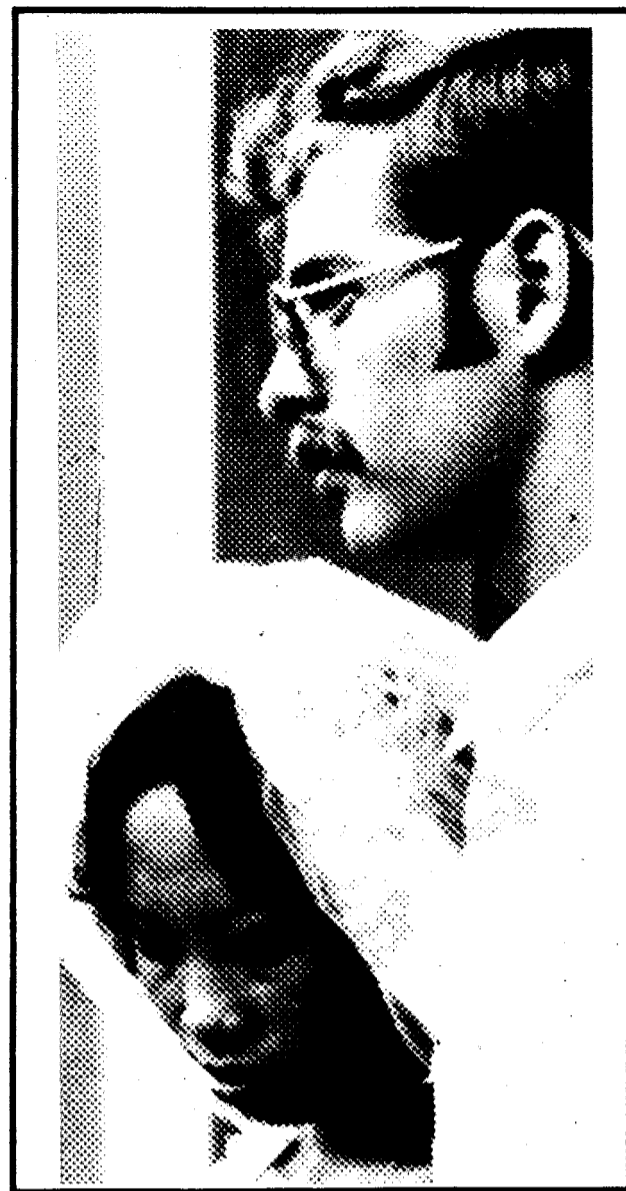
Carol Rose, interviewed on local TV said, "Our parents told us that when Americans came over to the Philippines, they bring a lot of things, that they're nice people. ... So I'm one of those who dreamt of coming here and marrying an American."

In a country beset by low wages and high unemployment, commented TV reporter Emil Guillermo, "these women ... see pen-pal marriages as a way out." He interviewed KDP's Inday Refi who noted that the "decision to marry almost always hinges on the question of bailing out entire families back home from hunger and poverty." Refi further noted that the phenomenon is "sadly, just a step above prostitution—the relationship being legal and having a hint of permanence being the main difference."

VICTIMS OF RACIST STEREOTYPING

As women from non-white countries, mail order brides encounter far more oppressive conditions than the typical immigrants who confront discrimination in their new country.

They are essentially treated as commodities—like sugar, hemp or coconut. Their looks, personalities and "feminine virtues" make them attractive products for caucasian male customers ready and willing to pay any



price for "brown-skinned, dark-haired beauties."

Entrepreneur Broussard confirms as much:

"They are pretty. Virtually all of them speak some English. They are marriage-minded and have never heard of women's lib. Homemaking is their career, and they are grateful for a husband who can provide for them."

Social workers have noted an increase in abuse cases, where Filipinas reportedly have been beaten and kept virtual prisoners in their husbands' houses. *Newsweek* reported an incident in Queensland where an Australian murdered his Filipina bride after taking out a large insurance policy on her.

Despite mail order operators' insistence that "it's perfectly normal and legal," TV reporter Guillermo noted that "others see it as a sad comment on the country that cannot meet the needs and dreams of its people." □

New 'Simpson/Mazzoli' Expected

Difficult Battle Ahead for Immigrant Rights Defense

By CATHI TACTAQUIN
KDP National Executive Board

Simpson/Mazzoli, the controversial immigration bill, did not pass the lame duck session of Congress in December. But the battle against repressive immigration legislation is far from over. Congressmen intend to quickly introduce in this session a bill similar to Simpson/Mazzoli.

While immigrant rights advocates, including the KDP, were glad that the bill didn't pass through Congress, no one was fooled into letting down their guard. Unfortunately the bill wasn't really defeated. It was allowed to die without a vote. And when the bill comes up again in the new Congress, there will be even greater pressure to see that it passes.

Simpson/Mazzoli was the first comprehensive immigration legislative package in decades. It promised to "update" U.S. immigration laws—and it even promised more jobs—for Americans. But the truth about the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill was that it sought to undermine the rights of immigrants and refugees, increase repression, and help to keep foreign workers as cheap labor.

Backers of the bill appealed to racism and anti-alien hysteria to drum up political support for the bill. Right after the bill was introduced, the INS staged "Operation Jobs." This highly-publicized plan consisted of nationwide raids on workplaces employ-



workers were arrested, supposedly freeing up jobs "for Americans." (Not so publicized were the various studies on the results of the raids—that few Americans even wanted the jobs held by the undocumented—jobs that are extremely low paid and have bad work conditions.)

We can expect that there will be renewed efforts to gather support by appealing to the poor state of the economy. Just as in decades past, immigrants will be scapegoated as the cause of unemployment.

In Congress, we cannot expect very strong opposition to another Simpson/Mazzoli. The bill passed the Senate

with overwhelming support last August, while in the House of Representatives the opposition is unstable, and comes mainly from the minority caucuses and from congressmen with large immigrant constituencies.

How, then, can future legislation restricting immigrant rights be defeated? Certainly the hundreds of mailgrams and petitions and other pressure generated against the bill highlighted its controversial nature, and the filing of over 300 amendments to the Simpson/Mazzoli bill ensured the death of the bill in the final days of the lame duck session. But numerous amend-

ments would not be enough to stop the new immigration proposals. And, the authors of the bill may even offer new compromises on some controversial parts of the bill—these compromises could swing some opposition forces to support the new bill.

Finally, there will be pressure on many immigrant rights advocates to support "the best we can get" if the new bill moves towards certain passage. Surely, if the bill is going to pass, we would rather see less restrictive provisions. But what legislation would be acceptable, and what can never be compromised? Is anything less than the guarantee of equal rights to immigrants ever acceptable?

The struggle for immigrant rights and against a new Simpson/Mazzoli must uphold the fundamental demand of equal rights. This demand must be championed not only by Mexicans, Asians or other immigrants, but by other minority groups, and by the labor movement. These forces were noticeably absent from the opposition to Simpson/Mazzoli, but could be highly effective in mustering mass political pressure. To the end, the national leadership of the AFL-CIO stood by its support for the bill.

With the upcoming battle, every effort must be given to building a broad-based defense of the rights of immigrants. For members of Congress, and for the national leaders of immigrant interest groups, political pressure must be brought against compromises that not only undermine immigrant rights, but would falsely project what is "fair" for immigrant workers. Lobbying Congress is not enough; we must educate and organize a viable mass movement that will fight the long battle for rights, and against the profit-motivated repression of immigrant workers. □

CAMD Campaign Targets Crackdown

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) recently concluded its 6th annual carolling fundraising drive. This year's theme focused on Marcos' crackdown aimed at the growing labor movement.

During December, CAMD activists visited homes, labor unions, and community events in Honolulu, Seattle, San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C., Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. Through songs from the resistance movement and slide shows featuring current conditions in the Philippines, CAMD supporters were updated about the intensified repression.

Over 1,000 people were reached and over \$6,000 raised through donations.

Over 300 letters were sent to Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and the U.S. Congressional Asia Pacific Affairs Subcommittee calling for the release of Felixberto Olalia, president of *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement) who was arrested along with 40 other labor leaders when Marcos first initiated the crackdown in August 1982.

The funds raised this year will go towards CAMD work on a variety of fronts: organizing international pressure against intensified repression in the Philippines and on projects to release imprisoned trade union leaders, and to expose the plight of farmers who have been forced into refugee status due to the increasing militarization of civilian areas. □



CAMD carollers appeared on local Bay Area TV program.

(AK Photo)

Movie Review

'Pedring Taruc': You Can See the President Winking

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

To the regular menu for mass escapism—*bomba* (skin) flicks, love triangles, slapsticks, gun-and-karate novellas—Philippine cinema has added a new face: films that are both commercial grossers and political tools.

Recently, action-packed dramas celebrating an unlikely sort of hero—the “misguided revolutionary”—have made their way across Philippine screens. “Pedring Taruc,” “Commander Alibasbas” and “Get My Son,” to name a few, have made their way to community moviehouses in the U.S. as well.

This phenomenon may confuse those who do not expect “subversives” to be portrayed as superheroes—and by pro-Marcos actors at that. After all, the distinction “superheroes” is usually reserved for black belt crime fighters or justice-seeking mavericks who are also muscle-bound, macho mestizos. The supposed image of “subversives,” on the other hand, is quite the opposite. They are supposedly bespectacled and scrawny hot-heads derisively referred to as “*aktibistas*,” or long-haired and grizzled guerrillas.

But leave it to San Juan's macho Mayor Joseph Estrada to interpret how the 50s Huk rebellion transpired. You won't get even an accurate depiction of how that movement operated but you will get a fairly good idea of how the city of San Juan is run.

Starring Estrada, “Pedring Taruc” is supposedly based on the life of one of the last Huk commanders to fall during the Marcos administration in the late 60s. The film chronicles the idealist beginnings of the famed Huk guerilla and the final degeneration of a movement he dedicated a lifetime to.

“Pedring Taruc” begins with its ending, interpreted in the eyes of a PC Sargeant Marquez who arrives at his headquarters with the body of the elusive supremo. Marquez, portrayed as an honest and intelligent career officer, has just ended his assignment as a double-agent with the death of the prize-catch of Central Luzon. He is recovering from gunshot wounds, and ambivalent feelings over the death of Taruc whom he served as an aide-de-camp.

What follows is a series of flashbacks recounting Taruc's life: his beginnings as a schoolteacher imbuing his students with love of country and God; his bitter experience of being cheated out of a government seat by landlords and monied politicians; and his career as a guerilla leader, adept at combat and camouflage.

The story twists through the stages of

the Huks' development as anti-Japanese guerilla fighters, and later, as bands of degenerate roving rebels. Also providing an interesting sidelight, is the story of Taruc's wife, a woman born of the landed gentry who is captured by the Huks and eventually falls for the magnetism of the Huk leader. Throughout, she fills the role of a suffering but ever loyal wife, willing to battle all odds by her husband's side.

On the whole, the movie succeeds in impressing the audience with the following lessons: revolutionaries are misguided idealists, who because of the wrongdoings of a few government officials, are pushed to the far left; that if one really looked at the balance sheet of social grievances vs. government performance, the latter would outweigh the former; that if one were patient and relied on such men as Marquez (and Marcos) there would be no need to shed blood; and finally, despite your lot in life, “violence begets violence,” and “those who live by the sword, die by the sword.”

The movie actually ends with this trite biblical admonition, and the vindication of Marquez' betrayal with his solemn proclamation to Taruc's weeping widow, that *Marcos is doing everything in his power to improve the life of the small farmer!* Of course, she sobs inconsolably in gratitude, and looks toward the horizon with renewed hope.

Even the few occasions that portray the revolutionary movement of the 50s in a



more sympathetic light are intended to appeal to another instinct: cynicism in social change.

Were it not for its pretense of having a “profound” knowledge about social movements, this venture could easily be dismissed as just another “Erap” action film. But “Pedring Taruc” is a conscious attempt by its producers to impress upon the mass consciousness the futility of revolution, and the correctness of keeping faith in the duly constituted authorities.

Why this should even be a relevant point to make at this time rests on the fact

that a revolutionary armed struggle by the New People's Army is well underway in all parts of the country. The film exploits the known weaknesses of the HMB to play on the public's ignorance and misgivings about the more successful national democratic movement that has replaced Taruc's.

For its makers, “Pedring Taruc” is a neat way of ingratiating themselves with the political authorities, while grossing at the box office at the same time. You can almost see the President winking at Joseph Estrada in approval. □

Clip and mail to: ANG KATIPUNAN/P.O. Box 2759/Oakland, CA 94602

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U.S. Secret War Tries to Undo Nicaraguan Revolution

By WICKS GEAGA

Reagan's Secret War, as it has been dubbed by the media, is a sophisticated combination of political slander, economic sabotage, and clandestine military operations. Its aim is to topple Nicaragua's popularly-backed Sandinista government, and to bring this small nation back into the American orbit.

The Reagan administration's counter-revolutionary activities underscore a crucial lesson for revolutionary movements. After success in overthrowing U.S.-backed dictatorial regimes comes the struggle for survival, as the world's strongest power will surely come back to regain its lost domain.

This secret war is also part of the United States' drive to reverse the revolutionary tide sweeping Central America. Washington has made it clear that it would not tolerate "another Cuba," or another socialist state that could provide inspiration and material support to the revolutionary movements in the region. Thus, the campaign against Nicaragua comes with the escalation of U.S. involvement in the Salvadoran civil war, renewed support for repressive regimes in Latin America such as Chile and Guatemala, and heightened threats against Cuba.

For Nicaragua, barely underway with its program of national reconstruction and still in a fragile economic state, beefing up for national defense is a burden it can ill afford. But Reagan has given it no choice.

DISCREDIT MANAGUA

Several of Nicaragua's vital energy facilities, including its only oil refinery in Managua, have been the target of thwarted sabotage attempts. Anti-Sandinista infiltrators have destroyed two of its major bridges. Border attacks have killed hundreds of civilians, including 75 children who were being evacuated by helicopter from the northern war zone. There are regular reports of kidnapping, torture and mutilation carried out by "contras"—Honduran-based counterrevolutionaries comprised mostly of former members of deposed dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guards.

U.S. officials now admit that they have been financing this terror campaign to the tune of \$20 million, authorized by Reagan in December 1981. *Newsweek* also revealed that the anti-Sandinista activities are part of an "unofficial" CIA plan to "undermine or overthrow" the revolutionary government. The same report said CIA covert action started as early as 1978—authorized by the Carter administration as the downfall of the Somoza regime appeared imminent.

The destabilization plan includes concerted efforts to discredit and politically isolate the Sandinista government. Immediately after assuming office, the Reagan administration published a White Paper in February 1981, which alleged that Nicaragua was directing the subversion of El Salvador and the rest of Central America. The press eventually criticized the paper for containing insubstantial, or forged evidence.

Undaunted, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig proudly produced in March 1982, "a captured Nicaraguan military man . . . sent down by the FSLN" to help run the military operations of the Salvadoran guerrillas. Haig's "overwhelming and irrefutable proof" backfired when the 19-year-old Nicaraguan student, who was arrested while returning to Nicaragua overland from Mexico, charged that the threat of torture forced him to accept Haig's scenario.

Washington is quick to exploit the attacks levelled on the Sandinista government by disgruntled Nicaraguan capitalists. To alleviate poverty, the government has had to place emphasis on social programs and economic controls that undercut the

profit-making of private businessmen. To check internal subversion, it has had to restrict the political activities of opponents in the business, tribal and church sectors. These actions are eagerly seized by Washington as opportunities for condemning Nicaragua's "violations of human rights."

STARVE OUT SANDINISMO

To strangle the already shaky economy, the U.S. has pressured Latin American and European countries to withdraw economic support for Nicaragua, aside from direct pressures of its own.

In April 1981, the U.S. suspended Nicaragua's credit for the purchase of wheat, at a moment when the country's wheat reserves were virtually non-existent. Also withdrawn was a loan of \$15 million approved by the Carter administration.

The U.S. then used its influence in multilateral financial institutions to block assistance to Nicaragua. In September, the Agency for International Development (AID) suspended a loan for \$7 million, followed by a \$30 million loan postponement from the Inter-American Development Bank in November. Only one month earlier, the U.S. Senate ap-

... the U.S. clearly wants to avert peace with Nicaragua at all cost. It apparently will stop at nothing in order to prevent national liberation from taking root . . .

proved an amendment for economic assistance to Nicaragua, but limited it to the private sector—obviously to strengthen the hands of anti-Sandinista elements inside the country.

BACKING THE CONTRAS

Still reeling from its Vietnam debacle, the U.S. is no longer able to intervene freely in defense of its imperial interests. But this has not stopped it from sponsoring covert military actions through the CIA. The CIA has been on top of forging a counterrevolutionary army spearheaded by former Somocistas. Combined with dissident Miskito Indians, the Honduran Armed Forces, and Argentine military advisers, the contras make no bones about their intention of toppling the Sandinista government.

Vowed one contra officer: "Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua."

When it can get away with it, Washington makes a point of threatening direct American invasion. In October 1981, the U.S. launched the Halcon Vista naval maneuvers off the Honduran coast, the first military games to be carried out in Central America with U.S. participation since 1976. But to extend the threat to

Managua's allies in Cuba and in the hills of El Salvador, three more major exercises were held in the Central American and Caribbean region within the following year, involving 130 warships, 630 aircraft, 70,000 soldiers, and including the participation of NATO forces.

Meanwhile, the Reagan administration is orchestrating a massive build-up of the Honduran military and plans to increase military aid to that country to \$40 million in 1983. Congress recently approved \$13 million of the \$20 million Reagan requested for the improvement of Honduran airfields for U.S. use "in case of an emergency."

Actively assisting the U.S., Israel is helping beef up the Honduran air force into becoming the most powerful in the region. Israel also acts as a major arms supplier to the Guatemalan and Salvadoran regimes.

FSLN FIGHTS BACK

Confronted with blatant military provocation by the U.S. and its allies, as well as escalating border incursions into its territory, the Sandinista government has been forced into a defensive military footing.

While still recovering from the disastrous April floods which destroyed 60% of the corn and 70% of the rice crops, and left

70,000 homeless, Nicaragua has had to divert urgently needed resources to the procurement of arms to defend itself.

With a limited military arsenal and army, Nicaragua relies on its popular militia forces as a crucial defense mainstay. In the many border areas that the Sandinista army cannot possibly patrol, the popular militias wage stiff resistance against the contras, suffering countless brutalities in the process. In one attack at San Francisco del Norte, the contras mutilated all four limbs of the local militia leader who refused to yield to their humiliations. In the same attack, a 14-year-old militia youth had both hands cut off as he defiantly clung to his rifle.

Meanwhile, the U.S. is using Managua's defense build-up as proof of its charge that Nicaragua is "on the verge of becoming a superpower in Central American terms."

ON TO SOCIALISM

The impressive strides that the Frente Sandinista government has made in its socialist program of bringing adequate diet, health, education, and employment—despite the problems posed by Washington—in turn provokes the latter to more frenzied acts of sabotage. The White House is aware that every point gained by Managua on this score represents a boost

in the Sandinistas' efforts to consolidate popular support.

When the Frente Sandinista took power on July 19, 1979, it inherited a poverty-stricken and war-torn country still staggering from the devastation of the 1972 earthquake, and from the 45-year Somoza legacy of underdevelopment, widespread social problems and international indebtedness that amounted to \$16 billion.

Since then the Frente has instituted free health care and numerous popular health campaigns that significantly reduced the incidence of polio, measles, tuberculosis, and malaria, and cut the infant mortality rate by one-third.

The literacy crusade led by the Ministry of Education and the teachers' union AN-DEN, lowered illiteracy from as much as 95% in some areas, to 12% nationally.

In the area of land reform, 12,000 formerly landless rural families have received land as well as the necessary technical assistance to grow food.

The Sandinistas are quick to note that while main credit must be given to the people's revolutionary initiative, the indispensable support provided by international solidarity, especially from socialist countries, cannot be emphasized enough. Always alert to chances for attack, the U.S. has used hefty Cuban aid and increasing assistance from the Eastern European socialist bloc as "proof" that Nicaragua has become "a Soviet pawn."

REAGAN: NO REMORSE

Aware of the unpopularity of Reagan's secret war, Congress recently passed an amendment to the military spending bill prohibiting Reagan from giving weapons or training to counterrevolutionary forces "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua." However, the amendment does nothing to alter the CIA's continued role in the secret war. After all, U.S. officials argue, CIA support of the counterrevolutionary forces is merely meant to "harass the Sandinistas," not to overthrow them. With this semantical argumentation, Reagan indicated that the harassment will continue.

Ever since Reagan assumed office, Nicaragua's efforts to engage in a serious dialogue with the U.S. have been met with firm anti-communist rebuff. Nicaragua has received better responses from others.

Its regional and international initiatives for bringing peace to Central America have gained support, principally from Mexico, France and Venezuela, but also from many member countries of the United Nations. Nicaragua's recent winning of a seat in the UN Security Council, despite frantic U.S. maneuverings, is a concrete reflection of this growing support.

Another boost came from the 97-member non-aligned movement which met recently in Managua. The movement criticized the U.S. destabilization campaign against Nicaragua, and blamed Washington for the death and destruction in El Salvador.

But the U.S. clearly wants to avert peace with Nicaragua at all cost. It apparently will stop at nothing in order to prevent national liberation from taking root. The Sandinistas, meanwhile, are accelerating their push toward socialism as the ultimate defense against an imperialist comeback. □



Counterrevolutionaries training in the U.S.