

POPE WALKS A TIGHTROPE IN MANILA



Clerics spearhead protest march in Manila February 14. Protest timed for Pope's visit.
SEE STORY ON PAGE 4.

Family Recounts Racist Arson

By JESSICA ORDONA
AK Correspondent

Stockton—Luis Apacible Hoffman, Filipino-American, owns a small grocery store in East Stockton. Three months ago, racist neighborhood thugs set it on fire.

Luis, his Chicana wife Linda and their children are still trying to understand the lessons from this incident, in order not to live smouldering in their desire for personal vengeance.

One calm evening the wails of fire trucks made the Hoffmans jump from their dinner table. Outside their store front was ablaze.

"We were terrified," recalled Linda. "If no one had called the fire department, the whole store would have been razed to the ground—and we would have burned with it."

Now three months after the incident, the storefront has been partially replaced and repainted but the tell-tale signs of the racially-motivated attack remains. The graffiti on the Hoffmans' wall reads: 'Okie Power,' 'F_____ Mexicans.'

Seething Tension

Entering the store, one immediately sees Linda behind the counter. Customers casually
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GRIM PROSPECTS FOR THE HAVE-NOTS

New Gov't "Take Away Food Stamp" Program



'It's about time all you lazy slobs get yourselves jobs!'

See story on page 7

BMA Wipes Out 124 PC Troops

See story on page 3



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EDITORIAL PAGE

THE POPE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

After Pope John Paul II's visit, what will probably be most remembered is his advice to Marcos to uphold human rights. Not that everyone now expects Marcos to grow angel wings. People are not so naive as to expect such a miracle.

The Pope's criticism, mild as it was, will be much-talked about more because it is regarded as a prestigious confirmation of what most people have known all along, or what has become an obvious fact: Marcos's rule is oppressive and unjust.

Unfortunately, criticizing Marcos was **not** the Pope's main political aim in visiting the Philippines (and indeed, he had a political aim). He came mainly to admonish the Filipino people, whose discontent over Marcos' rule has grown to the point that social revolution is no longer seen as an illegitimate alternative. He came to tell the people, and especially the activist clergy, to moderate their struggle for justice.

"Fight for human rights, but **avoid class struggle**," was the Pontiff's emphatic message. With due respect to his office, we have to say that this amounts to no encouragement for human rights at all. It is tantamount to saying "cry for justice but accept the status quo." It amounts to a lip service to human rights.

The root of social injustice is the exploitation of one class by another. For example, sugar hacenderos are sugar hacenderos because **there are** sacadas to exploit. It is nice of the Pope to ask the hacenderos not to exploit their sacadas, but these oligarchs will definitely never abandon the source of their class wealth on their own. If they stopped exploiting their workers, they will cease existing as a class.

But to ask the sacadas "not to resort to class struggle" is a more serious matter. To ask them this is to deprive them of their only means to liberation. It is asking them to accept the continued existence of the hacienda-sacada system; to accept their condition as their fate. How will their human rights be served if they followed this papal exhortation?

When Pope John Paul II returns to the Vatican, the millions whose faith was temporarily reinvigorated at seeing their Church's supreme leader will remain living in conditions unchanged by his visit. These are conditions of poverty and violent oppression. **These conditions are products of the class rule of the wealthy few and will go on spurring the people into class struggles.** Just as 2,000 revolts were spurred on by the oppressive class rule of Spanish colonialists. Just as the Revolution of 1896 and the ill-fated resistance to American colonial conquest were class struggles for freedom and independence.

Will the Vatican go on chastising the inevitable movements against these conditions because they are "class struggles?" Will the growing effort to abolish the present class rule of the parasitic elite led by Marcos and U.S. imperialism still be rejected as inappropriate? Will the popular movement to establish the rule of the downtrodden majority for the needs of the majority invite papal condemnation, despite the clear necessity for this movement? Whose side is the Vatican on?

The root of social injustice is class exploitation. Class exploitation can only be ended by the victorious class struggle of the exploited against the rule of the exploiters. Only thus can the poor inherit the earth, improve it—and keep it theirs. □

U.S. HYPOCRISY ON EL SALVADOR

The Reagan administration is frantically creating a political and ideological justification for increased U.S. intervention in strife-torn El Salvador. This justification is built on shameless hypocrisy and outright arrogance.

Unable to present the murderous Salvadoran junta as humane and democratic, Reagan is now making a big fuss about the Soviet Union and Cuba "supplying arms" to the heroic Salvadoran revolutionaries.

We can expect a concerted barrage of "official intelligence reports" proving this link-up. This is the way the U.S. authorities intend to make the public disregard continuing reports from religious sources of massacres of whole villages—old men, women and babies included—by the Salvadoran Army, the Junta-inspired ORDEN fascist group, and even elements of the U.S.-allied Honduran army.

Even if Soviet and Cuban aid to the Salvadoran revolutionaries were to be proven, it is sheer hypocrisy on the U.S.' part to build this up as a justification for increased U.S. intervention. The U.S. has been supplying deadly armaments, even advisers, to the dictatorial Junta for years, yet now it is crying "wolf" as if Soviet and Cuban aid were abominable transgressions of justice, Salvadoran sovereignty, what-have-you.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

Frankly, My Dear . . .

I read your newspaper for the first time and before I tell you I will never read it again, let me tell you something. You are wasting ink trying to embarrass President Marcos. Frankly, your talents are wasted so why not put them to better use for your own good.

Anonymous
(postmarked Chicago, IL)

"I Miss You . . ."

I've been in the States for three years now and I started reading the AK while I was in Chicago with my brother. I am 24 years old, decided to join the Army so now I am in L.A. I feel a little bit lonely because I miss the newspaper. Right now, I am reading an issue dated Sept. Please bill me for a year's subscription.

P.S. Also, I'm looking for a female

pen-pal. I'm still single. Thank you.
PFC. Rey T. Adriano
CLO 7th Engrng. Bn.
Ft. Polk, LA 71459
SO182

could be disposed off that easy how much more for the "small fish?"
Juan G. Frivaldo
San Jose, CA

Who Killed Lingad?

Why was Jose Lingad killed? Who killed him? Initial reports said that the "monkees" were responsible for the daylight murder. Monkees are the killer squads of the armed forces of the Philippines. If the monkees killed Lingad, who ordered the killing?

Lingad ran for governor of Pampanga during the last local elections. His opponent was a Pampango member of the cabinet of President/Prime Minister/Dictator/President-for-Life Ferdinand Marcos.

To expect the Marcos government to solve that murder is wishful thinking. If a big man like Lingad

Crooked Adman

The President's promise of full restoration of democracy after lifting martial law is like the corrupt adman's promise that his product is made of finest materials. Mirror, mirror on the wall . . . who best sells U.S. involvement in the Philippines? Marcos, the Philippines' adman for U.S. interests will end up like his kins—Thieu of Vietnam, Park of Korea, and Shah of Iran to name a few—in the junkyard of imperialism. Attempting to sell this new cosmetic for the old deteriorating semi-colonial and semi-feudal set-up, he deserves only the most detestable experience of his life—**People's War.**

Joseph Mayo I
Chicago, IL

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Reagan and the U.S. are working from the disgusting assumption that the U.S. and the **only** the U.S. has the right to give aid to its allies—mainly fascist dictators in "Third World" countries. This is imperialist arrogance pure and simple. The U.S. has been giving billions in military aid to its puppet dictators. Certainly, the revolutionary movements opposing these regimes have the right to seek aid **anywhere** in order to free themselves from U.S.-sponsored repression.

Reagan's hysterical cries over Soviet and Cuban aid to El Salvador's revolutionaries should not mislead anyone into supporting U.S. intervention. The Salvadorans have the right to get this aid, if they are not yet getting it. In fact, all countries and peoples who stand against the U.S. imperialist domination of El Salvador should give as much aid as possible to the Salvadoran revolution—political, and yes, military aid. □

PHILIPPINE NEWS

Biggest MNLF Victory

BMA Wipes Out 124 PC Troops



Moro fighters.

(Pumipiglas, FEER)

The Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) scored a spectacular victory killing 124 Philippine Constabulary troops (PC) February 12 in Pata Mata, an island off Zamboanga.

In what appears to be its biggest military triumph, the armed wing of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) reminded the Marcos regime that the Moro secessionist war remains very much alive.

Authorities from the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) Southern Command in Zamboanga City claim that the 124 PC troops were killed in an attack on positions held by the BMA. However, the actual events remain hazy and reports are conflicting.

A second set of reports from unspecified "government sources" insist that the troopers were lured into a trap and brutally massacred by BMA guerrillas pretending to surrender.

"It would certainly be to the regime's interest to convince

the public the PC defeat was a result of a vicious trap," commented a Manila observer.

The confusion over events is typical of this war in which much information is suppressed and tends to leak out after the fact.

Reflects Hatred for AFP

However, the ferocity of the MNLF's military operation no longer surprises observers who know the extent of the hatred harbored by Moro fighters against the AFP.

Government troops have been known to wipe out entire families suspected of harboring BMA guerrillas. Massacres of whole villages known for MNLF sympathies and attacks on civilian relocations centers populated largely by women, children and the elderly have been reported by church sources and protested by the Libya-based MNLF leaders themselves.

"We usually fired first with our automatic on any house we suspected of harboring a BMA

soldier," related a Honolulu resident who had once served in the Philippine military in the south. "Once we have demolished it, we would go inside to check the bodies and see if he was actually there."

Setting the Record Straight

But whatever the circumstances, the timing of this latest BMA victory—right on the heels of the so-called lifting of martial law—is highly significant.

The ongoing secessionist war was one of Marcos' chief excuses for declaring and maintaining military rule for eight years throughout the country.

Although official military rule remains in effect in the war-torn southern provinces, Marcos had claimed that the "lifting" of martial law in the rest of the archipelago was possible because the MNLF had been "defeated."

But the BMA set the record straight, in time for wide international media coverage due to the Pope's visit. □

Alternative Labor Group Dares Regime

A new and large labor federation formed in Manila January 24 and looms as a significant test of the "normalization" promised with the formal lifting of martial law only a few days earlier.

The new federation, Pagkaka-kaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino (or Solidarity) includes: Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU—May 1st Movement), Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS), the Federation of Free Workers (FEW) and four other groups.

Topmost in the federation's demands is the "unqualified and absolute restoration of the workers' right to strike."

Eight-Year Ban on Strikes

The declaration of martial law eight years ago outlawed all strikes and labor organizing. However, an appearance of democracy was provided with the establishment of the Trade Union Council of the Philippines (TUCP). The ban on strikes was also amended, limiting it to a long list of "vital industries."

Now, fears of liberalization in light of the "lifting" of martial law have caused concern among Labor Ministry officials, management, and foreign investors.

Labor Minister Blas Ople maintains that the tripartite approach used in the eight-year martial law period will continue.

Labor vs. Regime

A conference among government officials, labor and management set for mid-March will discuss regulations concerning negotiated agreements and "industrial peace." A revised list of "vital industries" and guidelines will be drafted for the adoption by the Interim Batasang Pambansa.

The pro-government TUCP's stance towards labor concerns does not differ from that of the government's and management's.

In contrast, Solidarity's program appears to be gaining popularity among workers. With members numbering over one million, any of this new group's planned action could create a significant political impact. How far and how much the workers can go in the new period of "normalization" remains to be seen. □

BUS DRIVERS STRIKE

Drivers and conductors of the Saulog Transit, Inc. are staging the first major strike in an officially designated "vital industry" since the lifting of martial law.

The strike started January 23 in obvious defiance of Ministry of Labor regulations requiring the filing of strike notices. Subsequent orders to end the strike went unheeded. Negotiations are deadlocked because of management's failure to promise that demands, including ₱10,000 in settlement, will be met.

Violence has since been

reported with three people, believed to be strikers, alleged to have stoned and damaged three buses.

Radio commentaries reminding commuters and transit workers of the "anarchic" bus strikes prior to the declaration of martial law have apparently failed to sway listeners.

The strike's real significance was felt even sharply when workers of the only other bus company plying Saulog's route (Pampa-Olongapo-Manila-Cavite) stopped operations and joined in solidarity. □

400 POLITICAL PRISONERS MOVED TO MUNTINGLUPA

The transfer of 400 political prisoners, 34 of them women, to the National Penitentiary in Muntinlupa, Rizal has been confirmed by government reports late January.

With the lifting of martial law January 17, military tribunals handling martial law-related cases have been abolished. Conflicting official releases, however, suggest the transfer of these cases to civilian courts on the one hand and the continued control by the military of cases still pending, on the other. Now government officials are saying that civilian court facilities are "inadequate."

A televised government announcement of the transfer admitted that the conditions and facilities the detainees face are much worse in Muntinlupa. Government spokesmen promised to improve these conditions. At present, 1,100 persons nationwide are still under detention for subversion charges. □

UNCONTROLLED LOGGING CAUSES AGUSAN FLOODS

"It is an ecological disaster," say observers of the severe floods which have devastated the province of Agusan del Sur since mid-December. The floods, the worst in 20 years, have caused damage conservatively estimated at \$30 million.

Agusan is one of the richest timber regions in the Philippines, the source of fine mahogany. But wanton logging without reforestation measures has left the hillsides bare. Thus a particularly heavy rainy season led to the flooding of 400,000 acres.

But Agusan's fate is not merely a disaster brought on by the logger's greed. One volunteer working on the relief effort calls it "a disaster of neglect."

"We failed to plan flood control and water basins," says Assemblyman Antonio R. Tupaz. "We failed to get the river dredged to take care of the runoff from the mountains. It would have only cost about \$5.4 million to dredge the river. But to save \$5 million, we lose \$30 million."

Hardest hit is the city of Butuan, at the mouth of Agusan River. Eighty percent of the city's dwellers have flood waters in their homes. About 100,000 are living in schools and public buildings.

"We have been able to get help now," commented Mayor Figurado O. Plaza. "But three or four months from now—that is our problem. We are afraid there will be an epidemic." □

PLANTERS HIT MARCOS' CONTROL OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

Negros sugar planters are outraged at President Ferdinand Marcos for his tight control of the Philippine sugar industry especially the area of pricing.

The *New York Times* reported that Bacolod sugar workers are temporarily supporting the planters against whom they have struggled for decent wages for decades.

The campaign has led to an unprecedented class-action suit before the Supreme Court brought by a group of planters last December. They are demanding that the Philippine Sugar Commission and the National Sugar Trading Corporation stop selling sugar crops without planters' consent and that they annul existing long-term export contracts.

The planters' complaint dates back to 1974 when Marcos seized control of the entire industry, "semi-nationalizing" it by placing it under the control of his financial crony Roberto Benedicto. At the time, sugar was selling at an unprecedented 60¢ per pound. Within a very short time, however, the price plummeted to an all-time low and the industry was never able to fully stabilize itself again.

Most hard hit by the drop in prices are the sugar workers, historically the lowest-paid workers in the country. Thousands have found themselves unemployed. Fr. Edgar Saguinsin, leader of the National Federation of Sugar Workers, however, was lukewarm toward the planters' suit. "This is a province whose distinctive feature is social injustice—disparity in society between the very few rich [planters] and the vast majority of poor workers—and the inequity in law," he told the *New York Times*.

At the heart of the planters' woes is Marcos' financial maneuvers. Within the last few years, he has purchased several sugar refineries in the United States. By paying low prices to Philippine planters Marcos is constantly supplied with cheap raw sugar for his U.S. mills which sell the refined sugar elsewhere at higher prices. This profitable operation, of course, is done under government cover. □

PRIESTS SAID TO BE LEADING NPA UNITS?

Four Catholic priests in the province of Abra were reported by military sources to have "abandoned their parishes and joined the New People's Army (NPA)."

The four, Nilo Valerio Pangasinan, Nilo Tega, Serino Ortega, and Conrado Balreg, are allegedly leading NPA guerrilla units in that province 200 miles north of Manila.

The Defense Ministry has since sought assistance from Abra's Bishop Ordillos Pilar for the surrender of the four clerics. Deputy Minister Barbero also offered forgiveness and acquittal for the priests if they have not committed any crimes.

On the other hand, the report on the four "NPA-priests" could also have been concocted so that a fake surrender could be arranged in time for the Papal visit—as Marcos' offering to the conservative Pope. Nevertheless, church and military authorities have been noting an increase in the number of clergy and laypersons joining the armed revolutionary movement. □

(Eight in a Series)

THE REAL ALTERNATIVE: NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces, in their struggle for self-determination and democracy.

The focus of Point 8 of the National Democratic Front's Ten-Point Program concerns one-tenth of the Philippine population.

The NDF recognizes the rights of self-determination for four million people falling under the broad category of national minorities.

If the broad masses of the Filipino people are oppressed and exploited under the U.S.-Marcos regime, these four million are even more oppressed and exploited. National minorities have historically been subject to the phenomenon of Christian and "Filipino" chauvinism.

Chauvinism and Stereotypes

Having failed to "Christianize" the Muslim south, Spanish colonialists sought to discredit their strong cultural resistance. "Moro-moros," a drama form, provided caricatures of Moro peoples vainly fighting off the ultimately victorious Christians. These became popular entertainment for the "civilized" Catholics during the Spanish era.

The equally unconquered mountain tribes were depicted as fierce pagans—clad in loincloths, often brandishing a native weapon in one hand and a disembodied head in the other.

These images, developed by the Spanish, have undergone surprisingly little change. The same images linger on in the minds of today's Filipinos.

Economic Exploitation

Maintaining discriminatory attitudes toward minority peoples has historically facilitated their economic exploitation. Occupying mineral-rich or highly fertile lands, they are easily removed since they have no knowledge of or access to land titles or other forms of legal protection.



Kalingas perform traditional dance at bodong ritual; ritual has been converted into act of protest against Chico River Dam Project. (Alihani)

The productive mines of the Cordilleras and the profitable agribusiness plantations in the south were only made possible through the displacement of resident minorities.

The imposition of martial law has only worsened the lot of oppressed Filipino minorities.

Projects and initiatives benefiting U.S. and multi-national corporations and the Marcos regime have caused the massive uprooting of tribal peoples from their ancestral lands. Often no means of alternative livelihood are provided in their relocation.

The well-documented eviction attempts of the Kalinga and Bontoc peoples to make way for the National Power Corporation/World Bank-sponsored Chico

River Dam Development Project is a testament to this. Land-grabbing is a common occurrence in the south, permitting the rapid expansion of plantations for export crops.

Government: Agent of Exploitation

Government recognition of the country's cultural minorities is most often linked to its political and economic interests. Manuel Elizalde, projected in the international media as the "father of Filipino cultural minorities," uses his position as Presidential Assistant for National Minorities (PANAMIN) to gain access to minority lands.

PANAMIN, like the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, creates

reservations for minorities in order to pave the way for government and private projects such as the Chico River Dams and PhilPak Corporation's expansion schemes.

Oftentimes, government agencies reduce the traditions and cultural heritage of different groups to staged showpieces—for the entertainment of tourists and official guests.

Active Resistance

But the cultural degradation and exploitation has not been passively accepted. Since colonial times, minorities have shown active resistance.

The Marcos regime however, responds to this resistance with far heavier weapons than the

chauvinist dramas and humiliating stereotypes.

The Philippine military has tried in vain to squelch the organized opposition to the Chico River Dam Project through threats, imprisonment and, in many cases, murder. In the south, the establishment and consolidation of armed resistance headed by the Moro National Liberation Front and its Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) has been countered with genocidal warfare.

The armed resistance of national minorities against the government's attacks is concretely backed by the NDF through NPA support or participation in the struggles of mountain and Moro peoples. The NPA and BMA in the south, for example, recognize and respect each other's areas of operation while cooperating in joint activity on the field level from time to time.

Autonomy, Even Secession Recognized

The NDF, understanding the extraordinary level of oppression suffered by Filipino national minorities thus supports their right to self-determination. Autonomy and even secession are recognized as valid options to be chosen by different minority peoples if no form of just federation is possible.

The NDF sees that national minorities should be guaranteed all-rounded, accelerated progress not limited simply to the sphere of culture. Representation in all political and economic structures are to be assured. With this the NDF stresses the democratic unity of workers and peasants, irrespective of nationality or religion.

But the NDF qualifies the condition for the liberation of the national minorities. It sees the achievement of genuine self-determination as possible only with the overall democratic liberation of the country from U.S. imperialism and its puppets in the central government. □

POPE WALKS A TIGHTROPE IN MANILA

By VICTORIA LUNA
Staff Writer

Pope John Paul II gave Ferdinand Marcos a slap on the wrist while offering the 67-year-old dictator gentle support, shortly after he arrived to a tumultuous welcome in Manila February 17.

Thus began the Pope's delicate balancing act called for by the charged political situation in the country.

Aware of the Marcos regime's unpopularity among the Filipinos and even among the clergy, His Holiness delivered what observers insist is his strongest statement to date on human rights.

Criticizes FM But Lauds Martial Law "Lifting"

"Basic rights," he told Ferdinand Marcos at an exclusive reception in Malacanang Palace, cannot be curtailed even over "legitimate concern for the security of a nation, as demanded by the common good."

The reception in itself represented a rebuff by the Pontiff. Asked to say a private mass in the Palace, John Paul II pointedly refused. The Marcoses had to settle for a reception.

But while the Pope made his point about human rights, he also praised the recent "lifting" of martial law. The so-called lifting has already been widely exposed both by opposition forces and the international media as a purely cosmetic gesture timed for the Pope's visit.

Repeats Warning to the Clergy

Just before the meeting in Malacanang, the Pope had reminded an assembly of bishops and priests gathered at the Manila Cathedral of a statement he made in Puebla, Mexico in 1979, repeating: "You are priests and religious; you are not social or political leaders or officials of a temporal power . . ."

That highly controversial comment in Puebla was regarded as a deliberate attempt to stem the growing radicalization of the Latin American clergy, many of whom have been attracted to the Theology of Liberation in recent years.

Many rank and file members of the Philippine clergy expressed distress at the Pope's position at the time and hoped he would modify it in the Philippines. As a "modification," the Pope did say the clergy should be concerned with human rights just before re-

mindering them of his Puebla statement.

Largest Demonstrations Since "Lifting"

The evident radicalization of the Philippine clergy feared by the Pontiff was dramatically underscored February 13, four days before the Pontiff's arrival.

In the first major demonstration since the "lifting," 3,500 people rallied in a Manila plaza to denounce the "fake lifting of martial law," demand an end to all restrictions on the right to strike. They also protested military abuses and called attention to Marcos' "fascist, dictatorial rule."

Attempting to break out of a cordon of 750 riot police and march through Manila's streets, the group was spearheaded by white-robed priests, nuns and seminarians. A brief scuffle broke out as the police, backed by water cannons, drove the group back.

At a later mass held at Rizal park, some 2,500 students, clergy, and workers demonstrated. They carrying placards denouncing U.S. imperialism and the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" and calling for "people's war." Police did not attempt to stop the protest for

fear of disrupting the Pope's beatification rites.

At another event, tight security did not stop one young woman from passing the Pope a letter revealing that 25 political prisoners were on a hunger strike.

Stay Away From Class Struggle

The Pope in his speech to the clergy, warned against violence, praying that all would "work together . . . without hatred, class struggle or fratricidal strife, resisting all temptations to materialistic or violent ideologies."

The message was abundantly clear—fight for human rights, but stay away from Marxism.

"Blessed are the Poor in Spirit"

A similar carefully balanced message was issued to the populace the next day when the Pontiff visited Tondo, known as one of the largest slums in Asia and a seat of militant opposition to the Marcos regime.

John Paul II praised the people for their struggle aimed at bettering their lives. "I have been told that . . . the people of Tondo themselves have achieved much by forming their own organizations . . ." he told thousands of residents gathered in a section

of the slum spruced up for the occasion by government authorities.

At the same time, the Pontiff based his address on the theme of the First Beatitude: "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

The same teaching, observers noted, has been preached for generations to the restless poor to discourage them from struggling for their rights by offering a heavenly reward.

Forced by Philippine Politics

It was clear that the charismatic John Paul II was forced to tailor his messages to the politics of the Philippines.

On the one hand, failure to chastise Ferdinand Marcos would have marred his credibility with the highly politicized Philippine clergy. On the other, the Pope clearly hoped to discourage growing leftist sentiments among religious.

Operating under the uncomfortable reality of the growing left in this Catholic country, John Paul II revealed himself to be the consummate politician walking the tense tightrope of the Philippine political scene. □

FILIPINO COMMUNITY NEWS

Ex-Navy Man Wants to Fight Racism

By BECKY VILLONES
San Jose Correspondent

Ed Donato, an ex-Navy steward from San Jose, California, is a "man of action" who represents a growing breed of community-conscious Filipino immigrants.

At present, Donato, a family man with three daughters, is one of the leading stalwarts in organizing the Filipino postal workers against unfair and discriminatory practices of management at the San Jose Post Office.

Born in Bayambang, Pangasinan, he is the son of a farmer and one of 15 children. Having been raised under difficult economic conditions, his parents instilled in their children the value that "education is a tool to better yourself."

However, lured to the United States by tales of returning sailors about the "land of golden opportunity," Donato left his homeland and family at the early age of nineteen. The wild adventures and the seemingly good fortune of sailors from his province, brought Ed to enlist in the Navy as a transient recruit.

He learned quickly that the



Ex-Navy steward Ed Donato with his daughter. He wants Pinoys to start saying no to discrimination. (AK Photo)

only job for Filipinos in the Navy was being a steward. He instinctively caught on to the institutionalized racism in the service.

"Filipino stewards were nothing but servants to the officers... cleaning, cooking, washing, serving, and even babysitting!

The Navy tricked Filipinos into joining as transient recruits and like myself, they ended up as stewards."

Ed broke the mold and passed the examination to become a Finance Clerk. On board the Coral Sea CVA-43, he became involved in the Military Rights Education work, and helped fellow Filipinos in their battle against the blatant racism existing in the Navy.

Upon his retirement from the Navy, Ed entered the civilian life working at the Housing Authority in Santa Clara County, and as Deputy to the City Clerk of San Jose. Later, he joined some 200 Filipinos working at the Post Office.

"This job," recounted Ed, "was one of the worst nightmares of my entire life." The harassment by his supervisors and the outright discriminatory practices of management in granting promotions, led him to begin organizing the Filipino postal workers in order for them to "fight back." However, finding the working conditions intolerable, Ed quit and left his job at the post office.

Ed is now in business for himself, but continues to be ac-

tive in helping the struggle of postal workers. "Filipinos must speak for their rights," asserted Ed.

"I hate it when Filipinos bow their heads and don't fight for their rights. I am happy to see that my *kababayans* at the Post Office are taking up leading roles in the fight against their supervisors."

Despite the multiple responsibilities of being a husband, a father, and at the same time maintaining a small business, Ed continues to devote much of his time and effort in organizing his *kababayans* against racism and discrimination. Aside from the post office organizing, he is also helping his fellow veterans in their struggle to meet the new requirements of the G.I. bill.

Ed expressed his admiration for his "co-members of the National Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization who put a lot of time and effort in helping victims of harassment and racism."

Speaking with much confidence, Ed remarked: "With education, the Filipino community can improve—through organizing and fighting together." □

Hawaii Minorities Brace for a Fight:

Reagan's Anti-Bilingual Stance Hits Home

By ABE IGNACIO
Hawaii Correspondent

Honolulu—Fearing that the Reagan administration's goal of cutting bilingual education will encourage Hawaii's "anti-bilingual" Department of Education (DOE), local civil rights groups here are bracing for a fight to save their programs.

The local chapter of the National Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization (NFIRO) for one, has announced plans to launch "a massive pressure campaign targetting the state DOE." The campaign demands the full implementation of the state's bilingual program.

According to Terrell Bell,

Secretary of Education, the Reagan administration will junk the proposed federal regulations requiring states to provide students 'of limited English,' instruction in their native language as well.

"Denying bilingual education to children of limited or no English ability, only serves to perpetuate institutional racism," stated Joe Florendo, NFIRO spokesperson. "In effect, such a policy systematically excludes them from equal educational opportunities."

The NFIRO and other civil rights advocates here fear that Reagan's threats on bilingual education will strengthen the hand of Hawaii's DOE. This agency is well-known for its opposition to the program.

Although the DOE has pub-

licly stated that "the public school system of Hawaii is clearly and fully committed to the spirit and intent of Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act)," its administrators have privately and publicly opposed bilingual education.

In 1979, the federal Department of Housing, Education and Welfare (HEW) criticized the DOE's failure to provide proper educational services to non-English and limited English-speaking students.

In 1980, despite a waiver agreement setting specific goals and objectives for the DOE, the HEW again found the agency guilty of failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act. The DOE's federal funding was subsequently threatened with cutbacks.

Present Program Criticized

The bilingual programs presently provided by the DOE include the Students of Limited English Proficiency Program (SLEP), and the federal bilingual/bicultural Title VII program.

Currently, there are 5,000 students in Hawaii who are eligible for these programs. While the vast majority are Ilocano speakers, Samoan, Korean, Vietnamese, and Cantonese represent the four other major native language groups.

The implementation of Hawaii's SLEP and Title VII bilingual programs have been criticized by local immigrant rights advocates and community leaders.

Among the complaints were: lack of permanent bilingual teachers, many SLEP personnel are hired as temporary and/or parttime aides, not enough room to conduct classes, and the criteria for identifying students for bilingual education are highly questionable.

"Total Immersion" Proposed

DOE Supt. Charles Clark and Dep. Supt. Emiko Kudo claim there is no need for bilingual education. The two advocate a policy of "total immersion."



They believe immigrant children should be directly placed in English-speaking classes to either "sink or swim," according to their abilities.

Florendo countered that bilingual education "is a process where a person learns to function in a new environment by learning the dominant language."

Defending this process, Florendo stated, "Bilingual education can ease the difficult transition for an immigrant student to American society." He stressed that with bilingual education, "a student need not necessarily fall behind in other subjects such as math, science and social studies just because they lack English proficiency."

Florendo reiterated Title VII

of the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in any program that receives federal monies.

Denouncing the department, Florendo remarked, "Such exclusion—institutional racism—is made through seemingly 'neutral' policies, procedures and attitudes, such as the DOE's 'immersion' policy."

The NFIRO hopes that local pressure from immigrant communities can save Hawaii's bilingual education. "We will be working with other immigrant communities to monitor and pressure the DOE. It has to fulfill its responsibility of providing effective bilingual education," Florendo said. □



"Sink or Swim" is the Reagan administration's message to immigrant school children, as it announced plans to scrap bi-lingual education. (AK Photo)

Filipinos at the U.N.:

Working in the "Glass Zoo on First Avenue"

By L. MARZAN
New York Correspondent

Since its construction in the late 1940s, the internationally-famous United Nations Building has been tagged as one of New York City's largest tourist attractions.

Every year, the UN boasts of crawling large numbers of visitors from different parts of the world. A trip to New York isn't complete if you miss a tour of the "Glass Zoo on First Avenue," conducted by tour guides of different nationalities who sport baby blue and white uniforms, and who nurse worn-out calloused feet after a full day's work.

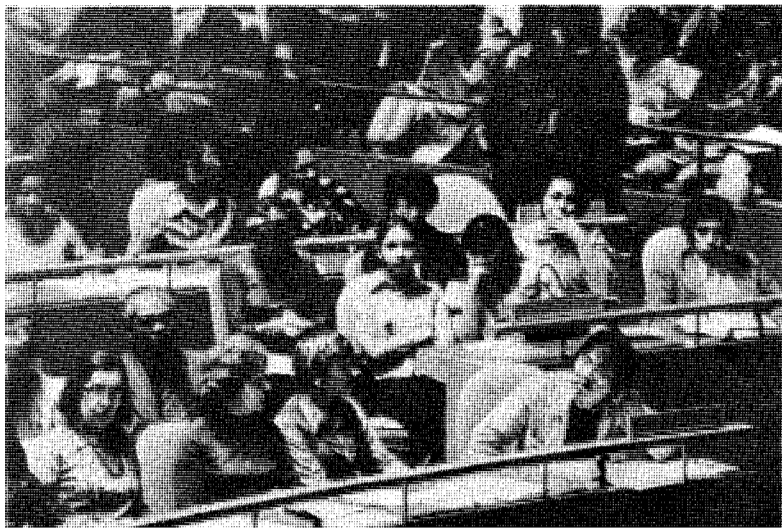
The UN also attracts a different breed of tourists however—Filipino tourists who are desperate for jobs at the "prestigious" UN Secretariat. After all, a UN job offers the most attractive fringe benefit for Filipinos on tourist visas—guaranteed legal stay in America.

High Filipino Population

Filipinos comprise the second largest nationality among the UN's 3,700 employees, second only to American nationals.

Because Filipinos make up an extraordinarily large proportion among staff, certain biases have developed against them. It is a widespread but unconfirmed rumor that applications for employment from Filipinos are pigeon-holed, to "allow for a more balanced national representation" among staff.

On the lighter side, Filipinos have also been the butt of jokes. Staffers of different nationalities quip that when Filipinos take the



A meeting of U.N. staff in the New York headquarters. A substantial number of them are Filipino workers. (AK File Photo)

day off on Philippine National Day (June 12), the Secretariat building (which houses UN staff) "practically becomes a ghost town, and certain departments are forced to go on skeleton crews."

Other staffers say that aside from Chinese, Russian, Spanish, English, French, and Arabic, Tagalog should also be recognized as an official "language" at the UN.

Myth Debunked

Do Filipinos "have it good" at the UN?

The most the UN can offer transients seeking indefinite stay in the U.S. is the diplomatic (G-4) visa that accompanies UN employment. The more attractive benefits are actually enjoyed only by a select few hired under the Professional category.

The very few Filipinos under this category are mostly those with connections or "pull" with

the Philippine government. A few make it on their own through long years of "hard and dedicated service."

But the bulk of Filipino employees fall within the General Service category. These are the less prestigious positions like secretaries, clerk-typists, mail clerks, and other support staff of the UN.

It is in this category where all the supposed "glitter and glamor" associated with working at the UN are debunked.

Clerical staff are paid no more than what clerks in outside private companies get. While UN staffers' salaries are supposedly tax-free, an equivalent amount is deducted from staff paychecks for "staff assessment" (money pooled to pay for building maintenance purposes). The staff has consistently questioned the whole rationale behind this pay deduction. On the other hand, staffers "enjoy" a lump sum pen-

sion at retirement date, which again, comes from staff salaries' deduction.

Slow Upward Mobility

The lack of upward mobility is another major source of staff frustrations. Many Filipinos who are in the bottom rung of the General Service ladder, complain of the slow pace of mobility. As to his chances of making it to a higher job category, a Filipino mail clerk remarked: 'Pagputing uwak' (when the crow turns white).

While the diplomatic visa gives Filipinos the incentive to work at the UN, it also becomes the main source of frustration. Filipinos who may have become disgruntled UN workers have no chances of seeking jobs elsewhere, since their visa restricts them from working elsewhere. The only way out is to apply for permanent resident visas which can be very difficult.

Illusions and Frustrations

While the material benefits are in reality no different from those offered by jobs outside the UN, certain illusions are nevertheless fostered among many Filipino employees.

One prevailing attitude is that their being "international civil servants" places them in a special status above "ordinary immigrants."

The UN staff handbook (Staff Rules and Regulations) describes the organization as a "separate entity," a body not governed by the laws of the United States.

Thus, UN Filipino workers are buffered from some major difficulties faced by other Fili-

pino immigrants. For instance, they are spared the hardship of having to deal with the INS for any reason. The UN directly handles all their visa matters.

Not being "ordinary immigrants," many UN workers have developed a certain distance from the day-to-day life of the New York Filipino community. UN workers are generally not seen involving themselves with pressing Filipino community affairs.

But for those who secretly sympathize with the anti-Marcos movement or who boldly tried to be active in the Narcisco-Perez issue, another factor, not illusions bar them from involvement.

The same UN handbook stipulates that the UN is a totally "apolitical international organization" and that consequently, its employees are prohibited from engaging in any political activity, either concerning the U.S. government or the government of their country of origin.

Needless to say, this policy carries the silent threat of termination of employment, cancellation of diplomatic visa, and the eventual deportation of any employee found guilty of violating it.

This policy serves as a convenient justification for Filipinos who do not want to get involved in issues affecting the Philippines and Filipinos in America.

But for those who have strong opinions on these issues, the "no politics" policy is a constant source of frustration. A Filipino secretary secretly supporting local activists remarked, "For the privilege of being an international civil servant, I can't even serve myself or my own people." □

AMLC Meetings Tear Apart Fake M.L. Lifting

Activists and their supporters dissect the implications of Marcos' "lifting" of martial law at local conference held at Lone Mountain College, San Francisco, February 14.

Local conferences similar to this one led by the S.F. Anti-Martial Law Alliance were held in 12 U.S. and Canadian cities under the auspices of the Anti-Martial Law Coalition. The AMLC is now discussing changing its name as a result of martial law's "lifting."



Family Recounts Racist Arson . . .

Continued from page 1

browse around. But all is not well.

Among the residents who drop in for candy, cigarettes, beer, tortillas and jalapenos, the Hoffmans observe a seething tension. "You can tell white and Mexican kids give each other hard looks. At the counter they consciously keep a distance from one another."

Linda, who grew up in New Mexico said, "I know this tension. I also know what discrimination is like—as far back as grade school. We were forbidden to speak Spanish in school. White kids were clearly the more favored students, in contrast to brown kids' like us."

But in this neighborhood the racial division is not at all related to whites being more privileged or better off. In the neighborhood, many of the white families are poor, continually on welfare, and chronically unemployed. They exist as one-day laborers and have stayed at this economic level for generations.

Poverty Breeds Racist Ideas

"After living in 'Okieville' (the popular name for the neighborhood) for a year-and-a-half, I realize there is a history in this community," Luis said. "The migration of people here from the Midwest like Oklahoma and Tennessee in the 20s carries a social history that continues to this day.

"The horizons of the whites

who live here are very narrow. They live in Okieville. They cannot go further from that world because they do not have the economic means to do so."

Luis continued his observations: "While other whites had better opportunities and now reside in the more affluent parts of Stockton, these people in Okieville have been denied that. They have given up the struggle. Their children are not disciplined, education is not valued. After all, why should they change? They feel they are going to be stuck in the same place anyway."

Looking Beyond Vengeance

Reflecting back on the incident, Luis explained, "When my store was burned I was away

from home. When my wife phoned me about the fire I automatically thought of one of my Filipino friends whose home in Elk Grove was burned down in 1933.

"There were violent attacks on Filipinos then.

"I grew up in a small town in Manila—Santa Ana—where violence was a way of life. So, I still keep a Magnum 357, a very powerful weapon. I could have sought vengeance. But what would I achieve that way? I keep the gun for self-defense, to protect my family."

Broadening Their Perspective

The Hoffmans have tried to broaden their perspective on the incident. "Now I try to get an understanding of this experience. As much as I am a victim, I want to be rational." His 17-year-old

daughter, according to Luis, has come to the conclusion that racism has a more fundamental economic root to it.

"She sees the material and mental poverty of these people and she can see that their hatred of non-whites is related to a hatred of their own condition. This low economic level is so debilitating for everyone who has to live within it.

The Hoffmans say that their sons too, have raised their social consciousness as a result of the incident. "The burning, the racial slurs written on our wall, these are things that my children, now young adults, question seriously," Luis declared very solemnly.

"They are not just accepting life as it is. They want to make a better world." □

DOMESTIC/INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Profiles from the Right:

'To God, Country, Apple Pie . . . and the Mafia?(!)'

Senator Barry Goldwater, Sr. and Strom Thurmond can be easily seen as living monuments of the rightwing in the U.S. Senate.

For decades these one-time presidential candidates have been spokesmen for racism, anti-communism and national chauvinism. Their respective positions strike gross ironies.

Goldwater, chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence (having much to do with the activities of the CIA and FBI) is suspected of being a full partner of organized crime.

Strom Thurmond, chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee (key in civil rights legislation and enforcement) is the most prominent spokesman of racial segregation in the Senate.

Goldwater and the Mafia

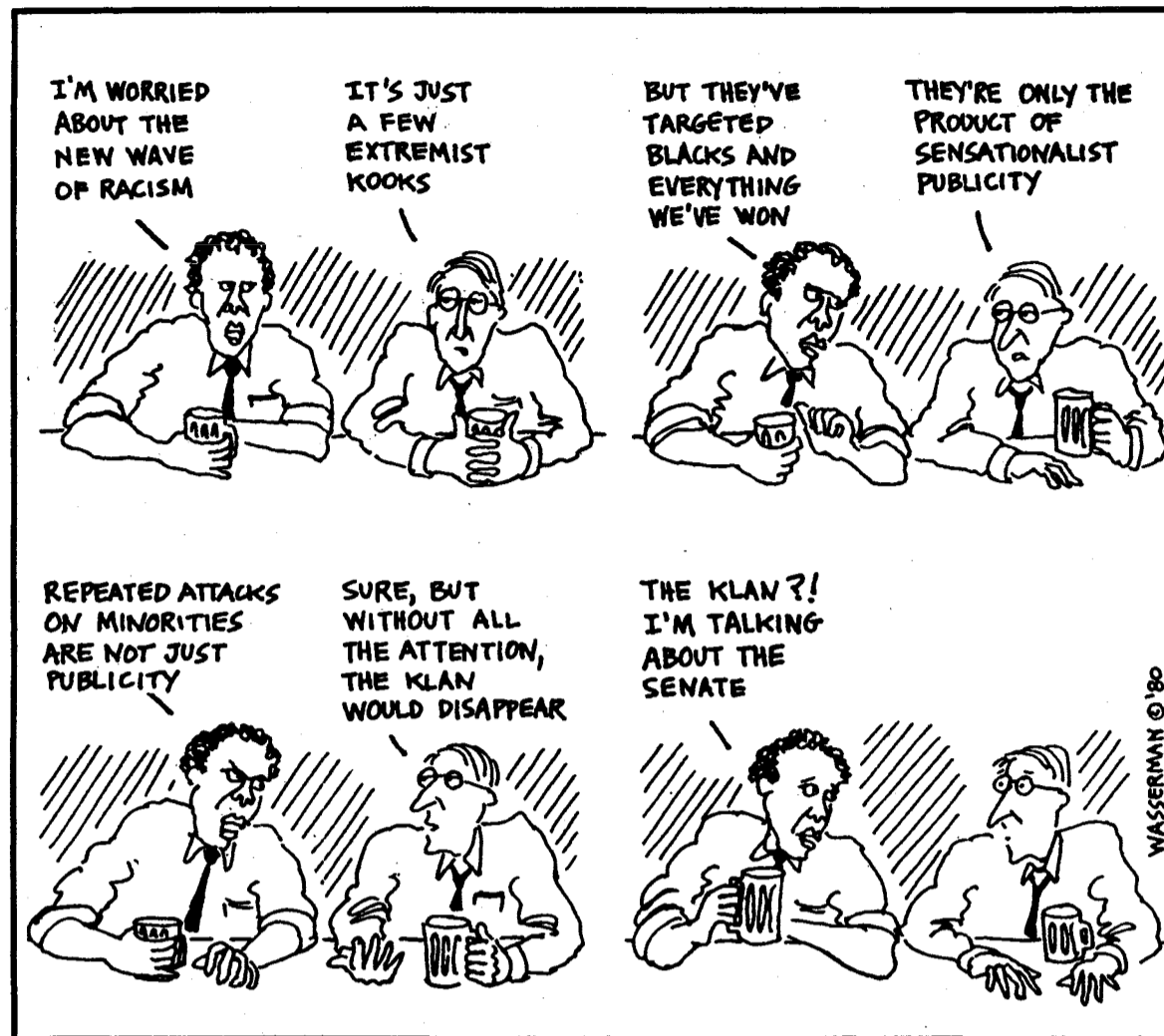
Four years ago an investigative reporter Don Bolles, was blown to pieces by a bomb planted in his car. Bolles was working on a story about organized crime in Goldwater's home state of Arizona.

A group called Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) continued Bolles' work and disclosed Goldwater and his brother Robert's relationship with organized crime in Arizona and Nevada.

A Little Help from His Friends

Barry Goldwater's political career was launched with the help of a \$15,000 donation from one Willie Bioff, a convicted extortionist and known mafia member.

Five thousand went directly to his 1952 Senate campaign and \$10,000 went to the busi-



ness support of his chief advisor and childhood friend Harry Rosenzweig. Rosenzweig served as chairman of the Arizona Republican committee for eight years and is known among Phoenix prostitution circles as the "Diamond Man" due to his jewelry business.

Barry's brother Robert used his position as director of the Valley Bank of Phoenix, to front and finance the purchase of the

Flamingo and Riviera casinos for the mob in the mid-50s. One Gus Greenbaum ran these casinos for the mafia and hosted the Goldwater brothers many times during their "recreational" visits to Las Vegas.

Mob Ties Continue

Bioff and Greenbaum were eventually executed by the mafia (Bioff was bombed and Greenbaum had his throat slit). Barry

Goldwater attended both of their funerals.

Both Barry and Robert continue active mob relations through Moe Dalitz, operator of the Desert Inn and Joseph Zerrelli, mob godfather in Detroit.

The Goldwaters maintain a \$10,000 line of credit and a department store at Dalitz's Desert Inn. Zerrelli's huge citrus farm holdings in Arizona now appear in Robert Goldwater's

name.

Thurmond—Racism Incarnate

"Nigras are better treated in the South . . . we understand each other better." In 1972 Strom Thurmond received only 8% of the black vote in South Carolina, evidently a result of a slight misunderstanding.

Thurmond's political career has been one of constant struggle against any legislation supporting civil rights and racial integration.

In 1948 he led a split in the Democratic party over recognition of black delegates from the southern states. He formed a State Rights Party (Dixiecrats), ran for president and carried four states in the deep South.

He called the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against segregation "the worst blot in U.S. history." In 1955 he outdid himself by staging a 24-hour filibuster in the Senate to prevent the passage of a civil rights bill.

Kingmaker

Thurmond, whose office is conspicuously decorated with a Confederate flag, played kingmaker in 1968. Political experts believe it was his Southern influence that carried Nixon's quest for his party's nomination.

Thurmond put it simply, "Nixon is the only candidate without views objectionable to the South."

The rightward swing in U.S. politics has given these two dinosaurs of the right—Thurmond and Goldwater—a new life. Their political careers and continued power are an indication of the corrupt and racist character of some of the U.S. government's highest institutions. □

Reagan's Budget Cuts:

GRIM PROSPECTS FOR THE HAVE-NOTS

By DEBY ARMANDO
Staff Writer

Ronald Reagan unveiled his long-awaited 'Program for Economic Recovery' this week to tumultuous praises from wealthy and conservative sectors. As expected Reagan proposed a \$650.5 billion budget for fiscal 1982. This is \$41.4 billion less than the original Carter budget which was to take effect this Oct. 1.

While promising a few days ago that cuts in the federal budget will be "equitable," the proposed budget clearly favors corporate benefits, but severely cuts social programs. In addition, it increases military spending by \$7.2 billion.

The Cuts

This setback for the nation's poor and working people took the form of cuts in such areas as:

- \$520 million from aid to dependent children.
- \$232 million from subsidized rental housing.
- \$1.2 billion from Medicaid.
- \$1.5 billion from child nutrition, eliminating or reducing the school free lunch program for 145 million children!
- \$803 million from student aid.
- \$550 million from disability insurance.
- \$1.1 billion from social security minimum payment.
- \$100 million from social security student benefits, elimi-

nating college payments to children of retired, disabled and dead workers.

• \$1.2 billion from extended unemployment benefits.

Callously disregarding the plight of the unemployed, Reagan will attempt to eliminate the Young Adult Conservation Corps and the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), affecting hundreds of thousands nationally. California alone stands to lose 34,000 CETA positions.

Additionally in effect is Reagan's freeze on federal hiring. Retroactive from Nov. 2, the freeze puts out of work 30,000 who had been hired after that date. The legality of the retroactive freeze is being challenged in the courts by unions.

No Restrictions On Capitalists

While his policies will enlarge the ranks of the unemployed, Reagan believes his plan will create more jobs in the long run. One way, according to him, is encouragement to business for expansion and thus the creation of new jobs by removing fetters to business increasing its profits. To accomplish this, Reagan has frozen many of the regulation on business and seeks to eliminate several others.

Loosening such regulations as safety, anti-pollution, affirmative action and anti-discrimination measures would indeed allow business more room for profits

By WALTER GAMUS-YONN
Staff Writer

A lot of media hoopla has been focused on Reagan and his cabinet's "austerity program," which demands great economic sacrifice from the poor and minority communities to the benefit of the rich and the corporations.

For many, however, another, if not a greater, danger lies in the U.S. Senate.

For while the presidency heads the assault on working people's standard of living, the rightwing in the Senate is busy laying the groundwork for repressive legislation that would put minority and other progressive movements on the political defensive.

The Greater Danger

In the Senate, the Republican sweep of 15 new seats has given them the first majority in either house since 1955.

What's more, the far right in

and expansion. However, it would surely worsen the already deteriorating quality of life. It will also turn the clock back many years in terms of improving the working conditions of the vast majority of America's population.

THE RIGHT'S GROWING CLOUT IN THE SENATE

the Republican ranks holds powerful chairmanships in important committees: Barry Goldwater, Sr. of Arizona heads the committee on Intelligence; Jesse Helms, Judiciary; and Orrin Hatch, Labor and Human Resources.

It is these rightwingers and their key positions that have caused civil libertarians and others to brace themselves for a rightist offensive that would make the Nixon years appear mild.

Death of Fair Housing Bill

The recent death of the Fair Housing Bill is an indication of the rightwing's new-found power.

Hailed as the most important civil rights legislation in a decade, the ill-fated bill's purpose was to provide enforcement for existing laws against housing discrimination based on race, religion, and sex. Last summer the bill appeared to have broad support in both houses and was assured of passage.

The attack on the bill was led by Strom Thurmond and Orrin Hatch. Thurmond attached many complicated amendments and Hatch further delayed deliberations by holding the Senate hostage to a week-long filibuster. The bill finally failed to gain the required 60 votes needed to proceed to final passage, and died.

The 43 No votes on the bill demonstrated the distinct re-

gional character to the rightwing—one that crosses party lines.

Of the 43 senators, at least 31 are from southern or southwestern states, areas with notable histories of racism, anti-labor movements, and notoriously rabid national chauvinism.

More to Come; Dreams Come True

The rightwing's goals in this next session of Congress include:

Constitutional amendments against abortion and affirmative action; restriction of federal courts' power to integrate schools; repeal of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts; abolition of free legal aid to the poor; abolition of the food stamp program (a pet project of the notorious Jesse Helms); and outlawing the public disclosure of FBI and CIA agents and their activities (a pet project of Goldwater).

Although the right has cherished some of these goals for years their wish has been frustrated by very active mass movements and the radical political climate in the 60s and 70s.

Those who have monitored Congress for years, notably the American Civil Liberties Union, are strongly urging vigilance. The rightwing's dreams are becoming reality in the present atmosphere of war, economic instability, and racism. □

LIBERATING THE NATION, LIBERATING THEMSELVES

By JUAN CRISOSTOMO

Confronted by indignant questions about prostitution at a tourism conference, an official of the Philippine tourism ministry brightly proclaimed that indeed the government is doing something about the problem.

The tourism ministry, he said, is correcting the bad international image created by prostitution by sending Filipino beauty queens abroad. The point, presumably, is that wholesome sex objects are better than tainted ones.

The hidebound sexism behind this comment is matched by an American electronics plant manager's explanation of why they mainly hire young women. "We hire girls," he said, "because they have less energy, are more disciplined, and are easier to control."

Brutal as they may be, his words accurately explain the social manipulation of women in the electronics industry.

Tourism and the electronics and garments industries, the fastest growing industries under the Marcos dictatorship, are almost wholly based on the economic and social exploitation of Filipino women.

The degrading role assigned to them in the dictatorship's economic strategy is no accident. The prostitute and the electronics worker illustrate the role of women as members of the Filipino working class on the one hand, and on the other, the particu-

of the rice production process such as threshing have taken away jobs traditionally done by women.

The displacement of women from the rural work force, part of a more generalized displacement of the rural population, has thrust them into an equally hostile urban environment. Those who manage to find work quickly discover that the only jobs open to them are those considered "women's work" which are dull, monotonous, uncreative and purely mechanical.

Women have generally gravitated towards jobs in service industries as sales girls, clerks, domestics, or bargirls. The lowest paid among the women workers can be found in light and medium manufacturing industries such as electronics, textile, and garments. These industries are labor-intensive and are listed as export-oriented, thus entitling their owners to pay low wages.

Wages for women are generally lower than those of men, even for the same type of work and with the same qualifications. In 1975, for example, government figures showed that women employees' average weekly earnings was ₱49 (\$6.62) compared to ₱80 (\$10.13) for men.

An extreme example of this situation is the Viron Corporation in the Bataan Export Processing Zone. Ninety-three percent of its workers are female. They are required to work 16 hours a day, seven days a week, with no sick

feudal sexism of the Philippines and reinforced it with capitalism. With capitalism, women have become more systematically exploited. They are exploited in whichever way is most efficient and profitable, so that degradation affects all women.

In the Philippines, economic survival has become a burden that deprives women even further of their dignity, thus reinforcing sexual oppression. In the crisis-ridden, U.S.-dominated economy, they are forced to take whatever work the ailing system offers. It often offers nothing and the Marcos regime has made prostitution a tempting alternative. Although the regime denies that it encourages prostitution, the tourist industry is in fact dependent on the thinly-veiled sexual come-on promoted by the regime.

Accredited tourist agencies employ "hospitality girls" as part of their package tours. In the standard Japanese "sex tour," men are taken by bus to a club to choose partners for the evening. There, numbered women are displayed behind glass panels.

The prostitute receives little of the standard \$50 fee: \$14 goes to the local travel agent, \$16 to the hotel, \$10 to the Japanese tour guide, only \$10 to her. If she is not picked, she receives nothing. Women get little or no protection under this system. The customer is protected from the prostitute should she attempt to "make trouble." Prosti-

tuted into broader liberation struggles. The formation of the *Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kabaihan* (*Makibaka*, Free Movement of the New Filipina) in 1970 was a historic step in this process. Inspired by the upsurge of women's liberation struggles in the West, the *Makibaka* nonetheless placed itself squarely within the context of the national democratic movement.

The *Makibaka* programme said:

"To liberate the creative potential of women, it is first of all necessary to liberate the Filipino masses of which they are a part. No sector of the population can be free from exploitation of any sort unless the primary exploitative relation, that between U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the Filipino people on the other, is totally destroyed."

Makibaka was declared illegal and abolished together with other national democratic mass organizations soon after the declaration of martial law in 1972. But *Makibaka's* goal of introducing women's liberation as a vital dimension in the national democratic struggle is now being served by other mass organizations.

One measure of the seriousness with which this goal is being served is the struggle to purge sexism within revolutionary ranks. The struggle against sexual opportunism, a vestige of the feudal "double-standard," for example, is an ongoing process in national democratic collectives. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the leading organization in the National Democratic Front, has produced a "Guide to Relations Between the Sexes" which has become the standard for principled relationships among party and national democratic cadres.

The task of rooting out sexist attitudes within revolutionary ranks is by no means over. For example, while more women are rising to leading ranks, there is still the tendency to overlook women in considering assignments for complex political tasks. Another example is the "over-protectiveness" towards female cadres. While they are in principle equal to men in the assignment of tasks, there is a tendency towards not assigning them to so-called dangerous tasks traditionally performed by male comrades. As one national democratic activist put it: "This can and should be corrected. Women should show what they can do and insist upon it. The under-estimation of women's capacities especially by males should be criticized."

"The liberation of Filipino women is an integral part of the liberation of the Filipino nation from imperialism and feudalism."

This is not an abstract theoretical position. It is grounded on the experience of thousands of women revolutionaries. They have grasped that women cannot be liberated from exploitation and oppression if all the people are not themselves freed from exploitation and oppression. At the same time, they have learned that by struggling against male supremacist attitudes in the revolutionary ranks, they are laying the political and social conditions for the equality of the sexes in the new Philippine society which arise from the ashes of the old. □



Philippine women: Oppressed by imperialist-dominated society like everyone else, but even more oppressed with male supremacist attitudes and practices as added burdens. (AK File Photo)

larities of the oppression suffered by women in a male supremacist, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country.

Women Workers and Peasants

Filipino women compose more than one-half of the Philippines' population of 48 million. But of the 27.7 million in the labor force, only 5.4 million are women. More than half of them work in agriculture, mostly in rice and corn. Although women do most of the transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, harvesting, and threshing in rice farms, 70% of them work as unpaid workers. Those who do get paid earn only ₱27 (\$3.65) weekly cash income, government statistics (1975) show, compared to ₱40 (\$5.40) for men doing the same jobs.

The increasing commercialization of agriculture has placed rural women in a more difficult situation. As more and more men have been forced into cash cropping or working in plantations, women have had to take on the burden of food crop production. Other developments such as the increasing mechanization of parts

leave or maternity benefits. Most earn less than the minimum wage of ₱12.80 per day, less than two dollars.

Women workers are forced to clean the toilets and the factory after working hours; there are quota speed-ups routinely; and salaries are often delayed. "Preventive suspension" is used to get rid of union organizers.

Machismo and Prostitution

The blatant discrimination against Filipino women in the workplace is made possible by deeply ingrained male supremacist cultural norms. These norms derive from the continued existence of feudal social relations, the particular influence of Hispanic Catholicism, and the pervasive role of American culture. The juxtaposition of Hollywood and Madison Avenue values against double-standard, semi-feudal puritanism has produced a particularly virulent form of sexism that is worse than in the West.

U.S. imperialism has also brought more than Hollywood cultural norms. It harnessed the

tutes must leave cards issued to them by the government's Office of Social Hygiene with their pimps and/or bar managers.

Resistance and Liberation

If the past decade of Marcos' rule has intensified the exploitation of women, the same decade has also seen the increasing involvement of women in the resistance.

More than at any other time in Philippine history, women are participating in the struggle for national liberation not as passive followers, or with specified women's roles, but as active participants in a process where their liberation from sexual oppression is part and parcel of national liberation.

Women have always participated in people's struggles far into the Philippine past, in the hundreds of peasant rebellions that marked Philippine colonial history, in the Philippine revolution of 1896, and in the workers' struggles of the American period.

But it is only recently that the liberation of women has been explicitly and conscientiously in-

FM "Ends" Censorship But COSTS, CONTROLS INSURE LOYAL MEDIA

With much pomp, Ferdinand Marcos announced the disbanding of the Print Media Council shortly after the "lifting" of martial law January 17.

With the two "regulatory bodies" no longer operative, Marcos suggested that the Philippines once more has a free press.

Or does it? Not even the few who have remained untouched by Marcos' accumulation of properties are daring to enter the field.

The Soriano family, owners of San Miguel Beer, once published their own paper, the *Herald*. But, according to the *Herald's* editor at the time of its closure, "Mr. Soriano cannot publish a newspaper because the media have been nationalized."

Financial Risk Too Great

No pre-martial law publisher has expressed interest in re-entering the publishing world.

"The cost of starting such an enterprise (a newspaper) has now become so prohibitive that the government may have to provide initial encouragement and help," remarked former University of the Philippines president Salvador Lopez.

The rough estimate of the cost of starting a Manila daily is ₱100 million (\$12.8 million).

Chino Lopez, former publisher of the *Manila Times*, the country's largest pre-martial law daily, claims that it would take at least \$13.5 million to start up the *Times* once again. The *Times* has sold its buildings and presses.

Media Still Held by Cronies

Current media outlets remain under the control of Marcos cronies.

The only paper to continue from pre- to post-martial law days, *The Daily Express*, was a newcomer in 1972. Even then it was already known as being "close to the president."

"*The Express*, owned by Roberto Benedicto, disappeared with all the papers shut down on September 22, 1972. But two days later it reappeared as the only newspaper allowed to publish for the first months of martial law. In screaming headlines, the *Express* each day boasted of its unrivaled circulation growth.

Today, Benedicto also controls television channels 2, 9 and 13).

Shortly thereafter, the *Times-Journal*, owned by Mrs. Marcos' brother Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, and the *Bulletin Today*, owned by presidential crony Hans Menzi, appeared.

Paper Supply Restricted

"The financial risk is thought to be too great for any independent investor who, under Marcos' continued powers, would be liable to closure and newsprint controls," comments the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Shielah Ocampo.

Teodoro "Doroy" Valenica, a Manila columnist, renewed as much for his murder of the English language as for his praise of Ferdinand Marcos, notes ominously:

"Nobody in his right mind would invest in a daily... unless he is assured of paper and raw materials."

Perhaps Valenica's point explains why the only newcomer expressing interest in the media business is yet another crony: Herminio Disini, cousin-in-law of the First Lady.

One of Disini's most controversial properties is Cellophil, a huge paper mill. □