

# Ang KATIPUNAN

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## MINERS STAND FIRM ON THEIR DEMANDS



Demanding health, safety and the right to strike, 160,000 U.S. miners maintain a historic 95-day strike. Even Carter's imposition of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act has not threatened their unity. See story p. 14 and editorial p. 9. [UPI]

## SUBVERSION CHARGED Juliet Sison Brought To Trial



Juliet de Lima Sison, an alleged ranking member of the CPP and on trial with 52 others, is charged with subversion.

By VICTORIA LUNA

Juliet de Lima Sison, captured last November 10 with her husband, Jose Ma. Sison, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), was brought before a military tribunal March 7 with 54 co-accused on charges of subversion. Ms. Sison entered a plea of not guilty.

Informed sources in Manila reveal that Ms. Sison was denied access to a lawyer by her military captors. She had hoped to be represented by members of the Free Legal Assistance Group (FLAG), a group of well-known lawyers and ex-political detainees headed by ex-Senator Jose  
*continued on page 6*

### 4-A Hotel Residents Threatened

## WILL HONOLULU RENEGE ON ANTI-EVICTION PROMISE?



Residents of Honolulu's Chinatown, fighting the constant threat of city evictions, face new threats at the 4-A Hotel. [PACE]

By CATHI TACTAQUIN  
AK Correspondent

HONOLULU — Whether or not the City Council will uphold its promise to stop all Chinatown evictions until it provides a plan for low-cost housing and storefronts and permanent relocation housing in the area is the major issue facing the residents of Honolulu's Chinatown.

Over six months ago, through the militant resistance to the Aloha Hotel eviction, tenants, PACE (People Against Chinatown Eviction) and supporters successfully forced the City Council to pass a resolution to this effect, but have yet to reap the results of this victory.

The resolution is now being put to the test with the issue of the 4-A Hotel which currently houses low-income families who are currently facing the threat of eviction. If the landlords are successful in evicting the tenants, it will set the dangerous precedent for private developers to move on the eviction of several other hotels in the area.

### 4-A EVICTION THREAT

March 15 is the deadline for negotiations between the hotel tenants and the developer landlords who want to demolish the building next year.

Earlier this year, 4-A tenants agreed to begin paying rent to Robert Gerell and the SLAP Corp.

*continued on page 11*

### In This Issue:

- ACWA Gag Ordered Lifted page 7
- 4-H Trainees Push For Reforms page 12
- CLUP Commentary on Elections page 9
- Debate over Smith's 'Internal Settlement' page 16

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# PHILIPPINE NEWS

## Military Abuses Attributed to Battle Shock

In response to the alarming rate of military abuses and breaches of discipline, the Neuropsychiatric Services (NPS) of the Armed Forces of the Philippines conducted a study on the behavior of Armed Forces personnel. Their findings attribute the anti-social acts of soldiers to psychological distress resulting from battle shock and separation anxieties from friends and family. Particularly in war torn areas, like Mindanao, trainees and draftees have figured in many cases of indiscriminate firing of firearms, mauling of civilians, extortion and drunken behavior. To stem the problem, Dept. of National Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, has called for the neuropsychiatric testing and treatment of erring personnel. This solution however, barely skims the problem as incidents of military abuses are not isolated but widespread and thus could not be pinned on a few psychotic soldiers. The NPS study further suggests that the problem is inherent to the hostile and violent environment of the AFP; a characteristic cultivated by a repressive system; and thus, not likely to disappear by mere psychoanalysis.

Inadvertently confirming suspicions that intelligence agents are also mental cases, the NPS study added: "... military abuses committed away from the battlefields like in Metro Manila ... are probably symptomatic of personality disorders ..." Agents of the Military Intelligence Group, headed up by Col. Miguel Aure, have gained notoriety for their acts of torture, acts which only perverse minds can create and execute. These intelligence units are not staffed by battle weary neophytes whose mental breakdowns might be more easily understood, but by lieutenants, majors, colonels, and generals personally known by Enrile. Thus, far, there has been no attempt to curb the abuses committed by this psychotic-riddled intelligence establishment. □

## Giant Multinationals Monopolize Local Capital

Fifteen giant multinational firms, according to a report recently released in Manila, accounted for 56.4 per cent of all peso borrowings by foreign firms between July 1977 and January 1978. Of the 192 non-Filipino firms which borrowed P3.3 billion (about \$471 million), these 15 giants consumed P1.9 billion (about \$271 million). Of the 15, 12 were American corporations.

Lately the Philippine governments advisors have become increasingly concerned about the monopolization of local cash resources by foreign borrowers at the expense of Philippine business. As a result, the Central Bank has attempted to restrict peso borrowings by foreign firms. This has raised a howl of protest from the foreign business community, but Marcos and his financial managers recently assured the foreign businessmen that they would remain "flexible." In fact, businessmen in Manila reveal that the regime has been willing in the past to bend its own rules on a case to case basis.

Given the fact that foreign peso borrowings are monopolized by some of the world's largest and most powerful firms, it seems likely that the Marcos regime will continue its rule-bending at the expense of local businesses. □

## Study Confirms Regimes Bankrupt Economic Plans

A series of findings undertaken by Philippine government-funded study, jointly undertaken by the Development Academy of the Philippines, the University of the Philippines Schools of Economics and the University of the Philippines Population Institute, have confirmed the disastrous effects of the Marcos regime's economic policies. The study, entitled Population Resources, Environment and the Philippines Future (PREPF), attempts to develop a picture of the Philippine economy in the year 2000.

To PREPF researchers themselves, one of the most shocking findings was that, in the next twenty-odd years, income distribution will become progressively more unbalanced than it is today. By the year 2000, unless drastic changes occur, the rich will be richer and the poor poorer.

Findings on natural resources are equally grim. With regard to forest resources, the study finds the government's reforestation program grossly inadequate. By the year 2000, the combined area of new and original forests will not be able to supply domestic and export timber requirements and the country will have to exploit already scant original forests. The study advocates strict regulations on wood exports in order to reserve available wood for domestic use, but adds, "This may be difficult in the light of the country's balance of payments problem."

For food resources, the findings are just as gloomy. The report finds traditional coastal waters overfished or on the brink of being overfished. At the same time, production of inland fisheries, according to the report, has declined because of pollution.

In the case of both timber and fish, the source of the problem has been the government's policy of exporting the country's natural resources to pay for foreign manufactures. The result has been indiscriminate destruction of vital watersheds with increased flooding and erosion as a logical consequence, and destruction of the country's fisheries. Unable to target their own policies of semi-colonial development as responsible for the problems, the government apologists have placed the blame for the decline in forest area on kaingeros — slash and burn farmers — and the exhaustion of fishing areas on dynamite fishermen. □

## Exploitation of RP Overseas Labor Exposed



Filipino seamen took over a Japanese freighter last year to protest bad working conditions and low pay. [FEER]

Indications appeared last February that the Philippine government's policy of exporting cheap labor is beginning to backfire:

- Representatives of the industrial sector claimed an acute shortage of skilled labor particularly in areas such as construction, petroleum extraction, transportation and the automotive industry.

- Labor Sec. Blas Ople announced the preparation of a "white paper" on recruitment firms, exposing illegal activities ranging from exploitation of job applicants, to swindling.

Ople simultaneously launched an inquiry into a complaint submitted by four Filipino workers employed in an unnamed Middle Eastern country. The workers revealed that their employer had reduced the terms of the work contracts, including salaries, status and length of service, by almost one-half. They further revealed that many of their co-workers had received similar treatment but had failed to complain because they had been threatened with imprisonment and could not afford the high cost of hiring a lawyer.

Ople, however, took one step forward and two steps back. He immediately qualified his potentially explosive revelations by insisting that most recruitment firms usually fulfill their contracts and that cases like the one he cited were exceptions. More importantly by focusing upon the recruitment firms rather than on the overseas employers themselves, he diverted attention from the root of the problem.

### EXPLOITATION—NOTHING NEW

Illegal and exploitative activities by labor recruiters and foreign employers are nothing new for Filipino workers. Abuses have been cited repeatedly, but the government has chosen to ignore all but those which drew significant international attention such as last year's vicious attack in France on Filipino seamen striking for

fair wages (See AK, April 1-15, 1977). Even in this glaring case, however, the government refrained from issuing an official statement.

The oppressive conditions of Filipino workers abroad result from their status as a prime export commodity. Filipino workers are desirable to foreign employers because they can be paid wages well below international standards. A representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions reveals that Philippine labor is the third cheapest in the world after workers from India and Pakistan.

The Philippine government cannot demand fair wages for its overseas workers without destroying their marketability. This would deprive the government of a prize source of foreign exchange. Filipino workers are required by law to remit 70 per cent of their earnings. As of March last year, these remittances had amounted to \$200 million. In addition, the government would lose a needed safety valve to ease the severe unemployment crisis at home.

As a result, the government shifts the focus away from the employers by targeting corruption and swindling by local contractors. But the activities of local contractors are difficult to control given the number of workers seeking employment and the relatively few available jobs.

### DESPERATE STATE OF LOCAL LABOR

The huge number of workers seeking employment under exploitative conditions abroad indicates the desperate state of Filipino workers at home. With monthly wages for full employed workers ranging from \$30 to \$50, unemployment, including underemployment at 40 per cent, according to non-government sources and inflation rising by leaps and bounds, the \$300 per month paid to Filipino technicians in Saudi Arabia (where Koreans working at the same job earn \$600 monthly) is irresistible.

30,000 Filipinos have already flocked to such jobs in the Middle East, depriving the country of some of its most highly trained labor. But "labor drain," like the "brain drain" of skilled professionals badly needed at home is unlikely to stop.

Philippine officials may attempt to satisfy local needs for skilled workers through manpower training, upgrading the skills of the vast pool of workers in the country. But as long as Philippine workers at home remain so badly underpaid and exploited, increasing the amount of skilled labor will just increase the number of workers eligible for relatively higher-paying jobs abroad and eager to escape from one form of exploitation to another. □

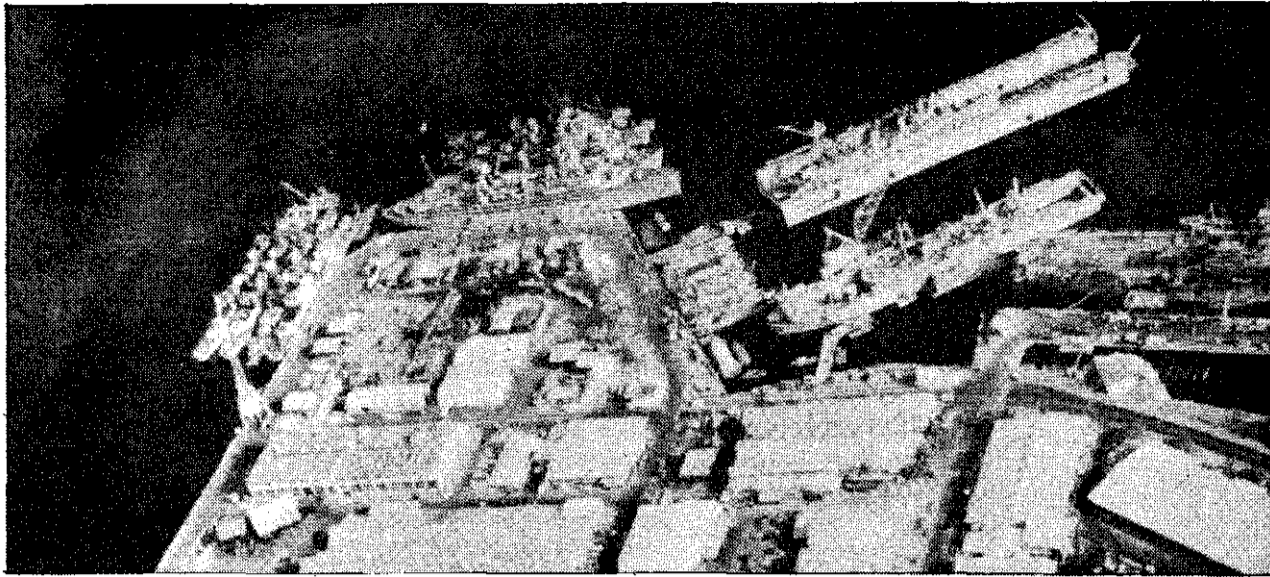
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see form on page 7

## Nat'l Security Over Human Rights

# Defense Sec. Brown Defends U.S. Bases



Subic Bay, largest U.S. installation in S.E. Asia.

By VICTORIA LUNA

"Human rights does effect our interaction with lots of countries . . . but not all in exactly the same ways. We certainly continue to be concerned about possible violations of human rights in the Philippines and are going to . . . do what we can to encourage the government there to improve the human rights situation. . . That's not a bar to our continuing base-rights negotiations because the security of the Pacific area is important to the human rights of the people of the Pacific area."

U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown was attempting last Feb. 19 at a Honolulu press conference to talk his way through the "human rights" policy of the Carter administration. Carter's State Dept. recently released a report to Congress on the Philippines finding the regime of Pres. Ferdinand E. Marcos, guilty of more human rights violations than ever before, yet recommending continued military aid for 1979 at the 1978 level (See AK, Feb. 16-28). The report is required under the 1976 Human Rights Amendment.

Observers of U.S.-Philippine relations felt the Defense Secretary, in his Honolulu conference and a speech the next day in Los Angeles, was priming public opinion for the eventual ratification of the new U.S.-R.P. bases treaty currently under discussion in Manila.

### VITAL TO U.S. SECURITY

Brown and Maj. Gen. Freddie Poston, Commander of the U.S. 13th Air Force which is stationed at Clark Air Base in the Philippines, assured the Honolulu press corps that Clark was vital to the U.S. security network. Military officials have repeatedly emphasized the value of Clark as a "back door" to the Middle East in case U.S. planes should be denied access to European facilities. Poston reiterated Clark's importance in facilitating U.S. intervention any place in the world: "If the call came in and they said, 'Hey, launch our planes to Iran,' I'd be able to do it."

Speaking before the World Affairs Council the next night in Los Angeles, Brown discoursed on

U.S. policy in Asia more generally. "we are and will remain a major force in the Pacific," he insisted, citing a number of reasons for maintaining "the favorable political balance we now find in Asia." Heading the list was the growth of Soviet military power in the Pacific. Among other reasons, Brown included "possible faltering economic developments of less-developed, non-Communist countries" — diplomatic doubletalk for growing national liberation struggle in these countries.

Brown revealed plans to beef up U.S. forces in the region. These included adding Trident nuclear missiles to the submarine fleet and B-52s and F-14s to the aircraft carriers which refuel at Subic Naval Base in Olongapo and F-14's to the airforce squadrons based at Clark.

### RESISTANCE TO BASES GROWS

Although one administration official was quoted last month by the *New York Times* as saying: "the people want us to stay there (in the Philippines): Marcos, we think, wants us to stay there; we want to stay there," opposition to the U.S. bases has been steadily growing among the Filipino people and their friends abroad (see related statement). The reasons they cite are:

- The bases are used by the Philippine government in its efforts to suppress the New People's Army and the Moro National Liberation Army.
- The bases have been and will continue to be used to pursue the interventionist policies of the United States against other Third World peoples in their struggles for self-determination.
- By serving as a stockpile of advanced weapons, the bases act as a magnet to attract Soviet nuclear attacks in the event of a U.S.-Soviet conflict.

For these reasons, the Anti-Martial Law Coalition and the Friends of the Filipino People have launched a massive petition drive opposing the bases and have scheduled a nationwide series of forums on the subject this month. The forums, aimed at both the Filipino community and the broader American public, hope to focus greater attention on the bases in order to mobilize the massive support necessary to block ratification of the bases treaty. □

## CLUP on Human Rights in R.P.

The following is the final installment of the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF THE PHILIPPINES statement on human rights. Last issue analyzed Marcos' normalization drive and exposed the inconsistencies and insincerity of this policy. — Editor.

### U.S. POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

So too is U.S. human rights policy.

The sincerity of any government's policy is judged by the acts of its agencies. The largest U.S. government agency in the Philippines is the U.S. military; and the latter are not known for their respect for the basic rights of the Filipinos; they have set dogs upon Filipinos; stripped and humiliated Filipinos; killed a score of our people over the years since World War II; and trained and schooled those officers of our armed forces who are the most notorious for their savage handling of detainees under interrogation. A government whose military behaves in this fashion can hardly be relied upon to show a sincere concern for human rights.

Besides, U.S. policy on human rights is subordinate to what U.S. State and Defense Department officials view as U.S. national security interests.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, speaking concretely of the Philippines, told the U.S. House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs that:

"We are obviously troubled by human rights abuses in the Philippines. Since the institution of martial law in 1972, there have been wide-ranging arrests and detentions without trial, in some cases for as long as four years. Recent government actions have included deportation of several foreign missionaries and newspapermen, the closing down of several church radio stations and publications and arrests of church social workers accused of improper political activity. Our concern had been communicated to the Philippine government, along with our strong view that there should be a marked improvement in the situation.

"However, we don't believe that security or economic assistance should be reduced because of the human rights problem. As I have noted, the Philippines have strategic importance, not only for our own country but also for nations friendly to the United States in the region, and thus we should continue our support."

This explains why, despite its "absolute commitment" to human rights, the U.S. government continues to support such notoriously repressive regimes as those of South Korea, Indonesia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Haiti, Brazil, Nicaragua, and South Africa — and of course, Pres. Marcos's martial law regime. In recent years, this support has been concealed by symbolic cuts in direct (bilateral) aid which, however are more than offset by increases in indirect (multilateral) institutions like the World Bank, IMF, and Asian Development Bank — and the Harkins-Badillo amendment, an attempt by the U.S. House of Representatives to cut off this source of aid, was opposed by the Carter administration, although it finally passed the U.S. Congress in September 1977.

U.S. aid to the Philippines has, in fact, increased tremendously since martial law. (continued on page 6)

## 'Salvaging': The Unofficial Death Penalty

Adapted from TANOD, publication of the National Resource Center on Political Prisoners in the Philippines a body that was established following a resolution in the last national conference of the Anti-Martial Law Coalition [Philippines]

It started with the disappearance of seven activists — all well-known among various student groups in the Metro Manila area last August. Those missing were Gerardo Faustino, Cristina Cattalla, Rizalina Ilagan, Modesto "Bong" Sison, Ramon Jasul and Jessica Sales, a research associate with the University of the Philippines in Los Banos. Two months later, the anxious search of the victims' relatives ended in the Lucena City Public Cemetery where the bodies of Bong Sison and four others, still unidentified, were found in a common grave. The unidentified victims are believed to be the companions of Bong, leaving two, including Jessica, unaccounted for.

Military authorities at the II PC Zone Command claimed that the victims were underground elements of the New People's Army and were killed in an encounter in Mauban, Quezon. Their bitter parents know the truth; their sons and daughters were arrested in Makati, two weeks before the alleged Mauban encounter took place. Hope that Jessica had been spared was rekindled last November when someone sighted her in the company of military men in Manila and Mindoro. But her grieving parents know there is little hope of obtaining an admission from the military that she is in their custody.

### 1977 — YEAR OF DISAPPEARANCES

People are now talking about a trend they call "salvaging;" the meting of unofficial death sentences to suspected subversives. Sometimes prisoners are kept in secret military safehouses but often times they are simply killed. Almost always,

intelligence operatives particularly the Military Intelligence Group and the Internal Security Agency of the Armed Forces figure in these cases.

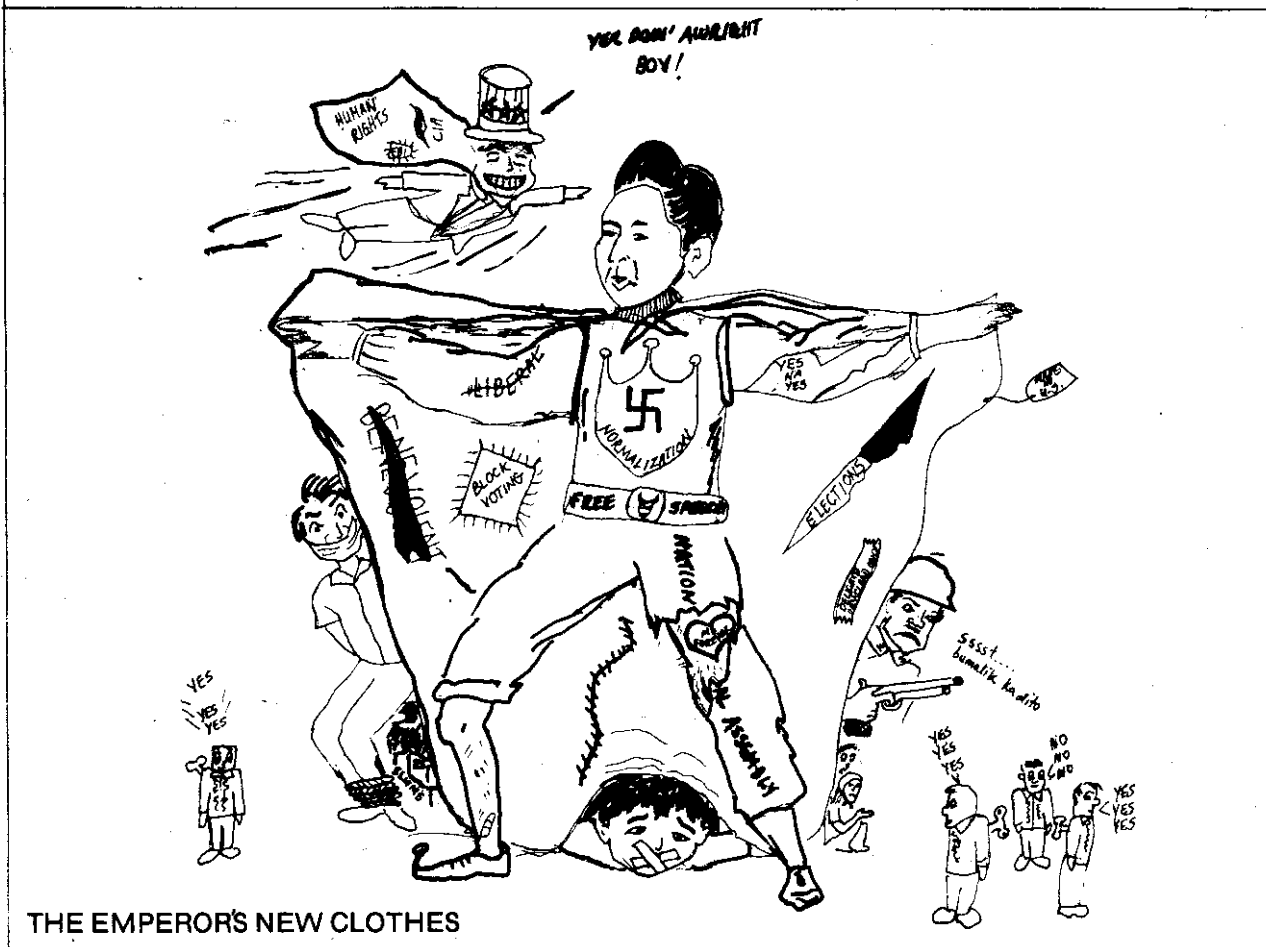
Since the declaration of martial law, an estimated 120 persons have disappeared or were murdered while under military custody. Of this figure, 58 have disappeared in 1977 alone, almost half of the total figure. Because intelligence operatives function autonomously, prison officials have no way of confirming arrests carried out by these men. For its self-protection, these units do not keep any records or traces of their victims.

Sources in the Philippines believe that the expose of torture in the years 1974-1977, which caused much criticism of the regime internationally, spurred the military to resort to "salvaging." Rather than face embarrassment resulting from the maltreatment of detainees, the military has found the solution; eliminate the embarrassment.

Some military officials are even candid about the unofficial "salvaging" policy. According to reports from Mindanao, some military official was overheard saying, "We are tired of bringing cases to court." A similar statement was reportedly made a high ranking military official of the notorious II PC

(continued on page 6)

# Marcos Hits Opposition For CIA Ties



By MA. FLOR SEPULVEDA

For all his rantings against reverting to "Old Society style" campaign tactics, Pres. Marcos opened the 45 campaign period with a bristling attack on the opposition. In a series of weekend rallies in Metro Manila, Marcos charged opposition frontrunner, Benigno Aquino Jr., with having links with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as well as the underground communists. Then in a talk with local barranggay members in Tuguegarao, Cagayan, Marcos also warned that the "return to power of these politicians (oppositionists) will plunge the country into a state of lawlessness."

Observers note that these attacks seem hardly appropriate for Marcos to make, in light of his earlier difficulties in "courting" the opposition to participate in the April race. These attacks have also fueled suspicion that the opposition LABAN party must be meeting success in its Metro-Manila campaign.

According to the Manila-Journal of March 5-11, LABAN candidates have been targeting the regime's corruption, particularly the Westinghouse scandal which involved \$35 million in payoffs to a close Marcos crony; the legality of martial law and the worsening economic situation brought about by the regime's profligacy in defense spending and foreign borrowing and accomodation of multinational corporations.

## FURIOUS RHETORIC

The effectiveness of LABAN's drive can be gleaned from the dictatorship's furious reactions. Perhaps aware that the anti-martial law and anti-American issues raised by some elements of the opposition have struck a popular chord, Marcos has exploited these issues to his advantage. In the process, he has come out sounding contradictory and hysterical, shooting off at the opposition from all possible directions.

The opposition, for example, is to be blamed for "fomenting the chaos, anarchy and rebellion which forced me (Marcos) to impose martial law."

Utilizing this argument, Marcos hopes to obscure the realities of martial law by deflecting historical blame for the declaration of martial law on the opposition.

Another favorite campaign tune of Marcos nowadays, is his "anti-American" stand as proven by his disagreement with Pres. Carter's "human rights policy." Reacting to the recently released U.S. State Department report on the Human Rights which ranked the Philippines as one of the top violators of human rights, Marcos cried "intervention." Rationalizing the loss of liberties in the Philippines, New Society Party (KBL) candidate and Foreign Sec. Carlos P. Romulo said: "We must not forget the time, the place and circumstance in discussing human rights . . . the U.S. should allow other countries to have their own brand of democracy . . ." Still another Marcos apologist,

columnist Francisco de Leon, even questioned the State Department for keeping a score card on human rights.

Marcos further accused U.S. corporations for seeking "special privileges" vis-a-vis other countries in trade and business dealings with the Philippines. While U.S. economic exploitation is a plain fact to many, Marcos seems to have forgotten that it was he who opened up the country to unscrupulous foreign firms, and more recently relaxed restrictions against multinational corporations.

Proving that the anti-American tenor of his speeches is largely rhetoric, Marcos accused the opposition of undermining U.S.-R.P. military bases negotiations. The implication of this accusation is that Marcos is very much in favor of retaining U.S. military presence in the Philippines; a position inconsistent with the "nationalist" image he is trying to project.

## CAMPAIGN ANTICS BACKFIRE

Marcos campaign antics is yet another indication of the farcical nature of the upcoming elections. By attacking the opposition left and right, in the tradition of "Old Society" style muckraking, Marcos is discrediting the election he hoped would give his regime's tarnished image a new gleam. These attacks also confirm critic's claims that Marcos never intended for the opposition to step beyond the limits of its prescribed role, which is to lend a degree of respectability to the April elections. However, now that the opposition has overstepped its token role and seems to be putting up a hard fight, it is only logical for Marcos to go on a rampage against them. After all, Marcos only wanted to borrow their "credibility," he never meant for them to win. □



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# Political Prisoners Call Marcos's Bluff



[Left to right, clockwise] Nilo Tayag, Nella Sancho, Jose Lenuta and Edicio de la Torre were among many political prisoners approached to run for the interim assembly.

Hard pressed for new tricks to make the forthcoming elections appear "democratic," Pres. Marcos last month ruled that political prisoners were eligible to run for the interim National Assembly. This ruling, P.D. 1290, reversed an earlier decree which prohibited the candidacy of detainees for reasons of national security. But even this latest trick did not work as political prisoners at the Bicutan Rehabilitation Center, decided to call Marcos' bluff.

According to the prisoners press statement, on Feb. 12, Col. Ramon Salaya, invited several Bicutan detainees to file their certificates of candidacy. Acting as an emissary for Philippine Constabulary [PC] Chief Gen. Fidel Ramos, Salaya presented them with candidacy forms and never prepared letters requiring only their signatures! The prisoners, Nella Sancho, Erlinda Taruc-Co, Leoncio-Co, Satur Ocampo, Fr. Ed de la Torre, Nilo Tayag, Jose Luneta, and Fr. Emmanuel Nabayre decided to take up the offer, "if only to prove the government's sincerity in its avowal of normalization . . ."

The prisoners, however, conditioned their candidacy on the release of all political prisoners, arguing that "it is insincere to call detainees to participate in the election while they are detained. They must first be released before they can run, campaign or even vote . . . [in keeping with] the government's call for full participation in the election in the name of national unity."

Shortly thereafter, the National Security Council denied their request, confirming the prisoners' suspicion that the regime's "sincerity" was only skin deep. Responding to the NSC ruling the prisoners asserted: "If the coming elections are authentic, there would be no overriding reason for the NSC's denial of our request . . . We are not the least disturbed by this predictable outcome. We are confident that the people cannot be deceived by the chicanery of the Marcos regime which is its outstanding characteristic. If he is foregone, Marcos will "win" his elections, but he has just as surely lost the Filipino people. □

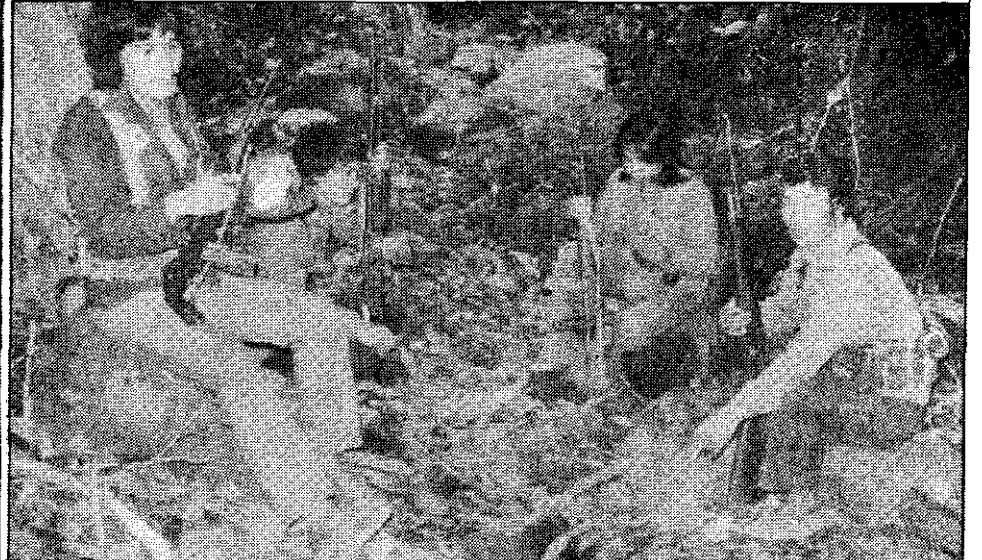
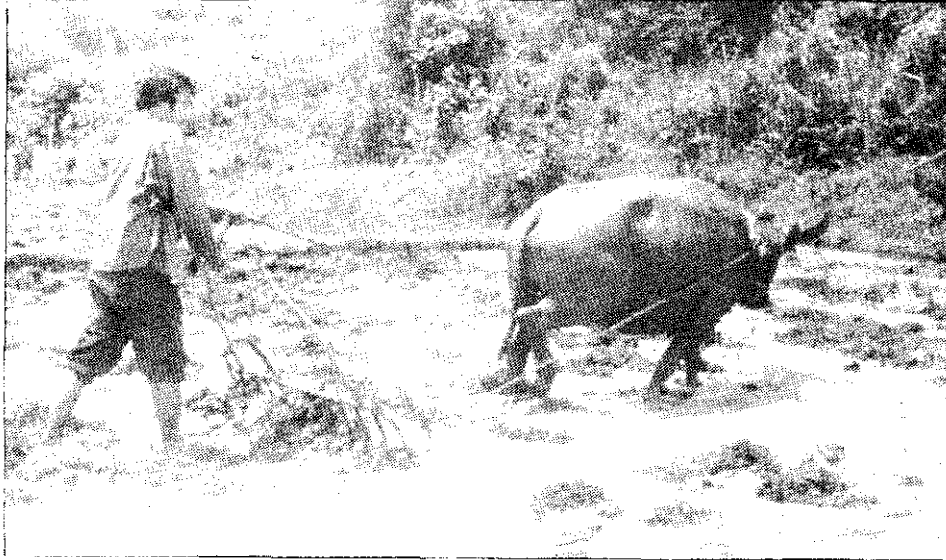
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# NPA'S AGRARIAN REVOLUTION CHANGES COUNTRYSIDE



NPA guerrilla helps in the plowing of a field. The People's Army pays close attention to the implementation of the agrarian revolution, assisting farmers improve their harvest by teaching them scientific methods of production. Armed NPA squad on patrol [above right] protects gains of the national democratic revolution. [AK]

## CPP HOLDS

### FIFTH PARTY PLENUM

In defiance of claims by the Marcos regime to have broken the back of the resistance with the capture of Jose Ma. Sison, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Party recently announced that it had successfully concluded its fifth plenum. With a newly consolidated Central Committee, the Party proves the words of Sison in his confrontation with Marcos shortly after his capture. On that occasion, he vowed, "Many more will take my place."

The NPA, unlike conventional armies has numerous tasks and responsibilities beyond its purely military role. Its strength is premised by the effectiveness of the political and organizational work in the areas in which it operates. The cornerstone of this work rests upon the effective implementation of revolutionary land reform. In honor of the ninth anniversary of the NPA, Ang Katipunan here reprints a discussion of this vital political process from the Philippine Liberation Courier.

On the face of it, Marcos' land reform program is more radical than that of the National Democratic Front (NDF). Marcos claims that he has "emancipated the Philippine peasantry from centuries of feudal oppression." The NDF advocates

"for the moment, a policy of rent reduction and elimination of usury as a realistic step towards genuine emancipation of the peasantry."

In practice, very few tenants have received the dubious benefits of Marcos' land transfer program. Instead, other government programs encourage large scale plantation and corporate rice farming at the expense of small farmers. Government officials condone large-scale land-grabbing and eviction of tenants or worse, are themselves involved in it. Land transfer payments, Masagana 99 loans, and Samahang Nayon (Barrio Association) dues and other exactions are putting peasants deeper in debt.

The quiet implementation of the NDF program by the New People's Army on the other hand, has made it possible for tens of thousands of poor farmers and landless laborers to achieve small but solid gains. More importantly, these small gains serve as the building blocks for a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution which is the core of the NDF program.

## RURAL CLASS ANALYSIS

The NDF program of land reform is premised on the idea that increased tenancy, landlessness and poverty in rural areas are the result of intensifying exploitation of poor peasants by foreign-owned agri-business and local landlords. It starts, therefore with a careful analysis of class relations in the country-

side. At the top of the rural social structure are the managers of foreign agri-business and local landlords. According to the "Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform," a landlord is one "who owns land but does not engage in labor . . . and who depends entirely or mainly on land rent for his means of livelihood. Land administrators, overseers, labor contractors and local bullies who depend on the exploitation of peasants as their main source of income, are also in the category of landlords.

Contrary to the image projected by anti-communist scare tactics, not all landlords are indiscriminately considered enemies. As an NPA cadre in Central Luzon put it: "We make a distinction between landlords who are really oppressive and landlords who are moderate or enlightened. In an area where there are 8 or 10 landlords, for example, we do not go against all at once. First we analyze each landlord and the conditions of his workers or tenants. We pick the most oppressive landlord whose tenants are the most exploited. He becomes our primary target for the anti-feudal struggle in the area. When he gives in to the demands of the poor peasants or agricultural workers in his hacienda, the other landlords will certainly hear of this, and they will know that it was the NPA that organized the peasants and rural workers. When this happens, most of the landlords will be more easily convinced to improve the conditions of their tenants or laborers."

Only landlords who resort to violent means to oppose land reform shall have their lands confiscated. Peasants who work their own land but depend on laborers or tenants for up to 30 per cent of their income shall be allowed to retain their lands provided they lower land rent and raise their workers wages. Peasants whose income is based on hired labor only up to 15 per cent may even be given some share of the land being distributed free provided that the additional land does not raise their status to that of a rich peasant.

## THE BENEFICIARIES

The main beneficiaries of the NDF land reform program are peasants who may own a small piece of land but who have to hire themselves out in order to make ends meet, tenants who work other peoples land, and laborers who have no land to work at all. These are the classes who constitute the vast majority of the Philippine rural population. They also constitute the main movers of revolutionary land reform.

Until such time as people's democratic governments and land reform committees are established in rural areas, land reform is conducted as a joint endeavor of local NPA units and peasant associations composed largely of land-

less laborers, tenants and lower middle peasants. Land reform is often tied up with NPA efforts to punish criminal elements through peoples courts. In one of the provinces of the Bicol (Southern Luzon) region where the NPA is active, for example, redistribution of the 510 hectare hacienda of a landlord named Jacob began only after a Peoples Court condemned Jacob's overseer to death for rape and murder.

Emboldened by this exercise of revolutionary justice, Jacob's workers demanded an increase in their wages. When Jacob refused and instead closed down his plantation, the workers took over. They redistributed Jacob's land and told him that henceforth they would only pay 10 per cent land rent. Because he was afraid of the NPA, Jacob was forced to accept the new arrangement.

According to a report from the area by the underground magazine *Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win*, The masses in the barrio used to say: "The rich own the sea, the land, and the mountains while all we can hope to have is heaven." Now they say: "The rich own the land, but the harvest is ours."

Some degree of implementation of the NDF land reform program has occurred in all 34 provinces where the NPA operate. Implementation may mean no more than withholding part of the crop from the landlord but even in these cases it has to be agreed upon by all the farmers in the area to prevent detection. In contrast to the government program which applies to only rice and corn farms, the NDF program also applies to export crop plantations and frontier areas. In the future, all foreign-owned agri-business will be confiscated outright. Locally owned farms run on a capitalist basis will initially be allowed to continue as long as workers are given higher wages and better working conditions. In frontier areas, the NPA work closely with poor settlers and national minorities to prevent illegal logging and indiscriminate mining activities and the large-scale landgrabbing which tend to follow. Because NPA units initially operate in hilly regions for security reasons, land reform is often more advanced in these areas than in the lowlands.

As the peasants' capacity to act together increases through their struggles with landlords and through mutual aid in production, cooperation with the NPA also increases for peasants themselves see that they have to defend their gains. It is in this manner that Philippine peasants have gradually but steadily become involved in the armed struggle led by the NPA. It is also in this way that peasants have learned that their struggle for land is part of the overall struggle for national democratic goals. □

# NATIONWIDE EVENTS COMMEMORATE 9TH YEAR OF NPA

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION ADVANCES



Chicago: March 17, 7 p.m., Christian Fellowship Hall, 912 W. Sheridan.

Philadelphia: March 25, 12 noon, Tabernacle Church, 3700 Chestnut St.

New York: March 25, 2 p.m., UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza (44th St. and 1st Ave.)

Seattle: March 24, 7:30 p.m., Langston Hughes Cultural Center.

Toronto, Canada: March 30, 7 p.m., Education Center Auditorium (College near McCall)

San Francisco: March 31, 7:30 P.M., Mission Cultural Center

Berkeley: April 2, 7:30 p.m., La Pena Cultural Center, Berkeley

Vancouver, Canada: April 2, 6 p.m., Dinner, Admission \$3.50, Vancouver Indian Center, 855 Vine St.

Montreal, Canada: April 22, For details call (514) 642-8894.

# POLITICAL PRISONERS FIGHT ...

continued from page 3

Zone Command: "There will be no more political prisoners." It was in the II PC Zone, covering the Southern Tagalog and Bicol regions, where Bong Sison and his companions were murdered.

## ADORA FAYE DE VERA — A SURVIVOR

Adora Faye de Vera, missing since October 1976, recently surfaced to recount how she nearly missed becoming another salvage victim. On October 1, de Vera, Rolando Federis, and Flora Coronacion were arrested by elements of the II Military Intelligence Group, IICSU, and 231st PC Company, headed by Capt. Eduardo Sebastian, while aboard the Mayon Limited Train to Bicol. They were brought to a safehouse in Lucena City, again under the II PC Zone Command, and were tortured continuously for more than two weeks. During this period, all were alternately tortured and interrogated in separate isolation (barto lina) cells. The women were raped and passed on from soldier to soldier, while Rolando was mauled whenever the soldiers felt like it.

On the evening of Oct. 16, Federis and Coronacion were allegedly taken to another detention center. Since then they were never heard of again. Adora, it seems was spared, having incurred the lascivious attentions of Capt. Sebastian. Twice he attempted to rape her and because she resisted, she was repeatedly hit. On Nov. 12, Sebastian renewed pressure on her to sign a nine-page confession and swear that she would never divulge her torture experience. He said: "Your two companions were under military custody. They did not escape but now they are missing. You know the implications."

Fully aware of the implications, Adora signed the confessions and made no attempt to contact her parents or the Task Force on Detainees until after release. During the period of detention from Oct. 1976 to June 1977, Sebastian took personal liberties with her whenever he pleased. He dared Adora to file charges against him after her release . . . "just to see how far the government supports the efforts of the intelligence community."

## UNSCRUPULOUS AGENTS

Sebastian's confidence in the powerful and irreproachable intelligence establishment is borne out by the boldness of its operatives. Last month, a religious sister who has to remain anonymous for security reasons, was kidnapped in broad daylight by two men in Marikina, Rizal. From Marikina to their destination point, Roxas Boulevard fronting Manila Bay, the men continuously grilled the nun on her involvement in the September 23 mass rally against martial law. When she repeatedly denied their allegations they threatened to kill her: "You



Numerous political prisoners have become victims of Marcos' 'salvaging'—execution by government torturers. [AK]

know sister, we could kill you. Nobody knows your in our custody."

Throughout the rest of the trip, the men talked of ways of murdering the sister and decided that setting her on fire would be the best thing. Upon reaching Roxas Boulevard, the two men left to fetch gasoline, unaware that the sister could drive. Upon their departure, the nun jumped into the front seat and drove some 300 yards away before she remembered that she could be traced via the car. She dashed out, jumped into the Bay, swam some distance and clung to the sea wall for several hours. She only emerged when it was dark.

## SITUATION NOT HOPELESS

The emergence of "salvaging" as a standard operating procedure warrants heightened vigilance among sympathetic persons and groups who in the past have supported political prisoners concerns. In some cases, the direct intervention of Amnesty International and the Task Force on Detainees has produced results. Elizabeth Mijares, Eliseo Telles, Eddie Cabiles, Rolando Cabiles, and Angelito Ang, were released from safehouses because of pressure from concerned relatives, friends, and groups. More recently, the murder of a barrio lad, in Baggao, Pallagao, Cagayan was investigated after much pressure was exerted by local religious and humanitarian groups abroad.

Protest letters and telegrams and financial assistance for these victims will contribute greatly towards stemming the trend of salvaging. The Marcos dictatorship is best warned that not only will its overt acts of repression be condemned; its covert crimes will not pass unprotested either. □

# JULIET SISON ON TRIAL ...

continued from front page

Diokno which works closely with the church-based Task Force on Detainees.

Observers feel that the Marcos regime has deliberately timed the military trial with the current elections to buttress President Marcos' so-called "normalization" drive. In his earlier pledges on the subject, Marcos defined normalization as including systematic release of prisoners supposedly guilty of petty offenses (though the vast majority of these were not charged) and expediting of trials for others.

This tactic, aims at separating the leaders of the National Democratic Movement from other political prisoners.

## RETURNING TO WORN OUT TACTICS

The regime may hope that, with the press, both domestic and foreign, focusing its attention on the elections, it can quietly return to the mass trials suspended last year. If the government can win the conviction of Juliet Sison, with significantly less uproar than that caused by the Aquino-Dante-Corpuz conviction, Marcos no doubt hopes to move on to trying and convicting Ms. Sison's husband.

Marcos, however, may have underestimated the growing concern with human rights both at home and abroad. The denial of representation to a political prisoner of any ideological conviction will not help endear him to any of his critics. By resorting to mass trials, Marcos hardly projects an image of deep concern for justice.

Marcos has returned to the outmoded mass trial tactic in spite of the fact that this charade of a "legal process" was thoroughly exposed through a number of military trials held in 1977. The most blatant of these took place on a pelota (a form of handball) court in Davao City and featured a number of prominent long-time political prisoners from Manila flown in to stand trial with recently captured residents. One military participant, a major, appeared in his pelota shorts. The highpoint of the episode occurred when a government witness swore that one of the defendants against whom he was testifying was not present. The accused man, an American priest, stood up with a laugh and identified himself.

The fact that the regime has resorted to a mass trial in its attempt to convict Juliet Sison, a leading cadre of the CPP, reveals that Marcos has simply reached the limits of his options in "legally" putting away his enemies. "Normalization" Marcos-style simply means more of the same old thing. □

## A CALL TO THE PEOPLE

Regardless of what Mr. Marcos chooses to do, let us, the people, fearlessly expose every violation by the martial law regime of the basic rights of every man — proletarian, bourgeois, or plutocrat; rightist, leftist, or centrist; Filipino or foreigner; and even at great personal risk, let us all struggle, through every channel open to us, to right the wrongs done. And in the struggle, let none seek the support of any foreign government or shelter himself under the umbrella of the policy of foreign power — the United States, Russia, China or any other.

To those who contend that martial law and foreign control are impossible to defeat in our lifetime by our own efforts, the CLUP answers: we do not know and will not know until we have tried. But if success can come only through foreign support, what good will our people have gained? Only a change of masters! The CLUP believes that, with God's help, we cannot fail if we but stand united. Even if we fail, we will be the greatest for having tried.

Let us then unite in vigilance to protect our rights and those of our neighbors; let us, as Rizal had said, win back our freedom by deserving it, confident that, when we shall have reached those heights, "God will provide the weapon, and idols and tyrants will fall like the house of cards and freedom will shine in the first dawn."

Makati, Rizal, December 10, 1977  
Civil Liberties of the Philippines

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# CLUP Statement...

continued from page 3

## RESULTS OF U.S. POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The results of such a policy, like the results of martial law, are foregone.

U.S. policy on human rights has been applied in a highly selective manner in this country; and is designed to create the impression, as one foreign newspaper headlined it, that the U.S. Embassy is the Ombudsman of the Philippines so that it is to the U.S. embassy — and not to our own strength in unity with each other — that we Filipinos must run to for the protection of our rights, and thus strengthen in us that colonial and anti-Filipino mentality that looks upon the U.S. as the great guardian of our freedom, savior of our nation and liberator from oppression!

U.S. policy on human rights serves both to cloak and advance the real policy of the U.S. towards the Philippines, which is to keep our country permanently dependent on the U.S. as its neo-colony. Former U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan said as much in a speech he delivered to a seminar on capital markets sponsored by U.S.-AID on April 1, 1977: for there he deplored the "political fragility in this country. Not a question of stability but a question of lack of governmental institutions and any assurance of what the future governmental structure in this country would be if and when the current arrangement passes." In other words, what the U.S. government wants President Marcos to do is to institutionalize the "gains" of martial law ("those aspects that favor U.S. business and U.S.

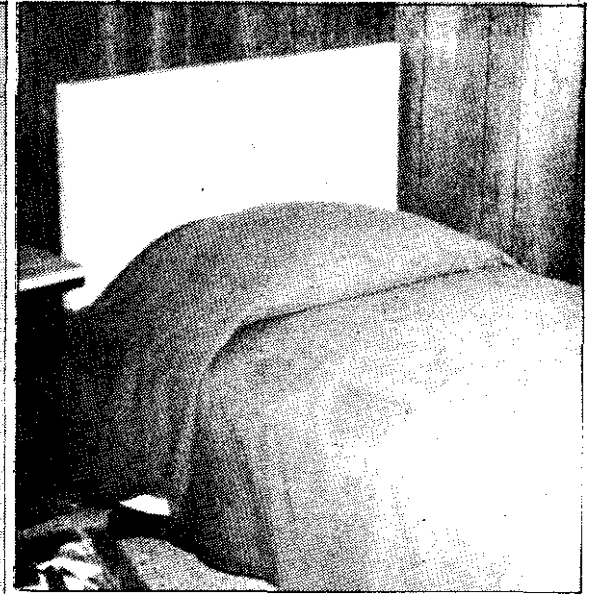
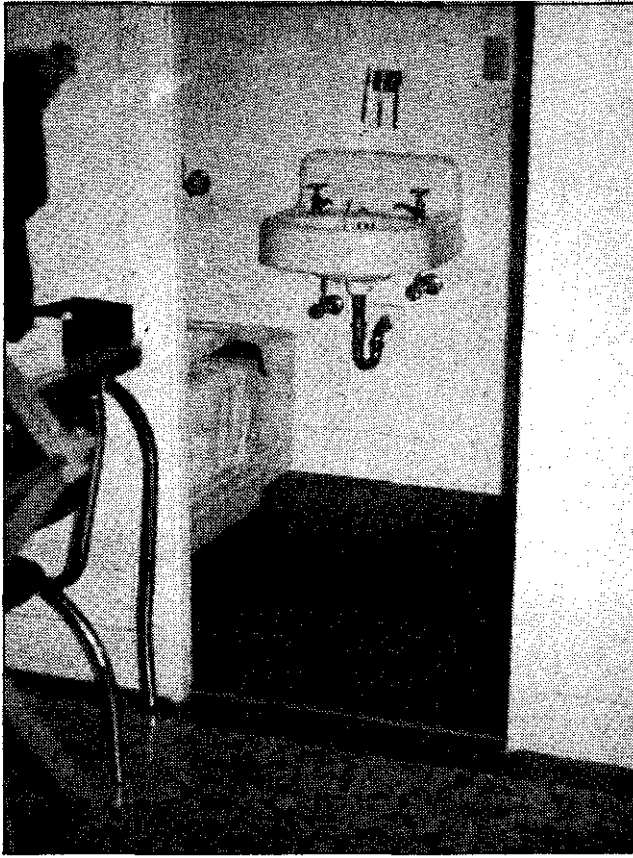
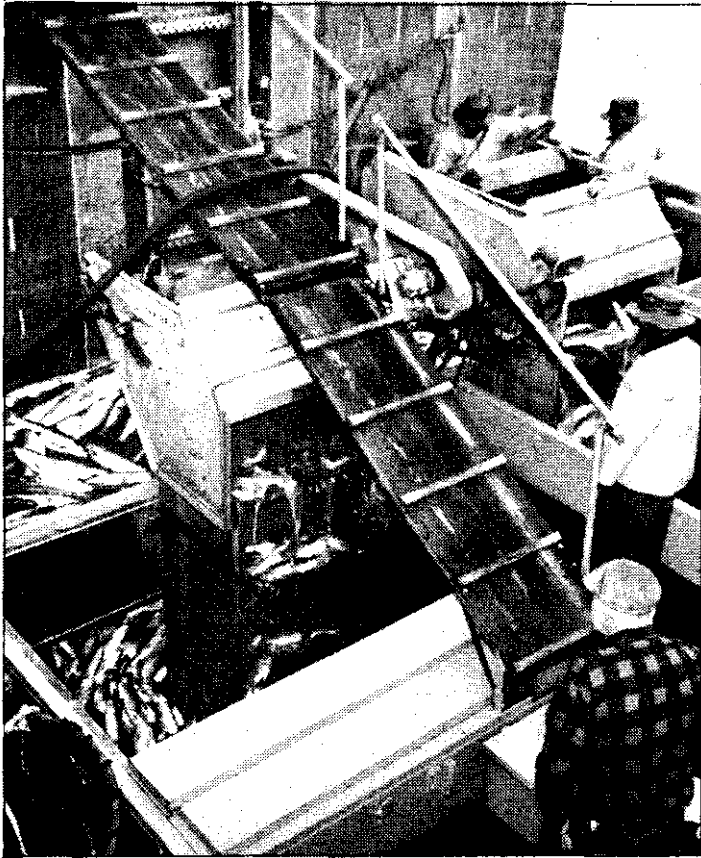
bases") and restore "representative democracy" ("hold elections as long as they are not blatantly rigged") so as to provide both a semblance of legitimacy and a means of choosing Pres. Marcos' "legal" successor. If Mr. Marcos does this, then the U.S. government will forget all about his regime's violations of human rights. If he doesn't, the U.S. government will find some way to get rid of him.

In the meantime, U.S. policy on human rights can be used to force the Marcos regime into doing whatever the U.S. dictates, with the implied threat of drastic reduction or total elimination of aid, or of emboldening the opposition to his regime, in case Mr. Marcos chooses to be intractable. And once Pres. Marcos knuckles under, as he appears to be doing, those who have relied on U.S. pronouncements on human rights may well find themselves out in the cold again.

Most important of all, the selective application of U.S. policy on human rights can make our people and our leaders forget that the violation of our fundamental freedoms, a violation that is inherent in the present martial law regime, is a Filipino problem — not the problem of the United States, although the latter contributed to it, if it did not cause it — a problem that we must solve ourselves, in our own way, and with our own resources; a problem that we cannot look to others to solve for us, or deceive ourselves into thinking that, without their help, we cannot do so.

# FILIPINO COMMUNITY

## PUSH FOR WORKERS TO FILE CLAIMS COURT GAG ORDER LIFTED IN MINORITY SUIT



While a federal court found the New England Fish Company [NEFCO] guilty of discrimination last November, class members of the suit have been hampered from hearing about the suit due to a court gag order. The court found that whites often fared better housing accommodations [above] while doing the same work as minority workers [left].

By GENE VIERNES  
AK Correspondent

SEATTLE — Minority cannery workers may find themselves on the losing end despite their victory last November over a class action discrimination lawsuit against New England Fish Company (NEFCO). The imposition of Local Rule 23 upon the plaintiffs in the suit and their lawyers prevented open discussion and wide publicity on the benefits of the victory, thus, resulting in the currently low number of filed claims for damages from affected class members.

If more claims do not increase substantially, the amount of damage money set aside will be lessened.

Since 1973 when the lawsuit was filed until January of this year, Local Rule 23, also known as the "gag rule" was never lifted. This rule was a blatant attack on the workers' rights to claim their victory. It was only last month that presiding Federal Court Judge Gus Solomon relaxed the rule by allowing one plaintiff to do outreach work among the over 800 non-white cannery workers. These

class members stand to benefit financially from NEFCO's damage payments.

NEFCO, the largest canning company in the Northern Hemisphere, runs canning operations in Uganik, Pederson Point, Chatham, Waterfall and Egegik. In these five facilities, approximately 500 workers from the West Coast — majority Filipino — and some 250 Alaskan natives are employed. Employment is short-term and seasonal because salmon catching is also seasonal.

### DOMINGO VS. NEFCO

The discrimination charge against NEFCO was filed by the Domingo brothers, Silme and Nemesio. Both worked at NEFCO until 1971 when they were fired for protesting against the company's unfair hiring practices and against the poor living conditions of the minority workers.

For two years, the Domingos fought for reinstatement but were unsuccessful even with the assistance of Mr. Gene Navarro, then president of the Local 37 International Longshore and Warehouse Union.

As grievances from non-white work-

ers increased, the Domingos moved to bring NEFCO to court in late 1973 charging violations of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This statute prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, origin, sex and/or belief. To unify the workers around their grievance, they formed the Alaskan Cannery Workers Association (ACWA) during the same year.

Specific allegations against NEFCO included nepotism, word-of-mouth recruitment, separate hiring channels, and methods, and arbitrary employment criteria which favored employment of whites. Specific instances that were cited during the hearing that began in April 1977 proved that the plaintiffs' allegations were indeed valid.

A vivid example involved a white male who was hired because he was a superintendent's son-in-law. Ruling in favor of the plaintiffs, Judge Solomon declared:

"According to the job description, the tender engineer position requires a 'thorough understanding of regular and preventive maintenance procedures and operating procedures for marine diesel engines' and 'experience in major overhaul of diesel engines.' NEFCO hired Robert Allen . . . He had no experience with marine engines; his experience consisted of working with engines on a farm where he grew up and of watching a tender engineer at work during the season . . . Allen was the son-in-law of a cannery superintendent."

A serious charge which NEFCO failed to contest concerned the inferior housing facilities it provided non-whites. The fifty-year-old bunkhouses where minority workers lived were poorly heated and described as rundown. Racial segregation in housing allocations further exposed NEFCO's anti-minority prejudice.

Finding the defendant guilty as charged, Judge Solomon, on November 28, 1977, ordered NEFCO to compensate beyond backpay the affected class members. Likewise, he ordered that all concerned be notified by certified mail of his decision. Judge Solomon said, ". . . members of the

class shall have 90 day once they receive notice to submit their claim. It is important that class members step forward to regain any damages they may have suffered."

### UNCONSTITUTIONALITY

Claim forms were mailed to the concerned class. But there was no indication whether these were mailed to correct addresses because of the migratory lifestyle of cannery workers. During the salmon-canning season which lasts from June to August, workers are shipped to Alaska. At the end of the season, they migrate back to the mainland. Throughout the four-year period of litigation, many of the class members might have moved several times.

Concerned about the problem of locating class members and informing them how to file claims, the plaintiffs appealed the gag rule. The Domingos argued that the rule was unconstitutional as it denied the class remedies guaranteed by Title VII. The "gag rule" hindered the widespread dissemination of information on the benefits of the case, and inevitably caused the low number of submitted claims.

In a related development the plaintiffs raised the argument that an injunctive relief by quota hiring, be immediately granted to rectify NEFCO's past discriminatory hiring policies for the current year. Judge Solomon, however, refused awarding the relief "based on the merits of the case." He pointed out the legality or illegality of hiring quotas will soon be determined by the Supreme Court in taking up the Bakke case.

Judge Solomon finally conceded by partially relaxing the rule, allowing Silme Domingo to do outreach work among minority cannery workers in the West Coast. The period for filing claims has been extended indefinitely. However, the quantity of submitted claims this month is crucial as it would have extensive implications in amount of damage payments, hiring policies and the class action suit as a whole. With the gag rule lifted, Silme Domingo is optimistic that more class action members will step forward. □



Some of the evidence presented in the ACWA minority worker's suit revealed gross discrimination against Asian workers. White workers received paneled rooms, with semi-private closets and bathrooms. Asian workers were relegated to 50-year old bunkhouses with open closets and other inadequate facilities. [ACWA]

# Editorial



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EDITOR  
Thelma De Guzu  
ASSOCIATE EDI  
Victor Uno

## The Real Issues Behind the News

# 'THE COAL MINERS ARE STRIKING FOR THEIR LIVES'

The coal strike is now on its 98th day and no end appears to be in sight. By an overwhelming 2 to 1 vote, the miners have just rejected the latest contract offer by the coal operators association; and to break the strike, Pres. Carter has decided to enforce the Taft-Hartley Act, ordering the miners to go back to work. Since all signs indicate that the miners will refuse to obey, the whole country is poised, watching this tense confrontation unfold.

This strike has become a national issue which is affecting all working people, including our community, although there is probably no Filipino miner in the United States. The coal miners' strike has become a burning issue. Everywhere we turn—on television, in the newspaper, at work—people are discussing the issues involved in the strike. These political issues will intensify even further in the weeks to come if government troops are sent to the mines and wide scale fighting breaks out.

The question facing every worker in the U.S. is "Do we support the striking miners or not?"

Unfortunately, opinion polls indicate that most U.S. workers presently believe miners should settle and return to work because their strike is "harming the whole country." We believe this distorted sense of the strike is due to the relatively low level of political consciousness and working class solidarity existing in the country today as well as a general ignorance of the real issues of the strike.

The major press and media has managed to successfully distort and manipulate the facts, making the purpose of the strike obscure. For example, the media deliberately projects the impression that the miners are "a greedy and rebellious lot," who are already making \$6 an hour and are going to get \$10 but are still not satisfied. This is counterposed to dramatic reports of coal shortages and power cutbacks and interviews with some of the thousands of workers being laid off in factories who earn less than the miners. The obvious conclusion is that the miners are causing untold suffering to other working people due to their unreasonable demands. By painting the striking miners as the cause of the problem, the press has turned reality on its head.

What are the facts which have been skillfully hidden? The truth is that wages are not the key issue in the strike but rather health and safety in the mines is the immediate demand of the miners (see related story on page 14).

Coal mining is one of the most dangerous jobs in the country, with at least two workers being killed in mine accidents everyday. Twenty five times more die an early death from black lung disease or lung cancer—all because capitalist interests who own and profit from the mines refuse to invest money to assure that coal is mined in a safe and healthy way as possible.

Meanwhile, in the midst of this injustice, the government pretends to be neutral. Today, not one coal mine meets up to government safety standards, standards that were set a generation ago. Yet, not one mine has ever been closed. The government knows full well how unsafe and unhealthy the mines are—Pres. Carter knows very well what the coal miners are fighting for.

The miners are fighting for their lives. They are saying that they should not be penalized for refusing to go down into an unsafe mineshaft, that they should not be forced to unnecessarily risk their lives in order to make a living. This is the essence of the issue and it has taken the form of fighting for the right to stage a local strike over safety.

On top of this injustice, the miners are also protesting that it is bad enough that the coal industry continues to expose them to occupational health hazards, now the coal miners want to refuse to pay for their hospital bills. This is adding insult to injury!

Is there any worker who could not identify with these reasonable demands? There is not one worker who would agree that the miners are justified in striking. We think the reason that there is so much confusion and anti-miner sentiments is precisely because the media has successfully manipulated the facts. Even the way the question is posed exposes this prejudice against the workers. Why is it that the responsibility for the failure to reach a settlement is directed only at the miners? Why are miners scolded for not going back to work and for not being willing to continue risking their lives in the mines—all supposedly for the good of the "national interest."

Why is this responsibility not posed squarely on the coal capitalists who are unwilling to surrender some of their profits to make mines safe and healthy—for the same national interest? If in fact, the coal capitalists had any real intention to make the mines safe, they would not be so fearful of allowing the miners the right to strike over safety.

This is the significance of the coal strike. It is a microcosm of the capitalist society we live in. The coal miners strike exposes in bold relief the brutal logic and priorities of capitalism where profits override any concern for the lives of the workers.

It exposes the collusion of government with big business. The government refuses to force the industry to make mines safe and when the workers become determined to do it themselves, they scream about "national interest" and threaten to bring in the army to mine the coal.

This strike also exposes the bias of the media which manipulates the news everyday in the guise of objective reporting. Since the media is owned and controlled by the same forces who probably hold major interests in oil and coal industry, this is no big surprise.

Although the class stratifications in the U.S. are often hidden to the average Filipino—since they are not as conspicuous as in the Philippines—nonetheless, they are just as real. The antagonism between these two classes—those who own the mines and those who are forced to work in the mines, the owner of capital and wage laborer—stands out in bold relief in today's coal miner strike. And for all progressive people, there is only one class that calls for our active solidarity.

We encourage our readers to support the mine workers, support their historic strike and clarify the issue to your friends and co-workers.

Mine workers right to health and safety is more important than coal operators right to higher profits—its as simple as that!

Make your support active. Two broad-based support committees have been set up in West Virginia to aid the miners. Miners Support Committee of Southern West Virginia (or Miners Free Clinic), P.O. Box 3182, East Beckley Station, W. Va. 25801; and Miners Support Committee, c/o Mountain Community Union, 321 Richmond Ave., Morgantown, W. Va. 26505. □

By the Ang Katipunan Editorial Board



U.S. coal miners—160,000 strong—are staging their longest strike in history. Their unity and militancy is an inspiration for all U.S. workers. [UPI]

## Two Too Many Dying Everyday



When a man starts young at twenty,  
strong, upright and proud;  
and within two decades  
can't heave 16 ton around.  
Then you know there's something wrong,  
deep down in the soft coal ground.  
Oh, there's two miners dying everyday.

When we hear the gas a leakin'  
and yell—Shut down the mine!  
The boss cares little for our fears,  
much less fear a federal fine.  
In fact, too often the last we hear,  
is the roof come crashing down.  
Oh, there's two too many dying everyday.

Oh, there's two too many dying everyday,  
and the widows are crying all the way.  
It's amazing with what callousness,  
our lives are thrown away—  
and it's all for the money,  
though hardly any's in our pay.  
Damn! There's two too many dying,  
every hour, every day.

So, we overwhelmingly mandate,  
that we feel our lives at stake.  
We show our resolution,  
with full democratic play.  
We turn the contract down,  
bury it deep in the ground.  
So, they say they'll send the army  
to mine the coal today.

Our lives keep getting shorter,  
while their profits keep on soarin'  
For the bosses never tire,  
of our labor, deep in the ground.  
But this time around,  
We'll keep them mines shut down,  
For there's been two too many  
dying everyday.

by Polly Parks



**PHILIPPINE NEWS:**  
Victoria Luna, Ma-Flor Sepulveda

**COMMUNITY NEWS:**  
Norma De Leon, Wicks Gaega, Sherry Valparaiso

**DOMESTIC/INTERNATIONAL NEWS:**  
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## CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

In Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, over 20,000 workers of many nationalities, over half of whom were women and children, went on strike. They fought against their long hours of work, insufficient wages, and speed-up. They fought for a new conception of society and gained the realization of their dignity and rights. Out of that struggle came this song.

### BREAD AND ROSES

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,  
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand workshops gray  
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses  
For the people hear us singing:  
Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead  
Go crying through our singing, their ancient song of bread!  
Smell art and love and beauty, their drudging spirits knew.  
Yes, it is bread we fight for —  
But we fight for roses, too.

As we come marching, marching, we are standing proud and tall;  
The rising of the women means the rising of us all.  
No more the drudge and labor, ten that toil where one reposes  
But a sharing of life's glories:  
Bread and roses, bread and roses.



## A Nationalist Perspective AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, MARTIAL LAW AND THE ELECTIONS

[The following is excerpts from the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF THE PHILIPPINES Statement on the April Elections]

Five years and four months ago, Pres. Marcos deposed constitutional democracy in our country and replaced it with naked dictatorship. Now he is preparing the nation to accept what he calls "normalization" through the promises of an interim parliament that is as inutile as the "elections" that will establish it are rigged. "Any election," his apologists argue, "is better than none, for it is a step to normalcy. In any election, some opposition leaders are sure to be elected. Even if only Pres. Marcos' candidates win, they will not follow his wishes blindly, and they can temper and moderate the abuses and excesses of martial law. Besides, what alternative do you offer?"

Those arguments are not difficult to counter: Holding no election is better than holding a phony election, because a phony election will not dismantle martial law — it will only disguise it, and the disguise will be more effective if some opposition leaders are allowed to win.

Then why hold elections under martial law? For the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines (CLUP), the answer is clear: Having obtained tremendous concessions under martial law, the U.S. government wants to have those concessions confirmed. It wants investments, trade and bases to be secure, and to show that its human rights policy is succeeding here. So it is pressuring Pres. Marcos to constitute a parliament to attain these ends by curing what former U.S. Ambassador Sullivan called the "lack of governmental institutions and any assurance of what the future governmental structure would be if and when the current arrangement passes." Because the regime's external debt on Dec. 31, 1977, was \$6.466 billion, and he needs to borrow \$1.85 billion more in 1978 and at least \$1.5 billion every year thereafter, Pres. Marcos cannot resist U.S. pressure. Besides, a parliament would also be advantageous to him if he controls it.

But a parliament cannot be constituted without holding elections; and to hold genuine elections is risky. Solution: hold rigged elections under martial law.

What makes this highly reprehensible is that it is being done, not only to further the interests of the martial law regime, but also to protect the interests of the government of the United States at the expense of the freedom, welfare and dignity of the Filipino people.

### IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE OF COMING ELECTIONS

The immediate objective of the coming elections is to establish a pliant parliament that will serve in at least two ways:

First, to set up the missing political infrastructure of a regime which until now, has relied mainly on the military for domestic support. A pliant parliament would make a splendid complement to an equally pliant military.

Second, as the needed mechanism to finally settle the much-debated question of political succession and to legitimize all acts done under martial law, thus giving the U.S. government the security it wants for U.S. investments, trade, and bases and the justification it sorely needs, because of its human rights policy, to continue supporting the Marcos regime despite its official and massive suppression of human rights and flagrant use of public power for private gain.

### U.S. PLAN FOR A PHONY DEMOCRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The question sometimes asked is: "What is it in our character as a people that has enabled one man to erase overnight more than 75 years of democratic tradition; to subject us for the last five years to a process of spiritual, intellectual, political and economic degradation; to reduce pillars of society, once the very embodiment of independence and integrity into fawning creatures scandalously solicitous of his will and fancy?"

The answer lies not in a failure of the Filipino character, but in the fact that the dictatorship could not have been imposed and having been imposed, could not have been sustained without the logistical support of the United States.

From 1970 to 1972, U.S. military aid averaged only \$30.6 million annually; from 1973-1976 the annual average jumped to \$85.4 million, an increase of 279 per cent. U.S. economic aid jumped even more; from an annual average of \$237 million from 1970 to 1972 to \$716 million from 1973-1976, an increase of 302 per cent. Foreign exchange inflows from direct private investments, mostly Americans, jumped the most from an annual average of only \$5.45 million from 1970 to 1972, to \$120.7 million from 1973 to 1975, more than a 2000 per cent increase!

Behind Pres. Marcos and martial law is the sustaining hand of the U.S. military and the U.S. government, of American business, the oil companies, the numerous consortia of American banks, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank — in short, American imperialism, the international system exploiting the Third World. American interests needed a dictatorship in the Philippines in 1972 because they were under seige by a resurgent nationalism. The Supreme Court's unanimous decision in the Quasha case, virtually authorizing the outright confiscation of American-owned real properties and repudiating the American-inspired theory of vested rights; the host of Filipinization and nationalization bills in Congress; the anti-American tenor of the committee reports in the Constitutional Convention; and the agitation of reform groups for the dismantlement of American bases and American investments — all these made it imperative that a Filipino dictator subservient to American dictation and objectives, be installed. In Pres. Marcos, whose term was up and who could not run again, they found their ideal man.

He has not let them down. In the five years of martial law, American investors secured vital concessions and strategic privileges unthinkable before martial law. Martial law rolled back the tide of economic nationalism, flagrantly opened up the economy to foreign investments and converted our country into a sweatshop and vegetable garden for American, Japanese, European and Chinese capital.

But these gains are threatened with uncertainties. Pres. Marcos is powerful, but

continued on page 11

The ANG KATIPUNAN encourages you to comment on issues of the day, particularly those affecting the Philippines and the Filipino community in the U.S. Letters should be brief, double spaced, and with generous margins. Names are withheld only if requested and deemed necessary. Write to: Letters to the Editor, ANG KATIPUNAN, P.O. Box 23644, Oakland, CA 94623.

## Letters

Dear Editor:

I find your paper very informative and our recent issue's editorial interesting and perceptive. Therefore, I'd like to get your mailing list.

Please bill me for two separate subscriptions (1 for myself and 1 for my mother who is residing in another state) beginning immediately.

In my job as a Program Development Specialist for a bilingual multicultural project here in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan area, (a federally-funded program for the public schools), the need for accurate insightful news information is important in interpreting the Filipino cultural perspectives to the Anglo-Ameri-

can educators and administrators.

My best wishes for success in the coming year.

Sincerely,  
J.V.

Richmond, CA  
21 February 1978

Friends;

Enclosed in my contribution in sustaining your newspaper. I admire your great work and your dedication. Keep it up always.

Yours,  
G.T.L.

Help sustain our efforts to continue bringing the most up to date and important news coverage about developments in the Philippines and in the Filipino community here in the U.S.

Become a KATIPUNAN sustainer by pledging a monthly contribution to our modest effort to fight the Marcos dictatorship and defend the democratic rights of Filipinos in this country. Our bills are many and our resources are few, and we depend on our readership to continue publication.

So help us in our campaign to sustain the KATIPUNAN. Sustain the campaign by pledging \$5.00 or more a month to the ANG KATIPUNAN!

**Sustain the Campaign!**  
**Campaign to Sustain!**

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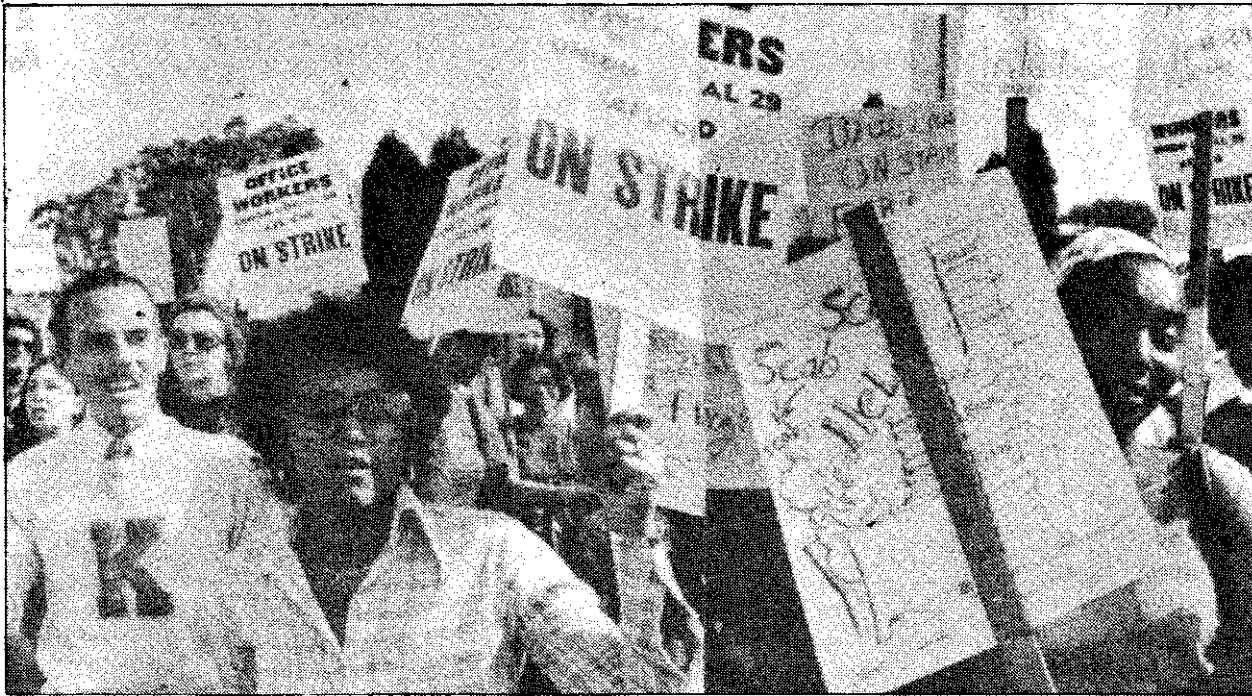
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## BLUE CROSS INTERVIEW

## PORTRAIT OF A UNION MAID



Striking Blue Cross workers stood united throughout the strike. Now that the union won, "people's heads are held up high."

By NORMA DE LEON

One of the twelve strikers marked by Blue Cross for termination after the strike settlement, Diane Henry, struck me as a remarkable, outspoken union woman.

Diane, a slim red-head in her late twenties, has been with Blue Cross Insurance Company for over three years now. "I work in the hospital-inpatient processing department where, prior to our strike, we were enormously pressed for higher and higher production output," Diane related. The other departments equally pushed the employees to speed-up their work and this was one among several grievances that employees fought to eliminate by striking.

"A lot of this pressure is off our backs now that we are organized. The company may still have the right to determine work flow by setting standard quotas for the workers. But our union contract specifically words that these standards can not and should never be used to determine an employee's raise or promotion."

Speaking about the accomplishments of the strike, Diane said: "People are holding their heads high because they know that they have a union that can and will protect them. We got a decent three-year contract. The wage increase is 6.5 per cent for the first year and 5 per cent for the next two years based on the San Francisco standard of living which is always the highest in the Bay Area."

The contract also provides workers with vision care which, I was told, workers had been asking for 15 years. Employees work under bright fluorescent lights that strain the eyes, causing many employees to wear corrective lenses.

"We won the agency shop provision. The grievance procedure is effectively working and is fully utilized by the employees. So now, management is more careful in how they treat us."

Workers are glad that management is prevented from enforcing mandatory overtime. Supervisors, however, still unsuccessfully threaten to write-up employees who refuse to work extra-hours on Saturday. Shaking her head, Diane narrated, "The company cannot terminate anyone for refusing overtime. One time, my supervisor asked me to do so. When I said no, she replied that I would get a

fatter check. I told her 'I wouldn't get the money but you wouldn't get the production.'"

Glancing at Diane, catching her smiling, gladdened face, I thought this woman must be proud of the accomplishments of a unified work force at Blue Cross. I thought at that moment what it would mean for her to share her union experiences with other workers who are still battling for union-recognition at their workplaces.

Last year, when the Blue Cross employees held the election for union officials, Diane was chosen as alternate shop stewardess. Her co-workers observed her vigilance and tireless efforts in their fight for unionization. During the strike, Diane was among those who displayed militance in the picket lines and in mass meetings.

It was no wonder that she was among the 12 blacklisted by management for "inciting violence," and for "profanities." The 12 underwent a seven-day arbitration that started Jan. 25 and ended Feb. 2.

"Prior to the hearing, management informed us and our attorney about the charges. At the actual arbitration, however, Blue Cross dropped original charges, brought up new ones which really threw us into confusion. We discovered later that this was illegal." Diane related that some of the charges, as well as testimonies of Blue Cross witnesses were too patently ridiculous which the arbitrator himself had difficulty believing.

On Feb. 3 the arbitrator turned in his decision: one 90 day suspension, two 60 day suspensions and the rest were awarded full return to employment the next work day. The decision stated that: "The person shall be returned to work as though he/she had just received a written disciplinary warning and a disciplinary lay-off for unquestioned misconduct . . . On return to work, however, the person shall be accorded full employment rights with unimpaired seniority."

A momentous victory for the strikers, a hard blow for Blue Cross.

For Diane and the rest of the employees who held strong and united throughout the whole strike period, Blue Cross failed to bust their unionizing efforts. Why? Simply because of outspoken, militant workers like Diane, a union maid who stuck to the union. □

## Private Interests to Run County Hospital

By SHERRY VALPARAISO

OAKLAND—Without notice to its citizens, on March 7, 1978, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors issued a "Request for Proposal (RFP)" to solicit a private, profitmaking hospital management firm to take over the administration of Highland Hospital.

The move was passed by a 4-1 vote (Santana, Raymond, Bort, Cooper, for; George, against) despite opposition by the Highland Hospital Community Advisory Committee, the Alameda Health Consortium (representing 12 community health clinics), and the public employees union, SEIU, Local 616.

The groups voiced their strong objection to the hiring of a contract management firm for Highland Hospital on the basis that it will mean a cutback in health care services to the poor, particularly minorities; that it is a waste of taxpayers money; and that it will not solve the problems of Alameda's County Hospital.

In a letter addressed to the Supervisors, Dorothy Marshall, Chairperson of the Highland Community Advisory Committee warned of the negative experiences of other counties who had contracted private hospital administration firms. It appears that a statewide trend has developed whereby county governments have sidestepped their mandated duty to provide for the medical care of low income people. This was evidenced by several California counties closing their hospitals completely, and where counties have contracted out for their hospital management, services for the indigent have been cut back in an attempt to curtail rising costs.

Ms. Marshall charged that such action would only be another waste of taxpayers money citing that over the past seven years, 25 studies have been conducted regarding Highland totaling over \$1 million. "Of these 25 studies, only the recommendations of three have been implemented, and only three others partially acted upon. It is inconceivable to us that the Board could once again blithely commit \$300,000-\$600,000 plus per year for yet another firm to deal on a temporary basis with the complexity and myriad problems which confront and constitute Highland. It too often appears to us that the Board's major concern is the financial burden of the hospital and not the potential for overall improvement," stated Marshall.

In the course of the discussion, the Board of Supervisors was targeted as the elected officials who should be accountable for determining priorities, establishing commitments, and seeing that these are carried out and adhered to. "Clearly, the lines of accountability are not working well in the present system and there is a great need for an overhaul of the system in order for effective management and governance of Highland to take place," said the Advisory Committee spokesperson.

While most of the Supervisors denied responsibility for these problems, Supervisor John George spoke to the criticism, "Over a period of years, the Supervisors were non-committal in providing the necessary resources to Highland. After denying resources to Highland's administration, we are now giving away resources to a private firm. It represents irresponsibility on the part of both the County Administrator and the Board of Supervisors. Now that the problems have accumulated, we bring in a private firm to do our hatchet job, but it will not solve the problems. What we have here is a tragic case of confession of failure, and to get rid of the headache of providing services to the poor, we bring in a private management firm.

The community groups further argued that such action by the Board required public hearing by law before a change of management could occur. As a result, the Board conceded to open the issue of Highland's management proposal to public hearing while proceeding to solicit requests for proposals.

With public hearings upcoming, community input regarding the future of Alameda County's Highland Hospital is crucial. Interested people should contact their supervisors and let their view be known. More information can be obtained from the Highland Hospital Community Advisory Committee, (415) 534-6055; or the Alameda Health Consortium at (415) 653-6355. □

## RUMORS THREATEN UNITY

## CONTROVERSY IN LA JUNE 12 PLANS

By ATOL AGUAYON

LOS ANGELES—Philippine National Day (June 12) preparations in this city have been seriously bogged down when rumors and intrigues began to spread among the sponsoring organizations.

The United Filipino American Assembly (UFAA-SC) and the Optimist Club of Los Angeles were the major sponsoring groups of last year's successful event that drew nearly 10,000 people.

Preparations for the upcoming event were already underway when Tony San Jose, ousted Pres. of the Filipino American Community of Los

Angeles (FACLA) was quoted as saying that the Optimist Club would not work with the UFAASC in this year's event. This rumor began to spread within the sponsoring organizations and suspicions have run high over some type of takeover of the event's sponsorship. In the meantime, Mr. San Jose has applied for the same park site where this year's event is scheduled for.

In response to this divisive rumor, the Assembly issued a resolution calling for the unity of all interested Filipinos in sponsoring this event. The Assembly stated that the "Philippine National Day is the historical property of the Filipino people and not of any single group." □

## FACLA New Voting Procedures

LOS ANGELES—New voting procedures are being proposed for the upcoming FACLA elections. New elections for the Filipino community organization have been set by the court following a lawsuit which charged voting anomalies in the FACLA December elections. In supporting the charge of election irregularities, the court also nullified the controversial election of Tony San Jose.

Bert Mendoza and Remedios Geaga, both plaintiffs in the lawsuit, say that the old list of voters must be disposed of to prevent "flying voters," from participating in the new elections. Flying voters are those who are not qualified to vote but whose names appeared on the previous voter list.

Pending the court's approval, the proposed vote procedure will be adopted by FACLA. □

## CLUP COMMENTARY...

(continued from page 8)

still human, subject to the ills and accidents that may befall anyone; and the matter of his succession is still a mystery.

Moreover, since the concessions were granted when all governmental powers were visibly in the hands of Pres. Marcos alone as they still are, his successors (whoever they may be) may threaten to take them back on the theory that they were given away by Pres. Marcos alone, not by a government of the people.

These same uncertainties surround the forthcoming U.S.-R.P. military bases and trade agreement. And the U.S. military wants the bases as much as U.S. business wants trade.

The U.S. government is particularly concerned about the problem of political succession because unless succession is institutionalized by parliament, the political situation remains inherently unstable or in Ambassador Sullivan's term, "fragile." An unstable or fragile political situation makes vulnerable all concessions and privileges given to American investments by the martial law regime — and the agreements on bases and trade that are being negotiated.

Now the time has come to eliminate the uncertainties. U.S. gains under martial law must be made permanent. To become permanent they must be legitimized. But legitimacy can come only with a parliament.

A real parliament, however, composed of true representatives of the people, would balk at legitimizing their exploitation by foreign interests; a docile and captive parliament, by definition can only obey.

This explains why the U.S. government is now pressing for the "restoration of democracy" — a democracy however, that need not be and preferably should not be genuine, but a phony "democracy" marked by a phony "election" to choose a phony "parliament" obedient to the will of the regime and one that can be relied upon to ratify all that the regime has done these last five years. Only thus will the regime's give-aways achieve apparent permanency.

Viewed in this light, it becomes evident that Pres. Marcos' nationalistic, anti-American rhetoric, as well as the U.S. government's seemingly anti-Marcos posture, are both parts of a well-scripted stage show. The Filipino people are being treated to *moro-moro*, a fabricated feud by the U.S. government and the martial law regime in order to conceal their conspiracy to foist a sham parliament and a sham democracy on our people in order to satisfy the imperative demands of the U.S. government's economic and military policies.

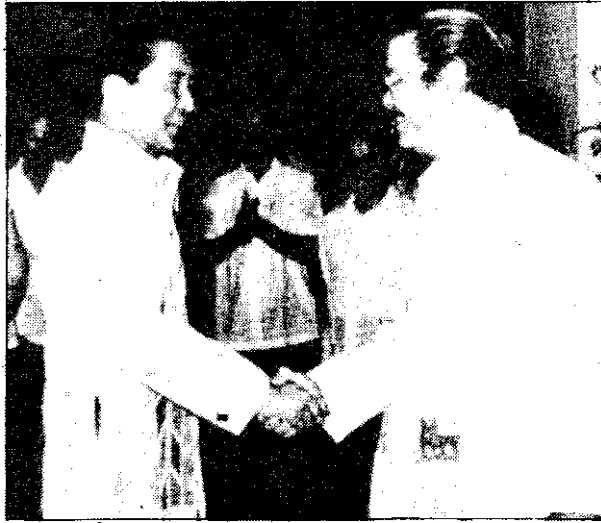
These policies have wreaked a catalogue of inhuman crimes upon our country as they have in other parts of the world, notably Latin America and Indo-China. The latest crime on their schedule is to install a democracy here as phony as the "elections" that will restore it, as false as the avowals of concern for human rights and as fraudulent as the nationalism that gilds the rhetoric of the enforcer of martial law.

Jse B.L. Reyes  
Calixto Zaldivar  
Jose Diokno

Antonio Araneta  
Lorenzo M. Tanada

## STOCKTON CONTROVERSY CONTINUES

# IMUTAN RESIGNS FROM BAYANIHAN



Andy Imutan, being greeted by Ferdinand Marcos last year, recently resigned from Bayanihan amidst charges of corruption and misuse of public funds.

STOCKTON—Faced with a storm of community criticisms on his leadership, Andrew Imutan resigned as Executive Director of the Filipino Bayanihan, Inc. (PBI), a social service agency established in 1971 to meet the needs of this city's Filipino population, particularly the elderly.

Imutan announced his leave last month, claiming the charges against him have nothing to do with his resignation.

Last November, the PBI director became the focus of the Filipino community's suspicion and newspaper reports revealed that he allegedly misused federal funds by using PBI's personnel and supplies to benefit his import-export business. The reports also said that he used federal monies to launch Ang Pilipino, a new organization which critics charge is "a political front for Marcos propaganda." Imutan is known to have close relations with the Philippine president. Unofficial reports indicated that he utilized PBI's monies to cover his and UFW president's Cesar Chavez' trip to the Philippines last year.

Aside from these allegations, Imutan is also under attack from the community for his virtual one-man rule of Bayanihan. Employees complain that he is inconsiderate and does not heed their problems. Those who use PBI services voice that he is not using the agency to service the community.

At present, Imutan is under investigation concerning his alleged misuse of government monies. The investigation is being done by a private firm (Manpower Agency) under orders from the Stockton-San Joaquin Employment and Training Opportunities Dept. This agency is a contributor to PBI's estimated \$600,000 annual budget. Manpower Director George Monton has recently declared that it will continue to fund PBI on a month-to-month basis.

In the meantime, PBI's operation is currently overseen by Acting Director Dolarito Makinano. □

## HAWAII THREATENS EVICTIONS...

(continued from front page)

(new landlords) with the understanding that they would not be evicted until the housing issue with the City was resolved.

Despite this agreement, the tenants are now being threatened by immediate eviction unless they sign a lease saying they will voluntarily move from the 4-A at the end of the year. The tenants have said that they will never sign such an agreement unless the City fulfills its commitment of developing overall housing plan which meets the need of the Chinatown people and permanent housing is provided them and other Chinatown residents facing eviction this year.

### CITY TAKES NO ACTION

Meanwhile, the City has made very little progress in developing an overall housing plan for Chinatown.

The Dept. of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) which has the responsibility for developing the plans for Chinatown has only come up with tentative ideas for one of the blocks involved. What has been developed of the plan has been criticized for essential shortcomings such as an inadequate number of units for low and moderate income people and inappropriate highrise

At the same time, Pace is holding the city responsible to hold off any eviction of Chinatown tenants until the study has been completed. PACE wants an answer on March 13, as an agreement on the timetable for the study could postpone the possible eviction of 4-A.

### PEOPLE'S ALTERNATIVE

Unable to rely totally on the City bureaucracy to protect the interests of its citizens, PACE has begun to seek other alternatives. One which has been suggested by sympathetic Councilman Kekoa Kaapu is that the 4-A tenants be moved into a rehabilitated hotel in Chinatown as permanent relocation housing. While not answering the overall housing problem in Chinatown, such a move would set a positive precedent to redevelop or rehabilitate certain areas of Chinatown for residents and small businesses. Such a plan has been supported by the broader community.

### CHINATOWN PREPARES FOR THE WORST

Because of the present critical situation with the 4-A however, tenants, PACE and supporters are prepared for the worst. The residents are all too aware of the "urban renewal" of the Queen Emma and Kukui areas which displaced hundreds of residents in the early 1960's. The residents there



Some of Honolulu's Chinatown residents threatened with eviction.

[PACE]

buildings for the elderly.

The only concrete aspect of the DHCD plan is a proposal of \$150,000 to be budgeted in the City's next fiscal year for the development of Chinatown. But according to the DHCD even if the money is approved, a study of the development plan could not begin until October. What is not taken into account by this City Hall bureaucracy is the residents of several hotels who will be evicted this year.

In order to prevent such a situation from occurring, PACE has attempted to meet with the DHCD but were told it would "serve no purpose." Nevertheless, PACE is pursuing a counter-proposal to complete the study by July, the earliest feasible date, using alternate funds such as community block development grants.

were not organized to resist and allowed the City to openly collude with the private developers.

If the City reneges on its promise to the Chinatown residents and sells out again to the interests of the developers, the results will differ dramatically. The people of Chinatown are determined to fight for their rights to decent low-cost housing and have now accumulated the political experience, muscle, and support to back them up.

A rally is planned for March 13 to air the position of the tenants and inform supporters of the situation of 4-A. If the eviction is planned, the tenants and supporters will occupy/barricade the hotel and rally community sympathizers to maintain an active presence at the hotel. PACE will also confront the City Council to act on its resolution to stop all Chinatown evictions. □

## CONFERENCE RELAUNCHES STUDENT ALLIANCE

By GARY REYES  
AK Correspondent

After over a year-and-a-half of relative inactivity within the Filipino student community in northern California, the Pilipino Student Alliance of Sacramento and Mga Kapatid of the University of California at Davis successfully organized a regional conference last March 4 at California State University Sacramento.

The meeting revived former ties between the different student groups in the region and reaffirmed the unity that is sorely needed to overcome the present ebb in student activity. As one participant stated, "Without this united effort among the different campus groups, each club's experiences tend to be isolated and insignificant."

Through the sharing of experiences, the representatives arrived at the assessment that there is a growing attack on minority student rights on the different campuses. The discussion focused on the landmark Bakke case which is presently before the Supreme Court. "If the Bakke decision is upheld, supportive services that help get minorities into college and keep them there will be ruled unconstitutional and can be eliminated," declared Maria Abadesco, guest speaker from the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Already faced with very limited access to a white-male-dominated educational system, this access for Filipino and other minority students is now being threatened with elimination altogether.

Recognizing the gravity of the case, the delegates resolved to help develop and broaden the support of the Anti-Bakke movement in their respective campuses. Broad community support was targeted as being the main factor that would influence the court's decision.

Throughout the day-long discussions, numerous instances of racial and national discrimination were recounted. Janis Favis, a nursing student at Sacramento City College and member of the Sacramento Narciso-Perez Support Committee, related her experiences with racist instructors: "As soon as they found out I was half Filipino, they gave me a hard time. At first I couldn't understand why they were flunking out my Filipino friends."

The conference not only dealt with the problems and needs of the U.S. Filipino community, but in addition, delved into the situation in the Philippines. An informative presentation by Marlene Pedragosa, a student and member of the Anti-Martial Law Alliance in Sacramento, talked about the ever worsening economic and social conditions in the country and the steadily growing resistance to Marcos' martial rule.

Overall, the conference marked a significant step toward revitalizing the Filipino student movement and rebuilding the West Coast Conference of Filipino Students (WCCPS) in this region. □

## 4-H TRAINEES CONFRONT INTIMIDATION

By the Support Committee for Filipino 4-H Trainees

MODESTO — Threats of deportation and of pull-out from the California 4-H Program face Filipino 4-H trainees who have organized themselves to seek reforms in the training program that has already been exposed as exploitative and oppressive.

Reliable sources in Washington, D.C. reported that two leading California trainees have been singled out for immediate transfer to either the East Coast or Oregon. One of them, Misael Apostol, was even threatened by resigned Regional Coordinator Frank Espinola to be shipped back to the Philippines at the end of March.

### 4-H OFFICIALS FEAR TRAINEES' ORGANIZING

Over a month ago, California Filipino trainees met to discuss their plight and plans for reforming the program. This move was an offshoot of the organizing effort initiated by Southeast 4-H trainee, who succeeded in getting a meeting with National 4-H officials in Washington, D.C. last Jan. 15. The trainees plight also caught the concern and interest

The Philippine officials said that the fourth proposal was formulated in the event that Espinola resigned for "health-care" reasons. The trainees however, felt that Espinola's planned resignation was due to their pressures which the coordinator could not take. The other plausible explanation is that with Espinola stepping down, implementation of reforms would be staved off.

### ANOTHER PROPOSAL

A Stockton-based Filipino community group, Tayu-Tayo Interlink, has been keeping up with developments in the 4-H issue. On Feb. 7, the group called a community meeting where an alternative proposal was announced. The group's alternative promised a better training program that would provide the needed theoretical know-how for future trainees, and the elimination of the bureaucratic set-up within 4-H. This was reportedly strongly recommended and co-authored by Espinola.

But the California trainees and some members of the support committee questioned Espinola's role



Filipino 4-H trainees in California have been threatened with transfer or deportation due to their efforts to win justice in the program. Above, trainees meet to discuss grievances in Richmond, Ca. [AK]

of Filipino and American individuals in the community, who, consequently, formed a support committee.

On Feb. 4, the California trainees prepared a draft of demands to be submitted to Regional Coordinator Frank Espinola. The next day, Espinola called a surprise meeting, and the trainees were caught unaware by the presence of two Philippine 4-H officials, Frank Abano and Clemencio Pena.

The two Philippine officials informed the trainees of some proposed changes in the program that would include: 1) creation of a progression skill-curriculum to be prepared by host farmers, the coordinator and the trainees; 2) decrease in the trainees' work hours to 48 from 70 hours; 3) release of trainees' passports which are presently held at 4-H offices; and 4) possible transfer of trainees out of California or shipment back to the Philippines if trainees desire so.

in this alternative proposal. Trainee Misael Apostol denounced Espinola's "very insensitive attitudes towards us when we approached him about our problems."

On the other hand, support committee members expressed unity with Tayu-Tayo Interlink's concern for future trainees, but challenged the group's resolution on the present program. Committee members said that 18 California 4-H trainees are plagued with problems that should be given careful attention and solution.

Much to the surprise of those present at the meeting, Sr. Reina Paz, Stockton host-farmer and co-author of the Tayu-Tayo Interlink Proposal, rejected the Support Committee's opinion. Sr. Reina also retorted that if the present trainees think they are wasting their time for not learning anything . . . "they might as well go home."

(continued on page 13)

### UPDATE ON BARENG'S CASE

## Student Nurse Challenges Discriminatory Dismissal

By NONI ESPIRITU  
AK Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO — "Student rights look good on paper. In actuality, students fear authority as my own experience attests to this. The school says it wants to give quality learning experiences. For a minority student, that too is all paper." So voiced Gloria Bareng, a 24-year old Filipino nursing student at St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing, after the school decided to terminate her from the nursing program.

The school's decision came Feb. 22, two days after Gloria, a sophomore, charged she was denied her student rights. The grievance, which was heard by a hearing committee, was directed towards a faculty member, Ms. Shaw (see AK, March 1-15, issue).

Members of the hearing committee said that Gloria's grievance was unfounded and supported

her dismissal from the program. They based their judgement on the following points: 1) Gloria was inept in performing basic skills in stress situations, 2) she had difficulties communicating with authority figures and persons from different cultural backgrounds, and 3) two witnesses supposedly (two Caucasians, one Chinese and one Filipino-American) failed to substantiate her charge.

Gloria denounced the hearing as unfair and biased and questioned the validity of the grievance procedure itself. She also accused the hearing committee or lack of openness to her witnesses. One of her witnesses is an outstanding Chinese clinical student who got an unsatisfactory grade from the same faculty member. During her testimony, the student stated that Gloria did not deserve the low grade from Ms. Shaw. The committee however, quickly stopped the student from further testimony.

Two days later, School director Betty Owens reached a decision to drop Gloria from the school. Gloria reacted by filing an appeal with the hospital

administrator, Mr. Joseph Zem.

### SECOND GRIEVANCE

On March 2, she filed a second grievance concerning a failing grade in Nursing 200. But the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs refused Gloria the right to a second grievance procedure, based on what it claims as Gloria's "breach of confidentiality." The "breach" allegedly occurred during the convention of the Student Nurses Association of California (SNAC) held Feb. 24-26.

At the convention, a minority student from Merritt College School of Nursing presented Gloria's case before the delegates. At the end of the presentation, convention delegates resolved to send Director Owens a letter of concern and support for Gloria's grievance.

At press time, the outcome of Gloria's fight for reinstatement is not yet known. With support from her co-students and friends, Gloria vowed to get a fair settlement from school authorities. □

## Part II

## THE BAKKE CASE AND ASIAN-AMERICANS

In the last issue of the *Ang Katipunan* we reprinted the first part of the education leaflet put out by Asian Focus of the NCOBD. Having documented conclusive facts which run counter to the myth that "Asians Have Made it," part 2 comments on the dangerous impact of the Bakke Decision which has already begun to affect Asian communities in the areas of housing, medical and social services, jobs and education — Editor.

The Bakke Decision will have far reaching effects on all minorities. Attached to the decision is the potential threat of cutbacks, not only in education, but in funding community services and affirmative action hiring as well. Consider some of the needs of Asians and how the Bakke Decision will affect us.

**Health Care:** The high rates of mortality and morbidity for Asian Americans seem to suggest and give support to the poverty status, overcrowded living conditions, inadequate nutrition, long working hours and inadequate health care for Asian Americans. For example, less than 2 per cent of all doctors in San Francisco practice in the Chinatown area which has about 10 per cent of the city's population. The case mortality rates of TB for Chinese and Filipinos in 1973 were two to four times higher than those for whites. Bilingual and bicultural medical personnel are in particular demand here, since few now exist to accommodate language differences, dietary habits, and cultural norms.

**Legal Services:** Nationwide in the area of legal services, the number of Chinese people per attorney was 2,024 and for the Japanese the number was 1,064 compared to the white figure of 111 (1970 figures). Furthermore, in the Bay Area, there are at least 51,617 Asian Americans with incomes between \$4000 and \$5000 who do not



Asians have already suffered from the Bakke decision in court actions involving Alaskan cannery workers and at USF and Hastings Law Schools. See articles this issue, p. 7 and 15. [NCOBD]

qualify for legal services under Federal Poverty Guidelines. The Asian American population has grown tremendously in the last ten years as a result of the National Origins Act of 1965 which equalized Asian immigration quotas. At the time of the 1970 Census, there were over two million Asian Americans in the U.S. representing a 27 per cent increase in Japanese population, and 84 per cent increase in Chinese population and a 95 per cent increase in the Filipino population since 1960. Many of the immigrant Asians are aliens, subject to the control of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. As aliens, they must comply with complex regulations in order to maintain their status. In addition to the hindrance of language barriers and culture shock, aliens are confronted by a body of law which is vague and often discriminatory in its application. Consequently, it is virtually impossible for them to understand their rights without an attorney. The unaddressed legal problems common to the poor and those unique to poor Asian communities make the training of capable attorneys responsive and sensitive to those particular needs a necessity.

**Special Admissions Programs,** enacted in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement in order to counter decades of racial discrimination, were designed to facilitate the entry of minority and economically disadvantaged students into universities and professional schools. Together with traditional standards (e.g., G.P.A. and admissions tests), admission is based on criteria such as background, nationality, potential and commitment to serving underserved populations; without these programs, the number of minority students admitted would be considerably less. Due to the historical discrimination against Asian language and culture, the lack of bilingual-bicultural programs, and the fact that the inferior education common in ghetto schools produces academically handicapped students, many Asian applicants score lower than their white counterparts on entrance examinations.

If upheld, the Bakke decision would call for the elimination of special admissions. A decline in the availability of these programs would have a tremendous effect on medical and law schools where minority enrollment is already low. Fewer minorities in professional jobs will in turn have a substantial impact on minority communities who are in need of people who have the background and experience to be able to respond to their needs. It is obvious that by eliminating any gains made by special admissions programs, the Bakke Decision would exacerbate the inadequacy and inequality of professional services available to Asian people.

#### U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CHALLENGES ASIAN PARTICIPATION IN MINORITY PROGRAMS

Last fall the U.S. Justice Department submitted an amicus brief (friend of the court) to supply additional evidence to the Supreme Court regarding the Bakke case. In the 74 page brief the Justice

Department argues that there is no need for Asian participation in minority admissions programs because the educational attainment figures for Asians have been shown to be comparable to the national average. The brief further argues that minority-sensitive admissions are constitutional only if they are the only way that a minority group can get substantial representation in a profession. While the brief claims that adequate numbers of Chinese and Japanese are entering through regular admissions, the fact is that by 1970 only 124 out of 9,020 Asian doctors practicing in the U.S. were American born, demonstrating that equal opportunity has not existed for Asians in medical school admissions. Also, it is important to know that regular admissions processes discriminate against the poor and disadvantaged as well as those who are likely to return their skills to low income communities (thus perpetuating the existing stratifications in this society). Furthermore, the brief disregards the particularities within the Asian population. The conditions and needs of the Filipino and Korean communities differ greatly from those of Asians as a whole. We have already demonstrated that Asians have not only suffered past discrimination but also current discrimination that can be evaluated by unmet legal, health and other community needs — the real issue that makes a minority admissions program for Asians imperative.

#### THE BAKKE DECISION MAY MEAN A CUTBACK IN COMMUNITY SERVICES AND IN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION HIRING PROGRAMS

An important gain achieved from the Civil Rights Movement was the establishment of community services. To rectify poor conditions in minority communities, conditions neglected because of past racism, government monies were allocated to initiate development of better working housing and better community services, such as in health and legal services. Such services have only just begun to promote positive change in minorities — but if the Bakke decision is upheld, these gains stand likely to suffer severe cutbacks.

Why is this so? Bakke claims that preferential treatment of minorities is unconstitutional and, if upheld, the legality of monies being allocated for services to minority communities would come under attack. In reviewing the case, the Supreme Court has already shown a concern in this matter. In October 1977 the court requested evidence from the federal government regarding Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act which states, "No person in the U.S. shall, on grounds of race, or color, or national origin be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any program of activity receiving federal funds." In the past, Title 6 provided the basis for arguing that public institution receiving public funds has a responsibility to meet the needs of the people, and has been used to develop special admissions and affirmative action programs, and yet, despite its original intent, Title 6 has been used to eliminate affirmative action programs in education and employment (e.g. Flanagan vs. the President and Directors of Georgetown College, 1976) on the grounds of "reverse discrimination." Many Asian community agencies receive funds based on the fact that Asians have in the past and are currently victims of discrimination. If upheld, the atmosphere created by the Bakke decision, together with the myth that Asians are a success in America, would make it increasingly difficult for agencies to seek government sources of funding to carry on their activities.

Affirmative action employment programs have also been eliminated through the use of Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act which was originally intended to ensure equal rights in employment (e.g., Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum). If the Bakke Decision is upheld on the basis of Title 6 and 7 violations it would set a precedent, providing a legal basis for education and employment institutions to eliminate affirmative action programs so as not to "lose" federal funding originally allocated with the intention of encouraging integration. Employers once held responsible for seeking minority and women employees to achieve an integrated workforce would inevitably return to their discriminatory hiring practice. The implications of the Bakke decision are grave. Indeed, they may mean an end of any legal guarantee that racial discrimination is illegal!

## 4-H Trainees...

(continued from page 12)

On Feb. 8, Sr. Retna withdrew her co-authorship from Tayo-Tayo Interlink proposal. On the same day, Frank Espinola resigned as Regional Coordinator.

It was learned a few days later that before his resignation, Espinola told several host farmers that transfer of California trainees would start by March. Upset by the news, some farmers immediately began hiring replacements for the Filipino trainees. Other resorted to denying the trainees privileges (i.e. schools, use of transportation, etc.) because "they are leaving anyway."

Espinola also reportedly harassed and intimidated Misael Apostol by threatening him with immediate deportation.

In a related development, 4-H Washington Director for Filipino Trainees, Robert Rhoades, expressed surprise over the planned pull-out of California trainees. It appeared that the National Office and the Regional Branch have poor communication and disagreements over this.

Rhoades, however, gave assurance that the promised changes in the Agricultural Program will soon be implemented. The Support Committee and community supporters are keeping close watch on this promise. A meeting to update the community on the progress in the 4-H issue will be held March 18, 7:30 p.m., in Stockton. It will be held at Dr. Tony Saqueton's office in the Filipino Center, 6 West Main St., Suite 1.

Further information may be obtained from the following: Modesto; Mr. Lee Meuheller, (209) 524-9582; Bay Area, Ric Rocamora, (209) 222-0925, and Stockton, Marlene Pedragosa, (209) 465-6551. □

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## DOMESTIC / INTERNATIONAL

## U.S. MINERS FIRM IN DEMANDS

By JEANETTE LAZAM and POLLY PARKS

"Unless I'm fooled, the membership will never accept this rag," said coal miner Lee Roy Petterson about the "bottom line" Bituminous Coal Operators (BCOA) contract offer. And they didn't. In a vote of over 2-1, the United Mine Workers Union (UMW) overwhelmingly rejected the Bituminous Coal Operators March 5 offer to go back to work.

Within hours of the announced vote, Pres. Carter, with the support of the BCOA and the Congress, moved swiftly to invoke the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, which orders the miners back to work for an 80-day "cooling-off" period.

By invoking the act, Carter and the BCOA pulled one of their last desperate measures to break the historic 94-day strike which has effectively halted the nation's coal industry. However, the act, which threatens a court injunction, fines, and even arrests, has not impressed the 160,000 strikers. "If Carter wants the coal so bad, let 'em come here and mine it," said one militant miner.

There is little doubt, even by the Carter administration's own admissions, that the Taft-Hartley act will succeed in getting the miners back in the coal fields. UMW coal miners have successfully defied the act three times in the past, with the union paying a \$2 million fine in 1950. Even by violating the act and incurring the arrest of union leaders and massive fines, the UMW was able to win substantial contract advances, such as health benefits and a shorter work week.

If Carter's invocation of Taft-Hartley fails to end the strike, there are other government options the administration could enforce. Troops could be mobilized to force miners back to the coal fields, or district-by-district settlements could be sought rather than an industry-wide settlement. However, observers note that federal troops would not be successful in forcing miners to work, and the unity of the strikers would threaten any negotiations that were not inclusive of all coal industry's workers.

The only other viable option is seizure of the mines, where the government would settle directly with the miners without the coal operators. Government seizure, now openly backed by Congress was used in 1943 and 1946, and when Pres. Truman threatened seizure in 1950, the coal operators quickly gave in to union demands, fearing government inspection of their books which would make public secret reports of profits and earnings.

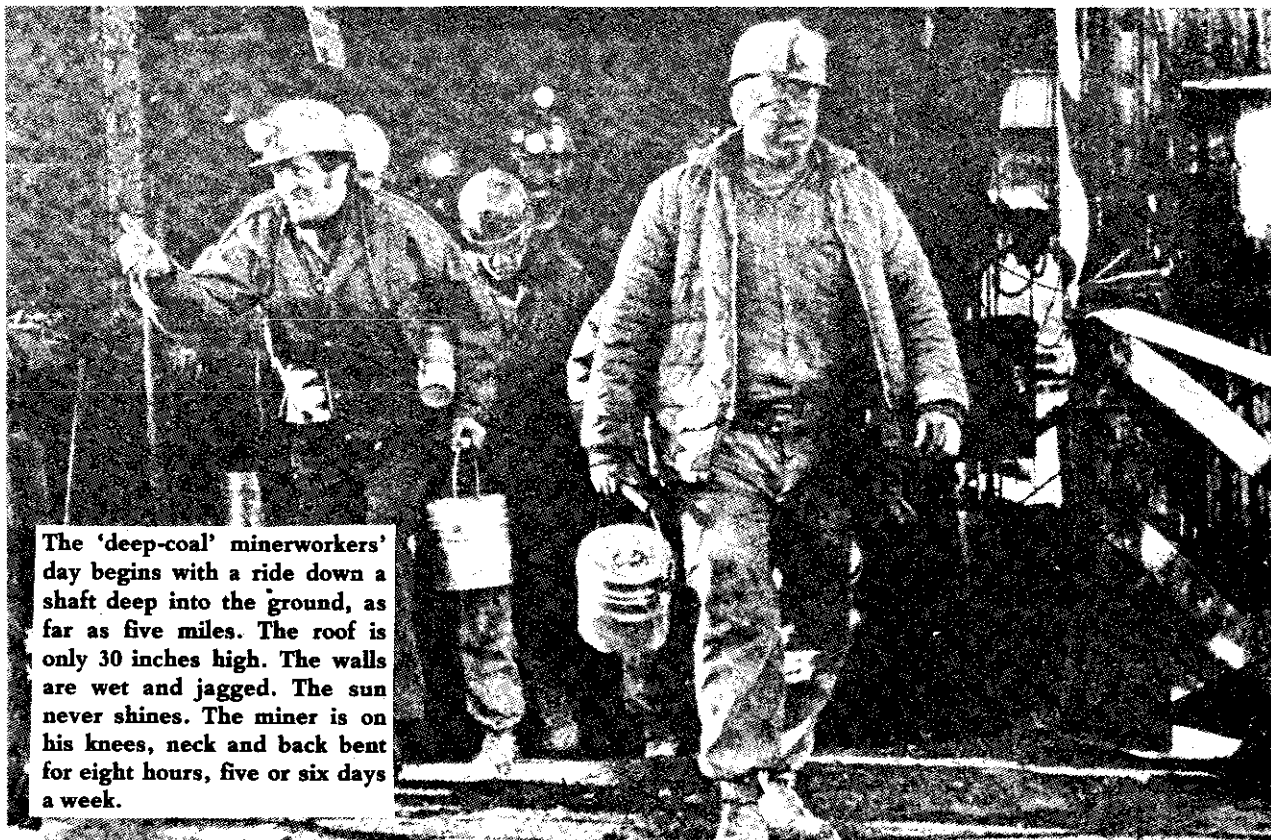
Whatever the Carter administration plans now, however, it is clear that the invocation of Taft-Hartley has unified the miners more solidly. "Invoking the Taft-Hartley is like fighting fire with gasoline," said miner Elmer Yocum to the Guardian newspaper. "If there's one thing that will unify this union quicker than anything, it's Taft-Hartley."

## WHY THE MINERS REJECTED THE CONTRACT

The BCOA contract provisions that provoked such a militant rejection from the miners included 1) attacks on the miner's right to strike over local safety grievances; 2) the contract's regressive health plan proposals, forcing miners to shoulder a large burden of health costs; 3) maintenance of two separate retirement funds which pays lesser amounts to older retirees; 4) increased productivity clauses that miners charge would cause dangerous speed-ups and thus increased accidents and injuries; and 4) no provisions to combat inflation.

For the miners, the key issue is the right to strike over local unsafe conditions. Miners on the average have the highest fatality rate among the nation's industrial workers, as well as an accident rate three times the national average. The local right to strike is the only way miners can insure coal operators will correct unsafe mine conditions.

In 1976 alone, 141 deaths occurred in the mines and there were a reported 14,000 injuries. However, the U.S.



The 'deep-coal' minerworkers' day begins with a ride down a shaft deep into the ground, as far as five miles. The roof is only 30 inches high. The walls are wet and jagged. The sun never shines. The miner is on his knees, neck and back bent for eight hours, five or six days a week.

Despite Carter's invocation of the Taft-Hartley Act, U.S. miners continue their demands of a contract with adequate health and safety provisions, as well as the right to strike. [UPI]

Interior Department admits that 60 per cent of mine injuries are not reported, and it is estimated that an average miner will suffer at least eight major injuries in his lifetime.

Federal mine safety standards are not strictly enforced — the government has yet to close a mine due to unsafe conditions. In addition, mine-safety committees rarely use their power to close hazardous mines due to pressure from the coal operators.

Provisions of the 1974 contract, which instituted a five-step grievance procedure to protest unsafe conditions, resulted in a time-consuming log-jam of complaints that were never acted upon. Hundreds of small wildcats occurred as a result, and in 1975 and 1976, wildcats of 120,000 or more hit the nation's coal fields.

In the recent contract proposal, the BCOA wanted to impose a provision allowing the companies to fire a miner for "instigating" a wildcat or who "otherwise engages in an unauthorized work stoppage." In addition, the BCOA wanted to change the 1974 provision which allowed a miner the right to refuse work if he felt his safety was in immediate danger. The BCOA wanted to submit this vital right to the normal grievance procedure.

## HEALTH BENEFITS ATTACKED

Since 1950, the nation's miners have benefited from one of the best union health plans in the country, one which covered nearly every medical expense from occasional check-ups to a major illness. The UMW won such vital health benefits only after a bitter strike and their health plan set a precedent which was quickly followed by other industries, such as auto and steel.

Now the BCOA proposes a regressive health plan, one which would abolish the fund which has covered miners and their families — 600,000 persons in all. The proposed system amounts to health care on a "fee for service" basis, one which results in "assembly line health care since the payments are on the basis of the number of patients handled," according to UMW research director Tom Bethal. Donald Conwell, an administrator of a

miner's clinic in New Kensington, Pa. further charged that the BCOA health plan, "is leading to the idea of a company doctor. John L. Lewis led the miners away from that 30 years ago."

However, the health plan's most onerous feature would force the miners to pay the first \$700 of their medical bills. Such a policy would throw the miners back to the 1940's, when no health plan existed.

## SUPPORT BUILDS

At this point, over 500 unions across the nation have pledged their support to the striking miners. The United Auto Workers (UAW) has pledged 2 million dollars to the strikers, and other unions have begun instituting collections. The AFL-CIO has announced they will launch a food drive. In some areas, where miners are facing extreme hardship and cutbacks on food stamps, striking farmers have donated food.

Other support actions are building across the country rapidly. In San Francisco, close to one thousand people packed the Plumbers Union Hall Feb. 24 to hear a wide array of Bay Area labor officials pledge support towards the strike. ILWU Pres. Herman pledged that the dockworkers would shut down the West Coast ports if the army was called into the coal fields.

In other areas such as Toledo and Columbus, Ohio, support groups have been formed and mass rallies attended by hundreds have been held.

During this next period, wide support will have to be generated to insure that the miners win their key demands as well as successfully challenge the Taft-Hartley Act.

As one miner from Charleston, W. Va. aptly said: "The most important thing at this point is to broaden the strike. People have been sitting on the sideline. It is past the time for free clinics and relief fund money. We're fighting for all of labor. The UMW was a union out of which the CIO, and then the Rubberworkers and the UAW and the Steelworkers grew. The operators are out to break the union, and if they can break the UMW, they can break any union in this country." □

## 'THE FIRST THRUST OF FASCISM IN AMERICA'

Taft-Hartley -  
A Vicious Anti-Labor Bill

John L. Lewis, the legendary leader of the United Mine Worker's union denounced the bill as "the first ugly, savage thrust of fascism in America."

The Taft-Hartley Law, enacted in June, 1947, was passed by a U.S. Congress during the beginning of the Cold War period, a time when Wall Street whipped-up an anti-Communist hysteria and the representatives of monopoly capital had a virtual free hand in attacking the hard-won rights of America's workers.

Though bearing the names of Senator Taft and Representative Hartley, the anti-

labor measure was practically dictated by American big business. Rep. Donald L. O'Toole of New York said that, "The bill was written sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, page by page, by the National Association of Manufacturers." Rep. John McCormack of Massachusetts charged that the drive for the bill's passage was "the most vicious kind of demonstration of corporate lobbying."

Taft-Hartley's anti-labor provisions were many and deadly. The act reinstated court injunctions, giving judges the power to impose fines for alleged violations. An eighty-day "cooling off" period

was installed during which strikers were ordered back to work. Mass picketing was made illegal. Unions were open to suit for "unfair labor practices."

Trade unions were prohibited from contributing to political campaigns. The closed shop was abolished and secondary boycotts were prohibited. The bill authorized and encouraged the passage of state anti-union, "right-to-work" laws.

Taft-Hartley thus opened unions to direct assault and intimidation by making their treasuries subject to legal suit; picketing was made illegal by court injunction; and legal threats were used to maintain open shop conditions. Especially crippling were the anti-Communist provisions which opened any effective trade union organizer to red-baiting and perjury indictments.

Since the passage of Taft-Hartley in 1947, the Bill has been used against labor 34 times. The UMW openly violated the act in 1950, bringing the union fines

totaling \$1.4 million in addition to a \$20,000 contempt of court fine for UMW president Lewis.

Despite the threatened fines and even introduction of federal troops to enforce its provisions, mine workers have traditionally been hostile to the bill. UMW coined the saying that "you can't mine coal with bayonets," and in the recent strike one mine reiterated Lewis' stand: "They can't force a miner to dig coal if he doesn't want to. They may be able to dig coal if he doesn't want to. They may be able to get him down there if they fine him enough, but they can't force him to mine that coal."

Now that the Taft-Hartley act is again being used against the nation's miners, and it appears that the strikers have every intention of not obeying its repressive measures, the question confronting all American labor is whether or not some movement should begin to repeal the infamous anti-labor law. □

## USF, Hastings Law Schools

## Students Fight Attacks on Minority Admissions



Rallies of over 400 have shaken the Hastings College campus to protest the attacks on minority admissions. Above, a March 3 rally. (J. Rosenthal)

By JEANETTE LAZAM

Only weeks apart, two significant student strikes erupted in San Francisco over Bakke-type attacks on the Special Admissions Program at the University of San Francisco Law School (USF), and the Hastings School of Law.

Minority students and supporters of these programs claim that the administrations are trying to implement new procedures in the special admissions process that will seriously limit the enrollment of minorities into the schools.

On Feb. 13, 1978, 375 students and supporters of the special admissions program at USF, won a significant victory when they were able to stall a vote by the faculty to adopt Dean Paul McKaskle's proposal to cut special admissions slots from 50-25.

At an emotionally charged faculty meeting attended by hundreds of chanting students, Dean McKaskle's proposal was denounced as a 'Bakke-Type' proposal using minority students as "scapegoats" for the schools teaching failures.

In a 16-page report to the faculty, McKaskle, amid the chanting, indicated that his proposal changes were triggered by the growing failure rate among USF minority graduates in the state Bar exams that determine whether or not law school graduates can practice in California.

According to McKaskle, "A large number of individuals that enter the school through special admissions are spending up to three or four years in law school plus considerable cash without an acceptably high chance of reaching their goal of Bar membership." McKaskle also claimed that USF's poor performance in the Bar exams demoralized current students, discouraged others from applying and made alumni less likely to provide the support necessary for a "Quality" school.

Critics of McKaskle's proposal asserted that the university neglected to back up its educational program with appropriate tutorial and other services for minority students, thereby attributing to the high rate of failure among the special admissions students. "Cutting back the slots from 50 to 25 isn't going to solve the problem," said Bradley Angel, a second year law student at USF and organizer for the strike. "What we're demanding is for the University to expand and develop the special admissions program to help curtail the rate of failure within the Bar exams."

Spearheading the challenge to Dean McKaskle's proposal are the Black Law Students Association, Asian American Law Students Association, and the La Raza Law Students Association, who are now busily preparing a proposal that will be heard at a March 14 faculty meeting. A planned demonstration will also be held to support the program.

#### HASTINGS STUDENTS UNDER ATTACK

Meanwhile, Hastings Law School, the second largest public law school in the nation, was racked with a two day strike March 2 and 3 by angry minority students and community supporters over a policy amendment to the special admissions program, the Legal Education Opportunities Program (LEOP).

The policy change, submitted by Prof. Kanowitz, a Labor Law teacher at the school and voted on at a January 27th faculty meeting, proposed curtailment in the influence minority student organizations and individuals have over the Hasting's special admissions program.

About one-fifth of each 500 students entering class at Hastings are admitted under the program. These are individuals who do not meet traditional criteria based upon test scores from the Law Scholastic Aptitude Test (LSAT), but for whom special considerations are made based on race, income and physical handicap.

Similar to the USF struggle, proponents of the Hasting's policy change claim that there has been a high rate of failure among law graduates taking the state Bar exam, especially among those that have entered under LEOP program and have openly attacked the Student Review Panel, a body comprised of Black, Asian, Latino and Native American student groups assigned to review the files of the special admissions program. One faculty source charged that past student reviewers had occasionally screened out applicants because they (applicant) disagreed with the political views and goals of the LEOP program.

Disputing the charges, student leaders labelled the attack on LEOP programs as a racist move on the part of the administration and an effort to eventually dismantle all special admissions programs in light of the Bakke case.

According to Flynn Bradley, a representative from the Black Law Students Assoc. (BLSA), "The administration, according to our knowledge, had not made any overt moves in recent years to try to

restrict or dismantle the LEOP. But since the Bakke case, and the purported notion of "reverse discrimination," the administration started to make moves that seriously began to threaten our program."

"Our program," said Maria Elena Garcia, representative of the La Raza Law Students Assoc., "is one that is geared to helping minorities enter the school, but it also places great emphasis onto law students on the relationship between their academic and professional careers and the community. So far, 90 per cent of minority students that entered under the LEOP program and passed the state bar are practicing within their respective communities."

James Bell of BLSA added, "we don't need Third World people here who are only going to be district attorneys, who are only going to corporations. We need law students who are going to work for the needs of their communities."

Student leaders were quick to point out that the Hasting's administration had always favored students with high grades and a formal academic background, and were totally prejudiced against those with community work experience or political involvement.

#### STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The strike, which is expected to continue until the students' demands are met has effectively shaken the administration. On the first day, 75 per cent of the student population did not show up for classes and many classes were cancelled in light of poor attendance.

Student leaders have promised to maintain a militant stand if their demands are not met. "If we don't get what we want, we plan to sit-in at the Dean's office and continue to expand or strike," said Tony Matsuda of the Asian Law Students Association.

"Right now we have several people in Sacramento talking with aides of the Board of Governors while we continue our picket and demonstration here. If Hasting's School of Law adopts this policy, which is a racist attack on the rights of minority students, every other law school that has a special admissions program will also be threatened."

A USF law student said that Boalt Hall at U.C. Berkeley University of Southern California, University of Santa Clara, and Golden Gate College administration are beginning to make moves along similar lines. □

## U.S. Aid to Repressive Gov'ts Hit HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN BERKELEY

By WALDEN BELLO  
AK Correspondent

About 100 activists from various parts of California met in Berkeley on Saturday, March 4, to map out a campaign to mobilize grassroots pressure to force the U.S. government to stop aiding repressive regimes. The organizing conference, which was called by the National Organizing Conference on Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy, drew representatives from labor, community organizations, citizens' action groups, and solidarity organizations.

Delegates to the conference, who came from the Bay Area, San Jose, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Delano, unanimously agreed to launch two statewide campaigns. The first was a "National Resolution Campaign," which would involve getting the endorsements of a wide spectrum of organizations of a human rights resolution condemning U.S. complicity in human rights violations in the Third World and demanding implementation of the "Human Rights Amendments"—congressionally passed acts which provide for an aid cut-off to repressive regimes. Explaining the significance of the resolution campaign, National Coordinator Bob Barber said, "We are interested not only in the direct impact of this resolution on Congress, but in its use as an educational and mobilizing tool to forge a grassroots network for a progressive foreign policy."

Also approved was a "direct action" campaign targeting issues or institutions which abet human rights violations in the Third World. Conference participants discussed a number of possible targets of direct mass protest, including Bank of America for its financial support of the apartheid system in

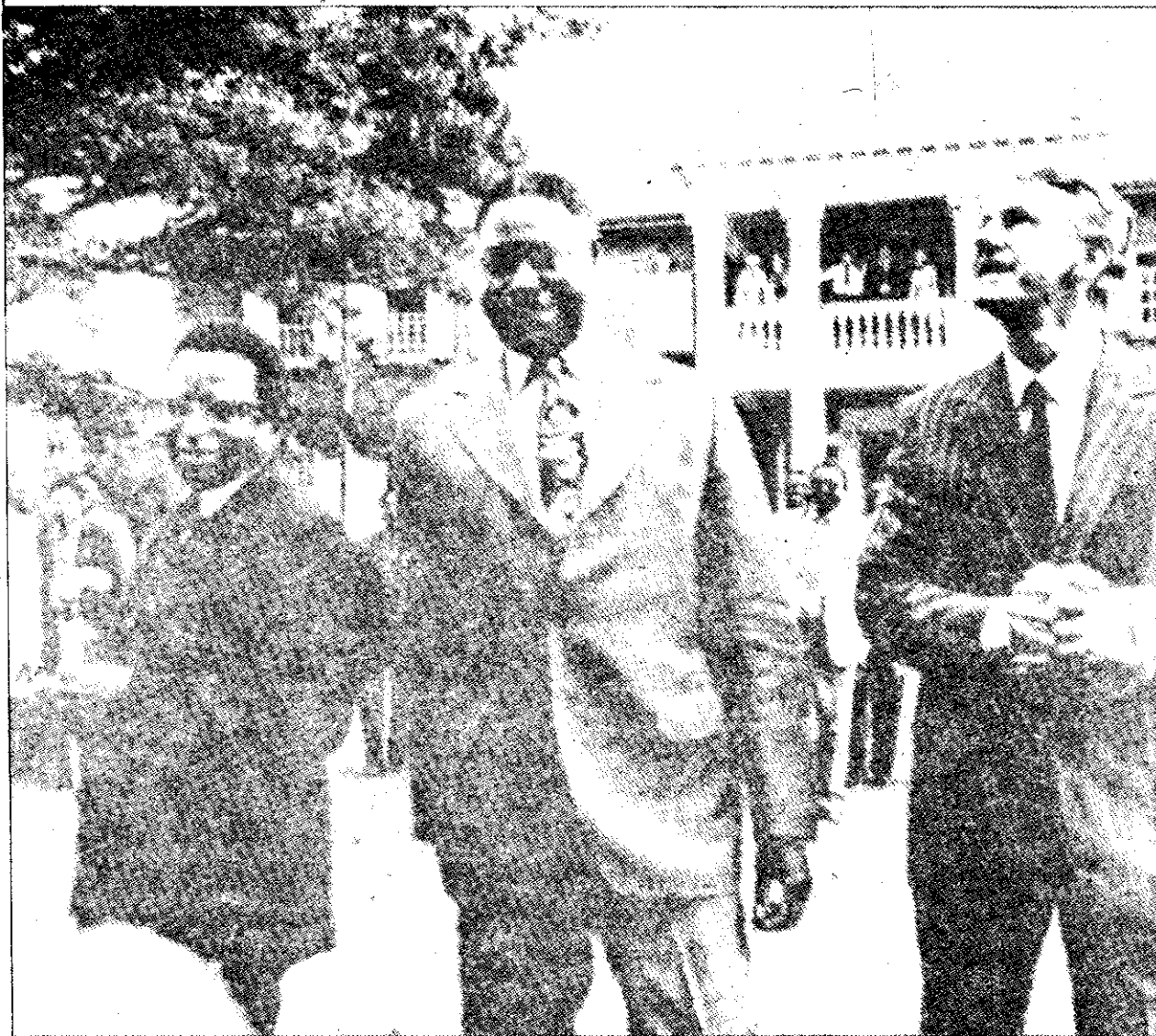
South Africa, and Del Monte Corp. for its policy of setting up subsidiaries in labor cheap countries dominated by U.S.-supported repressive regimes.

Guest speakers at the conference were Olga Talamante, Human Rights director of the American Friends Service Committee, and Horacio Lofredo, associate director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs. A former political prisoner in Argentina, Ms. Talamante exhorted participants to be confident that their efforts affect U.S. foreign policy and could make a difference in the lives of thousands of political prisoners kept by right-wing regimes.

Lofredo stressed the importance of grassroots support for progressive lobby efforts in Washington. "People commonly view those of us working in Washington as either selling out or wasting our time," Lofredo remarked. Disagreeing with these perspectives, he emphasized the importance of having people in Washington "who can harass and confront policy makers at every turn. It's absolutely mandatory that we confront and oppose at every level possible."

The California conference was the second regional meeting held by the National Organizing Conference on Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy, a coalition founded in New York in October 1977. The first conference took place Feb. 4 in Portland, Oregon, where representatives from a variety of organizations in the Pacific Northwest agreed to launch the resolution campaign as well as a direct action campaign targeting a local multinational corporation. Another regional conference is slated for Boston on April 8. For more information, contact: Bob Barber, National Organizing Conference on Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; or call him at (202) 546-8400. □

# U.S. DEBATE OVER SMITH'S 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT'



Prime Minister Ian Smith stands with two of three black moderates who recently agreed to a transition government plan perpetuating white privilege. Smith has been looking to the U.S. for approval of the plan which would open Zimbabwe to further U.S. economic investments in an effort to undercut the guerrilla Patriotic Front movement. [UPI]

## Reprinted from the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

Will the Carter administration move to support Ian Smith's "internal settlement" in Rhodesia? Very possibly, if President Carter's national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski's views prevail. A behind-the-scenes struggle is reportedly underway within the Carter administration over U.S. policy in Africa — with Brzezinski and UN ambassador Andrew Young as the two main antagonists. Young still favors the Anglo-American plan strategy of trying to negotiate a settlement with the Patriotic Front guerrillas, while Brzezinski leans towards support for Smith's "internal settlement" with three black leaders who have no ties to the guerrilla forces.

The reported Brzezinski-Young split was evident in their initial public reactions to the announcement in Salisbury February 15 that an agreement in principle on an internal settlement had been reached. Young told a UN press conference that it was "really no settlement at all" because it excluded the Patriotic Front and would not lead to an end of the guerrilla war. Brzezinski, on the other hand, told reporters in London that the United States was actively considering support for Smith's settlement in order to resist the rise of indigenous leftist forces in Africa (the Patriotic Front) and the spread of Soviet influence.

Brzezinski's view has less to do with African politics than with his global assessment of U.S.-Soviet relations and his alarm over the growing Soviet-Cuban role in Africa. The *Washington Post's* best informed African correspondent, David Ottaway commented Feb. 14 that "Brzezinski's attitude toward Africa is strikingly similar to that of former Secretary of State Kissinger," who "generally ignored the problems of black Africa until he became worried about expanding Soviet-Cuban involvement. In an analysis February 12, the *New York Times* commented that the Carter administration initially had declared its intention "not to see confrontation with Moscow and Havana in every local conflict," but that now it is approaching the Horn and other African hot spots "in something resembling the old Cold War context" — with Carter and Brzezinski issuing "more strident warnings" to the Soviets and Cubans.

The *Post* agrees that Young's "play it cool"

attitude toward Soviet-Cuban involvement in Africa — which "seemed to be setting the tone of American policy" in the first 10 months of the Carter administration — appears to be giving way to Brzezinski's more active anti-Soviet policy. Basically, Young's thinking — and that of many State Dept. "Africanists" — is that Africans are more concerned about racism than communism, that African liberation movements turn to the Soviet Union largely because they are denied support by the U.S. and that if left alone by Washington most African countries will eventually grow weary of Soviet interference and expel the Russians as in the cases of Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia.

Brzezinski and other "global strategists" are less concerned with African affairs, viewing any African conflict primarily as a point of possible U.S.-Soviet contention.

Rhodesia and the Horn of Africa are becoming the "testing grounds of these two policymakers influence in the White House," says the *Post*. If Young and the "Africanists" prevail, the *Post* predicts the Carter administration will confine itself to verbal criticism of Soviet-Cuban support for Ethiopia. And in Rhodesia, the U.S. will continue to work out a settlement with the Patriotic Front guerrillas led Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. If, however, Brzezinski and the "global strategists" win out, the Carter administration will move toward open support for Somalia — possibly even providing weapons — and will most likely opt to support Smith's internal settlement, the *Post* contends.

Smith hopes that Washington will come round to endorsing his agreement with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau, and that the Patriotic Front can be isolated. Sithole had already been dispatched to try to sell the internal settlement to Britain and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Sithole has virtually no chance of convincing the OAU to drop its support for the Patriotic Front and endorse the internal settlement. In fact, Libya's Col. Qaddafi announced at the OAU conference last week in Tripoli that his country and Nigeria were joining a new military committee with Tanzania, Mozambique and other front-line states to help the Patriotic Front intensify its guerrilla war.

But, Sithole and Smith may eventually have better luck with Britain. Last week, British Foreign Secretary David Owen rejected Sithole's bid for

support, but the British Labor government is under heavy pressure from Conservatives who favor the internal settlement. In contrast to Andy Young, Owen described the internal settlement as "a significant step toward majority rule."

And, while initially calling the Smith package "unacceptable," the State Department also hinted at the possibility of eventually accepting the internal settlement by quickly toning down its criticism and taking what observers called a "wait and see attitude." Even Andy Young — after decrying the internal settlement as laying the basis for a "black civil war" — held out the possibility that it could be the beginning of a broader agreement that would include the Patriotic Front.

While Britain and the U.S. may hope that the internal settlement will work, they have acknowledged that it is unlikely and that the prospects are for continued guerrilla war. Nkomo and Mugabe have unequivocally denounced the internal settlement — as have the three key front-line states: Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania. "History has shown that no puppet is an answer to a problem," Mozambique's second-ranking leader Marcelino Dos Santos declared. "It is important to warn Western countries, especially Britain which is the colonial power in Rhodesia, not to forget these lessons." Zambian Foreign Minister Siteke Mwale dismissed the internal settlement as Smith's attempt "to hoodwink the world." Mwale declared, "The fact that Smith has in his desperation brought together a few disgruntled leaders and talked to them is an indication that he is feeling the pressure from the Patriotic Front and the international community."

The Zambian leader's assessment is more than wishful thinking on his part. Although the guerrilla forces are still a long way from militarily defeating the white-minority regime's 50,000 member army, the war has definitely spread throughout the country. The Rhodesian government announced that the January death toll was 401 — the highest ever in five years of fighting. In December, ZANU guerrilla forces (allied with ZAPU in the Patriotic Front) staged a daring mortar raid on the Grand Reef's air base. Repeated small-scale guerrilla attacks within a 50-mile radius of Salisbury have led to government censorship of all war reporting and a sharp decline in the morale of white residents of the capital. At night Salisbury is reported to be "eerily quiet."

The war is now costing the Smith regime more than \$1 million a day. Stores in Salisbury are still stocked with Japanese hi-fis and French perfume, but white business leaders acknowledge that the economy is stagnating. "Almost everything has gone to hell in the last three years," says an economist for the Association of Rhodesian Industries. In its latest economic bulletin, the Rhodesian Banking Corporation reports that manufacturing, mining, construction, retail trade and real incomes all declined in the 1977 — and predicts an even worse year in 1978. The Rhobank review also notes that 1977 saw more whites emigrating than ever before, a net loss of almost 11,000.

Under the fire and caught in a downward economic spiral, the Smith regime was compelled to seek some kind of settlement with the black leaders. But the white-minority regime is determined to hold on to white privilege as long as possible. Under the terms of Smith's internal settlement the 263,000 whites are guaranteed 28 seats in Rhodesia's 100-member parliament for 10 years — with veto power over any constitutional changes proposed by the representatives of the 6.7 million black majority. One member of the black delegations negotiating with Smith admitted that agreeing to the white "blocking" power was "something of a sell-out" for blacks. The internal settlement also stipulates that the the white-led Rhodesian army will remain intact, that the civil service will remain white-dominated, and that whites will be guaranteed payment of pensions even if they leave the country.

It is unlikely that such a settlement will win wide support among Rhodesia's black majority. UPI reports that most blacks interviewed in urban areas complained bitterly that the agreement gave too much power to the white-minority. If the Carter administration follows Brzezinski's advice and backs an internal settlement, it will likely find itself supporting a regime fighting against a continuing guerrilla war — facing forces increasingly backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba.