

By NANCY ROCAMORA

R.P.'s 'TRADE' IN THE HUMAN COMMODITY

"A nation's wealth is its people," some wise man once said.

Philippine economic planners have taken that bit of wisdom literally. Today, Filipinos—warm, throbbing humans—form the nation's fifth largest dollar-earning export.

Trailing just behind copper, copra, sugar and forest products, are Filipino construction workers shipped to Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Libya; Filipina domestics hustled off to England, Italy, Greece, and Spain; and Filipino seamen sailing the blue on Japanese, Indian and Greek vessels. Government sources estimate that their dollar remittances this year will bring in at least \$650 million. One generous official insists that profits from this new-found source of wealth soared as high as \$1.2 billion in 1980—and the number of contract workers abroad has increased since then.

The trade in the human commodity bustled only recently. In 1975, only 36,035 Filipinos worked as contract laborers abroad. In 1981, 267,000 left to work as such in 111 countries. Of these, 84% went to the Middle East, with one country, Saudi Arabia, accounting for a full 69%. Following at some distance came Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Libya, Bahrain, and Iran.

Two out of every five jobs available in the Philippines today are overseas. One family of four in Manila receives remittances from relatives abroad. Overseas labor is an everyday fact of life.

The lucrative contract labor trade is both a product of today's intolerable economic and social conditions, and the Philippine government's desperate response to these conditions.

A full one-third of the adult Philippine population remains either underemployed or unemployed altogether. There are no primary industries to absorb the increasing number of peasants squeezed out of their farmlands and driven to the cities.

Meanwhile, an active revolutionary movement centered in the working class raises the consciousness of workers at an increasing rate. This poses a distinct threat to Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos' iron-clad police state and, as his U.S. backers see it, to the stability of the entire region.

And then there is the debt trap.

Export receipts from sugar and copra, copper and bananas, fall far short of the import prices of finished products creating a permanent foreign exchange shortage. To make matters worse, sugar, the country's biggest export, fell on hard times in 1974 and never fully recovered. Copra collapsed in 1979. The resulting deficits, and the infrastructure building boom of the '70s financed with the easy loans of the period have created bigger and bigger debts to be paid—and all in dollars.

The contract labor trade thus kills two birds with one stone. It temporarily vents the frustration building within the growing and job-starved working class and, with the government forcing overseas labor to remit up to 70% of their wages, it boosts the nation's perpetually short foreign exchange reserves.

There is no shortage of overseas markets for contract labor at the moment. The demand for it has risen dramatically since 1974, particularly in the Middle East. Remembered one visitor to Saudi Arabia, "You see them everywhere from the moment

Continued on page 6

MISERY AT HOME LEADS TO MISERY ABROAD

ANG KATIPUNAN
P.O. Box 2759
Oakland, CA 94602

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 3383
Oakland, CA

Editorials

State Dep't Rights Report: Certified Bunk

Having scolded the media for bringing only bad news, the Reagan administration recently took matters into its own hands and wrote itself some good news. The State Department says that human rights under rightwing regimes allied with the U.S. have improved; the socialist countries, it says, are the worst places for human rights—and that's the gospel truth.

So, if you are thinking of supporting movements that are trying to overthrow murderous despots and set up socialism, think again. You are better off in the Free World. Sure, there are massacres, tortures and no political rights. Sure, corrupt oligarchs gorge themselves while the poor keep getting truly needy. These are good guys because they take care of business for the U.S. Besides things are on the up and up. Thanks to Reagan's "quiet diplomacy." That's why aid to these regimes must go on so that the death squads can make things even better.

Now, as to the bad dictatorships of the proletarian variety, only angry diplomacy can stop them from doing those horrible things. Imagine not letting the U.S. exploit their nations any longer! The gall of these Nicaraguans to deny political rights to people who want to get hitched to America's wagon once again, like when Somoza was around. CIA secret wars, worldwide

isolation and even nuclear threats are what these Marxists deserve.

That is the report's essential logic—the logic of the Kirkpatrick Doctrine. In fact, the report is the State Department's "documentation" of the doctrine's "soundness." If the report is to be believed, then all these demands for aid cut-offs to our "real" friends must stop. Instead we should be demanding wars with the socialist states.

In the dark days of yore when boundless awe for the deities held sway among the masses, rulers used the doctrine of Divine Right to justify why kings were kings and could do as they pleased. Now, with the Kirkpatrick Doctrine, America's rulers want their definition of the "common good" on the matter of human rights to hold sway. The gall of these barbarians to peddle such pap. □

The U.S. Bases: Opening New Wounds

Perhaps the Philippines is one of the few nations where the popular concept of nationalism includes loyalty to America and its interests. This anomaly testifies to the success of America's colonial venture. However, this false consciousness has not gone unchallenged, and the extent to which the revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-Marcos regime has gained mass adherents is the measure of its steady erosion. Yet obviously it still has the upperhand.

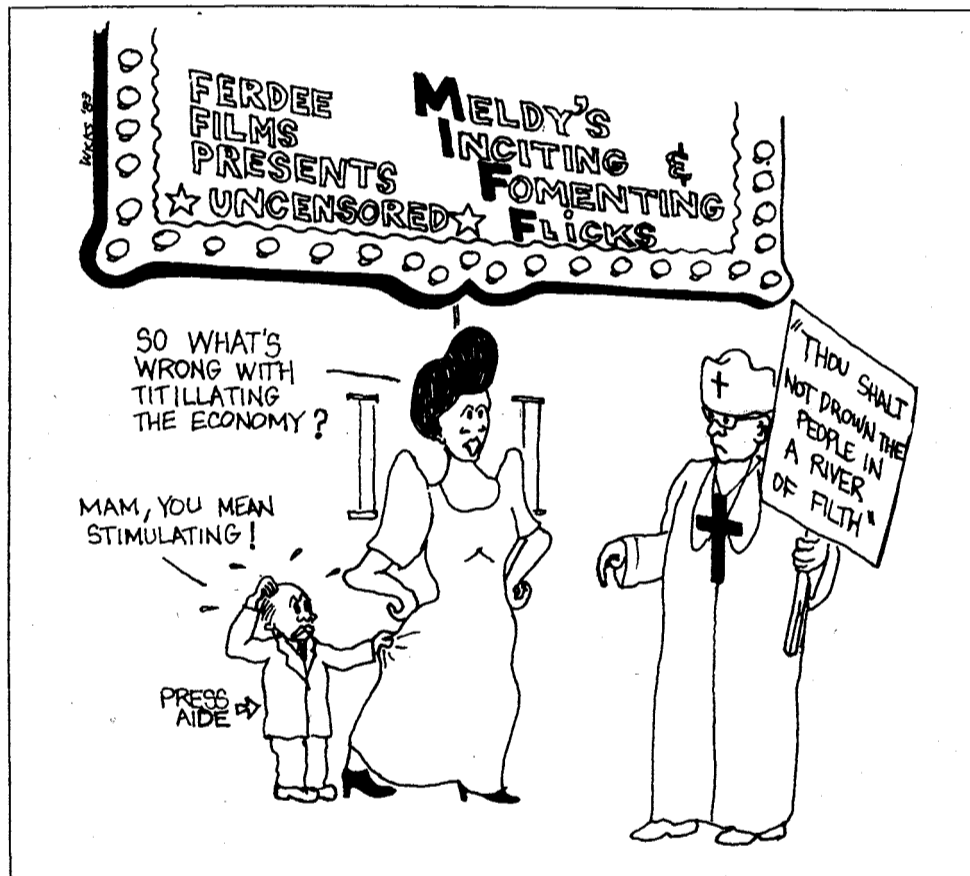
The U.S.-R.P. military bases negotiation is a time when this mutant nationalism will reassert its hold among Filipinos. While the Marcos regime will surely strike some "pro-Filipino" and "non-aligned" poses to get more rent money from the U.S., its ideological

machinery is already cranking up some old-time pro-Americanism. The Philippine Embassy's counter-picket sign at a recent anti-bases protest in Washington, D.C., "U.S.-R.P. Relations—You've Come A Long Way, Baby!" is tacky, but typical.

But the bases talks are also a time for anti-imperialist nationalism to reassert its challenge. Already, thousands have cast aside fear of reprisals and joined a movement in the Philippines demanding the bases' withdrawal. This movement knows that the bases serve only U.S. interests, and are a key obstacle to the people's enjoyment of human rights.

This ideological confrontation will also be reflected in the U.S. Filipino community. But here, colonial mentality will be a bit more stubborn. The community suffers from its distance from the day-to-day political struggles in the Philippines. Many Filipinos think that to go against the interests of their "host" government is to be ungrateful. To make matters worse, the Marcos consulates and their coterie of "community leaders" serve as an active reactionary pole that reinforces conservatism. Even within the anti-Marcos movement there are those who refuse to abandon their loyalty to Uncle Sam and refuse to oppose the bases, showing just how profound colonial mentality is.

But there is another pole prepared to do battle with outmoded notions; to reflect the new consciousness against the bases now rising in the Philippines. It includes KDP, CAMD-PSN, and this newspaper. We will stir up controversy. We will be attacked but we will be tenacious. We will stop at nothing to provoke among Filipinos, a reexamination of old opinions, if not a complete change of mind. We will give our adversaries no quarter. It is time to open new wounds in the body of Filipino national consciousness in order to remove old scars. □



Letters

Why the A-Bombs

In the December 1982/January 1983 issue of the Ang Katipunan, there is a good article entitled, "Whose War Was It Anyway?" there is an erroneous statement which reads, "After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there were persistent reports that Japan was planning to surrender." This was probably a typesetter's error. Even before the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan had been defeated and was ready to surrender. The atomic bombs were not necessary to shorten the war, this much Dwight D. Eisenhower admitted. The U.S. dropped the bombs to show the Soviet Union who was boss. The danger now is it may drop more to keep its influence in the world.

Milton Shiro Takei
Santa Barbara, CA

(It was not a typesetter's error. Thanks for correcting us. Sorry we could not print your entire letter—Ed.)

Culturally Yours

I want to let you know I enjoy your newspaper a lot. Let it remain the leader in the propaganda front against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. I also appreciate so much the inclusion of cultural materials in your latest issue (Dec.-Jan.). They add variety and color to the paper, and are necessary for our intellectual and emotional nourishment. Enclosed please find some of my poems. I hope they contribute a little to make our voice louder. Thanks and congrats to all of you.

K. S. E.
Oakland, Ca

(We will feature some of your poems later—Ed.)

ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

Publisher: Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

Editor: Rene Cruz
Philippines: Romy Garcia, Nene Ojeda, Nancy Rocamora

Filipino Community: Vicky Perez, Vince Reyes, Venny Villapando

U.S./International: Wicks Geaga

Art and Production: Emil De Guzman, Wicks Geaga

Litter from Manila:



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

BULL

There is no truth to the vicious rumor that Imee Marcos is pregnant and about to wed Tommy Manotoc with the President's approval. The President has not given his approval.

I talked to Gen. Ver who is confident his counter-insurgency "Project Katatagan" will work. Let's wish him luck, he really is on the move. He told me: "I will definitely eliminate every guerrilla, dismantle their nationwide infrastructure, and eradicate their cause, if I can find them."

Top government officials are voluntarily taking a 10% cut in pay in response to FM's call for contributions against the financial crisis. I asked a cabinet official how he felt about this and he nonchalantly said, "It's just pocket money to me anyway—I got other means." Where else can you find such a heroic gesture, shrugging off a great sacrifice for the sake of the country? FM doesn't have to take a pay cut since he has been giving away all his salary through the Marcos

Foundation, anyway. "Besides," according to a top KBL party boss, "he was born with a silver medal of honor in his mouth." Despite the mixed simile, the KBL man was just confirming the fact that FM is congenitally wealthy.

Speaking of medals, the opposition is making so much fuss about FM's World War II medals for bravery in combat. They say these medals are fake. Now, this is really a lie. Everyone knows President Marcos has never been afraid to kill his enemies.

Our export products are taking a beating in the international market, that is why our economy has problems. FM thinks turning coconut oil into energy is the way out. With due respect, I think making more competitive products is the answer. Let me tell you something I read from my cousin—Teodoro Valencia's column, Letter from Manila: "An enterprising New Zealand businessman is making money selling powdered bull's testicles. It's used in soups, salads, consommés,

etc. In downtown Chinese restaurants they have Soup No. 5 which is nothing but powdered bull's testicles... Carabaos are better, especially the Mestizo carabaos crossed by our experts from Nilliravi bull and Murrah buffalo... they are hairy, bigger and with large loins." This is it. We can achieve economic recovery by cornering the bull's testicles market with our carabaos. We can use our experts' ingenuity in the process.

Everybody is miffed by the Catholic Church's charge that the First Lady is encouraging bad thoughts in putting up a so-called sex film festival. I don't see sex involved here at all. She was just arousing the people's interest in culture to give us a reputation internationally. The church is practicing sex discrimination. Just because they don't doesn't mean we couldn't, and just because we could doesn't mean we should if we don't have to. Anyway these porno films are boring—you see one and you've seen 'em all. Take it from one who's seen 'em all. □

CLIP AND MAIL TO:

ANG KATIPUNAN • P.O. Box 2759 • Oakland, CA 94602

Individual \$10/year

Institution \$12/year

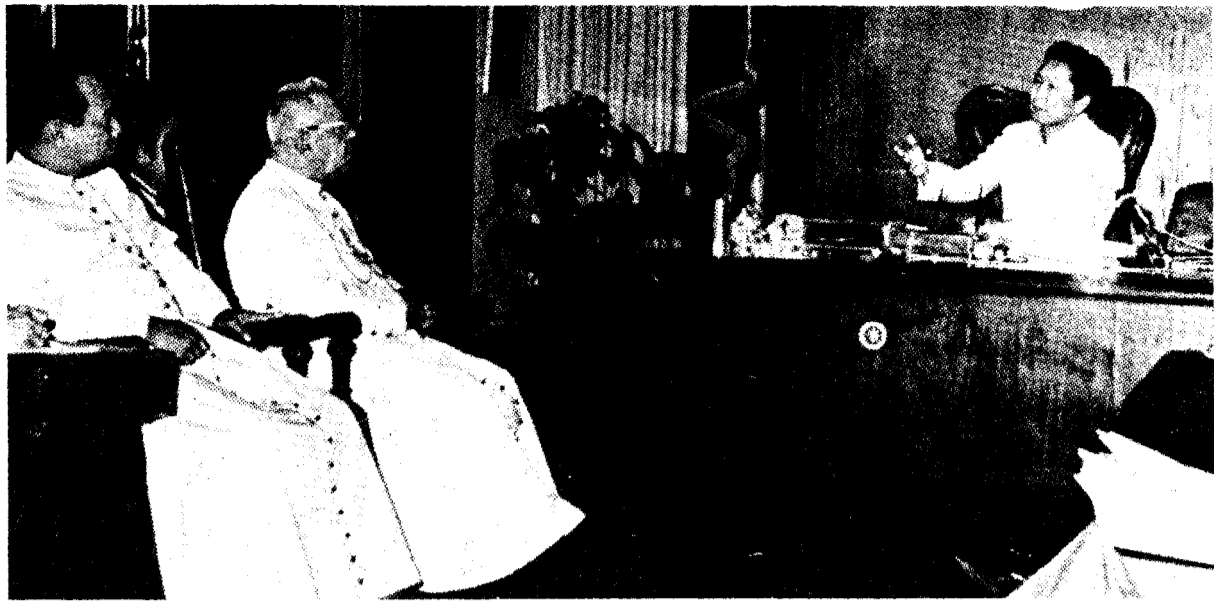
Foreign \$15/year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Church vs. State?

Opposing FM — Within Limits



Marcos meets with bishops; president treats hierarchies with kid gloves, reserves bare knuckles for priests, nuns, social workers. (Asiaweek)

By WICKS GEAGA

The way the Philippine Catholic Church hierarchy and the Marcos regime have been exchanging jabs, it looks like a knockdown, drag-out fight is building between these two powerful institutions. But it only looks that way. A closer look at the antagonists should restrain anyone from expecting Apocalypse Now.

Marcos is not about to put the Catholic hierarchs in jail—he has something more clever in mind. The religious leaders may go on raising Cain, but bringing Marcos down regardless of the cost is not what they are all about.

True, both sides have been trading fire for awhile now.

After Jaime L. Cardinal Sin asked Marcos to resign in August last year, Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez proposed a law classifying the pulpit and other religious forums as “media,” thus opening them to controls.

Ignoring the stern warning, the 110-member Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines unanimously accused the regime of repression and condemned it for “the torture and murder of citizens simply because they are of a different political persuasion from that of the present or would-be powerholders; the silencing of people, the suppression of media . . .”

The explicitly political charges are contained in a pastoral letter issued from 3,000 pulpits throughout the country last February 20 (see box).

But despite the political damage statements like this have inflicted on Marcos, he is determined to treat the church hierarchs with kid gloves. His assurances that “there is no serious rift in relations between the church and state” has more than a ring of truth to it. The real rift is between the state and a particular sector of the church. For this sector, Marcos reserves his bare knuckles.

The regime is really after priests, nuns and layworkers who have increasingly come in direct confrontation with government and military forces. Involved in social work among workers, squatters, farmers, and national minority groups, these grassroots clergy have not only promoted the health and educational welfare of their parishes but have helped lead their struggles for economic rights and against military abuses.

An estimated 50% of the 5,000 priests and 7,000 nuns in the Philippines comprise this activist sector.

Inevitably, a number have joined the New People’s Army and the Communist Party of the Philippines. For Fr. Conrado Balweg, who entered the ranks of the NPA in 1979 and now has a \$30,000 price on his head, “the offering of one’s life for the people’s liberation from oppression and exploitation is the real sacrifice of the mass.”

A greater number support or actively work within the National Democratic Front (NDF).

Because of its politicalization and outspokenness, the activist clergy has been the target of a sustained military clampdown. Already one priest has been killed, two are in jail, and 22 priests and nuns have been charged with subversion.

The activist clergy, however, gained more sympathy from individual church leaders as a result of this type of persecution. Wrote Bishop Filomeno Bactol of Samar to Marcos: “There is a systematic and organized repression, if not persecution, of the local church being perpetrated by the military authority.”

Uppermost in Marcos’ mind therefore has been how to defuse the church leadership’s defense of its rank-and-file. Or, how to divide the church so that its hierarchs are neutralized and its activist clergy isolated for easy pickings by the military. Anti-communism is the answer. Marcos realizes that he and the Catholic hierarchs are apples from the same ideological tree.

Therefore, the regime’s crackdown on the activist clergy which began last October was accompanied by charges of communist infiltration into the church. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile brandished an article by Australian journalist Peter Hastings alleging that religious radicals in Samar were plotting a violent revolution. Documents seized in the ensuing raids, according to Enrile, revealed the church in Samar as “riddled with communists.”

A media barrage (still in effect up to this time) ensued, harping on the same theme. Price tags on wanted priests went up. The regime announced “no special treatment” for “subversive clergy” as arrests and raids went on. Individual church activists were fingered as “reds.”

Top church leaders began showing signs of defensiveness. Cardinal Sin, for example, responded thus: “It is possible that these priests and nuns may have extended some help to the other side, but that should not be interpreted to mean that these priests have defected, that they have

abandoned the cross in favor of the hammer and sickle.”

This was good for Malacañang, but not good enough. It wanted a bitter split between the hierarchs and the activist rank-and-filers. Marcos’ prayers were answered by the defection of Samar priest Eduardo Kangleon. After languishing in jail for two months, Kangleon turned government stooge, supplying the military with a list of priests, nuns, and laypeople supposedly involved with the NDF and the CPP.

The regime quickly seized upon Kangleon’s act of treachery to drive a deeper wedge within the church and to instigate an internal witchhunt against activists. As Marcos confidently stated, “I am sure we can get the hierarchy of the clergy to help eliminate them.”

True to its conservative legacy, the church leadership began wilting before the government’s anti-communist campaign. Recently, Archbishop Antonio Mabutias declared that any priest who joins the subversive movement will be excommunicated. There are reports that some church officials have gone to the extent of cooperating with military operatives in the interrogation of suspects among the clergy.

The most that top church officials are willing to offer in defense of their beleaguered fold is to paint them as misguided do-gooders, thereby admitting the regime’s premise that progressive clerics are doing something wrong. Stated Cardinal Sin: “You ask for help from the authorities but nothing happens. Poor boys, their conscience is deeply shaken, they forget themselves, and can even fall into committing serious crimes.”

But the hierarchs are not about to embrace Marcos as a prodigal son just because they share his anti-communist outlook. Not right now, anyway. Their thrust is to retreat self-servingly to a moral “higher ground.” Said Bishop Federico Escaler: “What disturbs us is the growing support for the dissidents because of poverty, military abuses and unemployment.”

With this posture, the prelates are able to save face. They appear to be as critical of the regime as ever. But their barbs come at the expense of the opposition movement. Painting Marcos’ revolutionary adversaries as the greater evil and criticizing him mainly for his ineffectiveness in dealing with them is hardly helping the opposition.

Despite the angry words that church officials may sling at him, Marcos has got them in the palm of his hands. The dictator knows his strategy; he has already figured out his friends and enemies within the institution. The current crackdown’s high degree of sophistication shows this.

Marcos follows the main tenets of the Banzer Plan—the “bible” of national security (police) states in Latin America. He can claim initial success with some of the plan’s major tactics: attack only one section of the church where it is most progressive, do not attack it as an institution, and never the bishops as a group.

In attacking, single-out the foreign clergy; show that they are connected with international communism and have been sent

for the exclusive goal of moving the church toward communism. The second postulate explains the deportations of priests over the years. It has also been stressed more recently:

- Fr. Luis Jalandoni was accused in the press of representing the CPP in the “Communist International.”

- Frs. Bandsma and Sanderink were seized with supposed NPA suspects in a Nueva Viscaya raid.

- Frs. Brian Gore and Neil O’Brien have been charged with ordering the killing of Kabankalan Mayor Pablo Zola. The two, who are additionally charged with illegal possession of firearms and explosives and inciting to rebellion, face imminent deportation.

Marcos also knows the church hierarchy’s fundamental weaknesses, one of which is the fact that while its critical faculty is willing, its purse is weak.

No longer the vast landowner that it once was, the church has reportedly shifted its wealth to other business ventures, most notably its controlling interests in the Philippine Trust Company and shares in San Miguel Corporation, among others. The pressure that can be exerted on it through its connection to capitalist enterprises cannot be underestimated, especially when recalling the church’s dilemma in 1978.

Faced with the imminent takeover of PTC—its alleged main source of income—by none other than notable Marcos crony Herminio Disini, Cardinal Sin found himself pleading with the supreme arbitrator, Ferdinand Marcos, “for an end to the tragic impasse and uncertainty surrounding the PTC.”

Furthermore, while the church today no longer wields the same political power that it did under the Spanish colonialists, its institutional role of justifying and sanctifying the existing order of authority remains unchanged. This role is made even more necessary by its direct economic stakes in the existing economic order.

The Vatican, with its present helmsman John Paul II, has also played no small part in forging the rightward stance not only within the Philippine church but within the international Catholic hierarchy as well. The Pontiff’s four years in power have significantly reversed the liberalization in church doctrine brought about by Vatican II and Pope John XXIII.

Over two years after his visit to the Philippines, Pope John Paul II’s words still echo loud and clear among his Filipino surrogates: “Fight for human rights, but avoid the class struggle.”

Indeed, the Philippine Church hierarchy has been unflinchingly faithful to the Pontiff’s calling. It is the only way to go. It has to “fight for human rights” because it cannot risk isolating itself by identifying too closely with an isolated authoritarian regime. But it will not, as an institution, join an all-out fight. “Critical collaboration” is its alternative to “class struggle” because it has too much to lose.

But critical collaboration in real terms, means denouncing their progressive rank-and-file activists. This, the church hierarchy should realize, hardly makes them “prophets of salvation.” This is what one does as a serpent of accommodation. □

Pastoral Letter—Qualified Criticism

The 110 Roman Catholic bishops of the Philippines formally charged Ferdinand E. Marcos of torturing and killing political opponents in a pastoral letter read from the country’s 3,000 pulpits last February 20.

The prelates condemned “any action or program that runs counter to the primary values of the Gospel.” The torture and murder of citizens simply because they are of a different political persuasion from that of the present or would-be powerholders; the silencing of people;

the suppression of the media . . . They further accused the government of corruption and economic mismanagement, adding that poverty and discontent cannot be cured by lavish projects and empty propaganda.

The prelates’ even-handed approach to violence in the fascist-controlled Philippines, however, deprived the statement of some of its strength. The bishops denounced violence “both by forces on the right and on the left in pursuit of their ends of power.” □

Buod ng mga Balita

VIRATA NAMED
'PROBABLE' SUCCESSOR

Virata is introduced to House Foreign Affairs Committee; Marcos calls him a good "father figure" for the country. (AK Photo)

President Ferdinand E. Marcos did his duty to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) February 21, when he named Prime Minister Cesar Virata as his "most likely" successor. Marcos was responding to a question during an interview and his comment was not a formal pronouncement.

The question of who will succeed Ferdinand Marcos is a hotly debated one. Various prominent figures are known to seek the position, among them First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver. Each has significant backing within the business world, among lower level politicians and most importantly, within the military.

Virata, an appointee, has none of these. A technocrat, he is known as the IMF's boy. His appointment to the cabinet may have been part of an effort to "rationalize" the country's economy; but more importantly, it pleased the IMF and the World Bank. Continued Philippine access to foreign loans depends upon staying on the right side of these two powerful institutions.

Virata is also known as the CIA's favorite. The CIA, however, is a bit more pragmatic than the IMF and takes into consideration more than economic policy. One CIA official told a reporter that Virata was "the man to watch" and that he is "beginning to develop a base" in the military.

But the CIA official's optimistic assessment has yet to be proven. Ferdinand Marcos makes no such claim. He told the press instead that the country's current economic crisis made it necessary to keep Virata as Prime Minister rather than hand the position to someone else in the ten-member Executive Committee.

Virata, he claimed, is a natural "father figure" for the country. He is also politically neutral. By naming him, Marcos neatly avoids tipping the balance toward any one of the more powerful competing factions.

Although Marcos' statement was not a formal one, observers noted that it came while Enrile, one of the chief contenders, met with U.S. Defense chief Caspar Weinberger in Washington. Could it be a warning to Enrile, they asked, not to let his Washington trip go to his head? □

ASEAN MEDIA CZARS
WANT GOOD NEWS . . .

Leading broadcast and print media executives from the five ASEAN nations gathered in Manila last January for a four-day conference of the region's editors. Eighty-five local and foreign delegates met, including representatives from India and South Korea.

The conference echoed complaints by the region's leaders against the international media for imbalance in reporting. Emphasis was placed on a "Third World perspective" on the news, or on stories focused on "development and progress" as opposed to those focused on political issues.

ASEAN leaders—Ferdinand Marcos in particular—have long accused the western press of a negative bias because of the unfavorable coverage on their military regimes. The Manila meet represents the first attempt "to correct the situation" on a regionwide scale.

The media conference, with its emphasis on "positive reporting" took place in the shadow of the Marcos

regime's crackdown on the Philippine media. Numerous writers, radio and TV commentators have recently complained of being called in for questioning by the military, while staff members of the opposition paper *We Forum* are being tried for subversion. (See story page 5.) □

. . . STRIKING
MEDIA WORKERS
GET BAD NEWS

In another development involving the media, workers for three related publications struck for two days beginning February 5, until Labor Ministry officials issued an arbitrary back-to-work order.

The three were *Bulletin Today*—the largest daily newspaper in circulation—and its two sister publications, the weekly magazines *Tempo* and *Panorama*. All are owned by Hans Menzi, a former aide to Marcos. Although Menzi is known as Marcos' friend, his publications have expressed a slightly more independent view than the country's two other major newspapers, the *Daily Express* and *Times Journal*, owned respectively by Marcos crony Roberto Benedicto and Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, brother of the First Lady.

The Menzi workers issued 20 demands including reinstatement of Antonio Nieva, a journalist and former union president.

After declaring the two-day-old strike against the national interest, Labor Minister Blas Ople issued his back-to-work order February 7. A ministry commission has allegedly been charged with settling negotiations with the workers within 30 days.

Under Philippine labor codes, Ople has the authority to halt any strike deemed harmful to the loosely defined "national interest." □

JUDGES RESHUFFLED

Ferdinand Marcos early last January appointed 652 judges as part of the Judiciary Reorganization Act of 1980.

Under this bill, which was signed last August 1980, the courts will be reduced from the traditional eight levels to three. This bill eliminates the various courts of appeal, city and municipal courts, etc., and establishes an intermediate appellate court, a regional trial court and metropolitan and municipal trial courts.

Originators of this bill claim the purpose of this ruling will be to streamline court procedures according to the 12 designated regions constituting the country. The Supreme Court and the Sandigan Bayan were exempted from this recent law.

Through its newsletter, the Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism, Inc. (MABINI), condemned the bill as oppressive and endangering the entire judicial system. In another protest action, a city judge and seven lawyers organized a petition campaign denouncing it as unconstitutional. Others claim that this revamping effort is part of Marcos' effort to centralize political power in his concern over the pending succession issue.

In an interview, Marcos declared that the revamp is not a purge and that politics are not involved in the reappointments of incumbents and new judges. However, local caucuses of Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* were asked to meet and discuss the implementation of this judicial bill. □

IMELDA MAKES
A MINT ON PORN

Leave it to Imelda. By refusing to finance her Second Manila International Film Festival (MIFF), Prime Minister Cesar Virata and President Marcos were showing the International Monetary Fund that they will no longer put the country's money into "frivolous" projects.

The resourceful Imelda, however, found herself a source of income which appears to have paid the bill for MIFF and then some. She imported 19 pornographic films—including such noteworthies as "Lady Chatterly in Tokyo," "Swinging Cheerleaders," and "Realm of the Senses." These were shown uncut at 96 Manila theatres for ₱10 per ticket and up from January 24 through February 5, the period of the actual festival.

Ecstatic theater owners reported by January 30 that they were grossing ₱500,000 a day. Jaime Cardinal Sin repeatedly denounced the festival as outrageous and sinful. Mrs. Marcos insisted that she had nothing to do with the film selection and was sorry that the screening of "cheap pornography has affected some very fragile senses." Ferdinand Marcos told the press that he was

unaware of the novel fundraising plan and added that perhaps he had better begin arresting theatre owners.

Everywhere the international press was filled with stories of Filipinos jamming the movie houses. One man allegedly had a heart attack during a steamy scene, while another went home and shot his wife.

But Ferdinand never got around to arresting anyone. And Imelda's scheme, though it earned her and the Filipino people some bad press, was a smashing success in the finance department.

The notion of earning cash via pornography was bound to succeed due to a combination of circumstances particular to the Philippines. It begins with a strict Catholic upbringing and puritanical views about sex. Next comes the general repressive atmosphere created by the dictatorial rule of the Marcoses. Top this off with strict film censorship and you have the ideal audience for pornographic films.

The festival is over and censorship has been reinstated. The inimitable Teodoro Valencia draws the conclusion that it was all an excellent educational experience designed to insure the people's ongoing respect and admiration for censors: ". . . it opens our eyes wide enough to appreciate what kind of film censorship we need."

Meanwhile, Marcos has ordered two of the films for private screening to determine how offensive they really were. □

FM TURNS NATIONALIST
AS BASES TALKS NEAR

Negotiations on the future of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines begin next month. Latest reports from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* indicate that this process may not only involve the routine five-year review up to 1989, but possibly a U.S. proposal for extension beyond 1991. The current U.S.-R.P. bases agreement expires at that time.

The talks come at a crucial time for President Ferdinand Marcos. Philippine economic problems require that he maximize military and economic aid during the forthcoming review. After his U.S. state visit last September, government officials floated a \$1.5 billion figure for the five-year period ending in 1989 as compensation for the bases. The last figure, for the period spanning 1979-1983, was \$500 million.

As always, when the bases hit the international spotlight, the Marcos regime is maneuvering to improve its bargaining position by striking a nationalist posture. Teodoro Valencia, one of the regime's most reliable mouthpieces, is already blustering about the danger of Soviet attack on the Philippines that the bases pose. "American bases are not here to protect us," he wrote, "they are meant to protect the American chain of defense establishments in the Asia-Pacific area."

A coalition of opposition groups in the Philippines is opposing next month's negotiations. It demands the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military installations. The group states that next month's negotiations will serve only the interests of Washington and Marcos. One of its spokespeople, ex-senator Jose Diokno predicts that public resentment toward the bases will mount as the negotiations draw near. □



Bases protesters burn Marcos effigy February 25 at U.S. Embassy in Manila; new negotiations may extend agreement through 1991. (UPI)

AFP Drive Sparks NPA Offensive

Locking horns with the recently unveiled "Ver (Counterinsurgency) Plan," hundreds of New People's Army fighters in the southern Philippines launched a major tactical offensive early February.

Philippine military sources reported at least 112 casualties as a result of the heightened NPA activities. Most impressive, however, was the size and scope of the actions. Military officials noted with alarm that the guerrillas, who ordinarily operate in small, mobile squads, are now attacking in company-sized units of up to 200 fighters.

The largest of the NPA's sustained attacks took place in the province of Davao del Norte. Here the death toll from three days of fighting—from February 3 to 5—rose to at least 43.

Approximately 200 NPA guerrillas ambushed a group of paramilitary troops, members of the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) outside the village of Libay-Libay last February 5. The three-hour gun battle left 15 government troops dead and 20 wounded. Four NPA fighters were reportedly killed.

One day earlier, NPA guerrillas raided the town of Asuncion killing 16 government operatives. Hours later, another group attacked a nearby village, killing eight more troops.

NPA ACTIVITY WIDESPREAD

The Davao offensive came on the heels of an impressive array of more traditional NPA activities in the Visayas and other parts of Mindanao. In a series of encounters on Negros Island and in Misamis Occidental, at least 26 soldiers were killed, including a Philippine Army Battalion Commander. In another action, NPA members took on the town police and CHDF members in Sipalay, south of Bacolod.

Only days after the Davao action, 50 NPA troops in the north ambushed a 16-man army patrol in Sitio Lagum, Sto. Niño, Cagayan, killing eight.

The NPA seemed determined to prove to the Philippine military that they were not intimidated by heightened counterinsurgency activities.

In language chillingly similar to that used by U.S. tacticians during the Vietnam War, Armed Forces chief Fabian Ver announced last January plans to defeat the NPA guerrillas by "winning the hearts and minds of the Filipino people." Key to the Ver plan was isolating the NPA from its social base—i.e. making use of the military's strategic hamletting tactic wherever necessary.

Additionally, the new approach called for professionalizing the Philippine military and making use of civic action programs



NPA women fighters

to neutralize the populace where possible.

RESPONDING WITH FURY

The Davao area, site of the NPA's largest assault, has to date suffered more severely than any other place from strategic hamletting. It thus comes as no surprise that NPA forces should choose to strike back here.

The Philippine government responded to the NPA's Mindanao assault with fury. The military launched a massive counter-offensive throughout seven sectors in the eastern tier of Mindanao last February 11.

Determined to eliminate an estimated 600 NPA guerrillas, the government threw

7,000 of its most battle-seasoned troops, massive weapons, supplies and military vehicles into the fray. Seven ships were anchored in the Davao Gulf and Sarangani Bay and 10 additional helicopters were sent to provide sea and air cover. Ver described the action as a "massive operation, far more serious than other operations in the past."

Observers noted signs that more strategic hamletting was in store. A spokesman for the church-sponsored Citizens Committee for Justice and Peace claimed that the military campaign forced 5,000 villagers to leave their homes and escape the battle.

BMA STIRS AGAIN

President Marcos attempted to downplay the significance of the NPA's southern assault. The large-scale offensive, he insisted, was actually a sign of the guerrilla force's weakness. "This means they cannot attack on long penetrating patrols or make infiltrations into government-held territory," he claimed.

One unnamed official, however, admitted that the NPA's Mindanao operation represented a dramatic shift in tactics and demonstrated an alarming ability to move in force.

Meanwhile, other reports suggested that the Moro National Liberation Front and its military arm, the Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) were stirring again after a temporary lull. On January 28, a group of BMA fighters attacked a sawmill of Cotabato Timber Industries on the outskirts of Alamada, North Cotabato, killing four security men. In another incident, five people were killed and three wounded in poblacion Don Mariano Marcos, Sultan Kudarat, Cotabato City in a BMA assault. □



Philippine Army unit drilling in Catbalogan, Samar; 7,000 battle-seasoned troops were rushed to counter NPA assault.

(Tambuli)

Crackdown Update

Absurd Court Scenes, More Arrests, and More Arms from the U.S.

Reports from the Philippines indicate that the regime's renewed crackdown on political opponents has not abated. Some of the most recent developments border on the absurd, but observers are quick to see that President Ferdinand E. Marcos means business.

The most prominent of these developments is the on-going subversion trial of *We Forum* editor-publisher Jose Burgos and nine of his senior staff members.

With the "lifting" of martial law in January 1981, subversion cases were shifted from military to civilian courts. Yet the role of prosecuting attorney in this case is played by none other than Brig. Gen. Hamilton Dimaya, Judge Advocate General of the Philippine Armed Forces.

Representing the defense is a bevy of opposition lawyers including former Senators Lorenzo Tañada, Ambrosio Padilla and Soc Rodrigo—who is both lawyer and accused, ex-ConCon delegates Abe Sarmiento and Teofisto Guingona, and members of the Free Legal Assistance Group. More defense lawyers than accused usually

crowd the defense bench in the Quezon City courtroom.

'YOU WOULD NOT BE ALIVE'

While Quezon City Fiscal Sergio Apostol heads up the prosecution team, it is clear to observers that the law in the Philippines today is what the military says it is.

Defense lawyers have repeatedly objected to the military's presence. The civilian judge, however, has overruled them "for national security reasons." Officers thus freely flex their military muscles in the courtroom. Responding to a defense charge that the military defines subversion too narrowly, one intelligence officer, Col. Balbino Diego, shot back, "If not for the military, you would not be alive."

"I don't owe my life to you," quipped chief defense counsel Rene Saguisag. The judge broke up the ensuing verbal brawl, charging Saguisag with contempt of court.

INSULT THE PRESIDENT, GO TO JAIL

Meanwhile in another courtroom, an

astonished audience listened to one testimonial after another about the combat bravery of Ferdinand E. Marcos. Flown in to testify from as far away as Kuwait and the United States, "witnesses" cited Marcos' unmatched heroism, courage and compassion on the battlefield during World War II. Their testimonies later spread across pages of the Manila dailies. Again Burgos and *We Forum* were on trial, this time for libel.

Former comrades-in-arms of President Marcos charged that Burgos had insulted the Filipino fighting man by publishing a series of articles questioning the validity of Marcos' World War II medals. Ludicrous though the courtroom scene may have been, the message was clear: it is not only illegal to threaten "national security" in writing—whatever that may mean—it is also illegal to insult the president.

Meanwhile belated reports reveal that three officers of the opposition PDP-LABAN party were taken into custody late last December in Cebu City and charged with subversion. Arrested were

PDP Secretary-General for the Central Philippines, Rebomapil Organza, his 21-year-old son Rebomapil Organza, Jr., and Dr. Felimon Alerca, party council member and radio commentator.

GEARING UP FOR BATTLE

Marcos has also stepped up his project to turn the Philippine military into an efficient counterinsurgency machine.

The U.S. Defense Department announced to Congress early last February its intention to sell Marcos the 12 reconditioned helicopters he requested in January under the Foreign Military Sales Agreement. Marcos told the General Military Council in Malacañang that these are necessary to provide greater mobility for military units in combat.

As part of the attempt to professionalize his troops, Marcos released funds to retrain small unit commanders of the Philippine Constabulary. He also set up a special task force which will later serve as an "integrity council" for the National Police Force and perhaps for the entire military establishment.

Observers in Manila and here expect the repressive drive to continue and spread to other sectors. The arrests, trials and threats, they are convinced, represent Marcos' attempts to prove to the U.S. his full control over the country and ability to handle a smooth transition of power to a chosen successor. □

(Continued from front page)

R.P.'s Trade . . .

Continued from front page

you arrive at the airport. They are the floorsweepers, the hotel personnel, the road construction crews, the carpenters and masons of the booming building trades and the semi-skilled and even the highly-skilled workers of Saudi Arabia's new advanced industries."

Foreign contract labor today officially constitutes 43.7% of the workforce in Saudi Arabia, 70% in Kuwait, 81% in Qatar, and 85% in the United Arab Emirates. Unofficial estimates put the foreign population of Saudi Arabia at two million, a full 40% of that country's five million people. Of these, one million come from North Yemen; 300,000 from Egypt; 100,000 from India; 80,000 from South Korea and 150,000 from the Philippines.

Filipino contract workers, like their fellow Indians, Koreans, Egyptians, Yemenis, Pakistanis, Indonesians, and Thais, play a unique role in the Saudi economy. This Arabian country remains principally a highly structured pre-capitalist society. Some reports note that the Saudi ruling family does not want to see the development of a modern working class. This would automatically mean the break-up of the traditional tribal society that is the foundation of their rule.

The powerful Saudi rulers seem to want the impossible: to build a modern capitalist metropolis atop the traditional social order. To advance while standing still. Their solution is to bring in workers from abroad; keep them only long enough to get their jobs done; and get rid of them, so as to prevent the spread of modern and dangerous lifestyles and political ideas. This stop-gap scheme fits neatly into the stop-gap needs of the ruling classes in countries like the Philippines which suffer acute unemployment.

Foreign contract workers in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and on the high seas play a role more familiar to observers of advanced capitalist societies. Here, Third World migrants do the jobs that nobody else will do for the wages that nobody else will accept. Filipinas in Europe, for example, serve as chambermaids, scullery maids and domestic helpers.

The Filipinos who choose to go abroad as contract laborers are among the country's most highly-trained workers. Seventy-eight percent have finished high school; 36% have completed college; and an additional 13% have taken some college courses. Hardly the hard-core unemployed, 87% have had anywhere from two to ten years of previous work experience.

Filipinos working in the Middle East are mostly men, women accounting for a mere one in ten. Almost all of the far smaller population of contract workers in Europe, are women. One-half of the total abroad are employed as skilled production or transport workers. One-fourth serve as technical or professional workers. A fifth are service workers.

The pattern is clear. The Philippine government exports some of its most highly trained and valuable workers to overseas jobs for which a significant number are overqualified. It earns in the process, substantial foreign exchange and income tax monies. Between January and June of 1981 alone, this totalled ₱12.25 million in tax monies alone.

Obviously, these overqualified workers choose to go because their options at home are distressingly limited. With jobs difficult to find and with the minimum wage pegged at ₱21, opportunities are few. The recent crackdown on the militant labor union movement coupled with the Marcos regime's frantic efforts to lure foreign investment through the promise of cheap labor suggest that there is little hope for improvement in the immediate future. The prospect of working abroad for higher wages lures hundreds of thousands to brave the cultural differences and great distances in order to

support their families. Many return home after one job only to sign up immediately for another stint.

For this rootless and shifting population abroad, the hardships are acute. Whether in the Middle East, Europe, the Americas, even other parts of Asia, all suffer culture shock. The adaptation process is probably most severe in Saudi Arabia where the rigid Moslem social code outlaws liquor, card-playing, movie houses, and all forms of female entertainment. Jaime Cardinal Sin has raised a protest to Riyadh over efforts to convert Filipino workers to Islam. The archaic code of criminal justice has already had two Filipinos beheaded for serious crimes while a third has had his hand cut off for stealing.

As for Filipino seamen, their conditions are harsh as well. They often earn wages lower than their co-workers—when they are paid at all. Some crews have been forced to go for months without pay, provoking strikes and mutinies on several occasions.

Domestics in Europe work far more than eight hours per day, often under inhuman conditions. They receive no benefits of any kind and labor always under the threat of deportation.

To their capitalist hosts, foreign contract workers are the ideal workforce for labor-intensive industries. They tend to be passive and subservient, no doubt intimidated by their new surroundings and their clearly limited rights.

Everywhere, immigration laws insure that the status of foreign workers remains tenuous. They can legally stay in the country of employment only long enough to complete the job for which they were recruited. After that, they must leave. The Saudis conduct regular sweeps to remove undocumented aliens. One such series of raids in 1981 netted 60,000. A Saudi plan,

'Philippine economic planners have been using the contract labor trade as a safety valve.'

reportedly under study with French security experts, calls for an identity card system to keep close tabs on the huge foreign worker population.

Strict immigration laws were applied in England in 1979 declaring that a contract worker who conceals a relevant fact upon applying for entry is illegal, even if she was unaware that the fact was relevant at the time she applied. Thus, mothers of dependent children have been deported because they failed to mention the children on their applications. In the first place, many of them were never even asked if they had children. Others never saw their papers. These were filled out by the many agencies which specialize in foreign recruitment.

Recruitment agencies are a big business in the Philippines today. The biggest labor recruiter is the government itself, operating via the Overseas Economic Development Board (OEDB), a division of the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Between 1975 and 1981, OEDB facilitated 72,795 jobs—and the rate rose in 1982. OEDB charges the foreign principal \$100 per worker.

Currently up to 600 private operations engage in the recruitment business. Only 19 are fully licensed while the rest operate under provisional authority as *colorum* agencies. An additional 238 construction companies supply contract workers for overseas jobs.

The profit potential is huge. One agency owner told the press that he charged his Saudi principals ₱3,500 per worker and estimated his transactions at 300 per year. He thus grossed over ₱1 million in an industry with minimal overhead. Further, recruiters are allowed to charge each worker up to ₱500 for documentation, medical examinations and contributions to a workers' "welfare fund."

With profits high, unemployment severe and demand for

overseas jobs intense, it comes as no surprise that illegal recruitment has become a thriving enterprise in itself. Some of the unlicensed entrepreneurs actually manage to ship their victims abroad after having bled them dry. Others charge as much as ₱1,500 to ₱20,000 for "documentation fees" from the desperate and naive, and then run.

The Philippine government vowed to prosecute illegal recruiters, but its record so far has been dismal. Between January 1979 and March 1980, 1,452 formal complaints were filed. Only 441 of these cases ever made it to court. Seventy-two arrest warrants were issued and, out of the entire 1,452 cases, only two led to convictions.

The government itself admits that the brisk trade in contract labor will not last. Jonathan de la Cruz, Chief of the OEDB and the Bureau of Employment Services, forecasts that the Middle East market may be good only for another decade after which the construction boom should taper off.

He still hopes to see "new international markets for our services and manpower." Short of that, de la Cruz is keeping his fingers crossed that, by the end of the decade, the Philippines will have developed sufficient industry to absorb the glut of skilled and semi-skilled manpower.

De la Cruz had better cross all his fingers and perhaps his toes as well, because primary industrialization is not on Ferdinand Marcos' agenda. More importantly, it is not on the agenda of U.S. imperialism from which Marcos takes his cues.

The International Monetary Fund, with its "Export-Led Growth" scheme has determined that the Philippines is mainly to engage in light manufacturing and assembly of products designed for the international export market.

The Philippine economy and the Filipino worker are thus completely tied to the health of the capitalist economy, to supply and demand abroad, and to capitalism's classic cycles of boom and bust. When times are rough and the demand for Barbie dolls and Timex watches dips, it's lay-off time for an entire country and the Philippine economy is rocked to its foundations.

Philippine economic planners have been using the contract labor trade as a safety valve. But even this export is facing stiffening competition. Other Third World countries suffer from nearly identical problems. The countries of Southeast Asia, South Asia and North Africa are equally eager to unload their employment woes abroad and are buying the same stop-gap solution.

"The Filipino personality" has thus become the government's key selling point. "We have a great flexibility and adaptation to the working conditions of the countries involved," notes de la Cruz. In fact, comments *Asiaweek*, East and Southeast Asians are preferred by Saudi employers because South Asians are too labor union conscious and politically aware.

Presumably, the Filipino contract laborer is too grateful for his job, and too trained under repressive conditions to make waves. Essentially, the Philippine government is trying to market the results of its oppression.

The lucrative trade in contract labor is merely a reflection of the sorry conditions that have befallen the Filipino worker. Imperialist exploitation has dictated that his country play an economic role that will never provide him and his fellow workers adequate means of livelihood. His own rulers squelch his protests against this situation and then peddle him abroad to pay for their own debts. Quick-buck artists and fly-by-night recruiters reap a gold mine out of his desperation. Abroad, he is exploited by new masters and victimized by their rigid immigration controls, fascist security measures, racial and sexual discrimination, and archaic legal codes. One exploitation after another.

This may be a satisfactory arrangement for the Marcos regime and its economic planners. But for a growing number of Filipino workers, it's one hell of a way to make a living. □

SEND YOUR \$\$ HOME, OR ELSE

Ferdinand Marcos caused something of a stir last January when he announced that, beginning February 1, all Filipinos working abroad must remit 50% to 70% of their salaries monthly via government institutions.

In fact, under the Philippine Labor Code, contract workers abroad have been required to remit the bulk of their salaries since the labor trade began. Those provided with food and lodging on the job—such as seamen or land-based workers in Saudi Arabia—must remit 70%, while those who pay their own board are to remit 50%.

But not all of the money makes it way back into government coffers. There are several reasons.

To begin with, institutions such as the Philippine National Bank are extremely inefficient. Filipina housemaids in Hong Kong complain that money sent to their families via the PNB takes up to a month to get there.

Then there is the matter of exchange rates. The PNB offers extremely poor dollar/peso rates, leading a

distinct appeal to the thriving black market in dollars.

Finally, the peso's steady slide vis-a-vis the dollar makes it far more favorable to the worker to hold on to his dollar earnings as long as possible and to exchange it in lump sum just before he returns home.

The purpose of the labor trade, however, is to enrich the Philippine government's foreign exchange account. With a balance-of-payments deficit hitting \$1.13 billion last year and outstanding foreign loans of \$15.37 billion, Marcos cannot afford to lose a drop.

The latest announcement thus comes as a desperate move. Those who fail to comply will find no passport issued, renewed, or extended.

Aside from the stick, reports from Manila reveal that Marcos plans to wield a carrot as well. Plans are under discussion for a raffle, tickets for which will be issued only to those who remit funds. Prizes are to include homes, appliances and free tickets to visit relatives. Ticket sales for



Middle East job recruits strain to hand in one of many clearances: 267,000 left to work abroad in 1981. (Times Journal)

Racialized Education

Keeping Minorities on the Wrong Side of the Tracks

By VINCE REYES

"We want one class of people to have a liberal education, and we want one class of person, a very much larger class of persons, of necessity to forego the privileges of a liberal education and fit into specific manual tasks." —Pres. Woodrow Wilson, 1909

Around the turn of the century, the American educational system began differentiating students and sorting out who would have "vocational careers" and who would be "professionals." Legitimized by aptitude tests and advocated by prominent educators, the practice is very much alive today as it was when Woodrow Wilson first made his pronouncement.

The process, commonly known as "tracking," creates separate educational atmospheres for students through differentiated curricula. The sorting out process begins very early, most often in junior high school. Students are programmed into classes based on standardized test scores; teacher's grades, recommendations, or opinions about pupils' socioeconomic (class) background.

Tracking varies from school to school but follows a general pattern. In junior high or the early part of high school, students are made to take aptitude (IQ) tests which determine the student's interests and level of understanding in logic, mathematics, science, and English proficiency. The test results determine what track students will be assigned to—vocational ("job-oriented") or academic (college preparatory).

Students in the industrial or vocational programs learn general math and basic language skills. Students in the career-oriented program take classes ranging from the appreciation of literature and music to conceptual subjects like advanced mathematics, creative writing, and sociology.

There is something to be said about the need for a division of labor in any form of society. But in a capitalist society like the U.S. where divisions along race, nationality and sex are functional parts of the productive and social machinery, efforts to systematize the division of labor lead to the deepening of existing inequities.

Not surprisingly, the stratification in education promoted by tracking matches the existing stratification of the American work force in terms of skill and color. Students assigned to the lower tracks are by and large from the working class and mostly minorities. Those who enter the higher tracks are usually middle-class whites. The fact that schools produce the future labor

'Tracking was intended to serve the needs of American capitalism, and it still does. Naturally, it counts among its supporters, the nation's top industrialists'

force means that tracking reproduces the existing racial and social inequities in society. Minorities are prepared for lower-level vocations while whites are prepared for managerial and executive professions.

San Francisco School Board member Dick Cerbatos, a Filipino-American, confirms this. "Something has to be assigned to the fact that low-scoring kids all look the same . . . tracking revolves around racism and in fact, helps it along."

Thomas Pettigrew, a social psychologist and expert on testing argues that tracking is not related to actual ability but is based mainly on test scores. He contends that "to treat these tests as if they were god-given, as if they in fact can measure the potential of children, minority or majority is absolutely dangerous."

A study of segregation in California high schools featured in *Youth News*, an Oakland-based publication, found that in Berkeley, first graders of all races scored equally well on aptitude tests. But by the 12th grade, dramatic gaps emerged between the scores of white and Asian students and those of black and Chicano students. The disparity first appears towards the end of elementary school and then reaches greater proportions in junior high school.



As an ironic example of the consequences of this disparity, most of the students enrolled in a Black literature class in Berkeley High School are white. The class was intended to enrich black students' pride in their own culture. But because Black literature is an advanced course, most blacks do not meet the requirements to enroll.

IQ test results mainly demonstrate what types of students are best prepared to take it. The tests' objectivity is put to question since their outcomes often reveal that students with similar backgrounds consistently have similar scores. Critics of standardized tests constantly demand more objective testing instruments which take socioeconomic backgrounds into consideration. Also, even test developers cannot fully agree on the validity of their own tests.

Another alarming feature of tracking is that individual teacher's and counselor's recommendations may determine placement in some cases. A study of an Illinois junior high school demonstrated that counselors and teachers using subjective and biased criteria were placing pupils into academic or non-academic classes. Disregarding test scores, teachers judged students on their family backgrounds, the parents' aspirations, and on dress and behavior. Students clearly coming from middle-class families were given the academic track. Students of families who did not appear to be college-oriented were placed in the lower tracks. Following the disparity in placement is the unequal allocation of educational resources all the way from textbooks to counseling to the type of student activities available. Such blatant examples of prejudice are tolerated because tracking has been a largely unchallenged feature of American schools.

Not a few educational sociologists have noted that tracking is both a form of stratification and a form of socialization. College tracks encourage students to be self-directed and to give expression to their interests and abilities. Non-college tracks however, offer students a narrower range of courses and opportunities and puts them in less stimulating intellectual and motivational environments. Consequently, different socialization processes occur in the upper and lower tracks, so that students attending the same school, come to feel differently about themselves and their school experiences.

Pettigrew noted that "there is little or no evidence to suggest that tracking is beneficial for children, including so-called gifted children as well as the less gifted children."

Studies have also shown that tracking tends to socialize lower-track students toward passivity, acceptance of authoritarianism in institutional relationships and alienation from the educational environment. Conversely, higher-track pupils are encouraged into active

school involvement, and to expect warmth and concern from institutional relationships.

A white student interviewed in the *Youth News* study noted that "Being a white student, I've been pushed to take five classes per semester, and to excel in what is a normal curriculum for a good student. Some students are essentially allowed to drop out of school and take classes that, for the most part, mean nothing."

Black students have complained about counselors who do not "push" them into higher tracks. "If you show some intelligence, they try to help you, but if you don't they let you slide," commented Yohan Smith in the same study. Blacks claim they do not receive the same pressure to perform or the same concern about failure that teachers give to white students.

For working class and minority youth, tracking also reinforces an already existing pull in their lives—that is the necessity to get a job and contribute income to help support the family. In many instances this is a bigger question than of trying to obtain a college education. Other deterrents such as cutbacks in student loans, high tuitions and a decrease in minority programs also make it exceedingly difficult for working class youth to even attempt to enroll in college.

Tracking was intended to serve the needs of American capitalism, and it still does. Naturally, it counts among its supporters, the nation's top industrialists, one of whom stated:

"We can picture the educational system as having a very important function as a selection agency . . . All are poured into the system at the bottom; the incapable are soon rejected or drop out . . . and pass into the ranks of unskilled labor . . . the more intelligent who are to be the clerical workers pass into the high school; and the most intelligent enter the universities where they are selected for the professions."

High school tracking greatly increased in the 1920s and 1930s when large numbers of foreign immigrants needed to be educated to some degree for their incorporation into the labor force. It intensified in the late 1950s when there was a heavy influx of rural Southern blacks to Northern cities, and of Puerto Rican and Mexican immigrants into the U.S.

Woodrow Wilson's 1909 pronouncement was not so much a statement of desire but a frank assessment of what was necessary to maintain the existing economic system. What was necessary in 1909 is still necessary today—a stratified labor force whose educational levels match the type of skills needed to fuel the machinery and bureaucracy of American capitalism.

Tracking is an institution that helps racialize this stratification of the work force. It not only assigns the next generation of minority workers to a direction that will assure their place in the lower rungs of society, it also conditions them into accepting this position. □

Demo, Congress Letter Rap Enrile Visit

A week of protest spearheaded by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Philippine Solidarity Network highlighted the visit of Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to Washington, D.C. on February 23 and 24. In the Capitol for high-level consultations with U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Enrile came to ask for increased military aid, to the tune of \$2 billion, and to hold initial discussions regarding the renewal of the U.S.-R.P. Bases Agreement, negotiations for which are scheduled to begin in April.

On February 23, a dozen protesters staged a picket and banner-holding action in front of the Russell Senate Office Building where Enrile was meeting with Senator John G. Tower, Chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The action drew a counter-picket hastily put together by the Philippine Embassy. Thirty Embassy staffers stood across the street from the CAMD/PSN picket shouting "Filipino Communists" at the picketers. The pro-Marcos crowd held a banner reading "U.S.-R.P. Relations—You've Come A Long Way, Baby!"

Odette Taverna, Director of the Congress Task Force of the CAMD/PSN, noting that the Embassy response brought even greater attention to the protest action, said, "The increased U.S. military aid will be used to further fuel the brutal wave of repression currently being perpetrated by the Marcos government. This military

build-up and closer cooperation between the U.S. and the Marcos government is reminiscent of the early days of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and must be opposed."

Echoing the same concerns expressed at the protest action, seven U.S. Congressmen issued a statement which read in part:

"The Enrile visit . . . still represents our current policy of unqualified support to a government known to be repressive—all under the guise of 'national security' . . . It becomes imperative for us, as legislators, to register our concerns about the benefits of pursuing U.S. current policy toward the Philippines and take a lead in initiating a foreign policy which promotes equality and mutual respect between our government and other nations."

The congressmen who initiated this statement were Reps. Bob Edgar (D-PA), James L. Oberstar (D-MN), Mervyn Dymally (D-CA), Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA), Ted Weiss (D-NY), Tony P. Hall (D-OH), and Walter Fauntroy (D-Washington, D.C.). Rep. Edgar also entered a statement expressing his concerns in the *Congressional Record*.

Taverna said, "We know that Enrile has been a regular visitor to the U.S. for some time. During the Marcos state visit, regular military summit meetings were scheduled between Enrile and Weinberger."

She noted that a reliable Congress source disclosed to the Congress Task Force that the Defense Minister was here last November shortly after the Marcos



Juan Ponce Enrile

visit. This time, however, the State Department made an official announcement of Enrile's arrival which indicates that major policy decisions would probably be discussed, she added.

The Enrile visit comes in the wake of a recently unveiled counterinsurgency strategy aimed at crushing the growing resistance to the Marcos dictatorship. A crucial part of this strategy is the modernization of the Philippine armed forces. In an interview on the modernization plan, the Chief of Staff of the Philippine Armed Forces, Gen. Fabian C. Ver, said that in addition to the new weapons now provided by the U.S. under the \$100-million-a-year military aid package, the Philippines was

making its own M-16 rifles under license from the Colt Corporation of the U.S. More planes are expected this year under the same aid package, he added.

Gen. Ver said that the U.S. had already turned over 25 F-8H Crusader planes and 14 Huey helicopters. In addition, sources close to the Philippine government revealed that \$22 million worth of helicopters are being purchased to increase the mobility of the military and upgrade its counter-insurgency capacity.

Taverna emphasized that this increased militarization, as well as the Enrile visit, must be seen in the light of the growing fear that military aid alone might not be sufficient to stem the rising tide of the opposition to the regime. This concern was alluded to by a confidential State Department report put out in April 1982 stating that after a three-month investigation of the situation in Mindanao, it was determined that "the present circumstances are not encouraging and the future is ominous."

The CTF also sponsored two educational forums during the week to inform supporters about the motives behind the Enrile visit. A new CAMD/PSN slide show "Repression, Made in U.S.A.," accompanied in-depth presentations on U.S. security assistance to the regime.

Taverna explained that the protest against the Enrile visit is part of the ongoing efforts of the CAMD/PSN to oppose U.S. aid to the Marcos dictatorship and launches the opposition to the renewal of the U.S.-Philippine Bases Agreement.

"We must protest the Enrile-Weinberger talks and oppose this military build-up if we do not wish the Vietnam memory to become a bloody present-day reality in the Philippines," she added. □

Salaries Lowest Among Males

HEW Study on California Pinoys Released

By VICKY PEREZ

Filipino males have lower average salaries than majority males or males of any other Asian group, according to the State of California's Health and Welfare Agency in a recently released study on Filipinos.

Entitled "An Ethnic Profile: Filipinos in California," the report, dated December 1982, compiled "key statistics in the areas of population, economics, education, health, and immigration."

The data were drawn from government statistics, unpublished conference papers, agency reports and special tabulations of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (SIE), and the 1980 Census tapes.

While the report contained the "most current information available," statistics from the 1980 Census Bureau's Summary Tape File 4, which has the most recent tabulations of income, education and occupation, have not yet been released. This Census data will update some of the information used in this report.

OTHER FINDINGS

The report's other findings include the following:

- The Filipino community in California is the largest and fastest growing Asian group, with a total population of 357,000 in 1980 (from 139,000 in 1970 with an addition of 218,000 by 1980);
- Filipinos earn less than the majority of Americans with the same educational level;
- Filipino males who completed high school or college are underemployed, i.e. over qualified for the position they held, at a higher level than the total population;
- There is twice the proportion of college-educated females than in the broader population.
- High school age youth indicate higher levels of non-attendance in school and lower levels of high school completion than the total population;
- Filipinos have disproportionately higher levels of tuberculosis and hypertension than the majority population.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The study revealed that the Filipino population of California will number over 900,000 in 1990, if it continues to increase by 157% as it did between 1970 and 1980.

While Filipinos have a higher than average birth rate, the report attributed the projected increase in population to immigration, barring future congressional legislation which could dramatically curtail the flow of Filipino immigrants.

It also indicated that while U.S.-born Filipinos represented 47% of U.S. Filipinos in 1970, the rapid rate of immigration will make the proportion of U.S.-born Filipinos even smaller.

The report showed that two-thirds of

California's Filipino population live in five predominantly urban areas: Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Alameda counties.

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

Although Filipino males have a higher level of education than majority males, the median income of college-educated Filipino men was lower than that of majority Americans with a comparable level of education.

The study also revealed that while Filipino females have the highest proportion of college graduates, they earned about one-half the income of the majority population.

Female unemployment rates were reportedly lower than the average, due to the high number of nurses in the Filipino labor force. Filipino teenagers however, showed higher unemployment levels (22%) than the majority population (15%) in 1976.

The report also noted significantly higher levels of underemployment among Filipino males than with the majority males. Females, however, held professional and technical positions double the rate of the majority of females, but lower in proportion to other high-paying categories, i.e., administration or managers.

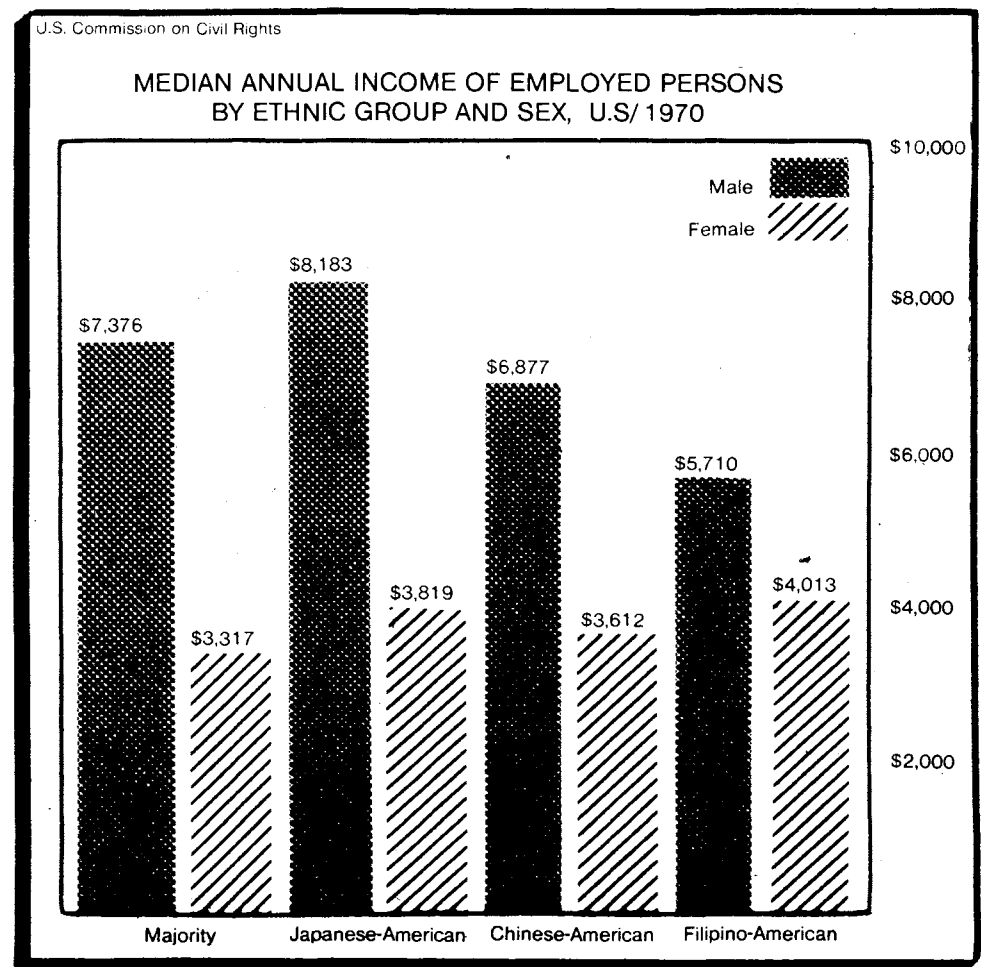
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

The large influx of skilled, educated adult Filipino immigrants by 1970, advanced the overall level of education in the Filipino community from a "level considerably below to a level equal to or above that of the total population."

Before 1960, Filipino males had low educational attainment equivalent to that of other minority groups.

The study also found that:

- Enrollment in public schools is much lower for Filipino children than the total population, suggesting that Filipinos attend parochial schools at a higher rate than the total population;
 - While the 1960 and 1970 surveys showed that Filipinos had lower rates of high school non-attendance, the 1976 figures revealed Filipinos had a higher rate of non-attendance;
 - Immigration is assuredly the cause of the high proportion of female college graduates;
 - Filipinos are not underrepresented in California public colleges.
- Citing data from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1975, the study indicated that state licensure policies are one of the main obstacles preventing foreign-trained Filipinos from getting the jobs they are qualified to hold. In many instances, certifications are not recognized, experience not accepted, or their educational credentials are inadequate for state licensure. These policies affect a large proportion of California nurses, accountants and pharmacists, the report added. □



ACLU, Ramsey Clark File Amicus Brief U.S. Plea to Dismiss Civil Suit Hit

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—In a friend of the court brief (*amicus curiae*) filed with the federal court February 17, a former U.S. Attorney General and four civic and religious organizations accused the U.S. government of "short-circuiting" the judicial process in the suit filed on behalf of murdered union officials against high-ranking Philippine and U.S. government authorities.

The brief, signed by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Seattle attorney William Bender asks the court to turn down the U.S. government's move for the *Domingo vs. Marcos* civil suit's dismissal. It contends that the government's claim that executive power should be protected by absolute immunity, is "repugnant to the key judicial role of guaranteeing fundamental constitutional rights."

Clark and Bender were joined by the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington Foundation, Church Council of Greater Seattle, National Lawyers' Guild (NLG), and the Seattle NLG Chapter.

"The courts have a primary role to provide remedies for the deprivation of civil rights and must be wary of the executive branch's encroachment upon those rights under the claims of 'national interest,' 'national security,' or 'foreign policy immunity,'" said Kathleen Taylor, ACLU-W's executive director.

Having championed several human rights and civil liberties issues before, the brief's signatories also strongly argue that the serious allegations in the Domingo and Viernes lawsuit "is deserving of the most careful constitutional scrutiny this Court can muster."



Cindy Domingo

The civil suit, filed in the U.S. District Court September 14, 1982, charges that the U.S. government conspired with the Marcos regime to "surveil, harass, and silence the opposition movement" in the U.S. Filipino community.

It alleges that after the declaration of martial law in the Philippines, a "Philippine Infiltration Plan" brought Filipino secret agents to the U.S. starting in 1973. The plan, the civil suit claims, led to the murders of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes in 1981 inside their cannery union headquarters.

Filed on behalf of the families and estates of Domingo and Viernes, as well as anti-Marcos Filipinos in the U.S., the suit seeks monetary damages, and a court order prohibiting further operations of Marcos agents in the U.S.

Named as defendants are former union president Constantine "Tony" Baruso; convicted Tulasan gangmembers who carried out the murder plot; Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda; Gen. Fabian Ver who heads up Philippine intelligence; the Philip-



Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark pine government; and various U.S. officials.

U.S. 'ORCHESTRATES' COVER-UP

"To our knowledge," stated Cindy Domingo, sister of one of the murder victims and national spokesperson for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV), "this is the first time the U.S. government has sought to dismiss a lawsuit at the outset on grounds of foreign policy immunity."

She charged that the immunity plea, contained in the U.S. government's formal response to the suit filed on January 21, 1983, indicated the "urgency which the government attaches to preventing the real facts from being aired."

Domingo said, "There are many factual indications that the U.S. government, at the very least, had foreknowledge of the plan, and that the U.S. is orchestrating a cover-up since the murders."

Domingo cited the three telephone calls by prime suspect Baruso to the U.S. State Department within 24 hours of the murders, as critical evidence linking the U.S. to the murder conspiracy.

More significantly, according to the Committee for Justice, the U.S. response is a "potentially dangerous legal precedent."

The government is basically arguing that even if it is guilty as charged, the court has no jurisdiction because the acts allegedly involved sensitive matters of foreign policy affecting national security.

"The real danger to our national interest comes if public officials can violate constitutional rights and then receive immunity without ever having to answer to their victims in a court of law," remarked Elaine Ko, also of the CJDV.

Domingo claims that the U.S. government's use of the national security argument is designed to intimidate the court into granting a quick dismissal and to intimidate the Committee for Justice. "The implied threat is that if we don't back off," added Domingo, "we will be endangering U.S. national security and will have to be dealt with accordingly."

BLANK CHECK

Committee spokespersons also denounced the U.S. government's attempt to expand the absolute immunity protection, from direct issues of national security to the broader category of U.S. foreign policy.

If the court accepts this argument, Domingo stressed, it could give the government a "blank check" to violate the civil liberties of anyone challenging its foreign policy.

"This can signal an open invitation to pro-U.S. fascist regimes to institutionalize their repressive apparatuses within the U.S., and can strike terror in the Korean, Taiwanese, Haitian, Chilean, El Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Palestinian communities in this country."

It is this repressive political implication which the *Domingo vs. Marcos* civil rights lawsuit is attempting to defeat, Committee spokespersons reiterated. □

Pilay Murder: Revenge or Cover-Up?

Special to the AK

SEATTLE—The Prosecuting Attorney's Office sparked controversy when it declared that "revenge," not a "cover-up" motivated the recent murder of Teodorico "Boy Pilay" Dominguez, a key figure in the 1981 double slayings of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

Police arrested Harte Valentino Barber, 25, who will be tried April 26 in King County Superior Court for the slaying of Dominguez. The Prosecuting Attorney's office also charged with murder Esteban Hermosa Ablang, 30, who allegedly fled to the Philippines after Pilay was killed "execution-style" with multiple gunshot wounds to the head, last January 16.

According to witnesses, Barber and Ablang were the last persons seen with Pilay, a known member of the *Tulasan* gang, the night he was murdered. The slaying aroused suspicions that Pilay was silenced because "he knew too much" about the June 1, 1981 murders of two leading cannery officials actively involved in the U.S.-based anti-Marcos movement.

REVENGE THEORY DISPUTED

The Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes disputed the Prosecuting Attorney's theory that Pilay was killed to avenge the April 1979 killing of the suspect's uncle, Jessie Barber, 29, a member of a rival Filipino gang known as "*Kulugo*." Dominguez was one of five *Tulasan* gang members questioned in that unsolved murder.

"Why would [Valentino] Barber wait four years for revenge?" CJDV spokesperson Cindy Domingo asked angrily. "Why should Pilay be singled out and not other *Tulasans*? He was not even suspected of planning that murder nor was he the leader of the [*Tulasan*] gang. A motive

based on revenge alone is simply not believable when these facts are considered," Domingo explained.

Norm Maleng, the Prosecuting Attorney, acknowledged Pilay's killing was a contract murder involving a large sum of money. Maleng's affidavit however, stated that the money came from Barber, who purportedly was looking for hired help.

CJDV spokespersons, while agreeing that contract money was involved in Pilay's killing, insist the contract was not for revenge but for permanently preventing Pilay from testifying against Baruso. Even though Barber was involved, he could not have been the source of the money nor the murder's mastermind, they said.

"Isn't it ironic that Barber who supposedly masterminded the murder plot is left behind holding the bag," Domingo queried, "while Ablang, his hired help, is on a plane to the Philippines possibly even before Pilay's body was identified?"

"Besides, Barber—who was employed nine hours a week at the University of Washington—did not have that kind of money. Somebody else must have put it up," she said. She added that despite Barber's known poor financial straits, he has reportedly hired Seattle's highest priced lawyer for his defense. "Who put up that money, too?"

PILAY AND 1981 KILLINGS

Maleng, at a meeting with the Committee for Justice, admitted that "when I heard the news of Pilay's murder, the first thing I thought was that it has something to do with the first two [Domingo and Viernes] murders." However, he appears firm on pursuing the revenge theory.

Pressing Maleng, the Committee for Justice bared its theory linking Pilay's murder to Baruso and the assassination of Domingo and Viernes, in a memo to the prosecutor dated February 4, 1983.



Norm Maleng

In his testimony during the trials of convicted *Tulasan* gang members, the prosecution's star witness, Robert San Pablo, testified that Pilay intimidated to him that Baruso allegedly offered \$5,000 contract money, to be paid after the murders of the two cannery officials.

San Pablo also revealed in his testimony that Pilay and convicted gangleader Tony Dictado test-fired the murder weapon shortly before Domingo and Viernes were fatally gunned down inside the cannery union headquarters.

The contract money, according to the CJDV, was never paid, prompting Dictado, to put Baruso's gun—the murder weapon—in a trash can which was later recovered by Seattle police.

The Committee theorized that Pilay, who fled to Maryland after being subpoenaed to testify at Dictado's trial, returned to Seattle November 1 broke and hungry and trying to collect money from Baruso for his part in the Domingo-Viernes murders. Pilay was angling for "hush money" from Baruso since he had direct knowledge of the former union president's involvement.

BARUSO-BARBER CONNECTION

In the same memo to Maleng, the Committee disclosed Barber's links to Baruso.

Barber, a cannery worker who was dispatched to the Alitak cannery owned by the Brindle family, was opposed to the reforms initiated by the Rank and File Reform movement led by Domingo and Viernes, and reportedly was "pro-Baruso all the way."

Described as a heavy gambler who frequented gambling activities in the canneries, Barber was personally close to Baruso and opposed his recall as union president in 1981.

LEADS REQUIRE ACTION

Having extensively bared its theory on the murders, the Committee for Justice urged the Prosecuting Attorney to follow up on Baruso's links to Barber and also to act on the following:

- ask the U.S. and Philippine governments to surrender suspect Ablang, who could possibly shed more light on Pilay's recent murder.

- open up certain inquiries on Baruso's phone calls to the State Department on June 1-2, 1981, his travel within one month of the June murders, his financial records, and his ties and connections to the Philippine government, consulate and intelligence agencies.

"With these leads, the Prosecuting Attorney has no more excuse not to follow up on these critical issues we've raised surrounding Pilay's murder," stressed CJDV spokesperson Domingo. "The revenge theory is riddled with so many holes it will be obviously ridiculous if Maleng persists on it."

In expressing their interest in the Pilay murder's links to the Domingo-Viernes killings, the CJDV renewed their push to re-open and actively pursue Baruso's activities and connections to the U.S. and Philippine governments prior to and immediately following the murders of Domingo and Viernes. □

CTF Answers Whitewash of R.P. Rights



Victims of massacre by 6th IB in Marawi; report claims "disappearances" have declined, glosses over abuses. (Pumipiglas)

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Philippine Solidarity Network early this month challenged the U.S. State Department's claim that human rights in the Philippines have "improved." The State Department analysis came in its annual report on human rights to the U.S. Congress.

Replying through a Congress Task Force Occasional Paper, CAMD/PSN charged U.S. government officials with deliberate omissions, "subtle distortions" and "vulgar manipulation of data" in an effort to prove that dictator Ferdinand Marcos has indeed made progress on the human rights front. "On the contrary," CTF concludes, "the human rights situation has so deteriorated that Amnesty International decided in September to adopt the Philippines as a major focus of its work this year."



QUOTING PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT AS GOSPEL

In its detailed response, CTF challenges the State Department's choice of data, its biased treatment of sources and the way it interprets its data.

The report claims a dramatic decline in "disappearances" for 1983. To justify this point, it cites the figure of 32 disappearances for 1981 versus 12 for January-July 1982. But, points out CTF, the 1982 figure covers only the first seven months of the year, while the intensified wave of Philippine government repression only began in August. Further, disappearance cases take a long time to reach the ears of the religious groups which record them, and longer still, to be investigated and confirmed.

Then there is the question of just whose data is reliable. Most objective observers

have learned to accept Philippine government statistics with a grain of salt. In the area of human rights, the most consistently reliable sources have proven to be church-related groups like the Task Force Detainees.

According to the CTF, the State Department treats Philippine government facts and figures as hard data and information from all other sources as allegation. "... though the report quotes selected 'claims' by human rights organizations of military abuses, torture, killings, illegal arrests and detention, and other human rights violations, it immediately counters them by citing authoritatively the government's self-serving statistics and policy statements," CTF explains. "When there is a discrepancy on the latter point, the report blames the human rights organizations for lack of access to the data to which the government has access."

This approach clearly throws into question the State Department's credibility. The report cites Philippine government claims to have disciplined all abusive military personnel, but is forced to admit that it can only come up with five actual cases.

SINS OF OMISSION

Far more important, claims the CTF, is what the State Department chooses to leave out. This includes strategic hamletting, the Philippines' new approach to counterinsurgency. This tactic is modeled on "Operation Phoenix," the U.S. rural strategy used during the Vietnam War. Already in effect in Davao del Sur, the Kapatagan Valley, the Arakan Valley, Cotabato, and Laac, Davao del Norte, this technique involves "uprooting of hundreds of thousands of civilians and the loss of their homes, crops and work animals. They are herded into concentration camps...."

Perhaps even more notable, the report has nothing to say about the carefully orchestrated crackdown on various sectors which began in August of 1982. It glosses over the arrest of 50 labor leaders, including 79-year-old Felixberto Olalia, President of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement), and instead claims that labor unions are "free to conduct strikes within the legal framework."

What it neglects to note, points out the CTF, is that "the existing 'legal framework' bans strikes in vital industries and almost all significant industries, including all export industries, have been declared 'vital.'"

Finally, says CTF, the State Department has nothing to say about the widely-publicized crackdown on church social

action centers and the progressive clergy beginning late last year. Since early this year, the repressive drive has broadened to include the media and possibly the legal opposition (see story, page 5).

FINAL STAGE IN THE 'KIRKPATRICK DOCTRINE'

The entire State Department report, insists CTF, is in fact, a "whitewash" which "flies in the face of reality as it attempts to vindicate those pro-U.S. regimes which have earned international notoriety for gross violations of human rights such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Philippines."

CAMD-PSN Sets Nat'l Meet in Berkeley

The National Conference of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) will be held in Berkeley California, on March 11, 12 and 13. The ninth annual conference will be conducted as a joint meeting between the Coalition and the Philippine Solidarity Network (PSN), reflecting the strong political and organizational ties between the two anti-dictatorship organizations.

Geline Avila, national CAMD Coordinator stated that "Our understanding of the necessary strategy for developing Philippine support work in the U.S. was sharpened by the Marcos visit last fall. The lessons that CAMD and PSN gained from that intense, nationwide campaign will be reflected in the conference discussions."

"The Philippines and its struggle against the dictatorship must be viewed within the framework of why U.S. imperialism needs to keep the country under its wing... the U.S. bases not only guard U.S. economic interests, they are the linchpin for U.S. military strategy in Southeast Asia and the Middle East—this raises the stakes of the whole struggle," Avila explained.

The conference will examine the international political situation focusing on the U.S. counteroffensive against national liberation movements and its massive military build-up in the face of what Reagan calls "Soviet-inspired international terrorism."

There will be a special focus on the Southeast Asia region, including the role of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and its role as the political representative of U.S. imperialism's interests in the region.

Why should the Reagan administration be willing to risk its credibility with its far-flung claims of improvement of the notorious Marcos regime? The CTF sees the report as a key element in the Reagan foreign policy, the latest in the "Kirkpatrick Doctrine." Named after UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick who first gave it voice, the new doctrine distinguishes between "friendly" authoritarian regimes and "unfriendly" totalitarian ones. As guardian of two key U.S. military bases, the Philippines definitely falls into the first category.

Implementation of the Kirkpatrick Doctrine, according to CTF, falls into three separate stages. First Carter's human rights doctrine is abandoned for Reagan's "quiet diplomacy." Next State Department officials claim that the human rights situation has actually improved under repressive Third World regimes. Then the State Department provides the "proof"—the fact-filled Human Rights Report.

U.S. ROLE IN COUNTERINSURGENCY

Finally, the CTF points out, the State Department has a distinct interest in downplaying the human rights violations which have come about as a result of the Philippines' new counterinsurgency plan.

Confidential documents reveal that these plans were mapped out by none other than U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci meeting with Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver in Manila in 1981.

The CAMD/PSN, through its urgent, yet detailed response, hopes to counteract the effect of the State Department report, particularly in Congress. Unchallenged, the document threatens to play an important role in softening Marcos' dictatorial image both during the upcoming bases negotiations and in future congressional deliberations on aid to the Philippines. The document is available via the CTF office, 1322-18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. □



Geline Avila

The conference will also have an update on Philippine conditions, including an analysis of the increased repression in the urban areas and the militarization in the countryside as well as an assessment of the current political situation.

The CAMD and PSN will also plan major campaigns for this year including major efforts around the U.S.-R.P. Bases Agreement renegotiations due to start in April and the pending Extradition Treaty. The CAMD will also address the murders of Seattle anti-Marcos activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes focusing on the role that the dictatorship played in the killings and the U.S. State Department cover-up.

Delegates are expected from New York, Washington, D.C., Seattle, San Francisco-Bay Area, Los Angeles, San Jose, Sacramento, and Hawaii. CAMD chapters in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, Canada will also send representatives. □

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY '83

SIDE BY SIDE WE WILL WIN
FOR THE RISING OF THE WOMEN
MEANS THE RISING OF US ALL



Nicole

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY A TRIBUTE TO WORKING WOMEN EVERYWHERE

On March 8, 1857, working women made history when they led a strike in New York. Marching by the hundreds, women garment and textile workers walked out of their poor neighborhoods in the city, to a nearby rich neighborhood in protest of shabby working conditions.

Fifty years later on the same day, women again made history. In 1909, 20,000 women garment workers staged a massive strike in New York's Lower East Side, protesting wages too low to support themselves, speed-ups and dangerous working conditions. While police and local thugs viciously attacked the demonstrators, the strike won widespread support from working women in the city. The incident sparked a noticeable militant atmosphere and in the following year, over 60,000 garment workers struck for union recognition.

At a time when women were excluded from most unions and had not been allowed the right to vote, these episodes gave a glimpse of women's potential strength and fighting capacity to demand rights never before accorded them.

The majority of women involved in these protests were immigrants who escaped the Jewish pogroms in czarist Russia. They labored for as long as 14 hours a day, crowded in dust and stench-filled basements and tenements. The buildings were notoriously dangerous, having no ventilation nor effective fire escapes. These conditions drew considerable public attention when 146 women workers were burnt to death in a fire that ravaged the Triangle Waist Company in the city's garment district.

March 8 was declared as International Women's Day (IWD) by the Socialist Women's Conference in Stockholm, Sweden in 1910. Since then, millions of progressive men and women around the world have celebrated IWD as a tribute not only to women, but to working class struggles worldwide.

Unfortunately, IWD, because of its militant working class legacy, is not popularly recognized in the U.S. "Mother's Day" is actively promoted instead and is considered far more important than a day which encourages genuine respect and dignity for working women. "Mother's Day," after all, helps popularize the traditional view that "a woman's place is in the home as mothers and homemakers," the rationale for keeping women underpaid, underemployed, and politically powerless.

Today, women throughout the world are playing a vital role in the struggle against imperialism and various forms of oppression. The struggle for women's full and equal participation in society is in the interest of all working people. International Women's Day is a time for reasserting this belief. We commemorate this occasion by featuring poems by or about women in struggle.

Babaing Walang Kibo

(Oppressed Women, Unite and Fight!)

(Written in 1940 during the anti-Japanese struggle, this song has since been enriched by the ever-increasing direct participation of women in the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines. It calls on women to stand up and take on their rightful role in freeing the country from foreign rule. The liberation of women can only come with the liberation of the whole nation.)

O, babaing walang kibo
Magnilay ka at mag-isip
Malaon ka nang inaapi
At malaon ka nang nilulupig.

Bakit hindi ka magtanggol?
May anak kang nagugutom
Bunso mo ay umiiyak
Natitiis mo sa hirap
Ano't hindi ka magbalikwas
Kung ina kang may damdamin at paglingap?

Labanan nating lubusan
Imperyalistang gahaman
Malaon nang lumulupig
Sa tanang kababaihan.

Alipin na ganap tayo
Alipin na pati laya
Na malaong pinag-usig
Demokrasya ng paglaya

Upang ating mapadali
Ang labanan ng mga uri
Tibayan ang mga puso
Alisin ang pagkakami.

O, babaing anakpawis
Buong giting makilaban
Mangahas kang makibaka.
Mangahas kang magtagumpay.

O, babaing manggagawa
At babaing magsasaka
Magkaisa't ipaglaban
Ang Pambansang Demokrasya!

Minority

Judy Simmons

I am the downtrodden
I am the poor and deprived
that got star billing for a decade

I am the snarl of Afro hair and mulatto mouth,
a frantic dancer of defiance in my
sun-raped wrappings reminiscent of some
racial home denied me by the
cataracts of time

I am the mind that is a
terrible thing to waste, the blacker berry
with the sweeter juice, the Matriarch of
impromptu families and the automatic suspect
for light-fingered crimes

mine is not a People of the Book/taxed
but acknowledged; our distinctiveness is
not yet a dignity; our Holocaust is lower case

I am dream 'blown and anchored by anger,
a switchblade of frustration, a
time bomb of hunger and pain;
I am reason ravaged and bone cold

I feel life glide through me like a sinister lynx
angling for deep shadows and I know
I am endangered but I am not only prey;
I recall cat rhythms and the sleek expanding
muscle slide
of limbs night-hunting their existence

hatred is my curved compassion
I am tender
I am proud

Judy Simmons is a poet, journalist and a radio
broadcaster with WLIB in New York.

Toward a Better Love

"Sex is a political category"—Kate Millet

Roque Dalton-Garcia

No one discusses sex as a condition
in the world of the couple;
from there, tenderness and its wild branches.

No one talks about sex
as a domestic condition:
from there, kids,
nights in common
arid days divided
(he, looking for bread in the street,
in offices or factories;
she, in the rear-guard of domestic functions,
in the strategy and tactic of the kitchen
that allows survival in a common struggle
at least to the end of the month).

No one discusses sex,
as an economic condition.
It's enough to mention prostitution,
fashion,
the sections in the dailies that are only
for her or only for him.
Where hassles begin
is when a woman says
sex is a political condition.

Because when a woman says
sex is a political condition
she can commence letting be the woman in herself
in order to transform herself into a woman for herself
by establishing woman for woman
by struggling with her humanity
but not with her sex,
knowing that the magic deodorant with a hint of lemon
and soap that voluptuously caresses her skin
are made by the same manufacturer that makes napalm
knowing the labors of the home themselves
are labors of a social class to which that home belongs
that the difference between the sexes
burns much better in the loving depth of night
when all those masked and abhorrent secrets
that feed us are revealed.

(The late Roque Dalton-Garcia is El Salvador's most famous
poet-revolutionary.)

By CAROL MARTIN
and WICKS GEAGA

Social Security Cuts: Touching a Sacred Cow

With great fanfare, the National Commission for Social Security Reform, appointed by President Reagan, has come up with a bipartisan proposal to solve the "crisis" in the Social Security System.

The proposal, to raise Social Security taxes and lower pension payments, is a new, and relatively small, step in Reagan's austerity drive. But the great care with which the politicians approach "reforming" Social Security is in sharp contrast to the brutal cuts made earlier in the welfare system. It shows that Reagan's cuts, having hit the truly needy, are now reaching the more privileged workers.

For 50 years the Social Security System has been a political sacred cow. It is supported by taxes deducted from the wages of most workers and provides pensions when they retire. Unlike welfare, Social Security actually provides higher pensions to better-paid workers. While the taxes have been raised several times, the pensions have never before been cut. The proposed Social Security tax increase will affect every wage earner while the cuts will affect the 36 million people who receive Social Security pensions, and the millions more who plan on future pensions. The politicians have always feared offending these many voters.

The campaign to cut Social Security began in May, 1980, when President Reagan deliberately suggested the need for cuts far greater than those now proposed. Wary of touching the sacred cow, the Republican-controlled Senate voted 90-6, a "sense of the Senate" against Social Security cuts. But what Reagan achieved was the opening of a campaign to make small cuts acceptable by threatening far worse. As the next step, Reagan appointed a commission representing both political parties.

Before the Congressional elections in November 1982, Democrats denied that there was any Social Security crisis, and campaigned to "Save Social Security." After the election, in which Democrats came out far ahead, they were more willing to consider that something might, after all, need to be done.

The press also took up the campaign for Social Security "reforms," claiming the system was going "bankrupt." These stories served to frighten the elderly into accepting "reform." The threats also helped create the "crisis" atmosphere in which severe cuts in welfare services seemed a small price to pay, especially since only the poorest would be affected.

But it still took direct pressure from Reagan and the leading Democrat in Congress, House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, to force the bipartisan commission to agree on a compromise proposal. Reagan signalled its importance by making it the first item in his State of the Union speech. Democrats and Republicans patted themselves for their "courage" and ability to "rise above politics." Congress must still debate the proposal and turn it into law. But regardless of any further controversy, they will enact some form of tax increase and pension cuts.

WHAT KIND OF CRISIS?

Is there really a crisis in Social Security? In a way, yes. Since 1975, pension payments have automatically increased with the rise in inflation. These cost-of-living-adjustments, or COLAs, follow increases in the Consumer Price Index, which measures inflation. But the System is financed entirely by payroll deductions—and unemployment has also been rising sharply. So more money is going out, and less money is coming in. That is the "crisis."

There will be another crisis about 30 years from now, when the cost of pensions will far exceed incoming taxes, because those born in the post-WW II "baby boom" will reach retirement age. The present proposal offers no solution to this future crisis. Today's politicians cannot plan that far ahead. Also, it is highly unlikely that they will still be running for office then.

But what bring these deficits to "crisis" proportions are certain ground rules of the System. Those ground rules work so that



North/Picture Group

the System is tilted toward the more privileged, and mainly white, workers.

For example, there is a "principle" the politicians and the press place great value on, that the System must be "self-supporting." This means that pension payments can come only from the Social Security payroll taxes. But working people pay the majority of all taxes anyway—be these Social Security or federal income taxes. If the shortage in the Social Security fund could be made up from federal income tax, there would be no "crisis." But politicians refuse to do so because the Defense Department needs the money; and the military cannot be self-supporting. Imagine the Defense Department trying to support itself by selling stocks for the MX missile!

Another principle is the regressive Social Security tax. Right now the Social Security tax is 6.7% of a worker's wage, up to \$35,700. For the lowest-paid workers, that comes out of their food and rent money. For the highest-paid, who stop paying altogether after their income exceeds \$35,700 a year, it only cuts slightly into their savings. If wealthier workers paid Social Security taxes on their entire salary, there would be no "crisis."

'... Reagan's cuts, having hit the truly needy are now reaching the more privileged workers.'

Another way the System's structure benefits the more privileged is how the amounts of pensions are decided. Need has nothing to do with it. The amounts pensioners get are based on the salary they made. The higher their salary, the higher their pension. What they get back is actually, on the average, far more than they pay in.

According to *Newsweek*, the average pensioner receives in total benefits more than five times the amount he paid in during his entire working career, although this gap is closing. The difference is subsidized by current wage earners. So those pensioners who were better off when they were working are subsidized at a much higher rate than poorly-paid workers. The highest pensions go to those who least need them.

AND THE SOLUTION?

What then, is this "courageous" bipartisan proposal to "save Social Security?" The key elements are an increase in Social Security payroll taxes and a permanent six-month delay in the cost-of-living adjustments, plus further cuts in COLAs down the road. Specifically:

- Payroll deductions for Social Security, "matched" by employers, now 6.7%, will rise to 7% in 1984, 7.05% in 1985, 7.15% in 1986, 7.51% in 1988, and 7.65% in 1990. The increases for 1985, 1986, and 1990 are already law. The proposal adds the increases of 1984 and 1988, with an income tax credit for the 1984 increase. (However, the idea that employers "match" workers' Social Security deductions is a bookkeeping trick. In fact workers pay the whole amount. A union contract views the "employer's contribution" as a fringe benefit, and therefore part of the worker's wage. So, all the percentages listed above can be doubled.)

- COLAs scheduled for July are moved back to January, permanently. The impact of these decreases will come down hardest on the poorest pensioners, despite a proposed \$30 credit for the 7% of the pensioners who are also on the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program.

- In 1988, the amount of COLAs will begin reflecting the rise in wages instead of the rise in inflation, certain to be lower.

- Pensioners with an income of more than \$20,000 aside from Social Security, or \$25,000 for couples, would pay income tax on half their Social Security benefits. This is the first hint of progressive taxation in the Social Security System, and the privileged sector affected is protesting that the System is being turned into "welfare," or is being stripped of its "respectability."

- In 1990, a penalty, gradually increasing from 3% to 7% of their pensions, will be imposed on workers who retire before the age of 70. To make this penalty acceptable, it is called a "bonus" for late retirement instead of a penalty for early retirement. Not surprisingly, this proposal also favors privileged workers, who through easier jobs and better health care have a better chance of working to the age of 70. Workers doing the harder, lower-paid work generally retire earlier. There is already a 20% penalty for workers who retire at 62 rather than at 65.

- In 1984, newly-hired federal employees and employees of non-profit organizations (mainly hospitals) must join the Social Security System. These workers have a separate system, which pays higher pensions. Naturally they oppose this change.

- The proposal would eliminate some provisions that discriminate against women.

- A transfer of \$18 billion from the general tax fund to the Social Security fund would be made to cover money owed by the military. This solves the immediate problem. This is actually the amount needed to keep paying pensions after July, when "bankruptcy" threatened, and before the proposed new funds start arriving. Before the November elections, Democrats were saying there was no crisis, and that all that was needed was a \$14 billion loan from the general tax fund.

WHY THE GREAT CAUTION?

Despite all the controversy, these pro-

posed changes are not that severe, particularly when compared to cuts in the welfare programs such as food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children which hit the poorest, leaving them in truly desperate conditions.

The tax increase proposal advances the date of increases already approved by Congress, and refunds one of them through an income tax credit. The pension cut is a decrease in the rate of the cost-of-living increase, meaning, pensions will continue to rise, but only more slowly. True, these changes will be hard on the poorest, but their impact cannot compare to the brutality of the welfare cuts.

Still, these relatively minor changes in Social Security were so difficult to accomplish politically that they required a two-year press campaign and top-level political maneuvers, including an agreement between Democrats and Republicans to share the blame for this "bipartisan

Meanwhile, Democrats and Republicans outdo each other for welfare cuts, which are politically quite popular among the more privileged sections of working people. quite popular among the more privileged sections of working people.

Why such a gingerly approach to Social Security cuts? These cuts are felt by those a columnist in the *Christian Science Monitor* described as "the worthiest people in the country . . . the prudent people who get and hold jobs and plan for their retirement years." People on welfare, in contrast, are regarded as "lazy cheats" who "live off the fat." A disproportionate number of people on welfare are non-white.

The "worthiest" people are a political base of vital importance to U.S. leaders. The U.S., able to exploit countries like the Philippines because of its military, economic and political power, has been able to provide a privileged position to a large section of working people in the U.S., a position determined essentially by the white/non-white division. Hence, large sections of U.S. workers support U.S. imperialism. In effect, imperialism is able to "bribe" them.

Social Security is an element of this bribe, part of the "American dream," a guaranty against losing this privileged position. This is what makes any attack on Social Security, however weak, so politically explosive.

But why cut Social Security at all then? The U.S. has no choice. There is, after all, a real crisis—one that is bigger than Social Security. This crisis is the declining power of the U.S. in the world and the weakening of the capitalist system. In response, the U.S. has launched a massive war drive, to regain this power. At the same time, it is carrying out a massive welfare program for the rich and the corporations, aimed at shoring up the weakness in the economy. In order to pay for all this, working people are being told to "tighten their belts." That is why taxes will go up, benefits will be cut, and not only in Social Security.

The cuts in Social Security will now be used to justify further cuts. Reagan has already proposed a six-month delay in all other government COLAs, a one-year freeze on federal civilian and military pay, a one-year freeze on social services, cuts in Medicaid, and further welfare cuts.

In all these, the poorest, mainly the minorities, are the hardest hit and the first cut. But minorities are, after all, the minority. Social austerity cannot be limited to the poorest people. The attacks on them may make white, privileged workers support Reagan's political and economic program, but these cuts, no matter how brutal, cannot provide enough money to bail imperialism out of its crisis. Compare the \$7 billion spent last year on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main welfare program, to the \$200 billion federal deficit, or the \$169 billion to be gained when the Social Security proposal is enacted. In other words, the privileges that have kept a significant portion of American workers in a better position relative to the lower strata of the working class, cannot escape renegotiation.

Thus, even the sacred cow that is Social Security can no longer remain untouched. But like any sacred cows, politicians have to approach it with great caution. □