

New Crackdown Hits Manila

Military authorities rounded up 25 political activists in Metro-Manila February 26 to 28, signaling a new wave of repression in Philippine urban areas.

The church-based Task Force Detainees (TDF) has revealed that the 25 are currently undergoing mental and physical torture. One, Marco Palo, has apparently collapsed and is confined at the Veterans Hospital in Quezon City suffering from acute shock.

According to military sources,

three of those captured during the February 28 raid, Allan Jasmynes, Noel Etabag, and Arturo Tabarra, are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This is Jasmynes' second arrest. In 1974, he underwent vicious torture at the hands of his interrogators but was subsequently released.

Although military sources claim that the arresting officers were armed both with Presidential Commitment Orders and search

warrants issued by a civilian court, the law office of former Senator Jose Diokno claims that no documents were shown at the time of the arrests.

HUNT FOR NDF SUPPORTERS

Meanwhile the military continues to comb Metro-Manila, hunting for Dr. Nemesio Prudente, former president of the Philippine College of Commerce, and members of an underground organization, *Anak Pawis sa Ka-*

lunsuran, which he allegedly leads.

Military sources have attempted to link Prudente with the recent killings of four Quezon City policemen, two soldiers, and a *baranggay tanod*.

PART OF A BROADER CRACKDOWN

The arrests and the continuing search for Prudente appear to be part of a broader crackdown on the underground and semi-legal opposition. A list of 21 clergymen, allegedly involved in move-

ments to overthrow the government, was published late last year by the Ministry of Defense and continues to receive attention in government publications.

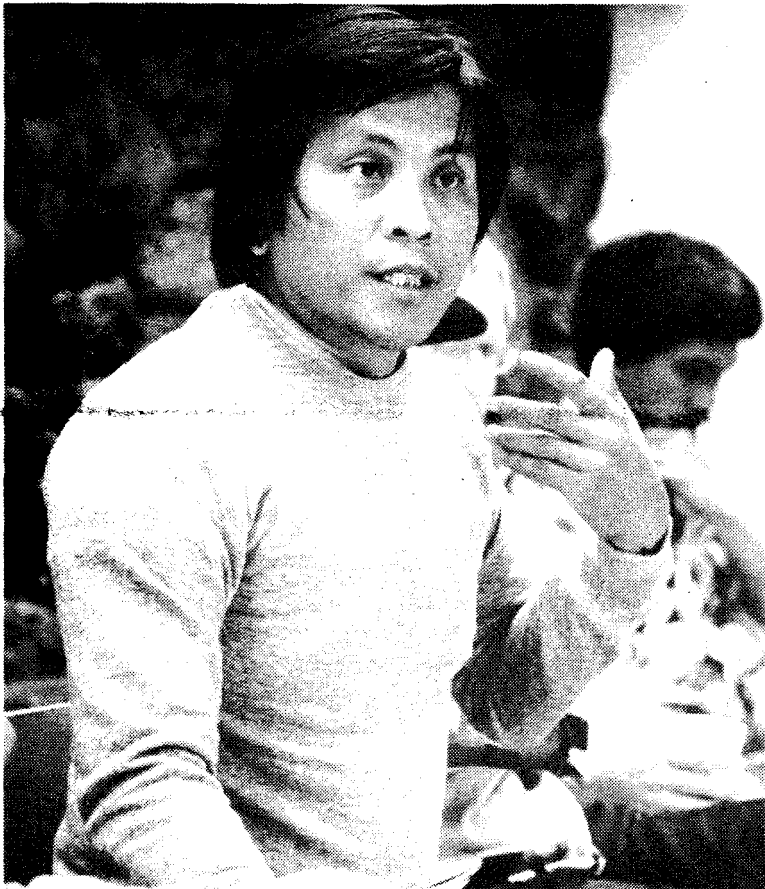
Oppositionists Eva Estrada Kalaw and Ernesto Rondon were arrested February 12 on charges dating back over two years (*see AK, Vol. IX, No. 2*).

Kalaw, a former senator, and Rondon, a former delegate to the Constitutional Convention, have

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Ernesto Arellano, KMU Secretary-General:

Labor Leader 'Returns' a Visit



Ernesto Arellano, *Kilusang Mayo Uno* official emphasizes a point to Seattle audience. (AK Photo)

By LENI MARIN

For many trade unionists within Seattle's labor community, welcoming Ernesto Arellano last March 16, was like welcoming an "old colleague."

After all, they have heard much about the organization he represents in the Philippines, the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU) or the May First Movement. Especially

from Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo.

An alliance of six major labor federations with membership that swelled over 250,000 workers, the KMU boasts of an impressive track record for being the staunchest defender of Filipino workers.

At a KMU-sponsored May 1st demonstration in 1980, 25,000 workers participated in the rally held at the Araneta Coliseum.

The following year, the May 1st rally drew a much bigger crowd of 40,000 in Manila and 100,000 nationwide.

Despite a standing ban against worker strikes imposed by the notoriously anti-labor Marcos regime, the KMU proceeded to forge and strengthen the very foundation of the current Philippine labor movement. Last year, of the 131 major strikes staged by workers in Manila, 80% were spearheaded by KMU.

Such accomplishments gained much publicity abroad and KMU's reputation extended far and beyond the arena of the Philippine labor movement.

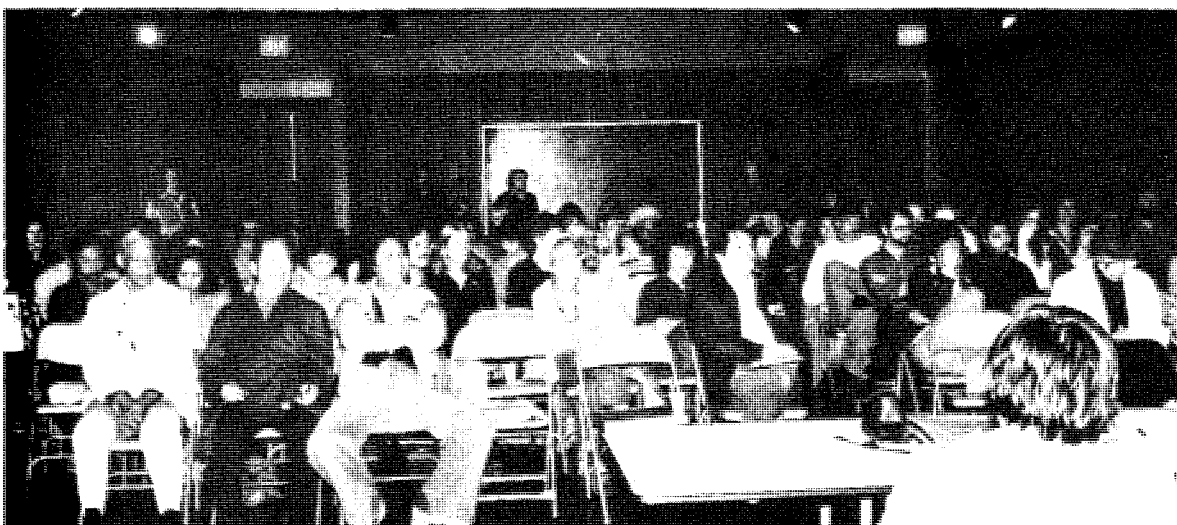
INTERNATIONAL TIES SOUGHT

On April 1981, Gene Viernes, then 28 years old, and already a seasoned organizer for the Seattle-based cannery workers union, went to the Philippines to initiate what seemed to have been a grandiose mission then: to forge international solidarity among workers in the Philippines and the U.S.

First of all, the mission was very risky, since the KMU was under close surveillance by Philippine military authorities. Therefore, contacts with KMU leaders had to be initiated secretly.

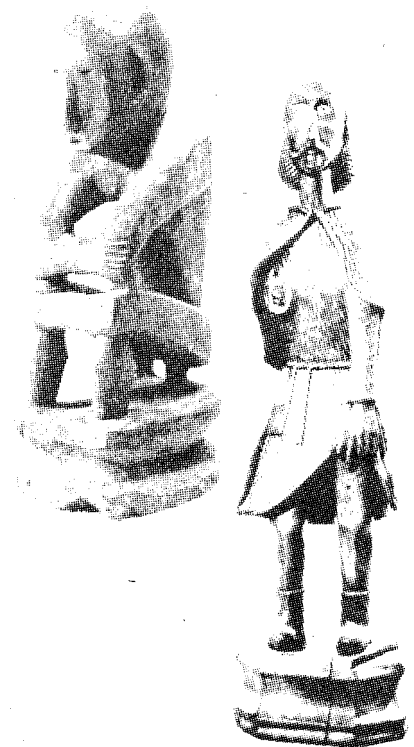
Secondly, Gene's goal then seemed ambitious, since this was the first deliberate attempt to forge ties between workers here and the labor movement in the Philippines.

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Seattle crowd welcomes visiting Filipino labor leader. (AK)

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EDITORIALS/OPINIONS

HANDS OFF NICARAGUA

If the U.S. has its way, Somoza's tyrannical shadow will darken Nicaragua once more. Reports indicate that the Reagan White House is frenziedly pursuing the destabilization of the Sandinista government with the aid of vengeful Somocistas and operatives supplied by a number of rightwing Latin American regimes.

Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders recently told a select group of lawmakers that the CIA is giving training, money and weapons to remnants of Somoza's National Guard now conducting sabotage and armed actions in Nicaragua from camps in Honduras. The CIA is also coordinating the participation in these activities of the security forces of Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and Colombia. The *Washington Post* reported that the CIA budget for this covert campaign is \$19 million.

Nicaraguan authorities report that bridges have been blown up and up to 300 Nicaraguans have been killed by these armed incursors, many of whom have been training openly in Florida.

Miskito Indian minorities are also being incited to rebel against Managua. (The use of minorities for counterrevolutionary purposes is a CIA specialty tested in Southeast Asia.) The number of U.S. military personnel in neighboring Honduras has tripled. Honduran troops who have intensified their crossings over the Nicaraguan border are being trained by U.S. Green Berets.

Washington's provocative refusal of the non-aggression talks urgently offered by Nicaragua is further proof that its goal is the overthrow of the Sandinista government and not peace in Central America.

In fact, to mask this goal, Washington has increased the propaganda against the Sandinistas. Without offering a shred of convincing proof, even of the so-called arms flow from Managua, it has repeatedly claimed that "Nicaragua is responsible for the unrest in El Salvador."

The White House also dramatically released spy-plane photos of supposed Soviet and Cuban military bases as evidence of its charge that the Sandinistas are tools of Moscow and Havana. But these looked like they could be pictures of any row of warehouses in South Succotash, Somewhere, that nothing has been heard of them again.

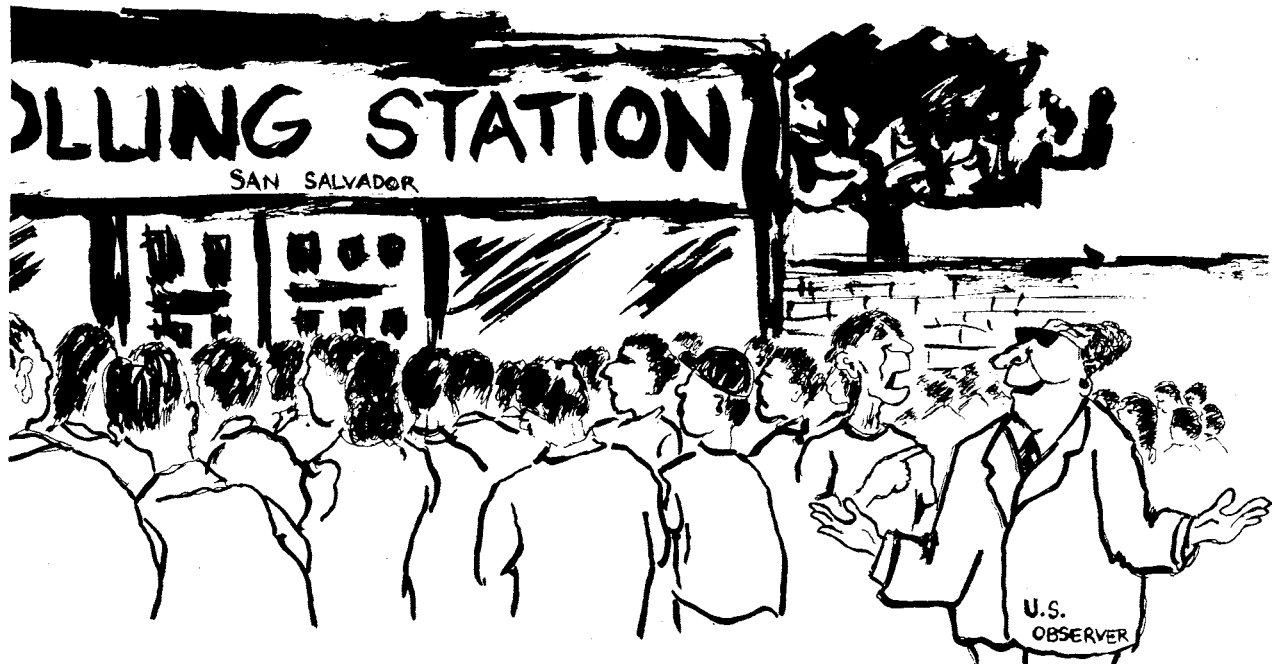
UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the darling of Reagan's rightwing salon, even accused Managua on nationwide TV of harboring "1,500 Cuban advisers." Without mentioning, of course, that these "advisers" are volunteer teachers and doctors helping the Sandinista health and literacy drive, along with several hundred Europeans and private American volunteers.



What is more galling than these fantastic fabrications is the assumption that only America has the right to send arms and advisers anywhere. This is the arrogance of imperialism's belief in its "manifest destiny" to rule the world.

Nicaragua must be defended from all acts of U.S. aggression. Reagan's aim is nothing more than to recapture this newly-liberated nation and bind it once more to America's international system of exploitation; to bring it back into the folds of "democracy," under the rule of the most bloodstained reactionaries that country has ever known.

The viciousness of America's response to Nicaraguan independence must serve as a lesson for all supporters of national liberation. This is how it will respond to the eventual liberation of the Philippines, to every final victory against any repressive U.S. client regimes. If *Ang Katipunan* has focused much of its editorial attention on Central America it is because the danger of U.S. aggression hangs most precipitously over this region. All the sworn opponents of U.S. intervention, and of the imperialist system of domination must take up the vigilant defense of the Nicaraguan revolution. □



U.S. Observer: Boy, what a turn-out, and with a war on! I wish Americans would vote like this, oh gosh!

Voter: Well, why not say prison or the army awaits them if they don't?

LETTERS

Calling ALL Filipinos

I call on all Filipinos not to be afraid of the extradition treaty or of the spies of the Philippine Consulate. Remember what a Filipino bishop said on British television about Marcos' suppression of democratic rights: "The best way to dispel fear is to fight fear itself. Freedom of speech is being suppressed, then speak freely." Take the necessary risks. It will be worth it.

B. C. Pompeyo
Chicago, IL

Trickle Down

Ronald Reagan wants to make things better for the rich in terms of taxes, less government support for the poor, and minorities, more incentives for industrialists. He says if we give the rich more money then they invest more and the benefits will "trickle down" to us. Who wants a damn trickle? We need the whole damn water tank.

E. G.
Stockton, CA

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AK Will Have a New Price And A New Look

Starting next month, *Ang Katipunan* will be sporting a new look in keeping with its character as a news-monthly. It will also be available at a new price: 50¢ a copy. For new subscribers, the cost will be \$10.00/year for U.S. individual subscriptions; \$12.00/year for Canada; \$15.00/year for institutions and foreign subscriptions.

Going monthly and raising our price are more a result of the trying economic situation than any desire on our part to strike it rich. While we are grateful to our old readers for sticking it out with us, to our new subscribers for expanding our readership and to our friends everywhere for their donations, these adjustments are still necessary to keep going as a source of radical political insights on important events in the Philippines, in the U.S. Filipino community, and in the world.

As a news-monthly, *Ang Katipunan* will be offering mainly bylined news analyses, researched feature articles,

and frank political commentaries. Of course, we will still cover some late-breaking news from the Philippines. To make our role as a newsmagazine clearer to readers, we will alter our physical appearance to some degree. *AK* will have the same page size and will still be on news-print. But its column size will be wider and its graphics and pictures will progressively take on a different function. Eventually, or as soon as our finances permit, we will be adding more pages to give readers a more sumptuous fare every month.

Regardless of the format and price adjustments, *AK* will go on reporting the political and social issues affecting Filipinos in the Philippines and here with its comprehensive, in-depth and fearless approach—a style that has earned the support of a widening network of friends and the hostility of very powerful political enemies. We assure our readers that no economic difficulties (or threats of extradition for that matter) will make us change that style. □

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Cultivating an Ally in the Middle East:

Marcos Visits Saudi Arabia



Ferdinand Marcos

President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda arrived in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, March 21—state guests of King Khaled and Crown Prince Fahd.

The Crown Prince invited Marcos when the two met at the North-South Conference in Cancun last October. They were to discuss "global negotiations for a

new economic order."

"Marcos described the purpose of his visit "to strengthen [the Philippines'] relations with Saudi Arabia" because "the kingdom is playing a leading role in world politics."

STRATEGIC IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE

Saudi Arabia, one of the richest countries in the world and the most conservative of the Middle Eastern nations, plays a crucial role in Philippine international politics.

The *Daily Express*, unofficial organ of the Marcos regime, put it bluntly. The trip, it claimed, was "an excellent chance to personally . . . debunk the propaganda being spread by secessionist leaders based in the Middle East."

The continuing genocidal war in Mindanao has not made Marcos popular with the Arab world. Saudi Arabia, with its conserva-

tive politics seems a logical target in Marcos' effort to improve his image in the Middle East.

Leadership of the secessionist struggle in the southern Philippines, the Moro National Liberation Front and the less significant Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization, have remained based in the Middle East throughout the war in Mindanao. Here they retain the support of the diplomatically powerful Islamic Conference (IC) which is headquartered in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia, though not consistent with its support towards the Moro secessionist cause, has consistently supported the IC position on the Philippine issue.

The IC has for years condemned the Marcos policy on the Moros and has extended moral and material support for the Philippine Muslim cause.

The IC also recognizes the MNLF, outlawed in the Philip-

pines, as the "genuine representative of the Bangsa Moro peoples."

OIL AND DOLLARS

But Saudi Arabia plays a strategic role in other ways as well. This conservative Arab country supplies the Philippines with 40,000 barrels of oil a day. This is roughly 60% of the country's oil needs.

The \$800 million oil tab is covered by remittances of \$1 billion coming from Filipino contract workers employed in Saudi Arabia.

Some 150,000 Filipinos work in Saudi Arabia on special labor contracts, making them the second largest foreign group there. Saudi Arabia thus acts as one of the key countries in the Philippine program of exporting contract labor to earn vital foreign exchange.

Reflecting this country's strategic significance, the Philippine government reaction to condition



Prince Fahd

of workers employed there. Although reports of worker abuse had filtered in from Saudi Arabia, the Philippine government has maintained a discreet diplomatic silence on the issue.

The recent beheading of two Filipino workers for alleged criminal offenses was hushed up in the Philippine press. □

Will FM Legalize the CP?

By NANCY ROCAMORA

Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos surprised some observers when he suggested February 28 that a communist party might operate legally in the Philippines.

There is "no legal impediment to the establishment of a communist party which seeks political power by parliamentary means and democratic means," Marcos told a meeting of the Municipal Mayors of the Philippines. He added that the country's anti-subversion law, Republic Act 1700 which expressly outlawed the Communist Party of the Philippines, had been superseded by Presidential Decree 885.

According to Marcos' interpretation, "This does not contain the old legislative declaration specifically outlawing the Communist

Party, but [is] only a declaration outlawing subversive organizations which seek to overthrow the government of the Republic of the Philippines or to dismember a portion thereof."

THERE ARE COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNISTS

Marcos' comments came in response to a bill proposed by opposition members of the *Batasang Pambansa* which would legalize a communist party. The bill, the president implied, is unnecessary.

Though Marcos' comments have been interpreted by some to mean that communists may now legally organize, observers point out that, in the Philippines, "there are communists and communists."

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), founded respectively in

1968 and 1969, today pose the principal strategic threat both to Marcos and to U.S. interests in the Philippines. Both organizations have grown significantly in size and influence since the 1972 declaration of martial law.

The founding of the CPP reflected a decision by a significant number of Filipino revolutionaries that the old *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP) was beyond hope and could not lead a Philippine revolution.

MARCOS 'PROGRESSIVE' — PKP

By the time martial law was declared in 1972, the majority of Philippine revolutionaries and progressives had been won over to the CPP and its mass organizations, leaving the PKP with only isolated pockets of support.

With the declaration of martial

law, the CPP readjusted its tactics to continue the revolutionary struggle under conditions of fascist rule. The PKP, however, declared Marcos a "progressive" and lent its support to the regime.

A "surrender" of a group of remaining PKP fighters was staged in Malacañang, and their weapons turned over to the AFP. A few key PKP members and supporters were recruited to work for the regime in the Ministry of Labor and Employment.

CULTIVATING AN IN-HOUSE 'LEFT'?

A key thrust of the Marcos regime's current "normalization" drive has been to cultivate a tame yet credible opposition. Marcos may hope to enhance his credibility by allowing a "left" opposition to organize and participate

in elections slated for 1984 as long as it remains harmless.

The CPP will hardly fit the bill. Its mass leaders, mass activists and mere supporters languish in Marcos' prisons by the hundreds precisely because the regime recognizes what a threat this organization and its thousands of followers pose.

The PKP, which has endorsed Marcos, whose members work in government ministries, just might be willing to play the role of in-house "left."

But Marcos has left himself a number of options. While he made the headlines for "opening the door to the communist party," he did not say that the CP is now legal. He simply said that it is not illegal.

For a politician as cagey as Marcos, that could mean just about anything. □

New Asian Human Rights Group Formed in Manila

In an atmosphere of semi-secrecy, human rights activists from four ASEAN countries founded the Regional Council for Human Rights in Asia, February 18, after a five-day conference in Tagaytay City.

Twelve delegates from Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines signed an eight-page founding document which said that the council's aim is to "unify the responses and efforts to advance human rights" in their respective countries. Representing the Philippines were former Supreme Court Justices J.B.L. Reyes and Roberto Concepcion, former Senator Jose Diokno, and lawyer Samuel Occena. Singapore was not represented.

The conference, sponsored by the Human Rights Internet, International Human Rights Law Group, and the UP Law Center, brought together lawyers and human rights activists from the ASEAN region. Many of those in attendance had previously been

jailed for opposition activities in their own countries.

The organizers kept the conference semi-secret to shield it and "prevent government use for propaganda purposes."

The delegates pointed to the international character of the human rights problem as they condemned the "policies of powerful states causing and abetting violations of human rights in our countries."

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

The Tagaytay conference coincided with the Philippines' first National Conference on Human Rights which was being held in Manila.

In a strongly-worded statement, over 150 church activists, labor leaders, professionals, students, urban poor, and workers denounced the United States for its "direct hand in gross violations of human rights by its unequivocal support for the Marcos govern-



Jose Diokno is a key supporter of the regional human rights group.

(AK Photo)

ment as evidenced by the increased American economic and military assistance to the regime."

A key development at the conference was the report by a secret seven-man investigating team

newly back from Laac, Davao del Norte. The group had gone to look into the "strategic hamlets" in the area. They returned with tales of vicious torture used by the government soldiers on the

peasantry.

As part of the continuing effort to monitor human rights abuses in the country, conference members formed a nationwide alliance of human rights workers. □

THE NPA IN ACTION

NPA JUSTICE

Mayor Pablo Sola of Kabankalan, Negros Occidental and four military men were killed earlier last month in a remote town 30 kilometers south of Bacolod City.

The five were reportedly "ambushed by unidentified armed men." The military report also said that they knew of no motives for the killings.

For many Kabankalan residents, however, the mayor's violent death was a just response to a ghastly wedding-day massacre he committed two years ago.

In April 1980, seven Kabankalan farmers attending a wedding celebration were arrested by Philippine Constabulary troops and disappeared.

Two unmarked graves yielded their bodies seven months later. Three were bludgeoned to death, and four were buried alive. The graves were in Sola's hacienda.

Although Sola was arrested after numerous church and community protests, he was soon released to the "protective custody" of the Bacolod police.

Sola's ambush prompted Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to announce that government officials, despite a legal ban on private firearms, are allowed to carry guns in areas where the New People's Army is active. □

OTHER VICTORIES

The New People's Army (NPA) enjoyed other victories in the guerrilla warfare it has been conducting across the country. A sampling from north to south:

● CHDF Defect to NPA

Ten Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) members in Lasam, Cagayan, left their posts October 29 and joined the New People's Army.

The deserters had brought along their rifles which they had to use right away in an NPA encounter with PC troops and other CHDF members pursuing them.

The NPA and the new recruits suffered no losses. Although deaths occurred in the

PC/CHDF side, the number has not been ascertained.

The 10 had decided to desert because the PC did not give them their salaries. They also said that the PC troops treated them "like animals" and that they were "ordered around like servants."

● NPA Disarms CHDF

An NPA unit in Western Central Luzon disarmed the CHDF unit in San Juan, Mexico, Pampanga last December 14. They netted three M-16s, a Garand rifle, one carbine, and ammunition. Not a single shot was fired and the whole operation lasted only five minutes.

● 14 TROOPS KILLED IN BICOL

A 50-man unit of the NPA killed 14 PC troops in an ambush in Bato, Camarines Sur, last December 24. It was the biggest NPA offensive in the province that year.

The NPA had fired upon a truck full of PC soldiers and CHDF members. The 45-minute battle that ensued left dead all but two of the 16 troops.

The ambush yielded two M-16s, one Browning automatic rifle, two Garand rifles, and an automatic carbine.

The local PC commander meanwhile

sent the notorious 52nd Battalion to police Bato and surrounding towns. □

KILLER GEORGE KILLED

"Killer George" is dead and people who knew him rejoiced.

A sparrow unit of the New People's Army killed T. Sgt. George Giray, a notorious intelligence agent in Samar last December 21 in Catbalogan, Western Samar.

The NPA operation was swift. The two NPA cadre approached Giray as he tried to start his motorcycle in a busy intersection. They then fired at close range.

Policemen and intelligence agents at the police station a few meters away were caught off-guard and no one gave chase as the unit calmly left the scene.

Giray was responsible for the murder of Arnulfo Ortiz, a student activist, in the early years of martial law. He also participated in the torture and massacre of many other Samar residents. Giray was known for the terror in Calbiga, Western Samar in 1974-1975. He was also a known extortionist. □

Buod ng mga Balita

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

FM Faces Dilemma Over Export of Labor

The Philippine government may try to curb the increasing export of Filipino skilled labor. The announcement comes as a response to the concern voiced by foreign businesses over the continued exodus of skilled workers from the country.

The Marcos government actually faces a major dilemma on the problem of skilled labor resources. On the other hand, it fears a decline of new foreign investments if the "skilled labor drain" continues. On the other hand, it desperately needs the foreign exchange brought in by its highly successful labor export campaigns to pay its mounting foreign debt.

Rough estimates of money earned abroad for the first half of 1981 by 129,577 overseas workers was conservatively put

at \$700 million. This did not include earnings of new workers hired in the second half of the year. On top of those sent overseas by labor recruitment programs, 49,000 Filipinos, many in the skilled and professional categories, emigrated to other countries.

Ironically, while big business bemoans the skilled labor shortage in the country, government figures conservatively peg unemployment in the cities alone at 26%. □

U.S. is Top Investor in R.P.

A recent study of the Philippines' top 1,000 companies showed Americans lead all foreign investors in the country, putting in \$429 million in investments in 148 firms.

Twenty-eight foreign investor groups classified according to nationality had a

total foreign equity of over \$751.25 million. This accounted for 16.4% of the total of the top 1,000's aggregate capital for 1980.

American corporate and individual investors contributed 56.9% of the total foreign interest. Japan was a distant second to the U.S. with \$155 million in 57 firms and Britain third with \$42.6 million in 27 firms.

The U.S. dominates most investments in industries such as manufacturing, oil, drug, utilities, commercial, services, and finance. Of the top foreign corporations, the U.S. posted six positions. □

Sison Says NPA Was Not Involved in Manotoc Case

In a recent letter published by the UP *Philippine Collegian*, Jose Ma. Sison, countered Malacañang's charges that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA were responsible for Tommy Manotoc's kidnapping. In a lengthy paper, Sison presented a number of facts which "point the finger of suspicion at the Marcoses."

Sison pointed out that the mountainous areas of Laguna-Rizal where Manotoc was hidden for 31 days is not an NPA zone. It is, he said, a training ground for the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and a "backyard" for the Second Army Brigade. He further stated that given its sparse cover and easy access, fugitives could be easily isolated by the AFP within hours, and is therefore useless to the NPA.

In addition, the one kidnapper shot dead has never been identified and his background never made available for public scrutiny and verification.

Sison claimed the kidnapping was a pretext to discredit the names of detainees like himself while destroying the credibility of the revolutionary movement. He said he chose to respond to the charges because the Philippine government has tagged him former chairman of the CPP.

Manotoc, family sources reveal, has built a wall of silence around himself of late. He has made no recent public statement. He is said to blame his brother and family for delaying his release by whipping

too much publicity about the kidnapping. Sison on the other hand said that it was the very moves of his family and relatives in the U.S. that saved his life.

Sison closed his letter by advising



Jose Ma. Sison

Manotoc to learn an important lesson from his near-fatal experience: that he is up against not just undesirable in-laws but an entire political regime. □

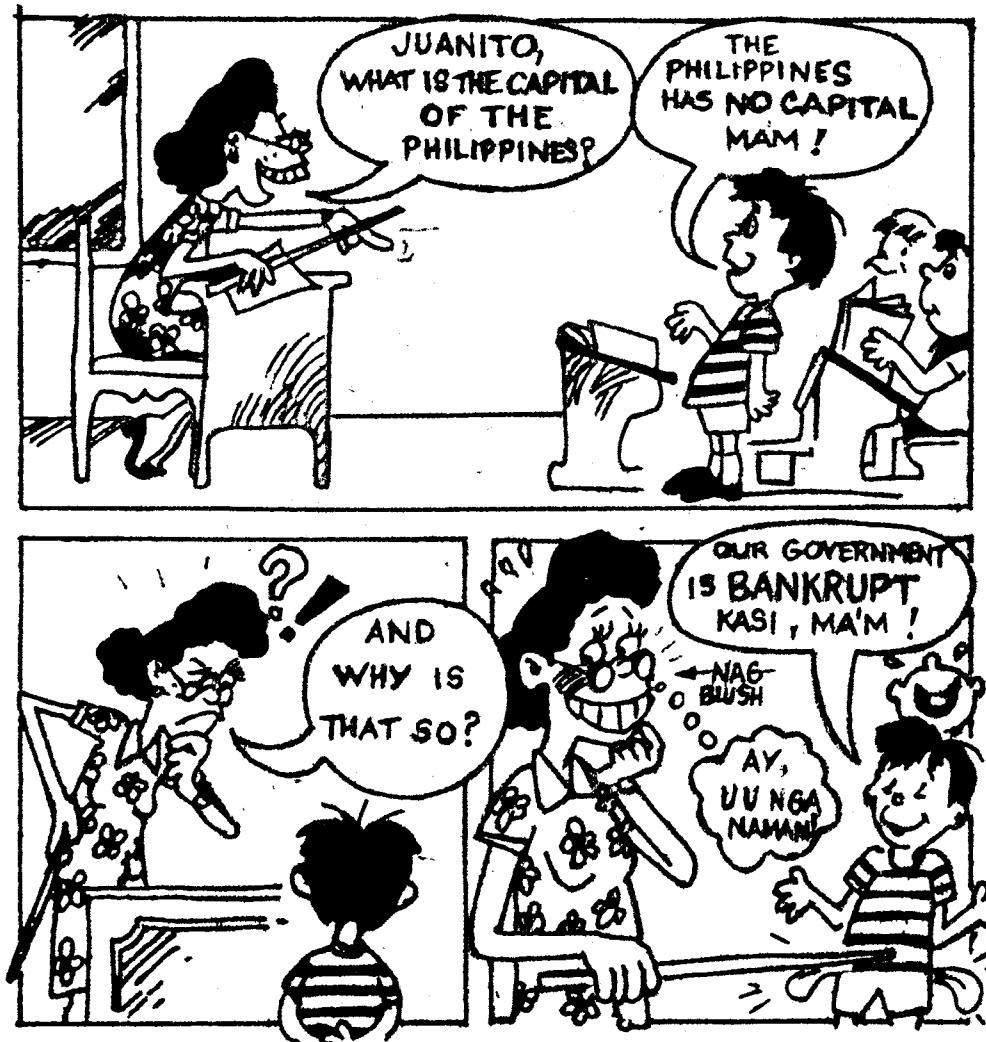
R.P. Backs U.S. on El Salvador

The Philippines backed an unpopular and losing U.S. position on El Salvador last March 11 during a vote in the United National Human Rights Commission.

The Commission voted 25 to 5 to call for a postponement of the controversial Salvadoran elections slated for March 28.

The U.S. opposed the resolution. The only countries backing the U.S. were the Philippines, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, all known for their repressive regimes.

The resolution was sponsored by Algeria, Mexico, the Netherlands, Ireland, and Yugoslavia. The sponsoring countries expressed "deep concern for the deteriorating conditions" in El Salvador and called for a negotiated settlement to that country's internal conflict. □



Land Reform—CPP Style

By NENE OJEDA

Nong Sidro, a sharecropper in Moncayo, Davao del Norte, is still poor but he will argue with anyone who claims his lot has not gotten better under the "new arrangement."

As a member of a farming cooperative, he now counts on other farmers to help him plant and harvest his crops. In turn, he will help them with their plots. How different from the old days when each farmer had only himself to rely on!

Nong Sidro now has access to modern farm machinery which he could never have afforded on his own. He can get seeds, fertilizer and pesticide on loan from a consumer cooperative at prices which will not double if he fails to pay on time.

Nong Sidro's rent on the land he tills has been lowered, leaving him extra money to pay off his debts. He has managed to put aside a few pesos for "future emergencies." His rent doubles as "installment payment," and eventually the land will be his to own.

Nong Sidro is not a beneficiary of the Marcos regime's land reform program. Hardly. His good fortune may, in fact, make him a target of government reprisals. Nong Sidro, you see, is a beneficiary of the Communist Party of the Philip-

pinians, and who may strike back at any time on behalf of landlords and the Marcos government. But Nong Sidro has had a glimpse of the future, and for this, he is willing to risk everything.

IMPRESSIVE GAINS

A recent report on the CPP's land reform program, though incomplete and covering only two of the many areas where it has been implemented, speak of impressive results.

In the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela,

- 6,754 tenant farmers have stopped paying rent to landlords or have disregarded government amortization.

- 2,526 sharecroppers now pay as little as 1/4 to 1/10 of their net harvest compared to the previous share system of 1/2 to 1/3 of gross harvest.

- 536 landless farmers have been given land to sharecrop. These plots were seized from the untilled acreage of big landlords.

- 225 farmers now rent farm machinery and tools at low rates.

- 295 farmers have reduced the interests on their debts by challenging usurious practices.

- 73 farmers have been given draught animals confiscated from despotic landlords.

Reports from 50 barrios in Davao del Norte claim:

- 1,000 farmers in three bar-

rials in the country. In other words, this goal necessitates no less than the overthrow of the present regime and the social system it protects.

It is to be expected therefore, that the CPP will insist that the National Democratic Front now being forged in opposition to the U.S.-supported regime adopt the revolutionary land reform program as its own.

Meanwhile, the CPP-NPA land reform program is being undertaken in stages, relative to their political and military strength. The first step is reduction of land rent. Delegations of farmers, organized by the NPA negotiate with landlords to accept a change in the share system.

When this is impossible, the peasants resort to covert tactics such as reporting only part of their harvest, or to outright land confiscation.

In a more favorable share system, landlords get only a third or a quarter of the sharecroppers' harvest. Often it means that the cost of production is deducted before the landlord's share is determined. This deduction leaves farmers with enough money to start the next production cycle.

COOPS AND LABOR EXCHANGE

The extra money farmers earn from lowered farm rent is voluntarily pooled into farming cooperatives. This enables them to purchase or lease farm machinery that make farming more efficient and productive.

Crop production is being increased—not through the introduction of expensive high-yield seeds—but through cooperative farming and labor exchange arrangements. The *timpuyok* of Cagayan and the *sakahang kompak* of Davao are much larger than small individual parcels. They produce quantities close to the seeds' highest yield capacity.

Consumer cooperatives have also been set up. These provide farmers better access to goods such as farm implements and household items once the monopoly of local usurers.

Literacy campaigns are training farmers the basics of mathematics to protect them from unscrupulous merchants and money-lenders.

Peasant associations enable farmers to discuss and agree on measures that will ensure their continued economic independence.

Peasant emancipation is thus not limited to land ownership and better farming methods. Farmers, once economically freed from the landlords, are set on a course of determining their own lives.

ARMING THE PEASANTS

Because the CPP's land redistribution program is undermining feudal power, it is met by often vicious reaction from the rich. Neither the landlords nor the Marcos government have been willing to sit idly by while the source of their profits, privilege, and political power is being eroded.

The NPA has thus organized and trained local militia to protect the peasants' gains. An armed peasantry is not easily intimidated.

Women's organizations are also being set up to encourage their



The Farmer Becomes a Fighter

Adapted from ANG BAYAN

"Nong Sidro," of course, is not his real name. But he is an actual sharecropper in Moncayo, Davao del Norte.

Sidro was born third of seven children to a poor peasant couple in San Dionisio, Iloilo. His father had been a *kasama* for Don Fernando, the town's largest landowner, for as long as he can remember.

When he was 21, Sidro's mother died. Because the family could not pay for her burial, they had to borrow money from Don Fernando. This added to the family's already large debt. Sidro remembers the degradation of having to work without pay in Don Fernando's house to pay off the burial debt.

SHARECROPPING IN MINDANAO

In 1975, he and several townmates ventured to Mindanao—where they could sharecrop much larger parcels of rice lands. He became a *kasama* of a judge whose land holdings extended to the mountainous areas of Moncayo.

Two years later, Sidro married the daughter of another sharecropper. They set up house some 30 kilometers from Moncayo. By then Nong Sidro was 37 years old. Though a hard working sharecropper, he could not avoid hunger, and his debts kept mounting after each harvest.

A third of Sidro's harvest went to the judge as land rent. Sidro, however, had to provide the seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. He also had to rent a carabao to plow the field. He paid to use a threshing machine to prepare the rice stalks for milling.

These expenses used up his entire 2/3 share of the harvest. To make it through the year, he had to borrow money from the town moneylender. When he was unable to pay on time, Sidro had to buy seeds and fertilizer at double the price. Soon he estimated that the next two years' harvest would not even be enough to cover his debts.

"How will I make it through the next planting season, what if I

get sick?" Sidro recalled thinking.

In October 1979, he went to a meeting. Another farmer had invited him, cautioning that it was secret. His *kumpadre*, however, assured him that it would be for their own good.

Sidro recognized many of the *kasamas* at the meeting. A tall muscular man faced the group. He introduced himself as a member of the New People's Army (NPA).

The farmers spoke to the NPA cadre of their landlord's greed—of how he stole the land by securing "titles" to areas where national minorities have lived for generations and how he exacts rent from the *kasamas* who now work the land.

The NPA patiently explained that their problems were no different from those of most peasants across the country. He elaborated on how the present political system protects and strengthens the social system of semi-feudalism peasants are living under.

For many farmers, the first meeting brought answers to the many "whys" of the difficult life they lead. But it was also there they realized that they would have to fight.

Many more meetings were held. The farmers were soon formally organized. Under the guidance of an NPA cadre they studied their problems and proposed solutions to them. They also brought other farmers to similar meetings.

GAINS OF THE STRUGGLE

By the end of the year the farmers were organized enough to confront the landlord-judge.

Backed up by armed NPA units, they forced the judge to lower their land rent to 30% of their harvest. They also started deducting their expenses before calculating the landlord's share. Eventually they hope to eliminate rent altogether. With lower rents, the farmers now set aside 10% of their harvest to aid the revolutionary movement.

Nong Sidro is now 40. He is a member of the Communist Party and is an organizer. His wife actively participates in the party-initiated peasant women's association. □



pinians' Revolutionary Agrarian Reform Program which is being implemented nationwide with the aid of the New People's Army.

SHARP CONTRAST

The regime's "revolutionary" Tenant Emancipation Decree of 1972, on the contrary, has been judged a complete fiasco even by its most ardent original backers in the U.S. State Department and the World Bank. Like over 90% of the country's tenant farmers who do not qualify for Marcos' "Certificate of Land Transfer," Nong Sidro had to look elsewhere for "deliverance from feudal exploitation."

Unlike the CLT holders who comprise only 10% of the peasantry, he will not forfeit his chance to own the land he tills if he misses one amortization payment. He does not have to engage in costly farming methods or join *Masagana 99* schemes that have driven many farmers deeper into debt.

The main thing peasants like Nong Sidro have to watch out for is harassment, arrest, or even death in the hands of AFP troops who have dubbed them "NPA

barrios now pay lower farm rents. From 1978 to 1981, rent fell from 33-1/3% of gross harvest to 18% of net harvest in rice lands; and from 25% to 20% in corn lands.

- Farmworkers in most barrios now earn ₱7 a day, a ₱2 increase. Strong peasant associations in three barrios have demanded and received a ₱15/day wage. Landlords now provide food for the days these workers are in the fields.

- Interest on loans has been pegged at a maximum 12%. Usurious debts have been cancelled and unscrupulous accounting has been invalidated.

CPP AIM: EMANCIPATION

These achievements, impressive they may be, are mere steps along the way to the CPP's goal of "complete and genuine emancipation" for the peasantry—the majority of the Filipino people.

A radical goal such as this can only be completed by a pro-peasant National Democratic government that will dismantle the inequitous system of landownership that pre-

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All Eyes on La Carlota: Sugar Strike Confronts the Elizaldes

Sugar workers all over the Visayas are awaiting the outcome of the tenacious La Carlota sugar strike in Bacolod City, Negros Occidental. The strike has been challenging one of the country's most powerful families for three months. According to the latest reports, 1,200 members of the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW) have stayed off their jobs since January 28.

The walk-out stems from the refusal of Elizalde and Co. to comply with the terms of an agreement negotiated in November 1981. The Elizaldes, a wealthy and powerful family close to the Marcos regime, own the Central Azucarera de la Carlota Company (CAC).

The November agreement stipulated that every worker whose salary is below ₱1,000 per month is entitled to payment of a 13th month salary. This complies with Presidential Decree 851 and was re-affirmed last December 15 by the Supreme Court.

But the Elizaldes have stubbornly refused to implement the 13th

month pay requirement.

NEGOTIATIONS BREAKDOWN

On January 8, the NFSW called for a meeting with CAC to demand compliance with the contract, citing the Supreme Court decision. During the course of the meeting, management representatives produced a telegram from Blas Ople, Minister of Labor and Employment. The telegram claimed that the 13th month pay did not apply to CAC employees.

On January 22, after two more fruitless meetings, the NFSW decided it had had enough. With the support of 90% of the sugar central workers, it declared a strike.

CONCERN OVER PRECEDENT

Labor leaders note that the CAC could easily find the ₱1.2 million to pay the extra month salary to all workers. Profits from a single day, they claim, would more than cover the cost.

Sugar workers throughout the Visayas are well-organized, however, and a victory at La Carlota

would have an impact far beyond this single mill. No one knows that better than CAC owner Manolo Elizalde, president of the Philippine Sugar Association.

The Elizaldes are thus defending not just their personal interests in La Carlota but also the entire sugar industry against a chain of strikes over the 13th month pay that could engulf the sugar region upon an NFSW victory. Given the low international price of sugar today, they have relatively little to lose and are willing to hold out.

APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

But the NFSW is equally prepared to hold out. The strikers' families have been organized to prepare food for the picket lines and to provide all-round support to the strike.

The NFSW has appealed as well for international support. It has asked that letters from abroad supporting the sugar workers' position should be mailed to Blas Ople, Minister of Labor and Employment, Manila, Philippines. □

from achieving organizational form, the regime is striking out in all directions at once."

CAMPAIGN TO END TORTURE

In response to a call from the TFD, CAMD and the Philippine Solidarity Network have organized an urgent letter-writing campaign "to protect the rights and physical well-being" of the new detainees.

The two groups want letters to be sent to either President Marcos or Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile demanding an end to the torture, the detainees' immediate release or transfer to a regular detention center and the prosecution of all military authorities involved in their torture.

Copies of all letters should be sent to Amnesty International, 10 Southampton St., London WC2E 7HF, England. □

Rock Concert Supports Detainees

UTRECHT—A rock concert on March 5 sponsored by the Netherlands chapter of Amnesty Inter-

national became an unexpected setting for a massive demonstration of support for political detainees arrested recently in the Philippines.

Some 800 citizens of this historic city, most of them in their 20s and 30s, signed their names on a petition addressed to Philippine authorities to release church workers Laura Ocampo, Avelina Enrile and Violeta Marasigan, arrested February 26 and unheard of since then.

The petition was circulated during an all-night concert at the Vredenburg Music Centrum which drew close to 2,000 rock enthusiasts. Holland's big-league rock bands performed for free in a gesture of support for freedom fighters of the world. Proceeds will go to the Netherlands chapter of AI, which has taken up the cause of disappeared persons worldwide.

The music centrum was appropriately decked out with posters listing the names of persons believed to have been eliminated by repressive regimes. The Philippines was represented by Carlos Tayag and Charlie Palma, both unaccounted for during the past years and presumed dead. Several

RP Sugar Facts

The Philippines today is the fourth largest exporter of sugar in the world. The industry employs close to a million plantation and mill workers. Sugar is one of the country's top three exports, earning \$196,903,000 in 1979 alone.

The rapid rise of world sugar prices in 1974 prompted the government to "nationalize" the sugar market.

This was facilitated by Marcos' martial law powers. Presidential Decree No. 388 created the Philippine Sugar Commission (PHILSUCOM) in February 1974. PHILSUCOM was to control the buying and selling of Philippine sugar.

PHILSUCOM, by 1977 under Marcos crony Roberto Benedicto, had proceeded to meet its goal: "To take control over sugar mill or refinery which fails to meet its financial or other contracted obligations."

INDUSTRY'S UPS AND DOWNS

At the peak of sugar prices—65¢ a pound, a whopping 400% increase from 16¢ a pound, PHILSUCOM withheld Philippine sugar from the world market, hoping the price would increase even more.

Six months later, with Philippine sugar bursting the warehouses

and stored in drained swimming pools and pelota courts, prices plummeted to 12¢ a pound.

The price of sugar did not reach the bottom until 1977 when it went down to 7¢ a pound. This was disastrous for an industry that produces at a cost of 8¢ to 12¢ a pound.

In spite of the massive overproduction, Benedicto and other cronies continued to persuade foreign investors to finance sugar mills.

SUGAR WORKERS BEAR BRUNT

Worst hit remain the *sakadas*. When the market bottomed out, an estimated one-third of the country's 500,000 sugar workers were displaced. Many more had their work week cut to two or three days a week. Others went without wages for months at a time.

During the crisis, sugar workers were excluded from the numerous presidential decrees granting additional cost of living allowances. Nor were they given the decreed ₱1/day wage increase.

The price of sugar has levelled since. But the glut of sugar production remains. And the workers still have to fight for the basics—such as their yearly cost-of-living allowance. □



Sakadas at work; mill owners fear chain reaction should La Carlota strikers win. (Maryknoll Photo)

Crack— down . . .

Continued from front page

been active participants in student and labor protests led by national democratic forces. Rondon is also a supporter of the new Philippine Democratic Party spearheaded by Cagayan de Oro City Mayor Aquilino Pimentel.

Sources in Tagum, Davao del Norte, report a recent round-up of church forces by the military there, indicating that the crackdown may be nationwide.

AIMED AT THWARTING NDF?

Observers here suggest that the crackdown may represent an attempt to thwart the formalization of the NDF which for years has been represented by a Preparatory Committee.

"The breadth of NDF support has grown dramatically in the last several years," comments Geline Avila, Co-Coordinator of the Committee Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD). "Possibly in its attempt to prevent the NDF

support groups of various liberation movements had displayed booths outside the concert hall.

One of the most appreciate booths was that of the Filipijnengroep, an organization of energetic Dutch men and women supporting the Filipino people's resistance to the U.S.-Marcos distatorship. "We came here expecting to hear the usual sounds of rock music," said Joop, an economics student. "What we learned from the Filipijnengroep made us pause and reflect on the valiant spirit of

Filipino people who are no strangers to just struggles."

The case of the three Filipina church workers literally took center stage when, at Filipijnengroep's request, the master of ceremonies announced the existence of the petition. Soon after, during 20-minute breaks, hundreds trooped to the booth to affix their signatures. A local resident said he couldn't remember seeing such a massive and instantaneous outpouring of sympathy for the three prisoners. □

Land Reform . . .

Continued from page 5

equal participation in political affairs. Youth groups are also being trained as immediate and future political-military reserves.

The peasants in CPP-controlled areas have expressed their appreciation for the NPA's role in the land redistribution program in many ways.

Farming folks house and feed NPA cadre when they pass through the barrios. They serve as "eyes and ears," alerting the guerrillas when government troops are in the area.

They show their support in

monetary ways as well. In many areas, farmers donate a cavan of rice per hectare to the NPA. This frees NPA cadre, many of them recruited from the peasantry, to work fulltime at organizing farmers in other areas.

Nong Sidro is part of what is termed the "mass base" of the CPP and the NPA—a base that the military authorities admits is growing. Because of the alternative the revolutionaries are offering, it is not surprising if other observers note that this growth is in fact phenomenal. □

House Reps, More Groups Hit Extradition

Special to the AK

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Mounting opposition including an attack by prominent members of Congress, is embroiling the proposed U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty in even more controversy. The treaty has yet to be formally submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for ratification.

The Reagan administration is behind the push for the treaty's ratification.

However, in what might be indicative of the lack of party unanimity on this issue, James Jeffords, a Republican representative from Vermont, led the latest round of attack against the treaty, warning that it would "create a repressive environment in our own country for those persons who want to express dissatisfaction with their country of origin."

In a letter of concern (also called a House Advisory to the Senate) addressed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jeffords warned that "people would remain silent for fear of extradition on contrived criminal charges."

Jeffords specifically denounced a

major provision in the U.S.-R.P. Treaty, which yields the decision-making power on what constitutes a political offense to the Secretary of State instead of the courts.

SECRETARY OF STATE ROLE HIT

While the U.S.-R.P. treaty already contains this provision, the transfer of the power to determine what is a political offense from the court to the Secretary of State has yet to be approved by Congress. This major revision of the U.S. extradition law is embodied in Senate Bill 1940, known as the U.S. Extradition Act of 1981 and authored by arch-conservative Sen. Strom Thurmond.

The White House has not yet formally submitted the treaty to the Senate for ratification probably because it is still waiting the passage of SB 1940.

"We are disturbed by this transfer of power," stated Jeffords' letter. "It is conceivable that individuals of foreign origin living in our country could become innocent instruments—an incident of—American foreign policy."

Commenting on the Jeffords' move, Walden Bello, Co-coordina-

tor of the National Committee to Oppose the Extradition Treaty, said, "This letter will definitely have some impact in Congress." Bello noted that several congresspersons have already signed Jeffords' letter including Ron Dellums, William Fauntroy, Tom Harkin, Shirley Chisholm, Ted Weiss, Tony Hall, and Millicent Fenwick, another Republican.

MORE GROUPS ATTACK TREATY

More groups have joined the opposition to the treaty's ratification and to the passage of SB 1940.

The National Lawyers Guild passed a strongly-worded resolution of condemnation at its convention in February.

In reference to the bill, the NLG resolution said the proposed revision of the U.S. extradition procedures, "is the cutting edge of an administration plan to make it easier for the U.S. government to get rid of 'undesirable' political activists now in this country."

In the event the extradition treaty is ratified, continued the resolution, the NLG "encourages

guild lawyers to assist persons who may be the subject of extradition proceedings, especially where the underlying basis of their prosecution is their political opposition to Marcos and the U.S. foreign policy."

Another important statement of opposition came from the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

At its February meeting in Hawaii, the ILWU Board invited local speakers from Bello's National Committee who gave an educational presentation on the treaty. The ILWU subsequently issued a resolution highly critical of the treaty.

Further bolstering the opposition drive was a mailgram sent by the 20,000-member American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Northern California, to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee strongly condemning SB 1940.

ACLU Executive Director Dorothy Ehrlich said SB 1940 represents a serious danger to the civil liberties of citizens and non-citizens alike.

The bill also contains a provision which would allow the arrest and detention of an individual

recommended for extradition by a requesting state for up to 60 days without charges and without bail.

"We join with ACLU members across the country in vigorously opposing SB 1940," Ehrlich said. "It is a grave threat to civil liberties which has far-reaching national and international effects."

TREATY RATIFICATION LAGS

As the opposition drive continued to gain momentum, the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty and SB 1940 remain at a standstill in Congress.

Embroiled in more pressing issues (i.e. El Salvador, abortion, gun-control, price fixing, etc.) Congress seemed to have "put a hold on the extradition issue. Bello explained.

Speaking on behalf of the National Committee, Bello said: "We're very pleased with the controversy we've created. Our goal now is to keep this momentum going, and impress on the Reagan administration that they can't use extradition as a repressive weapon without an uproar from all sectors." □

Filipinos Sound Off On El Salvador

Unconditional White House support for a controversy-ridden government has put El Salvador in the center of the U.S. public's attention.

As leftist guerrillas intensify their push against the beleaguered Duarte regime, daily press reports give detailed accounts of how U.S.-supplied M-16s, Huey helicopters and other modern armaments figure in massacres of innocent Salvadoran peasants, women and children.

U.S. involvement for 1982 thus far includes \$160 million in military

aid and \$40 million in economic aid. 1983 aid figures are in excess of \$300 million, collectible beginning in October this year.

Although President Reagan "categorically denies" any plans to send U.S. troops into El Salvador, explicit statements made by Secretary of State Haig indicate that "a whole range of options" is being considered, not ruling out the possibility of direct U.S. troop intervention.

Denunciation of Reagan's inter-

ventionist foreign policy comes from a wide cross-section of American society, including religious sectors, students, labor caucuses, grassroots political organizations, and even some members of Congress.

Such widespread controversy affecting the general American populace and the questions it provokes are bound to have an impact within the Filipino community. Should the U.S. continue military aid? Should the U.S. send troops? Are there similarities in the situations

between the Philippines and El Salvador?

Because of the influence of colonial mentality and anti-communism within the Filipino community, it is not unrealistic to expect strongly conservative and pro-American responses to these questions.

While not meant as a poll, the following comments taken from Filipinos across the country, reflect both conservative and progressive views on the issue.

GREG CASTILLA,
Community Organizer, Seattle

"That the junta is repressive can be gauged from the joint statement issued by Congressmen Harkin, Oberstar and Coyne after a fact-finding visit early this year in El Salvador: '... U.S. policy in El Salvador supports violent suppression of human rights by the military. ... It [the military] has made no significant control of violence by its forces against the population.'

"Such a condition has bred in the Salvadoran people the determination to be free by launching a revolution. I see the armed struggle in El Salvador as a legitimate form of self-defense being waged by the oppressed peasants, workers, students and professionals against the oppressive U.S.-backed junta of Napoleon Duarte."

SHIRLEY ANDO,
Unemployed, San Francisco

"Everytime I read the newspaper, it looks like the Reagan administration is preparing for war in El Salvador. It is basically the same foreign policy in Vietnam justified by a lot of anti-communism.

"I don't know how strong the American people's concern will be but I hope that through education, they will fully participate in stopping the Reagan administration's intervention in El Salvador."

PRISCILLA CABRERA,
Administrative Assistant,
Los Angeles

"The U.S. is known for being *pakialamero* [intruder into the affairs of others]. They should leave the smaller nations alone to determine their own destinies. U.S. intervention causes chaos, trouble. If the same occurs in the Philippines, it would be the utmost *kalokohan* [folly]. If that happens, maybe it will prove to those people in the Philippines who are not aware of what's going on, that the U.S. is actually our main oppressor, propping Marcos up."

MAGIN QUIAMBAO, M.D.,
Washington, D.C.

"There is no other way the U.S. can stop the big powers from helping out these revolutionaries against the corrupt go-

vernment, unless it strengthens the present corrupt government. It is very similar to the Philippines. These people cannot use the usual democratic processes because they got them by the throat, so there's no way, except the fact that they will have to show their defiance by armed rebellion... they have nobody to turn to except the communists.

"But personally speaking, the United States shouldn't help in any part. The question is, they will have to look for another avenue to stop the big powers on the other side from helping the other side."

REMIGIO C. AQUI,
Ret. Military Commander,
Veterans of Foreign Wars,
Hyattsville, Maryland

"It seems to me that Russia is trying to turn that into a communist country. Communism might spread in that part of the world. We have to tell Russia to get out of there... the lives of our soldiers cost lots of money, just like what I've seen in Vietnam. We can support El Salvador financially, but not in troops. I think that's what the present administration thinks. The President should send the 7th Fleet just to scare off the Russians but no, not men.

"It's not similar to the Philippines, I'm so glad that Marcos is not killing all the people down there. According to the latest news from El Salvador, they're killing civilians and things like that. I hope Marcos will not think of that."

AMY SIERRA,
Legal Secretary, New York

"The Salvadoran people are trying to change the government and America is just worsening the situation. They are just provoking the people. The same is true in Nicaragua. Nicaraguans are now asking for U.N. help to get the U.S. to butt out of their internal affairs.

"There is really no need for the elections in El Salvador. Just like with Marcos in the Philippines, it is already set up as to who should win. They've already been chosen.

"Instead of America giving aid to the government, why don't they give it to the starving people instead. They could send it through the UN instead of giving it to the government. Haig really wants to aid El Salvador. It will become just like Vietnam. I don't think the U.S. people would like to shed any blood in El Salvador. They're not profiting from that."



Greg Castilla



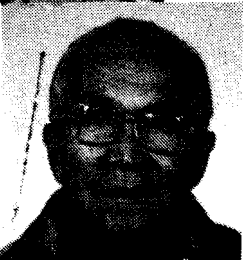
Shirley Ando



Priscilla Cabrera



Magin Quiambao, M.D.



Remigio Aqui



Amy Sierra

Seattle Murders Linked to Silkwood Case

By CINDY DOMINGO

Two leading figures in the investigation of the 1974 death of union organizer Karen Silkwood drew important similarities between the Silkwood case and the murders of union leaders Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, at a series of events held in Seattle March 26 and 27.

The Silkwood, Domingo and Viernes deaths were all cases of

37 ILWU. They were joined by Terri Mast, Domingo's widow and an official of Local 37, and Attorney Michael Withey.

MURDER BY 'ACCIDENT'

Karen Silkwood, a steering committee member of Local 5-283 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) was killed in a car crash, November 24, 1974 while on her way to a meeting with a *New York Times*

reporter and OCAW union officials.

In the process, Silkwood stumbled upon information pertaining to 40 pounds of missing plutonium.

"Knowing it took only 10 pounds to make an atomic bomb, Karen was terrified at her discovery," Tucker said.

Despite evidence showing that her car was run off the road, federal and state agencies, as well as Kerr-McGee maintained

anti-nuclear and women's movement.

DEATH AFTER VICTORIES

Domingo and Viernes were gunned down while working in their union office, June 1, 1981. Two men were convicted while another suspect is scheduled to go on trial April 20. At the time of their deaths, the two were leading a growing reform movement in Local 37.

Their confrontation with the seafood industry began ten years ago, said Terri Mast. In the early 1970s, the two drew the industry's ire when they led cannery workers in two successful discrimination suits against three major canning companies.

However, Domingo and Viernes struck their hardest blows against the industry a few weeks before their deaths.

The first was a resolution at the May 1981 ILWU convention in Honolulu backing Local 37 ILWU plans to organize non-union workers in Alaska. This would be the local's first serious drive in 30 years, and had the potential of unionizing 15,000 workers. These workers, mainly minorities, have suffered the industry's lowest wages and the poorest working conditions.

Their second victory, Mast said, "was in initiating international solidarity between the workers in the U.S. and the Philippines."

Two months before the Hawaii convention, Viernes went to the Philippines and met with labor leaders from the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU or May 1st Movement). This trip laid the basis for Viernes and Domingo to win a resolution directing the ILWU to send a team to the Philippines to

look at labor conditions facing Filipino workers.

"At a time when Marcos is trying to win worldwide legitimacy, this appeared to be potential trouble for the Marcos government," Mast stated.

Within less than a month, Viernes and Domingo were dead.

GOVERNMENT COVER-UP

Both Davis and Withey explained that in seeking justice for the three murders, the legal system cannot be avoided. They warned people however, not to have illusions about the system's responsiveness.

"The government is not neutral," said Davis. "It will act in the interest of large companies." Davis explained that the Silkwood investigators had to confront a government cover-up while trying to pin her murderers.

"The Oklahoma Highway Patrol, the FBI and the State Department all colluded to cover up the facts around Karen's death," he charged.

"So who do we entrust the quest for justice if we cannot rely on the government and its agencies?" posed Withey. "This is the whole question of an independent people's political movement."

The Silkwood case and the Committee for Justice experience he said, showed this type of movement was necessary in order to educate people on the nature of the murders and to expose the underlying interests behind them.

Withey called for a united effort to defend "workers rights around the world and to continue the work that Karen, Gene and Silme began." □



Teach-in discusses Silkwood, Domingo-Viernes cases as political murders. (AK Photo)

political murders, the speakers said. All three were trade union organizers whose respective efforts to reform working conditions conflicted with larger industry interests.

William "Bill" Davis and Attorney Kitty Tucker spoke to 600 people at teach-ins organized by the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes and Local

reporter and OCAW union officials.

In her possession at the time of her death were documents showing that her employer, Kerr-McGee Corporation, was producing faulty plutonium rods for nuclear reactors.

As a union organizer, Silkwood volunteered to collect data on health and safety violations in an effort to stop a union decertifica-

tion drive by Kerr-McGee.

her death was an accident. The documents were never found, and no one has been indicted for her death.

Findings after her death also showed that Silkwood was secretly being contaminated with radioactive materials soon after company officials found out about her investigation. The Silkwood case has become a *cause celebre* in the

for Domingo and Viernes. A forum sponsored by the Seattle chapters of the Philippine Solidarity Network and the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship drew 120 people.

Cementing relations with workers on an international level is high on KMU's agenda, said Arellano. He wants ties established with progressive labor movements in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

In its latest overall report, he said the organization "stresses the task of international relationships on strengthening the fraternity between American and Filipino workers," adding they "share a

common enemy and a long history of militant unity and struggle."

David Della, Executive Board member of Local 37, responded: "As part of the attack on labor in the U.S., we've been led to believe we have no similarity or likeness to workers of other countries, that our struggles are distant and unrelated."

Arellano agreed that "the ties among labor has to become international in character, because the companies themselves have become internationalized."

Unfortunately, Gene was not around to witness the warm reception given by Seattle's labor

community to the KMU secretary-general. A month after he delivered the KMU statement to the Hawaii ILWU convention, Gene and Silme Domingo, Local 37 secretary-treasurer, were gunned down inside the union headquarters.

Referring to the slain union activists, Arellano said:

"Hundreds of Filipino workers have been arrested and killed under the Marcos regime [in the Philippines]. This has not deterred us. This has only renewed our commitment, just like the renewed vigor of the reform movement initiated by Silme and Gene." □

Labor Leader . . .

Continued from front page

Nevertheless, Gene pursued the task diligently and the short visit bore positive results.

Gene was able to meet the highest ranking leaders of the KMU, including Chairman Felixberto Olalia, Sr. While Arellano was currently imprisoned at the time Gene was meeting with other KMU officials, he was able to meet with him shortly after Arellano's release from prison.

Discussions took place on the importance of "connecting" the many struggles faced by Filipino and American workers.

As Gene learned much from KMU's experiences, he was also able to share his own organizing experience as dispatcher for the Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 37, ILWU. His accounts pricked the curiosity of Filipino workers on how American and minority workers are organized in America.

On his way back, the KMU sent a statement of appeal for support that was read at the ILWU convention held in Hawaii May of last year. The statement presented to the convention, led to the passage of a highly significant ILWU resolution calling for an investigating team to look into workers' conditions in the Philippines.

Buoyed by the initial successes,

Gene returned to Seattle a month later full of stories about the Philippines and the KMU.

He became more convinced that international ties among workers can indeed be forged, and that further steps can be made to achieve this goal.

Gene at one time suggested that perhaps it would be a good idea for a Philippine labor leader, ideally from KMU, to come and visit the U.S. and observe the trends in the labor movement here.

CIRCLE COMPLETED

Arellano's tour of American cities which began late February this year, finally brought him to Seattle. It is a "homecoming" of sorts, the completion of a broken circle.

"The struggle of Filipino workers for decent wages and adequate working conditions, to be effective, has to be linked to our fight for national liberation and the international struggle of all workers," declared Arellano. He was addressing a March 16 luncheon meeting attended by representatives of ILWU Locals 37 and 19, International Association of Machinists, SEIU Local 3, and International Postmen's Union.

During his stay, Arellano met with various community groups including the Committee for Justice



Thousands across the country denounced the U.S. role in El Salvador March 27. Above: Some 3,000 marched in Oakland. (AK/T. Rocamora)

Electronics Firms' Runaway Plans Bared:

Mass Unemployment Looms Over Silicon Valley

By ANNATESS ARANETA

The threat of mass joblessness is hovering over the country's largest concentration of electronics workers because the industry's biggest firms are planning to abandon California's "Silicon Valley" for "greener pastures," a major bank survey has confirmed.

This also means the biggest source of employment for new immigrants in Northern California may very soon dry up.

A Wells Fargo Bank survey reveals that a total of 91% of the high-technology companies concentrated in Santa Clara County, south of San Francisco, expect to relocate their plants.

Fifty-four percent plan to move elsewhere within the state; 17% plan to move to other states; 9% are considering both options; and 13% have not yet decided where they will move. An estimated 200,000 people will be directly and indirectly affected by the relocations.

While electronic magnates diplomatically point to "slump in sales" and inflation as the reasons for their relocation plans, other sources say the search for cheap, unorganized labor is the industry's real motivation.

John Osterly, Wells Fargo official, says that "lower labor costs might be a factor in considering relocation," since high technology companies are faster growing and therefore "have the greatest requirements to tap the labor market."

Labor union leaders, however, explain it more bluntly.

David Bacon, head of the United Electrical, Machine, and Radio Workers (UE) Organizing Com-

mittee says the corporations are running away not just for cheap labor but because "the unionizing movement is gaining strength and the corporations don't want to deal with the demands of unionized workers."

THOUSANDS AFFECTED

The relocation of major corporations is actually coming at a faster pace than the labor force of Silicon Valley is prepared for.

- National Semiconductor Company which hires mostly Filipino women, had succeeded in laying off 1,800 workers by September 1981. The same company has transferred 600 jobs to Utah and Arizona.

- Signetics Corporation has moved its entire military division out of state, sending away 400 jobs.

- Intel Corporation is in the process of moving its microcomputer division to Puerto Rico.

- Hewlett-Packard which hires mostly Vietnamese immigrants, plans to construct a plant in North Carolina.

By September 1981, unemployment in the Valley had risen to 6.5%, which meant that 50,000 residents were out of work.

Eighty-five percent of the 160,000 employed by major electronic companies are women, mostly minority women. Of the total work force, 35,000 are newly-arrived immigrants—20,000 are Filipinos.

Asked how the plant closures will affect Santa Clara County, Hewlett and Packard chief, David Packard offered: "Workers simply would not be there anymore."

However, the closures offer a

grimmer implication: one out of every four families in the county will lose its main source of income.

The plants in the county will be converted into corporate headquarters and research centers. The major production lines, especially water fabrication and testing, where the bulk of the workforce is concentrated, will be transferred out of the valley.

Out-of-state relocation sites include Utah, Oregon, Arizona, Texas, and North Carolina. Foreign locations like Scotland, Latin America, Asia, and South Africa, are also being eyed.

OTHER INCENTIVES TO MOVE

Relocation would bring immediate benefits to the profitable electronics industry simply by starting afresh with lower paid workers in the new sites. Moving is a fast and simple method of unburdening itself of a mass of workers who have built up seniority, benefits and higher wage ceilings.

However, the industry is aiming for more massive and long-term gains.

Most of the states eyed for the

relocations are conservative, "right-to-work" states where union organizing is weakened by "open shop" systems (workers don't have to join the unions to be employed) and where salaries are close to minimum wage.

According to Michael Eisenhour, a UE organizer, the plants are also eyeing states that give the largest tax exemptions, and hope to have tax savings subsidize their moves. Industry representatives are reportedly lobbying for heavy tax benefits in some of the target states.

OSHA standards tend to be more strictly enforced in California because of workers' consciousness and demand for safety, than in other states. Relocation would enable the industry, which uses toxic chemicals including acids and carcinogens, to circumvent safety requirements for cost-cutting considerations.

BAD SIGNS

The corporations' intention to "run away" has been signalled by accelerated moves to tighten their control of the labor force.

First to come was a hiring

freeze by major corporations in the valley. This was followed by moves to decrease the existing work force. Through forced transfers of workers to different jobs and shifts, the corporations tried to induce "voluntary resignations." The hardest hit were working mothers who found it especially difficult to go on when reassigned to night shifts.

Employees were given increased reminders that their jobs could be taken away and given to more "willing and job-hungry" people in Asia, Latin America, or South Africa. Speed-ups, harassments that are often based on racial bias, and bold attempts to thwart union organizing also intensified.

Finally, and now more frequently, compulsory lay-offs are being enforced. It is not unusual for companies to close down for two to three weeks citing "slow production" periods. Some workers are never rehired after a layoff.

"Since I have been at Lockheed, I've been laid off a total of five times for a total of three years," a machinist in Sunnyvale complained.

While the incidence of labor violations rises as companies gear up to close shop, labor ferment is also becoming noticeable.

Several cases of unfair labor practices and unjustified firings have become the rallying point for current union organizing in the valley. □

Minorities Get the Heat

National Semiconductor Corporation (NSC), one of the largest electronic manufacturers in the world, is also the most notorious in Silicon Valley for its discriminatory and anti-labor policies.

The NSC manufacturers a variety of consumer products from pocket size calculators to electronic cash registers with computerized scanners and voice synthesizers. It also makes semiconductor devices, programs, and has defense contracts with the U.S. government.

NSC has assets of over \$200 million and until lately, has raked in profits in excess of \$1 billion. It has branches in Malaysia, the Philippines, Scotland, Utah and Texas. A total of 35,000 employees work for the Corporation, 8,000 work in its headquarters in Santa Clara County.

Eighty percent of NSC employees are minorities. Latinos are the biggest group, followed by Filipinos, Blacks, and Asian-Pacific Islander immigrants. The majority of the work force are women.

Most of the 2,000 Filipinos working for the company are concentrated in the production de-

partment, doing the most hazardous phase of chip and wafer manufacturing.

It was in this production line that the case of Violeta Contreras united many of the workers against policies the company has gotten away with for a long time.

THE CONTRERAS CASE

Violeta, 27, a petite 4'11" woman, has served the company for four years. She worked in the Bipolar Fabrication Unit on swing shift as a certified base diffusion operator.

Violeta was scapegoated for her supervisor's negligence on a "superhot run" (an urgent or emergency order that is given priority over all other jobs).

"I pointed out to my supervisor that there may be something wrong with the chips because when tested, they registered no reading. My supervisor told me to go ahead with the process anyway," narrated Violeta.

When the work was rejected at the end of the run, Violeta's supervisor blamed her for "passing bad work." That's when her nightmare began.

She came back to work to find her badge and picture posted on



the "deny entry" list. She was interrogated by armed guards, who later turned her over to the Employee Relations office of Tina Rulo. She was shown two evaluations of her work performance by her supervisor and then fired.

Petitions demanding Violeta's reinstatement quickly gathered 200 signatures shortly after her firing.

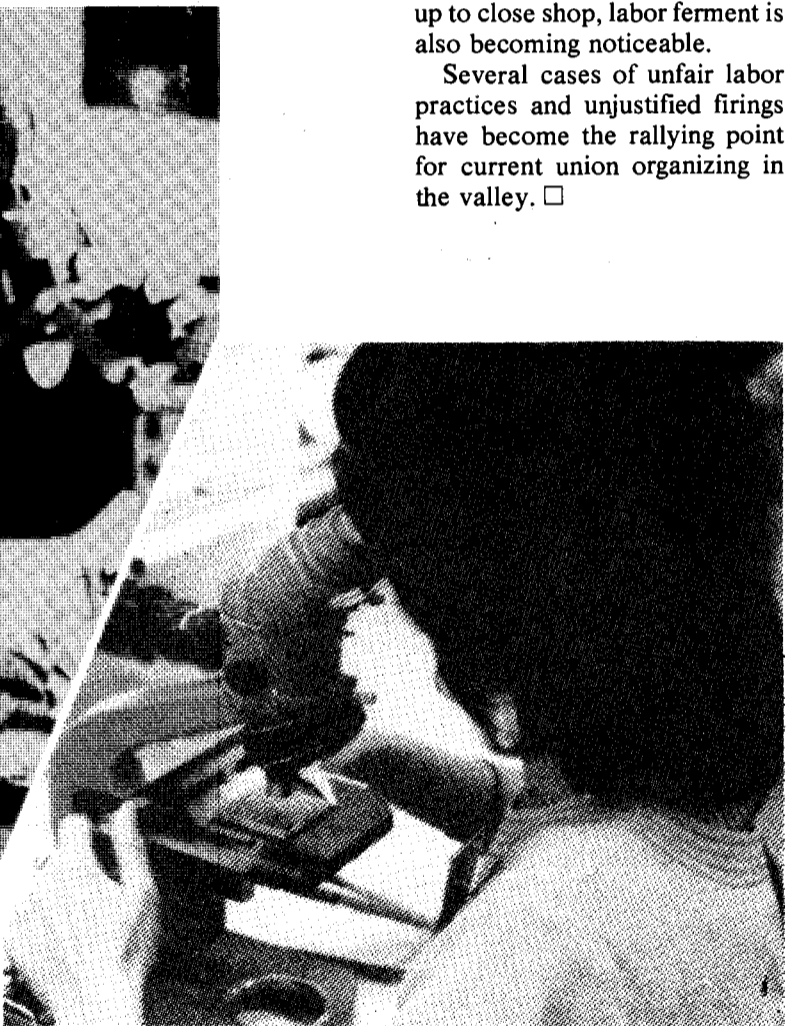
Still recovering from the humiliation, Violeta has started looking for work again. But she is still fighting for her case.

"Inilalaban ko kasi, alam ko may kasalanan din ang supervisor ko." (I am fighting because I know my supervisor was also at fault.)

MORE COMPLAINTS EMERGE

Since Violeta's case, several others have come to the fore. Several workers are now filing complaints with the Fair Employment and Housing Commission.

The complaints cite several instances when promotions were denied minorities, when super-



Silicon Valley: Home of major electronic companies simmers with problems that "runaway plants" will compound. (UE)

visors cracked racial jokes, when preferential treatment were given white workers.

The stratification of workers in the company reflects its discriminatory policy. Technicians and engineers, as well as most of management are white males. The clerical crew is made up of white females. The production line is overwhelmingly non-white.

The company's racism was recently manifested again in the "box stock" department. For one reason or another, the supervisor fired five of the work crew of seven: four were Filipinos and one was Black. The supervisor quickly replaced the five with white workers.

ATTACK ON ORGANIZERS

As these practices are getting exposed and organizing is gaining support, labor organizers

among the workers have also become prime targets of coercion.

Three active UE organizers have been fired by the company. Don Green, a black UE Committee member was fired after trying to return to his job following an industrial injury leave.

Romy Manan, a Filipino organizer, was fired after suffering a chemical burn at work for which he had to take a leave. In both cases, the company used the maneuver of putting workers on leave and replacing them with other workers so that they have no jobs to come back to.

John Cunningham, an outspoken UE organizer, was fired while circulating a petition for Violeta's re-instatement. Both Manan and Cunningham were reinstated after pressure from the union. However, Green has not been given his job back. □

DOMESTIC/INTERNATIONAL NEWS

New Federalism: Color-Coded Cuts

By VINCE REYES

If Ronald Reagan's popularity among minorities is at an all-time low, there are a lot of reasons for it, the latest being his "New Federalism" program for cutting government spending.

While the military budget is at an all-time high, Reagan wants to trim spending for social programs by making state governments responsible for managing and financing many of the aid programs by making state governments responsible for managing and financing many of the aid programs now run by the Federal government, especially welfare programs.

Reagan's New Federalism proposes that the federal government take over all of Medicaid, the health program for the poor at an estimated cost of \$19.1 billion. In exchange, the states would assume full costs for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Food Stamp program at an estimated cost of \$16.5 billion. This arrangement is to be effective October, 1983.

To initially "assist" the states for their eventual take over of the programs, federal excise taxes and part of the "windfall profits" tax on oil would be put into a trust fund.

About \$28 billion a year from the fund would go to the states as

block grants to finance 43 additional aid programs which are currently federally funded. These programs range from education, to health, water projects, and highway construction.

REAL AIM: ELIMINATION

New Federalism's unveiling has been accompanied by much populist rhetoric. It is to "get government off the backs of the people" and is to "restore the proper balance between the federal and local governments," etc.

However, what appears to be an attempt to introduce better "financial management" is actually a "showgame" which the Congressional Black Caucus said "hides the reality of more and deeper cuts for poor and working people." Indeed, hidden behind the rhetoric is the program's real intent: the elimination of aid programs altogether.

Eventually, the federal government will be able to unload its responsibility for these programs when this federal trust fund shrinks to zero between 1987 and 1991. If states want to keep these aid programs, they would have to increase their own excise taxes or raise money from other forms of taxation.

The more drastic measure, which is an option under Reagan's plan,

is for the states to discontinue the programs entirely. This is the basis of the Black Caucus' charge that the shifts "place no obligation on the states to continue aid programs in their present form or at least some minimum levels of support."

of welfare and other forms of assistance to the poor and non-whites.

Strong reservations have also been registered by civil rights groups and city officials over how state governments will prioritize the distribution of federal block

can move to other states that still wish to honor the gains of the civil rights movement.

THREE BIRDS WITH ONE STONE

Reagan's racially primed New Federalism then, is meant to hit

FEIFFER

What is often not directly spoken to by both the White House and New Federalism's liberal critics is the explosive fact that the program is a well-planned but disguised maneuver aimed at making the country's minorities shoulder the worse effects of the government's cuts in social spending.

For example, the AFDC program which is endangered by New Federalism is the heart of the "welfare" system, and of those who receive aid from this system, 44% alone are Blacks. Also, not counting other non-white minorities, 34% of all food stamp recipients are Black—and food stamps are on top of New Federalism's hit list.

More, the transfer of federal programs to the state governments is itself the code that makes sure New Federalism's targets are racially defined.

For one, it is doubtful whether state governments will be able to operate social programs at the same level the federal government can, and more than likely they will pick up the option of eliminating them altogether.

As one civil rights group said, the transfer to the states would mean "leaving critical national concerns to the uncertain mercies of 50 colonies with uneven resources, capabilities, and commitment to equity for the least disadvantaged."

STATES: NO FRIEND OF MINORITIES

While a limited monetary capacity is a major factor for some states, a poor record of commitment to these programs exists for others.

Many states are already hard-pressed financially and a number of them like California have found their coffers ravaged by right-wing led tax-cut initiatives like Proposition 13.

Lack of commitment to social programs for the disadvantaged also stems from the fact that state governments are overwhelmingly dominated by political representatives of local capitalists and of white or suburban political interests—political forces who have long agitated for the elimination

grants. Joan Bannon, assistant director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors noted that some states "have not historically been sensitive to the cities, nor are they even currently sensitive."

This insensitivity cannot all be reduced to the suburban or rural bias against "big city slickers." It is better explained by the fact that the country's largest cities have huge minority populations.

Over the past 10 years, racial minorities have become the dominant sectors of cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Houston. Others, such as San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Dallas, show substantial drops in white residents and large increases in their minority population.

A VERSION OF NAZI 'STATES RIGHTS'

It is not surprising that New Federalism has the tremendous support of political conservatives. The growing influence of racist and rightwing movements has made the demand for "states rights" a legitimate platform in state-level politics. Advocates of "states rights" which include the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, have long chafed at Federally-initiated civil rights programs, guidelines and legislation, and have therefore demanded "independence." New Federalism has an important gift for them.

In transferring programs to the states through block grants, the White House is also eliminating federal and civil rights supervision over program expenditures. Thus, not only will there be no regulations to guarantee the uniform implementation of the aid programs nationwide, minorities will also no longer be assured that these programs will be carried out along civil rights guidelines. (Reagan is diminishing civil rights guidelines such as affirmative action for the remaining federal programs as well.)

When questioned about the negative impact this change will have on minorities, Reagan responded, "Well, nothing is stopping anyone from voting with their feet." Meaning minorities

three birds with one stone.

Hidden behind the battle for the "balanced budget" is the struggle to make sure that the biggest peacetime military build-up will enjoy an unhampered source of funds. These funds will come from big cuts in social services.

By last December, \$39 billion had been cut in non-military spending, most of it taken from social services such as aid to needy children, unemployment benefits, school lunches, low-cost housing, legal services, services for the disabled, veterans benefits, mass transit, student loans, health care, social security, environmental protection, and job training.

New Federalism is another device for making working people shoulder the burden of Reagan's war build-up. With big business and the rich going scat-free, New Federalism will make further cuts "on the fat," otherwise known as "butter" by those who have always needed social assistance in one form or another, namely, a good portion of the country's labor force.

However, Reagan with his cuts cannot afford to antagonize everyone. Thus, New Federalism's racial orientation is aimed at making the most economically unstable sectors, namely Blacks and other minorities, bear most of the cuts. By buffering the more stable, mostly white sectors from the cutbacks' worse impact, the White House hopes to still be able to rally a base of support for its political and military programs.

Finally, and in connection with the previous aim, New Federalism is a major concession to the conservatives and racist movements that have been pushing the federal government to abandon the concessions it has made during the civil rights era.

These growing movements constitute Reagan's ideological base. New Federalism's "states rights" flavor and racist content is aimed at rallying them as storm troopers for Reagan's program of domestic social austerity and international military superiority.

New Federalism is about to turn back the clock of social reform by decades. □

Reagan's Cutback Scoreboard

The first year of the Reagan administration with its intensive "road to economic recovery" campaign is leading instead to the road to economic strain and recession.

One of the administration's major moves has been to cut government spending "in inessential" areas while beefing up what is presumably considered an "essential" area, namely the military. A quick look at the real-life impact of these cuts shows just how "inessential" the affected areas are.

Services are being dropped or sliced to bare minimum operation in health, education, housing, and welfare. Even maintenance of public facilities such as roads, mass transit and sewers are being scaled down. Worst of all, the cutting back of services represents the cutting back of jobs.

In depressed economic areas around the country, human services have been the first to be dropped. Reagan's "new federalism" program, which will transfer most existing federal responsibilities to individual state and local governments, targets these human services for virtual extinction.

New York City, facing the loss of \$460 million in federal aid since last year, is now being forced to cut \$49 million in education, \$157 million in day care and senior citizen services and has eliminated or reduced welfare benefits for 104,000 people. New York also cut 7,500 public service jobs.

In Chicago, 400 social service employees were fired forcing the

closing of 12 community service centers. In addition, five health clinics are currently preparing to close down.

In Baltimore, the 40,000 people on a public housing waiting list will have to wait longer or seek other alternatives now that federal housing subsidies have been drastically reduced.

In Kansas City, MO, 12,000 elderly and infirm citizens will not receive free flu vaccines because of the loss of federal monies.

In Detroit, it will take more than Superbowl revenues to ease its jobless rate. A clear 15% of its population is unemployed. Also, 1,100 school system workers were fired including over 300 teachers.

Boston has cut 4,000 public service jobs and Washington, D.C. trimmed 1,000. Many other cities have abolished up to 20% of city jobs.

In the face of financial disaster, Reagan makes no bones about where revenues are being reallocated. His 1982 military budget will reach \$285 billion, up from an already exorbitant \$208 billion from 1981. This represents the largest peace-time military build-up in U.S. history.

Reagan's economic policies are meeting growing public disapproval.

A recent *Washington Post-ABC News* Poll shows a general disapproval of the way Reagan is handling the economy with nearly two out of three Americans saying that the president should abandon his program of tax and domestic spending cuts. VR

Rich Display is a Poignant Reminder of Danger

By NANCY ROCAMORA

Philippine art has rarely received the attention and respect it deserves.

It has been maligned as "mere" folk art, denigrated as a pale colonial reflection of a dominant "mother culture," and worse—it has been manipulated to provide a "native" flavor to Ferdinand Marcos' political regime.

The People and Art of the Philippines, a major exhibit of over 300 objects currently on display at the Oakland Museum attempts to allow Philippine art a chance to speak for itself. It was organized by the UCLA Museum in cooperation with the Commission on the 75th Anniversary of Filipinos in Hawaii.

Composed of the finest specimens to be found in Philippine and U.S. collections, it represents the first major exhibit of Philippine art outside the country.

INFORMATIVE, SELECT

The exhibit focuses on four key areas: the pre-historic period; the Spanish period; minority art of the south (Mindanao and Sulu); and minority art of Northern Luzon.

The least-known section of the exhibit is the prehistoric. Here are displayed stone and earthenware burial jars, some dating from the ninth century B.C. and before. A fine selection of gold and beaded jewelry bears a striking resemblance to some of the jewelry made by minority peoples in historic times.

The sampling of Spanish period art is small yet select. The principal items are carved wooden saints or *santos* and church paraphernalia. The most "primitive" of the *santos* are striking examples of the Spanish Christian's accommodation of the natives' stubborn pagan loyalties. A rigid San Roque evokes the same stern power as the pagan *bulol* or rice granary gods of the north with its stiff frontal pose, elongated neck and stern expression.

MINORITY ART STEALS SHOW

The art of the Filipino minorities steals the show. A colorful array of the finest quality textiles, beadwork, basketry, wood-carving, and weaponry provides ample testimony to both a fine decorative sense and a compelling artistic power among the anonymous artists of the North and South.

The carved *bulol* of the Ifugao and Kankanay are perhaps the most impressive works on display. These project a quiet intensity and are easily comparable to the finest of African art. The same compact and understated treatment applies to carved utensils, bowls and containers.

The woodcraft of the south, or *okir*, with its graceful flowing forms based on floral patterns betrays, on the other hand, a warm effusive quality.

Perhaps the most spectacular portion of the exhibit is the textiles which reveal both a powerful and sophisticated sense of design and a high degree of skill in spite of primitive instruments used.

THE CULTURAL INFERIORITY COMPLEX

The richness, variety and high quality of the work on display may come as a surprise, to the broader American public, but most especially Filipinos themselves. Centuries of colonial and neo-colonial domination have left an indelible stamp on the Filipino view of their own culture.

The sense of what is foreign is best and what is native is merely second rate applies not only to consumer goods but to culture as well.

An educational system transported from the U.S. has produced a cultural inferiority complex of no mean proportions.

Colonial thinking has particularly clouded the capacity of Filipinos to appreciate the

art and culture of minority groups. Church bred prejudices against "pagans" make it difficult to recognize minorities and their culture as proud hold-outs against foreign domination and as clues to the past.

Overlaying this prejudice is the western bias against art of utilitarian value. The western distinction between "fine arts" and "handicrafts" relegates all but the studio art of the 19th and 20th centuries to the category of "mere" handicraft.

NEW APPRECIATION

Progressive Filipino scholars of art and culture are challenging these prejudices in the process of re-examining cultural history from a materialist perspective.

The culture of Filipino minorities thus take on a new importance. Their art is studied as key to the understanding of the history of their social organization. The people themselves are respected for their ability to resist colonial domination for over 400 years.

Even more significantly, the minority peoples of the Philippines and their varied cultures are seen by progressives as invaluable living clues to the mystery of the Philippine past. The only other clues are the tantalizing archeological remains, such as those on display in the first portion of the exhibit, that countervail the highly prejudiced accounts by early European visitors to the archipelago.

Progressive research has begun to provide valuable antidotes to the cultural identity crisis. It begins by defining the precise level of social organization and the then existing economic and cultural ties with other societies.

It then has to establish a scientific approach to cultural forms adapted or introduced from abroad, rather than dismiss the transformation of musical, literary or dramatic form as mere bastardization of an original. The progressive view recognizes the process of indigenization.

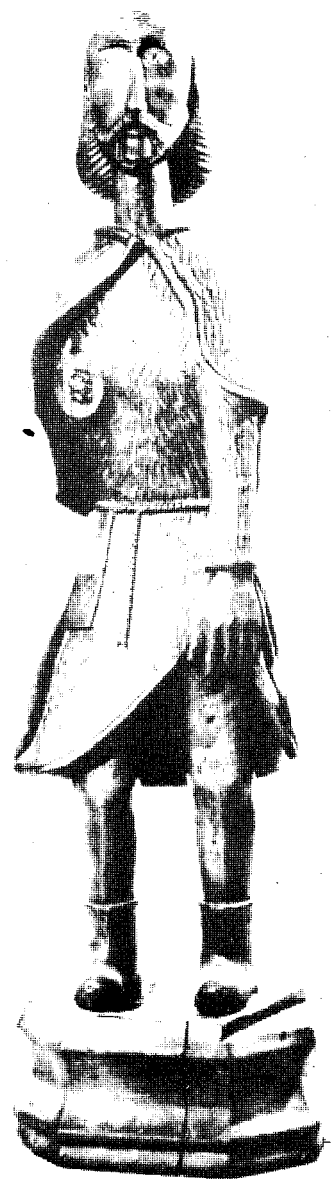
As more work is done on the character of different cultural influences, more and more of the cliches about Philippine culture will be put to rest.

FASCISM WITH A "NATIVE" SCREEN

But the progressive view is still far from dominant. In fact, its strongest proponents are deeply preoccupied with the more pressing task of turning the broader political struggle against a regime that has nothing but a mercenary attitude toward Philippine culture.

The Marcos government has consistently co-opted experts and scholars in attempting to cloak the regime with a mantle of nativism.

Handsome official appointments, awards, and other forms of patronage that enable them to "pursue their vocations" have made not a few experts and scholars oblivious to the stifling effects of the fascist imposition.



Philippine bulol and santo.

The Marcoses have also tried to manipulate Filipinos' long-suppressed sense of pride by promoting a cultural nationalism that is more tied to propaganda and tourism than to anything else. Thus, changing the term for the smallest municipal administrative unit from *barrio* to *barangay*, and replacing the old insignia for the national airline with the *sari-manok*, the sun-bird of the Moro south, are supposed to illustrate Malacañang's determination to shape the "New Filipino Consciousness."

STRANGLING MINORITY CULTURES

While Malacañang borrows symbols from the minority communities rather heavily, its actual attitude toward these groups is appalling in its cynicism and insensitivity.

With Marcos' blessing, PANAMIN (Presidential Assistant on National Minorities), an agency purportedly motivated by the task of preserving minority culture, has become a powerful institution. It has also succeeded in gaining notoriety over its treatment of national minorities—from exploiting minority crafts for commercial purposes to herding non-Muslim minorities in the south into strategic hamlets and training them as militia to be used against the Moros.

PANAMIN also played a key role in staging the 1974 *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, probably the grossest exhibition of fascist nativism and outright minority exploitation staged by the regime by far.

This extravaganza was put on for the 1974 Miss Universe Pageant. Minority groups from all over the country were

shipped to Manila to parade and dance in their "authentic garbs" before the visitors from abroad. Some had never been outside their villages and had to be given tranquilizer shots.

The utilization of ethnic culture to adorn a crass beauty pageant amounts to a mixture Marcos calls "Calypso culture," a vulgarity the First Family proudly winks on especially in the presence of foreign reporters.

But most revealing of the regime's appreciation for ethnic diversity is its near-genocidal policies against the Bangsa Moro people in Mindanao that have resulted in countless massacres and tremendous destruction of Moro homes, mosques and economic property. In the north, the regime still insists on the construction of a major dam system that would definitely destroy the material base for two key ethnic groups, the Kalingas and the Bontocs.

CULTURES UNDER SIEGE

The dangers that hover over Philippine culture particularly the art of its ethnic minorities—lend a particular poignancy to the Oakland exhibit which will soon be moving to Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History.

Hopefully the audience will view these magnificent expressions of ethnic cultures, not totally unlike those of Filipinos prior to the Spanish conquest, in their political context.

Hopefully they will bear in mind the fact that these may represent the last creative burst of cultures which are under siege, and in many places are doomed to extinction. □

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Christians for National Liberation:

Giving Flesh and Blood to Christianity



By LEON FORTALEZA
Reprinted from LIBERATION

There was a storm raging that day. But inside the wood-paneled hall, the mood was warm and hopeful. The people linked arms as they wistfully sang "*Bayan Ko*."

One by one, each of them stepped forward to a small table in the middle of the gathering and signed revolutionary names to a declaration. Slivers of sunlight began to filter through the windows, casting a pale glow over the room. The howling of the wind and the rustle of tree branches waned outside. The storm was passing away.

This scene took place somewhere in Southern Tagalog during the last quarter of 1981. The people gathered in the room were priests, pastors, nuns, deaconesses, seminarians, and laypersons. They are members of the Christians for National Liberation (CNL), an organization of Christians committed to the national democratic revolution in the Philippines. It was the last day of the CNL Second National Congress and

the image of the stream of light was appropriate to the occasion.

The Congress represents a significant breakthrough for the CNL after more than nine years of struggle and hardship under the U.S.-Marcos regime. The last time it held its convention was August 1972.

The purpose of the five-day Congress was to draw lessons from the past, assess the CNL's present state, consolidate the organization and forge a new program of action. About 50 delegates representing various subsectors in the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, and the Philippine Independent Church attended the Congress. They came from all the regions of the country and included two foreigners.

In their declaration, the delegates reaffirmed their "commitment to the struggle of our people for national liberation and democracy." They declared: "Through this message, we make our pledge public and invite fellow Christians and Filipinos, and all like-minded people here and abroad to join us in this common struggle."

The delegates took the CNL pledge with clenched fists raised, becoming the first full-fledged CNL members.

OFFSPRING OF THE FQS

"The CNL is in a way born of the storm," said Fr. Jaime Tayag, a CNL founding member. He was referring to the tropical storm that day and to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 when massive demonstrations and other mass actions in the cities and countryside crystallized into the national democratic line with its call for an all-sided anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist struggle.

Young church activists were drawn into the vortex of the struggle, participating in politicizing and organizing peasants, workers and slum dwellers. On February 17, 1972, the centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of three courageous priests, Frs. Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, the CNL was founded. On that same day, the new national democratic mass organization staged its first rally in front of the Manila Cathedral.

The organization was barely seven months old when martial law was imposed. About a hundred progressive and liberal church personnel were arrested and detained, including many CNL members. The CNL was forced to operate underground. Despite setbacks, the CNL continued to develop politically and organizationally and to make valuable contributions to the struggle.

In April 1973, the CNL was among the organizations that cooperated with the Communist Party of the Philippines in forming the Preparatory Commission of the NDF. It has been represented in the NDF ever since and has helped staff its official organ, *Liberation*. More than a score of CNL members have joined the New People's Army since Fr. Roberto linked up with the NPA in Visayas in 1973. Last March, Frs. Conrado Balweg, Nilo Valerio, Bruno and Cirilo Ortega joined the NPA in Abra.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

A commitment to "love one's neighbor and serve the people" is expressed in the CNL general program drawn up by the Congress. In this comprehensive program, the CNL reaffirmed its member-

Program of the Christians for National Liberation

(Our) program has two general tasks. The first, which CNL shares with all national democratic forces, is the overthrow of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and the establishment of a people's coalition government. The second, which is a special responsibility of CNL, is the national democratic transformation of the Christian churches.

In line with this general program, we commit ourselves to fulfill these urgent tasks:

1. Develop a revolutionary mass movement of Christians, particularly of Church people, as part of the overall revolutionary mass movement.
2. Help advance the revolutionary mass movements of peasants, workers, and the petty bourgeoisie.
3. Hasten the building of the National Democratic Front (NDF).
4. Gather all possible political and material support for the ad-

vance of the armed struggle.

5. Wage a cultural struggle, especially in the religious sphere, in line with the national democratic revolution.

6. Help advance our international solidarity work.

7. Struggle for democratic reforms toward the national democratic transformation of the Christian churches.

These seven tasks are the components of a comprehensive national democratic program for the Christian churches. It is along these lines that we can arouse, mobilize and organize the greatest number of church people and Christians who identify closely with the churches.

In fulfilling these tasks, we give flesh and blood to our Christian faith. In fulfilling these tasks, we incarnate ourselves in the deepest possible way—linked to the life and death struggle of our people.

Christians for Imperialism Visit R.P.

Last November, four representatives of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (CACC) arrived in the Philippines on a two-stop lecture tour on "the dangers of communism."

The CACC was invited to present its anti-communist programs by the Philippine Baptist Church. The Baptists, one of the smallest among Philippine Protestant denominations, have been "alarmed" at the phenomenal growth of the New People's Army (NPA) nationwide.

The CACC held three-day seminars attended by several hundred people in Manila and Iloilo. Church pastors, students, and workers discussed "the ominous momentum communists have been gaining in recent years." A litany of cases were recounted denouncing the NPA's "seduction and violence."

BORN-AGAIN CHRISTIANS

The Philippine Baptist Church is perhaps the most conservative among the Philippine Protestants. Some liken its followers to the "born-again Christians" in the U.S. or Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority."

The CACC was founded in

1953 at the height of the Cold War. Its express purpose is to drive Christians away from Communism and progressive politics generally through vicious distortions of Communist theory and practice.

Until recently, the organization limited its activities to the U.S. though it distributed its literature throughout the world. A spokesperson explained that the Philippines was the first seminar abroad. Other countries targeted for the seminars are Nigeria and Singapore.

REAGAN OFFENSIVE IN IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE

Observers are not surprised that the CACC's new internationalism should coincide with the imperialist counter-offensive of the Reagan era.

"Reagan has gone on the offensive against liberation struggles militarily and through threats of armed intervention," comments Walden Bello of the Committee Against the Marcos Dictatorship. "Why not ideologically as well?"

Bello points out that the tactic of mobilizing reactionary Christian forces is particularly designed for a country where a large portion of the progressive clergy supports the armed revolutionary struggle. □

ship in the NDF and rededicated itself to broadening the united front on the basis of the NDF program.

"As Christians, we have to make a political stand," remarked Fr. Elias Librador, a foreign priest and CNL member. "We opted for the most relevant political program existing which is national democracy."

He noted that the CNL gives Christians a material stake in the success of the revolution: "Not only the assertion of our faith, but the formation of a new church." Freedom of religion which includes freedom of belief and public worship and the right to own church buildings and land is protected under the national democratic society.

basic masses and become a Church of the People."

The Congress, however, carefully stressed that such transformation does not mean a schism in the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. The general features of such transformation, as set forth in the CNL program, simply demand "more self-determining and self-administering churches" as against "all forms of feudal and imperialist relations with foreign churches and bodies"; "more indigenous forms of religious expressions, a Filipino theology, liturgy and spirituality"; and "more democratic church structures with more democratic participation in choosing leaders, defining programs, shaping structures, and shaping resources."

REMEMBERING CNL MARTYRS

Messages of solidarity were given by the NDF and its member organizations. Among these were the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), *Kabataang Makabayan* (KM), *Makabayang Samahan Pangkalusugan* (MASAPA), *Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan* (KAGUMA), and the *Komite ng Sambayanang Pilipino* (KSP), an alliance of Philippine support groups in Europe.

In its closing liturgy, the Congress commemorated two CNL martyrs who were killed in the course of revolutionary struggle. Carlos Tayag, a Benedictine deacon and CNL founding member, was kidnapped by military agents on August 17, 1976 and is feared salvaged. Puri Pedro, a social worker, was arrested and tortured to death by the military in early 1977.

Fr. Jaime urged the assembly to carry on the struggle they have begun and to rise to the challenges of the times and of their faith. He said: "People rarely go out of their way to make history. Now, I think we should be conscious of making history. Not only as Filipinos, but as Christians." □



"The Christian who is not a revolutionary dies against the people"

— Fr. CARILLO TORRES

For instance, the NPA Guide for Land Reform explicitly guarantees that "land shall be set aside for religious purposes."

Fr. Rico Santiago, CNL delegate from Southern Tagalog, pointed out that at present the church, as an institution, is primarily on the side of counter-revolution. He said, "There will be a national democratic transformation of churches if the church people are supportive of the struggles of the