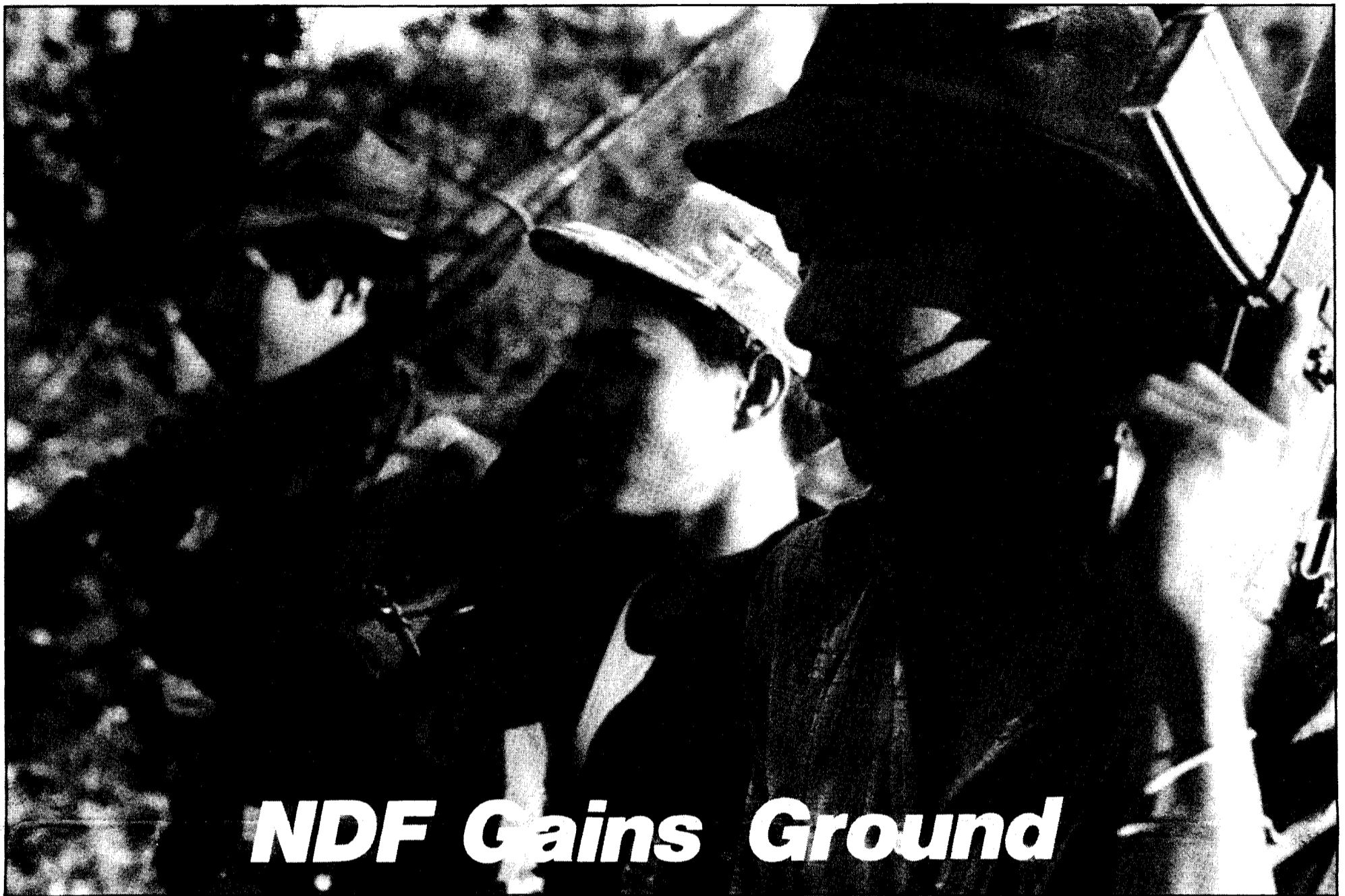


# Ang **Katipunan**

Vol. IX, No. 3  
April 1983 50¢

National Newsmagazine of the  
Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)



## **NDF Gains Ground**

# **CIVIL WAR REACHES NEW HEIGHT**

By **NANCY ROCAMORA**

**S**omething explosive is going on in the Philippines. It has something to do with the revolutionary phrase "higher substage of the strategic defensive." Labor leaders face trial for subversion. President Marcos threatens publications with libel suits right and left. Troops pour into Mindanao. Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver boasts of vastly increased weapons production. Headlines scream of encounters with the New People's Army which Marcos officially brushes aside.

Nonetheless, he and his officials behave like a leadership under siege. All because the national democratic revolution has entered a "higher substage of the strategic defensive."

Had Marcos and company paid closer attention, the National Democratic Front told them as much over a year ago when it publicized the new development throughout the underground press. What is the meaning of this "higher substage?"

The Communist Party of the Philippines has defined three main stages for the Philippine Revolution. According to Amado Guerrero's 1974 essay "The Specific Characteristics of Our People's War," these consist of the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate, and the strategic offensive.

• **Strategic Defensive.** In this earliest and probably longest stage, the New People's Army remains far weaker than the Armed Forces of the Philippines. In the "early substage of the strategic defensive," the

NPA rarely operates in formations larger than platoons. Its key goal: to accumulate weapons, fighting experience and an initial political base.

• **Strategic Stalemate.** Here, wrote Guerrero, the balance of forces between the NPA and the AFP becomes roughly equal. The NPA combines guerrilla forces with standing army units and operates, at times, in company and even battalion-sized formations. Contention between the NPA and the AFP becomes far more visible with important towns and cities changing hands back and forth. The current level of warfare in El Salvador fits Guerrero's description of the strategic stalemate.

• **Strategic Offensive.** The shortest of the stages, the strategic offensive, sees the balance shift altogether in favor of the national democratic forces. The NPA, formed into a large mobile army, controls most of the countryside. The AFP is put on the strategic defensive, and seizure of political power is on the national democratic forces' immediate agenda.

Though Guerrero described these stages mainly in military terms, they should reflect as well the development of the National Democratic Front's political influence, and the leadership capabilities of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

**S**urely the last 15 years of resistance to the Marcos regime match Guerrero's description of the "early substage of the strategic defensive." The NPA, founded in 1968 with little more than 60 members and a handful of guns, had to break new ground everywhere to become an army spread throughout an archipelago.

National democrats started from scratch to establish political presence throughout each sector of society from peasants to workers in a whole range of industries to the clergy, minorities, professionals, intellectuals, students, and squatters.

The odds against success were enormous. As Guerrero pointed out in his 1974 essay, the archipelagic character of the country is an initial disadvantage. With a countryside broken up by bodies of water, with no bordering countries sympathetic to its revolution, the NPA has no safe retreats. To turn the character of the country into an advantage means opening up operations in strategic areas of Luzon, Mindanao and the Visayas all at once to keep the regime from focusing its energy on any one place.

Against these odds, national democrats set out to position themselves, gain the necessary experience and grow into a nationwide revolutionary force. Bands of revolutionary cadre proceeded to spread throughout

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# Editorials

## Recovery for Whom?

There is much euphoria in Washington these days about the tentative signs of an upturn in the economy. With a drop in interest rates and inflation, the administration and its economists are flashing victory signs: last month, "the economy has turned the corner"; more recently, Reagan virtually claimed the recession is over.

Some business quarters are not as over-optimistic, however. *Fortune*, for example, predicts a very limited growth rate for the year; that lower oil prices are helpful to the recovery but have just about spent their potential impact on the inflation rate; etc. The current upturn has also hardly made a dent on the 10.4% jobless count. In February, the average hours worked per week even declined by 2%.

For working people, the success or failure of the Reagan recovery program is hardly the real question. In fact, even if it garners a string of successes, the boon will be to business mainly. Recovery may not necessarily mean a simple return to the good old days when times were bad but not as bad. Recovery is when it is once again profitable for capitalists to spur production from a level it had been previously lowered to due to falling profits. Reagan's program is a package of incentives for business-and-industry designed to coax it out of deliberate hibernation.

These benefits for the corporate rich range from juicy tax incentives to all sorts of deregulations. But intensified exploitation of the labor force is the program's cornerstone, deodorized by the code phrase "increased productivity." It calls for the forcible renegotiation of

the social contract, at the workers' expense—from a cut in the minimum wage, to wage concessions to businesses, to cuts in benefits, etc.

Therefore, if Reagan's recovery comes, it will bear telltale marks of its principal source. The standard of living for working people will be lower. Fewer workers will get their jobs back, and those who do will constitute a chastened workforce too fearful for their jobs to demand anything more. (A million of the 3.5 million whose contracts are up this year are expected to swallow pay cuts, for example.) Labor stratification (and the racism that helps it along) will be intense. The more privileged layer will have shrunk, some of its privileges intact but bruised. The gap between this layer's living standards and that of lower strata will be wider; the latter ranks will have become even larger. For the capitalists, this picture will be just fine. It is, after all, recovery. □

## Buck Rogers and Total War

Thoroughly modern liberals may sniff at the effectiveness of Ronald Reagan's methods for changing the ideological climate, but his thunderous denunciation a few weeks ago of "Moscow, the Evil Empire" had an irresistible appeal to the thousands of evangelists who gave him a roaring ovation. Caspar Weinberger soon also scored with his warning that the Central American revolutions are the Soviet's way of "turning us into Fortress America."

Fortress America against an Evil Empire: this image of a superior civilization besieged by the dark forces of evil comes close to the foreboding picture Joseph Goebbels evoked in his infamous Total War oration. In the rural backroads where profound ignorance has kept "basic American values" alive, this warning is not being dismissed. On the contrary, to the millions who

seethe at every perceived "threat to the best way of life on earth," Reagan's words are a call to war, a holy war, a total war.

But Reagan's mind is not one-dimensional. He knows that science has left an indelible mark on human thought, and that there are millions more out there who are not moved by quasi-religious allusions. In fact, their scientifically-based fears of nuclear annihilation are a stubborn obstacle to his war program. Thus, his latest big speech (dubbed by the press as the Star Wars or Buck Rogers speech) was an attempt to make a dent on this obstacle. Literally taking his war program to new heights, the president called for a space-based high-tech missile defense system. Critics immediately scored this "defense" proposal as an escalation of the arms race and a violation of previous treaties. And they are right—such a defense shield can give the U.S. unrivaled first-strike capacities.

But Reagan is persisting with this plan despite the fact that scientists have opposed it as unworkable and dangerous, and the fears that it might eat up the entire economy. Why? He wants to tell Americans that not only is the U.S. capable of nuclear superiority, it also has the high technological capacity to protect itself from nuclear destruction—if only they would banish all fears and put the nation's resources behind his arms program.

Knowing that much of the popular disagreement with his arms build-up is based on fear of self-destruction and not so much on opposition to imperialism, Reagan hopes to undercut the growing consensus for a freeze by assuring the possibility of safety. He hopes to lull Americans into thinking that nuclear war is indeed, winnable and thus, acceptable. Truly, the old actor's and his advisers' capacity for ideological combat cannot be underestimated. □



Will ya just give me the rest of that aid! Can't you see there's light at the end of the tunnel?

## Letters

### More Cronies?

In connection with your recent article on (Marcos) cronies, please take note that three major cronies have been added, especially since the phase-down of the Disini Front. They are: Roland Gapud for major banking and financing transactions, Lucio Tan for major new businesses, including a new brewery and Ralph Nubla, front for the Philippine Bank of Communications. Among the old but low-profile cronies in whose names several Marcos businesses and properties have been registered are: Jose Y. Campos of United Laboratories, Leonilo Ocampo of the GSIS and Neling Nieto of Bukidnon Sugar Central. For the First Lady, you left out Glecly Tantoco and Jorge Ramos, the architect. Lately for properties in New York, Tito Camacho, an architect and Vilma Bautista, a foreign service officer have been mentioned as dummies. Also, some reports have persistently come in of major investments in the vicinity of \$6 million in New York and Los Angeles (real estate, banking and restaurants) by a certain Edna Camcam who appears to be assisted by ex-Disini bright boys Armand Racquel Santos and Tony Gatmaitan.

Romy Figueroa  
New York, NY

### ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

Publisher: Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

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### Litter from Manila



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

## Banish Colonial Mentality

The First Lady is always being compared to the capricious, corrupt, arbitrary, avaricious, vain, and power hungry Evita Peron because both came from lowly origins. I think this comparison is unfair. After all, Mrs. Marcos was never a prostitute.

\*\*\*\*\*

News item: some young people are acting as self-appointed moral squads. At lunchtime, they hound married men and their mistresses and knock on motel doors to disturb the trysts. The embarrassed

couples have to elude them and look for another place. It gets very difficult and often the men return to their offices very, very late. I would strongly support these young crusaders if not for the fact that they are disrupting National Assembly schedules. Instead of knocking on doors, can they write or call instead? That would not weaken their valid cause, would it?

\*\*\*\*\*

We Filipinos better start thinking for ourselves and get rid of colonial mentality. The U.S. bases are not here to protect us but to protect American interests. Just for the pleasure of pampered GIs, Olongapo and Angeles have become havens for vice and degrading prostitution. More seriously, the country is not threatened by external aggression but because of the bases, we will be the first target if a world war starts. A few nuclear missiles can sink the archipelago or pulverize the whole population. We can be reduced to a small rock in the Pacific and it won't be of our own making. Once and for all, we Filipinos should stand up for our dignity and demand that the Americans pay more rent.

\*\*\*\*\*

I like the proposal to give overseas Filipinos absentee voting rights during our elections. This should convince all Filipinos abroad that we are really a democracy, and that they have all the

freedom of choice to vote for the KBL whenever the President feels it is necessary.

\*\*\*\*\*

Another item in my cousin Teodoro Valencia's column "Letter from Manila" that could be of importance to our ailing economy: "When a West German scientist told a West German TV audience that Filipino faith healers are fake, Jun Labor of Baguio, a faith healer challenged the German to prove he's fake and staked \$50,000 in the wager. The German should put up or shut up. There could be false scientists, too." This is it. The government can put up a faith healing institute and turn it into a big industry. When demand is low, we can challenge every West German scientist at \$50,000 a throw. It's a non-losing proposition that can cure our balance-of-payments woes.

\*\*\*\*\*

For economic reasons, something should be done about the number of beggars in our streets. It is hurting tourism. Here we are shuffling about, offering cut-rate luxury hotels, royal treatment, slavish restaurant service and entertainment, the ultimate in intimate companionship (all ages and sexes) and fantastic vacation spots built with government funds—just so we can persuade tourists to please spend the dollars we need so badly. But they may not come back if one look at our street gives them the false impression that we are a nation of beggars. □

Analysis

## U.S. Imperialism in Southeast Asia

## THE CALM AFTER THE STORM

By RENE CRUZ and WICKS GEAGA

The steady advance of the Philippine revolution is undeniably a source of inspiration for all anti-imperialist forces worldwide.

That it remains the only rising threat—outside of the Vietnam-Kampuchea-Laos socialist bloc—to U.S. interests in the region can be a source of relief only to U.S. imperialism and its surrogates in the area. After all, these interests seemed on the verge of total collapse barely ten years ago.

While the U.S. is confronted as never before by powerful anti-imperialist movements engulfing Central America and Southern Africa, it has gained valuable breathing space in Southeast Asia through its alliance with China.

As one ASEAN spokesman starkly put it: "The dominos have not fallen. It seems to be working the other way . . . instead of the consolidation of the communist wave that was foreseen after their [the Vietnamese people's] victory, we see the disintegration of communist solidarity. ASEAN is consolidating instead of disintegrating."

Nixon's "journey for peace" to Peking in 1972, at the height of the bombing of Vietnam, was a suspicious turnaround from Washington's 20-year posture of provocation and sabotage against the Chinese revolution. Billed as a historic step in moving from "a period of confrontation to an era of conciliation," Nixon's mission was first of all prompted by a sober appraisal of the rapidly declining U.S. position in the region.

Unnerved by its impending defeat in Indochina, and pursued by rising liberation movements in the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand, the U.S. was in dire straits. China proved to be its friend in the hour of need. Already, China had compiled such a sordid record that its traditional enemy could not help but be impressed.

In 1971, China gave material aid and political support to the Sri Lanka government's suppression of an attempted revolution, as well as to the West Pakistani dictatorship's war in Bangladesh. In 1973, China was among the first to recognize the Pinochet regime in Chile after the overthrow of Allende; and in 1975 it sided with the U.S. and South Africa-backed counterrevolutionary forces against the Angolan revolution. Peking hailed NATO as a force for peace against the Soviet Union, and attacked Cuba as the pawn for Soviet expansionism in the Western Hemisphere.

China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979 was its crowning act of betrayal against the world anti-imperialist movement. During his U.S. visit just prior to the invasion, Deng Xiaoping announced to his new-found allies China's intention to teach Vietnam "an appropriate limited lesson" for overthrowing the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Then National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brezinski, writing in his soon-to-be-published memoirs, was impressed by Deng's "cold and even ruthless appreciation of power." Peking's action consummated the U.S.-China alliance and proved its willingness to extend this political pact militarily. The same China that 30 years earlier banished imperialism from its own shores was now fighting on the latter's behalf.

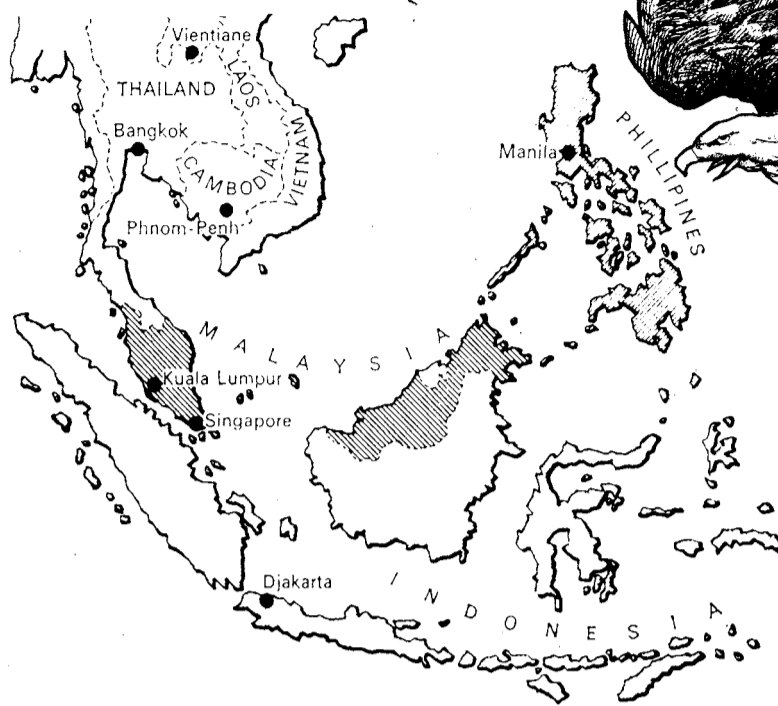
First articulated by Mao Zedong after the U.S. pullout from Vietnam, China's reactionary foreign policy (enshrined in his Theory of the Three Worlds) identifies the Soviet Union as an "imperialist superpower" and as the main enemy of the world's peoples. It called for a united front with U.S. imperialism itself, against "the rising danger"—the Soviet Union. This alliance, China asserted, should be the main objective of the world's revolutionary forces.

For the revolutionaries of Southeast Asia, many of whom owed their initial inspiration to the Chinese revolution, the impact of China's turnaround has been disastrous. Already, the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) is in the midst of a crisis that promises to set back the Thai revolution for many years to come.

The CPT's recently held 4th Congress, the first since 1961, reaffirmed its Maoist principles as the correct foundation for a revolutionary strategy. Also reaffirmed were the ties with the Communist Party of China (CPC), despite the latter's halting of aid simultaneous with its call for the CPT to make peace with the Thai government. China's pressures came precisely at a time when the Thai government was launching a massive campaign to eliminate the CPT's northern base areas.

Although the staunch pro-China leadership has not yet opted for wholesale capitulation, widespread defections and factional splits among the ranks threaten to decimate a party, which at its zenith in the mid-70s claimed 20,000 members.

In early 1979 Phak Mai, a major grouping which



favors closer ties with Vietnam and other socialist countries, broke off from the CPT over China's invasion of Vietnam.

Last December a massive defection including 250 armed communist guerrillas, followed by 750 cadre and thousands of sympathizers from 30 villages and three provinces, was led by veteran CPT leader Sawat Mahisaya. The government claims 4,300 guerrillas had laid down their arms in the previous four months, and military officers predict more surrenders in other provinces.

The Communist Party of Malaysia (CPM), considered a "limited threat" by the government of Mahathir Mohamad, likewise has been wracked with confusion and defections. Also a firm adherent of China's world view, the CPM has satisfied itself with moral support from Peking as the latter began establishing warmer "state-to-state" relations with the Malaysian government.

In November 1980, China facilitated the surrender of Musa Ahmad, former chairman of the CPM, to authorities in Kuala Lumpur. Less than a year later, it shut down the CPM's Voice of the Malayan Revolution.

Unmoved, the CPM in a telegram to the CPC's 12th Congress last August expressed full confidence in China's efforts "in uniting the fatherland, fighting hegemonism, building world peace . . ."

The Burmese Communist Party (BCP), until recently the only party in the region still reported to receive Chinese aid, just lost its annual allowance of more than \$7 million. As part of its efforts to mend relations between the region's states and insurgent movements, Peking was instrumental in arranging talks between President Ne Win and the BCP in 1980. Another round of negotiations has since occurred but without dramatic results.

Neither Indonesia nor Singapore is presently challenged by communist insurgency. Decimated by the Suharto-led bloodbath of 1965, the Indonesian communist movement may not resurface for some time to come.

Blessed with revolutionary movements in the throes of political and ideological chaos, the staunch pro-U.S. ASEAN governments have devoted more time to political and military consolidation. In their campaign to isolate Vietnam and destabilize the Heng Samrin government, the ASEAN heads-of-state engineered a coalition government-in-exile, on behalf of Washington. The coalition includes the murderous Pol Pot Khmer Rouge, Prince Sihanouk, and armed Kampuchean anti-communists. China is supplying the Khmer Rouge with arms and ammunition while Thailand provides them sanctuary.

As the guardians of U.S. interests in the region, the ASEAN regimes have invested heavily in defense. In 1975 they spent a total of \$2.7 billion; in 1981, the figure jumped to \$7 billion, according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. The ASEAN nations combined have an armed force of 767,900 men, and expansion is continuing.

Joint military ventures, usually provocative towards Vietnam, have become more frequent.

While U.S. pronouncements of late focus on ASEAN's political and military value, it continues to be high on Washington's economic agenda. Though not immune from the recession sweeping the entire capitalist world, ASEAN is economically the fastest-growing region,

according to the U.S. Commerce Department.

ASEAN continues to be an oasis especially for U.S. and Japanese capital. "By conservative reckoning," *U.S. News & World Report* notes, "there are more than 5,000 U.S. firms in Southeast Asia." Japanese firms number roughly half that many, according to a semi-government organization in Japan.

Undoubtedly, Washington's adamant insistence that Japan undertake a larger share in policing the local seas is proportional to the latter's share in the regional pie.

Given the disarray among the area's liberation forces, the U.S., reentrenchment in the region and the strengthening of its surrogates, the Philippine revolution gains greater significance. While the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) still formally holds China's international view, it has not followed in the collaborationist footsteps of its regional counterparts. While still officially subscribing to "Mao Zedong Thought," its actual revolutionary practice against the U.S.-Marcos regime contradicts the very logic of China's "Three World's Theory."

Currently, while China views the retention of the U.S. bases in the Philippines as a necessary counterweight to Soviet "expansionism," the CPP still adamantly campaigns for their removal. More important, however, is the CPP's consistent targeting of U.S. imperialism as the Filipino people's main enemy. Observers note that the Philippines' isolated geographic location most probably buffered its revolutionary forces from the direct pressures exerted by the CPC on the Thai communists.

There also appears to be a growing discomfort among Filipino revolutionaries about the "Maoist" appellation.

For example, Bernabe Buscayno, better known as Commander Dante of the New People's Army, stated from prison "We are not Maoists . . . Although we can learn from the experiences of China, Russia and other socialist countries, we must consider only those specifics which apply to us."

According to Horacio Morales, alleged head of the National Democratic Front before his arrest, communist members of the NDF resent the Maoist label because it implies subservience to a foreign power. Says Morales: "While it's true that NDF members study Mao's writings on the Chinese revolution, we also study Vietnamese, African and Latin American writings."

However, short of a thorough critique and abandonment of its official identification with the CPC's fatal theoretical constructs, the CPP will continue to be viewed by other anti-imperialist revolutionary movements with trepidation. And firm relations with the international anti-imperialist and socialist community will be crucial in the attainment and preservation of revolutionary victory.

No one knows better than the CPP the extreme demands posed by the country's archipelagic character. Amado Guerrero, in "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War," noted that the Philippine revolution does not share common borders (enjoyed by other liberation movements) with friendly, progressive or revolutionary states. As a result the Philippine revolution is founded on self-reliance and projects a long and tortuous road to victory. Nevertheless, Guerrero recognized that support from the "peoples and proletariat

Continued on page 11

## PRIEST RESPONDS TO TURNCOAT

"I was convinced as a priest I could be a nationalist sharing the responsibility for the nation's future," explains Fr. Orlando Tizon in an open letter addressed to the Bishops of the Philippines.

Fr. Tizon, an avowed nationalist priest, was a member of the diocese of Calbayog, Samar, until late 1979, when he went underground because he feared powerful forces were out to silence him. Tizon was arrested last September 20 in the raid which killed Edgar Jopson. He has been imprisoned in the Davao City PC barracks since that time.

Fr. Tizon is one of many church people fingered by Fr. Eduardo Kangleon, the turncoat priest from Samar. He accuses Tizon of having ties with the organized opposition.

Responding to Kangleon's accusations, Tizon writes about the values he holds and his relationship with the turncoat priest. In preparation for Kangleon's ordination, Tizon accompanied the young seminarian throughout Samar showing him the harsh conditions Samarēños live in. Stating frankly that he never kept secret his stand for national freedom and genuine democracy, Tizon calls on all priests to "serve the majority, the exploited and oppressed." Regarding the government's claims of communist infiltration in the church, Tizon states, "By raising the issue of Communist infiltration of the churches, they can conveniently brand and immobilize priests, pastors, religious, and lay people who involve themselves in the real problems of the community. . . ."

Meanwhile another turncoat is busily helping Ferdinand Marcos by teaching a course for the dictator. Nilo Tayag, former activist within the national democratic movement appeals to pure nationalism and tells his students that they are their own worst enemy in his course "Basic Orientation to the Filipino Ideology."

Speaking before the first graduating class, Marcos told the students that Tayag's seminar would "give the people back their honor and dignity and infuse them with hope and faith in themselves."

Tayag was part of a motley gang of converts Marcos brought with him to the U.S. on his recent state visit in an effort to prove that opposition to his regime had all but disappeared. Tayag spoke before the press and the government-sponsored Filipino community gatherings, praising Marcos' nationalism and appealing to the community for the support of the authoritarian regime.

While Marcos touts the turncoat actions of reputed nationalists like Tayag and Kangleon to demoralize the opposition, observers note that this will not make a dent in the already established strength of the national democratic movement (see story, page 1). □

## OVERSEAS LABOR MARKET DRYING UP

Philippine Labor Minister Blas Ople is in a quandary.

Just as the export of Filipino human labor has become one of the top five largest dollar earners for the country, ominous signs of its impending demise are emerging.

The Middle East, which has been the biggest market for exported Philippine labor (84% of the total Philippine overseas contract workers) is drying up. According to a recent report of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, political and economic stability in the region is leading to major cutbacks in development projects. The construction boom in Saudi Arabia, which employs about 69% of the Filipino workers in the Gulf states, has slowed down.

In Iraq, about 25,000 Filipinos are facing imminent lay-offs. Part of the reason is the financially-troubled Construction and Development Corporation of the Philippines. CDCP, owned by Marcos crony Rodolfo Cuenca, was recently taken over by the Philippine government which assumed its staggering debts. Before the government bailout, the overextended company ran out of capital to complete the cross-Iraq highway. Meanwhile the Iraqi government disrupted contract payments and each blames the other for the mess.

Many of the Gulf states are reducing the number of projects available to overseas contractors. Existing contracts are being renegotiated at about 45-50% below their former value. And to make matters worse, cheap Philippine labor is meeting stiff competition from workers in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

No wonder Ople and his boss in Malacañang are becoming frantic. Overseas jobs have served as an effective safety valve for the explosive Philippine employment situation. Last year, real unemployment hit 40%. Workers shipped abroad buffered Marcos and company, sparing them the political implications of an

acute unemployment crisis.

Ople has organized a delegation to meet with his Arabian counterparts in a frantic effort to insure continued trade in the country's fifth most valuable commodity. □

## ARTISTS, WRITERS DECRY CENSORSHIP

A protest statement by 324 cultural workers over stricter censorship and a demonstration on February 11 were among the least covered events during the recent Manila International Film Festival (MIFF).

Initially baffling some, Marcos lifted censorship over the media from late January to February 11. His gesture, however, coincided with MIFF's need to raise funds to defray its operational expenses. Under relaxed censorship laws, Filipinos viewed a round of specially-imported pornographic films whose proceeds more than covered the MIFF's needs.

Widespread criticism over the showing of uncensored films with heavy sexual content echoed through the press. The church was particularly vocal. Riding on the call for discretion in filmmaking, Marcos immediately reinstated censorship with an aim to have firmer and broader control of the media. Last February 1, he granted the Board of Review for Motion Picture and Television (BRMPT) more power to control various form of media including the right to view videotapes, films and the general live entertainment. Guidelines to control licensing of craftsmen and artists, and to require permits for non-theatrical films for classrooms and homes were also provided.

Underscoring their point, a spirited group of cultural workers exceeding 300 came together in downtown Manila to demonstrate against expanded censorship as a violation of basic rights. Publishing their protest statement in the February 1 issue of *Bulletin Today*, the signatories contended that the proposals will limit their already restricted expression. Signers included two national artists, novelist Nick Joaquin and sculptor Napoleon Abueva, film editors, directors and production managers, playwrights, journalists, and others in the cultural field. □



Loida Villegas and Asuncion Nuevo in the controversial picture; pushed to sue by Marcos. (Newsweek)

## FM THROWS BOOK AT THE MEDIA

Marcos is once again on the warpath against the media—domestic and foreign. The recent libel suits against *We Forum* and *Panorama* and two suits against *Newsweek* provide unmistakable evidence.

The first *Newsweek* case involves charges against the staff for depicting plantation workers on Negros Island as exploited by landowners.

A second—and juicier—case concerns two Filipina girls whose picture was used to illustrate a story on child prostitution. The girls filed charges against authors Richard Vokey and Jill Smolowe February 21. The two, Loida Villegas, 16, and Asuncion Nuevo, 17, claim that Vokey took their picture two years ago and told them that it would go to U.S. charity groups for possible financial aid. They were paid ₱700, according to Villegas.

Another suit comes from the Philippine military. Brig. Gen. Artemio Tadiar filed suit, also on February 21, for ₱10 million against the Sunday

weekly *Panorama*. His objection: an article by Ma. Ceres Doyo entitled "40 Years After the Fall, Bataan Again Under Siege." The article appeared March 3 of last year and Tadiar was nowhere mentioned.

Meanwhile 29 journalists have been subjected to military interrogation over their articles and Manila newscaster Nenez Olivarez claims to have been forced to resign.

A closer look at *Newsweek II* suggests that there is more to the case than two outraged young ladies. Information Minister Gregorio Cendaña initially asked Brig. Gen. Narciso Cabrera of the Manila Police to draft a reply to the article. One source in Manila reveals that the girls were pressured to file the libel charges by the Philippine government.

Marcos has always had an awkward relationship with the international media. Realizing that his image has steadily deteriorated, he has used a carrot-and-stick approach to pressure the media to cover positive aspects of his regime. Shortly after he declared martial law, he leaned heavily on the stick, arresting and deporting a number of foreign correspondents who caused him political embarrassment. In recent years, in the effort to improve his human rights image, he has leaned more toward the carrot.

The current array of libel suits suggest that it's time for the stick again. The approach fits neatly into the current crackdown on one sector of society after the other.

Observers note that only a confident ruler, sure of U.S. support would launch such a broadside, particularly against prestigious members of the international press. It is an approach which, in the long run, can only backfire on him.

But Marcos has no options. Wanting the impossible, he is now pursuing his only course. He is disregarding the consequences in the desperate effort to promote a positive image. □

## COPPER SMELTER: ANOTHER MONEY-LOSING VENTURE

The \$375 million Philippine Associated Smelting and Refining Company (PASAR) announced its long-awaited opening in May amidst complaints about the project's cost and relevance.

According to Trade and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin, the copper smelter, the first of the government's 11 major industrial projects, promises to spur industrial growth and offer competitive prices for Philippine copper mining companies.

But mining executives are less than pleased. When PASAR opens, Philippine mining companies are committed to send 30% of their copper ore output to the new smelter for refining. For a pound of copper ore, they will pay a fee 20% higher than what they currently pay Japanese smelters.

Local miners are also grumbling about Ongpin's ambitious plan to double PASAR's production which currently is 138,000 metric tons annually. One local executive expressed his concern that the Philippines will lose the more economical Japanese buyers altogether since current Philippine production will barely keep an expanded PASAR going. Japanese smelters receive 40% of their copper ore from the Philippines.

Ongpin attempted to soothe the ruffled mining executives by pointing out that, as part-owners of PASAR, they will receive a portion of the high fees in question. The government's National Development Corporation, of which Ongpin is Chairman, is the major stockholder with 34% of PASAR's shares followed by three Japanese companies and the World Bank's International Finance Corporation.

PASAR is the only one of the government's 11 projects to be realized. The others—including diesel engine manufacturing, phosphatic fertilizer production, aluminum smelting, petrochemical production, and copper sintering—remain glued to the drawing board. Observers doubt whether they will take off at all.

The 11 projects, chosen almost at random, do not represent part of a coherent plan to develop an independent economy for the Philippines which remains dominated by U.S. imperialist interests. In fact, the timing of PASAR's launching could not be worse given the poor international copper market.

Worldwide recession caused copper prices to plummet last year to 60¢ a pound. To keep the local industry from collapsing altogether, Marcos offered to have the National Development Company buy the metal from the local miners at 75¢ a pound. This agreement cost the NDC \$34 million from July to December last year.

The NDC recently offered the floundering mining companies a six-month subsidy extension. Foreign and local mining executives, however, demanded that the subsidy be raised to 80¢ a pound before any agreement is signed. □

## Economic Update

## Disenchantment Among the Elite

*'Most prominent within the new group of Marcos critics is none other than Spaniard Enrique Zobel of the Zobel de Ayala clan, president of Ayala Corp.'*

By NANCY ROCAMORA

While the Philippine economy continues its dizzying slide, new cracks have emerged within the country's ruling class and criticisms of Ferdinand Marcos have begun to come from unexpected places.

This time the critics are representatives of "old money," the traditional elite.

Most prominent within the new group of Marcos critics is none other than Spaniard Enrique Zobel of the Zobel de Ayala clan, president of the multi-million dollar Ayala Corp. Equally as vocal is Jaime Ongpin, chairman of Benguet Corp. and brother of Marcos' current Minister of Trade, arch-technocrat Roberto Ongpin.

The new clique sets itself in opposition to the two key economic factions within the Marcos camp: the cronies—whose skyrocketing growth has dwarfed the old empires considerably—and the technocrats. These latter, say Zobel and company, dance to the tune of the International Monetary Fund which favors foreign capital.

#### "IT'S HIS MINISTERS WHO ARE NOT EFFICIENT"

Zobel and Ongpin are among the leaders of the year-and-a-half old Makati Business Club, an organization of top Philippine capitalists and economists whose concern over Ferdinand Marcos' economic policies has drawn them together into a soft-core opposition circle within the ruling class. Their goal: to become an effective lobbying group within the Philippine government.

The MBC's membership is impressive enough. In addition to Zobel and Ongpin, its leadership includes Cesar Buenaventura of Pilipinas Shell; Washington Sycip of Sycip, Gorres and Velayo; Rogelio Pantaleon of Filipinas Foundation; James Collins of Citibank; Antonio Ozaeta of Philippine Commercial and Industrial Bank; economists Jose Romero and Bernardo Villegas; and Vicente Paterno, former Minister of Industry.

Members of the energetic group meet weekly for talks and presentations. They sponsor conferences and seminars on a wide range of topics with economic and political specialists from the Philippine Economic Society, Development Academy of the Philippines, Asian Institute of Journalism and National Defense College.

"Marcos is on the right track," claims Zobel. "It's his ministers who are not efficient."

Concerned over the growing popularity of the New People's Army in the countryside, MBC members advocate decentralized economic and development planning. "The security problem," insists Paterno, "is directly linked to rural poverty." Zobel goes so far as to suggest that the government should use funds earmarked for industry to help feed the people. "How are you going to feed the people? With steel? Aluminum?" he asks rhetorically.

#### NEW STARS RISE

The formation within the Filipino bourgeoisie of an anti-Marcos faction—however lukewarm the criticism—marks an important development in the country's increasingly polarized political picture. During the early days of martial law, there was hardly a peep out of the group. Zobel himself still claims martial law was good for the economy.

But much has happened within the last ten years. New stars have skyrocketed in the form of top presidential cronies.

Zobel made millions agriculturally, then multiplied them countless times by developing the city of Makati, the country's financial capital. But huge as the real estate-based Ayala conglomerate might be, it cannot stand up to the empires of Roberto Benedicto, Rodolfo Cuenca, Ricardo Silverio, or Herminio Disini—even though the latter three have collapsed and have been bailed out by the government. The mining fortune of Ongpin is equally dwarfed.

#### MULTI-MILLIONAIRE VICTIMS

The Marcos cronies are so tied in with international capital that they play on a far bigger stage than the local kingpins. What Zobel and company do not, and cannot see is that the cronies and the technocrats both perform roles defined for them by the big playwrights in the World Bank. That institution, in its secret memorandum known as the Ascher Report, emphasized the need for the Philippine government to tighten the screws on the country's smaller entrepreneurs in the interest of centralizing and streamlining the economy. Ayala Corp. and the others are the victims.

The jelling of a new political circle within the Filipino bourgeoisie has been accompanied by a number of phenomena in recent months. Among them, the bitter feud between the brothers Ongpin. Jaime bitterly criticizes the government's consistent policy of rescuing companies on the brink of disaster—most recently Cuenca's



Zobel (Asiaweek)

Construction and Development Corporation of the Philippines. He is also the most vocal critic of Marcos' copper smelter (see story, page 4). Roberto acts as Marcos' staunchest defender.

Most recently, Zobel hit the headlines over a feud with his American cousin Andres Soriano, Chairman of San Miguel Corp. Zobel, Vice-Chairman, questioned the imperious ways of cousin Andres and knocked over a hornet's nest. The Soriano patriarch has no involvement with the MBC.

The international press treats the MBC and its positions sympathetically. Three key reporters on the Philippine economy, *Asiaweek*, the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, and the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, consistently reflect MBC views. A recent *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports on the degree to which the Philippine economy has been devastated by "crony capitalism."

#### RESCUING CAPITALISTS IN DISTRESS

For crony capitalism continues to wreak havoc on the economy long after individual cronies ride off into the sunset in Switzerland with their million in their saddlebags.

Recent revelations concern one of the most serious casualties: the Development Bank of the Philippines. DBP was originally designed to provide low-interest loans for development projects. Today its interest rate, at 21%, is nearly identical with that of commercial banks. It will have to cut back on loans by 12% this year in order to stay afloat.

The reason? DBP has consistently acted as rescue agent for capitalists and companies in distress. "Never mind your debts; just hand over the company," has been Marcos' reassuring approach to his floundering friends. The government is thus saddled with an increasing number of no-good investments whose debts must still be paid and whose re-sale value is nil.

DBP is currently the proud owner of 87 such monsters and drowning under the

weight. It plans to sell them, but can do so only at a loss. It also holds some degree of ownership in 40 hotels, the products of the Marcoses' disastrous 1974 building boom. This resulted in much cheap money for friends of the Marcoses and provided attractive lodgings for delegates to the 1976 IMF/World Bank conference in Manila. But the hotels, operating at a loss, have been nothing but headaches ever since. As owner after owner defaulted on his cheap loans, the DBP, source of much of the money, took over.

"We just can't afford cronyism anymore," concludes DBP Chairman and Marcos appointee Cesar Zalamea.

#### EXPORTS SLUMP; PESO SLIDES

Meanwhile the economic indicators continue to point to the overall sorry state of the Philippine economy.

1982's balance-of-payments deficit hit an all-time high of \$1.14 billion, more than doubling 1980's earlier high. Economic growth, according to generous estimates may have reached 2.6%, the lowest since 1960. Some insist a big fat zero is a more accurate figure. Exports continued to slump in 1982 and the peso slid 12% against the U.S. dollar. The debt-service ratio—the amount of money expended in paying loans as opposed to total receipts for the year—hit 23% to 25% according to the IMF/World Bank, well past the 20% danger point.

Marcos continues his desperate attempt to lure more foreign investment. His latest ploys include a promise of resident status to anyone who invests \$200,000 or more and new export processing zones. Meanwhile Mobil Philippines, the country's third largest company, is pulling out.

#### HITTING AT THE COMMON TAO

All of which has resulted in a Philippine version of Reaganism as dictated by the IMF. "Cutbacks" is the word of the day. Prime Minister Cesar Virata, simultaneously Finance Minister, announced an 18% across-the-board budget cut at the end of last year which will come down hard on government services. It will particularly hurt lower-level government bureaucrats and schoolteachers whose increases and bonuses are indefinitely postponed. Virata also announced a new 3% tax on cigarettes, beer and liquor. This too will hit hard at the common *tao* whose few luxuries in life include an occasional cigarette, a San Miguel and a glass of rum.

The increasing decline will mean harder times for Ferdinand Marcos, excellent conditions for NPA recruitment and, no doubt, increased grumbling from the likes of Zobel.

For those familiar with the history of Philippine finance, seeing Zobel as a has-been is anything but easy. Ayala Corp. posted profits of \$12 million last year. Zobel places his personal wealth at \$184 million. He pilots his own red airplane, his own red helicopter, drives his own custom-made red Range Rover, and generally lives like a king. But history is passing him by.

For Ferdinand Marcos has locked the Philippine economy into the web of international capital—and today, when it comes to politics, it is the bureaucrat capitalists and the mounting opposition who count. □

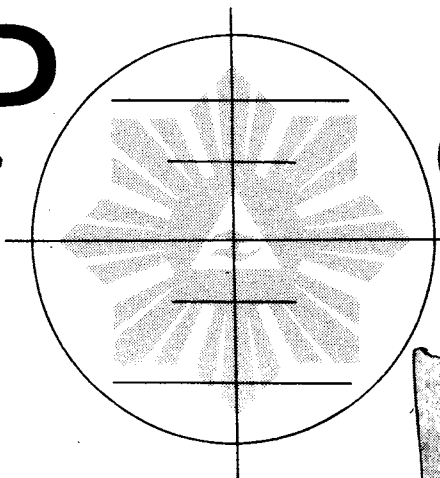


Ayala Avenue in downtown Makati, source of Zobel's wealth.

(National Book Store)

# Target: KDP

Govern  
Ext



... the Freedom of Information Act documents showed the FBI alone had 1,300 pages of files on the KDP . . . .

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

Previously classified documents have confirmed that U.S. intelligence agencies spied heavily on the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) and its leading members since its formation in 1973.

The group's lawyers obtained the documents through the Freedom of Information Act. The search was made in connection with the Domingo v. Marcos civil suit filed last September by relatives and associates of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, KDP members who were slain last June in their trade union office in Seattle.

Charging top Philippine and U.S. officials with conspiracy in the murders, the suit seeks \$30 million in punitive damages. It also seeks "injunctive relief" to protect "anti-Marcos activists of Filipino ancestry" from harassment, surveillance and physical intimidation by Philippine and U.S. intelligence operatives.

The Philippine government is seeking the suit's dismissal. The U.S. government is demanding immunity for Marcos and for its sued officials, for "national security and foreign policy" reasons.

To bolster the civil suit's demand for a stop to the intelligence infiltration and harassment of the U.S.-based anti-Marcos movement, the plaintiffs sent FOIA requests to the FBI, CIA, U.S. Naval Intelligence and more than a dozen U.S. agencies. With the findings, the plaintiffs also seek to strengthen their claim that the Domingo/Viernes murders stemmed from U.S.-R.P. intelligence operations.

The files handed over by the agencies contain numerous deletions and distortions but nevertheless reflect the extent of U.S. government spying on the KDP:

- On June 15, 1976, an informant supplied the FBI a "graphic and detailed report" on the internal layout of the KDP national headquarters in Oakland.

- An FBI report dated December 5, 1975 said that an informant had the impression that the KDP was "actively channelling funds and supplies through their underground contacts to communist insurgents in the Philippines;" and that the KDP was "recruiting military personnel in this function."

- An FBI informant "provided his personal characterization of KDP and 'Ang Katipunan' and stated that the organization consists of a hardcore cadre of at least 12 members in the Bay Area. The informant identified the following named individuals who are currently active mem-

bers of the KDP [names deleted]."

- An FBI agent noted that [informant's name deleted] was "exceptionally candid and cooperative and oftentimes volunteered information regarding members of the KDP. . . . he would be willing to assist NVINTSERV (Naval Intelligence Service) in any way possible if it would serve the interests of the United States."

Rene Cruz, *Ang Katipunan* editor and plaintiff in the civil suit stressed that the files "highlight the community's vulnerability and its need to be protected from surveillance, harassment tactics, and assassinations coordinated from the highest levels of both governments."

## KDP LEADERS SINGLED OUT

A socialist organization of Filipino nationals and Filipino-Americans, the KDP also obtained FBI and naval intelligence records on key members of the organization:

MELINDA PARAS—Statement on the former KDP leader, filed by [FBI] Special Agent A.E. Nowicke on June 15, 1976: "Melinda PARRAS, age about 24, Filipino-American, who currently resides at KDP Headquarters in Oakland. She is perhaps, with the exception of [name deleted], the most influential member of the KDP. . . . After martial law was declared in the Philippines, she was placed under house arrest by the Marcos government, declared *persona non grata*, placed aboard an aircraft and sent back to the United States. She is currently the political strategist, as is [name deleted] for KDP and has tremendous influence in policy development. She is also a self-admitted Communist of the Marxist, Leninist, Mao Tsi-Tung [sic] School."

CATHI TACTAQUIN—Informant to Special Agent A.E. Nowick at Oakland, June 15, 1976:

"Kathy TACTAQUIN, age about 25, Filipino-American, who resided at KDP Headquarters in Oakland up until mid-April 1976, but who has since moved, present address unknown. She was at that time co-chairman of the National Secretariat of the KDP. . . . According to [name of informant deleted] Kathy has been less active in KDP activities since she moved from the KDP Headquarters and may indicate her change in responsibility in KDP." [Ed. Note: To date, Cathi Tactaquin is a National Executive Board member of the KDP.]

BRUCE OCCENA—State Department record revealed that the former KDP leader was under surveillance when he

travelled to Cuba. The files noted REASON FOR LOOKOUT—"Pro-Castro activist, Venceremos Group."

Some 200 pages of files on Occena were submitted by the FBI, describing him as a dangerous "extremist." At one point, when an electrical installation was bombed in a Bay Area suburb, the FBI submitted his name for investigative alert.

RENE CRUZ—A Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) file on the current AK editor, contained a news clipping from *Bulletin Today*, a Manila daily dated December 8, 1980, naming him among 60 persons, "including four former senators, who had been charged [by the Marcos regime] with multiple crimes against the state."

The FOIA documents, which indicated the FBI alone had 1,300 pages on the KDP, also revealed that files were kept on other leading members of the organization, e.g. Geline Avila and Leni Marin. They included passport documents of slain activists Domingo and Viernes. FBI files also contained a number of news clippings from Seattle publications that made mention of Domingo's activities.

This newspaper was also mentioned in the FBI informant's report of June 15, 1976, describing "ANG KATIPUNAN is the mouthpiece of the KDP. It is a monthly publication with special additions [sic] when necessary."

## MARCOS SPIES ALSO ACTIVE

Philippine intelligence agents have also been surveilling the anti-Marcos movement, particularly the KDP, rather heavily. Immediately after martial law was declared, a Philippine consular official in Los Angeles "defected" from government ranks, exposing a blacklist of 100 Filipino and Filipino-Americans whose activities abroad were deemed "detrimental to the national interest." The list originated from the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces (ISAFP), a notorious military intelligence branch based in Manila. The list named a number of individuals who later joined the KDP ranks.

But it was a 1979 Senate subcommittee hearing that exposed the biggest political bombshell: the Philippine Infiltration Plan. As early as 1973, Marcos agents reportedly went on spy missions to infiltrate and even physically harass, activists in the U.S.-based opposition movement.

The Senate Committee on Government Operations issued a report, classified "Top Secret—Sensitive," on the "Activities of Certain Foreign Intelligence Agencies in

the U.S."

The report described the Philippine intelligence community as a "highly structured group of organizations based in general on the American model." Among the top agencies mentioned were the National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA); the Presidential Security Command (PSC); the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI); and the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP).

The PSC "contains the elite of the Philippines in officers, and the CIA believes that action teams dispatched abroad would likely include personnel from its units."

According to the Senate report, "[Philippine government] attachés who are stationed abroad, are authorized to conduct clandestine foreign intelligence and counterintelligence, although as a matter of practice, the CIA believes that most such efforts are overt."

The testimony of Los Angeles Consul General Armando Fernandez at a court hearing in the Philippines two years ago on opposition activities in the U.S. inadvertently confirms this.

The Los Angeles consul testified before Judge Ernanie Pano of the Rizal Court of First Instance that one of his functions in the ministry "was to monitor" organizations in the U.S. composed of Filipino-Americans who seek to overthrow the duly-constituted Philippine government.

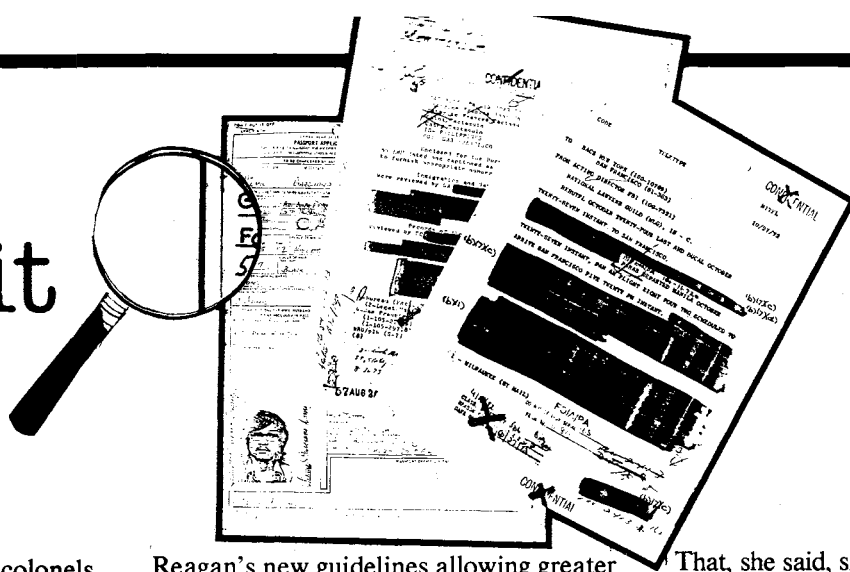
The testimony also revealed that Fernandez submitted several documents, including a KDP "one-year plan." (This document is restricted solely to KDP members.)

When asked by Judge Pano whether he was "supposed to submit a report on the activities of these various organizations,"



Cathi Tactaquin

# ment Files Admit ensive Spying



Fernandez responded: "Including periodic reports . . . including annexes, yes."

How many Filipino intelligence officers have been stationed in the U.S. is uncertain, the Senate report noted. ". . . It is possible that many more are present, the CIA does not know, for example, whether the 19 who entered in 1973 have returned to the Philippines or remained in the U.S. The FBI has no information concerning their activities."

## WHY KDP?

What made the KDP a special target of sophisticated intelligence operations by both the U.S. and Philippine governments?

Since 1973, the KDP has represented the most militant and progressive defense of the rights and interests of the Filipino community in the United States. The KDP has stood in the forefront of anti-imperialist initiatives against the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, and in support of various national liberation struggles in the world. Aside from institutionalizing protests during the martial law anniversary and support campaigns for Philippine political prisoners, the KDP has led emergency actions against visiting Philippine government bureaucrats, such as Imelda Marcos, Cesar Virata, Juan Ponce Enrile, and Marcos himself. It has consistently led campaigns against U.S. aid to the regime. The KDP has openly declared its support for the National Democratic Front through educational, medical aid campaigns and fundraising drives.

On the home front, the KDP gained prominence in San Francisco's celebrated International Hotel struggle; the Narciso-Perez Legal Defense Fund; and Dr. Bienvenido Alona's racial harassment suit against the U.S. Navy. It led campaigns against racially-biased licensure tests and procedures affecting Filipino doctors and nurses as well as campaigns for low-cost housing in Seattle's International District and Honolulu's Chinatown. The Philippine National Day nationwide celebrations of June 12; the annual Far West Conventions up and down the West Coast; and union struggles such as in Local 37 in Seattle have also been identified with the KDP.

The emergence of the KDP as the left-wing in the Filipino community drew attacks from Philippine consulates and conservative community leaders across the nation who have branded all of KDP's activities as "communist."

In Chicago where the anti-Marcos movement led by the KDP attracted much prominence, the local Philippine Consulate instigated confrontational activities to the extent of physically intimidating anti-Marcos activists. In 1979, a boyfriend of a former KDP member was approached by an anonymous person who claimed he was

"sent on a mission by Philippine colonels and generals." Asked to spy on the anti-martial law movement, he declined and reported the incident to the Chicago KDP chapter.

Even the conservative elements within the anti-Marcos opposition feared the growth of KDP's influence in the community. In its May 19-25, 1979 issue, Alex Esclamado's *Philippine News* "scooped" a so-called split among leftist groups, headlined: "Rift Exposes Red Tint of FFP, KDP." The story was meant to stir up a hornet's nest in the community and to smear the organization. The hoopla aimed at isolating the KDP from the community fizzled out just as quickly as it began.

But the covert work of professional intelligence agents apparently did not cease. Just before his assassination in June 1981, Gene Viernes told his comrades his "feeling of being surveilled" as he went to the Philippines and back to make links with the Philippine labor movement.

The secret surveillance of the KDP precedes the more overt acts of harassment that have come down on the anti-Marcos movement in the last two years. Still pending in Congress are bills designed to facilitate the passage of an extradition treaty with the Marcos government. A grand jury in San Francisco is continuing to probe the activities of persons linked to the Movement for a Free Philippines. This process was spotlighted by FBI raids on the house of Steve Psinakis in search of bombing paraphernalia allegedly intended for terrorist activities in the Philippines.

"What we have in common with Psinakis is opposition to U.S. foreign policy in the Philippines," said Cathi Tactaquin, "and all movements that challenge the U.S. foreign policy of intervention and support for repressive regimes are under the gun right now."

She noted the threats of deportations, extradition or prosecution through the U.S. neutrality act being waged against Salvadorans, Haitians and Palestinians.

Reagan's new guidelines allowing greater freedom for the FBI to infiltrate domestic groups place emphasis on organizations with suspected links to foreign "terrorist" movements (see box).

The United States government wants a free hand to stop movements abroad that threaten its economic and military position, Tactaquin said. "Movements like ours here in the U.S. keep generating public criticism and help frustrate the government's aim of getting a popular blessing for its foreign policy of war and repression."

That, she said, singles out these movements for persecution.

KDP looks at the *Domingo v. Marcos* civil suit, especially its demand for injunctive relief, as a major step in defending the Filipino section of the anti-intervention movement. But the KDP believes in linking up with other movements that are facing similar situations.

"Building a broader wall of defense that can protect the civil liberties of everyone, not just Filipinos, is ultimately our community's best bet," Tactaquin concluded. □

## FBI Spy Powers Widened

New guidelines issued by Attorney General William French Smith will allow FBI agents wider powers to infiltrate and spy on domestic groups and organizations that try to "achieve social or political change."

Effective March 21, federal agents are empowered to investigate groups and individuals based on mere statements advocating crime or "an apparent intent to engage in crime," instead of requiring evidence of some concrete action.

In addition, the FBI can infiltrate or use informers against groups before agents have a "reasonable indication of criminal activities"—agency tactics considered illegal by existing guidelines instituted by former Attorney General Edward H. Levi seven years ago.

Steve Psinakis, a Marcos regime opponent who was also a target of FBI spying and harassment last year, stated:

"The new rules are consistent with the Reagan administration's general philosophy and policies to suppress political dissent, restrict First Amendment rights of free expression and create a chilling effect on

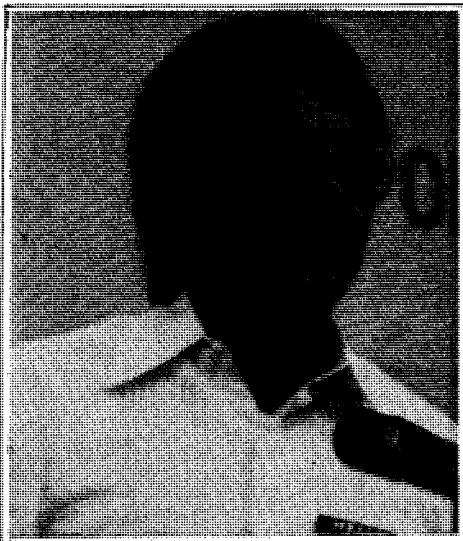
individuals and groups which 'advocate' the use of force for the protection of their freedom and human rights."

Representative Don Edwards (D-San Jose), similarly denounced the Justice Department's latest move on domestic spying: "The guidelines permit the launching of a full investigation based on advocacy alone. They want to go back to the old days when they investigated and held hearings on subversives, radical organizations and leftists."

"They really fear freedom," Edwards concluded.

The existing guidelines were based on a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that mere "advocacy" of violence is not enough to warrant prosecution.

The Justice Department will drastically alter the Levi guidelines, which were issued following disclosures that FBI agents had engaged in widespread spying on Americans involved in civil rights, anti-war, feminist, socialist, and communist groups. □



Rene Cruz



Leni Marin



Geline Avila



Melinda Paras



Bruce Occena



Silme Domingo (murdered)



Gene Viernes (murdered)

Over 100 anti-Marcos activists gathered in Berkeley March 11 to 13 for the ninth annual conference of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Philippine Solidarity Network and set their priorities for the coming year.

The delegates, who hailed from 13 cities across the U.S. and Canada, voted to merge the two organizations "because we have the common, long-term goal of preventing U.S. intervention in the Philippines—a goal which requires the strongest organization possible." The new organization, CAMD/PSN, will retain the same name "because of the recognition both groups have as leaders of the opposition to the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship."

"This conference was the first national meeting since the September 1982 Marcos State Visit—one of the most important campaigns in our nine-year history," said Geline Avila who was elected as National Coordinator of the CAMD/PSN.

"The strategic role of the Philippines as a launching pad for U.S. military aggression—because of the presence of Clark and Subic bases—was the major focus of the State Visit. In depth discussions at the conference—on the current thrust of U.S. foreign policy worldwide, the role of different forces in the Southeast Asia region such as ASEAN and China, and the growing political crisis and polarization in the Philippines—helped us understand the implications of that role, both for the resistance movement in the Philippines and our work here in the U.S.," Avila explained.

Conference delegates discussed a long-range strategy for "developing a movement against U.S. intervention in the Philippines" based on an analysis that the U.S. will seriously consider direct military interference in responding to a heightened revolutionary threat to the Marcos regime.

The Philippines, the conference noted, is a key pillar in an international military network that is ranged against socialist countries and national liberation movements. Serving a radius that includes Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, the U.S. bases in the Philippines play an irreplaceable role. Their loss will have an impact on U.S. military capacities similar to the "loss" of Iran.

As the revolutionary movement comes closer to overthrowing the Marcos regime and U.S. involvement grows, the conference predicted the spread of a spontaneous

# Anti-FM Activists Hold National Meet

## Merge CAMD/PSN

outry internationally. CAMD/PSN's strategy involves helping prevent direct U.S. intervention or shortening its duration. Furthermore, it calls for channeling the discontent with U.S. foreign policy now steadily growing among Americans into an "informed opposition against U.S. imperialism in the Philippines" and elsewhere.

The CAMD-PSN strategy also calls for building the foundations of popular support for the National Democratic Front. It pledged to educate sympathizers on the NDF's perspectives, defend it from attacks, and build material support for it.

Conference delegates agreed to work on several major campaigns to put their issue "on the agenda of the U.S. progressive movement." These include campaigns on the U.S.-R.P. Bases negotiations scheduled to begin in April and on exposure of how U.S. military aid fuels the repressive machinery of the Marcos regime.

The urgency of the campaigns was highlighted by a discussion of the "higher substage of the strategic defensive" that the NDF has reached in its fight with the regime.

Delegates warned that Marcos' response features increasing incidents of massacres, strategic hamletting, more anti-communism and greater political repression. They also noted the increased visibility of the U.S.

hand in planning counterinsurgency drives.

Recognizing the need to draw international attention to increasing repression in the Philippines, the conference agreed to emphasize "the exposure of Marcos' fascist crimes," the new threats placed on political prisoners, and the role of the U.S. in all these.

Conference delegates also detailed a project to build labor support for the KMU (*Kilusang Mayo Uno* or May First Movement), a labor federation, and to channel increased attention to the Toronto chapter's campaign to free Satur Ocampo, a long-term political prisoner. A new CAMD-PSN slide show "Repression—Made in USA" was premiered at the conference and is now available for showing throughout the country.

"Largely because of our effectiveness over the past nine years, our movement has become a target of attack by the U.S. and Philippine governments. Marcos' attempt to extradite our former national coordinator Rene Cruz, now Ang Katipunan editor, for so-called 'subversion' is a direct attack on our organization just as the 1981 murders of two of our members in Seattle, Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, show the brutal lengths to which they will go to silence our movement," said Avila.

"We have fought the Extradition Treaty and we fully support the Committee for

Justice for Domingo and Viernes and we will continue this fight because our movement will not be halted," she added. Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley sent a message welcoming the conference to Berkeley. "I am especially pleased to have this conference take place in Berkeley, and to welcome our friends from around our nation and Canada," Newport told the delegates. Messages also came from Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-CA) and a number of unions, church groups, and liberation support networks.

The delegates elected 11 members to the National Steering Council, in addition to Avila. They include Armin Alforque, New York; Odette Taverna, Washington, D.C.; Greg Santillan, Los Angeles; Ia Rodriguez, Seattle; Dean Alegado, Honolulu; Fely Villasin, Toronto; Christine Araneta, San Francisco; Rene Cruz, Maxi Villones, and Eddie Escultura, Bay Area. Villasin will coordinate the work in Canada; Taverna is the new director of the Congress Task Force in Washington, D.C. □

For further information on CAMD-PSN or to become involved in the campaigns on the U.S.-R.P. Bases, the Extradition Treaty, and repression in the Philippines, contact:

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San Jose: Becky Villones  
(408) 288-8272  
Vancouver: Lulu Rous (604) 874-2549  
Montreal: Pierre Thiry  
(514) 342-3982



CAMD-PSN delegates represented 12 cities in the U.S. and Canada. (AK)



Geline Avila, CAMD-PSN Coordinator, stresses the need to view Philippine support work in the context of a broad anti-imperialist movement. (AK Photo)

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# Atari Runs Away

## 1,700 Lose Jobs

By VINCE REYES

Atari, a company that has been riding the crest of the home video game craze, suddenly announced last February the permanent lay-off of 1,700 employees.

The manufacturing of its video game consoles, cartridges and home computers will be moved to Hong Kong, Taiwan and Puerto Rico.

Six hundred workers, the majority of whom are recent immigrants from Mexico, Vietnam and the Philippines were stunned when told not to return with one day's notice. The remaining 1,100 will lose their jobs between March and June.

Atari and its parent Warner Communications, Inc., claim the decision was prompted by a drop in sales and profits since December 1982 due to stiff competition from other home video game manufacturers. To remain competitive by lowering the retail prices of their products, Atari wants to "lower labor costs" by moving overseas.

### LAY-OFFS, A PATTERN

Although the layoffs came as a surprise to Atari workers whose employment appeared stable because of the worldwide success of the video game market, Atari admitted it has actually been studying the move for at least a year. It follows in the footsteps of other high tech firms located in Santa Clara County, California—known as the Silicon Valley—that have moved major parts of their operations overseas.

Economic analysts and union officials prophesied over a year ago that massive layoffs would be part of the electronics industry's future. Giants in the computer/electronics industry like National Semiconductor and Hewlett-Packard have eliminated thousands of jobs by relocating

to lower-wage and non-unionized counties, states or to underdeveloped countries.

At first the layoffs were mainly hitting firms producing semiconductors, or miniaturized circuits (micro chips) that are the basic building blocks in the electronics industry. Now the layoffs are beginning to hit the micro chip users located in the same area.

### COMPETITION IS THE CAUSE

Atari claims that its operating profits fell to only \$1.2 million in the fourth quarter of 1982, lagging behind \$136 million from last year. The drop came despite a 17% sales gain from \$512 million in the fourth quarter of 1981 to \$498 million last year.

Warner's consumer electronics sales in 1982 went up to 64% to \$2 billion and operating income grew 13% to \$32.3 million. Despite their still relatively large profits, Atari officials defend the overseas move by citing a rise in manufacturing costs. Analysts explain, however, that it is pressure from Mattel, Coleco, Activision, who manufacture their games abroad and then sell them in the U.S. at very competitive prices, that motivated the decision.

Atari pays their Silicon Valley workers anywhere between \$6.50 and \$7.10 an hour. In Asia, they will only have to pay an average wage of \$2 an hour. In addition, Atari already has plants in Asia so at they will only need to hire 1,000 more people.

Despite Atari's attempt to prove projected loss of income, observers believe that the company will remain a strong and long lasting force in the home electronics market.

### RUNAWAY SYNDROME

Ricka Pisanni, a labor analyst with the California Employment Development De-



partment stated that "The Atari reduction is probably the largest we've seen in electronics-related manufacturing in Santa Clara County since the 1974-75 recession.

She said that Atari's move is different from the recent lay-offs in the Valley. "For a company to move existing jobs outside on this scale is new."

Not that electronics firms have found Santa Clara County extremely unprofitable. Virtually no plants in the Valley are unionized. Where attempts to organize unions occur, companies consistently harass and intimidate workers. Firms have frozen hiring, and forced people to quit through forced transfers and undesirable shift changes. Production speed-ups to make up for the slack created by lay-offs make working conditions even harder. Late last year workers accused several firms of discrimination and unfair labor practices before the county's human rights commission.

But the quest for even cheaper labor is the impetus for the runaway shop syndrome. Countries run by repressive regimes, where labor is almost literally under the gun, are particularly inviting.

Like other firms before it, Atari says it

will maintain its Santa Clara facility mainly for "product development." This means very little manufacturing, save for work on prototypes for new video arcade games. A limited crew is required for this.

As for the communities built around Silicon Valley's plants, consisting mostly of immigrant workers and their families, they are starting to show signs of blight. More homes and apartments are emptying, in turn negatively affecting business for clusters of stores built around these communities.

Even though Atari promised severance pay and assistance in retraining or job search, the future looks grim for most of the former employees. With the majority of them unskilled in any other type of work, joining the unemployment and welfare lines appears to be the only answers at this point.

The pattern of plant closures will continue to plague Santa Clara County residents. Another microchip maker, Fairchild Camera and Instrument, South of San Jose, announced mid-March its elimination of 442 jobs. □

### Update

## Blue Shield Union Cuts Its Losses

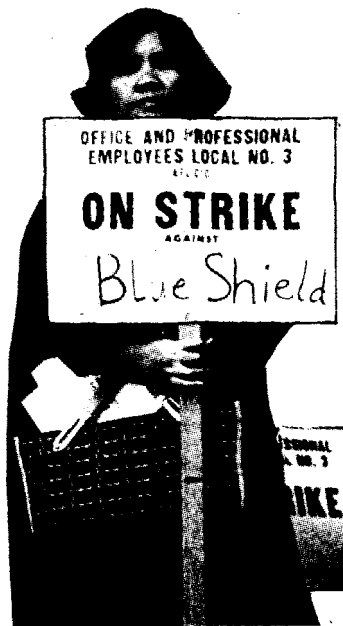
Two years ago, during a four-month strike by San Francisco's Office and Professional Employees Local 3, Blue Shield of California began transferring 448 jobs to rural areas. The move affected clerks, subscriber services workers and operators of video consoles for claims processing. A large number of them were Filipinos.

Last month, the union and the insurance company reached an agreement for a \$3 million package of rights and guarantees for 416 of the affected workers.

Blue Shield originally threatened to lay-off employees last August and to relocate by May of this year. After Local 3 bargained unsuccessfully to save the jobs they were able to block the plan by filing and pursuing unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

Local 3 viewed Blue Shield's move as a union busting attempt since the rural locations the jobs were moving to—Red Bluff, Sonora and Turlock—are non-unionized (and mostly white) areas where the wage scales are approximately half of those in the Bay Area.

Pressure from the NLRB resulted in a substantial delay in the relocation plan, and a decent severance agreement for those who do not want to relocate. In-



cluded in the package is severance pay of up to 12 weeks, a lump sum payment for part of workers' unused sick leave, and two months post-employment medical insurance coverage. Blue Shield also had to agree to a \$200,000 job training program for jobs outside Blue Shield.

The NLRB has dropped charges against Blue Shield now that the union's demands have been met. □

## Filipino MDs Complain of Racism

Three Filipino physicians filed complaints with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in San Francisco accusing the American Medical Association and Kaiser Permanente Hospital in Santa Clara, California of discrimination.

The Philippine-trained doctors claim they are being denied entry into a residency training program, a step to getting a medical license in California.

One of the three, Dr. Reynaldo Abejuela, 28, believes he is being discriminated on "because of my Filipino origin." He is now working as a nurse's aide for only \$5 an hour.

Abuela recounted that as a foreign medical graduate, he had to pass two tests, the Educational Committee for FMGs and the Federal Licensure Examination. (Over half of the Filipinos do not pass the FLEX). After having passed them, he was declared by the Board of Quality Medical Assurance in Sacramento to be qualified as an intern anywhere in the U.S.

But when Abejuela applied at Kaiser he was rejected because he did not graduate from a university accredited by the Liaison Committee on Medical Education. He claims that this decision is based on Kaiser's self-imposed standard that goes

against the state's decision to qualify him as an intern.

Abejuela asserts that he knows of American medical students who were accepted in internship programs even though they finished their schooling in the Philippines.

"If they are given that privilege, why aren't we? They came from the same schools, University of Santo Tomas and Far Eastern University. So what's the difference? They're white and we're brown, that's the difference," he said.

The AMA is named in the complaint because it administers the accreditation committee. Its policy of discouraging training programs from admitting doctors from "non-accredited schools" is also a target of the complaint.

Despite the fact that it has a policy which limits admissions only to U.S. and Canadian graduates, Kaiser claims it does not "categorically discriminate on the basis of race or national origin."

There is now a nationwide glut of physicians competing for only a few training slots. This year 17,592 residency positions will be opening nationwide. In competition for these slots are 16,000 graduates of accredited U.S. and Canadian schools; 2,500 U.S. citizens who graduated from foreign medical schools and 6,000 foreign-born and foreign-trained doctors. □

# Civil War . . .

Continued from front page

the country to organize on all fronts simultaneously. Their most important goal was to establish themselves among the country's peasants, the vast majority of the population. In order to insure that the mountains running down the center of most major islands might serve as safe retreats, organizing among minority mountain-dwellers was equally essential. With no established base areas, the NPA had to organize while constantly under fire and on the run. All planned offensives had to focus on the endless quest for arms and military experience.

Meanwhile city-dwellers could not be ignored. Political influence had to be established and mass movements built among various sectors even though organizing was quickly declared illegal under martial law. Painfully, the rudiments of an underground had to be constructed to facilitate various forms of "legal, illegal and semi-legal" political struggles in the face of inevitable repression.

NDF members and supporters paid an enormous price for the "early substage." Gains were made, lost, and made again. Imprisonment, torture and often death awaited organizers who fell into the government's hands. The average life span of an NPA member during this period was said to be a mere three years.

Fifteen years of battling tremendous difficulties have brought the revolutionaries into the "higher substage:" the NPA now has a sizeable nationwide apparatus and the NDF, significant political muscle.

The "higher substage of the strategic defensive" is proving most sobering to the regime. For once, the revolutionaries, the Marcos regime and top officials of the U.S. Defense Department agree on something: the National Democratic Front now represents a serious and direct threat to U.S. interests in the country and internationally.

While Marcos remains militarily superior, the NDF's gains are inescapably visible.

On the military front, the NPA now casts its shadow in the most strategic corners of the archipelago. The process of military entrenchment began in Central Luzon and the Cagayan Valley in 1969 and the early 1970s. By the late 1970s, it had apparently reached



Workers demonstrate in downtown Manila; NDF has gained footholds in various sectors.

(AK Photo)

the book. Mass arrests struck labor and the clergy. He threw libel suits at opposition media for insulting the President's honor. Journalists with minds of their own were invited for "interviews" by the military. Heavy censorship was reinstated to the point where even artists—usually very difficult to organize—staged a protest over constraints on artistic expression. (See story, page 4.) It is a crackdown which continues to spread.

Political prisoner Jose Ma. Sison writes of a scheme to rush the subversion cases against him to a quick conclusion by the end of 1983. "According to reliable sources, I would be more easily killed, formally or informally, especially after the conclusion . . ." Could this be a first step, observers wonder, toward executing key political prisoners in order to terrorize the opposition?

The regime's efforts on the ideological front are equally intense. Through the sophisticated use of anti-communism, it is attempting to separate Communists and national democrats from their potential allies. The regime's biggest success by far has been with the clergy whose hierarchy recently qualified its opposition to Marcos by distancing itself from its own national democratic members.

But by far the most sinister efforts to separate revolutionaries from their base continue to occur in the countryside. Here the Marcos military conducted an unprecedented number of massacres in 1982. Soldiers would descend on an area, spraying houses with bullets or arresting groups of people whose bullet-

plan aims to decapitate the national democratic movement by destroying its leadership and starving it out by denying it access to its popular base and material resources. *Katatagan* aims to "win the hearts and minds of the people" through combined civic and military actions. The phrase is familiar from Vietnam days and the implication is increased repression.

Meanwhile Marcos' backers in the U.S. Defense Department are finding it more and more difficult to obscure the U.S. role in the counterinsurgency effort. Some are not even trying. Project *Katatagan* results directly from close collaboration with U.S. defense officials. Born during a September 1981 Manila visit of U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, *Katatagan* is only one portion of a jointly developed counterinsurgency strategy. Ver and Carlucci also mapped out the long-range weapons needs of the Marcos military and plotted the most effective use of U.S. foreign military sales credits for Marcos' counterinsurgency requirements.

The most recent use of FMS credits: 12 re-conditioned helicopters. Marcos requested them to counter the NPA's current Mindanao offensive and the U.S. Defense Department responded at the drop of a hat. These come on top of the 25 F-8H Crusader planes and 14 Huey helicopters recently received according to Ver. All form part of the current \$100 million military aid package handed over in exchange for use of the U.S. military bases. Philippine defense chief Juan Ponce Enrile recently requested that the figure be quadrupled.

**'By early 1982, it became clear that national democratic forces had moved themselves into position all over the country—geographically and politically. And when Ferdinand Marcos got the message, all hell broke loose.'**

Bicol, Samar and parts of Mindanao (Davao is now the hottest spot in the country). Guerrilla actions in Negros and Panay through 1982 revealed that the NPA has indeed become a military force of national significance, operating in 56 out of the country's 71 provinces. *Ang Bayan*, newspaper of the CPP, reported in December 1982 that five more guerrilla fronts have opened in that year, two in Luzon, one in the Visayas, and two in Mindanao. *Ang Bayan* further reported that NPA units fought fewer defensive battles and managed to launch tactical offensives at least once every two days, an increase over 1981.

Paralleling advances on the military front were equally impressive political strides. National democrats, their allies and supporters are now the only viable opposition to Ferdinand Marcos. They demonstrated their capacity to organize on a nationwide scale during the highly successful 1981 election boycott. Since that time, the NDF has played the central role in rallying massive protests around national issues such as the Marcos visit to the U.S. and now the bases negotiations.

On the local and sectoral level, the NDF is at the center of nearly every outbreak of discontent. The rebuilt worker's movement has reemerged as a major political force. The *Kabataang Makabayan* (Nationalist Youth) has resurfaced with a membership of at least 6,000 and supporters in the tens of thousands. Activist nuns and priests have aligned themselves with the Christians for National Liberation. Disgruntled professionals, squeezed by impossible economic conditions, provide fertile new ground for organizing, and the highly charged political atmosphere pulls even members of the elite opposition into the NDF orbit.

By early 1982, it became clear that national democratic forces had moved themselves into position all over the country—geographically and politically. And when Ferdinand Marcos got the message, all hell broke loose.

Overnight, Marcos cast aside his carefully cultivated policy of "normalization." In an effort to stop the disconcerting spread of the resistance and, hopefully, to squelch it altogether, he unleashed every weapon in

riddled bodies would be found later. Aerial bombardments of suspected NPA barrios also became more frequent.

Most frightening of all has been the rebirth on Philippine soil of Operation Phoenix, the counterinsurgency tactic used by U.S. forces in Vietnam. In an effort to "separate the fish from the water," the Marcos military has set up "strategic hamlets" all over the country.

Strategic hamlets consist of heavily guarded military settlements into which peasants of a particular area are herded. All land around them then becomes a free-fire zone. Curfews run from 4:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. During the brief nine-hour period that remains, peasants must walk miles to their fields, tend them briefly and return. Conditions inside the hamlets are miserable with malnutrition and disease rampant.

As of June 1982, ecumenical groups in the Philippines counted 169 town- and barrio-wide hamlets in Mindanao alone involving 217,644 people. Hamlets were reported as well in the Cagayan Valley, Samar, Panay, and Abra.

At the end of last year, Gen. Ver, finally aware of the implications of the NDF's new substage, announced his plan to put an end to the burgeoning resistance once and for all. Called Project *Katatagan* or "stability," his

Having left the "lower substage" behind, what are the NDF's chances of moving steadily into the strategic stalemate? The conditions for Ferdinand Marcos are certainly not good—while for the revolutionaries, they are excellent.

Framed by an international recession, the Philippine economy continues its dizzying decline. Traditional exports sag while the foreign debt rises. All development projects and most imports are today financed by foreign loans. As capital dries up internationally, Marcos makes greater and greater concessions to attract foreign investments—driving workers' wages ever lower.

Under instructions from the International Monetary Fund, Marcos seeks financing for his swelling military through heavier taxes on the people. Meanwhile the recession hits the Filipino population particularly hard. More people lost their jobs in 1982; others worked only a few days a week. Real unemployment climbed to 40% of the labor force. The average worker received ₱18 as a minimum daily wage, while studies proved that the average six-member family needs ₱60 to ₱100 daily to live decently.

The hopeless market for sugar and coconut products continued to hurt farmers and agricultural workers. Rice farmers found fertilizers and pesticides still beyond their reach. Hamletting cut many off from their fields altogether.

The social tinder is getting drier. The NDF, now firmly positioned nationwide, has bigger opportunities for transforming spontaneous mass dissatisfaction into organized political resistance. But, as the revolutionary momentum gathers, the regime's repressive response

Continued on page 11

## Recent NPA Activity

NPA units, particularly those in Mindanao, greeted 1983 with a spate of assaults unprecedented in size, boldness and coordination. In the month of January alone, the NPA launched 28 tactical offensives in various parts of the country. Most dramatic was the capture of the entire town of Mabini in Davao del Norte for a day.

Two hundred guerrillas struck simultaneously at the town hall, police headquarters, Philippine Constabulary headquarters, and the offices of a logging company. Fifty more held the road to the town. The revolutionaries stripped the PC and police of their weapons, distributed medicines and talked of the

NPA goals to the townspeople, and left by sunset.

Another serious January incident in Misamis Occidental saw Commander of the 9th Infantry Battalion, Lt. Col. Jaime Somera, his operations officer, two sergeants and three corporals killed. In Maco, 12 army soldiers were killed and in Buan and Camansa, 18 government militiamen died.

Other attacks took place in the other Davao provinces, Surigao, Southern Leyte, Iloilo, and Abra. A February 4 clash in Davao del Norte left 30 dead, mostly government soldiers. On February 14, a battle between NPA and police in Laguit resulted in three policemen dead including their commander. □

# Why Filipinos Must Challenge New Immigration Bill

By CATHI TACTAQUIN  
KDP National Executive Board

For a year now, *Ang Katipunan* has been reporting on the danger of the U.S. Congress passing repressive immigration legislation. While the controversial immigration reform proposal known as the "Simpson/Mazzoli" bill "died" in the final days of the lameduck session last December, it was re-introduced in February. By no means is Simpson/Mazzoli a dead letter. In fact, its prospects for passage sometime this year are favorable.

The Senate, dominated by conservatives, most probably will pass the bill in April. The House vote may take up more time as several amendments to the bill, as well as alternative legislation are expected to be filed. Generally, there is greater opposition to the bill in the House, especially from the Hispanic and Black congressional caucus members.

As things now stand, however, the most this opposition can do is block a quick passage of the bill, and delay a House vote until the fall. In the absence of strong public opposition, the bill enjoys the conditions and the sufficient votes for passage this year. This has serious implications for Filipinos, for other minority and immigrant communities, and for labor as Simpson/Mazzoli lays the groundwork for greater repression and discrimination against all immigrants.

Unfortunately, the Filipino community's awareness of the bill's significance is fairly low. The fact is, among the active forces representing immigrant communities, only the KDP has been a consistent participant in the national movement. While we are proud of our commitment to the immigrant rights struggle, we are deeply concerned with our community's sad showing.

What accounts for this lack of involvement? For one, there is not a broad mass movement that has effectively reached immigrant communities. More, the mass movements of working people in this country have not distinguished themselves as militant defenders of the rights of immigrants. This is hardly encouraging or emboldening for immigrant communities that are already socially, politically, and legally disenfranchised or isolated.

But this sad state of affairs should only serve to spur immigrant communities to come to their own defense while struggling with other working people to take up the responsibility of protecting the more deprived sectors of their class. The Filipino community cannot escape this task. Unfortunately, the prevalent view in our community can only be characterized as narrow. Many believe that Simpson/Mazzoli's provisions on limits to permanent immigration are the only threat to

the Filipino immigrant population. More inexcusable is the smug assumption that the bill mainly targets undocumented Mexican workers "anyway."

All the provisions of the Simpson/Mazzoli bill can affect the Filipino community.

For example, the temporary worker (H-2) provisions, will expand the use of contracted foreign workers who can be the cheap, mobile workforce so important to the seasonal needs of agribusiness and other industries, or who can be used as scab labor to break strikes. Filipinos will certainly be among these new temporary workers and it will not be a new phenomenon. Have we not witnessed the struggle of Filipino H-1 nurses—thousands who have been recruited to work in U.S. hospitals on temporary work visas, and who have limited rights, are unorganized, and are subject to low pay and difficult working conditions? Essentially, the H-2 provisions will create another "Bracero program"—ensuring limited rights for workers, and saving the employers the task of lay-offs or firings when the workers are no longer needed (their contracts can be terminated easily, upon which they must leave the country).

"Employer sanctions," supposedly designed to "punish" employers for hiring the undocumented, can not be serious-



Infrared lenses worn by INS border patrol to detect undocumented aliens coming into the U.S. (AP)

ly enforced, in actuality. But the "thrust" of sanctions posed by Simpson/Mazzoli can be used to rationalize further employer discrimination against all minorities who "look foreign or illegal." Unless an undetected biological freak accident has turned Filipinos into whites overnight, it is hard to believe that this provision will not affect Filipino jobseekers and employees.

Non-involvement based on the belief that "only the Mexicans are in trouble anyway" reeks of ethnocentrism, and the absence of solidarity. It is also fraught with illusions. This view misses the main goal of Simpson/Mazzoli: the consolidation of a whole stratum of non-white, immigrant workers of various nationalities who are stripped of basic democratic rights in order to serve as a pool for cheap labor.

Filipinos have never been exempted from racist, chauvinist and repressive immigration policy. The first Filipino nationals were recruited to the U.S. as cheap labor during the 20s and 30s. Later, an Exclusion Act was passed against Filipinos during the 1930s, when Depression era unemployment spurred a racist, anti-alien hysteria. As further Filipino immigration was being curtailed, thousands of Mexican immigrants were being deported. Filipino workers escaped mass deportation only by virtue of the Philippine's geographic distance.

The Filipino community has to learn to identify with other immigrant communities—we have a common lot. The struggle for equal rights for all immigrants must be of great concern to the whole Filipino community.

Aside from bolstering the opposition to Simpson/Mazzoli, the community's direct involvement will be important for another reason. Some political forces, particularly those focused on lobbying work in Washington, D.C., are already moving ahead, fully convinced that they know best how to deal with Simpson/Mazzoli. They are seriously considering "alternative legislation," which would undoubtedly include a number of "compromise" provisions to win support in Congress. Among those considering this route are national church groups, civil liberties circles, national Hispanic community representatives. All of them have declared their "total" opposition to Simpson/Mazzoli, but they are also easily swayed by negotiating a "better" bill. Basically, they could "sell short" the only fair alternative to Simpson/Mazzoli: a program of full rights for all immigrants, including the undocumented. These wavering forces are preoccupied with a "realistic alternative." The problem is they measure realism by what is acceptable in Congress, not by what is really needed by immigrant communities.

Only mass political pressure from immigrant and minority communities, from labor and other progressive sectors can challenge the bill in its entirety. Only a response of this character can ensure that the demand for full rights for immigrants will be upheld.

Simpson/Mazzoli must not be allowed to coast through Congress without opposition and controversy. It could mean a historic setback for immigrant rights; it could open the floodgates to an anti-alien hysteria so important to Simpson/Mazzoli's implementation when it becomes law. In this critical period, the Filipino community needs to step forward and be counted among those voicing total opposition to Simpson/Mazzoli, and demanding full rights for all immigrants. □

## Civil War . . .

Continued from page 10

can only intensify. New crackdowns and waves of terror, massacres, threats to the lives of political prisoners and hysterical anti-communism are inevitable.

As experienced by other revolutionary movements, the U.S. will seriously consider direct military intervention as the strategic stalemate draws nearer. This is graphically illustrated by the current thinking on El Salvador.

Given the strategic location of the Philippines and the vital character of the U.S. bases, U.S. policy-makers may be far more willing to risk "another Vietnam" there than in Central America. Direct U.S. intervention during the strategic stalemate phase of the Vietnamese revolution threw that struggle back into the strategic defensive, prolonged the civil war by 20 years and caused tremendous destruction.

A key factor which holds the NDF back from realizing stalemate is the question of arms. An NPA founder told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that the people's army could make use of 50,000 weapons or more—immediately. The question remains: just where is the NDF going to come up with resources for that?

It is looking to potential international supporters, particularly the huge overseas Filipino community. But the need for stable and systematic international support raises the more substantial question of the NDF's relations with all its potential strategic allies. Not just with anti-imperialist forces in the developed capitalist countries, or with other liberation movements, but—more importantly—with the socialist bloc countries that maintain a firm anti-imperialist position. □

## The Calm After the Storm . . .

Continued from page 3

of socialist countries, colonies, semi-colonies and capitalist countries" is indispensable.

In this regard, the Philippine revolution's geographic disadvantage is exacerbated by its political isolation from the world socialist community—the very forces that have the power and resources to systematically provide indispensable political, diplomatic and material support. Undoubtedly, this is a problem more easily resolvable than the absence of friendly physical borders. But so long as Philippine communists identify with China's view that this socialist community consists of "restored capitalist, social fascist, social imperialist" states that are also pawns of "Soviet expansionism," the Philippine revolution cuts itself off from its most natural friends.

By drawing the attention and resources of the United States and the Marcos regime (a key pillar in ASEAN), the Philippine revolutionary war already flanks the efforts of the region's new socialist states to defend themselves against imperialism's drive to regain lost ground. Threatening as they do the fulcrum of America's regional military capabilities, the Filipino revolutionaries will inevitably experience the full weight of imperialist retaliation. They do not have to face this struggle alone. It is in the interest of the Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea bloc to see to it that the Philippine revolution achieves victory. It is in the interest of the latter to reexamine its relations with the former. The Philippine revolution should not have to pay for China's perfidy.

The challenge before Filipino revolutionaries is particularly heavy. Not only do they have to lead a revolution that has immense international significance,

they also have to find their bearings in the troubled waters of Asian communism in order to succeed. While not historically guaranteed, there is no reason to doubt that the CPP, which has sailed through many a previous storm, can successfully take up such an urgent task.

The Soviet Union recently took the lead in normalizing relations with China, in the wake of strained U.S.-China relations on the question of Taiwan. The Soviet Union is "playing its own China card" at a critical juncture in international politics. The rising national liberation movements (i.e. El Salvador, Namibia, South Africa, Palestine, etc.), the socialist camp and workers within the capitalist countries are confronted by a U.S. imperialism bent on war, including the "winnable" nuclear type. Closing the breach in the anti-imperialist ranks is of utmost importance.

The Vietnamese, too, realize the value of this Soviet initiative. Easing somewhat its hostility (but not its vigilance) toward China since the invasion, Vietnam through its foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach recently proposed closer Chinese, Soviet and Vietnamese cooperation. As a gesture of sincerity, Vietnam withdrew some troops from Kampuchea late last year, and promised a total pullout if China cuts off all aid to the reactionary Kampuchean forces.

The greatest obstacle to normalized relations within the socialist camp in Asia remains China's hardline anti-Sovietism. The U.S., ever keen to the developments not only among its allies in the region but especially among its strategic enemies, is ready to exploit every opening. In China, it still finds a gaping hole. □

# Reagan's Arms Talks Charade U.S. Gives USSR Zero Option

Despite growing strains with its Western European allies, the Reagan administration is continuing to sabotage the nuclear arms talks with the Soviet Union.

The second round of the talks, which focus on intermediate-range missiles, opened in Geneva, Switzerland on January 27. From the beginning of the negotiations last year, the top item on the U.S. agenda has, in fact, been a vast nuclear build-up—not the "arms reduction" that Reagan claims the U.S. is committed to.

Washington's grudging participation in the Geneva talks comes as part of an agreement with the NATO countries in 1979 to pursue a "dual track" strategy. The main track all along has been to prepare for the deployment of 572 new U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in five Western European countries in late 1983. The second track has been to conduct the talks with the Soviet Union on missile limitation, with the officially-stated goal of halting the introduction of the new weapons if a satisfactory agreement is reached.

But so far, the only proposal the U.S. has regarded as "satisfactory" is its own "zero option" plan. Under this scheme, none of the new U.S. missiles would be put in place if the Soviet Union dismantled all missiles aimed at Western Europe.

## A HOUSE FOR A BLUEPRINT

While Reagan claims this is a fair, even-handed proposal, it is anything but. To begin with, it asks the Soviets to wipe out an existing defense system, in exchange for the U.S. not installing weapons which are still on the drawing board. This is like trading a house for a blueprint.

More important, the U.S. proposal treats the two sets of missiles as though they existed in a vacuum. Conveniently left out of the bargain are the 162 French and British missiles targetted at the Soviet Union and the large numbers of U.S. and European nuclear warheads based in planes and submarines. The "zero option" amounts to a demand for a significant degree of unilateral disarmament by the USSR. Naturally, the Soviet Union immediately turned it down cold.

Since the U.S. must know the Soviets can count, "zero option" is clearly an offer deliberately designed to be refused. And the reason is that the U.S. is determined to go ahead with the Pershing and cruise missiles as the centerpiece of its attempt to regain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union.

## U.S. WANTS FIRST STRIKE

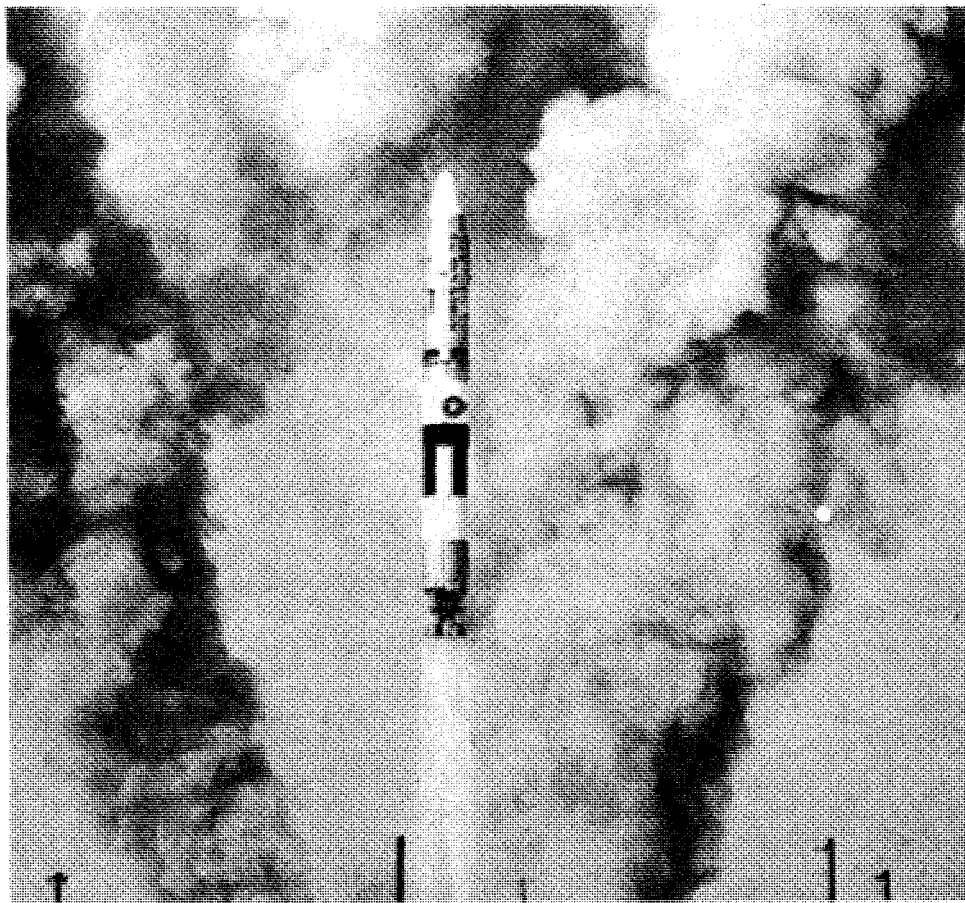
The new missiles headed for Europe at the end of this year are not simply a quantitative addition to the U.S. nuclear arsenal. The Pershing II missiles, in particular, represent a new level of potential military threat to the Soviet Union. One hundred-eight of the Pershings would be deployed in West Germany, and would be able to reach the USSR in six minutes. They are clearly designed to give the U.S. a first-strike capacity.

This is why the Reagan administration has remained committed to the Pershing and Cruise escalation and why it has not been willing to budge from its "zero option" stance. The "choice" offered to the Soviet Union is essentially, "give us a nuclear edge by dismantling some of your missiles, or we'll get the edge by building our own."

## SOVIET RESPONSES

Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union has shown little inclination to accept either of these results. As soon as Reagan announced the "zero option," the USSR made clear it had zero chance of being accepted.

While the overall goal of U.S. strategy in Geneva has been to upset the existing rough nuclear parity one way or the other, the Soviet goal has been the maintenance of that parity and, if possible, at reduced levels on both sides. Within this general framework, the Soviets have advanced a number of proposals which could actually bring about a reduction in armaments, and in nuclear tensions.



In December 1982, the USSR made a specific counter-proposal to the U.S. "zero option." If the U.S. would introduce no new missiles, the USSR would reduce its intermediate-range missiles to the same number as the French and British currently have aimed at the Soviet Union.

The U.S. and the NATO governments dismissed the proposal. They simply reasserted the absurd principle that the French and British weapons have nothing to do with the balance of nuclear forces in Europe, and could not be negotiated.

In a year-end meeting of the socialist Warsaw Pact nations of Eastern Europe, a whole series of peace initiatives were endorsed and offered to the West. In addition to measures to reduce nuclear arms, the meeting called for an East-West non-aggression pact, a mutual pledge of no first use of nuclear weapons, and a reduction in the levels of conventional military forces in both Western and Eastern Europe.

The U.S. quickly responded that all these ideas were "nothing new," and are merely "propaganda" for the Soviet "peace offensive."

## STRAINS AMONG ALLIES

The Reagan administration, however, cannot so easily dismiss the criticism, mounting in recent months from Western European leaders, of the hardline U.S. position. The Soviet "peace offensive," coupled with the strength of the peace movement in the NATO countries, has helped to bring out the underlying strains between the U.S. and its European allies over nuclear strategy.

A wide range of European political leaders, from reactionary British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the West German Social Democratic Party, have called for the U.S. to be more flexible in its negotiating stance. In part, this reflects their recognition that "zero option" is dead and that the charade the U.S. is conducting around the arms talks is wearing thin.

At a deeper level, ruling forces in Europe know that the extension of the U.S. nuclear umbrella to their soil brings some serious risks with it. The missiles would be entirely under U.S. control, putting all decisions on confrontation (or the threat of it) in Washington, not in Europe.

## W. EUROPEANS NERVOUS

In addition, the Soviet Union has said

that, given the six-minute strike time of the Pershings, it would have no choice but to go onto a "launch on warning" system, i.e. an automatic nuclear response as soon as incoming missiles are spotted on radar. The prospect of the U.S. fighting its war with the USSR on their turf makes the Europeans understandably nervous.

The nuclear arms question became the major issue in the West German campaign for parliamentary elections March 6. Current Christian Democratic Chancellor Helmut Kohl remains behind the "zero option." The opposition Social Democrats meanwhile, are demanding that the U.S. alter its position and consider a possible "interim agreement" which could delay the Pershing deployment while more talks are pursued.

Since the U.S. goal all along has been to put the new missiles in place, a delay is the last thing it wants.

## REAGAN STAYS THE COURSE

The fear of getting bogged down in talks

that hold back the military escalation was also a factor in the firing January 12 of the head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Eugene Rostow.

Rostow, a veteran hawk, allowed his negotiator in Geneva to produce an exploratory agreement with the Soviet Union last summer. It would have let the USSR retain some of its missiles, while the U.S. would only introduce a much smaller number than planned.

Based on his history and past statements, Rostow was probably not actually cutting a deal but was only trying to give some appearance of seriousness to the U.S. side in the talks. But even this was too much for Reagan. Kenneth Adelman, currently part of the U.S. delegation at the UN, was nominated to replace Rostow, despite his absolute lack of experience in the arms control field.

At the same time, Reagan announced a high-level public relations effort aimed at influencing public opinion in Western Europe. He also dispatched Vice President Bush on an arm-twisting mission to the allies—to shore up support for "zero option or else."

Because of rising criticisms from the very governments that are supposed to host the new missiles, the U.S. will probably make a show of greater flexibility and seriousness in the near future.

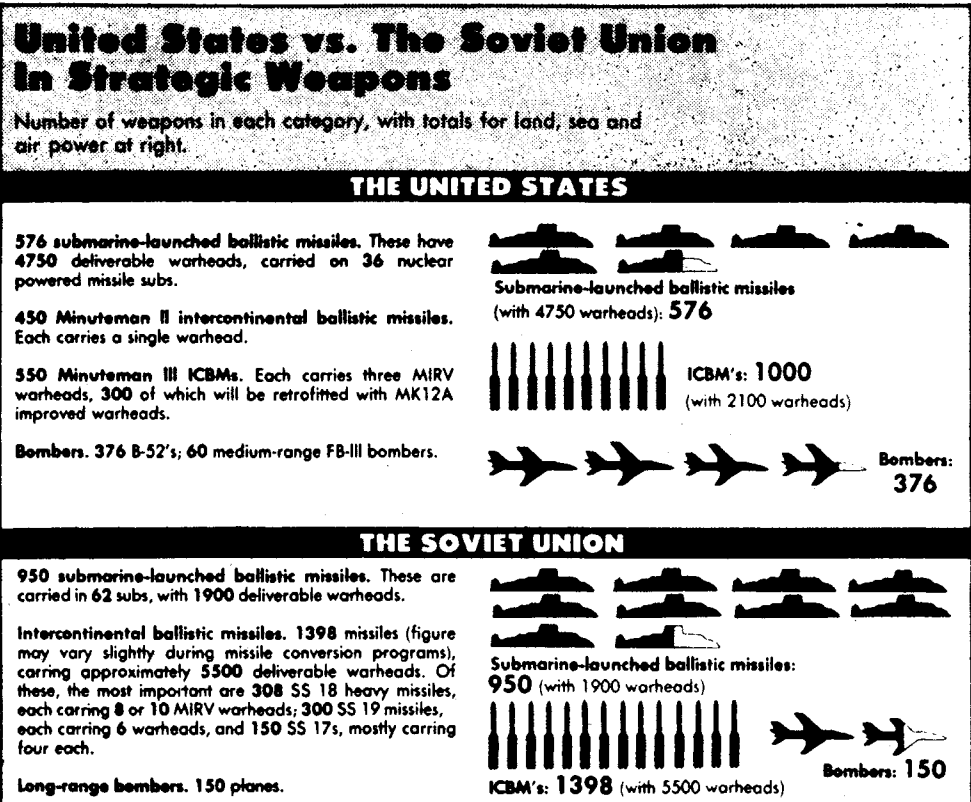
Some form of new proposal intended to shift the burden of responsibility for the failure of the talks onto the Soviet Union is likely. But so far, there is no sign that the Reagan administration will do anything that would derail the plan to have the Pershings and Cruises on track by the end of the year.

## NUCLEAR SUPREMACY OR BUST

The U.S. commitment to regaining nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union runs deep. In the two decades after World War II, in which the U.S. had a clear nuclear edge, the threat of nuclear war was repeatedly used against the socialist countries and national liberation struggles.

The achievement by the USSR of rough nuclear parity in the late 1960s provided a major new check on the power of imperialism to have its way in the world. The inability of the U.S. to use nuclear blackmail successfully against the Vietnamese and Angolan revolutions were two strong indications of this new balance of forces.

To strengthen its hand, the U.S. embarked on a massive military build-up (starting during the Carter administration) and began to stonewall arms reduction. The SALT II arms limitation agreement was never signed, and the U.S. refused repeatedly to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. Recent U.S. positions in the Geneva talks show that the same line is still operating, albeit more unpopular than ever. □



SOURCES: U.S. Defense Department; NATO Secretary-General; International Institute for Strategic Studies