

ANOTHER
SECRET MEMO
LEAKED

IMF MIGHT VETO LOAN TO MARCOS

(See page 10)

ANG KATIPUNAN

Volume VIII No. 5

A SOCIALIST PERIODICAL FOR THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY
National Newsmagazine of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

May 1982 50¢

Fracas at Bloomingdale's

Protest Steals Show from Imelda in New York...



Daily News

... 'Miss Piggy' Ruins Her Evening in Virginia

By Our N.Y. and D.C. Correspondents

The place: one of New York's more fashionable department stores.

The occasion: the April 14 opening of "Philippines—Land of Friends," a six-week exhibit of \$5 million worth of Philippine-made products.

The star: First Lady Imelda Marcos, here to promote the government's much-heralded National Livelihood Movement or the *Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran* (KKK) whose products will be on display in all 12 outlets of Bloomingdale's until May 29.

Everything seemed in order, with Mrs.

Marcos ready to take the prestigious New York City press corps by storm.

But a flurry of protests led by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship stole her thunder. Hardly was her press conference finished when the reporters rushed out to cover the noisy picket in front of the store.

The demonstrators carried protest signs and set up their own exhibit—photos depicting mass poverty, slum housing, malnutrition, and pictures of NPA guerrilla units.

"Hey Imelda Smile While You Can,

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Seattle FBI Hit for Slow Probe p. 10

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EDITORIALS

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill

Restricting Permanent Immigration for Industry's Benefit

The Simpson-Mazzoli Senate Bill 2222 comes as a result of the great concern over what to do with the U.S. policy on immigration. According to the ruling circles, immigration is out of control; the standard of living is being eroded by the burden of supporting immigrants; "good" jobs for citizens are dwindling because of the unabated influx of foreigners; America cannot go on being so generous; and so on. After arousing the self-preservation instincts of the citizenry, elected officials have gone on to search for the "proper balance" between human rights considerations and stricter government controls, with emphasis on controls.

In this light, Simpson-Mazzoli is being hailed by established quarters as a reasonable humanitarian method for controlling immigration more efficiently. On the one hand, it would exercise "compassion" by giving amnesty to a generation of undocumented workers. On the other, it would lower the present levels of permanent immigration through stricter regulations. Also, it would cut the influx of "illegals" through more efficient police measures. With only minor differences, all the influential forces in U.S. politics—from the Reagan White House, to liberals like Ted Kennedy, to the AFL-CIO—are united in support of this bill.

All protests, especially from minority communities, against the bill's inhumane restrictions on family reunification and political asylum remain unheeded. Its proposed employer sanctions' racist impact on all foreign-looking non-white peoples is belittled. All these objections are being steamrollered by the common belief that immigrants come here to freeloader or to undeservedly partake of the higher standard of living. Politicians are only too quick to reinforce the myth that this standard of living is the achievement of Americans alone—which it is not. It is the product of labor in many countries. (The unequal distribution of wealth worldwide is not the result of a certain people's inherent talents and other people's inherent stupidity. Rather it is the reflection of the economic exploitation and political domination of poor countries by the U.S.)

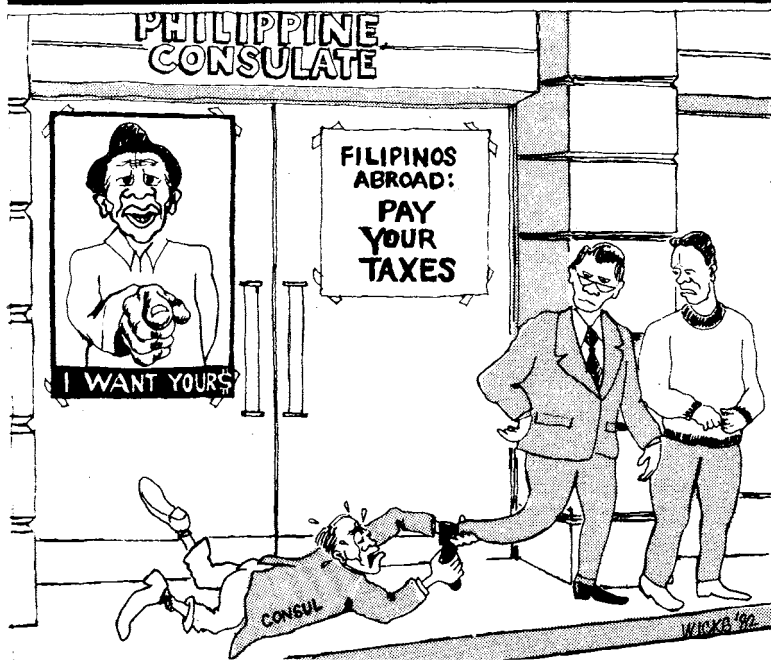
A closer look at Simpson-Mazzoli reveals the real interest propelling its proposed "humane" readjustment of immigration. While pushing for restrictions on permanent immigration, it is pushing to "streamline" temporary worker programs. In fact, Simpson-Mazzoli's streamlined procedures could bring more temporary farmworkers from Mexico than the 50,000 yearly that Reagan was proposing. It also empowers the Secretary of Labor to "define" jobs and industries that would "require" temporary labor. So immigrant labor is needed after all. But only a certain kind of immigrant labor.

What this bill and its backers really want is the creation of a larger section of workers with limited rights. Permanent immigration, especially through family reunification, is to be curtailed because it only creates a

growing pool of immigrants who are "free" to do what they want. Temporary workers on H visas do not have that relative freedom. They are therefore more exploitable and more controllable. Lower wages, minimum or no benefits, no unions—these make temporary workers more desirable than permanent immigrants.

It is no coincidence that in the current discussions of immigration, the "success" of Europe's massive temporary worker programs is often cited. Similarly the lower wages of workers in Japan and the tighter control wielded by their employers are wistfully described. After all, the larger context in which all this talk is unfolding is the campaign of U.S. capital to "reindustrialize," or to make itself more competitive internationally. The creation of an alternative that can circumvent the economic demands of organized labor—this is the essential interest of the bill and its backers in government and industry. The "amnesty for illegals" is only a cover for these aims, a bone thrown at immigrant rights advocates for consolation.

The move to curtail permanent immigrants while increasing the army of temporary workers is nothing but a form of social manipulation that uses popular prejudices in the service of monopoly capital's need for profit accumulation. Those among the working population, particularly organized labor, who support Simpson-Mazzoli because they believe that someone deserves less protection, and less opportunities are rooting for a fool's paradise. In the end, they themselves get taken advantage of by those who take advantage of the immigrant. The Simpson-Mazzoli bill is inhumane, racist, repressive, and manipulative. It must be opposed. □



He's the Consul. Says he's got a career to preserve, a President to support whose wife's got a lifestyle to maintain.

Non-Political?

It is of course expected that proponents of the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty like the Solicitor General of the Philippines Estelito Mendoza (*Letters to the Editor, L.A. Times 3/22*) would come to its defense and continue to pass it off as a "normal" transaction between two countries. Is it really? It might help to remind such proponents of the treaty of a few facts: On the one hand, there is the Marcos government, a dictatorship known for its human rights violations and arbitrary legal processes. As a dictator, naturally Marcos has the power to redefine political offenses as criminal when it pleases him and his cronies. Let's take a look at the arrest list he issued Jan. 5 in Manila—people targeted for extradition. Those people are not all Dewey Dees who malversed millions of pesos or swindlers or murderers. In fact the top ten includes people like Rene Cruz, whose only "crime" is exercising his

freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution by being an editor of a Filipino-American newspaper, and being a leader of the U.S.-based Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship. What is that if not political?

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Litter from Manila: Our Imaginative First Lady

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA



My stateside *kababayans* should be familiar with my column. It appears in the *Daily Depress* but actually it was already an institution even before the martial law declaration which was when my present bosses entered the newspaper business in earnest after demolishing the competition. It will come to you as "Letter from Manila." On the side, I write for a magazine with a cult following, *Sick of the Times*, (*sayang din, eh*). Ask your relatives here to send you copies. Anyway, I will give you insights on the political scene from time to time. This inside info will be as fresh as your first cup of coffee and because of my intimate contacts in Malacañang, I assure you your edification will be instant.

Also, U.S. Filipinos need a break from newspapers like New York's *Filipino Reporter* and California's *Filipino American*. They do nothing but defend President Marcos. This is an anomaly I intend to correct because he should be praised to high heavens as well. The MFP steak commandos and the KDP reds are also giving the President a bad name. I will expose them to the best of my journalistic ability. In this regard, I have often been accused of torturing the English language. I want it clear this is not a result of my association with the President and the military authorities but of the exigency of writing in such a cramped space. My column will also contain

fearless constructive criticism of the government, a stand the President himself has approved.

President Marcos' description of visiting U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger as a "returning *balikbayan* son" is a masterful stroke of the imagination. After all, my old friend Cap was here in WWII and this *balikbayan* touch by the President makes Fil-Am ties even warmer. But there are always nincompoops who take things too literally. A demotion is in order for that general in charge of airport reception who refused to let Weinberger through customs unless the latter handed over a transistor radio and a tip (in dollars only). A shame!

Speaking of imagination, the First Lady is really full of it. She was the one who came up with City of Man ("Man" = Manila); BLISS project ("BLISS" = happiness); Heart Center ("heart" = "center"); KKK (like Bonifacio's), and the University of Life (instead of "Hard Knocks"). She has that talent for combining the spiritual with the real, making the ugly social problems she deals with more appealing to the senses. In her hands, calamities are both heart-rending and heart-warming; the squatter issue is both a shame and a pride; the poor are in many ways rich, the rich poor. This is a truly original approach to social work that other world leaders are beginning to notice. That's why her sage observation at the Film Festival, "Filipinos are neither here nor there," was quoted worldwide.

Following her footsteps is daughter Imee who is setting up the Institute for Youthful Affairs, an outgrowth of the old SWA (*Samahan ng mga Walang Asawa*). IYA will have a sports program for the socially handicapped—Golf for the Brokenhearted. I agree with the President: that pesky suitor Tommy M. just can't slice it because his drive is not at par with his ambitions. Therefore his appointment as G for B director is neither here nor there.

It was really gallant of the President to tell the Saudi King that Filipino contract workers "will

continue playing a role in the development of Saudi Arabia's economy." However, diplomacy aside, I thought it was rather uncouth of the King to mumble something like it-was-well-and-good-because-the-workers-have-no-chance-to-do-the-same-in-the-Philippines-anyway. I may have heard wrong but with this kind of manners, the Saudis will be needing help in foreign affairs as well. We should seriously offer them contract diplomats or even a contract King. Our officials will do very well. They are always polite and their prices are reasonable. Ask the Americans. Who do the Saudis think they are? Wait till we strike oil in Mindanao.

Congratulations to Polly Cayetano for having the civic spirit to sue sex symbol Tetchie Agbayani for posing nude in the German edition of *Playboy*. After studying the pictures for several hours myself, I have come to the conclusion that they indeed arouse base, prurient interests and can be breathtakingly distracting. Miss Agbayani's provocative endeavor is tantamount to subtle subversion. I'm not so much worried about the distraction of the common masses but the distraction of our generals and other high officials who are the only ones who can afford this *Playboy* issue's blackmarket price of \$50 a copy. The President has vowed to look closely into the matter. The First Lady has already begun taking steps by confiscating 10 copies the President said somebody must have mistakenly placed in his library. I would advise her though to leave one copy because I know the President likes to read the interviews.

Again and again I have criticized that annoying habit of Filipinos to spit anytime and anywhere we want to. This is unhealthy and unsightly. Sec. Weinberger almost slipped in front of the Palace gates because of the unbelievable amount of spit. I also find it around my car everyday and in front of the Rizal Park grandstand after a presidential appearance. It is a habit we must get rid of soon. □

COMMENTARIES

By Nene Ojeda

The Philippine government this year will spend ₱8.3 billion for defense. It will maintain a military force of 350,000. Army reservists and civilian defense units will reinforce this number by 1.5 million.

These statistics are indicators of a rising trend of militarization. But a peek into two areas of the country—Mindanao and Eastern Visayas—reveals alarming examples of militarization's actual impact in human terms.

Six out of ten Philippine soldiers are reportedly in Mindanao, and not because the Philippines is gearing up to reclaim Sabah. In addition to the campaign against the MNLF government troops are becoming increasingly preoccupied with "communist subversion."

The New People's Army is getting bolder, some military officers say. The NPA has initiated 60% of government-guerrilla clashes the first half of 1981, a good number of them occurring in Mindanao.

NPA presence has been marked in the depressed areas of Eastern Visayas as well. Philippine Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver said that one fifth of the NPA's estimated force of 5,000 are in the island of Samar.

STRATEGIC HAMLETS' NEW NAME

The campaigns to "flush out" rebels in these areas have meant periodic raids, arrests, crop burnings and salvaging. But recently they have taken an even more sophisticated and devastating turn.

Whole barrios are now being relocated as in the failed Vietnam war program of strategic hamletting, or the physical relocation of the guerrillas' mass base.

The Philippine program has been named "grouping." At least 80 barrios in the province of Davao del Norte, a strong NPA area, have been grouped. Several barrios in Davao del Sur and the Agusan provinces are set for grouping.

The barrio of Laac in Davao del Norte has become an extreme example of this new government program.

Likening Laac to "a beautiful lake that

has to be drained in order to catch the bad fish," some 2,500 soldiers descended in Laac in October of last year. In a matter of two months, a whole town consisting of 31 barrios was successfully grouped.

The displaced residents, some 30,000 farming folks now face starvation, disease, and death. A church report claimed that at least one death occur daily. Most victims have been children and the weak elders.

HALT TO GROUPING UNLIKELY

Local and international outcry against the inhumane military strategy in Laac has recently forced an embarrassed Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to formally call for a halt in groupings.

But skeptics doubt that Enrile's order will be implemented. So far no government funds have been allocated to aid farmers' return to their fields. Those who do return are not guaranteed safety. Soldiers are reportedly not able to distinguish between the rebels and the local populace because "they all dress alike."

There is also the problem of giving land back to farmers in three barrios where a new rubber and *ipil-ipil* plantation has been set up.

Managing this plantation is none other than Col. Alejandro Cruz of the 37th Infantry Battalion, the force assigned to group the town.

A troop pull-out has been promised. But not until the "protection" of Laac has been transferred to the local Integrated Civilian Home Defense Force, according to the 37th's Gen. Olano. Given the unreliability of these local militias, however, the troop pull-out may take awhile. Local ICHDFs have been reportedly selling their government-issued guns to the guerrillas. Some have even joined the rebels, complaining of ill-treatment by the military.

LOYAL MERCENARIES
Militarization has also led to a growing government reliance on paramilitary and bandit gangs who profess loyalty only to the Marcos regime.

The most notorious of these is the Lost Command. A motley crew of ex-army

Militarization in R.P.: Strategic Hamlets and 'Lost Angels'



'Lost Command' terrorists led by Lademora, left, supplement government military efforts.

men and mercenaries with criminal records, the Lost Command has been terrorizing the Mindanao area over the past few years.

The Lost Command consists of 275 to 400 elements under Philippine Army Col. Carlos Lademora. Lademora calls his men "Charlie's Angels," boasting that they will "go where others would not go and do what others would not do."

Lademora has left a trail of blood in a number of places. An Easter Sunday bombing of a church service in Agusan del Norte last year which left 17 dead and 157 others wounded, has been traced to Lademora's men, although military authorities blamed it on the MNLF.

The more recent Sag-od massacre where 45 men, women and children were cold-bloodedly shot has also been linked to the Lost Command.

Sources say that the group of Lademora's men are now in Samar, posing as security guards for a logging concession. The same sources say that the Lost Command was seen being ferried across the Leyte Gulf by a Philippine Navy boat. The logging concession happens to be owned by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

Despite official claims to a halt in strategic hamletting and disclaimers of support for paramilitary bandit gangs, their use for counterinsurgency is expected to intensify along with the government's conspicuous military build-up.

Malacañang has a very urgent justification for militarization. Even Defense Minister Enrile admits that the growth in the Communist Party's and the NPA's ranks and influence could mean "serious danger in less than five years." □

By Dennis Shoemith

Excerpted from Asian Bureau Australia

Mounting tension between Filipino workers and the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos has emerged as a major issue facing the Philippines in the post martial law period.

The confrontation pits the struggle for survival of the country's 18 million workers against the development strategy of a regime which is sinking into a major economic crisis.

Symptoms of this crisis are dramatic. In the first six months of 1981, 190,000 workers were laid off by firms mostly in the manufacturing sector, the sector which is supposed to be leading the Philippines' export-oriented industrialisation drive according to the current Five-Year Plan. The garments, textiles, and footwear industries have failed to win substantial overseas markets. While the government claims unemployment is only 5.2%, estimates put the number of severely underemployed workers as high as 50% of the labor force. Even workers with a full-time job earn less than half the minimum daily earnings calculated by the government's own Wage Commission of the National Census and Statistics Office as necessary to support an average family.

Since the imposition of martial law in 1972, the situation of Filipino workers has steadily deteriorated with real wages falling by around 40%. The government's development plan, backed by its international creditors including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, is premised on declining real wages in an effort to increase the Philippines' "comparative advantage" with its Third World trading competitors. What has become clear in 1981 is that the costs for Filipino workers of this strategy have become intolerable.

But the first half of 1981 also saw more than 50,000 workers involved in some

The Challenge from Labor: The Growing Struggle for Workers Rights in the Philippines

143 strikes. This included strike action by some 6,500 miners employed by Benguet Corporation Mining Co. in January and by 7,000 workers in the Bataan Export Processing Zone a few months later.

While on an unprecedented scale, the latest wave of strikes carried forward a campaign by organized labor which began in 1975 in protest against the harsh new labor code imposed by the President under his martial law powers. That year, some 40,000 workers in 30 factories walked off the job. In June, 1976, another 15,000 workers went on strike and, in mid-1978, following the controversial elections, 16,000 workers in the garment, hotel, transport, and electrical industries went out.

The government's response to labor's growing challenge, sponsoring yellow trade unions, has failed. Its Trade Unions Congress of the Philippines has been rejected by workers seeking a more independent voice. The TUCP now controls about 5% of Filipino workers.

The more militant Pagkakaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino and the Kilusang Mayo Uno, alternatives to the TUCP, have joined with anti-government student and consumer organisations to demand restoration of the right to strike, better wages and conditions, and the complete dismantling of the president's emergency powers retained despite the formal lifting of martial law. Both organisations have condemned Cabinet Bill 45 which replaced the Labor Code of 1974 as perpetuating government denials of the right to strike.

CB45, its critics claim, increase state and employers' control over unions and workers' action.

Some workers have paid with their lives in the latest campaign to win fairer wages and working conditions. Last April, a young worker in Metallied Industries, was shot dead by a company agent while manning a picket line. His body was carried in a funeral procession escorted by some 20,000 to 30,000 workers on International Workers' Day, the biggest worker demonstration in a decade.

Ten days later, three workers' organisers from Philippine Polyamid Industrial Corp. were shot down by the bodyguard of the company owner. Even more disturbing, because of involved military agents, was the kidnapping and murder of three organisers from the Bataan Export Processing Zone in late June.

The three, including one woman, were picked by 12 military operatives dressed in civilian clothes. Their mutilated bodies were found dumped on July 9. The military claimed that they had escaped from detention but other reports alleged they were tortured and shot while in custody.

Metro Manila has been the center of worker action but there are clear signs that the labor movement is gathering strength throughout the country.

Worker organisers too have strong links with local farmers and fishermen as well as with employees of large industrial plants set

up in the Philippine countryside.

The Philippine Sinter Corp., in Misamis Oriental, is sited in the center of a 3,000 hectare coastal plain which the government intends to develop as an industrial estate. Already, 2,000 farmers and fishermen have been forced off their land to make way for PSC. It is estimated that another 30,000 local people will be evicted in the next few years as plans for the estate go ahead.

The first group of 146 families were threatened with the bulldozing of their homes and no compensation if they refused to accept the low valuation of their properties. They received ₱3 for every square meter of their land, less than a quarter of its worth, and were then made to spend nine months in cramped barracks before being shifted to a resettlement site 8 kilometers away in the hills up from the coast. Stranded on the rocky plateau, the fishermen can no longer fish and coconut and rice farmers can no longer farm.

Very few of the first batch of people relocated have found jobs with PSC. The government's "cottage industry" projects have failed miserably. Almost 95% of those resettled had been unable to pay the monthly amortization payments for their new houses and many are now facing eviction.

The failure of the relocation scheme for the first 2,000 people displaced by the industrialization of the Misamis coast could become a major disaster when the time comes to move the remaining 30,000 farmers and fishermen. The province is already a center of political opposition to the Marcos government's development program and the exploitation of the province by foreign multinationals.

There is a real possibility in Northern Mindanao of an increasingly militant alliance between workers' unions, small farmers, and fishermen. With its ambitious development strategy at stake, there is no doubt that the Philippine government would respond savagely to such a challenge. □

Caspar Weinberger's R.P. Visit:

Reagan's 'Balikbayan' Pledges More Aid to FM

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, stopping in the Philippines April 1 while on a three nation tour of the Far East, assured Asian allies that the U.S. "would not reduce its commitment to Pacific security." The Philippines is considered by the U.S. as a key strategic line of defense in the ASEAN region.

Malacanang rolled out the red carpet for the Reagan official while two demonstrations protested American support for the Marcos regime.

"BALIKBAYAN" SON

President Ferdinand Marcos hosted a luncheon welcoming Weinberger as a "balikbayan son coming home." He was an infantry officer on General MacArthur's staff during World War II.

Weinberger delivered a letter to Marcos from President Ronald Reagan. In the letter read by Marcos, Reagan wrote, "The U.S. will be a steady and reliable partner in East Asia."

To reinforce the letter, Weinberger promised "increased U.S. military and economic aid" in combatting a "near and rising communist threat." He also assured Marcos that the joint U.S.-Philippines bases treaty would be reviewed next year.

STUDENT PROTEST

Meanwhile, 250 student protestors demonstrated in front of the U.S. embassy. In an open letter to Weinberger the students protested that the Philippines has become a magnet of attack. "You don't get bombed, it is us who will be fighting your war." They

were referring to an arsenal of nuclear weapons reportedly kept on the bases.

The demonstrators also denounced U.S. involvement in El Salvador and the construction of a nuclear power plant on the Bataan peninsula.

Riot police with long sticks and shields forced the students across the street to a small park. Before dispersing peacefully, they sang the national anthem and other patriotic songs.

TOUR OF SUBIC AND CLARK

Weinberger emphasized U.S. interest in the bases by touring Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Bases. A New York Times article on the visit said the installations are a vital link in a 11,000 mile supply line to the U.S. Seventh Fleet's 20 to 30 ships on the Indian Ocean. "The bases become important when the U.S. dispatches the rapid deployment force to the Persian Gulf region to protect the oil fields," the article added.

Subic Naval Base is reportedly the largest naval supply depot in the world. It contains large ship repair plants, a communication station, an air station, and an ammunition magazine.

Clark Field supplies over a thousand passengers a month to the Indian Ocean fleet as sailors are replaced. In addition, giant C-5 Galaxy transports ferry supplies in three times a week from the United States.

Another demonstration formed at Clark field to protest U.S. aid to the Marcos government. Weinberger and his delegation

whizzed away through another exit.

BASE TREATY REVIEW

Next year's review of the 1979 bases agreement is expected to lead to another seven years of uninterrupted American use of the bases. The issues the Marcos government want negotiated are customs, immigration, quarantine regulations and the use of force in guarding the bases' perimeters.

Critics claim however, that Marcos' call for negotiations are an attempt to deflect the uproar created by the recent killings of Filipinos by U.S. soldiers inside the bases. The negotiations are also expected to lead to stronger support from the Reagan administration.

Reagan already has approved a 32% increase in military aid to the Marcos regime amounting to \$140.1 million.

According to the National Democratic Front closer military coordination is also being honed through joint U.S.-R.P. war games. In November 1980 one such military exercise was held on Mindoro Occidental. Over 5000 U.S. Marines on amphibious assault vessels from 16 U.S. Navy ships, landed on the island's beach. The "defenders" were a battalion of Philippine Marines.

SHARING THE BURDEN

Weinberger's Asian tour included visits to Korea and Japan to encourage their leaders to "share the burden" of the military defense of the Asian hemisphere. He praised the South Korean government



Weinberger on a field tour.

for using "6% of its GNP" for defense purposes.

He did not gain any commitment from Japan. But he did remark "there were no disagreements with U.S. analysis that Japan must do more."

How much Marcos spends for defense does not even seem of particular concern to the U.S. The agreement between the two governments is substantial and includes agreement even on practical military matters. For example, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci and Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fabian Ver, reportedly mapped out just recently, a joint plan to "cut rising insurgency." □

Work on Chico Dam Halted

In a recent Philippine Ministry of Energy hearing, the proposed Chico River Dam project was declared postponed for the next ten years. Gabriel Itchon, National Power Corporation (NPC) chairman announced that the Chico River Dam is not one of the 27 major hydro-geothermal generating projects scheduled for construction in the next decade.

The government's decision is a climatic victory for the Kalinga and Bontoc mountain tribes who have waged a ten year struggle to prevent the dam project from moving beyond a survey stage. Their resistance has grown from sporadic protests and petitions to actual armed confrontation with the Marcos government.

The retreat is a setback for the Marcos government's

Barangay Election Set May 17

The Batasaang Pambansa passed a bill calling for a national barangay election next month, May 17. The new law calls for an election of a barangay captain and six councilmen in each of the 42,000 barangays throughout the Philippines.

The Barangays constitute the president's power structure in the localities and the elections are seen as a contest among Marcos supporters jockeying for local positions of authority.

Poll Boycotter Sent to Prison

Reynaldo T. Fajardo, a former constitutional convention delegate and political columnist for an opposition newspaper, was sentenced to four months in prison for boycotting last year's April 7 national plebiscite. The plebiscite "endorsed" amendments to the 1973 constitution, also known as the Marcos Constitution.

Fajardo pleaded not guilty to the charges. In his defense, he claimed "massive frauds were clearly evident in many parts of the country; and that the Constitution itself "had been ratified under sham conditions" by the Marcos government.

In addition to the sentence, Fajardo was barred from holding public office and stripped of the right to vote for six years. He refused advise to appeal the decision and appears determined to serve the sentence.

Last year, two Manila residents were sentenced to 30 day jail terms after pleading guilty to boycott charges.

Fajardo was given a moral boost by other former Con-Con delegates and members of the defunct Congress who also did not vote. They also declared their willingness to go to prison.

While the government has not prosecuted the four million people it says have not voted since 1973, it appears to be using Fajardo as a prominent example to discourage people from not voting in future elections.

RR to FM: See You in September

U. S. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger extended to Philippine President Marcos an invitation to visit the United States. Weinberger made the invitation during a luncheon in his honor at Malacanang Palace, April 1.

Earlier, *Far East Economic Review* reported that First Lady Imelda Marcos told representatives of the foreign press that the President will visit the U.S. in September 1982.

U.S.-based opposition groups have taken note of the announcements and are planning protests against the visit.

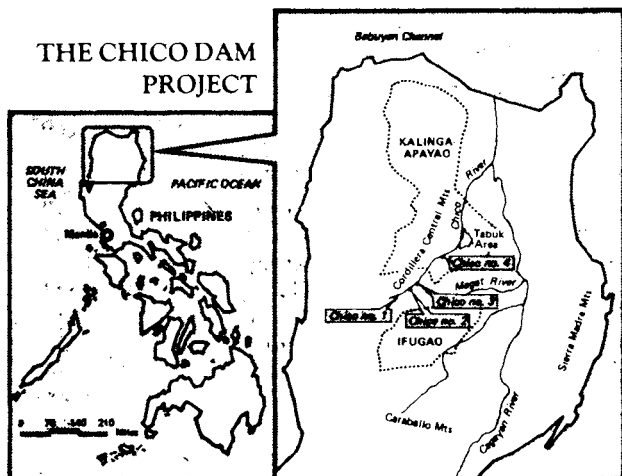
Samar's Mayor Lucero Slain

Pablo Lucero, 48, mayor of Calbayog City, Samar, was recently gunned down while playing tennis by a group allegedly belonging to a New People's Army (NPA) liquidation squad.

A city mayor for the past 11 years and a lawyer, Lucero was in the middle of an early morning tennis game with a PC soldier when four men approached them. One of the men casually walked towards the mayor and shot him at close range. Lucero died from a single shot from a .38 calibre revolver.

Lucero was one of the 22 visiting mayors who participated in a controversy-ridden USAID seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, August of last year.

Lucero was interviewed by an *AK* correspondent at that time and ironically, the topic of discussion was the NPA. When asked to verify reports of active guerrilla operations in Samar, the mayor replied defensively: "That's not true... they're not just in Samar, the NPA is all over the country!" (See *AK*, Vol. VIII, No. 14.) □



search for alternative sources of energy. Spurred by the rapid rise of oil prices in the 1970s, the regime pushed for mammoth projects to supply energy for the budding industrial export zones.

The Kalinga and Bontoc resistance is reportedly maintaining vigilance and has received news of the decision with guarded optimism. NPC also reported that although the dam construction has been suspended, the plans have not been abandoned.

An Assembly of Sorts

How Goes the IBP?

By Nene Ojeda

Its first session four years ago started eventfully enough. A spanking new building erected especially for the new legislators. Serious-looking assemblymen in their dressiest *barongs*. And the flies—hundreds of them.

Distracted by the pests' buzzing and bold swoops, everyone in the huge assembly hall was soon swatting away with rolled up newspapers. Even Prime Minister/President/Temporary Speaker Ferdinand E. Marcos had to stop his inaugural speech several times to shoo two persistent flies away from his face.

The Interim *Batasang Pambansa* opened June 12, 1978. And the members of the country's first legislative body, convened six years into martial law, discussed how to get rid of the pesky insects.

The assembly has not done much since then. Save for renaming or creating several new towns and barrios. Or engaging in hot debates on how much pay allowances they should get. Or deciding who gets to

Bank, etc.? Who takes care of these commitments?

Normalization then is the process of placing the affairs of government on a more stable, "normal" footing. For Marcos, this meant the delicate task of replacing the old political institutions he demolished, particularly the bi-partisan Congress, with new ones. But without reducing his one-man powers. The fastidious legal maneuvers to come up to this task constitutes the history of the IBP itself.

Marcos, leaving no room for either friend and foe to take advantage of, legalistically sealed his rule's permanence with a series of constitutional amendments and legal changes "mandated" by the Filipino people through a number of plebiscites and referenda.

An amendment to the 1973 Constitution made "law of the land" all decrees, letters of instruction, orders and proclamations issued by Marcos during his "emergency rule." They were to remain as such even after martial law "unless expressly and

quickly. Two days after the IBP elections, more than 650 people, including seven leading opposition politicians, were arrested for anti-government actions.

The IBP thus convened with 164 elected members. No more than a dozen were non-KBL members. This proved convenient for Marcos. Clashes about party lines were eliminated and less time will be spent on debates, rationalized many KBL members. With the KBL caucus making up the majority of the IBP, Marcos need not resort to more blatant forms of one-man rule.

Still determined to clothe the IBP with a mantle of independence, Marcos promised to turn over his law-making powers to it after the lifting of martial law January 17, 1981. Countless decrees, LOIs and proclamations dating January 16, 1981 have since cropped up, earning for that day the tag, "Longest Day." Marcos had a "longest day" once before, on June 11, 1978, the eve of the IBP's inauguration.

"Opposition" within the IBP, already small in number, remains divided

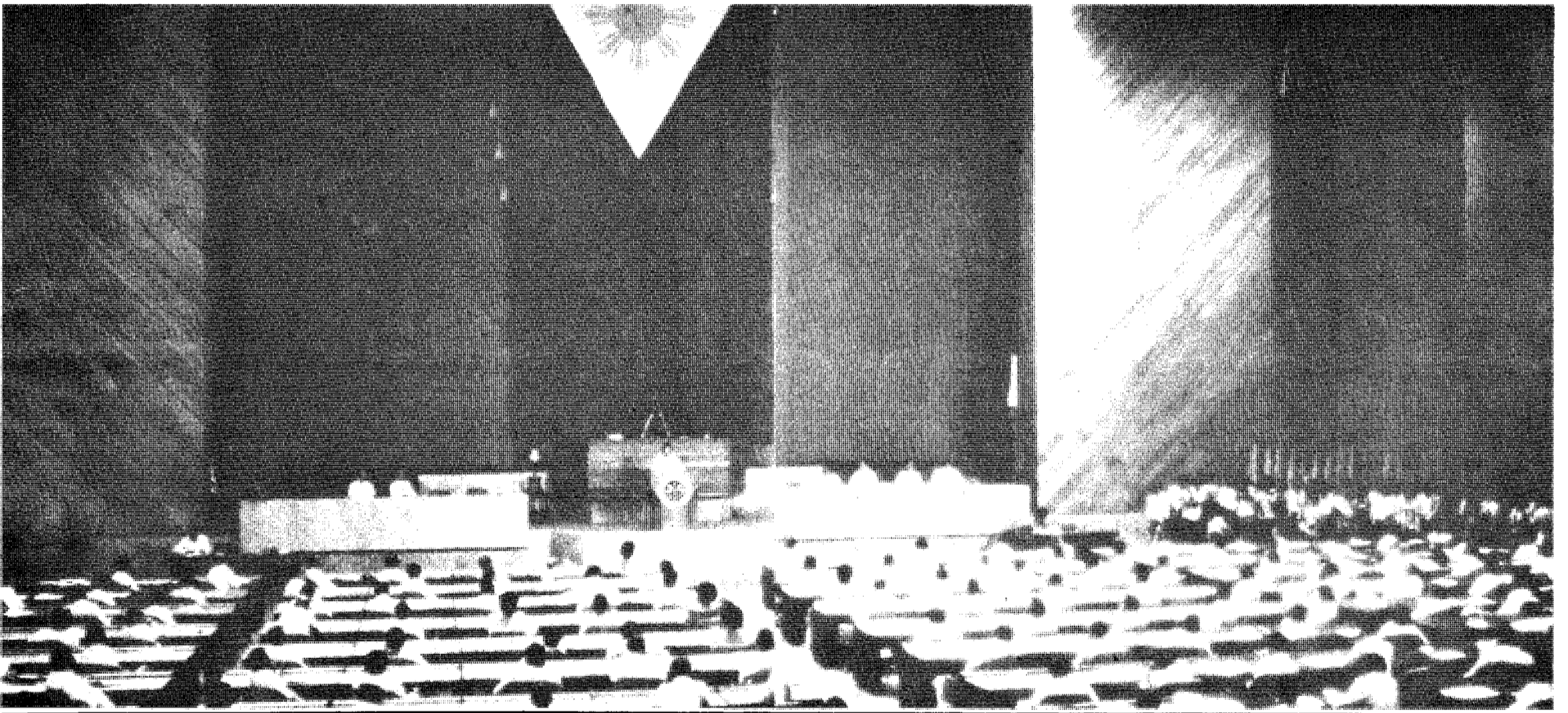
Conflicts that do arise within the IBP center on factional differences within the Marcos camp. The on-again-off-again coconut levy first inspired an out of parliament tiff between Prime Minister Cesar Virata and Defense Minister and coco baron Juan Ponce Enrile. Joining the fray later was Imelda Marcos whose friend Emmanuel Pelaez brought the whole issue into the IBP, provoking heated response from other factions. Pelaez' arguments included eloquent complaints about the delivery of bad coconut seedlings in a military aircraft.

Ineffectual as it is in establishing an independent pose, the IBP or a version of it is expected to remain. This rubber stamp assembly, through the mere insistence of its legitimacy, might still have a useful purpose, and potential.

The government's foreign backers certainly need it to justify their support for a "democratic state." The foreign media just might get used to its presence and begin to take it seriously.

The more comfortable sections of the urban middle classes may succumb to the controlled press' constant coverage of the IBP's activities, and begin to think that their interests are in a way being represented. As the "loyal opposition" gains more prominence, this danger may in fact, grow.

Finally, the IBP is a permanent bait



be in the most glamorous ministry of all—Tourism—with all its travel and perks.

But as predicted, the IBP approved each and every one of Marcos' proposed bills. No surprises here. The regime's critics have always held that the IBP would be more of a rubber stamp than an independent legislature.

But why has Marcos bothered with such a transparent project. In fact, why does he continue to bother at all?

Normalization. The IBP is a cornerstone of this highly flaunted process. Normalization is supposedly the transition from "crisis government" to a regular democratic state of affairs. This is the official line which serves a public relations purpose—it deflects criticisms of the regime's arbitrary powers and gross violations of human rights.

But normalization really has more to do with the question posed by the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines during the Carter administration regarding the stability and continuity of government "if and when the current arrangement passes."

"Crisis government" may have been useful for awhile but one cannot go on with such a form forever. It is unsightly and un reassuring—especially to foreign backers. What if the strongman passes away as a result of natural or unnatural causes? What about the treaties with other governments, especially the U.S.—remember the bases treaty? What about the loans from U.S. banks, the World

explicitly modified or repealed by the [regular] National Assembly."

But even if the IBP should decide to become independent and proceed to overrule Marcos by convening this regular assembly, the latter can be vetoed by Marcos—according to a 1976 mandate. The 1976 referendum also allowed Marcos to dissolve the IBP if he believed it necessary. Marcos, made Prime Minister by the 1977 referendum (later president by the 1981 plebiscite), can also completely disregard the legislative body and make laws by himself should he need "immediate action."

Marcos, however, still sought to legitimize his legislature and called for an election to the IBP on April 17, 1978. Already the 1973 Constitution limited those qualified to become members to only those members of Congress who affirmed loyalty to the Marcos constitution of 1973 and those in the Constitutional Convention who approved the final version of the document.

In several areas opposition groups fielded candidates lending a semblance of democratic practice to the Marcos exercise. They were, however, given only one month to actively campaign. Blockvoting, proposed by the Commission on Elections for the IBP polls, ensured the "clean" victory of the only practicing political party nationwide—Marcos' own *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*.

Any pretense at liberalization were also quickly dispelled. Repression came down

and ineffective. One circle, presided over by Nacionalista Party figure Jose Laurel and former Presidential Press Secretary Kit Tatad, disagree only slightly with the dominant KBL positions. The younger opposition politicians, led by ConCon delegate Ernesto Rondon and Homobono Adaza, are more contentious. But being an opponent within the IBP amounts to nothing more than being a "loyal opposition." Without challenging Marcos' legal framework one only lends credibility to it.

The lack of a convincing opposition, a sure sign of Marcos' monopoly of power, has become a concern to even Marcos himself. He appears determined to prove the legislature's independence by encouraging serious discussions among assemblymembers on how to create this opposition. One proposal was to set aside government monies to aid those willing to play the role.

beckoning the disenfranchised sections of the Philippine ruling class—the elite opposition. "Political existence is possible," it says to them, "if you will join the New Republic by joining me."

But in the meantime, the IBP drones on. Even participation has slackened. Before, critics say Assemblymen is an appropriate term because all they did was assemble. Now, they don't even qualify for the title. Absenteeism in the IBP has become such a problem that to make sure members attend a policy of docking pay has been instituted.

Also, the government has been calling it simply *Batasang Pambansa*, instead of just "Interim" BP. Actually an election is required for that kind of transformation according to the 1973 Constitution. Never mind. It is permanent, it is interim. Just as the Marcos regime is permanent but in a sense interim until it is overthrown. □

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Filipinos Take Their Post

Salinas Lettuce Strike, 1934:

By Annatess Araneta
and Vicky Perez



The 1930s were tumultuous years in America. In the decades before, the American Federation of Labor had selectively organized only craft or skilled workers, leaving workers in auto, steel, meat-packing and other industries defenseless before the power of big capital. Now, this great mass of unskilled industrial workers were braving police truncheons, jails, murders, and various acts of violence as they tried to establish their own unions. Under the leadership of Communist Party-led organizing committees that would later evolve into the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Agricultural workers too, were joining this great trade union movement. Among them were thousands of Filipinos, willing no longer to remain as the disdained "brown presence," eager instead to claim their legitimate rights as American workers. This might come as a surprise to the recently-arrived nurse who is told that the Filipino community is and has always been an "invisible minority." But a serious look at California or the West Coast in the 1930s will readily show the Filipino stamp on the labor militancy of the period.

One morning in August 1934, Visayan and Ilocano curses pierced the stillness of the lettuce fields of Salinas, 80 miles south of San Francisco. These were shouts of defiance marking the start of the momentous Salinas lettuce strike. Three thousand people—Filipinos and their supporters—rose up to demand a 50¢ an hour wage, better working and housing conditions and the growers' recognition of the fledgling Filipino Labor Union.

Salinas merely reflected the growing ferment among the migratory farmworkers on the West Coast who shared common conditions. Ten cents an hour for back-breaking, sunrise-to-sunset work which usually added up to 50 to 60 hours a week were not much to look forward to. Neither were the cold, poorly-supplied and almost uninhabitable bunkhousing. The Great Depression was also upon the nation and other jobs were scarce. The FLU's decision to strike was an act of survival.

But given the abuse that had been heaped upon Filipinos ever since they arrived, the FLU strike was also an act of inspiring bravery. The Filipino union was not only confronting powerful sectors of

Filipinos set out to form their own labor unions. By the mid-30s there were seven Filipino labor unions, including the FLU, active throughout California.

"Many Filipinos believed that unionization was the only recourse to protest the violence and discrimination faced daily by ethnic field workers," observed Howard De Witt in *The Filipino Labor Union: Salinas Lettuce Strike of 1934*. In 1931 when the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrialist Union led by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. organized 19 strikes, seven of them involved Filipinos almost entirely.

The Salinas growers were taken aback by the boldness of the FLU strikers. Much to their annoyance, Filipinos were not turning out to be the docile, timid Asian labor they had expected. Perhaps they were unaware that Filipinos were not exactly ignorant of labor organizing. Trade unions were already active in the Philippines even before the first wave of immigrants arrived in the U.S.

The growers banded together to squelch the strike and destroy the union. Festering hostility against aliens and people of color, combined with the AFofL's own prejudice against Asian laborers, bolstered the growers' strike-breaking efforts.

State and Local officials and law enforcement agencies such as the California Highway Patrol joined forces to break the back of the Filipino strike movement.

Through the biased California press, rumors of race war spread quickly throughout Monterey County, igniting hysteria among white vigilante groups and exclusionists.

During the strike's first week, the wife of FLU president D.L. Marcelo, and an official of the Vegetable Packers Association, James Sells, were arrested. The VPA had disregarded its parent AFofL's position and was vigorously backing the picket lines. The strike picked up more

to replace Filipinos in the fields. The explosive racial atmosphere provoked racial melees in the streets of Salinas. Filipino pickets were shot at, and drunk vigilantes invaded Filipino bunkhouses.

In early September, armed racist bands drove out 800 defenseless Filipinos from their bunkhouses at gunpoint.

Confronted by unrelenting racial violence, the FLU called for an end to the strike on September 24, 1934. After two days of exhaustive negotiations, the FLU accepted a settlement of a wage increase from 10¢ an hour to 40¢ an hour. More significant, the FLU won recognition from growers as a legitimate farmworkers union.

The strike settlement was the first agreement with a Filipino union ever entered into by the growers. On October 8, 1934, the Monterey County Industrial Relations Board announced six changes in labor conditions effective until September 1935: crews must be paid from the time called to work until released; eight hours must elapse before the next work shift; time and a third must be paid after ten hours on the job; once a 48-hour week was completed, a laborer could not be called back to the fields during that week; no lettuce would be picked before 7 a.m. and any crew working after 11 p.m. would be given a half-hour lunch break.

The strike's material gains—concessions grudgingly surrendered by the growers—were impressive for an ethnic union at that time. However, the larger gain was its inspiring effect on other farmworkers throughout the state. Filipinos in Guadalupe, Lompoc, Oxnard, San Jose, Watsonville—farming towns across California—soon followed the example set in Salinas. For once, Filipinos saw that their long-standing demands could be won, that union recognition was possible. The gains of the Salinas strike benefitted all farm hands, not just Filipinos, and showed the need for a classwide alliance with the Mexican and white workers.

It was not all smooth sailing however, after the FLU victory. The union's success inflamed the racist vigilantes even more. Just as the strike ended, the FLU headquarters was burned to the ground. White vigilante terror would continue hounding every strike in the fields, the only difference being farmworkers including the Filipinos were getting better organized and better equipped to defend themselves.

After the strike the FLU's leaders established its headquarters, a labor temple, in Guadalupe. Its membership remained at 2,000-strong. The emergence of Filipino labor organizations continued. This eventually gained the notice of the AFofL, which ironically began offering charter membership to Mexican and Filipino farmworkers three years after the Salinas strike.

But by that time, most Filipino labor groups were already being affiliated by the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which was founded to pose a direct challenge to the AFofL's racist and class collaborationist orientation. In 1937, a CIO affiliate, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA)—which took the place of CAWIU—became the most influential organizer of Filipino farm laborers.

The Salinas strikers and the thousands of semi-literate Filipino workers all over the West Coast were not only the source of great portions of this country's present wealth. They were also an important battalion in American labor's great battles for the economic and social rights being enjoyed by all workers today. True, these gains are now under intense attack by Big Business's political representatives. But that is another story. □

"The Filipino union was not only confronting powerful sectors of the burgeoning agricultural industry, it was also, in effect, striking against the social force of racism."

the burgeoning agricultural industry, it was also, in effect, striking against the social force of racism. Racial hostility would permeate the climate surrounding the Salinas strike.

Agribusiness was flourishing as one of California's key industries, with large companies investing into huge parcels of land, ultimately spelling the demise of small farmers. Improved techniques paved the way for agricultural expansion which in turn called for armies of seasonal laborers.

Filipinos had been brought to fill this demand for labor—a demand made stark by the previous exclusion of the Japanese and the Chinese. A 1930 census reported that 82% of Filipinos living in the U.S. were agricultural workers. By 1934, yearly Filipino immigration was up to 45,000 from 500 in 1910. In 1933, Filipinos made up 40% of California's total farm labor population.

The Depression made things worse for those already in the lower rungs of the social ladder. White workers, now flocked to the agricultural fields in search of employment. Vehement racism—fed by flagrant anti-foreign born sentiments—justified their claims to work over Filipinos. Race riots against Filipinos in farming towns were common.

The existing labor unions of the AFofL turned a deaf ear to the cause of non-white workers. Racial hostility reached a peak with the enactment of the Filipino Exclusion Act of 1934, effectively shutting out Filipino immigration to the U.S.

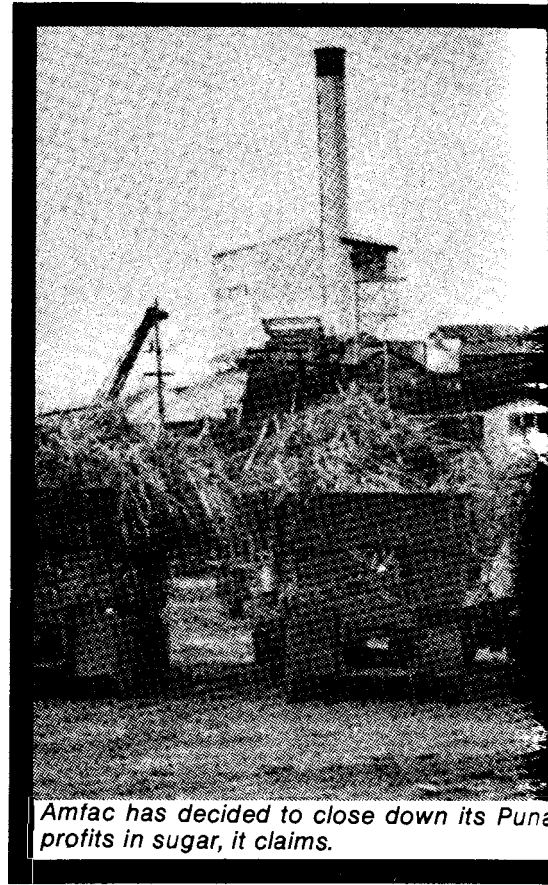
With nowhere to go for protection,

steam. Pickets stationed at various farms and packing sheds began to hurt the growers and the packers including the Ice-Kist Packing Company in Salinas, a symbol of local absentee ownership.

The Salinas Filipino community, incensed by the mounting attacks on all Filipinos joined the effort to resist the harassment of strikers by local ranchers, businessmen, and the police. Community members bolstered pickets, and gave refuge to hunted strike organizers. The strike was costing lettuce growers \$100,000 a day.

Despite the AFofL's attempts to intercede for an early strike settlement, the militant FLU leadership pushed for its continuation until the growers were ready to meet its demands. The AFofL was of course, not in a credible position to advise Filipinos what to do. Its denunciation of foreign labor as a "threat to job security of Americans," which would later lead it to support the Filipino Exclusion Act hardly qualified it as a friend. Failing to persuade the FLU, the AFofL ordered the Vegetable Packers Union to withdraw their support, threatening to revoke the shed workers' charters unless they returned to work. The VPA buckled down to this pressure.

Left to carry on the strike without any support, the Filipinos became easily vulnerable to the violence that followed. Intimidation from local and state government escalated. The FLU was rebaited, and more Filipino labor leaders were arrested. Growers imported Mexican labor



Amfac has decided to close down its Punahoa profits in sugar, it claims.

ANG KATIPUNAN publishes the following article popularly known as May Day.

Celebrated on the first day of the month, May Day struggles of the working class in their country, and to survive. It is not a holiday limited to one nation, culture or struggles. It also serves as a reminder of the challenges.

These articles underscore the fact that Filipinos in the working class, a class uniquely multiracial and multi-Filipino immigrants are "professionals," the Filipino class community. They are clerks, nurses, service workers, their labor power for their livelihood. While there are in grocery store owners, restaurateurs or doctors who open community.

In addition, the following articles hope to educate immigrant workers—the agribusiness farmworkers or sugarworkers in Hawaii who are still continuing the

While workers' conditions in America have improved people in the past who gave tremendous sacrifices in workers are still waging unresolved battles, as leader results of past victories. These battles, in the last analysis, also lies at the heart of struggles being waged by workers. The old trade union preamble stated, this is the conflict of oppressed of all countries, between capitalist and labor.



The '30s saw Filipino farmworkers joining the trade union. Above, the asparagus workers strike.

n the U.S. Labor Struggle

Hawaii Sugar Crisis, 1982

By Dean Alegado
Correspondent

Hawaii's sugar workers have witnessed many changes over the years. Their working conditions are no longer as stark as when they first came as immigrants. Though racism is no stranger to the islands, there are no bands of white vigilantes running them off the fields at the grower's bidding. Nor are the predominantly Filipino sugar workers fighting for their basic rights as workers—they have won that after some four decades of often bitter unionization struggles.

However, a sense of deep insecurity is permeating their ranks. The sugar industry, a pillar of the island's economy is posing a modern danger to their hard-earned gains. It is threatening to close up shop. At the very bottom of this threat is private industry's determination to build up its coffers. The profit motive—the very same spirit that fueled private capital's vicious response to the 1934 Salinas strike on the mainland—is placing the fate of the island's agricultural workers as well as its entire economy on a precarious edge.

SOS—Save Our Sugar—the signs now dotting Hawaiian highways are part of a well-orchestrated public relations campaign by the powerful Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. It is trying to convince the state government and organized labor that the sugar industry is going to collapse, unless the state meets the industry's financial demands and workers surrender some of their hardest won gains.

The International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union, Hawaii's largest labor union, remains wary of industry's claims, and is hesitant to concede to the industry's demands. Regrouping its members, the union is bracing up for a confrontation, the rules of which are not yet determined. It will be one of the ILWU's biggest challenges.

Robert Hughes, HSPA president, argued that the state has a long-term interest in helping the sugar industry and its 30,000 related jobs.

"The view we have taken is that the state has a stake in the sugar industry and this partnership carries a certain amount of obligation."

Hughes warned, "The collapse of the sugar industry would have a catastrophic effect on the economy, employment and tax structure of the entire state."

As far as the sugar industry is concerned, 1981 was not business as usual. In 1979 it reaped \$345.7 million in revenues. In 1980, it made an even bigger killing with revenues of \$594.6 million, second highest since the 1974 high of \$685.2 million. But in 1981, the industry reported a \$70 million loss.

Among the several causes for the loss noted by the industry is the dumping of sugar on the world market leading to the drop in prices. Growers also blame high production costs. They also expressed fears about the future impact of Reagan's Caribbean economic plan. The lowering of tariff for Caribbean sugar they fear will raise competition, leaving the continued profitability of Hawaiian sugar production in question.

To "prevent collapse," the sugar industry has issued extensive demands.

To begin with, the HSPA is asking state legislation for a \$50 million "stabilization fund," interest-free, which it says will help the industry get over its woes "until conditions improve." This \$50 million "bail out" fund consists, of course, of public tax monies—in effect, about \$50 from every man, woman and child in the state.

The HSPA also requests:

- reduced sales tax on fertilizer and farm chemicals from the current 4% to 0.5%, saving companies \$1.7 million;
- a 10% income tax credit on capital expenditures, on top of the Reagan tax-giveaway to big business;
- elimination of wharfage fees on export products which presently costs the industry \$400,000 (this would be preferential treatment not given to any other private industry).

Turning to the workers, the HSPA proposed that the ILWU forego the 10% increase in pay the union negotiated in 1981, and a 150% hike in plantation housing rents.

In an apparent effort to "get their message across," the planters have made dramatic "cost-cutting" moves—at the workers' expense.

Since October last year, two-week shutdowns have occurred in Castle & Cooke's Waiialua Sugar Company in Oahu, and in four of Amfac's (Hawaii's largest producer) plantations. Amfac's 5th plantation, Puna Sugar Co. whose workforce is two-thirds Filipino, is slated to be closed by 1984. The temporary closings at Amfac-owned plantations alone affect nearly 4,400 employees.

The majority of state legislators, and the ILWU leadership are skeptical over the gloomy picture painted by the HSPA, however. And rightly so. They point to the fact that all Big Five corporations—Castle & Cooke, Theo. M. Davies, Amfac, Alexander & Baldwin, and C. Brewer—had a staggering overall net profit of more than \$200 million in 1981, despite sugar losses of \$70 million.

"Amfac is a successful company," boasted Robert Ozaki, manager of corporate communications. "We made \$44 million in profits last year," although it sustained \$30 million in losses from sugar.

Theo. H. Davies lost \$20 million in sugar. But according to its president Robert

"Although the corporations refused to use their own profits to bail out their sugar operations, they have been actively investing in other ventures."

Sutter, its parent multinational conglomerate, Jardine-Matheson, made more than \$100 million last year.

IU International, the vast Philadelphia-based parent of C. Brewer, reportedly made up to \$145 million in profits last year, even if C. Brewer lost \$1 million in sugar.

Alexander & Baldwin lost \$21.6 million in sugar but the company had an overall net profit of \$24.4 million, reported Gregg Perry, A&B's vice president.

Castle & Cooke, according to Emil Schneider, manager of public relations, made nearly \$31 million in profits last year. He did not report how much it lost in sugar.

The sugar industry also has access to large federal subsidies for its production costs. As a result of a bill passed in Washington last December, it receives 17¢ per pound to offset the 20¢ per pound production costs. HSPA claims this is not enough.

Legislators are also wary of committing so large a portion of the state's revenue in what many see as a "Chrysler-type bail out" of private industry when so many needed social services are threatened by Reaganomics.

There are concerns as well about the propriety of the state subsidizing a big industry while many smaller businesses are allowed to go bankrupt.

When asked why these companies need the \$50M help from the state when their overall profits are hefty, company

spokesmen said it is their policy (reinforced by pressure from stockholders) to let sugar operations hold their own.

"Each business has to pull its own weight," said Marvin J. Tilker of C. Brewer. "Stockholders are terribly reluctant to spend money from IU's other profitable operation to prop up losing endeavors," said Tilker.

"That's what the free enterprise system is all about," Sutton added.

Although the corporations refuse to use their own profits to bail out their sugar operations, they have been actively investing in other ventures.

Theo. H. Davies announced plans last November to invest \$60 million in oil and gas explorations and development on the mainland. It is Theo. H. Davies' first major expansion outside Hawaii and its first entry in the capital intensive and highly competitive oil and gas field.

Amfac, the most vocal proponent of the state subsidy, disclosed that it was trying to buy the Fairmont Hotel Co., a California-based hotel chain. The hotel chain was reportedly for sale for \$200 million.

The ILWU's rank-and-file is under standably worried about the HSPA's forecast of doom and its pressure tactics. The union agreed to take only half of a 10% wage boost scheduled for February 1; the other half is delayed until August.

The ILWU also agreed to a 3% monthly hike in plantation housing rents rather than the 150% sought by the sugar companies. The union flatly rejected HSPA's suggestion that workers "contribute" 25¢ from their hourly wage to a "fund" to help the industry.

The hardest hit so far by the industry's unfolding maneuvers are the 400 or so workers at Amfac's Puna plantation now being phased out of operations.

"Our members are still in a state of shock over Amfac's sudden moves to shutdown," says Unit 1103 chairman Noboru Shimabuku.

"We are reminding our members to keep cool—don't panic—and to stay in contact with the union. No one should quit their jobs, listen to rumors, or begin doing things on their own without first consulting the union. Much is at stake."

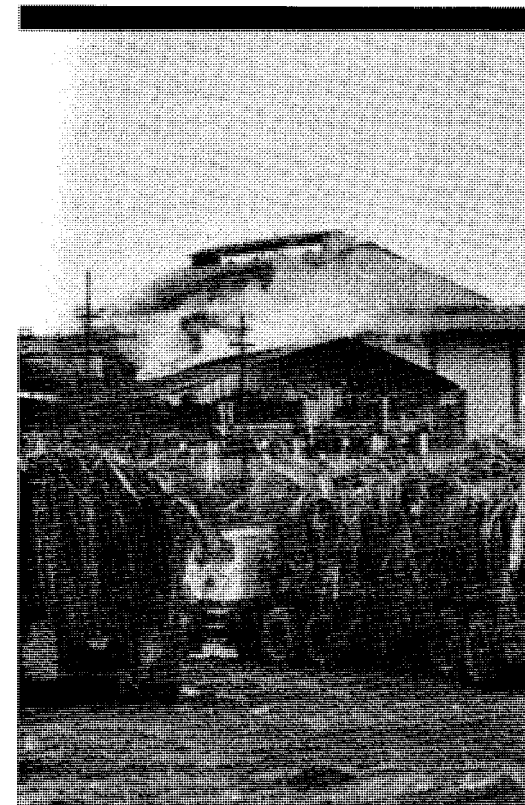
The ILWU has organized an emergency

35-person committee representing various departments on the plantation to get the broadest possible representation from their membership.

Waturu Kawamoto, acting ILWU Big Island division director said before the state legislature, "The ILWU is no stranger to the human hardships caused by the shutdown of plantations and to the economic problems faced by communities losing a viable economic base . . . However, it would be unwise to raise the hopes of our members and the community. It is our responsibility to protect the rights and benefits of our 400 members under the contract, look out for the interests of our pensioners and try to cushion the effects of the phase out as best possible."

After 48 years of struggle, organized labor has managed to reform the harsh conditions which greeted the earlier generations of immigrant workers in Hawaii. What is faced with now is a challenge that dwarfs even the most bitter fight for reform. At stake is not the workers' right to unionize or their right to a decent wage—but their right to work.

Within the framework of this economic system, the sugar industry—private capital—has indeed the right to do anything in search of profits, even to cripple a local economy or banish thousands to the ranks of the unemployed. This is after all "what the free enterprise system is all about." But is it just? Hawaii's sugar workers are bound for a showdown with the very philosophy the entire system of capitalism is founded on. □



Sugar facilities by 1984—not enough
ILWU Photo

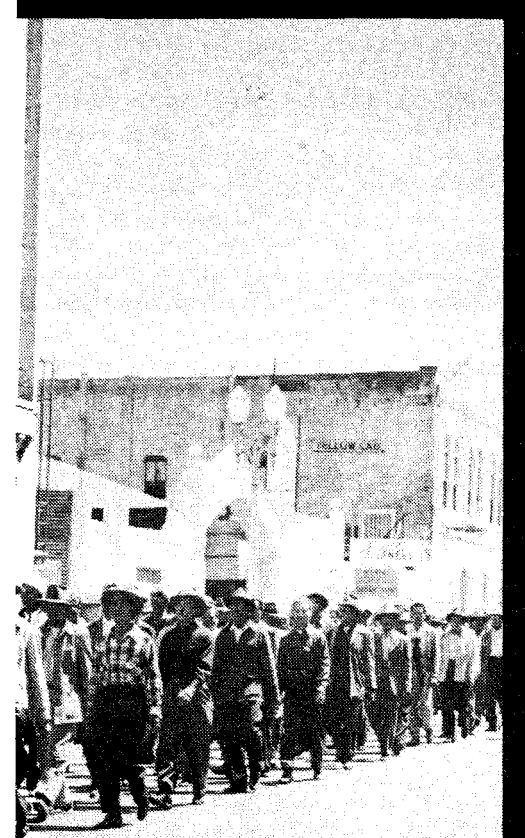
in commemoration of International Workers Day,

as a time when militant workers commemorate the solidarity with working people's struggles the world tradition, nor is it limited to the celebration of past yet to be dealt with by all working people.

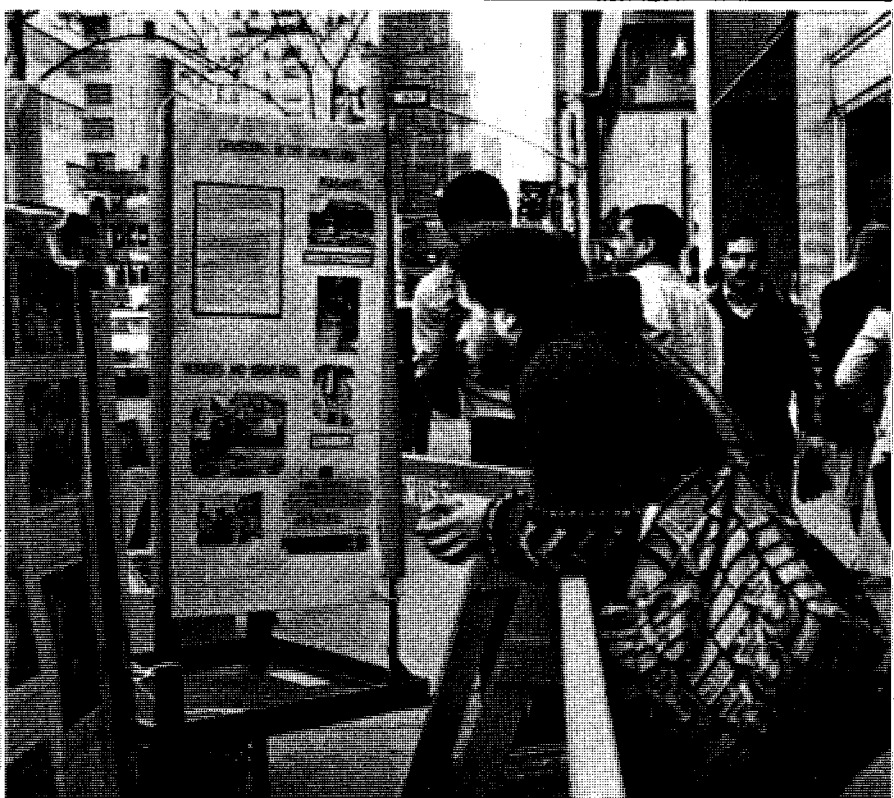
in the U.S. are very much a part of the American ideal. Despite certain claims that the majority of U.S. community is largely—and unmistakably—a working or factory assemblers who depend mainly on selling grants who rely mainly on business investments, e.g. private clinics, they represent a minute sector of our

our readers on the least known sector of Filipino plantations, California in the early 1930s, and today's struggles initiated by their predecessors.

—thanks to the thousands of anonymous working unless battles for workers' rights—contemporary government and industry attempt to push back the dreamer reflection of the fundamental conflict that El Salvador, the Philippines, and elsewhere. As an all of the civilized world between oppressors and



union movement sweeping across
in 1937. (AK File)



Activists counter Mrs. Marcos' exhibit with their own anti-government brochures and exhibit.

AK

Fracas at Bloomie's...

Continued from front page

Remember What Happened to the Shah of Iran!" they chanted.

"The only reason for me to report on this is because of the demonstrators," UPI reporter Helen Kate confessed. A report on the protest appeared in the *New York Times*, *Daily News*, and CBS News.

CAMD denounced the KKK as nothing but a palliative designed to buy social peace in the Philippines.

The protestors said the KKK crafts exhibit "is part of a strategy prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to capture export markets for Philippine labor-intensive goods. It is an effort to offset the severe domestic recession which has reduced the GNP growth rate to 2.5% in the last year."

According to them, hardly any of the profits from this "export drive," however, are likely to trickle down to workers, since the trade is tightly controlled by Imelda and her "cronies" like Human Settlements Deputy Minister Joly Benitez and Tourism Czar Jose Aspiras.

Furthermore, the demonstrators claimed the export effort is unlikely to succeed "given the deepening international recession and rising protectionist barriers on Third World labor-intensive manufacturers in the advanced industrial markets of Europe and the United States."

"This exhibit is nothing but a white-

wash of the Philippines," jeered CAMD spokesperson Armin Alforque, "a country wracked by super-high unemployment and violent repression."

At the press conference, the First Lady disputed the protestors' claims, maintaining Philippine unemployment rate is "3½%," not 40%.

"Either Imelda is distorting the truth, or she simply doesn't know her arithmetic," quipped one demonstrator.

Citing the recent arrest and torture of 25 activists in the Philippines as proof of continued repression, CAMD also called attention to the regime's attempt "to extend its dictatorship to the U.S. through the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty."

Anti-government information packets were also handed out to the press and smuggled to the browsers at the exhibit.

IMELDA'S EFFIGY

That evening, the picket swelled to some 50 demonstrators from a broad spectrum of organizations to greet Imelda's guests at a black-tie reception also held at Bloomingdale's.

Shouts of "Dining with a fascist?" rang as Imelda's guests hurriedly filed in through the main entrance. One startled socialite stammered: "Uh . . . yes."

Imelda escaped the taunts by entering her favorite entrance: the side door.

As the gala dinner and entertainment proceeded inside with a "spectacular array of VIPs—including Happy Rockefeller, Mrs. Douglas MacArthur, pianist Van Cliburn, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger—protestors hanged Imelda's effigy amidst chants of "Marcos, Hitler, Dictator, Puppet!"

Muppet Stars Frazzle Ma'am

"Miss Piggy" and "Kermit the Frog" were refused entry to the star-studded bash marking the opening to the KKK exhibit at Bloomingdale's in Virginia, April 17.

But the spectacle of nervous security officers and frantic Philippine Embassy officials barring two well-known TV characters from the black-tie affair ruined the evening for the honored guest, Mrs. Marcos.

Miss Piggy's and Kermit's attempts to crash the celebration—billed as an evening "in honor of three modern heroes: Douglas MacArthur, Carlos P. Romulo, and Ferdinand Marcos"—drew laughter from a large crowd of onlookers, many of them shoppers irritated by the store's closing to accommodate the First Lady's spectacle for Washington's social elite.

The two celebrities were cheered on by about 30 demonstrators belonging to the CAMD and the Philippine Solidarity Network.

KERMIT GRABS THE AMBASSADOR

At one point, Kermit grabbed Philippine Ambassador Eduardo Romualdez and held on to the shaken diplomat's

coattails as he frantically scampered into the department store.

Miss Piggy whined all evening and badgered elegantly attired guests, including Bloomingdale Chairman Marvin Traub and Hollywood's Jack Valenti, with pleas to escort her "to see my fellow Piggy, Meldy."

The affront to Miss Piggy's honor, however, was avenged by Peter Gribbin, a PSN member who managed to enter in the guise of a press reporter.

When Mrs. Marcos made her grand entrance, Gribbin, stiffened by a *piña colada*, screamed, "Imelda, you're a farce! Down with the Marcos dictatorship!" As the First Lady turned ashen, embarrassed Bloomingdale's security men grabbed the still yelling Gribbin and hustled him out of the store.

POLICE THREATEN MISS PIGGY WITH A FELONY

After an hour, Bloomingdale's and Embassy officials showed they were poor sports by asking the Fairfax County police to eject the demonstrators from the premises. "Pikon" (poor sport), one protester screamed at diplomatic personnel hiding behind the store's glass doors.

"We've made our point, exquisitely," said Walden Bello, director of the Congress Task Force of the Philippine Solidarity Network as he shed his green Kermit the Frog costume.

"Imelda should know better than to snub Miss Piggy," added Jon Melegrito, head of the local CAMD chapter, who had been unrecognizable earlier behind the Miss Piggy mask, complete with the TV star's long blonde hair. □



More Quotable Quotes from the First Lady

A press conference held at Bloomingdale's opening of the Philippine exhibit April 14, elicited more "quotable quotes" from Imelda Marcos that almost matched her now-famous "We are neither here nor there" statement at the Manila film festival this year.

"How does this exhibit help workers in the Philippines," asked one reporter, "where the malnutrition rate—according to the Asian Development Bank—is 70%?"

The question would have put any dictator's wife through the mill, but not Mrs. Marcos who blithely replied:

"Two pesos can buy a kilo of rice and that's enough to feed a family of ten. Go to the Philippines. You can see people begging, but there are other countries whose rate of starvation is much higher!"

Southeast Asia Chronicle's Don Luce then asked about the people outside "who disagreed with her."

Mrs. Marcos replied directly to the demonstrators' criticisms of the economy:

"The unemployment rate is 3½%, down from 4½% last year. The Philippines has one of the best economies of the world. There are people in jails, but this is not a monopoly of the Philippines. A happy people is not an oppressed people . . . You can smile if you're happy."

With that, Bloomingdale chairman Marvin Traub halted the press conference, saying: "This is getting too political, and this is not a political exhibit."

Some reporters later intimated they thought Traub was "being too polite."

Other "winning" quotes from the First Lady at the same press conference were:

- "The Philippines is where Asia wears a smile. Beautiful products can only be made by happy people."
- "Our priority is to develop the total man."
- We're grateful [to Bloomingdale's] for bringing our culture for the fulfillment of the human family."
- "New York is one of my favorite places. [It's] a fiesta of thoughts and ideologies." □

Special to the AK

SAN FRANCISCO—A new legislation which will drastically cut permanent immigration and severely limit, if not eliminate, family reunification, is moving fast in Congress, prompting cries of protest from minority groups.

The proposed Immigration and Control Act of 1982, also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill—after its sponsors in the Senate Alan Simpson (R-WY) and Romano Mazzoli (D-KY)—represents the first comprehensive change in U.S. immigration law since 1952. It calls for:

- The legalization of persons who entered the U.S. illegally before January 1, 1978. It also provides for legalization of persons who entered the U.S. before January 1, 1980 but who must maintain an additional two-year temporary status with limited rights and no access to public benefits.

- The penalizing of employers who knowingly hire undocumented aliens.

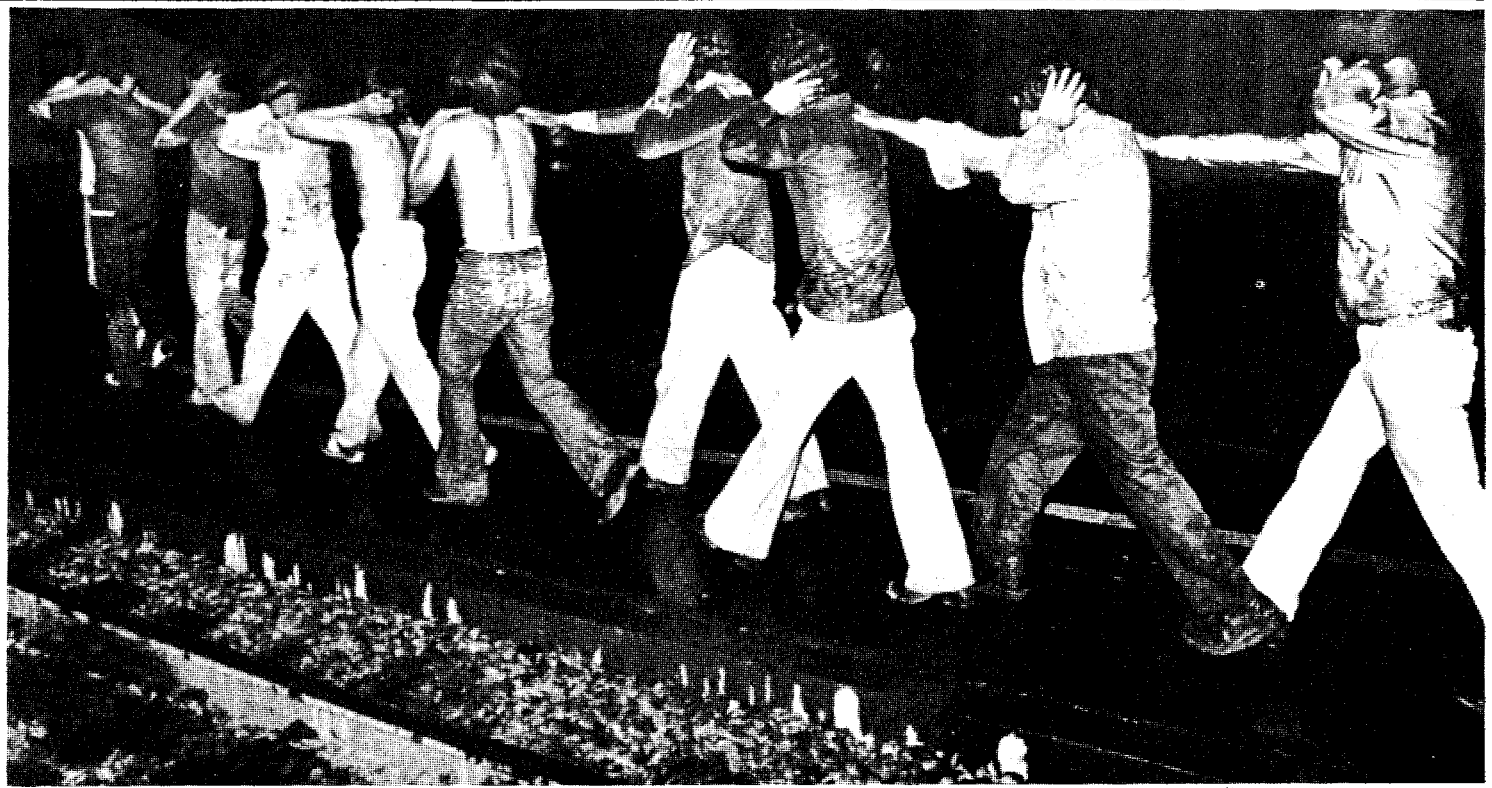
- A national ID card to be carried by all workers, citizens and aliens alike, to prove legal immigration status.

- A time limit within which an alien can apply for political asylum, and overall limits on judicial review of denials of asylum.

- An independent court system with only one level of appellate review. Federal courts cannot review exclusion orders or final orders respecting asylum whether made in deportation or exclusion contexts.

- The streamlining of the temporary worker provisions of the law (H-2 visas), and an increase in the use of temporary workers in areas where there are labor "shortages." These workers will not have access to public benefits but must pay taxes.

- An overall limit on the number of visas (325,000) to be used in family reunification yearly. currently, there is no limit on the number of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens who can enter the U.S. as permanent residents. Most importantly, the bill would eliminate the 5th preference (brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens) and part of 2nd preference (unmarried children over 21 of permanent residents), resulting in a drastic cut in family reunification for Asian (especially Filipino) and Mexican families. There is no provision for clearing up the current backlog in reunification requests. Also, past exclusionary



The INS has announced intensified raids against undocumented workers as a bill calling for tougher police measures make its way through Congress. *Los Angeles Times*

Called 'Racist and Repressive': Simpson-Mazzoli Bill Dooms Permanent Immigration

laws, like the Chinese Exclusion Act will not be rectified even though they had discriminatory effects.

- An overall limit on immigration of 425,000 a year, counting family reunifications.

'RACIST AND REPRESSIVE'

A coalition of national and local civil rights, legal, social service, and immigrant rights groups labeled the Simpson-Mazzoli bill "racist and repressive."

The League of United Latin-American Citizens feared employer sanctions would lead to discrimination against "Hispanic-looking," or any "foreign-looking" workers by employers fearful of breaking the law.

Bill Tamayo of the Asian Law Caucus and coordinator of the National Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization (NFIRO), stated at a press conference held April 20 at San Francisco's International Institute that the bill "will totally dump the whole concept of family reunification."

Many families, he said, are divided by the Pacific Ocean "with half the family back in the Philippines and half the family here." The bill thoroughly assumes that

peoples of other nationality have no right to a family here, he said.

'SMOKESCREEN'

"Is this a cost-effective way of finding jobs for Americans?" asked Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund president Vilma Martinez, "Or is it a smokescreen to hide the fact that President Reagan doesn't have a solution to our unemployment problems?"

In a statement released to the press, the NFIRO stated they did not believe employer sanctions will thwart illegal immigration.

"Employer sanctions might force labor unions to discriminate against its undocumented workers (primarily racial minorities) who seek employment through the hiring hall, and thus, would weaken rather than strengthen the labor movement."

INDUSTRY PROFITS

On a related but slightly different tack, the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) national executive board said that by cutting down permanent immigration and using more temporary worker programs, the bill intends to create a larger section of

workers who have limited rights and are more exploitable.

Cathi Tactaquin, a KDP officer said "This is part of a drive to make U.S. industries more competitive internationally." She added that the amnesty for undocumented workers is meant "as a bone thrown to settled immigrant communities for consolation."

While the Simpson-Mazzoli bill drew "a lot of heat" from minority communities, observers felt that the bill, introduced on March 18, 1982 is being "pushed as fast as it can be pushed."

"Proponents of the bill want it passed Memorial Day weekend, so as to avoid controversy over it in the upcoming June primaries and November elections," said Tamayo.

In a related development, the U.S. immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) announced a plan recently to conduct a series of raids at job sites throughout the Bay Area to round up undocumented aliens working in "attractive jobs."

INS agents in San Francisco will be joining hundreds of investigators who will launch similar raids in major cities throughout the nation, authorities said. □

Parley Set on Political Extradition and Deportation

Special to AK

WASHINGTON, D.C.—After being incarcerated for over two years without bail, a young Arab was extradited to a prison in Israel last year.

In November 1981, the Reagan administration and the Marcos regime in the Philippines signed an Extradition Treaty.

Each month more than 1,000 Salvadorans seeking refuge in the U.S. are deported to El Salvador.

More than 1,000 Haitians who fled government repression at home are presently locked up in what the *Washington Post* described as "concentration camps" in Florida.

These developments, described as grave threats to the civil liberties of refugees and immigrants in the U.S., have prompted a coalition of human rights groups to call for a conference in defense of immigrants.

The conference is slated May 7 and 8 at the American University in Washington, D.C. Groups from four immigrant communities initiated the call as Congressional action on White House revisions of the extradition law got under way. Adding a

note of urgency to the conference is the pending Senate ratification of the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty.

The main organizers—Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN); Haitian Refugee Project; Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP); and American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee—said the conference will examine the impact of the current repressive moves in the U.S. on four minority communities: Filipino, El Salvadoran, Haitian, and Palestinian. It will also draw out the Reagan foreign policy's links to issues of domestic repression, civil liberties, and immigrant rights.

PANELS, WORKSHOPS SLATED

Keynote speakers are Prof. Richard Falk, noted international law expert and member of the National Committee to Oppose the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty; and Dennis Brutus, a well-known South African poet currently residing in Boston whom the State Department has targeted for deportation.

Panel discussions will focus on foreign policy and repression, immigrant rights

and the impact of the Reagan foreign policy, and legal and political strategies."

Workshops will focus discussions on regional situations in Central America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Haiti.

MINORITIES GET THE BRUNT

Pre-conference surveys indicated that the four represented minority groups face the most immediate harassment by laws and actions arising from the present administration's foreign policy.

In the case of Salvadoran refugees, they face the prospect of murder from the military regime, which is being held responsible for the 16,000 civilian deaths in 1981 alone.

Now languishing in camps with sub-human conditions are Haitians who similarly fled a repressive government headed by Baby "Doc" Duvalier. Many of them were stopped in high seas by the U.S. Coast Guard and the INS.

The extradition of Ziad Abu Eain to Israel, on the basis of "uncorroborated hearsay and evidence twice recanted by an alleged accomplice," is feared by Pa-

lestinians in this country as a sign that strong support for Israel will distort the application of justice when it comes to their community.

Considered as perhaps the most imminent danger looming over a whole community is the pending U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty which already embodies provisions of S.B. 1940. Approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee last March 30, this bill transfers the decision-making authority on whether a certain political offense is extraditable or not from the judiciary to the Secretary of State.

If ratified by the U.S. Senate, the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty will serve to "chill dissent among the 1.5 million Filipinos and Filipino-Americans in the U.S.," according to the organizers. Moreover, with the extradition law revised, the U.S. can negotiate similar treaties with repressive countries with large populations of dissenters residing in the U.S.

Listed among the conference endorsers are: James Aboureszk, Ben Chavis, Daniel and Phillip Berrigan; Richard Falk; Rene Cruz; Don Luce; Hisham Sharabi; Muhammad Kenyetta; Juan Jose Peña; Elaine Elinson; and Falaha Fattah. □

CTF Gets Another Secret Memo: IMF Might Veto Loan to Marcos

By Walden Bello
PSN-CAMD Congress Task Force

The Marcos regime's request for another stand-by credit from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is likely to be disapproved, if the Fund's Board of Directors follows the recommendation of a recent Mission to the Philippines.

This information was relayed to the PSN-CAMD Congress Task Force by highly placed sources with the East Asia Division of the World Bank who also said that the IMF executive directors are currently under great pressure from the Philippine government and the Reagan administration to disregard the Mission's recommendation. The same sources provided CTF with a copy of the mission report entitled "Philippines—Staff Report for the 1982 Article IV Consultation" (March 24, 1982).

If the executive directors do veto the requested credit, this would have massive negative implications for the ability of the regime to continue to raise money from international private banks, since the latter are greatly dependent on the IMF's assessment of the creditworthiness of a government.

REGIME FLUNKS IMF TEST

The IMF Mission was reportedly extremely displeased with some aspects of the government's performance under the 1980-81 Standby Agreement which involved an IMF balance-of-payments loan of about \$533 million in return for the government's implementation of fiscal and monetary policies prescribed by the Fund. The two items which the Mission found most objectionable were the sharp rise in the budget deficit and the increased credit use by the public sector.

"The out-turn of the National Government budget fell substantially short of the expectations underlying both the original and revised program," notes the mission report. Originally projected to be limited

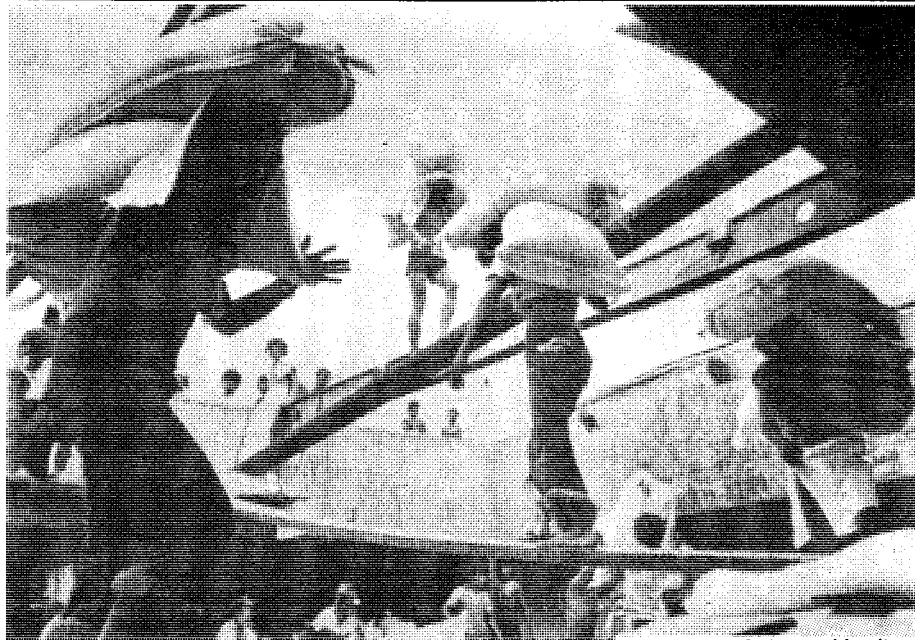
to ₱4.2 billion (about \$506 million), the deficit in 1981 actually skyrocketed to ₱11.9 billion (about \$1.4 billion). The deficit now stands at 3.9% of GNP, in contrast to the original program projection of 1.3%.

The IMF team expressed great disappointment with the failure of the government to offset increased public expenditures through more intensive taxation. Compared to the original projection of ₱35.3 billion (around \$4.3 billion) in tax revenues for 1981, the actual income came to only ₱31.7 billion (about \$3.8 billion).

Expressing alarm that the ratio of tax revenue to GNP declined from 11.5% in 1980 to 10.4% in 1981, the IMF sternly warned the regime to tax the population even more: "[T]here is need to improve the structure and administration of taxation so as to increase tax elasticity. Thus, the objective of increasing government savings should be met in part through increased revenue mobilization."

INCREASED CREDIT USE

The other key development evoking the Mission's disapproval was the regime's inability to live up to the Fund's prescription of keeping a tight rein on credit, especially in the public sector.



Christian Science Monitor

Fifty-two percent of the expansion in total liquidity in 1981, the Mission noted with alarm, was accounted for by the increase in net credit use by the public sector, in contrast to an average of 14% in 1979 and 1980.

Brushing aside the regime's argument that increased credit use by the public sector "reflected the weakness in private demand and the compensatory expansion of public investment," the IMF team warned Central Bank authorities that "a greater degree of restraint on credit use by the public sector would be necessary."

The Fund report showed great concern over the increase in Central Bank financing of the troubled companies of Marcos' cronies, ₱1.5 billion—the original program figure—to ₱3.3 billion in 1981. Without "offsetting means of credit restraint," the Mission told the government, increased Central Bank participation in the rescue operation would subvert the goals of the stabilization program.

The mission report paints a very bleak picture of the state of the economy. Commenting on the government estimate of a 4.9% GNP growth rate in 1981, the Mission asserted:

"This estimate proved difficult to reconcile with data on exports, imports and industrial layoffs, and with fiscal and

monetary developments. After reviewing the data base and methodology underlying the estimate, the staff team expressed the view that... growth of real GNP in 1981 was about 2.5%."

The external position of the economy is likely to deteriorate even more in 1982, the report predicted. The trade deficit is to reach \$2.6 billion this year, from \$1.9 billion in 1980. Servicing the country's massive \$15.4 billion external debt (\$10 billion of which is disbursed medium and long-term external debt) will rise from \$1.6 billion in 1981 to \$2.3 in 1982 and \$2.7 billion in 1983.

The "danger threshold" in the debt-service ratio (ratio of debt repayments to receipts of exports of goods and services) is normally assumed to be 20%. The ratio, in fact, passed this ceiling in 1981, when it hit 22.6%, and it is expected to climb to an astounding 30.3% by 1984.

The only area where the IMF shows satisfaction with the government's performance is exchange rate policy. The peso, according to the Mission, depreciated vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar by 8% in 1981. This outcome was in line with the Fund's prescription in early 1981 that "a policy of continuing real effective depreciation of the peso would be appropriate."

According to the report, the recent mission "would encourage the authorities to continue with their recent [devaluation] policies until the competitiveness lost during the past few years has been restored." As of March 12, the exchange rate stood at ₱8.33 to \$1—compared to the rate of ₱7.4 to \$1 in early 1980.

Commenting on the disagreements between the Fund and the regime's technocrats, Joel Rocamora, director of the Southeast Asia Resource Center in Berkeley, quipped: "Choosing sides between the IMF and Marcos' folks is like choosing the weapon that will execute you—the knife or the gun. Both groups are essentially on the same side—against the people." □

PHILIPPINES: PROJECTIONS OF SERVICE PAYMENTS ON MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM EXTERNAL DEBT, 1980-1984
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
External debt outstanding*	8,554	10,054	11,422	12,716	13,997
Total debt service	1,259	1,652	2,313	2,709	3,100
Export of goods and non-factor services	6,927	7,301	8,144	9,121	10,216
Debt service ratio (%)	18.2%	22.6%	28.4%	29.7%	30.3%

Fund Staff estimates

*Includes only medium and long-term external debt disbursed.

Seattle Union Murder:

FBI Assailed for 'Snail-Paced' Probe

Special to AK

SEATTLE—After 10 months of supposedly intense investigation into the sensational murder case that shook the Seattle community last year, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has prompted a public outcry by so far refusing to divulge their findings.

The Executive Board of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 37 (ILWU), and the Committee for Justice for Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, assailed the FBI for its "snail-paced approach in an investigation that could potentially provide more valuable leads" in the murders of the two prominent union officials.

Last June 1st, Domingo and Viernes—secretary/treasurer and dispatcher of Local 37—were fatally gunned down inside their union headquarters near Chinatown.

Two Filipino gunmen—Pompeyo Guloy, Jr. and Jimmy Ramil, were found guilty of first degree murder, and sentenced to

life imprisonment without parole. Fortunato "Tony" Dictado, alleged leader of the notorious Tulisan gang, is currently standing trial for the same charges.

The union's Executive Board and the Committee for Justice sent a letter of inquiry to the local offices of the FBI and the U.S. Attorney, demanding information on the status of the federal investigation.

The same investigation could also lead to the indictment of former Union Local 37 president Constantine "Tony" Baruso, who was implicated in the shootings after the murder weapon was found to be registered under his name.

Both groups expected Baruso's indictment as early as December of last year.

FBI REPLY DOUBTED

Responding to the letter of inquiry, U.S. Attorney Gene Anderson informed both the union and the Committee for Justice that "federal law and the rules of the court prohibited their office from revealing

any information regarding the federal investigation."

However, he added that his office—together with the FBI—is "continuing to actively pursue the investigation."

GAMBLING PROBE

The FBI began its own investigation shortly after the fatal shooting of Domingo and Viernes, targeting inter-state gambling, racketeering and the connection of the murders with the union reform work of the victims.

The two were known to be resolute in ridding the union of gambling and other illegal activities, and gained prominence as union reformists.

Elaine Ko, co-chairperson of the Committee for Justice, dismissed Anderson's reply, stating that with this type of response, "we have essentially gotten nothing to the question we have posed."

"The federal indictments," Ko continued, "are crucial to pursuing justice in the murders of Gene and Silme and getting at

the masterminds of the murder. This is the reason that the union and the community cooperated fully with the FBI in their investigation."

HOW MUCH TIME?

When the FBI investigation began last June almost 20 FBI agents unexpectedly "visited" members of the union and the Committee for Justice.

Many people refused to cooperate due to the unclarity of the FBI involvement in the murder case. Many feared that the FBI could divert the murder investigation into a probe of people's political activities, Ko explained.

Shortly thereafter, the FBI identified its areas of investigation, and the union and the Committee for Justice issued press releases announcing their full cooperation.

"Inter-state gambling was fully exposed and proven during the trial of Ramil and Guloy," reiterated Ko. How much more time does the FBI want to prove what is already established? □

New Economic Ploy:

Why Reagan's Caribbean Plan Won't Work

By Vince Reyes

How does one defuse the powder keg that is Central America today? First there was Cuba, then Nicaragua, then Grenada, now possibly El Salvador—how does one stop the spread of "Marxist-Leninist states"? To say that these questions have been persistently dogging the Reagan White House lately is an understatement.

The Salvadoran junta's inability to win a decisive military victory over the FDR-FMLN guerrillas proves that the U.S. strategy of backing friendly dictatorships is not sufficient insurance against popular revolutions.

Direct U.S. intervention on behalf of beleaguered client states when the military situation appears desperate is optimum, but tough to pull off nowadays. The U.S. debacle in Vietnam is still very much alive in the consciousness of average Americans. Reagan could not get support for it in El Salvador.

What to do? What other measures can supplement military efforts—especially measures that can prevent Central America's deteriorating economic conditions from making the Cuban and Nicaraguan examples attractive to the people of the whole region?

In response to these questions, the Reagan administration unveiled a major foreign policy formulation: the "Caribbean Basin Program". The proposal follows the blueprints of most "economic development" plans designed for underdeveloped countries. It is supposed to relieve the Caribbean Basin of its longstanding bout with poverty, the fuel for "subversion".

Reagan's plan features trade and in-

vestment incentives designed to attract foreign capital which will in turn integrate the region's overall economy, as Reagan puts it, into "the magic of the marketplace...to earn their own way toward self-sustaining growth." Reagan claims that the economic strength of the region will depend on its "vigorous participation in the international economy."

vestment incentives designed to attract foreign capital which will in turn integrate the region's overall economy, as Reagan puts it, into "the magic of the marketplace...to earn their own way toward self-sustaining growth." Reagan claims that the economic strength of the region will depend on its "vigorous participation in the international economy."

Opponents of the plan denounce it as a way of deflecting criticism of the White House's purely military solution in El Salvador. More penetrating is the criticism that the plan cannot solve the fundamental long-range problems of the area; that it will only aggravate the poor economic situation; and that, in fact, it will serve to increase the military capacity of right-wing dictatorships.

Reagan claims his program is totally "economic" in nature. Also, like his domestic policies, it relies on private business to take the initiative in creating the conditions "under which creativity, private entrepreneurship and self-help can flourish."

AS REAGAN SEES IT

The economic plan's highlights, which Reagan revealed before the Organization of American States last February, are:

- Emergency appropriations of \$350 million in economic assistance this year. Approximately \$100 million is earmarked for El Salvador and \$110 million for Costa Rica. For fiscal year 1983 which begins on October 1, \$664 million will be budgeted for the area.

- Tax incentives for U.S. investments in the region with the possibility of negotiating special investment treaties. This would directly tie the U.S. and Caribbean into an economic partnership. This relationship,

from Reagan's point of view, would develop an export-oriented industry using the region's own natural resources and create employment to stimulate a larger domestic cash flow.

- 12 years of duty-free treatment for Caribbean Basin products exported to the U.S. This would insure that goods produced in the area would have a ready-made market.

- Technical assistance and training for the private sector including investment promotion and export marketing.

- Close cooperation with Mexico, Canada and Venezuela to encourage stronger international efforts at drawing other potential donors such as Colombia, European allies, Japan and at coordinating increased assistance from international lending bodies such as the World Bank.

Reagan's \$350 million in supplemental economic aid allocation brought criticism within minutes of its announcement particularly because many believe it is an insignificant amount relative to the economic crisis gripping the region.

Rep. Michael Barnes, Chair of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs claimed that a minimum of \$2 billion annually in economic aid would be necessary to have any effect. Sally Shelton, a former U.S. ambassador to the eastern Caribbean, stated the amount allocated is "far too little to make any real difference."

THE PROBLEM'S ROOT

However correct these criticisms are, they do not address the nature of poverty in

the Central American-Caribbean region and what it might require to solve it.

All Caribbean countries have had a history of European or U.S. colonialism which controlled and directed their commerce toward export production for hundreds of years. As a result, most countries depend largely on two to four agricultural or primary products for their earnings. For example, coffee, sugar and cotton make up 60 to 75 per cent of El Salvador's exports. Similarly, Honduras mainly exports bananas, coffee and lumber while Jamaica depends almost solely on bauxite for income.

Internal production of other basic commodities have not been developed leaving the population dependent on imported goods from their "mother countries". Essentials such as food, raw materials and industrial equipment make up 70 percent of all Caribbean imports.

Although direct colonial control has declined—the relationships built under colonialism have remained. Thus, peasants, who produce the export products still exist as a class and are dominated by a local elite who profit from the sale of exports. The wealth generated by production then is hogged by local elites who also wield the political power of government.

In the last few years, the average price of raw export products have been declining in the world market, relative to the average price of finished commodities usually imported by poor countries. This requires a greater amount of home-produced exports and foreign borrowings to finance more expensive imports.

The reliance on foreign loans to finance expenditures is aggravated by the political turmoils which necessitate further spending for social control.

Reagan's program of increased economic assistance and incentives for foreign investments is aimed at significantly increasing export production, which in turn is supposed to ease the balance of payment crises gripping countries in the Caribbean Basin, and generate more employment.

TRICKLING DOWN

But even Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders and U.S. Trade Representative William Brock admit that the money going over will be used mainly to meet interest payments and balance-of-payments deficits on loans thus curbing any long term boost in the economies of those countries.

Further dependence on export production by no means raises the standard of living for the large peasant and working classes of the region. If anything, Reagan's new policies will attract runaway shops hoping to capitalize on a ready source of cheap labor created by internal economic crises.

Also, Reagan's working assumption is

"The biggest benefactors will be the threatened Caribbean ruling classes whose capacity to equip their military against revolutionary movements will be increased."

that the population as a whole will receive benefits of this arrangement—a form of the "trickle down theory". In reality, only local elites who sit on top or these countries' economies will stand to gain and the "trickle" will be inconsequential.

In addition, the proposed 12 years of duty free status for Caribbean products being exported to the U.S. will have no significant impact since 87 percent of these products—excluding textiles and manufactured garments—already enter the U.S. duty free.

Countries like the Philippines and South Korea are prime examples of countries that have undergone an "economic overhaul" by international lenders such as the World Bank—only to become inextricably tied to export production plans where profits for foreign investors and their native elite partners are immense, but little revenue is returned to upgrade the standard of life of the working population.

If it is from this model that Reagan draws his inspiration for the Caribbean Plan, the faltering economies of Central America will certainly find no hope for resolution.

In essence, Ronald Reagan is not doing the Caribbean so much favor as he is aiding international financial institutions and multi-national corporations.

COVER FOR MILITARY AID

Reagan appears to be using his new plan as an effort to demonstrate that the U.S. is not relying solely on a military solution to

keep the Caribbean within its sphere of influence. But his plan is very much a part of the military solution.

As part of his package, the President is requesting an additional \$60 million in military aid for the region, most of which will go to the Salvadoran junta. He also reaffirmed the 1947 Rio Treaty which allows governments in the hemisphere to assist each other militarily. (The President also excluded Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba from his proposal to clearly demarcate with the socialist countries of the region).

Lastly, only a small part of U.S. aid would go directly to economic development programs and there will be *no restrictions* on the use of such aid. Since the money will mostly be used for direct budget support and balance of payments assistance, the governments will actually have more available cash for military purposes.

With over 35 percent of the total economic aid in the package going to El Salvador the military content of the plan is exposed. As a New York Times editorial

stated, "it may well mean that the whole Caribbean aid program has been exploited as a cover for its most questionable component—a substantial increase of military aid to El Salvador."

More precisely, the plan can only be a cornerstone for a U.S. counterinsurgency strategy in the region. The biggest benefactors will be the threatened Caribbean ruling classes whose capacity to equip their military against revolutionary movements will be increased.

THE OPTIONS

Why would Reagan choose a plan that has no measurable economic impact for the poor in the region? The Administration simply does not have any choice. Quite frankly, the only real solution to problems of this region can be found in the path being paved by Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

Planning an ordered economy and social system that guarantees work and equity requires its severance from the predatory international economic system dominated by the U.S. and other developed capitalist countries. More immediately, it means that the privileged local elite classes must be abolished.

Reagan is right in one thing, that socialism is the greatest danger to U.S. interests in the region. After all, it is precisely the alternative that is gaining adherence among the Central American poor. □

"Countries like the Philippines and South Korea are prime examples of countries that have undergone an 'economic overhaul'"



By Robert Rose

Excerpted from SEA Chronicle

The full moon lights our path as we trek quickly but quietly through this Philippine jungle. Cool evening mountain air makes the climbing easier after the afternoon's steamy rains. But the utter stillness of the night demands soundless steps. Of the 11 sets of feet, mine alone are sneakered. Days earlier, my *kasamas* chuckled over my Western footwear, trying to convince me to unfetter my city feet for our long journey. To them, shoes belong to government troops, stiff and clumsy as they advance slowly, leaving tell-tale tracks. My *kasamas*' feet are browned and weathered; soles leathered and toes calloused into hardness and strength. Feet formerly of peasants who trudged through the thick mud of rice paddies, now feet of fighters in the Communist Party of the Philippines' New People's Army. Feet of red fighters.

We stop suddenly. Around the next slope appears the outline of a peasant's hut. "A peasant *kasama*," I am told in whispers. One of my companions ventures ahead. Soon he returns, motioning us to follow him towards the hut.

Inside, the peasant couple laid out a bamboo plate of steaming *kamote* in the middle of their floor. Our last meal, also

Inside the Philippine Revolution: With the New People's Army

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why, even though those five million peasants understand well that anyone suspected of cooperating with the NPA can expect the same treatment that "communists" receive at the hands of the government military. Also, it was a time to see what it means for the NPA to have those five million peasants offering food, shelter, guidance, and warnings.

Rudel, a fighter at 14, climbs into the hut with a sigh. The morning sun is just beginning to light up the slopes of the steep rocky mountain below us. Black

Malnutrition is commonplace with Samarens eating a mere 59% of the minimum recommended by the government's food and nutrition institute. Tuberculosis is rampant. Snails in Samar's streams and rice paddies still threaten peasants with the deadly schistosomiasis. A tenth of the population are now infected. Together with nearby Leyte, Samar carries the second highest infant mortality rate in the Philippines. Samar may be a rich land. But one should not be surprised to discover that, in the local dialect, Samar means "wound."

Poverty is in the dirt highways that connect Samar's lowland towns in slow, circuitous and often impassable routes. On similar roads throughout the Philippines, outstretched bony arms, scarred with festering insect bites, offer the hungry traveler a variety of greasy, fly-ridden local delicacies. But in northern Samar there is none of this. Here the arms are just as scrawny; the flies just as plentiful; the traveler's hunger just as gnawing. But here the poverty does not even allow for that sort of livelihood to exist.

In the rural areas, as in the urban, life seems to hold with it little besides suffering. We pass through village after village, each with less than a hundred families, each with tales like the 20-odd children who died during the last two months. They are not tales of complaint, it is all part of what is expected of life here. The children who manage to survive, pass through their childhood with constant colds and hacking coughs. Before them stand grueling years of unprotected exposure to sweltering heat and chilling typhoons, leaving them with bodies of creaking joints, transforming them into crippled elders at 30.

But it is not only the harsh climate and unyielding land that cause suffering. An older peasant relates his story one day when he brings the red fighters a sack of *kamote*.

"I once had some land," he tells me. "I cleared it myself and I grew food for my family. It was my land. But my family was still hungry, and I wanted to grow more food. It was good land. I could grow rice. So I went to the government bank to get a loan."

There he was at a loss. He could neither

read nor write. A government worker "befriended" him. "But in signing an 'X' on what I was told were loan papers, I signed my land over to this person. And I became a tenant on what was now his land."

Their arrangement was a typical one: The landlord loans the peasant one ganta of rice before planting season. After the harvest the peasant splits his produce with the landlord 50-50. Then the landlord gives his tenant ₱50.

"It seemed fair enough," the man continues. Life was not good, but neither had it been. Nor had he ever thought that perhaps a peasant had the right to ask for more.

"Then some *kasamas* moved into the hills where my land was. And they discussed many things patiently with us peasants. They were from peasant families too, so they understood us." The *kasamas* highlighted the peasants' exploitation by calculating the days he worked for his half of the share, and the landlord for his.

"Eventually more *kasamas* moved in and more of us became *kasamas*. Now that the NPA is here, I pay nothing to my former landlord. And he is too scared to demand payment. The *kasamas* help us in many ways too. When it's time to clear the land, they fell the trees with us. They taught us to plant together and help each other. They've taught us things we thought peasants would never know."

He is silent all of a sudden. But a toothless grin overtakes his wrinkled, stubbled face. His eyes sparkling, he reaches over and takes my pen from out of my hand. And on the page where I had been hastily scribbling his life story, he proudly signs his name.

This island of poor peasants has proven fertile grounds for the Communist Party of the Philippines. I spent my days in an NPA guerrilla front—an expansion area—recently claimed by the NPA. The *kasamas* moved onto these hills in 1979 and their expansion over these past two years has been not so much by importing NPAs from other areas, as by converting local peasants.

When the newly-recruited *kasamas* leave their farms, behind them stay relatives, friends and neighbors whose lives have also been markedly transformed. Those remaining villagers, although not necessarily recruited into the NPA are grouped into various mass organizations: youth, women, and farmers. They form a critical component of support and help bring others into the movement.

Here in Samar, as in the rest of the Philippines, there are many more peasants willing to carry guns than there are guns. And in this area of Samar, the peasants tell what they call a little "joke" concerning the fact that the ratio of armed NPA red fighters to government troops stand at one to 36. Sometimes the figure is recounted with frustration. But more usually it is said with a laugh, a gleeful sort of victorious chuckle. For even with this decided handicap, the rapid growth and military prowess of the CPP are closing the gap.



NPA sniper in Samar.

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kamote, was some time before. The plate was emptied. A cigarette, deftly rolled, begins to pass from one *kasama* to another and the talk begins. They speak quickly, urgently. "The military is up ahead." Camped in a village halfway between here and our base. We must go no further for now. It is better to be here with friends. Our host turns to me and points to a sleeping area. I am deeply embarrassed. "I should not be special," I said.

"No," a mere boy of little more than 12 years speaks. A rifle rests in his hands. "You don't understand. This is their part for the revolution. Their contribution. Some friends contribute food, others give shelter. Still others steal guns from the government military. Everyone, in a different way, is playing a role in what happens here. They are proud to do this. Do not take that away from them."

Towards the middle of 1981, I entered a guerrilla front in the northern province of Samar. My 11 days among the guerrillas marked a period of unusually intense and concentrated government operations in those same mountains, undoubtedly in retaliation for a number of recent, successful NPA ambushes of government troops near that area. For the *kasamas*, these were days of cautious movement from one location to another, nights filled with lengthy sessions planning the next days' military moves. For me it was a time to gain a sense of why an eighth of the rural population has reached out to help—

circles under his eyes speak of long hours of nighttime guard duty.

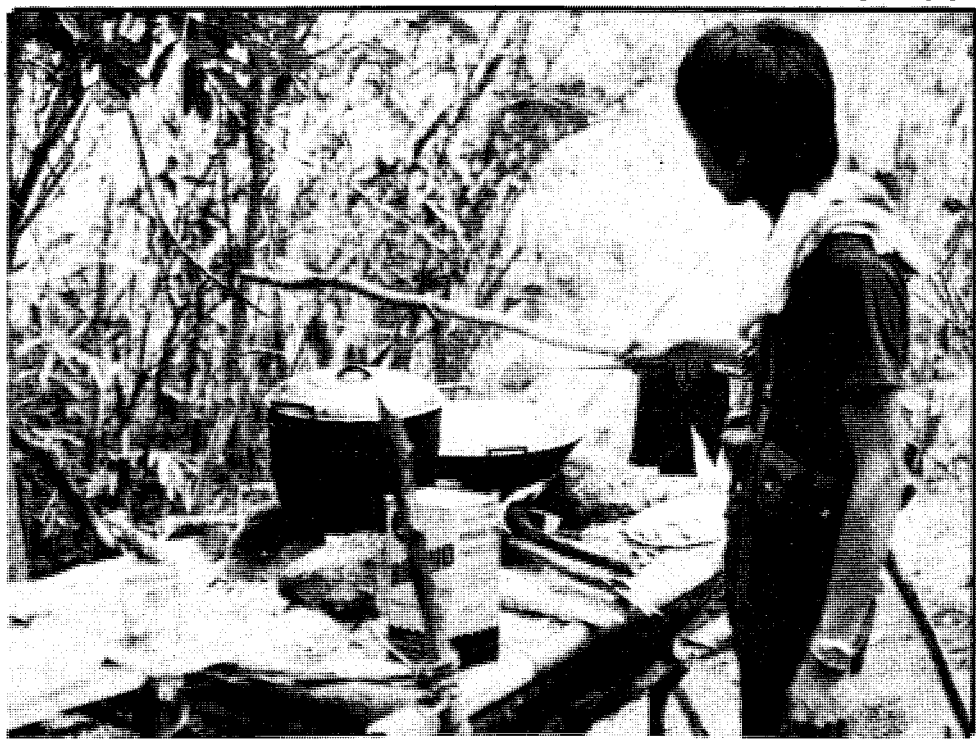
"It is very hard being with the NPA sometimes." He rests his old rifle beside him, and leans back to stretch his tired body out fully against the rough floor crafted from knobby branches. He rubs his eyes and sighs again. Shaking his limbs, he tries in vain to chase away the damp chill that invaded them during the night.

"I watched my father slowly starve from hunger. And from hurt, as he realized that no matter how hard he worked to plant *kamote*, we would still be hungry. For even if the mountain soil yielded to his hands, the landlord would not."

Rudel and his brothers and sisters saw their father die young from overwork, from hunger, from frustration, and from anger. And one by one, with their mother's blessing, they went to the hills, brothers and sisters alike.

In the middle of the Philippines lies the country's third largest island, Samar. Samar is a rich land. Its wealth abounds in its resources: coconuts, pastureland, hardwood, fishing grounds, and minerals.

But Samar's people are poor. Most of the islands' 1.2 million inhabitants are impoverished farmers and fishermen living in hand-to-mouth existence. In Samar's three provinces—North, East and Western Samar—are many depressed rural areas. Samarens earn less than their counterparts in the country.



A kasama prepares a guerrilla meal.