


PRESENTE

Some of the Dots This Novel Connects

On his website (www.ilwu10hmills.com), the author has described his novel PRESENTE as "A narrative presentation of the routine, day-to-day work of a fictional Local 10 officer and the role which he and others played in the union's December 1980 refusal to load military cargo for the junta of El Salvador, in its effort to halt the execution of Kim dae-jung, and in the events which led to the murder of two of his union brothers -- both of whom were also then serving as elected officers of the Seattle-based, ILWU Local 37 -- by paid assassins of Marcos." The documents which follow are a few of the dots which PRESENTE connects. They first were made public as they here appear at a bookstore session of the 13th Annual San Francisco Labor Fest of 2006. And thus the author presented and thereafter briefly connected seven dots as regards El Salvador, six with respect to brother Kim, and eight when it came to Marcos. The first such dot, however, sets out the reason "presente" became the "resurrection chant" which Salvadoran communities voiced when the names of those who had been in the struggle for freedom, but had also recently died - often, of course, at the hands of the junta's military or a local "death squad" -- were called out and their lives thereafter remembered at a memorial gathering. And, as a result, the narrator's use of the word to entitle his tale signifies his desire to thereby remember all of the folks who contributed to the struggles which he thus details.

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Oscar Romero, Presente!

by John Dear

"I have often been threatened with death," Archbishop Oscar Romero told a Guatemalan reporter two weeks before his assassination on March 24, 1980. "If they kill me, I shall arise in the Salvadoran people. If the threats come to be fulfilled, from this moment I offer my blood to God for the redemption and resurrection of El Salvador. Let my blood be a seed of freedom and the sign that hope will soon be reality."

Oscar Romero was killed twenty-five years ago today, but he lives on in El Salvador, Latin America and even in the United States, wherever people give their lives in the nonviolent struggle for justice and peace. He gave his life for that struggle in the hope that the outcome was inevitable, that justice would be done, that war would be abolished, that truth will overcome, and that love and life are stronger than hate and death.

In February 1980, when Romero heard that President Jimmy Carter was considering sending millions of dollars a day in military aid to El Salvador, Romero was shocked. Deeply distressed, he wrote a long public letter to Carter, asking the United States to cancel all military aid. Carter never responded to Romero, and sent the aid.

So today we remember Oscar Romero, speak out for justice and peace, and join with our Salvadoran sisters and brothers in their resurrection chant. Oscar Romero: Presente!

John Dear is a Jesuit priest, activist and author/editor of 20 books, including most recently, "Living Peace" and "The Questions of Jesus," both from Doubleday. His booklet, "Oscar Romero and the Nonviolent Struggle for Justice," is available from [www.paxchristiusa.org](#). He lives in New Mexico, where he organizes a campaign to close Los Alamos. For info, see: [www.johndear.org](#)

February 1980

To President Carter:

It disturbs me deeply that the U.S. government is leaning toward an arms race in sending military equipment and advisers "to train three Salvadoran battalions." . . . Your government, instead of favoring greater peace and justice in El Salvador, will undoubtedly aggravate the repression and injustice against the organized people who have been struggling because of their fundamental respect for human rights.

If it is true that this past November, "A group of six Americans were in El Salvador supplying \$200,000 worth of gas masks and protective jackets and giving training in their use," you yourself must know that starting at that time, the security forces—with greater personal protection and efficacy—have used even greater violence with death-dealing weapons in repressing the people.

Because I am a Salvadoran and Archbishop of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, I am responsible to watch over the condition of the faith and justice in my country. I ask that, if you truly want to defend human rights, you:

—Prohibit military aid to the Salvadoran government;

—Guarantee that your government will not intervene, directly or indirectly, with military, economic or diplomatic pressure in determining the destiny of the Salvadoran people.

In these moments our country is living through a grave economic and political crisis. It is beyond doubt that the people are rising to the times, each day becoming increasingly conscious and more organized, and beginning to summon the ability to direct, to take charge of the future of El Salvador. No power other than the people is capable of overcoming the crisis.

I hope that your religious sentiments and your sensitivity for the defense of human rights will move you to accept my plea avoiding, with such acceptance, any greater bloodshed in this suffering country.

—Monsignor Oscar A. Romero

Board policy on El Salvador

The following statement of policy was adopted unanimously by the International Executive Board at its meeting in San Francisco November 18-19.

The ILWU strongly protests any further US military, political or economic assistance to the military government of El Salvador which has imposed a virtual reign of terror over its people.

The US has been the primary sponsor of a series of repressive, landlord-dominated governments which have ruled El Salvador since the early 1930s. The current regime which took power a year ago with promises of rapid land reform and democratization has turned out to be no different from the others. Salvadorian society remains characterized by an extreme concentration of land and wealth in the hands of a very few, while the overwhelming majority suffer from chronic poverty, illiteracy and malnutrition.

Opposition to the regime has been harshly crushed. More than 8,000 persons — unionists, students, clergy and peasants — have been killed since the beginning of 1980. Trade unions, peasant organizations and church-related groups have been forcibly dissolved. Leaders and activists have been arrested, tortured, kidnapped and murdered. This terror is carried out by both the regular army and police, aided by right-wing "death squads" which operate with the government's unofficial blessing.

Still, the US continues its support. In 1980 the US supplied \$5.7 million in military aid, including communications, transportation and riot control equip-

ment. The Carter Administration has requested an additional \$5.5 million in the upcoming fiscal year to purchase patrol boats, helicopters, jeeps and other equipment. The US also proposes additional grants to "educate" El Salvador's military and police in internal security techniques. We can only assume that the incoming Reagan administration will be even more sympathetic to pleas for increased aid.

El Salvador is on the brink of, if not already engaged in a civil war which essentially pits the junta against a broad and widening coalition of peasant, labor, student, religious, professional and small business groups. US assistance to the government, in this context, constitutes indefensible intrusion into the internal affairs of that country. In the words of the late Reverend Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Archbishop of El Salvador, brutally assassinated by a right-wing death squad while presiding at church services earlier this year, such assistance "will, without doubt, sharpen the injustice and repression against the organizations of the people which have been ceaselessly struggling to gain respect for their most fundamental human right."

The International Executive Board authorizes the Titled Officers, in conjunction with the many other organizations such as the United States Catholic Conference, to take whatever steps they deem most appropriate to publicize and dramatize this issue, and to participate in activities aimed at stopping any further US involvement in the internal affairs of El Salvador.

American nuns found murdered

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (AP) — Three Roman Catholic nuns and a volunteer social worker, all Americans, were found shot to death and buried near a highway this afternoon, searchers reported.

Justice of the Peace Juan Santos Ceron said he saw the bodies of the missing women when they were unearthed near Santiago Nonualco, about 30 miles south of the capital.

"They died from gunshot wounds," he said. "There is no doubt that it is them."

He said he removed a ring from one of the victims' fingers for identification and that it indicated membership in the Maryknoll Order to which two of the victims belonged.

The four, missing since Tuesday night, have been identified as Sister Dorothy Kazel, 41, of Cleveland, a member of the Ursuline Order; Ita Ford and Maura Clarke, Maryknoll sisters from New York City; and Jean Donovan, 27, the volunteer, from Cleveland.

Their van was found burned on the road between San Salvador's airport and the capital, officials reported.

Right-wing terrorists have killed Catholic priests and missionaries in El Salvador before because of their work among the peasants and advocacy of social and political reforms. The bodies are customarily buried in rural areas by the assassins.

The judge said the nuns were dressed in civilian clothes. U.S. Ambassador Robert White was reported to be at the scene.

Judy Noone, a spokeswoman for the Central Governing Board of the Maryknoll Sisters Congregation in Ossining, N.Y., said the board had been informed that four women's bodies were found.

The board said the whereabouts of Sisters Ford and Clarke was last known when they were confirmed to have boarded a commercial airline flight from Managua, Nicaragua, Tuesday night for San Salvador.

Sister Kazel and Donovan worked at a mission in La Libertad, on the coast 30 miles west of here, that is sponsored by Cleveland's Roman Catholic diocese.

The Rev. Paul Schindler, who heads the mission, said Sister Kazel and Donovan drove a 1978 gray Toyota van to the airport Tuesday afternoon to meet the Maryknoll sisters coming to La Libertad for a meeting.

More than 8,500 people have been killed in El Salvador this year in the civil war between leftists and rightists.

Nine priests or church officials have been killed in the past two years, including Archbishop Oscar A. Romero, a human rights advocate shot to death March 24 while celebrating Mass. The latest priest to be killed died Monday.

Police reported finding 19 bodies across the country Tuesday and a leftist guerrilla was killed hours before a Mass began yesterday at the Metropolitan Cathedral for six assassinated leftist leaders.

About 2,000 mourners raised clenched fists and shouted "the smell of blood is never forgotten" at the Mass, but there was no violence.

The leftist leaders were kidnapped and assassinated last Thursday, virtually wiping out the leadership of El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front.

The right-wing, paramilitary Maximiliano Hernandez Brigade, which takes its name from an army general who quelled a 1932 peasant uprising, claimed responsibility for the killings.

The left has vowed to bring down the military-civilian junta that has ruled since a military coup ousted Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero on Oct. 15, 1979.

Longshore Union Won't Load Arms For El Salvador

By Jackson Rannells

The West Coast longshoremen's union announced yesterday that its members will not handle arms and other military or riot-control equipment destined for the current regime in strife-torn El Salvador.

"If one person's life is saved by this boycott, it will be a success," union president Jim Herman said after alleging that more than 8000 persons have been slain in El Salvador in the past year by security forces or government-sanctioned "death squads."

The boycott action was lauded by several prominent clergymen who appeared or had statements read for them at a press conference hosted by Herman at the headquarters of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

"The longshoremen understand the cycle of interests that promote the terror in El Salvador, and now they choose to break that cycle," said a statement from William E. Swing, Episcopal bishop of California.

Rabbi Joseph Asher of Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco said that, contrary to the claims of the El Salvador regime, repression of civil liberties is not an internal matter.

Richard Moore, executive of the Synod of the Pacific, United Presbyterian Church, said he joined the union in "deploring the oppression and murder sanctioned or permitted under a junta unwilling, unable, or both, to restrain its military and security forces."

Roman Catholic Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco, who has been among those most intensely interested in the turmoil in El Salvador, sent a message repeating past pleas "for a swift and immediate end to the senseless and fruitless cycle of violence which only breeds more violence."

Robert Gomez Hernandez, El Salvador's vice consul here, said the longshoremen "have the right to do whatever they want to do" regarding the shipments. He deferred other questions to the consul general in Washington, but officials there did not return calls.

The target of the boycott is \$5.7 million worth of military assistance to El Salvador, authorized before the recent cutoff ordered by President Carter. ILWU members will refuse to load the cargo at any of the 30 ports in California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii where the union represents dock workers.

The first cargo affected was a relatively small shipment of batteries and vehicle parts that were waiting at Pier 30 in San Francisco for shipment by Delta Lines. The shipment was shifted to the Oakland Army Base, where officials said it would remain pending a further decisions by Department of Defense officials.

An ILWU boycott on similar moral grounds blocked a shipment of bomb fins to Chile several years ago, and the union also has been boycotting cargo bound to or from Iran during most of the year-old hostage crisis.

The Pacific Maritime Association, which represents 120 stevedoring firms, shippers and steamship companies, said the boycott violates the union's no-strike contract, and any refusal to load cargo for El Salvador would be subject to grievance procedures.

Delta is not an association member, so the issue was not raised yesterday.

Maritime association spokesman Terry Lane said that, if an arbitrator declared the boycott a contract violation, management could suspend the weekly wage guarantees for workers in the port where the refusal to load has occurred.

He said no decision had been made whether to impose such a sanction. An average of 400 ILWU members in the Bay Area draw some payments weekly under the guarantee — minimum pay when work is not available.

Union president Herman said he hoped the government would simply cancel shipments to El Salvador rather than force union members to risk these payments. However, he expressed confidence dockworkers would follow through on the boycott, in any event.

Herman said the boycott will continue until El Salvador "has a government that has more compassion for human beings."

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12-23-80
p-10

Dolgate shutdown hit

See page 3



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Inflation trigger pulled

BC dockers open wage negotiations

VANCOUVER, BC — Canada's rapidly rising cost of living was the major concern of the 55 delegates who convened in Vancouver, December 17 and 18, for a two day Canadian Area ILWU caucus. Canada's inflation rate currently stands at 11.2%, the highest in six years.

The ILWU-BC Maritime Employers Association collective agreement provides that if "the cost of living increases by more than 20% (as measured by the Vancouver Consumer Price Index) for the 24 months between November, 1978 and November, 1980," then the agreement may be reopened for the purpose of negotiating the hourly straight time base rate for the period commencing January 1, 1981.

The 20% increase was reached while the delegates were in caucus. The delegates decided therefore to implement this clause which provides for an increase in the base rate.

SUB INCREASE

Under the existing agreement, unemployed members also receive a supplementary unemployment benefit. Current payments are \$120 a week which covers the unemployment insurance benefit for a week.

The caucus decided that an increase in the rate would be received under the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit Program.

On the status of the program, the caucus also recommended that the rate of compensation be increased to \$125 a week for members aged 65 and over and to \$130 a week for members aged 65 and over and who are pensioners.

ILWU
International

"We take this step to express our profound revulsion at the reign of terror which has been imposed upon the people of El Salvador by their government... the systematic murder of over 9,000 workers, peasants, students... kidnapping and torture... the assassination of Archbishop Romero... the total destruction of whatever civil and political liberty existed before the current government seized power.

"Our hope is that by dramatizing this tragic situation, and by refusing to any longer be party to it, we can, in some small way, assist in ending this nightmare, and in restoring security and freedom to the Salvadoran people."

—Statement by ILWU International officers

Please turn to page 5

Coast caucus March 2

Longshore workshops scheduled

SAN FRANCISCO — Preparations for the beginning of 1981 longshore negotiations began in earnest this month with the holding of area mini-caucuses.

The mini-caucuses are informal non-legislative workshops, bringing together officers from longshore, clerks and walk-

A report on the area mini-caucuses and a discussion of the issues affecting this year's longshore negotiations will be featured in the "President's Report" in The Dispatcher February issue.

ing boss locals, caucus delegates, members of the Coast Committee, and International officers for discussions of issues affecting the 1981 negotiations.

The schedule is as follows: Southern California, January 8; Puget Sound, January 13; Oregon-Columbia River, January 14; Northern California, January 21.

The longshore, clerks and walking caucus will be held in San Francisco at the Jack Tar Hotel, beginning March 2. In the meantime, results of the questionnaire have been being analyzed. The current negotiations expire July 1, 1981.

Delegates' credentials for the Coast Caucus will be issued by the Coast Committee.

Resolutions for the Coast Caucus will be prepared by the Coast Committee. The Coast Committee will also be responsible for the distribution of the questionnaire and the analysis of the results.



Short Stuff

Radioactive waste

Washington voters lowered the boom on storage of radioactive waste from the rest of the US, returning a landslide YES vote on a measure designed to keep Hanford from becoming the nation's nuclear dump.

To send the measure to the ballot, the "Don't Waste Washington" Committee collected more than 123,711 valid signatures. A speaker on the initiative appeared before the ILWU Auxiliary convention in Tacoma last June.

Hard workers

Business Week reports that Sri Lanka is drawing US corporate investors who are "impressed with the quality of workers, many of whom are English-speaking." And whose average monthly wage is \$38.

Money no object

John D. Rockefeller 4th, who sees himself as a 1984 Democratic presidential contender, spent his way to victory in the gubernatorial race for the governorship of West Virginia.

Rockefeller was lavishly financed in his campaign. He paid at least \$9.5 million for advertising. Gov. Arch A. Moore, his opponent — almost \$25 million.

Rockefeller is expected to get the nod for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination.

ILWU statement on El Salvador

Boycott: 'the only humane alternative'

(Following is the full text of the statement issued by the ILWU International Officers December 22 regarding the boycott of military cargo to El Salvador.)

In cooperation and consultation with our Bay Area longshore division locals, with leaders of the religious community and the Salvadoran community, the ILWU announces that it will refuse to handle any and all military cargo or so-called "riot control" equipment being shipped to El Salvador. This includes a substantial shipment of such cargo which we understand is now located at Pier 30-32.

DRIVEN TO ACTION

We do not invoke this boycott weapon lightly. We have made a thorough investigation of the situation in El Salvador, and find ourselves driven to such action as the only reasonable and humane alternative. We take this step in order to express our profound revulsion at the reign of terror which has been imposed upon the people of El Salvador by their government. This has included the systematic murder of over 9,000 workers, peasants, students, widespread kidnapping and torture by government security forces or government-sanctioned "death squads," the assassination of Archbishop Romero and other progressive church leaders, and the total destruction of whatever civil and political liberty existed before the current government seized power.

Our policy in this matter is in line with the suspension of military assistance ordered by President Carter earlier this month. But military aid which was authorized



Members of the Bay Area Salvadoran community joined in ecumenical service held at Local 10 headquarters December 22 to demonstrate support for the ILWU boycott of military cargo to El Salvador. —photo by Pat Gaudin

in the fiscal year which ended September 30 continues to be delivered. We believe that this is an evasion of the stated policy of the US government, and of the desires of the American people.

Our action here is also in line with the Statement of Policy adopted last month by

the ILWU International Executive Board. Our hope is that by thus dramatizing the tragic situation in El Salvador, and by refusing to any longer be party to it, we can, in some small way, assist in ending this nightmare, and in restoring security and freedom to the Salvadoran people.

ILWU statement on Klan violence

'Chilling evidence of a new racism'

(The following statement on KKK violence in Contra Costa County was issued last month by ILWU International Officers. See related story, page 8.)

The recent wave of terror and harassment directed against black families in the North Richmond area of Contra Costa County is a sickening reminder of the persistence of bigotry in our country.

We have included cross-sections of the community in our efforts to bring about change.

DEEP ROOTS

The ILWU has deep roots in the Richmond area. Many members have lived and worked there for many years. They have participated in many struggles for a better life for all working people, including their right to live where they choose, regardless of race. We will not permit these gains to be compromised or destroyed by a handful of thugs. The fact that the safety of the family of a member of Local 10...

lished; and 3) impress upon local, state and federal officials the union's concern that no effort be spared to discover the identity of the perpetrators of these outrages, and bring them to justice.

INVESTIGATION

The ILWU titled officers and the entire International Union will fully support these efforts in any way possible. Specifically, we will investigate that although the attacks are occurring, we will have

**Proceedings at the Twenty-Fourth Biennial Convention of the ILWU
Honolulu, Hawaii - April 27, 1981
Resolution R24 - pp. 397 - 398.
"Statement of Policy on EL SALVADOR"**

With the convention co-chair having noted that this statement "... is primarily an updated version of the statement adopted by the International Executive Board at its meeting in San Francisco on November 18-19, 1980," the following constituted the updates:-

"... In 1980, the U.S, supplied \$5.7 million in military aid... In March, 1981, the Reagan administration announced its decision to send military advisors and \$25 million in additional military assistance. The parallels with our escalated intervention in Vietnam are obvious..."

"The ILWU's 24th Biennial Convention goes on record in offering its sympathy and support to those forces in El Salvador who are struggling to bring freedom, justice, and economic prosperity to the people of El Salvador. We strongly oppose increased U.S. involvement there.

"Further, the Convention goes on record as thanking the members of the Longshore Division of the ILWU for their support for and cooperation with the Union's refusal to handle military equipment being shipped to El Salvador.

"Finally, the Convention authorizes the Titled Officers, in conjunction with other organizations such as the United States Catholic Conference, to take whatever steps they deem appropriate to publicize and dramatize this issue, and to participate in activities aimed at stopping any further U.S. involvement in the internal affairs of El Salvador."

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INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND
WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION SC
1188 FRANKLIN
SAN FRANCISCO CA 94109

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

TDRN SAN FRANCISCO CA 213/200 12-17 0629P EST
INT PRESIDENT CHUN DOO HWAN, CARE OF BLUE HOUSE
SEOUL (KOREA)

ON BEHALF OF THE 60,000 MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S
AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, WE APPEAL TO YOU FOR CLEMENCY IN THE CASE
OF OPPOSITION LEADER KIM DAE JUNG, WHOSE EXECUTION IS SCHEDULED FOR
SATURDAY DECEMBER 20,
THE EXECUTION OF KIM DAE JUNG, WHOSE ONLY CRIME HAS BEEN TO CRITICIZE
THE UNDEMOCRATIC POLICIES OF THE CURRENT REGIME, WILL FORCE US TO
CONCLUDE THAT SOUTH KOREA HAS BECOME A NATION WHERE ANY FORM OF
DISSENT IS MET WITH THE MOST SEVERE REPRESSION. ALONG WITH THE
IMPOSITION OF STRICT PRESS CENSORSHIP, THE IMPRISONMENT AND TORTURE
OF NUMEROUS OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS, AND SIMILAR POLICIES, THE
EXECUTION WILL SERVE AS A SIGN TO THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT SOUTH
KOREA IS INDIFFERENT TO THE NORMS OF DEMOCRATIC BEHAVIOR.
SHOULD THE EXECUTION TAKE PLACE, THE ILWU WILL URGE THE US GOVERNMENT
TO CUT OFF ANY FURTHER MILITARY, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO
SOUTH KOREA, AND WILL CONSULT WITH OTHER PACIFIC BASIN TRADE UNION
ORGANIZATION AS TO THE BEST MEANS OF REGISTERING OUR PROTEST OVER
THESE ACTIONS.

JAMES R HERMAN PRESIDENT
RUDY RUBIO VICE PRESIDENT
CURTIS MC CLAIN SECRETARY TREASURER
GEORGE MARTIN VICE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

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Front Page Herdlin Story
DEC 19, 1997

Angry Koreans Elect Longtime Dissident

Governing Party Is Rebuffed Over Crisis

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

SEOUL, South Korea, Friday, Dec. 19 — Enraged by the financial crisis that has humbled their nation, Koreans overturned their political establishment on Thursday and elected as their new President Kim Dae Jung, a legendary pro-democracy campaigner whom past dictators had repeatedly tried to murder.

The outcome was all the more surprising because this is the first time in Korean history that an opposition candidate was elected to lead the nation. As in Japan and Taiwan, politics have been dominated here by a single ruling party, and Mr. Kim's victory may help nurture the rise of two-party politics in East Asia.

South Korea is the first troubled Asian economy to hold a major election since the financial crisis erupted, and Mr. Kim's victory suggests some of the political repercussions of the economic turmoil. Mr. Kim was elected in part because of fury at economic mismanagement by the ruling party. But Mr. Kim also won because the ruling party splintered and divided its vote.

While Kim Dae Jung is widely hailed as one of the most courageous campaigners for democracy in Asia, there are also widespread doubts among international investors about whether he is ready to carry out a far-reaching and painful economic restructuring, and initial reactions in the stock market were ambiguous.

Mr. Kim immediately tried to reassure foreign investors — who have been profoundly alarmed by his populist instincts and by his closeness to labor unions — that he will adhere to the conditions of the International Monetary Fund bailout of South Korea this month.

"I will thoroughly implement a free-market economy, and I will resolutely open Korea's markets," Mr. Kim told a news conference this morning. "I will make this nation a place where foreigners can invest with confidence." [Man in the News, page A10.]

"We will diligently carry out the terms of the I.M.F.," said Mr. Kim, who had alarmed the markets during the campaign by calling for renegotiations of some of the terms. This morning he said that within the framework of the agreement, "To minimize the large-scale unemployment and bankruptcies that we are worried about, we will continuously negotiate with the I.M.F. concerning specific and minor problems."

To reassure foreign investors, Mr. Kim is trying to arrange a hasty trip to the United States — particularly to Wall Street — to reiterate his commitment to the monetary-fund accord and to market economics. Aides have been planning the trip for several days, in anticipation of a victory, and they say Mr. Kim could leave as soon as this weekend.

Final results showed Mr. Kim, whose name is pronounced kim day joong, with 40.4 percent of the vote,

Continued on Page A10

Continued From Page A1

compared with 38.6 percent for his main rival, Lee Hoi Chang, a former judge who symbolized the country's ruling elite. The rest of the vote was split among a handful of other candidates.

It is difficult to exaggerate the historical resonance of the scenes this morning, as Mr. Kim — the man who was nearly hanged as a traitor, the dissident whom American Ambassadors used to shun for fear of annoying the dictators — stood before a forest of microphones and accepted his election.

Mr. Kim, 72, still limps from one botched attempt to murder him, and even in the last few years his telephones reportedly have been tapped and his supporters have frequently been subject to tax audits. Now he inherits this same powerful state apparatus that as recently as the 1980's was used to imprison him and nearly hang him as a traitor.

"Since the founding of our nation, this is the most historic, most radical day," Mr. Kim said somberly in his acceptance speech this morning. "The Korean people made their choice and broke all the barriers,

prestige and power, and even today many Koreans would be horrified if their daughter began dating a young man from Cholla.

That makes it all the more remarkable that Koreans have elected a son of Cholla as their President for the next five years.

In the Cholla city of Kwangju, ecstatic citizens poured out on the streets to wave placards with Mr. Kim's face and chant his name. In 1980, in one of Asia's landmark clashes between people and power, the students of Kwangju staged an armed uprising and rallied for Mr. Kim and for democracy, but they were crushed by troops who machine-gunned protesters and killed more than 200.

Mr. Kim's election may ease the resentments in Cholla and diminish the regional divisions that have divided each part of South Korea against the other in recent decades.

As recently as the mid-1980's, the United States Embassy in Seoul regularly refused to invite Mr. Kim to its annual July 4 party, because he was regarded as a radical and an outsider. Western diplomats in those days seriously discussed whether he might be a North Korean agent — a proposition for which there was never any evidence — and army generals warned that they would stage a coup d'état rather than allow him to become President.

It is a measure of Korea's growing political maturity that there is no talk of a coup today, and it appears that the army will accept his command without complaint. Likewise, the Korean elite — closely connected through school and marriage ties and occupying key positions in politics, business, the bureaucracy and the press — seem ready to accept the changes with a bit of grumbling.

"They're nervous, but they will follow the new leader," said Kang Tae Hoon, a professor of political science at Dankook University.

Although he was spurned by the American Embassy at times, Mr. Kim has warm feelings toward the United States. He has met President Clinton and has twice lived in the United States, where he cultivated his conversational English and studied American politics in action.

DEC. 19, 1997

For many years while he was under house arrest in Seoul, he would invite visiting Americans to his home — surrounded by other houses occupied by security agents spying on him — and offer a Korean meal, political analysis and a bit of his Korean calligraphy. A rigorous Roman Catholic, Mr. Kim still has a huge annual Christmas card list of friends in America.

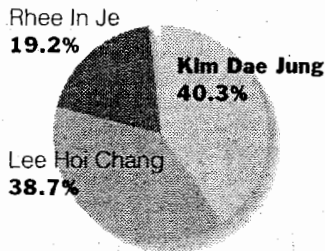
"Foremost in our foreign policy is good relations with the United States," said Professor Ra, who is one of several candidates to be Mr. Kim's Foreign Minister. "We cannot emphasize that too much."

It is not clear how officials at South Korea's Agency for National Security

TALLY

Election in Korea

With 98.8 percent of votes counted in South Korea's presidential election, positions of the three leading candidates were as follows:



Source: Reuters

The New York Times

ty Planning, which has spent a great deal of effort monitoring Mr. Kim over the years, will react to his becoming their boss. Some Koreans argue that Mr. Kim has the same authoritarian instincts as his predecessors — and exercises total control over his own party, the National Congress for New Politics — and will now use the state apparatus to help his friends and retaliate against his enemies.

Others argue that Mr. Kim is such an outsider that this is impossible even if he wanted to do so. The security apparatus has never hired people close to Mr. Kim, for example, so he has no buddies to elevate and take over the agencies from within.

Although it is a democracy, South

Korea still has many political prisoners, mostly radical students or leftists who sympathize with North Korea's Communist regime. A dissident poet named Park No Hae, for example, is serving a life sentence for leading a socialist group, and it is unclear how Mr. Kim will deal with these political prisoners and with the national security law that put them behind bars.

In the campaign, Mr. Kim was reluctant to call for freeing those political prisoners, presumably because he could have been called a radical sympathizer. But as a former political prisoner himself, and as a critic of the national security law, he may try to make South Korean society more tolerant of dissent.

Mr. Kim's main rival, Mr. Lee, conceded defeat in the early morning hours, issuing a statement pledging support to "the honorable winner of the presidential election." Mr. Lee continued, "I will not spare my cooperation and support to the President-elect, with a view to overcoming the economic crisis in an atmosphere of stability and reconciliation."

This was Mr. Kim's fourth bid for the presidency, and to compete he broke a promise that the third bid in 1992 would be his last. His entire life has been a roller coaster of ups and downs, and it frequently seemed that he was destroyed and would never recover.

The personal cost has also been enormous for Mr. Kim and his family. Just 10 days after his second wedding, in 1962, the military Government accused him of misconduct and sent him to prison. In all, he has spent five and a half years in prison,

three years in exile, and six and a half years under surveillance and frequent detention.

During his first race for the presidency, in 1971, he mounted an unexpectedly strong challenge to President Park Chung Hee and was nearly killed for it. A truck smashed into Mr. Kim's car in a suspicious accident that is widely regarded as an assassination attempt. The accident killed Mr. Kim's driver and left him with a permanent limp.

Two years later, while Mr. Kim was on a trip to Tokyo, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency kidnapped him from his hotel room and smuggled him onto a ship at sea. Mr. Kim's captors took him on deck and chained him to a rock, apparently with the intention of throwing him overboard.

But Japanese and American authorities had discovered what had happened and put enormous pressure on South Korea not to kill Mr. Kim. American military aircraft kept the Korean ship under surveillance, and he was taken back to Korea and eventually released.

Then in 1980, the military Government of Chun Doo Hwan arrested Mr. Kim and sentenced him to death. He came close to being hanged, but in the end the international protests were so great that President Chun sent Mr. Kim to exile in America.

Now, in a rich irony, Mr. Chun is in prison, and it may be up to Mr. Kim to decide whether to pardon him. In an interview earlier in the fall, Mr. Kim suggested that it might be time to pardon Mr. Chun, who is in prison for seizing power and massacring Mr. Kim's supporters in Kwangju.



Presidential Inaugural Committee
77-6 Sajong-ro, Jongro-gu, Seoul 110-760 Korea

February 11, 1998

Dear Dr. Mills,

As Chairman of the Presidential Inaugural Committee, it is my pleasure to request the honour of your presence as well as that of your spouse where it is possible at the Inaugural Ceremony of His Excellency KIM Dae-jung, the Fifteenth President of the Republic of Korea, to be held on Wednesday, 25th of February, 1998.

Further detailed information on the ceremony and related activities will be forwarded to you in due course.

Please accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

Respectfully yours,

Koh, Kun
Koh, Kun

Chairman,
Presidential Inaugural Committee

Dr. Herb Anson Mills
Former Secretary
San Francisco Longshoremen's Union

S. Korea's new leader didn't forget ILWU

By Annie Nakao
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

Just a typical week for a longshoreman.

That's how crusty Herb Mills remembers Christmas season 1980, when his International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was hunkering down for another dockside fight.

At the time, Mills was secretary-treasurer of Local 10. The ILWU — famed for its defense of human rights worldwide — was about to announce its refusal to load arms bound for war-torn El Salvador.

It was a risk — the bosses were muttering about pay sanctions. But Mills had the clergy on his side.

"I told them we even got a wire from the Carmelite nuns, and they don't even talk!" said the Berkeley resident, referring to the order's vow of silence.

But first, the union had something else on its plate.

In Seoul, South Korea's military junta had just set an execution date for dissident Kim Dae Jung.

The ILWU was well aware of the Kim case. Mills swung into action, in conjunction with religious leaders and Korean American activists. Within days, ILWU President Jimmy Herman quietly fired off a cable to South Korea's

Blue House, the presidential palace, appealing for clemency for Kim.

In the carefully worded cable, the union said it would pressure Uncle Sam to cut off aid to South Korea and "consult with other Pacific Basin trade union organizations as to the best means of registering our protest" if Kim were executed.

What Mills had in mind was more blunt: a threatened West Coast-wide boycott of South Korean cargo.

"We were going to quarantine Korea," said Mills.

The ploy, along with intense worldwide diplomatic pressure, apparently worked. Clemency was granted.

Now, more than 17 years after being spared execution, Kim will be inaugurated as South Korea's newly elected president on Wednesday. Mills, four other union and religious leaders, and 43 Korean American supporters from the Bay Area will be there as special invitees.

"Mr. Kim acknowledges that the role of the ILWU saved his life," said You Young Soo, a Korean American member of the then-Save Kim Dae Jung Committee. "It made a big impact."

Beside Mills and You, others

who will be attending from the Bay Area are Gus Schultz, former pastor of the University Lutheran Chapel; John Moyer, former head of the Northern California Ecumenical Council; and ILWU President Brian McWilliams.

Not that Mills, 67, who retired six years ago, was waiting around for an invite.

A Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan who holds a Ph.D. from UC-Irvine, Mills was at his home near Tilden Park, "writing his great American novel," when the phone rang.

"There's nobody here but us chickens when I get this call," said Mills, who has never met Kim. "They're telling me, 'Kim Dae Jung wants you to come to the inauguration.'"

The whole story, as Mills puts it, is "a humdinger."

"Over 17 years ago and he never forgot," said Mills, who leaves for Korea Friday. "But the bigger story is what happened was typical in a San Francisco longshoremen's officer's life."

It was the internationally known union's power — not his own — that had counted, Mills maintains.

"You wanna talk history? San Francisco longshoremen refused to load brass, copper and nickel to Mussolini's fascist Italy during the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935," Mills said. "The union's done a lot of stuff on behalf of social justice over many, many years."

One can only imagine how Mills' raspy bark and craggy face made things move on the docks, where he was also Local 10's business agent and all-around point man.

"Herb was this rugged labor man who embodied the traditional unionist," said Eileen Purcell, a former community organizer for the Archdiocese of San Francisco. "At the same time, he could enter a cathedral, take off his hat and embrace traditions that may not have been part of his life experience."

When not closeted with Franciscan nuns or various community leaders, Mills wrote long treatises for scholarly journals. One was on the impact of mechanization on the docks, a technological advance that Mills said put a chill on the hard-won moral balance between dock workers and their employers.

Instead of requiring initiative, ingenuity and skill, bosses soon sought workers adept at following orders.

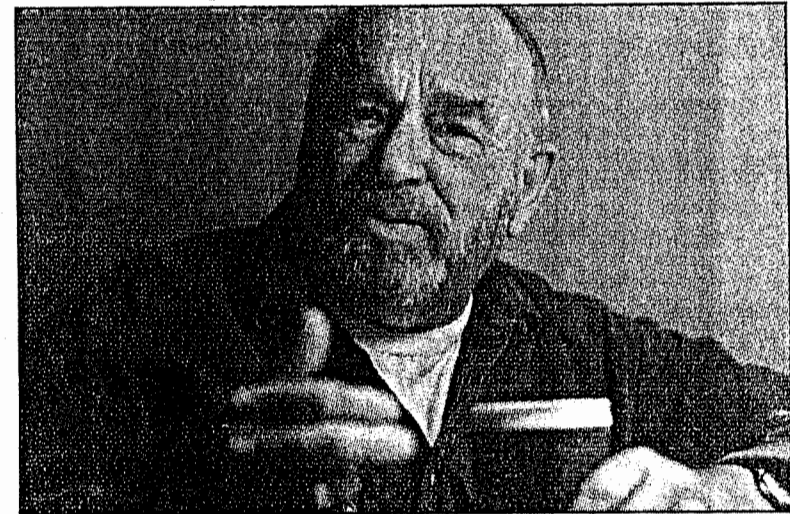
Mills honed his political theories in his 13 years of undergradu-

ate, graduate and doctoral studies before becoming a longshoreman in 1963.

A veteran "hold man" who toiled in bowels of ships, Mills sees a longshoreman's work as reflecting life.

"We have the saying, 'Face me or face the ladder,'" Mills said. "If you're down in the hold, you're coming out with good work in all respects. You do the right thing in the hold. Or you face the ladder — the hatch to get out. So every day in the life of a longshoreman was a moral experience."

"That union was strong because they had become united as trade union people," Mills said. "I'm talking about American longshoremen willing to go to the mat for Salvadorans, Koreans, Filipinos. Now... that's a hell of a story."



EXAMINER/KATY RADDATZ

Herb Mills, ex-longshoreman and union leader, has been invited to attend the inauguration of new South Korean President Kim Dae Jung.



New clues in the campaign-finance scandal: Thompson

SCANDALS

Solving Part of a Puzzle

INVESTIGATORS FOR SEN. FRED THOMPSON MAY HAVE partly solved one of the mysteries that have intrigued campaign-finance-scandal followers: where did the \$450,000 that a landscape architect donated to the Democratic National Committee come from? According to a draft of Thompson's report obtained by NEWSWEEK, investigators tracked down Arief and Soraya Wiradinata, native Indonesians, who left Washington after questions were raised about their finances. Investigators report that former DNC fundraiser John Huang paid two visits to Soraya's father, Indonesian banking tycoon Hashim Ning, when he was gravely ill in an American hospital. After Huang arranged, the report says, for a "get well" note from President Clinton, Ning wired \$500,000 from Indonesia to the Wiradinatas' U.S. bank account. A few days later, they contributed \$30,000 to the Democrats, the first of numerous donations.

RACE

'Two Societies'

THIRTY YEARS AGO, THE Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders warned: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." A 30th-anniversary update, prepared by the Eisenhower Foundation and due for release March 1, identifies some progress since 1968, but concludes that the "prophecy has come to pass." Some evidence:

- The unemployment rate for

young men in inner cities is over 30 percent; the national rate is under 5 percent.

- The U.S. income gap has widened to the point that the top 1 percent of Americans have more wealth than the bottom 90 percent. The poor are disproportionately African-American and Hispanic.

- One in three young black men is in prison, on probation or on parole.

- States now spend more per year on prisons than on higher education. Ten years ago the spending priorities were reversed.

SOUTH KOREA

Long Memory

NEWLY ELECTED SOUTH KOREAN President Kim Dae Jung hasn't forgotten his friends. Seventeen years ago, Kim was sentenced to death for treason by South Korea's military dictatorship. Now he's invited the San Francisco labor leader he credits for his freedom to his Feb. 25 Inauguration. As former longshoremen's union official Herb Mills recalls, two days before Kim's execution date, the ILWU (which



Kim Dae Jung

had a soft spot for dissidents) appealed to Seoul for clemency. Meanwhile, Mills spread the word among Korean-American dockworkers throughout the Pacific might boycott South Korean ships if Kim were killed. Kim was spared, and last week Mills got the call: "Kim wants you to come to Seoul because he thinks the union saved his life."



The wrong answer: Hartzler

POLITICS

Snubbed Again

JOSEPH HARTZLER, WHO WON the conviction of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, seemed a good bet to be nominated for a federal judgeship. But for the second time in less than a year, the Illinois prosecutor has been snubbed by the state's senior senator, Carol Moseley-Braun. Democratic strategists hoped Hartzler, considered an independent, would slip through the GOP-controlled Senate. But Moseley-Braun, apparently putting politics above compromise, picked candidates closer to the Dems. "Hartzler once told a reporter his party affiliation was a personal matter. In Illinois, that answer is incorrect," said a Democratic source.

CONVEY FEDERAL WISDOM WATCH

Enough Already Edition

Starr may be within his rights, but the CW hates to see mothers brought to tears before the grand jury. Solution: get a congressional resolution of censure against Bill and let's all move on.

- Clinton Public still giving him the benefit of the doubt. But facts are stubborn things.
- Starr Witch hunt. Spanish Inquisition. Sexual McCarthyism. Take your pick.
- M. Lewis Anguished mom has star turn exposing Starr chamber's Kafka-esque tactics.
- Monica Back from the Coast and soon to be toast. But having a great hair week.
- Russia Old: cuddly, struggling democracy. New: drunken bear who still hates us.
- CBS Delays Picabo's Super G gold 24 hours. That's not plausibly live. P.S.: lighten up.

Cloak-and-dagger games: Saving the life of a leader

KIM DAE JUNG HAD JUST FINISHED A SECRET LUNCH WITH another Korean opposition leader at Tokyo's downtown Grand Palace Hotel on Aug. 8, 1973. As Kim stepped into a hallway, a group of men grabbed him, ordering him in Korean to keep silent. Beaten and smothered with a chloroform-soaked rag, Kim was bound, blindfolded and dumped into a waiting car. By the following night, he had been transferred to a Korean freighter at sea. There he was bound again, his face covered in tape with air holes around his nose. As the ship moved off into the darkness, his captors roped Kim to a traditional Korean funeral plank for burial; weights were attached to his wrists. A devout Catholic, Kim saw the end coming and began to pray.

Suddenly, as if in response, the rumble of aircraft engines swept over the ship. As crew members shouted "an airplane," Kim heard heavy objects falling into the sea. Then the ship turned so sharply Kim was thrown to the deck. "Are you Mr. Kim Dae Jung?" asked a voice, which Kim aides now believe belonged to the ship's cook. "I think the worst is over and you are alive." The fly-by had scared Kim's captors enough to save his life.

Only now are details of the kidnapping beginning to emerge. Last week, a top Korean official revealed that the KCIA had planned the abduction, but he failed to explain the mysterious appearance of the plane. TIME has learned that Kim's savior was

the United States. According to Donald Gregg, then chief of the Central Intelligence Agency's Seoul station, the U.S. swept into action immediately on hearing news of Kim's abduction. Ambassador Philip Habib called Gregg into his office. "I know how things work around here," said Habib. "They're going to wait 24 hours, and if we don't say anything Kim will be killed." As Gregg tells it, he called in as many favors as he could from among his Korean counterparts to verify the KCIA's role in the kidnapping. The next morning, Habib went to the Blue House and warned President Park Chung Hee that Kim's murder would be a "terrible setback" for U.S.-Korea relations. The aircraft that buzzed the death ship that night was not American, says Gregg, but could have been Korean or, more likely, Japanese. In any case, its warning kept Kim from a horrible fate.

The next U.S. intervention on Kim's behalf was considerably more complicated. It was late 1980, and the dissident leader had been convicted of treason and was awaiting execution. Overseas Koreans, foreign leaders and human rights activists had called for his release, to no avail. In Washington, Jimmy Carter was in the process of turning over the White House to President-elect Ronald Reagan. With U.S. diplomats being held hostage in Iran and a still-intact Soviet Union to deal with, who had time to care about a lone dissident in far-off Korea?

But U.S. officials had been debating Kim's plight for months. Some thought the U.S. should launch a public protest to Chun, asking him to prevent the execution; others argued such a move would be counterproductive. In early December, Gregg, then on the National Security Council staff, left for Seoul with Defense Secretary Harold Brown for a meeting with Chun that both men

doubted would yield much. To their surprise, Chun got right to the point. Remembers Gregg: "The first thing he said was, 'I've got a terrible problem with Kim Dae Jung. Every single Korean military official wants me to execute him. If I do, I know I have trouble with you and in Europe. I do not know what to do.'" Yet Chun seemed inclined to go with his generals. "I left the meeting thinking that we failed and Kim Dae Jung was a dead man," recalls Gregg.

Meanwhile, State Department official Michael Armacost, among other policy-makers nervous over Kim's fate, contacted Richard Allen, a foreign affairs adviser to Reagan. Armacost warned Allen that a high-ranking Republican had told senior Korean officials that Chun should deal with Kim as he saw fit. If that message was not quickly disavowed, Chun was likely to consider it a green light to kill Kim. After seeking Reagan's support, Allen leaked news reports that the new administration would in fact not look kindly on an execution. The Koreans arranged a meeting in Washington with a Chun emissary—who said it was none of Washington's

on 2-11-85, ABC Nightline reported that U.S. intervention had saved Kim's life

business. "I said if you [kill him] you will be struck by a lightning bolt from heaven," recalls Allen, who concedes he did not have a clue as to what Washington's policy would be.

The next day, Chun's emissary suggested a deal: if the Korean President were invited to Reagan's inauguration, they might consider a lesser penalty for Kim. Allen easily said "no" to that; heads of state do not attend presidential inaugurations. "They made a big mistake out of ignorance, and now I knew I had the leverage," Allen recalls. He pressed the Koreans

to relent and, confident that Kim's life was saved, he discreetly arranged a "private" visit for Chun with Reagan in February 1981. Ironically, that helped earn Reagan the ire of Kim supporters in and out of Korea for "coddling dictators." Even Kim, whose life had been twice spared, learned only years later that it was the Republicans who bailed him out. "He has a very warm feeling for the U.S.," says former Congressman Stephen Solarz. "He knows if it wasn't for us, he undoubtedly wouldn't be here."

—By Stella Kim/Seoul. With reporting by Douglas Waller/Washington

24th CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS SUMMARY (April, 1981):-

Resolution R - 34

"WHEREAS: On September 22, 1972 President Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines; and

"WHEREAS: Under martial law the condition of trade unionists and all workers were seriously affected in the following ways:

"(1) Strikes in all vital industries (which has objectively been expanded to include all industries) have been banned through the declaration of Presidential Decree 823;

"(2) Wages and benefits continue to be depressed so that workers and their families can barely subsist. In March 1981 the minimum daily wage was set at P30.85 (\$4.08) for workers in Metro-Manila, P30.76 (\$3.94) for non-agricultural workers outside Manila and P25.20 (\$3.36) for plantation workers (*Bulletin Today*, March 27, 1981). Yet, in January 1981 the government estimated the average cost of daily food and other basic necessities for a family of six to be P49.96 (\$6.41) for non-agricultural workers and P47.08 (\$6.04) for agricultural workers (National Census and Statistics Office, Food and Nutrition Research Institute, Bureau of Agricultural Economics);

"(3) Due to the inflation rate in the Philippines, second highest in Asia and one of the highest in the world, the real wages of the workers decreased by 39% from 1972 to 1979 (Central Bank):

(4) Even the government-influenced Trade Union Congress of the Philippines admitted that 65.5% of the firms were found to be in violation of labor standards (mostly for non-payment of wages, summary dismissal, or preventive suspension of workers) while 36.4% of the firms violated health and safety standards; and

"WHEREAS: On September 2 and 3, 1980 the government arrested 17 labor leaders including Ernesto Arrellano (General Secretary of the Kilusan Mayo Uno Labor Center), Leto Vilear (General Manager of the Cubao Driver's Cooperative), Alejandro Magtoto (President of Wyeth Suceo Employees Union), Rosario Zapanta and Eleurio Tuazon (officers of the Philippine Textile Mills Employees Union), and according to the Task Force on Detainees of the Philippines, 37 labor organizers have disappeared or been 'salvaged' since the beginning of martial law, while hundreds more have been detained in prison; and

"WHEREAS: On January 19, 1981 President Marcos announced the lifting of martial law, but all the presidential decrees, including Presidential Decree 823 and the restrictive labor codes remain in effect; and

"WHEREAS: The ILWU has traditionally supported the efforts of trade unionists and workers throughout the world in their struggles to improve wages, working and living conditions and their lives through industrial unionism and free expression; and

"WHEREAS: The ILWU has taken an active interest in the general conditions and welfare of the trade unions and working people in the Philippines in the past forty years; THEREFORE BE IT

"RESOLVED: That the ILWU objects to the continuation of the restrictive decrees and policies of the Marcos government initiated under martial law and which continue to this day; and BE IT FURTHER

"RESOLVED: That the ILWU continue to promote active interest in the general developments in the Philippines and their effect on the welfare of working people by increased coverage in *The Dispatcher*, conducting educational programs, and fostering relations with groups which work for industrial democracy and freedom for the Filipino people; and BE IT FINALLY

"RESOLVED: That the ILWU International officers consider the Philippines as a destination for the next foreign delegation program as a means by which up-to-date information can be obtained on the state of trade unions, working conditions, and civil liberties of Filipino workers."



Short Stuff

Pentagon waste

There is a whole lot of waste in the Pentagon. That's the word from a very surprising source, the conservative **US News & World Report**. A recent article estimates that there is a low estimate of \$15 billion worth of waste, but reckons the real figure could go much higher. Even Sen. Barry Goldwater has been warning that the Pentagon ought to start getting its own house in order.

A long way where?

A lot has been written in the "you've come a long way, baby" vein about the advancement of women in the work force. And it is true that women over 16 years of age now comprise about 41% of this pool. But women aren't gaining on men when it comes to income. Women earned 64 cents in 1955 for every dollar earned by men. That figure dropped to 57 cents in 1974 and was still less than 60 cents in 1979.

Everett drama

Portland Labor Players II is readying a new production, "God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen," a play set in "mill town of Everett, Wash, a infamous 1916 massacre th

The play will be st
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Two tragedies

Within the last week we have experienced two tragic and terrible events—assaults on our entire union which require an immediate and forceful response.

On June 1, shortly after 5 P.M., ILWU Cannery Workers' Local 37 Secretary-Treasurer Silme Domingo and Dispatcher Gene Viernes were alone in the union's Seattle headquarters when two men, armed with 45-caliber weapons, entered the office and began shooting. Viernes died almost immediately. Domingo was able to crawl out to the street and summon assistance. He was taken to Harbor View Medical Center where he died some 24 hours later, despite magnificent attempts by the hospital staff to save him. Two men have been arrested and charged with first-degree murder. We understand that the police are now continuing the investigation to establish the precise motive for the brutal cold-blooded killings.

There are no words to express our loss. Silme and Gene were both fine young men, honest, committed and hard-working. They had ideals and strong feelings, they cared deeply about their fellow cannery workers, about their union, about their community. They were both 29 years old, good friends, good people. Gene was single. Silme leaves a wife and two children. Silme and Gene were among the best young leaders to have been working to enforce the interests of its members and looking to work with the union.



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Another conviction in Viernes-Domingo case

SEATTLE — Fortunado "Tony" Dictado was found guilty May 12 by a King County Superior Court jury of two counts of aggravated first-degree murder for the killing of two officials of ILWU Local 37, a year ago.

Dictado is the third person to be convicted in the killings of Local 37 Secretary-Treasurer Silme Domingo and dispatcher Gene Viernes on June 1, 1981. Jimmy Bulosan Ramil and Pompeo Guloy Jr., two reputed "soldiers" in Dictado's gang, were convicted last December

and sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole. Dictado now faces the same penalty.

The prosecution had alleged that Dictado as head of the gang known as "Tulisan," had killed Domingo and Viernes because their efforts to straighten out improprieties in the Local 37 dispatch of cannery workers to Alaska had interfered with his control of gambling. Domingo, according to senior deputy prosecutor Joan Maida, was killed because he was a witness to Viernes' execution.

How Marcos 'Harassed' Foes in U.S.

Washington

Two former State Department officials said yesterday that the United States had intercepted messages from Manila to Filipino agents in this country ordering them to harass opponents of the Marcos regime in this country.

The former officials, who asked not to be named, said the intercepts were made five years ago, and the FBI was asked to investigate.

A 1982 Defense Intelligence Agency report made public Wednesday indicated the United States believes the monitoring and harassing of Filipino dissidents in this country continued.

As a result of the disclosure of the report by Representative Don Edwards, D-San Jose, the State Department issued a statement yesterday that said, "The United States government is committed to taking all necessary measures to stop harassment and intimidation of persons in the United States by agents of foreign governments."

The FBI "investigates all allegations of such activity and if the allegations are substantiated, we will take appropriate measures."

The officials said harassment commonly consisted of efforts by Marcos agents to threaten opponents with retaliation against family members in the Philippines, or even to disrupt meetings of anti-Marcos groups. Edwards said agents might have been involved in the murder of two anti-Marcos dock workers two years ago in Seattle.

The Defense Intelligence Agency study reported on the sending of a new defense attache to the Philippine Embassy in Washington, Brigadier General Angel G. Kanapi.

Kanapi yesterday acknowledged that he monitored the activities of anti-Marcos groups. When asked if he "operated" against them, Kanapi replied: "Why should we... That's not our job."

New York Times

Marcos to stand trial for Domingo and Viernes murders

SEATTLE—More than eight years after the murders of ILWU officials, former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and other government officials will stand trial in US federal court for their alleged conspiracy in those murders.

Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, secretary treasurer and dispatcher of ILWU Cannery Workers Local 37, Seattle, were assassinated on June 1, 1981 at the union's headquarters. Viernes died instantly but Domingo lived long enough to name the two gunmen who had attacked them. These two hitmen and a third co-conspirator were convicted of the murders and sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole.

But family members, friends and associates believed that there was more to the case. "After our grief and mourning, the immediate question was 'why?'" recalled Cindy Domingo, sister of Silme Domingo and national coordinator of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes. "All the evidence pointed to Manila and the Marcos dictatorship.

"The starting point of our theory was who Silme and Gene were and what they

represented. The most important thing was that they had both been active in building solidarity with unions in The Philippines"—Viernes had visited there shortly before his assassination and made contact with anti-Marcos union leaders.

Slowly, Committee for Justice investigators put the puzzle together: the gun used in the murder belonged to a long-time friend of Marcos, Tony Baruso, who allegedly traveled to San Francisco just before the killing, received a large sum of

money from another Marcos associate, and returned to Seattle the same day.

The Committee for Justice also found evidence of Marcos involvement in the surveillance of Filipino activists in the US, and CIA and FBI participation in this surveillance.

The criminal trials in 1981 addressed none of those larger political issues. So in September, 1982 the Committee for Justice, with the support of both families, filed a \$30 million civil suit in the US District

Court charging that the murders were part of an illegal conspiracy to silence US critics of the Marcos dictatorship. That suit, after years of legal maneuvering, will come to trial this fall.

The CJDV has assembled bit by bit the major pieces of the murder conspiracy. After obtaining masses of documentation through the Freedom of Information Act, interviewing hundreds of witnesses, and taking depositions from numerous individuals, including Marcos himself—the Committee for Justice has reached the conclusion that the murders were directed from the highest levels of the government.

The civil suit alleges that the assassinations were part of a politically motivated conspiracy to silence Marcos opposition. The suit charges that the murders were based on deep and wide-ranging illegalities involving the Marcos government and US intelligence agencies.

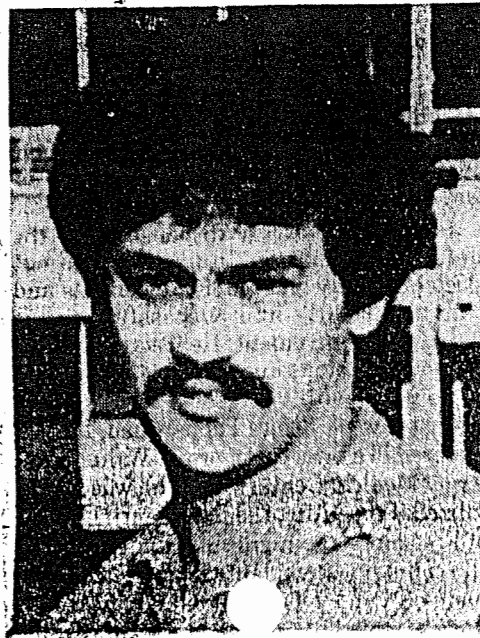
Contributions to the CJDV can be made in the name of the Church Council of Greater Seattle. Send contributions to CJDV, PO Box 14304, Seattle, WA 98114.

ILWU - Newspaper
The Dispatcher

6-15-89



SILME DOMINGO



GENE VIERNES

6-15-89

Jury Awards \$15 Million in Domingo vs. Marcos

SEATTLE—Eight years after the murders of ILWU cannery workers' officers Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, justice has prevailed.

On December 15, a jury in a federal district court awarded \$15 million in damages to the families of the slain unionists against the estate of deceased Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, and against his wife, Imelda.

Although defense attorneys have appealed, the award is a long-awaited victory for the movement to extract the truth from the quagmire of political subterfuge that shored up the Marcos regime.

Previous attempts by the families to bring criminal charges succeeded only in the arrest and conviction of two gunmen and an accomplice, even though evidence strongly pointed to a broader murder conspiracy.

With no help from the federal government and with the extensive support of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes and dozens of church, civic and labor organizations, the families brought a precedent-setting wrongful death suit against Marcos and his wife, including as conspirators former ILWU cannery workers Local 37 president Tony Baruso and long-time Marcos associate Dr. Leonilo Malabed of San Francisco.

U.S. OFF THE HOOK

The civil suit, first filed in 1982, also charged that the US government illegally shared information with Marcos' elaborate network of covert operations, thus assuring Philippine agents "a free hand in the US". The US, however, was subsequently dismissed from the suit for reasons of "national security."

After 7 years of legal maneuvers, the suit went to trial last month. The murders, plaintiffs' attorneys claimed, were committed in an environment of upheaval and paranoia in the Marcos regime.

Raped by the Marcoses' free-wheeling, free-spending lifestyle and the endless succession of pay-offs to secure their political base, the Philippine economy had all but completely collapsed. Workers, through their unions, had become alarmingly militant, rebelling against martial law and scaring away big time US investors. Marcos was worried—and obsessed with maintaining control.

Meanwhile, Domingo and Viernes, serving as secretary-treasurer and dispatcher of Local 37, became increasingly involved with the Marcos opposition movement, both here and in the Philippines. In March 1981, Viernes travelled to the Philippines to meet with anti-Marcos leftists labor leaders, finding wide-spread suppression of the labor movement at the direction of the Philippine dictator.

In April, they introduced a resolution . . .
"All of a sudden an outside union, with a very large Filipino membership in the US, wanted to see what was going on and bring the rest of the labor movement with it," said Terri Mast, director of IBU cannery region 37 and widow of Silme Domingo. "Marcos was very afraid, and we established in the trial the role that played in the murders."

Two months after the 1981 convention, Domingo and Viernes were dead. Two gunmen, assisted by their accomplice, had burst into union headquarters in Seattle, executed the union leaders, and fled. One of the guns used in the assassination belonged to Tony Baruso, a staunch Marcos supporter.

"We had gone to the Seattle prosecuting attorney repeatedly seeking charges against Baruso," Mast said, "but we were always told there was never enough evidence. Now he's reconsidering."

The murder trials focused only on the hitmen, who were convicted on the premise that the murders were precipitated by an "internal union dispute" over dispatch procedures and union reform. ♦ ◀ ▶

The "internal union dispute" theory was advanced again in the civil trial by Richard Hibe, attorney for the Marcoses. The plaintiffs, however, produced several witnesses whose testimony revealed the systematic and relentless persecution of anti-Marcos activists, culminating with the execution-style slayings of Domingo and Viernes in June 1981.

Witnesses also gave convincing testimony about how Marcos' US operations were funded, who was targeted, who the agents were and what methods were used. Most notable was Bonifacio Gillego, a 20-year veteran of the Philippine military intelligence, who is now a Philippine congressman. Other witnesses included former CIA agent Ralph McGehee, an expert in intelligence operations, and Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton University.

The plaintiffs' civil suit against Tony Baruso, who allegedly hired the hitmen, and Leonilo Malabed, charged with handling the finances for Marcos' covert operations in the states, is presently in the hands of Judge Barbara Rothstein.

Plaintiffs claim that Malabed paid Baruso \$15,000 from the slush fund to silence Domingo and Viernes who were on the front lines of the anti-Marcos movement in the US. Malabed and Baruso preferred a judicial decision over a jury.

On the final day of the civil trial, the jurors deliberated less than 5 hours before reaching a decision. Of the \$15 million judgment against the Marcoses, the jury designated a special award to each of Domingo's daughters, Ligaya age 12 and Kalayaan, age 9. "The jury said they did that not just because the girls had lost their father," Terri Mast said, "but because of the kind of man he was."

"The decision was a tremendous victory for Gene and Silme, and all victims of the Marcos regime," Mast said. "And we set a precedent by bringing a foreign dictator to justice for his crimes. For the families, it means we can move on with our lives—even though we know this isn't the end of it. And for my children, it means knowing who their father was and what he died for."

\$2 Million Settlement Against Marcos OKd

Judgment in slaying of 2 Seattle union men

Associated Press

Los Angeles

A federal judge yesterday approved a settlement requiring Imelda Marcos and the estate of her late husband, former Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos, to pay \$2 million to the families of two labor union reformers murdered in Seattle in 1981.

The amount will settle a \$15.1 million civil judgment in December 1989 against Marcos and the estate, attorney James Douglas of Seattle said.

The civil suit was brought by families of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, who were gunned down in offices of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union on June 1, 1981. In addition to being reformers of the union, Domingo and Viernes were prominent among those in opposition to Ferdinand Marcos' martial-law regime.

Their families argued in court that the two were murdered on orders from Manila because of their anti-Marcos activities.

The payment of \$2 million was approved by U.S. District Judge Mariana R. Pfaelzer. None of the money will come from Marcos family assets, which have been frozen for five years under a court order issued by Pfaelzer pending

the resolution of a Philippine government lawsuit charging the Marcoses with looting their country.

Under terms of the court order, Marcos must seek Pfaelzer's approval for any large transactions, including a loan. Bernard Simons, lawyer for Marcos, declined to say who was lending Marcos the money. Douglas said he did not know where the money was coming from.

Douglas said he expects a Marcos appeal in the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco to be dismissed.

Still pending in that court is an appeal by Dr. Leonilo Malabed of San Francisco. He has been ordered to pay more than \$8 million to the families of Domingo and Viernes for his part in the payoff of hit men who killed the two men.

Malabed allegedly ran a slush fund for Ferdinand Marcos, paying for "security projects" against Marcos opponents in the United States.

Tony Baruso, president of the cannery workers union when Domingo and Viernes were killed, was sentenced to prison in the killings. His gun was used in the crimes.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

JUNE 3 - 7, 1991

Resolution 29 / Silme Domingo and Eugene Viernes

Ten years ago, on June 1 1981, Silme Domingo and Eugene Viernes, Dispatcher and Secretary-Treasurer of ILWU Cannery Workers Local 37, were brutally assassinated at their union hall by paid agents of the regime of the late Ferdinand Marcos.

Since that tragedy, thanks in large measure to the work of the local and the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, the murders have been tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Equally important a federal court in Seattle has upheld the Committee for Justice's charge that the murder was initiated by the Marcos regime and its agents in the United States, and has found the Marcos estate liable for a settlement with the Domingo and Viernes families.

The ILWU 28th Convention hereby salutes the work of Region 37 and of the Committee for Justice in doggedly pursuing this matter through the courts and pledges, in the memory of Silme and Gene, to continue their work for social justice and trade union rights in The Philippines and in the United States.