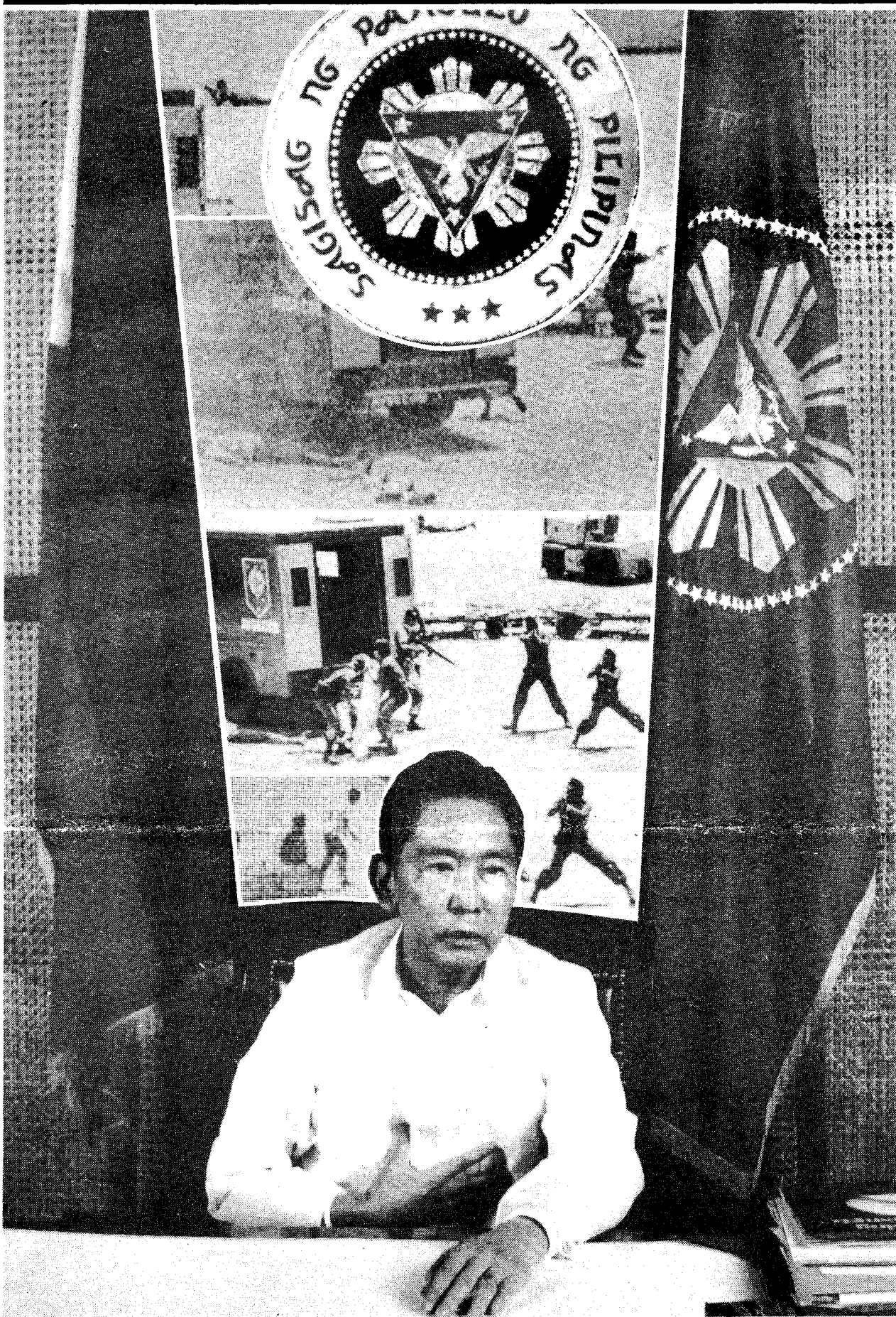


Ang **Katipunan**

Vol. X, No. 1-2
January-February 1984 50¢

National Newsmagazine of the
Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)



I AM NOT A CROOK

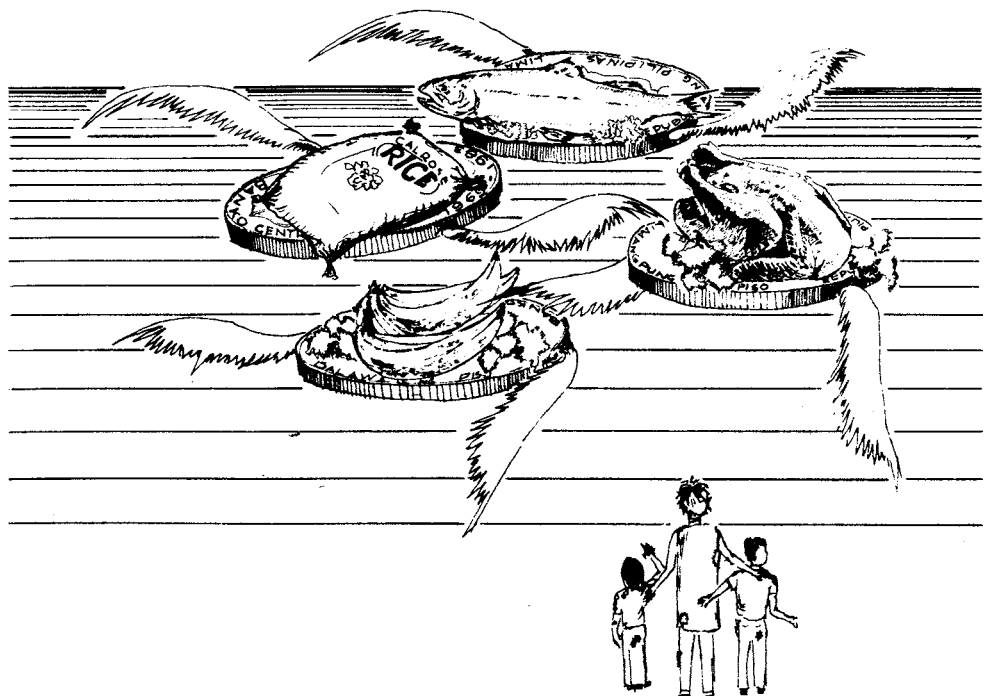
**BUT
MORE
DIRT
SURFACES
ON
AQUINO
SLAY**

See story on page 4

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'It was "Crisismas" in Manila last month, the letters from home say. Chicken was worth its weight in gold. Selling at ₱28 per kilo, the humble fowl, dressed, went for ₱56 to ₱84 per. Apples were available for those who could afford them at ₱25 to ₱28 each. Canned goods were scarce and expensive. Shoppers complained that sugar, a major export crop, was nowhere to be found in the supermarkets.'



As Economy Crumbles, Manila Begs for More Loans see page 3

What We'll Look Out for in '84

Uncertainty is the mother of prediction. And in a world haunted by megatons of uncertainty, soothsaying has become a great year-end passion. We are hereby not proposing to predict with all certainty that the Reagans will get a divorce, or that the Pope will get married and honeymoon in a UFO. We will leave that to more prescient publications like the *National Enquirer*. But the start of a new year is as good a time as any to let our readers know some of the key topics the *AK* will be covering with its well-known bias.

The Philippines will, of course, hold much of our attention. The events triggered by The Assassination last August make 1984 both auspicious and perilous for the Filipino people. First of all, it is auspicious. Ferdinand Marcos can no longer reverse the tide of political awakening sweeping the nation. That the neo-colonial economy is coming apart at the seams only worsens his situation. The elections he has set for May satisfies no one, except the opportunists among the opposition. The people want his head, for his word is hardly worth a devalued peso. A greater receptivity to the perspectives of the National Democratic Front is already evident among the masses taking to the streets. But no one can tell what acts of dark desperation the mortally wounded regime just might resort to. This is one source of peril. Another is the maneuvering of the kingmakers in Washington, D.C. They are already busy figuring out how to preserve their interests by

diffusing the Filipinos' restiveness. The *AK* will be around to inform, alert and agitate our readers.

We will also pay attention to Central America. The Salvadoran junta is crumbling, its army retreating before FMLN-FDR advances. Direct U.S. intervention (with Guatemalan troop participation) looms as a very real danger. This is also true in Nicaragua. The U.S.-backed *contras* have proven ineffective in overthrowing the popular Sandinista government. Will a U.S.-Honduran invasion be Reagan's next step?

According to the Pentagon, U.S. interests in the Middle East dictate that any conventional U.S.-Soviet confrontation there must necessarily be transformed into a nuclear duel. Meanwhile, how far will Reagan's conventional "peacekeepers" go in rescuing the Israeli-backed Phalangists from the growing forces of Lebanese national liberation?

Racist South Africa has invaded Angola and is fortifying its military footholds inside that sovereign nation. How fares the struggle against South Africa, the most brutal force holding back human progress in the African continent? What are its allies, the U.S. and Israel, up to?

In Southeast Asia, the *AK* will give some attention to the unholy U.S.-China alliance against socialist Vietnam. What are the implications of China's goal of constructing socialism in alliance with imperialism? What does it mean for the liberation movements in the region?

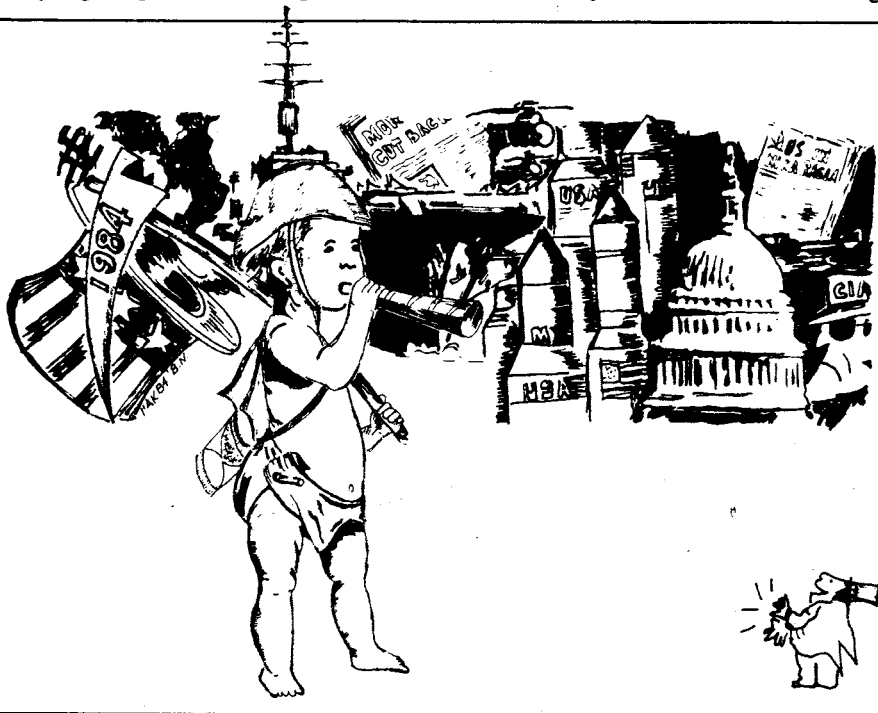
The capstone of Reagan's policy of intervention and subversion is the use of nuclear arms as instruments of blackmail against the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc. Can the Europeans stop their country's transformation into America's nuclear doormats?

America's belligerent foreign policy of course has

ramifications domestically. The way the *AK* sees it, the economic welfare and political rights of this country's working people are being sacrificed at the altar of imperialist ambitions. We will talk about the cuts in social programs that in turn feed the war machine; about just how Reagan's new Civil Rights Commission is bent on civil rights omission; about the re-introduction of the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill in Congress. The atmosphere of militarism and jingoism is accompanied by shrill cries of intolerance and bigotry. We will be talking about repressive legislations, executive orders, judicial decisions, and rightwing movements.

Needless to say, we will be talking about the people's resistance all over the world and here. 1984 being an election year, we will watch closely how the issues of war and peace and racism and equality figure or not figure in the debates between the two ruling parties. On this connection, the Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy on the basis of a progressive platform arouses our great interest. We will keep our readers posted on the progress of his challenge. Necessarily, we will place a lot of emphasis on the Filipino community's response to the struggles in the Philippines and to the injustices it experiences here as a non-white, and predominantly working class, minority.

But the long and short of it is that the *AK* will stick to its practice of giving our readers a particular side of the story. We are partial to socialism and national liberation. Our perspectives reflect this partisanship. Every article published in our name carries a logic and framework based on what we believe is the people's side of the issue. The modest but faithful readership that we have and the fact that this readership is also steadily growing tell us this is the right thing to do. □



paper regarding this statement. Mr. Melegrito and Mr. Villapando are practising irresponsible journalism by writing something that is a figment of their imagination and has no basis in truth. If they want to write a sensational statement to prove their point, please advise them to research their facts and print only what is true! We hope to see this correction made in the next issue of the *Ang Katipunan*. Thank you.

Signed by members of the Board of Directors and Officers, Ang Bisaya, Falls Church, VA

JON MELEGRITO RESPONDS: I stand by our news story that the Philippine Heritage Federation, at a meeting held sometime after the Aquino assassination, decided to hold a peace mass. Our sources have confirmed that the idea for the mass was prompted by the overwhelming public outrage over Aquino's slaying and that the majority in PHF's membership pushed for holding the mass.

We do acknowledge one error in our story—that of identifying *Ang Bisaya* as a pro-Marcos organization. For this we apologize wholeheartedly to the members of *Ang Bisaya*. As Mr. Tecala suggested, we did further research and found out to our pleasant surprise that many *Ang Bisaya* members are actually anti-Marcos individuals.

What Mr. Tecala fails to state in his self-serving outburst of righteous indignation, however, is the fact that he was recently told by officers and members of *Ang Bisaya* to stop practising irresponsible leadership by aligning the organization to his pro-Marcos views. Apparently, Mr. Tecala sent a letter to the *Washington Times* recently, signed by him as *Ang*

Bisaya president and written on *Ang Bisaya* stationery.

The incorrect perception, therefore, of *Ang Bisaya* as a pro-Marcos organization, not only by *AK* but by the Filipino community, is to great extent due to Mr. Tecala's own actions. As one member who prefers to remain silent aptly puts it, "Mr. Tecala should write another letter to the *Washington Times* retracting his own blunder instead of crying foul and blaming others."

Selling Out

I feel so glad reading your editorials. Full of fire and truth. Filipinos and liberty loving people should read them. I only hope and pray your editorial writers are a different breed from the pre-martial law staffers of *Manila Times*, *Chronicle*, *Herald* and *Bulletin*. At the first hint of corruption, they rattle their sabers, shoot from the hips. Solid defenders of freedom. But when dictator Marcos imposed martial law, those newsmen and editorial writers forgot their principles and accepted fat jobs from Marcos. I wish your paper would run a story about those writers who sold out to Marcos.

Juan G. Frivaldo
San Francisco, CA

ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community
 Publisher: Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)
 Editor: Rene Cruz
 Philippines: Romy Garcia, Carla Mariano, Nene Ojeda, Nancy Rocamora
 Filipino Community: Emil De Guzman, Vicky Perez, Vince Reyes, Venny Villapando
 U.S./International: Wicks Geaga, Eddie Escultura
 Arts and Production: Emil De Guzman, Wicks Geaga, Berto Nazareno, Nene Ojeda

Letters

Sensationalism

An article entitled "Consulate Reels from Aquino Backlash" by Jon Melegrito and Venny Villapando in the *AK* October 1983 made the following statement: "According to Gloria Caoili, PHF president, the majority of its members enthusiastically endorsed the event (referring to an alleged Memorial Service for the late Benigno Aquino). The presidents of two pro-Marcos organizations—CIPAA and *Ang Bisaya* refused; but were outvoted by the majority of the coalition's membership."

We, the members and officers of the *Ang Bisaya*, Inc. take offense at these erroneous statements.

We, the members and officers of the *Ang Bisaya*, Inc. take offense at these erroneous statements.

The *Ang Bisaya* Inc. is not a member and has never been a member of the Philippine Heritage Federation. PHF President Gloria Caoili categorically denies that there ever was a meeting held and a decision made regarding a Memorial Service for Benigno Aquino. Our President, Inocentes Tecala never, of course, attended such a meeting nor been a party in the discussion of such a service on behalf of the membership of the *Ang Bisaya* Inc. Most importantly, we are greatly offended by the label, "Pro-Marcos" for as a social organization it is not our intention to be involved in any political issues. We, repeat, we are not a political organization! We do not deserve this label!

We demand a retraction from your

Litter from Manila

Top Optimists



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

An international survey said that the Argentinians are the most optimistic people in the world. The Filipinos, in contrast, are the most pessimistic according to the same study. This really irritates me about our people. The government is already doing its best to prevent things from getting worse but people still insist on being pessimistic. It makes me mad. Filipinos will never change. Now I'm convinced there is really no future for us anymore.

Actually, not all Filipinos have a gloomy outlook. I have conducted a personal survey, and this being the end of the year, compiled a list of the Most Optimistic

Filipinos in the World. Unfortunately the racist international media never picked up on my list, but here it is anyway:

Of course, President Marcos is the Top Optimist. I didn't actually talk to him but I'm pretty sure he tops the list because he always excel in everything anyway.

The First Lady is very optimistic that her sagging popularity will improve one of these days. "Remember," she says, "Cory Aquino's popularity zoomed when somebody shot her husband."

Ambassador Kokoy Romualdez has only high hopes about his role as an envoy to the U.S. "Everything's nice except jokes that paint me as an idiot, and French poodles which I avoid." I can understand why he doesn't like the jokes, but what about French poodles? "I can only speak a little Spanish."

Prime Minister and Finance Chief Cesar Virata, who is tirelessly lobbying the IMF for more loans so we can pay the interest due on \$16 billion of our foreign debt, is one great optimist: "The people should rest assured that we can convince our lenders to please put us deeper in debt so we can overcome our current debt crisis."

Labor Minister Blas Ople is not one to worry about the bleak unemployment picture; he always looks on

the bright side: "With the rising insurgency and the growing infant mortality rate—in ten years there will be significantly less people looking for jobs."

Armed Forces Chief and intelligence czar Gen. Fabian Ver has no worries whether all this clamor for revolution might eventually oust him from his job: "Hey, there's always El Salvador."

Similarly, Military Intelligence Service interrogator Maj. Capricio Bogbog ("Let's say I'm in Physical Education") is very optimistic: "The economy may tumble, the tropics may crumble, we're only made of clay, but my job is here to stay." The more troubled the times, the more overtime for the major.

Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo (the grand old man of Philippine diplomacy) is optimistic that he will finally get the public respect due him when he performs the most important and honorable act of his entire career: "I am retiring."

Finally, an optimist-in-the-street who wishes to remain anonymous for fear of being physically educated into becoming a pessimist by optimists like Maj. Bogbog: "Hey, everything's OK, nice. All this talk about the President being ill—why I am sure the First Lady will die even before he does." What if he's wrong? "Umm. That would be nice, too." □

Manila Beggars for More Loans

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

It was "Crisimas" in Manila last month, the letters from home say.

Chicken was worth its weight in gold. Selling at ₱28 per kilo, the humble fowl, dressed went for ₱56 to ₱84 per. Apples were available for those who could afford them at ₱25 to ₱28 each. Canned goods were scarce and expensive. Shoppers complained that sugar, a major export crop, was nowhere to be found in the supermarkets.

Profits from the higher peso value of Philippine exports resulting from the devaluation never trickled past the coconut and sugar monopolies to the farmers and rural workers. Increased export taxes took a nasty bite out of the profits; drought cut into the harvests; and bad weather delayed the sugar milling season.

The National Sugar Trading Association thus resorted to buying sugar on the London market at 10¢ (U.S.)/lb. in order to meet the futures contracts it arranged back when sugar was selling at 23¢/lb. If it misses a single shipment, the entire agreement, good through the end of 1984, is scrapped. This explains the scarcity of sugar in the supermarkets.

Where sugar was available, it was selling at ₱7/kilo though the Price Stabilization Council pegged it at ₱5.35/kilo. Fresh fruits and other perishables were scarce. The 15% hike in the maximum retail price of rice brought the price up to ₱3.80/kilo.

The 30% October hike in petroleum prices drove up the costs of everything. An 11-kilo cylinder of cooking gas, delivered to the house, soared to ₱86.50 from ₱65.20. Meralco warned of a ₱.85/kwh increase in December on top of the ₱.64/kwh of November.

Observers pegged 1983 inflation at 28% and predicted 1984 inflation at somewhere between 15% and 20%.

Anxious officials vainly made repeated calls to the public to avoid panic-buying. Raids on selected warehouses unearthed hoarded goods set aside by merchants with noses for profit and a feel for the pulse of inflation.

SUDDEN LAYOFFS

The employment scene was bleaker still. Without foreign exchange to buy imported materials and equipment or immediate cash to cope with the overnight hike in prices of domestic materials, factories were closing shop or shortening workweeks right and left. Shell Exploration-Philippines, Phillips Petroleum, and Pasig Steel ceased operations. A number of others applied for clearance to close up, among them Solidmills, Hitachi, Firestone, Sanyo, Central Textile, and Sampaguita Garment Co.

Reports conflict, but the Securities and Exchange Commission claimed as of December that 156 businesses closed shop in a 10-month period. Cash withdrawals from the country, it added, were the "highest for all years." The National Economic and Development Authority reported that a shocking 660 businesses had closed in the past year.

All five car assembly plants in the country expect to shut down temporarily, possibly this month. The Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry noted December 14 that many factories were likely to close before Christmas due to lack of imports and not reopen until April or May even with new financing because of the lead time needed. It gloomily predicted that at least 100,000 factory workers will be laid off during the first quarter of 1984.

With no business to conduct, commercial banks began laying off hundreds of workers to cut down on operating costs. A second wave of layoffs is expected the first quarter of 1984. All told, they may lay off a full 40% of the 200,000 bank workers in the country.

The political unrest following the Aquino assassination was the last straw for the sagging tourist industry which expects losses of ₱84 million this year. Some hotels have trimmed their staffs while others opted for shorter workweeks.

Other economic sectors looked glum. Construction and roadbuilding were hurt by the scarcity of cement and a dramatic increase in its price to ₱43/bag against a retail ceiling of ₱33/bag. Asphalt went up 46% to ₱575/ton.

Things were just as bad in the countryside. The price of inputs—fertilizer and pesticides—rose by 20%, while the price of rice climbed only 15%. Rice farmers thus plan to cut back on inputs, insuring a smaller harvest next year.

NOT JUST AQUINO

Reading the signs, two respected investors' guides, Frost and Sullivan, a Wall Street political analysis firm, and *Forbes* magazine warned potential investors



Virata and Laya: Once respected, now under the gun. (Asian Finance Photo)

to keep their money out of the Philippines for the foreseeable future.

The end-of-the-year economic disaster couldn't have come at a worse time for Marcos. His popularity, in the wake of the Aquino assassination, is at an all-time low with even the business community openly criticizing the regime and demanding political change. The economic nosedive can only add fuel to the fire.

The absence of foreign exchange is likely to send more businesses belly-up next year while others will shut down at least temporarily. Desperate measures to satisfy the International Monetary Fund mean more inflation and hard times ahead. Worried businessmen predict that mass layoffs will be accompanied by strikes on an unprecedented scale. However you slice it, the economic crisis means big trouble for the already troubled Marcos regime.

Regime officials point to the post-assassination political crisis as the main source of the problem. The depth of the outrage expressed in daily demonstrations made the financial community distinctly edgy and led to significant capital flight. As of October, Finance Minister Cesar Virata claimed that \$1 billion in foreign exchange had left the country.

But the Philippine economy was in sad shape well before a bullet cut down Aquino at Manila International Airport. The country hovered on the brink of default at the end of 1982 and it was only an emergency infusion of World Bank and IMF loans totalling \$843 million which kept it from going over.

At the time, Virata and Central Bank Governor Jaime Laya were forced to swallow IMF-dictated austerity measures as part of the deal. These included

'The \$15 billion shocked even the most cynical observers for it makes the Philippines the third biggest debtor, following Brazil and Venezuela.'

cuts in government spending, axing development projects, keeping growth down to 2%—and a strict prohibition on bailing out Marcos cronies in distress.

But the IMF prescription didn't help things all that much. In 1983 things went from bad to worse. Recession in the developed capitalist countries continued to encourage protectionist policies, creating a listless market for Philippine exports. On top of that, severe drought stung the major export crops of sugar and coconut.

By the end of September, the Philippine balance of payments swelled to \$1.36 billion, \$800 million above the figure for June and a record for any full-year period. Worse, there was no foreign exchange left with which to pay it off or to pay for desperately needed imports.

But it was the 21% devaluation of the peso last October that took the lid off the Pandora's box and brought the extent of the crisis home to 52 million Filipinos. The peso shrunk overnight from ₱11:\$1 to ₱14:\$1. Three weeks later, petroleum products shot up 30%, transportation prices flew up and a round of inflation set in, estimated conservatively at 28%.

Aware of the combined political and economic implications of the latest crisis, Philippine allies once again rushed to the rescue with a plan to bail out the floundering economy—and in the process save their investments.

BAIL OUT

A 12-member committee of the country's chief creditors, the IMF and the World Bank was quickly formed to oversee the restructuring of Manila's foreign debt and drum up new lenders. As its first move, the committee decreed a 90-day moratorium on payment of debt principal and dispatched an advisor, Harry Taylor, Executive Vice-President of Manufacturer's Hanover Trust, to supervise the Philippine economy.

Working closely with the committee and the IMF, Virata proposed a package of close to \$4 billion in new loans from the IMF itself, commercial banks, foreign governments, and lending agencies to keep the Philippines afloat and pay its maturing debts.

The IMF had already pledged \$630 million. Virata hoped for an additional \$1.65 billion from the commercial banks, \$560 million from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, and \$1.06 billion from foreign governments—particularly the U.S. and Japan.

The new loans complement a plan to reschedule what the Philippine Central Bank admitted on January 4 is a full \$15 billion (not \$9 billion) of the country's \$24 billion foreign debt. The \$15 billion shocked even the most cynical observers for it makes the Philippines the third biggest debtor, following Brazil and Venezuela.

The IMF portion of the package awaits approval by its multinational Board of Directors which is scheduled to begin discussion on the matter the second week in January. But already a controversy is brewing.

Some European members of the Board are skeptical about the Philippines and unwilling to finance what they see as a losing proposition. At the same time, several U.S. Congressmen, led by Rep. Sander Levin (D-MI), are putting pressure on Treasury Secretary Donald Regan for a "no" vote from the U.S.

All other financial institutions await the IMF decision before proceeding with their portions of the bail-out package. As one American banker put it in mid-December, "No one is committed to anything at this stage; it all has to be agreed to simultaneously." Noted another, "We don't want a quick fix. It's to everybody's advantage that this is done right and that we do not have to come back and do it again in two or three months."

CHEATING EXPOSED

To make matters more difficult for Manila, controversy broke out on December 19 when foreign bankers revealed that the technocrats who run the economy had been deliberately lying about the country's foreign exchange reserves for almost a year. The technocrats had inflated the figures by \$600 million. Banking sources explained that the cheating was part of an effort to combat waning confidence in the Philippines abroad and to attract continued investment.

The nonexistent \$600 million was placed in the foreign reserves column of the financial statements submitted monthly to the IMF as part of the 1982 bail-out agreement. When the nonexistent \$600 million was dropped from the books, officials claimed that it was due to capital flight.

The truth came out during the October meeting between Virata, Laya, and the committee of 12. It significantly set back the process of making up the new bailout package.

One member of the IMF Board of Directors was allegedly so outraged when he heard the news that he blustered, "The Central Bank Governor should be fired!" "[Mr. Laya's] credibility is very, very low," noted an American banker in Manila. Laya, after admitting to inflating the figures, offered Marcos his resignation.

But while Laya was sitting in the hot seat, it was the entire "World Bank Cabinet," once highly respected, that was under fire. The IMF decided to run a new check on the economy, placing the entire bailout on hold until the new figures come in. Foreign bankers fumed and mistrust of the Marcos government crept up another notch in investment circles.

Though New York and Washington observers expect the IMF ultimately to approve the loan package, the going will be rough, at least for a time—and the multilateral agency is likely to exact even more stringent austerity measures than last year. New restrictions are likely to affect the budget deficit, credit expansion and inflation. Capital going in and out of the country will be monitored more tightly than ever to stem capital flight.

And even with January approval of the IMF Board, it is likely to take at least several months to find takers for the commercial portion of the package.

PATCH-UP JOB

Meanwhile, Malacañang continues to flounder, in desperate need of cash to keep the economy afloat in

Continued on page 12

By ROMY GARCIA

"We believe that there are many loose ends in the military account of the Aquino assassination," Justice Corazon Agrava, chief of the panel investigating the matter told a press conference last month.

Indeed, new testimony concerning the August 21 murder of former Senator Benigno Aquino continues to surface challenging the Marcos regime's version of the slaying.

Most recently, *Times Journal* photographer Rene Mercene, January 5, provided the panel with a photograph showing an unidentified civilian with a gun running away from the assassination scene. "There is someone here not in uniform," Mercene told the fact-finding body. "I think he even has a gun in his hand."

Mercene's shot is one in a series of 13 taken at Gate 8 with a motor-driven camera. The *Times Journal* photographer who regularly covers the airport told the panel that an official photographer from Malacanang, Jolly Riofrit, and Col. Vicente Tigas, a security officer assigned to the Ministry of Information, came to his office and confiscated his negatives hours after the assassination.

AQUINO'S ESCORTS ARMED

The new photo comes on the heels of testimony by two separate witnesses which contradict the government theory that hitman Rolando Galman killed Aquino before being shot himself.

The most damaging testimony to date was presented by Ruben Regalado, an airline ground technician who was inspecting the China Airline plane when the shooting occurred. In an NBC News interview broadcasted last December 23, Regalado said Galman was being held by AVSECOM soldiers when Aquino was shot. "He was just there standing, not even struggling. He was just standing there and somebody [was] holding his wrists."

Regalado noted that nobody approached Aquino from behind and that the soldiers and Aquino were all alone. His videotaped interview was later presented to the panel as testimony.

Contrary to the government claim that soldiers who escorted Aquino down the ramp were unarmed, Regalado insisted, "The left escort of Aquino, remember that

More Dirt Surfaces on Aquino Slay



New mystery photo shows unidentified civilian fleeing with gun; government story continues to crumble. (AP)

guy, shot Galman," only seconds after Aquino himself was shot.

"NO OPPORTUNITY TO FIRE"

Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the slain senator, later told UPI that "other witnesses had similar versions" of the slaying. He could not reveal their identity for fear they would be endangered.

In an impromptu nighttime session convened in a suburban law office, yet another eyewitness, Ramon Balang, December 28 told the commission that Galman did not shoot Aquino.

"I don't think he had the opportunity to fire a shot," claimed the 28 year-old maintenance engineer for Philippine Airlines who was assigned to service Aquino's plane on August 21. Balang noted, "The position and the manner in which he was standing there, . . . leads me to conclude he didn't have a chance to fire."

Galman, he said, stood just a few yards from him at one point surrounded

by Aviation Security Command soldiers. Although Balang admits he did not see who shot Aquino, his lawyer said by deduction it must have been one of the soldiers assigned to escort Aquino.

BALANG INTIMIDATED; REGALADO SUED

Both witnesses were afraid. Balang sought refuge in an attorney's office three blocks from his home a day after being visited by a government agent who proposed to take him directly to Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos to tell his story.

Regalado fled the country and is reportedly now hiding in the U.S. because he feels "they [the military] could go after me. . ."

Only days after his testimony, the soldiers who escorted Aquino slapped Regalado with a \$286,000 libel suit based on the fact that the intimidated maintenance worker on October 5, signed a sworn statement saying he did not see the shooting. Military

lawyers denounced Regalado's rendition as "malicious" and "false."

Andres Narvasa, the general counsel of the panel, verbalized the widespread concern that the libel suit could "intimidate other potential witnesses." The Regalado incident seemed to prove what the opposition has been saying all along—anyone who witnessed the August 21 slaying is in danger unless he or she toes the government line.

NO LEGAL LEGITIMACY

Further intimidating potential witnesses was the fact that the government continued to conduct its own investigation of the murder apart from that undertaken by the specially appointed commission. It was only early this month, after repeated complaints from Agrava that the government agreed to cease its investigation.

But other even more fundamental problems continue to dog the panel's work.

The purview of the body is limited to begin with. It has no judicial legitimacy and thus it cannot adopt an adversary position toward witnesses, nor can it cross-examine. Noted the *Wall Street Journal*, "They can't threaten witnesses with perjury charges, even when inconsistencies are obvious."

A government witness demonstrated the frustrating legal limitations of the body early last December. Rosendo Cawigan, 44, a former Aquino bodyguard, contradicted himself more than a dozen times on dates, names, contents of discussions and other issues as he testified that Galman was a communist hitman with former ties to Aquino. The board was powerless to do anything but record Cawigan's inconsistencies and listen to the laughter and groans from the audience.

Narvasa earlier disclosed evidence damaging to the government when he showed copies of cables to Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile from consular officials in New York and Singapore. The messages establish that Aquino's itinerary from the U.S. to the Philippines was closely monitored.

Although Enrile was one of several to issue direct warnings to Aquino about an assassination plot, the Defense Minister on the stand in late December denied any knowledge of intelligence reports on an assassination plot. The panel was unable to challenge his testimony. □

Marcos Human Rights Record Condemned

Opposition to Boycott Elections

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The move toward boycotting the coming January plebiscite and elections scheduled for next May in the Philippines gained a boost from two different directions early this month.

Family members of the slain Benigno Aquino, Jr., representing the 2,500-strong Congress of the Filipino People or Kompil, voted January 8 to boycott the coming elections unless Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos meets their demands. Since they doubt Marcos will comply, they are thus likely to join the boycott movement launched recently by the Nationalist Alliance for Freedom, Justice and Democracy.

The Kompil demands include repealing the constitutional amendment that gives Marcos the power to legislate by decree, cancellation of repressive secret decrees, the appointment of new members to the Commission on Elections, an end to presidential appointments without parliamentary approval and enactment of a constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote of the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* before martial law can be declared.

Only two days earlier, the Catholic Bishops Council of the Philippines advised Filipinos to follow their consciences in deciding whether or not to vote. In a letter to be read from all pulpits the following Sunday, they noted, "As bishops, we have in the past emphasized the moral

duty to vote in an election. This is a general norm operative under normal conditions."

"Still, it is not for us to tell you concretely whom to vote for or indeed whether or not to vote in these undoubtedly far from normal times."

'NO DISCERNIBLE IMPROVEMENT'

Meanwhile, as if things weren't bad enough, on the international front, two separate human rights groups last month denounced the Marcos regime for a "continuing pattern" of abuse at the hands of government agents.

The Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights early last December issued its reports finding "no discernible improvement" in human rights conditions in the Philippines. Entitled "The Philippines: A Country in Crisis," the report further concluded that the public rejection of the first panel appointed by the government to investigate the Aquino assassination indicated that "institutions designed to uphold the rule of law have crumbled under the weight of Marcos' rule."

The report is based on a three-week September visit by a delegation consisting of former federal judge Marvin E. Frankel, Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; and Diane Dreutlicher, Deputy Director of the LCIHR.

A mere week later, yet another delegation informed the press as it left Manila following a three-week stay that "there has

been a continuing pattern of gross violations of really very basic human rights, much of it induced by agents of the state."

UNIFORM PATTERN OF HARASSMENT

The fact-finding team was jointly sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American College of Physicians, the American Public Health Association, the American Nurses Association, and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Science.

Team members included Dr. Jonathan Fine, President of the American Committee on Human Rights; Dr. Robert Lawrence, Director of Harvard Medical School's Division of Primary Care; and Eric Stover of the Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility of the American Academy of the Advancement of Science.

The team visited seven military detention camps in various regions, travelling through Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Leyte, Cebu, and Negros. They spoke to local commanders, various government workers, members of the clergy and Filipino citizens.

Wherever they went, the medical group told the press, they heard identical charges of denial of basic rights. They received firsthand accounts of torture and other abuses in detention camps and were told of scores of unsolved murders at the hands of government security forces.

The group pointed to a uniform pattern of harassing clergy and other volunteers working among peasants in the countryside

or among the urban poor.

"The Philippines: A Country in Crisis" report was immediately denounced by regime representatives with customary outrage. The Office of Media Affairs issued a statement condemning the report — along with earlier such studies by Amnesty International, the International Red Cross and the International Commission of Jurists, as "all too sweeping, exaggerated, misleading or even a complete misrepresentation of actual conditions in the Philippines."

Particularly galling to the regime was a statement by a Netherlands representative to the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly prompted by the LCHIR report and expressing concern over the human rights situation in the Philippines.

PROTEST ALIVE AND WELL

But back in the Philippines, people weren't buying. International Human Rights Day, December 10, prompted three massive demonstrations and rallies in Metro-Manila. Hundreds of riot police broke up a protest march led by seminarians against rights violations in the country.

Meanwhile, 8,000 gathered at the Liwasang Bonifacio in downtown Manila while another group, led by the Philippine Conference for Human Rights, rallied outside the Araneta Coliseum in Quezon City. Speakers here decried human rights violations committed by the military and called for the release of all political prisoners.

Elsewhere in the country, protests sparked by the assassination of Sen. Benigno Aquino flourished. Reports trickled in of continuing marches and prayer rallies throughout the month of December in Tarlac, Pampanga, Bataan, Cavite, and Zamboanga del Sur. □

By CARLA MARIANO

Marcos Media: Can't Get No Respect

Where did Filipinos get their accounts of the assassination of Sen. Benigno Aquino and its aftermath? Mostly from outside sources, and from a few intrepid journalistic souls inside the news-hungry archipelago. The rub-out and the tumultuous protests that it provoked merited column upon column of newsprint and countless hours of air time in the international media. By 1983's end, the American press would rate the Aquino affair as among the ten most newsworthy events of the year. But in the Philippines the affair received coverage so dreary it bordered on a news blackout.

Filipinos had to scramble for clippings from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *L.A. Times*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, etc. sent to them by worried relatives and friends. Some lucky ones got invited to private viewings of videotaped U.S. TV news clips.

"Coverage by the local media," said a statement of the Press Freedom Committee of the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement (JAJA), "stressed the suppression of truth and the stranglehold of the Marcos government over the already timid press."

"Timid press," a timid way to describe the core of the established media: the *Times Journal* is published by Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, brother-in-law of Marcos. The *Daily Express* and Kanlaon Broadcasting System is in the hands of presidential crony Roberto Benedicto. Presidential Assistant Juan Tuvera and his wife-cum-Imelda-biographer Kerima Polotan-Tuvera publish the daily *Evening Post* along with the weekly *Focus-Philippines*. Each has a retinue of other publications or TV and affiliated radio stations. *Bulletin Today* is owned by former Marcos aide-de-camp, Ret. Brig. Gen. Hans Menzi.

In less than eight months after the declaration of martial law, the reputed "freest press in Southeast Asia" was transformed into the "controlled" or "crony" press, ready at every beck and call to perform its role as government cheerleader.

The "Philippine press has been wholly one-sided, homogenous and colorless for a decade," observed one foreign journalist.

At no other time was its bankruptcy demonstrated more vividly than in the period immediately following Aquino's tragic homecoming. Following the funeral march of two million Filipinos the morning edition of a crony newspaper had, as its major front page article, a mass wedding in a suburban town near Manila.

While a million people watched Aquino's body being transferred to the Santo Domingo Church, the government-owned television station Channel 4 reported only 40,000; the newspapers simply did not give any number.

Very quickly, the outrage over Aquino's death began to include hostilities hurled at the docile media. In a public statement, faculty members from various universities and colleges around the country deplored "the way the major Philippine newspapers, radio stations, and television networks for failing to provide full and impartial coverage of the Aquino case and the sensitive developments that are taking place . . ."

The National Bar Association of the Philippines, in an open letter, demanded that the media be "unshackled" from "government control." Like the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines and the Catholic Education Association of the Philippines, it called for the restoration of freedom of speech and the press.

Editors and journalists were reportedly barraged with angry phone calls and cablegrams expressing disgust over their lack of spine and professionalism. A foreign correspondent said that many Filipino journalists were shocked by the generalized public hostility directed at them. Some, afraid of being abused in the street, covered the names of their newspapers on their car doors.

"We all have families to support, so we self-censor," confided a reporter. Pressure from the government is also a constant within the profession. Guidelines or "re-



quests" are phoned in most evenings from Malacañang's Office of Media Affairs.

These guidelines, journalists say, were very explicit after the assassination: do not use photos of Aviation Security Command soldiers shooting at Rolando Galman, Aquino's alleged assassin; avoid photos or articles that might arouse sympathy for the Aquino family; refrain from playing up the opposition's reaction to the killing; do not use words like "assassination" or "sympathizers," instead substitute more neutral terms like "killing" or "mourners"; etc.

The owners also practice direct censorship of their papers. "Kokoy" Romualdez reportedly calls the editorial office of the *Times Journal* almost nightly to find out the prominent stories for the following day. At the height of the Aquino protests, Roberto Benedicto, publisher of the *Daily Express* reportedly told his staff to "print anything you like," as long as it did not antagonize the presidential palace. A writer for the *Express* said, however, that "the president got angry" very often.

Knowing who buttered their *pan de sal*, reporters pursued their craft with extreme caution bordering on absurdity.

When Corazon Aquino, widow of the slain opposition leader, held her first press conference after arriving from the U.S.

'Even oldtime polemicists like Max Soliven have emerged from a decade of political hibernation.'

with her five children, foreign correspondents were asking questions such as, "Who do you think killed your husband?" Local reporters went for the beauty-contest-type question like "What would you like to remember most about your husband?"

How then did people get informed of developments? How do they get informed?

At the start, the public relied on the Catholic Church-run Radio Veritas. Radio Veritas provided the only consistently independent news broadcasts on the assassination and its aftermath. Later on, short radio programs such as *Metro-Manila Banat* or Rafael Yabut's would complement this voice in the wilderness. In contrast, the news programs of major television and radio stations consisted of verbatim readings of government press releases.

Radio Veritas, alone, offered live coverage of demonstrations, press conferences

and other developments people were desperate to know about.

Because of this, its listenership grew rapidly. Housewives tuned in. Businessmen listened on their radios. Journalists switched on to check if they were missing anything. Even government officials surreptitiously tuned in at work.

During the funeral and the demonstrations, police and military security men, when they were not jamming the signals, were tuned in to Radio Veritas to find out where the crowds were moving.

A prominent journalist observed that xeroxes, mimeographing machines and home videotaping equipment became crucial media tools overnight.

Xerox copies of articles from foreign newspapers and magazines were being passed out among crowds, posted in conspicuous places on campuses and pasted on car windows. Almost anything published about the Aquino case outside the Philippines was mimeographed and photocopied. Copies were even sold on newsstands. Typists in air-conditioned offices often copied and recopied documents painstakingly.

Then there were the videotapes smuggled in from Japan and the U.S.; videotapes of investigative reports by Japanese reporters, of American TV news reports. The most

Simultaneously, the alternative media has become good business. Within a month of the Aquino assassination, the *Pahayagang Malaya*, a virtual non-competitor—staffed by the now-banned *We Forum* newspaper—reached a circulation of around 500,000.

Mr. & Ms. Magazine (long known for its coverage of "syrupy profiles of ideal marriages and slightly tart political analysis," according to a prominent pundit) ran a series of supplements on the Aquino affair, which boosted its popularity. *Mr. & Ms.* is enjoying a circulation of about 200,000.

Smaller tabloids have arisen as a result of the clamor for anti-government news. Although a few are badly edited and some are irresponsibly sensationalistic, people are gobbling up publications like the *Philippine Times*, *The People's Voice*, *Weekly Guardian*, *Metro-Manila Times*, etc.

One observer commented that the Philippine media might be on its way to regaining its old glory. Even oldtime polemicists, such as Max Soliven, have emerged from a decade of political hibernation. Jose Burgos, publisher of *Pahayagang Malaya* said he and others are taking risks "because we can't afford to be silent."

Even within the established media, more reporters have gotten the courage to call for dialogues with their publishers on a number of issues, including government control of the media. One day in early November, many reporters even turned up for work in T-shirts that read, "Free the Press."

All of this might suggest that government is easing its restraints on the media. This is hardly the case. The government's posture can be characterized as a cautious and temporary retreat punctuated by strong-arm forays into what's left of the Fourth Estate.

The *Philippine Times* was raided, its offices padlocked and publisher Rommel Corro arrested. Suit-happy bureaucrats and government branches are still apt to file libel charges even on the most cautious muckraker.

Warnings are regularly issued reminding the media that it should not "overstep the bounds of political decency as to incite to sedition." These are usually combined with mud slung by powerful regime officials. Minister of Information Gregorio Cendena on the alternative media: "[It is the] mosquito press—made up of fly-by-night tabloids and long-run extras from a woman's magazine . . . political pornography . . ."

Cops and military agents are apt to harass or arrest poor newsboys hawking the alternative tabloids at busy intersections. Malacañang's dirty tricks department has not been idle either. Both the *Pahayagang Malaya* and *Mr. & Ms.* have issued warnings to their readers about fake copies of their papers being circulated with the names *Pahayagang Madaya* and *Ms. & Ms.*

Two employees of a government printing agency have admitted having helped in the preparation and printing of the fake copies. However, they refused to execute an affidavit for fear of reprisals.

Radio Veritas received its first warning a few hours after the assassination. A government official called to ask that the station tone down the reports. In compliance, station executives "balanced" their reporting by dutifully broadcasting government statements alongside their staffers' reports.

The government tried harder with a more coercive tactic: the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office, a government-support agency, abruptly cut off its ₱5,000 (\$357) monthly funding for the radio station.

Private citizens immediately rallied to the station's support. Makati Rotary Club members pledged ₱20,000 to the station after the sweepstakes office pulled out, and other businessmen sent their own checks.

Head-to-head, toe-to-toe, a great duel is on between the Marcos media and a resurgent democratic press. The latter has the support of millions tired of ten years of New Societyspeak. But the former, however despised, has the power of the state behind its pallid pages. Its life therefore will be longer than its usefulness. □

A Soldier of Christ Takes to the Hills

'The church has to be revolutionary . . .'

—Fr. Conrado Balweg

By ROBERTO Z. COLOMA
Abridged from WHO Magazine

Fr. Conrado Balweg, a former S.V.D. priest who joined the New People's Army in 1979, explains in an interview how he has reconciled Marxism and Christianity in his new vocation.

On our way to the Macliing memorial celebrations, our motley group of journalists, students, academics and church workers—including a Mexican-American film crew—met a serene-looking man. Medium in build and bronzed by the highland sun, he moved and spoke in a way that was, well, priestly. The residents seemed to look up to him, and when we learned his real name we knew why he looked like somebody important. The journalists among us thus did the most natural thing: ask for an interview. He laid down only two conditions before granting our request. First was that we should not mention the exact village along the Chico river where the interview would be conducted for the sake of the civilian population of the place, which he was only visiting. Second was that the questions should be presented to him beforehand so he could have time to prepare his answers. The conditions sounded more like kind requests when he talked with us about arrangements for our interview. After everything was ready, we were brought to a hut where Fr. Conrado J. Balweg, Catholic-Priest-turned-NPA-commander, sat reading the latest issue of Newsweek.

Balweg, 38, first became known publicly in the latter half of the seventies as one of the leaders of the opposition movement waged by the Tingguian tribe of Abra against the entry of the Cellophil Resources Corporation, a grandiose business venture of Herminio Disini, who is related to President Marcos by marriage. Cellophil was set up to produce export-grade industrial pulp paper from the Benguet pines of the Abra mountains. The Tingguians saw it as a threat to their livelihood and age-old traditions because it would take over a nearly 200,000-hectare logging concession that also includes parts of Kalinga-Apayao and Mountain Province. Despite their stiff opposition, Cellophil, ably aided by the armed forces, was able to build a mammoth complex outside Bangued, the provincial capital. When Disini's business empire started crumbling last year, his ailing firm was taken over by the state-owned National Development Corporation.

The next time Balweg's name appeared in the papers was when the government confirmed that he had joined the New People's Army in 1979 as the first of four Abra priests who went underground to join the Communist revolutionaries in the northern mountain region known as the Montañosa.

Balweg, the fourth of seven children of poor Kalinga parents, was born in Bangilo, Abra, where his parents had migrated. He is thus a Kalinga by blood and a Tingguian in spirit, a fact that must be helpful to him these days since he "operates" in Kalinga-Apayao most of the time. Balweg entered the seminary of the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) in Tagaytay in 1958 and became a priest in 1971. He joined the N.P.A. in 1979.

Here, for the first and possibly the last time in a local publication, are excerpts from an interview with a practising Christian-Communist:

WHO: How did you evolve from a priest to a revolutionary?

Conrado Balweg (CB): Ever since I was a young schoolboy in Bangilo, Abra, I have identified with the suffering of neighbors. I have always been sensitive to their needs. When I entered the seminary way back 1958, I had been inspired by the SVD missionaries who helped the people in our place a lot through medical care, education, and charitable work. I wanted to be a priest in order to help the oppressed, poor, and weak. Christ did not become man for the rich but for the poor, not for the strong but for the weak.

In the seminary I wasn't really an activist in the context of what was then happening in Manila. I was what you would call a reformist, so I joined the Federation of Free Farmers, Young Christian Workers, and Federation of Free Workers. I did not believe in armed struggle, bloodshed and confrontation.

After the seminary, I asked to be assigned to my home province because I was aware of the problem of minorities. Even in the seminary, I experienced discrimination because I was a Tingguian. I felt that I could help dignify the minority. I also wanted to study and clarify the problem of the Tingguians, so I immersed myself in their day-to-day life. In the process there loomed a concrete threat to the Tingguians in the form of the Cellophil Resources Corporation. Not only was the honor of the Tingguians taken away; even their livelihood was threatened.

WHO: What was your role in the opposition against Cellophil?

CB: I first relied on the progressive teachings of the Church to defend the interests of the Tingguians. I realized the sharpening contradiction within Christianity, in which conflicting interests exist. Every class or group claims to be Christian, but which is just? It is only proper to fight the unjust. As a priest, I had to help lead the effort to defend the Tingguians from what society was doing to them.

WHO: Specifically, what was Cellophil doing?

CB: Among us, land ownership is something sacred. Land does not require a title to be owned. The amount of work you put into making the land productive entitles you to own it. Cellophil told us that our land was not ours. Since there were no titles, it was public land, they said. Overnight, we became landless. The whole Tingguian community, including my own family, was affected.

WHO: What was the tribal people's immediate response?

CB: We stood firm against government terrorism through the military. But what scared us more was the government's permission for Cellophil to take our livelihood away. From land owners, we would be turned into mere tenants or workers. They said that Cellophil would generate more jobs, but even if you got a job you had no property anymore. All you would possess was your capacity to work; after losing it, you would have nothing else.

That was the talk then.

When we were able to expand our mass organization and mass mobilization campaigns against Cellophil, we realized that our situation was not limited to Tingguians. Even the Ilocanos in the lowland parts would be affected. I realized that this was all part of a bigger social problem, and that



I had to help not only the Tingguians, but anyone who is oppressed. I realized that the majority-minority contradiction is a product of the entire society's workings, a way by which the ruling classes divide the masses. That gave me a broader and deeper consciousness which prompted me to embrace the revolution.

WHO: How did you get introduced to Communism?

CB: When I was still in Abra around 1972, I already heard about the NPA's presence there, but they were in the far north and I was in the south. I had no contact with them but I was aware of their activities. In 1976, the forces of the NPA were wiped out even before I established contact with them. In 1977, I had the urge to get in touch with them because Church authorities whom I approached for support could not give me any concrete help. They made promises but did nothing when people were arrested or terrorized by the military. I could not keep relying on nothing. I began to ask what the NPA was really fighting for, and I took the initiative to discover the answer. I read revolutionary materials. I discovered "Philippine Society and Revolution" and studied it until I learned that nothing should prevent the application of revolutionary theory to Christianity.

That, in general, is the process by which I attained a revolutionary consciousness. I only got in touch with the NPA in 1979. I had left the province to show that whether I was there or not, the problem existed. It was only an accident that I was there to clarify the problem.

WHO: You mean to say that even at the peak of the Cellophil controversy, you were still not working with the NPA? Many people believe that you and the NPA were responsible for kindling the Cellophil issue.

CB: When I was still there I had absolutely no relations with the NPA in the far north. Though my own barrio was in the north, I went home only once a year for a visit, and I did not have a chance to meet the NPA. Though I was a sympathizer and admirer of their willingness to give their own lives to protect the oppressed, I had no contact with them yet.

WHO: Exactly how did you first get in touch with them?

CB: When I left Abra for Manila in 1979, I looked for contacts in Manila.

WHO: In Manila?

CB: There were ex-seminarians, old friends, whom I knew were in the organization. I looked for them and found one who helped me. I was passed on to the Montañosa, straight into NPA territory. I had left Abra in June and was already in

NPA territory in a couple of months. When I arrived here, I realized that this was the kind of life I had been looking for, not the soft kind of commitment in which the problem is clear but you only remain indecisive. Here you go all the way.

WHO: Didn't you experience any shock or personal conflict when you, a Catholic priest, directly entered the world of Communism?

CB: It wasn't exactly that sudden. It was a process. Even when I was still in the institutional Church, I had already developed many of the revolutionary attitudes. It was not just because I was with the NPA that I realized the necessity of armed struggle. I had known it before, but I was still hesitant. It wasn't really a shock to join the NPA; on the contrary, I was happy because this was what I had been looking for.

WHO: Do you still consider yourself a priest?

CB: As far as a hierarchical Church with hierarchical functions is concerned, I'm through with all that. But in practice, I still fulfill the highest function of priesthood. I give what the masses ask of me, a more basic and more concrete form of service that they need. It would be very superficial to say that what the people only need are prayers when they are already being murdered. I no longer practice the traditional functions of a priest because they are not appropriate for present conditions.

WHO: So you no longer perform such spiritual duties as saying mass and administering the sacraments.

CB: People no longer ask for them because they don't feel any need for them these days. Before I joined the NPA, I used to say mass up to three times a day. But it never solved the people's problems. But if you help organize and educate the people so they can stand up for their rights, that means I am offering my life for them. For me that is the real sacrifice of the mass.

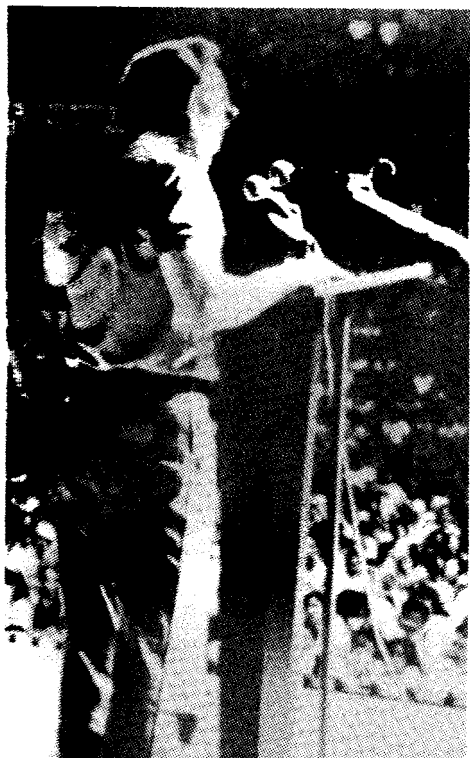
WHO: Why has the NPA become so strong so fast here?

CB: The primary reason is the effort of our members in organizing work. We have spent a lot of time to make the masses aware of their condition. We have a mass-education campaign that includes literacy programs.

WHO: How have the people received the NPA?

CB: Their initial orientation is influenced by enemy propaganda; the NPA are thieves, the NPA are ruthless, the NPA are criminals. Before you enter the barrio, that is

Continued on page 12



Olalia addresses rally; labor leader's history capsulizes story of Philippine labor movement.

Over 5,000 workers, students and priests marched 12 miles singing progressive songs and carrying banners through the windy streets of Manila to pay their final respects to Felixberto Olalia last December 12. The crowd marched with clenched fists, many carrying placards bearing Olalia's statements.

The 80-year-old labor leader, chairman of the militant *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement), died December 4 of a heart ailment aggravated by severe pneumonia.

Olalia's six decades of activism provided a thread of continuity within the uneven history of the Philippine labor movement.

Born to a poor peasant family in Bicol in 1903, Olalia became active on the labor front at the age of 17. His initial political action began earlier, at 15, when he illegally displayed the Philippine flag and was beaten by American occupation troops.

In the '20s and '30s, Olalia served as a rank-and-file activist and later fought during the war against the Japanese fascists. By playing an instrumental role in the later formation of the Congress of Labor Organi-

zations in 1945, he along with other prominent labor leaders and revolutionaries, Amado Hernandez, Manuel Joven, Mariano Balgos, and Cipriano Cid, rose to national prominence. Ultimately he joined the Philippine Communist Party, but left when it degenerated.

1902—PHILIPPINE WORKERS' MOVEMENT BORN

Olalia's long and rich personal history as an activist not only served to inspire other progressives, but coincided with the development of the Filipino working class itself.

With U.S. colonial institutions in place by 1910, U.S. businesses expanded rapidly. American interests controlled over 50 tobacco factories, 40 copra processing plants and 23 sugar centrals by 1918. As business expanded, so did the Philippine working class.

The KMU traces its activist roots back to 1902 when the Democratic Workers Union (UD), led by Isabelo de los Reyes and Herminigildo Cruz was founded. At its height, the UOD embraced 150 unions or 200,000 workers, all united with its pro-worker and anti-imperialist politics.

From this period to the '40s, various influential unions were formed whose leaders were repeatedly imprisoned or killed. These genuine workers organizations were constantly under attack from U.S.-initiated yellow unions which limited demands only to economic issues and ignored national politics. Japanese fascism and the war devastation further contributed to weakening

these progressive unions.

OLALIA AND NEW WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Signaling the re-emergence of the workers movement, the CLO emerged in 1945 with an explicitly anti-U.S. stance. Increasingly threatened by the CLO's mass influence, the Philippine government (with CIA assistance) arrested its leadership including Olalia in 1951. Olalia spent the next several years in jail.

Though the CLO was on the decline, Olalia managed to form the national Federation of Labor Unions, starting with 110 workers in 1957.

During the '60s and early '70s, Olalia along with other reputed leaders formed a number of workers groups and progressive organizations: *Lapiang Manggagawa* or the Workers Party founded by Olalia, Jose Ma. Sison, Cipriano Cid, and Ignacio Lacsing in 1962; the Socialist Party of the Philippines organized by Olalia, Sison, Renato Constantino, and Alejandro Lichauco in 1967; *Ugnayan ng mga Progresibong Manggagawa* or Alliance of Progressive Workers in 1971; and *Katipunan ng Samahang Manggagawang Pilipino* in 1971.

The founding of the KMU in 1980, symbolized a key historical juncture for Filipino workers and peasants. Like its past progressive counterparts, the KMU makes its demands for economic concessions. But it has placed itself in the forefront of the broader political movement as well, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. bases, genuine land reform, an end to



martial law, and the nationalization of local and multinational companies.

'I WILL ACCEPT THE CHARGE'

On August 13, 1981, Olalia was arrested along with other union leaders in a crackdown aimed at paralyzing the burgeoning post-martial law labor movement. Olalia became seriously ill with pneumononia and was weakened to a point where he was no longer able to walk.

Progressives, especially unions and activists both inside and outside the Philippines, mounted pressure for the release of the labor leaders—particularly the ailing Olalia. Some were ultimately released, including Olalia whose health had been permanently damaged.

Olalia made it clear that his lifetime of fortitude and commitment stemmed from his socialist world outlook: a number of placards at the funeral procession bore one of the labor leader's most frequently-cited remarks, "If to serve the workers is to be called a communist, then I will accept the charge." □

Imelda Tries to Outdo Ninoy's Funeral

The First Lady's sister, Dr. Lourdes A. Romualdez, died on December 2 and the following excerpts are from the Philippine News Agency's coverage of the funeral.

... The body of Dr. Lourdes A. Romualdez, who died after a heart attack Dec. 2 at 73, was flown to her native town of Tolosa, Leyte, there to lie once again before being interred Sunday.

Thousands of mourners lined the route from the two-centuries-old Romualdez ancestral home in Pandacan to the Manila domestic airport.

Those who joined the funeral procession were led by the deceased's more famous sister, First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Metro Manila governor and minister of human settlements.

Thousands of people who could not be accommodated inside the house heard the mass on Jesus Street fronting the Romualdez house, where loudspeakers were installed.

Most of the crowd were there not only to pay their respects to the departed, but also to manifest their gratitude as beneficiaries of the many projects of the First Lady.

The solemnity of the occasion was broken somewhat when the crowd greeted the arrival of the First Couple at 10 a.m. with applause and shouts of "Mabuhay."

But what appeared to be a departure from funeral protocol was seen as proof of the popularity of the President and the First Lady

That was PNA reporter Cip Roxas on the funeral. Now, here are excerpts from a Pandacan resident's letter to her cousin in Los Angeles. The letter writer, "Mameng" is an ordinary citizen in her late 60s, who is not included in opposition politics. AK editor Rene

Ciria Cruz, who hails from Pandacan, freely translated these excerpts into English, changing people's names—including Mameng's—for their protection. Who is the better journalist, Cip Roxas or Mameng? Judge for yourself.

Our Christmas here is "krisis mas" because of the high prices of food and other goods, all goods. We really don't know what to do. Even your sister Nadia joined the panic buying for laundry soap the other day . . . I am giving you the news that one VIP here was *na-dead ball*, and this is Dr. Lourdes Romualdez who was our neighbor of sorts. This is different from all the wakes we've seen. Ordinarily, those who pay their respects donate things to the bereaved but in the case of this particular departed, the bereaved insist on being charitable to all takers. They encourage people to line up outside the deceased's Spanish mansion for free food: bread in the morning; rice and viands at noon and in the evening; and often even snacks of sandwiches and soft drinks in the afternoon.

The doctor died on the night of Dec. 2 and by Saturday morning scores of men in *barong tagalog* were already casing the vicinity of the mansion; naturally people were afraid to go near it. Meanwhile the beautiful flowers started coming non-stop, as well as food trucks from Via Mare and Sulu (restaurants). Sunday, people were encouraged to enter the mansion on condition that everyone must wear shoes; so I asked Teresing to buy me a cheap pair. Etang and her two grandchildren joined the queue Sunday night three or four times. The first time they got rolls and hot dogs. The second time hamburgers and mango juice and next, rice and *longganisa*. The youngest refused to join them for the last round—he was embarrassed for having gone back several times already.

T. San Luis Street is closed to traffic and there are so many people trying to get food it beats a fiesta. The other night and the night after, Etang went again with Cely. Last night she went with Tasing. In one of these visits they were given three cups of *arroz caldo*. Last night even Remy went—with Mina, Nitang, Flor, and Bitoy and they got rice, fried chicken and mango juice. People from other districts are lining up for the food. The bereaved have put up waiting sheds at the vacant space beside Commander Drugs as well as on the sidewalk. Excess flowers from inside the mansion now decorate these sheds and even the sidewalk near the PNB is abloom with cattleyas and other orchids. There are seats for the police and the security. Our street, which no one ever sweeps, is now kept clean. You see, Tuesday and Wednesday, Barangay captains and Metro-Manila councilmen were called in and given ₱500 each and food. It's really like a fiesta. Remember Connie, Anday's maid? She used to go to wakes and greet the bereaved with "Happy Condolence." This is really Happy Condolence. That Berto is very naughty; he suggests that we should go and greet Imelda with "Many Happy Returns of the Day." He'll get into trouble that one.

Sunday afternoon your *kumare*, Menggay, tried to get in but was stopped by the security—she was only in slippers and a duster with loose straps. How come she was admitted into Aquino's house, she asks? Every night "Ma'am" comes. Berto said she has a double. He swears he saw a woman who looked just like Imelda waving to the crowd from the window while the real thing was seated in a corner just a few meters from where he was eating his fried chicken. While people are waiting in line outside, photographers are busy taking pictures.

Roy and Becky have gone back to Canada, and Ato has gone back to Sumalla(?) I think that's in South Africa, maybe. This is it for now. Of the money you sent I gave Nadia ₱350 and ₱500 for Jun; for Remy, ₱130.

Your loving cousin,
Mameng



J.E. Arcellana

CAMD carollers in San Francisco

Carollers Bring Freedom Message

Messages from political prisoners and songs of resistance were brought to homes and community events this holiday season by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship's annual carolling campaign.

The CAMD reported that over 1,700 people heard its carollers this year, as teams went to homes, parties, and group meetings in cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Sacramento, Honolulu, Toronto, and Montreal.

The theme of this year's carolling drive highlighted the intense political situation in the Philippines, with a particular focus on the delicate situation faced by political prisoners.

"We feel the political prisoners issue is one of extreme importance because of the volatile political situation," said Edwin Batongbacal of CAMD in San Francisco. Since the Aquino assassination, Filipinos

have become bolder in demonstrating their opposition to the Marcos dictatorship. "The government just might resort to really desperate measures to disable or intimidate the movement, and the prisoners, at this point, are defenseless—at the mercy of an increasingly desperate regime."

Batongbacal added that Filipinos abroad should use the political prisoners issue to gauge how real the regime's claims to democratization are. "Aside from continuing human rights violations, the mere existence of hundreds of prisoners of conscience indicates the absence of democracy."

The CAMD's appeal was given a popular reception. Geline Avila, coordinator of CAMD reported that the Filipino community received the caroller's message warmly. The growing isolation of the regime, she said, has resulted in a new receptiveness to opposition activities.

"Over 50% of the homes we carolled

had never been visited before, and we were able to expand our outreach to new areas, carolling in entire neighborhoods at a time. We were invited to community gatherings by groups that were hesitant to support our work before." CAMD carollers were also warmly received by organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union and by labor unions.

The drive successfully reached its financial goal. "We expect donations to be over \$5,000, money is still coming in," Avila said. Donations from the carolling are slated to cover CAMD's expenses incurred since the Aquino assassination and for this year's initiatives such as the "Adopt a Prisoner" campaign to aid particular long-term prisoners, and the Alert Network to mobilize the public in case of any threats of execution or of major new waves of arrests.

Part of the donations will go toward a

political prisoners' fund to be sent directly to two prominent organizations—KAPATID and Task Force Detainees. KAPATID aids families of political prisoners and is headed by Armando Malay, former Dean of Students of the University of the Philippines. The Task Force Detainees, coordinated by Sr. Mariani Dimaranan documents political prisoners' cases and works for their release and amnesty.

International support helps keep the prisoners' spirits high, as expressed in a letter from Satur Ocampo (a journalist who is a long-term prisoner in Bicutan) to a supporter in Toronto:

"You can imagine how much your measure of support can mean to me and my family, after five and a half years of bearing up with the travails of indefinite imprisonment. Indeed, political prisoners like us in the Philippines can rightly say we are not alone in struggle for our freedom and that of our people, for justice to the poor and exploited, for democracy and peace of mind to the economically and politically oppressed. We have friends and supporters from other lands . . ." □

And Now, Balikbahay . . .

By VINCE REYES

Going through a stack of old and new Filipino community newspapers one day, I was struck by the repeated appearance of the word "Balik" (return).

Press releases from the Philippine government, travel agency and Philippine Airlines ads, and several group pictures of returned travellers all liked "Balik."

Balikbayan, Balik-Scientist, Balik-U.P.—all on government-sponsored programs aimed at convincing as many of the more than a million Filipinos living here to go back to their native soil for a visit or for good. With their dollars, of course.

Now, I know Balikbayan. Everyone knows Balikbayan. It features PAL airfares at reduced rates. It's like a sale, really. So Filipinos can afford to take back all the gadgets, designer clothes, toys, candies, blankets and towels they got from other sales to the eager folks waiting across the Pacific.

PAL makes quite a mint from it. The government, of course, loves the dollars it brings. That's the whole point anyway. There also seems to be a stronger push for Balikbayan offers during elections, just before the government must pay interests on its foreign debts, and during tourist slumps that result from famous assassinations.

And oh, only Filipinos abroad can take advantage of it. Filipinos in the Philippines cannot Balikbayan because they're already here. Plus, they don't have dollars. But these other Baliks seized my curiosi-

ty. How many U.P. graduates have actually given up their teaching posts here to pontificate in Diliman? How many scientists have quit splitting atoms to split for Manila? My musing started taking a philosophical turn—at a reduced rate. Maybe General Douglas MacArthur started it all, this Balik spirit.

Then a Balik program I had never heard of before revived my failing mental capacities. *Balikbahay*. No, it doesn't mean you can ship your Daly City stucco to Quezon City. No, this is not a going-back-for-Christmas deal. It is a permanent cure for homesickness. You go back and stay.

Balikbahay, according to the *Filipino Tribune* out of Seattle, is for Filipino senior citizens: for "lost Filipino oldtimers in the complex American society [to] help them in their trip back to their loved ones and townfolks." The article even published the names of seven people who have actually taken advantage of Balikbahay.

The program's spiel stresses the fact that a retired person's meager social security income would be worth many more times its value in the Philippines than here in the U.S.

Back home, oldtimers would be able to live like presidents. (Take that back. Oldtimers should take heed that living like a president in the old country may be dangerous to their health. There's only one president and he doesn't want to quit. Better, they should simply try to live like, well, kings.)

In any case, I wondered how this actually worked. Do repatriates get tax write-offs, special services, and so on? Where, how do people apply? I set out to find the

U.S. operators of this ingenious program. First stop, the telephone. Travel agents.

The first one had heard of the program but didn't have any information. The second said if I wanted to get a bunch of oldtimers to go back, he would be happy to arrange a trip.

"But under the Balikbahay?" He didn't care about that—only that he could get us a good fare. Click.

Okay, next stop Philippine Airlines. Pushing my way through the Christmas shoppers in San Francisco's Union Square, I made it to the sleek PAL offices. A pert booking agent was more than happy to give me some assistance.

"Balikbahay," I said. "I want to know about Balikbahay, the deal, the whole works."

"Balikbayan," she said.

"No, Balikbahay."

"Balikbayan."

"No, no, no. Balikbahay, as in *Bahay-Kubo, kahit munti. . . B-A-H. . .*"

"Hmm."

"I want to know about the program which helps senior citizens go back and stay in the Philippines," I explained.

Puzzled yet still eager to help out, she marched me over to the literature stand and gave me a copy of everything on the shelf while explaining the great \$550.00 deal I could get right now.

While I went through the brochure that said the Philippines was "Where Asia Wears a Smile," she rattled off every detail about plane and hotel accommodations and how long I could stay before I would have to come back.

"No, no, no," I said, "It's not for me. I'm not old enough."

"Really, \$550.00 would get you eight days at the Manila Hotel, round trip. . ."

Finally, I pleaded, "Could you recommend a travel agent who might know about Balikbahay?"

"No, we don't do that, we don't give favors to one agent over another," she said.

Oh well, where to go from there? Of

course, the Philippine Consulate. In San Francisco, it is just a stone's throw. . . very close to PAL.

I made it up the elevator to the reception area where there was a prominent display of what must be the best-selling paperback in the place, in fact the only one there: "The Democratic Revolution in the Philippines" by Ferdinand Marcos.

I stood transfixed for a second. "It's free" said the receptionist, who could have been the PAL girl's twin. So, this must be how they get rid of them. I explained my business and got pointed back down to the tourism department.

Getting off the elevator, the continuous flash of a camera indicated that a lot of people were getting their passport pictures taken. I popped my head in for a peek—no senior citizens there.

At last I entered the office of the Ministry of Tourism. The public relations officer, Ms. Bordon was most eager to help. But for some reason, she didn't have anything written on Balikbahay. In fact, she might not have heard of it before.

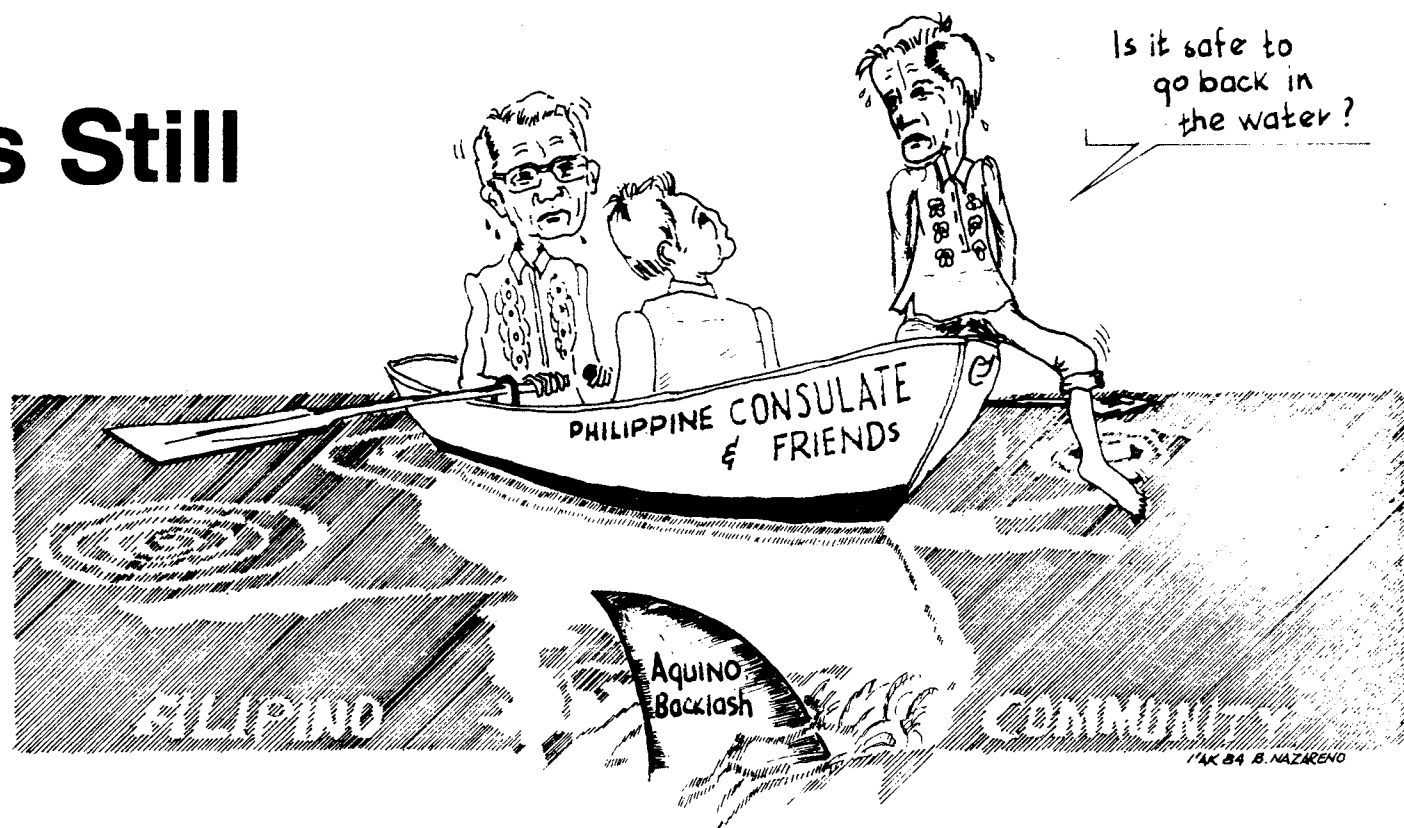
"Okay," I said, "What if I wanted to organize a group of professionals to go back—say accountants, or lawyers—could I get a Balik-Scientist trip?"

From out of a packed file drawer, which included a folder labeled "Aquino Assassination Newsclippings" came a Calendar of International Conventions happening in Manila. The calendar listed film festivals, a Dissemination Workshop, the Second a Dissemination Workshop, a Cargo Sales and Marketing Workshop, the Second International Executive Upgrading Course on Hazard and Loss Control Management conference. Balik-Film Critics Shipping Agents Hazard Control Experts?

She gave me that and roughly five pounds of assorted travel brochures (one for each island), guidebooks, travel agent listings, discount cards for hotels and of course, that PAL \$550.00 deal.

Continued on page 12

Consulates Still Fumbling for Support



By EMIL DE GUZMAN

By desperately maneuvering to regain political ground lost during the Aquino assassination, Philippine consulates and their camp followers are unwittingly creating even more ruckus in the Filipino community.

Nowhere was the battleline so sharply drawn between the Philippine Consulate and independent Filipino community leaders than in Los Angeles.

In an election held last month, the 4,600-member Filipino American Community of Los Angeles elected a new president, Greg Cruz, whose slate ran on a program of keeping FACLA a politically independent body.

Cruz bested his consulate-backed opponent, Freddie Wells, by a 2 to 1 margin or 2,067 to 1,088 votes.

The campaign was punctuated by shouting matches and a last-minute court challenge to halt the balloting.

Wells is a board member of the Confederation of the United States Philippine Organizations—a “non-profit umbrella group” established by the Philippine consul general’s office.

Wells’ campaign literature listed the CONPUSO board post as one of his qualifications.

The *Los Angeles Times* observed that with the Aquino murder still in the minds of Filipinos, “Wells’ board post has become a focal point for anti- and pro-Marcos factions of the community.” In addition, Wells reportedly spent \$30,000 on his campaign. Rumors have it that the financing came mainly from the Philippine consulate.

DELAY TACTIC FAILS

The election took place on December 4 after Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Leon Savitch refused to grant a delay to the FACLA election. Wells and his followers had filed a temporary restraining order claiming irregularities in the voter registration.

Raul Daza, counsel for FACLA brushed aside the petition’s accusation. “This was the 11th hour to prevent the election from being held. The candidate Wells probably felt he was going to lose the race.”

“This is not a case of Cruz against Wells,” said Hermie Rotea, editor and publisher of the *Philippine Press*, a Los Angeles newspaper that endorsed Cruz. “A victory by Freddie Wells would be tantamount to a victory by the Philippine Consulate to control the minds of the community.”

A spokesman for the Philippine Consulate said such fear was unfounded. “We are keeping our hands off the election,” said Terry Zabala, the consulate press attache.

‘DIRTY POLITICS’

Even the FACLA Senior Organization demanded that the Philippine Consulate stop meddling in the affairs of the organization. In a letter written to Ambassador Armando Fernandez, the senior citizens

accused him of “being the first consul general in Los Angeles who ever involved himself in the dirty politics.” They also accused the outgoing President Bert Mendoza of “inexperience” and “ill-management in his administration.”

Mendoza’s administration was allegedly responsible for the defunding of FACLA’s \$400,000 senior nutrition meals program. The program, which serves over 700 elderly daily, was taken over by the L.A. Department of Parks and Recreation.

One surprise in the election was the hundred of votes cast for Cruz by members of the pro-Marcos *Iglesia ni Kristo* church. The INK’s Manila headquarters reportedly gave the sanction after a controversy involving a Wells associate who was caught boasting that the church was in their “hip pocket.”

After his jubilant victory, Cruz proclaimed his stand for “independence and solving FACLA’s basic problems first.” With regards his pro-Marcos opponents, Cruz welcomed “them back with open arms,” if they are willing to help.

In a separate development, the consulate and its supporters received a big blow when the L.A. City Council declared November 27 “Aquino Day” at the urging of local opposition groups.

NO DIALOGUE IN D.C.

In Washington, D.C., the embassy is trying a new approach in diffusing the

Association are already discredited.

ISA was formed by some former CIPAA members who left because of the “heavy handedness” of the president, Rose Curameng.

At the dialogue, Gov. Cortez pictured the Marcos government as a victim of distorted coverage by the western press which has no business “convicting him until proven guilty.”

Prior to the governor’s speech, an embassy official appealed for letters from the community to condemn a congressional resolution sponsored by Rep. Stephen Solarz calling for an independent investigating commission and the restoration of a democratic government.

The appeal got a frosty reception. Most of the questions from the floor turned out to be highly critical of the regime. Reacting to the rigid format that allowed only written questions that were then screened, the audience jeered the speaker at every turn. One Filipino doctor angrily said afterwards, “I felt like I was legitimizing these people by participating in the question and answer.”

A lawyer from Burke, Virginia complained, “Here in America, they still resort to dirty tactics. How much more back home?”

PICKETERS BARRED

When word of the dinner/forum got out the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, the

representatives and make a statement that “there can be no dialogue and reconciliation with Marcos until democratic rights are restored.”

The five selected were Jon Melegrito, Odette Taverna, Walden Bello, Bill Christeson, and a member of the Filipino community. They were to present the position and walk out.

After two hours, word got back that the delegation would not be allowed to speak at all. The situation inside was apparently getting heated, with the hard and tough questions reportedly making ISA officers squirm in their seats.

The delegation confronted the visibly shaken ISA president about his earlier invitation. Without embarrassment, Halagao declared “there is no dialogue!” After muttering a few choice obscenities, he disappeared into the dining room with instructions that “the meeting is closed.”

EMBASSY’S ERODING STATURE

Condemning the whole charade, a Filipino lawyer from Oxon Hill said the “bankruptcy of the Philippine government carried over here,” is one reason the embassy has failed to win over the Filipino community.

No doubt, the embassy’s stature in the Filipino community is steadily diminishing. The most recent embassy fiasco was its failure to get its Christmas festival off the ground. This public relations spectacle was supposed to occur at the Washington Monument on December 23. No Filipino organization responded to the embassy’s invitation for the first meeting. Only the embassy staff came and only 50 people showed up at the festival.

Apparently, many leaders were disgruntled over the handling of Philippine Independence Day, where the embassy handpicked the leadership for the event. Since then and after the Aquino murder, many Filipino organizations have asserted their independence and distanced themselves from the Marcos loyalists.

A few have even put their leaders on notice not to work with the embassy. In one incident, a president was criticized by his members for identifying the organization to his pro-Marcos stand.

Dodong Tecala, president of *Ang Bisaya, Inc.* wrote a letter to the conservative *Washington Times* defending Marcos, and signed as the group’s president. The members called an emergency meeting and Tecala was reportedly castigated for his misrepresentation. There are even rumors that someone anonymously sent Tecala Puppy Chow dogfood in a dog pan wrapped as a Christmas present.

Another pro-Marcos activity that did poorly was CIPAA’s Christmas Caroling. Many Filipino families refused to schedule the carollers in their homes. Several members of *Ang Bisaya* told the *AK* that because many of them are anti-Marcos, they discouraged many Filipinos from accepting CIPAA invitations. Instead, they referred them to the CAMD/PSN carollers. □



Greg Cruz



Freddie Wells

anti-Marcos sentiment among Filipinos: “dialogue.” Working through pro-Marcos groups, the embassy hopes to orchestrate those “open meetings” to the regime’s favor.

The first such dialogue was a dinner forum sponsored by a newly-formed pro-Marcos organization, the Ilocano Society of America. Guest speaker was Cagayan Governor Justiniano Cortez, a former associate justice of the Court of Appeals.

Held at the Gramercy Inn on October 19, the dinner-forum was just a short walk from the Philippine Embassy. According to a reliable source, the newly-formed ISA was selected to lead the propaganda counteroffensive because both the embassy and the main pro-Marcos group, the Combined International Philippine American

Movement for a Free Philippines and the Philippine Support Committee mobilized over 40 Filipinos to picket the inn’s main entrance with banners that read “*Ibagsak si Marcos*” and “Expel All Agents.” As guests trickled in, some confided that they were there to ask “hard and tough” questions.

Alarmed, the consulate summoned police officers to disband the picket using the excuse that it was within 500 yards of the embassy. The police refused.

To prevent further embarrassment, ISA president Veling Halagao invited representatives of the opposition to come in after dinner “because we would like to have a dialogue with you.”

Sensing a trap, where their presence would be used to legitimize the “dialogue,” the picketers decided to send five re-



Constantine "Tony" Baruso

By VINCE REYES

SEATTLE—Constantine "Tony" Baruso, a key figure in the 1981 murders of union reform leaders Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, was found guilty of 16 counts of embezzlement, mail fraud and falsification of documents. Sentencing is expected on February 10.

An 18-month investigation by the U.S. Labor Department discovered that while Baruso was president of the Alaska Cannery Worker's Union Local 37, he double-billed the union for over \$5,600 for travel and convention expenses between 1978 and 1981. The funds were paid out of a union trust fund and also by the union's now defunct Alaska Council which acted as an umbrella organization for locals in

Baruso Guilty of Embezzling

the state.

Baruso also falsified records with the insurance carrier for the Cannery Workers Health and Welfare trust to illegally obtain over \$16,000 in medical expenses for Vivien Robinson who Baruso claimed was his "uncle."

FUTILE DEFENSE

During his opening arguments of the trial in Tacoma before the U.S. District Court Judge Jack Tanner, Assistant U.S. Attorney David Marshall stated that Baruso "manipulated his position as an officer of his union to receive double payments. . . if you've been paid twice you have a responsibility to pay that money back."

Baruso's attorney, Seattle defense lawyer Tony Savage attempted to convince the jury of Baruso's innocent plea by trying to prove that union officials were fully aware of the billings. In fact, the bulk of Baruso's defense rested on Savage's attempt to show there was no formal union policy for reimbursements.

However, John Hatten, a four-year member of Local 37's Board of Trustees testified that "I had absolutely no knowledge of anybody being reimbursed [for travel] by anyone else except the [local] union."

Lynn Domingo, former union secretary-treasurer, and sister of Silme Domingo testified that the local was unaware of the double-dipping and stated that Baruso would not have been reimbursed from non-trust union funds "had we known the person was getting double-funds."

Savage vainly tried to bolster his arguments by getting Domingo and Local 37 President Terri Mast to concede that a formal written union travel reimbursement policy did not exist at the time Baruso committed the embezzlement.

"Is there anything in the [union] consti-

tution that speaks to travel expense," Savage asked Mast.

"No," replied Mast.

"Nothing in the [union] constitution says he can't collect twice. . . nothing that forbids that?" Savage questioned.

"No," Mast said.

"There's absolutely nothing in writing dealing with reimbursement for travel expense?" Savage repeated.

"There is now," replied Mast.

'I DON'T STEAL'

Mast was part of the union reform slate which took over the union's reins after Baruso was ousted from the presidency in 1981 for corrupt practices and his alleged role in the murders of Domingo and Viernes. The union reformers were fighting corruption which was rampant during Baruso's tenure in office.

Surprisingly, Baruso was the only defense witness. Testifying on the fourth day of the six-day trial which began on January 13, "I don't steal from my union," Baruso stated.

The 55 year-old retired Boeing employee repeatedly asserted during his two-hour testimony that other union members knew what he was doing. In effect Baruso admitted his guilt while exonerating himself from total blame because others supposedly knew of his activities.

Baruso further explained that he considered the double-billings as reimbursement for his own expenditures during the trips. On one trip, he paid for his wife to accompany him to Hawaii, on another he went to Acapulco. Baruso even received payment for a trip to Alaska which never even took place.

The jury deliberated for four and a half hours before delivering the guilty verdict.

Baruso remains free on bail pending sentencing next month. The Federal Court

has held Baruso's passport since his arrest two months ago when it was learned he was preparing to leave the U.S. for the Philippines permanently.

CASE NOT RESTED

Baruso was arrested shortly after the 1981 murders when it was found that the murder weapon, a .45 caliber pistol, was registered in his name.

However, he was released for "lack of evidence" and although the investigation remains open, there are no plans to charge Baruso in connection with the murders. Three members of the Tulisan gang, to which Baruso had close ties, have been convicted of murder and are now serving life sentences.

Baruso also faces a civil suit filed by relatives and friends of the slain union activists. The suit names Baruso as a co-conspirator in an alleged conspiracy to murder Domingo and Viernes.

The suit also accuses U.S. intelligence authorities and the Marcos government of complicity with the murders. Evidence of the conspiracy has been building especially with the recent exposure by two U.S. congressmen of an illegal Marcos spy-ring operating in the U.S.

Both Domingo and Viernes were leading members of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) and prior to their murders had successfully passed a hotly debated resolution at the ILWU National Conference in Hawaii for an investigating team to examine labor conditions in the Philippines under the Marcos regime.

Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes spokesperson Cindy Domingo said she hopes "the federal and local prosecuting attorney will not lay Baruso's case to rest. . . We want the investigation of Baruso's role in the murders of Gene and Silme to continue." □

TV Station Wants Show With Viernes Axed

The producers of a television series on Asian Americans are embroiled in a censorship battle with a New York TV station which is attempting to axe a reference to the murders of Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo from one of the shows.

The controversy arose over a captioned update on the murder of the two anti-Marcos, union reform leaders, which appears at the end of a 15-minute production by Deborah Bock entitled "Pinoy." A story of migrant cannery worker Al Masigat, the segment also features Gene Viernes. The update cites a civil suit which has implicated the Marcos government and U.S. intelligence in the murders.

The program is one in a six-part series entitled "Silk Screen" produced by the National Asian American Telecommunications Association. The Public Broadcasting System has been airing the series across the country since last August.

WNET-TV claims the caption would generate more questions than could be answered and was "out of context" with the rest of the program. Jim Yee,

NAATA Executive Director in San Francisco disagrees. "I cannot understand their position because the update presents nothing inflammatory and is factual."

Yee said that WNET-TV even asked that NAATA edit the tapes themselves. He responded by asking WNET-TV not to even air the episode if they insisted on cutting the update. NAATA believes it would be compromising its principles by editing out something they believe enhances the program's content.

WNET-TV also wants to edit another program in the series, "Bittersweet Survival," which relates the resettlement experiences of Southeast Asian refugees in the U.S.

Here, a captioned update on the murder of refugee rights activist Lam T. Duong in San Francisco was similarly included at the end of the program. Duong, who was shot in 1981 by unidentified but self-proclaimed anti-communist Vietnamese was a controversial community organizer because he was sympathetic to the revolutionary Vietnamese government. □

Keep yourself, your friends and family informed of the developments . . .

- ★ in the Philippines
- ★ in the Filipino community
- ★ in the U.S. and around the world

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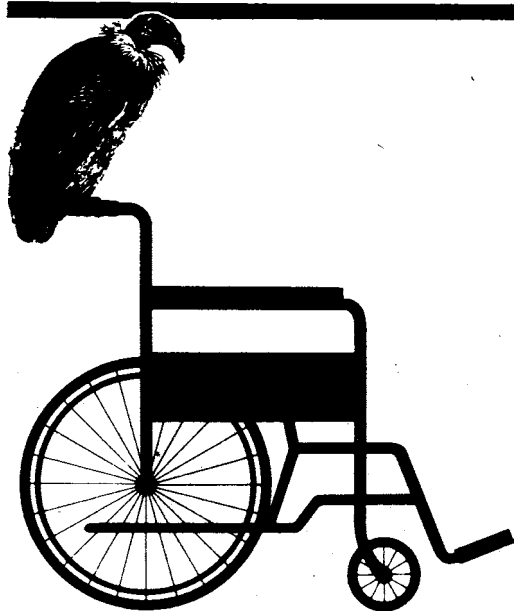
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Nursing Homes

Non-Unionized Workers' Horror Stories



By VICKY PEREZ

It was the end of the day and Naty Garcia (not her real name) was planning to look for another job, again. There must be something better than changing bedpans, washing, feeding and wheeling angry, depressed patients in the constant smell of excreta and cleaning agents for such low pay.

Naty works as an aide in an Oakland nursing home, part of an army of Blacks, Chicanos, Filipinos and other Asian immigrants that staff a booming industry.

In Northern California, Filipinos constitute at least 60% of the nursing home aides. As many as 50% of the Filipinos were registered nurses in the Philippines but have not yet acquired licenses to practice as RNs here. As aides they assume such tasks as washing patients, tending bedsores, changing linen and garments, feeding, passing bedpans, and exercising patients.

Working at close to minimum wages and with few benefits, nursing home aides occupy the bottom rung of the nursing profession. The only way out is to return to school for higher degrees or to pass the licensing exam.

Nursing home aides share a common condition with the patients they serve. Both are victims of a lucrative industry.

'GRAY GOLD'

Forbes refers to the fortune made by the nursing home industry as "gray gold." One out of every four aged American will spend time in a nursing home.

The nation's 1.3 million infirmed elderly are big bucks for investors, lawyers, contractors, quick buck operators, and drug suppliers. Nursing home operators reap a profit rate greater than 34%, annually, according to the Health Care Facilities Commission.

Much of this boom came in the 18 years following the passage of Medicare and Medicaid legislation, with many an unscrupulous nursing home operator reaping millions from medical fraud.

Overbilling is a well-known trade secret. The patient, or usually Medicaid is charged for a drug three times its actual retail cost. The home may also bill Medicaid for non-existent services, supplies, or patients. One home in New York was collecting payments for a person who had been dead for 265 days. "They're nearly all like that," said a New York state auditor.

The Reagan administration has been a good friend of the industry. Within his first two years in office, Reagan slashed half of the national budget for nursing home inspections and fraud control.

For consumers, the result of racketeering and high profit margins is felt in the rising cost of nursing home care. According to federal figures, the average national cost of maintaining a person in a nursing home has increased 2,741% since 1960.

HORROR STORIES

The average cost to stay in a nursing home in California varies from \$1,600 to \$2,500 a month. An estimated two-thirds of those in nursing homes rely on public funds to pay for this expense. Since Medi-Cal only pays 80% of the expenses, Medi-Cal arrangements are not acceptable in many homes. Patients are asked to leave if there are insufficient pension or private funds to cover the entire cost.

But for the increasing costs consumers must pay, there is little rise in the quality of care.

According to federal statistics, nearly one home in three will have health-threatening conditions. Horror stories of maltreatment and unsafe conditions abound: patients fed bug-infested foods, starved because management is scrimping on food expenses, drugged regularly to keep them passive, etc.

Last year, just after Reagan praised the great advances nursing homes have made, an inspector in the Los Angeles area released a report saying (among other things) that he found "cockroaches and puddles of urine and excrement on the floor" of several homes.

"Because these people [elderly] are frail and alone," said Nathan Shapell, a member of a California watchdog commission, "they are particularly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation."

STAFFERS GET RAW DEAL

Nursing home employees are frequently made scapegoats for the patients' poor conditions.

"We cannot give good care if we are short on staff or supplies all the time," says Nita, a nurse's aide in Watsonville who wished to remain anonymous.

"We try our best, but sometimes you work so hard, you forget who to give a bath, or who was supposed to get medicine."

To reduce expenses, many nursing home operators will cut their staff to subminimal levels. Nurses aides frequently must handle as many as 10 to 12 patients per shift.

In a hearing before the California Assembly Committee on Aging, one facility had only four aides working in one shift for 68 patients. Half of those patients needed individualized care during feedings. This led to force feedings every eight to 10 minutes, with patients nearly choking or not eating at all.

Employed in a home full-time, an aide can expect to bring home \$497 to \$582 a month. To compensate for the low pay, aides will sometimes work two jobs, or an extra shift as overtime.

GERIATRIC BURNOUT

Not surprisingly, nursing home staffers are frequently victims of "geriatric burn-out," the point reached by aides when frustrations lead to flaring tempers. The job is unrewarding. Patients usually get worse in spite of the nurses' efforts. The nurse is constantly around patients who are very angry and bitter about being in the home and at their own physical and mental deterioration. The bitter feelings often find outlets in racial epithets and even physical abuses hurled at staffers.

"We have been slugged by patients," complained Nita. "There was one patient who called me bad names and kicked me three times in the chest. Everytime, I complained to the administrators, but they don't want to do anything because the patient might leave."

Nurses always search for homes with better conditions or pay. The result is a high turnover rate. The California Health Facilities Commission reported that in 90% of the homes, each position changed hands an average of two and a half times in the fiscal year 1980-81.

The high turnover rate has its advantages for the nursing home operator. "They want the staff to come in and out" so they can maintain lower wage rates, said an employee in Chico, California.

"Operators refuse to invest in staff training and higher wages with the rationale that the nurses won't stay long anyway, so why spend on them—which is why staffers leave in the first place," said Carlo Mora, an organizer for the Service Employees International Union Local 250.

Another way operators get away with paying low wages, says Mora, is by hiring those who won't go against the company. They know who to hire. Before, they tried to use Blacks to undermine the whites. Later, Filipinos to weaken everybody else. Now a lot of Vietnamese and Laotians are getting hired because as newcomers, they are vulnerable to intimidation and soft sell."

Employers will exploit employees' fears that their immigration status could be jeopardized if they asserted their rights for better conditions. According to Mora, employees have been blackmailed because of their undocumented status into accepting sub-minimum wages or making other concessions.

"There is a nursing home in San Jose that gives the workers 30 hours pay for 40 to 56 hours of work."

UNIONIZING THE HOMES

Nursing home aides are largely unorganized, and as a result, have no one to bargain for them. Currently, a national SEIU drive is attempting to organize employees of the Beverly Enterprises which runs some 700 homes throughout the U.S. In Northern California, the union has had some successes. Four homes in the Bay Area have been organized since the drive began last year.

"The staff response has been really supportive" reported Mora, "but again,

because they don't know it is their right to join a union and assert their rights over their employer, workers in other homes get scared." Because of the high turnover rate, organizers might have to deal with new sets of staffers every year.

The organizing drive has of course alarmed nursing home operators. Employers now ask prospective employees their views about unions. Some have reportedly fired union-associated employees even though such firings are illegal according to labor relations laws. Other homes might also change ownerships in order to nullify the established contracts. Local 250 has held meetings with the National Labor Relations Board to discuss these illegal practices.

"Another way the management has tried to undermine our organizing is to pit one minority group against another. Management will tell Blacks 'You can't organize Filipinos because we control them.' Management will give small concessions to Filipinos or hire more of them, then turn around and threaten to fire them or turn them in to immigration if they go against management," Mora explained.

To counter these maneuvers Mora said the Local is really keeping a close watch of the management. "We've also kept up a lot of leafletting to warn employees of the divisive tactics and to inform them of their rights."

In October last year, a home in Watsonville was not able to keep the groups pitted against each other. All the employees joined a strike for union recognition. Though they lost the strike to scabs, those who were involved are still optimistic.

"That strike broke a lot of silence about the conditions . . . we'll see a lot more of them in the future," said Mora. □



Pinoy Waiters Sue Elite Club

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

Five Filipino workers filed a \$1 million lawsuit in the San Francisco Superior Court against their employer on December 30 charging racial discrimination. The suit contends that the workers were forbidden to speak their native language and also suffered indignities such as being served spoiled food.

The posh Burlingame Country Club is accused of racial injustice and the denial of certain rights for the 50 Filipino and Hispanic employees, most of them immigrants. The country club is an exclusive haven for 600 rich members in the affluent Hillsborough-Burlingame area, one of the wealthiest districts in the nation.

The membership includes Samuel Armacost, chief of Bank of America; Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and the Hearst family, owner of the Hearst newspaper chain.

The plaintiffs Rodolfo Enriquez, Arthur Benitez Durango, Benjamin Poco, Warren Edmund Phillips, Jr., and Felix Santillan are seeking punitive damages and compensation. The compensation is for Enriquez's termination and Santillan's demotion. Santillan, who was demoted from waiters' captain to waiter purportedly for "economic reasons," was replaced by a caucasian.

Their suit alleges that "Filipinos are refused the right to speak their native language at all times—whether on or off-duty—and not given any explanation whatsoever."

In addition, the waiters charge that the country club has two different menus for employees, one for Filipinos only. They claim that the menu consists of "leftovers and spoiled food, not intended for human consumption." Some have allegedly needed medical attention from eating bad food.

"It has been happening on a continuous basis for over one year," said George Chinn, the plaintiffs' attorney. Filipinos have been employed in the club since the '20s.

The club attorney countered the charges, stating, "The employees are not uniformly denied their right to speak Tagalog. They are only required to speak English when



Plaintiff Rodolfo Enriquez

they are working directly for guests."

"Not so," says Enriquez, the president of the employee association and who was dismissed last November. He says the club management terminated him for "speaking to a guest" but he claims the real reasons for the firing was his "outspokenness and the fact they were out to bust the union."

The waiters also claim that club members often treat them rudely. At one point, one of the waiters had to tell off a member who was using demeaning hand signals to call waiters' attention: "Are you calling for a waiter? Because there's no dog here."

The employee association formed last year in May after a 9-5 employee vote under the authorization of the National Labor Relations Board. Last October, the workers voted to affiliate with Teamsters Local 856.

Enriquez told AK that at one time "the manager called in each employee into his office to intimidate us from forming the association." The workers voted for the association.

Enriquez's main concern is for the four Filipinos presently still working at the club. "I am fearful of more harassment for them on the job."

A Teamster spokesman said that the union asked the NLRB to investigate charges that the country club refused to recognize it as the collective bargaining agent for the employees. □

Soldier of Christ . . .

Continued from page 6

what prevails. But after we enter, the people see within a few days, as a result of our explanations, what the NPA really is. It is easy to demolish enemy propaganda in the barrios once the people see what we are doing. In fact, our problem now is that there are so many places where the people are waiting for us to arrive, but our organization is not yet big enough to serve them all.

WHO: As a member of a minority yourself and as an NPA leader who works with different tribes, what would you say are the common problems of minorities in the Montañosa?

CB: Based on my experience, I have seen that tribes tend to be aware only of their own problems only. The literacy level is extremely low, resulting in their difficulties in imbibing theory. Some Red fighters joined us without being able to read or write, though they were rich in practical experience. Direct experience without benefit of other people's experience is not enough.

WHO: Suppose the NPA wins, what is your program for the minorities?

CB: Our political line is against national oppression. If national oppression is the main element of our political line, it is the minorities themselves who should decide what kind of society they want for themselves. They must enjoy self-determination. If, for example, we learn that the masses here in the Cordilleras want autonomy, we should heed them. We are still in the process of clarifying and defining exactly what the people want for the future. There is continuous social investigation and class analysis.

WHO: There are so many Christians who are dissatisfied with how things are these days, but the majority of them are at a loss as to how they can effectively work for social change as Christians.

CB: There are those who are oppressed in society. In order for our lives to be meaningful as Christians, we should not let ourselves be burdened by so many definitions, so many dogmas. If you see Christianity in terms of teachings, how many persons there are in one God, sacraments, and prayer alone, you are not in touch with real life. Wherever there is social conflict, Christians have to have a stand. We cannot be mere spectators and be around only in happy times and situations, retreating in the face of hardship in order to pray or go to church. When you come home, the problem is still there. □

And Now . . .

Continued from page 8

I was beginning to doubt the existence of Balikbahay. But how could I? The newspaper did list seven names of Balikbahayists. Seven went, so Balikbahay must be real for at least seven people. I count, therefore I am.

Then a light bulb. Of course! How stupid of me—call the main guys, the source, the big daddies, the people who must be really in the know. Call the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. What's the price of a long distance phone call if it would unlock the dark secrets of Balikbahay? And so it came to pass that I would spend two days getting the runaround while adding a few points to the earnings column of Pacific Telephone's annual report. A typical conversation went like this:

"Hello, I would like to have some information on the Balikbahay program."

"One moment, I'll connect you to somebody who can help you."

Wait . . . one minute . . . click . . . buzzzz. Dial again.

"Hello, I would like to have some information on the Balikbahay program."

"One moment, I'll . . ."

"Look Miss, this is a long distance call, we just went through this and I got cut off. . ."

"One moment please."

Wait . . . one minute . . . click . . . buzzzz.

Third day, same routine, until I was finally referred to the Cultural Office. But they were out to lunch and would be back at 2:00 o'clock. Hmm. It was just before 12:00—a two hour lunch???? Must be a great place to work in.

Later that afternoon, a certain Mr. Quintos, who politely qualified that he was "not well versed" on Balikbahay but vaguely remembered "seeing something about it" referred me to a Mrs. Burgos.

To cut a long story short, a day and a half later, after getting cut off a few more times, Mrs. Burgos, who has a charming telephone voice, told me about my old friend, "PAL-\$550-Round-Trip-Hotel" but really couldn't tell me about Balikbahay other than she didn't know who organized it.

At last, a final hope. A telephone number, (808) 845-2620, in Hawaii, printed in an ad of Balikbahay. What's a few quarters. I dialed, got a ring, then a robotic voice said, "the number you have reached. . . click."

My search for Balikbahay has led me to Balik-nowhere, which made me really homesick . . . for Stockton. Went there for Christmas. □

Manila Begs . . .

Continued from page 3

the months before the package is ready. "Bridge financing" is to come directly from the U.S. with some help from Japan.

U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost, at a December 16 press conference referred to "short-term, stop-gap" support to the tune of \$320 million. This bridging loan, however, is also contingent on IMF approval and must be paid back within six months of the agreement.

The Philippines expects an additional shot of short-term assistance from the U.S. Treasury of roughly \$650 million. This is to come via the Exchange Stabilization Fund, the only U.S. source of financing that does not require congressional approval. Some observers in Washington suspect that these funds have already been sent to Manila.

Virata hopes to drum up the rest of the \$1.09 billion from Japan, which is "favorably considering" the matter, but which has not yet come up with a concrete offer.

The signs of government desperation are everywhere. Frantic, patch-up attempts to attract more dollars and retain the few still in the country range from serious policy changes to trivialities.

Presidential Decree No. 1892 issued last month allows up to 100% foreign ownership of firms in most sectors of the Philippine economy. The previous limit was 40%. Meanwhile, the Securities and Exchange Commission is considering exempting foreigners from putting up the required ₱100,000 before being licensed to do business in the country.

All dollars within the Philippines must still be turned over to the Central Bank to be used for vital imports such as oil. But, in an effort to satisfy at least some of the wailing for cash to buy raw materials abroad, officials announced early last month that dollars not yet remitted to the Philippines may be used for such purchases.

In an effort to flush dollars out of the black market, where they were selling for ₱25:\$1 last November, Philippine Air Lines announced a special \$550 Manila-U.S.-Manila fare. The only requirements: a \$500 limit on foreign exchange taken out of the country, and the ticket must be paid for in dollars (no questions asked as to where they come from). At the same time, Placido Mapa, Philippine National Bank Chairman, directed

'We want to know who's going to be running the place when our notes fall due.'

overseas branches to waive all charges on foreign currency remitted via PNB.

Finally, Blas Ople, Minister of Labor, is junketing madly abroad looking for overseas jobs to serve as a safety valve for the thousands laid off. His job is particularly difficult because, according to the Overseas Placement Association of the Philippines, most Middle Eastern countries are cutting back on big construction projects.

This year's economic crisis is far more serious for the Philippines than that of last year because of its political implications. Potential lenders are demanding not only

IMF-dictated austerity programs, but political reforms as well. The key issue is succession. As one American banker put it, "We want to know who's going to be running the place when our notes fall due."

Bankers within the committee of 12 remain unimpressed with the regime's recent proposal to reinstate the position of Vice President in 1987, leaving the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* Speaker as successor until then. This latest proposal satisfies no one within the constantly-expanding opposition; and the bankers fear the current unrest will develop further.

Meanwhile, the U.S. is intensifying its campaign for its three-pronged solution (see AK, Vol. IX, No. 12). The plan calls for an open investigation into the Aquino assassination, clean elections this year for the IBP, and a coalition government, including regime representatives and members of the pro-U.S. opposition.

U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost has allegedly ruffled the feathers of many, including the First Lady, with his continual references to "democratic elections." Both Marcoses recently complained of "foreign intervention."

Pressure on the military front includes a visit to Manila from Gen. Vernon Walters. Walters, Special Advisor to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, is known as "the coup engineer" for his activities in Latin America. Also reportedly in town is Col. Edward Lansdale, known for installing Pres. Ramon Magsaysay in 1954.

While the U.S. has clearly decided to go slow in pulling the plug on Marcos, it is using the current crisis as a pressure point and trying to get its full money's worth out of the situation. One U.S. banker put it just about as clearly as anyone to date: "The U.S. has to be very careful not to indicate too much support for Marcos, yet not allow the Philippine economy to crumble and lose an ally." □

Voices

TO OUR READERS

Beginning in March 1984, we will be publishing contributions from our readers in a new section called **Voices**. SO SEND YOUR ESSAYS, SATIRES; POEMS; SHORT STORIES; PHOTOS OF YOUR PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, OR WOODCUTS; PHOTO ART; ETC. **NOW**. Send also a brief description of yourself as a writer or artist.

1. Contributions must be **generally progressive** in content. However, all written materials accepted for publication will be edited only for length. The contributors will be responsible for the political opinions expressed in their works.

2. Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed 2,000

words. All articles must be typed double space and received by us within the first week of the month. Only articles with self-addressed stamped envelopes will be sent back if not accepted for publication.

3. Photos of art works will be sent back upon request by the contributor.

4. For now, **AK** cannot give monetary compensation for published material although we wish to do so in the future. **But your contribution to the enrichment of the Filipino community's cultural experience will itself be a satisfying reward.**

Below is an early contribution from one of our readers. Enjoy it, and send in your own.

Sumalabukab sa Pinagsalabukaban

By A. ALMENDRAL

Huwag mo akong
tanungin kung
ano ang nangyari
kahapon;

Ano ang tula
kaugnay ng sikmura?

Mga nagtataasang
batong bakod na
binatbat ng basag
na bote, sagisag ng
agwat ng mayroon
at ng wala; ng lihim na
magnanakaw at ng isinakdal na pinagnakawan;
Intramuros na moog sa
pagitan ng ating
mga buhay.

Tumulad ka, kaibigan
sa mumunting paru-paro
na nanayaw sa hangin
kahit na tinutugis;

Dadalirutin mo ba ang
butas na likha ng
karayom samantalang
nagbubulag-bulagan sa
winakwak ng palakol?

Ano ang nangyari kahapon:

Ang maalindog at
matang-usang Alma
Moreno itinanghal na
mutya ng mga mamamahayag;
walang ibang magawa;

Si Berting Labra bahagyang
natawa, o napaismid kaya,
nang siya ay makalaya,
labindalawang taong
ipiniit sa kulungan
pinawalang-sala ng hustisyang
huling-kabit;



Si Johnny 'Toning' Midnight inabot
ng biglang takip-silim sa kinakasangkapang
media; opisyal na simbahan, tapat na mga
mananampalataya kanyang hinubaran;
mga gamot at manggagamot
sukdulang niyamot;
bayani ng mga rebeldeng
sampay-bakod, sa wakas, kung
wakas man, nilagutan ng
mikroponong lalamunan nang
mantakin mong banggain ang
dakilang produkto ng makabagong
dayuhang pandaigdigang iglesia
ng mga papa, pari, madre, sakristan,
at puta
ng mga tagasambang
aliping bayad-utang
ng salapi at kapital.

At ang hindi nawawala
ay natagpuan at nagkaila
ang nagsasabi ng
katotohanan.

Kahapon nang ang mga kuwan
ay nagsipagkuwakuwanan dahil sa
kanilang malaon nang pagkakakuwan
nakuwan ang mga kuwan hanggang nagkuwan
ng mga kuwan ang mga kuwan at
kanilang kinuwan ang mga mapang-kuwan
at naukuwan nila ang kanilang mga
kuwan.

At isang walang-ngalang mandirigma
na tanging sandata'y
salita at talinghaga
ang bumali sa hangin
at nagkulay sa karimlan.

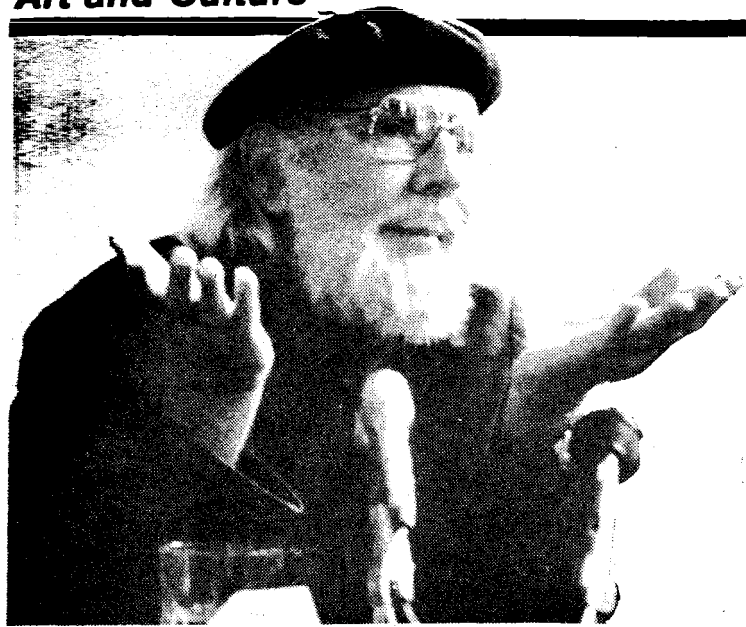
Ang mga tula
ay opiyong bula na
nangaglalaho sa alimpuyo
ng makapangyarihang agos
ng mga pangyayari habang
walang habas na inaararo
ng tilamsik na tingga
ang dibdib
at bungo
ng mga nagsisipaghumindian.

Huwag mo akong tanungin
kung ano ang nangyari
kahapon;

Ikaw na ang bahala
sa nais at kaya mong
paniwalaan;

At sumaiyo nawa
ang kagilagilalas
na kinabukasan.

A. Almendral lives in Diliman, Quezon City,
Philippines.



Ernesto Cardenal: Fight for Peace Through Poetry

Friends of Nicaraguan Culture, in an effort to "Break the Blockade of Ideas" last December 2 presented renowned poet Ernesto Cardenal, Nicaraguan Minister of Culture, reading his own poetry to a standing-room-only audience.

Appearing with Cardenal on the first half of the program was Pulitzer

Prize-winning author Alice Walker reading poetry written especially for the event about South Africa, Grenada and the experiences of blacks in the United States. Sharing the podium were Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, actor David Clennon from the movie "Missing," and Los Peludos, who sang songs of the Central American struggle.

Lights

That top-secret flight at night.
We might have been shot down. The night calm and clear.
The sky teeming, swarming with stars. The Milky Way
so bright behind the thick pane of the window,
a sparkling white mass in the black night
with its millions of evolutionary and revolutionary changes.
We were going over the water to avoid Somoza's air force,
but close to the coast.
The small plane flying low, and flying slowly.
First the lights of Rivas, taken and retaken by Sandinists,
now almost in Sandinist hands.
Then other lights: Granada, in the hands of the Guard
(it would be attacked that night).
Masaya, completely liberated. So many fell there.
Farther out a bright glow: Managua. Site of so many battles.
(The Bunker.) Still the stronghold of the Guard.
Diriamba, liberated. Jinotepe, fighting it out. So much heroism
glitters in those lights. Montelimar—the pilot shows us—:
the tyrant's estate near the sea. Puerto Somoza, next to it.
The Milky Way above, and the lights of Nicaragua's revolution.
Out there, in the north, I think I see Sandino's campfire.
("That light is Sandino.")
The stars above us, and the smallness of this land
but also its importance, these
tiny lights of men. I think: everything is light.
The planet comes from the sun. It is light turned solid.
This plane's electricity is light. Its metal is light. The warmth
of life comes from the sun.
"Let there be light."
There is also darkness.

But the key attraction of the evening was Cardenal. As he strode onto the stage, the entire audience sprang to its feet chanting, "No pasaran!" That spontaneous gesture, noted Elaine Elinson, Friends of Nicaraguan Culture spokesperson, was "an eloquent expression of opposition to growing U.S. hostility toward Nicaragua and the clear possibility of a U.S. attack."

Cardenal's poetry evoked the loneliness and yearning of exile, the intense personal gratification that accompanies victory, the dynamism of human potential unleashed by liberation, the

almost delirious excitement of reconstructing a society from the bottom up.

Cardenal opened the second half of the evening with a reading of the poem "Lights" from his 1979 book *Zero Hour*. The poem documents the perilous return from exile of the Nicaraguan revolutionary government July 17, 1979, the day after Somoza's fall, on the eve of the Sandinista victory.

Other published works by Cardenal include *Apocalypse and Other Poems*, and *In Cuba*. Much of his poetry can also be found in *Nicaragua in Revolution: The Poets Speak*. □

There are strange reflections—I don't know where they come
from—on the clear surface of the windows.
A red glow: the tail lights of the plane.
And reflections on the calm sea: they must be stars.
I look at the light from my cigarette—it also comes from the sun,
from a star.
And the outline of a great ship. The U.S. aircraft carrier
sent to patrol the Pacific coast?
A big light on our right startles us. A jet attacking?
No. The moon coming out, a half-moon, so peaceful, lit by the sun.
The danger of flying on such a clear night.
And suddenly the radio. Jumbled words filling the small plane.
The Guard? The pilot says: "It's our side."
They're on our wavelengths.
Now we're close to León, the territory liberated.
A burning reddish-orange light, like the red-hot tip of a cigar:
Corinto:
the powerful lights of the docks flickering on the sea.
And now at last the beach at Poneloya, and the plane coming in
to land,
the string of foam along the coast gleaming in the moonlight.
The plane coming down. A smell of insecticide.
And Sergio tells me: "The smell of Nicaragua!"
It's the most dangerous moment, enemy aircraft
may be waiting for us over this airport.
And the airport lights at last.
We've landed. From out of the dark come olive-green-clad comrades
to greet us with hugs.
We feel their warm bodies, that also comes from the sun,
that also are light.
This revolution is fighting the darkness.
It was daybreak on July 18th. And the beginning
of all that was about to come.

1979

'Season of Thunder': Conflict in the Cordilleras

By VINCE REYES

The mountains of the Cordillera, intricately carved into tiers of rice terraces is a majestic sight. For centuries, the lives of the indigenous inhabitants, the Igorots, have been bound to the cycle of the rice harvests. Their culture has remained virtually unchanged for generations.

But the simplicity of their existence is now being shattered by the complex political crisis shaking the Philippines. The lurid partnership of the Marcos regime, the U.S. government and foreign capital is rapidly destroying the ancestral lands of the Igorots.

In the name of "progress," dams, industrial mining and logging have intruded into the Cordilleras. The beneficiaries of progress are not the Igorots. Although they are desperately in need of improved social care, the beneficiaries of the expropriation of their natural resources are the Philippine government and foreign businesses.

Season of Thunder, a documentary film that premiered last November in the San Francisco Bay Area sympathetically presents the plight of the mountain peoples. The one-hour film depicts the growing resistance of the Igorots to the government plans to build hydroelectric dams along the Chico River. The dam would flood the forest and rice terraces of the one-half million people living there.

The film draws the battle lines between the Igorots and the government, noting that already 40,000 people have been forced to leave their homes and have been resettled in makeshift government housing projects. Without jobs, and haunted by the belief that they have forsaken their ancestors, many Igorots have become politicized to the point of militarily challenging the government. Large numbers have joined the New People's Army. In fact, almost all of the NPA cadre in the Cordilleras are Igorots.

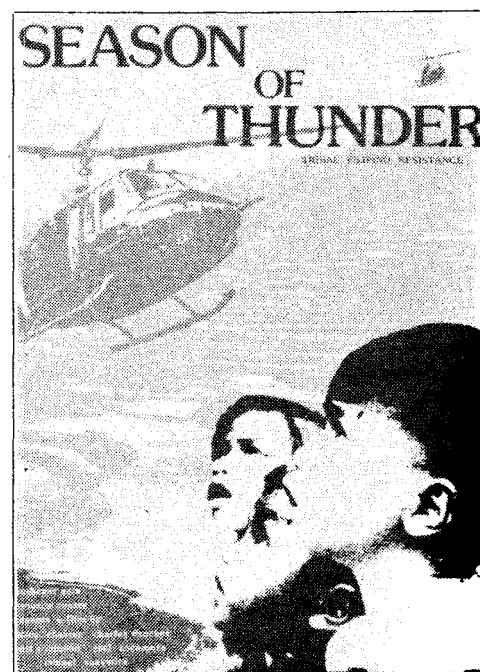
Season of Thunder features the NPA extensively for the first time on film. It includes an interview with Conrado Bal-

weg, a priest turned NPA commander. Balweg speaks of the prejudice national minorities have traditionally suffered. He emphasizes that their fight is not limited to the Cordilleras but is linked to the larger fight for a liberated Philippines.

The film highlights the contradictions in Philippine society by juxtaposing scenes of seedy Manila nightlife with the poverty of farmlands or scenes of underdevelopment with the pervasive advertising signs for U.S. and other foreign products.

Given the wealth of information available on the Philippines, a more detailed elaboration of the internal dynamics of the country could have made for a stronger political statement.

For example, a short explanation that Marcos cronies own many of the plants and factories that would profit enormously from the powers the dams will generate could have done two important things. It could have exposed more sharply the interests behind the destruction of a whole people's land and culture. Also, it could have qualitatively deflated the government



spokesperson's pious recitations of their so-called commitment to progress.

Season of Thunder was produced by Charles Drucker, an anthropologist; Jeffrey Chester, a journalist; and Ismail Saavedra, a filmmaker. The three joined forces with Joel Rocamora of the Southeast Asia Resource Center in Berkeley, California. The film will be shown throughout California and is scheduled for an East Coast debut this month. □

By WICKS GEAGA

Argentina's Military Rulers Quit—For Now

After ten years of military rule, Argentina recently installed a civilian head of state in the person of Raul Alfonsin, a leader of the Radical Civic Union. Alfonsin's rise to power, however, promises to be merely a volatile interlude in that country's turbulent political history.

While the Reagan administration hailed the October presidential elections (the first in a decade) as a "successful step in the process of return to democratic and constitutional rule" it has barely disguised its anxiety over Alfonsin's unexpected victory.

Considered slightly to the left of center, Alfonsin has publicly criticized Reagan's stand on human rights violations and advocated measures such as the expansion of social welfare programs and the reduction of the defense budget.

The overwhelming international reaction to Alfonsin's victory was initial shock and disbelief.

The RCU relies on a large following among middle-class professionals and intellectuals and has established inroads within the Peronist dominated trade unions. But the favored Peronists, the RCU's rival, had never lost a national election since their founding nearly 40 years ago.

Their stunning defeat was further highlighted by the fact that very little distinguished the political platform of Peronist candidate Halo Luder from Alfonsin's. Both promised to submit past military atrocities to civilian investigation and to avoid social austerity measures and defaulting on the massive foreign debt.

THE JUNTA'S DECLINE

Argentina's military junta, confronted by mounting public opposition, first announced its decision to hold elections in early 1983. This was preceded by a renewed outbreak of labor unrest in mid-1982 in response to the deteriorating economy. A general strike was averted when Argentina invaded the Malvinas Islands just a few days before the planned work stoppage.

But following its demoralizing defeat to Britain, the military government helplessly watched as nine million workers walked off their jobs in two consecutive nationwide general strikes within four months. The massive labor actions as well as countless other demonstrations decried the crisis-ridden economy and the junta's inability to breathe life into it.

In addition to the world's highest inflation rate of 1,000%, Argentina is reeling from an unemployment rate that exceeds 20%. It is also saddled with a \$43 billion foreign debt, the world's third largest. The debt is widely attributed to excessive arms purchases, financial speculation and the financing of luxury imports.

After a year of renegotiations, the International Monetary Fund and other financial creditors suspended the talks, concluding that the military government was incapable of sound financial decisions. For a whole month prior to the changeover of government, both sides were locked in a standoff with the banking institutions blocking new loans and the military withholding debt payments.

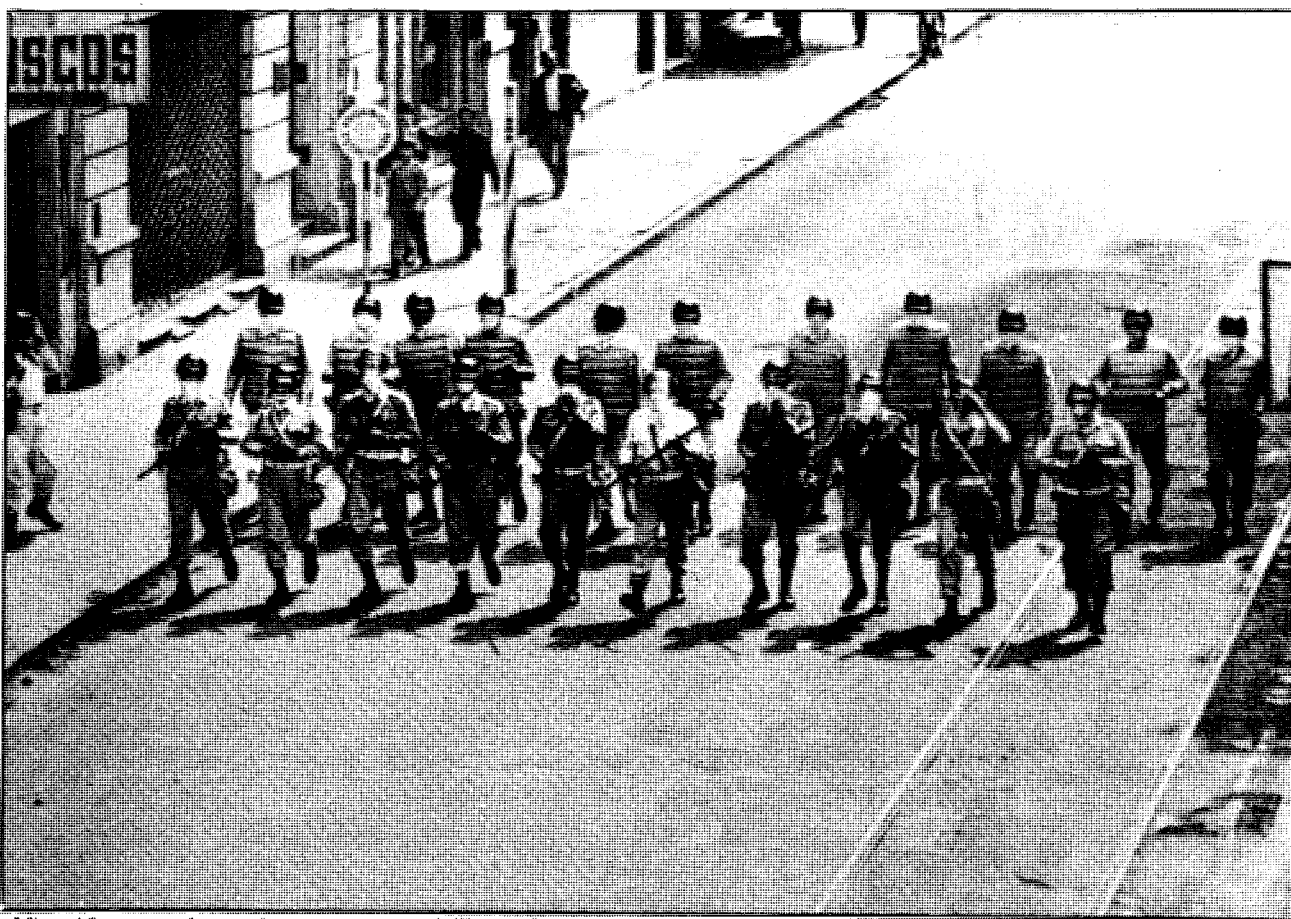
But the sick economy was only half the junta's



problems. Beginning with the revelations of mass graves in late 1982, the military government began to feel the aftershocks of the "dirty war" it launched in the latter half of the 1970's against political opponents. Carried out in the name of liquidating "left terrorism," the military's campaign of repression resulted in the abduction, routine torture and secret murder of an estimated 15,000 to 30,000 people.

Refusing to acknowledge responsibility for this reign of terror, the military alleged that most of the "disappeared" are actually alive—either in exile or living under other names.

The remaining missing persons, as far as the junta



After 10 years, Argentina returns to civilian rule.

was concerned, "are for administrative and juridical purposes considered dead." And to add insult to the grief suffered by the victims' families, the junta—just prior to holding elections—issued an amnesty decree protecting any guilty military personnel from future prosecution.

ALFONSIN'S PROBLEMS

The junta's popularity hit rock bottom. Its choices were gloomy. It could insist on remaining in power and then lead the country straight to economic collapse and political chaos, or hand over authority to a civilian government that most likely would bring the military to trial for its past crimes. Argentina's ruling capitalists undoubtedly preferred to sacrifice their erstwhile military servants. The junta left the scene fast, even requesting that Alfonsin be inaugurated two months ahead of schedule.

Now, Alfonsin is faced with responsibilities that dwarf even the toughest problems his electoral bid may have encountered. The IMF will, no doubt, press for harsh social austerity measures in exchange for a "generous" rescheduling of Argentina's debts. Such measures run directly counter to Alfonsin's campaign promises, and the weary populace has already demonstrated its capacity for militant mass activity when fed up.

Even in the event that the IMF and Argentina's other financial creditors relent on their excessive demands, for fear of losing the entire pot, Alfonsin still must coax

the economy out of its dire straits. Alfonsin's plans to suspend the purchase of arms and sell off some state enterprises, assuming the military will passively allow such "violations" of its interests, are not sufficient for whipping up a recovery.

On the political front, Alfonsin has taken brave measures to finally subject the military to civilian justice. He recently overturned the military's amnesty decree, setting the stage for the trial of hundreds of officers. Alfonsin, however, has publicly opposed any special tribunals or commissions, for fear they may spark a "Nuremberg complex" inside the military that could provoke a new coup. He has also called for the trial of leftist "terrorist" leaders, to demonstrate his "evenhandedness" to Argentina's ruling circles.

Just how much civilian justice the military can stomach remains to be seen. In any event, it is leaving its options open. As one general put it, "If civilians make a wrong move, we will be back to straighten things out."

Alfonsin also has to neutralize the Peronists, who despite their recent defeat, continue to wield considerable influence.

PERONISM'S INFLUENCE

To its present-day adherents, Peronism evokes images of prosperity, national growth and the proliferation of labor unions. In reality, Peron's reign of prosperity was short-lived.

Elected president after World War II, Peron's legendary image and popularity stemmed from the Post World War II boom period, which ended as fast as it

emerged. While it lasted, the standard of living was high and social and economic reforms were the order of the day.

While Peron was able to forge a broad base within the growing labor movement, he was unable to maintain the good graces of the industrialists, who along with the military, directed his exile in the wake of the country's economic decline.

Also key to Peron's fall from power was his imperialist ambition to "eventually control all of South America" which threatened already entrenched U.S. interests in all of Latin America following World War II. The Argentinian industrialists undoubtedly favored U.S. capital penetration over Peron's preference for British and German capital.

For the next two decades following Peron's overthrow, the military ruled the country, briefly interrupted by two failed attempts at civilian rule. Returning from exile in 1975, Peron was reelected President but died the following year. His third wife, Isabel Martinez de Peron succeeded him only to be deposed by the military in 1976.

FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE LEFT

Today, the Peronists remain a potent although corrupt force in Argentinian politics, controlling the Senate and holding a large share of governorships. At the head of the Peronist Party is rightwing union leader Lorenzo Miguel. He was catapulted to power by his campaigns of terror and liquidation against the Peronist left. Observers partially credit Alfonsin's victory to his RCU's exposure of the Peronist-led unions, where corruption, illegal gambling as well as blackmail rackets are rampant.

While an outvoted Halo Luder congratulated Alfonsin and promised to lead a loyal opposition, Miguel has warned that he would prevent any Radical administration from governing. Hermino Iglesias, the powerful Peronist candidate for governor of Buenos Aires province, ventured a somewhat more conciliatory stance on the eve of his defeat and Alfonsin's victory.

While he is against coups, Iglesias qualified that Alfonsin "has to fulfill his promises, and if he doesn't, he will have to leave." Nonetheless, the Peronists clearly aim to sabotage Alfonsin's stated plan to reform their union strongholds through the democratic elections of trade union officials.

Unquestionably, the changeover to a civilian government presents the most favorable conditions in years for Argentina's revolutionary left. The Communist Party, the *Movimiento Al Socialismo*, and the *Partido Obrero* now has greater opportunities to broaden their influence.

Whatever remains of the groups hit hardest by the junta's repression, such as the Peronist left, have to replenish their ranks. The bulk of the disappeared left activists were "the cream of the Argentine youth," according to veteran human rights leader, Augusto Conte, himself the father of a missing son.

As to how long Alfonsin's civilian government will last, no optimistic oddsmakers are to be found. Since 1930, in between a succession of military coups, only one elected government managed to complete its four-year term. □

By Eddie Escultura

Ten years after the CIA-engineered coup that toppled the government of socialist President Salvador Allende, the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet is suddenly coming apart at the seams.

An unprecedented economic crisis in the wake of ten years of fascist terror has touched off a political unrest that has caught Pinochet off guard.

One of the most daring protests occurred on September 11, the 10th anniversary of the military coup that brought Augusto Pinochet to power. According to freelance writer Marc Cooper, the demonstrators struck right inside Santiago's National Stadium where Pinochet was watching a soccer game against the team of Uruguay, another dictatorship.

In full view of the TV cameras, more than half of the 60,000 fans stood up and sang to the tune of a popular sports jingle, except that the lyrics were aimed directly at Pinochet: "It's going to fall. It's going to fall! The military dictatorship is going to fall!"

This was indeed a far cry from the groans and screams of torture and firing squad victims at the very same site ten years ago. Within a few weeks of the coup, tens of thousands of activists, trade unionists and members of militant political parties were systematically wiped out.

and school boycotts, resistance has taken on artistic forms. On July 1, singer Payo Grondona turned his concert into a protest. "Come and participate; mobilize your ardor without repression," he sang. "Tenderness united will never be conquered," he continued—a thinly veiled recitation of the slogan "The people united will never be defeated" which was a popular battlecry of the Allende period. The audience roared.

Resistance songs by Silvia Rodriguez, a Chilean exile living in Cuba have become hits. Smuggled copies of the movie "Missing," a telling indictment of the Pinochet regime, have been making the rounds especially in the poor sections of Santiago. Despite the ban imposed by the regime, Radio Cooperativa has continued to broadcast news of protest activities.

Magazine and radio programs critical of the regime flourished. In the slums of Santiago, barely 10 minutes away by car from Pinochet's Moneda Palace, walls bloomed with graffiti. "Out With Murderers," said one, "Long Live the Popular Rebellion!" said another. "Pinochet, Your Days are Numbered."

OPPOSITION IS DEEP

Opposition to the regime is deep and wide. A recent poll by the business publication, *Estrategia*, revealed that 84% of all Chileans oppose the regime. In fact, all sectors of Chilean society—labor unions, the Roman Catholic Church, political

University of Chicago economists led by Milton Friedman brought an economic theory which turned the country into a laboratory for "monetarism," a strain of "free enterprise" which abhors any form of state controls on the economy.

Friedman applied his economic theory which earned him a Nobel Prize in economics in 1980 with a vengeance. (Demonstrations marred his awarding ceremony in Oslo, Norway.)

Half of the land distributed to the people during the Allende administration were handed back to their landlord owners, or auctioned off. Most of the 535 state-owned companies were liquidated or "privatized."

In 1973, 70% of the banks controlled by the government were sold to a handful of people; interests were allowed to soar. As a result, speculators thrived, borrowing at 7% from outside financial institutions and lending to Chile at interest rates anywhere from 12 to 22%.

In 1983, 25 security and pension plans under state control were dismantled and replaced by private firms. Twelve private pension companies gained control of the savings of 1.5 million workers, or \$600 million.

Imports were allowed to flood the Chilean market. Big capitalists latched on to get-rich-quick financial schemes regardless of the effect on the economy as a whole. The anarchy resulting from the lifting of vir-

tional Protests left six dead and 30 "subversives" jailed. By this time, the regime had deployed 18,000 policemen and soldiers in Santiago alone.

Christian Democratic leader Gabriel Valdez was arrested for printing 700,000 leaflets to build up for a July protest. The government confiscated one million leaflets but another million were printed and circulated by the opposition.

Following the 250,000-strong demonstration of November 11 led by the Democratic Alliance and the bomb attack on utility structures and the railway system, 26 oppositionists were exiled.

Four members of the Revolutionary Left Movement now face the death penalty for the August 30 assassination of Santiago's military governor, Maj. Gen. Carol Urzua. Popular opinion blames the rightist opposition elements for the assassination, however.

LEFT MAKES A COMEBACK

The escalating repression has only added fuel to the resistance, and a wide spectrum of opposition forces has begun to change Chile's political landscape. What is significant is that the core of opposition now rests with the trade union movement, especially among the copper mine workers. In addition, the main thrust of their agitation has shifted from economic demands to the call for an end to military rule.

The May 11 protest action was actually sponsored by the National Command of Workers, a coalition of five labor groups that has the Copper Mines Workers Confederation at its core. The Command's first major demonstration gained the support of the Roman Catholic Church, various political groups and Chile's largest newspaper, *El Mercurio*.

Copper workers play a crucial role in the resistance since copper accounts for 40% of Chile's export earnings. Their national strikes in June demanding the release of trade unionist Rodolfo Seguel and other detained union leaders forced some concessions from Pinochet.

Pushed by the economic crunch, even the once ardent middle class supporters of the regime have turned their suburban neighborhoods into centers of opposition. Prominent centrist and rightist politicians have formed the Democratic Alliance.

On the left of the political spectrum, the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) with Fabiola Letelier, a sister of Orlando Letelier as its spokesperson, is emerging as the most potent force. As an indication of its strength, the MDP mobilized 50,000 to a rally in October on one day's notice. The MDP is comprised of the Communist Party, Movement of Revolutionary Left, the Christian left and most of the socialist parties in Chile. These groups have large followings of their own among the various sections of the labor movement.

The breadth and persistence of the opposition has forced Pinochet to yield some concessions. On the eve of the September protests, he lifted the curfew and allowed the return of some 2,000 political exiles. He also reorganized his cabinet in response to charges of widespread corruption, and promised to initiate public works projects to create 80,000 jobs.

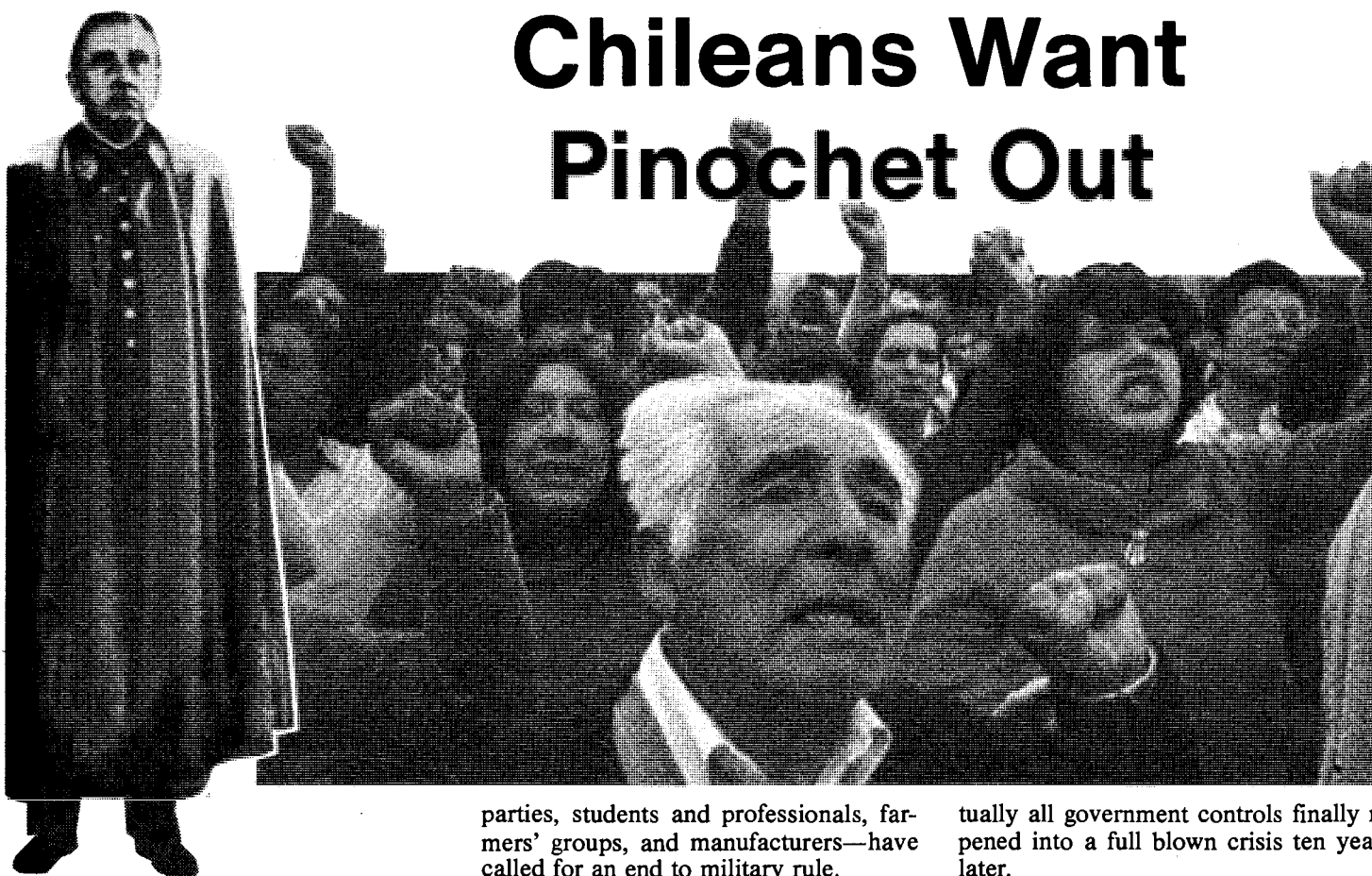
Pinochet also allowed 128 political exiles, including Isabel Letelier, to return to Santiago (Isabel is the widow of Orlando Letelier, Allende's Ambassador to the U.S. who was assassinated by agents of the Pinochet regime.)

These moves did not placate the opposition. Despite his offers of dialogue, Pinochet has not relented on the call for democracy and an end to military rule. He insists on not holding elections until 1989.

Both Pinochet and the power that installed him—the U.S.—are trapped in a corner. More repression will only deepen the regime's isolation and discredit U.S. support. The current spate of repression has already forced the U.S. to make token criticisms to save its own hide.

On the other hand, liberalization would only unleash the latent political forces that served as the base for the Allende regime. The taste of freedom and independence under Allende is hard to forget. In fact, London's *Financial Times* hears the echoes of those years in the current protests. As things are turning out, the CIA may find that getting rid of Allende was much easier than laying his ghost to rest. □

Chileans Want Pinochet Out



Express

Among the first victims was the poet, singer and composer, Victor Jara, whose hands and skull were smashed. Democratic opposition was quickly silenced.

But the silence was broken on May 11 last year, when thousands of people from the poor and middle class sections of Santiago joined the first Day of National Protests against the regime. "Enough of repression, lies, and hunger!" they chanted. "Bread, Work, Liberty!" they demanded. This was only the beginning.

On June 14, the 21,000-member Copper Mines Workers Confederation declared a strike which was joined by students, professionals, human rights organizations and the Christian Democrats. Buses stopped operation, most of the students stayed out of classes and 70% of the copper workers stayed out of work.

When 200 demonstrators and several trade unionists were arrested, the confederation called for a continued strike. Pinochet retaliated by announcing the firing of 1,800 copper workers. The unions were not cowed. The action lasted for three days which became the pattern for all Days of National Protests since then.

Just three days before the September 11 protest at the National Stadium, the glow of bonfires hit Santiago as the odor of burned tires used as barricades swept across the city. At eight p.m. that evening, the banging of pots and pans, pipes, wash-tubs, and bus stop signs reverberated across the nation.

Aside from strikes, marches, rallies,

parties, students and professionals, farmers' groups, and manufacturers—have called for an end to military rule.

The demand for democracy has reached a crescendo and is reverberating throughout Chile's 292,000 square miles. Its urgency is highlighted by the recent elections in Argentina and the scheduled elections in Brazil in 1984 or 1985 which would leave Chile the only major dictatorship in the region.

Other special issues have sparked political movements. The Sebastian Acevedo Movement Against Torture spearheaded a demonstration which included 200 Christian activists, priests, and nuns. Sebastian Acevedo, a distraught father, had set fire to himself in the city of Concepcion after his two children were picked up by agents of the National Information Center, Pinochet's political police.

Former Christian Democratic presidential candidate Radomiro Tomic organized the Committee for the Defense of Copper to protest a mining code that grants foreign firms virtual ownership of Chile's mineral reserves.

In the Southern part of Santiago 30,000 homeless seized lands and built shanty towns. This has emboldened other slum dwellers to take similar action and the government could only watch in passive resignation.

ECONOMIC AGONIES

An unprecedented economic crisis which is bringing this nation of 11 million to the brink of collapse is at the root of the unrest now engulfing Pinochet.

When the 1973 coup brought Chile back to Washington's orbit, a group of

tually all government controls finally ripened into a full blown crisis ten years later.

In 1981 there were 431 major industrial bankruptcies; in 1982 there were 810. By August of 1983 there were already more than 400 bankruptcies.

With a foreign debt of \$20 billion, Chile rivals Israel in having the highest per capita foreign debt in the world. This debt swallows 80% of the country's revenues earned from export.

With its economic picture dim, Chile finds it difficult to obtain more loans. The only significant loan that it has been able to obtain lately is \$1.5 billion from the International Monetary Funds to service existing loans!

MORE REPRESSION

Pinochet has responded to the ferment with characteristic violence and repression. In a predawn raid on May 15, over 1,000 Chileans were carted off for torture and interrogation. In several skirmishes around Santiago, the police shot two demonstrators and arrested 300.

Pinochet ordered a curfew and issued a decree banning broadcasts on the demonstrations. On May 19 ten leaders of the Copper Mines Workers Confederation were arrested and charged with violating state security. In July, 720 demonstrators were arrested during the Day of National Protests. On August 11, the military killed eight people, wounded seven and arrested 500. By this time 2,300 had been arrested since May. On August 13, 19 more were killed and 62 wounded during street demonstrations. The October Day of Na-