



A Chronicle of Suppression

How Marcos Controls the Media

PHILIPPINES CITY EDITION **
Sunday Express

THE EXPONENT OF PHILIPPINE PROGRESS
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PHILIPPINES
Daily Express

By NENE OJEDA

In the beginning of the end for what was known as the free Philippine press, there was pure and plain terror.

A heavy, uneasy silence shrouded Metro-Manila that Saturday morning. The September 23, 1972 issues of the news dailies had not arrived; radios were broadcasting nothing but static; and TV screens remained grey and blank. This silence was the only clue to what had happened the night before.

Presidential Decree No. 1081, placing the Philippines under martial law, signed two days earlier, was now in effect. The Secretary of National Defense was instructed to "take over and control . . . all such newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and all other media communications . . . for the duration of the present national emergency."

Just before midnight September 22, Philippine Constabulary troops, in full battle gear, stormed the presses, radio and

TV stations to carry out the order. Security guards of the *Iglesia ni Kristo* radio station resisted this intrusion and an exchange of gunfire left over a dozen dead. By the early morning hours, the Philippine news media had no more pulse.

President Ferdinand E. Marcos in 1972 knew only too well that the news media would not welcome his decision to impose one-man rule. The Philippine press especially, reputed to be the "freest in Southeast Asia," had in months prior to martial law become increasingly critical of the Marcos government. The *Manila Times* and the *Manila Chronicle* contained almost daily attacks on the graft and corruption. Marcos critics found a popular forum in the *Philippine Free Press*. Accounts of the scandalous capers of government officials, including Marcos himself, always found their way to the country's papers, continually shocking the nation.

The freewheeling news media, however, were best described by one newspaper editor as "extensions of business empires."

This was most true in the case of the Lopezzes. Owners of vast sugar, financial and energy interests, the Lopezzes often aired their bitter differences with Marcos through the *Chronicle* and the multimedia ABS-CBN networks. The *Evening News* and the *Philippine Sun* were published by the Elizaldes of the mining and steel interests. The Sorianos of San Miguel beer fame produced the *Philippine Herald*.

But Marcos had managed to "present his side" not only through government press releases. He found airtime in the Kanlaon Broadcasting System's Channel 9. His views were the centerpiece of the *Daily Express*. Both news facilities belong to the then Ambassador to Japan Roberto S. Benedicto, a close friend of Marcos. (Benedicto's loyalty has been amply rewarded with his near-monopoly of the country's sugar industry.)

It was not surprising therefore that the *Express* and Channel 9, along with the government-run Radio Voice of the Philippines, were deemed "not maliciously in-

involved in the movement to overthrow the government" and were permitted to resume the very day of the clampdown.

Meanwhile, the blitz on the "communist-infiltrated" Philippine news media claimed in Metro-Manila alone, 17 news dailies—8 English, 4 Pilipino, 4 Chinese, and 1 Spanish; 14 English newswEEKlies, 6 TV channels, 20 radio stations, and 1 news service. Elsewhere in the country, 292 radio stations and 66 community papers were closed.

A list of journalists to be arrested "for being participants and for having given aid and comfort in the conspiracy to seize political and state power" was released. Hundreds of newspapermen, editors and publishers, radio and TV personnel were arrested and detained.

Among those arrested were Joaquin Roces, *Manila Times* publisher; Eugenio Lopez Jr., *Manila Chronicle* publisher; Teodoro Locsin Sr., *Philippine Free Press* editor; Maximo Soliven, *Manila Times*;

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Guest Editorial

Marcos Visit: Symbol of Common U.S.-R.P. Interest in Repression

President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, a dictator that Washington has proclaimed as a key pillar of its foreign policy in Asia, is coming to the U.S. early this fall on an official state visit.

Though the Philippines has been a long-standing guardian of U.S. interests in the Pacific, the Reagan administration is the first to extend the official invitation to the dictator. The invitation is not merely a courtesy to Marcos who hosted not only Vice-President Bush, but ex-Secretary of State Haig and Secretary of Defense Weinberger in the past year. Reagan's welcome of Marcos marks the culmination of a 1-1/2 year public relations effort to perform the impossible: to transform Marcos' image from that of a notorious violator of human rights to that of an "invaluable, democratic ally in defense of the Free World." The thrust of this campaign was clearly stated by Vice-President Bush's grotesque toast to Marcos during his Manila visit last year: "We love your adherence to democratic rights and processes."

Marcos is coming in the midst of an aggressive effort to reestablish U.S. political and military dominance internationally. An essential component of this U.S. strategy is all-out military, diplomatic and economic support to dictatorships in the Third World. To regimes such as that of Marcos, of D'Aubisson in El Salvador, of Duvalier in Haiti—regarded as the only reliable governments left to protect the economic and political interests of the U.S. elite.

But this massive support takes a tremendous toll—not only on the people of the Third World, who bear the brunt of U.S.-backed repression, but also on the people of the U.S. who pay the price of severe cutbacks and increasing political repression at home. Nowhere is this more sharply felt than by those such as anti-Marcos activists, Haitian refugees, Salvadoran asylum-seekers—who as we have increasingly witnessed over the past year—are the first to taste the bitter fruits of the reactionary alliance between the Reagan administration and the dictatorships in their homelands.

MARCOS: A KEY PAWN IN U.S. STRATEGY IN ASIA

Ever since its defeat in Vietnam, the U.S. has maneuvered to regain hegemony in Asia. Imperative to this hegemony are Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines—which form the axis of the American military strategy in Southeast Asia and the logistical hub of military deployment to the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. The U.S. considers Marcos a reliable security guard for these strategic U.S. bases, and Marcos, in exchange for \$500 million in military aid, plays host *par excellence* to the U.S. military.

To this role of faithful watchdog, Washington has recently added another for Marcos: the principal spokesman for ASEAN. Without great difficulty, the U.S. is forging this association of Southeast Asian dictatorships into a cohesive military alliance and the principal mouthpiece for Cold War-style politics in the region.

ATTACKING THE OPPOSITION

In return for his services, Marcos has received two commitments from Reagan. The first is continued military and economic assistance against the growing popular resistance

which threatens to engulf his regime. The second is a promise to silence the vocal Philippine opposition in the United States.

The anti-Marcos opposition in the U.S. is a strong and vibrant movement with deep roots in the Filipino community and alliances within the broader progressive U.S. movement. Its political strength is not only a threat to Marcos, but to the Reagan administration's every move to bolster the repressive regime.

Over the last year, Haig's promise to crackdown on "Filipino terrorists" in the U.S. has been translated into a coordinated strategy to destabilize the anti-Marcos opposition. In November 1981, the U.S. signed an Extradition Treaty with the Philippines, the prime object of which is to return Marcos' exile opponents and intimidate the resistance in the U.S. That treaty is now poised for ratification in the U.S. Senate. That same month, a Federal Grand Jury convened in San Francisco to indict anti-Marcos oppositionists on charges of "exporting terrorism" under the U.S. Neutrality Act—at the same time that Washington was encouraging the training of Nicaraguan Somocista exiles in Miami to overthrow the Sandinista Government. Earlier, in June 1981, two anti-Marcos labor union activists were gunned down in cold blood in Seattle. Evidence is now surfacing that this act was the fruit of closer coordination between U.S. and the Philippine intelligence agencies.

The Marcos state visit then signifies a new, more dangerous turn in the U.S.-Philippine alliance: in return for Marcos' unqualified loyalty, Reagan has served notice that he will actively assist the effort to extend martial law to the Filipino community in the U.S. The visit is in fact viewed by U.S. and Philippine officials as a test of whether the threat posed by the Extradition Treaty will be able to intimidate the community from expressing in protest actions and demonstrations the widespread hatred of the dictatorship which most Filipinos share.

Reagan is prepared to strip people in the U.S. of their constitutionally guaranteed rights to free speech and political assembly in order to advance a reactionary foreign policy.

WHO PAYS THE PRICE?

Yet the price of the Marcos-Reagan political alliance will be paid not only by the Filipino people and the Filipino community in the U.S. The curtailment of the rights of the Filipino minority opens the door to broader assaults on civil and political liberties. History has shown that restricting the rights of minorities is often a prelude to restricting the rights of all.



Moreover, the burden of fortifying repressive regimes like the Marcos dictatorship, the Suazo military government in Honduras and the murderous Salvadoran oligarchy is placed on the working class of this country, and especially its Black and Third World minorities, who are currently stripped of basic social and economic services by the transfer of billions of dollars from the social budget to the ever-escalating defense budget. Indeed the brutal assault on basic human and political rights being carried out in the Third World by U.S.-backed dictatorships is but the other side of the coin of the massive attack on the fundamental economic and social rights of the people of this administration.

SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN TO OPPOSE THE MARCOS VISIT

Ferdinand Marcos' visit is a brazen challenge flung at all of us. It is a tangible symbol of the intersection of U.S. support for repressive regimes abroad and increasing repression at home. We repudiate this cynical attempt to paint this bloody dictator as a committed democrat. We repudiate the political attack on persons whose only crime is to exercise their right to oppose repression in their homeland. We urge you to join the growing nationwide opposition to the state visit of Philippine dictator Marcos. □

Statement of the National Committee to Oppose the Marcos Visit (Revised August 1982)

To join the Committee or for more information, contact:

West Coast: c/o CAMD National Office P. O. Box 173 Oakland, CA 94668 (415) 839-7066	East Coast: c/o Congress Task Force 1322 - 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. (202) 223-5611
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Litter from Manila:

Many Happy Returns, Ma'am

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

The First Lady celebrated her birthday July 2. How old she is now is not important—the point is she deserves our best wishes. I personally called on her to pay my respects even though my knees were sore, and I wished her "many happy returns." She beamed with appreciation and in her usual sweet way of speaking said, "Why thanks Doroy, I didn't know you cared about my investments." I didn't really get what she meant but I told her anyway that Filipinos should thank God that an Imelda was born into this world to serve as the butt of their admiration. She said, "Doroy, you're very kind, you can get up now" and then she gave me a big hug. Happy Birthday, Ma'am!

A love-struck intruder managed to evade security installations at the Windsor Palace, clambered up to Queen Elizabeth's bedroom and sat by her bedside. Well, Filipinos are really copycats. Soon after this news broke an intruder swam across the Pasig undetected by the submarine regularly posted there, got into Malacañang grounds, evaded three Presidential security battalions, maneuvered around a dozen machine gun nests, tiptoed across a minefield and clambered up the First Lady's bedroom. He sat by Mrs. Marcos' bedside and was only driven away and apprehended when she started singing.

Malacañang officer of the day Col. Primitivo Sipsip, visibly relieved, said it was a simple case of copycat trespassing. He explained the similarities between this and the English episode. "Both men penetrated strict security provisions. Both are young and obviously in love with the objects of their visits. The only difference is one is British, the other

Filipino. Oh, I almost forgot. The British intruder is a jobless man escaping into illusions while the one here escaped from the mental hospital. Other than these, everything is exactly the same."

When it comes to the limits of press freedom, my colleagues, especially the younger reporters, should learn from one recent case. At a press conference last week, President Marcos said he has wiped out all the evils plaguing the country. "There are no more 'ismos'—no more 'imperialismo,' 'piyudalismo,' 'burukratang kapitalismo,' and no more 'pasismo,'" he said. But a brash young reporter, obviously out to make a name for himself, challenged the President's claim and said, "Sir, there are two more evil ismos you have not eradicated and because of this all the other ismos will not really go away." What are these ismos, asked the President. The reporter replied, "Sir, *ikawmismo* and *angmismo*." The President gave him a stern look but let it pass.

However, the President made another claim. He said, "The economy is now in better shape because that embezzler Dewey Dee has left the country." The same reporter challenged him again saying, "Sir, that is not true because Dewey Dee left two relatives, two more Dees who are still wreaking havoc on the economy." The President asked who they were and the reporter replied, "Mel Dee and Fer Dee." Well, that reporter is no longer one. He is now in some boulevard somewhere selling barbecued fishballs. And it serves him right. Just because martial law has been lifted it doesn't mean the press can be licentious. In our New Republic, everyone is free to tell the truth so long as it doesn't insult our leaders which is the essence of our democracy.

"Was O.D. Corpuz Having an Affair with Mrs. Benitez?" screamed an oppositionist headline. The malicious story was about the accidental death of Cultural Center official Betty Benitez, wife of Human Settlements Deputy Minister Conrado Benitez. Betty was in a car with Education Minister Corpuz when it skidded off a Tagaytay road in the dead of the night. This type of muckraking is too personal and

gives a wrong criterion for assessing our officials. It gives the impression that our officials are preoccupied with illicit sex instead of their public duties. Officials should be assessed based on their handling of public affairs. To place the scrutiny of leaders like O.D. on the right tract I asked two top officials "How do you rate your handling of public affairs?"

Carlos P. Romulo replied, "Well Doroy, being Minister of Foreign Affairs, all my affairs have been foreign. So aside from people in the Ministry, the public doesn't really know about them." I asked CPR not to be too modest and to tell us the secret to his international achievements. He said, "Many times you have to conduct your liaisons behind closed doors. Oftentimes, delicadeza and diplomacy demand negotiations in secret." As to whether he will continue his tireless activity abroad despite his age, CPR said, "In fact, I've settled down quite a bit—gotten married again and everything."

AFP Chief Gen. Fabian Ver is even more humble. Replying to my question he said, "My handling of public affairs? If you ask me, things like that should never be public. In the military we are very disciplined and discreet about military affairs. When we say Top Secret it's Top Secret. And because of camaraderie, we take care of one another. *Walang bulgaran*."

With regards President Marcos' handling of public affairs both CPR and Gen. Ver I feel were too careful not to overpraise, perhaps only following the President's orders not to build a cult around him. CPR only said "No comment. That is a matter between the President and the First Lady. But you know he generally loves to deal with young people." Would that be *Kabataang Barangay* and the likes, I asked. "No comment *na sabi*. Presidential affairs *iyang eh*."

Gen. Ver was even more strict in restraining his praise. "Oy, Doroy, I want it clear that neither the President nor the First Lady have ever been involved in public affairs, do you hear?" So there you are. Our officials, instead of being obsessed with personal indulgence, are generally dedicated to public service, and modest—even to a fault. But this doesn't get headlines from the opposition, does it?

By WICKS GEAGA

Nearly eight years after its surrender to the Marcos regime on October 11, 1974, the long-discredited Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) announced its decision to join the ranks of the legal opposition.

Welcoming Marcos' recent statement that "there is no legal impediment to the establishment of a communist party which will seek political power via the electoral process," PKP Secretary-General Felicisimo Makapagal declared the PKP's total abandonment of armed struggle and its embrace of parliamentary struggle.

In the same letter circulated to foreign wire agencies, Makapagal bared PKP's plans to field candidates in Marcos' next election process.

PRELUDE TO LEGALIZATION

At the first media congress since the lifting of martial law in December 1981, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile said that the PKP ought to be legalized. Two months later, on February 26, Minister of Justice Ricardo C. Puno, in answer to the motion for legalization submitted by Deputy Minister Reuben Canoy, said there was no need for a new law to legalize the PKP because it was not violent anyway.

However, at the second national convention of the municipal mayors' league two days later, Marcos announced the PKP's legalization. The PKP responded by hailing these declarations as a "clear evidence for the growing political maturity of our people," as well as demonstrating convincingly "the growing recognition of the communist movement as an important partner today in the free exchange of ideas."

To the uninformed observer, Marcos' legalization of the PKP and the PKP's warmhearted response may indicate a liberalization of repressive rule and the reversal of Marcos' fascist stance toward the opposition. To anyone familiar with the shady history of the PKP, however, this latest cuddling with the Marcos regime can hardly be cause for surprise or confusion.

A TRADITION OF SURRENDER

The PKP, which is not the same as the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) consists of 200-300 remnants of the old Philippine Communist

Analysis:

PKP Welcomes Legalization: Is There Life After Surrender?

Party founded in 1930.

The PKP's path to degeneration began in earnest in 1938 when the party's leadership was usurped by the Lava brothers. While the family monopolized leadership through nepotism, the Lavas steered the revolutionary struggle from one defeat to another. From the dismantling of Huk guerrilla unit-fighters upon the Americans' return during World War II, to the degeneration of the PKP-Huk army into banditry during the mid-50s, PKP history abounds with examples of adventurous errors and surrender to the enemy.

With the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968, the PKP resurfaced after a long period of dormancy. Still led by the Lava clique, the PKP mounted a campaign of slander and sabotage against the resurgent mass movement, even to the point of collaborating with the Marcos regime.

While condemning the imposition of martial law in 1972 as repressive, the PKP quickly reversed its posture toward Marcos and embarked on a policy of "working from within the government to achieve revolutionary change," culminating in its formal surrender in 1974.

Since then, the PKP has fully cooperated with the Marcos dictatorship in its effort to gain positions of influence for its remaining members. In particular, PKP supporters have managed to penetrate the ministries of Agrarian Reform, Social Welfare, and Local Government and Community Development.

FROM DELUSION TO COLLUSION

As a long overdue sequel to its pre-

vious surrender, the PKP's recent enlistment into the legal opposition once again demonstrates its readiness to come to terms with Marcos even if it means lending the latter the legitimacy it sorely needs.

Since Reagan's unequivocal endorsement of the present regime, the moderate pro-



Jesus Lava

U.S. opposition has virtually been eased out of the political arena. With the resulting polarization of Philippine politics between the ruling dictator and the national democratic left emerging as the only real political contest, Marcos is now obsessed with the problem of concocting a viable moderate opposition. Although it may not be the real solution to his problem, his recent success with the PKP at least boosts his claim to "normalization."

The PKP justifies its collusion with Marcos by portraying him as a "nationalist." While pointing to the alleged "irreconcilable contradictions" that exist between the U.S. and Marcos on military and economic issues (i.e. rental for the bases and financing of infrastructure projects such as the Chico River Dam and the Bataan Nuclear plant), the PKP blindly dismisses the fact that Marcos has been and continues to be the staunchest guarantor of U.S. interests in the country. Since his imposition of martial law, U.S. multinationals' unbridled penetration into the Philippine economy has greatly accelerated.

Because the PKP has managed to maintain Marcos' good graces, it has conveniently overlooked the latter's ruthless repression of the widening resistance movement, within which the PKP plays no relevant role. Consistent with this posture is the PKP's undying illusion that it is still the center of the national liberation struggle, therefore, requiring its preservation at all costs, even if it means collaboration.

INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE

In contrast, the CPP, while at the forefront of the steadily maturing revolutionary movement both among the peasantry as well as within the urban populations, has declared its stand of waging the armed struggle against the U.S.-Marcos regime as non-negotiable.

While the PKP has been thoroughly discredited within the Philippine revolutionary mass movement, its all-sided repudiation remains incomplete. Presently, the PKP continues to be recognized as the historically legitimate representative of the Philippine revolution within the international socialist community.

Only a detailed historical analysis can shed light on this state of discontinuity, which is beyond the purpose of this article. What must be highlighted, however, is the pressing task confronting the genuine Communist Party of the Philippines—that of displacing the PKP within the international socialist community as the real vanguard of the Philippine revolution.

Once achieved, it would render the PKP truly an irrelevant force in the revolutionary movement internationally, without any political and financial base of support other than its generous friend, Marcos. □



Coconuts: the touchstone of oligarch Cojuangco's wealth, power and prestige.

By LEON FORTALEZA
Reprinted from LIBERATION

"Old oligarchs change, yielding place to new."

To this adage would swear the new oligarchs who have flourished under martial law and displaced the tycoons of old. But there is one oligarch to whom this adage does not apply: Eduardo Cojuangco, Jr.

Cojuangco belongs to the "old rich" who have survived and made it very big under martial law. Of Chinese mestizo stock, his family derived its wealth sometime in the late 19th century from sugarlands in Central Luzon and interests in banking. Their interests have since multiplied and are reputed to be so vast and diverse that the Tobacco Monopoly and Tabacalera of old would pale in significance.

THE MARCOS CONNECTION

Cojuangco owes his present financial success to his connections with Marcos. Unlike the family of his cousin Jose Cojuangco Jr. who lost political favor with the Marcos regime due to its affiliations with ex-Senator Benigno Aquino Jr., Eduardo and his brother Ramon cultivate close relations with the Marcoses. Both their wives belong to Imelda's select group of "Blue Ladies."

Cojuangco's closeness to Marcos dates back to pre-martial law years. Even then, he was already an established oligarch who commanded a private army which included the "Monkees," a band of army deserters responsible for the murder of innocent peasants in Central Luzon. Backed by his army and PC connections in Camp

Olivas, Cojuangco won as congressman in Tarlac through massive vote-buying and terrorism.

Under martial law, Cojuangco added new titles to his name. He was appointed an AFP reserve colonel, Tarlac assemblyman, presidential director for basketball, and lately, an ambassador. He also added more landholdings and corporations to his stockpile, with the regime's full backing and protection. Today, he ranks as one of Marcos' biggest and most trusted business and financial partners and frontmen.

COCONUT KINGPIN

The touchstone of Cojuangco's wealth, power and prestige is the multi-billion coconut industry. He and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, a close associate, exercise control over the industry through

interlocking institutions. Cojuangco is president of the United Coconut Oil Mills (UNICOM) and United Coconut Planters Bank (UCPB) and chairman of the Philippine Coconut Authority (PCA); Enrile is chairman of both UNICOM and UCPB. The UCPB is owned by the Cojuangco family and is today one of the country's largest banking institutions.

Cojuangco's shift from the sugar to the coconut industry was timely since coconut-based products have dislodged sugar as the country's leading export.

Cojuangco is also the principal owner of Anca Corporation, the agri-business firm which took over Haciendas San Antonio and Sta. Isabel in Cagayan Valley from Tabacalera last year. The other registered owner of Anca is Antonio Carag, a lawyer, businessman and official of the Cagayan Sugar Corporation. Carag is a known dummy of Enrile. The Anca project director is Tomas Diaz, former PC brigadier general in Central Luzon and a Cojuangco man.

Through UNICOM, the Cojuangco-Enrile camp controls 13 big oil mills all over the country which represent more than 80% of the entire industry's milling capacity. Among these oil mills are Legaspi Oil Company, reputedly the largest coconut oil mill in Southeast Asia, which has the biggest copra-buying network nationwide; Granexport Manufacturing Corporation, ranked 19th among the country's top 1,000 corporations in 1978; Cagayan de Oro Mill, ranked 56th; Southern Islands Oil Mill Corporation, ranked 46th; and Pilagro Edible Oil, Inc., ranked 174th in 1977 but was left out of the 1978 list.

Continued on page 4

Buod ng mga Balita

Manila Meeting Sets Up FM Fall Visit

Last June, President Marcos hosted a two-hour breakfast with ranking U.S. State Department officials to discuss the preparations for the Philippine dictator's state visit to the U.S. this fall.

Walter J. Stroessel, Deputy Secretary of State, headed an American delegation of senior State Department and Defense Department officials to deliberate outstanding bilateral and international issues that concern the two nations.

Marcos told his guests that he "wanted some bilateral problems settled before the fall meeting," purportedly referring to his demands for more concessions around the military bases in the Philippines.

In addition, the U.S. officials briefed Marcos before their departure to Singapore for an ASEAN foreign ministers' conference. Citing the Philippines' particular role in ASEAN, Stroessel expressed "the firm importance of the Philippines and ASEAN to the stability and prosperity of the region." The Deputy Secretary of State was obviously referring to the U.S. presence in the Philippines as a key line of defense in Southeast Asia for American interests. □

Surprise: Supreme Court Probes Torture

The Supreme Court ordered the investigation of alleged torture of political prisoners, its first such directive, after an opposition lawyer claimed last month that the court's past refusal to investigate torture claims had encouraged the armed forces to commit "worsening" atrocities. The probe opened August 1.

The plaintiffs are Horacio Morales Jr., 38, former executive vice president of the government training school Development Academy of the Philippines, and Antonio Moncupa Jr., a 23-year-old accountant.

Morales and Moncupa are jailed awaiting trial on charges of armed rebellion. They say they were subjected to electric shocks by military interrogators to force them to confess links with the outlawed Communist Party.

The plaintiffs claim interrogators forced them to sit in front of air conditioners and bathed them in beer until they were wracked with chills. Morales said interrogators forced carbonated water up his nose.

The investigation by government prosecutor Sergio Apostol also will inquire into charges that Morales and Moncupa were arrested without warrant and denied right to consult their lawyers. The government has denied violating human rights and says captured subversives often claim torture as propaganda to discredit the regime.

The prisoners' counsel, Joker Arroyo, said at the hearing that it was the first time since martial law was declared in 1972 that a public inquiry was being held on claims the army was torturing political prisoners. Marcos rescinded the decree but retained most of the sweeping powers he had accrued under martial law.

Both Morales and Moncupa attended the hearing accompanied by military officers. Arroyo said the defense panel plans to put them on the witness stand to recount their experiences in military hands.

Morales, who has a masters degree in economics from the University of Oklahoma, abandoned his government post and went underground in 1977, saying at the time that he was joining "the people's movement."

Military authorities said Morales eventually became chairman of the National Democratic Front, allegedly a communist organization. He and Moncupa were arrested in Manila last April while supposedly about to contact other subversive leaders in the capital. □

U.P. Collegian Taken Over by 'Neutralist'

Twelve staff members of the politically prestigious University of the Philippines newspaper *The Philippine Collegian* were fired by its current editor for violating his policy of "neutrality."

The dismissals came one day after current editor-in-chief Napoleon Poblador released an editorial in June announcing a policy of "neutral journalism," breaking from the paper's leftist tradition which dates back from the late 1960s. Poblador justifies his view as "a change that aims to break away from a damaging image of the student paper as a mere fount of extremist political propaganda."

Fired for "serious breach of agreement" and not following administrative instructions were the managing, news and sports editors, the assistant news editor, and six newswriters who countercharged that the real reason they were fired was "because of our continuous assertion of a principled standpoint against the editor's 'neutral journalism.'"

The dismissed staffers further said, "With the whole mass media being controlled by the dictatorship, and with half-lies and distorted truths being fed to the people, journalists are called upon to expose the ugly facets of society . . . Isn't a natural stand, in the last analysis, in favor of the exploiter?"

The *Philippine Collegian's* distinction is synonymous with the political reputation of the University of the Philippines as a center of nationwide revolutionary and nationalist student movement. Whether the regime is directly pulling the strings or not, the paper's change of policy can only be supportive of ever-present attempts to stifle the influential and progressive periodical. □

Air Force Bombs Zamboanga Barrio

Four warplanes of the Philippine Air Force dumped 16 bombs in Dimalino, Bayog, Zamboanga del Sur last May 25. The bombing lasted about 16 minutes.

Three people were killed and eight more wounded including a four-month old infant. The barrio hall and five houses were destroyed.

The bombing appears to be a retaliation for an ambush, believed to have been carried out by the NPA on May 23, resulting in the death of eight soldiers of the 30th Infantry Battalion, the Chief of Police, two policemen, and three civilians who were with the troops.

The bombing was part of a military operation launched by the government on the same day against the NPA. The operations involved 3,000 to 5,000 government troops. Four alleged NPA members were arrested but later released. Four days later two more alleged NPA members were arrested. The arrests, torture and other atrocities as well as the looting and massive destruction by the military forced massive evacuation by the barrio folks to Bayog town proper and neighboring areas.

The bombing and military operations capped an escalating development that started several months earlier.

In February, the NPA sent out notice to the management of El Salvador Timber Co. (ELSATCO) with the following demands: 1) payment of workers' delayed wages; 2) Payment of workers' wages on time; 3) Granting of workers' allowances, benefits and privileges; and 4) lowering of canteen prices.

The company had been consistently delinquent in paying the workers' wages by as much as five months,

forcing the workers to go into credit for their needs at the company canteen at an exorbitant price.

• ELSATCO continued to ignore the demands and instead sent money and food to the NPA in response to an earlier request. The NPA did not accept them, noting that the company failed to improve the conditions of the workers after three months.

• On May 21, the machinery of ELSATCO was burned in its camp.

• On May 23, the company requested help from the military. Soldiers and three policemen from Bayog together with a photographer went to ELSATCO in a logging truck to investigate the incident. The truck was ambushed on its way back, that same day, allegedly by the NPA.

In an incident related to yet another union dispute, church sources in Agusan del Sur charged Lt. Col. Carlos "Charlie" Lademora and his Lost Command of massacring nine people late in June.

The killings followed a certification election at the Guthrie-National Development Company (NDC) oil palm plantation in Maligaya. The union sponsored by the company came in last out of three contenders. The Lost Command, known for its atrocities and counter-insurgency efforts in support of the government, also provided security for Guthrie-NDC plantations.

"We couldn't have gotten started without him," remarked Bruce Chew, Guthrie's plantation manager, in a recent interview. □

Nuns Charged With Killing Informer

Eight people, including two nuns, were named in a suit filed by the Philippine Constabulary early last month for the death of one civilian government informer.

Charged for the murder of one Generoso Anyayahan were Srs. Zenaida Pineda and Pilar Verqueza, both from the Good Shepherd Convent in Quezon City. PC spokesperson Col. Luis San Andres listed the other defendants as Editha Brava, a UP-Los Baños graduate; Marcelino Atentan, a former seminarian from Infanta, Quezon; Arnel Salvador, a Tondo resident; and a certain Andoy, a Roger, and a Roman. The last three are still at large.

The five suspects were apprehended April 13, 1982, five days after Anyayahan was killed by alleged New People's Army members, at a PC checkpoint in Rosario, Batangas. San Andres said that various checkpoints have been installed because "terrorists have disguised themselves as nuns or priests to mislead government troops and move freely in Batangas." He added that one of the nuns apprehended "was in fact wearing a habit." □

A Philippine Chappaquidick?

Manila coffee shops are abuzz with the latest scandal to hit Marcos regime officials. This time it involves the often controversial Minister of Education and Culture Onofre D. Corpuz.

Corpuz was involved in a fatal automobile accident June 9 while driving from Manila to Tagaytay. His sole passenger, Mrs. Betty Benitez, wife of Deputy Minister of Human Settlements "Jolly" Benitez, was killed instantly.

"Why was Mrs. Benitez driving alone with Corpuz to begin with?" the coffee shop circuit asks. "And why has there been no investigation?"

This is the second serious accident for the colorful Corpuz who was seriously hurt in a motorcycle accident in the early seventies. Formerly President of the University of the Philippines, Corpuz' trademark was the black leather gloves he wore while piloting his huge BMW around the campus. □

Cojuangco . . .

Continued from page 3

OTHER HOLDINGS

Some of Cojuangco's other holdings were reported in the November 30, 1981 issue of *Ang Bayan*:

• He and his brother Ramon are listed as co-owners of the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. (PLDT), Northern Cement Inc., FILSOV Shipping Co., United Amherst Leasing and Financing Corp., Paniqui Sugar Mills, Agricultural Investors

Inc., United Plaza Properties, Inc., and Philippine Bank of Commerce (merged with the Philippine Commercial and Industrial Bank).

• In Palawan, he has 15,000 hectares planted to coconut. A new variety of coconut is being planted here which will be sold and distributed nationwide. This project is financed by the levy which is shouldered mainly by coconut farmers and is expected to net Cojuangco no less than ₱40 million a year.

• In Negros Occidental, he has 867 hectares in the towns of San Enrique and Pontevedra and in the cities of Bago and La Carlota. These sugarcane lands will be converted into coconut plantations by Eduardo Cojuangco & Sons Agricultural Enterprises. The project would cost almost ₱40 million. The corporation expects to harvest 19 million nuts annually and process 4,769 tons of copra a year. UNICOM will buy the produce.

• In Muñoz, Nueva Ecija, he has 300 hectares tilled by about 126 peasants. A member of the Isabela Priests' Assembly, a group active in the farmers' struggle against Anca, has caustic words for Cojuangco's array of corporations: "Big as the Cojuangco monopoly is, it is

very clear that Cojuangco and his cohorts are mere servants of foreign big business, especially American and European." he adds, "For in the last analysis, what do they really do?"

"They export our copra, desiccated coconut, coconut oil—all cheap raw materials—to industrialized nations who transform these into costly processed goods like soap and washing detergents. The factories which manufacture these goods are owned by foreigners, not Filipinos. For instance, Procter and Gamble (U.S.), Philippine Refining (European) and Colgate-Palmolive (U.S.) control 90% of the soap industry," he revealed.

"We have big landlords, compradors and Marcos cronies like Cojuangco to thank for this pitiful state of affairs. □

How Marcos . . .

Continued from front page

Armando Doronila, Ernesto Granada, *Manila Chronicle*; Napoleon Rama, *Philippine Free Press*; Luis Mauricio, Roberto Ordoñez, Rolando Fadul, *Graphic*; Mila Astorga-Garcia, *Dumaguete Times* and *Sunday Times Magazine*; Rosalinda Galang and Jose Lacaba. Most were later released without charges being filed. Others were placed under house arrest for some time.

With the more "hostile" media men in jail or out of jobs, Marcos proceeded to establish the New Society media, one that would be "consistent with efforts of the national good to meet the dangers which brought on martial law."

The new print and broadcast media would be revived in his smiling martial law image. Months after the martial declaration other publications began distribution and radio and TV channels were once again programming. Again it was not surprising for these born-again media to be more than friendly to the Marcos government. The owners and chief personnel of the re-opened facilities were Marcos friends.

They are still friendly. The *Times-Journal* is published by Marcos brother-in-law Benjamin Romualdez and is financed by friend Edmundo Ongianco. *Bulletin Today* (formerly *Manila Daily Bulletin*) is published and owned by long-time Marcos friend and military adviser, Ret. Brig. Gen. Hans Menzi. Presidential Assistant Juan Tuvera and his wife, Imelda biographer Kerima Polotan Tuvera, produce the daily *Evening Post*. Their newsweekly, *Focus-Philippines*, is published courtesy of the government's press facilities. *Business Day* is published by Raul Locsin whose family's architectural firm designs all of Imelda's building projects.

Marcos too demolished his long-time economic and political rival, the Lopezes, in his media coup. The *Times-Journal* set up shop in the *Manila Chronicle's* printing facilities, considered to be the most modern in Southeast Asia. And when the KBS station mysteriously burned down, a stroke of Marcos' pen allowed it to continue operations the very next day in the biggest multi-media station in the country—the Lopezes' ABS-CBN. It was "in the interest of the public good" for both facilities to be justly appropriated without compensation to their owners.

Despite the fact that the media were already under control through their ownership by his cronies, Marcos still deemed government censorship necessary. A Mass Media Council, co-chaired by Press Secretary Francisco "Kit" Tatad and Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile was created to review applications for media operation. Marcos, however, remained the sole grantor of Certificates of Authority to Operate (good for six months with review before renewal).

The small Presidential Press Office was expanded to the full-sized Department of Public Information. Tatad was appointed head. With an initial budget of \$17 million, the DPI extolled the virtues of Marcos, his family and the New Society through news releases, brochures, books, comics, radio and TV programs, film, and even long-playing record albums.

Marcos' "Boy Wonder" was also instructed to draft guidelines for both local and foreign censorship. All that were to be published or broadcast, including foreign dispatches and cables, had to be first "cleared through the DPI." (Tatad would later fall out of grace and out of office and ironically, criticize one-man rule.)

Standards for "New Society Journalism" were soon established. News reports were to be accurate, objective, and "of positive national value." This ruled out "editorials, opinions, commentaries, comments and asides."

The news media were also to refrain

from using materials that "undermine people's faith and confidence in the government"; "downgrade or jeopardize the military"; "abet, glorify or sensationalize crime, disorder, lawlessness and violence"; and "sow or generate fear, panic, confusion, ignorance, and vulgarity among the people."

Thus after passing the DPI's censors, all that remained for publication or broadcast did not differ from government releases. And because all print and broadcast media were required by law to guarantee slots for all government releases and proclamations, Filipinos were just saturated with New Society glorification no matter what TV channel or radio station they tuned into or what newspaper they read.

In less than eight months, Marcos was able to claim that he had transformed the mass media into a partner of his government and into "an effective instrument for the attainment of social change."

Sharp international criticism forced the dictator to supposedly loosen up a bit on the media. Thus, in May 1973 Marcos abolished the openly government-controlled MMC and set up the "civilian" Media Advisory Council. Heading MAC was *Daily Express* editor and Presidential Assistant Primitivo Mijares. MAC assumed MMC's censorship responsibilities. Certi-

arrested by intelligence units in January 1976. He was severely tortured and held in isolation for several months. Ocampo still remains in jail without formal charges.

Philippine Collegian editor Abraham Sarmiento was arrested for printing anti-martial law articles in the University of the Philippines' official paper. Though his detention lasted only six months, Sarmiento's health so deteriorated that he died of heart failure at age 27. One *Daily Express* reporter, Monica Feria, was also arrested for "suspected subversion."

Even foreign correspondents were not spared. Arnold Zeitlin, Associated Press Manila bureau chief, was not allowed to re-enter the Philippines for being an "undesirable alien." Zeitlin, who filed a report on the 1976 World Bank Conference in Manila, mentioned the government's expensive efforts to impress the delegates. He was later denounced by Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo in a letter addressed to Arab ministers, as a "suspected Jewish journalist." Zeitlin's other reports exposed the growing war of genocide in the country's Muslim south.

Far Eastern Economic Review and *Washington Post* correspondent Bernard Wideman was likewise deported for "libel, fabrications, and association with subversives." Though these charges were later dropped, Wideman was never allowed back into the Philippines.

The controlled media remained a target of international criticism. Furthermore, Mijares defected from the regime in 1975 and let the public in on the

messages to NPA rebels." Continued raids on newsstands prevented the distribution of foreign periodicals critical of the government.

By 1978, however, Marcos felt so much in control that even opposition to his regime was actually allowed so long as they did not call for its overthrow. By this time too, Marcos felt secure enough about the institutionalization of his one-man rule that a cosmetic "normalization" process could be started in earnest. Various newsweeklies and other irregularly published papers have sprouted since then.

Jose Burgos, publisher/editor of *WE* newspaper, one of four of Metro-Manila's small community newsmagazines, explained the government's new-found tolerance: "First it serves the purpose of showing to the entire world that there is press freedom in the Philippines; second, the rulers want to know what government critics are thinking and saying; and three, they believe *WE's* limited circulation is not much of a threat to the established order."

However, opposition papers still, remain subject to control. Besides the withdrawal of certificates to operate, publishers encounter difficulties in various ways. A critical editorial or article could invite a phone call from the military. Distributors, usually after a visit from, again, military agents, could decide to stop selling the papers. Advertisers, a considerable source of income from publishers, also generally avoid opposition papers, for fear of association.

One most effective form of control, a foreign journalist was informed, was newsprint. Publishers often find it difficult to secure especially after an unfavorable story or editorial. It so happens that PCPM head Menzi, is also virtually the sole distributor of newsprint and printing supplies.

Outright harassment also continues. A local government official was so angered by a TV reporter's questions that he attempted to strangle his interviewer. The incident was recorded live on TV and for days it was replayed to emphasize the media men's displeasure. A tearful Imelda was said to have lamented on TV that the film clip was not presenting a good image of the country.

Letty Jimenez-Magsanoc was continuously barraged with letters from government agencies protesting her article, "There Goes the New Society, Welcome the New Republic," that she was forced to resign her post as *Panorama* editor.

The Philippine news media, after ten years, remain bland and lifeless. True, the newspapers now report National Assembly squabbles, common crimes, and from time to time, even NPA ambushes. Editorials and columns even often decry corruption in lower levels of government. But of course, everyone steers clear of the "big fish."

After years of being under the gun (often literally), most journalists have trained themselves to be "worldly wise." Thus, self-censorship and the fear of going further" in a story is the norm.

The presence of small "opposition papers" is hardly a threat to the regime. Both their moderate political content and piddling circulation bring Marcos no cause for worry, despite their causticness. In fact, moderate opposition journalism is so tolerated that even Marcos adviser Hans Menzi has "entered" the field. Insiders say that Menzi has decided to bankroll the liberal *WHO* magazine as a financial and political investment in case the political order is altered and things get liberalized. It might be added that, as Burgos said, the existence of a small liberal trend in the media actually helps Marcos' claim to normalization.

As for the possibility of putting out a thoroughly oppositionist publication—one that would really go into the heart of matters and call for a complete overhaul by all means of the present order, one would have to own a gun as well and be part of a whole revolutionary underground. part of a whole revolutionary underground. □



A newsboy on morning of clampdown.

ificates to operate, however, still needed Marcos' approval and the Defense Department reserved the right to intervene at anytime "on any case of reasons of national security."

Stories and reports that "create wrong impressions here and abroad" were suppressed. A crime committed thus could not be reported until after the police solved it. Unpleasant social conditions such as a rise in poverty and disease found no place in the New Society's news pages.

Journalists who, in any manner or degree, did not comply with the guidelines remained subject to some form of government action. One writer who reported that some detainees had been tortured suffered the same hardship. Another was detained and questioned for commenting on Manila's commuter problem. Others were not so lucky.

Henry Romero, a *Bulletin Today* correspondent, was arrested and detained in Camp Vicente Lim in Laguna and has been missing since February 1976. Saturnino Ocampo, business editor and economic writer for the defunct *Manila Times*, was

inner workings of the dictatorship. (Mijares would later vanish and presumably rest six feet under the ground.) The form of control had to be adjusted once again.

MAC was split into two bodies—one to regulate the print media, the other the broadcast media. Menzi was appointed head of the Philippine Council on Print Media. Though again billed as a self-regulating body, the PCPM was under orders not to allow criticism of Marcos and Imelda. Although "some government sectors are open" to criticism, the goals of the New Society are not to be subverted by "irresponsible" news reporting.

Reviews of periodicals and radio stations continued as did cases of actual shutdowns. The mimeographed newsweekly of the Association of Major Religious Superiors, *Signs of the Times*, was closed for "inciting to sedition." *The Communicator*, edited by Fr. James Reuter, S.J., was ordered closed for printing an article on the mysterious death of a Marikina shoemaker. Two radio stations in Mindanao, DXBB, Malaybalay and DXCD, Tagum, were ordered closed for "broadcasting coded

In Time for Marcos Visit?

House Body OKs Extradition Bill

By ODETTE TAVERNA
Congress Task Force

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a move that hardly surprised anyone, the House version of the bill updating U.S. extradition laws received “overwhelming” support from the House Foreign Affairs Committee, after a “farical” two-day hearing that squelched chances of extradition opponents to debate the issue in public.

The swift endorsement brought the extradition bill a step closer to its final phase, further giving credence to speculation that “the whole extradition package will be neatly wrapped up” in time for the upcoming Marcos visit in September.

HR 6046, sponsored by Rep. William J. Hughes, Chair of the House Subcommittee on Crime, won the Foreign Affairs Committee’s approval with Hughes presenting the bill as “humane, since it has balanced the individual rights consideration and the current administration’s concern for political expediency in processing extradition cases.”

BILL DENOUNCED

“There is nothing humane about this bill,” countered Geline Avila of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD) after receiving word from its Congress Task Force of the bill’s approval.

Avila noted that while certain members of the Foreign Affairs Committee protested against human rights violations in the Philippines on previous occasions, “no one voiced any significant opposition against this bill.”

The CAMD leader attributed the silence of traditional human rights advocates like Stephen Solarz, to “strong-arm lobbying tactics” launched by Reagan forces during these hearings.

“They were fully aware that the bill’s

passage brings the U.S.-Philippine Extradition Treaty closer to being a reality,” Avila said. “Their silence puts in question where these ‘liberals’ really stand with Marcos.”

REAGAN LOBBYIST APPLY PRESSURE

In his testimony before the Committee, Hughes acknowledged the “close assistance” of the State Department and the Department of Justice, in formulating some of the bill’s provisions.

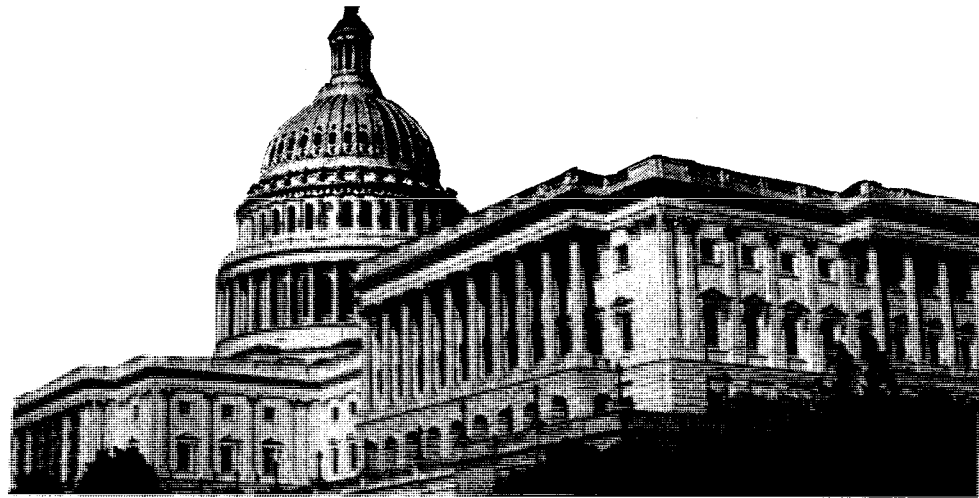
He admitted for instance that at a previous hearing, the House Judiciary Committee considered abrogating the “rule of non-inquiry.” This rule is described by anti-extradition forces as “extremely dangerous” because it would not permit U.S. courts to make an assessment of the fairness of the judicial procedures and punishments used in the requesting state (current extradition laws allow U.S. courts to do this).

However, due to State Department pressure, the Committee decided to retain the rule of non-inquiry, because to do otherwise “violates the sovereignty of the foreign state.”

This implies that a repressive regime like the Marcos dictatorship, may not be subject to this type of assessment when it asks for somebody’s extradition because “our Constitutional protections are not applicable beyond our borders.”

‘PUNISH TERRORISTS’
The bill has also been criticized for its redefinition of what constitutes political offenses (political offenses are exempted from extradition). Critics point out that the redefinition is so narrow as to do away with the category “political offense” altogether.

It was clear from Hughes’ statement that the State Department wants this



redefinition in order to “punish terrorists.”

Deputy Assistant Attorney General Roger Olsen of the Justice Department, stressed this view by reiterating the need for improved international law enforcement cooperation in general, and “to combat international terrorism, in particular.”

The State Department originally proposed vesting to the Secretary of State the determination of what constitutes a political offense. Hughes’ bill does not have that provision but its version of political offense makes it acceptable to the Reagan administration.

U.S.-R.P. TREATY IMMINENT

Responding to Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Zablocki’s query as to how HR 6046 will affect the U.S.-Philippine Extradition Treaty, a State Department representative said that the treaty will have to be renegotiated with the Philippine government in light of the revisions proposed by the bill.

Most observers believe that, however, Marcos will accept whatever modifications are made, and push for the treaty’s early ratification possibly in time for his scheduled state visit in September.

Zablocki clarified that these hearings were not meant to delay the progress of the Hughes bill in the House, but in fact to “expedite the process.”

“It is obvious they’re railroading this bill through,” commented Philippine Solidarity Network’s Elaine Elinson. “They want to finish up all the revisions now because once this is accomplished, it gives the green light for the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty’s ratification.”

SHADES OF ‘TURNCOATISM’

Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) who previously signed a CAMD/PSN-inspired “Dear Colleague” letter circulated last

April by Rep. James Jeffords (R-VT) opposing the treaty, reversed her position.

During the hearings, Fenwick remarked that HR 6046 “did not make sense if a person responsible for a terrorist act [referring to bombings conducted by the Irish Republican Army-IRA] cannot be extradited because of [his] use of the political offense exception provision.” Implicit in her statement was the suggestion to further narrow down the already limited definition of this provision.

CAMD spokesperson Avila stated they were not surprised at Fenwick’s turnaround. Recalling the 1979 U.S.-R.P. Bases Treaty negotiations, Avila repeated Fenwick’s statement then: “If U.S. bases should ever be threatened by Filipinos, we should go in and mow them down.”

NO ILLUSIONS

Immediately after the Foreign Affairs Committee heard testimony from supporters of the Hughes bill, Chairman Zablocki unexpectedly cancelled the second day of public hearings, due to “conflicts of schedule.” Opponents of the extradition bill were scheduled to give their presentations that day.

Commenting on these developments on the extradition issue, CAMD’s Avila expressed no illusions on how Congress will act.

“There is a concerted effort by the Reagan administration to see to it that Marcos gets what he wants, to really cement their relationship. Reagan is putting tremendous pressure on Congress to approve extradition before Marcos comes,” she said.

“After years of working in Capitol Hill we have seen enough to know that in the face of such pressure, forces begin trading off and principles such as opposition to Marcos, or any dictator, begins to fade.” □

Hawaii Convention Opposes U.S.-R.P. Treaty

By DEAN ALEGADO and
MARIA ABADESCO
Correspondents

The Oahu Filipino Community Council, the largest Filipino umbrella organization in Hawaii with over 70 member groups, passed a resolution opposing the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty at its annual convention last June 25-26.

The resolution’s passage was hailed as a “significant victory” by local anti-Marcos forces because the OFCC is generally viewed as a pro-Marcos bastion in the Hawaii Filipino community which is also predominantly Ilocano.

The resolution against the Extradition Treaty was passed after heated debate among the 160 convention delegates.

The resolution was introduced by the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP), a local chapter of the nationwide Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship.

The CAMD has been campaigning for a Congressional rejection of the treaty which is pending ratification in the U.S. Senate. The Reagan administration has been pushing for the treaty as part of its efforts to forge closer ties with the repressive Marcos regime.

The resolution’s introduction immediately changed the “business-as-usual” at-



Ermena Vinluan (left) and Moises Tacazon (right) CHRP activists, introduced resolution against U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty. (AK Photo)

mosphere of the OFCC convention. A debate ensued, highlighted by speeches from pro- and anti-resolution forces.

THREE TIE VOTES

Ermena Vinluan, CHRP spokesperson told the delegates that “The treaty, in effect, will legitimize the extension to the U.S. of Marcos’ repressive rule, and will allow Marcos to arbitrarily single-out U.S.-based oppositionists for extradition to the Philippines.”

Moises Tacazon, also speaking for the CHRP, said, “If passed, the treaty will inhibit the Filipino community from expressing its political views, especially its opposition to present Philippine conditions.” He added that political expression is a right granted by the U.S. constitution.

Nora Albayalde, a vocal pro-Marcos personality and a former announcer for a popular local Filipino radio station, attempted to block the resolution, saying that “people don’t know enough about the

treaty and therefore should not vote on it.”

Following the debate, Ludy Tugadi, the OFCC’s interim vice-president and a well-known follower of the Philippine Consulate, called for a vote, confident that the large Ilocano regional organizations present at the convention and the presence of Consul General Trinidad Alconcel who gave the keynote address would easily defeat the resolution.

To the CHRP members’ surprise, two votes were taken and each ended in a tie, with many delegates abstaining. Frustrated by the delegates’ indecision, Romeo Cachola, the convention chairman and an executive officer of the only Filipino-owned bank in Hawaii, called for a third vote.

The atmosphere became even more charged when the vote by 110 delegates (the rest abstaining) again ended in a tie: 55 to 55.

A STINGING DEFEAT FOR FM

Unable to resolve the split vote, Cachola called for a recess. Crowds gathered around tables debating, thus reflecting the polarization over the extradition issue.

Cachola reopened the convention remarking, “This is an unusual situation and never has been done before, but as the

Continued on page 7



Romy Manan, active Filipino union member, heads a trail of aggrieved witnesses at a hearing on National Semiconductor Corp. (AK Photo)

By ANNATESS ARANETA

SAN JOSE—Santa Clara County's Human Relations Commission held an investigative hearing July 31 on the labor practices of the National Semiconductor Corp. after minority workers, including a number of Filipinos, accused the electronics giant of practicing systematic discrimination.

This is the first time that a major Silicon Valley electronics company is being slapped with charges of mass discrimination.

The hearing followed earlier moves to file formal complaints with the Fair Employment and Housing Commission and the National Labor Relations Board on behalf of some 2,000 electronics workers either fired or laid-off from National Semiconductor.

Playing a prominent role in filing the complain are the Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization and the United Electrical Union (UE).

Although eight complaints have been reported to date, Human Relations Commission director James McIntee told the *San Jose Mercury News*, "The feelings we are getting, especially from the members of the Filipino community, is that the numbers are larger."

CHARGES LEVELLED

The hearing was well-attended by workers, organizers, community organizations, and various media reporters, but NSC officials were noticeably absent. NSC of-

ficials earlier told McIntee that the company "did not want the hearing."

Becky Villones, Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization spokesperson, opened the hearing by describing the working conditions and hiring practices of firms like National Semiconductor (NSC).

"Electronic firms like to hire immigrant workers in large numbers because they do not know their legal rights as workers in this country," she said.

Villones noted that of electronics workers on the production line, 25,000 are Filipinos who work the most dangerous and low-paying jobs. "Filipino immigrant workers are especially vulnerable because of their language difficulties," she said.

David Bacon, a fired employee of National, and chairperson of UE charged that "National, along with other large electronics firms with plants located in Silicon Valley, has adopted a general strategy for relocating their operations."

Bacon said, "The effect of this job relocation strategy, called 'product development,' is to increase the economic depression in minority communities by adding high levels of unemployment to low wages."

He reported that NSC has reduced the number of workers in its Santa Clara plant from 10,000 in 1981 to 8,000 presently. Over 2,000 jobs are lost to date in the company's effort to save by cutting down on labor and moving to areas where wages are low, and workers are not organized.

Twelve witnesses from NSC presented

Electronics Giant Charged With Racism

their cases before the human relations body.

MINORITIES PLEAD CASE

Violeta Contreras claimed she was scapegoated by her supervisor for a production error, and the harassment that followed made her feel she was treated like a common criminal.

"I feel I am a victim of an injustice Because I am Filipino . . . I do not communicate very well in English and this was used against me also."

Ramoncito Sevilla and Benedicto de la Cruz worked in the same department under a new supervisor who "seemed prejudiced toward non-white workers."

Cindy Sevilla, Ramoncito's wife, on his behalf, recounted the trumped-up charges hurled at her husband, leading to his firing. However, she emphasized that her husband's case was not an isolated incident, nor was Ramoncito's supervisor the only "racist" in the corporation.

"There are many more examples which time does not permit me to give you. The point is that workers at National Semiconductor are being subjected to wholesale discrimination on the basis of their nationality, race, color, sex, or union sympathy. The company does not seem to care that such things violate our legal and human rights."

Other witnesses who were Black, Mexican-Americans, and Caucasian spoke of similar grievances.

All 12 witnesses attested to not knowing of any affirmative action plan by the company, nor were they encouraged to seek training for advancement, promotions, or transfers. All fired employees were also denied unemployment pay.

DEMANDS

NFIRO's Villones asked the human relations body to look into these charges of union busting. She also presented the body the following demands:

- Issue a report on the public hearing and the findings of the Human Relations Commission;

- Meet with National Semiconductor to mediate the problems of the terminated workers;

- Get from NSC information on the workers' race, nationality, job classification, and employee termination records;

- Meet with the Employment Development Department to investigate the denial of unemployment compensation;

- Meet with the National Labor Relations Board to encourage them to process worker complaints from NSC;

- Forward a report of the public hearing to human relations commission in places where NSC has plants;

- Forward copies of the report to legislatures and employment discrimination offices. □

LA Ready for Far West Convention

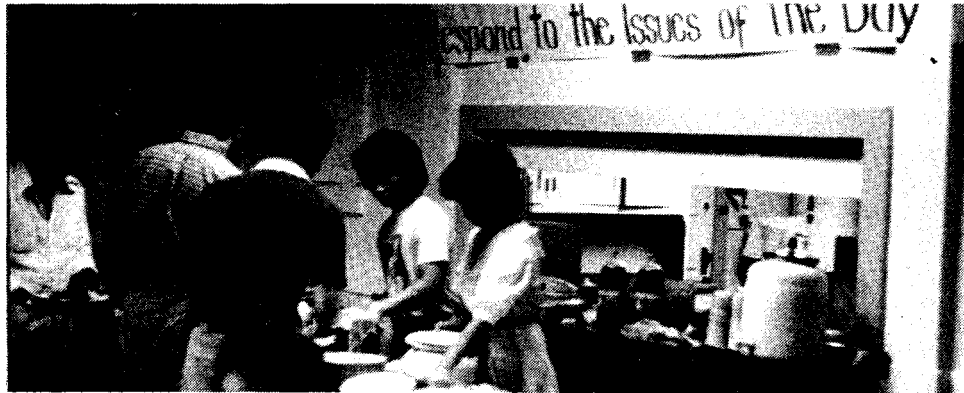
"Respond to the Issues of the Day" is the theme of the 11th Filipino People's Far West Convention set for September 3, 4, and 5 at the California State University in Los Angeles.

The FWC, has served as a forum and educational institution that enables West Coast Filipinos to keep up with the pressing issues affecting the Filipino minority and working people in general.

The Convention's two and a half days are planned in such a way that delegates do not miss out on major panel discussions, while attending workshops of their choices.

Saturday is taken up by panel discussions on the following topics:

- "Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, A Landmark



FWC fundraiser gears up for this year's confab on September 3, 4 and 5.

Revision of U.S. Immigration Policy."

- "The International Movement for

Disarmament and Peace."

- "U.S.-R.P. Relations Today: Extra-

Hawaii. . .

Continued from page 6

chair of the convention I have the right to vote and break the tie." Silence filled the hall in anticipation of his vote.

Before casting his deciding vote, Cachola told the delegates, "I know I will be criticized whichever way I vote. But I'm going to vote according to my conscience."

He then announced his decision: "I will vote in favor of the resolution to oppose the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty." Anti-Marcos delegates broke out in loud cheers.

The victory of the resolution was undoubtedly a stinging defeat for the pro-Marcos forces and the Philippine Consulate in Hawaii. The OFCC, regarded by its conservative leaders as "the voice of the Filipino community," was in fact founded by former Philippine Consul General to

Hawaii Juan Dionisio. The latter is also the publisher of the pro-Marcos *Hawaii Filipino News*.

OFCC leaders are often invited to the Philippines for "visits" with the First Couple as well as to lavish events sponsored by the regime's representatives in Hawaii. In return, many OFCC leaders serve as loyal Marcos apologists in the community.

MORAL VICTORY

Tacazon said that while the resolution is not an all-sided condemnation of the Marcos dictatorship, it is an "ideological and moral victory" for the anti-dictatorship movement. "People are finally beginning to publicly express their true sentiments about the regime."

Tacazon observed that "the voting and open stand against the extradition treaty by many OFCC members showed that Filipinos in Hawaii are beginning to break from the power of fear and intimidation exercised by the pro-Marcos forces who

have dominated the community, as well as by the agents of the Philippine Consulate."

Holding the convention in Kalihi Elementary School rather than at the more expensive Waikiki hotels as in the past, enabled a larger number of "concerned" members of the community to attend. These factors, according to Tacazon, along with the years of painstaking educational work on the Philippine issue by anti-Marcos groups such as the CHRP and the KDP, contributed to the passage of the controversial resolution.

The OFCC convention also passed a number of resolutions addressing key issues affecting the Filipino community. These include resolutions condemning the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill which is also pending in the U.S. Congress; support for a local strike by predominantly Filipino immigrant workers against a fast-food chain in Oahu; and endorsement of actions against discriminatory practices in employment against Filipinos. □

dition Treaty and the U.S. Bases Agreement."

A cultural evening will feature a multimedia presentation on the history of the Filipinos on the West Coast.

A special update on the Domingo/Viernes murder case will be presented. The FWC called for community support for the efforts of the Justice Committee for Domingo and Viernes at last year's convention.

Workshops will start Sunday morning on the following:

- Students: Minority Access to Education.

- The Marcos State Visit: Impact on the Filipino Community.

- Women's Rights: The Issue of Safe and Legal Abortions.

- Organizing for Immigrant Rights.

- El Salvador & U.S. Intervention.

Friday night is registration. The Saturday panels and Sunday workshops were introduced as a format last year to enable delegates to gain familiarity with all the major issues while still focusing on the issues of special concern to them.

FWC organizers are busy with convention preparations and fundraisers. The Holiday Inn is among the sites secured for accommodations and a successful T-shirt sale and community dinner were held last July 31.

The steering committee headed by Rose Ibanez is composed of experienced FWC participants such as Denise Palicte and Maribel Salomon who work on Finance; Sal Morano, Outreach; Tino Fabros, Site and Logistics; and Araceli Rufo on Program.

All delegates, old and new, are encouraged to contact their local FWC persons, to arrange for rides to LA and for further information. In L.A. contact: Sal Morano at (213) 250-0602 and Denise Palicte at (213) 835-3700. □

By SALVADOR MORANO
Los Angeles Correspondent

Reagan's program of feeding the rich and the U.S. war machine while taking from the have-nots is making higher education close to unreachable for children of working class families. For aspiring students from minority communities, "close to unreachable" is even an understatement.

The trends in higher education today clearly favor white students from middle-to upper-class families. Such students, as a group, are in a better position to overcome rising tuition fees, financial aid cutbacks and "higher standards" for admission than minority students from a working class families.

Over the past year, tuition fees have risen dramatically. For example, students at the University of California in San Diego experienced a \$75 hike in fees from \$250 in the spring to \$325 in the fall.

The California State University system—including 319,000 students in 19 campuses—recently announced a new \$150 charge for basic expenses not covered by the state's \$970 million budget. This will drive student fees up to a maximum of \$480 a year come this year's fall quarter.

The problem of spiralling tuition fees is compounded by the drastic cuts in financial aid. While doubling the defense budget to achieve military-political superiority internationally, the Reagan administration is reducing the postsecondary education budget to 51% of what it was in 1981, dropping federal support of higher education from the previous \$6.7 billion to \$4.5 billion in 1983.

Pell Grants (formerly Basic Educational Opportunity Grants)—the basic program for federal student assistance—will be reduced from \$2.3 billion to \$1.4 billion in fiscal year 1983, a 40% cut. This will eliminate approximately one million students.

The administration is proposing to cut maximum aid packages by 12%, although

Reaganomics:

Aid Cuts Bar Minorities from College

'I do not accept the notion that the Federal Government has an obligation to fund generous grants to anybody that wants to go to college...'

—David Stockman, Reagan's budget director

forced my peers and I to either work parttime or take temporary leave of absence in order to work full time so we can pay for the coming quarter, semester or year. Some students take 'cram' courses, taking up to 24-30 units per quarter (12 is considered full-time) and graduate as early as possible."

Studies have noted that 75% of all college students in 1979-80 were employed and worked an average of 27 hours per week. But jobs, of course, are hard to find. In the San Francisco-Oakland area alone, 3,300 student jobs have vanished in thin air.

If things really get bad, many minority students opt for the military, succumbing to what is termed the "poverty draft." As

by their bootstraps," private schools for well-to-do and mostly white students are being subsidized through tax cuts that are part of New Federalism's deregulatory policies. This include lifting the ban on tax exemptions to private schools that discriminate racially, reversing a 12-year-old policy of the IRS.

As if higher tuition and aid cuts were not enough, "higher standards" for admissions add still another obstacle to higher education. There are higher expectations in Math, Science and language, according to Ron Drucker, EOP director at UC Berkeley. Again minority students get the hardest blow. These "higher standards" have inherent racial implications.

Hope Macias, UC Berkeley student

to acquire the same type of attention, special programs have to be set up.

The higher admission standards also gloss over the fact that many minority students from integrated high schools are victims of "tracking" or the method of directing students to certain vocations based on racial stereotypes, e.g., Asians to business courses, Blacks to manual vocations or athletics.

Affirmative action programs that resulted from the 1960s civil rights movement managed to ease somewhat the institutionalized barriers minorities faced in college admissions. But affirmative action has declined, attacked by racists as "reverse discrimination."

As a result of increased financial and admissions obstacles, and due to the bleak post-college employment picture, minorities are gravitating even more to community colleges that offer associate arts degrees and vocational courses as opposed to academic universities which cater to those who can afford it. For example, San Francisco City College is almost half minority, mostly Asian, with close to 2,000 Filipinos in a total population of 30,000. The majority of students belong to working class families, according to Romy Garcia, an officer in the student government. The Los Angeles City College has an almost similar make-up.

For minorities who manage to enter academic universities, the higher levels have become more unreachable. The *Daily Californian* noted that, in the field of graduate studies, there has been a noticeable decrease in the number of minority students enrolled this year. The UC Berkeley's Office of Student Research sees this as "part of a nationwide trend."

The trends in opportunities for higher education clearly highlights its character as the privilege of a few rather than the right of the many. That only the upper classes are not threatened by higher education's increasing inaccessibility does not bother the Reagan administration. But this is not simply based on Reagan's loyalty to the capitalist system wherein education is a commodity which, as his spokespersons declare in so many words, only those who can afford to buy have the right to get.

Reagan is also motivated by the need to shore up a deteriorating economic system that lives on the basis of international supremacy and exploitation. Thus, helping poor and working people get better education does not even come second to the U.S. government's desperate attempt to quell international revolutions by means of a big war machine and a bulging nuclear arsenal.

Education as an issue then, is not only a matter of class, it is also tied to the issue of war. The war build-up not only deprives working class youth of educational opportunities, it also eyes them as potential cannon-fodder. However, it does not take much to know that those most deprived of educational opportunities are minorities, making it a significant racial issue as well.

Discontent over the attacks on educational opportunities is bound to lead to mass ferment among aspiring working class and minority students—including Filipinos. For these movements to mature to some significance, they must learn to link the issue of education with the larger question of war, class exploitation and racial oppression. □



UC Irvine students hit fragmentation of EOP program.

college costs in 1983-84 will be 15-20% higher than this year. Other programs like the college Work-Study (CWS), Supplemental Grants (SEOG), Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL), and Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) are already getting axed.

These cutbacks have a particularly negative impact on minority students. The majority of those benefitting from EOP, to example, are racial minorities.

Arthur Pandes, a 21-year-old Economics senior at the University of California at Irvine, cites the fierce struggle to preserve the EOP at his campus earlier this year.

Pandes said, "Services that previously were available for free, now require a fee. We staged a major rally—one of two demonstrations—last March which drew about 250 students."

Florante Ibañez, a member of the EOP staff at the same school said, "What they [the school administration] eventually did was divide our EOP. Now it's fragmented. Who knows how long before it's phased out?"

How do low-income students try to cope?

Ma. Rosario Araneta, a pre-med senior, said, "The cuts in financial aid have

if hard times were not enough to force young people into the military, a legislative measure introduced by Sen. S.I. Hayakawa (R.-CA) would withhold federal loans to college students who fail to register for the draft. Thus, students will be forced to become part of the current war drive out of economic necessity.

The cuts in educational opportunities are not merely side effects of Reagan's policies, they are a deliberate part of his program of decreased government spending for social needs. An official of the American Council on Education, observed that "The administration is moving toward outright rejection of a federal responsibility for access to higher education . . ."

Reagan's budget director David Stockman bluntly defends the kind of thinking behind the cuts in student funding: "I do not accept the notion that the Federal Government has an obligation to fund generous grants to anybody that wants to go to college . . . if people want to go to college bad enough, then there is opportunity and responsibility on their part to finance their way through the best they can."

But while state-run colleges and universities face aid cuts and tuition hikes because Reagan wants low-income and minority students to "pull themselves up

advocate, told the *Daily Californian*, "Students entering the university under new admissions requirements must take more academic courses in high school than the current acceptees." She noted that minority students do not have equal access to "more education" as do white students.

For example, the "higher quality" schools generally more accessible to whites offer the advantage of college preparation and career counselling. In order for minorities who are also concentrated in inner cities,



Union's Future at Stake in Elections

By LENI MARIN
Correspondent

SEATTLE—The Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 37 ILWU, representing an estimated 1,200 seasonal workers, is currently holding its biennial election of officers, which—according to some union members—could “very well determine this union’s future direction.”

The election, which began July 22 is expected to culminate at the end of September when all the workers have returned from the Alaska canneries.

Local 37’s Rank and File Committee (RFC)—a stalwart grouping of progressive and reform-minded trade unionists—released its slate of candidates, many of whom comprise the union’s current leadership:

- Terri Mast for President/Business Agent
- Leo Lorenzo for Vice President
- David Della for Secretary/Treasurer
- Glenn “Alonzo” Suson for Dispatcher
- Bernardo Taclay and Emma Catague for Trustees
- John Foz, Ricardo Farinas Jr., Lynn Domingo, Sylvia Jones, Myrna Bumanlag, Sharon Lind, Rich Gurtiza, Angel Doniego, and Emily van Bronkhorst for Executive Board membership.

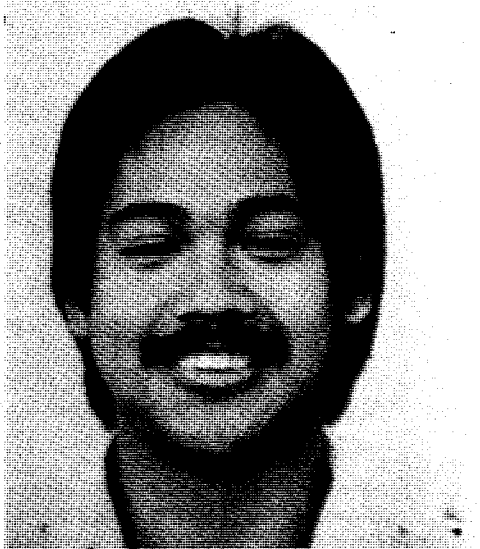
The RFC similarly announced the endorsement of Nemesio Domingo Sr.’s candidacy for a Trustee position.

VOW TO CONTINUE REFORMS

The RFC, formed in 1977 and led by militant trade unionists like Silme Domingo, Gene Viernes and Terri Mast, vowed to continue the reforms the Committee initiated in the union, and to reverse what they termed “the 25-year legacy of backward policies and practices within Local 37 under the heels of corrupt union officials.”

Tragedy struck last year when, in the implementation of these reforms, Domingo and Viernes were fatally gunned down inside Local 37’s union headquarters in Pioneer Square.

As they announced their slate, the RFC also introduced its 1982 Program and



(Upper left) Terri Mast for President/Business Agent; (upper right) Leo Lorenzo for Vice President; (lower left) David Della for Secretary/Treasurer; (lower right) Glenn “Alonzo” Suson for Dispatcher. (RFC Photo)

Platform aimed at further strengthening Local 37, including:

- More organizing drives among new cannery workers to broaden the union’s influence;
- Establishing solidarity and working relationships with other ILWU locals and unions;
- Fighting for strong contracts to reverse the “sell-out” legacy of the union;

- Launching a constitutional convention to revamp outdated features of the present constitution and to allow for full democratic procedures within the union membership.

According to Della, Secretary/Treasurer aspirant: “Without a strong union that can fight back against the union-busting tactics of the companies, cannery workers are relegated to accepting exploitative practices

at the canneries.”

“It is important that during this time of economic crisis, and of conspicuous union busting attempts by the industry and the Reagan administration,” Della continued, “unionized labor needs to strengthen itself.” Local 37 just recently thwarted an attempt by the Ocean Beauty Cannery to bust it.

OPPOSITION SLATE ANNOUNCED

Meanwhile, four opposition candidates announced their bid for the union posts, and in a letter addressed to “all members of Local 37,” criticized the union’s current reform leadership charging “the salmon industry does not respect these egotistic, loud mouthed officers of our local union.”

In the same letter, the four candidates—Emma Lawsin, Jessie Dona, Ponce Torres, and Silvestre Tangalan—denounced the negotiating team of the local union because “[they] do not have the charisma and expertise to negotiate with the experienced representatives of the salmon industry.”

In response to the letter, Vice President Mast stated, “This is really an insult to the entire union membership.” She said that the negotiating team criticized by the opposition slate was “actually nominated by the union’s membership and therefore enjoyed the full support of the rank and file.”

Confident that their slate will win, Mast stated that “this opposition represents the very same old-guard leadership that Local 37 membership wants terminated once and for all.”

She noted that Ponce Torres, who is running for Secretary/Treasurer position, was recalled from the union in 1979 as secretary/treasurer, for “inefficiency.”

However, Mast cautioned union members from being diverted from the real issues that affect the union.

“More serious issues are at stake in this election,” she stated. “For us in the Rank and File Committee, our goal for Local 37 is clear: to set this union on a path of militant trade unionism, the original vision of our union’s founding pioneers.” □

SEIU Local 400

Filipina Activist Wins Presidency of SF Local

By ANNATESS ARANETA

Standing no more than five feet tall, Luisa Blue, a Filipino-American who is also a mother and a nurse, confidently took over the podium to chair the meeting of the Service Employees International Union, Local 400, one of San Francisco’s biggest unions. This was just after she was sworn in as Local 400 president on July 21.

As president, Luisa is now responsible for one of the most important labor unions in San Francisco, but she’s not the slightest bit nervous about it. She has been active in this union ever since she realized the limitations workers would face in improving their lives if they remained unorganized.

Local 400 is composed of approximately 9,000 city and county employees. The union organizes clerical workers, hospital employees, ambulance drivers, librarians and other workers in both the public and private sectors.

In addition, there is the potential of organizing 15,000 employees who could be reached by “Agency Shop”—(For a service fee, non-union workers can avail of the union’s services including representation in contract negotiations.)

However, the union represents still only a portion of the clerical and service workers, the largest workforce in the city of San Francisco. According to Luisa, this sector is still not fully organized but the potential is enormous. The task of organizing them lies before Local 400.

REFORM—MINDED

Luisa ran on the platform of “progressive change” or the need for a “more sensitive and democratic union.”



Luisa Blue, President, SEIU Local 14.

As a Filipino nurse, Luisa already had a base of support at San Francisco General Hospital (SFGH) and Laguna Honda Convalescent Home. Support from the clerical workers in the union also assisted her victory. Her union slate was composed of new and young leaders representing mainly minority constituents.

During her campaign, Luisa gained the

credibility and respect of voters on the strength of her labor activism. Her participation had been conspicuous in struggles such as winning backpay for SFGH nurses; winning better working conditions for union members and stopping cutbacks in the public workforce during the Prop. 13 onslaught.

POLITICS, TOO

What direction should the trade union movement in San Francisco take today?

“With Reaganomics, monies that went to services now go to the war drive. Unions and workers must understand these attacks,” Luisa replied.

“Since my term is only two years, I’m not idealistic on what I can do. Realistically, the organization and education of nearly 15,000 workers are at the heart of Local 400. To direct the union and its members toward the struggle against cutbacks, against political threats and to defend workers rights in the era of Reaganomics. This is what I intend to do to the best of my ability. Minorities will be hit the hardest. The union has to be an organization that will bring workers together to make a city-wide impact,” Luisa explained.

“To accomplish our goal, we must understand that the struggle of Local 400 is not just economic but also political in character.”

Of Filipinos’ participation in the union, Luisa remarked: “Filipinos tend to be unorganized and non-union for the most part, although they are numerous in some areas. In Laguna Honda for instance, 90% of the nurses are Filipinos.”

She noted that “Filipino union members

view the union like most everybody does. That it collects dues and has terrible politics. There is also a lot of ignorance about what unions really stand for. They tend to be conservative about playing a role in the unions. I guess this is due to their being immigrants who lack confidence in participating in the political life of a new country they are not yet familiar with.”

A “LONG-TIME PROGRESSIVE”

Luisa is certainly not new to the business of organizing, be it among workers or in the Filipino community. She is also highly vocal about her political opinions on labor issues and on issues confronting the Filipino community.

In 1977, Luisa joined the National Defense Committee for Narciso-Perez, Filipino nurses who were framed for the murder of 8 patients but were later found innocent. She also helped coordinate the Philippine National Day, and the Filipino People’s Far West Convention of 1980 in San Francisco.

As a nurse in the intensive care unit of SFGH for five years, Luisa fought understaffing and deteriorating working conditions brought on by cutbacks. This propelled her union activism, until she became a shop steward and a member of the executive committee of Local 400.

She has consistently been critical of the Marcos dictatorship and of the U.S. role in perpetuating the “political and economic enslavement of the Philippines.”

Luisa Blue is a long-time progressive whose aims, if successful, will only stand to benefit a big number of San Francisco’s organized workers. □

Baruso Sued for Embezzling

SEATTLE—Constantine "Tony" Baruso, ousted from the presidency of the ILWU Local 37 barely a year ago after he was implicated in the murders of two activist union officers, faced deeper troubles as the union's Executive Board filed a lawsuit against him for theft of union funds.

The suit, filed July 28th in King County Superior Court, charged Baruso with having improperly received reimbursements for travel expenses to annual conventions hosted by the Alaska Employer's Non-Resident Cannery Workers Health and Welfare Trust.

Baruso allegedly requested and received identical reimbursements from both the union and trustees' fund.

The union wants to recover refunds paid to Baruso. His "double dipping" is also a violation of federal statutes and could bring stiff criminal penalties.

Evidence of Baruso's embezzlement surfaced as a result of a probe conducted by the U.S. Dept of Labor. The department found that Baruso "billed his labor organization twice for convention trips to such places as Acapulco and Honolulu."

As a result of one year's travel, he allegedly collected as much as \$ 5,500 in undeserved reimbursements, Seattle press sources revealed.

Local 37 Union Vice-President Terri

Mast stated that this lawsuit is part of a "settling of accounts with the former corrupt union leadership," and of the reform movement's effort to "thoroughly clean up the union."

STILL A PRIME MURDER SUSPECT

Baruso, who is also known as a "community leader" with close political ties to the Marcos regime, has been heavily implicated in the June 1st 1981 murders of Local 37 union leaders Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

Numerous testimonies during the past trials of convicted assailants Jimmy Ramil, Ben Guloy and Tony Dictado have pointed to Baruso's role in the murder conspiracy. All three were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment without parole.

According to the prosecuting attorney's office, Baruso remains a "prime suspect in the murders."

MURDERS SPARK THEFT PROBE

Ironically, Baruso himself may have unwittingly initiated the Labor Department probe of the union's financial accounts.

In press interviews after the slayings and before he was implicated in the murders, Baruso told reporters that kickback payments were known to have taken place at the union hall. Applicants desperate for cannery jobs in Alaska, he said, might have

paid union officials "under the table" in exchange for job slots.

His statements may have spurred the Labor Department to conduct an audit of the union's finances. While no hard evidence was found to support kickback allegations, Department investigators stumbled upon discrepancies in the use of travel funds.

A report on the Labor Department findings was submitted to U.S. Attorney Gene Anderson as early as May 28 this year, but Anderson refused to say what he planned to do about the allegations.

Elaine Ko, Co-chairperson of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, emphasized that the latest union embezzlement suit re-raises the question of whether the U.S. Attorney's Office and the FBI are ever going to indict Baruso as a result of their own investigations.

At about the same time Labor Department officials were conducting their investigations, the FBI assigned more than a dozen agents to look into possible racketeering and gang-controlled gambling at the canneries.

However, the FBI probe slowed down, prompting Mast and the Committee for Justice to lodge a complaint to U.S. Rep. Mike Lowry, D-Wash.

Lowry subsequently arranged a meeting between Committee for Justice counsel Mike Withey and George Fisher, assistant



Tony Baruso

special agent in charge of the Seattle FBI office who claimed their investigation is "still continuing."

"Despite the fact that the Department of Labor report about the embezzlement case has been in the hands of the U.S. Attorney for two months," Ko stated, "no indictments have been brought against Baruso."

"These federal agents' failure to indict him for his role in racketeering and interstate gambling, is cause for serious concern in the community and amongst the union membership," Ko added. □

Pressure on Victor Lovely

The counsel for Victor Lovely Jr., a key witness in the federal grand jury investigating U.S.-based Marcos opponents recently accused the Marcos government of interfering with the American judicial process and denounced Philippine agents here who were allegedly pressuring Lovely to "force his testimony to their advantage."

In a letter to Chief Judge Robert Peckham of the United States District Court, Jose Lauchengco, Jr., Lovely's counsel, demanded an investigation of Philippine officials in the U.S. who are attempting to "use the veil of diplomatic or consular offices by which to affect judicial proceedings in this country."

In the same letter dated June 12, 1982, Lauchengco asked Judge Peckham "if it may be necessary for the FBI to take affirmative steps to test the extent to which some Philippine government officials would venture to interfere with the integrity of our judicial process."

MARCOS AGENTS PUT PRESSURE

The letter was prompted by a series of events disclosed by Lovely including a meeting with Los Angeles Philippine

Consul General Armando Fernandez, who allegedly told Lovely to dismiss Lauchengco as his counsel and to replace him with a pro-Marcos lawyer.

Should Lovely heed his advice, Fernandez reportedly said, "everything would be alright."

The meeting took place after another Philippine agent allegedly made an unsuccessful bid to encourage Lovely to return to the Philippines.

Philippine Assemblyman John Hoefler, a logging concessionaire from Mindanao, was allegedly dispatched to the U.S. to privately meet Lovely in Los Angeles, shortly after the latter testified before the federal grand jury hearings in San Francisco-February 22, 1982.

Lovely said he refused Hoefler's offers to pay his medical needs and legal bills if he returned to Southeast Asia.

Upon his return to the Philippines,

Hoefler reportedly issued a memo on the meeting to President Marcos. Lovely's requests to allow his sisters and mother to leave the Philippines was similarly relayed in the Hoefler memo, but no action was apparently taken on it. It is not clear why Philippine authorities want Lovely back in the Philippines or at least out of the U.S.

FEDS GAIN LEGAL ACCESS

In a related development, Judge Peckham ordered the release of Lovely's grand jury testimony to FBI agents and other specified government authorities, despite Lauchengco's vehement opposition claiming such leakage would ultimately be funneled to the Marcos government.

Peckham's court order was issued July 13 in response to a motion filed by the U.S. Attorney's office to release Lovely's secret testimony which claimed it would assist the U.S. government in its proceedings

against U.S.-based Marcos opponents.

U.S. authorities are believed to be confident that his testimony will stand up in future proceedings against Marcos foes operating in this country.

Lovely, a naturalized U.S. citizen, was connected to a string of anti-government bombings in Manila two years ago when a homemade bomb he was assembling exploded in his hands. Lovely's case drew public attention when he refused to testify against his alleged co-conspirators in a federal grand jury hearing in San Francisco. The grand jury was called after an agreement between the then Secretary of State Alexander Haig and the Marcos regime. However, Lovely abruptly broke his silence and eventually testified.

Observers now believe that Lovely's motivation for disclosing new information is because he may be bargaining for a better deal with the Marcos government. □

RP Agents Accused of Meddling

Begin's Dream

Continued from page 11

unconditionally stop Israel's invasion of Lebanon precisely because it also favors the extermination of the Palestinian resistance to Israeli expansion. The PLO stands in the way of U.S. interests because if the Palestinian revolutionary movement is able to reclaim their homeland U.S. influence would diminish in the region. The Palestinians certainly will not forget who supported their enemies and the U.S. knows they will also not forget that the Soviet Union supported their struggle.

The U.S.' supposed interest in stopping the war in Lebanon is not so much tied to actually stopping Israel's goals but more to neutralize the international criticism Israel is receiving for conducting genocidal actions. Washington is also concerned that Begin's manic determination to level West Beirut is jeopardizing Reagan's ability to make new friends in the Arab world.

PLO's HALF-FRIENDS AND FRIENDS

The Arab countries ruled by reactionary regimes on the other hand, are not willing

to give the PLO sanctuary for a host of self-serving reasons. Reactionary Arab states remain fearful of Zionist expansion, especially as Israel remains the most developed military power in the region. Hosting the PLO, they fear, provides the Israeli an excuse to eventually invade, not only to destroy the PLO but to annex more land and natural resources.

Reactionary Arab regimes also find the revolutionary influence of the PLO intolerable.

Hosting the PLO, which even Western observers admit is the most democratic of all Arab governments, could turn against them as their domestic population get attracted to revolutionary ideology.

The Soviet Union has been giving "tremendous support" to the PLO, according to a U.S.-based Palestinian activist. "But one must understand it cannot go directly into Lebanon to help us without getting into a world war with the U.S."

WINNING BUT LOSING

As the tragedy of Lebanon drags on, the Israelis are discovering that they cannot

destroy the PLO unless they plan to kill every Palestinian. However successful Begin's military campaign may be, it is at the expense of driving Israel towards international isolation and criticism.

The U.S. is having difficulty in continually portraying the Arabs as a race of terrorists when the world can plainly see the results of Israeli genocide. The U.S.' problem with Israel is that the tail appears to be wagging the dog. At this point, Reagan has to show that he can control Begin if the U.S. is to continue rallying domestic support for its extravagant aid to Israel. Most immediately its ability to construct alliances in the Arab world hinges on its ability to demonstrate the capacity to prevent Israelis from launching invasions anytime and anywhere they please.

PLO member Zehdi Terzi, a United Nations observer, appealed to the General Assembly last June to end the invasion of Lebanon. But he stated that "on our side we are determined to survive and to defend our rights and our children. We shall never allow the aggressors to reap the fruits of their aggression." In other words, for as long as there are Palestinians and for as long as they have not regained their homeland, the PLO cannot be buried in the rubble of West Beirut. And Begin's military victory will only come to naught. □

Chronology . . .

Continued from page 11

struggle against Israeli Zionists.

June 1967: Six Day War between Israel and the Arab countries of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Israel emerges victorious by occupying the rest of Palestine and annexing the Egyptian Sinai and the Golan Heights in Syria. 35,000 Arabs are killed, seven Palestinian villages are levelled.

1969: The PLO adopts the goal of establishing a "democratic secular state" in all of Palestine.

1970: King Hussein with U.S.-supplied arms launches the Black September massacre against Palestinian refugees in Jordan. 20,000 Palestinian men, women and children are killed or wounded in 13 days.

1975: The United Nations condemns Zionism as a form of racism and recognizes the "national rights" of the Palestinians.

Adapted from: Our Roots are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People by the Palestine Book Project

The U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon

Begin's Dream is the Palestinian's Nightmare



By VINCE REYES

"We will not stop the attack until Lebanon is cleansed of PLO terrorists," proclaimed Israeli President Menachem Begin as his fighter jets sent bombs screaming through the skies of Beirut striking alleged PLO targets.

Under the thin guise of eliminating "terrorism" in the Middle East, Israel has launched a terroristic invasion attack on Lebanon where thousands of Palestinians have fled since their homeland was forcibly taken away by the establishment of the Zionist state of Israel in 1948.

Israel's foray into Lebanon flows from the logic of Zionism whose historical objective is to legitimize its forcible takeover of Palestinian land. (See article this page.)

All along, Zionist landgrabbing has hidden behind the valid cause of resolving the age-old oppression of the Jewish people. Ironically, its supporters appear to see no similarity between the genocidal Nazi destruction of the Jewish Warsaw ghetto during WWII and the daily Zionist bombardment of West Beirut.

THE NEW HOLOCAUST

The Palestinian Liberation Organization, which represents the Palestinian national movement to reclaim their home is Israel's biggest obstacle to gaining stability as a "nation-state." As long as the PLO remains, the legitimacy of Israel's claim to existence will always be challenged and Zionism is hard put to justify its aims of further expansion into Arab territories.

Thus, Israel's current war efforts are all premised on the complete destruction of the PLO. They appear to embody three main goals. The first is to decisively establish a puppet fascist Christian government in Lebanon which would control the Palestinian population and make sure the PLO does not get reestablished there. Secondly, to push the Palestinians' Syrian supporters out of Lebanon, and thirdly to set the political basis for the complete annexation of the West Bank and Gaza where over two million Palestinians now reside under Israeli military occupation.

This course has led to the current seven-week-old war which, according to Red Cross estimates now has claimed the lives of over 40,000 people, 80% of whom are civilians. Tens of thousands are unaccounted for and over 600,000 homeless.

Currently, Israeli planes and gunboats are slamming heavy artillery fire into the PLO stronghold in West Beirut where 8,000 fighters are surrounded. The death toll is increasing by the hour.

EXISTENCE BY AGGRESSION

Zionism's policy, since its inception at the turn of the century, has been built on the necessity of aggression and war with the Arabs. Besides the banishment and continuous attacks on Palestinians, the Israeli population itself has been made to

participate in an economy driven by military activity.

An estimated 300,000 out of 4 million Israelis work in war-related industries. Of men and women in military age, 30% are in uniform full-time with the remainder capable of being rapidly mobilized from the reserves.

Israel ranks number one worldwide with the greatest percentage of its gross national product spent on the military—45%. Its per capita military expenditure is the second highest in the world. Its external debt, due to military spending, exceeds \$16 billion. Because of lack of development in other domestic industries Israel has turned to arms sales, currently ranking 7th in the world.

The war-economy also forces increased taxation in order to maintain its repression over occupied territories. The unstable business of war results in high unemployment rates and high inflation (up to 200% per year).

The Israeli state is consequently up to its neck with domestic problems. There has been a marked exodus out of Israel with citizens opting for the U.S. and Europe. An anti-war movement has also emerged with 50,000 people at one point demonstrating against the war in Lebanon. Tension is also seething over the racist treatment of the Arab population.

ISRAEL'S BANKROLLER

What keeps the bottom from falling out of Israel is the lavish assistance it receives from another party interested in maintaining it as a strategic ally in the Middle East—namely, the United States.

Israel has the dubious distinction of receiving the largest amount of U.S. military

assistance in the world. Next year, it will receive \$2.485 billion in U.S. military aid and will soon receive 75 F-15 jet fighters and \$1 billion in arms—presumably to keep up its latest attacks on Lebanon. The U.S. has assisted in the construction of a massive military base in the Negev desert and has "buffer" units of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force positioned in the Sinai.

The U.S. stake in the region is obviously tied to securing the oil-rich lands for its own profit. In addition the U.S. is fearful of the Soviet Union's ties with the Palestinians and countries like Syria. In order to protect its interests, the U.S. has pumped support into Israel, building it as a "strategic ally" whose role is to represent the "democratic" interests in the region. Of course, forces antagonistic to its ally such as the Palestinian national movement and independent Arab regimes are seen as "threats to democracy" in the region.

However, the balance of power and alignment of forces in the region have been made complex, particularly with the loss of the pro-U.S. Shah of Iran.

FAKE PEACEMAKER

Thus, the Camp David plan was devised to ease the tension between Israel and reactionary Arab regimes and as a way for the U.S. to build new alliances with the latter, notably Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan. Israel sees Camp David as a way of neutralizing the Arab regimes so it can concentrate against the Palestinians.

The U.S. State Department has made it known that it had knowledge of Israel's current invasion of Lebanon well over a year ago—a small detail which, if the U.S. was really interested in keeping peace would not have glossed over.

But it is not in the interest of the U.S. to

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A Chronology of of Zionism

Palestine Liberation Organization spokesperson Zehdi Terzi stated before the United Nations that "The Palestinian people know what it means to be repressed, to be murdered, to be exiled, to be tortured.... the Zionist State aims not only to violate human rights, but actually to eliminate in its entirety one of the world's peoples, the Palestinian people." The current war in Lebanon is but a continuation of the assault on the Palestinian people which dates back to the late 1800s.

The Arab-Israeli dispute began with the forcible takeover of Palestine by thousands of Jewish immigrants under the banner of the Zionist movement. Since the turn of the century, Zionism has called for a return to "the promised land" which is Palestine, even though the country had already been inhabited for centuries by the Arabs.

Zionism falsely portrays the exodus of Jews to Palestine as a national liberation movement while distorting and slandering the Palestinian people's attempts to reclaim their homeland as an anti-Semitic threat.

The following are highlights of the developments of Zionism:

1896: The First Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland which proclaimed its goal of establishing a "national home in Palestine for the Jewish people."

1916: The Arab Revolt against the Turkish empire begins its fight for the independence of Palestine. Britain intercedes and promises the Arabs independence but secretly negotiates the Sykes-Picot treaty with France for the purpose of bringing the Arab countries under the wing of British colonialism.

1917: Britain bares its commitment to the Zionist movement by issuing the Balfour Declaration which promises a "national home" in Palestine for the Zionists.

1920: Britain takes control of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire during WWI. A League of Nations mandate implicitly recognizes Palestine's right to independence after a provisional colonial government assists in its administrative development. Riots break out in Jerusalem.

1921-29: Palestinian protests against British rule continue while Jewish immigration dramatically increases.

1933: Hitler's persecution of Jewish people in Germany results in a greater influx of settlers into Palestine.

1936-39: Palestinians escalate an armed rebellion against the British Mandate government, demanding independence. Britain is forced to restrict Jewish immigration to Palestine.

1942-46: Zionists turn to the U.S. for main support and issue the Biltmore Program calling for the formation of a Jewish State in Palestine. War breaks out between the Zionists and British.

1947: Palestine is partitioned by a United Nations vote. Palestinians and Zionists begin open warfare.

1948: The State of Israel is proclaimed by the Zionists. Zionist commandos led by Menachem Begin slaughter the entire Palestinian village of Deir Yassin. Begin recounts "the massacre was not only justified but there would not have been a state of Israel without the victory of Deir Yassin." Arab League troops intervene on the side of the Palestinians.

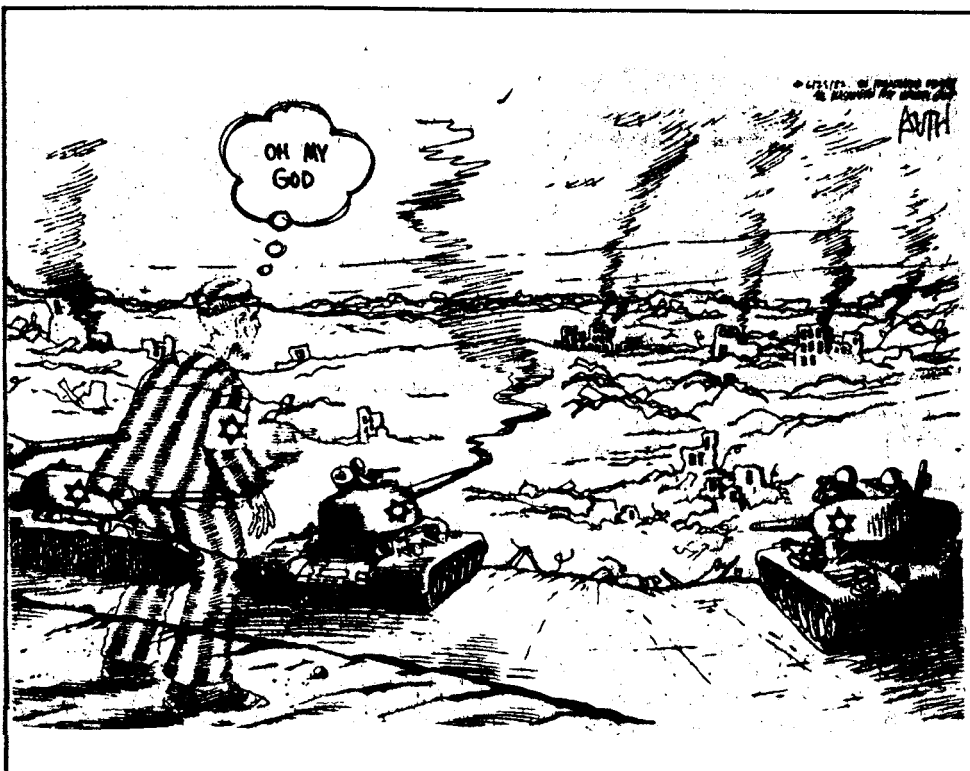
1949: Israel is victorious and after a ceasefire, over 80% of Palestine is occupied with three-quarters of a million Palestinians driven out.

1958: Founding of the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Fateh).

1964: Founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

1965: Palestinian guerrillas launch armed

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Adapted from
CORDILLERA UPDATE

Fifty Bontoc families living in a cluster of traditional huts in the heart of Baguio City recently petitioned city officials to provide them with electricity.

Their request was dismissed by local authorities who insisted that electricity would spoil the village's ambience. Who ever heard of electric lights in a traditional Bontoc village? The Bontocs and their village had been officially proclaimed a tourist spot by none less than President Ferdinand E. Marcos ten years earlier and local authorities were hardly willing to take any action which might interfere with their city's chief industry.

Tourism, in fact, has become a major source of foreign exchange and government policy aims to expand the industry as much as possible. The mountain areas of the Cordillera which feature a cool climate, natural scenic beauty and rich cultural diversity have been marked for special attention. The many people who call the area their home—seven major tribal groupings collectively known as Igorots, and numbering a total of 854,280—have all directly or indirectly been affected by the development of tourism.

BAGUIO CITY AND ITS PEOPLE

Baguio City today is a key tourist center for the country. As far back as 1900, the U.S. colonial administration designated Baguio as the rest and recreation center for recuperating American soldiers. The construction of Kennon Road connecting the lowlands to this mountain city in 1900-1905 signalled the beginning of this scheme. Today, Baguio is still the rest and recreation center, not only for American soldiers, but for tourists both domestic and foreign.

Tourism as a way of life for Baguio is, in fact, government policy. The National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) defines the city as an educational center, a commercial center and a tourist center. The city's local government never fails to leave out tourism development in its list of priorities. In outlining his program of administration, the city mayor, retired Maj. Gen. Ernesto H. Bueno, explicitly declared the launching of an aggressive tourist promotion program among his top priorities.

But where have the original Ibaloi inhabitants of Baguio gone?

Dislocated and now totally alienated from their native culture, they can be found staffing the parasitic industry which has replaced their traditional modes of production and survival.

Modern Baguio has little to offer its present citizens. Philippine government officials claim that the tourism industry generates employment opportunities, but the jobs created are mainly of a non-productive nature. They help to sustain an orientation of dependency, inferiority and subservience. Today, the bulk of Baguio's labor force is employed in service-oriented jobs acting as salesgirls, tourist guides, bellboys, entertainers, and prostitutes. The productivity of these services in substantive terms is zero. Cash is fed into the city economy in wages and tips, but nothing of utility is produced.

As a result, many educated Baguio residents have abandoned their roots in search of better opportunities for employment and professional advancement in other cities in the country.

To those who remain, the situation is bleak. The heavy influx of tourists during peak seasons sends prices zooming up to exorbitant levels. Local inhabitants, mostly service workers, can hardly compete with wealthy tourists in acquiring expensive consumer commodities. The cost of living in Baguio is thus higher than most other cities in the country.

The effect of the tourism industry on the Baguio population is felt in other vital areas as well. The very basic issue of city services, such as light and water, is a perennial problem. During the summer months, when water is scarce, the Baguio Water District (BWD) is forced intermittently to cut off water supplies to the city's densely populated centers.

Tourism and the People of the Cordilleras



bloomingdale's

Bloomingdale's ad sells lamps handcrafted by cultural minorities who will never be able to use or afford them.

Local residents are thus forced to obtain water for household needs from other sources. Long lines of people at artesian wells are a common sight during the summer months of April and May. Yet this serious problem of water shortage is not felt in the city's big hotels, which are designed to cater to the tourist's standards. These hotels are assured of a continuous supply of hot and cold water to ensure the visitor's comforts.

In like manner, the inconvenient brown-outs frequently experienced by Baguio residents are an unknown phenomenon in the city's tourist establishments. Local residents are thus deprived of these services, in order to meet the ever-growing demand of tourists.

THE GRAND CAÑAO?

In 1978, the Baguio City government, the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) and the Baguio Association of Hotels and Inns (BAHAI) jointly launched an ambitious project called the "Grand Cañao." Pursued in line with the MOT's program of "cultural enhancement," the Grand Cañao sought to bring the various Cordillera tribes together in a magnificent festival of song and dance. The sponsoring entities claimed that the event was being launched as a show of concern for the Igorots.

Today young Igorot students in Baguio City have commented that if those organizing the Grand Cañao were genuinely concerned with the people's well-being, the ₱100,000 in government funds invested in the affair could have been channelled more productively. They cite the almost total lack of basic social services in the Cordilleras such as road, schools, and hospitals.

During the 1978 Grand Cañao, genuine attempts were made to present native rituals, songs and dances as realistically as possible. Efforts were directed towards encouraging the participation of the people in the village level.

But, by the second year, all attempts at grassroots participation had been dropped. In fact, the central figures were the provincial governors dancing on stage with their audience led by no less than the country's First Couple. The age-old community character of the ritual had thus been placed totally under the control of the authoritarian political system.

Whereas the traditional ceremony is held on the village level and called only during significant occasions like on weddings, or inter-tribal peace pacts, the Grand Cañao was simply a festival re-created

out of context and performed for the purpose of attracting tourists to sustain the industry in Baguio. For most of the Cordillera peoples, this was a sacrilege. If the tourists could only have understood the chants aired by some Ibaloi groups during the 1979 Grand Cañao, they would have realized that the people were praying to *Kabunian* (God) not to take offense and punish them for their participation in the affair!

OTHER TOURISM PROJECTS

In the outlying areas of the Cordillera, tourism development project have had a direct role in dislocating Igorots from their lands.

In 1975, 355 hectares of choice agricultural lands in Taloy Sur, Tuba, Benguet were marked off for the proposed construction of Marcos Park. The principal feature of the park was to be a monumental bust of Ferdinand Marcos. In addition, the park would feature tourist, sports and recreation facilities, including a big hotel and an international standard golf course.

To make way for the prestige project, 81 self-sufficient Ibaloi families were urged to leave their ancestral lands and to resettle in some 45 nipa huts constructed by the park authorities, also within the park area. The idea behind the resettlement program was that these displaced persons would later be employed in the maintenance of the park—as gardeners, caddies, entertainers, dancers, etc.

The resettlement offer was rejected by the people. Utilizing a combination of threat and persuasion, the MOT finally arrived at a uniform total compensation of ₱10,000 for each family, with no relocation. The people accepted when persuaded by government officials that their attempts to fight the case in court might lead to an even more unfavorable settlement.

In December 1980, work on the proposed international standard golf course was started. The land-moving work, however, caused the disturbance and destruction of some 121 graves located, in keeping with Ibaloi custom, right in the yards of the resident's homes. In January, the Taloy Folk sent a petition to the MOT informing them that the graves of their ancestors were being destroyed by the bulldozing activities. They asked that the PTA stop the construction of the proposed golf course until terms of payment for the transfer of the remains were resolved. It is the Ibaloi custom to hold a cañao (ritual) before removing or transferring their dead to a new site. This ritual would involve the

slaughter of animals and the purchase of valuable burial blankets to wrap the remains.

The Taloy residents demanded ₱10,000 to cover the expenses for the removal of adult cadavers, and ₱4,000 for children. On February 3, the PTA offered ₱2,000 to cover the expenses in transferring the remains. The Taloy folk rejected the offer. Representatives from the PTA then proceeded to get shovels and started digging the graves.

BANAUE TOURIST ROAD

Another case of tourism development in the Cordilleras is the construction of the Banaue tourist road in Ifugao in 1975. The town of Banaue has become a tourist center on the basis of its extensive system of rice terracing—the combined efforts of generations of Ifugaos. This tribute to Ifugao culture has been declared a national monument and is marked for exploitation (development) as a tourist spot.

To facilitate entry into the area, a double-lane cemented highway has been constructed connecting Banaue to the main Manila road in the province of Nueva Vizcaya at the cost of ₱90,000,000. Tourists can now travel in comfort by bus from Manila, and stay in the government-developed Banaue Hotel to view the work of the Ifugaos.

The bitter irony of the Banaue tourist road construction is that, in bringing visitors to marvel at the skill of the Ifugao terracers, the road construction actually destroyed whole areas of rice terraces in the Banaue area. Compensation was promised by the Highway District Engineering Office of the province, but these prices were pegged at the ludicrously low government assessments. The total compensation promised did not even constitute 10% of the capital outlay for the road construction. In time, the affected Ifugaos came to realize that even these small sums would not be totally paid.

The unwillingness of government agencies and the construction companies to release full and just compensation, and their disregard for the people's livelihood eventually forced a violent response—the people burned down the camp of one of the construction outfits—Dimsun Construction Company.

Today, the road and remaining construction camps are heavily guarded by military personnel. The people's bitterness over the loss of their valuable lands remain hidden, but the bitterness remains nonetheless. □