

Ang **Katipunan**

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Newsmagazine of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

August 21: The Rage is Still There

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Philippine Economy

Who's Recovering?

I bear the tidings of good news. We have recovered our balance. We have now moved forward, taken the tide on the high swing and moved into the open sea of progress,' announced President Ferdinand Marcos.

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R.P. High Court Joins Aquino Cover-Up

The Philippine Supreme Court ruled 10-3 that Gen. Fabian Ver's previous testimony before the Agrava fact-finding board on the Aquino assassination cannot be used as evidence against him in the current conspiracy trial. So, Gen. Ver, loyal bodyguard-turned Armed Forces Chief of Staff, may be acquitted as everyone has predicted—despite the gaping holes in his previous testimony.

It must be remembered that Ver had to squirm his way through those hearings. He had such a hard time explaining the concrete circumstances surrounding the presumably failed mission to secure Aquino's safety that in a magazine interview he gave at that time the general resorted to hinting that the assassination might have been an act of God or a superior irresistible force (*force majeure*).

Ver's counsel, Dean Antonio Coronel, hailed the high court's decision as "a moral victory for the entire criminal process [*sic*] in the country." He's right. It's very difficult to imagine how anyone involved in a "criminal process"—from the planning to the actual commission of a crime—cannot be elated by this decision.

The Reagan administration cannot escape responsibility for this charade even though it may appear disappointed at the turn of events at the trial. The U.S. has pushed only for a "credible" trial, one where the rap can be pinned on sacrificial lambs. It has not been eager to go after the real mastermind himself, not before

its own political transition schemes are secured, and not if the pursuit will unnecessarily jeopardize its own stakes in the stability of the ruling system. Washington may complain about Ver but ultimately it is hundreds of millions in U.S. aid to Marcos that is allowing him to get away.

To the people the lesson is becoming clear. If someone like Benigno Aquino cannot get justice under the present dispensation, who can? The more critical question is *how* should the people try to obtain justice for Aquino and other victims of dictatorial rule when the weak get mocked and the powerful who abuse are given "moral victories?" More and more Filipinos are acting out the answer to that question.

KAL 007 Tragedy Two Years Later: What The U.S. Won't Tell

Remember the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 with 269 people on board two years ago on September 1? Moscow's protestation that the plane was deliberately set off course into sensitive Soviet territory as part of a spy mission was hardly heard in the din of condemnations. Washington had a field day and really poured it on about the "irrationality of the Soviet system and its inherent disregard for the value of human life" or something to that effect. Now, two years later, the story is out that raises the question of just who it is that has very little regard for human life in pursuing propagandistic ends.

A *New York Times* report last September 1 said that evidence introduced in lawsuits filed in connection with the downing of KAL 007 "suggests that American radar operators knew hours beforehand that the jet-

liner was off course and heading into Soviet air-space."

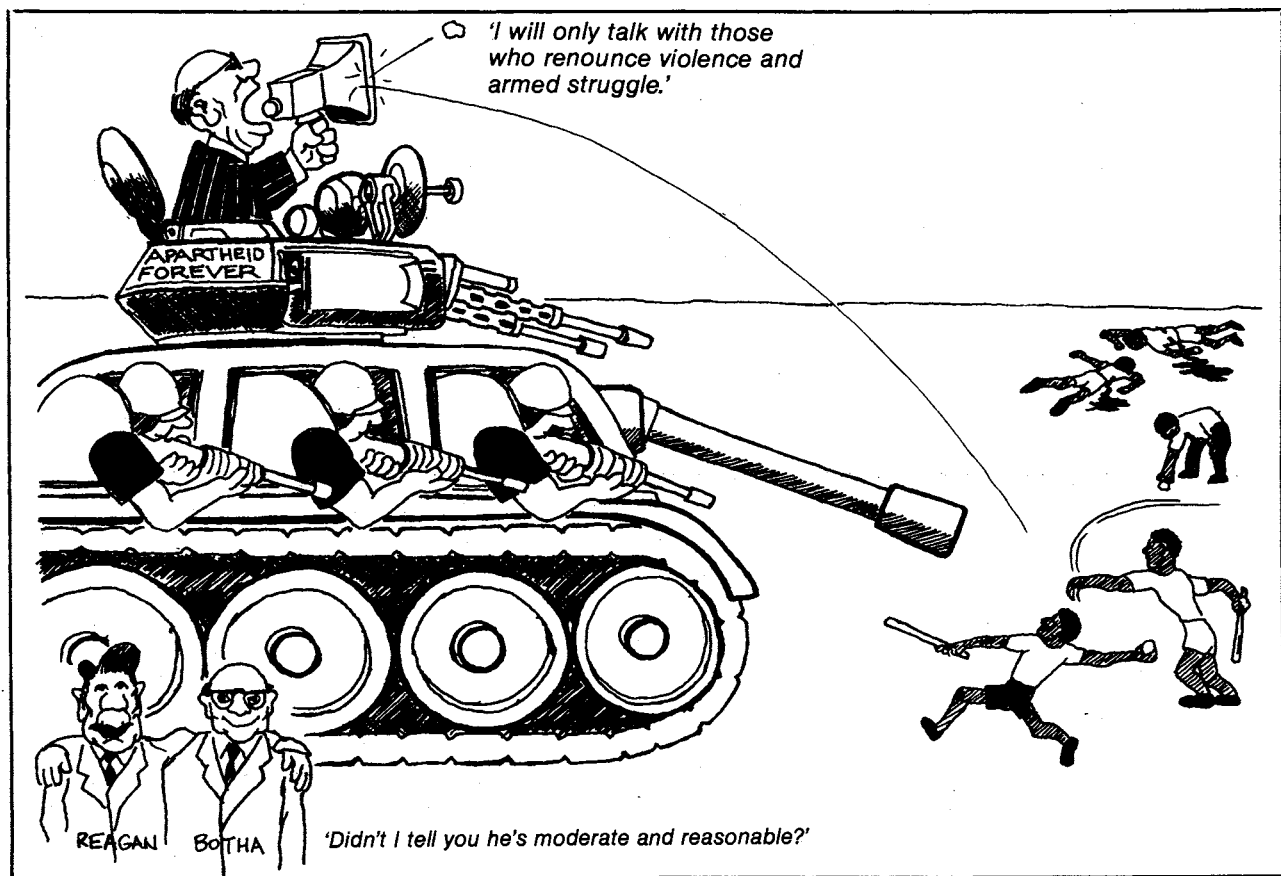
Those who have questioned the U.S. role insisted that American radar operators must have known the Korean jet was off its course and should have warned the crew. The official U.S. position has always claimed that no one knew the jet was straying into Soviet territory and that therefore no warning could have been given.

The words, "We should warn him" (KAL 007's pilot, presumably) were heard at the U.S. government's civil air traffic control station in Alaska as the jet strayed off its fatal encounter with the Soviet fighter plane, according to the documents.

The documents were filed August 30 in a federal court in the District of Columbia as evidence in damage suits against the U.S. government by relatives of the people who died in the incident. A veteran former air controller who listened to a copy of recording of ground-to-air contacts at the time of the incident made an affidavit about the conversation.

Lawyers for the plaintiffs charged that "the government knows the identity of the person who said the words and is concealing it." They added: "The record on file in court demonstrates that the government destroyed the automatic recordings of what was observed on the radar scopes that night. The concealment of the person who spoke those words and the destruction of the recordings indicate the obvious."

Is the White House guilty of these charges? The government's legal consultant on the case had this to say: "No controller had any reason at any time to believe that anything was other than what it was supposed to be." Doesn't this tongue-tied response indicate the obvious?



Ang Katipunan

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LETTERS

I am glad to have received a copy of your publication. You see last night, I was at the memorial mass for Ninoy at the Holy Family Church dito sa 47th Street sa New York. After the mass, I saw somebody with copies of *Ang Katipunan* and I bought a copy from him. Now that I've read it, I'd like to continue receiving copies of your paper in order to keep me up to date with what's happening in the Philippines. Maraming salamat at ituloy niyo ang inyong pagkilos.

W.G.
Bronx, NY

Litter from Manila

IMF Lean Cuisine



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

Don't think that the physical fitness craze is confined to the United States and other developed countries. Dieting and exercise are all the rage here in Manila, too. I've taken up jogging myself and I'm watching what I eat. My only remaining weakness is coffee, well, give or take a few other old vices that are really just too hard for a virile, hot-blooded real man like me to give up such as going to church and being a good citizen.

We should be happy about this craze because dieting is not only good for you, it's good for government. This I learned while following our negotiations with the International Monetary Fund. The reason our officials had a hard time getting new credit was that they had to deal with a very strict bank officer who was a dietician-gym instructor-turned-IMF negotiator by the name of Jack La Loan.

He believes there's nothing a good diet can't save be it a collapsed financial system or a tottering republic. He wasn't hostile to our officials but boy, did he have a lot to say about our government's habits which he wanted changed as a pre-condition for more loans.

Our government needs to trim the fat, Mr. La Loan said. Too many hands have been dipping into the pork

barrel. The First Lady, he advised, should start losing weight instead of throwing it around. "She should stop telling her Human Settlements ministry officials to let the people eat cake."

When it comes to development projects, we must use only carefully chosen ingredients in cooking up deals with government contract seekers: "If you must ask them to grease your palm, ask them to grease it lightly and they should be told to use dabs, not globs of polyunsaturated pats on the back when buttering up someone."

Dollar salting is a no-no. Salted dollars, while great appetizers, tend to raise the opposition's blood pressure as do dishes like cronied beef and cabbage or anything done *Lutong Macoy*. "Certain presidential pals are also hogging all the sugar and all the coconuts. No good. Other planters get mad and want to give them—you guessed it—their just desserts."

But it is all right, he said, for the military to have the largest slice of the budget pie. After all, they need the energy to go after the NPA whose diet is leaner and more natural consisting entirely as it does of grass-roots (support).

On the other hand, we should cut down on colonels and generals who do nothing but curry favors with the First Family. "Indulging in too much curried favors can cause loose reform movements in the body politic, even in the military."

If our government stays away from these tempting and scrumptious habits, it will have enough credibility to ask the public to join a weight loss or austerity program. It can scale down social spending, like on education, some more. The workers may want more hot food on their plates as well as more ice-cold COLAs (cost-of-living allowances) but we must ask them to make do with frozen wages every night. For this, the government needs credibility.

"Remember, to pay us back you need to get more fresh-squeezed taxes from your taxpayers or fry them

in their own oil and you really need to be convincing," warned La Loan.

So we must exercise moderation, he said, and stay away from a diet that's too rich. An excess of grease, sugar, coconuts, cronied beef, curried favors, and salted dollars was bound to destroy President Marcos' kidneys. And there's nothing the masses hate, he said, than having to sit there while the President, with his bad kidneys, insists on discharging his responsibilities.

Looking lean is the look to have. Everyone who is anyone who owns most everything is spending lots of good money on nautilus equipment, imported sports-wear, special aerobics classes, and what not. Unfortunately, looking lean can create social confusion. Take this guy I met on the street—Juan de la Cruz—who was tan and had that lean and hungry look women love so much. I asked him what exercise program he followed—Richard Simmons, Jane Fonda, Jazzercise?

"Manual labor. I dig ditches for 18 pesos a day if I get hired."

Okay. Well, what kind of diet did he buy with that? The basic food groups?

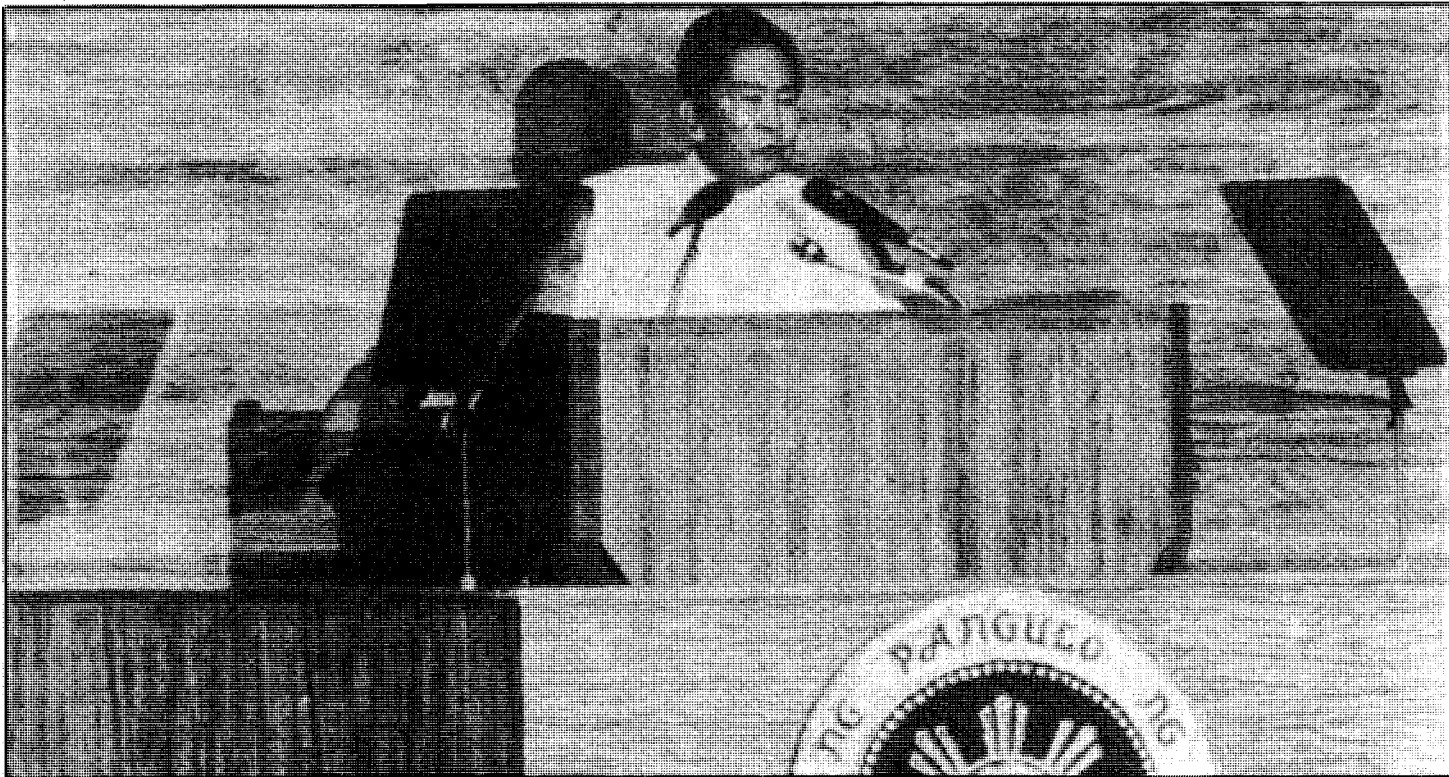
"Stamps. All I can buy with 18 pesos are two airmail stamps to the U.S."

Okay. Now there's only so much essence of cassava you can get from licking stamps so where did he get his other nutrients?

"I write to my relatives in the States and sometimes they send me money. I don't just look lean and hungry. I am hungry."

So you see, looks are deceiving and Manilans who are in the know know that thin is not enough. It is absolutely necessary to get rich first and then get thin. There are just far too many people—millions of them—walking around in the Philippines today who are terribly thin but are not really rich you know.

Snap Polls Scrapped, FM Fumes at Impeach Try



Marcos in Batasan: rattled but unimpeached.

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

The on-again-off-again plan for "snap" local and presidential elections has once more been put off, according to a Malacañang press statement August 26. Linked to this announcement was a fit of presidential panic over what Malacañang construed as a U.S. effort to bolster the opposition's aborted impeachment move in parliament. But first, to the announcement itself.

Claiming that "the Filipino people have overwhelmingly rejected snap elections" the government cited a survey which supposedly polled a cross-section of the country's 42,000 baranggays. No details of the survey were released.

Opposition presidential hopeful Salvador "Doy" Laurel claimed that the suspension of early elections was a tacit admission of weakness on the part of the regime. He decried the survey as a deceptive propaganda ploy to give the appearance of a democratic consensus for a decision Marcos made unilaterally.

"The poorly orchestrated surveys and the results regarding snap elections, merely show that the ruling party is afraid to face the people in early elections," Laurel said.

Insecure or not, Marcos once more proved with the smug presidential announcement that he would only square with the opposition on his own terms. Despite reports that his party would fare badly in future polls, he has tried to maintain the initiative in the ongoing cat-and-mouse game with opposition contenders for power. The scrapping of "snap" elections which had been banded about by Marcos throughout 1985 was the strongman's latest move in the most recent round of sparring with the opposition.

IMPEACHMENT JITTERS

The announcement that local and national elections will be held as originally scheduled in 1986 and 1987 was seen as partly a retaliatory move against opposition members of parliament who earlier sponsored an initiative to impeach the president.

MP Homobono Adaza was the chief sponsor of the initiative signed by 52 other opposition MPs. The resolution accused Marcos of "graft and corruption, culpable violation of the constitution, gross violation of the constitution, gross violation of his oath of office, and other high crimes."

The impeachment move grew out of the dollar salting scandal involving Marcos cronies which was widely exposed in the United States. Opposition MPs claimed they had "damning evidence" obtained

from U.S. sources to substantiate the impeachment charges.

Panicked, the ruling KBL party retaliated harshly by immediately introducing two resolutions, one calling for the rejection of the impeachment proposal and the other proposing the expulsion of the opposition from the National Assembly.

What caught everyone by surprise, however, was the president's reaction. According to a report by *Time* magazine, Marcos was truly worried. Marcos threatened to dissolve the National Assembly, decrying the impeachment move as inimical to

investment information was readily available through the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission and revenue statements of local and state governments.

The offer clearly unnerved the Marcos camp, the chief culprit behind the capital flight. Although the Ministry of Justice has been instructed to investigate the matter, the government of course remained cool to the U.S. offer. But all sorts of danger signals must have flashed in Malacañang. The appearance of the U.S. hand in the dollar salting brouhaha must have put Marcos on edge.

'It's hard to laugh off these things when you're hurt. It makes you want to box someone,' Marcos cried.

economic recovery and the fight against insurgency.

A *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* member invited to a late night strategy caucus at Malacañang reportedly confided: "I've never seen the president panicked until now."

Indeed, the probability that the impeachment proposal would prosper in the KBL-dominated assembly was practically nil. A two-thirds vote is required for the passage of a resolution and the opposition only claims one third of the votes. Nonetheless, Marcos was fuming mad and despite the easy defeat of the impeachment resolution on the review committee level, he did not appear to relish his victory. "It's hard to laugh off these things when you're hurt. It makes you want to box someone," he said.

UNSOLICITED ASSISTANCE

The melodrama was so electrifying that one U.S. Embassy official reportedly asked: "Is there a constitutional crisis or is this just political theatre?" The defensive Marcos has even begun to speak of the anti-impeachment vote in the Batasan as "the mandate" for his policies.

As it turned out the Marcosian dramatics were partly based on the fear that some force stronger than the puny Batasan opposition was egging on the impeachment initiative.

At a recent briefing at *Kapihan sa Maynila*, a coffee klatch, U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth offered "assistance" to the Philippine government in ferreting out officials with hidden wealth in the U.S. He said that

But the U.S., afraid of another Iran where it found its eggs in only one basket, is intent on "assisting" Marcos even if he does not like it. Ambassador Bosworth deadpanned: "We have a moral and political stake in a democratic Philippines which transcends all our interests."

Another instance of unsolicited U.S. "assistance" came in the form of the surfacing of three U.S. Armed Forces officers and three non-commissioned officers who are preparing depositions clarifying events at the Wallace and Villamor air stations on the day of Benigno Aquino's assassination. (See story on page 6.)

After two years of silence, U.S. Air Force officials have agreed to give accounts of the suspicious Philippine Armed Forces takeover of the air stations on August 21, 1983. The Filipino officers tried to intercept Aquino's China Airline's flight. This disclosure weakens the military's claim that it did not know of Aquino's exact arrival schedule and bolsters the prosecution's claim that the military was behind the murder.

Finally, recent discussions between Muslim politicians claiming to represent the Moro National Liberation Front, and the U.S. State Department, led to a diplomatic protest by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which questioned the department's "unusual interest" in the Moro issue. (See story on page 8.)

KEEPING THE SPLIT

But "Marcos has dug in his heels and is trying to re-assert his control," observed one Western diplomat. Part of his strategy is to buy more time to rebuild the KBL machinery to ensure a ruling party landslide in 1986, preparatory to a bigger hoped-for victory in 1987.

Already, Marcos is loading the dice in his favor. Marcos has appointed three new members to the Commission on Elections who are known for their loyalty to the regime. The election code is also being re-drafted by a KBL dominated Batasan sub-committee. Marcos has also de-authorized the U.S.-supported NAMFREL from acting as a civilian overseer in the elections.

The president is reportedly eyeing either crony Eduardo Cojuangco or deputy prime minister Jose Roño as his running mate. With either one as vice president, the successor government would still be firmly in the hands of the Marcos camp, should anything untoward happen to the president.

Certain other factors are working in Marcos' favor. The divisions within the broad opposition camp prevent a unified and truly representative electoral challenge from being forged.

The recent falling out between the left and moderates (see story on page 4) has also improved the conditions for U.S. efforts to turn the moderate opposition into its political reserve and hitch it to the initiatives of pro-U.S. elite oppositionists.

The story goes that when Ambassador Bosworth was apprised in the middle of an embassy party of the moderates' walk-out from the BAYAN congress last May, he raised a big, satisfied toast to that left-center alliance's "demise."

Washington's renewed courtship of the traditional opposition is already showing its impact. During memorial services for Benigno Aquino in Boston last August, former senator Ernesto Maceda, a close Aquino associate, candidly expressed a perspective popular among his colleagues:

"Ninoy even in death once again provided hope that things can and will change sooner or later. As a result, the U.S. State Department has made contact with the opposition to Marcos and considers it an acceptable alternative to Marcos, something they hesitated to do when Ninoy was alive."

U.S. strategists want all moderate oppositionists to be won over to precisely this framework and away from the more mass-oriented programs of the left. This way, Washington can have complete initiative in modifying the crisis-plagued ruling system.

Both components of the "U.S.-Marcos" dictatorship therefore, while squabbling with each other, are expected to intensify their own efforts to keep the falling out between the left and the moderates from healing. □



Deputy Minister Jose Rono.

But so far, Marcos would have none of this reconciliation business and still wants to keep it all. Thus, he has backpedaled on a number of promises, allowing, for example, the Agrava Commission to run its course, only to maneuver for an early acquittal of his trusted aide, Gen. Fabian Ver.

He has also "curbed" his crony friends by dismantling their control over the sugar and coconut monopolies, only to resurrect identical monopolies under different names.

August 21: The Rage is Still There



Cory Aquino placing wreath on Ninoy statue.

By WICKS GEAGA

As long as Ferdinand Marcos holds on to the reins of power, August 21 most likely will remain a national day of mourning and protest in the Philippines. An estimated 100,000 Filipinos marked that day this year with demonstrations throughout the country in commemoration of the second

anniversary of the slaying of Benigno Aquino at the Manila International Airport in 1983.

Except for a pro-government rally in Laoag, the capital of Marcos' home province, demonstrations in at least 26 cities including Cebu, Davao, Legaspi, and Bacolod unanimously condemned the Marcos government's repressive dictatorial rule, economic corruption and ineptitude, and deliberate failure to prosecute Aquino's assassins.

It is an overwhelming popular belief

Opposition: Split But Won't Quit

Their attempt may not have gone very far in the bull ring known as the *Batasan Pambansa*, but the oppositionists MPs know better than to concede early defeat to the KBL matadors. After their impeachment resolution was gored to death August 14, opposition MPs vowed to take their cause to a "People's Court," somewhere near the parliament of the streets, in Plaza Miranda.

"More important than the conviction of Mr. Marcos by parliament is his conviction by the international community and the Filipino people," said Homobono Adaza, a leading proponent of the impeachment measure. Despite the defeat of the impeachment move, the opposition garnered more media mileage than they bargained for, and vowed to wave more dirty linen at the dictatorship.

Within days of the circulation of the impeachment resolution's first draft, President Marcos renewed his threat to call for "snap elections," to put his opponents off balance. But opposition big guns issued a quick rejoinder saying they were confident they could name a slate of common candidates within 72 hours of President Marcos' call for "snap" elections.

It was a rare display of unity which included Salvador "Doy" Laurel in agreement. Laurel had jealously safeguarded his bid for the presidency from the pressures of the National Unification Council-Convenor Group negotiations.

Despite this recent show of unity, however, the electoral parties have yet to firm up a common front against the KBL. The disunity has caused pressure to build up for the candidacy of Corazon Aquino, widow of the late senator. Viewed as a key unifying force, Mrs. Aquino has so far resisted the pressures. She added a qualification, however, that she would be willing to be drafted as a last resort if a common candidate could not be picked.

Meanwhile, the parliament of the streets has yet to reconvene on the same avenue.

A new opposition group was formed by social democrats who split away from *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* (BAYAN) last May.

The Filipino Social Democratic Movement was formed August 4, with Agapito "Butz" Aquino as its chairman. Some 100 delegates representing 36 organizations gathered at the Ateneo de Manila University to ratify the FSDM's program. The FSDM said it seeks to establish a pluralistic coalition government to replace the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship through parliamentary struggle and the organized force of people's movements.

Its founding document calls the FSDM a nationalist, mass-based and partisan movement against imperialism, for the removal of foreign military bases in the country, for the equitable distribution of wealth, and against fascism.

Mar Canonigo, FSDM general-secretary, said that participation in elections is not the group's main strategy. "We will rely on our own force, the organized masses." But he said the organization cannot ignore elections which are a political reality and it will support candidates in the coming local elections on a selective basis.

Canonigo said the split at the BAYAN founding congress accelerated the formation of the FSDM. Social democrats and Manindigan, a Makati-based group of professionals and businessmen, charged that the national democrats deprived them of meaningful and significant participation in the organization.

Canonigo said the social democrats learned a basic lesson from the BAYAN fallout, that is, they could only effectively negotiate and deal with other political forces from a position of strength. "You need forces to back you up when you work with a popular front."

The FSDM, Canonigo said, will strengthen its ranks, and initiate work with "independent Marxist groups and political parties." Implicitly, FSDM will work

that Marcos personally ordered Aquino's liquidation and therefore has no interest in pursuing the killers.

In an attempt to make light of the prevalent anti-government mood in the country, Marcos dismissed his opponents as "mischievous people" who "think they can attain economic progress by talking, wasting time in rallies and demonstrations."

Just in case, however, Marcos on the day of the protests, placed his troops in Manila on "red alert." He also deployed a small army of 4,000 riot policemen flanked by marines, naval craft, fire trucks, and barbed wire barricades to guard his presidential palace.

In Cebu, 12 students and five policemen were injured when riot police attacked 7,000 protestors with high pressure power jets. Meanwhile, the eruption of violence during a rally in the city of Naga in the province of Camarines Sur resulted in the death of one policeman and the injury of 17 people.

TWO DEMOS IN MANILA

For the first time since the Aquino assassination, the opposition in Manila held two different rallies. The larger one was organized by the left-led New Patriotic Alliance (BAYAN) and the other by the Aquino family and other center-moderate forces.

As many as 35,000 demonstrators gathered in front of the Central Post Office and then marched on to Malacañang under the banner of BAYAN. Enroute, the militant marchers hoisted effigies of Marcos and Uncle Sam, paraded seven mock coffins and chanted slogans in support of the New People's Army.

with BAYAN through BANDILA—a new alliance of social democrats and liberal democrats—should the two coalitions ever come to terms.

In light of the divided commemoration of August 21, the 2nd death anniversary of senator Aquino, which witnessed the "yellows" and the "reds" holding separate events, this coming to terms should probably not be put off for long.

"We must get our act together," said Lean Alejandro, a BAYAN leader, when he was asked about the split. □ CA

The caskets represented Benigno Aquino as well as countless others unnamed victims of Marcos' iron-fisted rule. According to a BAYAN member, seven caskets were chosen to match with Marcos' widely known "lucky number."

At Mendiola Bridge, the protestors were stopped just short of the presidential palace by Marcos' formidable security force. After rallying there for several hours, the crowd finally dispersed at nightfall.

Across town, Benigno Aquino's widow, Corazon, led another 20,000 protestors through the Makati financial district under heavy rain. Confetti showered down high-rise office buildings. On the way to Makati, some marchers raised clenched fists in front of the U.S. Embassy.

Wearing yellow T-shirts and waving yellow banners, the marchers called for Marcos' impeachment. Others displayed placards reading "Cory for President."

As traffic stood still before the passing marchers, onlooking motorists honked their horns in affirmation.

RED AND YELLOW

In a morning Mass honoring Aquino, Jaime Cardinal Sin commented on the opposition's disunity: "We remain more than ever divided, with the yellow banners going one way and the red flags going the opposite way."

BAYAN President Rolando Olalia preferred to stress the positive: "There may be a split in our organizations, but we are united in the objective of dismantling the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

During the protests at least, both camps appeared to tone down the hostilities that followed the falling out between "the left and the moderates" at the BAYAN founding a few months ago.

"Marcos is very happy with these splits," noted Lean Alejandro, secretary-general of BAYAN after the palace protest. "We have to get our act together or Marcos is going to squash us."

In the same vein, Mrs. Aquino told an *Agence France-Presse* reporter: "I hope unity can be achieved, even if not in the near future." □



Homobono Adaza

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Who's Recovering?

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

"I bear the tidings of good news. We have recovered our balance. We have now moved forward, taken the tide on the high swing and moved into the open sea of progress," announced Ferdinand Marcos.

Though straining his metaphor, the Philippine president was clearly exultant as he boasted to a Manila meeting of the Lions International in mid-August of his country's "economic recovery." The proof—the release of loan monies from the International Monetary Fund and—at long last—from a consortium of 483 creditors.

The sudden cash flow represented the culmination of almost two years of negotiations. It all began in October of 1983 when Philippine finance officials were forced to admit that the country's coffers were bare and that, in fact, figures had been deliberately juggled for international consumption to create an illusion that the government was solvent.

The final formula, hammered out by the IMF and the country's 12 chief creditors called for a bailout of 615 million special drawing rights (roughly \$608 million) from the IMF, \$3.9 billion in loans from foreign banks and a restructuring of payment on \$5.8 billion owed by both government and private borrowers.

The \$3.9 billion breaks down into \$925 million in new money and \$3 billion in revolving trade credits. Throughout the negotiating period, the creditor consortium granted the Philippines a moratorium on the repayment of principal on all outstanding loans.

'ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY'

None of the money would be released without IMF approval, and the institution set down a strict set of conditions which the Philippine economy was required to meet. Though never published, this included curbing inflation, reducing money in circulation, and an end to the use of government banks to bail out failed companies of Marcos cronies.

The first tranche of the IMF loan was released in December with the second slated for late April. But the Philippine government had problems meeting the criteria and it was postponed until late July. Finally, in mid-August, the first tranche of the creditor package, \$400 million, changed hands—and regime officials rejoiced.

"Yes, we are on the road to recovery," beamed Agriculture Minister Salvador Escudero. Chief negotiators Prime Minister Cesar Virata and Central Bank chief Jose Fernandez were equally exuberant. "Economic recovery has been launched," claimed Fernandez.

But many observers remained unconvinced that the release of funds proved the Philippines' tottering economy had miraculously regained its health—even if the IMF requirements had been met. For every sign Virata or Fernandez cited as evidence of recovery, two or more pointed in precisely the opposite direction. And in some cases it was the government officials themselves who were acting edgy.

EXPORTS DROP

A case in point was the matter of Philippine exports. The Central Bank, according to *Business Day*, "appears to be panicking over the drop in export receipts." As of mid-July, Philippine exports had declined a full 18% over last year's already distressing figures.

Coconut products led the way with a plunge of 24.8% over the first five months this year. Manufactured products, principally semiconductors and garments, were unable to compensate with their meagre increases of 5.62% and 6.2% respectively. *Business Day* reported near-daily dialogues between government officials and exporters



Malnutrition: rampant under deteriorating economy.

over a two-week period in an effort to reverse the trend.

Then there was the matter of the stock market. The value of transactions plummeted 92.5% in July of this year over the previous month, a figure that represented a 79.2% decline over July of 1974.

In volume, it was a drop of 63.3% from June to July and more than 94% from July

of 1974 to July of 1975. The cool feeling of cash in the hand may delight Virata, et al., but it will take a major effort to wheedle back investors leery of the state of the Philippine economy.

SHUTDOWNS AND LAYOFFS

Meanwhile, the management consultative group of the Philippine Chamber of Com-

merce and Industry reported last March, "some 280 of the country's top 2,000 firms are either bankrupt, distressed or on the verge of collapse," while 478 more companies "are expected to join their ranks in the next few years."

Industrial production fell in 1984 by 89.9% over the previous year. 2,134 businesses shut down, 195 of them permanently.

Unemployment, according to the PCCI, has reached "staggering proportions." It estimates that 50% of the labor force is unemployed or underemployed, with layoffs totalling 90,000 for 1984.

For January 1985, recorded layoffs totalled 3,992, one-third of them permanent. Unlike 1984, when the reason for layoffs was the lack of raw materials, almost one-half in January of 1985 was due to lack of a market.

WORST SINCE WWII

Independent analysts questioned the IMF criteria altogether. Officials may crow about beating inflation down from 50.8% for 1984 to 45.2% for the first quarter of 1985. But many saw the decline as a result of a severely depressed market in which the consumer has lost buying power. Anyway, they pointed out, inflation for the first quarter of 1984 was only 26.4%, so it remains to be seen just how much of an improvement 1985 represents.

Meanwhile, the consumer is hardly likely to see any improvement in his condition, no matter what the IMF may say. The joke at the beginning of this year was that, if Filipinos in 1984 were so poor they had to eat shit, in 1985 there would be a shortage of shit.

A study by the National Economic Protectionism Association pointed out that the Philippine Gross National Product shrunk in 1984 by 5.48%—the first negative growth rate since World War II. The figure breaks down into a per capita drop from ₱1,926 to ₱1,735—a figure below that of 1977.

This means that last year Filipinos lived at below 1977 incomes with 1984 prices. But, as a result of inflation, 1977's peso was worth only 33 centavos. By the first quarter of 1985, it declined further to 28.6¢.

Meanwhile the Consumer Price Index, a measure of prices of selected goods and services climbed to 348.6 points for the first quarter of 1985 as opposed to 244.4 points for the first quarter of 1984. This represented a rise of ₱104.20.

STRINGENT CRITERIA

It is not just the man in the street or the rice fields who sees little hope in the IMF/creditor bailout scheme. "The economy continues to sink," insists mining executive Jaime Ongpin. Adds Bernardo Villegas of the Center for Research and Communications, "The economy is still on a downhill. The main reason interest rates are dropping and inflation is decelerating is no one has purchasing power."

The new loans are hardly going to change this. The first tranche of the IMF's standby loan released last December bypassed the Philippines altogether and was used to pay off \$80 million in emergency bridge financing from the governments of Japan, South Korea and the United States. The Central Bank estimates that \$730 million of the \$925 million in new money will be used to pay off interest on old loans.

The new loans are hardly going to dig the Philippines out of the debt trap in which it is firmly stuck. In fact, the IMF criteria for releasing future tranches will become increasingly stringent.

NATIONALISTS HORRIFIED

Targets for releasing tranches one and two were purely monetary and fiscal—and difficult enough to meet at that. But the next set calls for "structural economic reforms." These include total reorganization of the country's floundering, crony-run sugar and coconut industry (and God knows how hard this will be for the Marcoses) and reorganization of the nation's banking system.

The current banking system, characterized by one source as "a mile wide and half an inch deep," consists of 32 commercial

Continued on page 14

Sugar: Dismantle the Cronies?

During the process of loan negotiations, the IMF made it clear to Marcos that one of its demands ultimately would be the dismantling of his cronies' control over the country's key agricultural exports.

Thus, United Coconut Oil Mills, ruled by Eduardo Cojuangco and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile was dismantled in January of 1984 although observers insist that crony Cojuangco still controls the coconut industry.

Four months later, the National Sugar Trading Corporation was abolished and the Philippines Sugar Commission reorganized. Both were ruled by presidential pal Roberto Benedicto. Benedicto handily managed to retain control of Philsucom, however, along with a slate including Marcos' appointees from the original 1978 board.

Furthermore, Armando Gustilo, a major planter, longtime associate of Benedicto and member of the original board is, according to some, emerging as the new force in the industry.

Some feel that Gustilo has actually shouldered Benedicto aside while others claim he is simply fronting for him in response to the IMF demand. Gustilo's increased presence does not make everyone comfortable.

"Benedicto is not as comfortable as Gustilo with the use of raw power," according to planter Fred Pfeider. Gustilo reportedly controls the whole of northern Negros and is said to be behind a bill in the *Batasan Pambansa* creating a new province of Negros del Norte.

The strongly labor-intensive sugar

industry has been severely affected by the crisis in Philippine exports this year with 300,000 workers in Negros Occidental said to be unemployed. By the end of last year, 36,542 children in Negros were suffering from second- or third-degree malnutrition.

As of mid-June this year, production amounted to a mere 825,000 tons. Last year's total was 1.2 million tons, already a serious decline from previous years.

The more thoughtful planters are concerned not only because of their declining income, but because many starving sugar workers have become eager recruits into the New People's Army which is spreading quickly throughout Negros. Some planters have tried to switch to other crops to keep the workers employed, but it has been difficult to do so with the financial crunch on—and no crop is as labor-intensive as sugar.

These more liberal planters find the crony approach to the problem heavy-handed. They are thus no doubt particularly worried over the likes of Gustilo who is "comfortable with the use of raw power."

Christian Science Monitor reporter Paul Quinn-Judge, made an unsuccessful attempt to interview the new leading light in the sugar industry. Police in Gustilo's hometown of Cadiz tried to persuade the writer not to bother. Quinn-Judge found Gustilo's walled estate patrolled by a number of well-armed men. A bodyguard carrying an Uzi, a .45 calibre pistol and a radio told the writer that perhaps he didn't want to interview Mr. Gustilo after all. □ NFR

Ver Get-Away Almost Sure

The acquittal of Gen. Fabian Ver and seven co-accused in the murder of Senator Benigno Aquino came one step closer to reality August 30 when the Supreme Court upheld the decision of a trial court to exclude key evidence against them. The high court agreed 10-3 that the testimony the eight gave to the civilian Agrava fact-finding board last year, would be self-incriminatory if introduced at the trial.

Lawyers for the accused were ecstatic. Antonia Coronel, counsel for Ver said: "I consider it a moral victory for the entire criminal process in the country." If the prosecution does not appeal the high court's decision in the next 15 days, Coronel will move for the dismissal of charges.

Justice Serafin Cuevas, explaining the majority ruling said that the defendants' testimony was inadmissible as evidence because the eight were not read their rights prior to testifying before the Agrava board. Prosecutors had argued that the accused, in effect, waived the right against self-incrimination when they agreed to testify.

"Ninoy must be turning over in his grave right now," said prosecutor Manuel Herrera of the high court's decision.

Meanwhile, the controversy over the takeover of the Wallace Air Station by the Philippine Air Force soldiers on August 21, 1983 in an attempt to intercept Aquino's

plane refuses to die down. Ver and other ranking military officers had disclaimed knowledge of Aquino's movements before and during the course of his return to the Philippines. However, the Wallace Air Station episode contradicts this claim and strengthens the prosecution's charge that a military conspiracy was behind the late senator's assassination.

News of the mysterious "jet scramble" first came to light when *San Francisco Examiner's* Phil Bronstein reported July 14 the revelations of U.S. Air Force officers formerly assigned to Wallace that Philippine Air Force (PAF) men ordered the U.S. airmen to relinquish control of the control tower and radarscopes on the day of Aquino's return.

One of the officers, USAF Sgt. Dave Hampton, said that the Filipino officers arrived with a "full battle staff" and that PAF Col. Humberto Kapawan said they were trying to bring down the Aquino plane at Basa, 170 km. north of Manila. "They scrambled the [PAF] fighters but evidently missed the plane or their timing was off," Hampton said.

Philippine Air Force Chief Maj. Gen. Vicente Piccio first dismissed the report as "a sensationalized barracks story," but evidence was soon furnished by U.S. authorities to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the form of a log book entry

which documented PAF instructions to intercept RPC 1964 (aircraft in-bound from Hong Kong) to land at Basa. Military officials claimed the logbook was "doctored" to make it appear that Aquino was the target of the scrambling but the *Examiner* reporter insisted that the handwriting in the logbook was consistent.

Aside from bolstering the prosecution's claim that the military had foreknowledge of Aquino's plans and monitored his movement from the moment he departed the U.S., the revelation is also expected to raise fresh angles to the military conspiracy theory. Was the group at Wallace attempting to pre-empt the assassination, or was it part of a contingency plan in case the assassination failed to take place at MIA? These developments are also expected to raise questions regarding the presence of ranking Philippine government and military officials at the Villamor Air Base in Pasay City, another jointly run station, on the same day.

According to Gen. Avelino America, in charge of crowd control at the MIA on the day of the assassination, Minister of Information Gregorio Cendaña, Tourism Minister Jose Aspiras, Gen. Piccio, and Gen. Jesus Singson were closetted in a room at Villamor Air Base, from 10 a.m. to 1:15 p.m. on August 21, 1983. The group left the air base less than five



Asiaweek

minutes after they received news that Aquino had been shot.

But the question is also being raised as to why the U.S. Air Force mysteriously kept its silence for two years. The USAF is reportedly investigating the incident, but tentatively the official responsibility for the oversight is being pinned on the former Wallace Base Commander, Gen. Kenneth Burns, who reportedly kept the logbook locked in a vault all this time. Burns, who claims he was not at the base at the time, said the "information would have been passed on to the Pacific Command and to the operations center at Clark Air Base."

Meanwhile, Rep. Charles Schumer (Dem.-N.Y.) accused U.S. military officials of "dereliction of duty" in not reporting the Philippine Air Force plan to intercept Aquino's plane. "I'm very concerned why no one on the U.S. side brought this to anyone's attention for two years. That's terribly wrong, this involves a major question of U.S. foreign policy." Schumer plans to call for an investigation of the "omission" when Congress convenes this month. □ CA

Cebu is Not in the Philippines and Other Stories

Ay, Life in This New Society!

These vignettes were derived from the reports of Anthony Spaeth and Joseph P. Manguno, both of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. Since these stories are reflective of the current state of affairs in the Philippines, the Filipino reader does not quite know whether to laugh or cry:

Many Filipinos may not know it but the island of Cebu is no longer a part of the Philippines. It was not the result of a bloody revolution but a deft advertising maneuver. All this in the name of tourism.

Cebu has taken to advertising itself just as an "island in the Pacific," offering a most perfect vacation spot: pristine white beaches, abundant corals and terrific golf links greens. The ads claim everything else of the Philippines, but none of its troubles.

Already some tourists are ecstatic. "We had originally planned to go to the Philippines," a Kobe businessman told an *Asian Wall Street Journal* correspondent. "We're glad we came to Cebu instead." Japanese tourists are now foregoing Manila and are flying directly to Mactan.

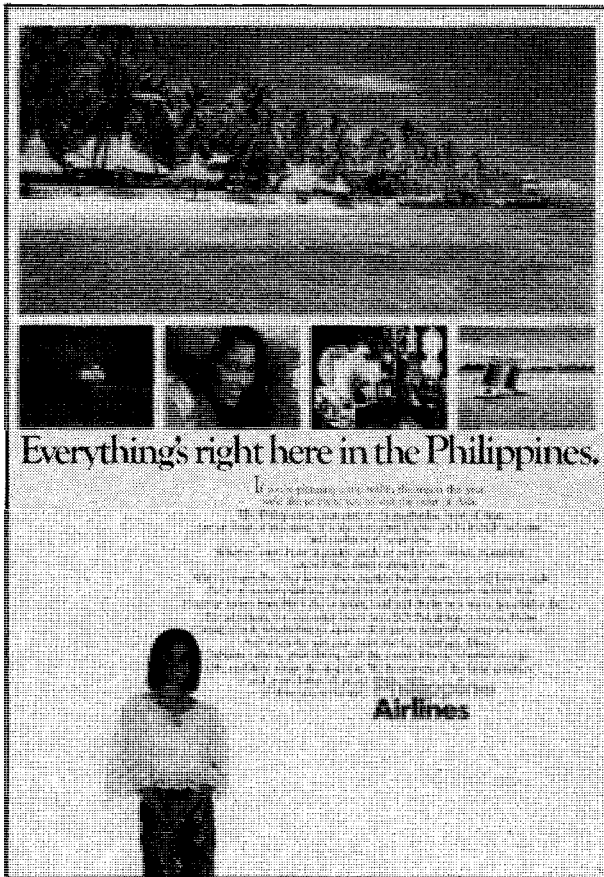
Crime, violence and the political situation have been scaring away would-be tourists. Recent Tokyo headlines have been about scary stories such as this one: In July a busload of Japanese tourists was ambushed just south of Manila. The passengers were robbed of \$9,000 in cash, \$10,000 in jewelry and cameras, and three passports. How to overcome these downers? Pretend Cebu is not in the Philippines.

"If the ruse works, use it," said Anos Fournacier, architect of Cebu's quiet "secession."

Fournacier, developer and a friend of the president, owns the Plaza, Cebu's only five-star hotel, as well as two of the island's most popular beach resorts.

Minister of Tourism Jose Aspiras finds Fournacier's trick amusing. "Cebu is our greatest competitor," he jokes. Others are not as happy. Government funds already favor developing the island as a place to visit. Omitting the link to the rest of the country, as one Manila hotelier puts it, "is a slap in the face."

The pragmatic Fournacier responded: "It's too bad if they don't like it. They've created the problems that now plague the Philippines . . . It's not my fault that Manila has become a slum or that Mindanao is crawling with terrorists."



PAL ad: cheap sell.

Philippine Air Lines, the country's flag carrier, has a different approach. It makes a virtue out of the very weak spot Fournacier tries so hard to gloss over. Well, it sort of takes that approach.

PAL intrigues would-be travellers with the ad: "Ten Reasons Why the Philippines is a Dangerous Place to Visit."

Among the dangers: the danger of buying too much, the danger of eating too much, and the danger of getting too much sun tan." Another ad says, "In the Philippines, you peso little." Pay so (peso), get it?

As an added bonus for those who brave the airline's lure, PAL is working on a lottery. The grand prize will be the use of an entire Philippine island for a year. The details remain to be worked out legally.

But what pricks people's curiosity is which island will be raffled off or what "the use of an island" really means. The joke in Manila goes: the lucky passenger will get the embattled island of Mindanao for a year, and the runner-up will get it for two.

When the U.S. hit song, "We Are the World," reached Philippine shores and ears, a local version of sorts quickly came out. The government, in fact, sponsored the project which premiered June 12 as the country celebrated Independence Day. Only, Filipinos were not particularly inspired by it.

What they heard and saw—as the song was packaged in rock-style video—was more than 20 of the country's pop stars and teen heartthrobs, crooning a stylized version of "Lupang Hinirang," the national anthem.

And just like in the stateside "We Are the World" video the Filipino singers belted out the national anthem in turns, singing different phrases and taking care to press on their earphones when they strained at the higher notes, a la Cyndi Lauper, et al. This pop version started replacing the standard opening song in movie houses and the TV station's sign-off banner.

The video quickly got on many people's nerves. Hilarion Henares, economist, noted: "What we saw on that boob tube are images of ourselves. Bastardized, uncaring, without taste, without pride, without love of country."

So incensed was the Philippine Federation of Music that it filed a suit with the Media District Court and a ban has been imposed on the song's airing on radio and television.

Peace is elusive even for the Davao Peace and Order Council. At a July meeting, the council brought together, among others, regional military officers, local politicians and the city's leaders.

Noted participants were high commander Gen. Jaime Echeverria and Alejandro Almendras, local chairman of the ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*. Surprisingly there was no peace between these two natural allies when it came to the ethics of assassination.

At one point, Mr. Almendras suggested that the military should ask the New People's Army to give advance warning before their sparrow units strike. He thought that this would allow the marked man to reform and avoid liquidation.

Gen. Echeverria did not find this proposal manly. "We are not cowards," the head honcho of the Regional Unit Command thundered. Echeverria vowed not to seek concessions from the outlawed rebels.

Business Day reported how the rest of the meeting went on: "The exchange of words got tense and nearly resulted in a shoot-out between the bodyguards of Almendras and Echeverria's men." Fortunately, the city mayor interceded and the Peace and Order meeting was adjourned, peacefully. □

Activist Priest Missing, Feared Dead

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

For Fr. Rudy Romano, July 11 looked like any other day in Cebu City. He was riding his motorcycle near a residential area not far from the city's downtown section. Suddenly a car appeared and blocked the road, forcing the Redemptorist priest to a quick stop.

Three men armed with M-16 armalites got off, grabbed him, took off his helmet and forced him into the car. The car was marked "Ministry of Human Settlements" and previously had been seen being used by plainclothes military agents.

The operation was quick and efficient and until today there is no trace of the Catholic priest's whereabouts. Some fear he is dead. It could have been a perfect crime but for one flaw. There were at least four witnesses to the incident. One of them, taxi driver Andres Suson, calmly pointed an accusing finger at Cpl. Wilfredo Dagatan of the 7th Military Intelligence Group at a hushed and packed hearing before an investigating commission made up of five Supreme Court justices.

"I'm not afraid because I'm telling the truth," Suson told the commission in his dialect. He did not know Dagatan before but the name was told to him by the other three bystanders who witnessed the abduction. Another military agent, TSgt. Jose Pitogo, admitted having brought Dagatan to the site of the abduction earlier that day.

The case has touched off another major controversy in the Philippines. The victim was not only an activist Catholic priest, he was also a provincial vice president of the New Patriotic Alliance (BAYAN). Immediately prior to his disappearance he addressed a rally of workers who were trying to unionize a mining firm. Both the Redemptorist Order and the opposition blamed the MIG for the abduction. Even the Pope has reportedly intervened in the case.

LIES AND PROPAGANDA

In Cebu City itself, thousands of demonstrators have confronted the military over Fr. Romano's disappearance. On August 6, some 10,000 demonstrators, including priests, nuns, students, and trade unionists held a protest procession and an open mass for the missing priest's safety.

On August 11, the 30th day of his disappearance and that of another BAYAN official, Rolando Tomas, who was also abducted on the same day, protesters held a two-pronged march from Talisay in the north, and Lapu-Lapu south of the city. The march went through the city streets to Camp Sergio Osmeña and Camp Sobre Cabahug, ending up at the Metrodiscom headquarters and Camp Lapu-Lapu, the base of the Regional Unified Command.

BAYAN leader Zenaida Uy told the Philippine Army 3rd Infantry Division Commander Benjamin Divinagracia, "We demand results, results, results, but you have given us lies and propaganda." But Divinagracia claimed "Fr. Romano was

not in the camp and he never was here."

The following day 150 demonstrators, including three priests, were arrested and charged with illegal assembly when hundreds of protesters dramatized their demand to produce Fr. Romano. They were freed through the intercession of Archbishop Ricardo Cardinal Vidal.

Under pressure, acting armed forces Chief of Staff Brig. Gen. Fidel Ramos ordered the arrest and investigation of Fr. Romano's abductors. The military, however, seemed determined to stonewall the investigation.

RUC Brig. Gen. Renato Ecarma claimed that "Dagatan is directly involved with the AFP General Headquarters in Manila," and not under his command. He insisted that "In a big organization such as the armed forces, it is possible that there are units or individuals . . . who may be committing offenses without the knowledge of the authorities."

ANOTHER NEWSMAN SHOT

Meanwhile, another journalist was killed, apparently another victim of a semi-covert crackdown on opinion makers. This year alone nine journalists of both the broadcast and print media have been murdered. A total of 16 journalists have been killed since the middle of last year, compared to only six between 1975 and mid-1984.

The latest victim was Joselito Paloma, editor-publisher of the *Surigao Star*, who was shot and killed on August 19. A philosophy professor and the chair of the local

media organization, he was a consistent critic of the government. National Press Club President Antonio Nieva denounced the killing and noted the "unmistakable pattern of slaying of newsmen critical of the government."

In Naga City, the military court convicted Philippine Constabulary constable Edward Iran for the killing of provincial journalist Walter Susbreno last November. In Laoag City, Ric Lauricio, chapter president of the Association of Broadcasters in the Philippines, reported August 14 that six members of his organization have received death threats. Roly Albano, Betty Visco, Lito Juan, Betsy Mata, George Angel, and Jorge Ramos have been reporting on venalities, military abuses and dissident activities and have been actively investigating the case of a tampered ₱1.7 million check of the Ministry of Public Works and Highways.

In Manila, hundreds of demonstrators paraded the coffin of a slain squatter, Segundino Sanchez, near the Malacañang Palace and blamed marines from the chief executive's security forces for the slaying. The marines barricaded the Palace but allowed 800 to stage an impromptu rally. Sanchez's father spoke at the rally saying that his son "died in the struggle."

Thousands of bystanders joined as the demonstrators left Mendiola Bridge to march through downtown Manila to a public cemetery.

Sanchez, 17, was shot July 23 while manning a barricade against a demolition crew that had begun tearing down the shanties of 50 families in Quezon City. The shanties were on an estate reportedly belonging to Marcos' son-in-law, Gregg Araneta. □

Women and Health: Providers and Victims

By DOLORES T. CALANTA
Health Alert

As in other Third World countries, women in the Philippines provide the bulk of health care. As mothers and wives, they are in fact the frontline health providers. In the field of primary health care, the majority of community health workers are women. Among the health professions, women predominate in midwifery, nursing, occupational and physical therapy and other allied medical professions. The number of women physicians is also increasing rapidly.

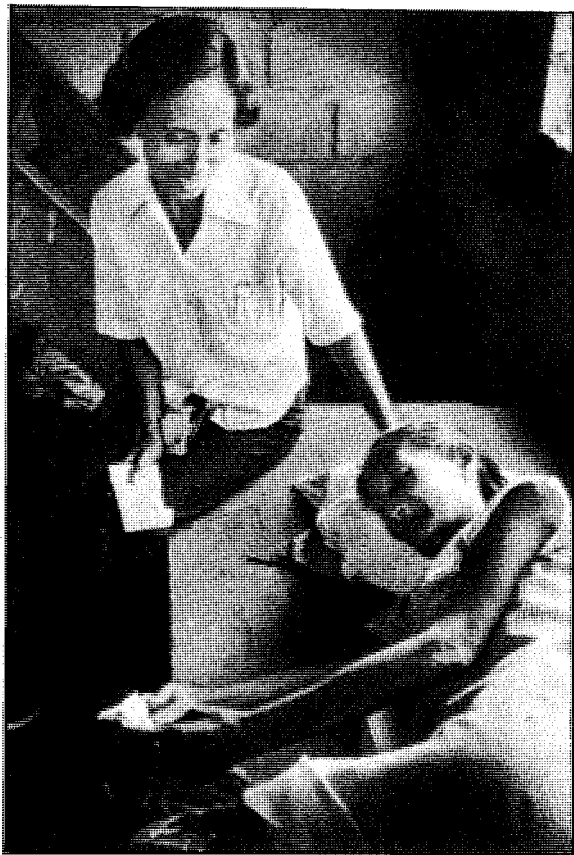
In spite of their vital role as health providers, women face numerous health problems, including those specific to their sex, determined not just by biology but also by society.

In terms of nutrition, for instance, more women suffer from deficiencies such as anemia. This is because women are assumed to have lower nutritional needs than men when in fact women's energy expenditures equal or surpass those of males. Besides household tasks, which are in themselves already energy-draining, many women now participate in economic activities outside of the home, which further increases nutritional needs.

Physiologically, women also have greater nutritional needs particularly during menstruation, pregnancy and lactation. Yet, women may deprive themselves of food to allow male members of the households to have more food and "more strength." Such consumption patterns only reinforce the gap in the nutritional status of men and women, reinforcing cultural notions of the strong male and weak female.

Rigid cultural roles for women create psychological problems. The *machismo* complex, for instance, requires a woman to restrain herself when her husband has extra-marital affairs since he is only being "male." Generally, the Filipina is expected to be "patient" and "understanding" and is actually discouraged from emotional outbursts to which women are said to be so susceptible. When the outbursts do occur, they are used as "proof" that women are innately predisposed to hysterics (the term itself is derived from the Greek word for "womb.")

Part of the *machismo* complex and male domination is the notion of women as baby factories. The male proves his virility and fertility by producing as many children as possible, although it is the woman who bears the hardships of having "his" children, and it is the woman who suffers the most from the continuous child-bearing. Nearly 2,000 maternal deaths are reported each year in the Philippines.



Comparable worth of women in health falls behind men.

Where family planning programs are introduced, the burden is again shifted to the woman. Few attempts are made to get men to become more responsible and more involved in family planning. Note, for instance, that in the draconian sterilization program of the Philippine government, some 256,210 women were sterilized from 1978 to 1982, versus a figure of 12,398 for men.

In terms of contraception, the technology is again oriented towards the female, who takes on the risks of the pill, the injectable contraceptives (e.g. Depo-Provera) and intra-uterine devices (IUD).

In a transitional society like the Philippines, women end up with the worst of two worlds. Still shackled by the traditional feudal male-dominated world, she must also confront the problems of a male-dominated "modern" capitalist society. Whether a career woman in one of Makati's offices or a plantation worker, today's Filipina faces greater problems in terms of economic discrimination such as lower wages and slower promotions.

Workplace hazards may also have specific effects on

women due to differences in anatomy and physiology. The greater amounts of fatty tissue that women have (nature's way of providing "reserves" because of women's physiological needs) also increases risks of poisoning from certain types of industrial chemicals. Yet, it is precisely in factories, such as in the electronics industry, where the majority of workers are women, picked for feminine "virtues" such as patience (for an extremely monotonous job), attention to detail and, of docility.

The economic exploitation of women takes many forms—as unpaid household help, as underpaid agricultural or industrial laborers or in the commodification of women as in prostitution. The implications in terms of women's health need not be repeated here—much has already been written and said.

In fact, too much has been said and written; too little has been done to change the situation, a consequence of women being deprived of participation in decision-making at all levels of society. This lack of political clout is perpetuated by the many legislative restrictions which make it difficult for women to make their own decisions. To this day, Philippine laws require "husband's consent" for activities like obtaining credit, entering certain business transactions, or even obtaining insurance.

This legislative bias is not accidental—it can be traced to a political system which remains male-dominated, notwithstanding the often-cited political powers of the First Lady. Women form an insignificant percentage of our *Batasang Pambansa* or Parliament, and the Cabinet only has two women ministers (one being the First Lady).

In fact, except for the Ministry of Social Services and Development, all other Cabinet positions have always been filled by men. The Ministry of Health, dating back to the colonial Bureau of Health Services, has never been headed by a woman. Yet, many of the ministry activities—maternal and child health, nutrition, family planning—are of direct concern to women.

Some changes are now taking shape. At the recent *welgang bayan* in Bataan, thousands of women left their jobs at the export processing zone to participate in the rallies. In urban poor communities, women often "man" the frontlines of human barricades to defy demolition teams, much like their tribal Igorot sisters in the Chico River area who were the first to confront government engineers and military sent into their villages.

Among health groups, women now represent a significant force. The timid and servile nurse is disappearing, with mainstream conservative groups like the Philippine Nurses Association now taking a more active role in the political scene. Ultimately, the Filipina will recognize her exploitation in terms of class and sex, and will take political action. □

(This article, which appeared in the July 15, 1985 issue of *Health Alert*, was written to commemorate the U.N. Women's Peace Decade in Nairobi, Kenya. *H.A.* is published by the Health Action Information Network in Manila.)

BELIEVE IT, OR NOT

Whatever happened to the much-photographed 30.5 meter high bust of President Marcos? It is still standing, staring out, covered with muck and stained by monsoon rains. A typhoon in June knocked off the scaffolding covering the statue since 1981 when work on it began. Soldiers stationed atop the hill near the stone head were unable to prevent the unceremonious unveiling. The 24-hour patrol, armed with high-powered rifles, live in a dilapidated shack. The post was set up to keep out guerillas and others who have reason to blow the face up.

Meanwhile, another scaffolding next to the presidential monument remains standing. The new project, said to be a bust of the First Lady, was recently abandoned. A Ministry of Tourism official denied this report, saying that original plans for the 300-hectare park—which now features an 18-hole golf course, a swimming pool, tennis courts, hostels, and a convention center—called for busts of other former presidents. He added that the lack of funds has delayed that project.

Another Marcos project is showing signs of decay. Imelda Marcos' "palace in the sky," is slowly yielding to the elements. The four-storey, multi-million dollar mansion perched atop the Tagaytay Ridge, was originally intended to house U.S. President Ronald Reagan who was scheduled for a Philippine visit in October 1983. The project was never completed following the events of August 21, 1983 and Reagan's subsequent cancellation of the state visit.

Still visible are a three-storey tall driftwood sculpture piercing the structure, polished molave handrails, a revolving dance floor in the fourth floor disco, and the sauna and massage parlor one floor below. Ropes covering the huge circular posts are rotting and the parquet floors are peeling. Doors have fallen off their hinges and the spiral staircase stops midway. The swimming pool is empty and what was to be a manicured lawn is now a snake-infested *talahib* patch.

Tagaytay locals also speak of some "ghostly resistance" to the building. A three-storey high boulder blocking the view of the mansion from the road stubbornly remains stuck to the ground. Bulldozers and dynamite were of no use and several workers attempting to remove it reportedly have been injured. Furthermore, locals claim that the natural grotto at the boulder's tip does not show up in pictures taken of it. Believe it, or not. □

CRONY ASKED TO PROBE CRONIES

The chief investigator of the "hidden wealth" controversy involving Marcos cronies and cohorts, is himself turning out to be the chief apologist for capital flight.

"People have gotten the impression that to own anything in the United States is an act of impropriety. But I am unaware of any law making ownership of foreign assets illegal *per se*," said Justice Minister Estelito Mendoza, who was assigned by Marcos to investigate allegations of illegally acquired wealth by government officials abroad and violations of foreign exchange laws that followed an exposé by the *San Jose Mercury News* last July.

Mendoza made the statement after disclosing that five close associates of the president have acknowledged that they acquired major assets in the United States. Earlier, Mendoza asked 13 individuals named in the *Mercury News* exposé to submit an inventory of their overseas holdings. Mendoza admitted that he did not ask the president or the First Lady about the \$766 million invested in U.S. real estate by the Marcos clan.

In the meantime, the Justice Ministry remained aloof to the U.S. offer to cooperate in the official inquiry. "If we ask the U.S. government for information, it has to be on a specific basis, I don't think I should turn over my investigation effectively to another government," Mendoza scoffed.

Explaining his methods, Mendoza said that diplomatic posts are involved in the information gathering and that those named are being asked to submit a list of their assets and liabilities. "If any of those officials and businessmen would admit ownership then there would be no need to verify the facts regarding the matter and this would expedite the inquiry," Mendoza said, prompting opposition forces to discuss the investigation as "inutile."

Rather than rely on the arcane "honor system" that the dictatorship is using to coax cooperation from the beneficiaries of corruption, opposition groups are on their own, unearthing more information about mysterious

wealth. Opposition MP Wilson Gamboa, revealed that about \$13 billion supposedly earned from local exports or borrowed from foreign sources from 1965-84 are missing.

The figures were furnished by economists who testified during last year's deliberations on the 1985 budget. About \$10 billion of the sum were from exports receipts which were either undeclared or deliberately undervalued. The \$3.1 billion balance, on the other hand, was the sum total of foreign loans contracted from 1978-1982 which failed to reach the Philippines or its intended recipients.

Meanwhile, 14 professional and business associations have called for an independent investigation of the dollar salting scandal. The groups took out full page ads headlined "Leadership and Honor" in two Manila dailies. The ads said that the question was a "serious matter of concern" in light of the country's worst financial crisis since World War II. Among the signatories were the Employers Confederation of the Philippines, the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference for Human Development. □

MORO LEADERS THREATEN NEW WAR



MNLF fighter: 100,000 like him in reserve?

Two Moro leaders, claiming the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), met with State Department, Pentagon and National Security Council officials early August and threatened to resume full-scale war by November 1985, if President Marcos does not abide by the terms of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement.

Macapanton Abbas, alleged chairman of the MNLF's political and foreign affairs (department), and Dimas Pundato, alleged new chair of the MNLF, warned that any new MNLF offensive will outstrip the Moro armed rebellion of the early '70s. During that conflict, 5,000 MNLF combatants, 50,000 civilians, and 20,000 Philippine army troops, were killed.

Abbas and Pundato, who claim to lead the largest of three factions in the MNLF, said that they could arm 100,000 fighters. "We are now preparing, coordinating military action both above ground and underground. We are training, buying more arms," Abbas said.

Abbas rejected the touted elections Marcos intends to call, saying that "any elections can only be free if Marcos steps down, an independent commission is established and the armed forces neutralized." Abbas also objected to the communist insurgency but claimed that communist [rule] is preferable to Marcos. "They have not committed a crime against the people the way that Marcos has, allowing us to make the southern Philippines an independent state." Yet in the same breath, Abbas claimed that if their demands are met, they will help Manila fight the NPA.

Under the terms of the Tripoli Agreement, Mindanao was to have been declared an autonomous region administered by a Moslem-led regional government with its own peace-keeping force. Marcos only recognized Muslim leaders who had either surrendered or enjoyed long-standing ties with the regime. Thereafter, the Muslim rebellion became dormant, apparently resulting in a three-way split of the MNLF. In 1979, Abbas alleged that Nur Misuari, chair of the organization since its founding, had been expelled. "Misuari favored secession, we are only for autonomy," Abbas said. Misuari is said to command 5,000 troops and living in exile in Saudi Arabia.

Abbas calimed that 10,000 exiled Moros have established a well-funded financial pipeline to fighters in

the Philippine through donations from Moslem countries and revenues raised from their own businesses. The MNLF's turn to the United States is intended to build pressure on the regime to agree to the Moro's demands. Administration officials remained mum on the substance of the discussion but one official said: "We've an open-door policy. We're willing to listen to anyone with a responsible point of view." The Marcos government quickly demanded an accounting and an explanation for the meeting from the U.S. State Department.

Abbas said the MNLF will be watching what the U.S. and Japan will do in the next few months. Political observers, on the other hand will be watching if Abbas and company make good their promise to take up arms against the government.

In 1979, Macapanton Abbas figured in a caper called the Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization, a reported split-off from the MNLF. The BMLO similarly pledged war on Marcos. However, a U.S. policy paper linking the BMLO to the Central Intelligence Agency was leaked to the fledgling group's discredit. □

THIS ISLAND IS MINE

Borocay Island is said to be the only place in the Philippines that has not been visited by the insurgency. The 30-square miles of land off Capiz' northern coast is in many ways an idyllic Pacific island: white sand beaches, coral reefs and far from the hustle and bustle of modern urban life. But now the island's 4,000 residents are up in arms against the Marcos government.

Borocay's serenity has been clouded by government plans recently made public. Borocayans were handed letters in July outlining the government's plan for their land. Among them: seizure of every square foot of prime beach front property as well as hundreds of acres of farmland. No compensation will be paid to anyone.

Just expropriation will not apply to the Borocayans as not one islander holds official title to their property. Most of them have lived there for centuries and were unaware of the bureaucratic requirements. Many are poor, subsisting on the small farms in the few level fields in the island. Family huts and simple resort cottages rented to a number of tourists from Australia and the U.S. have provided the islanders extra income.

Borocayans had an inkling of their fate seven years ago when the Marcos family came to visit. In 1978, the Marcoses "fell in love with Borocay" and they also found out that the island was untitled. President Marcos then simply stated that "this island now belongs to the Philippine government."

Since then, the islanders have been forced to pay the government rent for the land that was handed down for generations. Now the government has ordered them to vacate all property within 100 feet of the coastline. This measure, the government says, will "protect" Borocay and will clear the way for a large resort that will bring in more tourists and dollars.

Already work has started on paving a good part of the island to make way for a 5,000 foot runway. As for the huts and cottages lining the shore, a good number of them sizeable investments for the islanders, these will be bulldozed. For some islanders, Borocay might as well be the next place the New People's Army visits. □

BROCKA GETS R.M. AWARD



Movie director Lino Brocka was honored August 9 with this year's Ramon Magsaysay Award in journalism, literature and creative communications. Brocka, recipient of local and international film awards, was hailed for "awakening public consciousness to disturbing realities of life among the Filipino poor."

Many Brocka films have depicted the seamier side of life and have often led movie censors to cut scenes that did not portray the "good and beautiful" Philippines. His involvement in the realities of the country has also led Brocka to the streets as head of the Concerned Artists of the Philippines.

Despite this recent acknowledgement of Brocka's achievement, his latest work, *Bayan Ko* (My Country), remains to be shown to Philippine audiences. The film, already recipient of the 1984 British Film Institute's Best Film award as well as winning a standing ovation when it premiered at Cannes last year, is banned from distribution in the Philippines. □

2nd Anniversary of Aquino Assassination

Forums, Vigils and Protests Mark August 21 Here

By VINCE REYES

Two years after the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino, Filipino communities in North America continue to keep in step with the spirit of the mass protest movement that the tragic event set off in the Philippines.

The assassination breathed more life into the anti-dictatorship movement in North America and many more expatriates dared to speak out against the injustices of Marcos rule and U.S. involvement in the Philippines.

The second anniversary of Aquino's death was marked by a variety of events across the U.S. and Canada, in many instances, bringing different opposition groups into joint sponsorship of rallies, religious services and forums.

This year, the highlight of many events was the presence of Dean Andres R. Narvasa, who served as the general counsel of the Agrava fact-finding commission which investigated the assassination.



U.S. opposition groups join forces in Washington, D.C. to honor victims of Marcos repression.



Narvasa: "It was a military conspiracy."

Narvasa travelled around the country giving an insider's view of the findings which led to the indictment of one civilian and more than 20 military personnel including Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fabian Ver.

Narvasa, the former Dean of the University of Santo Tomas faculty of Civil Law and head of his own law firm in Manila, spoke in several cities including New York and Washington, D.C.

COURTROOM DRAMA

A jointly sponsored mass on August 21 in the San Francisco Bay Area drew some 300 people to St. Andrew's Church in Daly City. The event featured Narvasa and violin virtuoso Gilopez Kabayao.

Participating organizations included the Ninoy Aquino Movement; Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network; Liberal Party, San Francisco Bay Area; PDP-LABAN International; Philippine Educational Support Committee; Movement for a Free Philippines; Philippine Action Network; Church Network on the Philippines; and the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP).

Mixing courtroom drama, personal wit, and cold reconstruction of the evidence brought to the Agrava board, Narvasa took his audiences step by step to the conclusion that Rolando Galman, Aquino's supposed assassin, was not the real killer and that a highly placed military conspiracy was behind the murder of the former senator.

He warned that the Marcos government has launched "a systematic campaign to discredit the board's report and to promote the military version of what happened."

"I remain convinced of the board's findings. It is the truth as far as the evidence we examined is concerned," he said emphatically.

Later in the week, on August 24, the Francisco CAMD/PSN also sponsored a showing of Mike de Leon's highly charged political film "Sister Stella L." at the Serramonte Shopping Center in Daly City.

and the University of California Los Angeles Samahang Pilipino. Speakers included CAMD/PSN's Minerva Mabini, Mel Ilumin of the Samahang Pilipino, and Los Angeles Councilman Mike Woo.

In Seattle, the Filipino community paid tribute to "Aquino and other victims of repression" with an ecumenical service and program. The event included cultural numbers, slides and poetry by SANDIWA from Tacoma. Cindy Domingo of the CAMD/PSN gave the audience updates on the Aquino murder trial and the escalating repression.

ARRESTS IN D.C.

In Washington, D.C., weeklong activities were staged by the Philippine Cooperation Committee composed of the CAMD/PSN,

Odetta Taverna of the CAMD/PSN and Boots Jumat of NAM delivered speeches to the audience.

In New York, the CAMD/PSN and NAM joined forces for a religious invocation and a "Martyr's Day" forum featuring Narvasa. NAM president Heherson Alvarez blasted the Reagan administration for its support of the Marcos regime. The crowd of 100 people also saw cultural numbers performed by the CAMD/PSN. Earlier in the week, on August 21, a forum featuring former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark was held by the Alliance for Philippine concerns.

An ecumenical mass was also celebrated at the Holy Family Church sponsored by PAG-ASA, KAPATID, Filipino Lawyers for Human Rights in the Philippines, Philippine Support Committee, the Philippine Workers Support Committee, and the Benigno Aquino Memorial Society.

Benigno Aquino's former home in Newton, Massachusetts was the site of a mass officiated by the Rev. Esteban Sescon. The house, where Aquino lived in self-exile from 1980 to 1983, will be turned into a mansion by the Aquino Memorial Foundation.

TOGETHER IN TORONTO

In Canada, CAMD/PSN's Montreal chapter prepared a program of songs, poetry and reports on the repression of various sectors of the opposition in the Philippines.

The Toronto NAM, CAMD, and MFP joined together to sponsor a mass on August 21 and a vigil in front of the Philippine Consulate with 65 people on hand. On August 24, NAM sponsored a film showing of "Minsa'y May Isang Gamu-gamu," a film produced by Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara about the detrimental effects of U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Honolulu's Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP) hosted a successful event at St. Theresa's Church attended by 70 people. Fr. John Doherty, Vicky Bohe and Jovita Zimmerman actively helped in the preparations. Speakers included Ducky Paredes, a freelance journalist who spoke of repression and the implications of the Aquino assassination on Philippine society and Fr. John Doherty who spoke of the rising tension between the church and the government.

Ched Toscano led a candlelight ceremony asking participants to "pass the light of justice" in memory of all victims of repression in the Philippines.

CAMD/PSN chapters nationwide also sponsored build-up activities before August 21 by holding house meetings and book launching parties for *Fire Tree*, a recently published anthology of poems by political prisoners such as Isagani Serrano of Camp Crame. □



CAMD's "Fire Tree" book launching party in San Francisco.

Also in San Francisco, mock funeral services were held in front of the U.S. Federal Building on August 21 by the Philippine Action Network featuring guest speakers Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara, sister of Benigno Aquino and the Rev. Cecil Williams.

BENEDICTO'S BANK

Los Angeles opposition groups held a noon rally on August 21 at the California Overseas Bank whose board chairman is the well-known Marcos crony Roberto Benedicto. Some 40 people chanted and marched with picket signs while a delegation read a statement to the bank manager demanding the return of "P30 million in sugar money stolen from the Filipino people."

That evening a candlelight vigil and forum attended by 150 people was held at the Filipino American Council of Los Angeles (FACLA) hall featuring the film "Bayan Ko, Philippine Diary" which was produced in association with the Maryknoll Fathers.

The event was a joint effort of NAM, CAMD/PSN, and MFP along with the Los Angeles Political Prisoners Adoption Group, the Filipino American Press Club

NAM, MFP and individuals including Gabby Lopez, Raul Pascual, and Remo dela Pena. The PCC events were held in coordination with the August 21 Committee composed of the Church Committee on Human Rights in the Philippines, Friends of the Filipino People and Washington Forum.

Protests began on Sunday, August 18 with memorial services and the following day at the Philippine embassy, six anti-Marcos protesters led by Walden Bello and Charito Planas were arrested following their attempt to present ambassador Benjamin Romualdez a set of political demands.

Then on August 21, a mock funeral procession proceeded from the World Bank to Lafayette park in front of the White House where memorial services were held for Philippine martyrs who have given their lives for the cause of justice.

The week culminated with a "Martyr's Day" event on Saturday, August 24 with 120 people attending a mass and forum that featured Dean Narvasa as a guest speaker. Dances and poems performed by the Philippine Education Theatre Arts League (PETAL) under the direction of Cecile Guidote. In addition to Narvasa,

Pinays Return From Nairobi Trip



Ging Hernandez, with camera, at GABRIELA demo during women's conference in Nairobi, Kenya.

By VICKY PEREZ

The most exciting part was just being there with so many different women," shared Ging Hernandez, a Filipina who joined nearly 10,000 participants in the 10-day international women's conference held in Nairobi, Kenya July 9-19.

Women representing over 200 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) from every part of the globe, met face-to-face in over 1,000 workshops on the conditions of women in their respective countries.

Hernandez was one of six delegates representing the Coalition of Visible Minority Women of Toronto, Canada. She is also a member of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network.

The international gathering, called "Forum '85," was held as a progressive alternative to the "official" U.N. World Conference on Women which marked the closing of the UN Decade on Women.

"Forum '85 was more colorful than the official conference," said Vi Baluyut, another Filipina from North America who was at the conference. Baluyut, who is active in the Washington, D.C. area Filipino community, was there to represent the Filipino-American Women's Network.

"There was a freer exchange of ideas. It was more effective in ventilating the issues affecting women," she said comparing the

NGO gathering with the official UN conference.

REAGAN'S THREAT

The "free exchange of ideas" on the issues of social equality, while readily accepted in Forum '85, was frowned upon by the official U.S. delegation headed by Maureen Reagan, President Reagan's daughter. Reagan's delegation threatened to walk out if the official conference did not stick to "women's issues."

"They [the U.S. delegation] insisted on separating women's issues from broader political questions," said Hernandez. "Why? Because U.S. domination is ultimately responsible for the deterioration of women's conditions in Third World countries. You cannot separate U.S. support for a dictatorship from the worsened situation of women under that dictatorship, for example."

A large blue and white "Peace Tent" was the center of continuous hustle and bustle. There, women from socialist countries discussed with women from capitalist countries the arms race and the threat of nuclear war.

Up to 100 workshops were held daily on such topics as the condition of women under apartheid, the Middle East, the obstacles to women's liberation in countries ravaged by war such as Nicaragua and El Salvador; the post-war state of the health and welfare of women in Vietnam; and the impact of tourism and foreign investment on women in Asian countries.

DELEGATES FROM R.P.

Delegates from the Philippines sponsored or were part of several workshops. A workshop on "Women and the Strategy for Genuine Peace and Development" sponsored by GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action) gave reports on Filipino women in the labor force and the countryside, and cited the policies of the Marcos government as the main oppressor of Filipino women. Some 200 people joined the workshop.

Speakers explained the link between the development of the Philippine tourist industry and the increased exploitation of Filipino women. Sister Sol Perpiñan elaborated on the problem of prostitution. In a workshop on World Law and Development, the struggles of Kalinga-Apayao women were explained by Mariflor Parpan,

legal anthropologist.

Lori Marquez, a worker; Luz Ilagan, a Mindanao women's leader; and Nikki Coseteng of the professional and business community were among the Philippine delegates.

On July 17, a "human chain for freedom in the Philippines" rally, sponsored by GABRIELA, denounced the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" as the "No. 1 oppressor of Filipino women." On hand were women from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and several African and European countries.

NETWORKING

"It is important for women all over the world to build networks and share information. Forum '85 was very successful in this way," said Baluyut.

Baluyut led a workshop on the status of Asian women in the U.S. focusing on the need to improve women's participation in politics, their employment conditions and health and social concerns.

"The purpose was to share information about Asian women, particularly minority women because we are emerging in a national scene, and our experience here in the U.S. as minority women are very important to share," she said.

Besides the workshops, Hernandez said, delegates had the opportunity to exchange perspectives and share experiences during meals and breaks.

"I had the opportunity to meet women from Vietnam, Nicaragua, Africa, India," she reported.

Hernandez particularly remembers Rosario Ibarra, a newly elected deputy in Mexico and member of the Federation of Relatives of Disappeared and Detained in Latin America. Ibarra's son, missing for over 10 years, is one of the 500 disappeared in Mexico.

"She could have been a Filipino mother or a Guatemalan or a South African," said Hernandez. "But you know, it was the fact that some of our experiences are too horrifyingly similar that bound all of us women that much closer together." □

New Visa Rules Squeeze Filipino Nurses

Filipino nurses have not been spared from the anti-immigrant backlash encouraged by the Reagan administration.

The new interpretation and application of the H-1 policy of the Immigration and Naturalization Service directly puts under fire the thousands of Filipino nurses on H-1 visas who are now serving in numerous hospitals and medical centers all over the United States. The H-1 temporary visa permits the entry of skilled labor in demand in the United States from other countries.

Under the previous H-1 policy and practice, licensed Filipino nurses were allowed to work and stay in the U.S. indefinitely as long as a sponsor—usually a hospital where they have been employed—was willing to continue petitioning for them. With the persistent need for skilled medical workers in the U.S., Filipino nurses generally do not have any difficulty in finding sponsors.

While actual regulations on the H-1 policy have not yet been finalized, the "interim" guide issued by acting associate commissioner of examinations, Marvin D. Gibson, changed the previous practice period not to extend a period of two years. Gibson's office keeps "definite limits on admission and extension time periods for a stay of H-1 visa holders."

FIVE YEARS ONLY

Gibson stated: "Our current thinking is that beneficiaries of H-1 and L petitions could be admitted to the United States initially for a period of three years.

A second extension of stay not to exceed one year could be granted after certification to the commissioner, but only under extraordinary circumstances." All in all, H-1 visa holders are now only

allowed to stay in the U.S. for five years.

In the case of Filipino nurses, hospital sponsorship will no longer entitle them to automatic extensions of their H-1 visas after five years.

Extensions will only be granted under "extraordinary circumstances" defined by Gibson as, "extreme hardship on the petitioner's organization [hospitals]" or "alien's continued services would be in the national welfare, safety, or security interests of the United States." Hospitals' demand for nurses does not fall under this definition.

At present, to ease the problems that hospitals may face with this strict application of the policy, the INS allows further extensions for a period of six months to a year.

ARBITRARY APPLICATIONS

Nurses who have resided in the U.S. for five years or more are granted extensions only "to allow the petitioner [hospitals] time to hire a replacement" or "to adjust its business operations to do without the services" of the H-1 visa holder.

Even before the guidelines were issued, the INS had been applying the new policy arbitrarily and inconsistently. Filipino nurses complained that some of them would be granted extensions without question, while others with similar petitions would be asked to leave the U.S. at once or subjected to deportation proceedings.

The guidelines, however, only serve to underscore the anti-immigrant sway of the Reagan administration. With Reagan's dismal record on immigrant rights and the continued repression and deterioration of the economic situation in the Philippines which create the conditions for immigration, Filipinos in the U.S. should expect to be embroiled in increasing fights over new and restrictive INS regulations. □

HELP US SEND MORE AKs TO THE PHILIPPINES

The newspaper, of course, not the assault rifle. For years now we have been giving free AK subscriptions to readers in the Philippines. They are mostly movement organizers, free or imprisoned; human rights advocates; members of the opposition press and personnel of educational institutions.

However, requests for free subscriptions are still coming in and in growing numbers. We understand these requests perfectly well. At 18 Philippine pesos to one U.S. dollar, it is simply close to impossible to buy an AK sub from the Philippines. But it costs us \$1.88 to mail a single copy, printed matter airmail to the Philippines. Currently our mailing expenses to the Philippines amount to over \$2,000 a year.

We're beginning to feel the pinch in our already meagre budget but we still don't want to say no—and we're sure you, our readers here, will understand why. The Institute for Filipino Resources and Information has been helping us facilitate this free subscription program but we need more assistance.

Please help us give more free AK subs to Philippine readers. Send \$5, \$10, \$20 (or more) checks or money orders, payable to IFRI. Mark them "Free Philippines Subs" and send them to Ang Katipunan, P.O. Box 2759, Oakland, CA 94602. Donations are tax-deductible. Thank you very much.

Expatriates Make N.Y. Art Scene

By OFFIE VILLERO
New York

The art show, "Kalooban: The Filipino Artist and the Search for Identity," is catapulting the Filipino community's leading artists into the cultural mainstream of New York City.

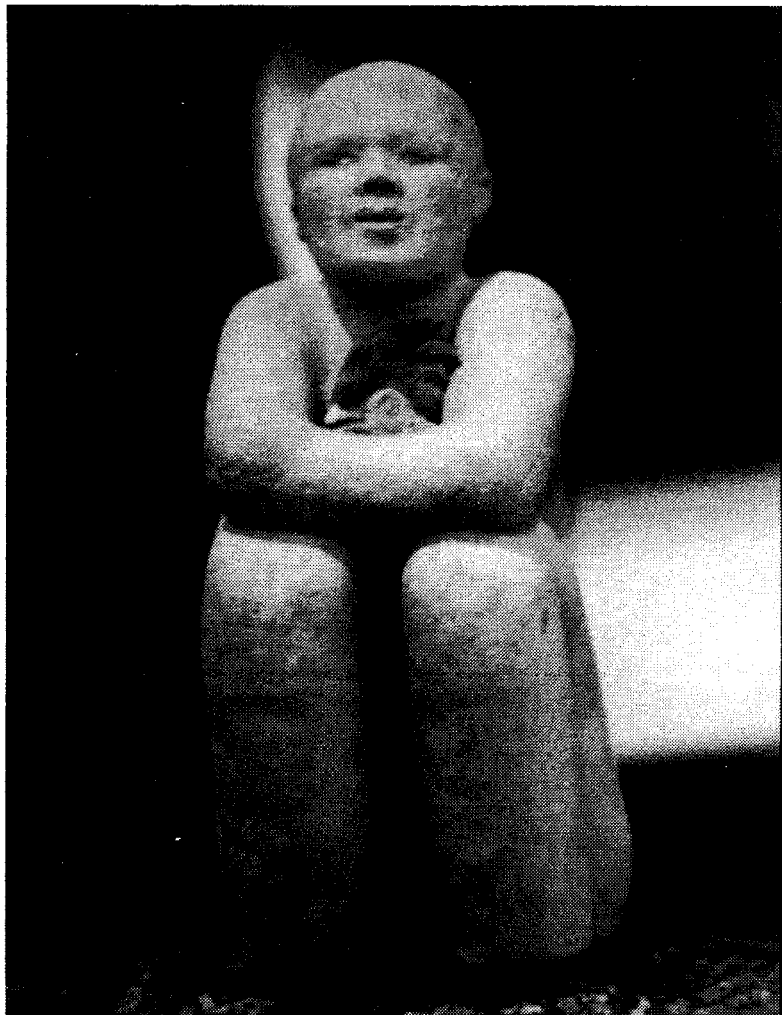
Featured from August 19 to September 14 at the City Gallery, "Kalooban" showcases the works of 16 expatriate Filipino artists, namely, Santiago Bose, Zorro David, Giselle Felipe, Frank Gimpaya, Bert Hechanova, V.C. Igarta, Corazon de Jesus, Tony Jalandoni, Anastasia Mamuyac, Norman Montifar, Taal Mayon, Linda Pichon, Manuel Rodriguez, Sr.,

Marcelino Rodriguez, Rey Rodriguez, and Francisco Viri.

Putting together a group exhibit of 16 artists—each with his or her own temperament, style, needs, and priorities—is certainly a feat in itself, but to have shown it at the City Gallery is an added distinction.

New York is the acknowledged cultural capital of the United States. Artists in droves ply their "wares" in street corners, subways, trains or wherever there is an audience. A Filipino exhibition at the City Gallery means that in the rough and tumble New York art world the Filipino artist has finally arrived, seriously contending for recognition.

A minority artist whose ambition is to make it in the "big time" is often thwarted not by a lack of talent but by a lack of responsive art galleries and showrooms. Thus, an exhibit in the heart of



THE SECOND 'TAO' OF MAYON, SABUNGERO I (Cockfighter)

Taal Mayon, clay,

Manhattan, which is a magnet for tourists from around the world, takes on an important dimension.

"The difference with the City Gallery is that it is a 'legitimate' gallery," Santiago Bose, one of the artists, pointed out.

"It is very difficult to exhibit here. Galleries will only show works that are currently popular. So to be exhibited, the artist has to show works that look like those of other artists," said Taal Mayon who teaches art at Cooper Union and Hunter College.

However, this group of Filipino ex-

patriates have remained true to their cultural roots and created works that still reflect their national identity, individuality, and interests. The City Gallery exhibit features among other works a sculpture of the "sabungero" (Filipino cockfighter) by Taal Mayon, a typical Filipino altar made of papier mache by Cora de Jesus, and simulated documents of the Filipino-American War entitled "Archives of a Lost Revolution" by Bose.

A non-profit, community-based arts organization, the City Gallery operates under the auspices of the City of New York's

Department of Cultural Affairs. It was meant to assist struggling artists.

"This is not the first time that we tried to get shown in this gallery," clarified Linda Pichon, executive director of the Amauan Workshop, sponsor of the exhibit. Minority communities vie with each other for some space and time in the gallery and the Filipinos, having been lumped together with the Asian-American community, could not find an opening.

The entry point came early this year when the Cultural Affairs Commission agreed to the Filipino exhibit. Speculation is that the mayoral campaign of incumbent Ed Koch who is out to woo minority votes may have had a hand behind the scenes. Regardless, "Kalooban" has already earned a place in the cultural history of the Filipino community in New York.

"Kalooban" is not only the largest group exhibition by Filipino artists ever to appear in the East Coast. It also marks a juncture in the Filipino community's attempt to raise its distinct artistic voice amidst the din of the most cosmopolitan city in the United States. □



SUPERPERSONAL WORLD Anastasia Mamuyac, painting



HORSE MOTIF Taal Mayon



Filipino exhibit at the City Gallery in New York.

Voices

ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS
 STORIES SHORT STORIES SHORT STORIES SHORT STORIES SHORT



Orlando

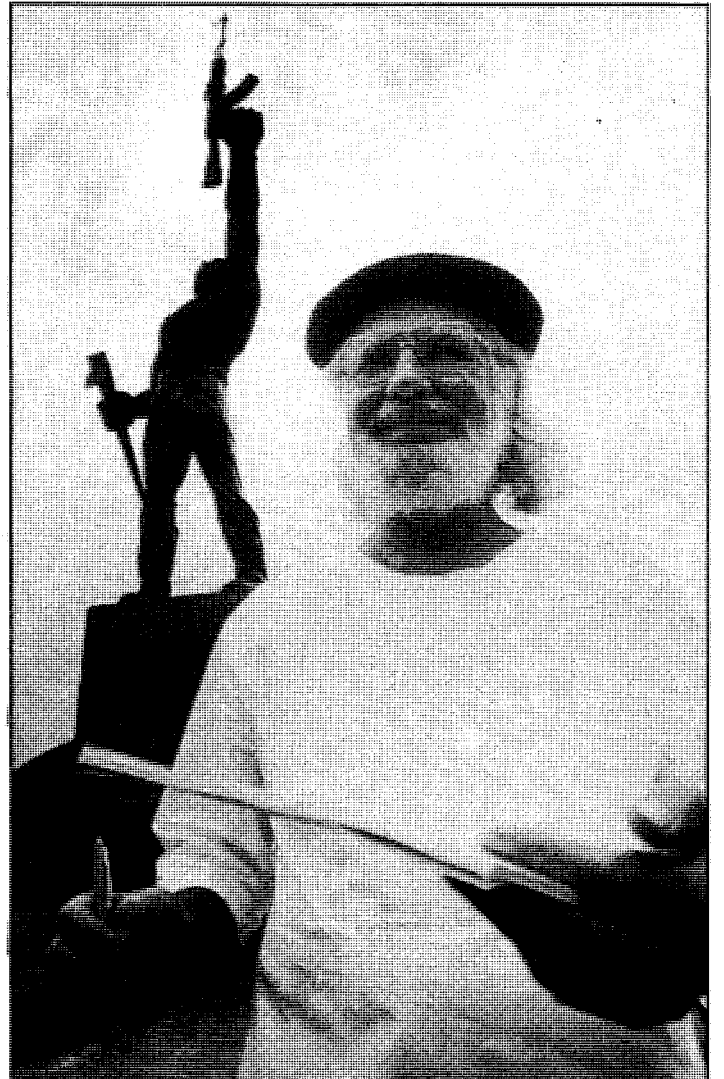
I remember you, son,
 brave, daring,
 voiceless from so much shouting at the demonstrations
 and your coffee-striped shirt
 which we keep in the second drawer.

—Maria Pineda, worker.
 Poetry workshop of Condega.

To the Unknown Combatant

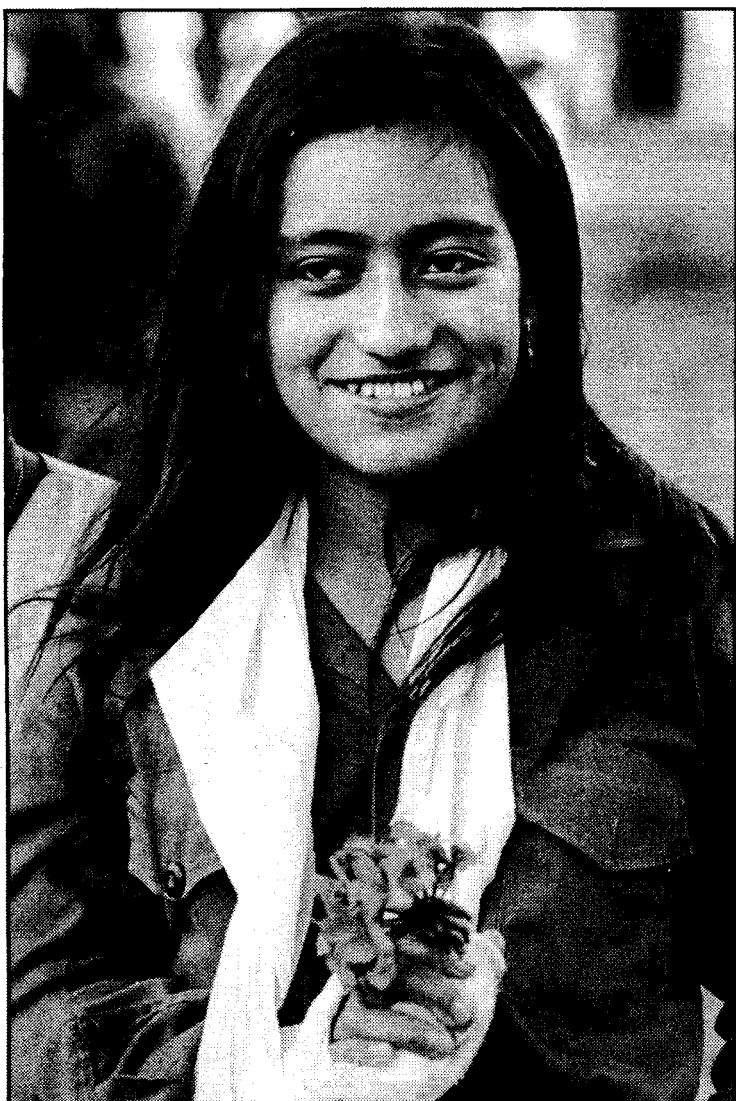
On the road to San Isidro de la Cruz Verde
 I saw
 surrounded by brush, sunny and quiet,
 the tomb of a *guerrillero*.
 He had fallen there
 without more witnesses than the impassive faces
 of the guardsmen who killed him.
 No *campesino* recognized his face.
 No one knew who he was.
 His photograph will not appear in the papers
 nor will his name be in the list of heroes and martyrs
 but his tomb will be there
 as a symbol of his struggle,
 surrounded by wild flowers
 beneath a mound of dry earth
 and a rustic cross
 on which a *campesino* wrote:
 "Unknown Combatant."

—Mirna Ojeda, participant in the Literacy Campaign.
 Reparto Schick poetry workshop, Managua.



(Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal at the monument to the unknown combatant.)

IMAGES NICARAGUA



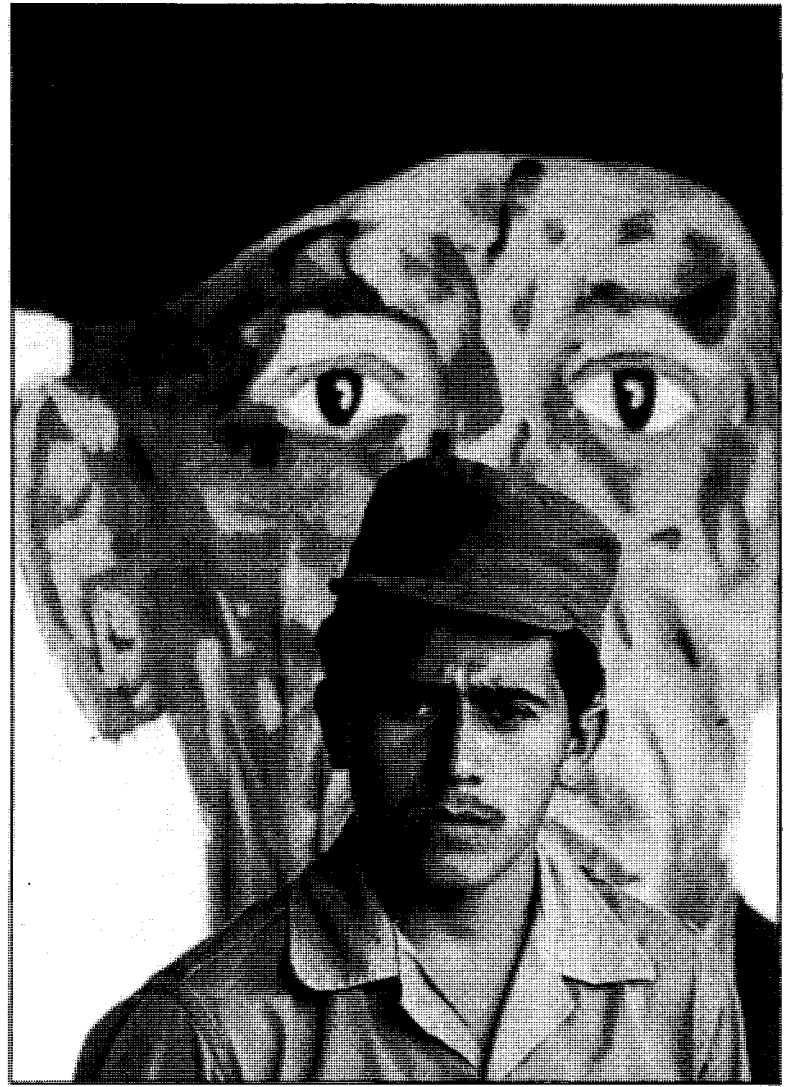
Fatima

Today I saw you in class
 wearing your white blouse
 and blue skirt,
 your hair adorned
 with two red fasteners.
 You were reading Lenin,
 a photo of Che Guevara on your desk.
 Your compañeras were reading Corin Tellado.
 I was pleased
 when I heard you say:
 —I'm more interested in the problems of the country
 than in the care of my hair.
 And when you came to school late
 everyone thought you were watching
 the twelve o'clock soap opera,
 but I knew you were at a meeting
 of the Sandinista Youth.
 You are a revolutionary.
 I love you.

—Javier Cruz, member, 19th of July Sandinista Youth.
 Poetry workshop of Bluefields.

Totoy Rocamora, an AK contributing photographer and a member of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, went to Nicaragua last July with a delegation organized by the Friends of Nicaraguan Culture—San Francisco. The group arrived in time for the 6th anniversary celebration of the July 19th Nicaraguan revolutionary triumph and in the wake of fresh threats of U.S. armed intervention. "Of course, the experience reminded me of the Philippines," Rocamora said. "There are many similarities despite the differences. It was very inspiring, yet sobering, to see a victorious revolution being tenaciously defended by a whole people. I was inspired by the possibilities for the Filipino struggle."

We feature alongside Rocamora's photography selections from the work coming out of the poetry workshops set up by Nicaragua's Ministry of Culture after the Sandinista victory in 1979. The participants in these workshops are not professional poets. Massive numbers of workers, soldiers, peasants, students, mothers, and children have participated—and are still participating—in poetry workshops that have sprung up all over Nicaragua and are part of the effort to rehumanize a nation for so long outraged by a U.S.-backed dictatorship. The selections here were taken from "A Dream Made of Stars—Popular Poetry from the New Nicaragua" translated by James Black and Cliff Ross, CO-Press, P.O. Box 4790, Berkeley, CA 94704-4790.

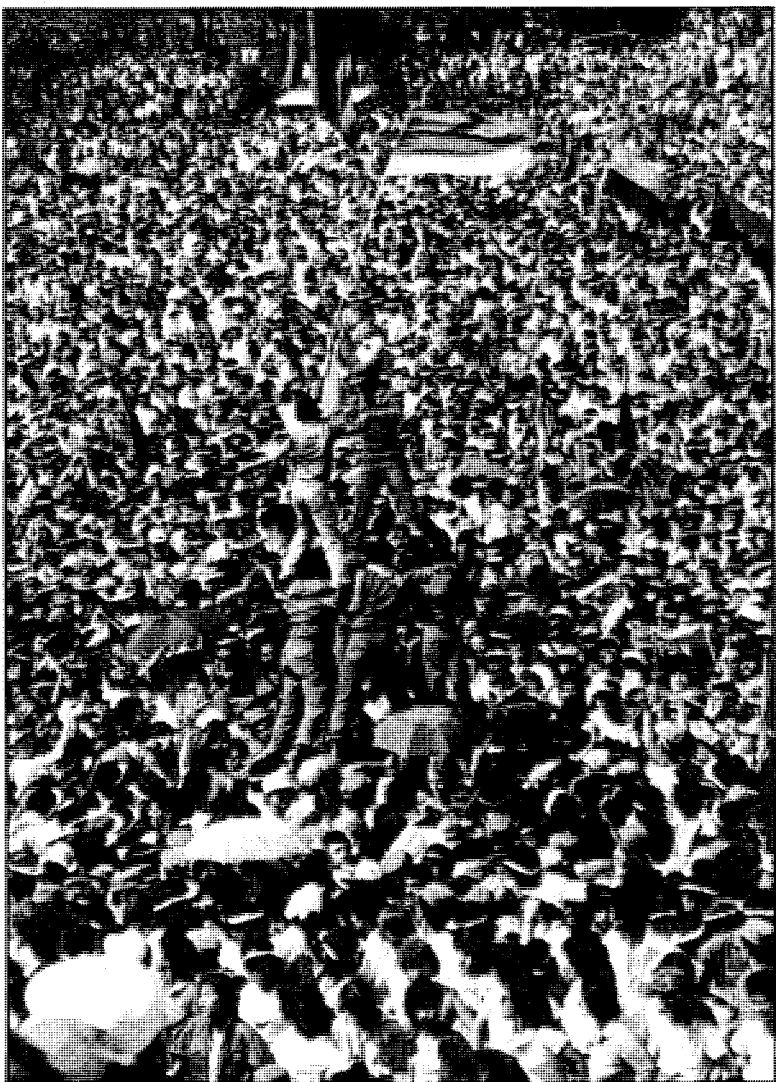


Brother Guardsman, Forgive Me

Forgive me brother guardsman, that I have to
 take such careful aim to shoot you,
 but hospitals depend upon our shots
 as do our schools which we never had,
 where your children will play with ours.
 Know that they will justify our bullets
 but your deeds will be
 the shame of your generation.

—Bosco Centeno, captain, Popular Sandinista Army.
 Poetry workshop of Solentiname.

OF LIBRE



It Doesn't Matter

It doesn't matter
 that Mario Peralta's hand is paralyzed
 from a bullet shot by the National Guard.
 Mario,
 left disabled from combat,
 is now in a wheelchair.

It doesn't matter to me that my left leg withers
 from the fracture in the vertebral column.
 We have made the Revolution
 and in this way we will defend it.

—Alberto Garcia, combatant, member of the
 Sandinista Police for Order and Public Security
 Ajax Delgado Police Center, Managua.

Prison Poems from the Philippines

Fire Tree

Published by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network and the Institute for Filipino Resources and Information
June 1985. \$3.50

By MARIE C. PRUDEN

This collection of poems written by political prisoners detained at the Crame Stockade in Quezon City, Philippines, I had expected to be somewhat didactic, somewhat sentimental, and somewhat rhetoric. And being sympathetic to their cause, I was prepared to be appreciative.

My theory was that all good poetry does teach and indoctrinate in subtle ways, does hold some fine sentiments, and does try to arouse in us a noble emotion, such as a right-minded response to martyrdom or heroism. But when the didactic purpose supersedes the poetic, the verses become simply, didactic verse. Poetry should involve some kind of regard for the ability of the reader to make value judgement—a discipline not easily acquired by a writer when he is blind with rage.

Of the poets published in this slim volume, Isagani Serrano shows the most promise. The prologue poem, "Fire Tree" is disciplined enough, and another poem, "To E.B.S.," written to his wife on their seventh anniversary, is powerful as a *haiku*.

The symbolism of the firetree is fresh, although it takes the imagination on a long trip, i.e., the firetree is one of the rare tropical trees that changes its appearance as the season changes, although in the Philippines, there

are only two changes in season. Still, the firetree is known there as "caballero," which, in Old Spanish means "knight." In contemporary Spanish, "caballero" means "gentleman," but I don't think that's what the poet has in mind. Consequently, I take the meaning to be "warrior."

Serrano's work could well be classified as eulogies for both the living and the dead. They picture his emotions rather than communicate the experience. However, there are some brilliant lines, such as these:

From "A December in Prison": "Our children.../...would press for answers/that were best understood in silence/ or in white lies that must be said."

"But someday/we shall.../...share the many untold stories/long buried within walls and cages/ that by then we shall have/smashed into pieces."

From "A July in the Cordilleras": "So they continue to dance/For fresh rains and showers/For a different kind of storm.../and gather all the clouds/from the highlands to the plains." (Without mention of "the intruders," this stanza is more effective. Since the official justification for this particular search-and-destroy operation by the government is water—or the lack of it—the readers should be given the benefit of knowing better than to believe that justification.)

From "Sweet Blood and Sweat": "What's in a cane of sugar?/Hear a sacada tell.../his finger arithmetic never fails/to follow wüther goes/the precious juice/that flows out of a luscious ten-foot cane."

From "The Wall Between Us": "Yet the wall

between us/...can only hold long enough/against a...thousand raging hands/chipping off its base/and a steady stream of sweat/tunnelling quietly/through its dark depths."

Of the Tagalog selections, the best readings are Milleth Soriano's "Paano?" and Judy Taguiwalo's "Waling-waling." Soriano is honest and somewhat naive, but delivers a powerful message that is closest by far to the poetic concept. What she needs—in fact, what most of the Tagalog poets (Carlos Yari, Lauro Pabit, and Joemarie Managbanag) need—is a good editor.

In judging the Tagalog selections, we cannot ask, is the poem melodious? Does it have a smooth metre? Do the lines rhyme? Excellent poems do not have to have these. Still, a poet should have an ear for music and an eye for order, regardless of purpose. After all, poetry is still art (the highest form), and discipline should apply—yes, even to prison poetry.

In a good poem, there should be no excess words. And if a poet happens to be writing in the traditional Malay quatrain, by all means, let him fall in cadence. Poetry must have a beat, a measure, a movement in form. It is, after all, a verse—but with good manners.

Taguiwalo's "Waling-waling" is good because her imagery is original and effective: "Patuloy na pina-aalab.../ng hanging nagdadala/ng dagundong ng mga paa.../...at ng halimuyak ng waling-waling/di lamang sa Madyaas..." These are more powerful words than simply saying, "My hope holds out." □



They're Free and You Helped

We are happy to inform you that the four Redson workers—Milleth Soriano, Lauro Pabit, Simplicio Anino, and Jose Britannico—were finally ordered temporarily released from military custody by President Marcos on August 19, 1985. The four trade unionists were detained at Camp Crame in Metro-Manila for nearly two years under Presidential Detention Action on charges of rebellion.

You will recall that the Quezon City and Pasig courts had approved their release on bail a few months back. We in fact asked your help in May and June to help raise money for their bail bonds. Despite the court's decision, the four continued to be detained because under the provisions of the PDA only President Marcos has the power to release prisoners served with PDAs.

We would like to thank you for your participation in the campaign to release them. Your quick response to our appeal has created pressure on the Marcos government to act on our just demand on this case. We hope that you will continue to join us in our future endeavors as we strive to bring the Philippines closer to genuine freedom and democracy.

Philippine Political Prisoners Resource Center
a project of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/
Philippine Solidarity Network

South Africa

Continued from page 16

and the nation's Black leaders [as] the only way out of the crisis South Africa faces," it did not have the ANC in mind. Unfortunately for Reagan, most of the country's moderate leaders rallied to progressive and multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF), or refused to be hostile to the ANC.

Widely recognized Black leader and Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu—longstanding opponent of armed struggle—recently asserted that the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa were "virtually nil" because of Botha's intransigence. For the first time, he expressed his readiness to join the call for sanctions, despite the fact that under South African law such statements could mean a charge of treason and the death sentence.

NO MORE CALM?

Even Zulu chief Gatsha Butlezzi, the most pro-government and consistently accommodating Black leader has demanded

the release of Nelson Mandela and the end of the state of emergency as prerequisites for negotiations with the Botha government.

From all indications, the crisis in South Africa is bound to deepen as the Botha government refuses to concede a one-man one-vote popular enfranchisement and abolish the most hateful features of apartheid.

Exiled ANC leader Oliver Tambo announced that the resistance would "step up the armed struggle." Already, a Black boycott of white shops and services is sweeping the cities and townships, cutting business by as much as 50% in some areas.

To date, the boycott has spread from the Port Elizabeth region to Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria. The strike of 230,000 Black miners on August 25 is guaranteed to exacerbate an already floundering South African economy which saddled with 16% inflation, zero economic growth and 21% interest rates.

Contrary to White House assertions that sanctions would only hurt the Black population and that Blacks do not support such measures, the victims of apartheid seem ready to make more sacrifices if only to bring down apartheid. A recent *London Times* survey of urban Blacks in South

Africa showed that over 70% support the call for sanctions.

Other than changing the volume of its "anti-apartheid" rhetoric, Washington does not appear willing to depart from its policy of support for Pretoria—perhaps in the belief that the current storm of Black and international protest will blow over soon.

But as one foreign correspondent in South Africa told ABC News "Nightline," the periods of calm between upheavals have grown shorter over the years and that the current unrest is already distinguished by its duration, scale, and level of mass politicization. In other words, there may not be another period of calm. □

R.P. Economy

Continued from page 5

banks. The IMF plans to scale this down to no more than 12 or 14. The first step in this direction is the planned merger of the Development Bank of the Philippines and the Philippine National Bank. The Land Bank of the Philippine may be added to the brew.

Meanwhile, under IMF pressure, the regime has drafted the Agrarian Develop-

ment and Incentives Act that will allow foreigners 100% ownership in key agricultural export areas. Nationalist businessmen are horrified at the thought of increasing foreign control over agriculture and the possibility of a return to the old plantation system.

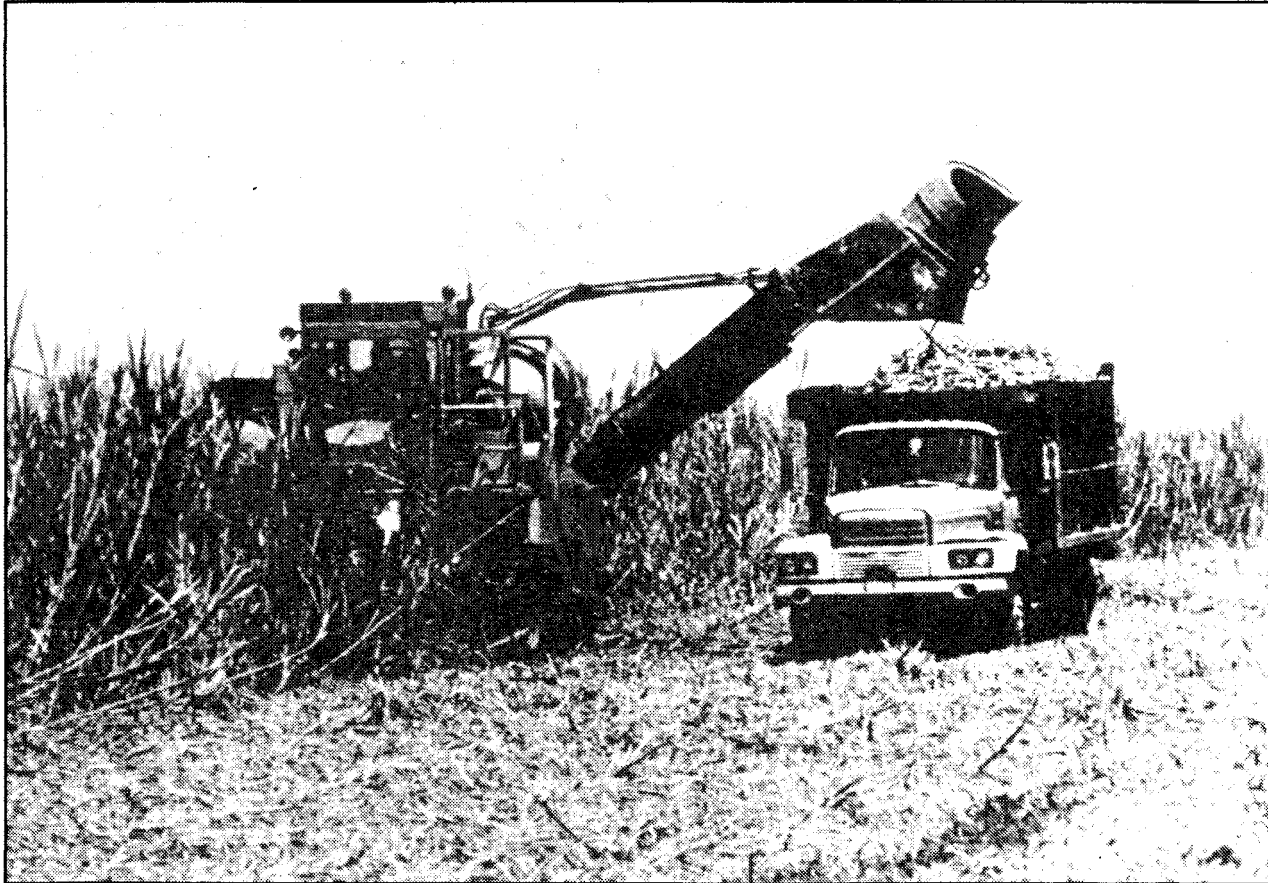
PLAYING THE RULES

Ferdinand Marcos, however, is completely sold on the IMF formula of short-term bailouts digging his country ever more thoroughly into the hold of permanent debt. The country's foreign debt at the end of 1984 was \$26.5 billion, the equivalent of five years of exports. Prior to the latest release of loan money, it had climbed to \$29 billion.

Marcos "seeks economic normalcy by playing the rules of the IMF and by preying on the fears of international creditors," the organization *KAABAY* explained in a paper.

But, while the IMF may be buying Marcos' claim, many aren't. "This economy will turn around only when the private sector develops the confidence to bring back their money," claims industrialist Ongpin. "That will never happen as long as Marcos is there." In other words, the first step in solving the economic crisis is political. □

The Cuban Alternative



Sugar production is highly-mechanized.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

As Latin America reels from an economic crisis and wallows in foreign indebtedness, Cuba—"Castro's Cuba"—basks in a new economic vitality that has seen a 25% rise in the Gross Domestic Product in the last three years alone.

That Cuban socialism has prospered in the shadow of its mortal enemy just 90 miles away and in the face of more than 25 years of unrelenting American hostility, sabotage, slander and economic blockade only increases President Fidel Castro's credibility as he actively promotes an alternative path for Latin America.

Cuba's achievements since the revolution 26 years ago are truly remarkable. This first socialist state in the hemisphere has not only met the basic needs of its people but has even assisted 30 fraternal countries as part of its policy of internationalism.

Today, 120,000 Cubans are carrying out international missions in addition to the 150,000 soldiers, doctors, teachers, builders and technicians who have done so in the past.

Cuban socialism's achievements are quite impressive: full employment; the best public health care in the region that has virtually wiped out diphtheria, polio and malaria; and the elimination of illiteracy with 6th grade education (now moving on 9th) being the minimum guaranteed by the state.

Half of the primary and intermediate students and the bulk of university students—altogether numbering one million—belong to 100,000 amateur art groups active today. Excellence in literature and the arts has made Cuba the cultural and intellectual center of the region.

SOCIALIST RELATIONS

The flourishing of the arts in Cuba only indicates that the country's level of economic and social development is already beginning to exceed the demands for basic necessities. Its 8% annual average increase in GDP is more than twice the 3.2% average for the underdeveloped countries.

At the root of Cuba's successes is the advancement of its productive forces in both industry and agriculture after the revolutionary transformation of its relations of production, that is, after production was geared to social needs rather than individual capitalist profit. What assisted greatly is the existence of a socialist camp that made for a favorable foreign trade climate.

For example, sugar, Cuba's main export suffered the most from the U.S. economic blockade in terms of the sudden loss of markets and the lack of spare parts for U.S.-made equipment. But the sugar industry has been rebuilt and modernized with substantial Soviet help. Through trade agreements with the Soviet Union, Cuba is assured not only of a market for its sugar but also of fair prices not available in the capitalist markets.

Now Cuba produces 8 million tons of sugar annually. Production is highly efficient: an 82% recovery rate of molasses from the cane and oil consumption of one gallon for every ton of sugar cane ground (half of the 1976 energy consumption). More than 40 sugar mills have been expanded and modernized since 1970 and

new ones are being built, all designed by Cuban technicians. Sixty percent of their equipment is already made in Cuba.

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Rather than be a source of economic oppression, indebtedness, and dependency, Cuba's relations with the socialist community have turned out to be a reserve for internal progress. In essence, Cuba has already attained the "new international economic order" in its relationship with the socialist camp.

Equitable trade relationships offer better prices for Cuban raw materials and, therefore, give Havana greater purchasing power relative to the capital goods needed for industrial development. This has offset any negative outflow of capital resources—a far cry from the unequal terms of trade that the rest of Latin America has to bear.

This relationship also allows Cuba to share the benefits of economic specialization and scientific and technological advances in the socialist community.

But one of the most dramatic comparisons between



Free health care reaches even rural Cuba.

Cuba and the rest of Latin America is how both are bearing up to the impact of foreign indebtedness.

Cuba also needs loans for development and, in fact, has an outstanding debt of \$2.5 billion mainly from the Soviet Union. Though meager in comparison to Brazil's \$105 billion, this debt is still quite considerable.

However, there is a mile of difference: socialist loans are not meant for profits or to foster favorable grounds for foreign investment but to advance the productive forces and strengthen the emerging socialist system as a whole.

This is the case whether one looks at the loans and assistance Cuba gets from socialist countries or Soviet assistance to Vietnam and Ethiopia. It does imply different terms of credit. Thus, Cuba has postponed debt and interest payment for 20 years without having to suffer the drastic measures that the International Monetary Fund is wont to impose on its creditors.

INTERNAL PROGRESS

Without foreign lenders breathing down its neck,

Cuba has been able to allocate more resources for internal industrialization. Significant gains have been made in electric power and infrastructure development, oil processing, steel production, low energy technology, and electronic components, nickel, fertilizers and irrigation components production.

Cuba adequately produces milk, eggs, radios and TV and exports, aside from sugar, tobacco, lobster, shrimp, and nickel. Although it already manufactures some farm equipment and machinery, it is still basically dependent on the importation of raw materials and capital goods, especially tractors and machinery.

Cooperative and state farms are now the dominant features of Cuban agriculture and their expansion has given way to greater mechanization that has spurred domestic production of more farm equipment.

It is clear that both industry and agriculture are given due stress, taking into account both the domestic and foreign trade possibilities. By 1982 the government had already in place a development program geared towards bringing socialist Cuba into the 21st century. At this juncture Cuba is finishing the technical and material base, through socialist industrialization, for a sustained rise in the efficiency of social production.

The program aims for sustained high growth rates, economic specialization and increased satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual needs. When completed, it should bring Cuba on par with the more advanced Eastern European socialist countries.

From the most apparent manifestation of progress—greater GDP, mass access to social services, full employment and more organized production—to the less obvious but more long-range impact of its program for development, Cuba stands out in sharp contrast to the crisis of Latin America.

This is all the more striking given the fact that Cuba is little endowed with natural resources and its development is made more difficult by U.S. attempts to block resources for development.

SHARE OF PROBLEMS

But the socialist path is not all paved with roses. Despite the evident bright prospects for Cuba, the country has its share of problems. They stem from three sources: Cuba's current level of development, the fact that Cuba is still tied to the world capitalist economy, and the continuing economic sabotage by the U.S.

At the current stage of Cuban development the industries, cooperatives and state farms are still unable to produce all that the whole population needs. Small private producers have to be allowed to operate to augment the output of cooperative and state enterprises.

In agriculture there are some 150,000 scattered small private producers who annually contribute the considerable amount of ₱200 million (roughly \$266,000 million at the current exchange rate of ₱1 = \$1.33) to the Cuban economy. In effect they sustain a merchant class which sells at prices as high as the open market could bear. The inevitable result has been profiteering and corruption.

The Cuban state attempts to neutralize this by buying directly from the private producers and setting up parallel markets. Still the problem persists and is a source of deep concern.

Only the expansion and diversification of the cooperative and state enterprises to the point of being able to meet all of the population's needs can resolve this problem. It would obviously be a natural consequence of further socialist development. To overcome this economic distortion the state has set a long-term goal of raising the number of cooperative farms to at least 1,500 in addition to the state farms.

SABOTAGE

Cuba's trade relations with the capitalist countries brings some of the effects of the capitalist crisis right to its doorsteps. Competitive high technology, the strength of the dollar, protectionist policies of both the industrialized and underdeveloped countries, all have some impact on Cuba's efforts to widen its economic links internationally.

Furthermore, U.S. economic sabotage has not remained on the level of diplomatic and political maneuverings. Havana has made considerable documentation of recent CIA sabotage activities that included the covert introduction of chemicals and bacteria that cause swine fever, tobacco blue molds, sugar rust, hemorrhagic dengue and hemorrhagic conjunctivitis.

During the Kennedy administration Edward Lansdale headed the Mongoose Program which was a clandestine chemical and biological warfare campaign aimed at destroying crops and causing illness to workers. Cloud-seeding operations that resulted in disastrous flooding were also conducted under the Nixon administration.

Cuba's achievements despite all odds have been its greatest source of political credibility among Latin American states. The success of its alternative model is the persistent source of inspiration for revolutionary ferment in the region. That is why, if the U.S. cannot crush this Cuba, it is pretty sure it does not want to see another one rise anywhere in Latin America. □

U.S. South Africa Policy on the Ropes



South African security forces: defenders of hated apartheid.

By WICKS GEAGA

When the rightwing "Moral Majority" leader Jerry Falwell blessed Pieter W. Botha's apartheid regime and called Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu "a phony" all hell broke loose, so to speak, and Falwell had to beat a partial retreat in the face of a strong public outcry.

But shortly after, President Ronald Reagan, seemingly unaware of Falwell's gaffe, proceeded to take his turn at the foot-in-the-mouth madrine. Botha, Reagan declared to an incredulous public, has abolished segregation and must be seen as a moderate. White House aides and State Department officials punched the panic button and rushed to control the damage by raising the volume of their anti-apartheid rhetoric.

This goes to show Reagan's South Africa policy of "constructive engagement" is as beleaguered as apartheid itself. The policy's real edge is what is revealed during Reagan's unguarded moments: support for Pretoria's racist regime. Low-key criticism is supposed to be that constructive part of this engagement. Nowadays, however, the White House, has to mouth off against apartheid or else be completely isolated.

The pressure from abroad, at home and South Africa just keeps building up.

THE WEST CRACKS

Following the Botha regime's imposition of a state of emergency last July and its brazen refusal to negotiate an end to apartheid with the country's Black majority, some of Washington's closest allies have begun to join the worldwide call for sanctions. Up to that point, the appeals had mainly come from the socialist countries and nonaligned nations that together comprise 80% of the United Nations.

To Washington's shock and dismay, France—the fourth largest investor in South Africa—called for an emergency session of the U.N. Security Council to reconsider international sanctions in response to Pretoria's crackdown. France also banned any new investments in South Africa, withdrew its ambassador, and demanded an immediate end to the state of emergency and for the release of all political prisoners.

Following France's lead, Australia imposed its own limited sanctions including the suspension of most new investments and loans. At about the same time, Norway announced that the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland) would move to introduce new measures against Pretoria.

Not everyone in the Western Alliance, however, was eager to slap Pretoria. Great Britain and West Germany, South Africa's two leading investors and trading partners

in Europe, expressed disappointment over South Africa's intransigence but refused to support the call for sanctions.

Pretoria may be confident that it can ride out the international storm so long as none of its biggest capitalist allies—the U.S., West Germany, Britain, and Japan—defects to the pro-sanctions camp. But Reagan's advisers are very much aware of the danger the worldwide movement for sanctions poses to U.S. positioning worldwide.

Joining the call for sanctions would be a blow to the racist regime and to U.S. economic interests in South Africa. But refusing to do so would ultimately lead to extensive isolation and the undermining of U.S. political initiative in Central America, the Middle East and other trouble-spots.

REAGAN v. CONGRESS

At home, persistent protest in the Black community and campuses all over the nation against "constructive engagement" and for divestment, fueled by the unwavering anti-apartheid resistance in South Africa, have shaken both houses of Congress. Even a number of conservative Republicans have been forced to ride the anti-apartheid current to avoid isolation.

A bill calling for sanctions was passed by the House and is scheduled to be voted on by the Senate after the August recess. The bill would ban the import of Kruggerand gold coins, the sale of computer and nuclear-related goods to South Africa, and the provision of bank loans. The bill further orders a ban on new U.S. investments in 12 months if no progress toward ending apartheid has transpired.

House members belonging to the Congressional Black Caucus, have been demanding effective sanctions for years. What is new in Congress is the growing fear even among conservatives that Reagan's constructive engagement policy and perceived support for apartheid has already inflicted heavy damage on U.S. credibility among non-aligned Third World governments, especially in Africa.

While not totally opposed to constructive engagement, certain pro-sanction conservative members are especially concerned that this policy "is seriously undermining" America's anti-Soviet, "anti-terrorist" and anti-communist crusade.

Some congressmen are hoping that sanctions would lead to the emergence of moderate forces that can command popular support as well as accommodate U.S. economic and political interests. Reagan's

insistence that Botha is a moderate is as much aimed at these balking solons as at the general public.

VETO THREAT

Republican Senator and Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee Richard Lugar, meanwhile, advocates sanctions that are largely symbolic and that "supplement" Reagan's policy of quiet diplomacy.

Republican representative Vin Webber of Minnesota, leader of a younger group of conservatives is more candid about his partisan aims, arguing that constructive engagement will continue to discourage U.S. Blacks from voting Republican.

Reagan has threatened to veto the sanctions bill but in light of the support in the House for it, its likely passage by the Senate, and the existence of votes that could supersede a presidential veto, the White House is already beginning to soften its veto threat. In the face of an imminent veto override, Reagan may begrudgingly sign the bill to minimize his political losses.

On the other hand, the need to shore up the sagging Western Alliance and assure Pretoria of continued White House support may lead Reagan to wield his executive veto and risk the embarrassment of a congressional override.

Whatever the outcome, Reagan's dilemma can only deepen. Distasteful as it is in the eyes of world opinion, the Pretoria regime—the last white supremacist bastion in Southern Africa—is the only force in the region that can protect Washington's strategic interests.

NO MORE MODERATES?

The African National Congress (ANC), the unquestioned vanguard of Black resistance, is totally unacceptable to the Reagan administration as a replacement for what it publicly deplors as the "repugnant" apartheid regime.

Although the ANC's program pledges not to sever economic exchange with the U.S. in the event that it captures the reins of power, such an arrangement is no longer politically compatible with U.S. concerns in the region.

With Zimbabwe now under majority rule and run by revolutionary forces led by Robert Mugabe, U.S. strategists believe they can no longer afford to surrender the last remaining pro-imperialist outpost in Southern Africa to another anti-imperialist force, the ANC.

APPEAL TO MODERATES

When the Reagan administration called for a "dialogue between the government

Continued on page 14

State on an Emergency Rampage

South Africa's state of emergency decree last July 21 placed 36 Eastern Cape magisterial districts surrounding Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth under martial law.

Any member of South Africa's security forces—including the police, the military, prisons officers and railway officers—has been empowered to enter private homes, seize property, and arrest or detained persons without warrants or charges. Thereafter the government can extend detention indefinitely, does not need to provide public notification of a person's arrest, and can deny prisoners access to their families and lawyers.

Since the emergency imposition, nearly 200 people, mostly Blacks, have been killed. Some 4,000 people have been detained and reports of police abuses and torture abound.

The main targets of the crackdown are leaders belonging to the United Democratic Front, a legal organization which represents over one and a half million South Africans.

Government death squads have killed 27 UDF leaders including Black civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge who was assassinated just before she was to defend 16 UDF leaders who are charged

with treason.

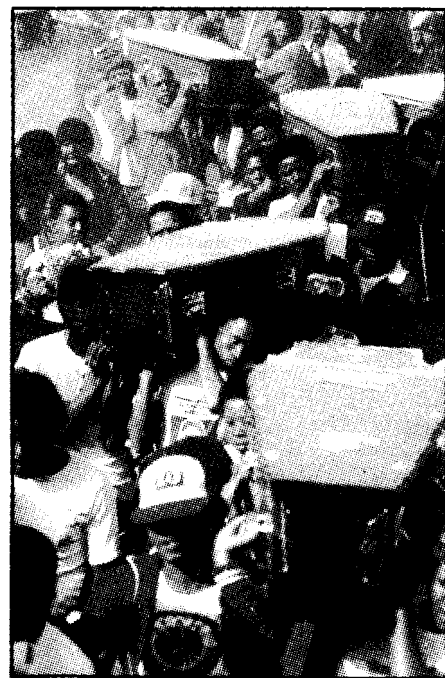
With the arrest of UDF leader Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the 50-million member World Alliance of Reformed Churches on August 27, the entire UDF leadership prior to the emergency decree has been placed in detention.

Rev. Boesak was arrested just a day before he was to lead a march to Pollsmoor Prison, where African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela remains jailed. A march of 5,000 multi-racial protesters proceeded anyway but was brutally suppressed by the police.

Many of those who have been arrested are also members of the local community governments that have replaced the Pretoria-created councils. Only 5 out of 38 such councils continue to function in any way; over 250 council members have been forced to resign by the residents for their collusion with the apartheid regime.

Determined to squash all forms of protest, the police in late August rounded up hundreds of schoolchildren—some as young as 7 years—in an attempt to break ongoing and widespread class boycotts.

In a sense the state of emergency merely legalized the government's reign of



Victims of emergency decree.

terror which has already claimed the lives of over 500 people since major unrest broke out in February 1984. But having legalized it, the terror is all the more suffocating.

However, the daily images of a system on a rampage also reveals that some people are running scared in South Africa. And they are not the Blacks who are being hunted down with batons, whips, water cannons, and guns. □