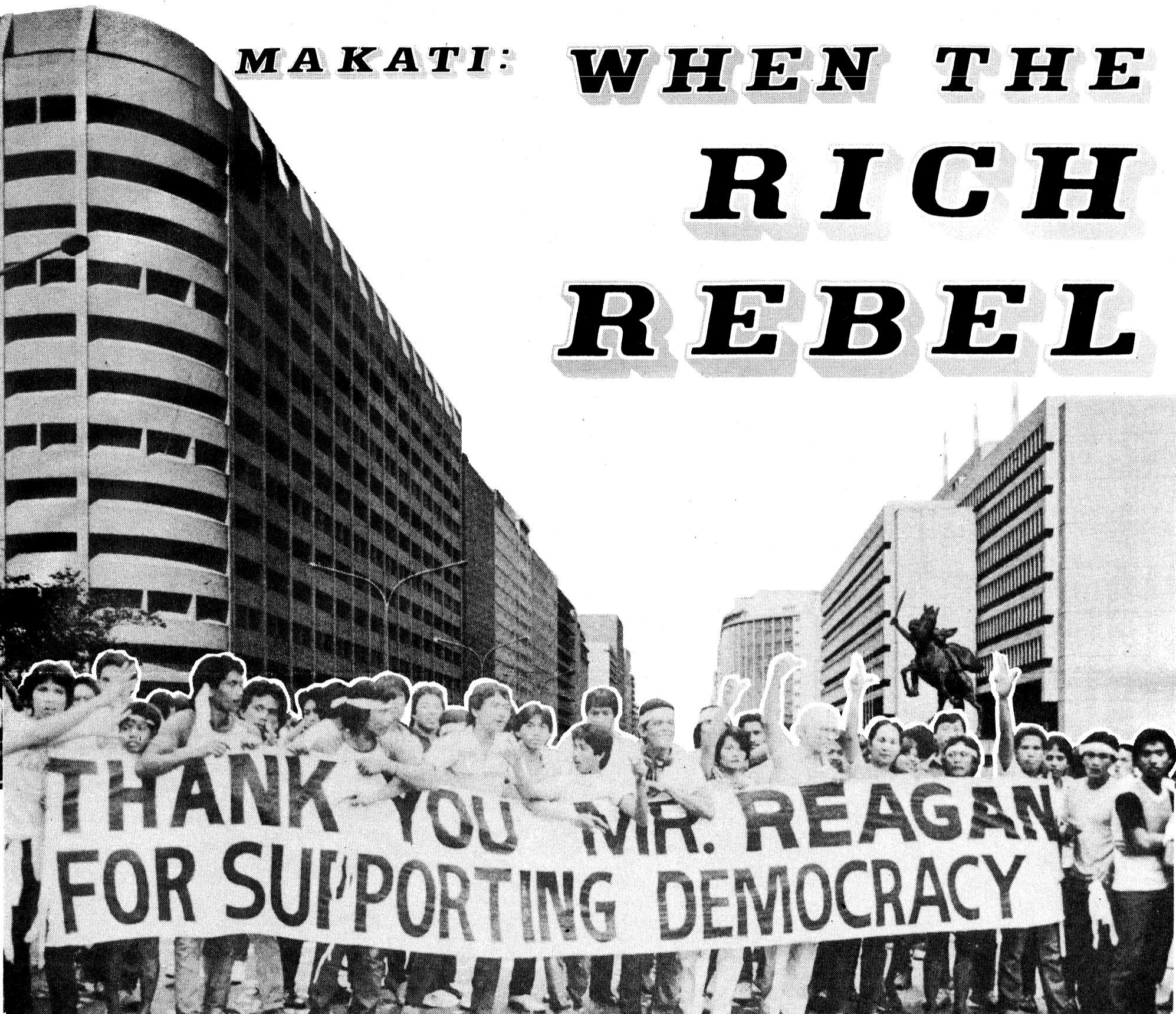


Ang **Katipunan**

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MAKATI: **WHEN THE RICH REBEL**



By **NANCY F. ROCAMORA**

It all began on September 16, 1983, when 15,000 office workers and executives poured into the streets of Makati to demand "Marcos resign!" It was the first demonstration ever in the Philippines' staid financial district. Though sparked by anger at the regime over the assassination of Marcos rival Benigno Aquino, the atmosphere was joyous. Fireworks exploded, confetti rained down from highrise windows and opposition leader Salvador Laurel rode triumphantly on the shoulders of marching office workers.

Three weeks and uncounted demonstrations later, on October 6, hundreds more poured into Ayala Boulevard while thousands watched. They marched in response to Ronald Reagan's decision to skip the Philippines on his November Asia tour.

This time, however, the demonstration bore a different message—one never before heard in Metro-Manila's streets. "Bases can stay, Marcos must go!" proclaimed a 15-foot banner. "Thank you Mr. Reagan for supporting democracy," read another. A new brand of politics had thrust itself on the anti-Marcos movement, coming from a sector whose influence is far greater than its size—the country's *creme de la creme*. The polo-playing, business-suited, clean-cut filthy rich. Clearly, the movement to get rid of Marcos had expanded to

include some of the wealthiest families who previously kept a respectful distance from the *nouveau-riche* Marcos clique. It was a phenomenon quickly noted by the Western press.

The Makati crowd—management functionaries and business VIPs bolstered by their white-collar workers—did its share in expressing the anger and anti-Marcos sentiment which rocked the country in the wake of the Aquino murder. All this came to a head in the National Day of Sorrow, held in Manila and elsewhere on September 21 to mark the 11-year anniversary of the declaration of martial law and the one-month anniversary of Aquino's death.

Students, workers, religious, and urban poor demonstrated throughout Metro-Manila insisting "No reconciliation under the Marcos regime!" Marchers at the U.S. Embassy condemned U.S. support for the regime. U.S. flags were burned while effigies of Ferdinand Marcos and U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost were booed, hissed and finally set on fire.

Meanwhile, Makati reeled with near-daily demonstrations where the call was "Marcos resign!" The day before the September 21 climax, 7,000 Makati office workers assaulted a smaller pro-Marcos rally with rocks, garbage and water balloons driving the Marcos admirers off the streets. The next day, Makati employers let their workers off in order to join in an anti-Marcos rally 500,000-strong at Liwasang Bonifacio in downtown Manila. Here speaker after speaker demanded the

ouster of Ferdinand Marcos and an end to U.S. intervention in the Philippine economy and Philippine politics.

The continued activity in Makati finally drove the dictator into a fit of rage against "swollen-headed oligarchs who think they can find sanctuary in the tall buildings of Makati."

Naming names such as Bank of the Philippine Islands, Solidbank, Development Bank of the Philippines, Ayala Foundation, and Security Bank of the Philippines, he warned executives, "We will go after

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U.S. Invasion of Grenada:

A Pre-Planned Act of Hooliganism

With the U.S. invasion of Grenada, Pres. Ronald Reagan secured a tentative beachhead for one of his foreign policy dreams—the legitimization of outright military aggression as an instrument of diplomacy. It is a dream shared by the most war-like among the U.S. ruling circles who have endured many a sleepless night over the growing success of national liberation struggles and the receding areas of U.S. domination.

For independent nations and peoples, however, the invasion recalls the nightmare that was the U.S. colonization of the Philippines, or the original Marine capture of Nicaragua, or the invasion that overthrew a popular government in the Dominican Republic. It is Yankee gunboat diplomacy at its shameless and technological best. As Caribbean Task Force Commander Adm. Robert McKenzie boasted, the invasion is a signal that once again, the U.S. is "prepared to interfere where possible and install a government friendly to the way of life we espouse." This aggression against a much smaller and weaker nation is the height of imperial arrogance.

NICARAGUA NEXT?

Never mind the principle of national sovereignty. If a nation exhibits such anti-American trademarks as economic independence, the rule of the majority over a handful of capitalists, re-distribution of land and wealth, universal health care and education, and friendship with the socialist bloc, it is fair game for the U.S. Marines. The U.S. has the right, according to Reagan, to reestablish the "democratic rule" of friendly rightist thugs among whom count the likes of Ferdinand Marcos, Augusto Pinochet, and the Salvadoran "death-squad" commando D'Aubisson.

No doubt, Reagan's signal is aimed most immediately at Central America. It is a prelude to more invasions. Adm. McKenzie, obviously speaking for the adminis-

tration said as much by ominously referring to Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba as "practically one country." With the rape of Grenada, Reagan has set the ideological stage for the transformation of the CIA's covert war on Nicaragua into open invasion. Likewise, it ushers graver threats on Cuba and greater dangers of direct intervention in El Salvador.

A PRE-MEDITATED ACT

By now, the pretext of rescuing American students has worn thin. But it is utter hypocrisy for Reagan to use Vice-Minister Coard's or Gen. Austin's apparent unpopularity among Grenadians as further justification for the aggression. Their unpopularity comes from their role in the tragic ouster of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Grenada's extremely popular socialist leader. And Reagan was never a friend of Bishop. In fact, Reagan planned the invasion originally to overthrow Bishop. Alarmed by a mock U.S. invasion exercise off Puerto Rico, Bishop had sent an urgent warning to the UN shortly before he was overthrown. It was a pre-planned invasion: the U.S. only needed to come up with a justification.

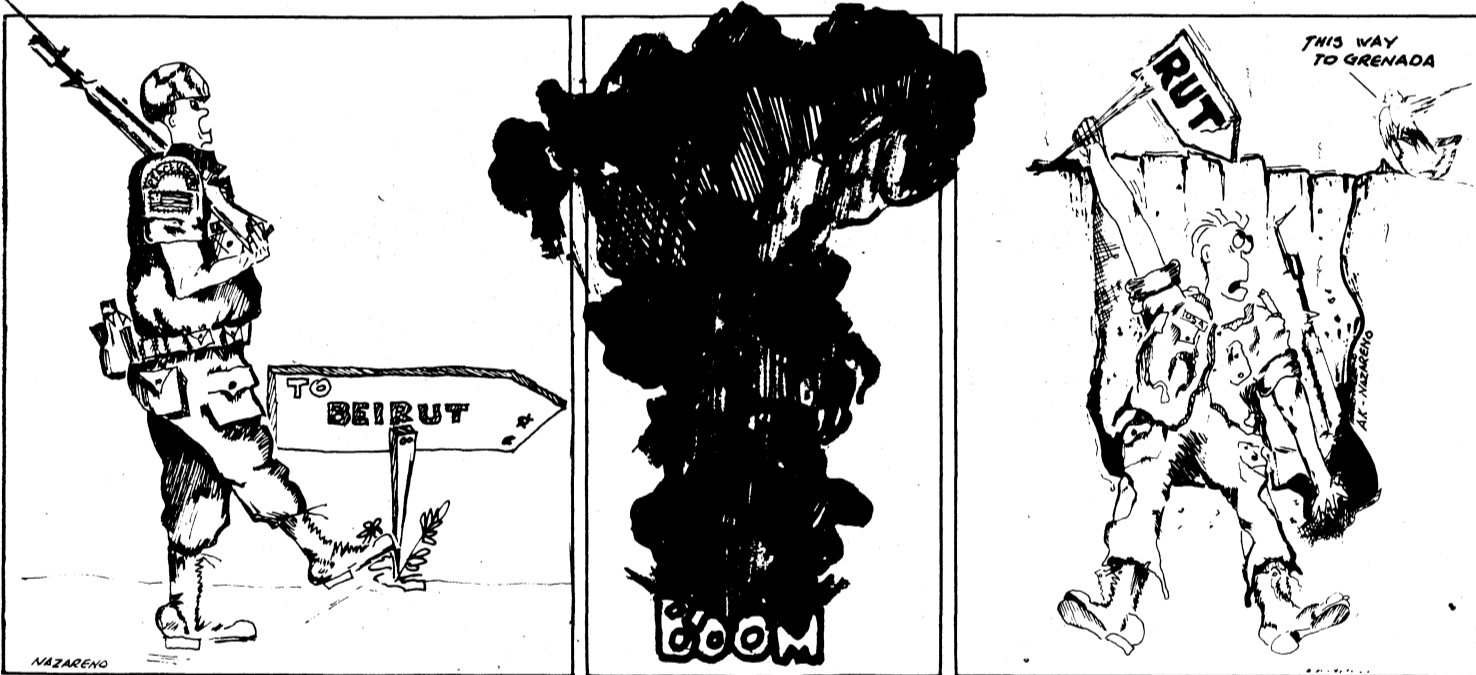
And Reagan is eager for more pretexts. His latest is to forestall so-called Cuban plans to occupy the island. He even produced warehouses full of Soviet arms and documents of Grenadian-Soviet-North Korean military pacts. CIA expertise in producing self-serving evidence aside, the public is supposed to agree that a sovereign nation has no right to seek arms and alliances to defend itself, especially against the threat of an impending aggression. Apparently, only the Marcoses of the world have the right to be armed to the teeth by the U.S. Who gave this nation the authority to decide what is right and wrong? The Holy Spirit? The Great White Father, whoever he is?

AMERICAN CHAUVINISM

Ultimately, American big nation chauvinism cannot be separated from Reagan's determination to keep the world's poorer nations as happy hunting grounds for U.S. corporate profits. The proposition that only the American way is the valid way of life springs from the equally ludicrous proposition that U.S. economic and political dominance is the immutable order of the universe. Unfortunately, large segments of the American population subscribe to this worldview—blinded by their share in a national privilege extracted from the sweat of exploited nations and peoples.

No wonder Reagan stresses that support for his invasion of a small Black nation—that just can't seem to choose the "right" friends and the "right" way of life—is a patriotic duty. As if to respond to his call, the media have uncritically relayed reports of Grenadians "welcoming the Marines as saviors." Newspapers have even reported gratuitous statements from some of the Marines' Grenadian camp followers claiming they hate the Cubans because the latter "have sex with goats and other farm animals." Not since the Cold War has the communists' purported penchant for uncivilized behavior been given such media prominence.

With the flag draped around his act of international hooliganism, Reagan is racking up points in the opinion polls. American working people must realize, now more than ever, that political ignorance is not bliss but an unconscionable crime. Grenada is a bold stride in Reagan's dangerous imperialist crusade, along with deeper interference in Central America and Lebanon, and along with his goal of deploying Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. The U.S. invasion of Grenada shows the world who the greatest enemy of peace really is. □



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Publisher:
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Editor:
Rene Ciria Cruz

Philippines:
Romy Garcia, Carla Mariano, Nene Ojeda, Nancy F. Rocamora

Filipino Community:
Emil De Guzman, Vicky Perez, Vince Reyes, Venny Villapando

U.S./International:
Wicks Geaga, Eddie Escultura

Arts and Production:
Emil De Guzman, Wicks Geaga, Berto Nazareno, Nene Ojeda

Litter from Manila



Gen. Fabian Ver, Intelligence

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

A reader wrote to me extremely worried that because the President has gone into seclusion there will be no source of news from Malacañang anymore. "Without official announcements from the Palace our people won't be able to guess what is really happening to the nation," he wrote. To allay our readers' fears, intelligence and security chief, candidate for succession, Gen. Fabian Ver has agreed to be the source of crucial information from the Palace.

ID: Gen. Ver my friend, thank you for making sure the public has unimpeded access to the truth.

Ver: Tell them Doroy, that with me around, the public will always be assured of the inalienable right to read between the lines.

ID: OK, to start. General, why did the President go into seclusion?

Ver: Simple. He doesn't want to be with anybody.

ID: Is he sick and dying as the rumors claim?

Ver: C'mon, I get so sick of those rumors I want to go into seclusion myself. The President needs more time to write a book that's all. And let me tell the public now

that next month he's taking off for one full day to write a book on his economic accomplishments. So enough of these rumors, OK?

ID: I thought he will write a book compiling all the secret decrees?

Ver: Unfortunately, he needs three years to finish that.

ID: Why does he need to write all those books?

Ver: What will the National Media Production Center do? Fire all its people? That would only create a dramatic unemployment crisis for the nation.

ID: Speaking of the economy, can you give the public an economic forecast?

Ver: Indicators show that everything is on the up and up. Cojuangco is bullish on his cut, Floirendo is going to make a killing in timber, Cuenca will get his big contract and everybody will meet the quarterly deadline for the First Lady's 10% on principal. Only Disini is experiencing a slight downturn.

ID: Being the intelligence chief, tell us about the Aquino controversy. The public has a lot of questions. Like how could Galman who was shorter than Aquino have fired at a downward trajectory? Isn't that a violation of the law of gravity?

Ver: I have not heard of such legislation, Doroy. But if there is a presidential decree to that effect I can assure you an arrest is forthcoming.

ID: What about the powder burns found on two of Ninoy's military escorts? People think they were the ones who shot Ninoy.

Ver: I can tell you frankly that the public is wrong this time. Those boys are innocent. They had power burns because they just got done shooting somebody else. Those who accuse them are wrong.

ID: Dead wrong?

Ver: They're still alive. But they're wrong.

ID: If President Reagan visits in spring, what kind of security precautions will you have for him?

Ver: Foolproof. We will ask him to come by boat instead of by plane, the media will be allowed to accompany him down the ramp, the AVSECOM will be nowhere in sight, and we will prohibit all embroidering activities a month before.

ID: With all the turmoil presently going on, is the government stable?

Ver: Is the Pope Catholic? We've got everything under control. Our intelligence service knows everything that's happening. For example, I know where you were last night.

ID: Ehem. But I wasn't performing an act of sedition.

Ver: I would spell it differently. Ha! Ha! Ha!

ID: General, you have been accused of being too loyal to the President. For example, Ninoy said if the President asked you to jump from a building you would salute and ask "Which floor, sir?" I asked the President about this once.

Ver: What did he say?

ID: That he never ordered you to do such a thing.

Ver: Whew!

ID: Well, thank you very much General. I think the public now has a good picture of the state of the nation. Until next time, sir.

Ver: Much obliged. The people should remain confident that they are captives of our unbounded attention, the targets of our paternal concern.

There you are, dear readers. General Ver, Intelligence—a most competent and compassionate man. One of my favorites for succession should President Marcos finally depart (heaven forbid) for warmer climes. Hell, with a man like Gen. Ver in charge, our security is guaranteed and the nation can permanently rest in peace. □

'Fernando Omission II'

FM Names New Aquino Panel

By CARLA MARIANO

Ferdinand Marcos constituted a new commission October 12 to conduct "an untrammelled and unlimited investigation into the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino that would "clear up, once and for all, suspicions of a white-wash."

The new panel of inquiry is headed by Corazon Agrava, former justice of the Court of Appeals. Other members include Dante Santos, an appliance manufacturer and president of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Amado Dizon, vice president of Manuel L. Quezon University; Ernesto Herrera, General Secretary of the pro-government Trade Union Congress of the Philippines; and Luciano Salazar, a corporate lawyer who heads five companies.

President Marcos originally planned to appoint two commission members from the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* which is overwhelmingly controlled by the president's supporters. Under mounting pressure for some semblance of independence, he dropped the plan.

Though the members of the new commission appear to be upright individuals from various walks of life, some are strong supporters of Ferdinand Marcos. The TUCP, which Herrera heads is widely scorned as a yellow, pro-government organization. The PICOP, over which Santos presides staunchly supports the regime.

'NO JUSTICE UNDER FM'

Opposition figures were quick to deny the possibility of an impartial investigation under the Marcos regime. At a rally of 4,000 people in a Manila suburb after Marcos' announcement of a new panel, Corazon Aquino, the slain leader's widow, said, "I don't expect to get any justice while Marcos is still the head of the government."

The new commission will continue the investigation started by the Fernando commission whose four remaining members resigned *en masse* October 10.

The mass resignation came hours after Arturo Tolentino, a ranking member of Marcos' cabinet, rejected a presidential appointment as chairman to replace Enrique Fernando. Fernando, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, had resigned under pressure ten days earlier. The mass resignation was greeted by a standing ovation from the audience in the courtroom.

In rejecting the appointment, the 73-year-old Minister of State for Foreign Affairs pointed to the commission's lack of credibility claiming that "whatever it does will be just a waste of time and money."

THE 'FERNANDO OMISSION'

The first commission's lack of credibility had left it the butt of crude coffee-room jokes. It was known as the "Fernando Omission" and the room in which it held its deliberations was dubbed "Fernando's Hideaway."

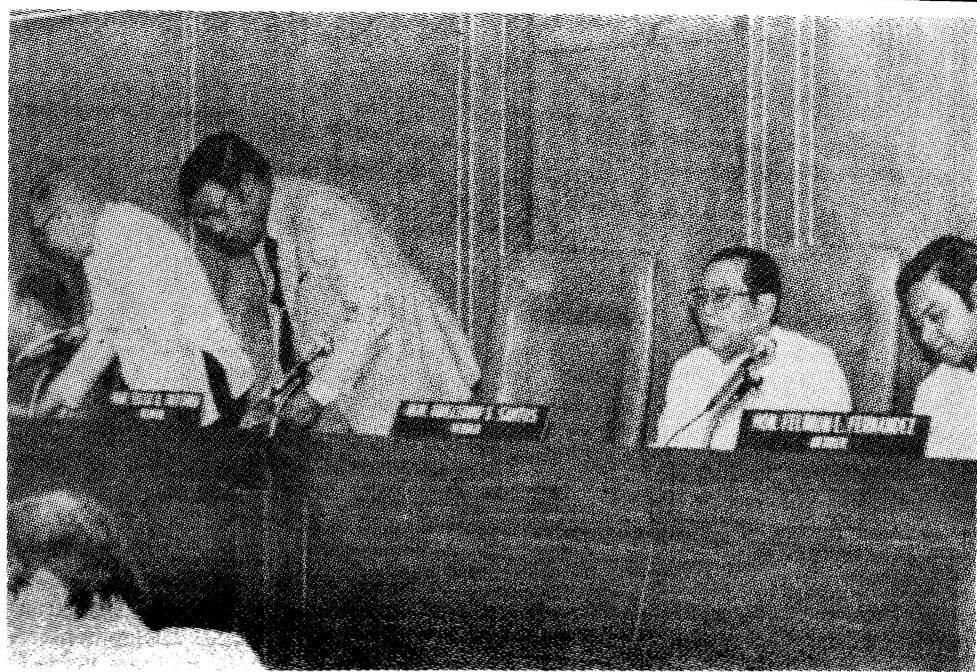
A three-member committee of U.S. lawyers had reported October 6 that the commission was "unable, if not unwilling, to pursue an unbiased investigation," and was "organized to exonerate the government."

The Fernando Commission exerted no serious effort to investigate the assassination, relying almost exclusively on information provided by the military investigating team headed by Brig. Gen. Prospero Olivas.

But the military reports were highly inconsistent and suspicious.

'SCIENTIFICALLY' AND 'INDUBITABLY'

Investigators falsely reported the height of the alleged assassin and Aquino as 5'10" and 5'7" respectively. This note of confusion helped to justify the regime's insistence that the shorter Galman had



Fernando Commission exits to a standing ovation; Marcos hopes for greater credibility with new panel.

crept behind Aquino and shot him and rationalized the downward trajectory of the single bullet that killed him.

This sleight of height is the cornerstone of Olivas' 11-page report submitted to the commission on September 20 stating that Rolando Galman has been proven "scientifically" and "indubitably" to have killed Aquino. "I don't believe that report," came a comment from a surprising source. Amadeo Seno, Deputy General Counsel of the commission, insisted that Olivas' findings are "inconsistent with the technical reports" that other government investigators compiled.

The report "makes me sick to my stomach," remarked still another figure connected with the investigation.

POWDER BURNS

Most damaging to government attempts to prove Aquino a victim of either a lone gunman or a communist plot were the results of paraffin tests conducted by the National Bureau of Investigation on the military men who escorted Aquino out of the China Air Lines plane. The tests were taken by investigators shortly after the killing. But their results were not revealed until the Fernando commission was dissolved. They showed gunpowder burns on two of Aquino's military escorts—individuals whose position behind and one step above Aquino on the airport arrival stair-

way easily jives with the bullet's downward trajectory.

The two were Philippine Air Force Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa and Philippine Constabulary Corporal Rogelio Moreno. De Mesa is one of six military witnesses interviewed by Olivas who identified Galman as the gunman.

The new evidence, according to Seno in an interview with United Press International, along with videotapes viewed by the commission, "may not be conclusive, but it is corroborative that somebody else other than Galman shot Aquino."

'IT SLIPPED MY MIND'

There are other more far-reaching inconsistencies and omission in the inquiry. Among them:

- There were 251 passengers who could have seen the assassination either from the airport departure lounge or through the windows of the China Air Lines plane. Not one has been sought for questioning.
- Subpoenas are yet to be issued for members of a government TV crew that was filming at the airport.
- The identity of the alleged gunman has yet to be confirmed by anyone outside the military. No effort has been made to trace his personal acquaintances or his wife and son. Both reportedly were taken from their home by heavily armed men two days after the assassination and haven't been seen since.

(Late-breaking word from Manila reveals that the Philippine Supreme Court October 27 ordered the release of Galman's mother and sister from military custody. The two women have been kept in NBI headquarters since September 1. Their continued detention, according to Fernando, was "an oversight.")

- Neither the government nor its military investigators acknowledge even the existence of airport surveillance cameras. According to airport workers and the manufacturers' representatives, the outdoor cameras, mounted on towering floodlight poles are part of the airport's new state-of-the-art security and ramp-control system.

A senior airport official said that it is standard procedure for control-room operators to videotape all flight arrivals and of passengers, as part of general airport security precautions.

Rustico Nazareno, the Fernando Commission's General Counsel, was asked why the subject of the airport cameras was not addressed in an October 4 interview with airport manager Luis Tabuena. "It must have slipped my mind," he replied. "I guess I'll have to get back to him on that."

'OPERATION E.T.'

The inconsistencies and the damning evidence have many wondering if it is, in fact, no longer possible to cover up the government's role in the Aquino murder. Many read the release of the damning NBI paraffin-test report as a concession to a public grown too wise to accept any further *palabas* such as the Olivas report.

This leaves the Marcos regime with no recourse but to cut its losses by setting up

Is Cojuangco Among Plotters?

Reprinted from *LIBERATION*

The deadly hand of Eduardo Cojuangco Jr. in Aquino's slaying was bared by a man who called up the law office of Assemblyman Salvador Laurel on Aug. 24. The man identified himself as Tony Marquez but said this was not his real name. He said he was too scared to come to the office. Marquez revealed he was a businessman from Tarlac and close to Cojuangco.

Marquez said the killing of Aquino was planned right after the ex-senator announced he was returning to the Philippines. The group that planned it included Cojuangco, Gen. Fabian Ver and a certain Col. Mejia, said to be the provincial commander of Bulacan. Mejia was supposed to coordinate between the military and Cojuangco who was responsible for hiring the professional assassin.

The plotters had earlier talked to Marcos who was angry over Aquino's return because although Aquino was out of power, he posed a threat to the regime, Marquez said.

The planning meeting reportedly took place on June 8 at the United Coconut Planters Bank in Makati, where Cojuangco has a controlling interest. Marcos gave his clearance to the group, said Marquez. He quoted Marcos as saying in Tagalog, "*Bahala na kayo*" (It is up to you).

Marquez disclosed that there were two

from Cojuangco, Ver and Mejia. He did not remember their names but said they were in Cojuangco's employ.

A friend of Marquez, a professional killer, was hired first to do the rub-out job. The man, who hails from Tarlac, begged off when he heard it was Aquino. "The deal was that the family of the assassin would be set up for life," Marquez said. "He was guaranteed safety after the act but he didn't know it was a double-cross."

Marquez added that the man who killed Aquino could not possibly afford a .357 magnum which is very expensive. He said it was the same planning group that tried to kill Assemblyman Emmanuel Pelaez, a vocal critic last year of the coconut monopoly of Cojuangco. "All those who tried to kill Pelaez are now dead."

It was Cojuangco who also recruited the witnesses against Aquino in the 1977 military trial which sentenced him to death by musketry. Cojuangco supplied the money and when the mercenary witnesses kept on coming back for more money, the coconut tycoon had them killed, reported Marquez.

Marquez noted that Aquino's slaying has a bearing on the presidential elections slated in 1987. Cojuangco is reportedly being groomed by his *padrino* Marcos to succeed him. "He (Cojuangco) is young and has plenty of money to spend. It is felt that he can beat all the candidates except Ninoy."

"Cojuangco is aware that if Aquino assumes power, his (Cojuangco's) head will roll," said Marquez. Although he is

the first cousin of Aquino's wife Cory, a family feud has split him from that branch of the family which lost political favor with Marcos due to its affiliations with Aquino.

Apparently, for Eduardo Cojuangco, politics is thicker than blood. His loyalty to Marcos is much more important than family relations. Such a loyalty has richly paid off. With Marcos' full backing and protection, Cojuangco ranks today as one of the dictator's biggest and most trusted business and financial partners and frontmen. The base of Cojuangco's wealth, power and prestige is the coconut industry where he exerts control through interlocking institutions like the United Coconut Mills (UNICOM) and the United Coconut Planters Bank.

Even before martial law, Cojuangco already boasted of a bloody record of political assassinations. He commanded a private army which included the "Monkees," a band of army deserters responsible for the murder of militant peasants in his home region of Central Luzon. Backed by his army and his military-connections in Camp Olivas, Pampanga, he won as Congressman through massive vote-buying and fraud.

It is an interesting coincidence that word is currently floating in Manila's business community that Cojuangco is the man to watch as a possible Marcos successor. In any case, more eyes will be watching him in the coming days as the fourth mastermind in the dastardly plot to assassinate Marcos' political archrival. □

Continued on page 5

Protests Persist

FM Wields Carrot and Stick

The matrons, executives and white-collar workers clogging the streets of Makati and calling for reconciliation grabbed a lot of headlines in the two months following the murder of Marcos rival Benigno Aquino (see story, page 1). But theirs was not the only show in town.

Elsewhere workers, students, slum-dwellers, and clergy staged their own rallies and expressed a political position that was no doubt more difficult for Washington observers to stomach. In an October 9 rally attended by hundreds, a 90-foot long red banner stretching across the Manila Post Office read: "Smash the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship."

Led by the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* and the League of Filipino Students, prominent figures such as Jose Diokno, Lorenzo Tañada, and Agapito "Butz" Aquino, the protest was the handiwork of the left-to-middle coalition known as Justice for Aquino, Justice for All or JAJA.

JAJA—LEFT POLE WITHIN THE OPPOSITION

JAJA, formed weeks after the August 21 assassination of Marcos' foremost political rival, calls for an end to the Marcos regime and the establishment of a caretaker government. The 50-member coalition also seeks an end to the growing militarization of the country and the removal of all forms of alien control.

JAJA has led rallies and marches in Cagayan de Oro, Zamboanga, Davao, and Cebu. Largest was that in Davao City late in September. It was attended by 10,000 students, workers, businessmen, and other professionals. This peaceful rally was disrupted by shots fired following a noise barrage.

JAJA and its politics act as a pole attracting the more progressive sentiments within the opposition. Thus while the prominent Jaime Cardinal Sin expresses the sentiments of the Makati-based opposition, many of the religious lean toward JAJA's politics.

In open defiance of Marcos' warning against teaching their wards "hate for the government," over a hundred nuns, priests and seminarians led 1,000 students and workers in an anti-government march October 13 between two churches in Manila.

Nuns held a banner demanding "Oust the U.S.-backed Marcos Regime."

Residents of Manila's slum district, Tondo, came out in protest October 9 despite being denied a rally permit. Some 5,000 listened to speeches denouncing the Marcos government outside the Santo Niño Church. As hundreds of police in full riot gear watched, market workers and vendors, dockhands, and many jobless demanded the president's resignation.

Organizers of the rally had been denied a permit because the city government alleged "communists were out to kill the demonstrators."

MUSLIM COMMUNITY PROTESTS

The swelling movement against Marcos encouraged protests from still more quarters. Manila's Muslim community held a prayer-rally for the country in a downtown mosque on October 14 drawing 300 devotees.

A few days earlier, a "Moslem Manifesto," signed by 11 prominent Muslim politicians called on Marcos to heed the calls for reconciliation being put forward by the more conservative sector of the opposition or face the threat of a revived Muslim secession movement. The Manifesto called for "national reconciliation and justice for all," and the granting of "general amnesty for all political prisoners."

Meanwhile, a boycott of the country's three major newsdailies, initiated by local businessmen and picked up by most of the reading public, has brought out a free-wheeling press reminiscent of the pre-martial law days. As the government-controlled *Daily Express*, *Times Journal*, and *Bulletin Today* lost readership and advertisements, numerous tabloids sprang up.

REPRINTS LABELLED SEDITIOUS

Among the most controversial stories appearing in these publications are reprints of foreign articles and commentaries critical of the Marcos government and its handling of the murder's investigation.

The Philippine government responded predictably to this new development by cracking down. The *Philippine Times*, a daily tabloid, was raided and shut down on September 29. Its editor, Rommel Corro, is now in detention facing charges

of sedition. The *Times* had reprinted articles from *Newsweek*, including one that implied military complicity in Aquino's assassination.

Corro has also been charged with distributing a handbill detailing an alleged military plot to kill Aquino.

Roberto Coloma, a reporter for *Agence France-Presse*, was also arrested and temporarily detained on September 30. He was released after hours of questioning. The military later admitted that Coloma's arrest was a mistake as the signature on the Preventive Detention Authority issued against him was reportedly illegible.

AGENTS IN 'COMMIE' UNIVERSITIES

The crackdown extends beyond the realm of a defiant media. The military has fielded underground intelligence operatives to Metro-Manila colleges and universities to "flush out agitators." They are under orders to seek help from student stooges to identify "legitimate student demonstrators" in photographs taken by the military.

Fourteen people have also been arrested at the various checkpoints set up on roads leading to Manila for alleged firearms control. Some 21 military patrol units now circle "critical areas" 24 hours a day. Mobile checkpoints have also been set up in Manila supposedly to maintain peace in

the city beset by almost daily marches and rallies.

CONCESSIONS

In an attempt to check the growing sentiments against him, Marcos has thrown a few sops, aimed particularly at the moderate sector. On October 17, he announced changes in the country's election code to give the opposition a "fighting chance in 1984."

Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* now occupies all but 12 of the 180-seat Interim *Batasang Pambansa* (National Assembly). Elections for the parliament are set for May next year.

Following deliberations within an IBP caucus, block party voting has been dropped from the election code. This allows opposition coalitions such as the 12-party United Nationalist Democratic Organization to run. Two opposition members will also be appointed to the Commission on Elections.

President Marcos however refused to consider a proposal to create a position of vice president to ease some of the tensions over the succession issue.

Marcos' carrot, however, seemed to attract no one and demands for his ouster continued. Most recently 5,000 residents of eastern Metro-Manila gathered to demand national reconciliation. A motorcade of tricycles, jeepneys and private cars led a march of youth, workers, and clergy across the town of Pasig, suggesting that Makati politics was being carried beyond the borders of the business district.

Many thus suspect that Marcos is likely to apply the stick once again. He has already mentioned the possibility of re-imposing martial law, though he quickly retracted the statement when challenged directly. □



While Cardinal Sin backs conservatives, many clergy take to the streets.

NPA WIPES OUT 39 SOLDIERS

The New People's Army last September 29 scored its biggest victory to date against the Philippine Army. In a well-coordinated ambush of a Philippine Army detachment in the hills of Zamboanga, Mindanao, NPA forces killed 46 including 39 soldiers. This is the highest death toll suffered by government forces since NPA operations began in early 1969.

According to informants the ambush carried out by about 70 guerrillas lasted less than five minutes. The government troops and several civilians were travelling northwest of Zamboanga riding in weapons carrier. They were on their way up a steep incline towards their next patrol when guerrillas began firing from shallow foxholes.

On September 28, government troops had reportedly rested on the outskirts of Zamboanga preparing to embark on a three-day march through rugged terrain. When they arrived in town, however, they decided to cut down on their travel time by borrowing the only available vehicle in town.

The weapons carrier is owned by the local mayor and is made to carry eight passengers. Informants claim the vehicle left at noon bearing almost 60 people including at least eight residents. They were thus sitting ducks for the NPA active in the region.

Military officials confirmed the 46 dead but have not disclosed how many of the surviving 10 soldiers were

wounded. It is unknown whether the NPA suffered any casualties at all.

The NPA troops reportedly confiscated all rifles from the dead and wounded. Local authorities noted that the planning and strength needed in carrying out such ambushes were typical of the NPA.

Meanwhile, several areas in Luzon and Mindanao have been struck by guerrilla bands believed to be NPA. While returning home to Davao City, Mayor Elias V. Lopez' party was fired upon by an armed band estimated at 150. Five persons were killed and several wounded including Lopez. Also in Davao, PC Maj. Felicisimo del Rosario was shot dead in front of his home by a gunman riding a motorcycle.

An ambush in Bulini, Abra, left Lt. Ray Anthony Alfabeto, son of an army general, dead. In Lasam, Cagayan, another armed band raided the town hall. Local police, Constabulary, and Civilian Home Defense Force units combined to counter the raid. Four persons were killed and five wounded. □

AQUINO MOLE IN ARMED FORCES DIES MYSTERIOUSLY

The man alleged to be the late Sen. Benigno Aquino's mole within the Philippine military was killed in a suspicious automobile accident a mere month after Aquino's assassination. PC intelligence chief, Brig. Gen. Baltazar Aguirre and his wife died last September

22 when their car was sideswiped and forced into an oncoming vehicle.

The general and his group were reportedly bound for Quezon City coming from a late night meeting with Gen. Fidel Ramos, PC Chief of Staff. Their vehicle was travelling down Epifanio de los Santos Highway when a cargo truck abruptly sideswiped them and sped away. The force was enough to drive them into the opposite lane and into a 14-wheel container truck.

The party was taken to Makati Medical Center by David Malinao, driver of the container truck and his crew. Aguirre was said to have died on the way to the hospital while his wife died hours later of multiple injuries.

Supporting suspicions that Aguirre's death was a rub-out, one unconfirmed report reveals that a bullet was found in his body when autopsied. Though Malinao was taken into custody after the incident, investigating officials to date have failed to locate the hit-and-run vehicle or identify its driver. The missing cargo truck is reportedly owned by none other than the infamous Col. Rolando Abadilla, now operating the largest truck company in Metro-Manila. Abadilla is notorious for torturing and salvaging political dissidents. His exploits have been well documented by the Task Force Detainees and Amnesty International.

Another Manila report asserted that Aguirre may have wanted to expose a still confusing "Operation E.T." or Extreme Termination and was silenced. He supposedly had tapes of conversations regarding an allegedly secret operation to insure succession of Marcos' favorites planned by Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver, coconut millionaire Eduardo Cojuangco and others close to the ailing Philippine President. □



Peso Devaluation: FUEL TO THE FIRE

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

In a move which can only contribute to the growing unpopularity of the Marcos regime, the Philippine government October 4 announced a devaluation of the peso by 21.4%. The move reduced the value of the peso to ₱14 to a single U.S. dollar, bringing the official rate into line with the black market value.

It was the second devaluation of the year. Last June the peso was cut by 7.3% bringing it to ₱11 to \$1. The latest move means a 34% depreciation of the peso since January—and Central Bank officials are unwilling to assure an edgy business community that the latest cut will be the last this year.

The goal of the move was to make Philippine exports cheaper and therefore more attractive, at the same time discouraging imports. But immediate reaction included outrage, confusion and soaring commodity prices.

Retired banker Antonio Gatmaitan denounced the move at a Makati rally of 5,000 office workers two days later. Within hours of the move, prices of imported products went up and confusion spread throughout the Philippine banking system.

On October 7, three days after the devaluation, the regime was forced to call for price ceilings on basic products such as gasoline, rice, milk, eggs, meat, and school supplies to cushion the shock. At the same time, it announced a delay in increasing the minimum wage, a highly unpopular move with the country's more than 18 million workers (see related story this page).

HELP FROM CREDITORS

Within days, it became clear that the devaluation was part of a set of policies aimed at satisfying the International Monetary Fund. The very day that it was announced, Prime Minister/Finance Minister Cesar Virata was set to meet with IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosiere.

The meeting, a mid-year review of the Philippines' economic performance was required for the release of the second installment in a standby credit of 315 million special drawing rights (\$334 million) awarded by the IMF last February.

A mere 10 days after the devaluation, the Philippines' 10 leading creditors (including Hanover Trust, Bank of Tokyo, Citibank, Bank of America, and Chase Manhattan) met in New York with Virata, Central Bank Governor Jaime Laya, and IMF representatives. The group agreed to a 90-day reprieve on repayment of principal on the country's staggering foreign debt of \$18.2 billion—owed to between 300 and 400 banks.

The reprieve temporarily spares the Philippines from a default on close to one-half of its total foreign debt,

\$4.5 billion of which is in short-term loans. It will also provide a three-month breathing space to negotiate fresh loans. Remarkd one U.S. banker, "The Philippines is avoiding a default only because of the good will of the big commercial banks."

FM'S PART OF THE BARGAIN

Meanwhile Marcos bared a set of drastic financial reforms as his part of the bargain. Virata announced that government planners have agreed to limit the availability of money, raise oil-product prices, defer government spending and introduce windfall profit taxes.

This means increasing the amount of cash commercial banks must keep on deposit with the Central Bank as reserves; raising gasoline prices two months from now; curtailing government projects that use imported materials; and cutting government spending for 1984 by a whopping 34%.

In the wake of the moratorium, the regime slapped new restrictions on credit, deferred more development projects and imposed greater import controls. At the same time, it clamped down on the black market.

The graciousness of the country's creditors will take its toll in dollars and cents. Interest payments on government loans—roughly two-thirds of the total deficit—will be repaid at 1% over the U.S. Prime Rate or 1.25% over the London interbank official rate. This is significantly above most original rates. Private sector rates are up for negotiation.

CAPITAL FLIGHT

The current maneuvers are a desperate effort by the Philippines and the international business community to rescue the country's floundering economy and their investments. The economy has been in poor shape for some time. But following the Aquino assassination on August 21, bad went to much, much worse.

The continual political unrest over the past two months has the entire financial community on edge. Illegal capital flight via the black market went up to \$5 million a day following the assassination. Virata, speaking in Washington in early October, said an estimated \$200 million left the country through the black market in the less than a month-and-a-half following the Aquino murder.

At the same time, banks became hesitant to lend. Normal 90-day loans were reduced to 2-week, 1-week, even 24-hour call loans. Medium range loans were coming in at roughly 60% of the pace of 1982. Wells Fargo, planning last summer to put together a \$100 million short-term loan for the Central Bank, dropped the idea after the murder. The Japanese were reluctant to lend anything at all. International reserves sank to a mere \$700 million, enough to cover only one month of imports.

Investors were giving second thoughts to sinking their money into the Philippines. "My parent company seems to be thinking of putting the Philippines among the ranks of some Latin American countries," noted one manager of a multinational in Manila. Meanwhile, foreign exchange receipts from tourism have dried up to nothing.

CHRONIC DISEASE

Many, among them Virata and Laya, insist that the Philippines' problems are really more political than economic. "Ultimately," commented one American banker, "the question of political stability and succession are coming to a head."

Others qualify, however, that the Philippine economy has been in sad shape for quite some time. "From a banking point of view, the problem with the Philippines isn't that it is politically unstable," commented an executive of a British bank. "The problem has been that the Philippines is economically sick, and that was a reality even before Aquino's death."

With the staggering \$1.36 billion deficit for the first nine months of the year, the Philippines is indeed terribly ill. But the disease is chronic and not likely to be cured by even the most drastic of reforms.

The illness is rooted in Ferdinand Marcos' reliance on export markets as the source of the country's wealth. Not only has this meant reliance on traditional exports such as sugar, coconut and copper, but also on vast export processing zones devoted to light manufacturing—everything from electronic components and watches to clothing and Barbie dolls.

But the prices of Philippine exports have taken a beating over the last several years. The markets for sugar and vegetable oils are extremely competitive. Copper has sunk. And with international capital in recession, the market for Barbie dolls isn't the best.

The Philippines finds itself relying increasingly on loans and having more and more difficulty in repaying them. The economy is thus increasingly subject to the dictates of the international lending institutions. So that when the IMF says to devalue its currency, the Marcos regime has little choice but to comply.

HARDEST HIT

Hardest and most immediately hit by the devaluation, as the Western press was quick to point out, are the nation's poor. By October 22, the *New York Times* reported that the costs of bread, milk, canned goods, and other basic items had risen rapidly since October 4. Locally manufactured cigarettes rose 20% just four days after the announcement and all canned goods were up by 30%.

The National Power Corporation announced a hike in rates for private utility owners such as Manila Electric Company to take effect October 26. The 3.4 extra centavos per kilowatt hour will be passed directly on to consumers and manufacturers will pass it along in terms of hiked prices for their products.

Central Bank officials refuse to guarantee that the October devaluation will be the last for this year. The black market exchange rate stuck to ₱14 to \$1 for only a few days before drifting up to ₱18 to \$1. Some bankers as well as members of the opposition were predicting an official rate of ₱20 to \$1 by the end of the year.

But not only the poor are hurting. Some of the rich are complaining as well. The most seriously squeezed by the devaluation are those manufacturers forced to pay more for imported materials and equipment. Then, there is insufficient foreign exchange to go around and businesses are elbowing each other in the tellers' lines to buy their dollars. On October 28, the Central Bank ordered all of the country's banks to sell it 80% of their foreign exchange receipts. This will restrict imports still further.

The anger on the economic front feeds directly into politics and fuels the growing protests which now flare among the poor and wealthy. But Ferdinand Marcos has locked himself into a losing economic formula and neither he nor his lenders have the key to the way out. □

Workers Press for Wage Hikes

The three year old *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement) last October 21 demanded a 60% wage increase for all agricultural and industrial workers. They hope to raise the daily wage of industrial workers from ₱34 (\$2.43) to ₱55.50 (\$3.96) and that of agricultural workers from ₱24.60 (\$1.76) to ₱52.20 (\$3.73).

The militant K MU is the largest coalition of laborers in the Philippines with a membership of over half a million.

The K MU demand comes as a response to the recent 21.4% devaluation of the Philippine peso, which has already sent prices of basic goods soaring. At the same time, President Ferdinand Marcos an-

nounced a freeze on all wage increases. (See related story, this page.)

The devaluation threatens a number of local industries which rely on imported parts and materials. Labor Secretary Blas Ople recently threatened that a shutdown of some of these industries could mean joblessness for thousands of workers. Observers read this as a warning to workers to accept the wage increase freeze or else.

But workers are not allowing threats or excuses to prevent them from asserting their basic needs. On October 21, more than half of Manila's public schools were shut down by some 10,000 striking elementary and high school teachers demanding wage increases. They rejected the govern-

ment's request to return to their jobs. Elsewhere in Manila, 4,000 communications workers walked out.

Meanwhile, workers from the Bataan Export Processing Zone walked off their jobs on October 21, effectively halting operations of 28 multinational companies. Rolando Olalia, K MU legal adviser stated the estimated 25,000 workers walked out after 14 strikers at an electronic firm were injured by local police. The club-swinging police used blows and tear gas to break through the picket line and allow scabs to enter the building. Workers demanded the end to police brutality before returning to their jobs. □

Aquino Panel . . .

Continued from page 3

a fairly high-ranking military officer as a sacrificial lamb to take the rap for the commander-in-chief.

The sacrificial lamb—a willing one—may already have been chosen. The resumption of the investigation by the newly-appointed commission may be a signal for the new scenario to unfold.

Meanwhile, a document signed by a group calling itself the Intelligence Command is making the rounds in Manila. The document claims that Aquino was assassinated under a plan code-named "Operation E.T." or "Extreme Termination." The group purportedly bugged the offices of some of the conspirators which included Gen. Fabian Ver, Col. Eduardo Cojuangco, and Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez. Quotes from transcripts of alleged conversations among them indicated that the conspirators acted on orders from President Marcos. □

1930s



Filipino Exclusion and 'Humane' Deportation

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

"Thousands of jobless Los Angeles Filipinos may soon be sent back to their native land if a movement to be launched today by Chairman Frank L. Shaw of the Board of Supervisors is successful. . ."

Los Angeles Herald
April 16, 1934

From 1899 on, the issue of Philippine independence was a raging controversy in the United States. The Filipino-American War which broke out over it, claimed the lives of 600,000 Filipinos in Luzon alone. President Taft insisted that he was willing to see an independent Philippines only "as soon as she would be ready to assume her political responsibilities."

By the early 1930s, however, certain quarters in the U.S. were singing a totally different tune. All of a sudden, "self-determination" for the Philippines gained support from unexpected quarters, such as the American Federation of Labor and even the American Legion. But there was a catch.

A resolution adopted by the AFL at a convention in Vancouver, B.C. in 1931 "reaffirmed [the group's] declaration for Philippine independence with the stipulation that any congressional measure granting

casians in this state; inter-marriage between the two races is forbidden by state law, and the presence of Filipinos in numbers has created grave economic, racial and political problems. . ."

Labor and conservative groups became advocates of immediate Philippine independence so that the "free and excessive entry of Filipinos in the U.S." could be put to an equally immediate end!

Along with producers of sugar, tobacco and other agricultural products who feared stiff competition from Philippine produce, these groups won their cause with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in July 11, 1934.

While the Act established the Philippine Commonwealth and provided for independence by 1946, it also set a graduated tax on Philippine exports to the U.S., thus allaying producers' fears of further competition from the Philippines.

Tydings-McDuffie also settled important immigration issues pertaining to Filipinos, paving the way for their exclusion and repatriation.

Firstly, the Act limited Filipino immigration to the U.S. to an annual quota of 50, thus instituting an effective exclusion measure. In addition, it altered the Filipinos' status from "ward" to "alien." Now classified as aliens, Filipinos for the first time became subject to immigration restrictions as set forth by the 1924 Immigration Act.

Immediately following Tydings-McDuffie was the Repatriation Act of 1935. While Tydings-McDuffie barred more Filipinos from coming, the Repatriation Act was aimed at reducing the number of those already here.

Introduced by Congressman Richard Welch of San Francisco, the Act stipulated that unemployed and "financially-distressed" Filipinos who wished to return to the islands would be provided transportation at federal expense and, at the same time, lose the right of immediate re-entry. While this hardly differed from forcible deportation, officials called the Act "more humane" because the removal of Filipinos was "voluntary."

The reasons for exclusion and repatriation were simple. By the 1930s, Filipinos had become favorite scapegoats, vehemently accused of "grabbing the white men's jobs." At a time when the depression was at its peak, race riots flared up in various parts of California, where 30,470 Filipinos were concentrated. (While the Bureau of Census revealed the presence of only 5,603 Filipinos in 1920, the number jumped significantly to 45,208 by 1930, nationally.) Exeter and Watsonville were two places where the most virulent anti-Filipino riots took place.

Filipinos were hardly the only targets. Mexicans shared the same fate and in fact, suffered more grievously. The President's Commission on Migratory Labor report of 1951 stated the following: "Whereas in [the] 1920s we absorbed the population of one million Mexicans. In the 1930s, we threw out 500,000 people of Mexican origin."

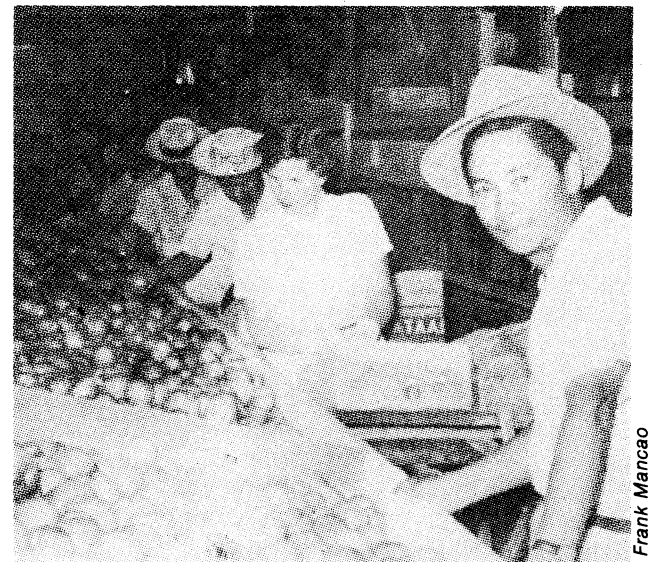
The mass deportation of Mexican *repatriados*, with sectors from the community claiming the figure ran twice as high as the official number cited, drew

outries. Reports also claimed that many of those repatriated were U.S.-born and not necessarily just Mexican nationals.

The Mexican experience came on the heels of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which barred Chinese labor from coming into the U.S., and the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924.

For a number of reasons, the repatriation law was considered a failure. Only 2,190 out of the estimated 45,000 Filipino residents in the U.S. took advantage of the federal legislation.

The Commissioner of Immigration in California



charged that "The big employers of field laborers want an abundant supply of cheap labor available when crops are ready to be harvested. . . Working under cover, these champions of cheap labor are employing civic bodies and even religious organizations to mislead, confuse, and deceive the Filipinos."

Filipinos also resisted the law's sugar-coated incentives. The change in the political status of Filipinos from wards to aliens meant that those who wished to leave would find themselves trapped in the same conditions that prompted them to leave the Philippines in the first place.

There was also the potential of considerable embarrassment in returning to the islands empty-handed. Social pressures prevented many Filipinos from going back and admitting that several years in America did not bring about the treasures they had dreamt of.

Many of those who took advantage of the Repatriation Act expressed disappointment over the treatment they received. "Repatriation is supposed to be a Santa Claus gift to Filipinos who want to go home, but have not the money for fare," wrote a group of repatriates aboard the S.S. President Jackson, "But in view of the shabby, shameful and almost inhumane treatment we received, the administration of the Repatriation Act reminds us of a CROCODILE's affection and caresses." The statement came from a petition they circulated, demanding better accommodations, better food and better treatment.

Mainly, those who accepted "deportation in the guise of a humanitarian act," did so from an overwhelming rejection of American life, specifically of the racism they had encountered. □



independence now, or hereafter, must contain a clause for the immediate exclusion of Filipino laborers," (emphasis added).

The resolution adopted by the American Legion in its 1931 convention more overtly displayed the organization's deep-seated racism: "Whereas, the experience of California has demonstrated that Filipinos are not biologically assimilable with Cau-

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

Last month in an abrupt reversal, House Speaker Tip O'Neil pronounced the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform package doomed in the 1983-84 session of the House of Representatives. Only a few months ago, the bill was sure of passing.

The bill is still in the House Rules Committee which decides the scope and limits of a House floor debate. O'Neil ordered House Rules Chairman Claude Pepper to retain it in committee, thus preventing a vote on it in this year's session.

O'Neil cited overwhelming opposition from the Hispanic Congressional Caucus who told him the bill was "discriminatory against Latinos."

He explained his move was meant to counter a political maneuver by President Reagan who, according to a Hispanic congressman, planned to veto the bill to gain favor from Hispanic voters. O'Neil feared that a House passage followed by a White House veto would only make Democrats look bad and Reagan a hero among Latino voters. Both political parties are furiously giving overtures to the fast growing Chicano-Latino vote in next year's presidential election.

GUARDED VICTORY

The bill's shelving was hailed by Hispanic groups and immigrant rights organizations as a limited and temporary victory. One of them, the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson-Mazzoli (BACASM), cautioned at a press conference that O'Neil indicated an immigration reform bill would be resurrected in January 1985.

Simpson-Mazzoli still has powerful backing. Up to three months ago, the Reagan administration, the New Right, the AFL-CIO and both political parties all backed it strongly. Even the Justice Department which directs the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) lobbied hard for it.

But in the face of the 1984 elections, the Chicano-Latino vote became a matter to be taken seriously by Democrats and Republicans alike. The Congressional Hispanic caucus put it bluntly to everyone: the political party responsible for the bill's passage would lose hundreds of thousands of Chicano-Latino votes in the local, congressional, and presidential races. According to the 1980 census, 60 percent of the 14.6 million Latinos are Chicanos and Americans of Mexican descent.

REPRESSIVE

Critics have repeatedly charged that Simpson-Mazzoli's main provisions are racially biased and exploitative of undocumented workers.

Some provisions tighten restrictions on the number of immigrants and political refugees who want to become permanent residents in the U.S. each year. At the same time, the bill streamlines procedures for employers to use temporary "guest workers" who would have little or no political and economic rights.

Another provision places sanctions against employers and businesses who knowingly employ undocumented workers. Immigrant rights groups argued that sanctions would only intensify job discrimination and the exploitation of undocumented workers. Much opposition also came from growers and small businesses that are dependent on cheap undocumented labor. The bill also calls for the implementation of a national I.D. system, which civil libertarians denounced as fascist.

The bill also allows "amnesty" for certain undocumented immigrants in the U.S. by giving them the chance to apply for permanent status. However, controversial loopholes and technical flaws pepper these provisions and could make immigrants who avail of amnesty more vulnerable to deportation and curtailments of due process by the INS.

CONGRESSIONAL FIGHT

Last December, Simpson-Mazzoli was

Demos, GOPs Court '84 Latino Vote

Simpson-Mazzoli Shelved . . . for Now

shelved at the lame duck session of Congress. But in February, the bill was reintroduced by its two sponsors, Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) and Romano Mazzoli (D-KY). Without much debate, the bill blitzed through the Senate with a 76-18 vote in May. This was the second time the Senate passed a version of the bill only to see it vanquished in the House.

Debate in the House had been more turbulent. Liberals sought to buffer the repressive nature of the bill by introducing the Hawkins and Miller amendments.

Conservatives felt that the bill was not repressive enough. They introduced through the House Agricultural Committee an amendment to expand the "guest worker"

provision. It would bring back the Bracero Program of the '60s which legally allowed low-paid and temporary use of Mexican nationals.

House Republicans are currently preparing another offensive to force the bill out of the House Rules Committee.

ASSAULTS INTENSIFY

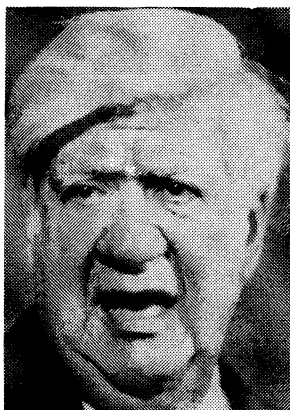
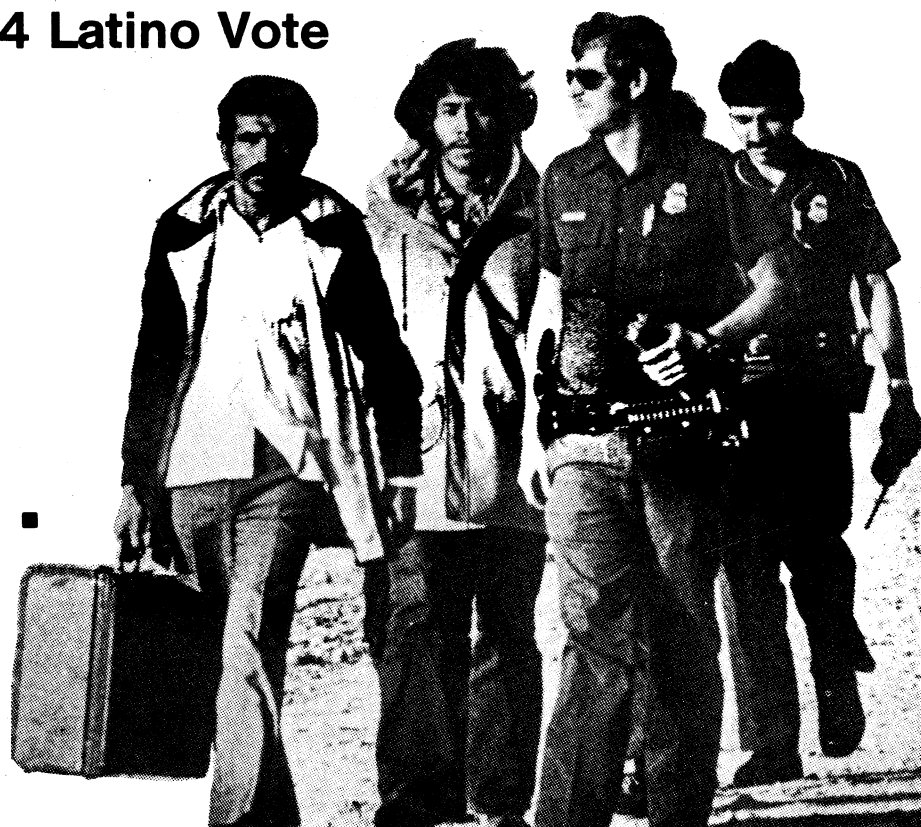
With the O'Neil bombshell still reverberating in Congress, crackdowns by the INS are intensifying.

In September, the INS praised itself for achieving its goal of "a million illegal aliens" arrested and captured after 12 months. It claimed a 40% increase above

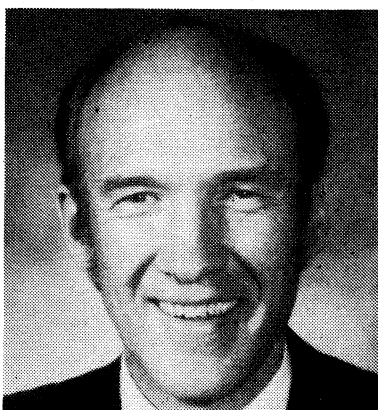
the previous 12 months.

The INS recently announced plans to increase the numbers of border patrol officers along the 2,000 mile U.S.-Mexican border. Simultaneously, it is stepping up raids in such immigrant cities as Los Angeles, the Bay Area and Hawaii, populations that are predominantly Asian and Latino.

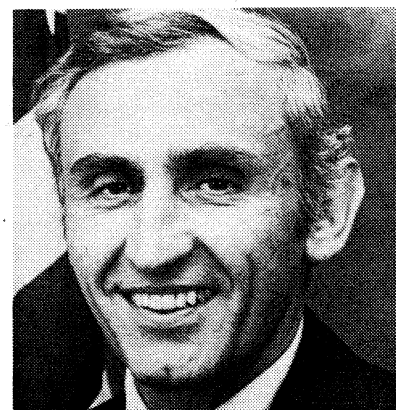
Immigrant rights groups are anticipating a hard fight when the bill or a similar one gets reintroduced in 1985. They note that only an immigrant rights ferment similar in scale to the civil rights movement can assure victory against repressive and discriminatory immigration legislation and practices. □



Tip O'Neil



Alan Simpson



Romano Mazzoli

INS Cracks Down in Hawaii

By ABE IGNACIO

The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service has declared war on Hawaii's undocumented immigrants. Harold Ezell, Western Regional Commissioner, in a recent press conference outlined plans for a first-ever drive to get rid of the islands' undocumented immigrants. Ezell said the INS estimated anywhere between 30,000 and 40,000 undocumented immigrants in Hawaii.

The INS alleges that half of these people are occupying jobs that U.S. citizens or legal residents of Hawaii should have. Ezell further charged that undocumented immigrants are draining Hawaii's economy by fraudulently qualifying for welfare assistance, student loans and benefits from other social welfare programs.

This new offensive is part of President Reagan's "get tough" policy on undocumented immigrants. The sweeps will be focused on the western region, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Hawaii and Guam. Ezell stated that this is a "matter of national security" and that the U.S. must get control of its borders.

The INS will unleash a special task force of up to 50 agents to arrest and repatriate undocumented immigrants. Other steps will include beefing up its own investigation unit and possibly appointing a full-time immigration judge in Honolulu.

AGAINST YAKUZA AND FIELD WORKERS

Max Feldman, INS Honolulu district director, said no single ethnic group is being targeted for presenting the biggest problem, but that most of the undocumented are employed in the tourist industry.

"District director Feldman may say no single group is being singled out, but the main immigrant group employed in the industry is Filipino," said Helen Toribio, Co-coordinator of the Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization.

"These proposed actions will have a chilling effect on the Filipino, Asian and Pacific Islander communities in Hawaii," said Toribio. "The majority of these communities are recent immigrants."

Ezell said the agency has identified three major problem areas: the Yakuza Japanese Crime Syndicate, illegal farm and field workers and well organized fraudulent immigrant schemes. Ezell said the schemes included "unscrupulous" at-

torneys who help smuggle illegal aliens into the state and travel agents who supply these aliens with counterfeit visas and passports.

INS FRUSTRATED

Immigrant rights groups in Hawaii have issued loud criticisms of the INS for these recent actions. Toribio said, "Without substantiating its claims, the INS plays up on racist prejudices and fears that immigrants take away jobs from Americans, that national security is at stake and that immigrants are a drain on taxpayer's money."

Toribio also said the stepped up plan of raids and deportations shows the INS's bitter frustration at the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill's stalling in Congress. She said the bill would have given the INS many repressive tools it has long desired.

Community organizations such as the Oahu Filipino Community Council and the Inter-Agency Council for Immigrant Services have written letters of protest to the INS.

"We are sending a delegation of labor and community leaders to the INS to demand a stop to the harassment of immigrant communities and to guarantee the protection of their democratic rights," Toribio said. □

Rich Rebels . . .

Continued from front page

you." One business executive, Rogelio Pantaleon, a Vice President of Ayala Corp., was briefly arrested for inciting to sedition.

On the President's orders, the troops moved in on the otherwise peaceful Makati demonstrations, swinging clubs, firing tear-gas canisters, and shooting randomly into the crowds. One U.S. correspondent noted that tear gas had become such a predictable fact of daily life in Makati that the average executive showed up for work with an extra handkerchief tucked into his briefcase.

Marcos' threats did not deter the rich from marching again in mid-October when 20,000 women, among them many of the country's most prominent socialites, took to the streets singing "The Impossible Dream" and the *Ave Maria*, praying the rosary and demanding that Marcos resign. They dragged their maids along in tow marching behind the widow and mother of the late Senator Aquino and former Senator Eva Estrada Kalaw, President of the newly-formed National Organization of Women.

The ranks were fleshed out by a hefty complement of students, nuns, office workers, and teachers. But behind a flower-decked pick-up truck bearing the image of the Virgin Mary were the wives and daughters of the nation's elite—Zobels, Aranetas, Elizaldes, and Sorianos. None had ever marched before. "Why am I here?" responded one socialite to a reporter's question. "Why not?"

To be clear, the "swollen-headed oligarchs" taking to the streets are those members of the elite who are not integral to Marcos' ruling coalition. Wealth for most of them has been accumulated via the production of consumer goods and manufactures and through the control of valuable real estate.

But those who gained extraordinary wealth in the Marcos era have done so through connections with Malacañang and involvement in the International Monetary Fund/World Bank-sponsored strategy of export-led growth. The old elite has on the whole, been iced out of this lucrative source of profits by Ferdinand Marcos and his tight network of cronies. The Marcos clique today together with its international backers has managed to wrest control of nearly all aspects of the Philippine economy.

Having dominated the economy for decades, the likes of the Zobels (Ayala, Inc., development of all of Makati), Jaime Ongpin (mining), various Elizaldes (sugar and hemp), and Sorianos (San Miguel Beer, Magnolia Milk products) found themselves being edged toward the fringes of Manila's business world while a small group of relative newcomers—close friends and relatives of Marcos and his wife—aggressively elbowed their way in.

For years disaffection with Marcos simmered just beneath the surface. Two years ago, Enrique Zobel, Ongpin, Pantaleon, former Industry Minister Vicente Paterno (who recently resigned his position in the Interim Batasang Pambansa to protest the regime's investigation of the Aquino murder) and an impressive list of businessmen and economists formed the Makati Business Club.

This organization meets weekly to discuss financial problems and alternatives to the complete polarization of Philippine society under Marcos (see *AK*, Vol. IX, No. 3). Its members regularly castigate both the technocrats in Marcos' cabinet whom they accuse of selling the Philippine economy to the whims of the IMF and World Bank and the presidential cronies.

But after years of grumbling the pot finally boiled over. Probably no one expressed the businessmen's sentiments more succinctly than entrepreneur Rene Knecht who told reporters at a demonstration, "I'm tired of being pushed around by a collection of uncouth barbarians who live by the rule of the jungle." The recent peso devaluation will undoubtedly fuel more dissatisfaction (see story on page 5).

Colorful as the Makati crowd may be in its protests, it is not about to build barricades of revolution. Its demands are pretty tame—it's critique of the Marcos regime tends to be fairly cautious. One of its key targets is the controlled press. Here it launched a boycott by withholding advertising from the three major dailies controlled by Marcos and his cronies.

But as to actually getting rid of the tyrant, their sentiments are less than militant. "Marcos will never resign," one businessman told the *San Jose Mercury News* late last September. "But we need to force him into a dialogue."

"I don't blame the President," noted multi-millionaire Zobel who Marcos has attacked as central to the wave of unrest rocking the business sector. "I blame the people who are giving him information. In the computer

age, if garbage goes in, garbage comes out." Echoing her in-law's mild critique, Bea Zobel remarked at a rally, "I think Marcos means well. But enough is enough."

The *Asian Wall Street Journal* reported on October 10 that most businessmen are not asking Marcos to resign for now, but to remove his wife Imelda and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, seen as Marcos' favorites for succession. Unlike the rest of the opposition which insists that no impartial investigation of the Aquino assassination is possible under the current regime (see story, page 3), businessmen meeting with the President on October 3 offered him a list of five former judges to consider for appointment to the then-existing remnants of the Fernando Commission.

The politics of the dissident elite come closest to those of the mediator and preacher of reconciliation, Jaime Cardinal Sin. Sin refused to endorse any demonstrations at all and warned Marcos that the Philippines threatened by revolution unless he forms a

'I'm tired of being pushed around by a collection of uncouth barbarians who live by the rule of the jungle.'

—Rene Knecht, businessman

"council of national reconciliation" composed jointly of the regime and opposition forces. Members of the Makati crowd told reporters in late September that they were relying on Sin to represent their case to Marcos.

Makati politics overlap with those of the elite opposition's rightwing symbolized by Salvador Laurel. *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that early in October this group was still debating whether to offer to join the 11-member Executive Committee—Marcos' formal successor body—or continue to flex its muscles in the streets. Aquino, they felt, would have preferred the former and they were particularly uneasy over participation by the radical left in street activities. The pull to the right of the Makati dynamic tends to suck even the elite opposition's more left-leaning members, such as Kalaw, toward its pole.

In essence, the Makati position boils down to a search for a more tolerable way to maintain the status quo. The crowd's highest priority is a graceful exit for a hated dictator—working closely with him to achieve a smooth transition. Then the Makati Stock Exchange can settle back to normal. The tourists—threatened by the continuing unrest in Manila—can come back, the U.S. can hand over its \$900 million for the use of Philippine bases and international business can roll right along squeezing the pennies out of Filipino workers.

This is precisely the signal the Makati elite wishes to send to Washington. The banners of October 6 meant to say, "help us get Marcos out and we'll help the U.S. continue to run the show—bases, economy and all." It all became clear when Reagan finally came down with the agonized decision not to visit the Philippines this November. While the opposition read this as a maneuver to shield the U.S. from further criticism for its support for

The tone was decidedly conciliatory. "It is critical to stop these violent demonstrations as quickly as possible," he urged, "so as to assure our business and banker friends abroad that the situation here is well in hand." In exchange, he called off the teargas and the goons on the Makati demonstrations. The Philippines' Wall Street thus became the only place in the country where demonstrations could be held without permits. "Last week it was the stick," noted Zobel. "This week it's the carrot."

Though Marcos may wish to pacify the Makati elite, its signals are already being picked up in distant places and scrutinized with great care.

In handwringing editorials, U.S. opinion makers worry over the fact that Marcos has finally been abandoned by his own "middle class." Everywhere comparisons are being made to the late Shah of Iran ruling in solitary splendor with no support but that of the U.S.

Ronald Reagan, though temporarily succumbing to pressures from advisors and striking Manila from his itinerary, remains his usual rightwing self, committed to supporting dictators without a blush. Other influential forces within his administration, however, have begun to reevaluate the Philippine scene.

Most noteworthy is former U.S. Ambassador to both the Philippines and Iran William Sullivan. Writing in the *New York Times*, this veteran of *realpolitik* compared Marcos to the Shah and urged Reagan to act quickly before it is too late. His plan: to send a Reagan representative to Manila to hammer out a coalition government containing both regime and opposition elements. A government which, of course, will be thoroughly pro-U.S. (see *AK*, Vol. IX, No. 10).

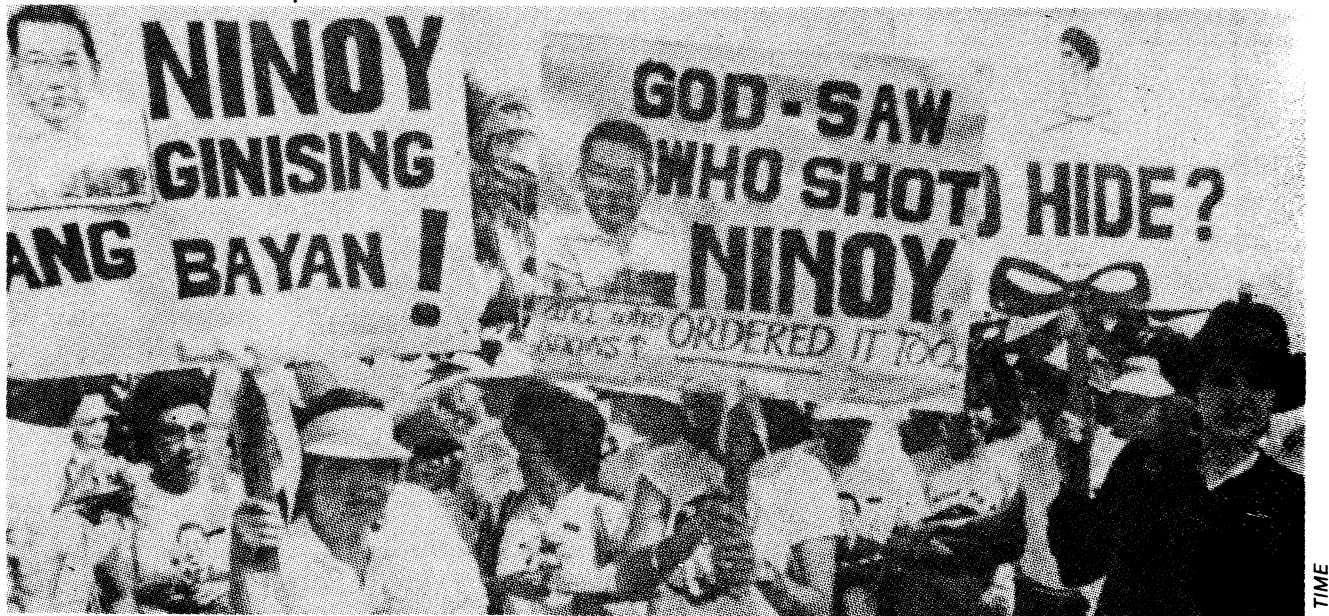
Sullivan's view dovetails nicely with that of Secretary of State George Shultz who has been quietly pushing for a similar arrangement over the last several months. Shultz' efforts to convince Reagan have been consistently dashed on the rocks of Chief White House ideologue National Advisor William Clark. But Clark's replacement in that sensitive position, Robert McFarlane, has been hailed by liberals as a pragmatist. His appointment is seen by Washington commentators as a victory of the political scientists over the ideologues.

Reagan has been known to overcome his rightwing penchant and behave pragmatically in a pinch. The new White House line-up opens up the distinct possibility that he might choose to operate in such a manner with regard to the Philippines rather than supporting a hated dictator to the bitter end.

Should Reagan choose the pragmatic path, entirely new succession possibilities open up for Manila. Rather than trusted Marcos' followers, might the next inhabitants of Malacañang turn out to be a coalition of elements handpicked by the U.S. from the Marcos camp and cooperative members of the opposition? Marcos might then be allowed to step aside gracefully—and the Makati oligarchs can return to money-making pursuits, their peace of mind restored.

The possibility of a new U.S. maneuver raises tantalizing questions as to just how the opposition will respond. Will this split its ranks from right to left? Will the temptation of finally getting Marcos eased out pull the entire elite opposition to back a U.S.-forged coalition? Will the euphoria that comes from being rid of a hated dictator silence the millions who have come raging into the streets of Manila?

A healthy sign to the contrary has been the tendency



"Why am I here? Why not?" Maids in tow, wealthy of Makati demand national reconciliation.

Marcos, Makati promptly unfolded banners that stretched the full width of Ayala Avenue: "Thank You Mr. Reagan for Supporting Democracy!"; "Bases Can Stay, Marcos Must Go!"

Ferdinand Marcos, ill and embattled though he may be, remains one of the sharpest figures on the Philippine stage. Recognizing that for all its activity against him, the Makati crowd and he are strategically on the same side of the fence, he tried to pacify them last month. On October 3 and 4, he called a series of meetings with representatives of the Makati crowd at Malacañang. Even Zobel, chief of the "swollen-headed oligarchs," was included.

of the broad coalition group Justice for Aquino, Justice for All to reject and expose all offers of concessions from the Marcos regime. JAJA has also called for a post-Marcos caretaker government without Marcos and which allows no interference from Washington. There are unconfirmed reports that Laurel received a round of criticism, led by Jose Diokno, for having masterminded the "Thank You Reagan" banners. Should JAJA keep up its militant and uncompromising posture, this left-moderate coalition can frustrate any possible Washington-Marcos maneuvers. It can also check the wayward tendencies of Makati's millionaire-rebels. □

Baruso Arrested for Embezzlement

By VINCE REYES

SEATTLE—Efforts to uncover the multiple layers of guilt surrounding the 1981 murders of anti-Marcos activists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo may heighten with the recent arrest of prime suspect Constantine "Tony" Baruso on embezzlement charges.

The former president of union Local 37 was arrested on October 14 at Longacres Racetrack and charged with ten counts of embezzlement, ten counts of mail fraud and one count of filing false records to obtain medical benefits for an ineligible person. He was armed with an unregistered .38 caliber gun at the time of his arrest.

Baruso was freed on \$25,000 bail three days after Magistrate Philip K. Sweigert rejected U.S. Attorney Dave Marshall's bid to set the amount at \$100,000. Marshall argued that high bail was necessary because he had information that Baruso might flee to the Philippines.

BARUSO MAY FLEE

Sweigert claimed that \$100,000 was an "enormous" amount given that people charged with similar crimes are released on their own recognizance. Sweigert, however, seized Baruso's passport. Marshall still contended that Baruso could easily enter the Philippines and that no extradition treaty for the type of crimes he committed exists.

"The new arrest must be viewed in light of increased national media and Congressional interest in the Philippine situation, the harassment of U.S. anti-Marcos activists and the 1981 murders," said Cindy Domingo of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

Two congressmen have promised to hold hearings on the harassment of anti-Marcos activists by Marcos agents in the U.S. and on the murders following the disclosure of a secret Defense Intelligence Agency report confirming the harassment activities.

"Witnesses from the State and Justice Departments as well as the FBI are expected to be asked potentially embarrassing questions about Baruso's ties with the Marcos regime, his phone calls to the State Department within 24 hours of the murders, his high level national security clearance and why he has never been charged for the murders of Gene and Silme," Domingo said.

She speculated that this probably pressured the federal authorities to move on the embezzlement charges. "We have been trying to get an arrest for more than a



Constantine "Tony" Baruso being escorted to Seattle courthouse by U.S. Marshall.

year because we knew the U.S. attorney had enough evidence even then on the embezzlement but we got nowhere until just now," Domingo explained.

MURDERS REDISCUSS

Worried about Marshall's warnings, Mike Withey, lawyer for the Domingo/Viernes estates asked U.S. District Judge Donald Voorhees to slap a temporary restraining order on Baruso's assets. Voorhees, who presides over the Domingo/Viernes civil suit against Baruso, the Marcos government and high U.S. officials, granted the order preventing Baruso from disposing any of his assets until a scheduled hearing on the suit.

Meanwhile the arrest has sparked new pressures on the authorities to reexamine Baruso's involvement in the murders of Domingo and Viernes. In a meeting with King County Prosecutor Norm Maleng, the CJDV called for the reopening of investigations of the murders and the filing of criminal charges against Baruso.

After the assassination-style murders, Baruso was arrested when the murder weapon, a .45 caliber pistol, was found to be registered in his name.

During the trials of three members of the Tulisan gang to which Baruso has strong links, he repeatedly invoked 5th Amendment protection from self-incrimination. Pompeyo Guloy, Jimmy Ramil and

Tony Dictado were convicted of murder and are now serving life terms. The prosecution refused to indict Baruso for "lack of sufficient evidence."

Maleng claimed that the murder case "has never been closed." He also said he was not familiar with new evidence submitted by the Domingo/Viernes estates in their civil suit.

The new evidence is a March 1983 deposition by "N. Aquino," a friend of Teodoro Domingues (Boy Pilay) a key witness in the slayings who was mysteriously murdered last January 16 in Seattle.

According to Aquino's affidavit, Pilay confided to him that Baruso personally "instructed" Pilay in the murders and agreed to pay \$5,000 for the killings. The money was never received. This evidence corroborates the testimony of Robert San Pablo, who during the murder trials claimed that Baruso was behind the whole thing.

"Baruso is a highly visible pro-Marcos supporter in the community," Domingo cited. "His personal ties to the Marcos regime are well known and at least in one of his several trips to the Philippines in the last few years he met directly with Ferdinand Marcos."

Domingo said that if Baruso were to flee to the Philippines "he would have the regime's protection and would never have

to worry about being returned to the U.S. to face any charges, either for embezzlement or for the murders."

DOUBLE DIPPING

The embezzlement charges leveled against Baruso resulted from an 18-month investigation by the U.S. Department of Labor. The charges allege that during his presidency of Local 37, he manipulated funds to reimburse himself for trips for which he was already fully reimbursed through a separate workers trust fund. Otherwise known as "double dipping," Baruso allegedly received a total of \$10,000 in payments.

Because Baruso allegedly utilized the mail to claim reimbursements, he was also charged with mail fraud. The maximum sentence for embezzlement is five years in jail and there is a \$5,000 fine for each count. Mail fraud holds a two year jail sentence and a \$5,000 fine for each count.

The charges also allege that in 1978 Baruso negotiated the payment of \$16,022 in medical expenses to a certain Vivien Robinson through an insurance carrier for the Cannery Workers Health and Welfare Trust. Baruso claimed Robinson was his "uncle" although it was found there was no blood relationship between the two.

The order for the arrest was prompted when the CJDV alerted the U.S. Attorney's office to Baruso's plan to permanently leave the U.S. for the Philippines. The CJDV had learned that Baruso already sold his house and retired from his job with the Boeing Company. A witness, Ricardo Farinas, also stated that Baruso's son told him that the timetable for leaving would be before December.

The U.S. Attorney stepped into the case right after the 1981 murders and began racketeering investigations on Baruso. This led to a suit filed by the union in August 1982 against Baruso for embezzling union funds.

AMENDED COMPLAINT

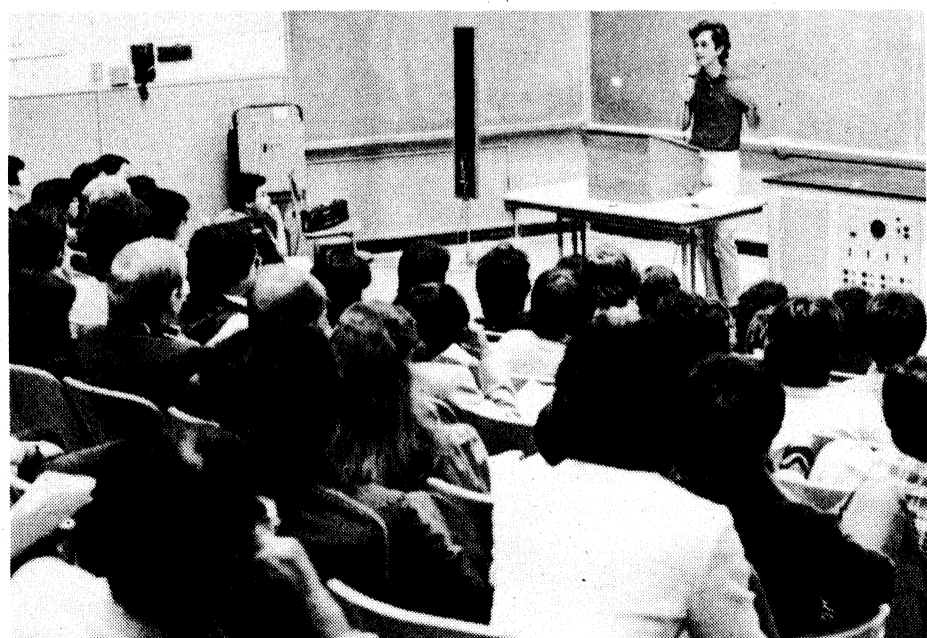
Meanwhile, plaintiffs in the Domingo/Viernes civil suit are readying an amended complaint asking Judge Voorhees to reinstate the Marcos government as defendants.

Last September, Terri Mast, Domingo's widow, submitted evidence linking Baruso to the Philippine Infiltration Plan, an illegal spy-ring operated in the U.S. by the Philippine government.

Mast contended that Marcos agents directed Baruso to eliminate the two union-reformers because their activities were drawing attention to the regime's repression of the labor movement in the Philippines.

Both Domingo and Viernes were instrumental in getting the ILWU National Conference in 1981 to send an investigating team to the Philippines to study labor conditions under Marcos. Viernes had earlier visited the Philippines and met with leaders of the labor movement there. □

Conference on the Philippine Situation



A conference to "forge links with the Filipino people" was held October 15 at San Francisco State University.

The 150 participants heard presentations by representatives from the Philippines' student sector, peasants, priests and layworkers, and from the progressive lawyers group MABINI. The all-day conference was sponsored by the Philippine Educational Studies Committee, Movement for a Free Philippines, the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship, the International Movement for a Democratic Philippines, and Philippine Support Committee.

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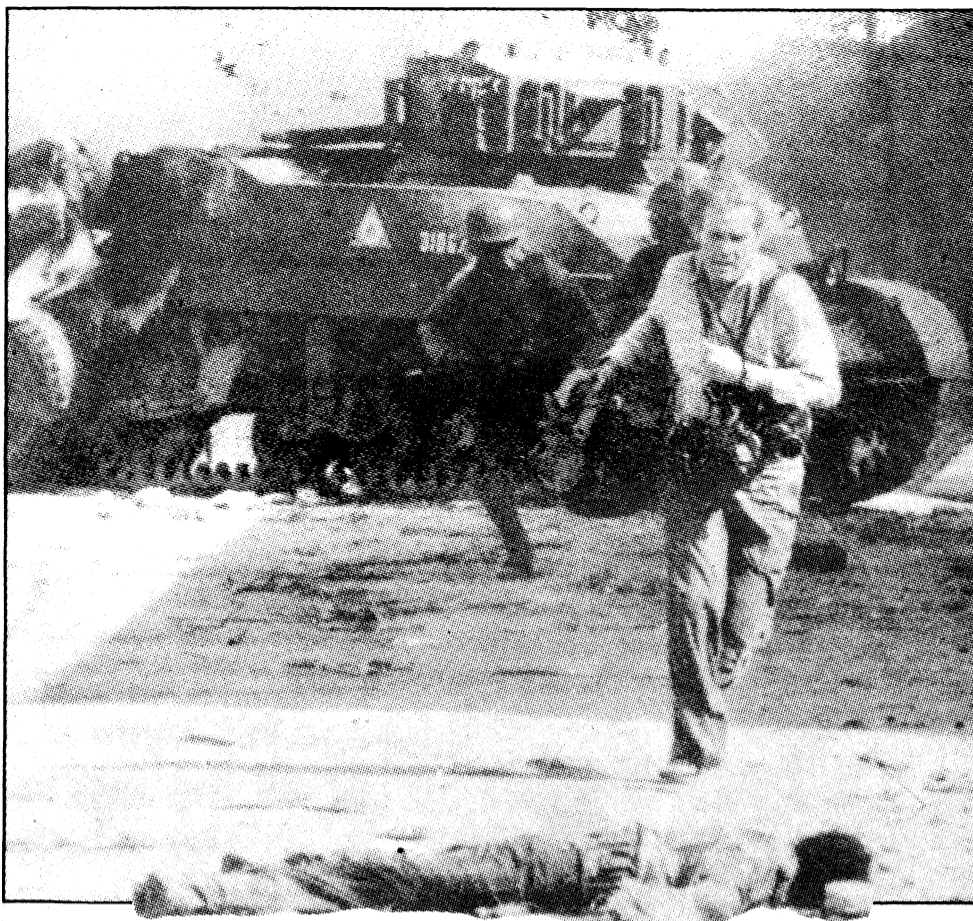
Under Fire: A Bold Political Thriller

By VICKY PEREZ

Peter Stark, film critic of the San Francisco *Chronicle* describes *Under Fire* as a film of "disturbing pleasure." *Under Fire* is truly a pleasure—it is a gripping drama about social upheaval and political choices. It is disturbing only to true believers of so-called "objective" journalism, such as the majority of American journalists who will see their brand of "impartial" reporting morally challenged in the film.

The closing weeks of the U.S. puppet Anastasio Somoza serve as the backdrop to a budding romance between two journalists assigned to the beat. But the romance definitely takes a backseat to the larger moral drama.

The story centers on the radicalization of journalists Claire Stryder (Joanne Cassidy) and Russell Price (Nick Nolte), a



rugged photojournalist who wears his impartiality like a badge in a country where there is no middle ground. "I don't take sides," he tells a jailed priest, "I take pictures."

Price does that. He takes pictures of the wholesale murder of peasants and workers, and of the courageous resistance led by the Sandinistas. The more Price is caught in the line of fire between the military and resistance, the more his neutral posture erodes.

The final test for Price's non-partisanship occurs when he must choose to aid the revolutionaries by photographing a dead leader as if he were alive, or aid Somoza by condoning the regime's claim and Washington's hope that the inspiration of the revolution is dead. "But I am a journalist," says Price. "This has nothing to do with journalism," a guerrilla responds, implying there are more important issues than bourgeois journalistic tenets.

When Alex Grazier (Gene Hackman)

a prestigious veteran journalist furiously confronts Price for his breach of journalistic neutrality ("You've fallen in love with a revolution") Price responds, "I think I finally saw one too many bodies."

But the filmmakers bring the message one step further. Any ambiguity as to whether Price and Stryder believe they did the right thing are settled by the film's end. They fell in love with the revolution, Stryder explains, but did they do the right thing? Price responds with a confident "I'd do it again." Making such a statement at a time like this—when jingoism and anti-Sandinista slanders permeate the U.S. political atmosphere—is *Under Fire's* outstanding merit. It is a bold film.

AMERICAN ADVISERS— P.R. MAN FROM NEW YORK

The direction by English-born Roger Spottiswood of the screenplay by Ron Shelton and Clayton Frohman effectively

dramatizes the human dimension of revolution, the tension and chaos of change. The script is believable [to the annoyance of many critics] and surprisingly accurate for a Hollywood film. The only inaccuracy is the notion that the revolutionary movement somehow was propelled by the legendary popular appeal of a single guerrilla leader, Rafael. The Nicaraguan revolutionary forces have always held that there are no live heroes. This inaccuracy is excusable, though, because the search for Rafael is crucial to the plot.

The baseball player, however, Somoza's beauty queen mistress, Somoza's PR man from New York, the murder of an American journalist [as in the murder of ABC-TV correspondent Bill Stewart June 1979 in Managua] and other fictionalized details are based on true incidents. Most of the material for the script came from interviews and research done in Nicaragua by Spottiswood and Shelton.

Even the shooting sites were carefully chosen to give the closest feel to being in Nicaragua. (The filmmakers wanted to film in Nicaragua, but the rain, shortage of equipment, lack of pilots willing to carry explosives, and the fighting in some zones, made it impossible.) The camerawork savored the rich canyons and valleys of Southern Mexico, and displayed them in sharp contrast to the poverty of the Nicaraguan people.

The acting in this film was engrossing—from Nolte's rugged but vulnerable individualism, to the all-American brazenness of the mercenary adviser played by Ed Harris who was John Glenn in "The Right Stuff."

POLITICAL LANDMINE

In light of the Reagan administration's aggressive foreign policy, *Under Fire* is a political landmine. The film flaunts its support for a force that the U.S. is presently trying to eliminate through a not-so-secret CIA war. Not surprisingly, the U.S. State Department has dubbed the film "propaganda."

Under Fire is not only about Nicaragua. It finds its parallel in El Salvador, Lebanon, the Philippines, Chile, Pakistan, Grenada. Interestingly, the original script was set in Vietnam. *Under Fire* ranks with *Missing* as a politically effective and aesthetically pleasing work. □

Peace or Politics . . .

Continued from page 11

of State under President McKinley. Root had a hand in the war against Spain and the conquest of Cuba and the Philippines. The following quote captures his concept of peace:

"The law of the survival of the fittest led inevitably to the survival and predominance of the men who were effective in war and who loved it because they were effective. War was the avenue to all that men desired. Food, wives, a place in the sun, freedom from restraint and oppression, wealth of comfort, wealth of luxury, respect, honor, power, control over others, were sought and attained by fighting. . ."

The 1926 peace awardee, Gustave Stresemann of Germany urged, before the defeat of Germany in World War I, unrestricted submarine warfare and was in favor of annexing as much territory as his country could get its hands on.

The "knight in shining armor," Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden, who was the 1961 prize recipient, sent a UN "peace-keeping" force to the Congo which immediately joined in the suppression of liberation fighters there.

There have been a few notable and deserving exceptions such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Albert Luthuli of the African National Congress, Albert Schweitzer, Linus Pauling, Henri de la Fontaine and Jane Addams. But these served only to legitimize and lend credibility to the prize the majority of whose recipients were more in the business of war, conquest and colonialism than of peace.

Noteworthy still were some of the outstanding omissions. Mahatma Gandhi, who employed non-violent protest and civil disobedience against British colonialism in India appeared an obvious candidate. But he never got the Prize. Nor did Ho Chi Minh whose revolutionary war drove the French out of Indochina and brought peace to Northern Vietnam. He was certainly more qualified than the Prize's long list of imperialist warmongers.

ANOMALY BASED ON ANOMALY

According to Gray, the Peace Prize is "an anomaly based on an anomaly." Alfred Nobel himself—whose will set up the Nobel foundation that annually distributes prizes for outstanding contributions in various fields—was by any standard, a merchant of weapons and warfare rather

than a seeker of peace.

A Swede who made a fortune with his invention and manufacture of dynamite, nitroglycerin, gelignite, cordite, and ballistite, Alfred Nobel became the "Rockefeller" of czarist Russia with patents and factories for his explosives in many countries around the world. Ranging from bombs to artillery and firearms, Nobel's products met the weapons needs of czarist Russia, Italy, Germany, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, some South African states, and even some states in the U.S.

In his quest for perfect explosives Nobel succeeded in dominating the weapons industry of the latter half of the 19th century. Before Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the horrors of the pre-nuclear wars led directly to the doorstep of this explosive genius. The Nobel family business was undoubtedly an indispensable component of the expansionist capabilities of the rising imperialist powers of the time.

Although the family enterprises came to an end in Russia when the triumphant Bolshevik revolution nationalized them in 1918, their impact on a worldwide scale continued long after Alfred Nobel's death.

EASING A CONSCIENCE

When Alfred Nobel died on December 10, 1896, he left a will stipulating that the interest on his fortune was to be divided into five equal prizes: one each for literature, physics, chemistry and physiology or medicine, and one for peace. The economics prize was added by a Swedish bank in 1969. Now a Nobel prize is worth \$190,000.

The relevant part of Nobel's will that refers to the Peace Prize said that one part of the interest of the Nobel funds shall go "to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses."

The Norwegian Sorting (Parliament) appoints the committee that adjudicates on the world's peacemakers, a gesture of conciliation between Norway and Sweden which were united under the same monarchy during Nobel's time.

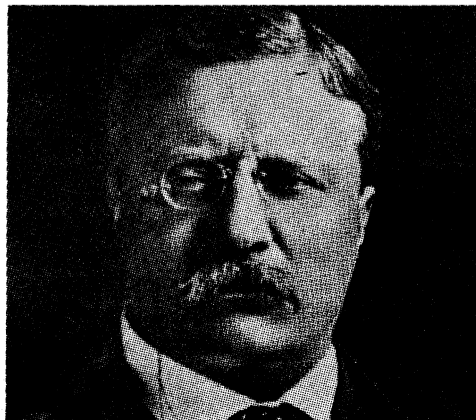
Some historians claim that the will, which was written in 1895, reflected the bothered conscience of a lonely man. One of Alfred's brothers was killed in his factory's explosion. His distraught father suffered a heart attack and died several years later. Alfred Nobel was also entangled in huge legal battles for his businesses. Even his personal life soured for the most part.

Nobel's conscience aside, it is clear that the Peace Prize uses the standards for peace ascribed to by the world's dominant capitalist powers—peace within the status quo.

That will be the day when the Peace Prize list contains mostly names of those who believe that true and just peace can come only after the exploiting classes have been deprived of their political dominance. Only the Lenin Peace Prize gives that recognition as of now. □



Elihu Root



Theodore Roosevelt

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

Nobel Peace Prize: Peace or Politics?

Of all the Nobel prizes, the Peace Prize is undoubtedly the most controversial, largely because its connotation has been the most political. Critics of the Peace Prize argue that it has a decided preference for peace as defined by the great capitalist powers and a transparent bias against the latter's political nemesis—socialism.

Tony Gray, author of the book *Champions of Peace*, describes for example the 1906 Peace Prize winner Theodore Roosevelt as "an imperialist who believed that peace can best be secured by domination by the Great Powers." A long line of recipients with similar virtues shows that the Nobel political tradition has endured.

The choice of Lech Walesa as this year's Peace Prize winner resurrected the age-old controversy that had been muffled by the Nobel awards' considerable prestige.

The Polish government loudly complained that "(the prize) was used as an instrument in an anti-Polish, anti-socialist game. The decision of the Nobel prize committee has an unequivocal political nature."

Walesa has become the darling of Ronald Reagan and the Western European capitalist governments. All improbable champions of workers' rights, they have hailed Walesa as a working class hero for a very simple reason. Walesa's aim of undermining Polish socialism with the aid of the Catholic church has hardly been a secret.

PEACE PRIZE FOR WAR MAKERS

The irony surrounding the Peace Prize is captured by its list of recipients. Of 56 peace prize winners from 1901 to 1975, 26 were military men or politicians who had played leading roles in their governments' imperialist policies.



Lech Walesa



Henry Kissinger



George Marshall

These include two U.S. presidents, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt; Japan's former Prime Minister Eisako Sato; West Germany's former Chancellor Willie Brandt; and 10-time French Premier, Aristide Briand.

All recipients, except three, were from imperialist countries, mainly from the U.S. and Western Europe. Among the exceptions was Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. All these years—more than a quarter of a century—only three blacks and three women have been awarded the Peace Prize.

Perhaps the most controversial recipient was Henry Kissinger who shared the 1973 Peace Prize with Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam. Kissinger played a key role in the destruction of Indochina which

left millions of Vietnamese dead or maimed and vast agricultural lands devastated.

Le Duc Tho declined the prize in protest, the only one to have done so, because there was no peace in Vietnam at that time. He quite obviously did not want to share the "honor" with Kissinger on the basis of principles.

Ironically, it was the same year that Kissinger engineered the coup in Chile which toppled the popularly elected government of President Salvador Allende. The coup resulted in a rightist bloodbath that victimized thousands of Chileans including Allende himself.

Then there was General George Marshall, the 1953 recipient, who directed the biggest army in the world. The award

sparked sharp criticisms internationally. At the awarding ceremony in Oslo, students rioted in the streets with banners linking Marshall with Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Marshall was also the architect of the anti-communist crusade in Europe after World War II. His political-economic brainchild—the Marshall Plan—installed the neo-fascist regime of Konrad Adenauer of West Germany and sought to wipe out the progressive trade union movement in Western Europe.

'SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST'

Elihu Root, the 1912 Peace Prize awardee was U.S. Secretary of War and Secretary

Continued on page 10

Lebanon . . .

Continued from page 12

But Lance Cpl. John McIntyre, like a few of his Marine partners in Lebanon, feels betrayed by Washington's questionable adventure.

"They should pull out all the Marines because they are not keeping the peace anyway," said McIntyre. "We are supporting a Christian government that is trying to maintain dominance over the Muslims, and that isn't fair."

HIGH AMERICAN STAKES

For the U.S., the danger of seriously eroding its credibility with the Arab states in the Middle East—whom it has been courting since the Camp David agreement of 1979—is far outweighed by the threat of losing the Gemayel government.

Installed by invading Israeli forces in 1982, the Gemayel regime represented the potential extension of the Camp David process to a second Arab country (after Egypt) bordering on Israel.

Israel's withdrawal from the Chouf Mountains in early September—the area to the immediate south and east of Beirut and considered crucial to the Gemayel regime's stability—quickly led to the area's recapture by forces of Walid Jumblatt's Progress-

sive Socialist Party.

At the brink of losing its lone stronghold on the Chouf to attacking Druze forces, the Lebanese army was bailed out by the U.S. Naval gunfire.

The unprecedented U.S. action could not have come at a better time for the Israelis who were eager to get the U.S. directly into the act. With over 500 soldiers dead and several thousands wounded since its invasion of Lebanon, the Israelis were forced to pull back below the Awali River in Southern Lebanon, at least for the moment.

Saddled with a \$22 billion foreign debt, a 122 percent inflation rate and a deficit expected to reach \$57 billion, Israel is in no position to police Lebanon on behalf of its puppet Gemayel all by itself. Thus, it is counting on the U.S. and the NATO allies to shoulder substantial shares of the "peace-keeping."

BROAD LEBANESE RESISTANCE

The \$25 billion Israel invested in its invasion of Lebanon has returned neither of its two political objectives: the complete elimination of the PLO from Lebanon and the establishment of a strong Gemayel government capable of securing U.S. and

Israeli interests in the country.

Ironically, what the Israeli invasion can partially claim credit for—aside from the slaughter of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians and the leveling of several major cities—was the emergence of a broad progressive opposition which includes all political forces in the country minus the Phalangists.

Representing the military wing of this opposition is the Lebanese Resistance Front, which was formed in the spring of this year and includes at its core the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Action Organization, Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party, Arab Socialist Action Movement and other left forces.

Just as significant was the very recent coalescing of a broader resistance into the Lebanese Front for National Salvation, bringing together both left and moderate forces.

In contrast to the visible expansion of the NSF influence, the recent defection of certain sections of the Lebanese Army attested to the growing isolation of the Gemayel regime and its gloomy prospects for holding power.

International support has been a crucial factor in the NSF's present position of strength. Syrian support provided the Lebanese resistance forces a rear base area during last year's Israeli rampage, and prevented the spread of Gemayel's control beyond his present enclave.

But without considerable Soviet military backing, Syria would have been hard

pressed to stop total Israeli occupation of Lebanon, let alone provide support to the Lebanese resistance.

U.S. DILEMMA

The U.S. is clearly in an extremely difficult situation. In light of the biggest Marine casualties since Iwo Jima that resulted from the recent bombing attack, Congress Democrats have begun voicing doubts whether it is worth it for U.S. troops to be in Lebanon at all.

U.S. military officials admit that just to extend Phalangist rule to the Chouf Mountains would require a multinational force of 15,000, with the U.S. contributing 6,000 soldiers, not counting the risk of a head-on confrontation with well-armed Syrian troops supported by 7,000 Soviet advisers.

The negotiations anxiously engineered by Washington among the contending Lebanese forces promise little national reconciliation as Gemayel is both unwilling and unable to give substantial concessions to the non-Christian majority. It is even doubtful whether the current ceasefire would last.

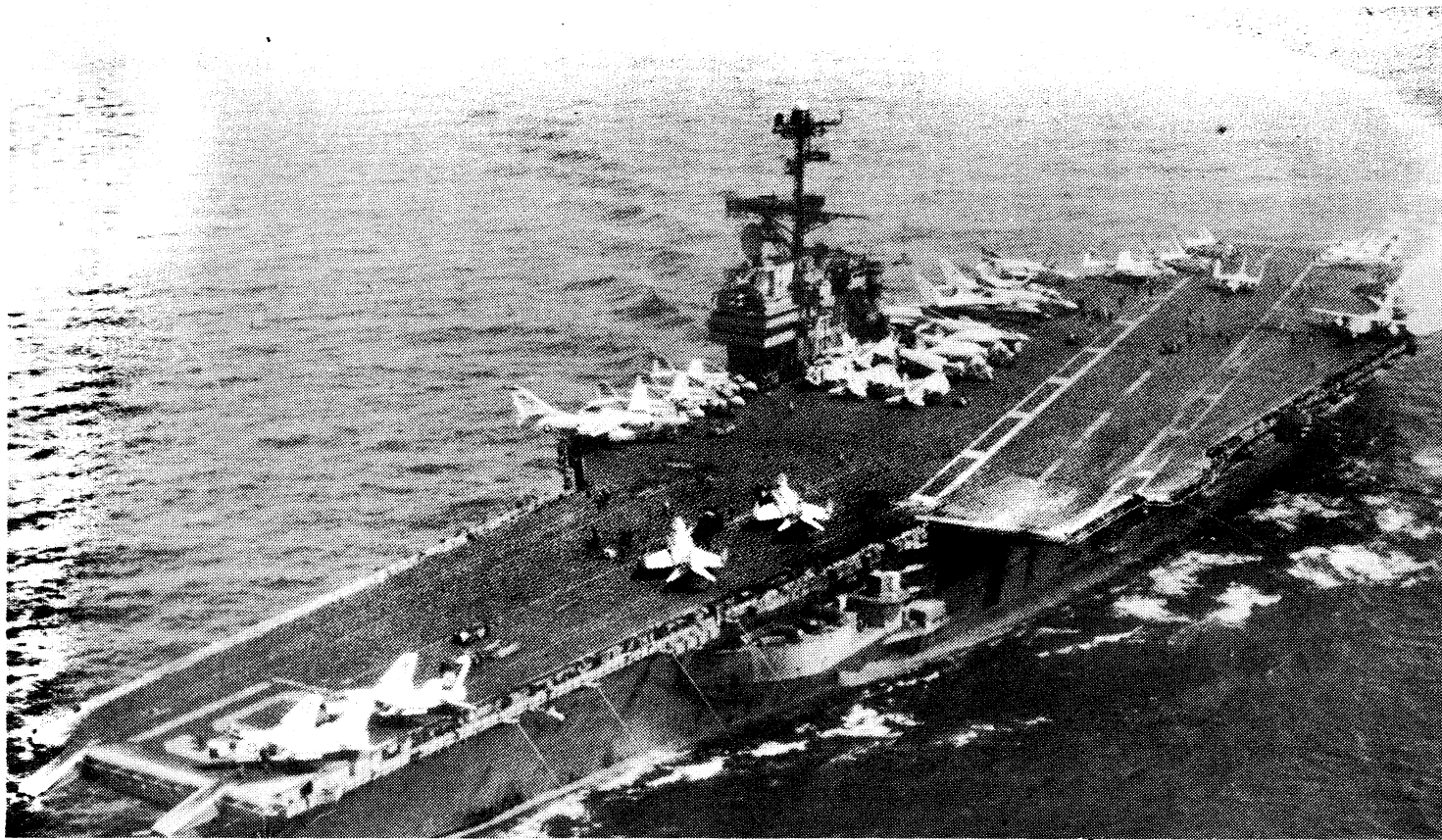
Meanwhile, the mood in Congress betrays a lack of confidence in Reagan's ability to find his bearings in Lebanon and to wield a clear Mideast policy. After some initial hairsplitting over the meaning of the War Powers Act, Congress had compromised and allowed Reagan to keep the Marines in Beirut for at least another 18 months and to increase the size of U.S. forces off Lebanon's coast without limit. The main controversy centered on who had the final authority over the war process: the White House or Capitol Hill.

The deadly bombing attack, however, has touched off fears that the U.S. would only be locked on an uncontrollable course of military escalation. Clearly, the U.S. would have to instruct the Marines to drop the passive defense posture and wage a full-scale war on anti-Gemayel forces in order to successfully secure a regime that it approves of.

Dropping its fig-leaf "peacekeeping" cover completely however, would most probably alienate the entire Arab world, and ruin any chances of securing Camp David type alliances with reactionary Arab regimes. The U.S. thought it was gaining a beachhead by landing the Marines in Lebanon but it now only finds itself in a mire. □



U.S. Marines: Trapped in more than just rubble.



USS Ranger standing by off Nicaraguan coast.

NEWSWEEK

hostile neighbors that its army will follow in hot pursuit of the Contras even if it means crossing the borders into Honduran or Costa Rican territory.

Nicaragua's explicit appeal for military aid from friendly countries reflects its fundamental determination to defend itself from U.S. aggression and not to yield one square inch of territory to the invading forces.

Meanwhile, Nicaragua intensified its appeals to Washington for an immediate ceasing of hostilities and a serious discussion on peace in the region.

Its latest proposals include an agreement between the U.S. and Nicaragua to stop support for guerilla movements in Central America, another one between Honduras and Nicaragua to bar foreign troops on training missions and finally for all the nations of Central America to sign a regional agreement.

In a recent television debate, Senate Intelligence Committee member Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming discussed the new Nicaraguan proposals as a "Sandinista tactic to buy a little time" and likened them to "a time bomb mechanism played very subtly on America's goodwill."

Countering Wallop's charges, Director of Nicaragua's Ministry of Economic Planning Xavier Goristiaga said that Nicaragua's new proposals are merely the latest in a frustrating two-year effort to get the U.S., Honduras and El Salvador to the bargaining table.

Reagan Set to Pounce on Nicaragua

By WICKS GEAGA

When the U.S. put out a \$19 million contract for the ouster of the Sandinista regime in 1981—allegedly to stop the flow of arms to El Salvador—its CIA-trained mercenaries boasted of "fomenting an insurrection" and seizing Managua in no time.

But scores of border attacks and hundreds of civilian deaths later, the anti-Sandinistas—even after their series of offensives earlier this year—seem as far from their goal as when they started.

Disheartened by this dismal performance, the Reagan administration recently pushed the button for an alarming escalation of attacks against Nicaragua.

In a string of sabotage actions, the Contras recently succeeded in destroying major fuel-loading facilities on both coasts, key oil pipelines and millions of gallons of fuel.

As if to deal a final death blow to Nicaragua's economy, ESSO Standard, a subsidiary of the American oil company EXXON, immediately ordered its tankers to halt all shipment of oil to Nicaragua from its only known supplier, Mexico.

With less than a month of oil reserves left in the country, Defense Coordinator Daniel Ortega declared that Nicaragua was in a "state of war" and appealed to all "friendly countries" for economic and military assistance.

Preparing for the worst, the Sandinistas have instituted emergency measures which include strict fuel rationing, heightened military preparedness, and the control and monitoring of foreign exchange reserves. To alleviate the dispersal of its population throughout the country for military action production brigades have been formed to continue the output of the country's vital necessities.

NEW MILITARY TARGETS

Frustrated by the failure of their five offensives launched between February and June of this year, the Contras reportedly reevaluated their original strategy of establishing a "provisional government" to be recognized immediately by Washington and its regional allies.

In a series of Tegucigalpa meetings between the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, members of the Honduran armed forces, and CIA operatives, a new strategy of targetting strategic vital economic and defense centers was adopted.

Rallying support for this new strategy, Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle informed the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs last September 12 that Washington's

goal is to "prevent the consolidation of the Sandinista regime."

Just four days earlier a CIA-provided twin-engine plane originating from Costa Rica bombed Managua's Augusto C. Sandino International Airport before being destroyed by modest Sandinista air defenses. Almost simultaneously, a second plane failed in its mission to bomb the suburban Managua residence of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Father Miguel D'Escoto. Bolstering the Managua raid were a series of air strikes on the Pacific ports of Asinto and Sandino, the northern cities of Esteli and Chinandoga, and along the border with Costa Rica—all of which were effectively repelled.

The latest shift in the Contra strategy—aimed at completely paralyzing the Nicaraguan economy already staggered by U.S. sabotage measures—is unquestionably inflicting heavy damage.

The dynamiting of fuel tanks in Puerto Benjamin Zeledon on October 2 paralyzed the region's agro-industrial production as well as land and sea transport systems. A pre-dawn raid a week later against Nicaragua's oil storage depot at the Pacific port of Corinto—which involved both air and sea assaults—blew up five large storage tanks that contained a sizeable portion of existing fuel reserves.

It was the attack on Puerto Sandino three days later that finally prompted the Sandinistas to declare a "state of war."

Setting the stage for the current onslaughts was a concerted campaign of economic sabotage.

Especially brazen was the Reagan administration's move in May to cut by

nearly 90% the amount of sugar Nicaragua could sell to the U.S. which was Nicaragua's top trading partner. Combined with the blocking of multilateral loans and an almost complete cut-off of official aid, Junta Coordinator Daniel Ortega estimated that U.S.-imposed economic sanctions have deprived the Nicaraguan treasury of \$354 million this year.

Sandinista officials claim that the loss of multilateral loans has halted projects ranging from road construction, rural health programs, and school construction.

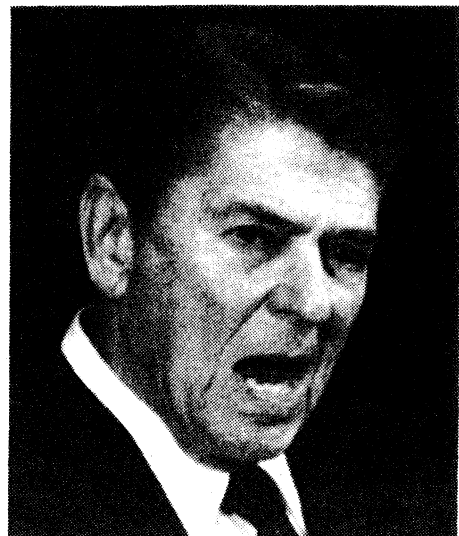
And to further exacerbate the grave situation, the invasion by Contra forces has prompted the diversion of meagre financial reserves toward defense and reconstruction purposes totalling \$50 million for the period from January to April alone.

The devastating sabotage actions coincided with intense ground fighting in the northern and southern war zones. According to Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, at least 1,300 Somocistas have staged attacks from Honduras since early August. The latest reports claim 10,000 Contras are massing on both borders for the next assault.

SANDINISTAS PREPARE

Acutely aware of the impending invasion, the Sandinistas are now making good on their pledge to mobilize the whole nation for the defense of their revolution. National defense has been reorganized, including the full implementation of the civilian self-defense and Sandinista Armed Forces plans.

Abandoning its previous position of restraint, the government has warned its



Reagan: gung-ho in Lebanon.

By WICKS GEAGA

Americans woke up October 16 only to be confronted by news that vividly evoked the Vietnam nightmare. A suicide team of unknown assailants blasted 230 U.S. Marines to death and wounded scores more with 2,000 pounds of TNT.

Roused from another one of his notorious vacations, President Ronald Reagan fumed, vowed retribution, parried critics of his Lebanon policy, offered tears to the victims' families but insisted on staying put in Beirut.

Even as crumpled bodies were being dug out of the devastated Marine barracks, the U.S. vowed to continue its mission: to defend the shaky Phalangist regime of

U.S. READIES INVASION

Emboldened by encouraging results of the Contra sabotage actions, the Reagan administration stepped up its efforts to increase covert CIA funding for "freedom fighters." However, the House passed a bill to cut off this covert aid. The Senate, though is expected to reject a similar version of the bill, in effect ensuring the uninterrupted financing of the Contras.

Meanwhile, the spectacular "Big Pine II" war games—between the U.S. and Honduras—are clearly aimed at setting up the military infrastructure for an eventual direct U.S. invasion. Hardly alleviating widespread fears of U.S. intentions, U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte announced the extension of the "six-month" joint maneuvers for another two months to March 1984.

And to lay the justification for the use of U.S. troops should border clashes occur, Honduras has called for a "mutual defense" treaty with Washington.

Meanwhile the reactivation of the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA) last October 1 highlighted U.S. efforts to consolidate the regional military alliance between El Salvador, Honduras and Panama.

Reestablished for the first time since 1969, CONDECA's principal objective calls for the containment and defeat of all revolutionary state of Nicaragua and the rising resistance movements within each country.

The brazen U.S. invasion of Grenada provides a sneak preview of how these military and diplomatic preparations may fall into place, in an invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. and "multinational" troops. □

U.S. Boggled Down in Lebanon

Amin Gemayel.

Just one month earlier, under the pretext of defending the Marines stationed in Beirut, U.S. warships unleashed a massive barrage of firepower on what one sailor aboard the assault vessel Virginia "guessed were some communists" occupying positions in the Chouf mountains.

The purpose of the naval bombardment, Washington admitted, was to prevent the collapse of Gemayel's right-wing government now facing a serious challenge from a broad resistance coalition. Still, Washington continued to paint its intervention—carried out by a flotilla of warships, 2,000 Marines and 10,000 naval personnel—as a "peacekeeping" mission.

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