

# Rifts Rip Marcos Foes and Followers Alike



'Operation Fast Track' Convenors: before the storm.

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Persistent signs of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos' ill health and the obvious need for a successor in the near future has unleashed a whirlwind of fractious activity in Philippine political circles.

Opposition figures and members of Marcos' own *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* are visibly planning for a future without Ferdinand. The United States has not too discreetly entered the picture, hoping to carve out a succession formula that will continue to secure its military and economic interests in the archipelago.

Meanwhile, one segment of the legal opposition gathered around the figure of Cory Aquino, widow of Sen. Benigno Aquino, to draft a contingency plan. The group feared that Marcos might die or become too incapacitated to hold office this year or next while presidential elections are not slated to take place until 1987.

In order to prevent a military coup or a simple takeover by KBL elements, Mrs. Aquino, meeting with a group of Jesuit-educated businessmen, proposed a "Fast Track" system for the immediate selection of an opposition candidate.

## TWO v. MARCOS

Mrs. Aquino quickly won over to her vision former Sen. Lorenzo Tañada, the nationalist and "Grand Old Man" of Philippine politics, and Jaime Ongpin, outspoken businessman and brother of Marcos' Minister of Trade Roberto Ongpin. The businessman, who no longer speaks to his brother, has of late taken to showing up at rallies and demonstrations.

The group was selected to appeal to as many stripes as possible within the moderate opposition. Together they forged a "Convenors Group" to select a pool of

potential candidates to run against a Marcos-designated candidate.

The Convenors ultimately came up with a list of 11 potential standard bearers (PSBs) all but one of whom were prominent pre-martial law political figures. Many of them were active in the boycott movement against last May's elections to the *Batasang Pambansa*. The list included Batasang members Ramon Mitra, Aquilino Pimentel and Eva Estrada Kalaw, former senators Jose Diokno, Jovito Salonga, Raul Manglapus, Teofisto Guingona, Ambrosio Padilla, and Salvador Laurel, newly prominent opposition figure Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the late senator, and former Marcos Executive Secretary Rafael Salas.

The plan was for the 11 PSBs to agree upon a statement of principles and set up a mechanism to determine which among them would face the KBL. After numerous meetings, the Convenors came up with an eight-point "Basis for Unity" and set December 26 to finalize and sign the document.

This unity pact affirmed respect for human rights, advocated nationalism and the equitable distribution of income and called for free elections and a new constitution. Most controversial were its calls for the removal of all U.S. bases and the legalization of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Nine of the PSBs signed the document December 26. But after protracted hedging, Laurel and Kalaw declined, provoking a nasty split which could result in two different oppositionists facing a single Marcos camp candidate.

## ATTACKS FROM ALL QUARTERS

Laurel, who heads the United Nationalist Democratic Opposition claimed that his reason was the bases provision. He advocated, he said, respecting all treaty obligations, including the U.S.-R.P. Military

Bases Agreement, and would rather submit the issue to a plebiscite. This surprised a number of observers since in 1983 Laurel signed a document with a nearly identical provision.

Kalaw, leader of one wing of the old Liberal Party, agreed with Laurel and further attacked the Convenors and the Fast Track concept as "undemocratic." The Fast Track, she added, was not unlike "the concept of martial rule."

Other members of UNIDO attacked the Convenors as a "civil junta" and the Fast Track concept as "elitist." UNIDO, as an alliance of opposition parties nationwide, they added, was the appropriate vehicle for the selection of an opposition candidate. Why, asked UNIDO member John Osmeña, did the list of PSBs include six boycotters?

The charge of elitism came in from other quarters as well. Loretta Rosales of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers and Joe Castro of the Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy insisted that the Fast Track concept only further entrenches the elite and reinforces a two-party system.

Leto Villar of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement) told one reporter

*Continued on page 7*

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## Beyond 'Fast Track'

Swift and hysterical was the reaction of U.S. circles to "Operation Fast Track"—not so much to the plan of an influential section of the Philippine legal opposition to choose a presidential candidate should Marcos suddenly pass away, but to the political content of the "unity pact" these opposition leaders have signed.

The offending component of this pact was the call for the removal of the U.S. bases (and also probably the call for the legalization of the Communist Party). The U.S. media howled with alarm, issuing editorials and headlines like "Marcos Foes Sign Unity Pact, Want U.S. Out." Previously, Reagan officials simply dismissed nationalistic pronouncements from legal oppositionists as "silly." This time, they replied rather stiffly that they thought this pact a bluff and that its signatories were perhaps, carried away by rhetoric. But to be sure, more emissaries and intelligence agents are on their way to "correct" the situation or woo opposition leaders from such a "radical" posture.

"Fast Track" has flaws for sure. It is not clear how much consultation there was with cause-oriented groups and other forces about the precise basis for an electoral challenge to the regime this time around. It does not seem that the left is necessarily closed to the idea. Horacio "Boy" Morales himself, a reputed National Democratic Front leader, noted: "It would be interesting to find out if revolutionary forces see future elections, especially the 1987 elections . . . as offering more

realistic chances for political gains compared to the forthcoming [May 14, 1984] Batasan elections."

Furthermore, Jose Ma. Sison observed that the people's movement "can turn certain weapons of the enemy against himself" and that "it can either boycott an entire political exercise rigged by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship or expose such an exercise as a fraud but allow democratic elements to gain what they can on the basis of the unbeatable and uncheatable strength of the people in particular areas. In other words, for the left, specific tactics are determined by specific conditions. What conditions favor an electoral bid for the presidential seat, "Fast Track" has not yet made clear. In addition, its process for choosing the candidate may not be broad enough. (To be fair, this may have been undercut by a premature leak to the press.)

But as to the Laurels' and the Kalaws' vehement objection to "Fast Track," it is really a matter of political stand. They oppose the anti-bases and nationalistic posture of the unity pact. With their objections, they have confirmed to Washington that they are the safer, more "trustworthy" opposition. To the public, they have simply confirmed their continuing adherence to the elite politics that characterize neo-colonial democracy. For this exposure alone, "Fast Track" has already done a public service.

"Fast Track's" strength is the minimum program embodied by its unity pact. It essentially calls for a government that would not only establish democratic institutions but also assert national independence. It may be that some signatories have gotten attuned to the

politics of the resurgent masses and become aware that short of a clear call for nationalism, aside from democracy, no political program can catch fire. But among them are also tested leaders who have genuinely grasped that democracy and national independence are the essence of liberation. Regardless of what inspired them, the unity pact's signers have raised nationalism as a standard of opposition, a useful standard by which to gauge the political consistency of all those who claim to fight the present dispensation.

The "Fast Track" initiative is merely reflective of an objective need to unify the broad spectrum of opposition. "Fast Track" may be flawed but its unity pact is a positive impulse, a motion that can be built on. For beyond the task of deciding on the question of an electoral tactic, or choosing candidates, etc., lies the need to cohere the opposition on the basis of a minimum program. As the unity pact exemplifies, democracy and national sovereignty are the indispensable components of such a minimum program.

United on the basis of such a program, the opposition can command "the broadest possible range of forces against the narrowest target"—against the U.S.-backed Marcos regime and any collaborators in oppositionist clothing—utilizing varied forms of non-violent struggle (possibly, including elections) as demanded by concrete conditions, while preparing to act in self-defense against terror from the regime. If in the process of cohering the opposition some absolutely refuse to ruffle Washington's feathers, so be it. The chaff needs to be separated from the grain, the elite politician from the genuine oppositionist. □



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### Letters

#### A Plug for You . . .

I work on *Grassroots*, 'Berkeley's Community Newspaper' and only recently became aware of how bad the situation in the PI had become. I also began reading your paper—it is truly excellent! I will give your paper a plug on the next issue of *Grassroots* and put you on our mailing list. I also would like an article on the PI situation for our paper.

Mark Petrofsky  
Berkeley, CA

### Litter from Manila

## Neither Ballot Nor Bullet



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

It's a sad day when the President, Father of the New Republic and the Democratic Revolution, has to lift his shirt in public to prove that his torso does not bear the scars of surgery. I can understand that he had to respond decisively to the ill-wishers' rumors, and lifting his shirt and flashing the picture all over the world may have been the only way. I am just relieved that the rumors claimed he had heart complications and not, thank God, testicular cancer.

The President's action finally laid the rumors to rest but it also betrayed something that may shock and demoralize his loyal supporters: the fact that he is a mere mortal. I, for one, am despondent over this revelation. But there it was in the picture—the once rock-hard chest now slowly being subverted by sag, the once flat and firm stomach now being slightly overrun by highly mobile units of wrinkle that are protractedly surrounding the belly from the backsides and getting ready for a final insurrection. And I had high hopes in his eternal reign.

After all, didn't he declare: "I DO NOT INTEND TO DIE?" I could have remained distraught had I not bumped into my old friend Information Minister Greg Cendaña. I told him what was bugging me (and that it wasn't the military intelligence).

"Oh, you of little faith. Didn't you hear his OTHER declaration? That neither 'BALLOT NOR BULLET' can get him out?" Greg scolded me.

I know how bullet can't. The President has upgraded the armed forces, Washington is sending more aid and equipment, the troops are being re-trained with new military skills, etc. But dealing with the ballot, with a challenge at the polls in 1986 and 1987, is something else. I'm not sure he is fully prepared for such non-violent challenge. As the last May 14 elections showed, he might have exposed a soft underbelly.

"Not to worry. He is prepared strategically, tactically, and logistically," said Greg. "From cabinet ministers to barangay captains, everyone in the administration and the KBL is undertaking a secret but intensive training program designed by the President himself—it incorporates his basic philosophy in dealing with all threatening situations. He has only one way of dealing with things. The program has even adapted the motto of the Philippine Constabulary: "Always Outnumbered, Never Outbought."

You mean, "Outfought."  
"No. Outbought. Remember, we're dealing with an electoral, non-military, situation."

Okay. What is this training program that the President designed?

"To improve our defensive capabilities we are being trained to master a tough obstacle course. This includes hurdling a credibility gap, escaping a mire of scandal, evading a cloud of suspicion, clambering up a pit of folly then jumping to conclusions, fording an endless stream of generalities, and finally, eluding a shadow of guilt—all this while carefully dodging a hail of ballots. Live ballots, mind you."

Hmmm. Very thorough. But what about offensive capabilities?

"To counteract a barrage of incendiary accusations, we are taught how to entrench ourselves and then look out for every opportunity to fire a volley of recriminations. To extract information, we use the mailed fist. To neutralize the Church, we have the veiled threat.

"We also have sappers who can dig tunnels until they can see light at the end of it, crawl up the higher moral ground occupied by our critics and create a breach of confidence in their defenses. We know how to wear armored libel suits as protection from any sniping from the media (some of which can be very accurate) and how to take a stab at no-holds barred press conferences—all this while lugging a ummm, ahhh, standard-issue 50 lb. backpack of lies . . ."

. . . And dodging a hail of ballots, of course. How impressive! But what about the "fast-track" strategy recently adopted by the opposition?

"They're going on an offensive! But here's how we will slow down that fast track and head them off at the polls: the KBL, like the armed forces, will be divided into separate branches of service, which will secure the sanctity of the ballot boxes—and, like the armed forces, these operations will be coordinated by a Chief of Stuff. Every branch will have its own Air Corps or voters who can fly to any trouble spot."

But Laurel's UNIDO and Kalaw have nixed "fast track" and its anti-U.S. posture. They want to go solo and are more dangerous because they might convince the U.S. to support them instead of Marcos.

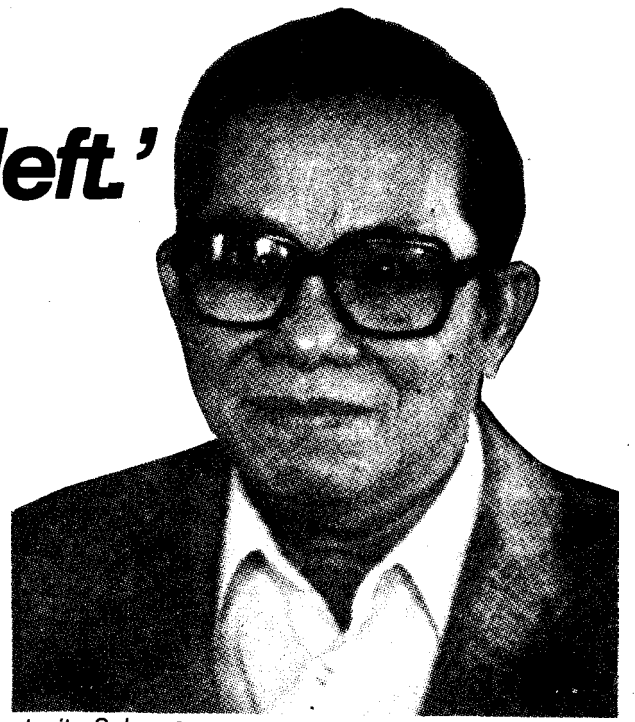
"I wouldn't worry about that, pipsqueaks that they are. Laurel and Kalaw openly courting the U.S. does not constitute a dangerous escalation of the alms race, yet."

Whew! It was sure good to talk to Greg and be reassured about the invincibility of the administration, that the man who would inflict that fatal ballot has not yet been born. I was relieved enough to ask Greg an unrelated question: Is there a grain of truth to the rumor of a rice shortage?

"Dios mio, Doroy. You know better than to ask me whether something is true or not. I'm only the Minister of Information, for God's sake."

He had a point there. □

# 'I have an open mind about the left'



Jovito Salonga

Sen. Jovito Salonga, leader of the Liberal Party returned to the Philippines January 21 to rejoin the mainstream of the opposition to Ferdinand Marcos.

Salonga, 62, self-exiled for three years in the United States, until January 15 faced the possibility of arrest on subversion charges upon his return.

The former senator was jailed for a month in 1980 and then placed under house arrest when informant Victor Lovely targeted him as the mastermind behind a series of hotel bombings that rocked Manila that same year. Salonga denied any connection with the April 6 Liberation Movement which claimed credit for the bombings.

The former representative of Rizal province remained the recognized head of the Liberal Party while in the United States despite a split with fellow party member Eva Estrada Kalaw. Ex-senator Kalaw supported the May 1984 parliamentary elections, ran with the opposition alliance UNIDO, and won a seat for the Metro-Manila area.

Salonga, on the other hand, backed the popular boycott movement. A meeting between the two last December reportedly healed the rift.

The Philippine Ministry of Justice on January 15 promised that Salonga, known both as a scholar and a fiery speaker, would not be arrested upon his return. Prosecutors filed a motion to dismiss the charges against him January 17.

Permanently disabled by the 1971 Plaza Miranda bombing, Salonga nonetheless threw himself into a whirl of activities—speeches, meetings and farewell gatherings—before leaving. AK managed to interview him only days before his departure—Ed.

AK: We read your Liberal Party platform and are interested in what you plan to do within the opposition. What is your immediate goal in going home?

SALONGA: I'm going home primarily to pitch in and try to help in uniting the various opposition forces. I'd like to work at the grassroots level in my particular province of Rizal. I would like to organize the little people in that province.

With regard to the long range, what role do you think the Liberal Party can play within the opposition as a whole?

Well, we hope to be able to disseminate the program of government, find out how other opposition groups react to our program, and see whether we can widen the areas of an agreement. We want to spell out whatever

differences there may be between our perception and their perception about what is wrong with our society and what we can do about it.

How do you feel about the participation of the left within the opposition in the Philippines?

Well, I have an open mind, but I'd like to see how these things operate at home. You will see that our program of government is in favor of a democratic and open, pluralist society.

We encourage the participation of all political aggragations. I am in favor of the legalization of the Communist Party.

How open do you think other members of the opposition are to that position?

The Convenors Group is in favor of the legalization of the Communist Party as you must have noticed in the papers. I myself believe in the validity of a democratic idea so strongly that I am not afraid of any competition in the realm of ideas.

If your perspective and that of the Convenors Group were to prevail, would there be portions of the opposition that would break away?

I do not know.

What do you think is the U.S. view of the opposition in the Philippines?

Well the U.S. is primarily interested in the promotion of its own interests and probably these interests will define the position of the United States vis-a-vis these different opposition groups. I think the principal interest of the United States is its access to the strategic bases in the Philippines.

A number of opposition figures and the Convenors Group itself have expressed a desire to get rid of those bases. Do you think this is upsetting the U.S. government?

The actual term is "the removal of the U.S. military bases." Actually this should not upset anyone because anyway we have a Military Bases Agreement which will expire in 1991.

According to the testimony of Admiral Long in 1983 before the Solarz Committee, it will take five or six years to establish an alternative site for the bases. Given the time frame, the demand for the removal of the bases is not as upsetting as other quarters would depict it to be.

I noticed that certain portions of the U.S. press and some of the Philippine press are emphasizing the fact that UNIDO is unhappy with the Convenors Group and questioning its authority. Is this because of the Convenors' position against the bases?

Well, the UNIDO has its own position on the military bases. Its position when I left in 1981 was almost the same as what we have in our Liberal Party program of government. I think probably a year ago, the UNIDO changed its stand on the bases.

In 1983, in the course of the testimony of Sen. Aquino before the Solarz Committee, he submitted a document entitled "Declaration of Principles of the Allied Opposition." That document is signed by the major figures in the opposition including Senators Tañada, Laurel and Kalaw. Now the demand of the Convenors Group for the removal of the bases is perhaps a word-to-word reproduction of what appears in that document.

So, is UNIDO mainly resentful at the Convenors for having taken the step of sitting down and writing a list of potential candidates, taking it upon themselves to try to unite the opposition?

It may be that the UNIDO, being the so-called dominant opposition party or group, feels that this is a matter that should be left to it and that the Convenors Group may be seen as invading what could be termed by UNIDO as its own domain.

Is this a serious problem or is it something that can be dealt with?

I do not know. I have to be there in the Philippines to find out whether this is a very serious problem.

I don't want to bother you much longer—you're a busy man and you've got history ahead of you.

I do not know. I have been bypassed probably already. □

NFR



The late Mayor Climaco

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

As the Southwest Command headed by Maj. Gen. Delfin Castro prepared its findings on the November 14 assassination of Zamboanga City Mayor Cesar Climaco, the Justice for Climaco Committee asserted that big business and top military officials close to Marcos had a motive in eliminating one of the regime's most outspoken critics.

The Committee speculated that Rizal Alih, brother of the slain Lt. Abdurral Alih, would be blamed for the killing, fulfilling Climaco's own prediction. Weeks prior to his murder, the late mayor began to sense the makings of a government-hatched assassination plot closing in on him and targeted Alih as a likely scapegoat.

Alih was arrested in connection with the assassination on November 25 following a 21-hour siege of his family compound by

500 soldiers backed by a tank and three armored personnel carriers.

Sixty-three "hostages" were released in the process. The military conveniently downplayed the fact that all 63 were relatives living in the compound at the time.

### THE ALIH CONNECTION

Abdurral Alih was an ordinary member of the Zamboanga Police Force when he was hired by a wealthy businessman, Blas Perez, to be the latter's partner and bodyguard. Perez ran a highly successful arrastre service on the city docks and here Alih learned the tricks of the trade.

The policeman later acquired his own trucks and gradually expanded his business holdings to include a hotel, two disco houses, and a sauna-massage parlor. When Perez was kidnapped and killed in 1983, Alih inherited his mentor's business.

Alih expected to receive the contract for the city port from the Philippine Port Authority. When the PPA handed the award to Lt. Col. Daming Unga, war erupted. Climaco petitioned Castro to intervene and both men were reassigned.

On October 9, at a checkpoint 100

meters from the residence of Mayor Climaco, Alih was ambushed and killed. Immediately rumors started circulating that Climaco had a hand in the killings.

The rumors were perfectly timed for the murder yet to come. By the time Climaco was killed, Rizal Alih had been neatly set up as the suspect avenging his brother's death.

But the Climaco family, its supporters and the public at large were unsatisfied. The search for a more plausible theory began.

### CLIMACO vs. MILITARY

Speculation quickly turned to the intelligence unit, known as U-2, of the Southern Command. Climaco frequently clashed with Gen. Castro and U-2 chief Col. Rolando de Guzman because the outfit is widely considered responsible for the string of unsolved crimes that plagued the city.

The crusading mayor kept a huge scoreboard with the number of unsolved crimes in the center of the city.

Meanwhile, Zamboanga was virtually overrun with the military, playing host at

any one time to 30,000 Southcom troops. In addition, U-2 employed a vast civilian network disguised as tricycle drivers and ice cream vendors. Many of these were convicts from the nearby San Ramon Penal Colony.

Climaco was the only obstacle to total takeover of the city by the Marcos military. Zamboanga mayoralty contests were taken seriously by the Marcos clique.

### ENTER COJUANGCO

In the 1980 mayoralty elections, Climaco, perhaps shortsightedly, chose as a running mate, Manuel Dalipe, a PMA graduate and military supervisor of the Zamboanga Barter Trade Association. Dalipe, an ex-member of the Presidential Security Unit, was known to be close to Marcos' right-hand man, Chief of Staff Fabian Ver. Nonetheless, Dalipe resigned his government posts and became a vocal critic of the regime.

But after the ticket won, Dalipe changed his tune. In the subsequent 1981 presidential election and the 1984 Batasan elections, the Vice Mayor supported the president's ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*.

Continued on page 11



# A Record Year for Strikes— Attacks on Workers Intensify

Squads of soldiers and policemen once again swooped down upon the picketing workers of Artex Textiles January 7, calling up grim memories of the July 9, 1984 attack which left scores injured.

The Malabon-based workers, now in their eighth month of the strike, report intensified surveillance by military and police agents since the January assault.

The third worker to die on the picketline in 1984 fell November 28 when company security men unleashed a volley at picketing workers of Victoria Original Foods Industries in Canumay, Valenzuela.

Ma. Leticia Celestino, 23, was killed and four others seriously wounded when Carlito Tiquia, son-in-law of the owner, ordered the men to fire. Picketers at the time were barring freight trucks attempting to transport machinery from the strike-bound factory.

Earlier, Tiquia had threatened to kill strikers who tried to stop security guards from beating Christina Fiel, another Victoria worker.

Thousands of workers attended the funeral march for Celestino December 10. The *Alyansa ng mga Manggagawa ng Valenzuela* also paid tribute to the slain worker at the Victoria picketline.

## CHRISTMAS ON THE PICKETLINE

Ten other factories in Valenzuela remained under siege by strikers. For despite the violence, 1984 was a record year for strikes.



Workers demand justice for slain striker Leticia Celestino.

The Ministry of Labor and Employment reports the actual number of strikes at 272, a 74% increase over the previous year. More than 61,383 workers were affected by the strikes, an 82% rise, meaning the loss of 1.766 million man-days. The strikes were called for issues of unfair labor practice, suspensions/dismissals, and violations of collective bargaining agreements.

For the increasingly militant Filipino workers, not even the country's most beloved holiday enticed the strikers away. Families of more than 2,000 workers of Pillsbury-Mindanao Flour Milling Co.

and Mindanao Portland Cement spent Christmas on the picket lines with their loved ones.

The workers of the two companies are demanding the wage increases mandated by Wage Order No. 5 and other benefits. Pillsbury workers also asked for a stop to military harassment.

Since the start of their protest action—October 29—Pillsbury strikers have had encounters with the military and the police. In one case, some 100 fully-armed soldiers in an armored truck and a fire truck prevented workers and their families from entering the factory grounds.

The Pillsbury dispute heightened when management refused to comply with an agreement reached with workers and instead sent termination notices to strike leaders. Workers were further threatened with another court injunction to force the picketers to return to work.

## SUPERSTAR SUPPORT

The picketing Arnoldus Woodworkers employees, on the 582nd day of their strike, were delighted by a Christmas Day surprise. The longest-running labor dispute to date was visited by no less than

*Continued on page 9*

## Overseas Workers Demand Repeal of EO 857

Dollar-earning overseas jobs are difficult enough for Filipinos to land. With the enforcement of Executive Order No. 857, the wages earned are even more difficult to enjoy, prompting overseas workers and their families at home to organize and demand its repeal.

EO 857, promulgated December 13, 1982, requires all Filipino migrant workers to remit from 50 to 80% of their earnings through government channels. The theory is to provide the dollar-hungry Philippine economy with much-needed foreign exchange, for indeed the effort of labor has become one of the country's most profitable sources of dollars—\$800 million in 1982.

Migrant workers are thus required to remit the bulk of their earnings. Government channels insure that the dollars go to the Central Bank and not to the far more profitable black market.

The problem is that the system leaves the workers with very little to live on. Worse, families at home find it extremely difficult to claim remittances because of bureaucratic snafus.

## NO COMPLIANCE—NO JOB

Most contractual workers in the Middle East, Europe and Hong Kong were compelled to comply with the order upon its effectivity in February of 1983. Failure to do so or show proof of compliance meant not only non-renewal of passports and contractual agreements but also removal from the list of those eligible to work overseas.

For many, a Saudi job meant their family's survival back home. But sending back half or more of their earnings threatens many overseas workers' ability to cope with their host country's cost of living.

The plight of the more than 20,000 Filipinos in Great Britain was evidenced by a demonstration in front of the Philippine Embassy in London some months back. They protested EO 857 as "unreasonable." With 30% of their wages going toward British taxes and 50% forced back to the Philippines, the remaining 20% was simply not enough to live on.

Hong Kong domestic workers also complained in a letter to President Marcos

dated November 4, 1984, of EO 857's "inflexibility" and "lack of concern" for their situation. "We are the ones who know how much to send, when and how to send our money," insisted the more than 26,000 workers represented by UNFAIR (United Filipinos Against Forced Remittances), a coalition of 12 groups of Filipino workers and domestics.

## DELAYED REMITTANCES

The government program has fallen far short of its purported goal of "providing for the welfare of the beneficiaries and dependents" of migrant workers. "The economic difficulties we encountered prior to the directive's issuance were aggravated by delayed remittances or, worse, no remittances at all," insisted KAKAMMPI, the *Kapisanan ng mga Kamaganak ng Migranteng Manggagawang Pilipino* (Association of Relatives of Migrant Filipino Workers).

Delays of six months to one year have been reported. Taxes imposed on the transaction further cut into the already low government exchange rate.

Though faced with the consequence of losing the much-needed jobs, migrant workers and their families have begun to challenge EO 857.

On December 13, 1984—two years to the day after President Marcos signed the order—KAKAMMPI joined the various migrant worker groups abroad calling for the repeal of the onerous presidential directive.

Support has come from unlikely places. Hong Kong-based Filipino groups have won support from their employers.

A petition signed by employers of Filipino domestic workers was sent to Marcos November 25 calling for the abolition of EO 857. The employers called on Marcos to allow their employees, often left with no more than HK\$100-200 (\$12.80-25.60) per month, "the freedom to decide" how much to remit.

Workers groups in Hong Kong also petitioned Marcos for government help—as "much as the Philippine government can do to help the Filipino overseas worker." □ NO

## Beltran Escapes, Expresses Thanks

*"Following the principle of asserting our individual and democratic rights, a detainee who is imprisoned unjustly has the central task of freeing himself from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship's prisons, continuing with his work once out of jail and guarding against getting imprisoned again."*—Crispin Beltran

"Ka. Bel," Crispin Beltran, Vice Chairman of the militant *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May 1st Movement) slipped away from his captors during a court hearing November 21 and rejoined the workers movement.

Beltran was arrested in the August 1982 dragnet which captured major labor leaders including the late Ka. Bert Olalia.

The KMU leader immediately sought shelter with workers and one day later visited a nearby picket line.

Beltran's wife, Rosario, expressed full support for her husband's decision but added that she feared military harassment and retaliation upon her and the couple's

12 children.

"Rest assured that I will resume what, to Ka. Bert, 'is the noble task of serving the working class and all other oppressed masses,'" Beltran wrote in his statement following the escape.

"This is most paramount in the agenda of work that I have set for myself. I will actively help you once more in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in the struggle for justice, democracy and national freedom. While we may not see each other as often as we wish, rest assured that I will always be with the fighting masses and out of danger."

"For those who sympathized with me in the past and continue to help us political detainees," he added, "the KMU, militant lawyers, Task Force Detainees, KAPATID, National Council of Churches in the Philippines, and other institutions . . . friends and supporters from across the seas—to all of you, I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks." □

## KMU Statement on the British Coal Miners Strike

The *Kilusang Mayo Uno* views with grave concern the indifference of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher over the demands of the striking coal miners who have entered their ninth month of strike.

At the same time, the KMU condemns the two separate incidence of violence inflicted by the state police forces on the striking miners last week along with the deceiving tactics applied by the British government to divide the ranks of the coal miners. The KMU considers these acts as unnecessary in meeting the strikers' just and legitimate demands.

Already, a 24-year-old striker, David Jones, has reportedly died in a clash between police and the coal miners during the early stage of the strike that virtually shut down all but 29 of Britain's coal mines.

The KMU also joins the British Trade

Union Congress (BTUC) in extending the fullest support to pressure the Thatcher government to give in to the miners' demands in dropping plans to close alleged unprofitable coal mine pits and displace some 20,000 mine workers.

The KMU is sending a separate petition to the British embassy in the Philippines urging the government of Prime Minister Thatcher through the state-owned National Coal Board to act favorably on the workers' plight. The KMU will also petition the British government to halt harassing the strikers and stop the use of force on the striking coal miners.

Finally, the KMU is expressing its utmost in solidarity with the British coal miners in behalf of the Filipino working class.

(Atty.) Rolando M. Olalia  
KMU Chairman  
November 18, 1984

## Impressive Growth

# NPA Gives U.S. and Marcos the Jitters



NPA formation readies for combat.

(Liberation)

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

Five hundred members of the New People's Army took the fishing village of Tabina, Davao on January 5 and made off with 100 firearms, ammunition and communications equipment.

According to government sources, it was the largest haul for the people's army since 1971 when Lt. Victor Corpus defected from the Marcos military and led an attack on the Philippine Military Academy armory.

More significantly it was the first time the NPA chose to operate in a battalion-sized formation. Though attempting to brush aside the event's significance, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile noted that the people's army was testing its capacity for conventional warfare.

### REBELLION TAKES ON 'NEW DIMENSION'

The operation clearly has both U.S. and Philippine defense analysts worried. It comes on the heels of a series of dramatic raids on 13 towns in the south over a six-month period.

In each case, NPA fighters, disguised as soldiers, entered town centers, disarmed local militia, raided police stations and carted off ammunition, firearms and other equipment. The guerillas suffered only minor casualties and were able to hold their own in prolonged clashes with Army reinforcements.

The recent victories cap a trend of sustained guerilla growth through 1983 and 1984. Clearly "Oplan Katatagan," the regime's counterinsurgency scheme has failed to "break the backbone of the communist insurgency" as Gen. Fabian Ver promised when he launched it in December 1982.

In an early January speech to the National Assembly, Marcos for the first time admitted that the communist rebellion in the Philippines is growing and taking on a "new dimension." Enrile claimed that "the serious upsurge in guerilla activities resulted in the death of 2,000 civilians and military personnel last year."

### STALEMATE ON THE HORIZON

Commenting on guerilla gains, Jose Ma. Sison, a detained leader of the revolutionary movement noted, "The NPA is getting stronger nowadays and has reportedly neutralized government forces in several areas particularly in Mindanao.

"The stage of the strategic defensive is . . .

maturing," he added, "and about to pass on to the stage of stalemate as shown by the fact that elements of the strategic stalemate have appeared in several areas already."

Regional NPA leaders offer the same observations. On tour with NPA guerillas in the Western Visayas, Marites Vitug, *Christian Science Monitor* reporter who interviewed a commander of the Western Samar Front, reported that the NPA expects to achieve strategic stalemate or rough military and political parity with the Marcos government by 1987. By 1990, the communist movement expects to secure a whole region to serve as a rear base for the nationwide liberation effort.

Communist leaders claim the NPA is able to mount platoon- to company-sized offensives in 40 guerilla zones covering some 500 municipalities or 20% of all Philippine towns. The NPA operates in all of the country's 73 provinces and is strongest in Mindanao, the Western Visayas, the Eastern Visayas, and Northern Luzon.

### INCREASED MOBILITY—RURAL AND URBAN

The marked maturation in the NPA's military capacity, according to *Ang Bayan*, political organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines, reflects the stability of the

country's guerilla bases—the territorial, political and military nuclei of the war effort.

"A guerilla base is a reliable operational center of stable sanctuary and rear of the people's army and the Party in the performance of strategic tasks and other revolutionary work," Ang Bayan notes. "It is here where the organs of democratic political power are built . . . where the people are trained for governmental and economic functions. Guerilla base building is a necessary step in the establishment of base areas which are more extensive and more stable."

Functioning as springboards for successful guerilla offensives, several guerilla bases are enveloped in larger guerilla zones. In several parts of the country these are deemed impenetrable by Army troops. Rural town centers situated close to guerilla bases are, in many instances, already extensions of base areas, with townfolk performing crucial intelligence and reconnaissance missions for the people's army.

The increase in "sparrow unit" attacks or commando-style executions of notorious military figures, reflects the ability of the NPA to now mount selective urban actions.

The most dramatic to occur in 1984, was the assassination of Brig. Gen. Tomas Karingal last May in a popular Quezon

City beer house frequented by the Philippine military. Karingal was responsible for the death of two strikers at Foamtex, Inc. and the violent dispersal of street demonstrations in 1983.

### STEPPED-UP U.S. AID

In the wake of the guerilla upsurge, U.S. defense experts are reportedly stepping up consultations with the Marcos government to deal with the insurgency. U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Richard Lee Armitage met with Marcos in mid-January and told him that the U.S. is prepared to extend "appropriate assistance" to combat the NPA.

Opposition leader Homobono Adaza warned that the Armitage offer means U.S. involvement in the Philippines "similar to the start of U.S. intervention in Vietnam and El Salvador."

Declaring a "no compromise" policy against the communists, Marcos ordered the accelerated implementation of security plans for some 1,500 cities and towns.

Critics charge that the regime is overplaying the communist threat to wrangle more military aid from the U.S. Red herring hysteria or not, the U.S. is already committed to defend the Marcos regime.

For 1985, Paul Wolfowitz, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State who recently passed through Manila, assured Marcos that his government is slated to give a total of \$85 million in military aid. For the years 1985-1989, the total request is \$425 million compared to \$300 million for the previous five years, an increase of 42%.

While State Department officials share the grim prognosis for the recovery of the Marcos regime, Ronald Reagan and Marcos alike point to the burgeoning communist threat to justify continued military aid.

### INTERVENTION ON THE HORIZON?

The trend toward U.S.-abetted militarization, or the supplanting of civilian rule by military authority exerted through force and terror, is expected to intensify, especially in the Philippine countryside.

Yet, with the downward spiral of the economy, the irresolvable crisis of the Marcos regime and the growing strength of the popular resistance, many are skeptical that militarization *per se* will halt the polarization of Philippine society—the basic condition which foments civil war. Oplan Katatagan, the most ambitious counterinsurgency program since the 1950s does not appear successful in retarding much less reversing the guerilla movement.

Thus many fear that the U.S. will move from material assistance to the Marcos regime or its successor to outright intervention. For it may be, as some experts estimate, that "nothing short of a miracle"—or direct U.S. intervention—will keep the growing guerilla movement from following its own timetable. □



On the march: strategic stalemate is their goal by 1987.

(Liberation)



## CRYING LADY FOUND, WILL TELL ALL ABOUT AQUINO SLAY

The elusive "crying lady" in the assassination of former Sen. Benigno Aquino was found by agents of the National Bureau of Investigation early last December. Rebecca Quijano agreed to tell everything she saw at Manila International Airport August 21, 1983, before the *Sandiganbayan* which is charged with trying the case.

Quijano arrived at MIA on the plane bearing Aquino. As she staggered into the terminal through the connecting tube, she sobbed, "*Binaril na nila si Ninoy, hindi pa kayo umiyyak.*" ("They shot Ninoy, why aren't you crying yet?") She was immediately escorted away by Col. Vicente Tigas, press relations officer of the Presidential Security Command and was not heard from again.

It was widely assumed that Quijano, unlike any of the other witnesses to come forward, had seen the actual assassination. Given the number of witnesses who have simply disappeared, observers presumed that the "crying lady" was either dead, in military custody, or hiding in terror of losing her life.

Quijano avoided efforts of the Agrava Commission to locate her for 11 months. According to one version, she did not want to appear for fear of being arrested on the strength of pending cases against her in Metro-Manila courts.

The "crying lady," however, is now willing to tell all. She has agreed to a deposition to record her experiences before the court in case the matter should drag on and something happens to her.

Meanwhile, attorneys for Philippine Chief of Staff Fabian C. Ver continue their maneuvers to get their powerful client off the hook. Ver was named by the majority of the Agrava Commission as involved in the conspiracy and cover-up, along with 24 other military men and one civilian. He has since gone on a temporary leave, turning over his responsibilities as Chief of Staff to Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos.

Dean Antonio P. Coronel, Ver's chief attorney, has pushed the *Tanodbayan* or ombudsman, to file charges quickly before the *Sandiganbayan*, a judicial body whose members are appointed by the president. He hopes a speedy trial will result in an acquittal "on the merits of the case."

The post of *Tanodbayan*, created in June 1978, was initially envisioned as a "grievanceman, a people's counselor and watchman over the laws of the land." Succeeding *Tanodbayan* soon established a reputation as small claims officers that convicted lowly clerks but let the big ones get away.

Last October President Ferdinand Marcos directed the Agrava Commission to turn over its reports to *Tanodbayan* Bernardo P. Fernandez. Fernandez determined that a basis did exist for cases against the 26 and prepared to file formal charges before the *Sandiganbayan*.

Coronel earlier intended to ask the *Tanodbayan* for a dismissal, but changed his mind. Even if the case against Ver were dismissed, he explained, it would not bar others from filing similar charges in the future. "It will be like the Sword of Damocles hanging over his head," he noted.

On the other hand, a not guilty finding would insure no future revival of the case because of the legal provision against double jeopardy. Coronel remains convinced that Ver has a good chance of acquittal. The evidence against his client is "not that strong," he insisted. His optimism may be abetted by the fact that the *Sandiganbayan* is the legal arm of the National Intelligence and Security Agency, which continues to be headed by Ver in spite of his leave from the Chief of Staff position. □ EE

## THE RETURN OF ESTELITO MENDOZA

Armed with the support of the President and backed by 100 armed men, the Philippines' top legal officer, Minister of Justice Estelito Mendoza, walked into the capitol building in San Fernando, Pampanga at 1:30 p.m. January 8 to "resume" the governorship of that province.

Mendoza, appointed Solicitor General by Marcos in 1972 was elected governor of Pampanga in January 1980, along with his gubernatorial running mate, Cicero Punsalan. His opponent, ex-governor Jose Lingad, claimed the election was fraught with fraud and intimidation. The Supreme Court later declared a failure of elections in San Fernando where Mendoza's handpicked candidate had won the mayorship. Lingad, who protested officially in 1981, was assassinated in a daylight murder that, like his complaint, remains unsolved.

Last May, Mendoza resigned the governorship of Pampanga after the ruling KBL party in that province, which Mendoza chaired, won only one of four Pampanga seats in the *Batasan Pambansa* elections. Marcos appointed him a member of the *Batasan* where he took his oath of office July 23, legally vacating his position as governor of Pampanga. Vice Governor Punsalan then took over the post.

Punsalan called the January 8 takeover a "coup d'etat style seizure." He vowed to take his case to the Supreme Court and run against Mendoza in the next elections. A statement from the presidential palace confirmed Marcos' approval of Mendoza's move.

Both opposition and government sources indicate that the Minister's action was aimed at firming up his base for the coming polls. Observers foresee early presidential and gubernatorial polls, possibly next January, in view of Marcos' deteriorating political and physical health.

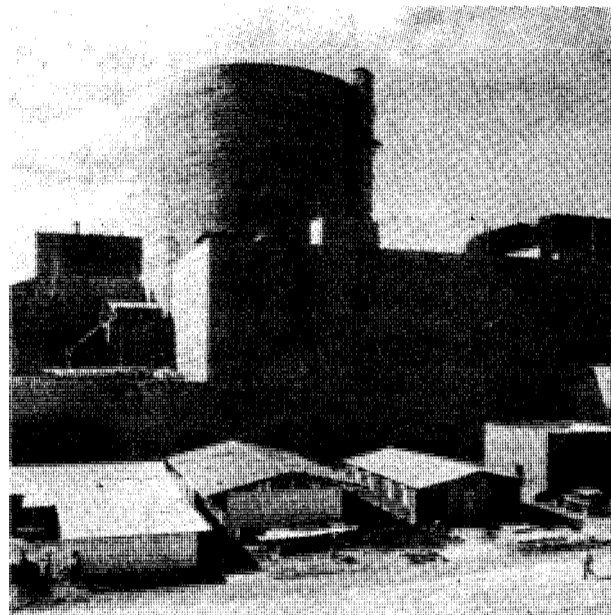
"The governorship," Mendoza declared, "places me in intimate and personal contact with the people." As a member of the cabinet, he said, "I can be fired any time." Thus, "I prefer to be addressed as governor."

The governorship has a fixed six-year term and this province of 1.2 million people provides a potential base for any electoral ambitions.

According to Punsalan, Mendoza, known as a "diktador," remains highly unpopular within the province. Some say he tops the local New People's Army's hit list.

San Fernando remained tense as Punsalan pursued plans to challenge the power grab before the Supreme Court. "It is physically impossible for him to discharge his duties as governor, solicitor-general and justice minister," Punsalan insisted.

"It's how you managed your time," replied Mendoza. □ EE



Nuke plant: generates more protest than energy.

## PROTESTS TO GREET NUKE PLANT OPENING

Protest, rather than pomp and circumstance, threatens to greet the opening of the infamous Morong, Bataan thermonuclear plant has been a target, since 1973, of protest from the entire Philippine political spectrum.

The list of the plant's critics include human rights activists, church and women's groups, environmentalists, scientists, and even some members of Ferdinand Marcos' own Kilusan Bagong Lipunan.

The plant has drained tremendous amounts of the country's foreign reserves and reportedly lined the pocket of presidential crony Herminio Disini with millions in kickbacks. Worse, the Morong plant is built on the side of a live volcano, a ticking time bomb which poses the threat of wiping out 54 million people.

Attacks on the project which was hatched by Disini and Westinghouse International Corp. continued to mount. Government officials chose to ignore a report from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that the plant is not safe and could potentially endanger the population and environment.

The report, a result of an operational and safety analysis review revealed "existing grave deficiencies" in the staffing of the plant's safety, operations and maintenance, and emergency equipment departments. In case of accidents or emergency situations the facilities were found inadequate. Radiation protection instruments were not enough to ensure the safety of plant personnel and people in general.

Opposition Assemblyman Alberto Romulo called for the dismantling of the plant for health, economic and technological reasons because of many unresolved questions as to its health and safety factors.

Assemblyman Rafael Recto cited electrical defects which could cause an accident similar to the Brown's Ferry Nuclear Power Plant in the U.S. and the lack of

proper identification of valves which was the cause of the near melt-down at Three Mile Island.

Aside from the health and safety dangers involved, there is skepticism that the plant will accomplish what it is supposed to do—save money on energy costs.

Initial capital outlay on the plant ranged from \$2 to \$2.6 billion, \$4 million of which reportedly ended up with Disini free and clear. Federico E. Puno, Senior Vice President for finance of the National Power Corporation said that NAPOCOR pays \$350,000 daily for interest on the plant's combined loans.

The plant has already put the Philippines in the red—between 1973 and 1983, 43% of the country's total power development expenses was used on the Bataan plant despite the fact that it will only be able to contribute 3% to the country's total energy requirements in 1985.

Officials of the Nuclear Power Corporation, under whose auspices the plant operates, have tried to explain to Morong residents how the cheap supply of electricity will benefit them, but this has not relieved their anxieties.

"When we asked them what we should do in case a nuclear accident happens, we were simply told to close our windows," a resident said. □ VR

## DEPUTY MINISTER FLEES SCANDAL

Once again a Philippine politician seems to have taken his money and run. And once again it is someone close to the First Family who threatens to drag the name of First Lady Imelda Marcos into the mud along with his own.

Conrado "Jolly" Benitez, Mrs. Marcos' Deputy Minister of Human Settlements, made a hasty flight November 29, supposedly on an official mission, while under legislative investigation launched by opposition *Batasan* member Hernando Perez (NP-UNIDO, Batangas). Benitez faces charges of "unauthorized diversion" to the United States of \$18 million of the \$25 million loan that was meant for the construction of six electronics manufacturing plants in the Philippines.

Also under question is the withdrawal from the Central Bank of \$18 million in bailout money from the U.S. Economic Support Fund used for the construction of school houses near Clark Air Base in Pampanga. The *Batasan* Committee on Education is investigating the matter.

The *Batasan* Committee on Privileges is also looking into the opposition's allegations that Benitez bribed two reporters, Miriam Soraya of the *Metro-Manila Times* and Marites Vitug of *Business Day*, in what oppositionist Homobono Adaza considers an attempt "to keep out of the press unsavory stories or scandals about him [Benitez] and his ministry." A Benitez aide allegedly handed the reporters ₱1,000 each on separate occasions.

Other scandals involving Benitez and his ministry currently under investigation are considerable. They include:

- Unauthorized diversion abroad of four-fifths of the \$25 million loan obtained, with Philippine government guarantees by Reliability Co., Inc. Some \$19.3 million was invested in U.S.-based companies.

- Failure on the part of the Ministry of Human Settlements to list in its books money market placements in more than a dozen private companies amounting to ₱129 million which had already matured. The law bans government-owned or controlled corporations and local government units from lending their funds to any private corporations.

- Lying at a *Batasan* investigation that the Human Settlements Development Corp., the corporate arm of the Ministry of Human Settlements, had "more than recovered" the ₱35.4 million loaned to Philippine Underwriters Finance Corp. in April 1984. Perez gathered documents showing that the loan remained unpaid.

Business circles in Manila suspect that these deals involved the collusion among management officials of the Philippine Export and Foreign Loan Guarantee Corp., Asian Reliability Co., Inc. Dynetics, Inc., and Business Computer Systems. Benitez is reportedly the treasurer of Dynetics, Inc., one of the biggest semiconductor companies in the Philippines.

There is as yet no actual proof that Benitez fled the country to escape the investigation. He is reportedly proceeding to Washington for what he said would be a series of meetings on the Economic Support Fund.

But the shady dealings unearthed by *Batasan* committees suggest that Imelda's deputy may be a large-scale crook worthy of the Marcos family.

Benitez seems to wheel and deal on a small scale as well. The *Batasan* Committee on Finance is looking into the misappropriation of ₱800,000 worth of construction materials belonging to the National Housing Corporation that Benitez allegedly diverted for the construction of his home on Mariposa St., Cubao, Quezon City, and the house of his in-laws on Cauliflower St., Villa Verde, Pasig. □

# Violence Mars HR Day Rallies

It was December 10, Human Rights Day in the Philippines, 1984.

Concerned barrio folk in Carmen, Cagayan de Oro emptied their villages to join in town events to commemorate the day. In response Constabulary soldiers sprayed gunfire upon the group, killing an elderly woman and injuring a young man.

In Manila, Metrocom troopers barred a crowd from marching to Camp Aguinaldo to hold a rally. Elsewhere, mobile checkpoints were set up in an attempt to intimidate people and discourage participation in rallies.

Symposia, indoor rallies and street demonstrations marked the 36th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. From Bukidnon to Butuan, Cagayan de Oro to Cubao, Quezon City, crowds ranging in size from a few hundred to 20,000 decried the state of human rights in the country and clamored for justice and freedom.

In provincial capitals, symposia sponsored by the Task Force Detainees, Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy, PDP-Laban, and the National Association for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, held programs which featured testimonials from victims of abuse, cultural presentations, and speeches advocating a democratic coalition government.

## DEATH SENTENCE, HARD LABOR

For the people, Human Rights Day '84 was a crucial test of their courage and unity in the face of open terror especially in the countryside. For the military, it was another opportunity to bone up on their

scare tactics, such as crowd dispersal, spot searches, kidnappings, and murder, to be used in future, bigger demonstrations.

Human rights abuses however did not stop at extralegal terror. In Manila on December 13, Eduardo Olaguer, Ester and Othoniel Jimenez and other accused of the string of "Light-A-Fire" bombings and arson in 1979 were sentenced to death by a military commission.



Lawyers stage 'Lawyers Strike' December 11 to protest the judiciary's subservience to Marcos.

In yet another action, Juliet de Lima Sison, wife of imprisoned Jose Ma. Sison and herself accused of subversion, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor.

The decisions represented the culmination of overdrawn trials marked by judicial irregularities. They set an ominous precedent for other subversion cases now being prosecuted.

The only chance for the death sentence decision to be overturned now resides in a military court of appeals composed of retired justices which has yet to be convened seven years after it was created by a presidential decree.

## MILITARIZATION BREEDS TERROR

Despite incontrovertible evidence pointing to the widespread abuse of human rights, the Ministry of National Defense dismisses the accusations outright.

The Task Force Detainees, a prestigious agency which documents human rights violations reports 798 political arrests (2,088 in 1983), 53 disappearances (145 in 1983), and 108 salvagings (368 in 1983) in the first quarter of 1984.

Other sources add that every 12 minutes a Filipino is subjected to physical abuse because of his/her political sympathies.

The escalation of abuses parallel the growth of the military's Oplan Katatagan, a counterinsurgency program in full gear in six pilot areas: the Cordillera, Quezon-Bicol, Panay-Negros, Samar-Leyte, Bukidnon-Surigao, and Davao province. Katatagan's basic thrust is to cleanse rebel-infested areas by denying the NPA mass support.

"It is easier to break heads than to change minds," as one observer put it. The military unhesitatingly resorts to arbitrary arrests, torture, indefinite detention and harassment when relocation or civilian surveillance fails.

Gruesome and perverse forms of torture  
Continued on page 9

## Rifts . . .

Continued from front page

that he had read the list of 11 PSBs to a conference of labor leaders in Bulacan. Ten out of the 11 names were roundly booed, he reported, while that of former Sen. Diokno was met with stony silence.

## SERIOUS RIFT

Attempting to come up with a plan of their own, 34 opposition assemblymen proposed a National Unification Committee to be formed from the major opposition parties to work for "one single national political party" to evolve "democratically from the provincial, city and municipal levels."

Weeks of maneuvers followed, in an attempt to unite the NUC and Convenors. But Laurel's announcement that UNIDO would hold a convention February 23 to select a presidential candidate and develop

its own "fast track" system sealed the rift.

The question of unity was dropped. "I think we should not be overanxious about unity," Kalaw told one interviewer. "The Liberal Party must have a candidate," she added, "because we [have] truly been the opposition party since 1972."

A number of Fast Track supporters are now furious at Laurel and Kalaw. The Convenors Group intended to select candidates only in an emergency, commented Ramon Tagle, Secretary-General of the Christian Democratic Party, unlike traditional politicians "who even now are already trying to position themselves."

Others complain that the Fast Track concept was prematurely leaked to the press. Adds Ernesto Lichauco, who represented Butz Aquino in the discussions, several Batasan members were invited to participate in the talks, but only two attended the meetings.

The Fast Track notion, for all its declared good intentions, clearly has its flaws. It does not represent the full breadth of the opposition to Marcos—the left is completely excluded and it is hard to detect the integration of cause-oriented groups, if this was at all attempted.

## OPLÉ UPSETS BOSS

But while more visible, the oppositionists were hardly the only ones jostling for position. A formerly unified and disciplined KBL took on a fractious character as various figures elbowed each other in the struggle to become their party's standard bearer once Marcos goes.

The most visible squabble involved Labor Minister Blas Ople who makes no secret of his presidential ambitions. Ople committed the unforgivable sin of admitting to a *New York Times* reporter that Marcos was actually ill last November. "The health of our leader is undergoing certain vicissitudes, problems which started a year ago," he said in an article which appeared December 4. The Philippines, he added, is going through "a kind of interregnum."

It may have been true, but the line at the time from Malacañang was that Ferdinand Marcos was fine, just suffering from a bout of asthma or flu, depending on who you talked to.

An outraged Marcos called Ople on the carpet during his first public appearance, summoning him back from an overseas mission. "Desist from issuing any more world-shocking statements that do not jibe with the truth," he told the labor minister in a personal letter.

A chastened Ople offered his resignation, but apparently Marcos was satisfied with his explanation that the *N.Y. Times* article

was "oversimplified."

Meanwhile Arturo Tolentino, Marcos' Minister of Foreign Affairs who styles himself as a maverick, told the press that, if the opposition could only unite, it had a good chance of winning the 1987 presidential elections. Though Tolentino claims to have no interest in running for president, his image as a scholar and a constitutionalist has led others to propose him as a "clean" candidate for the KBL.

A more serious possibility is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Long a Marcos loyalist, Enrile has of late been putting some distance between himself and his boss. He told a Manila business group last month that he might not object to the legalization of the Communist Party. Several weeks earlier, he reassured observers that the death sentence recently declared against alleged Light-A-Fire "terrorists" (see above story) would never be put into effect.

Enrile too has had his clashes with Marcos. At a cabinet meeting on January 7, he took the liberty of telling the president that Amendment 6 of the Philippine Constitution, which allots the president decree-making powers, "could be bad for the party." Marcos quickly put him in his place, telling him that Amendment 6 is "not negotiable" at this time.

## IMELDA SQUARES OFF

No one as yet is ruling out the ambitious First Lady, Imelda Marcos. Though eclipsed somewhat in recent months, observers insist that she has not given up her ambition to succeed her husband.

Imelda has had her squabbles with rival Enrile as well. A KBL caucus following the confrontation between Marcos and the Defense Minister was the scene of a telling exchange.

Enrile reported that the New People's Army has been growing by 23% per year since 1981, adding that something has to be done. "If these facts are correct," snapped Mrs. Marcos, "then there was a failure in the Ministry of Defense for the past 15 years."

Mrs. Marcos, however, powerful though she is, has a number of odds to contend with. She is the most unpopular figure in the regime. Further, as Ople puts it, "She must survive the American veto."

## SEARCHING FOR A SAFE COALITION

While the various factions quarrel, the U.S. government wasted no time in attempting to set up an acceptable succession formula. One opposition figure after another has been invited to the U.S. for friendly chats with State Department officials

while Embassy personnel have been busy as bees meeting with both regime officials and opposition forces. In addition, the United States Information Agency has initiated a program of education and exposure for NAMFREL, KBL and "safe" opposition members (see box).

Recent visitors, not all of them under U.S. auspices, have included Kalaw, Pimentel, Mitra, and "Butz" Aquino as well as Jose Concepcion, chairman of the National Movement for Free Elections.

Meanwhile, Phil Bronstein of the *San Francisco Examiner* reported December 8 that high-level CIA officers from Washington were in Manila for talks with political figures about future alliances.

Clearly the U.S. remains interested in a coalition between Marcos regime figures and safe oppositionists. The left and even much of the existing legal opposition are out of the picture according to this formula.

"We find [the Americans] very receptive to us lately," Kalaw, one of the few potential "safe" oppositionists, told the *Christian Science Monitor* recently.

## MARCOS BARES ALL

U.S. officials were clearly jolted by the Convenors' position on the American bases. Thus no student of Ronald Reagan's "quiet diplomacy" was terribly surprised to see two high-level government officials visit Manila this January to assure Marcos of continued support.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage visited Manila January 12 and promised Marcos that the U.S. is prepared to extend "appropriate" assistance to combat the New People's Army. Four days later, Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz presented Marcos with a letter from Reagan pledging full support in his efforts to "revitalize and strengthen your democratic institutions."

Marcos responded by presenting a statement to the Batasan on the rebellion, admitting publicly for the first time that it was growing. It was a not-so-subtle message to the U.S.: support me or else.

The president, recovered to some extent from the condition that laid him low through much of November and early December, is currently on a campaign to persuade his followers, the opposition and just about anyone who will listen that his health is no longer an issue. In a gesture reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson, he even bared his chest at a cabinet meeting to prove before television cameras and the international press that he had not had open heart surgery.

Hoping to combat talk of premar presidential elections, he met with KBL and reaffirmed that 1987 was the date. □

## USIA Brings Potential Allies to U.S.

The United States Information Agency this month welcomes a group of Filipinos who just happen to embody all the elements the U.S. would like to see in a post-Marcos coalition. The group will be escorted through a series of appearances around the country by Edward Pinch, of the U.S. State Department.

The VIP list is not composed of household name oppositionists. They include, in fact, a Batasan member of Marcos' own party, Rodolfo Albano, three members of NAMFREL: Rufino Eduardo N. Abad, Overall Coordinator of the First District of Manila (Tondo), Mariano Quesada NAMFREL Secretary-General, and Monsignor Francisco G. Tantoco, Jr., NAMFREL Executive Council member.

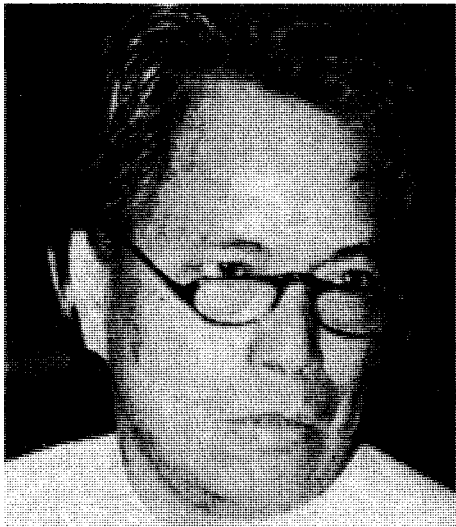
A single oppositionist, UNIDO Batasan member Alberto Romulo is included within the group.

The group will be in the U.S. from January 6 through February 5 and will also be hosted by USIA Program Officer, Marta Pereyma. In the State Department's formula for a credible combination—which excludes any oppositionists with the slightest left tinge—this group may represent the first of a blitz of "presentable" alternative leaders to potentially take over the reins of the Marcos regime. □ VR



## Visiting Oppositionists

# Marcos Foes Woo Filipinos Here



Pimentel



Estrada-Kalaw



'Butz' Aquino

By VINCE REYES

They came, they saw, but not all of them necessarily conquered. As a few exiled opposition leaders are preparing to return home to position themselves for a post-Marcos era, a string of political big guns reflecting the broad spectrum of the Philippine opposition has been touring Filipino communities in the U.S. and Canada to seek their compatriots' support.

Most of the visitors have spoken in major cities like New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and San Francisco. A number have been travelling under the auspices of the U.S. Information Agency.

What they have found is a Filipino audience that, on the whole, has kept abreast of the intricacies of Philippine

politics and can interact critically with the varying political visions of the visitors.

### BALLOTS v. BULLETS

It was not all that clear whether Jose Concepcion of the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) considered himself an oppositionist. NAMFREL was revived just before the May 14, 1984 elections specifically to campaign for a clean and accurate ballot count.

It claims to have mobilized some 200,000 poll watchers, some of whom became victims of election violence. NAMFREL, however, was so focused on the election process itself that Concepcion's audience in San Francisco had to seek a clarification about his stand on the regime. The bubbly businessman assured people that he was an oppositionist.

Then, in the same appearance, Concepcion offered the view that the efforts to

boycott the May 14 election were wrong.

"Had everyone participated in the elections, we would have gotten Marcos out," said Concepcion, blaming the boycott for setting back the effort to oust Marcos. He ran straight into a solid wall of opposition.

"It is also true the other way around," retorted an obviously offended member of the audience. "If NAMFREL did not encourage participation the elections would not have gained any credibility. There are other ways to get rid of Marcos."

Concepcion insisted that because of NAMFREL "the number of oppositionists in the Batasan has increased." A charged but civil exchange ensued with some of his listeners arguing back that the few token opposition seats only gave legitimacy to the Batasan. "Thanks, but no thanks," someone remarked.

Concepcion asserted that "NAMFREL

will catalyze the process for peaceful change." But some in the audience shot back saying elections were but only one method of ousting Marcos.

Steve Psinakis, author and movement personality, told him that for some, belief in peaceful means ended after the 1981 polls, "but for some, this happened after the '78 elections and still for some it ended after the '65 elections." Hardpressed, Concepcion finally had to concede that he was "open to non-peaceful means."

### KALAW v. REDS

Former senator Eva Estrada Kalaw who did not sign the recent opposition "unity pact" (see story on page 1), mainly warned of the possibility of a military coup d'etat or a communist takeover.

However, her anti-leftist views irritated a number of people in her audience especially in Washington, D.C. and New York. Of all Marcos foes, Kalaw has been the most outspoken against entering into coalitions with the left and attacks it almost as vehemently as she does Marcos. She had to tone down this bias in New York after meeting strong objections to "divisiveness in the opposition."

In Los Angeles, however, Kalaw gave full play to her belief that the communists were just like Marcos because "both believe in one-man rule—Marcos in dictatorship and communists in the politburo."

### BUTZ GETS CANDID

Agapito "Butz" Aquino, an ex-actor and businessman who has become the symbolic leader of the "parliament of the streets" also spoke in several cities, including Toronto in Canada.

Benigno Aquino's younger brother told the *San Francisco Examiner* that he wants "some kind of Christian socialism or social democracy" in the Philippines. He is even thinking, he said, of forming his own party "along socialist lines" before

Continued on page 15

## Book Review:

# The Anxious American

The assassination, which Gregor blames on Marcos' enemies, not only produced the "most formidable threat Marcos has ever faced in his long political career," but also a number of foreign policy problems for the U.S. which "suddenly found its strategic, economic and political interests in the islands in jeopardy."

The future of the Philippines, Gregor writes, appears "grim at best." He cites the possibility of "widespread revolutionary violence" resulting from deteriorating economic conditions, increasing restiveness of the political opposition, and the serious erosion of support for the government among the middle and upper classes all contributing to the possibility of serious political instability.

So, what are the alternatives?

### 'DEEPLY-ROOTED ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENTS'

After attempting to establish Marcos' innocence in the assassination in order to justify continued U.S. support, the conservative scholar proceeds to assess the assets and liabilities of the opposition. He dismisses the left out of hand. ("... [T]hese views are so clearly inimical to general U.S. interests... that it is not necessary to consider them further.")

Gregor limits his scholarly exposition to the "moderate anti-Marcos political opposition." This includes the "Christian Opposition" (led by Raul Manglapus), the "Moderate Opposition" (notably Salvador Laurel, Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tañada), the Roman Catholic Church, and the Makati Business Club which he considers the "most benign with respect to U.S. interests."

U.S. officials "should abandon the pretense that the 'moderate' political opposition does not harbor deeply rooted anti-American sentiments." As far as Gregor is concerned, no one who anticipates a "considerable role" for the Communist New People's Army in the post-Marcos era "should be treated with anything other than suspicion." That includes anyone who calls for the dismantling of the U.S. bases.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

Having dismissed the left and the moderates as viable alternatives, Gregor calls on the U.S. to assist Marcos in improving domestic stability, thereby improving significantly the "external security and economic environment in which the Philippines must operate." Concretely, this means expansion of direct U.S. economic aid and increase in direct military assistance.

As for the opposition, he believes that U.S. officials are simply misleading them, particularly the moderates. The U.S. government, he points out, should be candid with those who have taken an anti-U.S. posture and not give them any hint of American support.

"In substance, there is no reason why the United States should welcome the accession of any of these persons to positions of authority in Manila. They could only adversely affect U.S. security and economic interests, and probably bring ruin on their own fragile domestic economy."

Gregor's worst-case scenario for the U.S., therefore, is an economic collapse that will be brought about by the accession to power of those who advocate economic nationalism and other anti-American policies. This collapse, he fears, will produce a rapid upward spiral of unemployment in the major urban centers resulting possibly in massive unrest, organized violence and, most likely, civil war.

When this happens, the U.S. may be compelled to evacuate its military bases, creating a power vacuum in the region which may precipitate a confrontation involving the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the United States.

### AN ARGUMENT DROWNING IN FACTS

The breadth of Gregor's research cannot be faulted. *Crisis in the Philippines* presents an impressive array of data attesting to the author's diligent research on the topic.

The problem is the lack of connection between the facts and Gregor's analysis. The data does not support the author's argument; it simply surrounds and, in some cases, overwhelms it.

But as a treatise, Gregor's analysis is instructive. After all, these insights underlie much of the Reagan administration's foreign policy not only towards the Philippines but towards Third World countries in general.

Given what Gregor has described in his book, it is not difficult to imagine why U.S. foreign policymakers are rushing to put a smooth transition plan into place. To be sure, State Department moderates will not buy all of Gregor's arguments, particularly those regarding Marcos' political future.

On the other hand, Gregor is not too far off the mark when it comes to the official U.S. analysis of what's at stake. If nothing else, Gregor's book is rich with insights as to what Ronald Reagan himself might be thinking about the Philippines at this very moment. □



By JON MELEGRITO

### CRISIS IN THE PHILIPPINES: A THREAT TO U.S. INTERESTS

by A. James Gregor, Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C., 1984. \$6.00

The rise of conservatism in American politics, as signalled by the election and reelection of Ronald Reagan, has inevitably spawned a growing number of conservative thinkers and scholars. Their prominence stems not so much from what they say as from the influence they bring to bear on policymakers in Washington.

Former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick is perhaps the most notable. Then there is the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank, whose "Mandate for Leadership" recommendations were largely adopted by the first Reagan administration.

It is noteworthy, therefore, when a serious conservative scholar like A. James Gregor, comes out with a book, particularly when it is titled, *Crisis in the Philippines: A Threat to U.S. Interests*. Gregor's bias for Marcos is already a matter of record. The book's value lies in this conservative's exposition of what precipitated the crisis that now threatens the political career of someone he considers a faithful friend and ally of the U.S.

### 'GRIM AT BEST'

Gregor's principal thesis is that the assassination of Benigno Aquino precipitated a political and economic crisis. Its most serious consequences are the effects on the struggling Philippine economy that was supposedly showing clear signs of recovery.





Painting by political prisoner Noel Etabag.

## A Busy Holiday Schedule Getting the Word Out on Political Prisoners

Rev. Lois N. Wilson, president of the World Council of Churches; Alan Cranston, U.S. senator; Richard Falk, professor at Princeton; and Dan Heap, member of Canada's parliament were among the 100 prominent U.S. and Canadian political and civic leaders who signed a statement appealing for the release, through amnesty, of all Filipino political prisoners.

Released November 27, 1984 by the Political Prisoners Project of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, the appeal has

drawn the attention of church leaders, human rights advocates, members of the U.S. Congress and the Canadian parliament, and various city officials to the undemocratic and inhumane policies surrounding political detentions in the Philippines.

### SENT TO MARCOS

"One indispensable precondition for democratization is embodied in the popular demand to release all political prisoners and grant general amnesty to all those

charged, convicted, exiled, and hunted in connection with political offenses," the statement said.

The "Appeal for General Amnesty" was delivered to President Marcos through the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. It was also sent to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Asian Pacific Affairs Subcommittee and the Canadian External Affairs Minister.

Backing this petition effort were the many events that marked Political Prisoners Week December 3 to 7. The week declared by the Philippine-based KAPATID, a group composed of family members of political prisoners, was commemorated by programs in New York and San Francisco, and informational displays in six other cities.

To end Political Prisoners Week, some 50 people gathered December 10 at the United Nations Church Center in New York. The event, sponsored by CAMD/PSN and supported by the Movement for a Free Philippines and the Ninoy Aquino Movement, also marked Human Rights Day.

### UNITY IN DEFENSE OF PRISONERS

In his opening remarks, MFP's Dr. Orly Apiado stressed the importance of "unity in taking up the defense of political prisoners." Armin Alforque of CAMD/PSN analyzed the "present juncture" in Philippine politics and the film "Arrogance of Power" rounded out the event.

On the same day, in New York's Washington Square Church, District Councils 65 and 37 of the AFL-CIO read an appeal addressed to President Marcos for an end

to the persecution of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* and its leader Crispin Beltran who is presently being sought by the Philippine government.

Kathy Macafee of Oxfam, Virginia Leary of the International Commission of Jurists, and Dante Simbulan gave presentations at the forum sponsored by the Benigno Aquino Memorial Society, a local group called KAPATID, Filipino Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, PAGASA, Philippine Forum, Philippine Support Committee, and the Philippine Workers Support Committee. Some 50 people attended this event as well.

Relief over the recent release of political prisoner Fidel Agcaoili prevailed at the CAMD Sacramento's 10th anniversary celebration last December 1. Agcaoili had been the group's "adopted" prisoner. Slides highlighting CAMD's ten years of work, and a letter of thanks from Agcaoili were the event's main features.

"Together with other support groups in the U.S., the CAMD/PSN network is indeed a fraternal ally of the Filipino people in their heroic struggle for national freedom and democracy," Agcaoili's letter said.

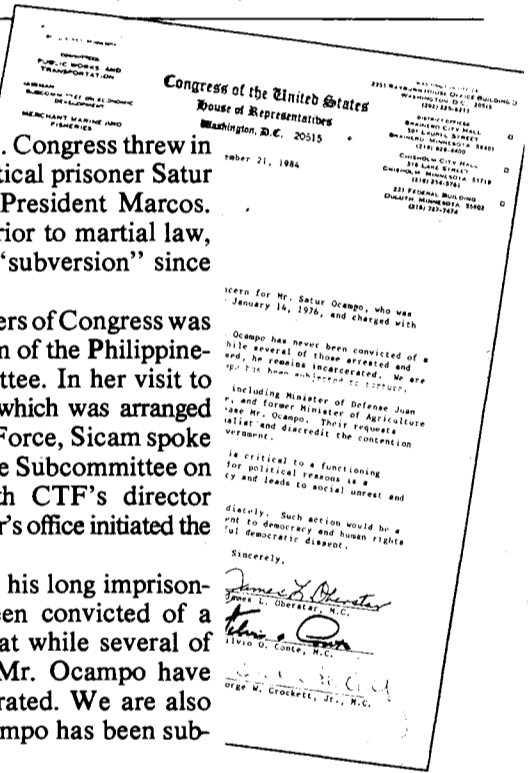
In the Bay Area, the Amnesty International held a forum and a public anti-torture petition gathering December 6 which drew enthusiastic response from passersby. CAMD San Francisco joined the forum and displayed diagrams and illustrations depicting the use of torture and salvaging and explaining the call for general amnesty. Similar displays were set up in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Seattle, Hawaii, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. □

## 'Release Ocampo' —members of Congress

Twenty-nine members of the U.S. Congress threw in their support for the release of political prisoner Satur Ocampo in a letter addressed to President Marcos. Ocampo, a prominent journalist prior to martial law, has been in prison on charges of "subversion" since January 14, 1976.

The intercession by the 29 members of Congress was inspired by a talk by Paulynn Sicam of the Philippine-based Free Satur Ocampo Committee. In her visit to Washington, D.C. early December which was arranged by CAMD/PSN's Congress Task Force, Sicam spoke at a briefing sponsored by the House Subcommittee on Human Rights. Coordinating with CTF's director Odette Taverna, Rep. James Oberstar's office initiated the appeal.

The letter read in part: "Despite his long imprisonment, Mr. Ocampo has never been convicted of a crime. We find it disconcerting that while several of those arrested and charged with Mr. Ocampo have been released, he remains incarcerated. We are also troubled over reports that Mr. Ocampo has been subjected to torture." □



## Workers . . .

Continued from page 4

actress Vilma Santos, director Mike de Leon and other concerned movie people.

The superstars arrived with gifts and food and statements of support. Santos played the much-acclaimed Sister Stella L. in the controversial movie of the same name directed by de Leon. Her visit was arranged to express appreciation to the workers who helped in the movie's making.

In Cebu City, several protesting workers of the church-owned Metro-Cebu Community Hospital were injured when PC troopers forced their way through picketers in front of the hospital gates.

The incident followed a peaceful demonstration held by workers inside the hospital in mid-November. By November 15, 51 workers received notice of dismissal without compensation and management remained inflexible, unwilling to talk to strikers.

The MCCH workers, forced to stage their picket outside the gates, were met by military men with water canons at the ready.

A multi-sectoral indignation rally denounced the "uncalled for and untimely intervention" of the military in the MCCH labor dispute. □

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## Human Rights Day . . .

Continued from page 7

and murder befall victims of the military as in the case of a mutilated Elvira Degit, a headless William Aguinaldo and the common grave of the massacred Langoni 9 in Negros.

### HIGH COURT FREES NOLASCO

The few bright spots on the Philippine human rights horizon hardly counterbalance the escalating violence. Nonetheless, Manila folk cheered two recent Supreme Court decisions.

The high court, December 26, ordered the military to release Cynthia Nolasco and Willie Tolentino who were abducted last August along with Mila Aguilar-Roque by the Constabulary Security Group.

Then on January 7, the Court declared null and void the search warrant used by the Metrocom to seize the printing facilities of *WE-Forum*.

Still with militarization campaigns under way in various parts of the Philippine countryside, abuses can only be expected to increase.

Defense Ministry reforms—such as the establishment of a watchdog Action Center and Human Rights Committee—have had no effect on the trend toward increased military violence. Nineteen-eighty-five can only bring more of the same. □

## SEATTLE ACTIVIST TO RUN FOR COUNCIL POST

Bob Santos, A Seattle Filipino-American activist, declared his candidacy for the King County Council's 5th District seat. A seasoned community leader, Santos has been in the forefront of many progressive struggles, most notably the preservation of the International District, a historic Asian-American neighborhood in Seattle's downtown area.

Santos' political history can be traced to the 60s when he joined the civil rights movement and tutored children in the Black community. In the early 70s, he joined other Asians in opposing downtown gentrification, the intrusion of the King Dome Stadium into the International District.

He became director of the International District Improvement Association (INTERIM) in 1972, which is dedicated to assisting community efforts to preserve the ID's essential ethnic character and community living situation in spite of "urban renewal."

Under Santos' leadership, INTERIM raised to city and federal levels neighborhood issues and problems such as housing, lack of social services, unemployment, deteriorating buildings and the stagnation of neighborhood businesses.

Over a span of 12 years, INTERIM established housing, a childcare center, elderly nutrition programs and help for small businesses.

Meanwhile, Santos was building a political clout that earned him appointments to the Seattle Human Rights Commission and the Washington State Commission on Asian-American Affairs.

Santos has also been influential in the Seattle Filipino-American community. He was an outspoken critic of the Marcos government when martial law was declared. When his friends Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes were gunned down in 1981 as union officials of the ILWU Local 37, he co-chaired the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

He has been consistent in opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and South Africa. Last year, he was a member of a delegation that visited Managua, Nicaragua to establish a sister city relationship.

Recently, he was among a group of activists who were arrested at an anti-apartheid demonstration at the Seattle South African consulate.

In the 1984 presidential elections, he supported Jesse Jackson and became a member of the Washington State/King County committee for the Rainbow Coalition. "When Jesse Jackson visited a Filipino home in the Bay Area, I was very impressed and joined the Rainbow coalition," Santos said.

In his campaign to capture the King County Council's 5th District Post, he hopes to promote voter registration drives to give him the winning edge in the September election. □ EDG



Bob Santos (center) with campaign chairs Charles Z. Smith (l) and Arlene Oki (r).

## COPS BRUTALIZE BEAUTY QUEENS

"They're the kind of girls, the last ones you would imagine would ever be involved in an incident like this," explained Monterey Park, Mayor Marty Martinez of Lisa Manibog-Lew, 22 and her younger sister, Lana Manibog, 18.

The two young Filipino women, daughters of Monterey Park's former mayor Atty. Monty Manibog allegedly became victims of police brutality in the hands of California Highway Patrol officers December 4 as they were driving along the San Bernardino Freeway in Los Angeles.

According to the two sisters, both well-known beauty queens, Lana was pulled over by a CHP team for driving too closely behind her sister, Lisa. After seeing that her sister had been stopped, Lisa pulled off and backed up to her sister's car.

The two frightened women decided to ask for the officers' identification before cooperating. But the two officers allegedly grabbed Lisa from her car, handcuffed

her, dragged her along the gravel, and beat her head, back and arms with a truncheon, and hogtied her. After she protested the treatment of her sister, Lana claims another officer put a gun to her head, told her "Shut up, b---," slammed her head against the steering wheel and hitting her in the eye with a metal object.

Lisa and Lana were then taken to the police station allegedly without their rights being read to them, and told they would not be allowed to see anyone until they taped a statement. Lisa was then charged with two misdemeanor counts of resisting arrest, delaying and obstructing police officers. Lana was cited for a traffic infraction (tailgating).

According to the official police report, Lisa's extensive knee and head lacerations, and the bruises over her arms and back resulted from the two officers falling on her.

Response from the Filipino community was immediate. The victims' father filed formal charges against the CHP officers for police brutality and use of excessive force. Community groups sent letters of outrage to the county district attorney pressing for a full investigation.

"We're mad," said Remedios Geaga, former president of the Filipino American Community of Los Angeles. "We're appalled at the treatment of these two women." She charged that this was another case of racial discrimination.

The two sisters are prominent in community affairs and are considered "outstanding citizens." Lew won the "Miss Philippines International" title in 1982 while Lana recently became "Miss California/United Nations."

"If they can do something like this to the Manibogs," said Rodel Rodis, legal counsel for the Filipino American Political Association, "they can do it to just about anyone." FAPA has offered to take on the case in support of the victims.

Filipinos in Southern California still remember the case of Steve Dizon, a senior citizen who died of a heart attack during a 1980 incident involving the police. □VP

## PARENTS 3 SCHOOL BOARD 0

Oakland—Parents of limited-English speaking students recently scored major gains in their attempt to make this city's School District institute a bilingual education program.

On December 5, the district's board of education, under community pressure, ordered their attorney to drop a countersuit against Filipino parent Carlito Cardona, the president of the district's Bilingual Advisory Committee. Last November, two other defendants, Mexican American parent Tomas Morales and parents' attorney Lois Salisbury were dropped from the board's cross-complaint while Cardona remained the sole defendant (see AK Dec. '84 issue).

The parents scored another victory on December 11 when Judge Henry Ramsey of the Alameda Superior Court ruled that the Oakland school board's countersuit was "frivolous, without merit and unwarranted." Then to buttress his decision, he ordered a sanction against the school district and their lawyer by fining them \$5,500. Defendants Cardona and Morales received \$1,250 each to cover their legal costs and the parents legal representatives, Public Advocates Inc., received \$3,000.

"Judges will rule a sanction as punishment when they uncover malice by a lawyer. Because the countersuit was groundless, the judge threw the book at them," remarked a parent's attorney. Usually, sanctions are no more than a few hundred dollars.

Observers said Ramson's decision was seen as an embarrassment for the school district. Attorneys for both sides are now proposing guidelines to negotiate a settlement between the school district and the parents' group.

Parents' attorney Victor Ochoa said, "we will not compromise on the full compliance of a bilingual education program presently dictated by law." The parents argue that the school district is in violation of Title VI as mandated by the U.S. Department of Education for failing to implement its Bilingual Masterplan and for not providing equal education for Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students.

The parents are scheduled to go back to Alameda County Superior Court to seek a second permanent injunction. "What we want is staffing requirements and a plan to immediately have teachers aides from K through 12th grades," Ochoa explained.

Controversy around the issue continued to build when veteran board member J. Alfred Smith, considered the swing vote, resigned his seat in December saying he was ashamed of the board and deplored the trouble that its action had caused him personally. □ EDG



(Betty Chisolm)

Workers and supporters boycotting Sierra Design retail outlet.

## RUNAWAY SHOP'S RISKY OFFER

OAKLAND—Seamstresses doomed to lose their jobs when their employer moves overseas won a severance pay package but may now risk more than what they bargained for when the company offered to help them set up a worker-owned cooperative.

Last October, Sierra Designs, Inc., a manufacturer of mountaineering equipment told their workers it would be shutting down in three months. In classic "runaway shop" fashion, the company planned to subcontract production to Taiwan, Mexico, China, South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand, the Philippines, and two "right to work states" (Texas and Utah) where labor costs are cheaper.

The parent company, the Boston-based CML group, reported a \$3.1 million profit in 1984. The conglomerate has 13 brand labels of "ego-intensive" leisure products ranging from yachts to skis.

Sierra Designs employs 70 seamstresses, mainly middle-aged minority and immigrant women, half of whom are Chinese, a quarter Filipino and the remainder Latinos, Blacks and whites.

Oakland workers currently earn only an average base pay of \$4.50 per hour plus a fixed piece rate. Their last raise was three years ago.

News of the company's plans to move hit the workers hard. "Basically, we have a difficulty with English, so how can we find another job?" said Kora Adorable, a Filipina who works as an inspector.

To defend their jobs or bargain for a severance pay, the workers formed the independent Sierra Designs Workers Union (SWDC) and initiated a national boycott of the firm's products.

Management at first refused to meet with SWDC and hired a notorious union-busting law firm, Littler, Mendleson, Fastiff and Tichy to argue their case at the National Labor Relations Board hearings. IMF&T has represented such anti-union firms like Campbell Soup, Coors Beer and Gallo Wines.

Betty Chisolm, union president said the boycott had a "crippling effect on the four Sierra Design stores—sales were off 50%." Meanwhile, SWDC also gained support from Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. In December, the union threatened to demonstrate in front of a CML stockholders meeting in Boston, forcing CML head Charles Leighton to offer a settlement.

SWDC was offered a decent severance package. In an unusual move, the CML offered to assist the union in forming a worker's cooperative which would be owned and operated by employees. CML also promised to contract manufacturing for the plant.

But while the offer of cooperative ownership may ease the conscience of CML's owners, it may prove to be a risky venture for the workers in the long run.

To begin with, the worker-owners would have to pay a \$30 fee until they each invest a total of \$1,000. Skilled management personnel have to be hired to plan production and fiscal operations, and the coop would have to move to a new site and furnish the equipment.

Furthermore, the coop workers have only been trained to make particular items—such as tents, jackets, sleeping bags, and backpacks—products that face steep competition from cheaper, imported goods. Additionally, the new company would need at least \$450,000 worth of contracts in order to break even.

The union is currently reviewing a feasibility study to determine the chances of such a business succeeding. □ EDG



# Filipino Leader Arrested at South African Embassy

By JON MELEGRITO

A prominent Filipino-American community leader was arrested along with two public officials for civil disobedience during an anti-apartheid demonstration outside the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. last December 17.

David Valderrama, chairman of the Maryland Asia-Pacific Caucus and vice-president of the Asian-American Chamber of Commerce was arrested for refusing to leave the front of the embassy and spent the night in a 2nd District police cellblock in the nation's capital. He was arrested along with Rep. Katie Hall (D-IN) and Washington, D.C. city council member Nadine Winter. They were released the following day after the U.S. attorney's office declined to file formal complaints.

Daily pickets and civil disobedience actions, have taken place in at least eight cities across the country since November 21 last year. Over two hundred public officials and prominent civic leaders have chosen to be arrested in order to register their strong opposition to apartheid and the Reagan administration's collaborative relationship with the racist white minority regime in South Africa.

Among those who have been arrested were California's Rep. Ron Dellums and Rep. Don Edwards, with Edwards being the first white congressman to be hauled off to the police station. Valderrama was the first Asian-American community leader to be arrested. Over 200 demonstrators from church, labor, civil and human rights organizations take part in the almost daily pickets shouting anti-apartheid and anti-Reagan slogans outside the South African embassy.

## COMMUNITY LEADERS SUPPORTIVE

Speaking at a militant rally shortly before he was handcuffed and taken away by uniformed policemen, Valderrama lambasted Reagan's so-called "constructive engagement" policy towards South Africa's white minority regime as "regressive." He said Reagan actually has a policy of "destructive disengagement" because the White House lays back and refuses to pressure the South African government to change its system of forced separation of the races.

Valderrama called on all minorities to support the struggle of Blacks against apartheid and denounced the growing repression of thousands of Blacks, Asians, and "colored" (mixed race) South Africans who have been holding mass demonstrations against the country's new constitution. Designed to reinforce the apartheid system, the constitution gives them no voting or policy-making powers, and continues to deny the vote and other rights to the majority Black population.

Several Filipino-American community leaders signed a "Declaration of Solidarity with the Anti-Apartheid Struggle of the People of South Africa" and applauded Valderrama's public stand. The signatories commended him for "stepping forward and condemning the Reagan administration's tolerance of the white minority regime's racist policies" and called on the Asian-American communities to follow his example.

The statement also criticized the administration's stance as "yet another reflection of (its) cruel and harsh policies towards Blacks and other minorities in this country."

Remo de la Pena, a signatory and president of the Pilipino-American Senior Citizens Club said Valderrama's gesture was "essential and necessary in order to show that Filipinos have a sensitivity not only for our own kind" but also for other



David Valderrama (3rd from left) with Rep. Katie Hall who was arrested with him, and lawyers for TransAfrica, the organizer for the Free South Africa Movement.

people of color. "We cannot be parochial. We should also be mindful of what's going on outside our own struggle as Filipinos in this country," added de la Pena.

## PHILIPPINE EMBASSY MUM

Gloria Caoile, former president of the Philippine Heritage Federation, an umbrella group for several community organizations in the area, and currently chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Caucus in Virginia said Valderrama's action "inspires others to test the limits of their

rights and obligations toward improving human conditions in this world."

Other signatories drew a parallel between the rule of the racist minority regime in South Africa and that of the Marcos dictatorship. "We should also deplore the present conditions in the Philippines and call attention to the gross human rights violations of Marcos," said Vince Gonzales, a Filipino-American businessman from Virginia.

Philippine embassy officials remained silent when apprised of Valderrama's

## Anti-Apartheid Statement Signed by D.C. Area Filipino Community Leaders

On Monday, December 17, 1984, Mr. David Valderrama, chairman of the Maryland Asia-Pacific Caucus and vice-president of the Asian-American Chamber of Commerce, along with Rep. Katie Hall (D-IN) and D.C. City Council member Nadine Winter, were arrested for civil disobedience in front of the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. during continuing anti-apartheid protest demonstrations taking place nationally since November 21.

These daily pickets and civil disobedience actions were triggered by the arrest and detention of 21 Black South African labor leaders by the apartheid regime, and the increased repression against the thousands of Blacks, Asians, and "colored" (mixed race) South Africans who have been holding mass demonstrations against the country's new constitution. Designed to reinforce the apartheid system, the constitution gives them no voting or policy-making power, and continues to deny the vote and other rights to South Africa's majority Black population.

Mr. Valderrama joins other leaders from Church, labor organizations, women's groups, civil and human rights coalitions, and several U.S. congresspersons who chose to be arrested in order to register their strong opposition to apartheid and the Reagan administration's collaborative relationship with the racist white minority regime.

"We call on our fellow men and women in the Asian-American communities... to join us in supporting the South African people's courageous struggle against apartheid. We further demand that the Reagan administration cut off all ties to this white settler minority regime. The U.S. policy of "constructive engagement"

is not only regressive. It is also destructive to the cause of human dignity and justice, and simply masks this administration's willful tolerance of racism not only in South Africa but also here in the U.S. This is yet another reflection of the Reagan administration's cruel and harsh policies towards Blacks and other minorities in this country.

Finally, we are mindful of the struggles of other peoples everywhere. The people of South Africa who are fighting today against this abominable system of apartheid are our brothers and sisters in the same struggle against injustice and oppression. □

### Partial List of Signatories:

Vi Baluyut, president, Filipino-American Women's Network; Benny Benzon, president, Ilocano Society of America; Amon Cantor; Gloria Caoile, chairperson, Asian-Pacific Caucus of Virginia; Elsie Castrence, Philippine Medical Association; Rodney Garcia, president, Angkan; Marylou Gonzales; Vince Gonzales; Avelino Halagao, president, Philippine Lawyers Association; Eduarda Macaranas; Julio Macaranas, Philippine Lawyers Association; Salve Maturan, Philippine Womens University Alumni Association; -Jon Melegrito, KDP; Oscar Noblejas, Philippine Lawyers Association; Joey Ortiz, president, Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce; Belen de la Pena, Philippine-American Cultural Arts Society; Remo de la Pena, president, Pilipino-American Senior Citizens Club; Roberto Castrence, Philippine Medical Association; and Odette Taverna, director, Congress Task Force of the CAMD/PSN. (Organizational affiliations for identification only)

arrest and the subsequent actions by Filipino-American community leaders. Remarked one community leader upon learning of the embassy's "no comment" response: "That shows the Marcos regime's hypocrisy. Also how can they say they are against apartheid when thousands are being oppressed back home, like the majority Black population in South Africa?"

De la Pena recalled that Valderrama drew the ire of the embassy and the pro-Marcos camp in the community for his "candid outbursts" during the Marcos state visit in 1982. "It nearly cost him the election to the Prince George's County Democratic Central Committee, but risking everything, David won by a landslide against his opponents."

Following Valderrama's arrest, the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) and the Asian Pacific Caucus sponsored a forum on apartheid January 18 at the Capitol Hilton. The two-hour program opened by KDP's Jon Melegrito featured Niikuo Akuetteh of TransAfrica, the group spearheading the daily protests in front of the South African embassy. Akuetteh gave a graphic description of life under apartheid.

Lucy Murphy and Steve Jones of the People's Music Network entertained the lively audience of Filipinos and Indians with "Constructive Engagement Blues."

Valderrama proposed the holding of an Asian-American Day of Protest Against Apartheid and said, "had I known what I learned about South Africa tonight before I was arrested, I would have volunteered to be arrested ten times."

He was delighted with the community's response. "We need to make more people in the community aware of Reagan's policies toward Blacks and minorities in this country," he said. Valderrama, along with the local KDP chapter in Washington, D.C. led a "Dump Reagan" campaign last November which mobilized the Asian-American community to oppose Reagan because of his anti-minority policies. □

## Climaco...

Continued from page 3

Although Climaco won a seat in the *Batasang Pambansa* last year, he refused to vacate the mayoral post due to his distrust of Dalipe.

Aside from the military and Dalipe, a third possible actor in the conspiracy is Eduardo Cojuangco, the Marcos crony who controls the country's multibillion peso coconut industry. Climaco was a vocal opponent of the coconut clique and its controversial activities.

Cojuangco's local counterparts, the Coconut Planters Federation, led by Ma. Clara Lobregat, in return, has never been fond of Climaco. Ms. Lobregat, the group's power broker and COCOFED president ran against Climaco and lost in the 1984 elections to the *Batasang Pambansa*.

### ALIH—ANOTHER GALMAN?

There is as yet no evidence linking the military or the Cojuangco crowd to Climaco's death—and there may never be. But supporters of the late mayor have every reason to suspect that there was more than met the eye in the death of a man whose only leverage was popular support.

The unsavory Alih begins to look increasingly like Rolando Galman, set up through an elaborate plot as scapegoat in the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino.

Galman's true role was exposed only through a massive outpouring of outrage, both at home and internationally. The murder of a local figure like Climaco is unlikely to provoke the same level of international attention.

Without it, military involvement will be difficult to prove. For Zamboanga is now a militarized city and its residents are justifiably scared. A U-2 agent reportedly whispered to a civilian witness who recognized him at the scene of the crime: "For your own good, keep silent." □

It played for only two nights, but "Carding" took more than 30 people and almost six months to be launch. It was well worth the effort as the audiences, mostly Filipino-Canadian, responded with great enthusiasm. Its November 30 opening night saw 500 people at Toronto's Harbord Collegiate Auditorium. As word went out to the Filipino neighborhoods, close to 900 people filed past the box office two nights later, filling both orchestra and balcony seats.

When the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network's Toronto chapter decided to form the Filipino-Canadian Cultural Workshop, its objective was to provide the two decade-old Filipino-Canadian community with a cultural vehicle for expressing the collective experience of an immigrant community. The play *Carding* was FCCW's first project, a beginning. Not since the U.S.-based theatre group, Sining Bayan, presented *Mindanao* in 1978 has the community in Toronto seen a Filipino play with "political content."

*Carding* is the story of a Filipino who immigrates to Canada and joins his sister, Clara. With innocent optimism he writes home to his family about the \$24,000-a-year job he expects to get as a civil engineer. Clara, a former schoolteacher in the Philippines who has lived and worked as a factory worker in Toronto for years, gently warns him not to raise his hopes too high.

#### CATCH-22

As the play progresses, Carding is rejected at every turn. He is told he needs an Ontario license to practice in the province. The Ministry of Education evaluates his records as a Grade 13 equivalent. Then he is asked if he has any Canadian work experience. "But I just got here!" he sputters in exasperation.

A memorable scene captures Carding's catch-22 situation. He is denied a job as a draftsman because he is "overqualified," having an engineering degree and five years work experience in the Philippines.

"Then hire me as a senior draftsman," he implores.

But the boss says he does not have experience in Canada and is therefore "underqualified." That's precisely why, Carding explains, he wants to be hired as a simple draftsman—to get experience.

"You can't," the boss says. "You're overqualified!"

*Carding* was a huge undertaking involving 35 people in the cast and crew. The lead characters of Carding and his sister Clara were played by Voltaire de Leon and Chit Minez Agulto. Miriam Rabanillo, Toto Bansil, Bernie Consul, and Mennie Rodriguez led the list of supporting performers. Consul, de Leon and Carmencita Hernandez wrote the play which was directed by Frankie Legaspi. Original music and lyrics were provided by Toots Paragas Evidente.

The production received funds from Multiculturalism Canada, Department of State to mark the Ontario bicentennial. Theatre Ontario's Don Bouzek acted as directing consultant. The outfit is funded by the Ontario Arts Council and the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Martha Ocampo was production manager, aided by Tish Carnat, while Atoy Moya and Gary Shaul took charge of the stage.

# Toronto Cheers 'Carding'

*Carding* reflects real people in the community. Clara is a unionist who has already learned where she stands in a white-dominated society. When a weary Carding suggests going back home she snaps at him. "I'm through with running away," running away from all that is happening in the Philippines. When Carding argues that Canada is run by white people and "They don't want us here," Clara explodes with dignity:

"I don't give a damn what they want or don't want. I live here. I pay taxes. I buy things. I put money into this society. Just like any worker. I have a right to be here. You have a right to be here. So don't go apologizing to people that you take jobs away from them!"

At this, the audience on both nights broke out in an uninhibited cheer, sending the applause meter way up.

#### CONTENDING VALUES

The backward tendencies of the Filipino community are almost all focused on the character Tony—racist, bigoted, a male chauvinist pig, and an out-and-out opportunist. When the audience laughs at him it is because they have met such a character—in the community, or inside themselves.

Tony (Bansil) is joined in his political corner by Maria (Rodriguez) who wants her kids to go to private schools where they can develop social graces and meet the right friends (meaning, white and upper class). "I

want my daughter to have better friends. This neighborhood is already filling up with Blacks and Pakis." Meanwhile, her husband Jun (played by Consul) is unemployed and guilt-ridden over not being the main provider "as head of the family."

A heated exchange between Tony and Maria on one side and Carding and Jun on the other provoked uneasy, nervous laughter from the audience. The contending values hit too close to home.

The play builds into a climax when Tony tempts Carding with a high-paying job—as a scab in Clara's firm. A fracas between Tony and Clara catches Carding in the middle. Tension mounts as news comes of the death of Carding's younger sister Lina (Rabanillo) who had been arrested in a picket line in the Philippines and reported missing. Still, the confused Carding joins Tony who is about to break Clara's picket line. A scuffle ensues, but the memory of Lina intrudes. And Carding decides.

FWCC is working at bringing *Carding* to other cities in Canada, an undertaking that would require substantial financial and logistical backing. As a concentrated reflection of the Filipino community's collective experience, *Carding* definitely would be worth all the effort. □ V D L



Life is no 'bowl of cherries' for Pinoys in *CARDING*.

## Hawaii Premiere of Film on Filipino Farmworkers

# 'Dollar a Day, 10¢ a Dance'

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

Among the films that won the honor of being featured at the recent Hawaii International Film Festival was a U.S.-made documentary chronicling the travails of Filipino migrant farmworkers in America in the '20s and '30s.

"Dollar a Day, 10¢ a Dance," a 30-minute feature weaves interviews with surviving immigrants, their sons and daughters with an unprecedented array of historical photos and film clips as well as period and original music.

The hardy Filipino pioneers provided the cheap manual labor required by a burgeoning American agricultural industry at that time. "Dollar a Day" tells the singular thread in their stories: the voyage across the Pacific, the dreams dashed by the harsh realities of racism, the migratory trail from Mexico to Alaska, and the terror sown by vigilantism. It also gives a glimpse of the present lives of some surviving pioneers.

"I come to the United States on March 30, 1928. I worked for a dollar a day," recounts wrinkled Celedonio la Questa. "My life is very, very difficult—even I could not able to do, I try to do it for earnest living."

It was the same amount that Jacinto Seguí earned for "hoeing cabbages from sunup to sundown—that's 15 hours!"

Seguí came to Seattle during the Great Depression. "There was no glittering gold or silver on the street where you can just pick it up and put in your pocket."

#### 'I'M NOT A MONKEY'

Besides recalling shattered dreams and the back-

breaking work they followed from New Mexico to Alaska, these laborers spoke bitterly of racism.

"Get out here monkeys, go home where you belong!" was an oft-repeated phrase la Questa, obviously containing his emotions, still remembers.

"My feeling, you know, I'm not a monkey. I'm a human just like them . . . even if I did not go to school, I have a feeling—I could hear, I could see, talk, I could smell."

Anna Agbalay, Caucasian wife of a Filipino farmworker says that when they decided to get married they had to go to Salem, Oregon. "We almost got killed because they [the Filipinos] were with us . . . white women."

"Dollar a Day" brings back memories of taxi dance halls in the Pacific Northwest, Arizona, San Francisco, San Jose, Watsonville, and Los Angeles by flashing vintage photos of young, dapper men with beves of white female dancers.

Taxi dance halls, while providing a social outlet for the lonely men, often spelled trouble. La Questa gives a detailed account of a shooting which claimed the life of a childhood friend, Fermin Tobera, after the latter came home from a cabaret one evening in 1930.

Historian and professor Howard de Witt explains that racial tensions increased during the Depression in 1929, which set the stage for outbreaks such as the 1930 Watsonville anti-Filipino riot.

But Filipinos, says de Witt, became more aggressive and militant in organizing labor unions as a result.

#### VIVID STORIES

"Dollar a Day" was written and produced by Geoffrey Dunn. He got the idea for the story from

Freddie Alnas, an old lettuce picker he had befriended as a teenager in Santa Cruz, California. Alnas' vivid stories of violent strikes and anti-Filipino riots intrigued Dunn, prompting him to read Carlos Bulosan's "America is in the Heart."

"For a while, we weren't going to go out of Santa Cruz County, but it snowballed," recalled Dunn. "We decided to go for the historical picture, expand our scope and try to the the larger story of these people through the voices of 25-30 *manongs* in a cohesive way."

Collaborating with him was Mark Schwartz, who did most of the filming on videotape. Schwartz had worked on documentaries for the PBS network in California, including an anti-nuke film. In school, he specialized in ethnic-oriented material, doing films on the Jewish community, and a documentary tracing four generations of an Italian-American fishing family.

Completed in eight months, "Dollar a Day," cost \$12,000 to make. Funding came from small grants, but the project was largely financed by George Ow, Jr., a Santa Cruz businessman who is part-Filipino, part-Chinese.

Corinne Houston, the film's production assistant, recalled that some 20 hours of film was shot and they faced the dilemma of whittling it down to a half-hour.

A number of *manongs* who appear in the film are current residents of Agbayani Village in Delano, California, a retirement village administered by the United Farmworkers Union. Now in their 70s and 80s, many still work the fields "as they did a half century ago."

This film is highly recommended to those who wish to get a quick primer on Filipino farmworker experience in America. A professionally-crafted film, it successfully combines history with the human spirit. No small amount of credit for this goes to the hard-bitten faces that fill its frames. □

("Dollar a Day" is available in 16mm or video cassette and can be purchased or rented from Sid and Sal Productions, 126 Campbell Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.)



# INDEX May 1982-December 1984

(Copies of AK back issues are limited; they can be ordered at \$1.50 a copy, mailing included. Allow two weeks for delivery.)

## Editorials

(All editorials were written by Rene Cruz, unless indicated by a byline)

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, May '82  
Beware on June 12, June '82  
Say No to Nuclear Arms, June '82  
Lebanon: Zionism Is Genocide, July '82  
The U.S.-China-ASEAN Plot on Vietnam Thickens, July '82  
Marcos Visit: Symbol of Common U.S.-R.P. Interest in Repression, Aug. '82  
The Zionist Defeat In Lebanon, Sept. '82  
The U.S. Bases: The Real Obstacles to Human Rights, Oct. '82  
Zionism Runs Its Bloody Course, Oct. '82  
The (Political) Outlook is Cloudy, Nov. '82  
The Fascist Parade, Nov. '82  
Clumsy, Clumsy, Nov. '82  
With 'War on Earth' and 'Ill-Will Toward Humankind,' Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Simpson-Mazzoli Bill Nears Passage—Stop It, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Halt Thurmond's Sly Move for Extradition, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
The Year of Living Dangerously, Feb. '83  
The Road Gets Rocky for Reagan, Feb. '83  
State Dept. Rights Report: Certified Bunk, Mar. '83  
Recovery for Whom?, Apr. '83  
Buck Rogers and Total War, Apr. '83  
Reagan on Central America: Unable to Win. Unwilling to Lose, Must Lose, May '83  
Watch Out For a Tonkin in Nicaragua, June '83  
Warspeak and Racespeak, July-Aug. '83  
Tighten that Budget, July-Aug. '83  
The Lessons of August 21, KDP National Executive Board, Sept. '83  
U.S. Blows Peace Cover in Lebanon, Oct. '83  
U.S. Invasion of Grenada: A Pre-planned Act of Hooliganism, Nov. '83  
The Saboteur of Geneva, Dec. '83  
Jackson's Timely Candidacy, Dec. '83  
What We'll Look Out For In 1984, Jan.-Feb. '84  
The Problem With Senator Laurel, Mar. '84  
INS Raids: State Terrorism, May '84  
A Tale of Two Elections, June '84  
Marcos' Death Squad Innovations, July '84  
High Court High Jinks, July '84  
The Rainbow Must Grow, Reagan Must Go, Aug. '84  
September of Our Discontent, Sept. '84  
'Can We Talk?,' Oct. '84  
No Recovery For Economy's Victims, Oct. '84  
For War, He Wastes No Time, Nov. '84  
To The Visiting Opposition, Dec. '84  
Nicaragua Alert, Dec. '84

## HUMOR: "Litter from Manila"

### By Inidoro Delihencia

Our Imaginative First Lady, May '82  
Litter from Manila, June '82  
Give The IBP A Break, July '82  
Many Happy Returns, Ma'am, Aug. '82  
Succession, Sept. '82  
Imelda Is S & S, But Virata Has No Ph.D., Nov. '82  
Christmas With The First Couple, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Great Achievements, Feb. '83  
Bull, Mar. '83  
Banish Colonial Mentality, Apr. '83  
Ambassador Kokoy, June '83  
Tighten That Budget, Jul-Aug. '83  
Ninoy Did It, Oct. '83  
Gen. Fabian Ver, Intelligence, Nov. '83  
X'mas Reverie and Cabinet Brainstorming, Dec. '83  
Top Optimists, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Athletes Do More, Mar. '84  
Government to Supervise Beauty Contests, Apr. '84  
Lenten Thoughts, May '84  
The Polls: An Enriching Experience, June '84  
We Need the Debt Squads, July '84  
Beat It, Aug. '84  
The Loose Word—Unreachable Star, Maximo Saliva guesting for Delihencia, Sept. '84  
Seditious Sightings, Oct. '84  
Ver and the Crimebusters, Nov. '84  
He's Not Sick, He's Just In Love, Dec. '84

## Philippines

### U.S.-R.P. Relations

Clark and Subic Take Center Stage/The U.S. to R.P.: "Love Me, Love My War Plans," Rocamora, N., July '82  
Commentary: Why the U.S. Needs Marcos, Rocamora, N., Sept. '82  
Enrile to Visit Washington, D.C., Feb. '83  
U.S.-R.P. Bases Accord: A Marriage So Convenient, Escultura, June '83  
Why is Reagan Going to Manila?, July-Aug. '83  
Damned If He Does, Damned If He Doesn't: Reagan In No-Win Situation Over Visit, Mariano, Oct. '83  
\$60M Military Aid Moved To Economic Aid: U.S. Slaps Marcos On The Wrists... Gently, Bello, Apr. '84  
House Kills Military Aid Cut, Rocamora, N., June '84  
U.S. Interest in R.P. Polls: Finding a Credible Democratic Alternative, Mangahas (reprinted from *Bulletin Today*), June '84

Perfecting Democracy U.S.-Marcos Style, Rocamora, N., July '84  
Quiet Diplomacy Got Too Loud, Rocamora, N., July '84  
Senate Committee Report: Marcos Era Is In Terminal Stage, Rocamora, N., Oct. '84  
Philippine Policy Debate: White House Scenario Disarms Liberals, Rocamora, N., Nov. '84

### Repression/Militarization

Militarization in R.P.: Strategic Hamlets and "Lost Angels," Ojeda, May '82  
Crackdown on Dissent Widens, NDF Leaders Snatched, Rocamora, J., June '82  
Militarization in R.P.: Strategic Hamlets and "Lost Angels," Ojeda, May '82  
Crackdown on Dissent Widens, NDF Leaders Snatched, Rocamora, J., June '82  
The Sameroy Killings, Ocampo, S., FEER reprint, June '82  
Outrage Grows Over Rural Doctor's Murder, Ojeda, July '82  
FM Goes on Repression Rampage, Rocamora, N., Nov. '82  
Why September Terror is Another Marcos Fabrication, Sison, J. M., (reprint), Nov. '82  
Repression Goes From Bad to Worse, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Repression Update: Marcos Strikes Again, Rocamora, N., Feb. '83  
Crackdown Update: Absurd Court Scenes, More Arrests and More Arms From the U.S., Mar. '83  
New Arrests As Crackdown Continues, May '83  
Secret Decrees, Court Rulings: Tightening the Screws, Garcia and Ojeda, June '83  
'Doctor-Turned-Rebel' Tortured, Killed, Mariano, July-Aug. '83  
"Operation Mad Dog?" Marcos Readies Crackdown Force, Dec. '83  
Accused for Firearms Possession: Laurel Arrested, Released, Mar. '84  
Group Calls for Amnesty: Rights Violations Continue, Apr. '84  
Big Government Offensive In No. Luzon, Rocamora, N., Aug. '84  
Torture, Political Deaths On The Rise: "A New Job—Matching Heads With Bodies," Ojeda, Dec. '84

### Philippine Media

A Chronicle of Suppression: How Marcos Controls the Media, Ojeda, Aug. '84  
Marcos Media: Can't Get No Respect, Jan.-Feb. '84  
TV, Movies Are Victims, Censors Busy With Scissors, Ojeda, Aug. '84  
"The Press Is For The People, Or It Is Nothing...," Ocampo, S. (reprint), Oct. '84  
Interview With Visiting Writer: "Crony Press Is Still In Control," Araneta, C., Nov. '84

### Philippine Economy

Bad News All Around For R.P. Economy, Rocamora, J., Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Economic Update: Disenchantment Among The Elite, Rocamora, N., Apr. '83  
Peso Devaluation: Fuel to the Fire, Rocamora, N., Nov. '83  
Devaluation Sparks Unrest: R.P. Economy Nosedives, Ojeda, Dec. '83  
Manila Beggars For More Loans, Rocamora, N., Jan.-Feb. '84  
Economy Update: R.P. Printing Extra Cash?, Rocamora, N., Mar. '84  
Economy Update: No Bailout In Sight, Rocamora, N., Apr. '84  
Economy Update: Harder Times After May Polls, Mariano, May '84  
Economy Update: Prices Jump; Financiers Flee, Mariano, June '84  
Devaluations, Austerity Measures: Marcos Lets The Boom Fall, Ojeda, July '84  
Amid Economic Crisis, Unrest, FM's Debts: Pay Now, Pay Later, Rocamora, N., Sept. '84  
R.P.-IMF Accord Near? A Loan Again, Naturally, Rocamora, N., Oct. '84

### Labor

The Challenge from Labor: "The Growing Struggle for Workers Rights in the Philippines," Shoesmith, reprint, Asian Bureau Australia, May '82  
52,000 Denounce Regime in May Day Rally, Rocamora, J., June '82  
FM Cracks Down on Labor, Sept. '82  
Campaign to Free Labor Leaders Heightens, CAMD/PSN (press release), Nov. '82  
R.P.'s Trade in the Human Commodity: Misery at Home Leads to Misery Abroad, Rocamora, N., Mar. '83  
Send Your \$ Home or Else, Mar. '83  
Unions Abroad Pay Tribute, KMU: 3 Years Old and Going Strong, June '83  
Workers Press for Wage Hikes, Nov. '83  
Grand Old Man Of Labor: Thousands Mourn Olalia's Passing, Mariano, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Manila Gets Even Tougher With Labor, Mariano, May '84  
U.S. Delegate To KMU Convention Says: "The Strike Fever Is On With the Temperature Rising," Mariano, June '84  
He Was Being Watched, June '84

### Cronies/Technocrats

Cronyism: The Chickens Come Home To Roost, Rocamora, N., July '82  
Cojuangco: Old Oligarch In The New Republic, Fortaleza (reprint *Liberation*), Aug. '82  
All The President's Cronies: "What Are We In Power For?," Rocamora, N., Feb. '83  
Cesar Virata: Technocrat Under Fire, Rocamora, N., June '83

### Military

AFP Officers Blamed for Losses in Ambuscades, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Troop Discipline a Problem: Military Launches Clean-Up Campaign, Feb. '83  
The Armed Forces Of The Philippines: Marcos' Soldiers Join The New Elite, Rocamora, N., and Ojeda, May '83  
Armed Forces Of The Philippines: The Split Within, Rocamora, N., Dec. '84

### Batasang Pambansa

An Assembly Of Sorts: How Goes The IBP?, Ojeda, May '82  
New Batasan Hedges Out Opposition, Ojeda, Aug. '84  
Batasan Minority Leans on FM—Lightly, Araneta, C., Oct. '84  
Threat To FM Ousted From Batasan, Ojeda, Nov. '84

### Aquino Assassination Aftermath Of Assassination

Why Is This Man Going Home?, Rocamora, N., July-Aug. '83  
The Aquino Assassination: Marcos Reaps The Whirlwind, Ojeda and N. Rocamora, Sept. '84  
Why He Killed Ninoy, Rocamora, N., Sept. '83  
Days Of Rage Rock Manila: Is the Revolution Here?, Rocamora, N., Oct. '83  
Aquino Murder Investigation: Official Cover-Up Falters, Rocamora, N., Oct. '83  
Makati: When The Rich Rebel, Rocamora, N., Nov. '83  
Protests Put More Heat On FM, Rocamora, N., Dec. '83  
A "Sea of People" Marks Aquino Death Anniversary, Araneta, C., Sept. '84

### Agrava Investigation

New Testimonies Raise New Questions, Garcia, Dec. '83  
More Dirt Surfaces on Aquino Slay, Garcia, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Aquino Probe: Witnesses Say Soldier Shot Ninoy, Bello, Mar. '84  
Aquino Investigation: Government Version Shot To Pieces, Mariano, Apr. '84  
Ver Testimony Boomed, Bello, May '84  
The Closer They Were, The Less They Saw: Testimony on Aquino Murder Still Points To Regime, July '84  
The Rise And Fall Of The Agrava Commission, Rocamora, N., Aug. '84  
Agrava To Target Ver, Rocamora, N., Sept. '84  
Ver And Boss In A Very Tight Spot, Rocamora, N., Nov. '84  
The Gulf Between Rosie And The Majority, Rocamora, N., Nov. '84  
Who Are Ver And Custodio?, Escultura, Nov. '84  
The Maneuvers to Save Ver Begin, Araneta, C., Dec. '84  
Witnesses And Potential Witnesses Killed Or Missing, Dec. '84

### May 14 Elections

Marcos Human Rights Record Condemned, Opposition To Boycott Elections, Rocamora, N., Jan.-Feb. '84  
May 14 Polls: Key To U.S. Transition Ploy, Rocamora, N., Mar. '84  
Controversy Over May 14 Elections: To Run Or Not To Run, Rocamora, N., Mar. '84  
FM's Boys Jockey For Slots In May Polls: Boycott Rolls On, Rocamora, N., Apr. '84  
Fraud, Killings Mark FM's Campaign: A Dirty Road To "Clean" Elections, Rocamora, N., May '84  
May 14: A "Loser" Take All Affair, Ojeda, June-July '84  
Jose Ma. Sison: Post Election Views, Sison, J. M. (reprint from NDF Update), Aug. '84

### Succession Crisis

The Commotion Over Succession, Ojeda, Oct. '82  
New Succession: Is The U.S. Changing Its Mind About Marcos?, Rocamora, N., Dec. '83  
Succession Move Satisfies No One, Dec. '83  
Life Without Marcos, Sullivan, Mar. '84  
Alternatives: Boy Morales On The Coalition Government (reprinted from *New Philippine Review*), Sept. '84  
He's Not Dead Yet, But..., Rocamora, N., Dec. '84

### First Family

The Would-Be Successor: *Nuestra Senora de Metro Manila*, Rocamora, N., Oct. '83  
Imelda Tries To Outdo Ninoy's Funeral, Jan.-Feb. '84

### Multisectoral Resistance

Church vs. State? Opposing FM—Within Limits, Geaga, Mar. '83  
NDF Gains Ground: Civil War Reaches New Height, Rocamora, N., Apr. '83  
Demonstrators Demand Bases Out, May '83  
KM Calls Nilo Tayag Traitor, June '83  
RP's Schoolteachers: No Longer Suffering In Silence, Ojeda, July-Aug. '83  
FM Pulls Fast One On Bishops, Garcia, Sept. '83  
Protests Persist, FM Weilds Carrot And Stick, Nov. '83  
Marcos HR Record Condemned: Opposition To Boycott Elections, Rocamora, N., Jan.-Feb. '84  
The New Spirit Of Dissent: Civil Disobedience Everywhere (pictorial), Mar. '84  
Teachers Go On Mass Leave, Mariano, Apr. '84  
Press Statement NDF Marks 11th Year Of Struggle, May '84  
Boycott Barrels On, Rocamora, N., May '84  
ConCon Delegate Dies Of Heart Attack: Friends Honor Rondon as a Fighter, Villasin, July '84  
Protests Step Up, Marcos Cracks Down, Bello, Aug. '84  
Stars Take To The Streets, Araneta, C., Sept. '84  
Troops Rout The Parliament Of Mendiola: 'That Palace Is Our Palace!', Rocamora, N., Oct. '84

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

Metaphysical Education: Students Foil Guru Takeover, Rocamora, N., Nov. '84  
Parliament Of The Streets: CORD To Bring Fight To A "New Phase," Araneta, C., Nov. '84  
"People's Strike" Leaders Issue Ultimatum (PNF Reprint), Nov. '84

## Armed Resistance

Inside The Philippine Revolution: With The New People's Army, Rose, (reprinted from SEARC), May '82  
Guerilla Health Care System Advances, De Guzman, July '82  
U.S. Consul's View Of Mindanao: Secret Memo Admits Situation Is Worsening, Sept. '82  
Edgar Jopson Hailed As A Revolutionary Hero, Nov. '82  
Guerilla War Taking Big Strides (Letter from NPA guerilla) Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
AFP Drive Sparks NPA Offensive, Mar. '83  
Recent NPA Activities, Apr. '83  
Regime Harassed By NPA Strength, June '83  
NPA Marks Gains, July-Aug. '83  
A Soldier Of Christ Takes To The Hills (reprint of interview with Balweg), Coloma, *WHO Magazine*, Jan.-Feb. '84  
The New Spirit of Dissent: The Armed Opposition, Mar. '84  
NPA Offensives Stun Government Troops, Rocamora, N., June '84  
More From Jose Ma. Sison: "The Stalemate Is Likely To Happen," Sison, J. M. (reprint), Nov. '84

## Miscellaneous

Scandal Rocks R.P. Supreme Court, Rocamora, N., June '82  
From The Kawit Republic To The New Republic: Is The Philippines Independent?, Ojeda, June '82  
The Second Japanese Invasion, Rocamora, N., June '82  
PKP Welcomes Legalization: Is There Life After Surrender?, Geaga, Aug. '82  
Tourism And The People Of The Cordilleras (reprinted from Cordillera Update), Aug. '82  
Andres Bonifacio's 122nd Birth Anniversary: A Leader Of His Class, A Victim Of His Times, Nov. '82  
Whose War Was It Anyway?, Ojeda, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
U.S. Imperialism In Southeast Asia: The Calm After The Storm, Geaga and Cruz, Apr. '83  
The Failed Resistance To The U.S. War In The Philippines, Mariano and Ojeda, Dec. '83  
China Bails Out Marcos, Mar. '84  
The Moro Struggle: 400 Years Of Resisting Plunder, Ojeda, Apr. '84  
Beyond The Boycott: Toward A Democratic Coalition Government, Bautista, J. V. (reprint), May '84  
Claro M. Recto: A Politico Turned Political Visionary, Mariano, July '84  
Golden Arches In Manila: Big Macs Mean Big Bucks For McDonalds USA, Ojeda, July '84  
A CIA Success Story: Magsaysay Was *Their* Guy, Mariano, Aug. '84  
Women Organize For Democracy Justice And Equality, Araneta, C., Oct. '84  
Crisis And Protest In Philippine Art, Maranan, E. (reprint from PNF), Dec. '84

## Marcos Visit 1982

Marcos Gears Up For Dream Trip, Ojeda, Sept. '82  
He Leaves Behind A Tense RP, Rocamora, N., Sept. '82

## Filipino Community

### Community Politics

Los Angeles Ready for FWC, Aug. '82  
FWC Wrestles With Issues of the Day, Oct. '82  
Filipinos for Jackson Say Why, Mar. '84  
Commentary: Filipinos Have a Stake in Jackson's Campaign, Cruz and Refi, Mar. '84  
Filipinos for Jackson: Rainbow Politics Gains Momentum Among Pinoys, Perez, Apr. '84  
PND Fests Mix Music, Food & Politics, Perez, July '84  
Jesse Jackson on Immigration: "I don't like the phrase 'illegal,'" July '84  
Commentary: Filipinos Gain Nothing from Reaganism, Cruz, Oct. '84.

### Employment/Labor

Hawaii Sugar Crisis, 1982, Alegado, May '82  
Looking for a Job (recession & employment), Perez, June '82  
Electronic Giant Charged With Racism, Araneta, A., Aug. '82  
Electronic Giant Charged With Racism, Araneta, A., Aug. '82  
Aid Cuts Bar Minorities From College, Morano, Aug. '82  
Union's Future at Stake in Elections, Marin, Aug. '82  
Filipina Activist Wins Presidency of S.F. Local, Araneta, A., Aug. '82  
Local 37 Set to Strike Union Buster, Villapando, July '82  
Hotel & Restaurant Work—An Unstable Haven for Immigrant Labor, Araneta, A., July '82  
Reform Slate Sweeps Union Elections, Marin, Oct. '82  
Once At the Bottom, It's Hard to Get Anywhere Else (service workers), Alegado, Nov. '82  
As Tourism Lags, Hawaii Hotels Want to Bust Unions, Camacho, R., Nov. '82  
'This Union is Witnessing a Renaissance,' Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Filipino MD's Complain of Racism, Apr. '83  
Blue Shield Union Cuts Its Losses, Apr. '83  
Atari Runs Away, 1,700 Lose Jobs, Reyes, V., Apr. '83  
Pinoys Want Equal Access to State Jobs, Alegado, June '83  
Pinoys Among Greyhound Strikers, Dec. '83  
Pinoys Waiters Sue Elite Club, De Guzman, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Non-Unionized Workers' Horror Stories (nursing home), Perez, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Hawaii Public Workers Set To Strike, Villapando, Mar. '84  
Pinoys Fall for Slave Labor Trap, De Guzman, Apr. '84  
Chemicals Poison High-Tech Workers, Apr. '84

Nursing Home Workers End Strike, Reyes, V., June '84  
Macy's/Capwell Strike: Department Store Workers Buck Take-aways, Aug. '84  
Local 37 Wins Contract, Sept. '84  
Restaurant Workers Start Walking Out, Sept. '84  
NY Hospital Workers End Bitter Strike, Sept. '84  
Cannery Workers Mark 50th Year, Dec. '84  
Hospital Workers Win Union, Dec. '84

## History

Salinas Lettuce Strike, 1934, Araneta, A. and Perez, May '82  
The 1930 Watsonville Anti-Filipino Riot Revisited, Araneta, A. and V. Reyes, Nov. '82  
How the 1940's Red Scare Victimized U.S. Filipino Labor Leaders, Villapando, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
A Story of Asparagus and Immigration, Villapando, May '83  
The KDP Story—The First Ten Years, Cruz, Aug. '83  
When Filipinos Couldn't Marry White Women, Reyes, V., Aug. '83  
Filipino Vietnam Vets: 'I Believed in John Wayne,' Reyes, V., Aug. '84

## Immigration

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill Dooms Immigration, Villapando, May '82  
INS Raids Terrorize Immigrants, Araneta, A., June '82  
Simpson-Mazzoli Bill Is Made Worse, Araneta, A., June '82  
Know Your Rights, June '82  
Senate OK's Simpson-Mazzoli, Araneta, A., Sept. '82  
Filipinos Talk of Stay in INS Detention Center, Morano, Sept. '82  
Profile: Filipinos in Canada, Reyes, Feb. '83  
More Filipinos Think It's the Way Out of Poverty—Mail Order Brides, Villapando, Feb. '83  
Difficult Battle Ahead for Immigrant Rights Defense, Tactaquin, Feb. '83  
HEW Study on California Pinoys Released, Perez, Mar. '83  
Commentary: Why Filipinos Must Challenge New Immigration Bill, Apr. '83  
Bilingual Education—Next on the Chopping Block, Perez, May '83  
Senate Endorses Repressive Immigration Bill, June '83  
Developers Eye South of Market—What's In It For the Poor?, Reyes and Batongbacal, July '83  
Deflating the Growing Minority Muscle at the Polls (bilingual ballot), De Guzman, Dec. '83  
Filipino Veterans Denied Citizenship, Mar. '84  
Simpson-Mazzoli Rides Again, Apr. '84  
Filipino Beaten Up by INS Raiders, May '84  
High Court OK's Factory Raids By INS, Reyes, V., May '84  
Filipino Couple Denounces INS Agent, June '84  
Setback for Immigrants: Simpson-Mazzoli—House Tightens Noose, Reyes, V., June '84  
San Jose Residents Want INS Punished, July '84  
Canadians, Immigrants Fear New Spy Agency, Shaul, Aug. '84  
Simpson-Mazzoli Not Quite Dead Yet, Aug. '84  
Simpson-Mazzoli Hits Snag, Oct. '84  
Schools Sue Parents Over Bilingual Education, De Guzman, Nov. '84  
Commentary: Why Immigration Bill Died, Tamayo, Nov. '84  
Singled Out by Suit (Cardona), Dec. '84

## Repression—Racial

Hard Times Fuel Upsurge of Racist Violence, Perez and Villapando, Nov. '82  
Study Says Racism is A Fact of Life in California, Feb. '83  
Cross Burnings Terrify Filipino Family, Feb. '83  
Racialized Education: Keeping Minorities on the Wrong Side of the Tracks, Reyes, V., Mar. '83  
Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic & Racism, Perez, July-Aug. '83  
"Buy American" Hysteria Leads to Murder, Perez, Sept. '83  
Teachers Score Reagan on Schools—Speak-out, Sept. '83  
Poverty Draft: The Poor Protecting the Comfortable, de Guzman, Mar. '84  
U.C. Affirmative Action Retains Filipinos, Espejo, Apr. '84  
A Blow to Affirmative Action, July '84  
Equal Opportunity Worker Sues Firm for Bias, July '84  
A Heartless Proposition (Prop. 41), Oct. '84  
Camp Residents Battle Eviction Threat, Alegado, July '84

## Repression—Political

FBI Assailed for Snail Paced Probe, Domingo, C. and Villapando, May '82  
Diplomacy's Tie to Repression Scored, June '82  
One Year After the Seattle Political Murders, Domingo, C. and Villapando, June '82  
Gangleader Guilty in Union Killings, Domingo, C., June '82  
House Body OK's Extradition Bill, Taverna, CTF, Aug. '82  
Hawaii Convention Opposes U.S.-R.P. Treaty, Abadesco and Alegado, Aug. '82  
House Bill Poses New Extradition Bill, Villapando, July '82  
*New York Times* Story Sparks Consulate Denials, Villapando, July '82  
How Activists Got Marked for Death, Sept. '82  
"Manila Connection" Suit Readied, Villapando, Sept. '82  
Suit Accuses FM of Killing KDP Activists, Oct. '82  
Suit Against Marcos Sparks Denials, Nov. '82  
Speaking Tour Builds Support for Justice Committee, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
U.S.-R.P. Ask for Dismissal of Suit, Dec. 82-Jan. '83  
Release of Murder Suspect Rapped, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Jan. '83  
Key Witness in Union Murders Killed, Feb. '83  
U.S. Seeks Dismissal of Seattle Murder Suit, Feb. '83  
Pilyar Murder: Revenge or Cover-up?, Mar. '83  
U.S. Plea to Dismiss Civil Suit Hit, Mar. '83  
Target: KDP—Government Spying File Admit Extensive Spying, Villapando, Apr. '83  
FBI Spy Powers Widened, Apr. '83  
Judge Rules R.P. Has No Immunity, May '83  
What Other Groups Say (About Extradition), June '83  
Dangerous Bill Moves Swiftly in Congress, June '83  
Seminar Exposes U.S. Foreign Policy Connection, June '83  
A Day at a Hearing On Capitol Hill—Extradition Issue, Marzan, July-Aug. '83  
Judge Changes Mind: R.P. Off the Hook, July-Aug. '83

Critics of U.S. Foreign Policy Under Fire, Villapando, Dec. '83  
New Details on Seattle Murder Plot Alleged, Villapando, Dec. '83  
Baruso Sentenced to Three Years, Mar. '84  
Baruso Guilty of Embezzling/TV Station Wants Show with Viernes Axed, Reyes, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Rightists Gun Down Vietnamese Activist, Reyes, V., July '84  
Memorial Sums Up Justice Efforts, July '84  
Domingo/Viernes Murders; Judge Denies Pleas to Drop Suits, Aug. '84  
Fascist Terror Continues: Another Vietnam Supporter Slain, Reyes, V., Nov. '84

## U.S.-Based Opposition to Marcos Regime

Fracas at Bloomingdales, Villapando, May '82  
Activists Report Harassment as FM Visit Nears, Sept. '82  
Nationwide Protests Ruin Visit, Oct. '82  
Inside Jabs—At the Ballroom, Oct. '82  
FM's Costly Public Relations Build-Up Sunk, Rocamora, N., Oct. '82  
The State Visit: A Grand Flop, Rocamora, N., Oct. '82  
Inside Jabs II, Oct. '82  
Marcos Loses on the Media Front, Rocamora, N., Oct. '82  
S.F.-Seattle Demos Were the Largest During Visit, Villapando, Oct. '82  
Activists Braved Threats from Agents, Oct. '82  
FM's Poison Pens Worked Hard, Reyes, V., Oct. '82  
CAMD/PSN Carollers to Drive "Free Olalia" Issue Home, Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Consulates Mop-Up After FM Visit, Araneta, A., Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
Canada Means Business in R.P., Feb. '83  
CAMD Campaign Targets Crackdown, Feb. '83  
Demo, Congress Letter Rap Enrile Visit, Mar. '83  
CAMD/PSN Sets National Meet In Berkeley, Mar. '83  
CTF Answers Whitewash of R.P. Rights, Mar. '83  
Anti-FM Activists Hold National Meet, Apr. '83  
Embassy Courts D.C. Community—Avidly, Melegrito, June '83  
Grabbing Every Chance To Score—FM's Diplomats, July-Aug. '83  
June 12 Reflects Friction With Consulate, July-Aug. '83  
U.S. Filipinos Rise Up in Anger (Aquino assassination protests), Reyes, V., Sept. '83  
Consulates Reel from Aquino Backlash, Melegrito and Villapando, Oct. '83  
PIP—Congress Mulls Hearings: Ver Linked to Spy Issue, Oct. '83  
September 21, R.P. Unrest Echoes in Filipino Community, Villapando, Oct. '83  
Carollers Bring Message of Freedom, Jan.-Feb. '84  
Consulates Still Fumbling For Support, De Guzman, Jan.-Feb. '84  
NAM Congress Debates Boycott Issue, Reyes, V., Mar. '84  
Butz Aquino Tour of U.S. Explains Boycott, Melegrito, Apr. '84  
Manila Squeezes Tax Dollars from U.S. Filipinos, Perez, Apr. '84  
Activists Call for United Opposition Effort, Geaga, Apr. '84  
Opposition Activities Mount, Apr. '84  
Hawaii Firm Exposed as CIA Front, Villapando, May '84  
National Day of Protest Slams Polls, Reyes, V., June '84  
CAMD/PSN Opens Prisoner Amnesty Drive, Sept. '84  
August 21 in the U.S. and Canada, Perez, Sept. '84  
Embassy Plays Cat-and-Mouse—Mouse Wins, Marzan, Oct. '84  
Black Caucus Examines Philippine Issue, Oct. '84  
September 21 Activities in the U.S., Reyes, V., Oct. '84  
Groups Here Join in Marking Political Prisoners Week, Dec. '84

## Miscellaneous

Cynthia Maglaya, KDP Co-founder, Revolutionary, June '83  
Local 37 Official Visits Nicaragua, July '84  
Filipina Activist Visits Nicaragua—Despite Siege, Sandinistas Advance, Asidao, Sept. '83  
KDP Mourns Death of Senior Activist: Mario Hermoso, Sept. '84

## Culture

Pedring Taruc: You Can See the President Winking, Araneta, C., Feb. '82  
New Book Hits World Bank (*Development Debacle*), Oct. '82  
A Comradeship Born of Struggle (Carlos Bulosan and Chris Mensalves), Dec. '82-Jan. '83  
International Women's Day: A Tribute to Working Women Everywhere, Mar. '83  
International Workers Day 1983, May '83  
Prize Winner—A Long Way from Cannes (Oro, Plata, Mata), Araneta, A., May '83  
Book Review—An Impressive But Confused Chronicle—Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans—A Pictorial Essay by Fred Cordova, Reyes, V., Sept. '83  
Movie Review: "Moral"—A Daring Film on Changing Mores, Araneta, C., Sept. '83  
Movie Review: *Cortez*: A Learning Experience, Oct. '83  
The Fall of International Hotel, Mar. '84  
*El Norte*: Delicate But Devastating, May '84  
Reception for Bencab, June '84  
Revolution in the Philippines: A Gripping Narrative Of Terror And Decay, Melegrito, Aug. '84  
"Obbligato": The Contemptuous American, Melegrito, Oct. '84  
Review: State Without Grace, Tajitsu, Dec. '84  
A Filipino Actress-Activist in Hollywood, Perez, V., Dec. '84  
This Jazzman is a Fil—Am, Reyes, V., Dec. '84

## Reader Contributions (Voices)

*Sumalabukab Sa Pinagsalabukaban*, Almendral, Jan.-Feb. '84  
The Real McCoy (A Fable for Filipinos Who Are Also Americans), Arcellana, J., Mar. '84  
Interview: Corky Trinidad—The Politics Behind Corky's Cartoons, Villapando, Apr. '84  
Interview With Master Painter/Printmaker Ben Cabrera: Bencab: The Artist as Social Commentator, Villapando, May '84  
*Ang Bilin*, Sandiko, June '84

Continued on next page



# Foes Woo...

Continued from page 8

the elections in 1986 or 1987.

Aquino said he would be flexible on the issue of U.S. bases but twitted former senators Salvador Laurel and Kalaw for shunning the January "unity pact" because it called for the bases' removal and the legalization of the Communist Party. He himself had no problem with the New People's Army guerillas keeping their arms "for a period of two years" until the new government can prove it can be trusted.

"I'm not yet comfortable with armed struggle, I'd rather not lead or be involved in this idea myself," Aquino confessed. But armed self-defense units are necessary he said, "because the military has become violent over the slightest provocation. So what do you tell your people? Allow yourselves to be shot . . . or arm yourselves?"

For this statement, Aquino was attacked by the *San Francisco Examiner*. The conservative Hearst family newspaper printed an angry editorial headlined "Butz Aquino Goes Off the Deep End."

## PARLIAMENT OF THE STREETS

Arriving shortly after Butz's last ap-

pearances were leading street parliamentarians Lean Alejandro, former leader of the League of Filipino Students now with the Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy and Fr. Joe Dizon of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. Fr. Dizon, as head of NAJFD, was jailed by Marcos but released as a result of public pressure.

Alejandro summed up the political situation in a single word: "Polarization—it's Marcos against everybody else. He is so discredited that when he says anything, people will believe the opposite."

The youth leader categorized the resistance into three parts: "those like UNIDO and PDP-Laban who believe solely in the electoral process"; the armed struggle in the rural areas; and the "parliament of the streets." Alejandro said the armed resistance was the largest of them all but that the "parliament of the streets" has made significant gains in the last year, particularly in mobilizing the middle classes.

"The parliament of the streets can now mobilize hundreds of thousands of people from all corners of the nation at the same time."

Fr. Dizon believes change can come "in this decade" and focused his presentation in Oakland on the need for a "Democratic Coalition Government" to replace Marcos.

"There must be a general attitude not just to dismantle the dictatorship but also to push for an alternative. If it is a popular one then it will win against Marcos," he said.

"The Democratic Coalition Government can only be achieved by understanding and accepting the nationalist and democratic premises of the present struggle, and of the need for this struggle to address all classes."

## PIMENTEL AND PDP

Bearded Ramon Mitra also made a swing through town admitting that he is still smarting from the stigma of "business connections" he used to have with Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco and having been to too many U.S. Embassy parties. Mitra is trying to get the nod from the PDP to run against Marcos.

"You don't have to win the hearts and minds of the people during elections—they'll be voting less for the opposition and more against Marcos, anyway," he said. What is simply needed, therefore, is "a clean election."

As president, he would make Marcos and his followers "answerable to everything they have done in office." He would also send a "deputy president to strife-torn Mindanao to be more accountable to the people there." As for the economy, he

thinks it is basically sound and some industries can be rehabilitated "in two years."

A blustery snowstorm in Manhattan did not deter a large crowd from hearing PDP-LABAN chairman Aquilino Pimentel who was invited by the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations to receive the J. Walter Levy Fellowship award.

Pimentel acknowledged that the Convenors' Group, which signed the "unity pact" was a "very tactical alliance and that the transition plan is based on the premise that "peaceful, constitutional processes will be observed."

But he also warned that a military coup with U.S.-backing is possible. He said that a takeover by the faction led by Gen. Fabian Ver would only perpetuate the Marcos regime. But a coup headed by Gen. Fidel Ramos would be favored more by big business because the prospects of economic stabilization seems more realistic under him. This situation would also be more acceptable to the U.S.

Pimentel believes that change can come about in Philippine society along "social democratic" lines and pointed to the 100,000 membership of PDP as his base of support.

He added that in unifying the opposition, "people must subordinate personal interests" so that one strong political entity would prevail over Marcos. □

# Chile . . .

Continued from page 16

this time, especially with respect to armed action, the declaration of the state of siege seems to be winning the argument in favor of the revolutionary left's perspective. Among the popular masses, there is increasing acceptance of armed activities.

While the Christian Democrats are wary of the revolutionary left, the political situation acts as a pressure for joint work. The National Workers Command which is based among the copper mine workers and led by Christian Democrats serves as liaison and vehicle towards working unity among the three opposition currents.

Even the prominent Christian Democratic union leader Rodolfo Seguel sees the need for communist participation in advancing the opposition movement. The right wing of the Christian Democrats, however, has not budged from its present anti-unity position.

## PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Within the MDP, the MIR takes a leading role. Its 13-point united front platform for a provisional government includes the repeal of the 1980 constitution and the submission of a new constitution to a national plebiscite; repeal of all repressive legislation; dissolution of the CNI (secret police) and all repressive apparatus; accounting of the disappeared; punishment for those guilty of crimes; freedom for all political prisoners and return of all exiles.

The platform also calls for an emergency economic plan to deal with unemployment and to nationalize

banks, foreign trade and monopolies; a moratorium on payment of the foreign debt until the country is in a position to renegotiate under terms that would protect development and the well-being of Chilean citizens; agrarian reforms; reestablishment of all political, social and trade union rights which were in effect until 1973.

Furthermore, it calls for an end to military intervention in the universities and the educational system in general and the dismissal of the high command of the armed forces now committed to the dictatorship. The platform also envisions the promotion of internal democracy in the armed forces and revision of all pacts with foreign armed forces.

The MDP emphasizes the forging of the mass movement and the building of grassroots organizations in putting pressure on the regime. At the same time armed groups provide additional pressure through destabilization activities that include occasional attacks on small military units and outposts.

The broadening of Chilean resistance has been fueled by a deep economic crisis. With the failure of the anarchic "monetarist" policy of Milton Friedman and his Chicago group, the economy has virtually collapsed. Imports have flooded the markets and interest rates have soared from 12 to 22%.

Speculators benefitting from the lack of government controls deepened the crisis even more. At the same time, the recession has caused thousands of bankruptcies since 1981. With manufacturing virtually wiped out, unemployment now stands at 35%. The recent bank loan of \$125 million sponsored by the U.S. can hardly keep the economy afloat much longer. On top of these, Chile's foreign debts continue to soar beyond last year's \$22 billion.

While the Pinochet regime can be characterized as

being in deep political and economic trouble it is, however, essentially entrenched. Its 53,000 army, 70,000 air, naval and police forces, and 160,000 reservists (who have been activated under the state of siege) and intelligence apparatus are still able to keep Pinochet from being swept away by the mounting resistance.

The faint sign of dissent in the military, coming mainly from Matthei, has little significance. Pinochet is definitely in command and has the loyalty of the entire armed forces. Even the cabinet ministers who resigned out of cynicism about Pinochet's ability to stem the tide of resistance have been mollified and reappointed.

On the part of the U.S. there is much embarrassment over the dismal human rights picture which has caused a mild statement of concern from the State Department. But the U.S. is stuck with Pinochet. In fact, Pinochet continues to receive compliments from conservatives in the Reagan administration. Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick described Pinochet as "a very serious, very honorable and very agreeable man."

The Reagan administration has repealed human rights legislation curtailing aid, lifted a ban on Import-Export Bank credits and invited Chile to participate in the annual naval maneuvers with the United States. Chile has also replaced Argentina in the Honduran military maneuvers.

Overall, Pinochet has the necessary repressive apparatus and the U.S. backing to keep his rule. However, the political situation is explosive and the opposition is coming together more and more. As the *New York Times* noted, Pinochet may yet realize the dream that eluded his predecessors—a Chile united. But against him. □

(Resources for this article were provided by Kathi Mahoney of Casa Chile and the La Peña Cultural Center.)

# More INDEX...

Continued from previous page

- Tondo, Antonio, June '84
- The Delta: Remnants of an American Dream, pictorial, Reyes, G., June '84
- Lines in Red & White for L.A. No. 12/On the Road with Dad/desktop human rights policy for the U.S. State Department (poems), Foster, July '84
- Taghoy ng Dayong Rebolusyonaryo, Antonio, July '84
- Joey Maliga Sings About 'Pinoy Sa America', Perez, Aug. '84
- Kundiman/Eve of September 21st, Pruden, Aug. '84
- Red & Yellow, Angeles, Aug. '84
- Soon the snow will melt, Robles, A., Sept. '84
- Book review: Sison's 'Prison and Beyond,' Sandiko, Sept. '84
- Hawaii's Filipinos (pictorial), Rocamora, T., Sept. '84
- Bayanihan—Kearney Street (poem), Syquia, Oct. '84
- Awakening, Guerrero, Oct. '84
- Kalinga (pictorial), Limjoco, Oct. '84
- Lutong Macoy, A Political Feast, anonymous, Nov. '84
- A Foliage of Fire (poem), Villavera, Nov. '84
- Ang Tulay sa Mendiola at ang Pitang Bastille (poem), Ordoñez, Nov. '84
- On the Agrava Report: Truth or Consequences (essay), Angeles, Dec. '84

## U.S./International

### Domestic Issues

- The Criminal Drive to Criminalize Abortions, Perez, Sept. '82
- Social Security Cuts: Touching a Sacred Cow, Martin and Geaga, Mar. '83
- Japanese-American Internment: A Debt Still Unpaid, Geaga, July-Aug. '83
- Civil Rights Movement: Still Fighting for Kings Dream, Geaga, Sept., 1983

- Jingoism and Intervention: An American Tradition, Geaga, Dec. '83
- Reagan's Civil Rights Demolition Team, Escultura, Apr. '84
- America is on an Overspending Spree: Who's Afraid of Reagan's Deficit?, Geaga, May '83
- Repressive Bills: Anti-Terrorist Drive Threatens Rights, Escultura, June '84
- What Democrats Fear About Jackson/Jesse to Democrats: No More Free Rides, Geaga, June '84
- Democrats Get Ready for Reagan: Convention Drums Up Unity, Geaga, Aug. '84
- Republican Convention: A New Fascist Revival in Dallas, Geaga, Sept. '84
- Fascist Terror Continues: Another Vietnam Supporter Slain, Reyes, V., Nov. '84

### International Issues

- New Economic Ploy: Why Reagan's Caribbean Plan Won't Work, Reyes, V., May '82
- Behind the Falklands War, Reyes, V., June '82
- Socialist Cuba: A Thorn in Imperialism's Side, Reyes, V., July '82
- A Filipino-American Visits the New Cuba, Tactaquin, July '82
- A Chronology of Zionism, Reyes, V., Aug. '82
- The U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Begin's Dream is the Palestinians' Nightmare, Reyes, V., Aug. '82
- U.S. and W. European Allies at Odds: Soviet Pipeline Fuels Rift, Reyes, V., Sept. '82
- Micronesia: Living Under the Glow of U.S. Nuclear Tests, Reyes, V., Nov. '82
- El Salvador's Refugees in the U.S.: Victims of U.S. Foreign Policy, Perez, Dec. '82
- Pretoria's Aggression Against Neighbors is Constant, Reyes, V., Dec. '82
- South Africa: Where Racism is the Law of the Land, Reyes, V., Dec. '82
- U.S. Secret War Tries to Undo Nicaraguan Revolution, Geaga, Feb. '83

- Reagan's Arms Talks Charade: U.S. Gives USSR Zero Option, Patterson and Geaga, Apr. '83
- Nakasone Toes Reagan's Line: U.S. Prods Japan to Re-Arm, Geaga, May '83
- Reagan and El Salvador: Caught in a Quagmire, Geaga, June '83
- Korean Plane Incident: Shades of a U.S. Cold War Antic, Geaga, Oct. '83
- Heating Up the Cold War, Escultura, Oct. '83
- Nobel Peace Prize: Peace or Politics?, Escultura, Nov. '83
- U.S. Bugged Down in Lebanon, Geaga, Nov. '83
- Reagan Set to Pounce on Nicaragua, Geaga, Nov. '83
- Grenada Invasion: Sorting Through the Lies, Escultura, Dec. '83
- Argentina's Military Rulers Quit—For Now, Geaga, Jan.-Feb. '84
- Chileans Want Pinochet Out, Escultura, Jan.-Feb. '84
- The U.S. at the U.N.: A Sore Loser Threatens to Pull Out, Escultura, Mar. '84
- Why the U.S. is Quitting UNESCO, Escultura, Mar. '84
- Invasion of Angola: U.S. Backing Emboldens South African Racists, Geaga, Mar. '84
- U.S. May Intervene in El Salvador Soon, Geaga, Apr. '84
- Guatemala: The Next El Salvador, Escultura, May '84
- The U.S. Maneuvers for Gains: Iran and Iraq Bleeding Each Other Dry, Geaga, July '84
- Summit Strains: Not All Quiet on the Western Front, Escultura, July '84
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- Who Gains From Indira's Death?, Escultura, Dec. '84
- Reagan Rattles Sabre at Nicaragua, Geaga, Dec. '84
- Sandinistas Bolstered by Free Elections, Geaga, Dec. '84

## 'VOICES' WILL BE BACK

A year and a half of sustained protests and the first national strike last October 30 triggered a crisis of rule for Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet who declared a state of siege last November 6.

The state of siege capped a year and a half of fascist terror that reached a new level of brutality during the nationwide protests on the eve of the October 30 national strike. In an attempt to preempt the strike, heavily armed troops conducted door-to-door raids in the shanty towns of Santiago. Seven people were killed on the day of the strike and 1,600 were either put on preventive detention or arrested during the protests before the strike.

"It felt like there was a war," said Claudia Jimenez, describing how the troops raided her neighborhood on October 29. "They went from house to house and took any shovels or sticks that we had and all of the men."

During the first 20 days of the state of siege, 8,000 people were arrested in the cities of Santiago and Concepcion alone. Among the hardest hit were the shanty towns of La Victoria and Raul Silva Henriquez which are hotbeds of resistance.

With helicopters, tanks and trucks, troops swooped down on the shanty town of Raul Silva Henriquez and netted 2,000 Chileans. Quite reminiscent of the bloody coup 11 years ago, they were brought to the soccer stadium 2.5 miles away where they were interrogated and tortured.

Some were sent into internal exile in the concentration camps of the remote Northern city of Pisagua and the southern village of Maulin. Others "disappeared."

## Will Pinochet be Marcos' Model?

# Opposition Weathers Chile State-of-Siege



### OATH OF OBEDIENCE

The toll mounted as soldiers and police opened fire at endless protests against the state of siege. At the medical campus of the University of Chile, police fired teargas and buckshot at 200 demonstrators, wounding two students. Similar confrontations took place at other colleges in Santiago.

Journalists were beaten up or threatened and their credentials cancelled. Authorities raided their houses and offices, confiscating notebooks and films. Six foreign journalists were detained on November 28.

Radio Chileña and Radio Cooperative were censored along with some provincial radio stations. Chile's leading opposition newspapers and magazines—*Análisis*, *APSI*, *Bicicleta*, *Cauce*, *Pluma y Pincel*, and *Fortín Mapocha*—were banned.

Even foreign residents were ordered to sign an oath of obedience to Chile's laws and constitution and to desist from joining political activities. The church saw immediate danger here, fearing that it would be used against the more than 600 foreign priests in Chile who work among the poor and who were strong critics of the regime. Ignacio Gutierrez, a Spanish priest who runs the Santiago archdiocese's Vicariate of Solidarity, the church's legal aid office for victims of repression, has been banned from returning to Chile.

### HUMAN TOLL

In human terms the cost of the repression has been staggering. During the two days of national protests on September 4 and 5 Chilean police and security forces killed 10 persons including a French priest, arrested

1,574 persons and injured at least 246. The Catholic Church's human rights organization, the Vicariate of Solidarity, documented over 100 deaths in the one-year period following the first national protests in May 1983.

Incidents of torture rose from 85 in 1982 to 437 in 1983, according to the Chile Commission on Human Rights.

At the United Nations, the General Assembly on November 27 released a report compiled by Judge Rajsooner Liah of Mauritius that confirmed reports of a worsened human rights situation in Chile. The report documented cases of torture, secret detention, disappearances, restrictions on unions, and curtailment of academic freedom.

As of November 28 last year, 500 had been sent into internal exile since the declaration of the state of siege. A well-known author, Enrique LaFourcade, who wrote a political satire on Pinochet, left for political asylum in Argentina after the police raided his bookstore.

### IRON GRIP BROKE

The current crackdown is Pinochet's response to the mounting resistance that has rocked his regime in the last one and a half years, 10 years after the bloody coup that brought him to power.

Pinochet's iron grip broke loose on May 11, 1983 when thousands of people from the poor and middle class sections of Santiago took to the streets to protest the dictatorship and demand a return to democracy. Hundreds were arrested and two people were shot in their homes in this first national protest where 70% of the population of Santiago participated.

make a limited opening to the elite opposition groups.

Gen. Fernando Matthei of the Air Force, described the situation as "times [when] the whole country seems to be mumbering under its breath that it is time for a change." He wanted a quick transition to democracy. Otherwise, he said, "we will end up destroying the armed forces more efficiently than any Marxist infiltration can."

The strength of the popular discontent in Chile can be gauged by the breadth of the opposition. Aside from the left organizations and their traditional base among the poor, the industrial workers, and the students, the church has joined the ever widening front of opposition forces.

In this nation of 11 million people, 86% of whom are Roman Catholics, the church which is heavily influenced by the Christian Democratic Party, plays a positive role in maintaining itself as a vocal critic of the regime. Aside from supporting grassroots organizations, its Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno, keeps the voice of opposition alive among its ranks. The Archbishop has led protest fasts and prayers against the regime.

Fresno rejected the government's claim that the church has direct responsibility for the political crisis. He scored the government for imposing a state of siege, saying that "it represents a serious setback for understanding between Chileans and for peace in the country."

In the poor neighborhoods of Santiago where women's organizations have set up soup kitchens to feed the hungry, church personnel give not only material aid but also help in preventing penetration by the police. Human barricades by the religious and the community have often kept the soup kitchens running.

### SUSTAINED RESISTANCE

While the social unrest in Chile may appear to be a spontaneous reaction to the military repression and the worsening economic crisis, massive organizing efforts especially at the grassroots level have in fact sustained grassroots resistance.

In 1980 the Committee for the Defense of People's Rights (Codepu) was formed as a single national coordinating body for the popular organizations in Chile. Codepu assumed leadership in grassroots organizing as it provided the umbrella for the coordination of the work of all left parties and sectors of the Christian Democratic Party in rebuilding the mass movement.

Various grassroots organizations formed around issues of concerns—the homeless, families of political prisoners and the disappeared, the unemployed and shanty town dwellers. Other educational activities such as art workshops are conducted to counter the "miseducation" being fostered by the regime.

Armed militias for self-defense have been set up and on July 12, 1984 the best organized neighborhoods of Santiago declared themselves "liberated zones" and kept the police at bay. According to Casa Chile, "Not only have local defense brigades patrolled shanty towns, provided protection for demonstrators and in many instances beaten back police units with homemade weapons, but in the last few months there has also been a proliferation of armed popular militias."

Most prominent among these groups are the Popular Resistance Militia, the newly created Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, the Socialist Militia, the Lautaro Militia, and the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance which have all taken responsibility for a number of armed actions aimed at further destabilizing Pinochet's efforts to impose order.

### OPPOSITION FORCES REGROUP

After the flurry of joint protest activities in the last year and a half the various opposition forces are consolidating their own alliances.

Last September, the Christian Democratic Party pulled the moderate forces together to form the Democratic Alliance (AD). Its program calls for peaceful and negotiated return to democracy. Pinochet's refusal to meet with the Alliance, however, only underscored the futility of seeking peaceful accommodation with the regime.

In the same month the broad left formed two different coalitions. The Christian Left Party, the Socialist Convergence and some sections of smaller left parties such as the Socialist and Radical Parties formed the Socialist Bloc. The coalition calls for an end to the dictatorship and the establishment of a socialist government. The Socialist Bloc is open to armed action and to working with the communists.

The third coalition is the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) which was initiated by the Movement of Revolutionary Left (MIR) and the Communist Party but has been joined by two sections of the Socialist Party. The Communist Party, founded in 1922, is the oldest component of the MDP. The MIR, established in 1965, has Marxist-Leninists at its core. The MDP calls for an immediate return to democracy through a provisional government that will encompass all sectors committed to a democratic Chile. This coalition represents the lower strata of Chilean society. It is committed to total rebellion which may involve armed insurrection, a position opposed so far by the Democratic Alliance.

While these three formations are politically apart at

Continued on page 15

The May 11 protests set the pattern for the monthly National Days of Protests that have challenged the regime and drawn wider and wider sectors of Chilean society into active participation. Since then the banging of pots and pans, the barricades of burning tires and the sporadic skirmishes with armed troops, especially in the poorer and working class sections of Chile's major cities have become a familiar spectacle.

The outcry for land, housing, jobs, free education, health care, an end to torture and repression, an end to forced exile, and freedom for political prisoners has been linked together by the more fundamental demand that has mobilized the majority of the Chileans: an end to the dictatorship and the establishment of a civilian democracy.

### GENERAL STRIKE

But the most significant challenge to Pinochet was the first national strike on October 30 which shut down 90% of Santiago's public transportation and idled 80% of its industries. The city became a maze of barricades on that day. This, despite the unprecedented application of force and intimidation by the regime on the eve of the strike.

According to the Committee for the Defense of People's Rights, a national grassroots organization, 400 organizations joined the strike. Called by the National Workers Command, the strike was supported by all sectors of the opposition.

Six days later, all 16 members of Pinochet's cabinet resigned. Some were disturbed by his unbending response to the widespread discontent, and argued that he should