



Time

'He's Running Scared'



Newsweek

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Marcos Won't Allow Defeat Killings, Cheating Begin

See story on page 5



S.F. Examiner

Wife of murdered Aquino campaign worker being consoled.

In Cebu City, they surged all around her—200,000 of them—waving yellow flags, curtains, blankets, flowers, papayas, and cassava fronds. Some brought along goats and dogs with yellow ribbons tied around their necks.

A full third of this opposition city's populace slowed what should have been a half-hour drive of presidential candidate Corazon "Cory" Aquino from the airport to a four-hour crawl. And everywhere was yellow, the color of her campaign and symbol of the conviction that the Marcos regime engineered the assassination of her husband, former Senator Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino.

But it was not only opposition strongholds that welcomed Aquino and vice-presidential candidate Salvador Laurel with an excitement verging on delirium. In Davao City, 40,000 turned out to greet them; 120,000 came out in Naga City.

Throughout the towns and cities even of "Imelda Country"—the island of Leyte—reporters noted crowds ranging from 4,000 to 10,000.

Thousands more lined the streets of Baguio. The only larger crowd he had ever seen, claimed a resident judge, was for Pope John Paul II in 1981. Three thousand more showed up Narvacan, Ilocos Sur,

Continued on page 6

SEE INSIDE

Jose Ma. Sison on Elections
Liberalization in Argentina

page 4
page 16

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FIRST CLASS

Cory Must Answer Only to Her People

It is difficult to argue with today's Philippine realities. Since Ferdinand Marcos cannot possibly explain away the corruption, state violence, economic bankruptcy and mass despair his 20-year reign has brought, he has decided to make communism the main issue in the snap election. What better diversion from the real issues of the day?

But there is a more compelling reason why Marcos has tried to paint Cory Aquino red, or why this righteous "nationalist" of the past months has quickly returned to his mendaciously pro-American and rabidly anti-communist old self in the last few weeks. Marcos is making a desperate play for the renewed blessing of the U.S. ruling circle.

He is sharply aware of Washington's worst fear which is that in the transition to a post-Marcos era, the Philippine Left might not only gain legitimacy, it might even end up playing a role in the new government.

Thus, Cory Aquino's initial position of calling for the legalization of the Communist Party of the Philippines, amnesty, a ceasefire, and negotiations with the New People's Army was not to Washington's liking. The U.S. wants a "credible" new government that will fight the Left, not one that will be conciliatory and "understanding."

To the U.S. State Department ear, Cory's initial position sounded like she would be too sympathetic to future rebel proposals for peace and national reconciliation and this is a no-no. The U.S. is fiercely resisting one such proposal right now in El Salvador and resisting it with aerial bombings and military advisers.

No wonder all that U.S. "election observers" ever want to know from Cory is not how she feels about the increasing poll irregularities, but how she views the CPP, National Democratic Front and the NPA. No wonder there has been an increase, in volume and viciousness, of anti-NPA propaganda in the U.S. media. As for Marcos, he has seen a hole in the U.S. game plan and is trying to drive a truck through it.

The pressure is affecting Cory who seems to be edging away from her original posture of seeking a negotiated peace with the revolutionary left. Now she appears to be anxious to establish anti-communist credentials—and that is unfortunate. Marcos should not be allowed to succeed in diverting the debate from the real issue, which is, his fascist rule.

Cory Aquino has taken a sensible stance of reconciling with all the victims of Marcos' tyranny and with all those seeking to end this tyranny. She should maintain this admirable position. She owes *nothing* to Washington, D.C. and only has to answer to her own people.

Filipinos want an end to Marcos and long for a government of sincere and patriotic leaders who will be accountable to the people's aspirations for social justice, democracy and the national sovereignty. In the course of this campaign, in their numbers, they have told Cory Aquino that she is one of those leaders. She told the U.S.-media "Filipinos must define their own democracy." Let Washington fidget and whine, let the dictator froth in the mouth. Cory Aquino must remain steadfast in her reliance on her own people. □

At the Helm, Not in the Home

Among the most offensive features of the Marcos election campaign—aside from the cheating, murder and intimidation—are the insults he has heaped upon Filipino women in particular, and women in general. It makes him "feel small" he says, to run against a

woman. According to Marcos, a woman's place is "in the home" where she should "limit her teachings to the bedroom."

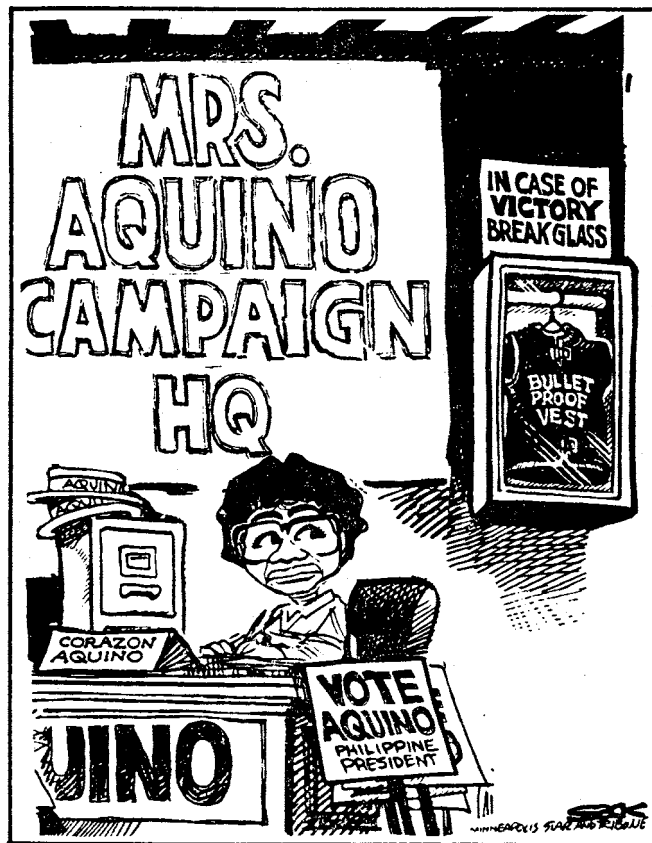
He cannot fathom why Cory Aquino would challenge HIM and therefore, he has decided that she must be "a bit psychologically off." The dictator truly believes his own words, no doubt about it. For what are the Marcoses but the very reflection of the unjust, the backward and the obsolete in the Philippines today?

His conduct and his sexist aphorisms show just how victimized Filipino women are. They are victimized as citizens of a nation that enjoys no real political, economic or cultural independence. They are victimized as members of the ruled, the imposed upon and the exploited in a society that concentrates all wealth and power in the hands of a few. And they are victimized as women, deemed less worthy, less equal, less capable than men by a society that has not caught up to the 20th century—a society that the likes of the Marcoses, in their ignorance and perversion, so aptly represent and so brutally defend.

Many Filipino women have already proven Marcos wrong, and shown that a woman's place is everywhere meaningful human activity is taking place. In the Philippines today that would be in the restive workplaces, in the marches, on the picket lines, in the leadership of people's organizations, in the alternative media, in the polls and in the guerilla zones.

And, in this traditon, Cory Aquino is daily proving Marcos wrong by standing as a Filipino woman leader and democrat to oppose his repressive regime. The campaign daily reveals her strength in the face of his personalized abuse, her integrity in the face of his male supremacist aspersions.

Filipino women need to dump Ferdinand Marcos in the trash heap of history. They will show him that a woman's place is not "in the home," but at the helm of a new, popular and democratic government. □



LETTERS

New Year's Greetings! Just a little note to commend you on the paper—especially the humor. "Litter from Manila" gets better every time. I appreciate the blend of political news from the Philippines and the situation immigrants face here, plus the emphasis on culture. I found the December issue on the elections confusing though, after I read the articles and the editorial. The editorial was clear—an end to U.S. support; render assistance to Aquino-Laurel campaign. However, the data in the rest of the paper didn't really support the conclusion to aid the Aquino-Laurel campaign. The rest of the articles pointed to the U.S. need to unify the elite opposition for U.S. purposes. The election is supposed to help in that. What was missing in the analysis was what was happening to ordinary people—farmers, workers, etc., i.e., what's the meaning of the elections for people who are pushed off their land, terrorized and killed by the military.

Dorothy Friesen
Chicago, IL

(Our December article on the elections was a victim of the Aquino-Laurel last minute ticket. It was a lot easier to write an editorial a few hours before presstime than to successfully touch up an article that was originally focused on the news that Aquino and Laurel could not get together. Please go by the editorial for our view—Ed.)

Litter from Manila

FERDY IV



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

(Inidoro Delihencia is busy covering the campaign so instead of his regular column we can only print the transcript of his on-the-spot-via-sattellite report. Sorry.)

'Inidoro here reporting LIVE from the New Republic Stadium . . . FERDY, the Ilocano Stallion, will be defending his title from a last minute contender. This will be his FOURTH championship fight. He knocked out "Poor Boy" Macapagal in 1965, TKO'd "Am-Boy" Osmeña in '69 and scored a double knockout in 1981 against "Statehood" Cabangbang and Alejo "The Dupe" Santos . . . I think the fight is about to begin . . . Jimmy "the Cardinal" Sin has finished the invocation and is looking holier-than-thou . . .

Ferdy has entered the RING! He looks good . . . At the PEAK of his health, there he is in his lucky striped shorts—and the crowd goes WILD! CORY the challenger is following him into the ring . . . and the crowd goes uhh . . . even wilder.

Okay, so what. Okay . . . hey look, Ferdy is taunting Cory. He is telling the crowd, "She's a WOMAN! I have to fight a WOMAN!" Looks like his handler, Meldy, is joining him, she's shouting "She doesn't even wear MAKE-UP, or POLISH her NAILS!"

Cory is just smiling. WAIT! She's taunting back—a la Muhammad Ali: "I act like a LADY but sting like a BEE, I'll put you on TRIAL, and hang you up a TREE."

Woooooh, hear that crowd roar! And Ferdy IS MAD as

hell. "You have the NERVE to fight ME, you SNAKE! Stay in the BEDROOM!" Yep, she's going to get it.

Here's the referee now, Ambassador Bosworth . . . he's introducing the contenders. "In this corner . . . the 20-year champion who's part of the problem and part of the solution, FERDY the INCUMBENT! (Keep it clean and credible now, you.)" Uhh, that's not booing you hear ladies and gentlemen, that's just uhh static.

"And in this corner, inexperienced but popular, and fine with us as long as she keeps communists out of her government, the CHALLENGER . . . CORY THE WIDOW!" Sometimes, ladies and gentlemen, the static sounds just like a loud roar. There goes the BELL . . . !"

Ferdy comes out smoking like a raging bull throwing envelopes to the crowd . . . Listen to that crowd ladies and gentlemen . . . just LISTEN to that CROWD! And still they say there's no democracy in the Philippines. Cory stays cool, weaving and bobbing. Ferdy lets loose a RIGHT hook to the chin "She's a communist! She has communist advisers!" Ooo, that hurts!

Cory's stung and counters with a weak "I'm not a communist! I'll ask them to surrender!" Ferdy follows up with a RIGHT to the temple "I'm for RETAINING the U.S. bases, she's not!" Cory answers with a LEFT hook to the brain, "I'm a Filipino first of all! I'll NEGOTIATE in 1991!" It CONNECTS! Ferdy reels back . . .

But the referee stops them . . . Bosworth is giving Cory the no-hitting-below-the-belt warning . . . excellent call!

Ferdy hits with 3,000 people in Laoag . . . Cory answers with 5,000 in Baao . . . followed by 200 in Danao which he parries with 700 in the same place. Whatta match! The crowd is going crazy! Whatta FIGHT!

Cory surprises Ferdy with 10,000 in Tigaon, then 20,000 in Iriga and yet another 10,000 in Kidapawan . . . he's stunned . . . she's got him on the ropes . . . she sneaks in another 20,000 in Digos . . . his face is puffy . . . oh, no! Ferdy's BLEEDING, he's bleeding! The crowd is on its FEET!

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Referee has stopped the fight . . . Doctor says it's just a scratch from SIX MONTHS AGO and puts bandage on Ferdy's arm. Meldy puts dollar salts near his nose to revive him, and his handlers lift him back to the ring. He is LIMPING into battle . . .

Cory smells blood, she CHARGING IN singing, "I'll TIE you up in RIBBONS you YELLOW OLD fool!" She gives a crushing RIGHT to his solar plexus with 40,000 in Davao . . . he doubles over, she gives a straight to the jaw with 100,000 in Naga . . . she's merciless! Ooooh! She delivers a left to the KIDNEY with 200,000 in Cebu . . . he's DOWN, he's in pain . . . how can this happen?! Whattabout my CAREER?!

The referee is counting. Ferdy's trying to get up. Meldy climbs up the ring crying and singing in Ilocano. The crowd is booing and hissing her. Now that's what I don't like about our NATIONAL CHARACTER. We are sometimes rude and uncaring.

Ferdy is up, but he's groggy, LIMPING, and BLEEDING again! He's getting up . . . Oh, no a PHILIPPINE AIR FORCE PLANE is trying to LAND and coming RIGHT AT HIM! Turn around, you'll hit the president!! Whew! Ferdy ducked just in time, the plane has veered away safely.

A CLOSE CALL, ladies and gentlemen! UH, OH . . . Looks like he's HAD it up to HERE with BAD LUCK! He's throwing his gloves away and tying a BANDANA around his head. He's slinging a BANDOLIER ladies and gentlemen and switching into his OTHER box office role as Ferdi-NAMBO!

Look at that grenade explode in Cory's corner ladies and gentlemen! He's PUMPING AWAY with a MACHINE GUN at Cory's handlers. Look at those bullets ripping through five of them!!

She's stunned! She's on the run! They're arresting everyone, Ferdy's throwing PDAs at everyone who was cheering for Cory! THAT'S IT, that's the TITLE! He's STILL the champion! And I'm STILL reporting . . . LIVE and well-fed from the New Republic! □

Rebels Showed a Lot of Daring in '85

By WICKS GEAGA

Employing more complicated maneuvers and larger formations against more ambitious targets, the New People's Army kept a dazed and demoralized Armed Forces of the Philippines reeling throughout 1985.

"It was a watershed year in terms of signal achievements," declared the National Democratic Front's official publication, *Liberation*.

U.S. and Philippine authorities and other NPA detractors apparently agree. What they have lost to the guerillas in battle for the "hearts and minds" of rural Filipinos, and in actual battles for that matter, they have tried to regain with aggressive anti-communist propaganda in the Philippines and abroad.

Most of the spectacular NPA actions during the year involved the capture of large numbers of arms from the government troops. This was in keeping with the guerillas' aim of building up arms and techniques for the stage of strategic stalemate which they hope to reach in a few years.

CELEBRATED ACTIONS

Some of the most celebrated actions included the raid on the Visayan Military Academy armory in March which netted 400 high-powered arms, and an annihilatory raid on a Scout Ranger camp and a police station in Negros in May. The guerillas escaped with 60 rifles and a cache of ammunition during the May raid and more than a dozen soldiers dead.

In another instance, NPA fighters attacked the headquarters of the 234th Philippine Constabulary Company, killing three government soldiers and seizing 11 high-powered firearms. Another NPA assault team took an AFP camp in Palaypay, Northern Samar by storm, capturing 29 high-powered firearms in the attack.

By the end of the first quarter of 1985, the NPA had already launched "22 major tactical offensives with a total of 745 firearms seized and 44 enemy forces killed," reported *Liberation*.

U.S. SPECIAL FORCES

The NPA's dramatic gains have created



The NPA now launches an average of 10 offensives per week, inflicting a casualty ratio of 7 government troops to 1 guerilla.

more than a stir in both Washington and Malacañang.

At a Senate foreign relations committee hearing recently, U.S. assistant defense secretary Richard Armitage warned that the NPA is escalating its war by the "extensive use of explosives, particularly landmines" and by "targeting helicopters and fixed-wing aircrafts for their attacks."

Newsweek reported that the NPA has more than 16,000 men estimated by intelligence sources. U.S. sources also claimed that U.S. special forces troops will be sent to the Philippines in early 1986 to train Filipino troops. Such a move, observers said, will provoke controversy and NPA attacks on U.S. military personnel.

In an unsuccessful attempt to soothe Reagan administration fears over the insurgency's growth and the threat it poses to U.S. bases in the country, Marcos

declared that he could "wipe out the NPA" within a year, with continued U.S. financial support of course.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile later contradicted his commander-in-chief, projecting that it may take a decade to "contain" the insurgency. "The struggle will go on for a long time," Enrile conceded. "It could be a matter of a few years. It could be decades."

Acting chief of staff of the armed forces Fidel C. Ramos pegged the NPA's fighting capacity at 12,500 men, considerably above Marcos' estimate of 9,000.

REBEL STATISTICS

U.S. intelligence experts place the insurgency's strength closer to the NPA's own declared membership of 20,000 full-time and part-time guerilla fighters.

According to NPA statistics for the first

quarter of 1985, the ratio of government soldiers to NPA fighters killed was 7 to 1. This runs directly opposite Marcos' claim that for every AFP trooper killed in 1985, seven NPA guerillas were slain.

NPA reports further claim that at least 526 guerilla assaults were launched from April 1984 to March 1985, with a weekly average of 10 offensives. This indicates a marked increase in rebel initiative over the last year when from April 1983 to March 1984, offensives initiated by the NPA averaged seven a week. Comparing the same two periods, the average number of arms seized per month showed a sharp increase from 90 to 175.

ANTI-NPA PROPAGANDA

Rebel successes have invited a spate of anti-communist propaganda from Philippine and U.S. sources. Aside from reporting supposed mass surrenders of rebels and sympathizers, and dubious battlefield victories, the Marcos government has made anti-communism the main feature of its election campaign.

Meanwhile, in a long article in the *American Commentary* magazine, one-time Southeast Asia *Time* correspondent Ross Munro attacked the New People's Army as "The New Khmer Rouge." Munro likened the NPA and its leaders to the bloodthirsty and paranoid guerillas of Pol Pot and tried to discredit groups such as the Task Force Detainees headed by Sr. Marianni Dimaranan as CPP "front groups."

Munro's article was quickly picked up by U.S. newspapers, many of which ran editorials denouncing "communist atrocities." The article was reprinted in full by at least one Manila newspaper, provoking heated responses.

Sr. Marianni denied Munro's allegations that TFD was a "front group" while from his cell, imprisoned Bernabe Buscayno, popularly known as *Kumander Dante*, called the article "a collection of distortions and half-truths." Some activists in Manila denounced Munro as a "sophisticated CIA propagandist" and called his article an encouragement for a witchhunt.

Meanwhile, a San Francisco Bay Area

Continued on page 7

Revamp the Military, Revamp it Not

It has been dubbed "a game of musical chairs," a "pantomime," a "juggling act," but President Marcos' recent military revamp has not yet had the distinction of being called "genuine."

The "revamp that wasn't" was how one Manila journalist called it.

Marcos had suggested that the reorganization would include the chief of staff, the service commanders who head the army, navy and air force, the general staff, the regional unified commands, the regional commands, and division commanders.

But Chit Macapagal, a writer for the church-supported newspaper *Veritas*, revealed that of the 20 PC provincial commanders who were supposed to have been recently reassigned, all but two "had already taken over their new posts as early as February" last year.

Officers who are still waiting in the wings for opportunities of promotion say the same people continue to run the show and no basic changes are expected.

Some observers saw the move as a shrewd attempt to get Washington off Marcos' back. Washington, however, was neither impressed nor pleased.

Others believe it was a maneuver to arrest the growth of the Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines Movement (RAM) which was gaining momentum among disgruntled officers who resent Marcos' loyal

supporters in the military leadership.

ELECTION MACHINERY

As a more immediate and urgent consideration, the reshuffle has been viewed as part of Marcos' strategy to reinforce his traditionally reliable, military-backed election machinery.

Following Ver's reinstatement as AFP chief of staff, Marcos immediately tasked him with overseeing the revamp. Marcos had originally announced the creation of a 17-man board composed of generals and colonels to study and make recommendations on the overhaul, but instead decided to use it as a mere sounding board for his and Ver's choices.

Ver took up his new task and interrupted job with a vengeance. Included in the general's hit list were officers who were unfaithful to him during his leave of absence.

Brig. Gen. Ramon Farolan, commissioner of customs, was reportedly transferred back to "a freezer" in the air force and replaced by Rear Admiral Simeon Alejandro, who was retired as head of the navy.

Farolan was the only general who refused to sign a manifesto of generals supporting Ver after his indictment by the Agrava board in the Aquino assassination.

Alejandro delivered that statement to Farolan and apparently is now paying the

price for failing to solicit the latter's signature.

Comodore Brillante Ochoco, the only ranking military officer to openly criticize RAM when it first surfaced (for "washing dirty linen in public") has taken over Alejandro's job as navy boss. Ochoco is expected to keep a vigilant eye on the reform movement.

Ver decided to keep Maj. Gen. Josephus Ramas as the army's top commander and Maj. Gen. Vicente Piccio as air force chief. Both are known as fierce Marcos loyalists.

In the field, Brig. Gen. Jose Magno who earned his reputation as a dedicated counter-insurgency specialist against the NPA in Central Luzon, was promoted to head up Regional Unified Command 9, based in Zamboanga.

Appointed to Magno's old post as Commander of Central Luzon's RUC 3 was Brig. Gen. Isidoro de Guzman, another reputed Marcos loyalist. De Guzman, RUC commander for Negros during the Escalante massacre, was stationed in Central Luzon from 1976 to 1982.

During that period, according to a military source contacted by the *Christian Science Monitor*, de Guzman developed a reputation for "delivering the vote" to Marcos' KBL party in elections, in an area considered traditionally pro-opposition.

De Guzman is not the only "election specialist" in the military. Included in the list of Marcos vote-getters are Gen. Antonio Palafox, commander of the 5th Division; Gen. Tomas Dumpit, RUC chief in Central Luzon; and Gen. Andres Ramos, former chief of staff of the Presidential Security Command.

ANXIOUS AMERICANS

The Reagan administration seems still at a loss as to how its desired military reforms can ever get past a stubborn surrogate who is unwilling to let go of his dearly-coveted patronage system.

No doubt, U.S. operatives are busy making links with the military reform movement, knowing fully well that this upcoming force of young and eager officers will ultimately outlast Marcos and his aging supporters.

But until this movement can demonstrate a clear capacity to overcome the power of the loyalists, Washington must content itself with looking for gentle ways of prodding Marcos.

Eager as it is for a more effective armed forces, the U.S. does not necessarily want in-fighting to get out of hand. After all, there is a growing NPA threat to worry about.

Meanwhile, Marcos has thrown a bone to the anxious Americans. He announced that he may ask Ver to retire so that the U.S. favorite, Ramos, can take over as chief of staff. Of course, the announcement came after Marcos had finished putting his boys in strategic places through a revamp that wasn't. The next move is Washington's. □

Left Boycott Sparks Debate

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The Communist Party of the Philippines officially called for a boycott of the snap election in the December issue of *Ang Bayan*. On January 18, however, a Berkeley, California radio newscast reported that according to a party spokesperson the CPP, while maintaining its boycott position, "understands" if many of its supporters desire to work for Cory Aquino "because she is definitely much better than Marcos."

Observers were not clear whether this signified a shift in the CPP's position, which was unlikely. What was certain was that a big debate ensued in the party's ranks before it reached its official position.

Meanwhile, Jose Ma. Sison, reputed to be the former CPP chairman, issued a plea to the Party, the National Democratic Front and the New People's Army to minimize their boycott campaign.

In an interview published in *Business Day* December 29, Sison, who is jailed in Fort Bonifacio, urged the left neither to endorse the political opposition candidate nor campaign for a complete boycott. "Any force seeking to topple tyranny possesses and gains positive worth and is acceptable," he wrote.

'DEFECTIVE PLOY'

The boycott/participation debate within the ranks of the CPP and National Democratic Front was common knowledge among observers of the Philippine political scene. "While the communist leadership seems to be leaning toward a de facto boycott of the polls, one National Democratic Front official has been pushing for a more open attitude toward the election," wrote a U.S. correspondent shortly after the December 19 Supreme Court decision on the legality of the election.

But the debate began well before that. The left-leaning labor group, *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, issued a boycott call as early as November 30. Chairman Rolando Olalia labelled the snap election "a deceptive ploy" in a December 2 speech.

The same day the *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* (BAYAN) established three criteria for participation: 1. resignation of Marcos; 2. synchronization of the presidential and local elections; and 3. democratization—including restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and the abolition of the Preventive Detention Act. One day later the NDF pointed out that the elections would not put an end to the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."



Jose Ma. Sison, alleged chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, has been detained since 1977 at Fort Bonifacio. The following interview, dated December 26, 1985 was recently released by Philippine News and Features.

Why do you suppose President Marcos decided on holding a snap election?

The U.S., more specifically, the Reagan administration, ordered him to hold it. The U.S. calculates that a presidential election will absorb the people's outrage over a lot of things; give the Marcos regime a "fresh mandate" to



The debate continued until the Supreme Court decision. Shortly thereafter, the CPP issued its boycott call.

ON-GOING DEBATE

Left organizations began to respond. The National Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy issued its boycott statement January 3.

BAYAN, however, was in an awkward position. The prominent nationalist politicians in its leadership joined the Aquino campaign. Lorenzo Tañada took a leave of absence to campaign for Aquino while Ambrosio Padilla resigned from the umbrella group. A few more middle class personalities were expected to bolt and join the opposition campaign. Tañada chose to hold out and continue negotiating with Aquino in an effort to persuade her to adopt key positions in her platform.

These included the immediate withdrawal of U.S. bases, abrogation of all unequal treaties with foreign countries and a rejection of the national economic recovery program dictated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. When Aquino refused to adopt these positions, BAYAN too announced a boycott stance January 6.

SOWING ILLUSIONS

The left argument against participation was that a Marcos victory was a foregone conclusion. By pressuring him to hold the election, *Ang Bayan*, argued, the U.S. hoped to provide him with a new mandate under which to wield his repressive powers.

Further, the election would sow illusions "which aim to delay the attainment of genuine national freedom and democracy . . . This is why the snap election poses the danger that reformism may gain currency and slow down the momentum of the

people's revolutionary struggles."

The Party organ accused the "bourgeois opposition" of "walking into the regime's trap" by putting up the Aquino/Laurel ticket. In the remote chance that the opposition should win, "there is the mere possibility that exploitation and oppression may not be as intense under a new regime."

"The issue," explained one NDF leader to a *New York Times* correspondent, "is not whether Marcos is in power or not. The issue is the United States is again showing its hand trying to entrench a fascist dictatorship in the country with or without Marcos."

CALL FOR A UNITED FRONT

Not all voices on the left seem to accept this position wholeheartedly. Sison, in an interview with the opposition paper, *Malaya*, commended Aquino for her promise to seek a ceasefire and negotiate with the NPA. "Apparently she understands the need to develop the broadest possible unity of patriotic and progressive forces in order to face up to the grave political and economic crisis," he added.

Sison referred back to his call a year ago for a united front among legal democratic organizations and opposition parties to work for a coalition government. This proposal appears to be the framework guiding his posture on the election.

The framework allows for wide room for compromises with non-left forces for the sake of concentrating all their efforts on a very narrow target, which is Marcos.

In his *Business Day* interview, Sison said he did not "expect much from [Aquino and Laurel] in terms of outright anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, [but] we can expect much from the opposition tandem in terms of anti-fascism."

Interview: Jose Maria Sison

Chances of an Opposition Win

'If the Opposition ticket wins, it cannot dispense with the broad democratic alliance in order to dismantle the dictatorship. If it pursues Marcosism without Marcos, it will face a people enraged at a betrayal.'

do its bidding, especially with regard to suppressing the revolutionary movement; and strengthen the pro-U.S. opposition vis-a-vis the Marcos regime and the revolutionary movement.

The U.S. order for a snap election has coincided with the need of the despot Marcos for the thickest possible whitewash of the Aquino assassination. There is also Marcos' health problem. He wants a sham reelection before his second kidney transplant fails any time from March onward.

Even now, Mr. Marcos can no longer make extensive public appearances, as his opponent Cory Aquino does. People do not only ridicule his campaign line (for example, "subok sa krisis" is rendered as "subo sa krisis") but also note his puffiness of face and his wobble.

What are the chances of the Marcos-Tolentino or the Aquino-Laurel tandem?

The Aquino-Laurel tandem is a sure winner by a landslide if the election is clean and honest or if the people are sufficiently militated to frustrate the Marcos scheme of fraud and

terrorism. The unity of the Opposition political parties and the enthusiasm of the people for the Opposition ticket are very encouraging.

The Opposition can expect to win overwhelmingly in Central Luzon, Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog, and Bicol—regions where 40% of the electorate is concentrated. Western Visayas can give the Opposition a big lead and Central Visayas, at least a slight lead. Mindanao will go heavily for the Opposition.

In order to "win," the KBL will have cheat on the scale and in the style of the sham voting exercises held from 1973 to 1978. The fascist dictatorship has built-in advantages. It would be a miracle if these advantages were not used. Behind the KBL, there are the military and paramilitary forces, most local officials from the provincial down to the barangay level, the COMELEC, government funds and facilities, and the Marcos monopoly of the mass media.

As a matter of course, KBL fabricators will give zero votes to the Opposition tandem in an unbelievably great number of real and imaginary precincts in the territories of Bongbong Marcos, Juan Ponce Enrile, Leonardo Perez, Kokoy

An editorial in the magazine *Midweek* warned, ". . . if they distance themselves from the rest of the Opposition, they may start to look like villains and end up being isolated. And that, as they themselves have been saying, is precisely what this electoral exercise is attempting to accomplish."

Journalist and self-styled "grizzled politico" Elias Ibarra, writing in the same magazine, urged BAYAN to participate, "to show the moderate opposition . . . that it did not have a built-in allergy to the electoral process—only to useless elections."

Ibarra argued that participation could also serve as a "dress rehearsal" for an "Allende-type" electoral victory with a more ideal candidate in the future.

"The defeat of a united Opposition would at the very least, make the regime's triumph hollow, devoid of credibility," *Midweek* editorialized.

"In any contest, victory is always preferable. But for many, an electoral defeat could spell the end of illusion and the beginning of wisdom."

The U.S., though eager to see Marcos replaced, is deathly afraid of a united opposition that includes the left. Washington knows full well that the military strength and mass base of the national democrats could serve as a hefty clout within a post-Marcos government that recognized their legitimacy.

Washington's nightmare in El Salvador is that the left there would successfully bring about a negotiated political settlement that gave them entry into a new government.

Were the NDF to throw its full strength behind Aquino, it could bring about a significant compromise. This would also reinforce her weak but existing nationalist leanings at the expense of Washington's preferences.

For now, however, Washington remains unthreatened. Although she has flip-flopped on a number of key issues such as the U.S. bases and the existence of communists in her government, the absence of left influence among her advisers and key backers leaves Aquino "clean" in U.S. government eyes.

BAYAN's offer of support contingent upon Aquino's taking an outright anti-imperialist position, was something a person of her origins was unlikely to accept.

Thus though she is inexperienced, open to ideas and clearly malleable, the only ideology Aquino has been exposed to—aside from the nationalism of Senators Salonga and Tañada—has come from the right. She has not, however, moved completely in that direction.

Meanwhile, the election is heating up, Ferdinand Marcos has begun to show his repressive hand and the time for cooperation and compromise is ticking away. □

Romualdez, Durano, Ali Dimaporo, and the like. If cheating is done only in these predictable places, the Opposition can offset this more than sufficiently in two or three regions where the count is authentic.

The big problem for the Opposition is how to overcome the cheating. From the start, expect the snap election to be rigged. No fascist dictator has ever allowed himself to be defeated in an election he arranges and controls. If the Opposition wins the votes but loses the count, the united anti-fascist forces can proceed to more effective forms of struggle with the broadest popular base.

What do you think of boycott at this time? Will not boycott take away precious votes from the Opposition and allow these to be delivered to the regime?

A boycott campaign waged to the maximum—asking the people to stay away from the polls and stopping the electoral exercise in as many places as possible—will certainly take

Continued on page 13

He's Scared (and Limping, too)

Continued from page 1

neighboring province to that of the President himself. "The only thing left solid in the solid north," commented former Sen. Ernest Maceda, "is a cement statue."

Even some Marcos relatives have jumped ship. Norberto Romualdez III, nephew of Imelda Marcos and son of the former governor of her home province of Leyte, resigned his post as commercial counsel for the Philippine Embassy in Brussels, Belgium. He will campaign for Aquino.

The resignation of Romualdez followed that of Ambassador Leticia Ramos Shahani, UN deputy Secretary-General and a cousin of Marcos. She quit her Philippine ambassadorial post to campaign for Aquino.

HYSTERIA

Understandably, Ferdinand Marcos was running scared for the first time in his 20-year career as president, and not because his airplane had a near-collision with an air force plane in Calapan, January 18.

A note of hysteria infused his speeches as he accused Aquino of communist leanings and insisted that the New People's Army was threatening to kill anyone in the countryside who voted for him.

It was a rerun of the old "leftist-rightist conspiracy" with which he justified the declaration of martial law in 1972. Aquino, Marcos claimed in his campaign speeches without batting an eye, not only had communist leanings, she represented the traditional elite and would reinstitute rightist oligarchical control over Philippine society.

While complaining of U.S. support for Aquino, Marcos' platform stresses his position of retaining the U.S. bases. This and the anti-communist thrust of his speeches appear to be desperate appeals for continued support addressed to American conservatives around the Reagan administration.

At the same time, an increasingly wide range of irregularities—from the murder of three Aquino aides to "flying registrants" (see story, page 5)—suggested that Marcos ever the *segurista*, planned to win at all costs.

PANGITI! (UGLY!)

Few observers were left wondering why the all-powerful dictator and political genius was suddenly nervous. A mere glimpse of the crowds greeting the candidates on the campaign trail told the tale.

Political old-timers described the Cory Aquino phenomenon as the biggest thing since Magsaysay—but with a difference. The mass popularity of Ramon Magsaysay although stemming from the isolation of then president Elpidio Quirino, was helped along by a high-powered and sophisticated propaganda campaign by the CIA. Aquino's crowds appeared more to be spontaneous political demonstrations against the regime.

The crowds attending the Marcos rallies presented an altogether different picture. Techniques for getting them to the sites are popularly known as "*hakot at takot*" or busing and threats directed principally at government employees.

An orderly bunch, at least one-half school teachers, they typically laugh at the comedians who inevitably precede the president, and applaud the popular singers whose voices are projected by state-of-the-art technology. But at least one group of 6,000 in Taytay, Rizal January 6 refused to respond to cues from a prompter to chant, "Marcos *kami!*" (We are for Marcos).

And in hometown Laoag, where the president was greeted by Ilocos Norte governor Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. December 17, many of the 3,000 at the rally told reporters that they had been given free campaign T-shirts and required to attend.

The less-than-spirited crowd reportedly provoked an outburst of rage from daughter Imee Marcos, head of the *Kabataang Barangay*, who has taken on major campaign responsibilities. "*Pangiti!*" (Ugly!) she shrieked at Minister of Information Gregorio Cendaña on viewing the films and tapes of a disinterested audience.



Huge crowd greets Aquino and Laurel.

According to Manila columnist Max Soliven, Imee had hoped to use the Laoag shots for campaign purposes and they clearly had to be scrapped. So, he suggested, might Mr. Cendaña's job.

PUT UP OR SHUT UP

Marcos launched his attack at the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* nominating convention December 12. But vividly sensing the Aquino threat, he has become more strident since. In addition to labelling Mrs. Aquino a communist tool, he charged the opposition with lies, deception, slander and being evil, corrupt, and godless puppets of foreign interests.

Noting the KBL majority in the *Batasang Pambansa*, he added that the opposition was "in fact doomed to impotence, even if by accident they should win."

He announced to a crowd in Lipa, Batangas that he was embarrassed to be running against a woman, he who "does not even argue with a woman." He also emphasized Mrs. Aquino's inexperience.

But as the Aquino phenomenon grew, the "inexperienced young woman" he described in Lipa became in Laoag "the snake who deceives and misleads you, who has nice and honeyed words and has only sincerity to offer . . ."

Aquino's statement January 2 that she would allow communists into her government if they renounced violence upped the ongoing red-baiting significantly. An irritated Aquino finally responded, "Mr. Marcos, either you put up or shut up. I am sick and tired of hearing that I have 50 pink or red advisers."

Marcos picked up the gauntlet in his next speech naming brother-in-law Agapito "Butz" Aquino and former Senator Lorenzo Tañada her "reds." For some reason, he threw in labor leader Rolando Olalia whose organization, the *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, has publicly announced its intention to boycott the election. He also labelled the businessmen who support Aquino communists.

OPEN AND FLEXIBLE

Aquino and Laurel, though not unaffected by the red-baiting, have managed to retain the upper hand. Marcos, they claim, hammers on the communist threat "to divert the people's attention away from the real grievances of political repression and economic mismanagement of his 20-year rule."

Meanwhile, Aquino's strength remains her connection to the assassinated Ninoy Aquino. "I know well that I am not the victim who has suffered most," she told the audience at the rally announcing her candidacy. "But it just so happens that I am the best-known victim of Mr. Marcos' long list of victims." She promised to get justice for "all victims of Marcos repression."

Aquino admits to inexperience but she is also far more open and flexible than any of the politicians of her husband's vintage. That openness is to be seen in a number of her positions.

She has called for a release of political prisoners and a six-month ceasefire with the NPA to discuss what she insists are "genuine grievances" of the people. She refuses to guarantee the continued presence of the U.S. bases on Philippine soil beyond 1991 when the current agreement expires.

Friends report that Aquino holds the U.S. government at least partly responsible for her husband's death because of its refusal to take adequate security precautions in spite of threats against his life.

Because of this, she leans slightly toward the left wing of the moderate camp, and, to some degree, has resisted attempts by both U.S. government officials and her own political advisers to push her to the right.

BOYCOTT OR JOIN

The decision of the organized left to boycott the election, however, created a vacuum allowing the right to score a number of significant points.

The boycott decision was obviously not an easy one. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the National Democratic Front and affiliated organizations were divided for some time, hotly debating whether to participate or boycott (see story, page 4).

The ultimate decision distressed some members of the broader left. The jailed Jose Ma. Sison hailed Aquino's proposal for ceasefire and negotiations as a sound one and called on the CPP, NDF and NPA to limit their intended boycott to the minimum, meaning they should neither campaign for boycott nor endorse the opposition slate.

Sison "did not expect much (from Aquino and Laurel) in terms of outright anti-imperialism and feudalism" but said "we can expect much from the opposition tandem in terms of anti-fascism."

Meanwhile several prominent members of the left-leaning coalition BAYAN made a personal decision to participate. General Secretary Tañada took a three-month leave to work with Aquino while President Ambrosio Padilla resigned.

The absence of support from NDF-related organizations in the Aquino campaign has left her vulnerable to unchecked pro-U.S. and anti-communist pressures, from Marcos with his red-baiting, from pro-U.S. oppositionists, and from the U.S. Embassy.

Aquino, who initially resisted pleadings of her own advisers that she repudiate the left and vow to keep them out of the government, recently leaned to the right, promising to "use every available source of the republic" to battle rebel forces who refuse to put down their arms.

She has softened her position on the bases which was initially an unqualified call for their removal. And, after refusing for some time to have anything to do with U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, she finally caved in and agreed to begin seeing him in mid-December.

OPTIONS OPEN

Aquino and her campaign organizers recognize that there is more than one way to lose an opponent as powerful as Marcos. Already, the rumor was being circulated that Laurel followers were dumping Aquino and campaigning for a Marcos-Laurel ticket. Laurel dismissed it as an attempt to create a split between himself and Aquino.

"I think maybe Marcos is scared," Aquino told the 200,000 in Cebu City, "and he will create an artificial emergency where insurgency is going to be the problem."

Marcos himself announced that the only provocation for cancelling the election would be a breakout of fighting with communist insurgents in city streets. Two days later, top military men warned of possible NPA attacks on the cities, particularly in Cebu.

This provoked speculation that the government might be preparing to stage an excuse to cancel the election. Many recalled the staged "communist" attack on the car of Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile on September 21, 1972, which was used as an excuse for the declaration of martial law.

Marcos has other options as well. Observers see the ten-day period between the declaration of election results and the takeover by the new president as critical.

Aquino, back in the country for only three years since her three-year stint in the U.S., has technically not met the residence requirement of the election law. Her victory could be challenged before a Marcos-controlled court.

Nor is anyone ruling out the possibility of martial law once again—either during the campaign or the ten-day transition period. Marcos recently noted that, ". . . if they utilize coercion and intimidation, we will probably have to file either a protest or a request . . . to do something about it." He added that his opponents were "already starting to stir up" violence.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Finally, the contest may be getting to Marcos physically. One of his arms bled while he was campaigning. Scratches made by adoring supporters, his aides claimed, some said it was from dialysis treatments.

His recent near-collapse on stage in Dagupan and his evident weakness at all public appearances of late leave observers wondering if he is capable of surviving the campaign.

He might have been shaken too, by that averted plane collision.

Vice-presidential candidate Arturo Tolentino refuses to rule out the possibility of stepping aside for Mrs. Marcos if he is asked to, something possible under a loophole in Philippine election law. Should Marcos' state become critical, this would be one way of keeping the presidency in the family.

Meanwhile, observers expect the irregularities to increase. Marcos' KBL intelligence unit reported confidentially to the president in mid-December that in the "bellwether provinces" of Capiz, Negros Oriental, Camarines Norte, and Zamboanga del Norte, where neither candidate has much organization, Aquino stood to win by a whopping 95%. Marcos himself told a group of leaders from northeastern Luzon of reports that he would lose Metro Manila, Southern Luzon and the Western Visayas.

The jailed Sison predicted an opposition win in Central Luzon, Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog, and the Bicol area where 40% of the electorate are. He predicted a big lead in Western Visayas, a slight one in Central Visayas and that Mindanao will go "heavily for the opposition."

"Don't mention my name," a Marcos publicist told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* following one provincial rally, "but if the vote is counted fairly, I think she will win."

Not too many expect Ferdinand Marcos to allow that to happen. □

He Won't Allow Defeat

"This is serious now. It has started," said Lupita Kashiwaha, sister of the late Sen. Benigno Aquino. Three Aquino campaign workers lay dead, five injured with shrapnel and bullets in separate incidents and many more had reported death threats. That was only as of January 19, three weeks before the poll.

Armed goons riding jeeps were cruising the towns of Tarlac province, stopping and staring silently into the windows of Aquino supporters who refused to switch to Marcos.

One Marcos worker had leaked to the press a memo from a meeting called by the military of Concepcion, Tarlac which read, "Objective: Marcos should win in [Benigno Aquino's] hometown at all costs."

"Before it was just psychological war," said former Rep. Jose Yap. "Now it's just war."

ILOCOS TO MINDANAO

The first two deaths occurred January 15 as local campaign coordinator Jeremias de Jesus and his driver, along with two passengers, drove off to check on voter registration at Capas, Tarlac precinct. They stopped to pick up a hitchhiker who had flagged them down.

As de Jesus opened his door, the man swung up his M-16 and fired 30 rounds into the car. De Jesus and his driver Alberto Briones were killed. A young man in the back seat who ducked when he saw the M-16 was shot through the ankle bone.

Two days later, a barrio leader supporting Aquino from Narvacan, Ilocos Sur was shot to death in a rice field. A statement released in Manila reported that Antonia Nolasco had been shot by the son of a policeman in this Marcos-controlled province.

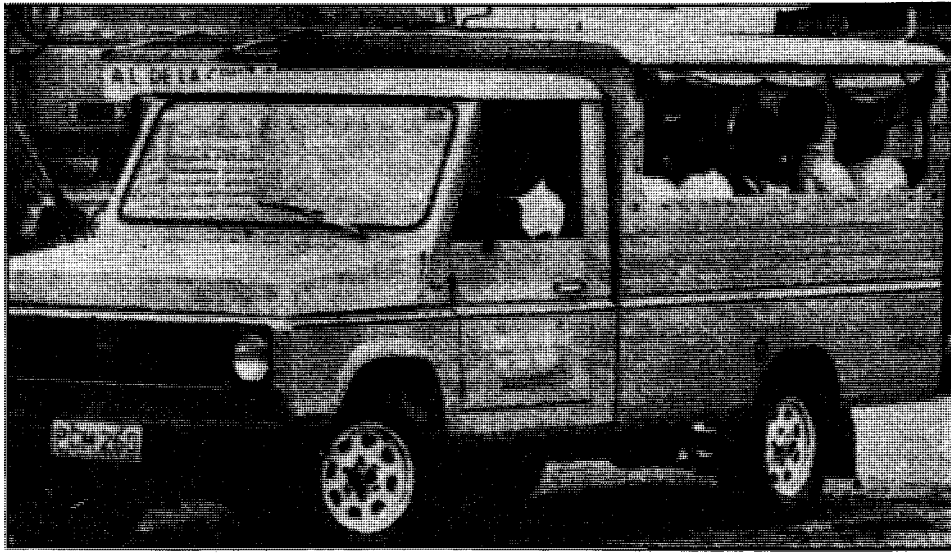
Shortly after that, a grenade tossed near an Aquino rally in Zamboanga City exploded, injuring four, stopping Aquino's speech and bringing an abrupt end to a rally of 50,000 people.

DELIVERING THE VOTE

Many observers suspect this is only the beginning of a pattern of violence aimed at intimidating Aquino and her supporters.

De Jesus' death was reported on page 13 of a government-controlled Manila paper which said "unnamed residents" claimed robbery was the motive and that the killing could also be linked to the communist insurgency.

But the surviving young man in the back



'Flying registrants' being ferried to next registration site.

seat managed to catch a glimpse of the killer and recognized him as a member of the local Civilian Home Defense Force.

The CHDF in Capas is controlled by Mayor and *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* chief Rafael Suarez who, according to the *San Francisco Examiner's* Phil Bronstein is "known for his heavy-handed approach to politics, his armored personnel carrier and his band of local militiamen who are constantly by his side."

Like all other mayors in Tarlac, Suarez must answer to Aquino's cousin, multi-millionaire Eduardo Cojuangco, the Marcos crony who controls the country's coconut industry and much of its sugar industry as well. Cojuangco has the responsibility of delivering the province's votes for the president.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Cojuangco's private army, 700- to 1,000-strong, will be useful for this task. Israeli-trained and armed with Galil combat rifles, this private force is considered the most professional in the country.

Coming a close second is that of the sugar baron from the newly-formed province of Negros del Norte, Armando Gustilo. Although Gustilo's men officially form part of the CHDF, they are paid by him. They will be expected to assist in ensuring a Marcos victory in their region.

Officially, President Marcos has sworn to keep the Philippine military out of the elections, but military sources have told the *Christian Science Monitor's* Paul Quinn-Judge to expect them to play a significant role. Recent transfers of hardcore Marcos men indicate that the president expects their assistance in key areas such as Central and Northern Luzon.

Marcos also expects generous financial assistance from his crony pals. Aides to the president told Quinn-Judge that Marcos expects to spend ₱2 billion (\$106 million) in private funds and will add another ₱1 billion if necessary.

DOLLAR INFLUX

Much of this is to come from the Marcos family itself. Reporters covering the Central Bank point to an inexplicable \$516 million influx in its most recent report. The money apparently began arriving in the country the middle of last year.

"I believe that about half of the returning dollars are from cronies and are to be used for the election," economist Bernardo Villegas of the Center for Research and Communication told reporters. Others think it represents a portion of the Marcos fortune invested abroad.

They do agree on its purpose however. "It's to pay people off," commented Richard Kessler of the Carnegie Endowment. "It's walking money—₱100 to walk in a demonstration, ₱100 more to vote . . ."

Meanwhile business sources informed the *San Jose Mercury News* that the Filipino-Chinese community has been advised of how much it is expected to contribute to the Marcos campaign. As of December, the Filipino Federation of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce had produced roughly one-half of the \$44 million anticipated.

GOVERNMENT SOURCES

Marcos campaign money is expected to come from government sources as well. Private sources told Quinn-Judge to expect anywhere between \$265 million and \$531

million from the Ministries of Public Works and Human Settlements.

Opposition *Batasang Pambansa* member Mel Lopez shortly before Christmas pointed out a ₱3.8 billion overdraft in government borrowing from the Central Bank which he suggested might have been used to finance the KBL convention. Prime Minister Cesar Virata dismissed the figure as a computer error. Still unexplained, however, was a government disbursement at roughly the same time of \$27 million in financial aid to local governments.

Businessmen who lean towards Aquino have found their access to government funds restricted. Vicente Jayme, vice-chairman of the National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections, found himself eased out of his position as President of the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines.

Jose Concepcion, NAMFREL Chairman and President of Robina Farms has been waiting several months for a flour allocation. So has Felix Maramba of Liberty Flour Mills who heads the opposition-leaning Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Two more NAMFREL-affiliated bankers are reportedly being pressured into retiring.

SUPREME COURT SCHEME

In a less than subtle move, Marcos-controlled courts ordered a sugar estate owned by Aquino's family confiscated for distribution to tenant farmers, one day after she announced her candidacy. The Hacienda Luisita dispute dates back to 1967. "It is an issue that has been around for nearly 18 years," Aquino told the press, "which . . . is clearly used for political harassment."

Mercury News reporter Lewis Simons reveals that Marcos considered using the court system to far more serious effect: cancelling the election altogether. A committee of legal advisers consisting of Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez, Juan Tuvera, Mariano Ruiz, Joaquin Venus, and Manuel Lazaro prepared a memo recommending that the president intercede with the Supreme Court to find the election unconstitutional.

Many observers remained unconvinced that Marcos intended to go through with the election. Indeed, through the first half of December, little KBL campaign material was being distributed to the provinces. The president made only a few forays outside Malacañang.

Continued on page 7

U.S. Tightens the Vise

By HILARY CROSBY

After 20 years as Ferdinand Marcos' political sponsor, Washington is certainly well-acquainted with his style. Thus, despite cries of "meddling!" in the Marcos-controlled press, the U.S. has continued to pressure the president for a clean and credible election, one that would not be a chaotic, embarrassing, and therefore, destabilizing affair.

On January 15 a Congressional source reported that a 20-member delegation is tentatively scheduled to observe the elections. This team would be headed up by Richard Lugar, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Dante Fascell (D-FL) chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The final go-ahead on this trip will be made after hearings on January 22.

The plan for an observer team jelled after a bi-partisan group visited the Philippines in early December to investigate initial election procedures made a very skeptical report to Lugar's Senate committee.

The delegates met with Malacañang

with the following concerns: the citizens' poll watching group, NAMFREL, had not been accredited as a national election monitor; the Comelec had two empty seats; the UNIDO party had not yet been designated as official opposition party and therefore could not take advantage of official rights such as poll watchers, access to media time, etc.; and rules enforcing equal access to media were being ignored. The team also expressed fears that the military might still be used for partisan purposes and that speedy ballot counting to insure accuracy was not likely. Its members also said international observers would be needed in poll-watching, vote counting, and tabulation.

Allen Weinstein, president of Boston University's Center for Democracy, the private study group which coordinated the investigation, said, "A decision on whether or not to sponsor a formal U.S. Congressional observer delegation should await, in the delegation's view, resolution of the grave concerns . . . regarding electoral procedures." Weinstein's group said the U.S. should not appear to endorse the election if these concerns could not be resolved.

So far, the first three items have been

resolved. Media coverage is still grossly uneven, and while there have been promises that the military would not intervene, intimidation tactics against the opposition are on the upswing.

DIFFERENCES?

Meanwhile, there are unconfirmed reports of differences among top Reagan officials as to whom to support in the election. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and CIA director William Casey reportedly still support Marcos on the grounds that the Aquino/Laurel ticket is likely to accommodate the Communists.

A military intelligence source reported that Pentagon officials have "already made up its mind that Marcos will win the election, by fair means or foul, and we've got to continue supporting him till he drops."

But Secretary of State George Shultz is reportedly determined to establish ties with the opposition, intensify reform pressure on Marcos, and generally prepare for Marcos' imminent departure from power. Shultz considers Marcos the NPA's best recruiter and thinks continued support of the dictator would taint the U.S. in the minds of the Filipinos.



The Bernstein brothers.

The hope of getting more U.S. officials to support the Weinberger-Casey position may be partially behind the rabidly anti-communist thrust of Marcos' campaign. But his wedge-driving efforts may have suffered a major setback when the National Defense Council, a rightwing pro-Reagan policy group endorsed Corazon Aquino believing that she "expresses democratic and anti-communist views." It said, "a peaceful change must occur and it must occur now."

DUMP MARCOS

Congressional activity in the past month shows that the "dump Marcos" sentiment is very strong there and Marcos' traditional supporters among the Republicans have kept mum. The Senate committee has cut the military portion of U.S. aid for 1985 from \$85 million to \$45 million, and

Continued on page 15

BUOD NG MGA BALITA

ESCALANTE MAYOR, PROTEST LEADERS CHARGED



Escalante massacre victims.

Pressured by the widespread public outcry over the Escalante massacre last September, a government-appointed fact finding committee indicted the Mayor of Escalante, Negros Occidental and two police officers for murder and frustrated murder. Escalante Mayor Braulio Lumayno, Capt. Modesto Sanson, and Capt. Rafael Jugan, along with 11 other PC and police personnel were placed under technical arrest and five militia men suspended in connection with the incident.

While the full extent of the military-government conspiracy has yet to be uncovered, the involvement of "higher personalities" in the mass murder is strongly suspected. In the process of piecing together the bloodbath scenario, probes discovered that machineguns mounted atop the town hall were used on the unarmed protesters.

The committee's findings may eventually be submitted to a court of law for prosecution, but skeptical observers fear the same fate for the investigation as befell that of the Agrava commission. The committee was formed by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to merely investigate the massacre, in the hope of defusing mass outrage over the brutal killings. Enrile has reportedly staked his reputation on the case.

Meanwhile, in a move to mitigate government and military responsibility for the bloodbath and divert public anger, charges were filed in court against the leaders of the murdered demonstrators for sedition and inciting to sedition. □

PRISON POEMS SEIZED

Political prisoner and poet Isagani Serrano, incarcerated since 1982 at Camp Crame, must still be in the government's "most feared" list.

In an attempt to deny Serrano one of his only remaining instrument of protest—poetry—prison authorities confiscated 429 copies of his book "Fire Tree" on

December 2 last year, arbitrarily branding it "subversive."

Isagani's wife Evelyn was delivering the books to her husband for his autograph when they were seized. After a long process of interrogation and dialogue, jail officials begrudgingly appeared to admit that there was nothing subversive about "Fire Tree." The books, however, were not returned.

After over two weeks of negotiations between Isagani's lawyer and prison officials, the copies were finally released on December 17. According to Evelyn, they have been "selling like hotcakes" ever since.

"Fire Tree," published in the U.S. in 1985 by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network and Institute for Filipino Resources and Information, features a collection of poems composed by prisoners incarcerated at Crame stockade in Quezon City. The poems by Mila Aguilar, Isagani Serrano, Judy Taguiwalo, Doris Noval-Baffrey, Milleth Soriano, and others cover their experiences and hopes rather than direct indictments on government policy.

In a related development, the Philippine Center of PEN International unanimously passed a resolution December 7 calling for the release of or immediate trial hearings for writers held in Philippine prisons (Jose Ma. Sison, Allan Jazmines, Mila D. Aguilar, Isagani Serrano, and others). □

NEW NEGROS PROVINCE CREATED

The *Batasang Pambansa* passed a bill creating a new province in the island of Negros to be designated Negros del Norte. The assembly passed the bill 942 when only two opposition assemblymen were in the chamber during the vote. Assemblymen Aquilino Pimentel and Wilson Gamboa denounced the measure as "a flagrant and blatant case of gerrymandering."

The new province is to be made up of three cities and eight towns which are to be separated from Negros Occidental. Not surprisingly, Norte's seat of government will be Cadiz, hometown of sugar planter and political warlord Armando Gustilo. To make up the new province are Silay, Cadiz, San Carlos and the towns of Calatrava, Taboso, Escalante, Sagay, Manapla, Victoria, E.B. Magalona, and Salvador Benedicto. A plebiscite to ratify the new province is scheduled sometime in April. Negros Occidental is governed by Alfredo Montelibano, an oppositionist.

Negros Occidental is governed by Alfredo Montelibano, an oppositionist. The measure consolidates the power of former congressman Gustilo who has been carrying on as the de facto governor for the northern strip of Negros Occidental and is expected to strengthen KBL fortunes in the area known for its political opposition. □

'STATE-OF-THE-ART' EXPLOITATION

Information processing, a multi-million dollar industry that spawns one software program after another, has discovered gold in Third World labor. "Off-shore labor" is high tech's answer to the highly profitable garment sweatshops and electronics components beehives in less developed countries. The product is processed information and the customers are U.S. firms just awakening to the benefits of computeriza-

tion.

Saztec, Inc. is a leader in this trend. Los Angeles-based, it employs 650 workers in the Philippines, 200 in Singapore, and 160 in Jamaica. The workers convert data at a fraction of the time and cost it would take if done by U.S. workers. Philippine employees keypunch data into a magnetic tape which is then reformatted in the U.S. and computerized. The employees cost Saztec \$200 to \$250 per month in wages, far below what a non-skilled worker in the U.S. would earn with the minimum wage.

Nine to Five, a national organization for office workers, has criticized the trend. "Instead of helping U.S. workers reach their 'fullest potential,'" charged organization spokesperson Judith McCullough, "transferring jobs overseas results in a loss of jobs for U.S. workers, and creates dead-end jobs overseas." John



Petchel, Saztec spokesman countered that the firm treats its workers well: there is little employee turnover and 20% of the profits are shared among the workers at the end of each quarter. Petchel admits that the Philippine workforce is particularly attractive because English is a second language and the workers perform at an amazing 99.5% accuracy rate. Saztec grosses \$10 million annually. □

MARSHALLS KILLED WRONG PEOPLE

According to *Malaya* newsmagazine, 1985 was the "year of living dangerously"—numerous men, women and children fell victim to violence—random and premeditated. Quite a few of them never even knew what was coming. Take the case of the 26 victims of the dreaded Secret Marshalls last year.

The Marshalls are an elite unit authorized to shoot on sight suspected criminals. Of the 26 fatalities, according to Col. Proceso Almando, only five actually had criminal records. The 21 others were "mistakes." The Secret Marshalls, according to the National Bureau of Investigation have been making a secret of these mistakes and have forged the autopsies of their hapless victims. □

ODDS AND ENDS

Toe the Line or Else. A measure passed unanimously by the Metro Manila Commission and now awaiting approval by Metro Manila Governor and First Lady Imelda Marcos will make it unlawful for pedestrians to cross or move along portions of the street other than designated crosswalks. Violation of the measure carries a P50-100 fine and or five to 10 days imprisonment. Fiscal Sergio Apostol said the measure can be used against rallyists and marchers. To reduce the Parliament of the Streets to the Caucus of the Crosswalks perhaps. □

Two, Two, Two Votes in One. "I am asking for mercy and help from the Filipino nation," Mrs. Imelda Marcos told a Malolos, Bulacan crowd December 28, "because you know the truth that your daughter Imelda is poor . . . You vote for one you get two because Imelda is there." □

Deportation Made Easy. Tired of that degrading U.S. customs inspections? Weary of arrogant immigration officials? Suffer no longer. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization officials were in Manila recently to discuss with Foreign Minister Pacifico Castro and Immigration Commissioner Edmundo Reyes the possibility of making Manila a U.S. Port of Entry. If approved, the scheme would enable U.S. immigration to screen out illegal immigrants before they even set foot in the states, no doubt saving the INS a bundle in deportation costs. It is not known if Philippine officials agreed or if they raised that minor issue of national sovereignty. □

New People's Navy? Brig. Gen. Benjamin Ignacio, 10th PC Regional Command chief told AFP Chief Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos that the NPA in Surigao del Norte has two-way radios on fixed frequencies

which has enabled them to monitor government troop movements and mount ambushes and raids "almost at will and with precision." He also complained that the NPA now has a seaborne force called "*Bagong Navy ng Bayan*" or BANABA with four pumpboats. It must really be tough going against such a technologically superior foe. □

Close, But No Cigar. A Super King Air twin-engine plane carrying President Marcos to a campaign rally in Calapan January 18 came close to colliding with a Philippine Air Force plane as both tried to land simultaneously on an airstrip with no control tower. The planes coming from opposite directions came within less than 3,000 feet of each other before the PAF Cessna veered to avoid collision. That pilot should be reprimanded for gross incompetence. □

Death of a Political Survivalist

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

With the passing away of Carlos P. Romulo on December 14, the establishment and alternative media took a break from covering the campaign trail to eulogize "the general." Interestingly enough, there was mutual agreement that "CPR's" demise was a loss that transcended the partisan politics of the moment.

Only CPR's greatness as a soldier, diplomat, writer, educator, and statesman, a "true Filipino and outstanding patriot" was remembered in one editorial after another, and in an elaborate state necrological service on December 19 that drew dignitaries the world over. The paeans to CPR from opposite sides of the political fence which rarely if ever agree on anything made one wonder if CPR really hailed from the same strife-torn country. The editorials, obituaries, eulogies and accolades that memorialized the statesman, delivered in the eloquent, florid style so characteristic of the general himself, in fact seemed out of place in newsprint that otherwise flung charges and countercharges in bold headlines. But it was something an ilustrado like CPR would have loved: a divided nation momentarily united in glorifying his achievements.

WHAT IS CPR'S LEGACY?

Carlos P. Romulo, earned as many sobriquets as his six decades in public service: "Mr. United Nations," "Grand Old Man of Asia," and "the General." He was among the founders of the United Nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and other "free world" organizations that mushroomed under the tutelage of the United States in the '30s, '40s and '50s.

His birth 86 years ago virtually coincided with the birth of a nation that violently burst out of a 400-year-old cocoon spun by Spanish colonial rule, into the 20th century. Romulo was a product of this period, and politically trained under U.S. colonialism to become the prototype of the new ilustrados.

He first earned his mark as a journalist and writer, becoming the only non-American to win the prestigious Pulitzer prize for his wartime coverage of Chungking. He was eventually recruited by President Quezon and served on the Philippine Commission in Washington, D.C. during the war. He was on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur, and waded ashore with the imperial warrior during the famed Leyte landing. It was during this stint that CPR earned the monicker "the general."

After the war, CPR served as ambassador to the U.S. During the '50s and '60s, Romulo's dominance of the foreign policy scene made him known to most Filipinos as "Mr. Ambassador."

His stint as the president of the University of the Philippines coincided with the reawakening of nationalism in the '60s. To a generation of youth he became known not as a role model, but as a symbol of the country's traditional leadership—he was "The Brown American."

But he became better known for his term as president of the UN General Assembly. His continued presence in UN General Assembly proceedings, and his co-authorship of many UN founding documents including the UN Charter on Human Rights, made him virtually synonymous with the institution itself. He became, according to former President Jimmy Carter's tribute, "Mr. United Nations."

Later he was to become Minister of Foreign Affairs, and even after retiring, served as foreign policy adviser to President

Marcos. Well into his eighties Romulo was elected Assemblyman to the Batasang Pambansa.

NATIONALIST OR U.S. STOOGES?

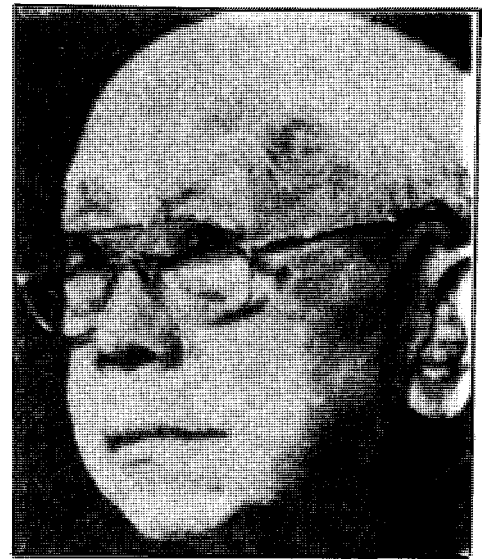
Throughout his long career, CPR was always considered an asset by the succession of presidents he came to serve, largely because of his long and close relationship with U.S. leaders. He stood out among the crop of allies the U.S. cultivated before and after the war. He was a spokesman of the "free world" and avid defender of the United States, a premier propagandist for the Allied Powers during WWII. And it was because of these political and ideological associations that CPR became world famous. His loyalty endeared him to American leaders who looked at him "as the quintessential Filipino."

Eulogizing the general, U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines Stephen Bosworth put it aptly: "General Romulo was a close colleague for all his long adult life. He was a Filipino nationalist and a partner whose constructive criticism made us a better ally."

Romulo's nationalism was the kind spawned by the Commonwealth era and consolidated by America's "liberation of the Philippines" from the Japanese. It uniquely combined love of one's country with love and gratitude for the United States.

True, much of the diplomatic world has known the Philippines through Romulo, and for this many Filipinos think he should be honored. But what he mirrored was not independence but subservience.

CPR's individual achievements and skills and talents are certainly beyond doubt. But to many Filipinos who have spent most of their youth and adult life battling the Marcos dictatorship, CPR will not exactly be remembered as a hero. CPR had an opportunity to distance himself from the isolated



ruler, and utilize his international prestige to amplify the Filipino people's demands for democracy. He once reportedly intimated that he was disturbed by his situation. There he was a co-author of the United Nations Declaration of human rights and in his own country, human rights were being violated all over the place. Such intimations could have been of some value had they been uttered publicly. As private thoughts they remained useless, even self-serving.

It is said that CPR chronicled his eventual drift away from the regime in an as yet unpublished memoir. On a number of occasions towards the end, he was seen in some opposition functions. Perhaps this is why the alternative press has been too forgiving. But his acts of sympathy were too little, too late.

Until Filipinos learn not to forgive men who are able to have their cake and eat it too, successful political survivalism will be confused with glory, and sacrifice for the sake of principles with admirable but impractical Quixotism. □

The Rise and Fall of a Bomba Queen

By JAMES P. STERBA
Reprinted from the *Wall Street Journal*

Her agent, Rey de la Cruz, liked the way her name flowed. "Pep-si Pa-lo-ma," he said in a lilting cadence, "like Marilyn Mon-roe." Director Celso Castillo thought up the "Pepsi" part. "She was a cute, innocent girl with long hair, so why not name her after my favorite soft drink," he said.

And that—which is about as logical as it gets in the movie business here—was how a half-American, 14-year-old student at St. Catherine's Academy in Olongapo City named Delia Smith became the Philippines' first "soft-drink beauty." Translation: She started a new but simple formula for film stardom in the Philippines. She took off her clothes on screen.

In a country that is 85% Roman Catholic and has had strict censorship rules, young Ms. Paloma's daring move changed the movie business here. And spawned imitators.

Coca Nicolas and Sarsi (a local soda) Emmanuel were also "discovered" by Mr. de la Cruz (his letterhead lists him as optometrist, politician and "star discoverer"). Soon a second bevy of soft-core starlets, called "hard-drink beauties" blossomed: Vodka Zobel, Brandy Ayala, Remy Martin, Chivas Regala. Many were street waifs. Most are the children of Filipinos and foreigners.

But Pepsi was the trend setter. Before her brief, forlorn career was over last May, she would star in the biggest box-office hit in Philippine movie history.

These days, "bomba queens" or "bold stars," as Pepsi's generation of actresses are called, are all over the screens here. Catholics call them a logical phenomenon of the Marcos era, used by a cynical industry to test the limits of censorship, to reap big pesos at the box office, and then to be quickly cast aside like old fish. Some critics of the Marcos regime like to say the "bomba queens" reflect a society headed toward moral bankruptcy after two decades of moral bankruptcy after two decades of



An aspiring 'bomba' actress.

inept rule, including nine years of martial law (lifted in 1981).

Last year, 540 million movie tickets were sold in this nation of 52 million people, and bold stars sold a lot of them. This is no thanks to government censors, who tend to snip out most bold-movie love scenes; but distributors and producers regularly slip them back in.

For example, on the set of "Nude City," Director Romy Suzara knows exactly which scenes will cause the censors to reach for their scissors. He shoots them anyway, for two reasons: As one of Manila's best directors, he knows how to make bold films with brief nudity and camera-averted sex that also have a "moral plot" and are "arty" enough for showing uncensored at the government's Manila Film Center. He can even get low-cost government production loans from the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines. (Imee Marcos, daughter of the President, runs the ECP.)

The title of "Nude City" may have to be made more arty sounding, but the plot's OK: properly raised girl has father who needs an

eye operation but has no money; she goes secretly to work at the Nude City disco as a dancer and is raped by its manager; her boyfriend finds out; fights ensue; disco owner stages benefit for the girl and her father, but father commits suicide that same night.

As the directors test the rules, the church sometimes fights back. After Mr. Castillo gave Pepsi her movie debut in "Brown Emmanuelle," a local version of the Western soft-porn classic, Manila Catholics unveiled a six-meter statue of a Filipino Virgin Mary entitled "Brown Madonna."

Christina Crisol (Elizabeth May Johnson), 17, and Maureen Mauricio (Melanie McCarthy), 13, had major roles in "Nude City." "I read every script," says their agent, Bhabette Corcuerra, who has a stable of 18 bold stars who refer to him as "Mom." He dresses as a woman.

"I want a nice image for them," Mr. Corcuerra says. "If they are too bold, they won't last long. If they expose too much of the body in one movie, there's nothing left for the next producer. So my rule is: no frontal nudity."

He says parents face a dilemma when he comes around: They don't want their children to do nude scenes, which the contracts they are asked to sign require. But they are almost always very poor and they don't want to miss a chance to get rich.

"They know I'm not kidnapping them to be prostitutes," he says, noting that that's the fate of thousands of Filipino children. Church critics say the distinction is minimal.

Although they are no more explicit than R-rated movies in the U.S.—in fact, American soap operas are more explicit in plot and language—local bold movies are popular because they are in the local language, Tagalog, and they star local actors and actresses with whom Filipinos can identify.

That Pepsi Paloma's formula-changing role in the movie "Virgin People" brought her a place in Philippine cinematic history isn't open to serious question, says Joe Quirino, Philippine film historian, author, TV talk-show host, and former chairman of the government's Board of

Censors. ("I only lasted a year," he says. "I passed everything.") But Pepsi's fame couldn't have happened without the 1983 Manila Film Festival, a 10-day, we-got-culture-too extravaganza of glittering galas, fireworks, flown-in film stars, and parties organized by First Lady Imelda Marcos.

The festival generated more than a smidgen of controversy, since it occurred at a time when the Philippines was plunging into its worst depression since World War II, when child malnutrition was growing rapidly, and when a sense of economic desperation was beginning to grip a land where 70% of the people are impoverished. Mrs. Marcos had already spent \$25 million in government money on the new bayside Manila Film Center to house the festival and subsequent endeavors.

The festival went on, nevertheless. And Pepsi Paloma helped pay for it. She did so because Mrs. Marcos found herself facing a bit of a cash-flow problem. Her husband, under political pressure, said he couldn't dip into the public trough to bail out his wife's event. So the First Lady decided to take the festival into the streets. Of the 400 entries from 60 nations, 24 contained sexually explicit scenes, which turned out to be a blessing. Since she is also governor of Manila, Mrs. Marcos quickly authorized the uncensored showing of several of these films, including "Virgin People," at dozens of Manila theaters. They got to charge triple the normal ticket prices if they kicked back 60% of sales to the festival.

Within nine days, "Virgin People" became the highest-grossing movie in Philippine film history. But, since you have to be 18 to see an adult movie here, Pepsi Paloma was legally too young to see her own movie. Worse still, Pepsi's career didn't take off. She blamed overexposure due to a rape case, which skeptics charged was a publicity stunt by her agent. She had had a few movie roles in the past couple of years, but earned most of her money dancing at beer houses and clubs around Manila, sometimes appearing at 10 different places nightly. Drugs became a problem, Manila film reports said. But her spirits were buoyed, said friends, after she adopted a son who was born to her brother and his wife. Pepsi named him Chuck.

Then, in the middle of a spring day earlier this year, Pepsi Paloma committed suicide by hanging herself with a cotton sash in the bedroom of her Manila apartment. She would have been 18 next year. □

Elderly Filipino Immigrants

'Sometimes We Play Bingo'

By VINCE REYES

Elderly Filipino immigrants give getting old in America mixed reviews. The conveniences available here are duly noted and so are the economic challenges. It can be a mite more comfortable getting old here, but for a people used to the security and solace provided by extended families and networks of friends back home, it can be awfully lonely. And then, even the comforts seem to be dwindling.

The population of Filipino immigrant seniors is growing as Filipinos who immigrated here in the 60s and the 70s are now in the process of sponsoring their parents and reuniting their families.

There were 130,396 Filipinos who entered the U.S. on immigrant visas between 1981 and 1983, according to INS statistics. But between 1980 and 1983 alone, 38,396 immigrant Filipinos entered who were over the age of 50. Most were between 60 and 69 years old.

Some 10,000 elderly came in 1981 but the figures have levelled off to around 9,000 every year since then.

Since the late '70s, the composition of third wave Filipino immigration has been changing rapidly. Immigrants are no longer the professionals who arrived in the sixties when immigration laws were relaxed to bolster certain professions here. Once the first groups had settled down, children, spouses, parents, brothers, sisters, their children, etc. started coming in. An endless chain of reunification. As a result, the community, though still predominantly immigrant in character, is now a complex melange of many different age groups, class and educational backgrounds.

At first Manang Tinay's movements seem slow and deliberate. But soon after she begins talking about how active she was before her stroke three years ago, she becomes quite animated. It is hard to notice that the right side of her body is paralyzed.

"I'm diabetic and it also affects my blood pressure. It was very high yesterday and I was feeling very dizzy so I had to go to the hospital."

Tinay, who will be 74 years old in March, described her immigration to the U.S. in cadence: "I came here in 1961, became a permanent resident in 1972 and got my citizenship in 1979." She recalled that it was much easier to become a permanent resident in those days.

She lost her husband during World War II, never remarried and despite hardships in the Philippines managed to raise her two daughters by working as a teacher "at two schools at the same time, morning and afternoon." Her eldest daughter applied for an internship to become a dietician and was accepted in Chicago. Tinay borrowed some money to send her away. Her daughter got her degree and got married here. "That's how I came to the States, I came for my daughter's wedding."

When she retired before leaving for the U.S., Tinay knew she would not have a source of income. She had worked for 30 years in a private school that did not provide a pension.

FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED INTO U.S.

Year/Age	50-59	60-69	70-79	80
1980	3,974	4,760	1,675	177
1981	4,463	4,882	1,752	166
1982	4,115	4,315	1,542	153
1983	3,650	3,504	1,307	152

SOURCE: INS

"I tried to apply for a job as a teacher in Chicago and received some training—but I was too sick to stick it out as a teacher."

It was hard finding a job because she was always deemed overqualified. "People told me I should have just said I had a high school education. But, by gosh, I was proud that I could speak English and Spanish and had a B.S. degree."

Eventually Tinay found a job at the Chicago J.C. Penney's as a credit approval clerk and worked there for less than a year.

"An American who was training told me to 'alphabetize' some cards. And I said, 'alphatize?' I've never

heard of such a thing. 'What's the matter lady, don't you know your ABCs?' 'Oh,' I said, 'you mean alphabetize.' That made me so mad. I was so insulted that they thought I did not know what to do. I taught grammar and social studies. My only difference with them was I had an accent."

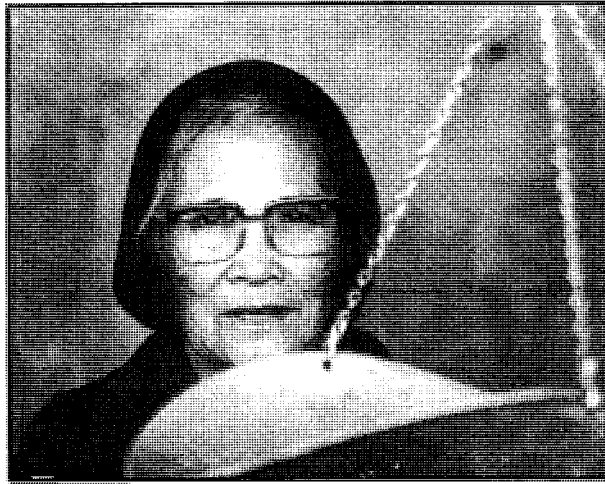
Tinay was grateful that her children had seen to her living accommodations. "It was nice when I first came to the States because I lived with my daughter and took care of the kids."

But like many other senior citizens she felt that she did not want to become a burden.

"One day, one of my friends told me, 'Manang, you don't belong anymore to that family. You must live alone now and rest.' I agreed, they had their own life to live and I wanted to be independent. I went to Social Security and they gave me help. That was when I first started to receive S.S.I. (supplemental security income for aged and disabled)."

Like many other Filipinos, Tinay sees the U.S. as her permanent home. "I don't think I can go back to the Philippines anymore. When I went back it was too hot for me. I was too ashamed to tell my friends that I wasn't used to the heat—they might ask what kind of Filipino am I now. I just kept asking for a drink of water."

She thinks the U.S. is better for Filipino senior citizens because it is too hard to live in the Philippines. "If I had my stroke when I was there, I would have been long dead because there are no means there to care for people."



It is still expensive here, she thinks, but where she lives "only 30%" of her income goes to rent. "When I first moved here my rent was \$88. Then it went to \$120, now \$142. This is out of my \$533 I get for S.S.I. The rest of the money goes to my food and telephone bills. I have two sisters in New York so I always call them."

Living alone has never been a problem for Tinay. She is always in close contact with her family and very active in Filipino community organizations. But much of her community involvement ended in 1983 when she suffered a stroke. Now, her right side is paralyzed. "I had to learn how to write with my left hand," Tinay proudly says.

But her handicap has cost her some of her independence. "It's hard for me to get around now—I'm really lonesome," she says.

"When I wake up I say my prayers from 9:00 to 11:00. Before, I used to go to church every day. I still try to keep active. My old friends in the clubs still consult with me from time to time for advice on club activities."

Since she now lives in subsidized senior citizen housing in downtown San Francisco, there are activities available for her if she chooses. "Sometimes we play bingo or mahjong but most often I have no one."

Ansing came here six years ago when she was already 72 years old. Her eldest daughter who came in the late 1960s as an accountant on a professional visa had petitioned for her.

"I was so happy to arrive here," recalls Ansing, "I saw the grandchild I had never seen before—I was so happy." But somehow the proud grandmother became relegated to keeping house.

"Now, I only stay at home with the kids—so I've now become the babysitter. My daughter cannot even find the time to take me shopping or even to see my friends. I love my grandchildren but I do not only live to take care of their children. They are working all the time and they are too tired to have plans for me."

Despite living comfortably in her family's Mission District home and being blessed with good health, Ansing obviously longs for even a little bit of in-



Conchita and Pedro Cabiluna

dependence. But she is resigned to the fact that her age limits her options. "At least I live here with my family now. I don't know much about America, but I'm old now anyway," she sighs. End of interview.

Pete is a very fit-looking 65-year-old who has been in the U.S. since 1978. He came on a tourist visa as a delegate to an American Legion convention. While here, he applied to be an immigrant and is now waiting for his green card. His wife, Conchita, came as a tourist in 1983 for their daughter's wedding and is also awaiting her permanent status.

Pete, a mechanical engineer, worked in the marketing department of the multinational CALTEX Corporation in the Philippines for 24 years. When he left, he cashed in his retirement in one lump sum. The money helped to get him here. The only job he could find was as a mechanical assembler in a Silicon Valley electrical components plant. He was laid off last November and now receives unemployment.

"It's hard financially," he says, "because this is our only income." His wife does not receive any benefits and she cannot work because her Social Security number is only good for identification. He does not receive S.S.I., not being a citizen or resident. "This is my seventh year here. Maybe I will hear something from the INS soon," he says hopefully. "Our children could help us, but we don't want them to."

Living in subsidized senior housing is a big help because they only pay 25% of their income. "The more you make, the more you pay," says Pete. "I just told them to lower my rent this month because I don't have a job anymore."

Pete and Conchita are very proud of their four children. One of their daughters is a teacher now living in Vermont, another daughter lives in Texas. Both are married to Americans. Their two sons are still in the Philippines.

"We still send \$200 a month to them, but they say it is still hard to make ends meet," says Conchita.

The two have settled into a daily routine. "When I worked, Conchita did all the housework. For me to keep getting my unemployment check, I have to be looking for work. So every morning I check the newspapers," says Pete.

"We could go to Senior Centers for hot meals but we're trying not to grow old and grow sideways at the same time," jokes Conchita. "We mostly eat here in the apartment."

Returning to the Philippines is mostly a matter of economics to the couple. "I don't know if I would go back to the Philippines now," he says. "I might if I could get Social Security. The peso is \$18.75 to one now. Your dollar will really be worth more there."

But while they recognize certain benefits in being in the U.S. they also miss certain class advantages they used to have.

"Here in the States you don't grow old that fast. When you're a senior there in the Philippines, though, you're really a senior. You have helpers there—servants. At least that's how we were there," Pete says.

The days ahead look gray for America's senior citizens in general. While the Reagan administration has been careful not to cut social security, other support services have been going under the axe. For example, Medicare cuts are now evicting severely ill elderly patients from hospitals to ill-equipped nursing homes or private homes.

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, President Reagan's new budget balancing law, will cut federal spending for many non-military federal programs by 4.3% beginning March 1. The cuts are part of a \$11.7 billion national spending reduction mandated by law.

The law requires that the federal deficit be reduced over a series of cuts over a five-year period. Although it limited the cut for the current fiscal year at \$11.7 billion, future reductions are expected to be \$40 and \$50 billion annually unless Congress votes for a tax increase.

Under the law, half of the \$11.7 billion in cuts will

Continued on page 13

Poll is 'Hot' Among Pinoys Here

By MADGE BELLO

Cory Aquino's challenge to the 20-year rule of Ferdinand Marcos is the hottest topic among Filipinos in the U.S. and Canada today. In the coming few weeks, political fundraisers and anti-Marcos meetings will dominate the social scene in the community.

"There's a healthy dose of cynicism about the election," said Geline Avila, co-coordinator of Coalition Against the Marcos/Philippine Solidarity Network.

"But people seem to feel that they helped Cory it could hurt him this time, so they want to take that opportunity," added Avila who, through CAMD's chapters, has been taking an informal survey of community responses to the polls.

"People see it as a last chance for the electoral process," said Steve Psinakis, the official lobbyist of the Ninoy Aquino Movement. "Cory has captured the people's imagination."

'DOLLARS FOR DEMOCRACY'

NAM, however, is not raising funds directly for Cory. Psinakis' group is urging U.S. Filipinos to help raise \$4.5 million for "Dollars for Democracy," a project NAM operates under the auspices of the "non-profit and non-partisan" Funds for New Priorities.

Cecile Guidote Alvarez, the group's press officer told *Ang Katipunan* recently that the funds are to be used to oversee a clean and safe election in the Philippines.

"We are a non-partisan group and are not supporting any one candidate. Our goal is to safeguard the ballot by mobilizing the community to adopt a precinct in the Philippines."

Andrea Luna, a NAM member from Los Angeles who was staffing the campaign's San Francisco office said that there are 90,000 precincts in the Philippines and it takes about 10 people to staff each one for the whole day. They are hoping to provide \$5 worth of food and transportation allowance for each person volunteering at the precincts.

Asked how they were going to raise \$4.5 million in the U.S. Luna said that private dinners are being held in various Filipino homes. "In Los Angeles, for example, a Freedom Dinner is being planned at \$25 per person with the theatre group 'Green Card '86' performing on January 30 at the Patriotic Plaza on Washington Boulevard."

Late last month, a \$100-a-plate dinner was attended by about 50 Filipinos at the Sheraton Palace at Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, according to Ruben Mallari, former chairperson of the S.F. NAM.

"\$100 is a very expensive dinner," said Ramon Mitra, who keynoted the event,



The CAMD's Christmas carolling campaign included discussions on the upcoming elections; Honolulu chapter (above) performing "Material Girl."

"but it is very cheap to save a country."

"Before it took us a whole year to raise \$5,000," Psinakis added. "I've never seen many of the people who came to the dinner," he added.

Mallari said the group is also launching a massive mail solicitation drive to hundreds of thousands of Filipinos and Americans.

The campaign was working to get the support of prominent Americans including Coretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King, Jr., Ramsey Clark, Norman Lear of the "All in the Family" fame, Peter Yarro of the "Peter, Paul and Mary" singing group, and Bianca Jagger.

EDUCATIONALS

In addition to fundraising activities, the anti-Marcos movement is organizing educational nationwide, from Hawaii to California, New York and Canada.

In the Philippine tradition of election rallies, "Miting de Avance" are scheduled by local coalitions in Honolulu, Los Angeles, Seattle, Sacramento, San Francisco-Bay area, Washington, DC, New York and in Toronto and Montreal, Canada.

These local coalitions are composed of individuals and groups like the Movement for Free Philippines, Katipunan ng Mga Demokratikong Pilipino, CAMD/PSN, Friends of Cory and NAM.

Tomas Gomez II of the "Friends of Aquino and Laurel" in Honolulu said that while it was "doubtful that a fair election could be held" under the present dictatorship, it was the consensus of their group that Cory was the best person to challenge Marcos in the contest.

Gomez believes that Aquino can unite the opposition. "She has the right nationalist attitude and is committed to national sovereignty over issues such as the U.S.

Bases." His group wants to raise \$50,000 for her campaign.

"The 'Mitings' are a way of bringing out people in the community who feel there's a need to stand behind the demands being made by the opposition slate," Avila said.

The issues of genuine democratization, economic and political justice, and national sovereignty "must remain clear" throughout the campaign, Avila said.

She reported that the CAMD/PSN is trying to put together a last minute delegation of prominent Americans, who will make a three-day visit to the Philippines before the elections to meet with different sectors of the opposition, "not as representatives of the U.S. government but as progressive Americans."

Notables like the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Ramsey Clark, and Gloria Steinem are being asked to join the delegation.

Beth Tejada, a CAMD/PSN member in New York who is also a staff at the Ms. Foundation said that Steinem, the foundation's head, feels an affinity to the anti-Marcos struggle, "ever since she was asked to speak at a picket in New York against a 'Miss Universe' contest being held in the Philippines in 1974."

Other Philippine opposition groups such as the Philippine Support Committee and the Philippine Educational Support Committee are not part of the campaign and are holding educational forums after the election.

"We feel the election should not be supported because it is no different from previous elections that Marcos staged," stated Joel Rocamora, a PSC member. Rocamora's group is taking the same posture as the National Democratic Front in the Philippines which is, to boycott the elections.

In Toronto, Canada, Cora Baron, who chairs the NAM Memorial Institute wants the Canadian government to send a delegation to observe the elections. In a letter to External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, she said the election was critical for the future of the country and for all of Southeast Asia. "Canadians should play an active role in monitoring the situation," she urged.

At Cory's alma mater, the College of Mount Saint Vincent in Riverdale, New York, friends and supporters came together to listen to the school president, Sr. Doris Smith, who shared memories of her as a student and urged the audience to give her their support.

At the initiative of the CAMD chapter in Sacramento, Assemblyperson Gwen Moore is introducing a resolution in the California Legislature to support the holding of free elections in the Philippines.

"There's a lot of things going on," said Shirley Ando, coordinator of the S.F. chapter of CAMD/PSN. "Everywhere around the country, anti-Marcos events and activities are happening, even in areas where there have never been any since 1972 when martial law was declared."

NO ILLUSIONS

"I personally feel the election will not be clean and peaceful. But I am willing to give it a try, just a 1% chance that it could work," Psinakis said.

Avila expressed the same doubts. "We do not have any illusions, the harassment and intimidation have already started."

Psinakis said that an appeal has been made to the U.S. media to cover the elections and to serve as a "patrol" to prevent Marcos from successfully rigging it.

Mitra had also asked Southeast Asian countries to send their own observation teams. "If the U.S. decides to stick it by Marcos, we want to have the ASEAN countries on our side, so we are not at the mercy of the U.S. all the time," he said.

PRO-MARCOS SECTOR ALSO BUSY

Meanwhile, Marcos supporters are trying to duplicate the opposition's activities but with less visibility.

Dr. Lionel Malabed, a boyhood friend of Marcos reportedly held a fundraiser at a church in San Francisco, where envelopes were passed to about 100 people in attendance. They collected a total of \$300.

Calling themselves "Friends of Marcos in the U.S.," Malabed's group wants to make sure Marcos is reelected in the Philippines.

"A groundswell of support has been developing in California and elsewhere for the election of Marcos," claimed San Francisco lawyer Emmanuel Tison. He also claimed to have received \$500,000 in both pledges and donations from Marcos supporters in the U.S.

The pro-Marcos group also announced they were planning to hold a rally at Union Square in San Francisco before February 7. □

Throngs Mark King Holiday

On January 20, Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday was observed as a national holiday. It was the first time a national holiday was commemorated in honor of a Black American. President Ronald Reagan had opposed this holiday but now claims he has always supported the late civil rights leader. All over the country, marches and observances drew hundreds of thousands of people of all races. Some Filipino faces could be seen among them.

From 1955 to the time he was assassinated on April 4, 1968, King led a civil rights movement which challenged the segregation of schools and public facilities. The movement broke down separate-but-equal (Jim Crow) laws, pressed the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (making it unlawful to discriminate on the basis of race, religion or sex) and secured the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

King led massive, racially integrated,

marches and protests against inequality and popularized a vision of a society where race and ethnicity would not be barriers to equal opportunities and access to education, jobs, housing and health care.

His historic March on Washington, D.C. in August 1963 drew 250,000 people. Two years later, over 28,000 joined King during his famous march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. In April 1968, the 39-year-old King who advocated non-violence was killed by an assassin's bullet.

Many U.S. Filipinos are just now becoming familiar with the impact of the civil rights movement. As the fastest growing minority group in the U.S., Filipinos are encountering racial inequality more frequently. Thus, problems with professional licensure, unemployment and underemployment are rising on the agenda of many Filipino organizations.

"The visibility [of the civil rights movement] was high in the '60s but by the time most Filipinos came in the '70s, civil rights had been pushed aside," said Rudy Fernandez, a board member of the Filipinos for Affirmative Action in Oakland and an active community leader. "But I think now, civil rights is becoming an issue for our community."

Fr. Rey Culaba, an outspoken Filipino priest in San Francisco said "Racism, as Martin Luther King recognized, is a sickness. Once we end racism we can more fully enter the struggle for the impoverished, the homeless, and the uneducated." Fr. Culaba celebrated a special mass honoring King for his St. Paul of the Shipwreck congregation which includes a large number of Filipinos.

Fernandez said the community must address its own ignorance.

"Although Martin Luther King's work has helped Filipinos, he's not necessarily an idol," said Fernandez, "this has to do with problems of racism and miseducation among Filipino—they will look at Lincoln as more acceptable than King."

"Many Filipinos are unaware of what the Black community has done to advance the civil rights of minorities and have instead stereotyped Blacks in a negative light," said bilingual specialist Reina Bautista. "They are unaware that the Black community was responsible for getting the civil rights off the ground. Filipinos should be thankful that discrimination in employment, housing and education is at least outlawed."

"When you are being treated as if you were on the margin of society, as most Filipinos are," said Fr. Culaba, "that's racism, and we share that experience in common with the Black people." □ VR

N.Y. Foreign Medical Grads Get Squeezed

By OFELIA O. VILLERO
New York

While the venerable Statue of Liberty is undergoing repairs for its rededication, the principles for which it stands are under fire in its very own home grounds. The latest victims of the chauvinistic climate, while not exactly huddled and starving masses, nonetheless come from alien shores. They are the foreign medical graduates.

Last September 1985, the New York Commission on Graduate Medical Education released a preliminary report containing recommendations that would, in effect, eliminate foreign medical graduates from state residency programs.

Foreign medical graduates or FMGs are doctors and other medical practitioners who have graduated from foreign medical schools. These would include, of course, Filipino physicians who graduated in the Philippines.

A great many Filipino physicians came to the U.S. in the 1960s when Congress relaxed immigration laws to encourage the entry of FMGs. At that time, there was an acute problem of access to medical care in the United States, and the FMGs became the ready solution.

However in 1976, these relaxed procedures and other professional inducements for FMGs were revoked by Congress after it determined that there was "no longer an insufficient number of physicians and surgeons in the United States." Since then, FMGs have been open targets of discriminatory acts and unjust policies. In New York state, the latest move is to deprive FMGs of residencies solely because of their foreign medical education.

The New York Commission on Graduate Medical Education wants "two major changes in policy and practice." First, "A medical graduate may not be appointed to a residency in New York state if he/she is from a foreign medical school which fails to provide full undergraduate clinical training in its own country unless that school has been found acceptable by the New York State Education Department."

Second, "A graduate of a foreign medical school must pass the Foreign Medical Graduate Examination in the Medical Sciences (FMGEMS) within three attempts before being eligible for residency in New York."

DEVASTATING IMPACT

These restrictions imply that FMGs are "not adequately prepared to assume the responsibilities of a residency position in New York state." The discriminatory impact of these recommendations, when implemented, is devastating.

Residency training is key to a physician's career. The report itself acknowledges that "The principal purpose of this training is for physicians to develop knowledge and skills which will permit them to engage in the independent practice of medicine."

More importantly, to qualify for licensure in New York state FMGs are required to take three years of residency training. Graduates of U.S. medical schools are not required residency training to qualify for licensure. Since this is the case the Commission in essence, wants to keep FMGs from practicing medicine in the state of New York altogether.

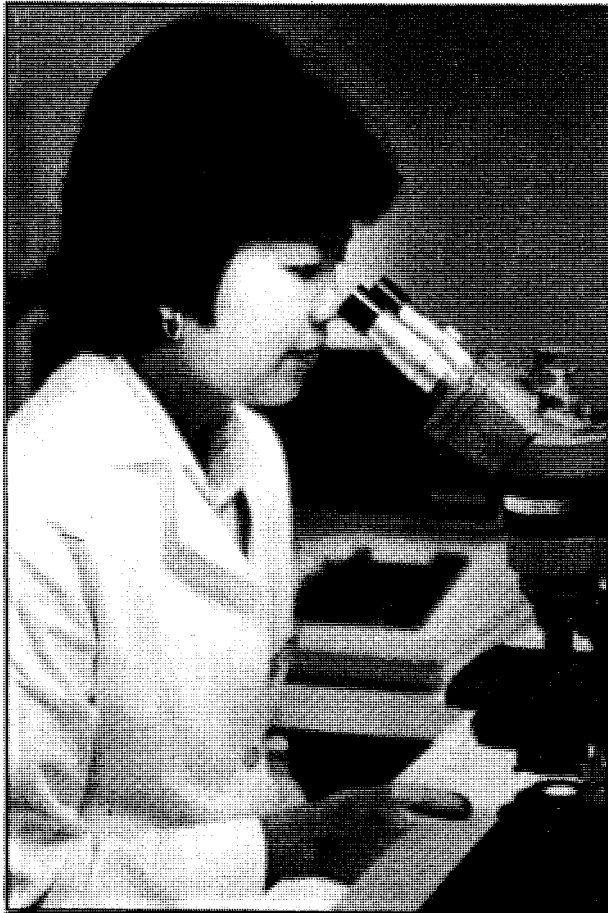
To support its claim about the inadequacy of FMG education, the Commission said that "the quality of the medical education in foreign medical schools is, for the most part, not monitored by national or international accrediting organizations." In the same breath, the Commission also states that the problem of evaluating those foreign medical schools is that "no independent assessment of the characteristics or quality of education" is available.

It claims, however, that "It is known by anecdote and unofficial observation that, in many instances, the size of the classes related to facilities preclude meaningful laboratory or hands-on clinical experience and personal contact with faculty is a rarity, but these observations are neither systematic, official, or comprehensive." (*Underscoring ours.*)

In other words, there is no substantial proof—except anecdotes and unofficial observation—that foreign medical education in general is inadequate. Nevertheless, the Commission proceeded to act on the basis of inconclusive evidence.

OFF SHORE SCHOOLS

To add insult to injury, the Commission's findings were based mainly on studies of "off-shore" medical schools in the Caribbean which were disapproved for clinical clerkships in New York by the state's Education Department because of their failure to meet administrative, educational, and clinical standards. These "off-shore schools" include Ross University on Dominica,



A New York commission is recommending harsher requirements for residency programs for FMGs.

the American University of the Caribbean on Monserrat, Universidad del Noreste (Tampico, Mexico), and St. George's Medical School in Grenada.

Although these schools are foreign-chartered, their principal administrative offices are in the United States and their graduates are U.S.-born students who could not penetrate the highly restrictive U.S. medical schools. The Commission's crackdown, however, hits the hardest those foreign-born FMGs whose medical education may be on par with U.S. medical graduates.

A 1984 Department of Health survey of FMGs in residency training in New York showed that higher percentages of FMGs come from underdeveloped countries: India, 18.7%; Dominican Republic, 10.8%; Mexico, 9.2%; Philippines, 8.1%; Grenada, 5.4%. After Italy with 5.2% the rest are less than 5%. It is most likely the non-white FMGs who will bear the brunt of the Commission's exclusionary measures.

The Commission itself is aware of the national and racial composition of FMGs: "In the early period, 1968, 23% (1,900) were attracted from Europe, 19.5% from North and Central America, and 43% from Asia (predominantly India and the Philippines) . . . By 1978, the number of immigrant physicians admitted dropped to 4,435; the proportion from Europe had decreased to 12.3% (545), but those from Asia increased by 52.5%."

CATCH-22

The Commission's second recommendation would require FMGs to pass the FMGEMS test within three attempts. Currently, the FMGEMS can be repeated indefinitely and an applicant can carry a passing score on one part of the two-part examination for up to seven years. There have been complaints that these examinations can be manipulated to produce high failure rates.

But for the "super FMG" who surmounts these two barriers and qualifies for residency, the Commission has other surprises. It also recommends that for a teaching hospital to qualify for graduate medical education funding, at least 90% of its residents must be graduates of medical schools approved by the Liaison Committee for Medical Education or the American Osteopathic Association. In effect, a teaching hospital cannot get funding if the majority of its residents are FMGs since they come from medical schools not approved by the Liaison Committee or the American Osteopathic Association—a Catch-22.

Why the crackdown on the FMGs in New York, when they were so welcome before? The Commission says it is just protecting the public "from medical practitioners whose undergraduate and/or graduate medical education does not meet the quality standards which are required of U.S. medical schools."

While it focuses on foreign education versus U.S. education, nowhere in its report does the Commission mention the quality of service that FMGs render, which is critical in detecting threats to public safety.

In a performance comparison between FMGs and USMGs done by Drs. Saywell, Studnicki, Bean, and Ludke, the results indicated that "there was no significant overall differences in performance between USMG

and FMG attending physicians. The largest and most consistent differences were associated with hospital characteristics, not physician characteristics."

These findings hold up in another study (also by the same doctors) which compared USMG and FMG staff physicians. "There was no significant overall difference in performance of USMG and FMG house staff physicians."

SECOND CLASS CARE?

A task force of the American Medical Colleges Association has charged, without factual proof, that "FMGs undermine the process of quality medical education in this country and ultimately pose a threat to the quality of care delivered to the people" while admitting that "it is generally acknowledged, although not proven, that the medical care rendered by some FMGs is of poorer quality."

As a result of such testimonies, the Health Professions Education Act of 1976 or PL94-484 was passed limiting FMG immigration to the U.S.

However, Dr. Ronald L. Heillmann of the School of Business Administration of the University of Wisconsin, after measuring the "Relative Quality of Care Delivered by FMGs and USMGs," disagreed with anti-FMG conclusions.

Using as a tool the rates of medical malpractice complaints levelled against FMGs and USMGs, Dr. Heillmann concluded that "factual evidence paints a somewhat different picture from that portrayed by the inferential evidence appearing in most previous literature and presented at the hearings preceding passage of PL94-484."

Even the New York Commission admits that FMGs perform valuable public service by their willingness to serve in inner cities and ghettos. "Many FMGs necessarily accept residency positions which are not sought by USMGs either because the environmental conditions of the hospital are unattractive or the quality of the educational experience only meets minimal standards," the Commission reports. "In such situations, the FMG resident may be providing patient care for indigent or state institutionalized patients which might otherwise not be available."

The Commission also admits that the availability of foreign medical school graduates gave many hospitals the opportunity to have residents in training on very exploitative terms.

"The salaries were low, the residents' labor was long, the established physicians in practice were provided with 24-hour medical coverage of their hospitalized patients, and charity care could now be given by residents rather than busy practitioners," said the Commission's report. "Everyone was reasonably content although it was recognized by the residents, and particularly foreign residents, that there was more service than education in many of the institutions."

Now, however, whatever openings were available to FMGs may be closed because the Commission argues that they may be giving "second-class medical care." In addition, "this may be compounded when language barriers and cultural differences further distort communication and effective patient care. Further, the overriding purpose of graduate medical education is education, not service."

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

But what is really the purpose of the New York Commission's attempts to put FMGs out of circulation? The body puts it frankly—the market. It argues that there is an oversupply of physicians in the state.

"The ratio of physician-to-population (280 physicians per 100,000 citizens) already exceeds the generous goal set by the Board of Regents of the State Education Department and will continue to climb to an estimated 330 physicians per 100,000 population by 1990." However, the Commission's report also states that "there is no consensus on what constitutes an 'adequate' supply of physicians."

The issue of "oversupply" is a familiar one to Dr. Antonio Dones, Executive Director of the American College of International Physicians, an Indiana-based organization which seeks to defend the rights of FMGs.

He does not exempt the health care industry in this country from the effects of the law of supply and demand. By attempting to keep the supply of physicians at a level with the demand, the cost of medical care and therefore, the income of physicians, will remain high. By keeping out FMGs, the delicate balance between supply and demand will be maintained.

"More than anything else," Dones said in a speech to fellow physicians, "we must recognize the very fundamental and compelling need of domestic medical school organizations such as the Association of American Medical Colleges, to control the supply of physicians in the country, in order to prevent price competition and to keep the income of physicians at high levels. With a

Continued on page 15

Sison

Continued from page 4

away votes from the Opposition and allow these to be delivered to the regime. If, let us say, maximum boycott has an effective influence on 20% of the electorate, the regime will be able to usurp the vote through sheer fabrication; the Opposition is thereby hit twice—suffering an effective loss of 40% of the votes.

As revolutionary organizations determined to overthrow the regime and carry out the people's democratic revolution, the CPP, NPA and even the NDF must boycott the snap election. However, for the sake of flexibility but still adhering to revolutionary principles, they can limit boycott to the minimum extent of not openly and not directly participating in the selection of presidential candidates and in the electoral campaign or not endorsing and supporting legal Opposition candidates.

They can thus allow the Opposition candidates to seek votes from their organized mass base, which is sizeable and can be decisive.

An example of minimum boycott would be the United States' or the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the Olympics at one time or another, without necessarily seeking to get all or the majority of countries to boycott. The minimum boycott would be just enough to draw attention to certain principles or certain wrongs.

Are you aware that certain alliances, organizations and personages in the cause-oriented movement have been divided on the issue of boycott or participation? Don't these splits have a debilitating effect not only on the Aquino-Laurel tandem but on the broad anti-fascist front as well?

To some extent, I am aware of the discussions between those for boycott and those for participation in cause-oriented alliances and organizations. I do not think that the choice is a simplistic one between *maximum* boycott and *uncritical* participation. Under present circumstances, maximum boycott is too rigid a position in view of the fact that many organizations and personages in anti-fascist alliances, all Opposition political parties and the spontaneous majority of the people are for critical participation. Of course, uncritical participation is unacceptable because it means capitulation to the enemy.

Those who take the position of minimum boycott or of critical participation can stay and work together in the same democratic alliances and mass organizations. Their common objective is the intensification of the struggle for national freedom and democracy against the fascist dictatorship and the exposure of the regime's scheme to use fraud and terrorism and make the electoral exercise a farce and a mockery of the people's will.

Those who are for minimum boycott objectively extend indirect support to the Opposition ticket and allow it to get as many votes as it can. Those for critical participation extend direct support to the Opposition ticket but make clear that they do not place their hopes mainly or entirely in any electoral exercise arranged by the fascist dictatorship. The distinction between minimum boycott and critical participation is not harmful but helpful to the Opposition ticket.

Those for minimum boycott can have their own rallies and other mass actions where they can fully express their views. But they can also share the same speaking platforms with those for critical participation and even with the Opposition tandem without being obligated to express direct support for any candidate. The point is to maintain anti-fascist unity. Furthermore, they can join an electoral coalition if this has a bearing on the forthcoming local elections. Many democratic organizations and personages are involving themselves in the snap election because they want to improve their position with regard to the local elections in May.

Which of the two contending tandems is better and more acceptable to you and why?

You pose an extremely easy question to answer. To me personally, the Opposition tandem of Aquino and Laurel is far, far better and more acceptable. The fascist dictatorship seeking a fresh mandate is absolutely detestable. Its performance record and experience in puppetry, brutality, corruption, and mendacity are extremely offensive. *Any force that seeks to topple tyranny possesses and gains positive worth.*

Marcos has vowed to retain his autocratic powers and escalate his bloody campaign against the people and the revolutionary movement. In contrast, the Aquino-Laurel tandem promises to dismantle the fascist dictatorship, institute a new democratic constitution, restore the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, repeal the repressive decrees, unconditionally release all political prisoners and so on.

Marcos is not ashamed to call as his economic program the impositions of the U.S., the IMF and World Bank, which spell further exploitation and misery for the people. The Aquino-Laurel tandem has the advantage of learning from the sorry experience of the Marcos regime; or else it will plunge the country deeper into the pit of economic crisis.

Marcos has declared categorically that he will extend the life of the U.S. military bases beyond 1991. At least, the Opposition tandem has not pledged to the U.S. imperialists that it will perpetuate U.S. military bases in the country and has given some consideration to the growing demand of the people for the dismantling of these bases.

Are you not worried about the pro-U.S. and upper class character of the Aquino-Laurel tandem?

There is no doubt that the Aquino-Laurel tandem has pro-U.S. inclinations and big comprador-landlord interests. I do not expect much from it in terms of outright anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. That is why in giving direct and indirect support to it, one must retain and exercise his critical faculties and maintain the national democratic initiative. But we can expect much from the Opposition tandem in terms of anti-fascism. The Marcos fascist dictatorship is the narrowest concentration of the joint class rule of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class and is the faction of these classes that is most subservient to U.S. imperialism. In the World War II alliance against the fascist powers, the proletariat and other revolutionary forces did not disdain to cooperate with the anti-fascist capitalist and other reactionary forces.

We must consider first of all that we are confronted with a fascist dictatorship. It has long-standing intimate ties with U.S. imperialism and has accumulated a tremendous amount of power and loot. And the U.S. Reagan administration is unwilling to junk it once and for all. The overriding interest of the U.S. is to create the illusion of democracy through an electoral show.

It is wrong to think that Marcos is a push-over. He is still in a position to ram through his sham reelection in the same way that he did the total whitewash of the Aquino assassination. After Marcos gets himself "reelected" through fraud and terrorism, some U.S. spokesmen will criticize the conduct of the electoral exercise while others will claim it to be clean and honest. By and large, the U.S. will accept the *fait accompli* and push the regime to hunt down and kill the revolutionaries and to extend the life of the U.S. military bases beyond 1991. Assuming he lives longer than expected, Marcos will be retired or disposed of in some other way by the U.S. probably by the time the armed revolutionary forces have doubled or trebled their present strength.

Even if the possibility is strong that the fascist regime will cheat the Opposition tandem, national democratic forces must give direct and indirect support to it so that it can reach more people during the electoral campaign and raise their political consciousness. When the dictator gets his sham reelection, the national democratic forces will be in a position to bring the greatest number of people to more effective courses of action.

Should the opposition tandem win, would it

the impact on USDA reimbursement for hot meals for the elderly. Right now they're saying there might be a cut of one cent per meal—it doesn't sound like much but when you're talking about hundreds of thousands of meals it adds up. We will have to figure out how many meals to cut in a year's time."

"We also don't know the effect on health programs," continued Haile. "It won't directly affect ours because we get our money from the County." But she warned that there will be a pull on the State Treasury because Gramm-Rudman will affect other areas that will need to be subsidized by state funds.

"Even if some clinics are protected by a one-to-three percent reduction, you have to foresee an inflation rate of six to eight percent—you still get reduced," speculated Haile.

Gramm-Rudman supposedly exempts Social Security and certain benefit programs for low-income people

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not have taken the political initiative away from the national democratic movement only to serve U.S. and reactionary interests?

Just to have a fighting chance in the current electoral show, the Opposition tandem has to get the support of the broadest possible support of the broadest possible anti-fascist united front. In case the tandem wins, it cannot dispense with this broad democratic alliance in order to dismantle the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In addition, there will still be the grave economic and social problems that cannot be solved without a broad democratic alliance, including the revolutionary forces.

The very dynamics of all anti-fascist forces trying to dislodge the despot and then undoing the effects of his worst crimes creates excellent opportunities for the revolutionary forces. These forces will grow in strength and advance in every sphere of the struggle for national liberation and democracy in spite as well as because of the subjective will and objective limitations of their nonrevolutionary allies.

If it wins, the Opposition tandem will not be able to ignore the revolutionary forces nor outrightly adopt a harsh policy toward them. As a matter of fact, the new regime will have to seek negotiations with them. To continue Marcos' fascist policies will be self-defeating.

A new regime will need all possible support to wipe out the still potent remnants of Marcos tyranny and confront the fundamental problems of the people. If it pursues Marcosism without Marcos, it will be totally discredited in a few months and will face a people enraged at a betrayal—and, as a consequence, a stronger revolutionary movement.

If the regime cheats the Aquino-Laurel tandem of victory, what do you think will happen next?

The fascist regime will try to preempt the rise of popular resistance by invoking its fake mandate and escalate violence against the revolutionary movement. It will also escalate its verbal attacks against the legal Opposition but will avoid unleashing a violent campaign against it in order to allow it to participate in the May local elections.

If they are not firmly united with the legal

Opposition parties, the cause-oriented organizations with national democratic orientation might be subjected to violent suppression before the local elections. They must therefore continuously develop unity with the legal Opposition parties in order to discourage the common enemy from attacking anyone.

After getting the most out of the local elections, the fascist regime will try to expand the range of its violent attacks and subject the Opposition to harsh persecution. By the second half of the year, the intensity of fascist violence and popular armed resistance will rise dramatically. And the fascist regime will go berserk blaming the legal Opposition parties and the cause-oriented organizations for its own escalation of violence and incitement of revolutionary resistance.

By retaining Marcos as chief puppet, the U.S. will be practically creating a Vietnam war situation. The U.S. can thereby retain its military bases and even increase their number in the short run but it will lose them all in the end.

In case the Aquino-Laurel team wins, what are the chances of the CPP and NPA agreeing to a ceasefire and negotiations with the new regime?

I am not in a position to answer your question. I can only surmise that they will not refuse to consider any serious proposal to achieve national unity for the purpose of advancing national independence and democracy against the historical evils that afflict the nation.

Cory Aquino is to be commended for offering the prospect of ceasefire and negotiation. She is not as arrogant as Mr. Marcos who keeps raving that the revolutionaries must either surrender or be killed. If my estimate is correct, the revolutionaries or the legal national democratic forces will be interested in dismantling the fascist dictatorship and instituting a new democratic constitution, a multi-party system and a genuine parliamentary system.

Even if there is no agreement with the underground revolutionary forces soon, there can be one much sooner between the new regime and the legal democratic forces. □

Elderly

Continued from page 10

come from defense programs and half from domestic programs such as aid to education, transportation, housing, urban development, health care, and environmental protection. Reagan has given the Defense Department broad discretion as to what programs to reduce or eliminate, but domestic cuts are strictly defined to be made across the board.

"Everybody is still waiting to see if the cuts will affect programs funded through the Older Americans Act," said Vera Haile, Executive Director of San Francisco's North of Market Senior Center.

"The County and State are now trying to figure out

such as food stamps and Medicare, the health insurance for the elderly.

"They may be protected, but even so, what if we don't get a cost of living raise? That's the same as a cut in the budget," Haile warned.

Filipinos of Haile, will not be exempt from any of the effects of Gramm-Rudman. Although S.S.I. may remain intact, what of housing costs, medical care, hot meals, and transportation? Higher costs in food and services will surely cut into fixed S.S.I. incomes which average just over \$500 a month.

Since many of the elderly never even worked in the U.S., they do not receive Social Security or other pensions. Seniors who depend on their families for support also have to anticipate the effects of unemployment since government jobs are sure to be cut. For seniors who fear being seen as a burden to their children, the strain will not be just economic. □

Rebels

Continued from page 3

reporter told activists there that even Marcos' best-known counterinsurgency expert, Marine Colonel Rodolfo Biazon, denies that the NPA resorts to civilian massacres and a policy of torture as Munro claimed.

"The colonel said that the allegations would have made his job of winning the hearts and minds of Filipino peasants a lot easier," the reporter said.

NEW TACTIC?

In an apparent attempt to counter the government's enormous advantage in propaganda resources, some NPAs have adopted a new tactic in 1985 as part of its own propaganda initiative.

NPA fighters abducted Philippine Constabulary Capt. Juan Guysayko, former commanding officer of the 255th PC Company in Tobago, Albay, held him for 50 days and released him unharmed in honor of International Human Rights Day on December 10. In a press statement, the NPA demanded the replacement of "abusive" commanding officers. Capt. Guysayko said he was "not even pinched" during his captivity but that he was "emotionally devastated" by the experience.

In another incident, guerrillas kidnapped 14 government personnel, including engineers of the Ministry of Public Works and Highways last December in Gingoog City, Mindanao. In exchange for the captives' release, the NPA demanded that the government broadcast on local radio a letter explaining the goal of the kidnapping namely, to expose the military's current counterinsurgency operation in the area.

The letter categorically denied that the NPA was asking for ₱100,000 ransoms from each hostage, as the government claimed. It demanded that 5,000 copies of a statement against the "Social Vigilantes" be printed and distributed.

Vigilantes are a counterinsurgency spy network organized by the military to monitor

NPA activity in the area. The NPA also believes that the group will be used to promote the re-election of Marcos and local *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* candidates in the upcoming February 7 vote.

The captives were eventually released unharmed when the NPA's demands appeared to have gained sufficient attention from the media. □ **WG**

U.S. Tightens

Continued from page 5

military aid for fiscal 1986 from \$90 million to \$70 million, stating that fair elections could lead to a restoration of the \$20 million for fiscal 1986. Marcos had been warned publicly and privately that he could lose vital aid if he rigs the election.

"Congress would be so irate as to make it impossible for the administration to come up for and argue for funds either for our own forces in the Philippines or security assistance or economic funds" for the Marcos government, assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage told the committee recently.

A State Department official who insisted on anonymity said that Armitage's statement was "cleared without the administration all the way" and was meant to put "fear of God into Marcos."

Meanwhile, much more embarrassing, and financially threatening are current Congressional investigations into the Marcos' U.S. investments and possible misuse of U.S. aid money. Following articles in the *Village Voice* and the *San Jose Mercury News* that the Marcoses were owners, through complex deals of over \$200 million in U.S. real estate, the House Foreign Affairs Committee launched an investigation.

First, the Committee chaired by Stephen Solarz (D-NY), subpoenaed Augusto Camacho and Pablo Figueroa who both sued Imelda Marcos for cheating them out of their share of the Lindenmere Estate on Eastern Long Island but settled out of court, Camacho for \$825,000. Camacho

confirmed the information contained in his suit, but Figueroa kept silent.

Next, the Committee called on two brothers, Joseph and Ralph Bernstein, a lawyer and a real estate agent, who were also named in the *Voice* and *Mercury News* articles as pipelines for Marcos investments. Both refused to answer any questions regarding their relationship to the Marcos family. When asked if his "family would be the subject of physical intimidation" if he cooperated with the subcommittee, Joseph Bernstein answered, "I suspect it is possible."

WITCHHUNT?

The subcommittee voted 6-3 to cite the Bernsteins with contempt of Congress. "On the basis of their responses, it is very clear to me that they are intimately involved with the Marcoses. What possible justification could they have for invoking an attorney-client privilege if they did not know them?" asked Solarz. The House has yet to vote on the contempt motion.

The probe has now broadened to include Rolando C. Gapud, a Manila banker who has often acted on behalf of Marcos in his financial dealings. Phone records indicate extensive contact between Gapud and the Bernsteins. Moreover, financing secured by Gapud from the Security Pacific Bank in Los Angeles (a reputed Marcos bank), has been traced to purchases organized by the Bernstein brothers. Property in New York, California, Nevada, and elsewhere has been linked to Gapud and the Marcos family.

Rep. Robert G. Torricelli (D-NJ), a subcommittee member, said, "Everyone expected to find Marcos investment here, but the depth of information this investigation has uncovered is surprising."

Subcommittee member Gerald Solomon (R-NY), a consistent Marcos supporter, accused Solarz of holding a "witchhunt conducted by people who would do everything in their power to bring down President Marcos" by influencing the February 7 elections. Laughing, Solarz responded, "I never said she was a witch. We commenced our investigation after we saw the stories before the election was called."

The question, Solarz insisted, was: "With

the only known source of Marcos income being his US\$5,700 a year salary, how could he have obtained these properties?"

'NOT TALKING CHILE'

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) has the same question. A General Accounting Office audit from 1982 reveals that \$18 million for school construction sent to the Philippines in 1981 has been in an interest-bearing money market ever since, to mature in June 1986.

Several transactions, including deposits in and withdrawals out of a special holding account, and even a few actual school buildings, make the audit impossible to understand. According to the audit, the school construction project proceeded "in such a confusing manner as to raise questions whether the intent of the U.S. Congress . . . was actually carried out." Kennedy wants to know whether U.S. aid money has been diverted by the Marcoses.

"For them [the Filipino people] the findings of the investigation would only be a dog-bites-man story, stating the obvious," said Solarz.

Meanwhile, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), chair of a House Armed Services Subcommittee and Rep. Charles Schumer (D-NY), want a full investigation of any possible role the U.S. played in the Aquino assassination. "Any U.S. Air Force role could have far-reaching consequences for U.S. policy in the region," he said. Dellums is holding hearings on alternate sites the U.S. bases.

But what happens if despite these pressures Marcos stays in power? One State Department source said:

"If they hold free, fair and credible elections and Marcos wins, in the world of big boys, we gotta live with it. We're not talking about Chile in 1971. You deal with the cards on the table. But even then we'll keep the pressure on for reform and there are local elections scheduled as well that can change things."

Aside from the politically inappropriate comparison between Marcos and Allende, the comment was highly revealing. Allende was, after all, ousted by other means. Still, comparisons with Ngo Dinh Diem would have been more accurate. □

Index

Continued from page 14

Images of Nicaragua Libre, T. Rocamora, September 1985
Movie Review: 'Bayan Ko': A Film of the Times, Perez, December 1985

Readers' Contributions/Voices

For a Grand Coalition: On Fast Track and Related Matters, Angeles, March 1985

Tagpi-tagging Pangarap,*Tungo, March 1985

From a Circle of Hands (6),* Foster, April 1985

Sa Pilapil,* Mendoza, April 1985

For My Father,* Kaahanui, April 1985

Babae Kami,* Lanot; Isang Magiliw na Penpal,* Santiago; Grief,* Osorio; Isang Pintig sa Buhay ni Abdul Misuari,* Panaligan, June 1985

Bayan, Angeles, June 1985

Factory Girls, The Web is Cast,* Villanueva, June 1985

Reflections on the Filipino Poet as Guerilla and Vice Versa, Brillantes, July 1985

On Rice, Pesos and Children, The Ghetto,* Villanueva, July 1985

Mallig Valley, circa '77; Firetree,* Serrano, July 1985

Book Review: Memories of Rizal; Lolo Rizal, Sandiko, August 1985

Painting Against Winter—David Villanueva, August 1985

Book Review: Prison Poems from the Philippines—Firetree, Pruden, September 1985

Book Review: Funston and Aguinaldo and Twain and Marcos, *Sitting in Darkness (Americans in the Philippines)*, Sandiko, October 1985

Rain; Pigeons for my Son,* Aguilar, October 1985

Book Review: Poems as Precious as Rice Seedlings—*A Comrade is as Precious as a Rice Seedlings*, Foster, November 1985

Untitled or "Sixteen Hours"; Para sa mga Kaibigan sa Kabilang Dako,* Geronca, November 1985

The Battle for Manila (1898-1899), Gonzalez, November 1985

Escalante,* Serrano, December 1985

Untitled I; Untitled II,* Haru, December 1985

*Poems

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Send your essays, satires, poems, short stories, photos of your paintings, sculptures, or woodcuts; photo art, etc. Send also a brief description of yourself as a writer or artist.

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

2. Essays, feature articles, or short stories should not exceed 2,000 words. All articles must be typed double spaced and received by us within the first week of the month. Only articles with self-addressed stamped envelopes will be sent back if not accepted for publication.

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

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

FMGs

Continued from page 12

medical monopoly in place, physicians have been able to dictate the price of the marketplace."

MEDICAL MONOPOLY

The "medical monopoly" is maintained through the AAMC, Donesa claims. "Through their high-level influence in the American Medical Association, they have been able to influence policies and decision-making processes at the Board of Trustees level and in the House of Delegates. Through the use of other sectors of organized medicine, such as the specialty colleges and the American Hospital Association, their influence and their power has become pervasive."

While assailing the medical monopoly, Donesa candidly admits that FMGs also benefit from the same system. "Currently, we continue to receive the benefits of this monopoly in the form of higher fees and charges and the high lifestyle that we have become accustomed to. Physicians are reported by the AMA to earn a median income after practice expenses of about \$100,000 per annum. When this is compared with the earnings of an average American family, this can be quite extraordinary."

Donesa draws out the irony: "We are now the happy beneficiaries of the efforts of American-organized medicine to control the marketplace of medicine. In the future, we will be the sad and unhappy beneficiaries of their continued efforts to perpetuate their monopoly."

The future is almost here for New York FMGs. If the Commission has its way, the implementation of its recommendations will begin sometime this year, right after the final report which is due to come out anytime now.

Donesa calls on New York FMGs to stage a fightback. Through political action groups and coalitions and litigations, Donesa hopes to turn the tide in favor of the FMGs. □

Argentina

Continued from page 16

South" through the foreign debt.

Indeed, much of Alfonsin's foreign policy activities have centered on the debt crisis. Together with Brazil and Mexico, Argentina initiated in June 1984 the Cartagena group—11 countries including Ecuador, Chile, Peru, Dominican Republic, Bolivia, and Uruguay. Argentina, Brazil and Mexico account for \$250 billion

of Latin America's almost \$400 billion foreign debt.

At a conference in Montevideo, Uruguay last July, the Cartagena group developed an initial strategy for dealing with the foreign debt. The member-countries warned that if they were not listened to by their creditors they would withhold interest payments.

Now there is fear among the creditor banks that a debt cartel could fuse in the future and the U.S. media has echoed that fear.

FRAUGHT WITH DANGER

Alfonsin is by no means a socialist, much less is he a revolutionary. But his election offered breathing space for the politically suffocated Argentines. With the rightwing in retreat, the Argentine left could use the opening to recuperate organizationally and build mass bases openly. (When the socialist Intransigent Party fielded its own slate last November, it captured 6% of the popular vote.)

Unfortunately, the left had been almost wiped out by the dirty war. A few Marxist groups, a sprinkling of Maoists and Trotskyites as well as the *Monteneros* or leftwing Peronists, had waged armed resistance and became the main targets of the dirty war. The Argentine Communist Party, though engaged in some reform struggles, took quiet refuge in the Peronist-led unions.

Perhaps due to its own experience under fascist rule which inflicted unbearable pain on the progressive movement, the left in Argentina generally welcomes liberalization and various groups are figuring out how to gain political initiative. To be sure, no one on the left seriously believes that somehow fascism is better for it radicalizes the masses while "bourgeois democracy" confuses them and, therefore, impedes the revolution.

Alfonsin's government is sustained by the support of 80% of the population (according to the latest polls). Observers note, however, that much of this support can be attributed to the isolation of the military and popular fears of its return to power.

Argentina's reemergence from the "night and fog" is still fraught with danger. The military is still around as a potential renegade. Unlike the situation in Zimbabwe where a people's army was integrated into the old army to neutralize the latter, Argentina's military is still pretty much in its original state. How long it will remain politically meek nobody knows.

While the left has little initiative at this time, Alfonsin will have to face up to growing demands for consistent democracy if his regime is to sustain its current popularity. □

Out of the 'Night and Fog'

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

President Ferdinand Marcos, according to *Newsweek*, watches the developments in Argentina, and of course he should. Argentina shows what can happen if a brutal military dictatorship is forced by tough political and economic circumstances to give way to liberalization. Despite the vacillations of the new liberal regime, life can be tough for Argentina's former overlords, especially as the mass pressures for extensive democracy and retribution for the years of brutal repression have not ceased.

Argentina's military rulers who had implicit U.S. support had led the country to an economic morass, weighing it down with huge external debts. They suffered profound humiliation at the hands of the British in the Falklands war and were further weakened when the U.S. sided with Britain. Isolated, and with hardly any prestige to exercise authority, the military had to retreat before an overflow of mass resentment for six years of political terror and fascism. Finally, it virtually threw up its hands and walked off the job, ushering in middle class Radical Civic Union Party leader Raul Alfonsin to the presidency in 1983.

The electoral defeat of the powerful Peronist-military alliance cleared the stage for democratization. Despite the host of political and economic dilemmas, the new regime has proven useful in breaking the fascist grip and pushing the military back from its dominance in politics and some sectors of the economy.

PURGING THE TOP

The new regime purged the top military hierarchy by retiring half of the generals and abolished the positions of chiefs of staff of the three military services. Alfonsin kept the military from decision-making, reduced the size of the officers corps, cut the number of draftees, appointed a civilian to head up defense, and slashed the military budgets.

Civilians were put in charge of the industrial empire built by the military. Some 500 state-owned enterprises controlled mainly by the military were auctioned off.

The liberalization Alfonsin has presided over has had a ripple effect on other Latin American countries whose liberal governments have reemerged.

SETTLING ACCOUNTS

Back are the unfettered press, a functioning legislature, an independent judiciary and open political and cultural debate. Most of the military's political prisoners have been released. More than 80% of the voters went to the polls in the local elections last November.

The first order of business after Alfonsin took office was the settling of accounts with those responsible for the reign of terror during the military's "dirty war" from 1976 to 1982 which left more than 30,000 citizens dead and missing, including 9,000 "disappeared."

Heeding the popular call for the punishment of those responsible for six years of military abuses, Alfonsin sought and obtained from Congress the repeal of the Amnesty Law. The legislation protected soldiers and the police from prosecution for crimes committed during the military's rule. The Congress stipulated life imprisonment for torturers and the automatic review by the Federal Appeals Court of cases handled by the military tribunals.

Alfonsin promised to seek traces of the martyrs who disappeared in the "night and fog," a reference to Hitler's Night and Fog Decree ordering the military and secret police to kidnap, torture and execute without a trace Hitler's political opponents in Nazi-occupied territories.

Alfonsin created the 13-member National Commission on the Disappeared headed by Argentine novelist Ernesto Sabato. The Commission and its staff of 60 interviewed hundreds of witnesses and documented 8,961 cases of disappearance. After nine months of investigation, Sabato submitted a 500-page report implicating 1,351 persons—mainly military personnel—including more than 100 officers.

Two prelates and several priests were also implicated. Penny Lernoux of the *National Catholic Reporter* claims that some Catholic priests and archbishops were present during torture sessions. The church hierarchy, with few exceptions, supported military rule or, at best, acquiesced through its silence.

TIGHTROPE

Nine members of the three *juntas* that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1982, including three former presidents—Ret. Gens. Jorge Videla, Roberto Viola and Leopoldo Galtieri—were arrested and tried. The others included Ret. Adms. Emilio Massera and Armando Lambruschini and Ret. Air Force Brig. Orlando Agosti.

At that point, however, Alfonsin began to walk a



Investigators exhume victims of 'dirty war.'

tightrope. The trial was not a case of a vanquished military being prosecuted by the victors as in Germany after World War II. The Argentine military, still powerful, had only been forced to retreat because of its economic mismanagement and the humiliation it suffered during the Falklands debacle.

At first Alfonsin had the nine military officers tried by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, a military tribunal. The Council not only procrastinated in concluding the investigation but also found "no reason to reproach" the officers.

Popular outrage as well as a ruling by the Argentine Supreme Court that the trial be conducted by federal judges forced the military judges to resign. The cases were transferred to the Federal Court of Appeals of Buenos Aires.

There was so much national interest in the trial that



Galtieri: Acquitted.



Videla: Life sentence.



Viola: 17 years.

the courtroom was always packed with spectators and a new paper, *El Diario del Juicio*, specialized in monitoring the proceedings.

OUTRAGE OVER ACQUITTALS

The prosecution asked for life sentences for Videla, Viola, Massera, Lambruschini and Agosti and 10 to 15 years for Galtieri and the others. The rightwing and supporters of the accused responded with threats and bombings during the trial. A state of emergency was imposed last October and lifted in early December to counter this threat. Alfonsin's critics however, said that this decree was also used to crack down on the left.

During eight months of trial, 833 witnesses recounted stories of murder, torture and abductions in the night committed against suspected leftist dissidents during the six years of military rule. The Court handed down its verdict last December 9.

Videla, who ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1981, and his navy commander, Massera, were guilty of homicide,

illegal detention and other violations of human rights and were sentenced to life imprisonment. Three co-defendants, including Viola were found guilty of lesser charges. Viola and Lambruschini were ordered imprisoned for 17 years while Agosti was given a 4-1/2 year term. All of them were deprived of military rank but their cases will go to the Supreme Court for appeal.

The remaining four, including Galtieri, were acquitted. However, Galtieri and the two other junta members are still on trial for mismanaging the Falklands War. Now attention focuses on 1,700 cases pending against some 300 lower-ranking military officers for carrying out the dirty war.

Protest and outrage greeted the acquittals. Alfonsin also came in for heavy criticism for his refusal to make public the report of the Commission on Disappeared. Human rights activists including Hebe de Bonafini of the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* (Mothers of the Disappeared), have continued to mount demonstrations to press for the release of the report and express displeasure over the acquittal of some of the generals. Nobel laureate Adolfo Perez Esquivel protested, "What is [Alfonsin] going to do with Sabato's report?"

DEALING WITH THE DEBT

Beyond settling accounts with the past, the Alfonsin regime has scored initial successes in reviving the collapsing economy. From a dizzying annual rate of 2000% last June, inflation was reduced to 33% last December. For the first time since 1978, Argentina's treasury has a surplus. But these gains came from austerity measures that had to be borne by an already sapped working population. Unless Argentina's debt crisis can be resolved its economic situation will remain unstable.

The economic reform package called the *austral* plan (after the new currency that replaced the Argentine peso, where 1 austral = 1,000 Argentine peso = \$0.80) called for wage, price and currency controls. It also called for the freezing of the exchange rate; reduction of state spending by 12%, average income by 10%; increased charges for public services; and increased taxes.

The International Monetary Fund was not very happy with some of the anti-inflation measures which it found "objectionable" for debtor countries. Among these measures were selective and modest wage increases and protectionist policies to encourage domestic industrial development. (For example, 75% of parts for cars assembled in Argentina must be produced in the country.) Alfonsin wrested these measures as concessions in negotiations with the IMF on the foreign debt problem.

With a total of \$1.65 billion in interests due by September of last year, Argentina was in a bind. Alfonsin initially refused to pay and the country was on

the brink of defaulting. In the absence of stronger unity among the debtor countries, such show of defiance would not hold against the power of the IMF. But it did send a danger signal to the creditors which forced the IMF to negotiate and yield some concessions.

In a statement before the U.S. Congress last March, Alfonsin promised "not to allow the weight of the foreign debt to fall on the backs of the workers" and "never to accept regressive programmes."

NON-ALIGNED

In foreign policy, Alfonsin so far has leaned towards a non-aligned position. In the same speech before the U.S. Congress he reaffirmed support for the right of Central America to self-determination and non-interference and declared that "Nicaragua does not represent a threat to the United States." On another occasion he criticized the North for "squeezing the

Continued on page 15