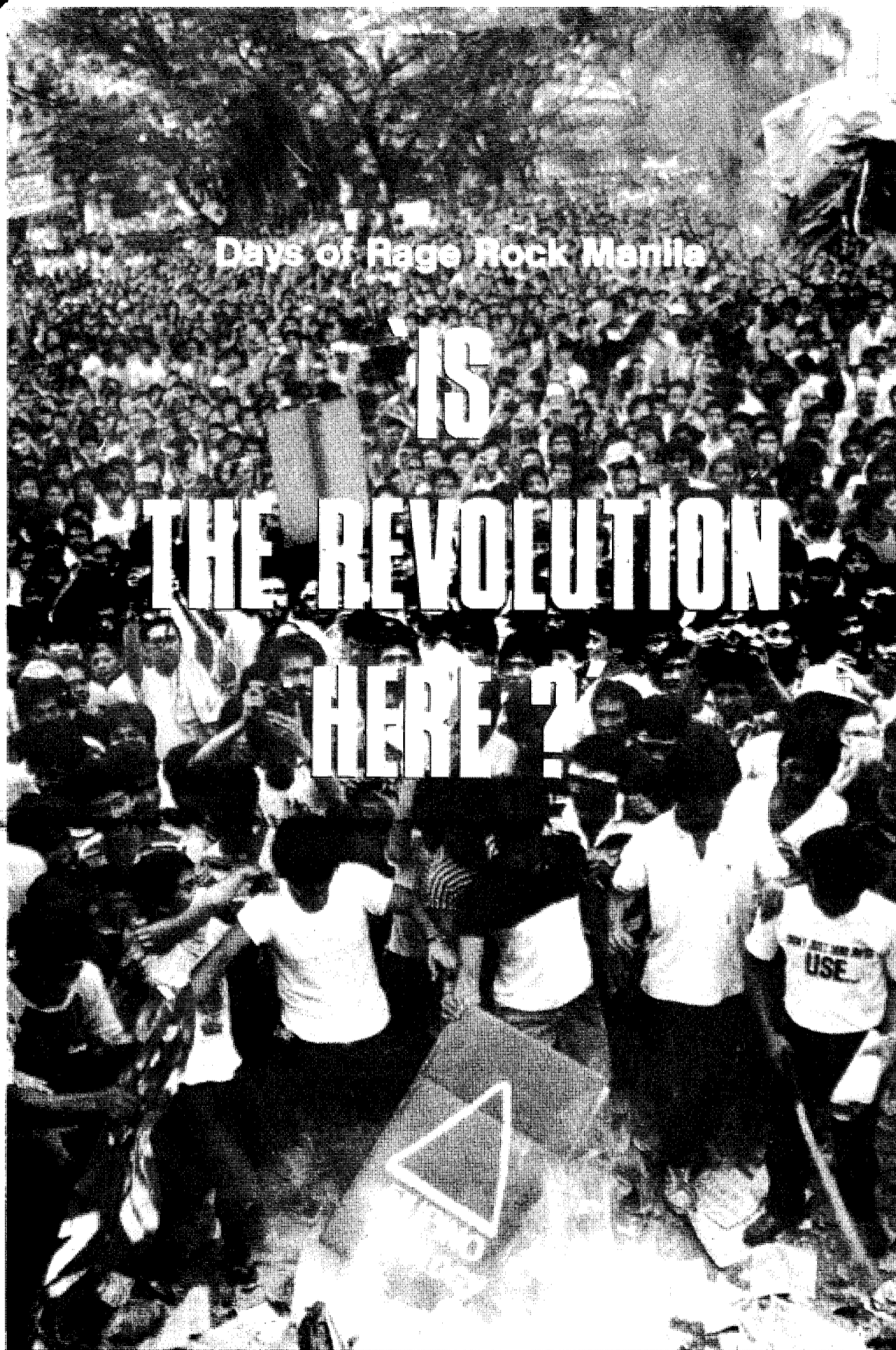


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Ang Katipunan

Vol. IX, No. 10
October 1983 50¢

National Newsmagazine of the
Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)



By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Anger at Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos unleashed by last month's assassination of Sen. Benigno Aquino simply won't go away and it is turning increasingly toward Marcos' chief ally, the United States government.

Daily protests continue to rock Manila in spite of increased repression and a threat to reimpose martial law. While Ferdinand Marcos thunders, "Don't push my hand!" certain jittery observers ask, "Is the revolution here? Has it come at last?"

A clue to the continuing strength of anti-Marcos feelings came on September 9, when the novena for the late senator—expected to be a modest affair—turned into a march of 20,000 people from the Aquino home to a nearby church. The mass itself became a political rally with speakers denouncing Marcos. Bright banners demanding "Marcos resign!" decorated the church.

One week later, the regime was shocked when 15,000 workers and executives poured into the streets of Makati, the country's financial center, for a rousing anti-Marcos demonstration. It was an unprecedented event—and the first of such actions in the previously placid suburb of Manila. Once again, the call was "Marcos resign!" and the atmosphere was joyous.

Firecrackers exploded; confetti, typewriter ribbons and rolls of teletype paper cascaded from the windows lining Ayala Ave. Four thousand later gathered to hear moderate opposition forces denounce Marcos. The Makati demonstration was the fourth in Metro-Manila in a single week. Earlier, students had remained busy leading smaller marches numbering anywhere from 2,000 to 5,000 all over the city.

One day before the Makati protest, 5,000 gathered at Liwasang Bonifacio for a rally demanding a restoration of civil liberties. The next night, 5,000 more marched across the city. All were part of a massive build-up for the National Day of Sorrow slated for

September 21 to commemorate 11 years since the declaration of martial law and one month since the assassination of Aquino.

The church also got into the act. The moderate Jaime Cardinal Sin, though refusing to back the protests, released a pastoral letter on September 16, requesting a daily five-minute "prayer of national reconciliation" at noon. Bells were to be tolled 21 times at 12:00 and again at 12:05. Half a million copies of the letter were sent to parishes all over the country.

DAYS OF RAGE

On September 20, prayer services and smaller demonstrations were held all over Metro-Manila. Seven thousand students screaming "Marcos, Hitler, *Diktador, Tuta!*" marched through downtown Manila. In Makati, 7,000 office workers and managers attacked a pro-Marcos demonstration and staged their own counter-demonstration.

They pelted the dictator's supporters with mops, garbage, tin cans, and water balloons. One balloon filled with water and garbage exploded at the feet of Makati Mayor Nemesio Yabut. The demonstrators dismantled and burned the stage set for the pro-Marcos rally. Business executives deliberately let their workers off to join the many rallies.

Finally, on September 21 (a day commemorated by Marcos as National Day of Thanksgiving), 500,000 gathered at Liwasang Bonifacio for the biggest demonstration since the declaration of martial law in 1972.

The massive build-up for it, its size, and the militant spirit recalled the famed First Quarter Storm of 1970. Sponsored by an alliance of left and moderate opposition groups, it was passionately anti-Marcos and notably anti-U.S. Acting as emcee was Elmer Mercado, National President of the League of Filipino Students, an organization accused by the regime of being with the National Democratic Front.

Speakers included prominent former politicians of the pre-martial law era. The principal message to the U.S. was a demand that Ronald Reagan cancel his scheduled visit in November. Warned ex-Sen. Eva Estrada Kalaw, "Let Ronald Reagan come and let him see what the Filipino people will do to someone who supports a dictator!" Closing the event was Cory Aquino, widow of the slain senator, who read a manifesto demanding an end to foreign influence over Philippine affairs, an end to repression, and Marcos' resignation.

While the bulk of the crowd dissipated peacefully, as many as 100,000 marched on Malacañang only to be met by a solid wall of marines, Philippine Constabulary, riot police, and firemen. The confrontation ultimately left 11 dead and over 100 injured. It was not the first encounter at Malacañang to dissolve into violence—3,000 marched there and rioted after the Aquino funeral on August 31, as did a far smaller group the next day—but it was the largest and the confrontation was by far the most brutal.

While the PC facing the crowd were unarmed, they were backed by military men in fatigues carrying automatic rifles with .45 calibre handguns in their belts. Student leaders were unable to keep the angry mob from throwing rocks, pillboxes, and molotov cocktails. Buses brought in to block the road were set on fire.

AGAIN, MENDIOLA

Finally all reporters were removed from the area. "You are not supposed to see this," a PC commander told Phil Bronstein of the *San Francisco Examiner*.

Continued on page 7

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U.S. Blows Peace Cover in Lebanon

The myth of the U.S. peacekeeping role in Lebanon has just been blown to pieces by the American bombardment of anti-Gemayel Druze forces in the Chouf mountains. Once again, Americans have waken one morning only to find their government fighting on one side of a civil war in a foreign shore.

What has become clear is the real aim of the U.S. presence in Lebanon: to prop up the fascist Phalangist regime of Amin Gemayel. It is a puppet regime installed by the invading Israeli forces and counted on to assist the Zionist goals of controlling another bordering Arab country and driving the Palestinians out of Lebanon.

Gemayel's Phalange, however, is isolated within Lebanon both for its reactionary alliance with Israel, and its genocidal activities against non-Christian

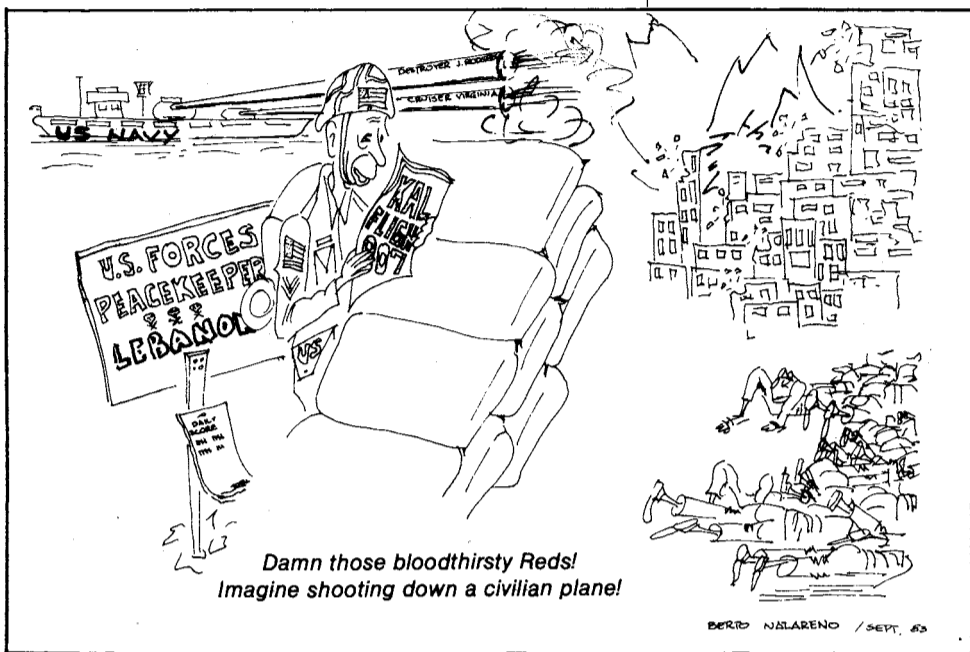
communities. It controls hardly any area beyond Beirut and is beleaguered by a broad progressive resistance led by the newly formed Lebanese Front for National Salvation and its military wing, the Lebanese Resistance Front.

Even large segments of the U.S.-trained Lebanese Army have abandoned Gemayel to join the resistance to the U.S. and Zionist goals. Israel, knowing that it cannot prop up Gemayel by itself is more than happy to see the escalation of the U.S. military role, and is hoping to draw the NATO "peacekeeping forces" into the fray and on its behalf.

U.S. military officials know that 1,200 Marines would not be enough to keep the Gemayel regime from collapsing, that up to "15,000 multinational troops including up to 6,000 U.S. soldiers" would be needed. However, such an escalation would provoke a serious challenge from the Palestinian, Syrian and the Damascus-based Soviet forces that are backing the anti-Gemayel forces.

The U.S., however, appears reconciled with its increasing military role on behalf of the Zionists and their puppets. Democratic and Republican lawmakers have all agreed to circumvent the Vietnam-era War Powers Act, which was designed to increase Congressional authority over the war-making process, and acceded to Reagan's call for an extension of U.S. Marine presence. Once again, the U.S. has taken a leap into what has the makings of a Vietnam-style quagmire.

Meanwhile, hardly a peep has been heard from the U.S. anti-interventionist and peace movement. No doubt, much of the movement is still influenced by stereotypical racist notions about the "fractious and excessively violent nature" of the Middle East revolutionary forces. Many anti-interventionists are still paralyzed by the influence of Zionism within the movement itself. But until Zionism is challenged head-on, this tiger cannot be proven to be actually made of paper. More, the American people will wake up again and again to new Vietnams in the Middle East.



Letters

Masses Lead the Way

I read with interest your editorial "Lessons of August 21," A.K. September 1983, and I fully agree with you paper's insights and analysis of the implications of the assassination of Sen. Benigno Aquino. His death will eventually define the intensity of the struggle. Again, in times like these, it is the masses who lead the way for what is right — as shown by the thousands of Filipinos who mourned him.

A long time ago in our earlier revolution, my grandfather and many others like him followed the banners and ideals of freedom and justice, only in the end to be betrayed by their leaders who rationalized and compromised themselves by their posturing and maneuvering to protect their own interests, and in exchange for high positions in the government. My grandfather gave up the struggle in 1904 — a true die hard remnant of the revolution. They and others like him have come down to us in our history books as outlaws and brigands.

But these elements were true idealists and nationalists. The redemption of the Philippines can only be achieved by the masses themselves — letting loose their own energies and passions to

guarantee their just rights. Perhaps, and I hope, there will be a revolution again in the Philippines to settle accounts once and for all. For only in a revolution can we have a new setting — new wills and new passions, new leaders and new philosophers! After all if we love the Philippines, we must believe and accept in the basic good sense that is inherent in the Filipino masses.

Robert I. Antonio
Orange County, CA

Death Toll

In the article "Caught in a Quagmire," A.K. June 1983, it is mentioned that a half million lives took its toll in the Vietnam War. In fact, the closer figure is a full million. To quote from the book, "... General Giap had admitted earlier to 600,000 casualties (at the time, 1968, the Pentagon estimated was 800,000) and it is safe to fix PAVN and PLAF total dead at one million. ..." — *History of Vietnamese Communism, 1925-1976*, Douglas Pike (p. 133) 1978, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

Armando Ang
Glendale, CA

Political Convenience

Anent your article "FM's Diplomats—Grabbing Every Chance to Score," A.K. Vol. IX, No. 6-7, let me put in some personal observations:

I, for one, have a good personal friend who was literally thrown out of the Washington Convention Center just because he happened to be a vocal exponent of individual freedom and civil liberties — not a lackey of the

Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. The delegates who attended the so-called Second National Congress of Filipino/American Organizations, I was told by my friend, were hand-picked by the different Philippine Consulates in America. In other words, they *per se* do not actually represent the cross-section of the Filipinos residing all over the United States — they were selected on the basis of political convenience.

And so, to those who applaud such public show of unity among our fellow countrymen my response is (as they say in the Philippines) ... *Maniwala ka diyan, bola 'yan ... sinong lokohin ninyo!* Kudos to your display of independent Philippine journalism in that part of America. Please bill me for a one-year subscription — this is the least encomium I can possibly extend to you.

Yours for a free Philippines,
Nikolas Gonsales III
Washington, D.C.

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Litter from Manila

Ninoy Did It



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

I am sick and tired of all the accusations that President Marcos ordered the assassination of Ninoy Aquino. To lay all these irresponsible charges to rest, I got an exclusive interview with the President. If this does not settle the question for the cynics, I don't know what will, here is the tape transcript of our no-holds-barred session — unedited, verbatim, unabridged and unexpurgated:

ID: Mr. President, can I ask you a few questions about Ninoy's death?

FM: Shoot! Shoot!

ID: Ah, sir... If you don't want, I'll just forget the whole thing...

FM: No, I meant go ahead, go ahead with your question.

ID: What is the best circumstantial evidence you can offer to prove you didn't kill Ninoy?

FM: Simple. He did not defeat my father in an election and when he was shot, he wasn't brushing his teeth near the window. Everyone knows Ninoy was killed at the airport, we have videotapes of that.

ID: Is it true you didn't want him back at all cost?

FM: Come on, Doroy. You know no matter how I hated the guy he was still my frat brother in the Upsilon Sigma Phi. In fact, out of respect, I wanted to give him a 21-gun salute.

ID: Susmaryosep! In the head, sir?

FM: You know, I think I'll call the AVSECOM police to escort you for your own protection.

ID: No Sir, please no... slip of the tongue lang, sir... pity my family...

FM: Alright, but don't abuse our friendship. Ask your question.

ID: Mr. President, how come it took days and days to identify "Rolly," the lone gunman?

FM: Our intelligence officers were misled by the name embroidered in his underwear. They thought he was an American by the name of Rolly Hanes Sanforized.

ID: It must have taken a lot of time, too, checking the underwear of everyone who was at the airport, huh?

FM: Oh, it was hell for our agents. But through their close examination of the underwear, they were able to determine that Rolly was a Filipino and a heavy smoker.

ID: How did they determine that?

FM: That he was a heavy smoker? Well, there was nicotine in...

ID: No, a Filipino.

FM: Well, when our top investigator stepped in and saw that Rolly had his name embroidered in his briefs he concluded right away... "Ah, Filipino ito."

ID: But sir, with the tight security, how could a lone gunman...

FM: They always ask that. Look, any determined assassin can penetrate the tightest security. Look at Jack Ruby or President Reagan when Hinkley shot him.

ID: Just to play the devil's advocate, sir: if what you say is true, how come all these years no one has been able to penetrate your security when the biased Western media say the recent demonstrations show there's at least two million people who want to kill you?

FM: That's a lie! There's two million people who want to kill the First Lady. That's why she was almost knifed to death by that assassin, remember?

ID: Now, they say the soldiers escorting Ninoy were the ones who shot him.

FM: That is absolutely false. Those soldiers were unarmed. All the precautions they took to keep Ninoy safe was a magnum opus, a gigantic task. The trajectory of my command was very clear to everyone and I entrusted the security to military officials

of the highest caliber. When they asked me to check whether their security preparations were good enough for implementation, I said 'shoot, go ahead.'

ID: What do you say about the millions who showed up at the funeral, doesn't that mean you have lost popular support as the racist Western media claim?

FM: Oooo, those millions just came to mourn. That doesn't mean anything. In fact, the First Lady and I wanted to join the funeral, we even said it publicly.

ID: Why didn't you?

FM: Well, those mobs were very impolite. They said they would be more than glad to have us at the funeral but we have to bring our own coffins.

ID: What are you going to do with all these riots now, sir?

FM: I warn the opposition... they know what I can do. If they want to match mass base with mass base, I will invite them to Ilocos... or Honolulu.

ID: Do you think the U.S. will withdraw support due to all this?

FM: Come on, Doroy. Ronald Reagan and I are of the same mind. He likes horseback riding, I like horseback riding. He hates communists, I hate communists. He likes the bases, I like the bases. I like Imelda, he likes the bases.

ID: Well, what are your next moves to clear your name?

FM: First, I will reinstitute press freedom — these opposition newspapers are getting out of hand again. Then, I will defend freedom of expression — the military's capacity to control the demonstrations are being hampered by my initial policy of maximum tolerance. From now on, they are free to carry automatic weapons. Then, I will reconstitute the Fernando commission to investigate Ninoy's responsibility for the whole affair.

ID: Will new charges be brought against him?

FM: Possibly conspiracy to assassinate himself. After all, we warned him repeatedly not to come home. The fact that he persisted indicates he may have been in on the conspiracy.

ID: Er, sir, how will Ninoy be served with these charges? Do you, ah, expect to see him soon?

FM: No comment. □

Aquino Murder Investigation

Official Cover-Up Falters



By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The Marcos government's attempt to prove its innocence in the Aquino assassination is coming apart at the seams. A succession of tactics designed to prove its commitment to solving the murder of Marcos' arch rival have run into an obstacle course of public ridicule, unanswered questions and incriminating evidence.

Marcos hoped to prove through official means that a lone gunman, conveniently killed on the spot, pulled off the entire caper at Manila International Airport last August 21, a notion that strained credibility.

But the 66-year old ruler is left with no choice but to plough on with his official version. The latest embellishment to his lone gunman story was the release of a "detailed intelligence report" proving the purported assassin Rolando Galman's communist affiliations.

The military produced Rosendo Cawigan, Aquino's former bodyguard who testified that Communist Party chief Rodolfo Salas told him Galman was under orders to execute Aquino. Cawigan claimed Galman was a commander who went by the name Ka Bert Ramos.

Military officials said Cawigan, also previously a secret intelligence agent, provided the main testimony that led to the government charges of rape, murder and subversion against Aquino.

Aquino's widow quickly dismissed Cawigan's communist plot testimony. "He was a liar to begin with," Mrs. Aquino said, referring to Cawigan's role in her husband's previous imprisonment. "So why should I believe his story?"

To back up its lone (now communist) gunman version, the government indicated it would press on with an official investigation. It brushed aside demands for an impartial international commission. Marcos told ABC Nightline's Ted Koppel, "We are tired of foreign interference in our affairs."

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

But any official investigation has to reckon with a host of difficult questions raised by the Aquino family, the opposition and the international media.

How did a lone gunman slip inside the airport's tight security cordon and how did he know exactly where to position himself? How could a shorter man shoot a taller man standing on level ground and have the bullet travel downward? Why were passengers and newsmen physically barred from leaving the airplane with Aquino?

Any official conclusions resulting from a government investigation also have to surmount deep public skepticism and the widespread belief that Marcos is only after a cover-up. On such rocky terrain, all government attempts to clear itself of responsibility for the murder have so far broken down.

Marcos appointed a Warren Commission-type panel headed by Supreme Court

Chief Justice Enrique Fernando immediately after the assassination. For credibility, he wanted to intersperse among his own people one or two figures with reputations as independent thinkers.

Here he was sorely disappointed. Former Supreme Court Justices J. B. L. Reyes and Roberto Concepcion turned him down politely citing poor health. Jaime Cardinal Sin did likewise, saying not so privately, that he did not want to be "a voice in the wilderness."

Marcos was thus left with a less-than-impressive array. Commission chairman Fernando is known to be a great fan of First Lady Imelda Marcos. Fernando is prone to quoting Imelda in his decisions and has been criticized for weakening the Supreme Court's independence.

Of the other members, former Supreme Court Justices Ruperto Martin, Guillermo Santos and Felix Antonio, none is known to have ever disagreed with Malacañang. The Aquino family refused to appoint a representative or to have anything to do with the investigation. Mrs. Aquino blasted the group as "all Marcos men."

"FERNANDO'S HIDEAWAY"

When Fernando called on her during the wake to express his condolences along with Prime Minister Cesar Virata and *Batasang Pambansa* Speaker Querube Makalintal, all three were turned away.

It was not only the Aquinos who questioned the panel. Reporters revealed that senior diplomats from half a dozen western countries privately raised their own doubts. Politicians joked that at least Fernando should be familiar with the airport because he always holds a parasol for Mrs. Marcos during welcoming ceremonies for visiting VIPs. Police officers familiar with the case joked that the Fernando Commission should be dubbed "Fernando's Hideaway."

Opposition lawyers immediately challenged the panel on legal grounds. They particularly questioned Fernando's position as concurrently panel chair and Supreme Court Chief Justice. The Chief Justice's students picketed him and his classes.

Citing legalities, Fernando stepped back from the panel after less than a week of hearings and the entire investigation was suspended. Though the regime claimed it was awaiting the outcome of motions filed before the Supreme Court, according to *Newsweek*, "government sources disclosed what may be the real problem: high-ranking officials in Manila no longer felt they could sell the story of a lone assassin in the pay of the Communists."

MEDICAL TESTIMONY BACKFIRES

Among the few witnesses who did testify before the commission were the medical specialists who examined Aquino and Galman. If Marcos was counting on medical evidence to provide him much-needed

credibility, he was once again disappointed.

Dr. Benjamin Munoz, pathologist from the National Bureau of Investigation who examined Aquino, spent the first day of hearings, September 7, proving that Galman indeed killed Aquino. Brandishing a human skull with an ill-fitting lower jaw to illustrate his points, he explained how a bullet which traveled downward through Aquino's skull was indeed shot by a shorter man standing level with Aquino.

To the sound of giggles, Munoz explained that the bullet deflected off a piece of bone that the bullet deflected off a piece of bone inside the head which sent it down. Asked if the bullet could have been shot by a guard standing two steps above the victim, Munoz insisted that this would have sent the bullet into the neck.

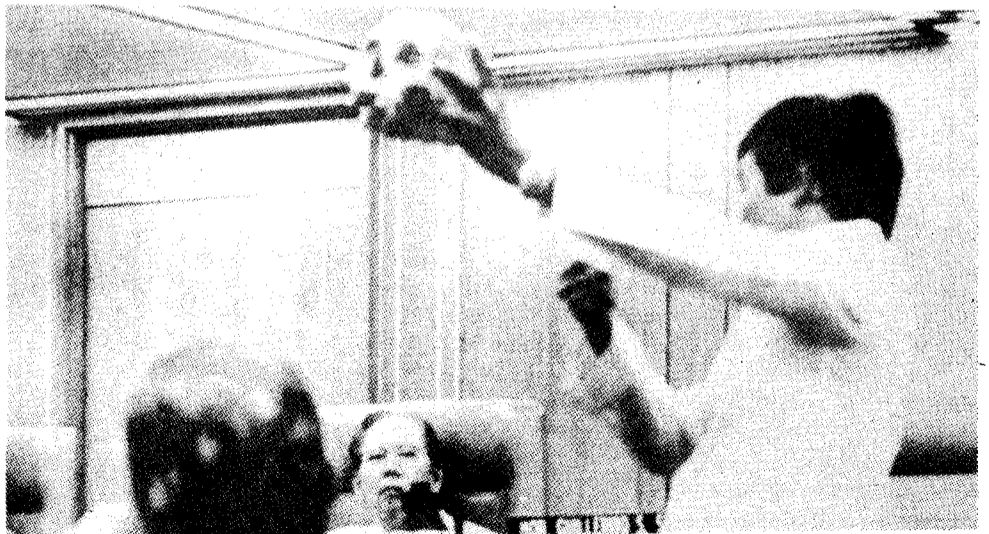
To no one's comprehension, he added that it would have been "very awkward" for a gunman to aim down into Aquino's skull unless Aquino's head had been tilted upward. Manila's police chief Prospero Olivas chastised the audience for laughing, and a ruffled Muñoz accidentally sat down on the lower jaw he was using as an exhibit.

Meanwhile at least one reporter managed to steal a peek at the official autopsy report for Aquino. The *Christian Science Monitor's* Paul Quinn-Judge insisted, with no elaboration, that this document "provides circumstantial evidence that the man alleged... to have fired the shot (Galman) could not have been able to position himself in such a way as to account for the bullet that slayed Aquino."

OLIVAS TO THE RESCUE

With the Fernando panel temporarily out of commission, Manila police chief Olivas tried to head off the momentum of the accusations against the regime. He did not fare any better than Fernando's panel. His was a thankless task and his answers either dissolved into absurdity or raised new ones on the spot.

A short man managed to send a bullet downward through a taller man's head, Olivas explained, because Aquino at a crucial moment looked up. He explained that the lone gunman figured out which gate to target from watching the movements of the airport security teams. The China Airlines flight on which Aquino arrived, he claimed, was the eighth to have been boarded that day by security teams who did not know where to expect Aquino.



Regime pathologist: "Bullet deflected in Aquino's head."

"This," noted the *Monitor's* Quinn-Judge, "presents the rather unlikely picture of one or more killers stalking the security teams across the tarmac." The same reporter one day later revealed that security forces, in fact, learned from Malacañang's Office of Media Affairs Security Information Unit the exact flight and arrival gate well in advance. Scores of security forces were properly positioned a full 90 minutes before Aquino's plane arrived.

WITNESSES MISSING, IGNORED

With hundreds of troops securing the airport, Olivas insisted the assassin managed to hide himself behind the stairs of

the plane's arrival platform.

However, in a filmed reconstruction designed to prove his point, the timing failed to match the sounds of gunshots on videotapes taken on the plane the day of the murder. Olivas' gunman leaping out from behind the stairway as a mock Aquino stepped to the ground was distinctly late, suggesting that Aquino was killed while still on the stairs.

Perhaps most distressing of all was what Olivas and his team did not do. For example:

- Six days after the killing, the *Los Angeles Times* pointed out that Olivas still had not interviewed all airport ground crew members who could easily have witnessed the crime.

- Though the faces of Aquino's escorts were fully captured on videotape and viewed on T.V. screens the world over, the three soldiers—who some insisted were Aquino's murderers—were never produced or interviewed.

- The identity of the alleged assassin, Rolando Galman, was not released until nine days after the crime. Observers found this particularly strange since his entire family was arrested by air force intelligence teams several days before Galman's name was announced. His home was reportedly raided two hours before the assassination.

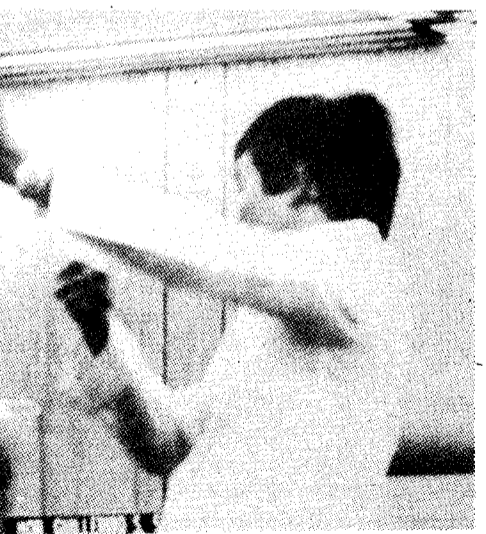
UNTOUCHED LEADS

While discrepancies riddled Olivas' findings, the government refused to touch the leads publicly offered by independent sources.

Footage taken by a Japanese T.V. crew captured enough to suggest a complex operation involving many military and plainclothesmen. All appeared to have been calmly supervised by a shadowy figure in a *Barong Tagalog* who watched the entire action and then melted into the crowded plane exit. Conducted with military precision, the assassination took one minute, twenty seconds from the time Aquino left his seat until his body was loaded into a conveniently waiting van.

Meanwhile, *Newsweek's* September 26 issue revealed that alleged assassin Galman had close ties with Col. Arturo Custodio, an Air Force officer attached to the headquarters of Armed Forces of the Philippine chief Gen. Fabian Ver. The two men are former townmates and Custodio employed Galman occasionally to do light work.

Newsweek further learned that Galman and his girlfriend were kept together for three nights prior to the assassination at a small motel near the airport under the guard of five armed men with close-cropped hair. One guard even slept in the same room with them on the last night.



In mid-September, the opposition claimed to have located 11 witnesses willing to testify—if their own safety could be guaranteed—that they saw Aquino killed by the security men who accompanied him off the plane. One of them *Kyodo* stringer Kiyoshi Wakamiya, insisted that "assassin" Galman was shoved from the rear of a van and shot on the spot by security forces.

SACRIFICIAL LAMB?

With Marcos increasingly backed into a corner, observers felt he may be forced to play a final card: offering one of those

Continued on page 4

Damned If He Does, Damned If He Doesn't

Reagan in No-Win Situation Over Visit

By CARLA MARIANO

Pressure continued to mount against President Ronald Reagan's planned visit to Manila in November as lawmakers and the U.S. media pushed for a "symbolic distancing" from the Marcos regime in light of the Aquino assassination.

Despite some vacillations over the trip's implication to presidential security expressed by unidentified cabinet officials and First Lady Nancy Reagan, the White House has repeatedly announced that the "trip's still on."

(Reagan announced October 3 that he will postpone his visit to April.)

However, Reagan already indicated the possible excuse he might use for an eventual cancellation by saying his whole trip to Asia might be scrapped due to some pressing business with Congress in November.

Reagan is clearly caught in a dilemma, in fact, a no-win situation. If he goes on with the visit, the expected massive demonstrations in Manila will prove embar-

raising for his administration internationally. If he cancels, he will not only displease Marcos, but he will also acknowledge the dilemma over how to deal with Marcos, the caretaker of huge U.S. military bases in Subic and Olongapo who has also become even more discredited by the Aquino affair.

LIBERALS POUNCE ON REAGAN
As a result of the Aquino assassination, liberals have pounced on Reagan's uncritical support for Marcos.

Forty-five members of Congress signed a letter shortly after the assassination urging Reagan to cancel his trip.

They cautioned Reagan that the visit may add credibility "to the popularly held belief that the U.S. endorses Marcos' undemocratic policies." In the same letter, the solons charged that "President Marcos has pursued a policy of repression in the Philippines which the United States has tacitly condoned by continuing to supply military and economic aid without comment."

Furthermore, the House members wrote that "a full and objective inquiry is also necessary as we consider the recently

vulnerability of his Philippine policy to human rights criticisms.

The whole controversy reflects the growing division with U.S. policy-making circumscribed by the \$900 million agreement allowing the operation of Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base."

Rep. Bob Edgar went as far as to say that costs of the Reagan administration's like Marcos "have been borne by the total support for unpopular dictatorships working people and poor of this country."

Aside from the congressional letter, Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-San Francisco) and Rep. Don Edwards (D-Santa Clara) filed a Joint Senate and House Resolution asking Reagan to cancel his trip. The resolution also called for an impartial tribunal to investigate the Aquino assassination, and for the restoration of democracy in the Philippines.

There are reports that Rep. Fortney Stark is preparing an even stronger resolution calling for a stop to U.S. aid, should Marcos reimpose martial law.

Last September 13, Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-New York), chairman of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee opened hearings on the assassination of Aquino and its effect on U.S.-R.P. relations. Other congressional hearings are being scheduled by various House committees.

Because of the Aquino affair and the consequent unrest in Manila, controversy is expected to flare up in the scheduled October appropriations hearing on the just concluded \$900 million bases rental agreement. It would be the first major congressional ruckus over aid to Marcos in four years.

Other public officials on the state and municipal levels have joined in the demand for the cancellation of the Reagan visit, policy towards the Philippines.

In California, both houses of the State Legislature passed a resolution condemning the Marcos role in the murder and calling for the cancellation of the Reagan visit. Five State legislators from Hawaii, the Human Rights Commission of the San Mateo County in California, a city council-

member from New York, two council members and a mayor's aide from Los Angeles also released similar statements.

MEDIA JOIN THE FRAY

The U.S. media have kept up a steady barrage of barbs against Reagan's visit. The *New York Times* counseled that "it would be reckless for President Reagan to ignore the stain on the airport pavement by honoring Mr. Marcos with a visit."

Because of the "powerful circumstantial evidence that points to some level of official complicity in the Aquino murder," the *Los Angeles Times* recommended that "Manila should be scratched from Reagan's Asian itinerary."

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* exhorted Reagan to "stay away from any association with Marcos" unless Marcos is absolved of involvement in the killing of Aquino, adding that "it is impossible to absolve President Ferdinand Marcos' regime" until the investigation is completed.

Joining the chorus against the Manila trip, the *Oakland Tribune* stressed that "until the full truth about Aquino's assassination is known, and justice is done to the plotters, no American president should extend his hand in friendship to Marcos."

Some editorials focused on Reagan's safety while downplaying the political issues brought out by the planned visit.

Only a few conservative newspapers encouraged Reagan. Declaring Marcos "is the only one we've got" to protect U.S. interests, the *Wall Street Journal* urged Reagan "not to turn his back on Mr. Marcos."

QUALIFIED CRITICISMS

Despite the hubbub, Reagan remained firm. John C. Monjo, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific affairs, expressing the official line, made it clear that "notwithstanding the assassination of Aquino, President Reagan has not changed his plans to visit the Philippines."

Monjo, in his testimony at the Solarz hearing assured everybody that "the Aquino assassination does not appear to have changed pre-existing Philippine attitudes about the military presence in the Philippines or about our economic and security assistance." He cites the absence of anti-American manifestations during Aquino's funeral.

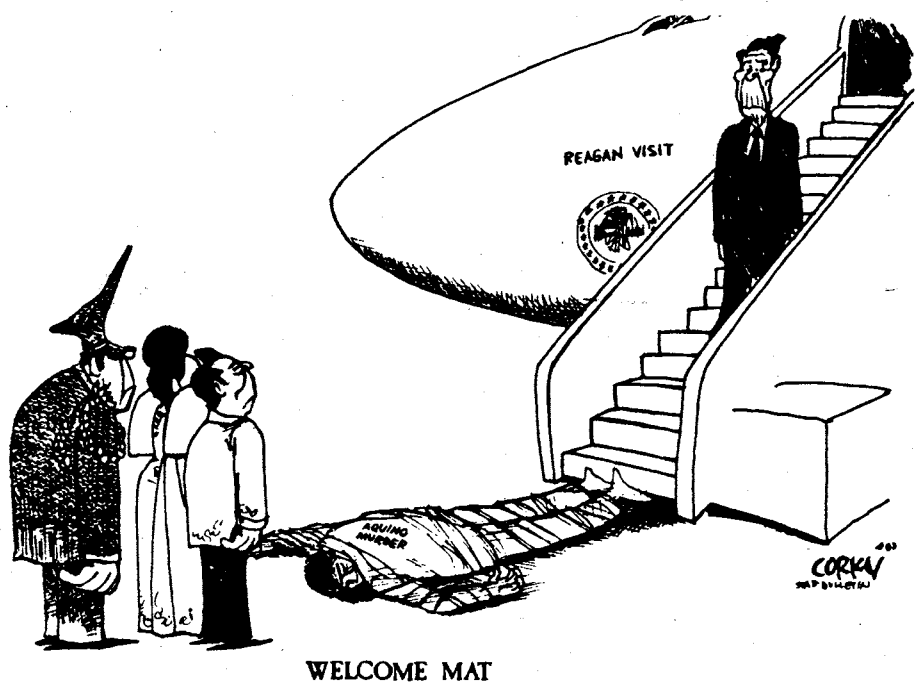
The headline Reagan stance appears consistent with the dominant foreign policy strictures advanced within his cabinet by national security adviser William P. Clark. Clark, who could not make a distinction between Zimbabwe and South Africa during his confirmation hearings, adheres to the Kirkpatrick doctrine of total support for dictatorships allied with the U.S.

Strident as the liberal opposition may have become, their position differs mainly in the form and symbols of the relationship with Marcos. No one has suggested that Marcos be dumped even at the cost of losing the U.S. military bases.

In fact, Reagan's Congress and media critics alike carefully qualify their positions with the call for a "better way" of securing U.S. national security interests in the Philippines.

But the Reagan policy, and Marcos are still in some hot water. Even "battle-scarred" foreign policy technician William Sullivan who served as ambassador to both the Philippines and Iran has concluded that Marcos has spent his usefulness. The U.S., he said, better look for horses in reserve among the Philippine opposition and work out a transition agreeable to Marcos so that the dictator can take a graceful exit.

As for Reagan, while he might have been irked that Marcos' airport antic placed his administration in a quandary, he is not publicly complaining. □



Cover-Up Falters . . .

Continued from page 3

actually involved in the assassination as a sacrificial lamb. That someone has to be high enough in the hierarchy to be convincing, but not so close to the top as to taint Marcos or any of his key lieutenants.

The Col. Custodio *Newsweek* uncovered may be a prime candidate for that sacrifice. So is another official with the same surname, Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, chief of AVSECOM, the Aviation Security Command, an Air Force unit in charge of security at MIA. Two of the guards who escorted Aquino off the plane were AVSECOM men.

On September 18, Ver ordered still another panel to conduct a probe. Composed of Brig. Gen. Renato Ecarma, Victorino Azada and Catalino Villanueva. Nothing has been heard from this commission so far.

Marcos then ordered the Fernando commission back on September 27 saying he wanted the entire investigation "wrapped up in a week or two." However, Fernando buckled under the controversy he has found himself in and abruptly resigned from the commission September 30.

"SKILL AND IDIOCY"

While the investigation stalled, rumors

have made the rounds relieving Marcos of personal responsibility for the murder. Much speculation centered on the possibility of Ver and Mrs. Marcos having pulled off the assassination on their own. As most ambitious and favored contenders to succeed Marcos, the reasoning went, they felt threatened by Aquino and decided to do him in.

U.S. columnist Jack Anderson devoted an entire column to such a plot. One Australian paper called the murder typically Imelda—"... a combination of tactical skill and strategic idiocy." The *London Observer* pointed out that the murder occurred at the airport—"Imelda Territory." The fact that AVSECOM is directly under Ver, as is Col. Custodio, reinforced the theory.

Another speculation is that a lone military man initiated the murder on his own out of fanatical loyalty to Marcos. This particular theory was sown well in advance by none other than Imelda Marcos. When she met with Aquino in New York to urge him not to return, she told the opposition leader her husband might not be able to control some loyal members of the military who may want to kill him.

The very boldness of the assassination prompted yet another assertion: "Marcos wouldn't be so stupid." This position, found its echo in surprising places.

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser said as much as did highly respected Marcos foe ex-Senator Jose Diokno: "Marcos would never have had Ninoy killed

the way he was. Maybe an 'accident' under house arrest, or 'shot while trying to escape,' but not shot in front of the world's press. That's why I believe the Army was involved."

SPECULATIONS FAIL

These speculations, however, failed to take account of some key facts. For one, while there may be jockeying among the factions in the Marcos camp for key spots in the succession process, Marcos is still very much in the saddle calling the shots. For a problem of tremendous import such as how to deal with a returning arch-enemy, Marcos would not have been caught dead leaving the decision to subordinates.

What the speculations also failed to note is that Aquino's return placed Marcos in a jam. An arrest at the airport would have made Aquino a living martyr. No arrest would have exposed the criminal charges against him as hollow. Marcos' only option was to have Aquino physically eliminated even before the latter could do any damage by simply being home—especially that the scheduled Reagan visit was just a few months away.

Renowned as a brilliant strategist, Marcos intended to rely precisely on the brazenness of the assassination as his ultimate defense. He knew that the spontaneous reaction would be "Marcos wouldn't be so dumb." His only miscalculation was to underestimate the extent to which public distrust has isolated his regime. □

The Would-Be Successor

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Nuestra Señora de Metro Manila

In the wake of Benigno Aquino's assassination, Philippine First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos informed the world that she intended to resign from all her political positions. Suspicions that she had played a role in eliminating a powerful rival had driven her to the limit of her "human sensitivity." Just who is this powerful yet delicate creature and what makes her tick?

"I go by my heart, not my head. But as president of a country you have to use your head rather than your heart. It would break me as a person."

So spoke Philippine First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, a leading contender to succeed her husband as Philippine head of state. The time was 1978 and Mme. Marcos was responding to a Made-in-Malacañang campaign to make her the Philippines' Deputy Prime Minister.

Already Governor of Metro-Manila, member of the Interim *Batasang Pambansa*, Minister of Human Settlements, and, in the words of Foreign Affairs Minister Carlos P. Romulo, "*de facto* Vice President," Mrs. Marcos hoped to formalize her position as second most powerful person in the Philippines. The orchestrated campaign of endorsements poured in from IBP members, governors, mayors, military commanders, and Supreme Court justices.

While Imelda herself played coy, husband Ferdinand allowed himself to be slowly swayed. Until the subject was suddenly dropped from the headlines and the coffee shop gossip circuit. Speculation was that a Marcos Prime Minister/Deputy Prime Minister team was more than the Filipino population could stomach and that the prospect made Marcos' backers in Washington more than a trifle queasy as well.

The ever-resourceful Ferdinand reasoned that, after all, there's more than one way to skin a cat—or to insure that Marcos wealth and power remain intact long after the president leaves his position. He pointedly told U.S. officials and media during his visit here last September that Imelda may not formally succeed him, but whoever does "would need the First Lady's cooperation." Thus, with succession looming as the most controversial issue on the Philippine political horizon, perhaps the most possible of candidates is one of the most improbable of characters: Imelda Romualdez Marcos.

Her supporters insist that the First Lady is more than qualified for the position. Oozed Associate Justice Ramon Fernandez during the 1978 campaign, "Imelda Romualdez Marcos is the greatest woman in the world today for her untiring and inexhaustible endeavor of bringing the people of the world closer together through friendship among all nations and the craving love of her people to have peace and contentment."

Indeed, the woman's credentials are formidable. After 18 years in Malacañang, the First Lady has ventured into nearly every sphere of public life—much of it simultaneously. No one puts it better than Mme. Marcos herself who once told newsmen, "I get my fingers in all our pies. Before you know it, your little fingers, including all your toes are in the pies."

Imelda wears a variety of hats which she changes as frequently as she switches gorgeous gowns. Acting both on her own and as her husband's chief troubleshooter, she has earned her stripes as everything from city planner to diplomat, to public administrator.

Mrs. Marcos is perhaps most widely acclaimed in her role as city planner, a role she plays with gusto as Governor of Metro-Manila. Here her judgement, taste, and administrative ability are unquestionable. A key focus of her zeal is a once-nondescript strip of land raised from the depths of Manila Bay through tons of landfill and named—as only Imelda can name—the City of Love.

Mme. Marcos is known for her miracle projects and the lightning speed with which she gets things done. None are more impressive than those that dot the City of Love. Here rises the Parthenon-shaped Philippine International Film Center, rushed so rapidly to completion that 24 workers died in the midst due to a collapsing roof. Mrs. Marcos scoffed at the notion of calling things off in honor of the departed workers and toyed with the idea of flying white sand in to edge the nearby beach.

She hoped that the Manila International Film Festival might thus give the glamorous Cannes a run for its money, but apparently decided that the charm of Manila itself more than compensated for the dingy grey of its sands.

Then there is the lush Philippine International Convention Center, completed in a mere 77 days in time for the 1974 Miss Universe Pageant. Here Mrs. Marcos won acclaim for her cleverness when she ordered a swath of withering grass spray-painted green the night before the conference opened and had an instant grove of palm trees planted around a bulldozer hopelessly mired on the PICC's grounds. Today, the



Roy Rowan

'I get my fingers in all our pies. Before you know it, your little fingers, including your toes, are in the pies.'

walls and floors of the impressive structure have cracked due to settling of the newly-filled land, but nothing is spared to repair them, and to satisfy what is known as the First Lady's edifice complex.

Meanwhile, as social welfare worker, Imelda never forgets the poor of her city, "the little ones," as she affectionately calls them. "I need no orders or commands to serve the Filipino people who I so dearly and intensely love," she explains.

In order to spare Manila's poor from offending the eyes with their poverty, Imelda has done everything possible to get them out of Manila. First it was ZIP, the Zonal Improvement Program, which simply bulldozed squatters and sent them packing. Then there was the "*Balik-Probinsiya*" program designed to return the poor to the provinces whose poverty and unemployment they originally fled. For the unmovable, there are fences—10-foot high, whitewashed board fences which line the roadsides—shielding visitors from the unappetizing sight of poverty in an impoverished nation.

Mrs. Marcos of course sponsored public housing as well. Here she insisted on the use of attractive tiled roofs rather than the standard galvanized iron sheets and ordered then Minister of Industry Vicente Paterno to promote investment in tile manufacture. Twitted over the fact that the handsome roofs would raise the housing cost beyond the means of the poor, Mrs. Marcos replied, "I don't believe in building housing projects for everyone because I don't want our people to be mendicant, to be totally dependent on others or on the government."

Mrs. Marcos' term as Metro-Manila governor also provided her with much experience in the realm of public administration. Zeroing in on beautification as a number one item, Mrs. Marcos sponsored massive tree plantings, upgraded tourist sites and launched her own private army of garbage collectors known politely as Metro-Manila aides.

Mrs. Marcos has proven amply to the world that she has her priorities straight. Where else in the world can one find garbage collectors who get higher pay than school teachers? And, according to the most objective of observers, she remains thoroughly practical. "She has been conspicuously successful in beautifying the

more prosperous areas," noted the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in 1979, "but Metro-Manila aides are never seen in Quiapo and no palm trees have been planted along the main streets of Sta. Mesa."

Then there is Mrs. Marcos the patroness and promoter of the arts. Here her reputation dates back to her early days in the palace. In fact, her very first gesture in the cultural arena was to redecorate Malacañang Palace itself, converting the presidential living quarters into a veritable museum of Philippine art. Thus today, intermingled with her own portraits by a battalion of local artists, are to be found some of the finest works of Philippine art from the prehistoric period to the present. That others outside the First Family and their guests might have a taste of culture, Mrs. Marcos launched the very first of her projects to dot the City of Love, the elegant Cultural Center which looms impressively over Manila Bay.

But these were mere facets of her broad involvement in the realm of culture. By appearing regularly at gallery exhibits, Imelda made gallery-hopping chic. And by buying the work of starving artists, she placed food in their stomachs. She thus won herself a devoted coterie of some of the country's finest artists and cultural workers. Their works now decorate the walls and parks of her city. Particularly noteworthy are contributions to her pet projects such as the Philippine Heart Center. Here a vast mural by the once-fine artist Vicente Manansala is dominated by a virginal portrait of Imelda in white which floats above a panorama of the sickly.

Mme. Marcos has taken pains to broaden the definition of culture beyond the realm of the fine arts alone. An entire floor of her Museum of Philippine Costume contains nothing but over 70 of her own hand-embroidered gowns. As to what a critic once called the finest example of Philippine popular art—the dazzlingly painted and decorated jeepney—Mrs. Marcos is working hard to eliminate it, ostensibly to reduce fuel consumption. Anyway, the tourists take taxis.

Questions such as fuel consumption fall squarely

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The Would Be-Successor . . .

Continued from page 5

within the realm of this multifaceted woman who never lets a detail escape her. "She works on culture, the arts and social welfare and development," husband Ferdinand once said. "When these subjects involve finances and national politics, she refers everything to me."

She has suitably impressed experts in the realm of the sciences and defense. She told a group of American scientists in January 1979, "There is a hole in outer space through which cosmic forces beam down on these islands. They are stronger than anywhere else and that is why we have so many good faith healers here. My scientists tell me that we could use these forces to protect the United States from ballistic missiles."

But Imelda has invaded as well the world of trade and finance—and when Imelda invades, look out! Once while enthusiastically discussing the potential of coconuts as fuel, she promised a skeptical observer that the Philippines would soon be self-sufficient. "We will even export electricity!" she added breathlessly, not realizing that this is one commodity that cannot be crated or shipped abroad like oil.

Imelda the economist is today the country's number one fundraiser. The word is that in the Philippines there are two BIRs, the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the Bureau of Imelda's Revenue. Wealthy friends shudder at sudden invitations to the palace. More often than not, they are expected to arrive checkbook in hand and not allowed to leave without a hefty chunk donated to Imelda's project of the moment. For those who have learned not to answer their own phones, the First Lady sends special personal messengers.

Mrs. Marcos' reputation has spread well beyond Philippine shores through her numerous travels as the country's number one diplomat. Mrs. Marcos opened Philippine relations with China in 1974 and addressed the UN where she caused an uproar by inviting the entire General Assembly to Manila. She conducted delicate negotiations with Libya's Moammar Khadafi over the Moro rebellion in the Philippine south. Though the Philippine government later tossed the settlement aside, Mrs. Marcos' photo with Khadafi flashed across newspapers the world over.

Imelda never lets a funeral of a head of state pass her by. This year she jetted off to attend the rites for Grace Kelly. She was prominent at the funerals of the last Pope; Egypt's Anwar Sadat, whose wife is a good friend; and Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, whose daughter is a jet set buddy.

But invitations are another matter. Mrs. Marcos got into quite a stew last year when she was not invited to the wedding of England's Prince Charles. She was similarly outraged by a failure to be invited to Jimmy Carter's inauguration and hung out for weeks in Washington in an effort to force an invitation. Betty Ford's social secretary once wailed that Imelda was a real headache, dropping into Washington without warning and expecting an audience every time.

As a military leader however, Imelda can only lay claim to having engineered the Manotoc kidnapping and rescue by a crack commando team in an effort to keep daughter Imee from marrying a commoner. (Word has it that she had had her eyes on Prince Charles.) Some credit the President with the young man's disappearance, but those in the know insist that Imelda called the shots for this one.

Where did this woman of many talents come from? Mrs. Marcos is decidedly touchy about her impoverished origins. Although a member of a prominent family of the province of Leyte, she comes from the poorer part. She emerged and managed to climb the social ladder both because of her own conscious scheming and the charity of her wealthy relatives. One biographer went into self-exile in England for having dared to tell the tale.

The young Imelda escaped Leyte when she was brought to Manila by her relatives to look after their children. Here she worked, first in a piano showroom and later at a bank. Here also she met the dashing Congressman Ferdinand Marcos from Ilocos. The young lady knew a good thing when she saw it and they were married ten days later. Their whirlwind courtship is now national legend.

Mrs. Marcos' impoverished origins and potential succession to the lofty position of head of state have won her comparisons to Evita Peron, which gall her immensely. There is no comparison, she insists, "I was never a prostitute."

Just how did the poor relation from Leyte become the second most powerful person in the country?

The building of Imelda's power base began before she set foot in Malacañang. The 1965 presidential election was the launching pad for her political career. Mrs. Marcos' youth—she entered Malacañang the youngest First Lady ever—her beauty and charm earned her broad popularity and won her husband



Imelda as public administrator.

New York Times Magazine

many votes. It was at this time that she put together her corps of Blue Ladies distinguished by the blue sashes of their campaign garb. These wealthy unemployed women acted as fundraisers, hostesses, campaigners, and devoted followers. Their connections proved most useful and many continued to function as general go-fers and aides without portfolio in Malacañang.

Once in the Palace, Mrs. Marcos took to public life with a vengeance. She performed all the rites first ladies perform—cut ribbons, crowned beauty queens and entertained in elegant style. But she quickly became a bureaucrat as well, carving out acceptable areas of "women's" work in the arts, culture and social welfare. Her staff doubled and redoubled.

Initially Mrs. Marcos limited herself to playing Lady Bountiful—arriving promptly on the scene of flood, fire or earthquake with a sackful of dole-outs. Soon she was devising her inimitable fundraising techniques to keep Malacañang's storehouses bulging. In no time, she took on her own projects, supervising them with the same care she gave her formal dinners.

Real opportunity for Imelda came with martial law. She formalized her political position independent of her role as First Lady when her husband proclaimed her Governor of Metro-Manila in 1975. At the same time, financial possibilities multiplied.

Mrs. Marcos had already begun amassing her personal fortune and helping build those of her relatives prior to martial law. But when the wealthy Lopez clan was dispossessed of its entire holdings, it was none other than favorite brother Benjamin "Kokoy" who took over. And so on. Imelda learned a number of lessons from her spouse, one of which was cronyism. This she promptly put to good use.

Increasing political power meant more and more government slots to fill at her own discretion. Today there are more Romualdezes in government positions than Marcoses. Kokoy is Ambassador to the U.S., having replaced Eduardo Z. Romualdez in the position little over a year ago. Whole ministries in the Philippines are labelled "his" and "hers" as are varying banks and

industrial sectors. Although the military remains principally "his," Mrs. Marcos has her own following—many through appointments to her Ministry of Human Settlements. Though Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile is decidedly "his," Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, blindly loyal to the Marcos family, some say leans toward "her."

An empire has thus been built via association with the actual source of power—but an empire which was only possible through the president's active assistance.

Imelda's first leg up the ladder of power indeed came via popular appeal, but today the glow has faded. Though she has yet to recognize it, Imelda Marcos is quite possibly the most unpopular person in the Philippines today, even more than the dictator himself. In fact she is the common butt of the country's jokes.

"Imelda is into the mining business," runs one. "That's mine and that's mine and that's mine." Runs another—a helicopter hovers low over a crowd of miserable flood victims to whom Imelda and her children are tossing relief packages. Son Bongbong notices that the people are still unhappy even after receiving their free food. "What's wrong," he calls, "Why are you still unhappy?" Comes the reply: "Throw Imelda!" She is referred to jokingly as "Nuestra Sra. de Metro Manila." (Mrs. Marcos in 1979 proposed a new ₱100 million basilica for Metro-Manila to be completed in time for her 25th wedding anniversary. She had hoped to invite Pope John Paul II to say the mass. The plan was axed by Jaime Cardinal Sin.)

It is not just the populace at large that is turned off by the First Lady. Technocrats groan over her grandiose projects and extravagant ways. Even the cronies are not all comfortable with her. Though Florendo and others are "hers," she clashed with Cojuangco and Enrile several years ago over control of the coconut industry—and lost. She represents a distinct threat to others.

The elite opposition hardly considers her an acceptable successor to her husband. A President Imelda simply means more of Marcos. Even Marcos' imperialist backers hesitate to regard Imelda as a serious contender. Reaganites can swallow her now as Ferdinand's wife, but could not handle her on her own. They are interested in a smooth transition and would like to see a successor with some popularity. Mrs. Marcos has little and would be more of a political liability than a source of political stability. She is politely dismissed as something of a joke in State Department circles.

And a joke she is—a cruel one on the people she claims to represent with her outrageous manner and ridiculous utterances. The imperialists secretly laugh at her antics and conclude that she is the natural product of an inferior people's collective idiosyncrasy. But they must take the full credit for the existence of an Imelda. For only under a system in which people have no control over their political destiny can such an embarrassment rise to the top.

Filipinos by now are accustomed to cringing every time their First Lady opens her mouth without a prepared text before her. They are accustomed to the insult to their image that she represents. But neo-colonialism itself—the system of foreign domination that sends dictators and buffoons to the center of the political stage as a matter of necessity—is the biggest insult of all. □

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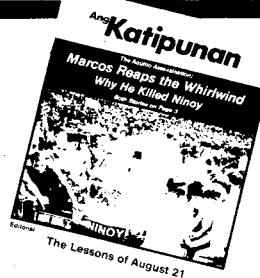
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MARCOS AGENTS IN U.S. EXPOSED

Is Revolution . . .

Continued from front page

Then the troops opened fire with their automatics, shooting into the crowd. Hospital officials counted 105 injured—85 protestors, 14 riot troops, five journalists, and a fireman.

Though the crowd was broken up, the ugly mood remained and carried over to succeeding days. At least three more people were shot and wounded the next day, September 22, as riot police attacked student demonstrations at a dozen sites throughout Metro-Manila. Rioting erupted in the university belt when hundreds of police, led by police chief Prospero Olivas, marched through the streets in formation, chasing, clubbing and shooting at groups of suspected demonstrators.

There was shooting again at Mendiola Bridge as 500 students once more attempted to march on Malacañang. A jeep bearing heavily armed men in gas masks plowed into a march by bankers, stockbrokers, businessmen and their secretaries in Makati. A group of 200 street children—10- and 11-year-olds—rioted a half-mile from the University Belt.

But the biggest activity that day was directed at the U.S. Embassy. Five thousand students bearing a huge banner that read, "Dismantle the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship!" marched to within a block of the embassy. They bore an effigy of Uncle Sam with the features of U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost which they set aflame. Riot police charged with clubs, tear gas, and sporadic shots. The students were dispersed into the neighboring Ermita, the city's red light district, where more rioting ensued.

IS REVOLUTION HERE?

By the time September 22 drew to a close, 62 had been arrested throughout the capital. Fifty-two were charged with "sedition" and "inciting to rebellion." Among them were 22 students—one of them only 14, a



Protestors massing before outbreak of riots.

cook, a drum and bugle instructor, and three low-level employees of the Bank of America. Some had not even participated in the demonstrations. A week after their arrest, they still had not been allowed to see their families or attorneys.

Manila, though certainly the most active spot, was not the only site of protest. The September 21 National Day of Sorrow was also planned for key cities throughout the country. Thirty thousand turned out in Cagayan de Oro for a march and rally September 24, joined by Sen. Aquino's mother.

In the wake of the September 21 demonstration and the ensuing Malacañang riot, Ferdinand Marcos cracked down. Threatening to reimpose martial law, he announced September 23 that all demonstrations in the future were to have permits or would be crushed. If met with force, he noted ominously, "We will be compelled to use force." Two days later Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver ordered checkpoints to be set up at all roads leading into the city. The military began searching both cars and pedestrians as they entered and left.

On nationwide TV, Marcos denounced all demonstrators as "drug addicts, drunkards, gangsters, communists, and radicals." But he reserved particularly threatening language for the businessmen who took part in the Makati rallies, the "swollen-headed oligarchs who think they can find sanctuary in the tall buildings of Makati." He warned that their participation had been recorded on "videotapes where the faces of men are very clear . . . We will look for you . . . There will be men assigned to track you down."

But the demonstrations continued in spite of the crackdown and the note of confrontation increased daily. The atmosphere itself provoked tremendous anxiety in some quarters. Cardinal Sin became strident

in his attempts to convince Marcos to appoint a "council of national reconciliation" for, he warned, "bloody revolution is imminent." Sen. Salvador "Doy" Laurel declared that the revolution has begun.

FM CAMP INTACT

Though members of the NDF would probably remind Laurel that the revolution has been going on for quite a while, he and Sin had something else in mind. They were thinking of the final push, the crisis juncture, an urban insurrection which would mark the beginning of the end. Was this it indeed?

The answer rests on a sober assessment of the forces on each side of the battle lines.

In spite of overeager reports by wishful observers, the ruling Marcos camp is still very much unified and under the control of Ferdinand Marcos. This is not to say that there is no motion or realignment going on. Marcos' declining health has hastened the process of repositioning the key players for the succession crisis ahead. That, in fact, was what eliminating Aquino—a threat to the process—was all about to begin with.

There is no question that the Philippine dictator is now actively working to plan a Marcos regime without Marcos. Nor is there any question that his choice of successor is Mrs. Marcos—who better to guard the family interests—teamed up with the ever-loyal Ver who served as the dictator's personal bodyguard when he was still a senator.

This repositioning process has given rise to the numerous rumors concerning splits in the ruling coalition. Ver's powers have vastly increased at the expense of other contenders since June. The Integrated National Police was recently removed from the command of contender Fidel Ramos, Vice Chief of Staff and PC chief, and placed under Ver. At the same time, a number of PC units were dissolved, shrinking Ramos' power base.

Twenty-five of 27 recent new appointments to Brigadier General, meanwhile, were Ver men and only two of them loyal to contender Juan Ponce Enrile, Defense Minister. To accentuate Enrile's unfavored position, Marcos in the last six months has made disparaging remarks about him in public. This may be the reason

behind a reported split in the once-powerful combine of Enrile and tycoon Eduardo Cojuangco.

But at this point, all of the sub-groups, within the Marcos camp remain loyal to Marcos. He is the glue that keeps the contending factions together. After Marcos no one within his camp appears capable of mediating the factional interests within it. And while his health is failing, his demise does not seem imminent. In other words, a key ingredient for a revolutionary crisis—open antagonisms within the ruling camp—is still missing. But forestalling its emergence is the reason why much concern over a "smooth succession process" is being expressed in Washington, D.C.

U.S. FIRM ON BACKING

Marcos' failing health and his determination to push through his own formula have once again raised the question of a stable successor. Reports from Washington indicate that a number of the 30 State Department personnel who recently went to Manila to do advance work for the Reagan visit stayed behind to work with the regime on the succession issue.

While the U.S. policy-making circles remain divided on just how open an embrace should be given to Marcos in the wake of the Aquino assassination (see story on page 4), there is no disagreement over the strategic importance of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. Thus there are no differences over the importance of a regime friendly to the U.S.

Differences do remain within broader U.S. policy-making circles over how best to effect a peaceful succession. Recently, the hard-boiled William Sullivan, former Ambassador to the Philippines, Iran and Laos urged the Reagan administration to use the coming visit as "the anvil against which to beat out positive action for conciliation . . ."

He suggested that Reagan dispatch "a hard-headed political colleague . . . to the Philippines . . . to put together a formula for political transition that will be subscribed to by leaders of the Marcos administration and by leaders of the democratic opposition . . ."

But the Reagan White House does not seem too eager right now to take up Sullivan's scenario. Although Secretary of State George Shultz' State Department team echoed a similar suggestion prior to Aquino's trip home, National Security adviser William Clark's hard line still dominates Reagan's thinking. Clark echoes the Kirkpatrick doctrine: all out support for dictators and disregard for human rights noises is the only practical policy for the U.S.

Thus, another key ingredient for a revolutionary crisis is missing. The U.S. is not qualitatively vacillating over backing Marcos. So far, it intends to support the Marcos camp through this period of unrest.

MODERATES NEED STRENGTH

But the ingredient that could force the critical problems of the U.S.-Marcos alliance to ripen is the developing broad anti-fascist alliance between the "moderate" opposition and the NDF forces. The ability of this emerging alliance to push the regime to the brink depends, among other things, on how impervious it is to U.S.-Marcos attempts at splitting and wrecking, and on its capacity to confront the regime's military strength.

However, this moderate-left alliance is relatively new, untested and needs further consolidation. The elite opposition itself needs strengthening. As the western press points out Aquino's death left this wing of the opposition in a state of disarray. This is visible not only in the lack of a single charismatic leader, but in the wide range of political opinion within its camp. There have been some positive moves toward organizational unity in the last month, with the founding of JAJA—Justice for Aquino, Justice for All—a coalition of 50 small and/or localized opposition groups.

The Aquino murder has also pushed one segment of the moderate group toward closer cooperation with the left. But opinion within this camp still ranges from Kalaw who talks of working with the NDF at some point to ex-Senator Jose Diokno and opposition lawyer Joker Arroyo who insist that Marcos must resign before anything else can happen, to Laurel who claims he trusts the military more than he trusts the NDF saying, "We have to try to deal with Marcos."

Right now the entire camp has been swept by the energy of the mass protests. But its new relationship with the left is still shaky. As long as a significant portion entertains the notion of immediate "national reconciliation," it remains vulnerable to U.S. profferings of Sullivan-type scenarios. And its credibility as a genuine opposition force is threatened. Its indecision also leaves it highly defensive on the issue of violence and is unable to firmly deal with the reality of a mass response to 11 years of repression.

Finally, the growing prominence of the left demands that the moderates take firm stands on issues raised by the swelling mass movement—issues such as the presence of U.S. bases, foreign control over the economy and decent wages and living conditions. If they do not, notes student leader Mercado, they run the risk of "irrelevance."

NDF KNOWS SCORE

But if anyone is to force the ripening of all the ingredients for revolution, lead an insurrection, and rip the country out of Ferdinand Marcos' control, it is obviously the NDF. Is it in an immediate position to do so?

Only a little over a year and a half ago, the NDF announced that it had entered a higher substage of the strategic defensive. This meant that the New People's Army had positioned itself in all key rural regions and that that Front had established a foothold in major areas. NDF supporters could already be counted in the millions.

On the military side this meant upping activity nationwide with more and larger tactical offensives. The cities would see an increase in open support for the Front combined with consolidation and NPA recruitment.

The Aquino murder has brought improved conditions for the expansion of NDF influence and organizations. The outrage among white-collar workers and businessmen has opened up new areas of political presence. The push to the left of a wing of the moderates has meant greater potential for coordination than ever before.

But while the current political storm and the resulting expansion of NDF political influence most definitely will enhance the NPA's military capability, its overall military strength is not yet sufficient to bring to higher levels the unprecedented display of popular anger at the regime. That is, to raise the flow of massive unrest to insurrectionary proportions.

The principal antagonists—the U.S.-Marcos regime and the NDF—know exactly what the score is: though revolutionary victory in the Philippines is not around the corner, since the assassination of Ninoy Aquino, it has moved closer by a giant step. □

Sept. 21

R.P. Unrest Echoes in Filipino Co

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

Decrying 11 years of fascist rule in the Philippines, U.S. opposition groups burned effigies of the Philippine dictator and President Reagan as part of the nationwide

tion Against the Marcos Dictatorship/ Philippine Solidarity Network, Movement for a Free Philippines, Philippine Education Support Committee, International Movement for a Democratic Philippines, and the Philippine Support Committee. Speaking before a drenched crowd of

the effigies of Marcos and Reagan. No untoward incidents occurred and the police made no arrests.

Preceded by forums and teach-ins in Filipino communities that addressed the current political climate in the Philippines, the demonstrations echoed the call of the Philippine opposition movement that "there can be no reconciliation with the Marcos dictatorship."

Billed as the National Day of Protest, the September 21 demonstrations also highlighted the recent killing of popular opposition leader Benigno Aquino that sparked a wave of protests in the Philippines.

Filipinos in Canada also held their own demonstrations in Montreal and Toronto. The CAMD/PSN chapter rally in Toronto attracted an estimated 500 participants who demanded the restoration of human rights in the Philippines.

"The militant demonstrations in the Philippines are merely a build-up for the even more gigantic protests the people's movement is preparing on the occasion of Ronald Reagan's visit in November," predicted CAMD National Coordinator Geline Avila.

She noted that the Reagan administration "is not interested in democracy and freedom in the Philippines. It is only interested in its military bases which are themselves tools for intervening against other peoples fighting for liberation from their own oppressors."

Avila was referring to Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base which the current administration deems "vital for [its] strategic military defense capacity."

In a statement released to the press, demonstration organizers called for an immediate stop to all U.S. aid to the Marcos regime. The statement also urged the cancellation of Reagan's planned visit to the Philippines in November, and the congressional rejection of the \$900 million base rental package for Marcos.

Other demands included the creation of an independent commission to investigate the Aquino murder; the expulsion of all Marcos agents in the U.S.; as well as the cancellation of the proposed U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty. □



protests staged before Philippine consular offices in the U.S. on September 21.

Timed to coincide with the angry demonstrations by half a million Filipinos in Manila on September 21, U.S. opposition groups joined forces to demand an end to the Marcos dictatorship, and to denounce the military reprisals against anti-Marcos demonstrators in the Philippines.

"Mr. Marcos cannot dam up the people's anger anymore," remarked Christine Araneta of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), as she read the opposition joint statement at the San Francisco protest. "The 500,000 who demonstrated in Manila yesterday are but a small portion of the estimated seven million people who have openly expressed their anger at the Marcos dictatorship in the past month alone," Araneta added.

Among the anti-Marcos groups that joined forces in San Francisco were, Coali-

some 150 picketers in front of the White House in Washington, D.C., Congress Task Force spokesperson Odette Taverna, said, "Confident of unswerving support from the Reagan administration, Ferdinand Marcos thought he could get away with murder. However, by assassinating Senator Benigno Aquino, the dictator only managed to exhaust the patience of the Filipino people."

Braving a heavy downpour that continued throughout the peaceful picket, demonstrators displayed a huge banner that read: "Cancel Reagan's Visit to the Philippines!"

Among the hundreds of demonstrators were a large number of Filipinos who showed up in protest activities in cities that included Seattle, New York, Los Angeles, Honolulu, and Sacramento.

As chants of "People of Manila are Under Attack, People's Response—Fight Back!" reverberated, protestors burned



San Francisco protestors burn Reagan

Philippine Infiltration Plan

Congress Mulls Hearings; Ver Linked to Spy Issue

By VINCE REYES

More controversy looms over the recently exposed Marcos intelligence operations in the U.S. as Congress liberals threatened to hold open hearings on the harassment of the U.S.-based anti-Marcos movement.

In a related development, lawyers for the Domingo/Viernes civil suit recently forced army chief-of-staff Gen. Fabian Ver to admit in an affidavit that he has obtained intelligence information on U.S. anti-Marcos activists "through legal means."

On September 13, Rep. Stephen Solarz of the House foreign relations committee held a secret hearing on the activities of Marcos agents following the disclosure last month by Congressmen Don Edwards and Fortney Stark of a classified U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency document. The document named five Philippine military attachés responsible for "monitoring and operating against" anti-Marcos dissidents in this country.

Solarz questioned FBI and State Department officials on the harassment complaints. The FBI officials however, claimed that no reports have been submitted to them by any of their field agents about Marcos intelligence activities.

The State Department representative also denied knowing about the admission made to the *New York Times* by two former Carter State Department officials that they had intercepted orders from Manila instructing Philippine agents here to disrupt anti-Marcos activities.

Solarz reportedly told the officials to "get their act together." Reportedly irritated by FBI and State Department incompetence, Solarz, according to reliable sources, is contemplating on holding open hearings on the complaints made by Marcos opponents.

CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATIONS

The harassment issue came up again during hearings on the Philippines held by the House human rights subcommittee on September 22. Representatives Gus Yaetron and Jim Leach broached the matter to State Department officials, and Rep. Ted Weiss asked Raul Manglapus of the Movement for a Free Philippines whether the FBI has followed up on his complaints.

Manglapus charged at a press conference prior to the hearings that Gen. Ver ordered his assassination in 1973 and that he reported the matter to the U.S. intelligence community. Responding to Weiss' question,

Manglapus said the FBI showed no intention of investigating the Philippine officials connected with the plot and that he was the one investigated by the agency instead.

Following up the disclosure of the classified DIA document, Rep. Don Edwards of the House judiciary committee said he is seriously considering open hearings on the constitutional violations committed by Marcos agents. The CAMD-PSN Congress Task Force has reportedly submitted to Edwards a list of possible witnesses including Manglapus, Steve Psinakis, *Philippine News* publisher Alex Esclamado, and Cindy Domingo, sister of slain KDP trade union leader Silme Domingo.

The controversy in Congress over the Marcos intelligence operations here could have a major impact on the deliberations over the \$900 million U.S. aid to the Marcos regime. Such intelligence activities violate the arms export act, and this could be a basis for aid cancellation.

VER'S NAME CROPS UP

Meanwhile, the name of Gen. Fabian Ver has cropped up in the numerous complaints of harassment lodged by the anti-Marcos movement, just as his links to the Aquino assassination are beginning to

surface in Manila (see story on page 3).

Explaining further the murder plot, Manglapus said a person by the name of George Torre contacted him from Chicago in 1973. Torre told him and ex-Constitutional Convention delegate Eduardo Quintero that Ver ordered the assassination of Manglapus in return for the dismissal of murder charges against Torre in Manila.

In Seattle, attorneys for the Domingo/Viernes civil suit which accuses the Marcos government of ordering the assassination of the two anti-Marcos union leaders filed an affidavit September 11 arguing before U.S. District Court Judge Donald Voorhees why Ver should remain a defendant in the suit. Voorhees also asked Ver to submit his own affidavit.

The affidavit signed by Terri Mast, Domingo's widow, pointed to the central role Ver plays in the "Philippine Infiltration Plan," the name given by a 1979 Senate foreign relations hearing to the Marcos intelligence operations here.

Mast cites the recently exposed Defense Intelligence Agency circular which states that five high-ranking members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including Brig. Gen. Angel Kanapi, are now in the U.S. with the assigned mission to "report on, and possibly operate against anti-Marcos Philippine activists in the U.S." The report notes this "new attaché team" was "confirmed by Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver."

The five agents command an entire

By JON MELEGRITO and
VENNY VILLAPANDO

Consulates Reel From Aquino Backlash

Among them were the Pilipino American Cultural Arts Society based in Oxon Hill, whose members were known to be pro-Marcos sympathizers. However, the group welcomed CAMD leafletters openly, and some PACAS members even attended the White House candle-light picket.

Across town in Rosslyn, Virginia, the *Quezonians'* president called for a moment of silence in honor of Aquino during the group's dinner ball. The same officer asked activists to speak at its membership meeting a few days later. CAMD "Call to Action" leaflets were distributed widely, and sparked lively political discussions.

ANGKAN, a Filipino youth organization whose members include children of embassy employees, held a memorial service and its leaders were visible in all of CAMD's protest activities.

At Columba Catholic Church in Oxon Hill, where several Consulate-sponsored events were held in the past, parishioners successfully persuaded the parish priest to say a "prayer for the fallen opposition leader, Benigno Aquino."

In the past, the church discouraged CAMD members from leafletting parishioners after Sunday and many times even threatened to call the county police. This time it let CAMD leaflets and *Ang Katipunan* newspapers be distributed openly, to the cheers of churchgoers:

"Anti-Marcos din kami!" "Mas marami ang anti-Marcos dito!" (We are also anti-Marcos! There are more antis here.)

In what is seen as a slap at the Philippine Embassy, the Philippine Heritage Federation, an umbrella for 13 active Filipino-American groups in the area, sponsored a successful memorial service last September 25. According to Gloria Caoile, PHF president, the majority of its members enthusiastically endorsed the event. The presidents of two pro-Marcos organizations—CIPAA and *Ang Bisaya*—refused but were outvoted by the majority of the coalition's membership.

PRO-FM CAMP ON THE DEFENSIVE

This time around, the usually vocal pro-

board was "jammed with angry phone calls" in the days following the assassination. "I know of several of my friends who called to cuss them out," he said.

He also learned that in view of the growing public hostility, consulate officials requested 24-hour police protection, but were rebuffed.

The embassy, faced with the open display of contempt by the community, resorted to desperate countermeasures to stem its growing isolation.

Curiously, the firebombing of the embassy's front door on the night of August 25, led to the deployment of a round-the-clock police presence around the embassy premises.

Reliable sources, however, claimed that the firebombing was "concocted by embassy intelligence agents," not only to secure police protection but also to gain a measure of public sympathy. They got police protection only.

Failing to get sympathy, the embassy resorted to a letter-writing campaign asking Fil-Am organizations not to jump to conclusions.

"It's so absurd," said one Filipino businessman from Vienna, Virginia who dismissed the three-page letter as the embassy's "feeble attempt to put out the government line, and counter the growing evidence of Marcos' complicity" in the Aquino murder.

"Marcos is so discredited now that anything the embassy says, just won't wash anymore," he added. The embassy's desperation is such that even certain of its staff started floating the idea that it was "either Enrile or the CIA" who ordered the killing.

All this happened, and is still happening in a community that the embassy plied with many picnics, free food and drinks last year in an effort to gain a welcome for the visiting dictator.

Even then, only two or three of the 40 Fil-Am organizations endorsed the welcome. The Filipino community decided to stay home, rather than "be insulted by this cynical manipulation of our nationalist

The Philippine consulates and their camp followers never knew what hit them.

Having smugly laid claims to the support of U.S. Filipinos, they were unprepared for the unprecedented display of rebellion that the Aquino assassination provoked among the "silent majority."

All over the U.S., Filipino communities cast aside 11 years of fear, sending the pro-Marcos camp in headlong retreat.

"*Sobra na si Marcos!*" (Marcos has gone too far!) was the erstwhile silent majority's collective cry.

"There goes several million dollars worth of public relations," said an anti-Marcos activist observing the conspicuous isolation of consulates and pro-Marcos publications following the Aquino murder.

As unprecedented numbers of Filipinos took to picket lines and public meetings, groups usually identified with consulate circles also began taking tentative steps toward a more "independent" political posture.

Take the Washington, D.C. Filipino community. It gave, perhaps, the most striking illustration of the post-Aquino dynamics that seized other communities all over the U.S.

Just about a year ago, this community was fervently courted by Philippine Consulate officials—led by no less than Ambassador Kokoy Romualdez himself—to "come out and welcome President Marcos" during his White House visit.

They came to the White House gates *this time* alright—some 300-strong—bearing candles, waving banners and placards, and shouting chants many were scared to utter during Marcos' state visit last year. "Marcos is a fascist, down with Marcos!"

FINALLY WAKING UP

Many who came to this August 30 candle-light protest clenched their fists for the first time. They came from all corners of the metropolitan D.C. area—from La Plata, Maryland; Herndon, Virginia; and elsewhere.

"The Filipino community has been so numbed," said Remedios Hunt, a Filipino-American from Alexandria, Virginia, "now it is finally waking up. I am glad to see so many Filipinos speaking out not only against Marcos, but also against the policies of the U.S. government."

Hunt also had harsh words for U.S. support for Marcos agents and spies operating in this country.

At teach-ins sponsored by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship scores of new faces were noticeable, actively speaking their minds and volunteering to distribute leaflets or shelling out donations.

One household in Oxon Hill was particularly enthused with a CAMD-sponsored housemeeting. "I had wanted to do something like this for a long time," said a Filipina who works at the World Bank. She gathered 15 of her friends and relatives for the early Saturday morning house meeting.

At another house meeting in Waldorf, Maryland, a Filipina doctor admitted that she used to be complacent and apathetic. "But something happened to me while I sat watching TV on August 21st. I decided I cannot sit in comfort anymore." She immediately called her friends and co-workers asking them to write letters to Congress, and to join the protest activities.

A Filipino grocery store owner in Oxon Hill was taken aback one day when a group of shoppers started yelling at another shopper who tried to defend Marcos. "They were really fuming mad about the assassination," the store owner said. "He did it and he's got to go—that's what they said."

GROUPS SPEAK OUT

Even the established Filipino-American organizations, some of which endorsed the Marcos visit, got into the protest mood. A number devoted parts of their scheduled programs in silent honor of Aquino, and to announce upcoming protest activities.

Community



AK/Vince Reyes

arcos effigies.

network of Marcos agents throughout the U.S. Many of these agents are assigned to local Philippine Consulates under the cover of being "attachés." Others are recruited from the pro-Marcos ranks in the Filipino community.

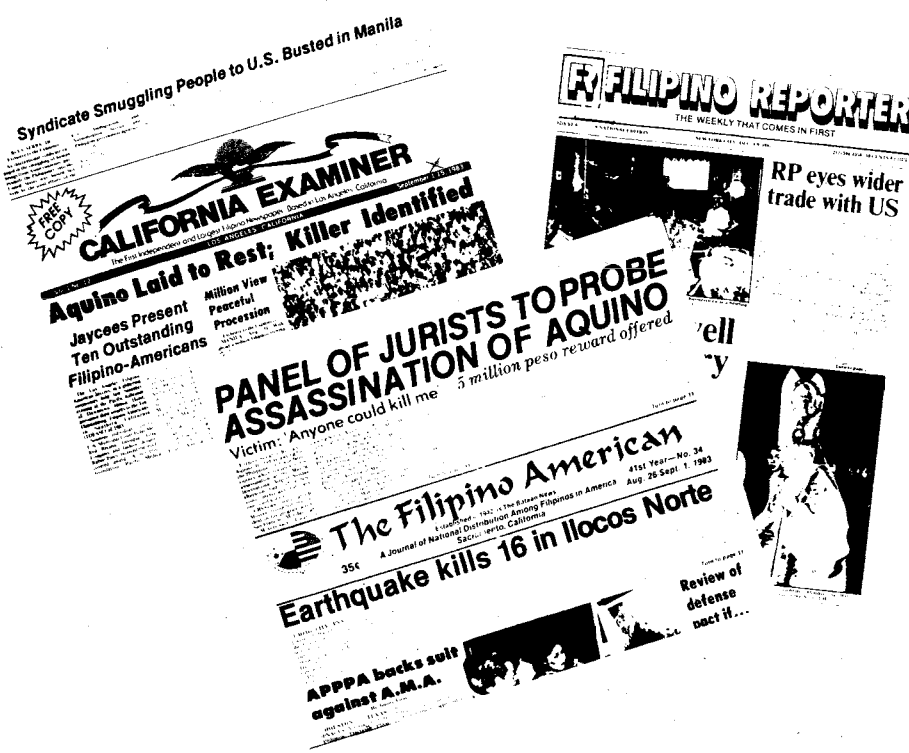
VER AND AZURIN CASE

The affidavit cites that Ver provides the overall guidance and direction to the efforts of the spy network. Although Gen. Kanapi has denied conducting any "operations" he has admitted to "monitoring the attitudes of anti-Marcos dissidents."

Kanapi, according to Mast, selects the methods and targets of intelligence gathering operations. His reports are reviewed by Ver, thus making Ver central to the operations of the Philippine Infiltration Plan and the conspiracy against the anti-Marcos movement.

Mast cites several other cases to prove Ver's role in harassment. The first was that of Joselito C. Azurin, a former charge d'affaires of the Philippine Embassy in Australia. In 1979 he defected from the Marcos government and sought political asylum in the U.S. where he joined the Movement for a Free Philippines. Azurin was arrested in the Washington, D.C. area. He filed a suit in federal court seeking his freedom and provided internal Philippine government documents showing the political nature of the effort to extradite him to Australia.

A cable dated July 12, 1979 from
Continued on page 10



Pro-Marcos newspapers: feeling the heat from community.

Marcos spokespersons were conspicuously silent. "They are so defensive right now that they are reduced to technical maneuvers, like claiming that they were never politically involved in the first place," Dr. Magin Quiambao, a community leader in Oxon Hill pointed out.

He added that these "tutas had their heyday during the Marcos visit, and now they are getting their just desserts."

A source with Philippine embassy connections reported that its switch-

sentiment," as a Filipino from Annandale, Virginia bluntly put it.

Such was Ambassador Romualdez' disappointment that he was overheard sighing away his frustrations to a reporter: "The Filipino community . . . an unreachable star."

ANGER ELSEWHERE

In other parts of the country, the situation of the pro-Marcos camp was not any brighter.

Continued on page 10

Ver Linked . . .

Continued from page 9

Manuel Collantes, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Philippine Embassy in Washington, conveyed both an offer of amnesty and a direct threat of personal harm to Azurin's family if he did not return to the Philippines.

The cable relays direct instructions from Gen. Ver to "make ways under strictly discreet and diplomatic manner—repeat strictly discreet and diplomatic manner—convince Azurin family return RP amnesty awaiting."

The cable ominously adds: "If Embassy deems necessary, make arrangements with Mafia man *kung kinakailangan masaktan* (harm, injure or inflict pain if necessary) preferably youngest Azurin child if not wife." Azurin's family was then living in McLean, Virginia. Azurin was eventually extradited to Australia.

Mast's affidavit also cites Ver's central role in the Primitivo Mijares affair. It claims that the efforts to bribe Mijares from testifying against Marcos in Congress, the attempts to discredit and threaten Mijares' allies, such as Steve Psinakis, were all directed by Ver. The affidavit uses the information in the "Ingles Report," a document submitted by the Marcos govern-



AK/Vince Reyes

ment to U.S. authorities, as proof of the allegations against Ver.

VER AND THE SEATTLE MURDERS

Mast's affidavit further asserts that Ver, who is the top military and intelligence

officer of the Philippine government, had direct knowledge of the murder conspiracy that led up to the killings of Domingo and Viernes on June 1, 1981.

Gene Viernes had stated Marcos agents took his picture during his meeting with leaders and members of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* or May First Movement, the militant labor opposition. The 350,000-member KMU, a broad federation of labor unions at that time was already the target of intensive surveillance and disruption by the government. Presumably, photographic evidence of Viernes' presence was submitted to Ver who considered the KMU a "subversive" and "communist-influenced" organization.

After leaving the RP in mid-April, Viernes joined Domingo and other officers of the Seattle cannery-workers union at the convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union which the cannery union is affiliated as Local 37. Viernes and Domingo then drafted a resolution that called for the ILWU to sponsor an investigating team to uncover labor conditions under the Marcos dictatorship. After heated debate with pro-Marcos forces in the union, the resolution unanimously passed.

Mast states that because the ILWU loads and unloads a great portion of the trade, commodities, and military shipments between the West Coast, Hawaii and the Philippines, and because of its large Filipino membership in Hawaii, the Marcos regime looked upon the resolution as a threat.

Marcos' view of the KMU as a threat

was confirmed by his August 1982 crack-down on the union and the arrest of officials including Felixberto Olalia, president. Marcos also referred to the need to "bring a halt to 'international' support given to the organization."

VER DENIES ROLE, ADMITS SPYING

Mast claims that after the convention vote on the resolution "the decision was reached at the highest levels of the Marcos regime, including General Ver, to "eliminate Domingo and Viernes."

General Ver, in his short affidavit taken in Manila on September 3 denied any knowledge of unlawful conduct. He stated that he had "never heard of Mssrs. Domingo and Viernes, and I was not aware of, much less did I participate in, any meetings or discussions relating to their murders."

However, Ver acknowledged that as part of his intelligence responsibilities "I have attempted to obtain information, through entirely lawful means and consistent with normal international practice, about anti-Marcos elements."

Cindy Domingo of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes said of Ver's admission: "You got it right from the horse's mouth. We want to know from Gen. Ver what these lawful means of spying are, what the so-called normal international practices of spying are. That's why we believe he should remain a defendant."

Judge Voorhees is expected to make a decision on Ver's status in the suit shortly. □

Consulates Reel . . .

Continued from page 9

In San Francisco, community leaders pressured Mayor Diane Feinstein to rescind the sister city relationship established between San Francisco and Manila.

CAMD's local chapter wrote community leaders urging them to demand a resolution from the city's Board of Supervisors revoking the sister city relationship. The letter said the program is more representative of Feinstein's links with the Marcoses than the interests of the peoples of San Francisco and Manila.

Charging that the sister city committee formed in 1981 was made up of members of the "Marcos gang and their lackeys," long-time critic Wayne Alba said, "I think the program as now constituted should be suspended. I think the mayor is not being sensitive to the fact that in the Filipino community, there are a large number of anti-Marcos people."

While Mayor Feinstein denied the allegation, she was forced to back off from her much-publicized close relations with the Marcoses, especially noticeable during last year's state visit.

In a statement released the day after the Aquino assassination, she said that the murder of the opposition leader, only

moments after he stepped on Philippine soil, "lends credence to all the allegations we have heard of continued human rights violations in the Philippines."

In a related development, some 200 San Franciscans attended a Conference on the Philippine Crisis last September 17, urging the boycott of government-related businesses like the Philippine Airlines, and other business establishments owned and operated by community leaders linked to the Marcos government.

One of the most outspoken supporters of the boycott was Angela Juanillo, an officer of the Filipino-American Women's Political Action League. Juanillo indicated she would resign her office with the Filipino-American North American Organization in protest of their co-sponsorship of a star-studded extravaganza the Philippine Consulate held at the Cow Palace a few months ago.

Some 20,000 Filipinos were treated to free food, drinks and entertainment that featured show-biz greats as Nora Aunor, who were flown in from Manila for the occasion.

"I've always been anti-Marcos," Juanillo was quoted as saying, "but sometimes, you have to be moderate in dealing with the community. But I can't anymore."

PRO-FM MEDIA EXPOSED

In Los Angeles where the Consulate supposedly enjoys widespread community influence, a pro-Marcos newspaper printed an unusually extensive coverage of the Aquino murder incident, and what observers term a "disclaimer" from its publisher.

"California Examiner is a new political and propaganda tool of Dictator Marcos and the Philippine Consulate," wrote *Philippine Press* editor Hermie Rotea recently. "This is shown by the fact that since it started publication, it has been very partial to the Marcos dictatorship."

After the Aquino murder, however, *California Examiner* published an editorial stating: "Because we value our freedom and independence, we are also giving our writers, columnists and contributors the same freedom to express themselves."

The disclaimer was accompanied by extensive coverage not only of the Manila incident, but also of the opposition protests in

the U.S. — including pictures of demonstrations.

CAMD local spokesperson Greg Santilan concluded that the newspaper was forced to cover the protests in an effort to hide its pro-Marcos leanings. "The issue was so politically charged," said Santilan, "that they were forced to ride on the popular sentiment of the community."

In addition, rampant speculations indicate that the unrest in Manila will affect the result of the upcoming December elections at the Filipino American Community of Los Angeles. Vying for the hotly-contested presidential seat is Freddie Wells, reportedly backed by the Philippine Consulate, and Greg Cruz who allegedly has the backing of the political opposition.

In Honolulu, members of the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, received widespread media coverage, including a radio program which ran one-and-a-half hours long, due to the numerous

legal counsel not to participate in radio programs dealing with the Aquino incident.

Faustino Gamboa, a local travel agent and known Marcos supporter, allegedly hung up on KBAY's Margo Cruz when the latter called him for his comments on the shooting.

In New York, while the pro-Marcos camp remained silent on the Aquino issue, 1,000 community people packed a memorial service in honor of Aquino, sponsored by the city's coalition of opposition groups.

In addition, 24 individuals who said they represented 19 advertisers in the pro-Marcos newspaper *Filipino Reporter*, withdrew their ads, charging "glaring omissions" in the newspaper's coverage of Aquino's assassination and the massive protests in the Philippines.

In Seattle, a group of CAMD activists went to Ponce's, a Filipino restaurant, after burning Marcos' effigy in front of the Consulate on September 21, martial law's



Saying no to FM spy operations.

AK/Vince Reyes

The Central Committee of the Democratic Party machinery unanimously passed two resolutions last September 29 urging the suspension of the sister-city relationship between Manila and San Francisco, and opposing President Reagan's slated visit to the Philippines. The resolutions were preceded by a presentation made by Lupita Kashiwara, sister of the slain opposition leader. Despite Sister-City Committee member William Aberbusch's allegation that it is "purely a humanitarian effort," Central Committee members went a step further, claiming that the sister-city is "political" and tantamount to support for Marcos. Observers to city politics described the resolutions as a "blow" to Mayor Feinstein, who happens to be a Democratic Party member. The Central Committee oversees all the clubs and organizations affiliated to the Democratic Party citywide. □

call-ins received by the station.

A Philippine consulate representative scheduled to appear on the same program with CHRSP spokesperson Dean Alegado backed out at the last minute.

While the media actively sought out CAMD representatives in San Jose, California, for local radio talk shows, rabid pro-Marcos spokespersons were noticeably "silent."

Ernie Aglipay, president of the Filipino Community Organization of Santa Clara County was reportedly advised by his

11th anniversary. They were pleasantly surprised by a sign put up by the owner: "Down with the Marcos Dictatorship!"

He said a group of consulate employees came for lunch and asked him to take down the sign. He refused, and when they insisted he told them, "Look, I don't need your business." So they left.

"A friend of mine was killed at the demonstrations in Malacañang yesterday," the owner explained. "I am very angry, like everyone else. You can leave leaflets and newspapers here." □

Movie Review

Cortez: A Learning Experience

By VICKY PEREZ

The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez is a learning experience as well as a beautifully crafted film. It is a story of a Mexican's unfortunate experience with a justice system that is weighted down with prejudice. It is the story of two different cultures that live side-by-side but live separately. Because it is effectively told, it also provides a clue for understanding the present-day Mexican-American reality.

Based on the book "With a Pistol In His Hand" written by Americo Paredes, *Cortez* was directed by Robert M. Young, and stars Edward J. Olmos as Gregorio Cortez.

Because the film was produced without the backing of major film companies, the cast has been promoting *Cortez* by waiting outside theaters to elicit audience opinion and publicity.

Based on a true incident at the turn of the century in Gonzales, Texas, the film presents two different interpretations of the chase and trial of Gregorio Cortez. Cortez, who does not speak English, it was an act of self-defense. After all, the sheriff, who relied on a companion's rusty translation, suddenly drew his gun and shot Gregorio's brother, Romaldo. But to the white populace, it was just another act of Mexican "banditry."

The scenario involves a series of interviews and flashbacks of Texas Rangers and posse members recounting the killing. Gregorio's skilled horsemanship helps him elude 600 Rangers and the bloodthirsty

posse for 11 days over 450 miles (making him a legend among his people). The enraged posse terrorizes the Mexicans they meet on the trail.

The Texas Rangers do not help mitigate the hysteria. The lone fugitive becomes the "Gregorio Cortez Gang" because the Rangers want renewed public support to keep the force from being phased out.

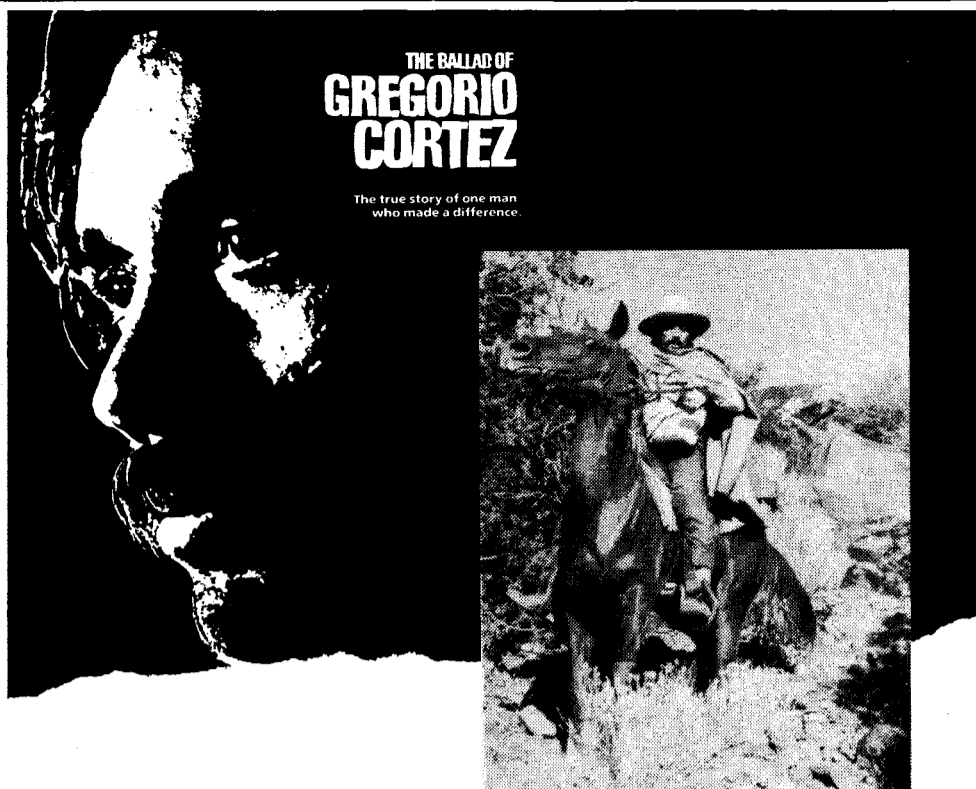
Gregorio is finally captured and sees that his entire family had been jailed, presumably as insurance for his hoped-for surrender. In jail, before his trial, Gregorio learns in anguish the source of all his troubles: a faulty translation, the sheriff's aide's inability to catch the distinction Mexicans make between a male and a female horse.

Anglo justice, fueled by the white man's chauvinistic fear of Mexicans, prevails. Gregorio is sentenced to 50 years in prison. He would be freed only 12 years later, after numerous appeals.

By the time Cortez is caught, however, he had the popular support and sympathy of the Mexican community. His plight would be popularized in *teatros*, and depicted in a *corrido*, or folksong.

The film is hardly simplistic or rhetorical. It is a Mexican who reveals Gregorio's whereabouts in exchange for a reward. After Gregorio is caught, a white sheriff — himself full of racist assumptions about Mexicans — protects the prisoner from a lynch mob, mainly out of an obligation to fair play.

In a particularly touching scene, Gregorio meets a lonely cowboy in the prairie who gives him food. Neither one speaking the other's language, they are thankful for



each other's brief company. "Nice talking to you," the cowboy says to an uncomprehending Gregorio. Such fellowship is possible only because both Gregorio and the white man are briefly detached from society.

Edward J. Olmos, famous for his role as "El Pachuco" in the play "Zoot Suit," gives a dynamic performance as Cortez. Olmos' versatile talents capture Cortez' mental and physical anguish over the confusing set of circumstances he found himself in.

It was a good decision not to have Gregorio speak a word of English and not to provide English subtitles for his lines. It is a powerful technique that forces an English-speaking audience to directly experience the confusion and misunderstandings that arise from language and cultural barriers alone — not to mention the Anglo-American prejudices that complicate these

differences even more.

Cortez represents a direly needed class of films, one that sheds light on the periods of American history that have been expertly glossed over by history books and Hollywood. The ugly details of American history, the brutal subjugation of indigenous peoples have all been conveniently hidden by myths about the great American pioneering spirit and the democratic yearnings that built this country.

It is not too hard to imagine how the social comment embodied in Gregorio Cortez' ballad could have been lost in the hands of any other filmmakers. They would have just produced a shoot-em-up hang-em-dead Mexican "bandido" film, the genre most familiar to generations of American moviegoers, and the source of their erroneous assumptions about Mexican-American history. □

Heating Up . . .

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oped the ultimate weapon — the atomic bomb — of which it had initial monopoly.

The U.S. intensified internal sabotage and propaganda in Eastern Europe. The Voice of America continually beamed propaganda to the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc and broadcast U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' public commitment to support subversive movements if they rose against their socialist governments.

In the U.S. the McCarthy period took its toll on the progressive movement. It was at this time that the Rosenbergs were framed up as spies for the Soviet Union and executed in 1953. To many American progressives, fascism loomed on the horizon.

LOSES MOMENTUM

The Cold War, however, was generally a failure. The Soviet Union made significant advances in socialist construction. By 1949, the Soviet Union had broken the U.S. nuclear monopoly with the development of the atom bomb and in 1953 it tested its first hydrogen bomb just ten months after the U.S. tested its own. In 1952, North Korea repelled U.S. incursions into its territory, restoring its southern borders on the 38th parallel. In 1954, the Vietnamese liberation movement soundly defeated French colonialism.

In Western Europe, the Marshall Plan "backfired" on the U.S. as the now stabilized capitalist economies demanded a moderation of the state of belligerency against Eastern Europe. Cracks began to appear in the once solid anti-Soviet Western alliance.

By 1955, the U.S. recognized the new alignment of forces in the world and pretty much accepted that socialism was here to stay. This was formalized by the Summit meeting in 1955 by the major industrial powers including the Soviet Union.

DETENTE

While on previous occasions, the U.S. readily intervened in internal politi-

cal conflicts in the socialist bloc, it was unable to plunge into Hungary when the counterrevolution there failed in 1956. This was only a concrete expression of the shift in the alignment of forces internationally.

The civil rights and anti-war movements in the 60's and the 70's taxed the U.S. capacity for ideological manipulation. The military debacle in Vietnam, followed by the victories of Angola and Mozambique, and the domestic repercussions of the successive defeats abroad, including the Watergate scandal, sent U.S. foreign policy in disarray. This was capped by the attainment of rough nuclear parity with the U.S. by the Soviet Union.

With the policy of nuclear blackmail effectively neutralized, the U.S. could no longer use the threat of nuclear power against the liberation movements and the Soviet Union with impunity.

This profound development, amplified by the gains made by the Soviet Union in socialist construction and by its increased political influence internationally, was the basis for detente.

Detente reflected the stalemate between the two social systems; it is an expression of rough all-sided parity that exists between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Detente, of course, did not hamper national liberation movements. In fact, it afforded favorable conditions for them. Thus, liberation movements continued as the U.S. watched in anguish. After the U.S. defeat in Indochina, others broke away from the imperialist orbit including Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Iran and Nicaragua.

BREAKING ROUGH PARITY

For imperialism the moment of truth had come. A counteroffensive must be waged to regain lost ground abroad. The world, particularly the Soviet Union and its allies, must be shown the fury of a declining power. No more detente. The Carter administration provided the transition for a new Cold War.

First, the so-called human rights policy to regain U.S. lost credibility at home and abroad. Then, the military build-up to break the rough parity with the Soviet Union and gain first strike capability

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against the weakening of its defenses by the intrusion of U.S. intelligence.

ARMS TALKS ANGLE

That the Soviets had severely restricted options is a reflection of the critical balance of military and nuclear power between the two leading nations. As well, it explains Reagan's confidence that the Soviets would have a tough time accounting for their actions and responding to his demagogic propaganda offensive.

Indeed after living under the threat of U.S. nuclear monopoly and blackmail in the period after World War II, and then succeeding in achieving rough nuclear parity with the U.S., it is hardly the Soviet Union's interest to allow the U.S. to regain the upper hand militarily.

While protecting its military gains from espionage, the Soviet Union is still pressing for disarmament. It recently proposed to destroy its SS-20 missiles in Europe in exchange for the scrapping of the scheduled deployment in West Germany of U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles—first strike

against the latter.

Carter's plan for the MX, B-1 bomber, neutron bomb and the rapid deployment force were the key ingredients for the counteroffensive. A political and ideological consensus was needed to back it up and the Iran hostage crisis as well as the sending of Soviet troops to Afghanistan to defend that nation served as the trigger for national chauvinist hysteria.

When Ronald Reagan entered the scene in 1980, the foundations for a new Cold War had been set and he simply had to mount his horse for action. Once again, blistering anti-communist rhetoric, provocations and international incidents aimed at placing the socialist camp on the defensive are the orders of the day. □

weapons which would once again give the U.S. and its imperialist allies the nuclear edge. The deployment is compatible with the U.S. position of reserving the right to use the first strike.

Until the Korean airliner incident, Secretary of State George Shultz was faced in the Geneva talks with the dilemma of countering the Soviet proposal with one that is a credible disarmament gesture but at the same time not harmful to the U.S. intention of regaining nuclear superiority.

Thus, the Soviet accusation that one goal of the KAL airliner was, if discovered, to provoke an incident that would undermine the recent Soviet arms reduction proposals cannot be simply brushed aside.

CRUSADE SPUTTERS

But the U.S. propaganda crusade, which got off to a frenzied start, now appears to be fizzling out. A *Newsweek* poll, taken one week after the KAL downing, showed an overwhelming majority of Americans favoring the continuation of the Geneva arms talks, in opposition to Caspar Weinberger's attempts to suspend them.

In the UN Security Council, the U.S. barely rallied enough votes to pass a diluted version of a U.S. resolution deplo- ring the incident.

What began as a strident international campaign against "Soviet barbarism" led by the United States now appears to be sputtering. Even U.S. denials that it has retrieved Flight 007's "black box" serve to fan speculations that the U.S. has something to hide regarding its role in the incident.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has unequivocally declared that it would not allow its defense capabilities to be held political hostage by the West's use of civilians as cover for hostile military activities. That is, should another plane violate its sensitive airspace *under similar circumstances*, it would likewise shoot it down.

In other words, should the U.S. and its allies continue to use innocent civilians as cover for military activities or as fodder for political provocations, they should be held responsible for the grim consequences. □



Korean Plane Incident

Shades of a U.S. Cold War Antic

By WICKS GEAGA

Almost in unison the Western press condemned the recent Soviet downing of the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 with banner headlines right out of the Cold War: "Mid-Air Murder by the Reds!" "Massacre in the Sky!" The Soviet action resulted in 269 civilian deaths (27 Filipinos were among the fatalities).

As patriotic bar owners across the U.S. dumped their supplies of Russian vodka into sewers, irate demonstrators burned effigies of Yuri Andropov, yelling "Death to the Soviet murderers."

Meanwhile, California Senator H.L. Richardson declared that "blood must pay for blood" and demanded that the U.S. forcibly take back Cuba. Sharply criticizing the presidential and congressional demands for sanctions against the USSR as mere "squeaking and cackling" Richardson asked rhetorically: "What has happened to the guts of America? Are we so terrified for our skin to tremble at the thought of nuclear war?"

Reagan, whose previous anti-Soviet and anti-Cuba exhortations have undoubtedly inspired rightwingers like Richardson, was more calculating in his response. Deploping the incident as "a barbaric, premeditated slaughter" and cashing in on the widespread public indignation over Flight 007's downing, Reagan proceeded to rally Congress behind his hitherto unpopular military plans.

HYSTERIA

Two weeks after the incident Congress gave Reagan virtually every major weapons system he wanted. His approved \$188 billion 1984 defense budget includes authorization for the production of the first MX nuclear missiles, resumption of nerve gas production for the first time in 14 years, and heightened development of space weapons research and production.

But the public hysteria not only gave Reagan's plans more leverage, it also hindered any objective appraisal of the Flight 007 incident. For the first two weeks after the downing, the public swallowed whole Reagan's version of the tragedy.

According to the U.S., the Korean airliner accidentally strayed off on its flight from Anchorage, Alaska to Seoul. The pilot and crew allegedly did not know that for two and a half hours they were over 300 miles into especially sensitive Soviet military territory.

Soviet interceptor planes, which had been tracking the plane throughout its two and a half hour intrusion then allegedly destroyed the plane without any warning whatsoever and despite the knowledge that it was an unarmed civilian plane.

This inhumane action, said Reagan, merely reflected the cruelty of the "Soviet system and way of life."

However, more evidence soon emerged and began to discredit Reagan's version. As a result, a recent *New York Times*-CBS News poll found that 61% of the American public feel the Reagan administra-

tion is "holding back information that people ought to know" about the downing of the Korean airliner.

DOUBTS ABOUT U.S. VERSION

While several theories have been offered about the incident, most aviation experts at least agree on one point: that the airliner accidentally strayed off course is highly unlikely.

According to *Newsweek*, "the Boeing 747 features three state-of-the-art inertial navigation systems, which are accurate even in the midst of thunderstorms and despite radio interference It was possible that the pilot fed incorrect data and coordinates into the INS computer—but that too seemed unlikely, given the standard procedure requiring double checking of the feed by crew members."

Moreover, the pilot of the downed airliner had reportedly flown the Anchorage-Seoul run for the past five years and logged more than 10,000 flying hours, thus further undermining the accidental straying off theory.

The only evidence that the U.S. has offered to back up its case are the tapes of a Soviet fighter pilots' transmissions. The U.S. presented the tapes at the UN Security Council as "damning" proof of Soviet premeditation. However, the U.S. later admitted having withheld parts of the tapes that proved the Soviet pilots did fire warning shots, contrary to U.S. accusations.

U.S. intelligence experts further conceded

that the tapes lent credence to the Soviet assertion that its pilot took the airliner for an RC-135 reconnaissance spy plane. When pressed by reporters to release the available tapes, administration officials declined, citing national security reasons.

SOVIETS RESPOND

The Soviet version, although still short of "smoking gun" evidence, is not altogether implausible. Soviet Chief of Staff Marshall Nickola Ogarko explained at a press briefing on September 9 in Moscow:

"The early morning hours of August 31, Soviet radar detected an RC-135 in Soviet airspace over Kamchatka Peninsula and at the time spotted another plane with a radar signal similar to that of the RC-135.

"The two planes approached each other and then together for about 10 minutes. Then one of them headed for Alaska, while the second one headed for Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. Naturally, the conclusion was made at Soviet anti-aircraft defense command posts: an intelligence plane is approaching the USSR strategic nuclear forces."

Flight 007 allegedly did not respond to inquiries by Soviet ground control and interceptor jets. Ogarkov said that signals to the Korean plane directing it to land at a nearby Soviet airfield went unheeded. Furthermore, the Soviets claimed the plane periodically emitted brief coded signals which are usually used for transmitting

intelligence data.

Ogarkov went on to describe the final sequence of events: "The actions of the intruder plane became outrageous. As was announced earlier, it had not responded to the warning shots of Soviet interceptor planes. Moreover, it began to change simultaneously the direction, altitude and speed of flight, obviously trying to evade the air defense plane. It was rather characteristic that at 6:02 local [Sakhalin] time the intruding plane, sharply changing its course, circumvented the positions of our air defense missile units and passed over important military facilities in the southern part of Sakhalin Island. There remained no doubt that a reconnaissance plane was in the air.

"When the intruder plane reached the southwestern part of Sakhalin, the last attempt was made to force it to land at an airfield, for which purpose four bursts of warning shots were fired from guns with tracer shells at 6:20 local [Sakhalin] time. Since even after that the intruder plane did not obey the demands but tried to escape, taking a general course towards Vladivostok, at 6:24 an interceptor plane was given the order to stop the flight of the intruder with missiles."

SPY MISSION?

While admitting five days after the incident that an RC-135 reconnaissance plane was indeed in the vicinity of the KAL 007 before it was shot down, the U.S. government denied that the Korean airliner was itself engaged in a spying mission.

But a survey of U.S. military and aviation officials conducted by the *San Francisco Examiner* concluded that the spying charge cannot be dismissed out of hand and that there is considerable precedent for it.

Ernest Vokman, national security editor for *Defense Science Magazine*, was quoted as saying that "Korean Air Lines planes regularly fly over Soviet airspace to gather military intelligence." The article further revealed that Korean airline cockpit crews are usually active members of the South Korea military. Flight 007's pilot was himself reputed to be one of South Korea's top military pilots.

While stressing that they did not know the plane was a civilian airliner, the Soviets also repeatedly stressed that the gross violation of their particularly sensitive airspace left them no other recourse but to respond the way they did.

Undoubtedly, a grave decision had to be made in those final moments, weighing the political repercussions of the shooting

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Heating Up the Cold War

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

The Cold War was initiated by the United States shortly after World War II. It was a political and ideological offensive directed at the socialist countries short of a shooting war. It cooled down in the late '60s, was turned up by the Carter administration and now reheated with vengeance by the Reagan White House.

Why did the U.S. start it in the first place?

The Second World War changed the political color of much of the world. In 1943 Germany was literally knocking at the gates of Moscow — threatening to snuff out socialism after having killed some 20 million Soviet citizens. Despite the anti-fascist alliance with the Soviet Union, the Western allies delayed opening up the Western front in order to bring to bear on that socialist nation the full force of the Nazi war machine.

But the Soviet Union held its ground. The Red Army not only crushed the Nazi war machine in the decisive battles of 1943 and 1944 but also marched westward to liberate the whole of Eastern Europe.

In the East, the Soviet Red Army liberated Mongolia and Manchuria. North Korean communists took power while the

Chinese revolution also triumphed. In Southeast Asia, Ho Chi Minh declared the whole of Indochina independent after defeating the Japanese imperial Army.

THE NEW CONTENTION

While the Soviet Union proved its ability to consolidate and expand socialism even in the midst of great wartime devastation, the anti-colonial movements expanded dramatically the world over. Many liberation movements were already vying for state power. Even in the U.S. the Communist Party built significant influence in many sectors of society, especially in the trade union movement.

In contrast, the capitalist powers, victors and vanquished alike, were devastated by the war, except the U.S. which was unscathed due to its geographic location and late entry into the war. Social unrest wracked Western Europe while progressive movements and communist parties rose to prominence.

Rivalry among the major capitalist powers which sparked both world wars was now subordinated to the strategic interests of imperialism as a whole in the face of the growing strength of socialism. From here on, the post-war period world politics were to be shaped by the contention of

these two social systems: imperialism and socialism.

It was in this context that Harry Truman and Winston Churchill launched the Cold War in 1946 when they referred to the socialist block as the "Iron Curtain."

It was imperialism's call to arms to reverse the accumulated victories of socialism, an attempt to re-encircle the Soviet Union and roll back socialism in Eastern Europe. Mainly directed at Eastern and Western Europe, the Cold War had repercussions as well in the U.S. and the Third World.

COLD WAR BEGINS

The Marshall Plan which poured billions of dollars to rebuild Western Europe was aimed at stemming social unrest there. In the process, U.S. capital penetrated most of Western Europe.

Reactionary governments were propped up in Western Europe among which was the regime of Konrad Adenauer of West Germany. Collaborationist labor movements and anti-communist youth movements were promoted.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed and directed at Eastern Europe. To back up its offensive, the U.S. devel-

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