

Troops Rout the Parliament of Mendiola



(UPI)

'That Palace is Our Palace!'

As AK goes to press, reports from Manila reveal that 92 demonstrators remain missing following the attempt by 3,000 marchers to return to Mendiola September 27. Sixty-eight are reported injured, two of them in intensive care, and at least 12 with gunshot wounds.

Meanwhile, march organizers claim the discovery of 11 bodies in four separate areas of the Philippine capital, all stabbed and bearing marks of torture. The police report having found only six, but admit that the bodies bear wounds and welts and one is bound with a nylon cord. CORD Secretary-General Joe Castro insists that the victims were "salvaged" or unofficially executed.

Five other demonstrators remain in prison charged with sedition, an offense which carries potential lifetime sentence if convicted.

According to march participants, the action by 500 police and military men at the border of Quezon City and Manila began with a barrage of rocks, followed by water cannons, smoke bombs, tear gas, and gunfire. Observers claim that some demonstrators fought back as did residents of the area who joined the melee.

"They are throwing stones at us despite all the arms they have," remarked 86-year-old former Senator Lorenzo Tañada, standing firm in the front line under the hail of rocks. "What brave soldiers they are."

In a striking show of unity, the entire Batasang Pambansa issued a statement expressing "grave concern and indignation" at the regime's handling of the protest.

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

President Ferdinand Marcos' troops mercilessly dispersed the "Parliament of the Streets" last month but, for all his muscle, he came out the loser.

The occasion was September 21, the 12th anniversary of martial law, lifted in name only in 1981. The place was the historic Mendiola Bridge, one of the few key access points to Malacañang Palace.

Fifty thousand marchers arrived there from downtown Manila's Liwasang Bonifacio in the mid-afternoon determined to occupy at least a portion of the bridge. They were met by barbed-wire barriers and standing metal shields, water cannons and M-16-bearing marines. It was the show of force of a regime in a no-win situation.

"If we get to march farther, we win," explained Lean Alejandro of the Student Leader's Forum to one reporter. "If they attack us we also win. We get the people's sympathy."

'JUST MENDIOLA, NOT MALACAÑANG'

It was apparent fairly early on that the grim assortment of police and military men was unlikely to budge. Nonetheless, several thousand protesters settled in for the night, hoping through their determination to win at least a few symbolic feet of the bridge as they did several months before during a smaller rally on the same spot.

"We just want Mendiola, not Malacañang," Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino told Metro-Manila Police Chief Narciso Cabrera. The commander was polite but unamused.

Mendiola has a special significance to the Philippine opposition movement. Just one year ago, 11 people were killed in the

same place when 100,000 rallied to protest both the assassination of Aquino and the continuation of one-man rule.

Thirteen years before that, four students were killed in what became known as the Battle of Mendiola, a major event in the First Quarter Storm which signified the rebirth of the Philippine left.

PREPARED TO SPEND THREE DAYS

Several thousand marchers settled in to spend the night this time. Unable to proceed further, they blocked off Legarda Street and threw together a makeshift stage at the Legarda/Recto Street intersection. Speakers, singers and dramatic performers entertained the mixture of students, workers, urban poor, peasants and religious.

Portable stoves appeared and food was cooked. The crowd had come equipped with enough for three days.

It was a highly organized group, according to *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Phil Bronstein who, among all the foreign correspondents in Manila, gave the most detailed account of the building confrontation. As twilight fell, a cordon of marshalls surrounded the main body. They frisked incoming strangers and carefully felt handbags for weapons. "We are keeping out any infiltrators who might start trouble," one leader explained.

OPPOSITION POLARIZES

The event was held under the auspices of the Coalition of Organizations for the Restoration of Democracy, led by, among others, the venerable former Senator Lorenzo Tañada. CORD, which held its first annual convention earlier in the month, calls for continued urban mass actions as part of a tactic to force the resignation of Marcos and pave the way for a plebiscite to draft a new constitution to be followed by free elections.

This approach has placed CORD members on a collision course with opposition politicians who won 30% of the *Batasang Pambansa* seats in the May elections. Known as the "yellows" for the color they adopted to symbolize their admiration of Aquino, the moderates advocate working within the regime's institutions to promote change. They accuse the CORD crowd with its red banners of being communist-infiltrated.

The increasing polarization erupted after the rally of 500,000 last August 21 to commemorate the anniversary of Aquino's death. Politicians such as Eva Estrada Kalaw, and Salvador Laurel were roundly booed for their attempts to dominate the protest.

POLITICIANS IMPOSE CONDITIONS

The result was two entirely separate September 21 demonstrations originating back to back at Liwasang Bonifacio. The

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'Can We Talk?'

Ronald Reagan appeared visibly nervous before the cameras during his much ballyhooed talk with Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko at the White House.

Part of Reagan's jitters was the knowledge that Gromyko has talked to every U.S. president since Franklin Roosevelt and is therefore a professional who knows how to pick his way through a diplomatic minefield.

But much of it was from Reagan's secret fear that any misstep on his part would confirm before the cameras what anyone who knows his record on arms control already suspects. That he really did not want to talk to the Soviets, he just wanted it to appear that he did. It was his riskiest campaign gimmick yet.

Reagan is the first president who has refused to talk to the Soviets. He had refused to do so for three years. Reagan has not changed his two-track nuclear strategy of deploy first, appear to talk later. His condition for sitting down with the Soviets is that they first accept the U.S. deployment of first strike missiles in Western Europe as a fact. He is asking for surrender, not arms control.

But why talk now? For election purposes, obviously. While there is a lot of patriotism going around lately, there is also a lot of fear about God, mother and apple pie going up in flames. Reagan's refusal to at least talk with the Soviet Union gives the nagging impression that he may not be thinking of just "peace through strength" but of actually launching and winning a nuclear war. Now this seems to be making a lot of people, who would otherwise go for Reagan, remain undecided. So, appear to talk.

But why bother? All the polls show Reagan is way ahead anyway. Why bother to patch up this weak point in the campaign? The answer is that Reagan and his top

backers want not just a landslide but a surefire, red-white-and-blue, liberal-gagging landslide—consensus that would give him the freest rein in the next four years to do anything in his program, including achieving "qualitative nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union." With Reagan, talk is cheap. It's the consequences of his actions that make you pay through the nose. □

No Recovery for Economy's Victims

"Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" President Ronald Reagan likes to ask his audiences on the campaign trail. To which the white, obviously middle class crowds are wont to give an affirmative response punctuated with the chant, "Four More Years! Four More Years!"

Indeed, all indicators register an upturn in the economy. Productivity is up, profitability is back, capitalists are investing again. There is a slight decline in the rate of inflation and official employment figures reflect improvements in some sectors. But being "better off not than four years ago" depends on who you are.

Actually, a recent study indicated that the economic recovery has been selective, and has largely bypassed the poor.

A survey conducted by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the U.S. Conference of City Human Services Officials and O.M.B. Watch covering 83 cities indicated an increase in the number of poor people since 1982 even though 61% of the cities indicated that employment had improved.

The mayors' study indicated an increased demand in emergency services in such areas as food, shelter,

income and medical care. The demand for food assistance in 1984 rose by 73.2% and that for shelter assistance by 71.3%.

"The needy, the unemployed, are being abandoned," said a spokesperson for the mayors, criticizing the Reagan administration's cancellation of social programs and responsibilities to the disadvantaged. According to 60% of the city officials who answered the survey, they had been unable to increase funds for programs hit by Federal budget cuts.

Another recent study showed that the average American taxpayer is worse off today than four years ago despite Reagan's "across-the-board tax cut" and indicated who is actually paying for the economic recovery.

First, the study made by the AFL-CIO's Public Employee Department found that in 16 of 20 cities surveyed, the combined state, local and federal tax burden of median income families have actually increased in the last four years from \$10 in Tampa, Florida to \$555 in Portland, Oregon.

The average tax burden actually increased \$300. While the federal tax burden decreased in 14 of the cities surveyed, states and localities had to increase their taxes to offset the federal cuts. In other words, for most working people, there has been no tax cut.

But most importantly, the study showed that nearly half of Reagan's tax cut went to big business and the wealthiest five percent to ten percent of the population, who are probably all out there crying for "Four More Years."

So from both studies we glimpse the awful truth. The poor, who need an economic recovery the most, have yet to recover and the gap between them and the rich has widened even more. To top it all, the road to economic recovery for Reagan and his euphoric friends has been paved with their worsened conditions.



Letters

A Must Reading . . .

Your August issue reviewed "Revolution in the P.I." by Fred Poole and Max Vanzi. I am now reading the book and find it brilliant, very detailed and very informative. It is almost a must reading for all Filipinos.

Mrs. Leticia G. Clarke
Detroit, MI

Thanks . . .

Thank you for Ang Katipunan. I appreciate you very much.

Virginia Martin
Everett, WA

ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

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Litter from Manila



Seditious Sightings

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

It is not fear of military reprisals that is delaying the Agrava Commission's release of its findings. My personal theory is that the panel is delaying out of genuine concern for the underwear industry and the state of our economy. A finding that says Galman was not Aquino's killer could make the brisk sales in men's signature underwear sag. Our economy no longer has the elasticity to absorb a slump of major proportions.

I think the Agrava panel knows the recessionary consequences if the role of Galman as a mere fall guy is uncovered. The importance of underwear in the case would shrink. In turn, this could cut short the public's fascination with the mysterious powers of properly embroidered undergarments. One satisfied customer swears he was able to sneak past squads of airport security police and stow away on China Airlines because his shorts made him invisible, as a similar brand did for Galman. Columnist Doreen Fernandez even claimed once that a good pair "Brings out the killer in you."

If Galman's visible influence on the economy turns out to be brief because his real role was exposed, let it

be said that his name will remain imprinted in the annals of our struggle for economic survival. As to the Agrava commission, if I am right about its real concern, thanks. You know, in this time of economic hard times, every little bit helps. However, I still disagree with its rumored finding that exonerates Galman. The panel missed one thing: Galman's real nickname is Lando, yet he put "Rolly" on his underwear. This was a deliberate feint, which, in true communist fashion, was meant to mislead investigators.

That's one reason I think this leak implicating General Fabian Ver and presidential pal Danding Cojuangco in the Aquino murder is a lot of bull. The leak was probably the work of rivals jockeying for powerful positions. With long records of achievement under their belts, the two have been the victims of envy from officials who want to stain their reputations. The accusation of murder is just a fig leaf for naked ambition. Besides, both men have always made it a point not to put their names on their underwear. "What if you get in an accident?" asks Cojuangco the socialite. "The hospital people might think you have so few you have to put your name on every pair. Worse, if you haven't changed for a few days. . . then you got your name there and all . . . naku, never!" A perfect alibi, if you ask me.

Many people are reading the wrong things from the string of natural disasters we have suffered lately. They say it's God's punishment for President Marcos' sins. A number of apparitions have also been sighted, not

just by common folks but even by the likes of former Press Secretary Parungao, which I guess makes him common. In Bohol, school kids claimed seeing angels chasing each other in the skies. In many towns, people saw a huge human eye directly above the sun. But Parungao claims to have talked to the Blessed Mother, who expressed her unhappiness with the lack of reconciliation between the opposition and the administration. "Water, the symbol of my tears will be the scourge of your nation," she threatened, if we don't get our act together.

These apparitions are all unfair to the President. Now is the time for all good men in the Cabinet to go to novenas and ask for equal time. The fairness doctrine applies to the President in the face of these seditious sightings. Cardinal Sin better not interfere through his special connections. This is a state matter. Let's keep the church out of it.

Actually, I have nothing against apparitions as long as they are non-political. I believe in some mysteries myself. If you see a falling star and can say aloud the amount of money you want before it disappears, you'll get that money somehow. If a black cat crosses your path, you'll have bad luck. If on your way to the market you meet a Prime Minister, your peso will be devalued by the time you get there. It's true, believe it or not. Speaking of prime ministers, Cesar Virata is still around. He's the only disagreement I have with the administration. The reason we have not come out of our debt crisis is because this technoquack cannot say "\$650 million in standby loans, \$2.3 billion in commercial credits!" when he sees a falling star. □

Senate Committee Report:

Marcos Era is in Terminal Stage

A report on the Philippines by staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released September 29 finds the political, economic and security problems facing the country to be "fundamental" and concludes that the Marcos government may not survive.

The paper asserts that "many Filipinos" see it as "a foregone conclusion that the Marcos era is in its terminal stage" and describes the government of Ferdinand Marcos as "virtually bankrupt in terms of public confidence."

"If Marcos and his group cling to the reins of government by force of arms," the report adds, "there will be a vastly reduced chance for the restoration" of democracy. Filipinos, it claims, doubt that the Marcos government "understands fully or can cope effectively with the Communist threat."

RENEWED INTEREST IN RP

The release of the searing indictment, prepared by Committee staffers Fred Brown and Carl Ford, follows by less than a week a series of hearings on the Philippines held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Under the leadership of Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY), the hearings aimed to assess precisely Marcos' remaining credibility and popular support and the needs of the Philippine government for assistance in order to determine appropriate levels of economic, military and political support. Hearings were temporarily postponed after testimony from scholars David Rosenberg and Gustav Ranis September 25 until the Agrava Commission report on the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino is released.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee



Former Ambassador William Sullivan testifies before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. (AK Photo)

held similar hearings only one week earlier.

Both houses of Congress were exhibiting a remarkably high level of interest in the Philippines considering the time of year, particularly with elections only weeks away. With five weeks left in the congressional calendar and a number of major bills pending, both bodies were taking the time to hold hearings on the status of a traditional ally.

BETTER OFF WITHOUT MARCOS

The secret behind the sudden concern, according to Washington observers, is a high-level interagency commission on the Philippines which has been meeting at least once weekly since August.

Organized by the State Department and reputedly under the leadership of former Ambassador to the Philippines and current number three man at the State Department, Michael Armacost, this body apparently aims to steal the thunder from Congress on the controversy over U.S. policy for the Philippines.

Observers suggest that there is much common ground between the administration and congress when it comes to the Philippines. Sources told the *New York Times* that the interagency group shares the Senate Committee's general assessment, particularly with regard to the growing revolutionary movement.

The various hearings and Committee report reportedly aim to coax Reagan

administration opinions on the Philippines out into the open and at the same time exert an impact upon them.

Work on a 60-page study, similar to the Senate document though not yet released, has reportedly produced increasing sentiment within administration circles that the Philippines would be better off without Marcos.

This view, however, advocates extreme caution, insisting that the U.S. do nothing to precipitate Marcos' removal. The study further apparently recommends an increase in both economic and military aid to the Marcos regime.

DIFFERENCES OVER TACTICS

The two reports thus clearly represent the two conflicting views on the Marcos government within U.S. ruling circles. Both feel that Ferdinand Marcos, in the wake of the Aquino assassination, has outlived his usefulness as a ruler and as a U.S. ally. Both worry about building up credible successors to Marcos, drawn from the most cooperative and pro-U.S. of the opposition figures and maverick members of the KBL.

The difference is one of time and tactics. Reagan administration officials worry about placing too much direct pressure on Marcos for fear of provoking an unpredictable response. This group advocates "silent diplomacy" and gentle pressures for reforms.

Liberals on Capitol Hill and elsewhere worry that if the U.S. doesn't act soon it may be too late. Marcos has already so alienated himself from the Filipino people, they argue, that every day of continued U.S. support turns more against the U.S. and drives them into the arms of the Communist-led revolutionary movement.

Both the newly published Senate report and the line of questioning of Foreign Relations Committee members reflects the liberal view as does the questioning of House Committee members under Solarz.

The current bustle on Capitol Hill over the Philippines thus represents a frantic effort to inject the liberal position into the policy-making process fully usurped by the Reagan administration. Whether or not it will have any impact remains to be seen. □NFR

Book Review

The Contemptuous American

By JON MELEGRITO

OBLIGGATO

Notes on a Foreign Service Career by William H. Sullivan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984. \$16.95

Until the Aquino assassination, most of Washington, including the press, paid little attention to the brewing political and economic crisis in the Philippines. It took massive international outrage over the slaying and widespread belief among Filipinos that the Marcos regime was somehow involved, to jolt Washington's policymakers and media moguls out of their smug complacency.

The public debate that ensued raised the spectre of another foreign policy disaster reminiscent of Vietnam and Iran. Suddenly, all of Washington, from Capitol Hill to the White House, was confronted with the possibility of serious consequences unless policy changes were made—fast.

Among those to participate actively in the debate was former U.S. Ambassador William H. Sullivan. Not one to mince words, he bluntly declared that Marcos' days were numbered and urged Reagan to intervene personally to avert disaster. He invoked the Iran experience where former President Jimmy Carter "foolishly committed the prestige of the American presidency to the person of an authoritarian leader long after it was apparent that the leader would fall." Sullivan called, in his own terms, for "naked involvement in the

internal affairs of the Philippines," even if it is "contrary to accepted international policies of non-intervention."

CONDUCTING A SECRET WAR

What lent weight to Sullivan's exhortations within Washington's centers of power was the fact that he had played a significant role in some of the most important events of recent American foreign policy: Indochina, the Philippines, Iran.

In his recently-released book, *Obligato*, subtitled "Notes on a Foreign Service Career," Sullivan provides some fascinating and instructive glimpses of the inner workings and machinations of U.S. foreign policy over the last 40 years. Recounted in an anecdotal style, his narrative reveals a diplomatic career including running clandestine warfare in Laos, negotiating with the North Vietnamese, dealing with the Shah in the midst of the Iranian revolution and acting as U.S. envoy to the post-martial law regime of Ferdinand Marcos.

In the chapter on the "War in Indochina," he describes the decision-making process which led ultimately to full-scale U.S. involvement in the war.

Perhaps Sullivan's most important role was played in Laos where "a clandestine, deniable system of paramilitary assistance, with any actual fighting being done by indigenous forces" was being conducted by the CIA. As with CIA arming of Miskito Indians in Nicaragua today, U.S. policy then called for "a primary indigenous military force drawn from the Hmong tribes." As Sullivan himself described the role, "For the next four and a half years, I directed that war, and in that period, gradually increased our operations." Washington, he bragged, gave him a free hand to

"let us do our own thing without kibitzing."

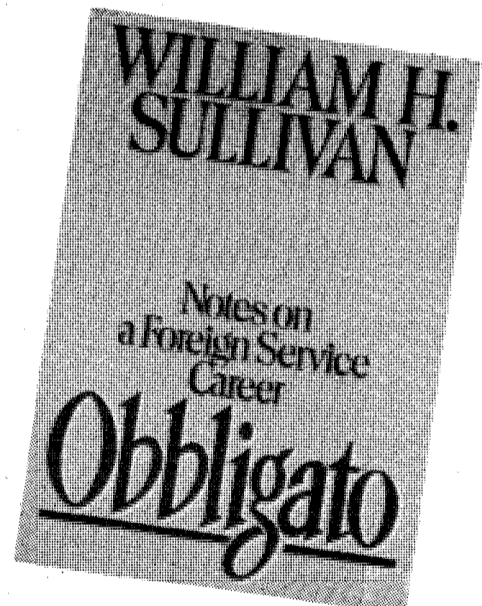
After his stint in Indochina in 1973, Sullivan was dispatched to the Philippines. For the next four years he observed with indifference the human rights violations and repressive practices of the Marcos regime. He viewed the events following martial law as "interesting internal developments" which made the Manila assignment "a fascinating one."

The chapter on the Philippines dwells most exclusively on his difficult personal relationship with Imelda Marcos who "insisted on being styled as the First Lady of the Philippines and I could never bring myself to use that title." He relishes narrating how Mrs. Marcos, after visiting with Mme. Chiang Ching in Peking, attempted to get U.S. blessings for the First Lady of China who, according to Imelda, "would be the new ruler of China" after Mao died.

When Sullivan dismissed her overtures and bluntly told her that Chiang Ching "would disappear within three months after Mao's death," Imelda Marcos, in typical fashion, cried and walked out. "She had interpreted [Sullivan's] remarks in a very subjective context as indicative of the attitude the United States would take toward her if President Marcos should die in office," according to a Jesuit friend whom Sullivan sought in order to make amends.

CONFLICT ON IRAN

The book ends, as does Sullivan's career, in Iran, where he lived for a year through the fundamentalist revolution that swept the Shah, one of America's most important post-war clients, out of power. His policy differences with the Carter administration



stemmed from Carter's insistence on supporting the Shah to the bitter end despite the handwriting on the wall. Sullivan, on the other hand credited the Shah with shying away from "the use of military force to confront his subject in the streets," despite U.S. prodding.

As if to foreshadow what was going to happen a few years later in Manila, Sullivan sums up his policy differences with the Carter administration as follows: "I had recommended that we accept the fact that a revolution was in progress and seek to use our not inconsiderable influence to steer its success toward its more moderate protagonists. Washington chose instead to confront the revolution head on, banking on the assumption that an armed force of 400,000 men equipped with the world's latest weaponry could crush an unarmed mob in the streets and restore discipline to a nation so badly rent. It was a decision and a policy so alien to the experience of my past 40 years that I rebelled against it, and eventually resigned."

Although Mr. Sullivan comes across as a man of high principle when he sums up this foreign policy fiasco, the underlying flaw in his thesis is his view that it is

Continued on page 6

Buod ng mga Balita

ANOTHER GROUP ACCUSES NINOY'S ESCORTS

The All-Asia Bar last month became the fourth group to submit findings to the commission investigating the assassination of Benigno Aquino claiming that the former senator was killed by one of his military escorts, not by the late Rolando Galman. The Philippine Bar Association and the Catholic Lawyers Group earlier submitted their independent findings to the Agrava Commission. They concluded that a conspiracy existed within the high echelons of government, carried out by the military and that one or two of Aquino's escorts fired the fatal shot.

The All-Asia Bar went one step further, naming Rogelio Moreno, one of the escorts, as the soldier who fired the shot. This occurred, the group claimed after escort Arnulfo de Mesa immobilized Aquino with a karate chop.

The latest findings appeared as various parties within the Philippine government did some fancy footwork to prepare for release of the findings of the Agrava Commission, scheduled to come out at any time.

Last August a leak to the *San Jose Mercury News* suggested that no less than Gen. Fabian Ver, chief of staff of the Philippine Armed Forces would be named as the man behind the conspiracy. Observers both in the Philippines and the U.S. suspect that the loyal Ver might be the only sacrificial lamb of sufficient stature to deflect suspicion from Ferdinand Marcos himself.

The question remained, however, whether Marcos was willing to allow Ver to be fingered. Observers here suspect that the U.S. government was placing the heat on Marcos to target Ver as the only hope for cleaning up the Aquino matter satisfactorily.

Recent developments suggest that Marcos may be coming around. Marcos told a group of businessmen September 20 that if any military personnel are involved, they will be suspended and court martialled. In the aftermath of the assassination, Marcos dismissed the possibility of a military conspiracy, quipping: "I am convinced that if any member of my government were involved, I would have known about it." Marcos recanted an earlier statement that a lone gunman was involved. "I did not say that was my opinion."

Following Marcos' statement, none other than Ver himself expressed his absolute willingness to go along with the commission's findings. Perhaps unable to believe that his master might frame him, Ver issued a public statement declaring his "complete faith and confidence in the integrity of the fact finding board." □

WORKERS SUE PANAMIN

Once again PANAMIN is shrouded in controversy. Only this one may be its last.

The Presidential Assistant on National Minorities, also known as "anthropologist" Manuel "Manda" Elizalde, had neatly managed to be on the scene wherever national minorities occupy land desired by agribusiness. He also used to show up promptly wherever tribal groups become sympathetic to the work of the New People's Army.

Manda was known never to travel without two or three attractive young minority women in tow and to board several at his home in Metro-Manila—brought to the big city on PANAMIN scholarships supposedly.

But after the Aquino assassination, Manda upped and disappeared altogether along with some ₱1.2 billion and 28 tribal girls recruited as his "personal scholars."

The *en masse* termination of all 700 PANAMIN employees has provoked a class action suit by the PANAMIN Employees Association for "bad faith and violation of the law."

PANAMEA president Franco Cortez charged in the suit filed with the Ministry of Labor and Employment that employees were terminated on August 20 without the 30-day notice required by law. MOLE was not informed of the agency's closure either.

PANAMIN management last released its workers' salaries July 16. The agency's lawyer Ramon Jimenez informed members that the management is bound by law eventually to grant them wages from July 16 to September 20.

Cortez added that the association plans to include some companies owned by the Elizalde empire in its suit as these were said to have been beneficiaries of the agency's funds. □



Barrio residents flee erupting Mayon Volcano; biscuits from Australia labelled "Gift of President Ferdinand Marcos." (UPI)

CORRUPTION IN THE WAKE OF NATURAL CALAMITIES

Three natural calamities that brought death and destruction across the Philippines provided President Ferdinand E. Marcos some respite from the legislative attacks that began with the opening session of the National Assembly. It also opened yet another channel for "winning the hearts and minds" of forgotten and disenfranchised constituents in the disaster areas.

First were two ferocious typhoons that lashed across the archipelago within days. And no sooner after relief goods began distribution, the perfect cone of Albay—Mayon Volcano—began spewing molten lava. Minor eruptions have occurred since that first one on Marcos' birthday, September 11, forcing evacuation of some 50,000 residents.

Typhoon Nitang lashed Luzon, leaving 50 dead and an estimated ₱500 million in damages. Typhoon Nitang, whipping winds in excess of 200 kph, levelled provinces in Mindanao, and the central and western Visayas. Over two thousand died and ₱2 billion in crops and infrastructure were destroyed. A dozen deaths have been reported following Mayon's fiery shows, including three children who died in evacuation camps.

Calling for a stop to assemblymen bickering over his legislative fiat, Marcos ordered the Ministry of Education to work with the military and the Ministries of Health and Social Service, and the National Food Authority to help rebuild homes, schools, bridges, and roads damaged in the wake of wind, rain, and lava.

The corruption that seems necessarily to come with relief work followed. The barrios of Ilocos Norte, Marcos' home province, those in Ilocos Sur and Pangasinan, to no one's great surprise, received the largest chunk and the earliest arrivals of the aid pouring in from international agencies. Disaster areas in the south were not as quickly succoured. Sales of relief goods at exorbitant prices were also reported.

Still government relief work—facilitated by a network extending from the national levels down to the barangay chapters—can prove a boost to the regime's "winning the hearts and minds" campaign. Biscuits from Australia were distributed bearing stickers reading "A Gift from President Ferdinand Marcos."

But how useful the government disaster program will be depends on how long the stock of relief goods lasts. Even with international organizations and nations extending aid, reconstruction of infrastructure and rebuilding of livelihoods will take years.

And economic headaches for the regime may soon intensify. Typhoon Nitang's winds wrought havoc most of all, on the coconut industry, one of the country's prime exports and source of income of one-third of the rural population. □

COURT MAY HAVE TO RULE ON AGUILAR ARREST

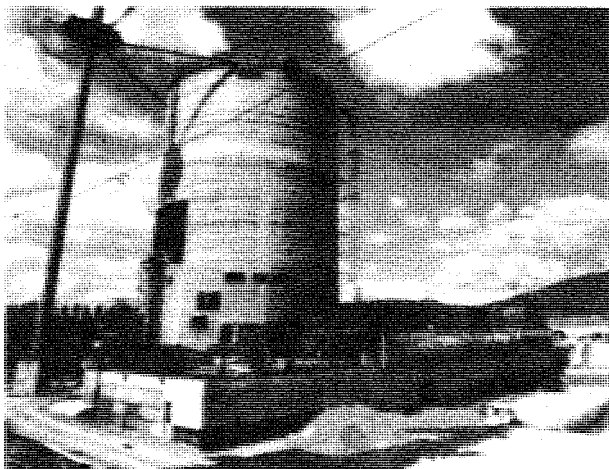
The Philippine Supreme Court may have to decide whether presidential fiat can disregard citizens' rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution.

Lawyers of the Free Legal Assistance Group late August petitioned the SC for the release of teachers Cynthia Nolasco and Mila Aguilar-Roque and school volunteer Willie Tolentino. The petition claims that under Article IV, Sec. 18 of the 1973 Constitution, detained persons, excepting those charged with capital offences or those confronted by very strong evidence, have the right to post bail for temporary release. Nolasco, Aguilar and Tolentino, the lawyers claim, are charged with a non-capital offense and thus can post bail.

Further, Quezon City Metropolitan trial judge Nestor Batungbacal ordered the release of the educational workers one week after their arrest. He based his decision on the evidence gathered against the three in a raid of Nolasco's apartment on August 6. The military, however, refused to comply with his order, producing a photocopy of a Presidential Detention Action dated August 7.

The military claims that Aguilar is the top woman member of the Communist Party of the Philippines' politburo. At the time of her arrest, she carried a ₱10,000 price on her head. Authorities claim that Nolasco is head of the technical staff of the National Democratic Front with Tolentino as a staff member.

Both Nolasco, a science teacher at St. Joseph's and Tolentino, her aide, are currently held at the Philippine Constabulary/Integrated National Police jail in Camp Crame. The whereabouts of Aguilar, directress of St. Joseph's Extension Center, remains undisclosed. □



Bataan Nuclear power plant,

NUKE PLANT OPENING OPPOSED

Various Central Luzon organizations have joined in opposition to the planned dry-run opening of the Bataan Nuclear Plant in October and to uphold human rights in the wake of political repression in the region.

PIGLAS (*Pinag-isang Gitnang Luzon sa Adhikain ng Sambayanan*—United Central Luzon for People's Aspirations) was founded during a week of mass actions in late August as part of the "continuing militant struggle for the restoration of democracy."

The coalition, spearheaded by Nuclear-Free Bataan, is gearing up for more protest actions to block the dry run opening before its planned full operation on January 1, 1985. PIGLAS' 19 member-organizations also condemned the Marcos regime which has "unleashed a new wave of terror among the populace." The group noted that government troops are "more indiscriminate in their policy of summary executions, torture, confiscation of properties, threats and other forms of military harassment and abuses."

PIGLAS led a multisectoral march in Angeles City August 21, commemorating the death of former senator Benigno Aquino. The action drew a crowd of 15,000, while 27 priests saying mass before a Malolos Church rally drew 7,000.

The Bataan nuclear plant has been the target of attacks since its construction was first announced ten years ago. The "Monster of Morong," as it is called, has also been plagued by questions of design, engineering and safety, as well as waste disposal facilities. Also drawing concern was the plant's proximity to earthquake fault lines and several active volcanoes. Built at the cost of \$2 billion amidst rumors of corruption, the plant is one of the most expensive in the world. □

'The press is for the people, or it is nothing.'

Journalist and long-time political detainee Satur Ocampo was temporarily let out of his cell August 31 to address his former colleagues in the first celebration of Philippine Press Freedom Day.

The event, one of many held for the first time, was called to counter the government's annual Philippine Press Week. Organizers and participants especially noted the existence of two secret presidential decrees, leaked mid-1983, meting out the death penalty to media men who "use sustained propaganda against the government."

Ocampo, one-time Assistant Business Editor of the now-defunct Manila Times, President of the Business and Economic Reporters Association of the Philippines and Vice-President of the National Press Club, went underground during the clamp-down that came with the imposition of martial law in 1972. He was arrested in April 1976 and severely tortured. Charges of subversion against Ocampo have been "frozen" since 1979 and his trial for charges of rebellion have been dragging on for over five years.

Fellow journalists, writers, artists, and freedom-fighters:

When I was informed that Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile had acceded to the National Press Club's request that I be given a pass to enable me to join you tonight in this Testimonial to the Working Journalists, I was euphoric. It has been my obsession to set foot again in this beloved home, the NPC, even only as a transient guest. I often told myself that when I get freed, the first place I'll go to is the NPC. I would like to think that the grant of this pass is an indication—be it a very slim one—that the time of my return to freedom is well-nigh close. But as you know, the release of any political detainee depends on the one man who calls the shots from the Palace.

Because this is the first time in almost nine years of my military detention that I have been allowed to speak in public, I beg your forbearance if I talk first of a personal matter before I attempt to do justice to the task you have assigned to me tonight.

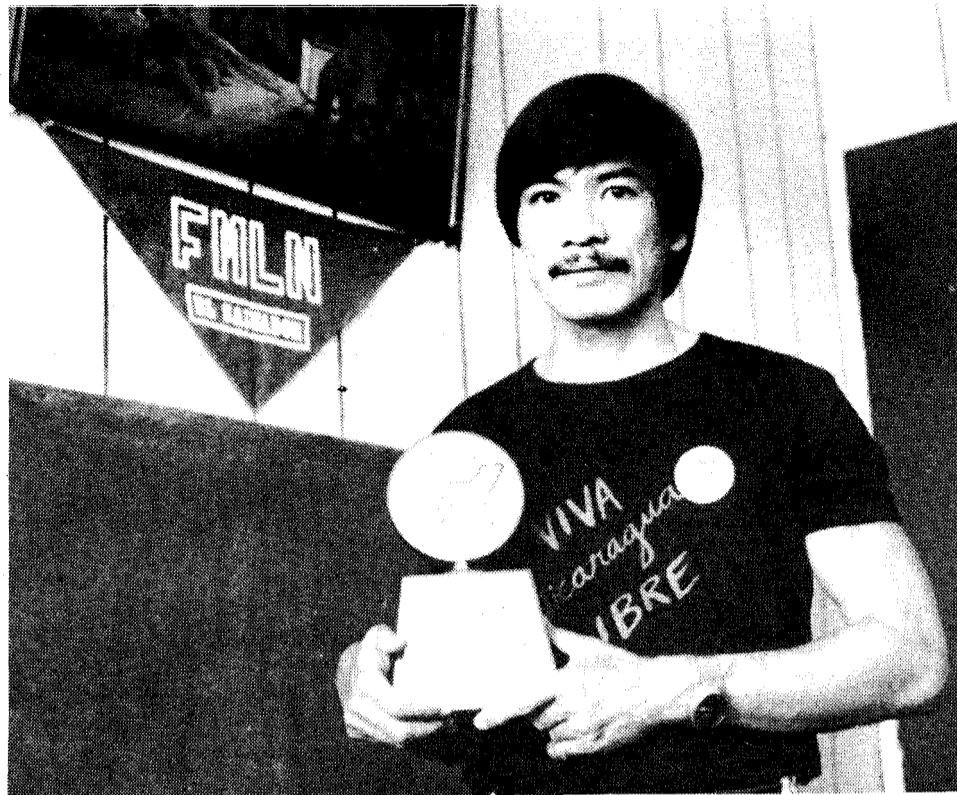
The government and the military maintain that I am in prison not as a journalist but as a "subversive" and a "rebel", a "viciously militant" one at that. While I do not take umbrage over those tags knowing from where they come, I assert that I could have remained a working journalist had not martial law been imposed in September 1972. After my arrest in 1976, my captors told me that had I allowed myself to be arrested when the military shut down the Manila Times and all other media in 1972, I could have been freed like the journalists taken in military custody. Which meant that I was to have been ordered arrested as a journalist 12 years ago, only I eluded arrest and went underground.

Because you, my colleagues and friends, consider me a journalist deprived of liberty and because last year you petitioned the government for my immediate release, I have been encouraged immensely. I thank Minister Enrile for heeding your petition. Unfortunately his recommendation for my temporary release last December 24, 1983 has lain in the limbo of presidential inaction.

Now to the task at hand. Let me begin by quoting from an interesting article on the Philippine press:

"The press in the Philippines is cowed; reduced to singing praises to those in power; it is not in a position to be the faithful organ of the needs of that vast Archipelago.

"To what social entity can we attribute this condition? To the Government? But this cannot be responsible, because all capable officials who desire to comply with the sacred duty of working for the happiness of the governed should be aware of



Satur Ocampo in prison cell, with College Editors Guild of the Philippines M.H. del Pilar award; he urged fellow journalists to keep fighting for press freedom.

the daily pulse of public opinion.

"Neither will this agree with the interests of the country. To condemn the nation to suffer and to remain silent is not a good way of solving difficulties which produce—and have to produce—the occult sighs, the tears shed in the privacy of the homes because of stupid oppressions. Vexations are always oppressions . . . unjust vexations, temporary imprisonment which become permanent with or without court decision, the mysterious deportations, and other threats to the security of the individual, to the sanctity of his home and property—all these evils produce despair among the Filipino people. Without a press to make known their grievances, the people cannot offer a bright future. . ."

A contemporary description of the state of the establishment press and the nation? By every indication yes. Yet this piece, dear colleagues and friends, was written almost a century ago. It saw print on April 15, 1889 in *La Solidaridad*, the democratic fortnightly of the Propaganda Movement published in Madrid, Spain. The author? Marcelo H. del Pilar—he who we honor today and ought to honor everyday of our journalistic lives. Obviously despite everything that our country and our people have gone through the last hundred years, the problem of press freedom has generally remained the same under tyrannical regimes.

In that same article Del Pilar fixed the blame on the friars. They, he wrote, censured and condemned all the efforts to uplift the Filipinos as "masonic", which in today's official parlance is equivalent to "subversive" or "seditious". The friars, Del Pilar went on, "invoke[d] the welfare of the nation in order to support the policy of restricting freedom of thought." He could well have been referring to today's rulers.

In the context of his time when Spain held sovereignty over the Philippines, Del Pilar stressed that "a gagged press is not only useless in promoting national interests, but also dangerous, very dangerous indeed, to the prestige of Spain." And because the Filipino journalists could not express their ideas in view of the law which suppressed them, Del Pilar explained, "they (went) only where there (was) intellectual freedom"—in Europe then in ferment with libertarian-reformist ideas and (in the industrial countries) proletarian ideas.

What was Del Pilar's prescription for the problem of the Philippine press at that

time? He wrote:

"... we seriously recommend the protection of public opinion in the Philippines. It is necessary to win the natives and to prevent their alienation. The Spanish government should know and grant the people's legitimate aspirations, because instead of favoring the interests of the friars who collect, it should favor those of the nation who pays."

And while Del Pilar called for the punishment of any abuse committed by the press, he urged the removal of all restrictions. After all, he pointed out, restrictions are ineffective and will in the future bring about incalculable damage and serious problems.

We all know that Del Pilar's crusade for reforms in the Philippines, not only for press freedom but for political, economic, and human rights, did not bear fruit in his lifetime. He died in Spain a saddened, impoverished and hungry man, nurturing ideas of revolution by his people but unable to carry them out. But his writings, and those of his gutsy colleagues in the Propaganda Movement, did spark the

'The militant call "Free the Media" will remain valid for quite some time. For not until the people are fully free can the media be fully free.'

ideas that induced liberating actions among the patriotic Filipinos who toward the end of the last century revolted against the Spanish colonial regime under the aegis of the Katipunan.

Perhaps it need no longer be said that the journalistic tradition set by Del Pilar and the Propaganda Movement has lived through the various phases of our national history. This tradition lives today, with more luster than in Del Pilar's time perhaps, although the atmosphere of tyranny—taking into account the sophisticated instruments of repression applied by the native-cum-foreign exploiter-oppressors—is worse than in the 1880s.

This, thanks to the hardy journalists, writers and artists who have kept the fire of freedom ablaze within them; who, singly or

in unison with others, have perseveringly asserted the freedom of the press in the face of the layers of repressive instruments ranged against them: from threats to various forms of harassments, such as libel cases, dismissal and banning; from arrest and detention to murder.

To all the colleagues who have held fast to the example of Marcelo H. del Pilar, and to those who have died in defense of press freedom, I give my humble salute.

Inside military prison year after year, I have followed as best as I can the struggle of Filipino journalists, writers and artists for their rightful place in the broad arena of struggle for national freedom, justice, democracy and truth.

In the early part of martial rule, some who found the conditions intolerable for the exercise of their craft left the country and went to "where there is intellectual freedom." But unlike Del Pilar and his colleagues, most of these journalists have since lost—or have cut off—their links with the struggle for press freedom in the Philippines. To be sure, there are a few of them who, through the newspapers they edit or write in, try to lend a hand in the battle. But unlike Del Pilar's intrepid contingent in the late 1880s they hardly influence events in the Philippines.

The burden of the struggle for press freedom has rested in the hands of journalists and writers who have chosen to pursue their craft—or their commitment, as the case may be—under the severe restrictions and perils of martial rule. As proven by historical experience, the fight for press freedom is not waged in isolation of itself but in unison with the struggle for political and economic freedoms, justice and democracy.

As the people's democratic movement expands the parameters of freedom through daring and sacrifices, even as the interdictions of state repression become more frequent and harsher, journalists imprisoned in the straightjacket of official censorship and "self-regulation" find their conditions more and more intolerable. Gradually, they are breaking free from such imprisonment. Besides the liberating sweep of the mass protest movement which has moved even the staid groves of business and finance and the inner sanctums of conservative institutions, particularly in the wake of the August 21 incident, the emergence and public support gained by the "alternative press induced a rupture in the wall of restrictions of the establishment or "crony" press.

The rupture, however, is not yet total. Filipino journalists are far from being fully free (and some, sadly, until now have chosen to be shackled by fear or bias, or are indifferent). Hence, the militant call "Free the Media" is valid. It will remain valid for quite some time yet. For not until the Filipino people are fully free can the media be fully free.

Which takes us back to what Marcelo

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

R.P.-IMF Accord Nears

A Loan Again, Naturally

Two devastating typhoons and a major volcanic eruption were all that the Marcos government needed at a time of looming economic catastrophe. But amid the rattle and shake came Central Bank governor Jose "Jobo" Fernandez' exultant announcement that bailout is in sight for the floundering Philippine economy.

Fernandez announced on September 11 that the fitful, year-long negotiations with the International Monetary Fund over \$650 million in new loans have finally dragged their way to a close.

President Marcos followed Fernandez' upbeat news with the announcement September 20 that the Philippines has finally signed a long-debated letter of intent to the IMF, the instrument of agreement which will seal the deal.

The CB caretaker put the business world on notice that he and Prime/Finance Minister Cesar Virata will shortly go on the road to convince the international finance community that there is hope for the Philippines. Their aim: to drum up new cash and persuade existing creditors to restructure current loans.

The end of the often controversial negotiation process comes none too soon. October 15 marks exactly one year since a committee of the country's 12 main commercial creditors, the IMF, and the World Bank agreed to grant the Philippines a moratorium on repayment of all principal.

Since that time, Manila has struggled simply to pay the interest on its \$25 billion foreign debt. Though originally intended as a three-month reprieve, the moratorium was extended three times.

STRINGS ATTACHED

IMF officials have yet to sign the letter of intent and refuse to do so until the Philippines complies with a set of conditions put forward by the banks and the Reagan administration. Virata expects formal approval in late November or early December.

IMF approval is key to the rescue package of \$2.3 billion put together by the "Committee of Twelve." Headed by representatives from Manufacturers' Hanover Trust, the group responded positively to Manila's request for \$1.65 billion.

A team dispatched by the "Committee of Twelve" is currently in Manila to assess the country's needs. Its findings will determine just how much of the debt to reschedule and how much of the \$1.65 billion to grant.

Of course, Manila's optimism glosses over the fact that the IMF chunk comes with the usual strings attached. These go beyond the standard demands for currency devaluation, budget cuts, the reduction of money supply, and other "austerity" measures aimed at curbing an inflation rate now running amuck at 60%. (See *AK*, Vol. X, No. 9.)

But while the long-awaited financial shot in the arm may be on its way, the year's delay has taken its toll on the patient. Whatever portion of the \$1.65 billion the Philippines gets from commercial sources, Fernandez told a press conference, will simply be used to settle existing debts, not to import raw materials and start the wheels turning once again in the Philippines' import-hungry industries.

Furthermore, while Fernandez insists that "about \$1.5 billion" in foreign loans have matured since the moratorium began last October 14, IMF documents tell a different tale. As of "end-March 1984, outstanding payments arrears of the Central Bank, commercial banks, and the non-bank sector totalled \$2.5 billion. . ."

Once again, it seems, Philippine financial authorities are presenting doctored figures on the state of the economy.

The IMF has been irritated by irregularities it uncovered as the negotiating process proceeded and is pressing Marcos to correct at least some of the most glaring of these.

Negotiators were outraged to discover last October that Philippine finance officials had inflated the figures on foreign exchange reserves by \$600 million. When



(Mr. & Mrs.)

the nonexistent \$600 million was dropped from the books, the technocrats called it capital flight.

The IMF negotiators' tempers soared along with the money supply when huge amounts of Central Bank money were injected into the economy last April and May for election dole-outs by Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (New Society Party). Nor were they tickled by rumors that government officials were simply printing up their own cash.

FLOATING THE PESO

The bailout last July of the floundering Banco Filipino once again let loose massive amounts of cash and created a major glitch in the negotiating process.

Each crisis brought negotiations grinding to a halt and besmirched the already sullied image of the Central Bank. Marcos was forced earlier in the negotiations to remove technocrat Jaime Laya as Bank Governor, replacing him with banker Fernandez to appease the IMF.

Overall, IMF officials had been displeased with Marcos' and Virata's attempts to veer away from already agreed upon measures. In response to an IMF call to allow the peso to float freely, Manila devalued the currency ₱18 to \$1, but came up with an elaborate multi-tiered exchange rate accompanied by windfall profit and excise taxes which was clearly unacceptable to the men from Washington.

Jobo's major announcement means that all major differences have finally been ironed out. Virata himself revealed in a September 5 speech to the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the peso was about to float, the last remaining wrinkle in the deal. On paper, this should wipe out the black market and allow the peso to seek its own level.

JOBO'S CRUSADE

The letter of intent between IMF and Philippine authorities remains unpublished

and the loan requirements have never been published. Nonetheless, a sketchy view of the agreement emerges from Manila's recent pronouncements.

The sopping up of domestic liquidity remains an area of IMF concern. Marcos failed to persuade the populace to buy sufficient bank bonds to get sizeable amounts of money out of circulation. Thus his current plan calls for raising the amount of reserves each bank must deposit with the Central Bank from 24% to 30%.

Jobo has meanwhile announced a "crusade" aimed at consolidating and rebuilding public confidence in the banking system, another IMF preoccupation.

His three-pronged plan includes prosecuting those involved in mismanagement and fraud (a process already underway in some cases), acting as PR man to bolster bank images, and playing broker for bankers interested in mergers, takeovers and buy-outs.

TREMENDOUS DRAIN

Finally, the IMF-orchestrated attack on Marcos' budget deficit focuses on the 13 companies and three financial institutions owned by the Philippine government. These include the National Power Corp.,

Philippine National Oil Co., Metropolitan Water and Sewerage System, National Irrigation Administration, National Development Co., National Housing Authority, Export Processing Zone Authority, and others.

Over the years, these state-owned corporations have provided numerous opportunities for Marcos to do his friends favors. The National Development Corp., for example, has put out large amounts of government cash to relieve Marcos cronies of companies in distress, which in turn, act as a tremendous drain on public resources.

Borrowing to finance the operations of these ailing companies, according to the IMF, has been "the most critical factor" in flooding the economy with excess cash. Therefore, Virata, the IMF's man in Manila, has been called upon to oversee their workings directly and to insure that financing requirements drop from the ₱13.4 billion of 1984 to ₱9.8 billion for 1985.

To no one's great surprise, a proposal that the government set up a holding company to control all state-owned corporations has met with stiff resistance from First Lady Imelda Marcos' Ministry of Human Settlements. The Ministry of Trade and Industry also expressed disapproval.

STRANGULATION

It is unlikely that the pressure on Marcos to clean up his financial act will ease up in the near future. Even some of his staunchest supporters are beginning to see that many of Marcos' current political problems can be traced to the crisis of the economy.

In particular, the move of a substantial portion of the business and professional world into the opposition camp has Marcos' international financiers worried. The most controversial targets of criticism are the privately-controlled coconut and sugar monopolies ruled over by two of Marcos' closest friends, Roberto Benedicto and Eduardo Cojuangco.

More importantly, the Reagan administration, afraid that Marcos might permanently alienate potential allies in the country's business elite, has sent signals that it is backing the pressures for an economic house cleaning.

It sent a particularly strong signal last September 4 when the U.S. World Bank representative voted against a \$150 million loan to the Philippines. Though the loan managed to pass, the symbolism of the gesture was hard to miss.

Just in case it was less than clear, Ambassador Stephen Bosworth told Manila officials that unless "economic reforms" are introduced, the U.S. may be obliged to discontinue its own credit line. It was of course, an exaggerated threat. For while Reagan may push Marcos to toe the IMF line, he is not about to leave a beleaguered ally completely in the lurch.

Nevertheless, Marcos and Virata seem to have promised enough reforms to gain a bailout.

But again, what has been left deliberately unstated in all the haggling is just who will shoulder these "reforms." In simple terms, the IMF prescription means belt-tightening, not for the Marcos camp but for the work-a-day Filipino who will see a further drop in his real income and a steady rise in his tax burden, among other things.

That Marcos has had to levy a "development tax" on urban squatters in order to earn extra income to pay his debts shows that belt-tightening is approaching the point of strangulation. □

screens and newspaper pages—"as part of the scenery, or at most as bit players in a drama whose principal actors were American soldiers and political leaders and whose theme was an American experience of frustration, failure and moral confusion."

The truth, however, is just the opposite. It is the American diplomats, American generals and American soldiers who are the intrusive extras in the production. America's painful episode is grave catastrophe for these nations struggling for national liberation. In effect, it was Vietnamese realities, Iranian realities and now Central American and Philippine realities that are shaping events. □

Book Review . . .

Continued from page 3

primarily American choices and decisions that determine and shape human events. This is at the heart of his interventionist solution to world problems.

All throughout his memoirs, Mr. Sullivan discusses the people of Indochina, the Philippines and Iran, with either amusement or disdain, indifference or contempt. To paraphrase one political observer, Mr. Sullivan shows the people of these nations much as they appear on U.S. television

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

When thousands of women launched the Women's March for Justice and Freedom in Manila on October 28 last year, it signalled the rebirth of a long dormant political force in the Philippines—the women's movement.

Overnight women's organizations sprouted. They reflected a range of hues in the political spectrum. But all insisted upon maintaining their separate identities as women's organizations.

The Concerned Women of the Philippines, an alliance composed of such notables as Dr. Mita Pardo de Tavera and Cecille Muñoz Palma, preceeded the trend in a way, inspiring others to follow suit. The National Organization of Women, the women's detachment of UNIDO, soon launched fundraisers of its own.

Coining names to create catchy acronyms, such organizations as AWARE (Alliance of Women for Action Towards Reconciliation), WOMB (Women to Oust Marcos and Boycott), PILIPINA (*Kilusan ng Kababaihang Pilipino*), and WATCH (Women's Alliance for True Change), cast a wide net to enlist women's participation in the controversies of the day: Election vs. Boycott, repeal of Amendment No. 6, and Succession.

By mid-year, these diverse groups recognized the need to join efforts and put back on the agenda an issue which had simmered on the back burner for years: the oppression of Filipino women. On March 11, International Women's Day, 1984, GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality and Leadership and Action) was born. GABRIELA serves as an umbrella organization of 63 existing women's groups. The fitting acronym was drawn from the name of Gabriela Silang, the first heroine of the Philippine revolution, a general who led a rebellion against Spain in the 19th century.

NO MORE 'HELPMATE'

What caused the recent mushrooming of women's organizations?

The obvious explanation was the Aquino assassination which served as a catalyst for previously peripheral sectors to plunge into politics with a vengeance. However, social and economic changes over the past ten years set the stage for the increased participation of women in national political issues. The rapid integration of women in the workforce and the fact that it now takes at least two incomes for a family unit to survive has challenged cultural stereotypes about the roles of women in contemporary Philippine society.

The Aquino assassination provided the proverbial spark which lit the prairie fire. Unorganized women turned out in record numbers, and became aware of themselves as a distinct political force for the first time in many years.

Upper-class women in particular—well-heeled matrons, socialites, *colegialas*, professionals, and business women, housewives from affluent districts—added a new element, and flash, to the resurgent movement. Their sheltered



Loretta Ann Rosales

(Malaya)

and affluent lifestyles had been reduced to nothing more than an unstable privilege when the dictatorship claimed the life of a respected leader and member of their social rank. Fascist reprisals, an everyday reality for many Filipinos stood out in sharp relief for members of the social classes who had long considered themselves protected from such turbulence.

AWARE, an organization headed up by business-woman Narz Lim and Ting-ting Cojuangco, articulated these sentiments in its founding statement: "Shaken by events surrounding and following the Senator's assassination, a majority of women expressed their desire to be counted, make a statement, or 'do' something to express their revulsion at what they have by default, allowed to happen within their country in the last 11 years of martial rule. . . ."

Women Organize for Democracy, Justice and Equality



Women fill the streets for October 1983 march; Aquino assassination sparked the fire of the current women's movement. (AK Photo)

Although their social stature contains little for the average Filipina to identify with, such figures as Nikki Coseteng, Ting-ting Cojuangco, Au-Au Pijuan, and Narz Lim, have provided positive role models for women standing on the sidelines, or who are on the verge of taking their first halting steps toward a political direction.

BUCKING MACHISMO; SEEKING SUPPORT

The phenomenal participation of women in the larger protest movement was not without obstacles. Astute women leaders have had their brushes with machismo in the larger opposition coalitions. For them, women's organizations served as the only way to exact equality and a receptive hearing from the "head honchos" of the protest movement.

Lorena Verano Yap, a member of the August 21st Movement, complained candidly: "In ATOM, the women are looked at as people who serve food, look pretty and nothing else . . . *kami pang-alalay lamang* (we are merely helpmates), so us women members have no say in decision making."

The need to close the "credibility gap" made some

formed the nucleus of WOMB.

EMERGING LEADERS

The participation of upper and middle class women in the political milieu rounds out the class composition of women in the protest movement.

During the early seventies, student activist leaders such as Nelia Sancho-Liao, Mila Aguilar-Roque, Judith Taguiwalo, Ma. Lorena Barros, formed the first women's organization with a decidedly activist bent. MAKIBAKA or *Malayang Kilusan ng Kababaihang Pilipina* (Free Movement of Filipino Women) rejected the roles foisted on women, protested beauty pageants, and enlisted more women into the activist ranks. The declaration of martial law, however, eclipsed the further development of MAKIBAKA, and more pressing priorities of the national democratic struggle called for the deployment of its leaders to other assignments.

The underground attempts, however, to organize women continued with particular emphasis on activating peasant and working class women into the resistance ranks. The common view of activist women in the early '70s as "amazons" or runaway girls, gave way to a respectful regard, as more women leaders left their imprints on the Philippine revolution. New People's Army heroines such as Alma Cortes, Puri Pedro, Lorrie Barros, and Jing Jing Cariño, set examples for many to follow.

In urban poor community struggles, natural leaders such as Trining Herrera and Miling de Leon, emerged to provide critical leadership to Manila's one million slum dwellers. Roman Catholic nuns, once confined to the role of passive proselitizers, now produce outstanding women leaders such as Sr. Christine Tan and Sr. Mariani Dimaranan. Campuses remain a fertile source as batch after batch of capable leaders emerge, among them Marilou Mangahas, Susan Tagle, Lydie Nakpil, and many others.

BLAZING NEW PATHS

Women also pioneered in the establishment of support organizations for victims of martial law repression. Sr. Mariani set up the internationally recognized Task Force Detainees. Nelia Sancho-Liao was key to the formation of KAPATID, a group of relatives and friends of political detainees. She also founded Parents Alternatives, Inc., originally a day care center for children of detainees, later expanded into an alternative educational institution run by a parents cooperative.

Still others have blazed new paths leading to the betterment of the status of women in specific sectors or professions. Loretta Ann Rosales, chairperson of the 30,000-strong Alliance of Concerned Teachers of the Philippines, leads in struggles for the just compensation of the profession and major educational reforms. There are approximately 470,000 teachers in the Philippines, 60.2% of the professional sector, and the overwhelming majority are women.

Continued on page 11



Nelia Sancho-Liao

(Malaya)

women decide to widen the "gender gap," if only to be taken seriously. Turned off by patronizing dynamics which reduced them to "competent aides," "opposition groupies" and "conscientized socialites," women turned to each other to more constructively channel their energies and contributions.

The social support network and the conducive atmosphere set when among one's peers (and gender) are provided in women's organizations, increasing the opportunities for women to develop their leadership and organizational skills.

This is particularly important when men within the group take a weak political stance. Dr. Mita Pardo de Tavera was compelled to form WOMB after signers (presumably male) of the "Call for Meaningful Elections" balked at their commitment to boycott the May 14th election. The women signers of the historic statement

Batasan Minority Leans on FM — Lightly

As the parliament of the streets battled tear gas, fire hoses and bullets, opposition parliamentarians held a separate rally at Liwasang Bonifacio.

There were no casualties and the activities at Mendiola Bridge far overshadowed the sober doings by those who consider themselves the official opposition to Ferdinand Marcos.

But while the parliamentarians provoked little uproar on their venture into the streets, within the stately halls of the *Batasang Pambansa*, they continue to create a modest tumult with their anti-Marcos actions.

Their most recent target is no less than Prime Minister Cesar Virata.

Fifty-nine MPs, representing members of the opposition and maverick KBLs, on September 24 presented a motion for a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister who serves simultaneously as Minister of Finance. They were responding to a speech in which Virata admitted to the existence of graft and corruption within the government.

This is not the first time Virata has suffered the blows of irate oppositionists. Last July, the same alliance took turns

attacking him during his re-election session.

The Virata roast follows a series of opposition challenges to the administration. Since the Batasan opened on July 26, opposition members have seized every opportunity to attack the regime.

FLAP OVER TRAVEL AND VEHICLES

An initial target was the procedure for impeaching the president which requires a 2/3 vote from the Committee on Justice, Human Rights and Good Government. Following this, the Batasan can file articles of impeachment.

Little more than a raucous floorfight resulted and MPs Rogelio Cuenca and Homobono Adaza pledged to file a separate motion before the Supreme Court.

The controversial Amendment No. 6, mandated by a plebiscite in 1976, remains hotly contested by opposition MPs. This amendment virtually enshrines Marcos' decree-making powers, allowing him to act unilaterally in the face of national emergencies.

Marcos remains undeterred by the debate and proceeded in its midst to flex his muscle, issuing decrees raising travel and vehicular taxes. It seemed to represent a

deliberate swipe since these are among the very functions the Batasan was mandated to perform. The tax hike went into effect nonetheless last month, demonstrating once more the omnipotence of Marcos' rule.

Determined to repeal the amendment, opposition MP Eva Estrada Kalaw, in a proposed resolution, urged the convening of a new constitutional convention to remove the president's power to issue laws.

KICKING A MAVERICK UPSTAIRS

Opposition moves, while no serious threat when the votes are counted, still pose difficulties for the administration. Complicating matters, maverick actions by KBL Assemblyman Arturo Tolentino and others have encouraged rebellion within the party ranks, sometimes casting question on just where their loyalties lie.

Tolentino, respected by both sides as a constitutionalist and elder statesman, has always played devil's advocate, at politically inopportune moments. Shortly after Aquino's assassination, Tolentino resurrected the vice presidential proviso in the 1973 constitution, provoking pressure from all sides on Marcos to clarify the succession

plan.

Tolentino also raked up the controversy over Amendment No. 6 only to concede later that it would be impossible for the parliamentary opposition to win its repeal. Lately, he has questioned the constitutionality of assembly members holding multiple elective and appointed posts, a swipe directed at the First Lady's younger brother Benjamin Romualdez, who concurrently serves as Ambassador to the U.S. and governor of Leyte.

Though he is rumored to harbor presidential ambitions, Tolentino, the constitutionalist and fiscalizer appears momentarily neutralized by Marcos. Newly appointed Foreign Minister, the constitutionalist last month took off for the United Nations for a protracted stint. His portfolio promises to keep him out of the country much of the time.

BATASAN BANDWAGON

Three months on the road, the Batasan bandwagon is proving that it has little for everybody and a lot for Marcos.

Oppositionist MPs, though a minority, still have a platform from which to raise a ruckus about bad government. KBL careerists have it both ways. It's in vogue to be critical or throw a tantrum, especially when the public is watching, and yet be in the good graces of Marcos.

The U.S. State Department is elated over the appearance of a "parliamentary opposition which comprises one-third of the MPs."

But happiest of all is Ferdinand Marcos. With the trappings of democracy and undiminished powers, Marcos has the whole little Batasan operation tucked safely in his backpocket. □ C.A.

'That Palace is Our Palace . . .'



Police and SWAT teams rout peaceful gathering at Mendiola Bridge; 11 bodies were found after march and 92 remain missing. (UPI)

Continued from front page

rally organized by two opposition political parties, the PDP-Laban and UNIDO, was far smaller and thoroughly overshadowed by the CORD march.

"The politicians imposed conditions on us to join their rally," explained Alejandro. They insisted that they control the program, that no red flags be allowed and that no speakers be heckled.

Some moderates who are anything but communist tried to bridge the two groups. Others, like Aquino, spoke to both gatherings. But Aquino ultimately threw his lot with the "reds," acting as a leader and spokesperson of the march. He told reporters he had been "double-crossed" by the moderates.

The Mendiola gathering had a decidedly more militant temper than the politicians' rally. Also, probably, for the first time in recent history, literature of the Communist Party of the Philippines was distributed openly. The youths passing it out wore bandanas over their faces to conceal their identity from the ever-present military.

'A VERY RELIGIOUS GROUP'

"We are prepared to let them stay as long as they want as long as they are peaceful, but we can't let them march any farther for security reasons," Cabrera told reporter Bronstein at the beginning of the Legarda Street blockade.

But 15 hours turned out to be just about as long as the Marcos military was willing to put up with. By 4:30 a.m., the police and Special Weapons and Attack Teams

(SWAT) with their truncheons, shields, grenades and smoke bombs began to rumble.

The demonstrators responded with their own defensive maneuver. The Legarda/Recto intersection became an instant sanctuary where priests gathered to say mass to deter advancing troops. "This is a very religious group," remarked lawyer Rene Saguisag of the Free Legal Assistance Group. "We will hold the longest mass in Philippine history."

AN UNFLATTERING IMAGE

It could only postpone the inevitable. At 6:30, Cabrera appealed to the crowd to disperse. Demonstrators linked arms and the leadership reminded them how to handle tear gas.

At 6:35 the smoke grenades hit the front lines. Pillboxes dropped from over-

hanging balconies into the crowd. Police with truncheons took off after the breaking lines. The water cannons opened up. Several blocks down Recto, the police lay down a barrage of tear gas canisters. It was over in a few moments.

Two thousand heavily armed police and soldiers launched the assault on a crowd that, by dawn, was estimated between 1,000 and 3,000 and armed only with lighted candles. A few wore gas masks. The image presented to the outside world was less than flattering to the Marcos regime.

'THE POWER HAS SHIFTED'

"In the United States, the people can march to the White House," protested former Sen. Ambrosio Padilla, one of ex-politicians to line up with the "reds." "That palace is our palace. Why can't we even get near it?"

CORD members were triumphant, however. "It is obvious that the power has shifted to us in every sense," said one. "We have shamed the traditional politicians, frightened Marcos and forced the military's hand. I think in American sports they call it a hat trick."

The Mendiola event left the politicians, still flushed with their May Batasan victory, temporarily speechless. The size and enthusiasm of the crowd supporting CORD as opposed to the small, limp following they managed to attract implied that their own base was smaller than they thought and their politics out of touch with current popular sentiment.

"The politicians miscalculated," Aquino told Bronstein. "They thought the people were still afraid to go to Mendiola."

"I hope this teaches Marcos a lesson," he added. "His fight is with the people, not the politicians."

Five days later, 3,000 gathered at the boundary between Quezon City and Manila to march once again to Malacanang. Their purpose: to denounce the use of tear gas, smoke bombs, and truncheons at the Mendiola protest.

They were dispersed even more viciously this time, with guns. At least 23 were hospitalized, six with gunshot wounds. But the protesters were better prepared to fight back. A number of police and troops were hurt by exploding pillbox bombs. □

September 21 Activities in the U.S.

Inspired by the thousands of anti-Marcos demonstrators in the Philippines who were engaged in a stand-off with police at the Mendiola Bridge, Filipinos in North America registered their own anger and dissatisfaction with the Marcos regime on the 12th anniversary of the declaration of martial law.

Some of this year's events were part of an International Solidarity Week simultaneously being held in the Philippines, Asia and Europe. Like many activities since the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino, a number of events were jointly sponsored by major U.S. opposition groups such as the Movement for a Free Philippines, Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, Ninoy Aquino Movement, plus a number of church and human rights organizations like Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines and Philippine Education Support Committee. In many cities, a series of events were held throughout the week before September 22.

Militant demonstrations were the most visible of the protest activities. Pickets calling for the dismantling of the dictatorship, freedom for political prisoners and an end to U.S. aid marched in front of Philippine consulates throughout the U.S. and Canada.

In Los Angeles, 100 people marched in front of the consulate with large banners reading "Restore Democracy in the Philippines" and "Stop Reagan Support to Marcos."

In Toronto, "Marcos" joined the crowd with "Ronald Reagan" holding up his intravenous feeding bottle which pumped American dollars into the dictator's vein.

A real member of the Canadian parliament, Dan Heap, marched side-by-side with activists.

Sacramento oppositionists honked their way through busy downtown intersections in a motorcade adorned with anti-Marcos slogans.

Cultural and media presentations took center-stage with a number of cities sponsoring indoor programs and film-showings. New York's "Evening of Solidarity with Filipino Artists" featured renowned director Lino Brocka. His new video documentary on the Philippines, "Signos," was shown in a number of areas including Hawaii and San Francisco.

In San Francisco, Paulynn Paredes-Sicam of the Women Writers in the Media Now, spoke on behalf of the Free Satur Ocampo Committee. Award-winning political cartoonist for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Corky Trinidad, was a featured guest speaker at a September 21 forum in Hawaii.

Church groups were active in co-sponsoring prayer rallies and joining the pickets. Some 200 people attended a prayer rally in front of the White House where former Senator Jose W. Diokno also spoke.

Oppositionists met with the visiting Jaime Cardinal Sin at Manhattan College in New York on September 20 and after a mass officiated by Sin the following Sunday at St. Patrick's Cathedral, a 100-person procession marched to the Philippine Consulate.

San Francisco's Church Network on the Philippines held a week-long fast.

Rallies and forums also occurred in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, and Montreal, Canada. □ VR



Los Angeles rally showing its view of Marcos' role in the Aquino slaying.

(AK Photo)



San Franciscans took their protest through downtown streets.

(Vince Reyes)



Jaime Cardinal Sin addresses opposition groups in New York.

(AK Photo)

Black Caucus Examines Philippine Issue

For the first time in its 14-year history, the Congressional Black Caucus examined the Philippine issue September 27 in its Annual Legislative Weekend held September 25-29.

Some 200 participants in a forum entitled "Impact of U.S. Foreign Policy on the Political Economy of the Third World: case studies" heard Odette Taverna, director of the Congress Task Force of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network. Taverna explained how the United

State's overriding concern for its military bases and economic investments acts as the main obstacle to freedom and democracy in the Philippines. Taverna was part of a panel which included Mervyn Dymally (D-CA) and Francisco Campbell, Consul for Political Affairs of the Nicaraguan Embassy, both of whom spoke on Central America; Dr. W. Ofuately-Kodjoe, Queens College, NY, who spoke on Southern Africa; and Robert Garcia (D-NY) who explained the United States' perspective. □



From left to right: Rep. Mervyn Dymally; Francisco Campbell, Nicaraguan consul; Odette Taverna, CTF Director. (AK Photo)

Embassy Plays Cat-and-Mouse . . . Mouse Wins

By L. B. MARZAN

Turning the Filipino community into a base of support for the Marcos government has been a trying assignment for the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C.. It has been like a Tom and Jerry cartoon, with embassy officials playing the role of the hapless and frustrated cat.

The recent revelation of documents first circulated among a few community groups in 1980 for the founding of "Mahal Kong Pilipinas."

With a prefab constitution and bylaws provided by the embassy, this proposed umbrella organization was supposed to "forge unity, friendship and cooperation for a stronger role in the American social, cultural mainstream."

What the preamble failed to state was that the federation's unity must be forged under the wing of the Philippine embassy. "Mahal Kong Pilipinas" could have no distinguishing feature other than this because such an umbrella organization already existed in Washington.

The Philippine Heritage Federation (PHF), which includes 15 organizations had been in existence for exactly the same purpose. The big difference was that the PHF was a neutral formation which would not allow itself to be controlled by any outside force, even

by the representatives of Marcos in Washington.

Interestingly enough, the proposed organization never materialized, despite the considerable groundwork and assistance given by the embassy. The latter offered an office—complete with staff—and officers were even elected.

NO TAKERS

But the whole project fizzled out anyway. "Community leaders" who were initially involved, lost interest. Some people who were approached were cynical at once; still others simply refused "to be used by Marcos agents."

As one PHF member who wished to remain anonymous commented, "Why should we participate? They [embassy] claimed they're for unity but all they do is further splinter the community. They have never been able to help us in our needs here. When we experience discrimination we are on our own."

However, the embassy was not easily discouraged. Besides, the Marcos state visit was approaching, and it was absolutely essential that a Filipino community unified in support of Marcos be on hand to greet him.

This time, the embassy tried the "Congress of Overseas Filipino Communities" (COFCOM). Preceded by a seminar and a conference in D.C., a national conference launched this new coalition in June, shortly before Marcos came to town.

Predictably Dodong Tecala, a well-known supporter

of Marcos, was hand-picked to represent the Washington Filipino community and elected as one of the vice-presidents. The new formation was renamed Filipino American Friendship Society right after the Marcos visit. It has not been heard of since.

'KISS OF DEATH'

After a brief retreat in the aftermath of the Aquino assassination, the embassy struck again. Last July 1, it spearheaded "Philippine Day 1984" to celebrate Philippine "independence."

It had better luck this time as a number of organizations unwittingly fell for the "community endeavor." But the embassy once again bungled and exposed the true color of the event, when the coordinating committee denied ANGKAN, one of the participating organizations, permission to set up an educational booth. The booth was aimed at making people aware of "the conditions in the Philippines."

It did not take long for the embassy to come up with another idea—the "Council of Presidents." It was to be a congregation of all the presidents of community organizations, including the regional organizations that mushroomed after the Marcos visit. There was even an attempt in the wake of the Aquino assassination, to offer the council as "the vehicle for reconciliation." To show a sign of sincerity, its stalwarts even actively solicited the participation of anti-Marcos groups.

But typically, the embassy's operatives made the tactical blunder of using the *Filipino Chronicle*, identified as a Marcos mouthpiece, to garner community support for the council. As one prominent member of the community said, "That was the kiss of death for the Council of Presidents."

The embassy's diplomatic forays into the community have become a standing source of amusement for anti-Marcos groups and their allies. Almost eagerly, they await the embassy's next move and how it will trip all over itself again. □

A Heartless Proposition

A statewide proposition which would dismantle the delivery of health and social services to California's poor and minorities has been placed on the state's November ballot.

Proposition 41, packaged as a "public assistance initiative," would drastically reduce Medi-Cal benefits, assistance to families headed by women, foster care for the abused and neglected children, and other social and health services.

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) would be cut by 50% affecting more than one million women and children. The estimated \$1.7 billion cut would reduce the income of a mother with two children from \$555 per month to \$330-\$222 per month.

- Medi-Cal would be slashed by 35%, forcing the state to eliminate or reduce services in prescription drugs, psychological services, hearing aids, dentistry and medical transportation. The initiative's passage would victimize 700,000 seniors and disabled. Furthermore, the State would tighten up eligibility standards, eliminating people currently on the Medi-Cal rolls.

- State-funded employment training programs would be reduced or eliminated.

The initiative was authored by Orange County Assemblyman, Ross Johnson, (R-Fullerton), who wants California to realign its welfare system with the other 49 states by limiting welfare spending to 10% of the national average.

Opponents of Prop. 41 counter that reducing the social service and health system to the poor and disabled as a formula totally disregards California's needs as the most populated state in the country, and its unemployment and cost-of-living picture.

"This is the most primitive legislation to come down the pike in a long time," said Assemblyman Tom Bates, (D-Oakland). "It is not welfare reform but a real attack on the poor."

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed a motion opposing Prop. 41.

The controversy recently hit the courts when disabled and senior citizens sued over the wording of the initiative's summary which claimed that "the aged, blind and disabled recipients of Medi-Cal would not be affected by the proposition." Sacramento Superior Court Judge James T. Ford ruled that the wording was "clearly false" and ordered the statement omitted.

Dr. David Horner, president of the California Medical Association which represents more than half of the practicing physicians in the state, called Prop. 41 an overkill, "even if one believes that California's welfare and Medi-Cal programs are too costly."

A spokesman for the California Hospital Association representing more than 500 hospitals said that if the \$1 billion cut in Medi-Cal is approved, half of the present 250 hospitals accepting Medi-Cal would terminate their state contracts. "Contract termination would mean lay-offs and staff reductions, since 16% of a hospital's total revenue is from Medi-Cal," he added. □ E.G.



(Vince Reyes)

Simpson/Mazzoli Bill Hits Snag

The Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill will not pass the Congress this year unless a Senate-House conference committee breaks the deadlock over one last unresolved issue—job discrimination.

Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WYO) is still arguing with Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) over the latter's proposal to include a ban on hiring discrimination against U.S. citizens of foreign origin and aliens seeking to work in the U.S. legally.

Frank's amendment passed the House 400 to nine last June. He argues that the House will not approve the conference committee's product without the provision which would allow aliens to file complaints of discrimination against employers on the basis of "alienage."

Without it, he says, employers might try to protect themselves against penalties for hiring undocumented workers by rejecting any applicants who "look foreign."

Simpson opposes the addition of alienage to race, national origin, sex, and religion as a basis for discrimination charges. He said the Frank amendment would prohibit prospective employers from favoring citizens over aliens.

Given the deadlock, opponents of the bill are optimistic that the bill will fail to pass Congress before it adjourns on October 5.

Meanwhile, John Tower, a Reagan republican ally from Texas, a state heavily populated by Latinos,

vowed to filibuster the bill if it reaches the Senate again.

The Senate overwhelmingly approved its version of the bill, supported by the Reagan administration, last year. The House version, however, passed only by five votes in May.

House and Senate conferees moved swiftly to reach compromises on the bill starting on September 13. In the first few days, an agreement was reached over the provision that would penalize, with a \$1,000 to \$2,000 fine plus six months in jail for first and second offenses, employers who repeatedly hire undocumented workers.

The conferees disapproved of the establishment of a national identification system. But they rejected the House version exempting employers with three or fewer workers from penalties. The Senate version calls for all offending employers to be penalized.

Compromise was also reached on the cut-off date for granting legal status to undocumented aliens who under an amnesty provision. Aliens who arrived before 1977 would be directly eligible for permanent residence. Those who came between 1977 and January 1981 would be given legal status for two years and be eligible for permanent status after that. Those who arrived after January 1981 would still be undocumented with no avenues for legal status. □ E.G.

Women Organize . . .

Continued from page 7

Leticia Jimenez-Magsanoc, former editor of *Panorama* magazine, set a trend among women journalists towards greater outspokenness against the regime when she fell victim to government censure. Women in the media thereafter organized to improve their craft, establish a social support network, and protect themselves from government harassment.

DEFINING PHILIPPINE FEMINISM

The founding of GABRIELA, therefore was timely in that it joined the multisectoral concerns of the various women's groups advocating change and the improvement of women's status. Speaker Cynthia Nolasco, a teacher and currently a detainee, dissected the issues affecting women.

"A woman," she said "experiences oppression three-fold, first by virtue of her sex, second as a member of a definite social class to which oppression and exploitation are intrinsic, and third as conditioned by circumstances in a given historical period."

"Legally, women still do not have equal rights," she continued. The Philippine Civil Code, as patterned after the Spanish "placed the rights of women and idiots in the same category."

"Culturally, women's roles are defined as caretaker of home, bearer and rearer of children." The conference resolved to pursue research and studies designed to define Philippine feminism. In terms of activities, GABRIELA, identified the following: lobbying for laws to promote women's rights, a literacy program for tribal Filipinos, minority groups and the poor, and

participation in national issues where the problems of women may be brought to light or solved.

MARKETABLE COMMODITY

The fledgling women's movement is more than a passing phenomenon. Over the past ten years, the increase in capital expansion has meant a corresponding increase in the workforce. Women, who form 55% of that workforce, are often concentrated in labor-intensive, light manufacturing industries and "feminine" professions.

The increase in corporate farming and dissolution of small peasant households has resulted in the displacement of the peasantry who have no recourse but to flock to urban centers in search of employment. Poverty supplies the Export Processing Zones and the Rest and Recreation industry with compliant peasant girls whose earnings support relatives in the province. In other words, the exploitation of women in the workforce has intensified along with the increase of foreign capital.

The class exploitation of women is also thoroughly tied to the oppression of the Philippines as a nation. The Philippine economy is basically shaped by the market forces of the industrialized nations of the west. Even its most precious resource, the Filipino people, is a "hot export," when it comes to supplying the manpower needs of the West.

Filipino women are no exception. The country's need for foreign exchange has given rise to a rest and recreation industry, replete with mail-order bride scams, sex-package tours, white slavery rings, and in



Maita Gomez

certain towns, legalized prostitution. The cultural oppression of Filipinas as docile, submissive and coy creatures, has suddenly created a marketable commodity for foreigners who view the Philippines as a sex haven.

Finally, the fabled Filipino machismo remains a force to contend with. Culturally, women are viewed either as paragons of virtue to be treated with chivalry or long-suffering mates and child-rearers who work all day long without complaint and perform their wifely duties each night upon their husband's commands. Although women's roles in the economy and political struggles have grown, cultural traditions die hard, and attitudinal obstacles to women further realizing their potential require arduous, one-on-one or movement-wide struggle.

A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE STRUGGLE

The road ahead for GABRIELA is not smooth sailing. Its stand therefore, to pursue participation in national political struggles and national political coalitions, affirms a basic commitment to struggle for national sovereignty and democracy undeterred by male supremacy or sexism.

Its particular contribution to the national struggle, is to imbue the politics of the protest movement with an anti-sexist content, if it is to mature the women's organizations from entry-level social support networks to all-sided and critical conduits of political influence.

In this endeavor, GABRIELA has its work cut out. But its first all important task, that of popularizing the notion that a woman's place is in the struggle, is already borne out by the multitude of women who have flocked to the frontlines of the battle. □



GABRIELA marches for bread on the table.

Ocampo . . .

Continued from page 5

themselves—as it behooves the workers and the peasants to liberate themselves from the specific oppressive conditions under which they toil and live. And they can liberate themselves only by forging an impregnable unity among themselves as a basic requisite. It is to the credit of the new NPC leadership that an earnest effort is being undertaken to forge such unity.

On the other hand, the media can be freed only in consonance with the liberation of the people from the backward and oppressive structures—economic, political, cultural and military—of our society, and from the foreign power that dominates or manipulates these structures for its own selfish, anti-people ends.

Essentially, the establishment media constitutes a part of the backward and oppressive structures, even though certain sections of the media try to be organs of the needs of the nation mainly because of the efforts of the journalists working therein and the relatively liberal inclinations of the owners. The media need liberation not only from the direct control or overweening influence of the powers that be in government and big business, but also from the stranglehold of imperialist influence. This is particularly true in the case of

television which is practically a captive of the government and the transnational corporations through the canned shows and commercials that dominate daily programs.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that the executive dean of the Asian Institute of Journalism, Dr. Florangel Rosario-Braid, saw it fitting to publish an abstract of an essay by Gerald Sussman, a political scientist from the University of

legitimacy," and 2) "the facilitation of the concentration, integration and hegemony of information structures that ultimately serve the ideological, cultural, material and political interests of transnational corporations."

The publication of the excerpts in the Business Day on August 16, under the byline of Dr. Rosario-Braid, is intriguing in that the Asian Institute of Journalism has been identified with the propagation of "developmental journalism." This type of journalism which has proved to be serving mainly the interests of governments and transnational corporations rather than the people's interest. The AIJ executive dean ended her article on the note that the

democratic movement.

At this juncture of the struggle to free the journalists and the mass media, we can lay claim to certain victories since the dark days of early martial rule. But we are likewise aware that the task of journalists, writers and artists in concert with the people's democratic movement, has just about begun.

This far, our people can claim as their own—and do make effective use of—certain media, not in the absolute sense of ownership but in that certain newspapers, magazines and radio and tv programs—specifically those of the alternative press—endeavor to be faithful organs of the people's grievances and demands. (Here I can cite Pahayagang Malaya and its sister papers, Mr. & Ms., WHO, the temporarily laid-off Philippine Signs, Veritas and Panorama.)

A furious fight still lies ahead of us, journalists, writers and artists—whether imprisoned behind bars and fettered by repressive decrees or immured in the morass of "self-regulation" and the stifling political atmosphere. We will prevail in this fight, for as long as we remain one with the people in struggle. After all, the people hold the nation's liberation in their hands. Today we struggle to make the media for the people; tomorrow the media will be of the people.

(Speech of detained journalist Satur C. Ocampo at the Testimonial to the Working Journalists, in observance of Press Freedom Day, National Press Club of the Philippines, August 31, 1984.) □

'Today we struggle to make the media for the people; tomorrow the media will be of the people.'

Hawaii, entitled "Telecommunications Technology: Transnationalizing the New Philippine Information Order." The essay exposes how the Marcos regime and transnational corporations connive to foster two things inimical to the Filipino people: 1) "the conscious utilization of available media, through (presidential) decrees and ownership by family members and close personal associates, to bolster the government's

abstract of Sussman's essay "should encourage our present communications research institutions to further delve into the interlocking relationships between the transnational corporations with our political, social cultural and economic system."

The liberation of the media, so that they will become organs for the people's interests, lies not in the hands of journalists, writers and artists alone but in the whole people's

Filipinos Gain Nothing From Reaganism

By RENE CIRIA CRUZ, AK Editor
for the Filipinos of the Rainbow Coalition

Why should Filipino-Americans vote against President Ronald Reagan in November?

There are at least 53 million reasons why. The majority of them live under the thumb of one of Reagan's most loyal hit men in the Third World. A million and a half live and work here as one of this country's discriminated minorities.

Should Reagan be reelected on November 6, the next four years would see a dramatic escalation of war and repression abroad combined with vicious racism and a trend towards increased repression at home.

Crying wolf? Hardly. It doesn't take a fortune teller to divine from the last four years what another Reagan term in office would mean. And with the November election being, in effect, a referendum on this administration's foreign and domestic policies, a Reagan victory would give the green light to the full and unrestrained implementation of the political program known as Reaganism.

REAGAN MEANS RACISM

Reaganism is directly responsible for the recent resurgence of racism and other forms of discrimination in this country. Reagan has used his term to fan the New Right's assertion that minorities are unfairly enjoying more rights than white people.

His administration has deliberately reduced federal enforcement of civil rights laws. He has used the Justice Department and the courts to attack affirmative action, a remedial device minorities rely on for equal access to employment and educational opportunities.

The Voting Rights Act was meant to allow Blacks, and language minorities to fully exercise their right to vote, but this administration has actively sought to undermine it.

He has given support to opponents of school desegregation, and backs tax exemptions for schools that openly practice racial discrimination.

Reagan's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and women's reproductive rights is legend.

As if to flaunt its hostility to racial and sexual equality, this administration gutted the Civil Rights Commission by firing civil rights advocates and appointing out-and-out white and male supremacists to the panel.

Not content with undercutting the civil rights of minorities, Reagan has also aimed for their breadbasket by slashing the Work Incentive Program, the Job Corps and CETA.

He cut food stamps by 20%. Now, he is even pushing for a youth sub-minimum wage which would victimize mainly minority youngsters and, subsequently, poor families who rely on multiple breadwinners.

The Reagan administration has sponsored other discriminatory cuts in public spending. Up to 30 million elderly, low income and disabled citizens depend on Medicaid and Medicare. These too, are under merciless attack.

Reagan wants to reduce Social Security benefits by \$82 billion and said he would do so if reelected. He has cut off federal funding for abortions for poor women entirely.

Reagan's racist and discriminatory policies hurt Blacks and Hispanics—the largest minority groups—the most. Some affect Filipinos directly, such as his assaults on affirmative action, Social Security, and bilingual education.

But all non-white and foreign born communities are victimized by the overall oppressive climate generated by Reagan's racist policies and rhetoric, a climate that depicts minorities as devious freeloaders who make life uncomfortable for "real, hardworking Americans."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the most vicious legislative and ideological attacks on immigrants have emerged during his term.

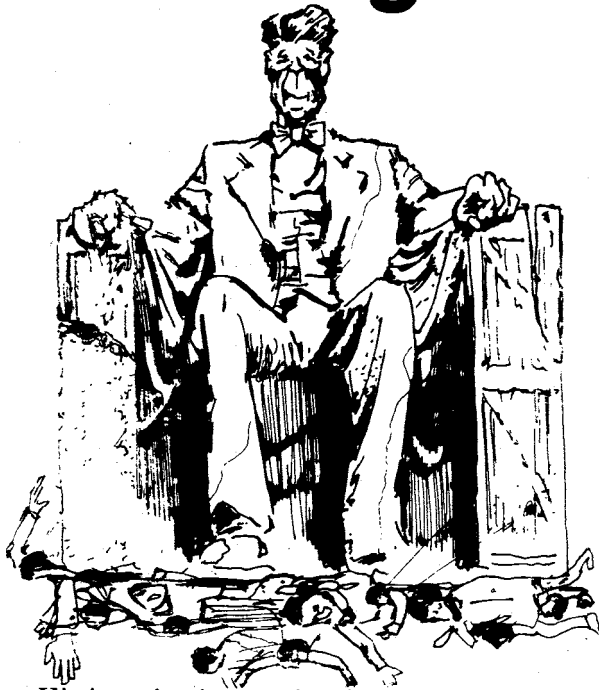
REAGAN IS WAR AND REPRESSION

But there is another side to Reagan's racially-coded drive to depress the standard of living of working people, and that is to finance the largest peacetime military build-up in U.S. history.

Reagan wants a \$305 billion arms budget by next year to fund the drive for complete military superiority over the Soviet Union, to feed pro-U.S. dictatorial regimes and to fuel direct military intervention against newly independent nations and peoples fighting for their liberation.

Within four years, Reagan has managed to bring the world to the brink of a nuclear war by building more weapons and provoking the Soviet Union through the deployment of first strike missiles in Western Europe.

He opposes a nuclear freeze, intends to develop new arms for space warfare, and has continued to refuse real negotiations with the Soviets.



His intention is to revive the nuclear blackmail to stop the so-called Soviet sponsorship of national liberation movements now challenging U.S. domination in many parts of the world.

With the invasion of Grenada, Reagan arrogantly announced that the U.S. reserves the right to intervene with military force anywhere it chooses, and whenever it chooses.

His intention to turn the sovereign nation of Nicaragua (whose people spent the blood of 48,000 martyrs to oust a brutal U.S.-sponsored dictator) into another Grenada is hardly a secret.

So is his willingness to turn El Salvador into another Vietnam should its death squad army fail to stop the rapid advance of the popular revolution.

Reagan's four years in office have been a boon to the Pinochets, the Chun Do Hwans, the Duartes, and the Marcoses of the world who are all willing guardians of U.S. economic and military interests in their respective countries.

In the Philippines, Reagan's no-questions-asked embrace of the dictatorial regime made the Marcoses literally go wild, to the misfortune of Benigno Aquino and countless other victims of fascist violence and repression.

Instead of giving refuge to exiles escaping from the iron hand of America's allies, Reagan wants to prosecute them. He is pushing "anti-terrorist" bills that would imprison or fine people who give support to so-called terrorist movements abroad.

By terrorist movements, Reagan is not talking about the *contras* in Nicaragua or the anti-Castro terrorists. He means Haitians, Central Americans, South Africans,

South Koreans, Chileans, and Filipinos who are opposing their respective U.S.-backed dictatorships.

These bills are part of an effort to undermine domestic opposition to this administration's foreign policy, efforts which include denying the public vital information through military and State Department censorship, cutting off the right to travel to Cuba, denial of visas to foreign critics and the erosion of the Freedom of Information Act. Having vigorously sponsored repression abroad, Reagan is spawning political repression at home.

Reaganism has successfully wrapped its racist and militarist agenda with the shroud of patriotism and "respect for traditional American values." It is not hard to detect from the popular chant of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" the drumbeats of war and the white-hot fervor or rightwing vigilantism.

"Four More Years" of Reagan would mean a grave setback for advocates of peace, national liberation, racial and sexual equality and democratic rights.

DESPITE MONDALE

Unfortunately, as November 6 nears, everything seems to be going Reagan's way while Walter Mondale's Democratic challenge still has all the makings of an unconfirmed rumor.

Mondale has no one to blame but himself for a lackluster campaign. He has even departed considerably from the liberal rhetoric of the Democratic convention by selling a bill of goods that can only be described as a gentler, more cautious version of Reaganism.

Harping on the same themes as "traditional American values" and a militarily "strong America," Mondale is desperately trying to win over Reagan's overwhelmingly white and middle class base.

Consequently, Mondale has failed, so far, to tap the political resistance to Reaganism that is already seething among the country's disadvantaged and disenfranchised sectors.

Jesse Jackson would have done a much better job of polarizing the public over the real issues of racism and war, in the same manner that his bid for the Democratic nomination had briefly injected real political excitement into the electoral arena.

His campaign would have meant, at least, a sharp and more uncompromising polemic with Reaganism. It would have forced the people of this country to confront full face the real questions of peace abroad and justice at home.

However, the Rainbow Coalition was not yet strong enough to alter the Democratic Party's priorities and perspectives, and is not yet strong enough to launch an independent bid for the presidency.

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Get Out the Vote, Dump Reagan!



(Emil De Guzman)

For the past few months, members of the Filipinos of the Rainbow Coalition have been organizing voter registration drives in Filipino neighborhoods, churches, and during the most recent swearing-in ceremonies for new U.S. citizens.

The activities are part of the Rainbow Coalition's "Dump Reagan" efforts. Filipinos of the Rainbow has been making presentations to community organizations and has been forging alliances with Filipinos active in the Mondale/Ferraro campaign.

Assisted by chapters of the KDP, the group has been active in New York, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

According to Lillian Galedo, director of the Filipino Immigrant Services in Oakland and a spokesperson for the Filipinos of the Rainbow in San Francisco, a "Get Out the Vote" campaign in

October will feature community forums to clarify the positions of the presidential candidates on key issues.

Other groups such as the Oahu Filipino Community Council in Hawaii, and chapters of the Ninoy Aquino Movement are also conducting voter registration drives.

Look for announcements or call the following numbers for forums scheduled in your area:

- Los Angeles (213) 250-0602
- Hawaii (808) 847-6614
- Washington, D.C. (202) 396-8242
- New York (212) 592-9517
- San Francisco-Bay Area (415) 826-4287
- Seattle (206) 328-1531
- Sacramento (916) 689-6322

Voices



Awakening

I sing a *kundiman*
but the anguish of my suffering people is what I hear.
I listen to the soothing voice of big businessmen
but the clamor for fairness is what I cherish.
I talk to my children of patience and hardwork
but their eyes speak to me of hunger and betrayed dreams.
I write a letter of peace and reconciliation
but the way of protest is what I feel.
I read the book of universal love
but the path of protracted struggle is what I comprehend.
I hide in the silence of the temple
but the sounds of gunfire disturb the serenity of my c
I pray to the heavens for light
but the vision of the hillside is what I see.
I rejoice in the glory of my success
but the thought of shallow graves scares me.
I finally cast my lot with the workers and the peasants
and in their arms I find my joy.
At last . . . truth has overcome my innocence.
At last . . . truth has spoken.
At last . . . I am free.

Paulo Guerrero
August 1984

Paulo Guerrero wrote for Pandayan, Ateneo de Manila's student paper in the early seventies and other pre-martial law publications. Most of his writings these past ten years "have been greatly influenced by the memories of Billy Begg, Jun Quimpo, Rolando Federis, Ed Jopson—friends who died serving the Filipino people." Guerrero lives in Seattle.

Bayanihan — Kearney Street

Young kids grow up quick
in Central City
Learning the ways of America
Learning the ways of the streets
Learning to style
Learning to hustle
Young kids learn quick
in Central City
Avoiding the derelicts
blood-mad eyes
Avoiding the broken glass, ratbites & cockroaches
Avoiding the knife's deadly slash & thrust
Young kids grow quick
in Central City
sticking together
fighting together
laughing & jiving together
working together
Bayanihan
Young kids grow quick
in Central City
some of them drop out of school
take dope to escape their poverty
can't get a job so they join the service
And some get hip
to the political trip
The Overview
Yeah, some get wise
to the contradictions & lies,
and learn how to learn
how to organize
Young kids grow up quick
in Central City
still striving to see the winter stars
from their crowded tenement windows
Dreams of love
on an empty belly
Still smile at the joys of life
Noticing the flowers
the flowers that grow
in wino piss-puke
alley-ways & parking lots
And the old men die-hard
on Kearny Street/Manilatown
Eating their kalding, dinuguan,
adobo, isda and kanin

Open to the sun's warm shine
Old fighters, wise elders of the
tribe PILIPINO
still making their rounds
through vanishing Manilatown
in the rain
The old men die-hard
on Kearny Street
Ancient warriors
still tapping their feet
to the primal beat
of a distant drum
The old men die-hard
on Kearny Street
and some remember
the cock-fights, the fist-fights,
the knife-fights
some remember the women
in their lives
And others remember
the taxi-dances, the mandolins,
the long-season at Ketchikan,
sliming salmon
— the \$5,000 won playing keno
in Reno back in '47
— or was it '49?
The old men I love, because they're me
die hard on Kearny Street
Veterans, old-timers, pioneers
of their people
forever proud wrinkled carabaos
who have worked all their
lives in the fields
of America
finally walking, slowly walking
towards the sunset with their memories
when they were young
and their world was full of
hopes & promises
and the old men die hard
on Kearny Street
While the young kids grow QUICK
in Central City . . .

Luis Syquia
1974

Luis Syquia has been a writer of ethnic poetry since the early 1970s. His poems have appeared in numerous anthologies and periodicals nationwide. Syquia is a member of the Filipino Writer's Group in San Francisco.



(Vince Reyes)

TO OUR READERS:

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

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

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

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

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



Lenny Limjoco, a Bay Area photographer/writer/artist will be opening a photo exhibit about the Kalingas, tribal Filipinos of Northern Luzon on October 6 at the Asian Resource Gallery in Oakland.

Limjoco visited the Kalingas several times over a span of four years from the late 70s to the early 80s as part of a national project researching the conditions of various ethnic groups.

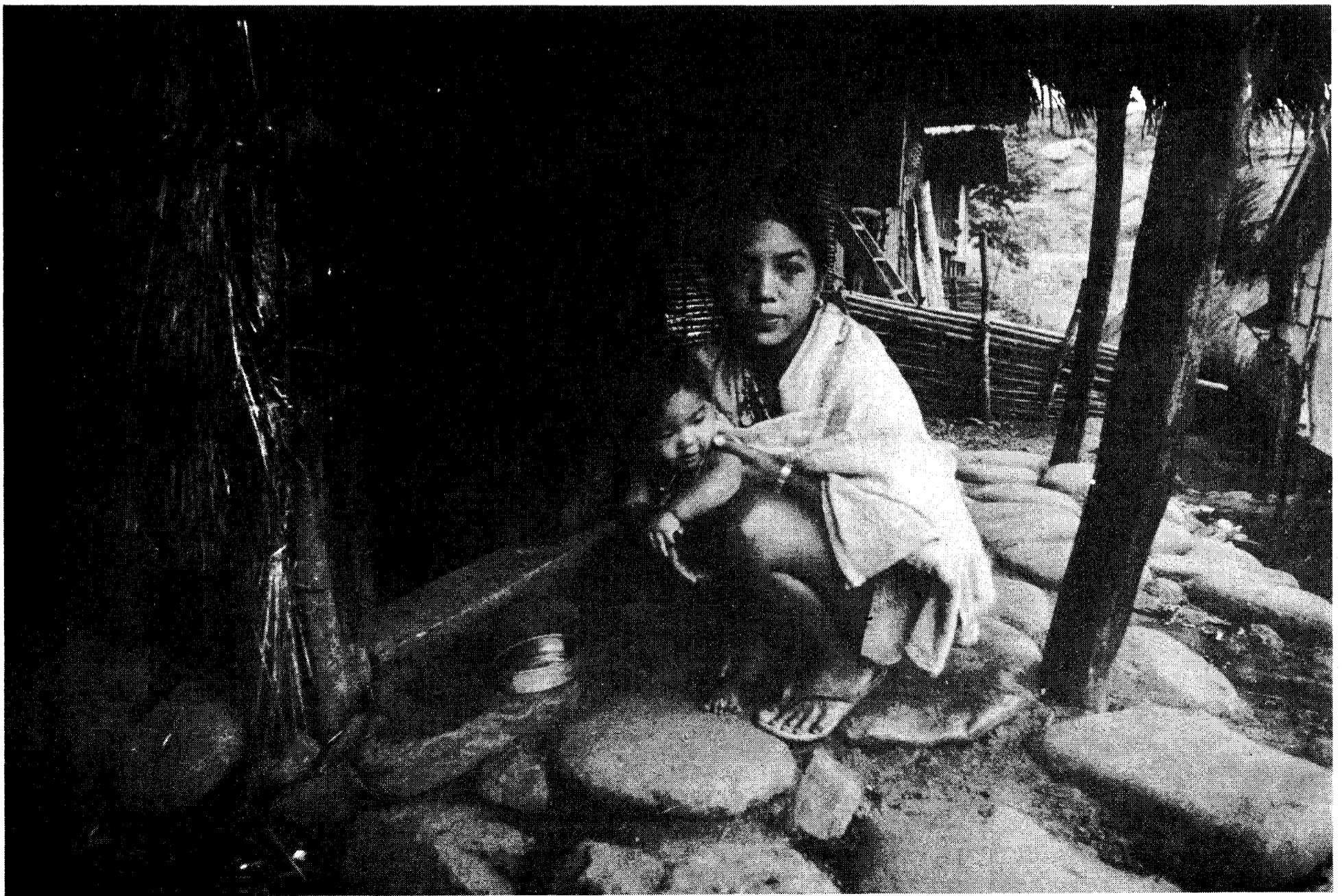
At that time, he helped produce books, magazines and newspapers, printed mostly underground, for a human rights organization in the Philippines. His photos and writings have been published widely in the Bay Area and Southeast Asia.

The Kalingas, aided by support groups such as the New People's Army (pictured below), have been struggling against government attempts to dam their ancestral lands.

Limjoco's photo exhibit will run from October 6 to November 30. The gallery is located at 310 - 8th Street in Oakland. A reception will be held on Saturday, October 6 from 3-7 p.m.



K A L I N G A



'Zionists Cannot be Democrats' Israeli Gov't Leans to the Right



Shamir and Peres: A handshake seals new Zionist coalition.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

An unstable government of "national unity" formed in Israel September 14, after seven weeks of wrangling between camps led by the "moderate" Labor Party and the rightwing Likud.

The coalition government was necessitated by the results of the recent elections which gave no clear mandate to either of the two most dominant parties in the 120-seat Knesset, or parliament. Labor gained 44 seats to Likud's 41.

Both sides rallied smaller parties and negotiations began between the Labor Alignment and a Likud bloc which included such groupings as the far-right Torah Guardians Party. The Mapam Party, the leftwing of the Labor Alignment eventually left the alliance over the terms of the unity agreement with Likud.

Simon Peres, leader of the Labor Alignment, called the coalition government a "government of disagreement." Abba Eban, former Labor foreign minister, termed the new agreement with Likud "a lousy agreement, illogical and confused, but better than the alternative of new elections."

ONE-SIDED CONCESSIONS

Critics characterized the coalition as a "two-headed monster." But what became clear was that no Israeli government can now be built without the prominent participation of Israel's most fanatical rightwing forces. The agreement was essentially a one-sided set of concessions to Likud by

the Labor Party, a clear sign that the right dominates the coalition. More importantly, it proves that the major parties are united on Zionism's basic aims and are willing to forego tactical differences over how best to suppress Palestinian resistance and manage the sliding economy.

Both parties agreed to share cabinet posts with 10 portfolios each and split the 50-month term with Peres as Prime Minister and Yitzhak Shamir as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in the first 25 months. The two will then switch positions for the rest of the term.

Labor conceded on the appointment of Ariel Sharon as Minister of Commerce and Industry, rehabilitating the disgraced former Defense Minister overnight. Sharon, the chief architect of the invasion of Lebanon, had been forced to resign because of complicity in the massacres of hundreds of Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila.

MORE SETTLEMENTS

His new post will facilitate for Sharon the consolidation and expansion of Israeli economic hold on the West Bank and Gaza.

Checkmated in Lebanon, Tel Aviv has turned to the West Bank and Gaza with a vengeance. There are now 200 Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

Their establishment and consolidation have been accompanied by bombings of Palestinian homes, disruptions of their institutions and places of worship and arrests of popular local officials and leaders.

Tel Aviv has also shown ill-disguised tolerance for Zionist terrorist groups who act as storm troopers for opening up new settlements.

Labor and Likud agreed to allow the unlimited development of existing settlements in the West Bank over the next year and will consider allowing 20 more after that. Observers see the growth of settlements as paving the way for an eventual formal declaration of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza.

DIFFICULTIES

Labor's willingness to come to terms with the rightist Likud's less apologetic adherence to Zionism's expansionist and chauvinist logic comes from the political and material difficulties besetting the Israeli state as a whole.

While repressive landgrabbing in the West Bank and Gaza is an economic necessity for Tel Aviv, it tends to expose Zionism's basic expansionist nature. It is a problem authorities have tried to cover up with the selective prosecution of terrorist settlers who use "excessive" force in what Tel Aviv otherwise considers a legitimate undertaking.

However, the settlements issue will continue to be a thorn in Tel Aviv's side as more landgrabbing provokes increased Palestinian resistance (the PLO has extensive support in the West Bank) which in turn increases Israel's unpopularity internationally.

The other major problem facing the Israeli government is how to handle its withdrawal from Lebanon.

The invasion alone cost Israel \$3 billion, and its continued occupation of Southern Lebanon is costing Tel Aviv \$1 million a day.

LEBANON DEBACLE

But if the material cost of the occupation has been enormous, the propaganda and political costs were even more devastating for Israel. The whole world watched the destruction of Beirut and the massacres at Sabra and Shatila and very few failed to miss the ugly features of Zionism in practice.

The invasion had the dual purpose of destroying the PLO and installing a pro-Israeli puppet regime in Beirut. Indeed, the PLO was dispersed. But it was hardly crushed. The failure to install and consolidate a pro-Israel fascist government, however, ranks as a serious defeat for Tel Aviv.

The humiliating forced withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon made it the

worst U.S. foreign policy debacle since the Sandinista victory in 1979.

Credit for frustrating the U.S.-Israeli aims goes to the Lebanese nationalist movement which is supported by Syria, the PLO, and the Soviet Union.

Now the Israelis are faced with the problem of how to withdraw in the face of growing Lebanese resistance without the embarrassment of having no victory to show for their military adventure.

ECONOMIC WOES

On the homefront, Zionism faces a stark economic picture. The inflation rate is 400% and expected to rise to 473% by the end of the year. Tel Aviv's foreign debt is \$26 billion, the highest in the world, per capita. This requires \$5.3 billion to service annually. Israel also shoulders a \$5 billion trade deficit.

With essentially a war economy to live on, Israel depends on massive infusions of U.S. aid and financial support from Zionist supporters in the U.S.

It receives a direct annual grant of \$2.6 billion from Washington and this year was given an additional \$600 million. Tax-free donations from supporters in the U.S. and sales of Israeli bonds add up to \$2 billion a year. But these artificial supports provide no long-term relief.

In the face of serious political and economic difficulties, very little room is left for Zionism's democratic pretenses.

This is precisely the dilemma of the Labor Party, the supposed moderate and social democratic force in Israeli politics.

'ZIONISTS CANNOT BE DEMOCRATS'

More and more, Zionist "moderates" are being forced to abandoned their respectable facade, short of openly admitting Zionism's fundamental logic, which rightists like Rabbi Meir Kahane are not afraid to flaunt.

Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League in America and now an elected member of the Knesset, representing the fascist "Kach" movement said: "I favor democracy for Jews, not Arabs; a Zionist cannot be a democrat."

Meanwhile, Washington is happy with the Labor-Likud coalition because Labor's moderate reputation provides respectable cover to Likud's embarrassing "excesses."

The U.S. immediately promised the new government more economic aid to the tune of \$750 million, in addition to the already promised \$2.6 billion annual grant. □

Reaganism. . .

Continued from page 12

But the Rainbow Coalition is still around as the new progressive wing of the Democratic Party. And it will rise again. If not at the head of the Democrats, as an independent multiracial political party and movement of the dispossessed.

Meanwhile, all opponents of Reaganism, the Rainbow Coalition included, have the urgent task of helping the Mondale/Ferraro ticket win despite its shortcomings.

DUMP REAGAN, ANYWAY

A Mondale victory would, at least, signify a popular sentiment for negotiation not nuclear provocation, non-intervention not invasion, human rights not death squads, racial and sexual equality not discrimination, and help for the disadvantaged not public aid for the rich—even though these may not be exactly Mondale's own sentiments.

It would, at least, slow down the quickening march towards militarism and give peace advocates better conditions to fight back against interventionism and war—not a small matter for peoples fighting for their liberation.

It would, at least, slow down the political climate's drift to the right and give advocates of democratic rights and equality more favorable conditions to counter Reaganism through the courts, legislation and in the streets.

A Mondale victory would not qualitatively alter U.S. foreign and domestic policies. It would not eliminate the danger of war nor would it eradicate the spectre of racism. But it would give advocates of justice much needed breathing space from Reaganism's onslaught.

Filipino-Americans by themselves will not be responsible for a turnaround in Mondale's fortunes. Much less can they be solely responsible for a Reagan

defeat. But they can make important contributions to that undertaking.

Among all immigrant groups, the Filipino minority has the highest rate of naturalization. Large sections of the community are acquiring U.S. citizenship and the right to vote.

In addition, many Filipinos who have acquired this right are becoming aware of the need to establish the community's presence in the electoral process as witnessed by the proliferation of "political action groups" and voters leagues.

There are problems that need to be overcome, however, in tapping Filipino participation in the Dump Reagan effort.

For one, registering to vote is not necessarily the first thing new U.S. citizens think about. Most likely, their first concern is to file immigration petitions for their relatives, an understandable impulse given the conditions of life under Reagan's friend in the Philippines.

There is also the impulse among naturalized citizens to embrace the mindless patriotism propagated by Reagan and the New Right and in the process, set themselves apart from the aspirations of their own people, in the Philippines and here.

As, for many Filipino political action groups and other community organizations, there is a tendency to adopt a "non-partisan" posture even at this late date in the presidential campaign. Perhaps this is due to a genuine lack of awareness of the distinction between the Republicans and the Democrats.

While most groups would at least allow debate among their members, a few admit that they are merely waiting to endorse the first party that approaches them, regardless of its platform and its stand on issues.

But now is the time for Filipino-Americans to use their vote and use it against U.S.-sponsored tyranny back home. Now is the time to discard illusions about life in their adopted country and to vote for the interest of the Filipino as a minority.

In that spirit, Filipino political action groups and

other community organizations are best advised to abandon "non-partisanship" and vote for the Filipino minority's objective interest in the defeat of Reaganism.

This is not the time—nor should there ever be a time—for groups to be uncritically granting their support to the first comer. That is not political involvement, but mindless politicking.

THE RAINBOW IS THE FUTURE

Like many community organizations, voters' leagues and political action groups, Filipinos of the Rainbow Coalition are mindful of the growing interest in the community in the question of political representation and empowerment.

For the group, however, representation and empowerment are not a matter of adding a few Filipino faces in government by hook or by crook.

Empowerment is not a matter of using the Filipino's right to vote as a leverage for individual gains and political careers. It must be used as a leverage to advance the Filipinos' interest as a minority community.

That is why its members joined the Rainbow Coalition. It was in the belief that the community's power can only develop through the forging of alliances with kindred minorities.

It was also to advance what they see are the community's collective aspirations: Freedom and Democracy in the Philippines, Full and Equal Rights for Filipinos in the United States.

In the Rainbow Coalition, they have seen the future for the Filipino minority's participation in the electoral process—and they intend to make it work.

In the meantime, Filipinos of the Rainbow Coalition are channelling their efforts to the common fight against Ronald Reagan. They are eager to work with all organizations and individuals who are ready to fight for a Mondale/Ferraro victory.

Most of all, Filipinos of the Rainbow Coalition are eager to join hands with all who are willing to take a stand against war and dictatorship, against inequality and persecution—against Reaganism. □

South Africa Rebellion Shatters Apartheid's New Face



Mourners defy government ban on funeral rallies.

By WICKS GEAGA

During his unprecedented visit to Europe last May, the first by a high-ranking South African official since the 1960s, Prime Minister P.W. Botha reassured his hosts that Pretoria's "reforms would continue in order to ensure that all citizens would have the chance to decide their own future."

What Botha purposely failed to explain, however, was that Blacks are not considered citizens in their own country, even though they constitute the majority.

Thus, when South African Blacks took to the streets to condemn the official launching of Pretoria's "constitutional reforms"—which provide for separate Coloured or mixed race and Indian legislatures, but leave the country's majority Black population totally disenfranchised—the government responded with brutal force.

SHARPEVILLE REVISITED

Unrest first erupted in the Black township of Sharpeville, the same site of the 1960 massacre of 69 Blacks that ushered in South Africa's present state of international isolation. In the ensuing rebellions that quickly spread to several other Black townships, police first unloaded rubber bullets, tear gas and birdshot on the protestors, followed by shotgun fire.

The angry crowds retaliated with stones and bricks, overturning vehicles and setting them ablaze. After three days of violent clashes, reminiscent of the Soweto uprisings of 1976-1977, 31 Blacks were dead and about 300 injured.

In open defiance of a just-announced government ban on memorial rallies, mourners immediately buried their dead and held politically-charged funerals. Displaying bold banners and singing revolutionary songs in support of the outlawed African National Congress, they marched through the streets of the township enroute to the cemetery, as security forces watched from a distance. (Authorities recently arrested and held for trial 655 protestors who attended such funerals.)

PROVOCATIVE NEW CONSTITUTION

The riots exploded on the same day the new constitution took effect. Approved by an exclusively white referendum in November last year, the constitution provides for two additional segregated parliaments: one for the nation's 2.7 million Coloureds

and another representing 850,000 Asians.

Botha heralded the reforms throughout his European tour as a momentous event for South African democracy, boasting that after three decades without representation, non-whites (excluding Blacks) have finally been granted their own assemblies.

Meanwhile, the Reagan administration praised Botha's reforms as proof of evolutionary change away from apartheid and gave the credit to its own policy of "constructive engagement."

But when government repression began to rain down on the protestors, even Reagan was compelled to distance himself from his trusted "friend and ally." The State Department cautiously issued a low-key criticism of the crackdown to shield itself from the impending worldwide political backlash.

MULTIRACIAL RESISTANCE

Because the existing white parliament retains control of all major committees and has final veto power on overall policy, the new nonwhite assemblies are politically powerless.

Furthermore, under the constitutional revision, power will be shifted away from the parliaments altogether to a white President (a position recently occupied by Botha) and his presidential council, who will possess the authority to dissolve the parliaments at will.

The opposition denounced the "new dispensation" as an entrenchment of apartheid and as part of the regime's effort to divide the anti-apartheid front.

Not surprisingly, 70% of all Coloured and 80% of all Indian voters joined a militant and successful boycott of the parliamentary elections. Leading the boycott campaign was the United Democratic Front, initiated last year by the ANC to oppose the new constitution. The UDF's multiracial membership has since grown to include over 600 local and national organizations.

Unquestionably alarmed by the growing multiracial unity represented by the UDF, the government ordered the arrest in pre-dawn raids of dozens of UDF leaders the day before the elections. Most continue to be detained under the Internal Security or Criminal Procedures Act.

But the new constitution was hardly the only source of unrest. A week prior to the outbreak of violence, the board that administers the townships announced a 15% rent increase and a similar hike in electric rates.

This burden was added to an already

unbearable economic climate of skyrocketing unemployment and an inflation rate hovering above 12%.

The cost of imports, the sales tax and interest rates on installment purchasing all zoomed skyward as the South African rand plunged against the dollar amidst the country's most severe recession since the 1930s.

SPEAK WITH PETROL

Widespread indignation over the nation's racist educational system which spends seven times more for white students than for Blacks, further fueled the rebellion. As early as January of this year, a series of school boycotts began, initially involving a few thousand students.

When the recent riots erupted, 120,000 students boycotted classes and joined the township protests. During the elections, more than 600,000 high school and university students across the country were also reported to be out of school in protest.

The government blamed unidentified "persons and organizations" for instigating the violence, without mentioning, of course, the exploding Black resentment toward apartheid's inhuman laws. Some authorities dismissed the rent hikes and the deteriorating economy as possible sources of the trouble, attributing the turmoil instead to

the "traumas of rapid industrialization."

Soweto community leader, Dr. Nthato Motlana, countered: "As long as the Black man is excluded from the places where decisions are made, he is not going to vote, he is going to speak with the petrol bomb."

Motlana's statement reflects both the sentiments of the Black masses and their increasing political awareness. The diverse forms and widespread character of the rebellion further highlighted a well-organized anti-apartheid movement and the ANC's effective leadership.

With the coordinated school and election boycotts preceding the general uprising, and the sophisticated sabotage and bombing missions that successfully targeted key government installations, the ANC demonstrated an organizing capacity and pervasive influence that is causing sleepless nights in Pretoria.

GENOCIDE BILL

In response to this rising challenge, the Botha regime is in the process of overhauling its notorious pass system through the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (OMSB or Koornhof Bill)

Often likened to the system of Jim Crow laws that existed in the U.S. South before the 1960s, South Africa's over 30-year-old apartheid rule rigidly separates its races and ethnic groups, determining where people of different colors may live, how they are educated, whom they may marry and what public facilities they may use.

Dubbed the "Genocide Bill" by the ANC, the new bill involves the forced removal of the vast majority of Blacks from designated "white" urban areas and their transfer to resettlement camps or to the already overcrowded Bantustan homelands, where poverty, disease and starvation run rampant.

Undoubtedly, the Genocide Bill's creators have studied the growth of ANC-led anti-apartheid resistance among Blacks in urban areas and have crafted a bill that would defuse these powderkegs.

By stripping them of their South African citizenship, the Genocide Bill intends to create a South Africa devoid of Black citizens. But for economic purposes, a minimum required number of Blacks will be allowed Permanent Urban Resident status.

Erasing any doubts about the regime's designs, roughly ten million Blacks have been stripped of South African citizenship over the last eight years alone and are languishing in deplorable resettlement camps in the Bantustans.

But it is going to be a rough road ahead for Pretoria. The overwhelming boycott of Botha's recent sham elections have caused South Africa's ruling white supremacists a serious setback, undercutting Pretoria's diplomatic gains in Western Europe. Meanwhile, Botha's awesome military apparatus has failed to break the back of the burgeoning ANC-led anti-apartheid movement. □

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