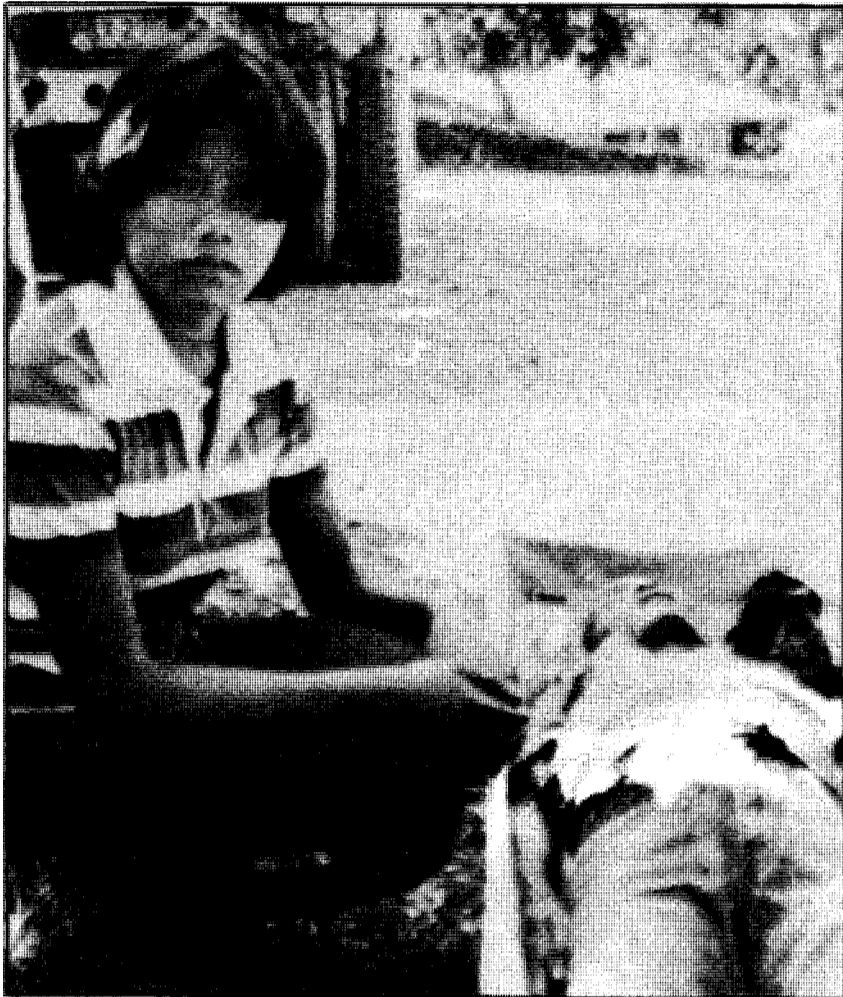


# Ang **Katipunan**

Vol. XI, No. 11  
November 1985 50¢

Newsmagazine of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)



A wife grieves in Escalante.

Ding Eufemio

## NEGROS MASSACRE

### Who was behind the Escalante bloodbath?

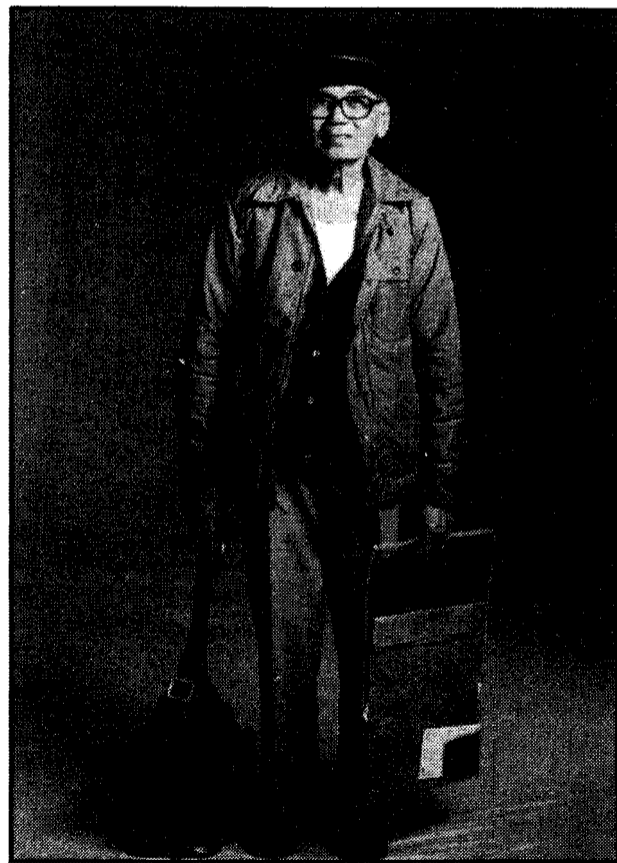
Story on page 5

The Myth of the Model Minority

## Have Asians Really Made It?

**T**he American media is finally taking notice of "the Asian community." But in reporting on the changes in the Asian population, the media has chosen to highlight the "Asian success story." Some Asians may find the media's generalizations flattering. But in the face of today's growing racial tensions, these generalizations can be downright provocative.'

Story on page 10



Time

See Inside: FM's New York Fortunes page 6

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# Red-Baiting is Self-Defeating

Red-baiting, long a favorite activity of pro-U.S. elite politicians, is now becoming a popular sport among some moderate oppositionists too. Typically, elite oppositionists have raised the volume of their attacks on the Philippine left to make the U.S. aware of their availability for any post-Marcos scenario. Deplorably, some moderates also have chosen to go "red-baiting" themselves, embarking on a divisive, and ultimately self-defeating endeavor.

"The communists need Marcos to further their cause," some of them like to say. Never mind if the CPP, NPA, and NDF, the forces who have sacrificed the most trying to overthrow the dictator, need Marcos like they need a hole in the head.

"Marcos needs the communists as an excuse for staying on," they also like to argue without ever wondering why, if this were really the case, Marcos has been pouring millions into the military budget to smash the left. If he really needs them around, shouldn't he be spending these sums going after the Kalaws and the Laurels instead?

But the favorite cry of red-baiters is the shopworn "Marcos must go now or else the communists will take over the country."

Now there are oppositionists who are truly afraid that the fight against Marcos might go beyond his overthrow and result in the rearrangement of society in a way that would be detrimental to their traditional positions of power and privilege. Anti-communism and "pro-Americanism" are expected of these politicians.

But there are moderates who believe they are for fundamental change but would prefer the left to have either a subordinate role or no role at all in that process for the sake of "God and individual freedom." Misguided by their prejudices, they try to convince middle class audiences to oppose Marcos by heightening their fear of the left.

This is extremely divisive behavior. There are obvious

differences between communists and other forces in the front against the U.S.-sponsored dictator. The responsibility of everyone in this broad front is to recognize these differences and seek ways to establish co-existence and cooperation for the overriding goal of defeating the common enemy.

## REDBAITING AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

To use these differences to render some opposition forces illegitimate, as red-baiters do, is to give the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship the opportunity to break up the broad front, and the excuse to legitimize repression against the left.

Our moderate red-baiters should realize that there is a very thin line between riding around town crying "The reds are coming! The reds are coming!" and actually participating in one of Marcos' U.S.-financed counterinsurgency operations. Red-baiting or anti-communism serves the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship regardless of the anti-Marcos politics of the practitioner.

Erring oppositionists should ask themselves again whether they really grasp the need and what it would take to overhaul Philippine society in the process of overthrowing Marcos. If they think this can be done without the legitimate participation of Filipino communists, they are still out of step with the developing political consciousness and temper of the basic masses of Filipinos—the poor.

## DISCARDING SUPERSTITIONS

One does not have to be a communist to subscribe to the belief that not only must Marcos be overthrown, the social and political structures that have bred inequality and sustained U.S. domination also must be dismantled by the joint effort of all victimized classes.

One does not have to be a communist to believe that the poor, the social majority, must share in wielding political power which must not be monopolized by

traditionally dominant classes.

One does not have to be a communist to believe in a mixed economy, where native private enterprises are encouraged to flourish but where private profit will no longer be the sole determinant of production; that the state must take the responsibility of guiding production to fulfill the basic needs of the people and the nation.

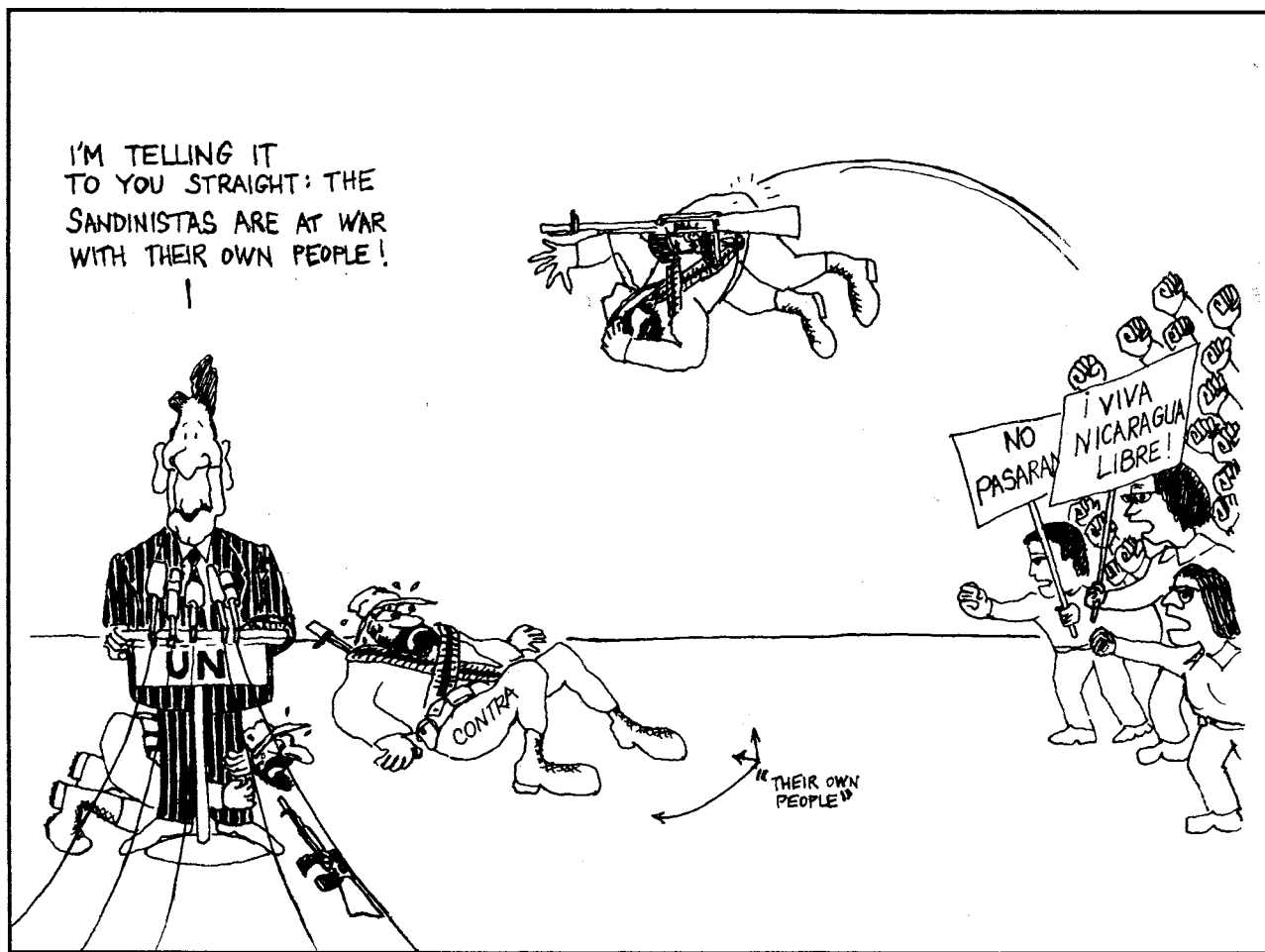
And, after years of foreign domination, it is not only the communists who can appreciate an independent, non-aligned foreign policy.

Finally, one does not have to be a communist to abide by the rules of democracy and political pluralism where everyone is free to subscribe to religious and political beliefs and parties are free to propagate their political programs—but absolutely no one is free to enter into alliances with imperialism to subvert the popularly built democratic government.

Many moderates know this and say that they can agree with this national democratic vision. What they have yet to grasp is that it is not possible to win this goal without the legitimate participation of the CPP, NDF and NPA, already the forces most rooted among the poor.

To insist otherwise is to begin a process of self-isolation from the masses of peasants and laborers who already know what it is like to live under a U.S.-sponsored elite democracy, and are beginning to ask, as indicated by the rapid growth of the left's influence, "What's so bad about the communists taking over anyway?"

Filipinos, especially the downtrodden, are beginning to awaken to the irresistible all for national liberation. and in the process discarding old and crippling prejudices. Ironically, it is the thoroughly modern leaders of the middle and upper classes who have a difficult time shedding the political superstition that is anti-communism. □



## Litter from Manila

### Shipjacker Laxalt v. Rambonomics



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

While world attention was pinned on the Achille Lauro seajacking, another vessel, our very own ship of state, was being terrorized in very rough diplomatic seas by intruders who disguised themselves as our friends. President Reagan, who used to be my favorite movie actor, sent a lone commando for this brutal mission: Sen. Paul Laxalt, a crack Republican hitman trained at the elite Camp David Meddling Operations Tactical Training School.

President Marcos warmly greeted Laxalt only to be caught completely by surprise when the "visitor," instead of gushing "We love your adherence to democratic principles," told him pointblank that he was screwing up.

Laxalt held our president hostage to the incon-

veniences of the U.S. system of check and balances (where a liberal-dominated Congress can override the Executive) and then forced our poor leader to endure half an hour with Ted Koppel on ABC Nightline. The terror was so paralyzing President Marcos could hardly make sense. Millions of viewers witnessed this inhuman torture.

Laxalt completed his ignominious mission, expertly dodging local headlines that called him "Another U.S. Meddler" or said "Good Riddance" as he left. But he left a trail of bad blood between the two capitals. In his wake was found the lifeless body of Filipino-American Friendship. According to the autopsy report, the victim was bludgeoned by "an extremely blunt message of warning."

Only Laxalt could have done it. A State Department official said he was armed with "the bluntest presidential message ever given to a friend" when he left for his piratical mission. This is pure terrorism designed to put the fear of Washington in our president's heart!

I say it's time to stand up to this humiliation! Why can't we stand tall and show the world our muscle for once? The world should know we can bring Saudi Arabia to a standstill by ordering all Filipinos to come home. We can sink Hong Kong into unprecedented gloom by asking all Filipino bands there to stop singing. They want crisis? Well, they can watch South Africa's economy go into a tailspin should the First Lady

**Ang Katipunan**

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**CORRECTION:** 'Sept. 21 Marked Here Too,' Oct. 85

The film "Bayan Ko" shown September 21 in Washington, D.C. was sponsored by the Ninoy Aquino Movement. Lino Brocka later appeared as a guest speaker September 23 at an event sponsored by the American Universities for Campus Ministries and CAMD/PSN.

suddenly lose all interest in diamonds. How would they like that?

To firm up ideas for the best revenge I went to my political confidante, Al Contrario, who likes playing the devil's advocate. Al is so good, friends and foes alike say he's not just another devil's advocate, he's a devil's advocate from hell.

I asked Al why we couldn't show our manhood like the U.S. did when it intercepted that Egyptian jet.

"Because we're a Catholic country, Doroy. We don't flash our manhood in public just like that."

Okay. Still we should've punished Washington by hitting it where it hurts—like turning all nightclubs around Subic and Clark into 4-H Clubs. Watch those American boys grovel for mercy when they find all that's there is truck farming, pig-raising, knitting and assorted handicrafts.

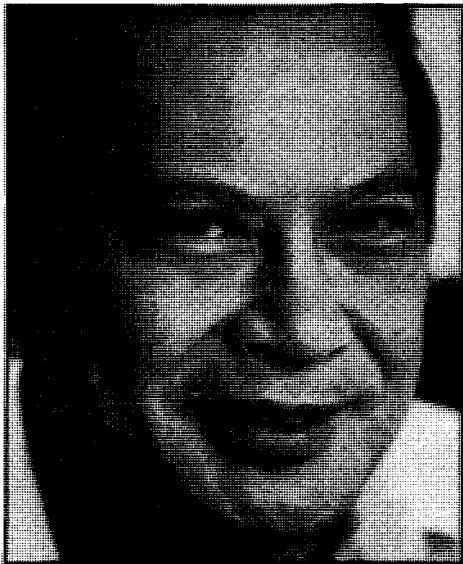
"Won't work," Al devil advocated. "They'll just go to Taiwan or Okinawa where their insatiable thirst for higher forms of cultural endeavor will be easily satisfied."

Okay. Couldn't we have scrambled Philippine Air Force jets to intercept Laxalt? Like the Americans did in Italy?

"Doroy, you saw how our top pilots couldn't even find Ninoy Aquino's incoming commercial jet. I'm afraid the only things our air force can scramble are eggs. Besides they were way out of line pushing aside

Continued on page 4

# Laxalt Trip Irks FM; Red-baiting Worsens



Doy Laurel



Cory Aquino



Eva Estrada Kalaw

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Sen. Paul Laxalt (R.-Nev.) dropped in on President Ferdinand Marcos last month to bring him word, straight from the White House that President Ronald Reagan is not happy with his lack of cooperation in getting the transition to a successor government smoothly under way.

But while Marcos was clearly frustrated by Laxalt's "meddling" (as the pro-government press put it), Washington's new and highly visible initiatives seem to be registering a marked impact on the opposition ranks, too.

U.S. officials have made no bones about hoping to drive a wedge between the moderates and the left. Its dream scenario calls for a coalition combining the least offensive members of the current regime and as many moderate opposition forces in a post-Marcos government subservient to U.S. interests.

True, no one within the serious opposition ranks—even the farthest to the right—has responded directly to Marcos' September 11 birthday call for unity in the face of the so-called communist spectre. (This, despite sometime critic Jaime Cardinal Sin's symbolic embrace of the president during the public birthday celebration.)

But it is becoming increasingly clear that Washington is achieving some success in dividing the opposition ranks. Just as Reagan's new policy calls for putting some distance between himself and Marcos, an important portion of the moderate opposition is moving to put some distance between itself and the left.

It all began last May at the founding conference of BAYAN (*Bagong Alyansang Makabayan*) which was to become an umbrella opposition organization.

## 'REDS' AND 'YELLOWS'

Due to admitted errors at both ends of the political spectrum, a group of moderates walked out. Led by Butz Aquino, brother of the late Sen. Benigno Aquino, they later regrouped to form BANDILA and adopted a social democratic program. As a result, BAYAN was left closely associated with the National Democratic Front.

Things did not improve in August when, on the anniversary of Sen. Aquino's assassination, two entirely separate demonstrations took to the streets. One was led by groups associated with the NDF or the "reds" and the other by moderates or "yellows" as they come to be known.

Lines of communication remain open according to on-the-scene observers. But signs of increased division are beginning to show.

## RED-BAITING ABROAD

One of the most prominent figures to emerge on the opposition scene in the post-assassination era is the late senator's wife Cory. While Mrs. Aquino urgently appeals for opposition unity, some observers suspect that her misgivings about working with the left may be partially behind some key moderates' subsequent efforts to organize independently.

"If the opposition does not make it, that's it for the moderates," she told one reporter, speaking of the elections in 1986 and 1987. "The radicals will take over the country."

Meanwhile, BANDILA forces, though cooperating with left and left-leaning moderates on some occasions, are busy establishing presence domestically and internationally.

Complained one NDF member, "They are all right at home. It's when they go abroad that they begin red-baiting. But we are careful not to hit out at them."

## 'EDEN PASTORA' TYPES

Butz Aquino has reportedly spent a good amount of time in the European heartland of social democracy trying to organize and raise funds for BANDILA. "What they are trying to do now is to court the traditional contributors to the left," commented an NDF sympathizer in Manila, speaking of Butz' most recent trip to Holland. "And they are asking them to contribute to the social democrats."

But by far the most serious accusation going the rounds of Manila's cause-oriented circles is that BANDILA leaders have penned a roster of religious activists it claims are closely associated with the NDF and the Communist Party of the Philippines. Informed sources claim that the list, which includes some of the most prominent bishops in the country, has been submitted to the Pope.

One U.S.-based moderate leader expressed alarm at the apparent rightward turn of BANDILA's leading lights.

"These people have only been thrown into activism with the death of Ninoy, so you cannot blame them for being very sensitive about being manipulated. But I fear that they may ultimately allow themselves to be used more as a counter-

insurgency force than as a force against the Marcos dictatorship," the leader who does not wish to be identified said in a telephone interview.

He added, "[Butz] was making contacts with the Eden Pastora types while in the United States. These are dangerous, tell-tale signs of vulnerability and even voluntary solicitation of American assistance."

## LOSING LUSTER

Meanwhile, the left-right polarization has also seeped into the ranks of the more conventional politicians.

Ramon Mitra, Philippine Democratic Party-LABAN presidential hopeful, dismissed protest politics as inferior to elections and referred to BAYAN as "these leftists, these young punks."

The polarization is reflected most clearly in the bitter struggle between former Senators Jovito Salonga and Eva Estrada Kalaw for the leadership of the Liberal Party.

The fight between Salonga and Kalaw is nothing new. Nor is the distinction in their politics. Kalaw for years has leaned toward the U.S. while the more nationalist Salonga has opposed the presence of U.S. bases on Philippine soil.

But the stakes were particularly high this time—the winner would have the chance of becoming the party's candidate against Marcos in the 1987 presidential elections.

Kalaw thus pulled out all the stops. In addition to challenging Salonga on every possible technical step, she insisted that his supporters had been infiltrated by leftist elements who were "packaging" their candidate.

"These leftist elements offered to 'package' me and I refused," she told the press. "Within a short period of time these elements are now 'packaging' Jovito."

Naming names, she accused LP Secretary General Abraham Sarmiento of suggesting she hold talks with the NDF. She further tagged opposition newspapers *Veritas* and *Malaya* as infiltrated by the left.

Salonga, who ultimately won, was forced to resort to some heavy technicalities himself. "The fight that he had to undergo did not add luster to his name," as one Manila observer put it. "Apparently the American embassy is writing him off as ineffective."

## LAUREL/AQUINO TICKET

No one could be more pleased with the polarization process, especially the rise of an anti-left current within opposition ranks, than the representatives of the Reagan administration. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth reportedly raised his glass last May to cheer BAYAN's "demise" when informed of Butz Aquino's walkout.

Bosworth and company have become more confident about their transition scenario that they even recently made it known who the ideal slate to oppose Marcos in

Continued on page 7

# Top Military Officer Defects

A full colonel in the Philippine Armed Forces announced his defection from the Marcos military in Washington, D.C. October 25, amidst a Movement for a Free Philippines gathering enthusiastically attended by 350 people.

Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Civilian Military Operations Alexander Bacalla claimed that he could no longer wear a military uniform that "drips with blood, the blood of countless victims of military atrocities and the blood of Ninoy Aquino."

Within two years, Bacalla told his audience, he would have been a general, "but today I am terminating my 27 years of service. I will join you as a foot soldier" in the anti-Marcos struggle.

Bacalla claimed to represent 70% of the officers corps of the Philippines—those with no association to Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, acting Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos or Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. His grouping represents those who are "not beneficiaries of the patronage

system," he explained.

## PRESS FOR REFORMS

The defecting colonel pitched his appeal to forces both inside and outside of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The reformist movement within the AFP, he said, was "gaining publicity externally, but no response internally." He nonetheless urged his former comrades-in-arms to continue to organize and press for reforms.

Bacalla presented six reform demands:

- Retire all overstaying generals including Ver and Ramos;
- Recall to actual military service all officers assigned to lucrative civilian positions in government corporations;
- Dismantle the "spy network overseas manned by military officers masquerading under diplomatic cover";
- Prosecute those who have enriched themselves in office and those who have committed "unspeakable atrocities against our people";

- Give the personnel in the field their full allotment and allowances; and
- Stop the AFP from committing anomalies in the coming 1986 and 1987 elections.

## A MILITARY SOLUTION?

These reforms, however, are impossible under the Marcos government, the colonel conceded. Therefore, he added provocatively, "if [the] political will cannot come from within, it must come from without."

Former senator Raul Manglapus who hosted the event has long held that the current Reagan administration plan of dislodging Marcos via the electoral process simply will not work. He most recently aired these views in an interview with Ted Koppel on ABC "Nightline" October 16.

The military, according to Manglapus, is the key to any transition plan. However, as one military specialist here points out, Marcos has made a coup almost impossible by filling all sensitive positions with people

loyal to himself or right-arm Ver, and deploying combat-effective units all over Manila commanded by loyalists.

U.S. strategists would rather not resort to a coup which could be messy, but have not discounted it as an option.

Manglapus denies he is calling for a coup and is mainly urging officers like Bacalla to link their efforts with a democratic protest movement. A supporter says they are essentially talking of "a popular uprising."

Despite the fact that he does not command an organizational machinery that can orchestrate such an uprising, Manglapus intends to keep stimulating other officers in the Philippines to emulate Bacalla's action.

Whether Manglapus intends it or not, such highly visible anti-Marcos activity among military officers would have the effect of prodding the Reagan administration to consider a military solution to the Marcos problem instead of an electoral transition. □ NFR



## PROSECUTION TAGS SOLDIER-GUNMAN FOR THE FIRST TIME

Prosecutors in the Benigno Aquino assassination trial named for the first time October 25 the soldier they believe shot the opposition leader. In a 90-page summary memorandum, the prosecution also formally asked for conviction of Gen. Fabian C. Ver, the armed forces chief, and 25 others charged in connection with the killing.

Prosecutors identified the gunman as Rogelio Moreno, who they say shot Aquino from close range in the back of the head as soldiers escorted the opposition leader off a plane August 21, 1983. Aquino was returning to the Philippines after three years of exile in the United States. Moreno was a member of the Philippine Constabulary Metropolitan Command in Manila, known as Metrocom.

"As there was no other soldier dressed in Metrocom uniform immediately behind Sen. Aquino at the time except Moreno, the only logical conclusion is that Moreno was the triggerman," the memorandum said.

A three-judge panel now has up to 90 days to reach a unanimous verdict in the case against Ver, 24 other soldiers and one civilian. Prosecutor Leonardo Tamayo told reporters the prosecution adopted virtually the entire report of a civilian fact-finding board that investigated the assassination. The board had said the gunman could have been either Moreno or an air force sergeant.

The prosecutors said their conclusion that Moreno killed Aquino was based on the testimony of Rebecca Quijano. During the trial, she said she witnessed the shooting but saw only the outstretched arm of the gunman, whom she said was wearing the khaki uniform of a Metrocom soldier. Tests indicated that Moreno had traces of gunpowder on both hands. Moreno, who took the stand in his own defense last September, denied he shot Aquino and said the gunpowder burns on his hands had come from target practice a day before the assassination.

Attorney Rodolfo Jimenez, counsel for 21 of the 25 soldiers and the civilian defendant, filed October 25 a 260-page memorandum asking for acquittal on the grounds of lack of evidence. Jimenez said in his memorandum there is a "total lack of evidence showing that any of the accused had any motive at all to kill the late senator."

Jimenez tried to discredit Quijano's testimony, noting that she had once been prosecuted for falsifying documents, "a crime involving moral turpitude" that gave the woman a "bad reputation for truth, honesty or integrity." □ (AP)

## VER TO GET NEW MINISTRY?

Gen. Fabian Ver is reportedly feathering a new nest in anticipation of his acquittal by the Sandiganbayan in the Aquino murder trial. A soon-to-be-created Ministry of Interior, more powerful than the current Defense Ministry, will be bestowed the general upon his acquittal. According to a top-level military source, Ver will be temporarily reinstated to the Chief of Staff post currently held by Gen. Fidel Ramos (in accordance with the "word of honor" given by President Marcos) after which he will assume the top post in the Ministry of Interior.

The ministry reportedly would be responsible for overseeing political detainees, supervising anti-insurgency campaigns, procuring foreign military hardware, and representing the Philippines in the U.S.-R.P. Bases Committee. Under the new set-up, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's powers would greatly diminish, and although Gen. Ramos would retain the title of Armed Forces Chief of Staff, he would have to report to Ver on the progress of anti-insurgency campaigns.

Enrile has dismissed reports about the fledgling ministry but highly placed sources said that the transfer of supervision over local police from mayors to the armed forces and the creation of the presidential assistant on police affairs are preliminary steps towards forming the ministry.

Meanwhile, the Marcos-appointed Sandiganbayan is expected to hand down a verdict in the conspiracy trial of Ver and 24 other suspects in the murder of Benigno Aquino by mid-January 1986. The prosecution's refusal to use as evidence previously unknown autopsy photos of Aquino substantiating claims that the senator was shot from behind, and the affidavits of six U.S. airmen who witnessed the jet scrambling attempt by the Philippine Air Force to intercept Aquino's plane two years ago have bolstered widespread belief that has put pressure on the trial for Ver's acquittal.

For its part, the defense is offering no apologies for the impending verdict which many view will be an exoneration of the government and military's role in the assassination. Dean Antonio Coronel, defense counsel of Gen. Fabian Ver, himself put it frankly: "Judicial truth concerns itself with evidence. What is just is not necessarily legal, and what is legal is not necessarily just." Coronel conceded that the verdict may not necessarily reflect the truth about Aquino's murder. □

## MYSTERY SHROUDS RAID ON TAWI-TAWI

On September 23, about 20 well-armed and seemingly well-trained masked bandits robbed the Standard Chartered Bank and the Malaysian Airline System office in Lahad Datu, Sabah. In less than an hour they managed to get \$6,500, leaving 10 dead and 11 wounded. Malaysian police took after them but returned to Lahad Datu empty-handed the next day. Then on September 26, unidentified armed raiders launched a sea and air raid on Maldanas Island, Tawi-Tawi, killing or kidnapping at least 53 people.

Brig. Gen. Arturo Asuncion and Lt. Col. Gene



Malaysian helicopters.

Tulawie of Tawi-Tawi Constabulary at first identified four Malaysian gunboats by number and described three helicopters typical of those used by the Malaysian military. Asuncion accused Malaysian military forces of attacking the island in pursuit of pirates suspected of having perpetrated the Lahad Datu armed robbery.

Malaysian authorities immediately denied the accusation. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile labeled the situation potentially "confrontational" but "more of a diplomatic than a security problem." Sabah, home for about 100,000 Philippine Moro refugees, has been the

source of friction between the Philippines and Malaysia since 1963 when Sabah joined Malaysia even though the Philippines also claimed the province.

While government critics and opposition parliamentarians demanded an investigation, Marcos remained non-committal. At one point Manila implied the raid was the handiwork of a band of mercenaries the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency organized for unsavory purposes. But on October 3, the Philippine Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement insinuating Vietnam's involvement without levelling a direct accusation.

"During the past years, there have been attempts to create dissension in ASEAN on the eve of UN debate on the Kampuchean problem. We should be wary about the machinations of foreign powers who are bent to wreck ASEAN where the Philippines is chair of its standing committee." Kuala Lumpur also alluded to a "third force."

For Manila at least, the Maldanas incident was an opportunity to disseminate anti-communist, anti-Moro National Liberation Front propaganda. Opposition leaders charged that the incident was blown up to divert national attention from the crisis wracking the government. □

## ENRILE SON LINKED TO GUN SMUGGLING

Remember Jackie Enrile? The son of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile was the *enfant terrible* of the Marcos cabinetdom's privileged offspring. In 1975 he figured in the slaying of a 19-year-old youth and nearly caused the resignation of his father from the Defense Ministry. In 1981, his bodyguard shot and killed a businessman. Now, Enrile Jr. has figured in another shady activity—the smuggling of firearms to the Philippines.

Gun smuggling from the U.S. to the Philippines is a growing problem that has become "national in scope" said Walter Wysocki, assistant special agent in charge of the U.S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in San Francisco. The Bay Area, however, has become the focal point of arms procurement and shipment to the Philippines.

Federal officials have foiled at least six attempts to smuggle weapons to the Philippines. The caches included Uzi submachineguns, shotguns, pistols, military-style laser scopes, submachine gun parts, and conversion kits that change MAC-11 semi-automatic weapons into fully automatic weapons. In all of the attempts, the richest and most powerful allies of President Marcos have been involved. And in the cases prosecuted in San Francisco, Thomas McDermott, assistant special agent for San Francisco customs, said "The ultimate recipient is always somebody that's a pro-government official."

The most recent case involved Douglas Lyum, one of the three men who reputedly control the coconut industry. He was taken in handcuffs from his PAL flight October 1 after customs agents found a military assault rifle in a golf bag in his luggage.

In March, federal officials intercepted two shipments of Uzi submachineguns, one of which was addressed to Enrile, Jr. Howard Mijares, a former classmate of Enrile, was arrested after attempting to send the two shipments through a San Francisco freight company.

Where the weapons are bound need not be guessed. Private armies have proliferated in response to the growth of the armed insurgency and the ineptitude of the armed forces to provide protection for the rural properties of wealthy Filipinos.

In a bid to protect their fortunes, wealthy businessmen, landlords and politicians have not only taken to importing arms, but bodyguards as well. The hottest mercenaries on the market, according to reports, are Israeli ex-soldiers. At least 100 Israelis are employed as private bodyguards in different parts of the world. Airlines fearful of hijackers, businessmen in Mexico, industrialists in Germany and Italy, and politicians in the Philippines are the biggest employers, reports Aryeh Ergozi of the mass circulation *Yedoit Achronot* newspaper. □

## Inidoro

Continued from page 2

U.S. servicemen, taking over radar stations and scrambling just like that."

Why, did we need to ask permission from U.S. military authorities?

"Yes, I believe the mutual defense treaties require that," Al said. "Our pilots acted without permission and so, violated our country's air space and committed a serious transgression of our sovereignty in that incident."

Just when I was ready to forget about revenge, Al confided that he had been thinking about vengeance too, don't get him wrong. Wanting to hit two birds with one stone, he said he found a way for us to stand tall and solve our economic crisis at the same time.

"You know how capitalist governments go to war as a way of boosting the economy? Well, my plan is a variation of that."

Is it Reaganomics?

"No, Doroy. It's Rambonomics—based on the secret to the Japanese and German economic miracles. You see the best thing that ever happened to them was they lost World War II. They got so badly wiped out the Americans had to give them hundreds of millions of dollars to rebuild. Look where Japan and West Germany are now. Britain, France, Italy, and other allies look like they lost the war. Even the U.S. economy is reeling from the Japanese blitzkrieg."

So how will Rambonomics work for us?

"Simple. President Marcos should declare war on the United States," Al beamed. "That way we can stand tall and show our manhood, and at the same time, we . . ."

We get completely wiped out, nuked once or twice

perhaps, then the U.S. will have to finance our economic recovery and soon we can bring Washington to its knees crying for protectionist measures against our superior compact cars, marvelous TVs, unbeatable stereos and Minus Ones.

"Exactly!" cried Al devilishly.

But there's only one problem with this scheme. Had he forgotten that President Marcos was the most decorated Filipino war hero? With a leader like that declaring war on the U.S., we just might win you know. And then what are we going to do? We'd have to help the U.S. recover by letting it exploit our natural resources, buying its expensive finished goods and letting it invest here freely. We'd earn so little we'd be forced to seek foreign loans—our economy would be back where it started!

"But at least we stood tall! Didn't we?" argued Al. And who's to say he was wrong? □

# Who Was Behind the Escalante Massacre?

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

**A**n unemployed farmhand dove for the nearest cover when armalite fire scattered 10,000 demonstrators in all directions in the town of Escalante, Negros Occidental, September 20. When the firing stopped, 21 protestors lay dead. The farmhand, alive, was found a day later, still crouched in fear behind tall canes near the massacre scene.

Nineteen other people are missing. Some are feared dead or may have been abducted by paramilitary forces. Some have fled to the hills, and some, like the young man who depended on cane stalks for cover, remain in hiding, stricken with the fear that the same thing may happen again.

Doctors, nurses, and even town policemen ministering to the casualties broke down in tears as the wounds on the bodies told a horrifying story: the victims of the Escalante massacre were treacherously shot from behind as they lay prone and defenseless on the ground.

A 16-year-old girl named July wept inconsolably. July blames herself for not having the strength to pull her best friend Robina to safety. Robina fell wounded on top of July, shielding her from the gunfire.

Massacres have occurred in many places around the country yet few have galvanized the same degree of outrage that the Escalante bloodbath has provoked. Perhaps it is because Escalante concentrates the social, political and economic contradictions facing the Philippines today, as ex-presidential press secretary Francisco Tatad suggested. Escalante is a microcosm of the troubled country and thus, it has become a symbol of injustice, a flashpoint of the class struggle.

## DECAYING SYSTEM

The events leading to bloody September 20 in Negros—the seat of the country's sugar wealth—were set in motion more than three years ago. The monocrop economy started to come apart at the seams when world sugar prices hit an all-time low, making sugar production an unprofit-



Constabulary soldiers keep striking plantation workers at bay.

able and unstable proposition. Producing a pound of sugar was costing planters four times more than its market price. As the 200-year-old industry unravelled, so did the social structure built around it.

An estimated 400,000 sugarworkers have been displaced as haciendas have been sold, inventories liquidated, and some hacenderos have packed up for better futures in the States or Spain. The "newly poor" hacenderos have adjusted to setbacks in their charmed plantation life, but the "already poor" farmhands have been at a loss trying to adjust from having little to having nothing at all.

Hunger now stalks the island, causing 7,000 children to become severely malnourished. Church and various international agencies, even "enlightened" hacenderos, appalled at the grinding poverty, have pooled resources to set up feeding centers for the starving workers.

But some hacenderos, especially those close to the Marcoses have stubbornly defended the decaying hacienda system. Former congressman Armando Gustilo, current chairman of the National Federa-

tion of Sugar Planters, exemplifies this breed.

## KINGPIN

Gustilo is the veritable kingpin of Northern Negros Occidental whose palatial mansion is tightly guarded by paramilitary troops on a 24-hour basis. His Mercedes Benz is frequently seen roaming the province's hotspots. He owns a radio station.

By virtue of his chairmanship of the Sugar Federation, he commands immense powers over the industry. His ruthless tactics have scared even fellow sugar baron Roberto Benedicto, a multi-millionaire Marcos crony and former ambassador.

Unfortunately, for the unemployed people of Escalante, their town lies in the periphery of Gustilo's fiefdom.

Despite Gustilo's notoriety for strong-arm tactics and the recent bolstering of hacendero-financed Civilian Home Defence Forces, local organizers of the *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* (BAYAN), pushed ahead with plans to organize a "Welgang Bayan" or "People's Strike."

Earlier strikes have been successful so the strikers, including members of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, were confident that another one would gather greater support from surrounding towns.

The plans called for barricades to be erected around the town and along the major thoroughfares throughout the northern strip of the province. Negotiations with

Philippine Constabulary proved amicable enough: the barricades could stand if the protest proceeded peacefully; they would be dismantled if things got out of hand.

## SHOT IN THE BACK

The evening of September 19, however, boded ill for the strikers. Gustilo, charged from his radio station that BAYAN organizers were out to foment anarchy. The next morning, as the 10,000-strong demonstration convened in the town plaza, rally organizers noticed that the military stiffened. Patrolling troops tersely ordered the demonstrators to disperse.

When the protestors refused to heed the 15-minute deadline to disperse, soldiers of the 334th PC Battalion and CHDF militiamen trained powerful waterhoses, lobbed teargas cannisters and threw grenades at the demonstrators.

The shooting started when a young woman self-protectively threw back a cannister which landed next to her away from the direction of the demonstrators. Indiscriminate shooting followed, reinforced by firing from a machinegun placed atop the municipal hall. As the bodies piled one on top of another, reporters covering the rally were threatened at gunpoint not to take pictures.

The military quickly proclaimed the massacre an act of self-defense in response to "a crowd that attacked first."

Protests from former industry minister

Continued on page 8

## 1 Killed As Police Violently Disperse Rally



Violence erupted October 22 as 3,000 demonstrators attempted to march to a downtown square in Manila to protest U.S. support for Marcos, low government price ceilings for rice farmers, and the September 20 massacre of protestors in Escalante, Negros.

The protest, which coincided with the visit of Sen. Paul Laxalt to the Philippines, resulted in the death of a 17-year-old protestor and 27 injuries. The student, Emmanuel Lazo, was killed when a melee broke out after police attempted to disperse the peaceful march by suddenly cutting it in half and exploding a homemade bomb. As the marchers fled, police gave chase, firing and swinging truncheons. Nine of the injured suffered gunshot wounds and one of them remains in critical condition.

Hundreds of commuters abandoned public transports after demonstrators fled into traffic congested areas with police giving chase and firing into the crowds.

The protestors, led by the militant coalition BAYAN, were among 10,000 people who had marched into the capital October 20 from outlying provinces. □

## Manila Teachers Return to Work

**S**ome 20,000 public school teachers belonging to the Manila Public School Teachers Association returned to work October 3 after a powerful two-week strike which shut down Manila schools. Spokeswoman Norma de Leon said the teachers will still press their demands for a minimum monthly salary of ₱3,000 through negotiations with the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The MEC warned that it will continue to prosecute some 47 teachers who initially started the walk-out and that it will file administrative charges against 4,000 more teachers in the Metro-Manila area. Alliance of Concerned Teachers chairman Raul Segovia denounced the government threats as "low-level witch-hunting" after the Ministry claimed that "activist agitators" were inciting the teachers to subversion.

The strike which shut down public elementary and high schools sparked support from provincial high school teachers in Pampanga, Bataan, Cebu, and Agusan del Norte. The estimated 300,000 public school teachers nationwide are among the lowest paid pro-

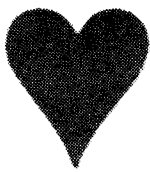
fessionals. Many still receive as little as ₱1,500 monthly.

The teachers' association is now contemplating legal action against Education Minister Jaime Laya if he penalizes the 47 teachers.

Meanwhile, in a move ostensibly designed to defuse tension in the south, military authorities in Cebu have deferred charges against 179 persons nabbed for participating in a "Welgang Bayan" last month. The strikers were arrested while attempting to form a human roadblock on the major highway leading out of Mandaue City. However, Cebu remains under "red alert" and military installations on the island remain under "dark red alert" in the wake of what the military calls "subversive plans" to plunge metropolitan Cebu into "disorder." The plot which allegedly calls for the seizure of military installations and assassination of ranking civilian and military officials was bared after a military assessment of the "Welgang Bayan" last September 21.

The 36-hour strike paralyzed public transportation in Cebu proper and the surrounding city of Lapu-Lapu and other towns. □





Newsweek

Marcoses: 'They'll take Manhattan.'

By WICKS GEAGA

**T**he problems in the world have their roots in injustice, intolerance, greed, and dominance by the strong," Imelda Marcos recently lectured the august body of the United Nations on the occasion of its 40th anniversary.

Said in the wake of an embarrassing news exposé uncovering Marcos family and crony investments in prime metropolitan New York real estate, the quotation quickly found its place in the anthology of Imelda's verbal droppings. CBS commentator Bill Moyer cited Mrs. Marcos' speech as an example of how top UN visitors "exchange official lies."

Just a week earlier, on October 15, the *Village Voice*, a large New York weekly, unveiled the latest episode in the Marcos "dollar-salting" saga starring the president's wife, his cronies and his frontmen. For the First Lady, this might have been a bad time for a New York jaunt then.

However, Mrs. Marcos has long demonstrated the uncanny ability to draw public attention by trying to avoid it. During her UN appearance, she stayed at the Waldorf Astoria instead of the usual 66th St. Townhouse owned by the Philippine government.

Explained an aide: "She does not wish to do anything now that will draw unnecessary attention to wealth and property."

The *Voice* revealed Marcos' and his chums' extensive New York City holdings which "range from individual luxury condominiums to major commercial development projects and office towers . . . conservatively valued in the hundreds of millions of dollars."

### PRIME REAL ESTATE

Marcos has dismissed charges about his foreign investments as "a malicious lie."

Two months ago the *San Jose Mercury News* published a shattering exposé of hidden crony wealth stashed away in real estate and financial ventures in California.

The exposé triggered an impeachment motion—10,000 miles away in the *Batasan Pambansa*—accusing Marcos of "plundering the nation's wealth . . . and, in gross violation of Philippine foreign exchange laws, diverting most of such ill-gotten wealth to foreign countries."

Marcos ordered his justice minister to "investigate." He then sat back and watched his *Batasan* loyalists quickly quash the motion, hoping never to hear of the matter again.

### MANSIONS, SKYSCRAPERS

But the *Voice* article, piecing together data from legal documents and testimony from sources in Filipino business circles, has dredged up the following:

• Especially since the Aquino assassination in August 1983, the Marcos family—through law firms, nominal in-

vestors, and offshore corporations—has engaged in high stakes real estate speculation smack in the middle of Manhattan.

• New York Land Company, founded and owned by Ralph and Joseph Bernstein, has been the principal agent for Marcos' real estate dealings, and has handled the Marcos account since 1981, according to a former adviser to Marcos.

• Among the major holdings acquired by New York Land as part of Marcos' real estate booty are: the Crown Building on Fifth Avenue, Manhattan; the New York Coliseum; the Herald Center, 40 Wall Street, a 20-storey office building and the second tallest building downtown; the Lindenmere, a 10-acre estate in Cente Moriches with a mansion designed by Stanford White; 2659 Princeton Pike in Princeton, New Jersey, a 13-acre estate and mansion.

As it turns out, even the most exaggerated stories of hidden wealth and dollar salting that have enthralled the Manila coffee shop circuit for the past few years pale before Marcos' real-life skyscrapers.

### DISPUTE WITH FRONTMEN

Ironically, the first concrete evidence of

the fabled holdings surfaced, according to the *Voice* exposé, "in a financial dispute between Imelda Marcos and two of her apparent frontmen who accused her, in separate lawsuits, of attempting to swindle them out of millions of dollars in a Long Island resort development."

The two were Augusto M. Camacho and Dr. Paul S. Figueroa. Camacho sued in 1984 and Figueroa early this year. Both cases have since been settled out of court.

Further evidence uncovered by the *Mercury News* showed that Imelda considered invoking diplomatic immunity in one suit and suggested that huge pay-offs were involved in the settlements.

Just how much was slipped under the table to make one plaintiff settle amicably in less than a month and to induce the other to say that he had named Mrs. Marcos by mistake—this may never be uncovered.

Perhaps the prodigal frontmen were simply won over by the same message Mrs. Marcos gave to the UN assembly: "The solution to these problems rests not in man's acquisitive nature but in his sense of justice and sense of community." □



Crown Building



80 Park Avenue

Village Voice

## Odds and Ends

**Kindred souls.** For 50 days the 25 Vietnamese refugees huddled in a dilapidated fishing boat and drifted in the South China Sea. Among them was Nguyen Cao Tinh, brother of ex-premier Nguyen Cao Ky of the defeated U.S.-sponsored South Vietnamese government. In what couldn't have been a happier coincidence, Tinh's storm-tossed group landed in Pasuquin, Ilocos Norte, domain of Ferdinand Marcos, who is, no doubt, destined to be a refugee himself.

**Kiss, kiss before the bang-bang?** One way to guess who is kissing up to whom in the shifting alliances within the Malacañang "inner circle" is to watch, well, who is kissing whom. Members of the Ver clan must grow hot under the collar everytime they see the Marcos children kiss Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos and call him "Tito Eddie." Not to worry. After all, didn't Mrs. Gretchen Oppen Cojuangco, wife of top crony Eduardo Cojuangco, make it a point to stand up in the middle of a dinner to greet and buzz Mrs. Aida Ver in full view of the President and his royal court? On the other hand, all these kisses may well be of the "olive grove" variety. (Kiss of death, get it?)

**Ver snubs back.** On-leave armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver didn't stay home and fret after he got disinvented to the retirement ceremony of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff's Gen. John Vessey. According to columnist Teodoro Valencia, Ver evened the score by having his own party and inviting a Russian! He played host to retired Soviet general Boris Nikolayevich, the hero of Stalingrad. The visitor gave Ver a copy of "Star Wars: Delusions and Dangers" and told stories about the war against the Nazis. Ver, in turn, told how he became "the hero of Montalban," a story familiar to generations of Filipinos. Well, how about 49 Filipinos? 20?

**Oh, thank you, thank you.** Marcos' budget may not be as generous to the teaching and health professions as it is to the military but let it not be said that some of his officials have not been generous with their advice to ill-paid teachers and health workers. According to the newsletter *Health Alert*, Budget Minister Manuel Alba simply advised health workers, in one of several dialogues, to immigrate abroad for better jobs and pay. Meanwhile, Pasay City Mayor Pablo Cuneta offered this gem to protesting teachers: "You already know there was no money in your profession and still you entered it. Why don't you just become [nightclub] hostesses in Ermita or do what my daughter [Sharon Cuneta] did, she's earning millions as an actress."

**Holy See! Imelda strikes again.** The church-backed magazine *Veritas* reported that while Imelda Marcos was in Rome last May for the installation of

the Philippines' other cardinal—Cebu Archbishop Ricardo Vidal—her mind was on more worldly matters. Mrs. Marcos went all over Rome seeking the support of religious congregations to convince Pope John Paul II to assign government critic Jaime Cardinal Sin outside Manila. She asked that Sin be moved to Cebu and Vidal be assigned in Manila. The Pope rejected the request. Sin just laughed and said, "I'm not worried, the Holy See does not act on a suggestion."

**Go ahead, make my day:** Mayor Luciano Iglesia of Pakil, Laguna and his police chief Lt. Percival Maldo shot it out Wild West style after a heated argument over the legality of a parlor game. Both petty authorities turned out to be good shots. But some witnesses said Iglesia was actually shot by Maldo's bodyguards, that the dying mayor then managed to pump the police chief with bullets. Some said the mayor's son, Lindberg, riddled the fallen Maldo with Armalite slugs. So, no one knows for sure who drew first, who shot whom, and with what. By the way, was the parlor game legal?

**I want my FM-TV:** The hottest new item in Manila video stores is a documentary on U.S. real estate owned by the Marcoses. "Hidden Wealth" gives viewers a tour of Manhattan residences and posh country homes owned by the First Family. Where did the money to buy them come from? How did the Marcoses get around Philippine Central Bank restrictions on transferring funds abroad? These are the minor mysteries of the universe "Hidden Wealth" asks viewers to solve. Has it been shown on Philippine television? Is the Pope Catholic? □



Der Spiegel

## IMF Freezes Loan Tranche

# Economy Still in the Dumps

By WICKS GEAGA

Is the party over so soon? Just a few months ago, Philippine officials were wildly congratulating themselves for sealing a major loan agreement with foreign creditors after more than a year of negotiations. President Marcos was even ecstatically proclaiming the start of an economic recovery.

But bad news has cut short the celebration. The International Monetary Fund last month froze the third \$106 million tranche of its all-important \$610 million standby loan.

### LOAN IMPASSE

The international financial clearing house was not happy with Manila's failure to meet "qualitative performance targets" such as the dismantling of the crony-controlled sugar and coconut monopolies. Meanwhile, exports continue to plunge and four more banks have collapsed so far this year with ten more on the shaky list.

IMF approval—the release of the \$610 million—is a prerequisite for the release of tranches of the \$3.9 billion loan package put together last December by over 400 creditors to rescue the Philippines from its debt crisis.

The rescue package included \$6 billion in rescheduled debt (out of a total foreign debt of \$26 billion) in addition to the new credits. In order to keep the cash flowing, Manila was required to meet a series of severe austerity and reform measures.

From the moment the accord was reached, Marcos had difficulty keeping the IMF off his back. The second installment—finally released last August—was held up for five months because, among other things, the country's money supply hovered beyond the IMF-set limit.

Several conditions are cited by foreign bankers for the current loan transfer impasse:

- The money supply continues to expand 6% faster than agreed;
- As early as August, the budget deficit had soared to nearly double the amount allowed for the entire year;
- Marcos still resists the dismantling of the sugar and coconut monopolies owned by his cronies;
- The Development Bank of the Philippines and the Philippine National Bank—two major government-owned banks in

distress—remain without viable restructuring plans.

Furthermore, Manila is still evading IMF pressures for another peso devaluation. The peso currently stands at 18.60 to the U.S. dollar. Manila, however, is expected to eventually give in.

### BANK CLOSURES

The sudden infusion of loans this past August—following the release of the IMF's second loan tranche—was not able to rescue the country's unstable banking system. So far, 1985 has witnessed the collapse of four of the country's major banks.

Meanwhile, according to a World Bank analysis, ten Philippine commercial banks have past-due loans that amount to over 20% of their total portfolios, placing them in the high-risk column.

Among the shaky ten are the country's two largest state-owned financial institutions, Philippine National Bank and the Development Bank of the Philippines. Together, the two control about 54% of the country's total banking assets.

Up to 75% of PNB's and DBP's combined loans of \$79 billion, are delinquent, according to government estimates. Just

to keep DBP afloat through 1984, Marcos had to pump in ₱5.6 billion, while PNB required ₱17.2 billion for 1983 and 1984.

Many bankers blame "behest loans" for leeching assets from the government banks. "Behest loans," a Marcos-era creation, were extended by the government-controlled banks to Marcos' cronies, at the president's "behest."

As the crony businesses, usually backed with scant collateral went belly-up, it was the government bank which assumed liability for the loans. Highly placed bank officials privately admit that a huge chunk of the country's \$26 billion foreign debt resulted from such failed loans.

### EXPORTS DROP

The overly bleak picture on the banking front is made bleaker still by the gathering trade crisis. In the first eight months of the year, exports plunged by more than 14%.

Even more alarming is the precipitous drop of exports by nearly 30% for August of this year as compared to the same month in 1984. Should this downward spiral continue, the annual performance of exports will sink dramatically below the original government projection of 10%

## Laxalt I

Continued from page 3

1987 would be: former Senator Salvador Laurel for president with Mrs. Aquino for vice-president.

"We know they all have warts," *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Phil Bronstein was told in September, "but everyone is hoping that Cory will run."

This represents a dramatic departure from previous U.S. positions. Although Laurel has always been thoroughly pro-U.S., Washington officials found him simply too uninspiring a politician.

But "apparently . . . they are now convinced that whatever Cory lacks in terms of structure, Laurel will supply and, whatever Laurel lacks in terms of charisma, Cory will supply," according to a well-placed Manila source.

### NOT A NEW IDEA

With things going relatively well on the

opposition front, U.S. officials moved the action from behind the scenes to out in the open with last month's dispatch of Laxalt.

It was not by any means a new idea. The National Security Council leaked a document on the Philippines to the press earlier this year which discussed ways to pressure Marcos to cooperate in a peaceful transition.

One suggestion was to dispatch a personal emissary from Ronald Reagan to read Marcos the riot act. National Security Advisor Robert MacFarlane and his predecessor William Clark were considered likely candidates.

And as if to make it clear that it intends to keep its stakes in the Philippines, Washington recently set aside \$1.3 billion to upgrade its military bases there.

But the Reagan administration was not fully won over to the need to distance itself from Marcos until the August War College conference on the Philippines of State, Defense and intelligence officials in Washington, D.C.

News of that supposedly confidential gathering was itself leaked.

growth.

Reinforcing this gloomy forecast is the unexpected 20% decline from January to August in the country's leading export product—electronics. During the same period, coconut products registered a 40% drop while sugar exports fell 8.5%.

Imports, while slowing by about 10.5%, still outweighed exports by \$207 million during the first five months of 1985. The loss of tax revenues from dwindling imports combined with the net trade deficit is aggravating the government's budget deficit woes.

### CHOPPING SOCIAL SERVICES

Despite its differences with IMF conditions, the Marcos government is at bottom adhering to the IMF austerity measures. Nowhere is this more reflected than in the 1986 budget.

Predictably, spending proposals aim to meet the IMF-mandated maximum deficit of 1% of the GNP. On the chopping block are government services for social security, labor, employment, housing, and community development. They will get a combined 91% cut in their budget.

The largest piece of the budget pie—25.4% or ₱46.9 billion—is reserved solely for servicing the foreign debt, thus demonstrating Manila's fundamental commitment to the IMF scheme of recovery—without-violating-debt-repayment.

At the same time, Marcos has set aside over 22% or ₱20.6 billion in unspecified funds for "multi-sectoral outlays"—never before listed in previous budget proposals. Opposition MP Emilio Tanjuatco warned that Marcos plans to divert these uncommitted funds to his *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* party's upcoming election drive in early 1986.

Complementing the budget cuts, the government reportedly plans to impose a new tax regimen to cover the expected shortfalls in the deficit-curbing campaign.

### STICKING POINTS

To meet the IMF requirement of salvaging the government-owned banking system, Manila proposes a complicated merger maneuver between DBP and PNB, and the eventual disposal of their "rotten" loans into a "self-destructing garbage trust."

The operation is designed to create—at least on paper—a clean slate for the resulting "new" financial institution although the government is still responsible for repaying the "disappeared" loans.

A continued sticking point will no doubt be Marcos' refusal to dissolve the sugar and coconut monopolies held by cronies. The IMF is adamant on this point and has not fallen for the cosmetic reforms that Marcos instituted earlier this year. (He replaced old administrative boards with new bodies that are still firmly held by his cronies.)

Given the political importance of Roberto Benedicto, who controls the sugar industry, and Eduardo Cojuangco, who takes care of coconut, observers suspect that this is one area where Marcos is likely to buck the IMF the hardest despite his desperate need for the cash. □

### MARCOS UNREPENTANT

According to one U.S. official, Laxalt was bearing "the bluntest message ever delivered to a friend." That message, according to Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz, is "not just bureaucrats talking; it's from the highest levels."

Laxalt's trip triggered an unusually heavy, and critical, media attention on the state of Marcos' reign.

One source told *Newsweek* that Reagan's letter to Marcos expressed concern over the breakdown of law and order. It reportedly expressed worry about the consequences of the Escalante massacre, the murder of 14 journalists this year, and stressed the need for fair and open balloting.

Other sources said Reagan was worried about how effectively Marcos is dealing with the growing guerilla movement and feared that the Philippines could be "this administration's Iran."

Laxalt's official report to Reagan was positive. Marcos, he told the press, had agreed to allow U.S. observers for the

Continued on page 14



# Enrile, Ramos Differ on NPA Threat



Samar guerrillas plan encounter.

Newsweek

To hear Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile talk about his fight with the New People's Army, Washington really has no reason to be nervous about the insurgency getting out of hand.

Enrile, speaking before a Cebu Peace and Order Council meeting October 6, said President Marcos has no plans to reimpose martial law because "we are relatively better off today, security wise, than in 1972."

"Of course, we suffer casualties but we replace them as fast as we lose them, which was not true in 1972," the minister said. "We can engage in a running war for five years [with the NPA] and not run out of bullets."

Enrile's bravado merely echoes that of President Marcos who claimed on ABC's "Nightline" that the NPAs are "surrendering all over the place."

However, acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, a soldier after the Pentagon's own heart, chooses to be more sober about the whole matter.

Ramos reported that the military is building up 11 more maneuver battalions to counteract "serious and growing" insurgency. He claimed that the Communist Party of the Philippines-NPA has set up a "shadow government" in 1,664 or one-fourth of the country's 4,615 *barangays*.

## HIT-AND-RUN

The maneuver battalions, Ramos said would enable the Armed Forces of the

Philippines to cope more effectively with NPA hit-and-run tactics. And the guerrillas are getting to be pretty good at those.

According to the Associated Press, "guerrilla sabotage, raids and ambushes are reported almost daily." NPA formations of up to 500 soldiers have also "taken over entire towns for several hours at a time."

The apparent diversification in strategy has led to observations that the NPA is not simply "surrounding the cities from the countryside" but "leap-frogging" to urban centers to harass and demoralize the government.

Among its urban targets, the NPA places special emphasis on weapons centers such as armories and military posts. Increasingly typical is the recent attack on the Sariaya police station in Quezon by 150 NPA fighters who seized 18 firearms.

An attack on the explosives storage of the Marinduque Mines in mid-September proved even more productive: 60,000 detonating devices, an undetermined number of explosives and 12 shotguns were hauled away by the guerrillas.

In Bacolod, Negros, CPP-NPA leaders told foreign and local reporters October 12 that they could reach strategic stalemate in the island in 1987, way ahead of their comrades in much of the country.

The spokesmen—an ex-priest, an ex-sociology instructor, a sugar worker, and an urban guerrilla leader—also announced the opening of a "new guerrilla front" in

northern Negros, which includes the town of Escalante where 21 protesters were massacred by troops last September. Authorities say there are about 500 rebels backed by 2,000 militias in Negros.

A spokesman for the National Democratic Front in the area said a number of "small and medium landlords" have helped the rebels and "will surely be given consideration when liberation comes." The help came in the form of Armalite rifles, M-60 machineguns, Browning automatics, AK-47 rifles, the use of their vehicles, and food for protestors.

## CAPTURED ARMS

In the wake of the Sariaya attack, Ramos imposed heightened measures for all military units nationwide. But Ramos noted that in spite of several letters, directives and orders for tighter security, the NPA still raids with impunity.

Military authorities concede that the bulk of NPA weapons and ammunition is captured in raids against military targets (over 2,000 arms have been reported seized this year.)

However, these officials comfort themselves with the knowledge that the NPA is still significantly inferior in heavy armaments—with nothing to match their U.S.-supplied tanks, helicopters and armored vehicles.

NPA strategists, entertaining no illusions about AFP military superiority, have flanked their major military offensives with con-

paramilitary terror in Negros.

Diehard hacenderos have struck a self-righteous pose, blaming everyone from communists to the Catholic church for the unrest. The signal sent even to the highest offices seems to be "tread softly or else."

## GIVE US GUNS

Gustilo's actions have been disquieting. A week after the massacre, Gustilo appeared on local TV and flatly denied that the photographed Mercedes Benz idling by the municipal hall belonged to him. Then, turning the tragedy on its head, he said:

"The issue is not whether some people were killed or not. The dead are dead, not merely because of the soldiers. They are dead because they were induced and incited to make moves against the government."

Accusations that Gustilo overruled the pact reached by the demonstrators and the police have sent aides of Gov. Alfredo Montelibano running scared and issuing disclaimers of Gustilo's involvement.

Gustilo also appears headed for a major power grab. KBL Negrense assemblymen have sponsored a bill proposing the creation of Negros del Norte province comprising Carlos, Calatarva, Tobosco, Escalante,

continuing small-scale harassment actions in order to steadily wear down the enemy's morale.

## 'PUNCHING THE AIR'

When the 2nd Scout Ranger battalion backed by howitzers, mortars, tanks, and helicopters launched a sweeping operation in Claveria, Misamis Oriental last June, the NPA executed its battleplan with characteristic success.

Staging hit-and-run rearguard attacks and ambushes, the NPA—in coordination with the barrio people's militia—killed 15 military troopers while suffering no losses itself. The military was finally forced to abandon its campaign in frustration, but only after retaliating with indiscriminate bombings and forced evacuations of civilians.

Skillfully applying guerilla tactics, the NPA and militia forces, according to the CPP's *Ang Bayan*, "made the enemy blindly punch the air and then struck back at opportune moments, gradually sapping the enemy's will to fight."

On October 3, the government-controlled Philippine News Agency reported that 21 AFP soldiers were killed and 10 wounded in an ambush by NPA guerrillas in Zamboanga del Norte province, Mindanao.

According to Southern Philippines military commander Maj. Gen. Delfin Castro, the military convoy was on a "logistics run" from Sergio Osmeña town to Dipolog City when it was attacked. The NPA action may have been timed to impress AFP chief of staff Ramos, who was touring the island at the time.

## SABOTAGE

Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Tomas Manlogat, Philippine Constabulary Region Commander of Cagayan Valley reported that the NPA had expanded its sabotage operations in the area against logging concessionaires, sawmill operators and banana dealers.

The NPA typically targets notorious landowners and corrupt merchants known for their unscrupulous and exploitative practices.

Manlogat estimated that the loss from NPA sabotage actions in Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Kalinga-Apayao, and Quirino over the last few years amounted to ₱188 million.

Acts of sabotage also occurred closer to Manila. With speed and precision, NPA members recently sent up in smoke and debris over 40 electrical transmission towers leading from the newly-constructed nuclear power plant in Bataan. The plant—if and when it ever begins operation—will reportedly supply electrical power to Manila and half of Luzon island.

Meanwhile, in Bohol the NPA ambushed and killed a senior paramilitary officer and seven troopers in its first reported attack in the central island province. Killed were Bohol Deputy Constabulary commander Maj. Richard Estrada and seven of his men while two others are missing. □

WG

# Escalante

Continued from page 5

Vicente Paterno, unanimous condemnations from the *Batasang Pambansa*, and calls for independent investigations swamped the regional PC command, the Acting Chief of Staff, and the Ministry of Defense. Even President Marcos promised to investigate and punish the guilty. But if the entire officialdom seemed ready to prosecute those responsible for the massacre, why were the culprits running free?

On the other hand, on September 24, Capt. Juganbegore, Escalante police chief ordered the arrest of 27 BAYAN leaders including parish priest Fr. Nico Hofstede, a Dutchman, for "agitating the people to attack the peace-keeping troops."

## RAMOS RESIGN!

On September 27, two of the militia-men believed to have participated in the the cities and towns of Silay, Cadiz, San

massacre, were found dead. After pledging to investigate the incident, Acting Chief Fidel Ramos upheld the findings of the PC Criminal Investigating Service "that the crowds were unruly and attacked first even after warning shots were fired in the air."

Findings, reported by Dr. Pedro Hinolan who treated some of the injured, that the victims were uniformly shot from the back fell on deaf ears.

In early October, BAYAN chairman Ambrosio Padilla pledged to file a complaint of political genocide against President Marcos before the United Nations Human Rights Commission. On October 9, marching workers of the KMU demanded the resignation of Gen. Ramos and urged the Defense Minister to hold dialogues with the workers. Chanting "Ramos You Will Pay," the 900 workers managed to wrangle a letter from Enrile urging the acting Chief of Staff to prosecute the guilty.

Although 11 of the soldiers present during the massacre have been "grounded" and their commanding officer has been relieved, the protests in Manila and the military's formal promise to prosecute the soldiers have yet to turn back the tide of

Sagay, Manapla, E.B. Magalona, Salvador Benedicto, and Victorias—a total area of some 285,656 hectares.

The bill's authors deny that the move to split Negros Occidental is political but observers point out that the gerrymandering proposal would severely undercut Gov. Montelibano who would then be reduced to contending for the mayoralty of Bacolod City. Cadiz kingpin Gustilo, on the other hand, has everything to gain from the move as he virtually reigns as the unelected provincial lord of the northern strip of the province.

The point of no return may happen sooner or later for the conflicting classes in Negros. Fundamentally, the government has already taken the side of the hacenderos, and the impoverished sugarworkers have no other choice but to take matters into their own hands.

The people of Escalante are cynical that the culprits will ever be prosecuted or the massacre victims indemnified. At a rally one month after the massacre, 3,000 workers gathered to commemorate the martyrs of Escalante. Defying a municipal ban on demonstrations, the marchers chanted the lesson the massacre of Escalante taught them: "Give Us Guns!" □



# Thousands Demand Immigrant Rights

By VINCE REYES

In an effort to draw public attention to the mounting attacks on immigrants and refugees, thousands of people in over 20 cities joined the commemoration of the first National Day of Justice for Immigrants and Refugees last October 19. The event was the first nationally coordinated effort on behalf of the rights of immigrants in recent years.

Marches, rallies, pickets, and hearings were held with hundreds of individuals and organizations lending their endorsements to the events. The National Day of Justice called for "Equality and Justice for All" and urged people to organize against the passage of repressive immigration legislation such as the pending Rodino/Mazzoli bill.

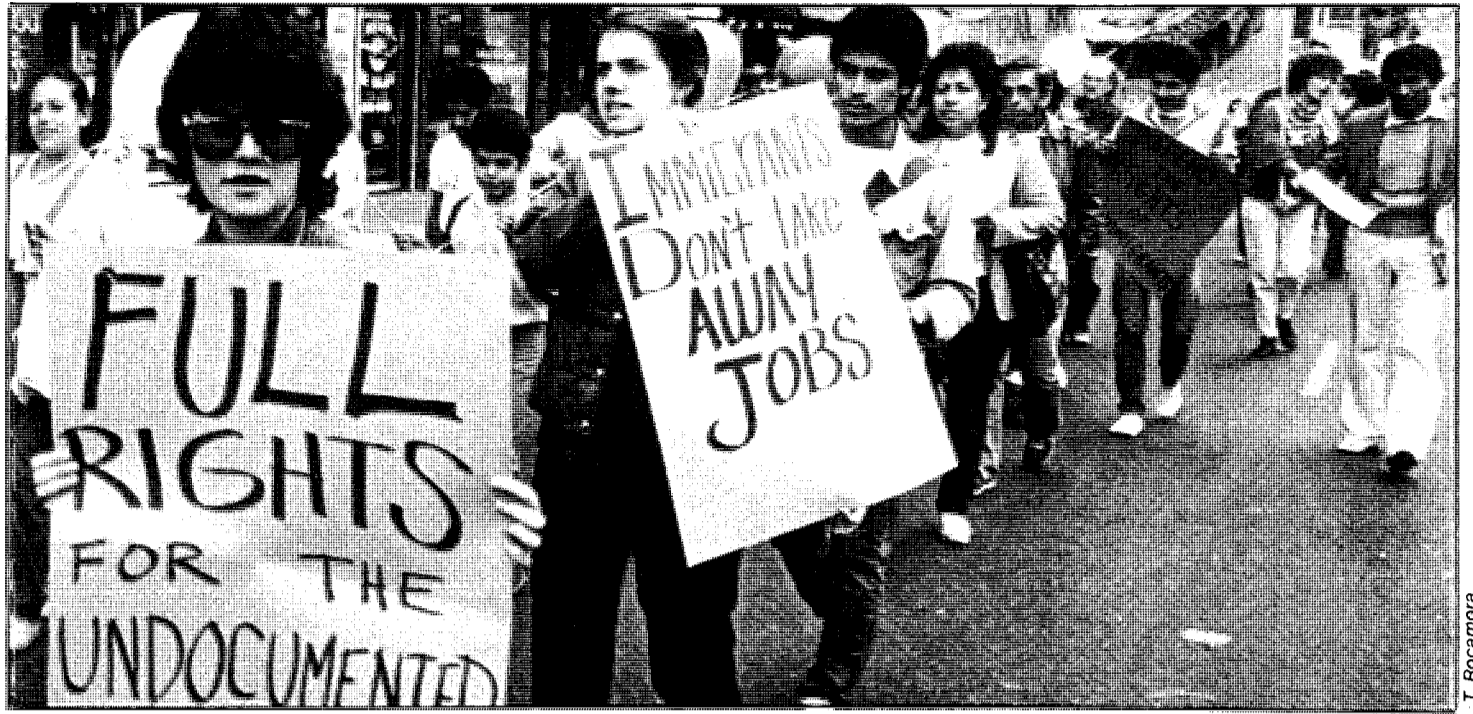
The events also called for a stop to Immigration and Naturalization Service abuses against immigrants. They also demanded that authorities cease the deportation of Central American and Caribbean refugees and harassment of the sanctuary movement.

## NATIONAL ACTION

Leaders from the Hispanic and Black Congressional Caucuses kicked off the Day of Justice with a national press conference in Washington, D.C.

Rev. Jesse Jackson was the keynote speaker for Chicago's rally which was held in front of the South African Consulate to emphasize the relationship between repressive foreign governments and the plight of immigrants in the U.S.

"We must fight for the dignity of workers everywhere—South Africa, Central America, the U.S.," Jackson said, "People are



San Francisco march: "Equal rights for immigrants and refugees."

not slipping across borders, people are driven across borders."

In New Jersey, a flotilla of canoes gained public and media attention as they braved 30-mile-an-hour winds to paddle out to the Statue of Liberty.

In New York City, a panel of city council and state assembly representatives heard public testimony on "The Plight of Undocumented Immigrants and Refugees" on October 17. Just before the hearings, Mayor Ed Koch, apparently pressured by the Latino community, held his own press conference to announce that he issued a memorandum to city agencies saying it was not necessary to turn over to the INS

names of undocumented persons using city services.

Following a rally in the Beach Flats area of Santa Cruz (the site of mass INS raids last year) protesters drove to Watsonville where they were joined by nearly a thousand cannery workers who are on strike against major U.S. canneries there. After marching past squadrons of police and sheriff department officers guarding the canneries, a rally commenced in a local park.

In San Francisco's predominantly Latino Mission District, 400 people marched through busy streets to a community park rally which included speakers and cultural performers. Mayor Dianne Feinstein proclaimed October 19 a day of recognition for immigrants.

## FILIPINOS JOIN IN

Contingents of Filipinos and Asians joined the National Day of Justice efforts in New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Honolulu. Organizers working with immigrants and refugees felt optimistic about the future involvement of the Filipino community.

"We consider the efforts to bring Filipinos out to this event as an important step in educating the community. It will take time for Filipinos to be able to identify and to join with the struggle for immigrant rights, but judging by the individuals and organizations who endorsed the event—we are already off to a good start," said Remy Reyes of the Union of Democratic Filipinos.

Wilma Cadorna of Los Angeles, a member of the national task force which sponsored the Day of Justice said: "The

public doesn't realize that undocumented immigrants and refugees are people without rights. Immigrants without documents, Filipinos included, are usually paid less than the minimum wage and work under the worst conditions in fields, factories, restaurants and sweatshops—then they are accused of taking jobs away from Americans and scapegoated for all of the country's problems."

## CATALYST FOR ORGANIZING

Other Day of Justice events took place in Boston, Seattle/Yakima, Merced/Fresno, San Diego, Phoenix, and Rio Grande Valley.

Future plans for the National Day of Justice are already beginning with state-wide coalitions forming from San Diego to the Rio Grande Valley to organize against the militarization of the U.S./Mexico border.

At the national level, Day of Justice organizers plan to centralize the documentation of INS and government abuses and will launch a "Know Your Rights" campaign.

Bill Tamayo, National Chair for the Day of Justice said they plan to put "a lot of effort into stopping the passage of immigration legislation that is clearly racist and built on totally false beliefs about immigrant labor."

He added that "October 19 has served as a catalyst for bringing about coalitions of refugee and immigrant rights groups, labor, church, and anti-intervention forces into a network which can help build the immigrant rights movement." □



Los Angeles Bayanihan Jaycees Ricky Polintan and Pete Lamdagan (standing l, r) discussing the Simpson/Rodino bill to clarify immigration issues to their membership.

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# Have Asians Really Made It?

By MADGE BELLO

The American media is finally taking notice of "the Asian community." The Asian population today is estimated at over five million, a 50% growth since the 1980 census, and is expected to reach 10 million by the year 2000.

Filipinos may already lead all Asian groups, according to a study by Leon F. Bouvier and Anthony Agresta of the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D.C.

But in reporting on the changes in the Asian population, the media has chosen to highlight the "Asian success story."

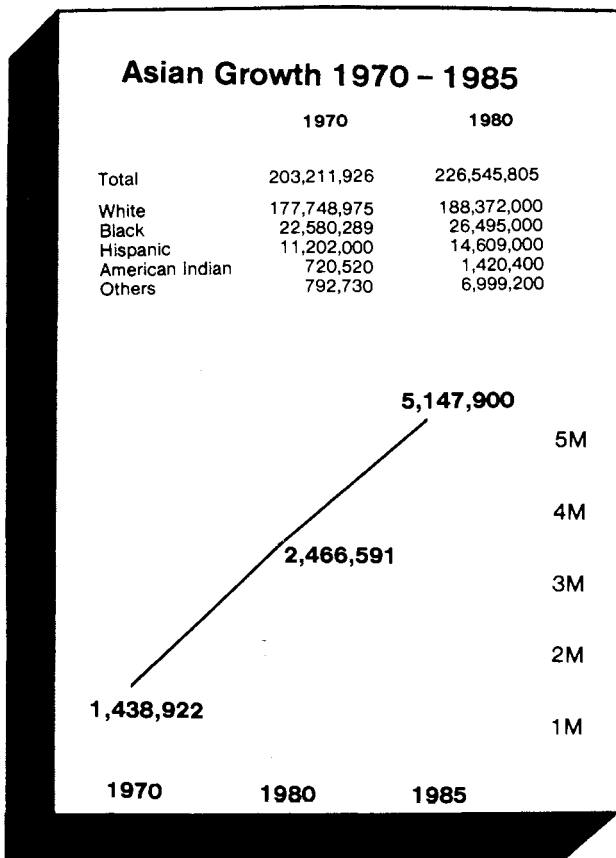
Asian communities are actually stratified with millionaires from Taiwan and Hong Kong and Japanese professionals on one end of the pole to Chinese garment workers, Filipino clerks and farmworkers, unemployed Cambodian and Laotian refugees on the other end, and a sizeable number of small business owners in between.

Regardless, articles such as one that appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* ("Asians Raise U.S. Standards," October 11, 1985), invariably conclude that "Asians are equaling or bettering white Americans in income, education, work record, life expectancy, and infant mortality."

Some Asians may find this conclusion flattering. But in the face of today's growing racial tensions, this generalization can be downright provocative.

## INTERPRETING CENSUS DATA

The substantial increase in the Asian count from the 1960s to the '70s was largely due to liberalization of immigration policies in 1965. But the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees following the Indochina debacle in 1975 led to the manifold increase in the last ten years. The Asian population increased by 120% from 1970 to 1980 and account for 1.2 million or 40% of U.S. immigration in the past five years.



The Asian population increased by 120% from 1970-1980 and 50% from 1980-1985 while the White population increased at only 6.4%, Blacks 17.4% and Hispanics 60.8% from 1970-1980. (Sources: 1970 and 1980 Census; Population Reference Bureau)

Most Asians are found in three major states and mainly in major metropolitan areas. California, with 35%, Hawaii, 16%, and New York, 9%, account for 60% of the total Asian population. New York has 58% of all Chinese. California and Hawaii claim two-thirds of all Filipinos and three-quarters of all Japanese.

As soon as Asians began immigrating in large numbers in the early '70s, they were already stereotyped as a "well-educated, well-earning model minority" composed mainly of "professionals." The generalization caused problems in the allocation of social services funds for Asian communities and prompted the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold a public hearing in May 1979 to determine the extent of the problem.

Dr. Roberto S. Mariano, an associate professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania told the

Commission that ignorance of the Asian-American condition can lead to callous and unfair treatment.

*Time Magazine's* July 8, 1985 special report, "Immigrants—The Changing Face of America," notes that the newcomers are "rapidly and permanently changing the face of America. It is altering its racial make-up, landscape and citiscape, its taste in food, clothes and music." Even its cover shows only two or three whites among a sea of colored faces.

This is not necessarily taken as good news by a "white American" majority that easily forgets that America is a land of immigrants.

The huge influx of Asians comes at a time of economic distress in the U.S. Their "success stories" have been viewed with envy rather than appreciation by the American public, stated Ron Wakabayashi, president of the Japanese American Citizens League at a California Attorney-General's Commission on Racial Violence hearing in San Francisco on October 8. As a result, he said, there has been a backlash against Asian communities.

Amado Cabezas, a professor at UC Berkeley currently studying the Asian statistics, said there are problems in how census data are being interpreted.

"They are myopic impressions drawn from aggregate information," he said.

At first glance, such data may indeed indicate that Asian Americans are doing well in income, employment, education, and schooling. But appropriate adjustments should be introduced, Cabezas suggested, because there are other factors that define the Asian American condition in the U.S.

Indeed, once these factors are included in the interpretation of aggregate data, the cherished myths about the "Asian model minority" are easily punctured.

## MYTH 1: THE MAJORITY OF ASIANS ARE HIGHLY EDUCATED AND EMPLOYED AS PROFESSIONALS

Statistics show that while only 16% of the U.S.-born population completed four years of college and only 17.5% whites did, 33% of foreign-born Asians finished college. This could lead to the conclusion that Asians are a privileged lot and crowd out other Americans from educational opportunities.

What these statistics do not reveal is that most of these Asian adults received their education not here in the U.S. but in their countries of origin.

The high percentage of Asians in universities such as Harvard (8%), Princeton (7%), UC Berkeley (21%) and UCLA (20.6%) has been used to justify the elimination of affirmative action programs for Asians.

The fact that many of these Asians are foreign students who will eventually return to their home countries is not even taken into consideration. For example, at U.C. Berkeley, of the 7510 Asian students enrolled in 1984, 1095 or one-sixth were foreign students.

Still in Berkeley, a 1983 report by the Chancellor's Office claimed there were too many Asians on campus. An Asian American task force on admissions said that Asian enrollment dropped 20.9% from 1984 as compared to only 11.5% for whites and blamed the administration for discouraging admissions.

While Asian educational and professional statistics are impressive, there is a disparity between education and the ability to obtain commensurate jobs.

Filipino doctors, nurses, lawyers, and accountants end up working as physicians' or nurses' aides, bookkeepers and billing clerks.

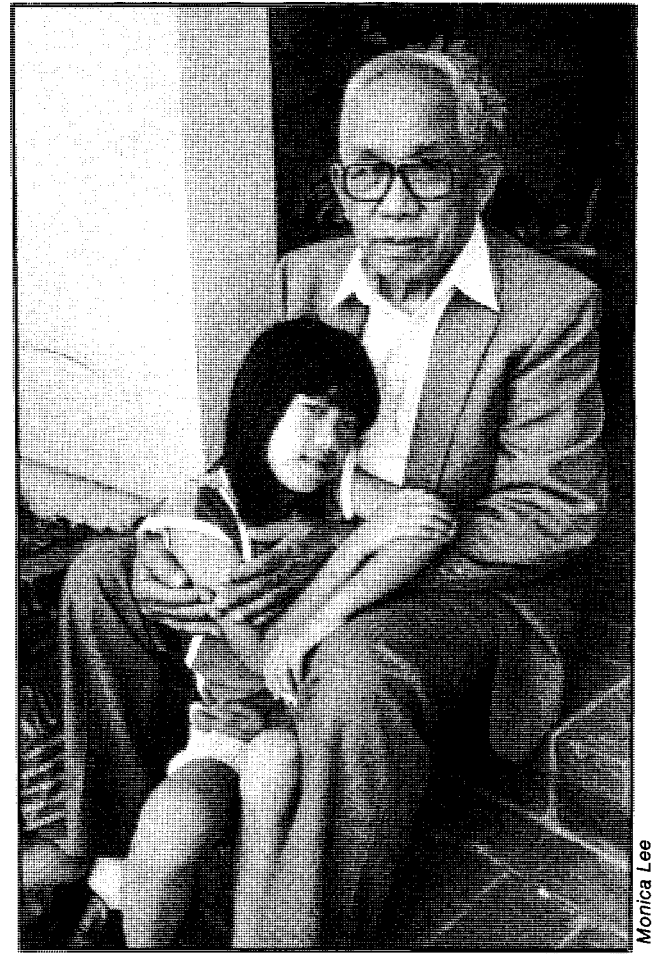
Filipino attorney Antonio Cube told *Time* he could not practice law in the U.S. and found work instead as a computer encoder in a Seattle bank.

"I almost went home," he said, "for five years my wife and I worked two full-time jobs." Cube said he was lucky to get some promotions at the bank, where he now works as a supervisor.

Korean and Chinese engineers find themselves working as janitors because of language barriers. The difficulties stem not only from problems in transferring skills from one culture to another, but from discriminatory licensure tests as well.

In California, for example, lawyers from Asian countries were required until recently to go through three years of schooling before they could take the Bar exams.

Accountants were required to pass a test until it was challenged as discriminatory by the Filipino Accountants Association. Filipino nurses repeatedly failed a licensing test, which was later found to be discriminatory by the Department of Fair Employment and Housing.



Extended families typify most Filipino households.

William Wong, who now works as the *Oakland Tribune's* ombudsman, wrote in an Asian newspaper in 1979 that "high paying professional jobs do not necessarily mean integration for many Asian Americans."

Well-trained, highly qualified Asian American professionals "often find themselves blocked from . . . top managerial positions in their companies and public institutions," wrote Wong.

## MYTH 2: ASIANS EARN HIGH INCOMES

The 1980 census shows that Asians have the nation's highest median income—\$22,700 per year—compared to \$20,800 for whites, and \$19,000 for the general population.

"Does this mean we have outstripped whites?" asked Berkeley Ethnic Studies professor Ron Takaki. "These income figures mean very little unless they are analyzed in relation to the number of workers per household," he said.

Asians surpass all other groups in the total number of workers per household at an average of 1.67, while whites averaged only 1.29 and Blacks, 1.26. In California, the gap is even larger at 1.7 for Asians and 1.28 for whites. In San Francisco-Bay Area it is 1.78 and 1.32, respectively. (These are data from the 1980 census.)

When this is factored in, Asians earned only \$12,229 per worker while whites received \$15,275. In other words, Takaki concluded, Asian income per household worker was only 80% of white income, and in urban areas such as San Francisco, the gap is even wider at 71%.

The median income for Filipinos in California with one, two, and three workers per household was \$14,186, \$24,595, and \$35,000 respectively.

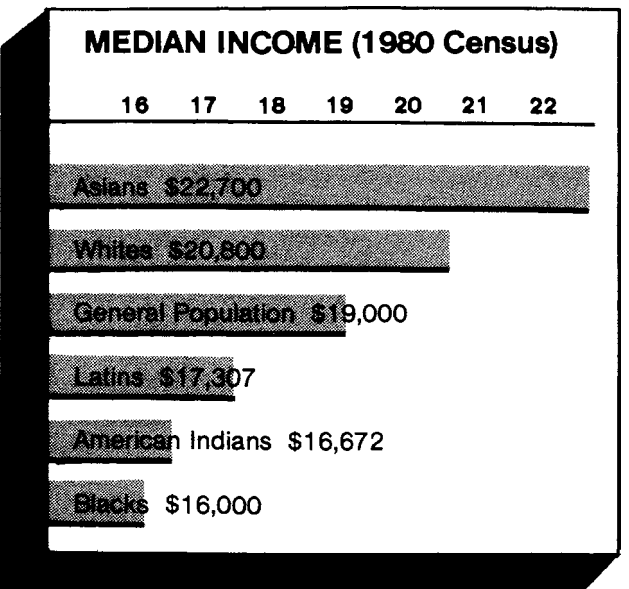
Those who immigrated after 1970 are likely to have three or more workers per family, wrote Bryant Robey in the May 1985 issue of *American Demographics*. Even U.S.-born Asians have more workers per family, said Robey who recently completed a study on Asians at the East-West Center in Hawaii.

"If Asians had the same number of workers as white families, Asians would have lower incomes."

Asian households are larger on the average than white households, with extended families which usually include grandparents, cousins or in-laws. Combined incomes can be undermined by larger family sizes.

Statistics show that 50% of Filipino households are made up of married couples with children, compared to

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Even with a high median income, Asians earn less compared to Whites because of the larger number of persons per household.



# While Resting, They Work Some More

By VICKY PEREZ

What happens in the days after August 21 commemorations and September 21 protests? More opposition activities, that's what happens. Those little potluck dinners, garage sales, book launchings, poetry readings and stints with the local media add up to a whole lot of political education against the Marcos regime by the year's end.

In New York, Imelda Marcos came to town to speak before the United Nations' General Assembly during its 40th Anniversary commemoration. So, the Ninoy Aquino Movement and the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network teamed up to give her an appropriate welcome. As the First Lady delivered her 15-minute speech on "the developed world's responsibility to the underdeveloped" banners assailed her and the Marcos regime from across the UN Plaza.

Archbishop of Negros Occidental Antonio Fortich recently visited New York to draw attention and support for the victims of economic crisis in his island. Before audiences in a community forum October 18 and a mass at St. Michael's in Jersey City October 13, Fortich spoke of the severe impoverishment and military atrocities occurring in Negros and rallied support for Operation Bulig, a U.S.-based effort to aid victims of starvation and repression in Negros. Fortich also had meetings with the Movement for a Free Philippines and CAMD supporters.

## AFTER THE BOOK, THE PLAY

They were so affected by "Fire Tree," a book of poems written by political prisoners in Camp Crame, that Maria Batayola and Stan Asis of the Northwest Asian American Theater wrote a play about it. Now, Seattle's CAMD/PSN is gearing up for the December premiere of "Fire-tree: Political Prison Hopes."

Bayatola and Asis hope to "popularize the works of the writers of Firetree" and more importantly, explained Asis, "to dramatize the message that we have problems in the Philippines around civil liberties and that people's lives are being wasted."

The Los Angeles Political Prisoners'



Protestors from CAMD and NAM "welcome" Imelda Marcos during her appearance at the United Nation's 40th anniversary assembly.

Adoption Group has raised an urgent action call on behalf of political prisoner Fr. Tizon and four others detained in Davao. The action, prompted by a letter from Tizon, includes a telegram campaign demanding the prisoners' release and meetings with city officials. The five were arrested September 20, 1982 along with Edgar Jopson who was killed during the arrest.

CAMD/PSN in L.A. is also sponsoring "Gabi ng Pelikulang Pilipino" November 9 at the California State University at Los Angeles. Featured will be "Sister Stella L.," the controversial film starring Vilma Santos on the religious sector's political involvement with the labor movement, and a film about the impact of the U.S. bases on the lives of Filipinos, "Minsa'y Isang Gamu-Gamo," starring Nora Aunor.

## MASS, DINNER FOR DIOKNO

In Sacramento, the NBC affiliate KCRA-TV will be running a five-part documentary on the Philippines in early November. At the urging of CAMD/PSN which was used as a resource, coverage will include the experiences of ex-detainee Fidel Agcaoil, whom the group adopted.

Fiery Jose Diokno and Fr. Jose Olaguer, both recovering from major medical operations, joined NAM, Movement for a Free Philippines and CAMD/PSN supporters in a mass given on their behalf in mid-October in San Francisco. A few days

later, Diokno was honored at a dinner where the MFP launched its "Filipinos Helping Filipinos Project, Gaston Ortigas and Fluellen Ortigas presiding.

An exhibit of Totoy Rocamora's photographs of his recent trip to Nicaragua opened October 20 at the Casa de Cultura Nicaraguense also in San Francisco. The exhibit was sponsored by the Casa, Friends of Nicaraguan Culture and CAMD/PSN.

Rocamora, a long-time CAMD member told the mixed crowd of 60 that he visited Nicaragua "to see what the Philippines would be like after the revolution." He asked the guests to "spread the word in defense of Nicaragua and start spreading the word too about another revolution—in the Philippines."

## LAWYERS INVOLVED

In cold Toronto, Canada, the International Conference of Black Lawyers tackled the issue of legal injustice in Philippines during its convention on October 12 and 13. After a presentation by the CAMD/PSN the 180 delegates passed a resolution condemning "the increasing harassment and summary execution of lawyers and members of various sectors in the Philippines."

The convention sent a telegram to the Philippines asking for the release of lawyers Antonio Arellano, Laurente Ilagan and Marcos Risonar, Jr., and urged the

National Black Lawyers Conference U.S. and the Delos Davis Law Guild Canada and other groups to keep themselves updated on the Philippine situation.

At the urging of New York National Lawyers Guild representative Jack Waterman, the convention also adopted a proposal supporting an investigative team of lawyers who would look deeper into the conditions in the country.

Meanwhile, activists are helping the Carlos Bulosan Cultural Workshop in the re-staging of the acclaimed play, "Carding." The play portrays immigrants' experiences with unemployment and discrimination, and lessons from the Philippine labor movement. It will be shown again November 28, 29, and 30 at the Hart House Theatre at the University of Toronto.

In much warmer Honolulu, the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines' monthly potluck forum in October featured Sr. Anna McCanany who gave an eyewitness account of the worsening conditions in Mindanao. The CHRPH is also getting a head start on the Christmas season by starting to organize their carolling campaign, an annual drive undertaken by all CAMD/PSN chapters in the U.S. and Canada to raise funds for the organization.

The Honolulu activists are reportedly preparing a carolling presentation that includes a Ferdinand-Imelda duet singing to the tune of Madonna's "Material Girl." □

# Asians I

Continued from page 10

only 36% of white households. The median number of persons per Filipino household is 3.5.

Contrary to what income statistics may imply, there is poverty in the Asian communities. The census reveals that 23,040 or 6.4% of Filipinos in California are living in poverty.

## MYTH 3: UNEMPLOYMENT IS LOW AMONG ASIANS

Unemployment rates among Asians tend to be lower than in the general population the census data indicate. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that immigrants take whatever jobs they can find, often low-paying seasonal ones.

Thus, it is more precise to describe Asians as *underemployed, overworked, and underpaid* rather than as unemployed," said Dennis Hayashi who heads the Employment/Labor Project of the Asian Law Caucus.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union's 1983 report found that a large number of Chinese garment workers employed in the close to 3,000 sweatshops in New York, work from nine to 10 hours per day, taking home only between \$80 to \$120 per week.

Asians tend to be underemployed for their levels of education and are underrepresented in corporate executive suites. Discrimination is behind this pattern. Their experiences and education in their home countries are usually not acknowledged by prospective employers.

In California, for example, Filipino accountants until 1980 were denied examination waivers making it hard for them to be employed as CPAs. But the State Board of Accountancy waived exams for accountants from the British Commonwealth, a practice later ruled to be discriminatory.

But finding jobs usually available for immigrants is fast becoming a difficult task, complained Boying

Bagon, a job placement counselor at the Oakland-based Filipino Immigrant Services. He echoed a growing concern among Asian job placement agencies.

"We've placed less people this year than in previous years," Bagon said. In 1983, the agency placed an average of 32 people out of 100 but was able to place only 27 out of 100 last year.

"And these jobs, mind you, are not necessarily commensurate to the person's skills or training," Bagon added.

Misinterpretations of census statistics have been used in the past to exclude Asians from special apprenticeship training programs in craft occupations, where they have been historically excluded.

## FANNING RESENTMENT

The popularization of the myth of Asian success can only lead to increased resentment against the new-

comers. Americans who are poorly informed about why they are out of work tend to blame immigrants for the problem.

The rapid changes brought by the Asian influx to once lily-white neighborhoods in Orange County, New Jersey or even in New York's Little Italy have been accompanied by backlash, noted *Newsweek* in December 1982.

In California's Monterey Park, bumper stickers saying "Will the Last American to Leave Monterey Park Please Bring the American Flag" became a common sight when Chinese immigrants began buying homes there.

Jingoism or white superpatriotism has been on an upsurge especially under the Reagan administration. Under this climate, industrial competition with Japan has produced a particular strain of xenophobia involving Asians.

"U.S. restrictions on imports and the 'Buy American' slogans popularized by trade unions while directed at competitive imports in general, have an anti-Japanese edge," said Mila de Guzman, a Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) activist active in immigrant rights organizing in San Francisco. "With the media hype of Asians having great jobs and good pay, the resentment grows even stronger," she said.

De Guzman cited the example of Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American who was murdered in Michigan by disgruntled autoworkers who mistook him for a Japanese.

Violence against Southeast Asian refugees trying to get established in the fishing industry is also on the increase.

The resentment is not helped any by the popularity of racist and fascist cultural fare such as "Rambo" and "The Year of the Dragon," films that portray Asians in stereotypical ways.

Most unfortunately, this resentment has spilled over to other minority communities who should be the natural allies of Asians in combatting attacks on social services for the poor and disadvantaged.



'Buy American': slightly veiled anti-Japanese message.

## Book Review:

# Poems As Precious As Rice Seedlings

By SESSHU FOSTER

*A Comrade is as Precious as a Rice Seedling*  
by Mila D. Aguilar, 1984, Kitchen Table Press  
P.O. Box 2753, Rockefeller Center Station  
New York, NY 10185. 37 pp., \$4.50

*Why Cage Pigeons?* by Mila D. Aguilar  
Free Mila D. Aguilar Committee, P.O. Box 1726  
Cambridge, MA 02238. 27 pp.

These poems unfold with a tensile grace in their direct brevity. The quotidian imagery is reinforced by an unmistakable message, all of which is informed by the militant's discipline, revealing a vital strength. *A Comrade is as Precious as a Rice Seedling* is a somewhat longer, more representative selection of Aguilar's poetry. *Why Cage Pigeons?* is a fine selection of her more recent prison poems.

*A Comrade* reveals the tenderness and tenacity of her work in words. The apparent Brechtian simplicity of language delineates the emotional reserves here well:

*On an Antipolo hilltop  
We watch the soft melting sun  
Settle lazily over  
The scattered shimmering  
Multicolored gems of the city,*

*And later the full moon  
On its gentlest night.  
She is relaxed, I wonder how long,  
Sorsogon beneath its placidity  
Hides the knowledge of sudden gales . . .*  
("Sights")

The salient data apprehended in these lyrics is presented in a straightforward, no-nonsense manner. It therefore speaks not simply of a verbal, intellectual engagement with a cause, but a personal commitment to the struggle of the Filipino people, which is the material basis for these poems.

Aguilar's politics are explicit:

*My son asks  
How will it be  
The New People's Army taking over.*

*My son,  
It will be  
The way the Manilans greet their New Year.  
("My Son Asks")*

And with declarations like this in print the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship would have a clear desire for Aguilar's silence, if not the legal authority to silence her. On August 6, 1984, journalist, mother and poet Mila D. Aguilar was arrested and charged with "subversion and conspiracy to commit rebellion." She remains a prisoner at Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan, under the Preventive Detention Action, a repressive code like those enforced against political dissent in South Africa, Chile, Northern Ireland, and other military dictatorships.

In this context of a people's resistance, a context in which Aguilar consciously places herself, the enduring strengths of the discipline of the militant so readily inform the prosaic subject matter of these poems. In *Why Cage Pigeons?* she speaks against the "buryong syndrome" of psychological pressure used by the Marcos regime against political detainees. Even in the relative isolation of imprisonment, the poems speak to her shared concerns for her people, whether they are "short-sighted men," her fellow prisoners, "comrades," or her son.

After the rigors of solitary confinement and indefinite detention, Aguilar maintains the inner discipline which is the other side to her spiritual generosity:

*The other  
is the prison  
where they will  
hammer you  
into the image  
of their own likeness,  
whoever they are.  
("Prison")*



Mila Aguilar

Her self-discipline under adverse conditions is spoken to in poems such as, "Comrade," where she chastises herself for causing another's concern, and in "Understanding," where she writes:

*One chooses  
what to hear  
and then again  
what one hears  
one can silence  
because  
one has chosen*

Having made the choice to give whole-hearted commitment, Aguilar tensely reminds herself (and us) of that responsibility, and it is the tenseness of the situation that charges these brief lines with a spark like that which leaps from synapse end.

But her inner struggle is not wholly personal, subjective or individual. It has a material basis:

*Have you ever borne on your shoulder  
Two liters-full of water taken from the spring  
Two kilometers away, through mud and slippery stone?  
  
Or run your fingers through gashes on your hands  
From working on rice stalks and corn stalks  
With an old fine sickle?  
Have you not felt the gnawing of hunger  
  
In your stomach, or seen babies die of bronchopneumonia  
("To A Social Democrat")*

In poems such as this, and in "To a Foreigner," she must remind those more detached individuals who may view her poetic commitment with some disdain that her esthetics are class conscious and manifest a full commitment in practice as much as in verbiage. At the same time Aguilar remains aware that her emotional reserves are formed in common with those of her friends, comrades and their people:

*How you've changed, Comrade,  
From the self-importance  
And garrulousness of the past.  
What the revolution could do to us, indeed;  
The little sacrifices  
Not seeing your children grow up  
The hundred and one long marches  
After the sudden shots in the dark  
The errors  
And, yes, the collective pushing you on  
To change yourself.*

Aguilar's poems of outer oppression and inner resistance give eloquent, telling testimony to the people's resistance in the Philippines. The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship

Continued on page 14

## Untitled or "Sixteen Hours"

Karating mo lang ba kaibigan?  
Naririto ka na sa bayang inaasam  
Anong akala mo ang magiging kapalaran . . .  
Pa-easy easy lang?  
Ginto kahit saan  
Walang katapusan  
Ang kaligayahan?

Ngunit yan ang akala mo!

Ang buhay rito  
Batak sa trabaho  
Lunes hanggang Biyernes  
Kadamay pa ang Sabado  
Dahil lamang sa credit  
Na babayaran mo!

Otso oras di maghusto  
Sixteen hours ang kailangan mo  
Otso oras di-maghusto  
Overtime ang kailangan mo . . .  
Kaibigan

Karating mo lang ba kaibigan?  
Naririto ka na sa bayan ni Uncle Sam,  
Anong akala mo ang magiging kapalaran . . .  
Pa-easy easy lang  
Taxes kahit saan  
Walang katapusan  
Ang 'yong babayaran?

Iyan ba ang akala mo?

Iya'y totoo . . .  
Kaibigan.

## Para sa mga kaibigan sa Kabilang dako

Kaytagal ng panahon  
Tayo'y nagkasama  
Mayroong mga araw  
Malulungkot, masasaya  
Sana man lang hanggang ngayon pa . . .  
Ngunit ang buhay  
Ay sadyang umiba.

Ang landas mo'y  
Katulad ng landas ko  
Hindi hihinahon  
hanggang sa dulo  
Sana man lang  
Masasabi natin sa huli  
Na ang buhay nga  
Ay napakaganda.

Huwag kang mag-alala  
Giginhawa rin tayo sa wakas  
Sisikapin lang na mabuhay  
Mabubuhay habang may lakas . . .

Kaytagal ng panahon  
Tayo'y nagkasama  
Mayroong mga araw  
Malulungkot, masasaya  
Sana man lang hanggang ngayon pa . . .  
Ngunit ang buhay  
ay sadyang iiba.

Larry E. Geronca  
Los Angeles, CA

Larry E. Geronca is a 1975 graduate of Maryhurst Seminary, Baguio City where he started directing school plays and shows. He did mission work in an Igorot village in the Mountain Province then went back to his native Negros as a Humanities professor at the Riverside Medical Center Colleges. He joined his family in the States in 1980 and immediately became involved in the community's

cultural affairs, producing last year "Sariling Atin," a program of Philippine songs and dances. Larry is vice president of Kahirup International and is concerned about the situation in his native Negros. He has performed in events organized by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and the Los Angeles Political Prisoners Adoption Group. Featured here are two songs he composed.

### 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.



# The Battle for Manila (1898-1899)

By MIKE GONZALEZ

*He who succeeds,  
becomes an emperor.  
He who fails, becomes a bandit.  
(An ancient Chinese proverb)*

On August 14, 1898, the walled city of Manila, besieged by both the American and Filipino armies, surrendered. Not to the Filipinos, but to the American forces. As American intentions in the Philippines became obvious, the Filipinos were faced with the challenge of recovering Manila from them.

Their success would have dealt a symbolic blow to American prestige and colonial ambitions in Asia. But the foreigners were determined to be emperors.

The battle for Manila was the culmination of events that began in 1896. In August of that year, Andres Bonifacio launched an armed struggle against the Spanish. After a few unsuccessful skirmishes in the suburbs of Manila, Bonifacio retreated to the surrounding countryside. There, the poorly armed Katipunan guerillas fought hit-and-run battles with the Spanish.

As the conflict shifted towards the provinces south of Manila, the prominence of Emilio Aguinaldo of Cavite grew. In 1897, he consolidated his leadership by pulling a "constitutional coup" on Bonifacio's Katipunan. Under his new leadership, the Katipunan was superseded by a new government and an army. When Bonifacio rejected the new order, he was arrested by Aguinaldo's men, tried and executed.

Under Aguinaldo's leadership, the Spanish were brought to a stalemate. To gain respect for his army and collect more arms and funds, Aguinaldo agreed to a ceasefire and self-exile in Hong Kong. His army was to be disbanded and allowed to rejoin colonial society without fear of reprisals.

As Aguinaldo bided his time in Hong Kong, some of his officers reverted to guerilla activity. The secret Katipunan organization was reactivated and the Spanish harrassed in the provinces. Thus, when Aguinaldo returned, Spanish rule was all but ended, its strength confined to Manila. Three centuries of colonial rule stood like a termite-ridden house about to topple.

United States intervention provided Spain an honorable exit from this debacle. When the USS Maine mysteriously blew up in Spanish Havana, war was declared between the two nations. Admiral George Dewey was sent to neutralize the Spanish armada and secure Manila. The "Battle of Manila Bay" was fought near the Cavite naval base and Dewey's modern fleet made short work of Admiral Montojo's aging armada. The capture of Manila gave the Americans the chance to do a little sabre-rattling and proclaim its interest in the Pacific and Far East.

Aguinaldo had returned to the Philippines under Dewey's auspices. He had been led to believe that American arms and recognition of his government were forthcoming. It was a fatal assumption, one that Aguinaldo held for so long it dulled his sense of tactics. He was placed in a situation where political and diplomatic decisions over-rode military demands.

Indeed, Aguinaldo's army controlled most of the towns in Luzon and the areas around the walled city of Manila. On June 12, 1898, Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines but the Americans officially ignored the event. Thus, Aguinaldo concluded that the first battle to be won was the symbolic and political one.

On August 14, however, Spanish Manila surrendered to the Americans rather than to Aguinaldo's forces. The Americans barred his army from marching victoriously into the walled city. Aguinaldo lost the symbolic battle on two counts: he gained neither the surrender of Manila nor the recognition of Philippine independence.

Deprived of Manila, Aguinaldo set up his government in Malolos, a few miles north. He now must play a waiting game with the Americans. In the meantime, he had to ensure the loyalty of wealthy and educated Filipinos, some of whom were collaborating with the Americans. He also had to control the impetuosity of his officers who were finding the Americans more intolerable day by day. Most of all, he had to plan for the inevitable confrontation with the American army.

Manila was the focus of Aguinaldo's preparations. On advice from Teodoro Sandiko, he sought to organize upper class Filipinos into "popular committees" that would raise funds and provide recruits for the army. By November of 1898, Tondo was organized led by Rudiguindo Simon; Trozo, by Vicente Reyes; Binondo, by Luis Yangko; Kiapo, by Gaudencio Elesague; Sampaloc, by Bonifacio Arevalo; San Miguel, by Martin Garcia; and Ermita, by Leon Guerrero.

Each committee had about 26 members. Meetings were disguised as athletic or social gatherings, and American officers were even invited to improve their



Company of American volunteers during Fil-Am war.

covers. The committees were to serve as a Manila-based underground leadership structure in the event of open conflict with the Americans.

The Americans, who had spies everywhere, knew of the "committees." However, General Otis, commander of the American forces, was less concerned with the educated classes than with the "worst social elements in the city." This was in reference to the *sandatahan* who were, in Otis' words, "the radical characters" organizing within the city.

The sandatahan were part of the early Katipunan. When the army was organized, they became auxiliaries—digging trenches and hauling ammunition and supplies without pay. On September 10, Aguinaldo ordered General Pantaleon Garcia to organize the sandatahan. By November, about 4,000 sandatahan organized in branches called "*armas blancas*" with a full complement of officers, cooled their heels in Manila's suburbs.

In the meantime, the city, according to long time resident John Foreman, became a place of incessant street brawls, drunkenness and orgies under the Americans. Natives were insulted and called "Gu Gu." The privacy of homes were violated with impunity.

Occasionally, Filipinos resorted to *dukut*—the kidnapping of stray soldiers. Tension in the city increased when McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" was posted in the streets of Manila. In December of 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States under the Treaty of Paris. On January 4, 1899, McKinley issued his proclamation. The two events confirmed Aguinaldo's worst fears. He denounced America's imperialistic ambitions.

The battle lines were drawn but neither party was anxious to begin hostilities. Otis needed more men and Aguinaldo more preparations. On January 9 Aguinaldo issued secret instructions to the sandatahan.

The sandatahan should watch out for American sympathizers. Their leaders must reconnoiter the weak points in the American positions to use in a surprise attack. Before this attack, four men should divert suspicion by presenting the American commander with a gift, while the rest should keep out of sight in readiness. A sandatahan dressed as a woman should then approach a sentinel and silence him. Complete surprise would be necessary.

The attackers must be resolute. They should slash their bolos left and right and not even pause for the rifles of the fallen. In case bolos were not available, lances and arrows with sharp heads made of iron, brass or umbrella ribs should be used. "Experience has taught me," Aguinaldo's instructions went, "that rifles are useless in this kind of combat."

From the rooftops, the Americans should be assaulted with stones, timber, and red-hot iron. Heavy furniture, boiling water, oil and molasses, rags soaked in coal oil should be thrown at American soldiers passing below. Throwing glass must be avoided—the sandatahan went barefoot. Hot liquids should be passed on by the women and children to the sandatahan who would hurl these as bombs or pour these over the heads of the enemy by using bamboo tubes.

The combat should be short, Aguinaldo's instructions went on. Prisoners taken must be respected. The property of foreigners, including those of the Chinese, should be respected. Officers and men must set the example for good conduct, but precautions against traitors must be taken.

Manila was brought to a panic as these instructions spread through the grapevine. Rumor was that 200,000

rebels and former employees of Americans and Europeans would commence an attack on January 15. At that appointed date, the rumor went, the rebels would cut the electrical lines and massacre the Americans.

The situation made everyone jumpy. When someone shot a dog in the Divisoria district, a report sent to Aguinaldo read like this:

"All Americans much alarm ran aimlessly with fright, squeezing in where they could, some from fear throwing themselves into the river. Fearful for their safety, Filipinos began an exodus from the city. Even the railroad had to run a special train on an hourly schedule and in 24 hours served a traffic of 5,000 people.

The long drawn tension finally came to a head on February 4, 1899, when an American sentry fired on Filipino soldiers. Caught by surprise, the Filipino lines were quickly pushed back by superior American arms. Otis, however, proceeded cautiously and waited for more reinforcements from the mainland.

Aguinaldo used the lull in American activity to reorganize and discuss plans for taking Manila. An attack of the regular army under General Antonio Luna was to keep the Americans engaged in northern Manila. Other units were to infiltrate the city through the swamps of Tondo and link up with the sandatahan to sabotage American defenses. To signal their advance, Tondo, Santa Cruz, and Malate were to be set on fire.

Luna planned to attack at 8:00 at night. The sandatahan were to take up positions in San Pedro Street. The Zorrilla barracks housing American soldiers would be attacked. Simultaneously, the prisoners in Bilibid would be liberated by allies from inside and given arms. Meanwhile, the Filipino servants of Americans and Europeans were to set fire to their masters' houses. This would be signalled by two red balloons and rockets.

Tondo sharpshooters would then open fire, catching American soldiers in a crossfire, while the sandatahan from Trozo, Binondo, Kiapo, and Sampaloc followed up the attack from the streets. By 12 midnight, the sandatahan from Paco, Ermita, Malate, Santa Cruz, and San Miguel were to give reinforcements. At 3:00 a.m., Spanish volunteer soldiers would attack Fort Santiago.

The actual attack occurred on February 22. On the appointed hour, the sandatahan went to work. Fire broke out in the rich quarter of Sta. Cruz. John Bass, a correspondent for *Harper's Magazine*, described the event as "Manila's Night of Terror."

Fire spread towards the Escolta business area and firemen had trouble containing it. John Bass reported: "Someone kept cutting the hose. The firemen were suspected. At last a soldier caught a Malay bending over the hoses and prodding it with a large knife. The soldier bringing his rifle down with a violent blow, broke the native's neck."

Hardly had this fire been subdued when another one broke out in Tondo. Luna's men led by Colonel Francisco "Paco" Roman had infiltrated the rear of the American lines and pushed towards Tondo. Another element from Roman's group rushed deep into Calle Jolo (now Juan Luna St.).

The fires, the blare of guerilla bugles, and the shooting confused the Americans. Gathering their wits about, they made their stand on Calle Iriz (now Claro M. Recto St.) near the Bilibid Prison and waited for reinforcements.

By now the Binondo market was on fire, but Lucio Lucas, leading a detachment of *armas blancas*, failed to reach the Meisic police station. The Americans, having

Continued on page 14

# Asians II

Continued from page 11

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example, explicitly supported the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, blaming immigrants for taking jobs away from Black youth.

The impact is harsher for many refugees, who are often resettled in poor, depressed Black neighborhoods. In West Philadelphia's ghettos, Laotians found themselves amidst crime, unemployment and hostile Blacks. The refugees, in turn, develop their own anti-Black prejudices.

## 'MODEL MINORITY': A DIVISIVE NOTION

This is why hosannahs to "Asian success" are ultimately provocative. While the description "model minority" may tickle the egos of the Asian communities' elites, it is a divisive notion.

Blacks and Hispanics are being asked to look up to Asians as their role models, observed Berkeley pro-

fessor Takaki. This is a way of downgrading demands for government intervention and structural economic changes in favor of conservative Reaganite strategies of self-help and ethnic enterprise.

Apart from pitting Blacks against Asians the notion also overlooks the important differences between them.

Takaki said 37% of Black households are headed by females with no males present, compared to only 11% of Asian families, and this brings Black economic resources down because women are paid less than men. Furthermore, many Asians carried both skills and education with them when they immigrated to the U.S. Some even carried capital for small business ventures.

The complex historical circumstances leading to the shortage of Black and Hispanic professionals clearly are not the fault of trained Asians, asserted Setsuko Matsunaga-Nishi before the 1979 Civil Rights Commission.

"Nonetheless, the tendency to blame their low status on what is perceived to be an 'outsider' element is understandable as it is deplorable," she said.

The portrayal of Asians as model minorities obstructs the potential for joint work or political coalitions with other minorities.

"It can be used to compare them with 'less successful' American minorities—an unsavory strategy to divide and rule the politically disadvantaged in this country," said William Wong.

"This is really where it hurts because coalitions—multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalitions—are crucial to the future of all minorities," asserted de Guzman.

"Minorities have to seek out each other be it on the issue of civil rights, electoral empowerment or having a voice in foreign policy where such questions as the Philippines, South Africa and Central America are at a boiling point," she said.

"This was the Rainbow Coalition's message. Insist that Asians have made it and you drive a wedge in every potential coalition," de Guzman added.

As far as *Oakland Tribune* ombudsman Wong is concerned, the term "Model Minority" is so odious it should be excised in future articles about Asian-Americans. □

# Laxalt II

Continued from page 7

1986 and 1987 elections and promised to relax his personal grip over the military.

But insiders had a different tale to tell. Official messages from diplomats in Manila claimed, "He dismissed Laxalt's points one by one."

Throughout the meeting, the Philippine president remained unrepentant, according to *Newsweek*, and privately, U.S. officials

acknowledge he made absolutely no promises of reform.

## SEVERE TEST AHEAD

Ferdinand Marcos may have chosen to brush aside the criticisms but he is likely to hear it again and again in the coming months.

For Reagan's signal has reactivated U.S. Congress liberals who, for lack of a posture that is different from Reagan's have been reduced to merely tailing White House initiatives. "You could feel it," commented one legislator's aide. "The Philippines just went up a couple of notches on the list of things you worry about."

Through hearings and other forms of congressional inquiry, the Philippines is likely to remain a lively issue and Marcos can expect more dirty linen to be aired. In fact, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee already heard Laxalt's report on October 30.

Washington, in fact, promises to provide an ideal environment for a pro-U.S. opposition to flourish. This in turn could drive the wedge ever more firmly between right and left flanks of the opposition which would do the Reagan folks just fine.

The broad democratic opposition therefore will be severely tested in the next few months. BANDILA leaders must show

that they would not allow themselves to be used by the U.S. in an anti-communist crusade. BAYAN and the left will have to work overtime to emphasize their common interests with the moderates, to keep as many forces from becoming Washington's political reserve.

One hopeful sign from Manila is that the two groups hope to engineer a joint action to protest Gen. Fabian Ver's acquittal for the Aquino assassination which is expected sometime before Christmas.

It was, after all, the murder of Benigno Aquino which made the opposition unite once before. Perhaps, provoked by the release of one of his killers, it can do the same thing once again. □

# Battle for Manila

Continued from page 13

learned of the attack earlier, were prepared to meet him. Lucas' men retreated towards Calle Azcarraga but found their route blocked. In hand-to-hand combat they broke through the American detachment and managed to disappear into the night.

The Americans counter-attacked the next day. Reinforced with fresh troops and gunboats, they pushed the Filipinos into Tondo. At the Pretil tramway station, Paco Roman's men resisted until late in the morning. Others were able to hold a blockhouse but had to withdraw for lack of ammunition.

General Luna assessed the operation and on the 24th reported to Aguinaldo that had it not been for the refusal of the Cavite soldiers to attack when ordered, "our victory would have been complete."

General Otis, although horrified by Luna's bold plan, admitted that the attack was "successful in its inception and primary stages." Aguinaldo took propaganda advantage of the small victory even as Luna accused him of holding back the Cavite soldiers (his province-mates). Luna, insulted by this breach of

discipline, later resigned his post.

Sensing disarray in his opponents' ranks, General Otis pushed his advantage. With fresh troops from the mainland, his forces captured Aguinaldo's capital in Malolos by the end of March.

The battle for Manila illustrated the problems that beset Aguinaldo's campaign to win independence for the Philippines. First, there was the issue of secrecy. Successful military action is premised on this. Lucio Lucas' attack on the Meisic police station was thwarted because as early as February 15 Otis knew about the plan. On the basis of this information, General Hughes, the Provost Marshall, was able to round up 125 leaders of the underground. Obviously, someone from Aguinaldo's camp provided the information.

In 1901, Colonel Crowder received a letter from the officer whose assignment was to free the Bilibid prisoners. This officer served as the prison surgeon at the time of the Manila attack:

*"Luckily, not only the savage measure prescribed was never carried into execution, but it was impossible to attack the American army, the men who have been detailed to do it in Manila having only a few hundred bolos as arms, and the chiefs of the militia understood that with such arms they could not think of resisting the rifles and cannon of the American."*



No doubt this awe for American military superiority also reflected the feelings of many in the Filipino intelligentsia of the time. This thinking weakened the resolve of the educated class that Aguinaldo hoped to keep loyal.

But Luna, Aguinaldo and other leaders were not easily intimidated by American power. Aguinaldo, however, failed to seriously consider switching fully to unconventional warfare against a superior foe. Luna, a student of military science, was more flexible and believed they had a chance against the Americans by waging a guerilla war. A letter sent to him by a certain A. Guzman advocated "guerilla warfare for the space of six months." This, Guzman said, countering Aguinaldo's preference for regular warfare, "would irritate the Americans and perhaps, justly powerful reasons would compel the nations to definitely resolve the recognition of our nation."

Luna even asked the aid of Aguinaldo's adviser, Apolinario Mabini, as early as April to convince the leader to adopt guerilla warfare. Mabini wrote his friend, Galiciano Apacible on the issue: "The people greatly desire to use guerilla warfare, in the hope of infiltrating the provinces. Since they are more or less scattered, it will be easy to destroy [the Americans] troop by troop."

Aguinaldo opted to fight with a regular army as a sovereign nation would, only to be forced to revert to secret guerilla units by the end of 1899. By then the Americans were on the offensive. Their effective military tactics and counterinsurgency policies soon brought the Filipinos into their fold. Those who chose to remain in the hills, men like Macario Sakay who fought on until 1906, were called "bandits." □

*Mike Gonzalez majored in history and was an instructor at the University of the Philippines History Department.*

## FIRE TREE

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---

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# Poems

Continued from page 12

ship has not been successful at silencing this voice for social change.

In a spirit of solidarity, not only with Mila D. Aguilar, but with those of her countrymen enduring an enforced silence for generations, we ought to see that her work is available and read. And more, here within the U.S., the Committee to Free Mila Aguilar is circulating petitions demanding Aguilar's immediate release, and urging the U.S. Congress to consider Aguilar's case when reformulating U.S. policy toward the Philippines.

These petitions have been endorsed by writers such as Noam Chomsky, Alice Walker, Grace Paley, Nadine Gordimer, Howard Zinn, and others, and are available at the following address:

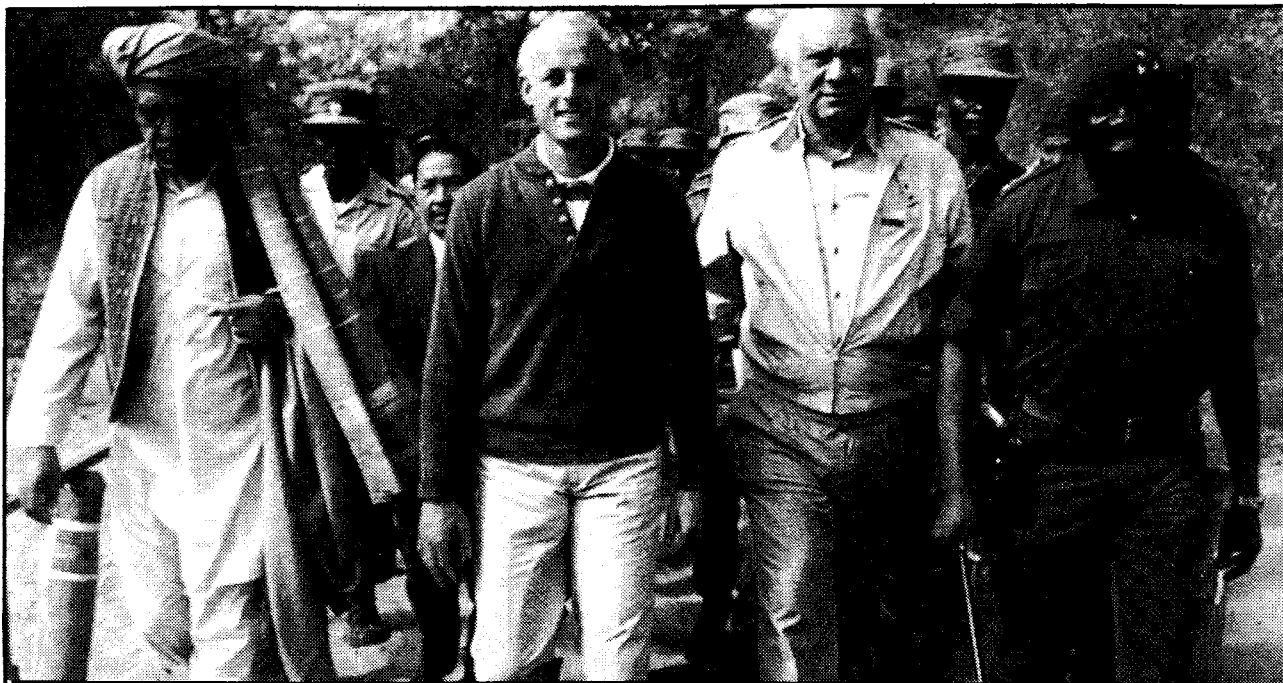
Committee to Free Mila Aguilar  
P.O. Box 1726  
Cambridge, MA 02238

We ought to add all our names on behalf of this impassioned voice of the opposition. □

*Sesshu Foster grew up in the Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles where he now lives with his wife and daughter. His works have been published in small press publications. Sesshu's most recent works appeared in Compages (San Francisco), La Comuna (Seattle), and Guatemala: Between the Lines in Los Angeles.*



# Rightists, Contras Go International



Reagan's "Freedom Fighters": (l-r) Wardak, Lehrman, Calero and Savimbi.

Mark Peters (Newsweek)

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

When President Ronald Reagan, speaking to the United Nations 40th anniversary assembly last October, referred to "Marxist-Leninist governments who are at war with their own people," he was championing the cause of an emerging network of international "freedom fighters."

"The people" Reagan referred to actually gathered for a few days in the Angolan bush last July. The counterrevolutionaries—Afghan, Nicaraguan and Laotian *contras*—were flown all the way from New York via Johannesburg, South Africa and hosted by Angolan counterrevolutionary chief Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The occasion was the founding conference of Democratic International, an alliance against "the Soviet Empire." According to the chief organizer, Lew Lehrman, the meeting was intended to bring "hope, encouragement and support" to the foes of the Soviet Union. Lehrman, who lost the New York gubernatorial race to Mario Cuomo in 1982, is the head of the conservative lobby group, Citizens for America, the meeting's funding source.

Among the big shots present was Adolfo Calero, head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the Nicaraguan *contra* based in Honduras. The list of those who could not come included the leaders of the Mozambique National Resistance, Afghan rebels and Kampuchean anti-communists.

South Africa had to refuse passage to the Mozambican rebels to avoid unnecessary diplomatic embarrassment for the already shaky Botha regime. Pakistan also discouraged the departure of the Afghan rebels, leaving Lehrman to settle for Haroom Wardak, a rebel representative in Washington. The Kampuchean rightist rebel leader Son Sann sent a solidarity message.

## PEP RALLY

At the pep rally Lehrman read aloud portions of a letter from President Reagan which said "[We] have to be moved by the example of men and women who struggle every day, at great personal risk, for rights that we have enjoyed from birth."

Lehrman also handed each delegate a framed copy of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, to claim that, like the Nicaraguan *contras*, they were also, in Reagan's eyes, the moral equivalent of America's founding fathers.

The choice of venue highlighted UNITA's usefulness as a guerilla role model. Savimbi claims to control one-third of Angolan territory with a South African-backed army of 50,000. He impressed the delegates with UNITA's mock battles that used live ammunition. (This was all before the Angolan revolutionary government chewed Savimbi's proud army to pieces in an offensive last October in which South African troops and planes had to illegally step in to save the counterrevolutionaries.)

The two-day conference ended with a note of caution from Savimbi who warned that these international "freedom fighters" should concentrate on building strong bases in their home countries because, he said, "alliances shift." But it was an earnest effort to build and coordinate international counterrevolution.

Democratic International is by no means the only private initiative enjoying Washington's support. A much older and more influential one is the World Anti-

Communist League headed by Ret. Gen. John Singlaub, head of the Institute for Regional and International Studies which trains Nicaraguan *contras* and the Salvadoran police.

Singlaub was the commander of the U.S. forces in Korea when he was forced to retire after publicly criticizing President Carter for reducing the U.S. ground forces there and for not producing the neutron bomb. Aside from heading up a number of rightwing groups, Singlaub advises the Pentagon on counterinsurgency and counterrevolution in Central America and serves as the liaison between the National Security Council and the FDN. WACL was founded in Taiwan in 1966. Singlaub set up the U.S. chapter in 1981 with funds from Taiwan sources.

## RIGHTWING AFFILIATES

WACL counts among its affiliates some big guns of the New Right: Senators Jesse Helms, Strom Thurmond and Carl Curtis; Rep. Robert Dornan of California; Phyllis Schlafly and William Buckley. The John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom and the terrorist group of Cuban exiles, Alpha 66, are also affiliates of WACL. WACL has links with neo-Nazi groups and Latin death squads.

WACL claims it has chapters in 98 countries and that it receives \$500,000 a month in contributions. It claims to have channeled \$2 million in contributions from abroad—from Taiwan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, and Paraguay—to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

Among its financiers are Bert Halbert, president of Texas Royalty and Exploration; oil magnate Bunker Hunt; Christian Broadcasting evangelist Pat Roberts; beer magnate Joseph Coors, and Moral Majority chief Jerry Falwell.

WACL trains Nicaraguan *contras* and Salvadoran police on intelligence-gathering and psychological warfare operations. It is the main conduit of funds for the *contras* and continues to gather material support for Afghan rebels and other anti-communist movements in Asia and Africa.

At its annual convention in San Diego last year,

## Salvador Left

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Washington's blessings.

For Washington it was a painful implicit recognition of the FMLN-FDR. The dialogue, though shortlived, raised the FMLN-FDR's international authority and boosted its popularity in El Salvador.

The FMLN now controls 40% of El Salvador's territory and is in active contention with the regime in virtually all parts of the country.

## ADVISERS TARGETTED

While U.S. officials claim the breaking up of rebel forces into small units as evidence of their policy's success, small unit operations are in fact part of the FMLN's response to the U.S. scorched earth strategy.

But the FMLN clearly retains the capacity to concentrate large forces when necessary. This point was amply demonstrated by the spectacular rebel attack on El Salvador's main army training camp at La Union last October 12, on the 5th anniversary of the founding of FMLN.

The attack killed up to 100 government troops and

President Reagan sent a letter saying "I commend you all for your part in this noble cause . . . . Our combined efforts are moving the tide of history towards world freedom."

## LICENSED MERCENARIES

Another group that has earned notoriety in the past year is the Civilian Military Assistance which claims a membership of 3,000. The group came into the limelight with the death of two of its members—Dana Parker and James Powell—on September 4, 1984 during a raid in northern Nicaragua.

CMA not only recruits for the *contras* but also sends military equipment, supplies, medicines and donations and provides professional and logistical services.

Headed by ex-marine Tom Posey of Decatur, Alabama, CMA has supposedly sent \$1 million worth of supplies to the Nicaraguan *contras* in a three-month period earlier this year. Granted a license by the Treasury Department as a firearms dealer, Posey wrote on his application, "I plan to buy ammo to send to El Salvador with that government's permission."

It is not surprising that Posey enjoys the logistical support of the U.S. embassy in Honduras. With the Congressional approval of more aid to El Salvador, CMA has focused its assistance on the Nicaraguan *contras*.

International rightwing networks promise to play an important role for Washington especially when public opinion places restrictions on Reagan's ability to pursue his interventionist policies openly. For example, CMA became more active after the U.S. Congress initially denied aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

## SHULTZ' HEROES

Not that the U.S. government has stopped direct support for international counterrevolution. Afghan rebels get \$250 million annually in addition to material and logistical support from such U.S. allies as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and China.

South Africa provides the main base of support for UNITA on behalf of the U.S. Reagan has succeeded in getting Congressional approval for U.S. military assistance to the rebels in Kampuchea which is already getting help from Thailand and China.

Direct and open U.S. military support for counterrevolution in newly liberated countries has become a more prominent feature of U.S. foreign policy in recent years, especially under the Reagan administration.

Reagan's counteroffensive has moved beyond just supporting fascist regimes threatened by revolution to attempting to actually retake liberated countries. The invasion of Grenada was a direct way of doing it while coddling formations like Democratic International is a semi-direct means.

Secretary of State George Shultz has even appropriated the terminology of the left. In an appearance in San Francisco, Shultz warned revolutionary governments such as Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, and Afghanistan that "the forces of national liberation" are upon them, that history is on the side of "national liberation movements" fighting Marxist "colonialism."

While this may be wishful thinking on the part of Shultz, it does translate into actual policies that give fascist and militaristic counterrevolutionary initiatives worldwide enough fuel and firepower to create unnecessary devastation in newly-liberated nations. □

injured scores of others. It followed the equally bold, guerilla-planned and instigated mass break-out from the infamous Mariona political prison.

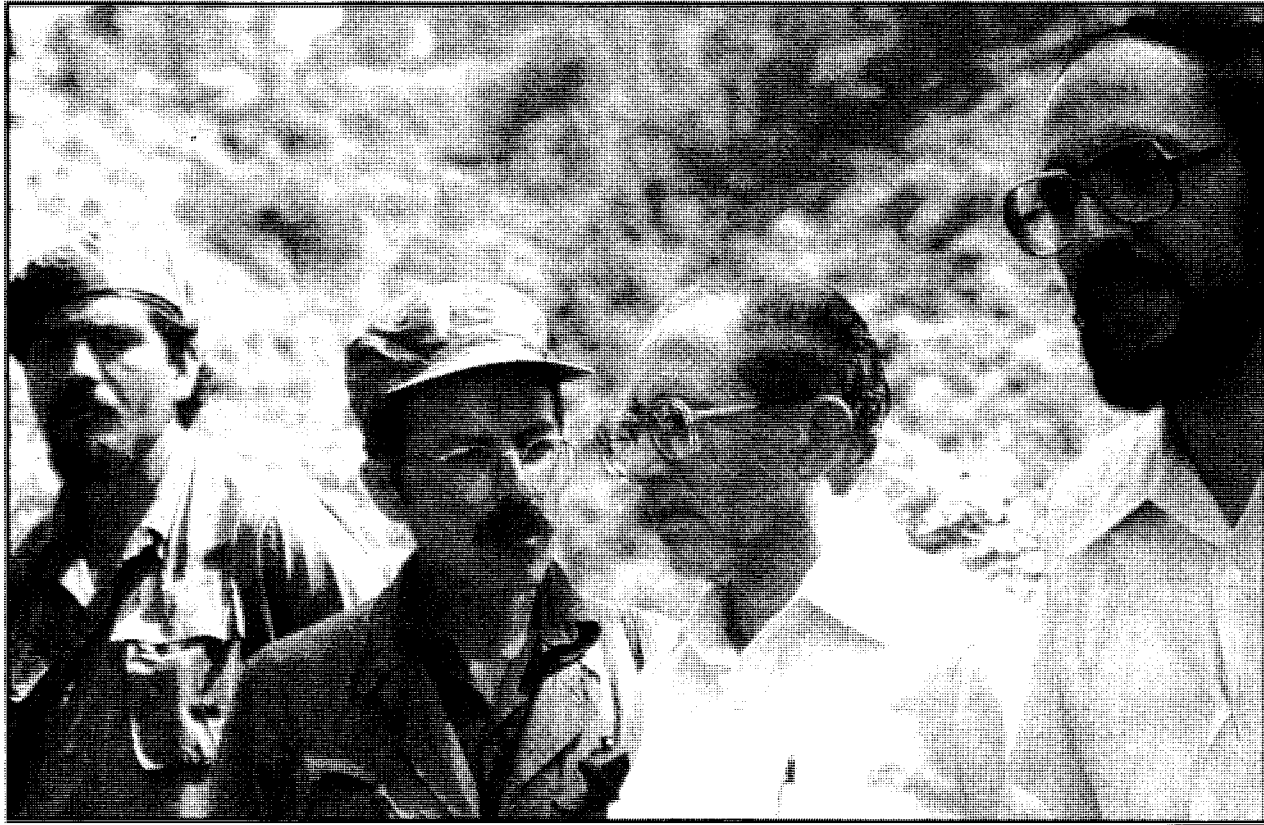
In the La Union raid, the guerillas claimed their real targets were the 10 U.S. military advisers in the camp. The FMLN has already declared that U.S. advisers, who direct the war and supply the weapons, are legitimate targets in the war.

"Our war plan is directed toward defeating North American imperialism and we are not waiting for the massive dispatch of their troops to begin fighting them . . . . We have already decided to make war on the North American interventionists who are directing the war on our homeland, and we have decided to make war in every spot and every circumstance they may be in."

In El Salvador, the war has reached a critical phase. The U.S. war of attrition is failing and the challenge being posed to the revolutionaries is how to move on to the counteroffensive. The recent advance in the process of forging a single revolutionary party to guide the revolution reflects the maturity of the Salvadoran left in facing this challenge.

As the Duarte regime sinks into crisis, the likelihood of direct U.S. intervention increases. The FMLN is clearly preparing for such an eventuality even as it seeks a negotiated political resolution to the war. □

# Salvadoran Left Tightens Unity



FMLN-FDR leaders (l-r) Guardado, Cienfuegos, Ungo, and Zamora.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

**M**assive doses of U.S. military hardware and indiscriminate aerial bombings have failed to turn the tide for Napoleon Duarte's army despite State Department claims that it has the Salvadoran guerillas on the run. In fact, recent urban operations and hard-hitting guerilla raids indicate rebel operations that are very much alive and expanded. Most importantly, a recent decision by the guerillas to shed their organizational and political differences is likely to give Reagan administration strategists new worries.

"There is no doubt that today we are closer to the complete unification of our organization, creating a sole organization and a sole revolutionary army," declared Commander Leonel Gonzalez of the General Command of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) in an official communique read over Radio Venceremos in Morazan, El Salvador last August 14.

The statement announced the historic decision reached last July by the five component guerilla organizations of the FMLN to forge the FMLN into a single revolutionary party.

The five revolutionary organizations comprising the FMLN are: the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), National Resistance (RN), and the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC).

Differing analyses of concrete political conditions gave rise to the distinct revolutionary groupings. Now, the struggle for unity among them is not a matter of choice but a necessity. The recognition of this necessity paved the way for the earlier revolutionary victories in Cuba and Nicaragua.

In El Salvador this process has been long and difficult. It began in 1979 with the formation of what was to become the precursor of the FMLN—the Political Military Coordinator. The FPL, RN and PCS initially comprised this coordinating body. Then, on October 10, 1980, these three organizations joined with the ERP to form the FMLN. PRTC joined the FMLN in 1981.

## NOT AN EASY PATH

The path towards unity has not been easy. It was particularly painful for the FPL which was rocked by an internal struggle in 1983 that resulted in the murder of second-in-command Melida Anaya Montes and the suicide of its leader, Cayetano Carpio.

The struggle centered on the political line of the organization which originally adhered strictly to the political and military strategy of "prolonged people's war," looked with suspicion on alliances with other classes, downplayed work in the cities, and shunned negotiations with the enemy.

The ERP, on the other hand, gave primary emphasis to armed struggle and viewed the occupation of the cities, villages, hamlets, estates, and factories both as offensives by the masses and as a rejection of the government. Its program calls for the establishment of a popular democratic government leading to socialism. The government is to be defined by all the revolutionary forces in alliance with the most advanced democratic forces in the nation.

But the ERP's emphasis on the military aspect of the

struggle caused a split leading to the formation of the RN which concentrated on work in the cities and building the mass movement. The split took a violent turn with the liquidation of the famous revolutionary poet Roque Dalton Garcia.

The PCS, founded on March 28, 1930 and the oldest of the organizations comprising the FMLN, has an equally complicated history. Like many other communist parties in Latin America, the PCS suffered from the reformist current that dominated the 1960s. It rejected armed struggle in favor of union organizing and electoral politics. This reformism triggered a split leading to the formation of FPL on April 1, 1970.

But when the PCS eventually rectified its line to form the Armed Liberation Force (FAL), the basis was set for its affiliation with the FMLN. The PCS then became the only communist party in the region that was involved in a permanent front.

## BREAKTHROUGH IN LEFT UNITY

The breakthrough in forging left unity in El Salvador stems not only from the component organizations' ability to struggle over differences but also from the recognition that each organization, regardless of size, has something to contribute to the Salvadoran revolution.

**'The recent decision by the guerillas to shed their organizational and political differences is likely to give Reagan administration strategists new worries.'**

The FMLN "unity process" is undoubtedly a triumph over sectarianism.

For example, while there is agreement with the FPL that the struggle is bound to be protracted given the condition in the region and in El Salvador itself, the organizations also agree on the stages for building the revolutionary movement, including the armed struggle, and the concept of "active accumulation of forces" developed by the ERP. There is also agreement on the crucial role of the cities and the mass movement—areas where the RN is particularly strong.

The strengthening of left unity helped speed up the consolidation of a truly broad alliance of democratic forces—the popular front formation of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)—which has been a critical factor in the rapid isolation of the U.S.-backed Duarte regime.

In fact, the FDR developed almost hand-in-hand with the FMLN. Its initial core, the Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses (CRM), made up of El Salvador's major revolutionary mass organizations—the Popular Revolutionary Block (BPR), the Popular United Action Front (FAPU), the February 28th Popular Leagues (LP-28), and the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN)—was established in January, 1980, only a few months after the formation of the (pre-FMLN) Political Military Coordinator.

## BROAD SPECTRUM

Now, the FDR reflects a wide political spectrum that includes, aside from the revolutionary mass organizations, the progressive wing of the Church, Christian

Democrats, Social Democrats, and even elements of Duarte's army.

BPR alone, which has 100,000 members, brings to the FDR some 60 trade unions under its leadership.

The recent FMLN decision to aim for a total merger of the guerilla groups into a single political-military apparatus, and not rely simply on the coordination of forces, is likely to boost its fighting capacity qualitatively.

Another source of strength for the FMLN is its active identification with an "international common front" against U.S. imperialism. The August 14 unification statement called "on the international community and on the solidarity and progressive forces to reinforce the international common front to defend the Nicaraguan revolution, curb the aggressive escalation against El Salvador, and defeat the interventionist and military policies of the current U.S. administration, which pose a threat to world peace and social progress."

This consistent internationalist orientation shapes the FMLN's "diplomatic work" which is an indispensable part of its revolutionary strategy. As a result the FMLN has not only won the support of the socialist bloc but also earned recognition from non-leftist governments and even some U.S. allies.

Last November, the countries of Mexico, France, Spain, Greece, Sweden, and Algeria put before the UN General Assembly a draft resolution condemning the Salvadoran government for its growing violation of human rights, including the bombing of its civilian population. It characterized the situation in El Salvador as a "general state of conventional war," refusing the label "terrorist" that the Reagan administration has tried to pin on the FMLN.

## WAR OF ATTRITION

The current thrust of the FMLN strategy is to defeat the U.S.-Duarte "war of attrition" scheme which is aimed at isolating the FMLN-FDR from its mass of supporters and forcing its guerillas into a few concentrated small pockets near the Honduran border where they would be easy prey for the U.S.-Honduran troops there.

Aerial bombings and strafings of populated base areas and the upgrading of the Salvadoran army's air power are part of the drive to deprive "the fish" of "the sea" of civilian support.

To counter this scheme, the FMLN has brought military and political struggles to "a higher phase."

"Our plan is to bring the war to the entire country and as deeply as possible into the major cities," the August communique reiterated.

"The enemy's plan is to do whatever it can to lower support for our forces. Our plan is to integrate the entire population into the war.

"The enemy's plan is to stop the people's struggle for their rights and to separate them from the revolutionary struggle. Our plan is to turn the revolutionary armed struggle as well as all the other people's struggle into a single force, capable of not only defeating the puppet Duarte, but also of defeating the Yankee invaders if they dared to invade."

In an article in the *World Marxist Review* (April 1985), Schafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the PCS Central Committee claimed that this counter-strategy has "invalidated the U.S. imperialists' new strategy and tactics in El Salvador."

## U.S. FAILURE

Handal stated that the FMLN, implementing its counter-strategy, has by the end of 1984 inflicted heavy casualties on Duarte's army, demoralizing its ranks, and frustrating plans for deployment. The FMLN has consolidated and extended FMLN-controlled zones in the hinterlands.

It has intensified its military presence in the north, in the center and in the south of the country, and its guerilla actions in the major cities and their environs.

El Salvador's western provinces, a key agro-industrial zone that had been the regime's deep and tranquil rear in the past, has been reached by FMLN military operations.

As a result of FMLN strikes at war-related economic installations, the Salvadoran economy has entered a new and more acute crisis so that even greater dollar injections will be required to keep it afloat.

In the political field, a strike movement which started in the country at the end of 1983 grew throughout 1984. The labor movement has resurfaced, boosting the open mass actions that are now boldly re-emerging in the cities. The working people in the countryside, demanding land and higher wages, have stepped up their fight for human rights and "improved their organization."

The FMLN-FDR has consolidated and extended its diplomatic initiatives aimed at pressuring the U.S.-Duarte camp into a dialogue and negotiations for a political settlement of the armed conflict.

As a result of FMLN gains in the military, political, and diplomatic arenas, the Duarte regime was forced in October last year to start a dialogue after obtaining

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