

# Ang **Katipunan**

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## COUP DEFUSED — FOR NOW



**'I warn any military adventurists against embarking upon such a rash course of action.'**

— Ramos



The Tribune

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

**I**t is clear now that there was a great deal more than talk behind Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's two-month anti-communist, anti-Aquino campaign of bluster. With or without his blessings, "Johnny's boys," top government officials confirmed, planned to seize power from President Corazon Aquino.

Enrile escalated his criticism of Aquino with the President's departure for the United States. It peaked with the completion of a draft Constitution and subsided when Washington sent a message to cool it. But plans for a real coup, it turned out, lay behind Enrile's "coup de talk."

### 'SURGICAL ACTION'

Warning of the plot came from no less than Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos. Newspapers November 7 reported a

message from Ramos that disaffected military officers might be involved in a plot and that he had ordered commanders to "neutralize" any such action.

The Ramos statement came two days after the respected *Business Day*, citing a high-ranking officer close to the Chief of Staff, claimed that a "surgical action" was afoot to "eliminate" so-called leftists and incompetents within the Aquino Cabinet. The President herself would be retained.

Three days later the *Manila Chronicle* added a good bit more detail. Citing unidentified Defense Ministry sources, it claimed the plot included cutting off electricity and water, and closing down mass media through commando strikes during Aquino's four-day trip to Japan.

The resulting anarchy and chaos would allow Enrile to step in. The idea was to "make Enrile the major power-wielder within the Aquino government and force the President to give in to his demands,

among them the firing of the so-called left-leaning cabinet members."

### FAIT ACCOMPLI

"There never was supposed to be a coup," one Western diplomat said. "I thought Enrile was just going to arrest some people—the alleged communists in the government—and present Cory with a *fait accompli*."

A senior Enrile aide told the *San Francisco Examiner* November 6 that the military planned to raid a series of New People's Army safehouses and disrupt communist communication lines in Manila, while proving that some members of the Aquino circle had been in close contact with the rebel movement.

Another source claimed Enrile wanted to stage a pre-emptive strike against communists in Manila while pressuring Aquino to remove cabinet members he detests the most: Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo,

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FIRST CLASS

# Heed Cory's Call

It wasn't a child's play. The would-be commandos planned surgical raids to close down the mass media, cut off the water supply and electricity, and presumably arrest or kill suspected leftists, all because they wanted to "save" President Corazon Aquino from her own "weakness" and make Juan Ponce Enrile the real head of state. In order to "save" democracy, Enrile's loyal band of colonels planned to destroy it.

It would be a mistake to paint Enrile's "military reformists" as a bunch of well-meaning but misguided elements. Their personal loyalty to the defense minister makes them nothing more than a political warlord's private bodyguards with official ranks. Hardly are they misguided. They are fascists by political orientation.

If they have brought new inspiration to remnant Marcos loyalists it is because they are cut from the same cloth. Enrile abandoned Marcos mainly to save his own skin. His loyal colonels, after years of faithful service, abandoned the dictator at the last minute because the latter's excesses had become a hindrance to their functioning as "professionals" in the state's repressive machinery. A willingness to reconcile with democratic rule could have paid somewhat for their past sins. But these renegades only wish, and know how, to function in the old way. Their illusion of being the ones responsible for having brought Aquino to power betrays arrogance and an utter contempt for the multitudes who saved their necks and were ultimately responsible for Marcos' defeat.

Enrile's boys cannot live with the "left-leaning" members of Aquino's cabinet because fascists cannot live with a liberal regime. They reject a flawed but liberal proposed constitution because it does not serve their kingpin's quest for power. They resent the release from jail of communists who now function openly in the political arena because fascists cannot tolerate ideological and political pluralism. They do not want peace with the rebels because fascists only speak with the language of naked force and violence.

On more than one occasion, Enrile's "reformists" have boasted of having studied the "Indonesian experience." Consider for a moment what the Indonesian "solution" to the insurgency entailed: the butchering, in a military coup, of over half a million suspected communists and the prolonged imprisonment of several hundred thousand more. It was a "solution" so bloody and inhuman that even the Ramboid Reagan administration recoils from the thought of having to politically justify such a course for the Philippines *at this time*. The violent and rabid anti-communism being fanned by Mr. Enrile and his minions among the pillars of landlordism and the backward and fanatical sectors of the population certainly evokes visions of the Indonesian solution.

President Aquino has declared that if the threat to the country's fledgling democracy persists she will call upon the people to take to the streets once more in its defense. It is the duty of the more politically conscious

forces—liberal democrats, social democrats, national democrats and communists—to unite in a joint effort to lead and organize the people in responding to that call. Filipinos in North America must follow suit and prepare once more for the battle for public opinion and for confrontations with Filipino reactionaries who are, no doubt, getting emboldened by the antics of their new heroes in the Philippines.

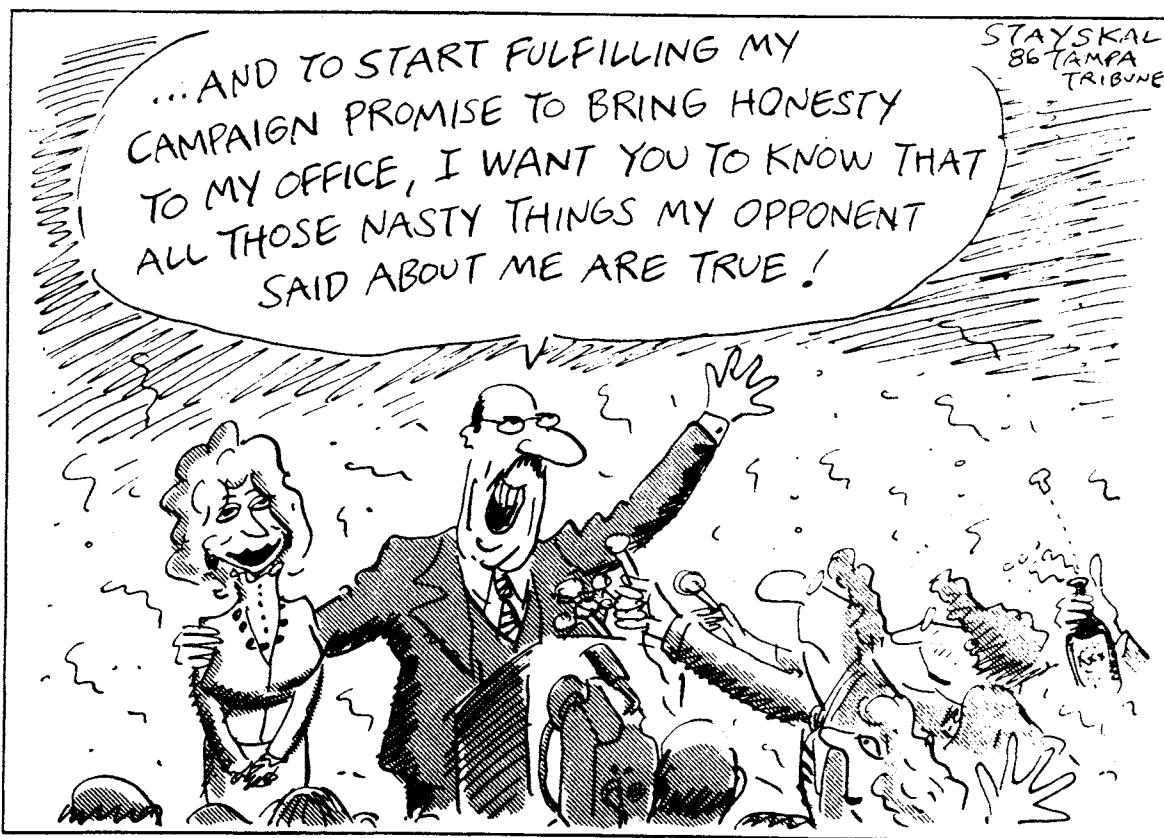
Everyone, regardless of political orientation has a stake in democracy's survival—everyone but those who despise the possibility of peace and pluralism, and refuse to abide by the people's will. □

## Letters

### Looking Forward . . .

I look forward to receiving your publication, which I first encountered two years ago while I was an intern at a human rights organization in Washington, D.C. *Ang Katipunan* made a strong impression on me with its top-notch research and writing. Even more memorable was the distinct "feel" of the newspaper. Far from being sterile and strictly analytical (as even the best political writing can be), *AK* struck me as being very much alive. It captured for me the soul of the Filipino. With the fervent hope that this is still true, I enclose \$10 for my subscription. *Maraming salamat po!*

Dolores Flamiano  
San Francisco, CA



## Litter from Manila

### State-Sponsored Exorcism



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

Having worked as a journalist for almost half a century, I've become pretty hardboiled. I'm not like our younger reporters who, just because it was Halloween last month, dropped their usual cynicism to write about their dead parents' nocturnal visits, the two-headed specters they've seen, etc., etc. But recently, I was jarred by a first-hand experience which leads me now to believe that this land might be under the spell of a malign curse. Here's the tale, belated but true:

I was strolling one day near the old Presidential Palace by the river, as the shadows were beginning to lengthen, when in the deserted grounds staggered a figure so dishevelled I thought it was Land Reform Minister Heherson Alvarez. But no, it was Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile instead.

He was in a near catatonic state. Here was a man who only a few weeks ago was daring the powerful to strike him down. From province to province he warned of the forces of evil who were bringing this country to ruin. He called for an election next year, he wanted changes at the top, he could be a Rambo, he said, if angered enough. Now, he was dribbling and screaming, "They're out to get me! They're after me!" I had to slap him around a few times and when he regained his senses he told me his story:

He was strolling one day near that old Presidential Palace by the river when from out of the shadows he heard a lengthy conversation going on. It was Cory Aquino's inner circle. "They were talking about . . . about exorcism," cried Enrile.

I knew it. I had always suspected that the top officials who now haunt the corridors of power were involved in ghoulish undertakings. They take such macabre delight in exhuming the past and searching for skeletons in the closets of anyone ever associated with the departed regime.

"And you know," Enrile added, "they like going through musty files and labyrinthine corporate connections here and abroad looking for what else but . . . 'possessions'! I tell you with these people controlling the state every night is fright night for me."

He was right of course.

Has it ever occurred to you that everytime OICs are appointed the first thing they do is go through the payroll to look for ghost employees? Then they send out ghost-written press statements. Recently, officials even charged that Mrs. Marcos had spent ₱12 million in government funds to entertain ghost foreign dignitaries. (I learned that on some nights those tortured souls can still be heard in the Palace ballroom wailing and begging the First Lady to spare them from George Hamilton's excessive charm.)

"And you know why I oppose those close-door meetings between the NDF and Mitra, Diokno and Guingona? They're holding seances that's why! They're trying to summon the spirit of national unity!"

This really was scary. But what about the exorcism Cory's coven was planning?

"Well, first of all, they've discovered I was planning an exorcism myself. You see, sometimes I sneak into the President's office just to see how I would redecorate it, where my desk would go and so on. Almost always, from out of nowhere, a Lady in Yellow would appear and give me the finger," Enrile whispered wide-eyed, demonstrating the Laban sign. "So I figured I'd exorcise it. I got almost everybody secretly lined up behind me, except maybe the Church."

So now they knew and were themselves planning to exorcise him.

"Yep. In fact, they've called in extra Jesuits to be around Cory. They're trying to figure out how to drive out as well a spirit that appears in the form of a "Two-Faced Vice President" who they think is in cahoots with me."

I fell silent. Oh boy, these are really evil times. If only President Marcos were here to banish our fears. That man was totally fearless. Only once did I see him get scared—during a brief sojourn in the U.S. capital. We were strolling one day on old Capitol Hill when we passed under the long shadow of a place the locals there called "The House of Foreign Affairs Committee." We heard tell that when the moon shone Democratically and the Republicans had to retreat in the dark, wayfaring Latin American strongmen who chanced upon that doomed apparition suddenly found their aid appropriation mysteriously cut in half. Needless to say, we got the hell out of there.

"There's more to my story Doroy," said Enrile, breaking my reverie. "Yesterday, I learned that the Human Rights Commission had gotten hold of my long-playing human rights record and is playing it backward to look for hidden Satanic messages.

Boy, they must really think he is the very personification of evil, the anti-Christ who will rule a large army and possess vast fertile fields and manufactories, whose address is the number 666, which is Lucifer's own!

"Yes, they think I am treason incarnate, someone guided by malevolent forces from the beyond—at least, from beyond our national boundaries. After all, they said I even mysteriously turned against my own patron, Mr. Marcos."

By the way, I did mean to ask him about that. I was greatly disappointed in him. Why, why did he do such a foolish thing?

Enrile turned very slowly, fixed a solemn stare at me and said: "Because the devil made me do it."

Needless to say, I got the hell out of there. □

# Ceasefire Talks Survive Rough Ride

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

A "difficult position" was the way presidential aide Rene Saguisag described the situation October 1, a day and a half after intelligence forces swooped down upon and arrested Rodolfo Salas, alleged Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines. If President Corazon Aquino acquiesced to the demands of the National Democratic Front for release in line with her previous policy of freeing prisoners, he explained, she could lose military support. If she supported the action, the New People's Army might well step up its activities.

It was all the more disorienting because only one day before the arrest Agriculture Minister and peace negotiator Ramon Mitra announced that the National Democratic Front had submitted a proposal for a 30-day ceasefire to which the government was very receptive. The arrest destroyed the possibility of a quick accord and threatened to put an end to the peace negotiations altogether.

The disastrous timing turned out to have been no accident. Government insiders said that the arrest was a move by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and his military supporters as part of what now appears to be a broader destabilization plan (see story, page 1). It was designed to embarrass the Aquino government, create rifts within her cabinet and, optimally, to quash the peace negotiations altogether.

## ROLLING WITH THE PUNCH

The idea was a simple one. Violating agreements between the government and rebels, military agents followed Jose Concepcion, the driver and security guard of Satur Ocampo, NDF negotiator. Concepcion happened to perform the same function for Salas, known as "Commander Bilog" and reportedly chief of the NPA, during the long period between negotiating sessions. Significantly, Salas' safehouse was never discovered. He and his wife, Josefina Cruz, and Concepcion were arrested leaving a Manila hospital on his way home from a postoperative check-up.

Though the arrest was indeed a potential flashpoint within the Aquino government, the President and her supporters in the cabinet were quick to roll with the punch. They did so by backing the military 100%.

It clearly wasn't an easy decision. *Newsweek* reported from an inside source that they agonized for two hours over announcing the arrest, trying to find the wording least offensive to the CPP, NDF and NPA.

But roll with the punch they did. "This is a commendable accomplishment on the part of our law-enforcement agencies," Aquino herself announced October 1. "I shall expect those responsible government agencies to continue providing for the public safety and security in enforcing the law."

Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno remarked after the arrest, "It's a purely military matter. The ceasefire accord has not been signed and all is fair in love and war."

Even Enrile's prime target for abuse was quick to support the move. "It was just a coincidence that the government is now engaged in a peace dialogue with the rebels," commented Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo. "The NPA keeps killing our soldiers. It follows also that normal operations should continue."

## MISGIVINGS ON THE LEFT

The cabinet's unity behind Salas' arrest deprived Enrile of much of his thunder and forced him to find new issues around which to bluster.

But it certainly created grave misgivings on the Left. An ongoing concern for the NDF, as expressed by a senior official to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* last month, is that Aquino has "moved to the right." Her response to the Salas arrest

only tended to confirm that fear.

NDF leaders wondered whether a more dramatic assault might not swing her all the way to a purely military approach to the insurgency. Aquino's move, they noted, added fuel to the anti-communist hysteria being whipped up by Enrile and his cohorts.

## ANOTHER ROLL

No doubt sensing the need to soften the hard edge of her response, Aquino later chose to make a conciliatory move. Mitra was dispatched to identify Concepcion as a member of the NDF's negotiating staff. With his positive identification, both Concepcion and Cruz were released on their own recognizance October 14 to stand trial at a later date.

Aquino continued to urge that the peace talks go on. But then, under a renewed barrage from Enrile, she once again tried to roll with the punch.

Speaking before the Sigma Delta Phi sorority October 22, the morning after a summit meeting with her wayward Defense Minister, Aquino announced that she was growing impatient with delays in the search for peace "through talks" and would impose a deadline on the peace process. She thus gave the Left more reason to wonder how far she had given in to the military hardliners.

## DEEP-SEATED CYNICISM

To its credit, however, the NDF agreed to continue with the negotiations. Upon the release of Cruz and Concepcion, spokespersons dropped their demand that Salas be released before returning to the negotiating table.

Although government negotiators were pleased by the move, a deep-seated cynicism still informs the way in which Aquino and her advisers regard the CPP, NDF and NPA and it will be difficult to overcome.

"The least surprising thing about the situation in the Philippines is that the communist rebels have not given up their cause and in fact the military is suspicious that they are using the lull to strengthen themselves," read a Philippine Embassy hand-out prepared for the press during Aquino's visit to the U.S. This suspicion was purportedly based on internal Party memos captured by the military and revealed to the press by Enrile.

The mimeographed backgrounder proceeded to discuss CPP tactics in remarkably fine detail. Specifically, it insisted that the Left had no intention of arriving at any kind of genuine peace and would avoid doing so by making a series of impossible demands.

These included granting the NDF international status, UN recognition and a permanent headquarters which would fly the NDF flag and where all members would be immune to prosecution by Philippine law. They also included participation of the NDF, CPP and NPA in the rebel returnee program, and, finally, the "dismantling of feudal and imperialistic structures"—a strategic goal of the revolutionary struggle.

## 'RE-ARMING' MILITARILY

Government officials thus believe the Left sees little actual difference between the Marcos government and that of Aquino. They insist the CPP sees the ceasefire talks as a way to formally establish their control of "liberated" areas and to generate propaganda justifying the continuation of armed warfare. However accurate their reading may be, this breeds a heavy dose of skepticism toward any Left peace effort on the part of Aquino and her officials.

Meanwhile, Left sources told the *San Francisco Examiner* Aquino's reading of CPP strategy was not altogether inaccurate. Furthermore, Satur Ocampo, known to be among the "more flexible" CPP-NDF leaders told a group of *Newsweek* and *Washington Post* editors and writers that the Left would use the ceasefire talks to "re-arm" militarily. He and

co-negotiator Antonio Zumel seemed to agree that a peaceful end to the struggle was unlikely.

Other movement sources reported that some top CPP leaders see little fundamental difference between the Aquino liberals and the Enrile militarists. These leaders reportedly insist on joining the peace talks only as a means to demonstrate the futility of reforms and the inability of both the rightists and the liberals to implement drastic social change.

## DEBATE WITHIN THE RANKS

But this stance would, unfortunately, leave the Left extremely vulnerable to intrigue by Enrile and his ilk. The tactic of using the negotiations merely as a means to "re-arm" and expand influence would play directly into the Right's contention that Aquino is a fool for attempting to reconcile with the Left.

It would give Aquino and the liberals little room for maneuver in defense of the peace process. When the Right puts on the pressure, the liberals would only be left rolling with the punch or worse, giving more concessions to the militarists' cry for blood.

There apparently remains continuing

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**'The first step toward actual reconciliation now appears possible.'**

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Zumel and Ocampo: NDF negotiators.

debate within the CPP/NDF ranks for a more precise and unassailable approach to the peace process. There appears to be varying responses in different parts of the country to government regional ceasefire efforts. The NDF in Cebu ordered member groups not to forge local peace agreements, insisting that such decisions can only be made on a national level.

But two members of the Panay CPP met with Aquino herself October 17 to discuss the possibility of a regional ceasefire. Misamis Oriental Governor-designate Vicente Y. Emano claimed to have been informed in early October of the willingness of rebels in northern and central Mindanao to negotiate.

## POSITIVE SIGNS

Political Affairs Minister Antonio Cuenco told the press that an unofficial ceasefire has prevailed in Bohol for months. Peace feelers from local NPA commanders have been reported from Negros, Samar, Bula-

can, Quezon, and other parts of Mindanao.

Enrile supporters are quick to exploit these apparent differences. The most far-fetched intrigue came from the likes of Brig. Gen. (ret) Isidro Agunod, Defense Assistant Secretary for Plans and Programs.

Agunod claimed that Salas was betrayed by fellow Party members, confirming "a violent power struggle within the CPP and NPA." The betrayal was "a kind of punishment meted out to him by the insurgent organizations" for his strategic error in calling for a boycott of the February presidential elections.

Agunod added that Salas' incarceration would ensure the assumption of the more moderate Benito Tiamzon to the chairmanship of the CPP.

A number of positive signs, however, recently indicated that the Left may already be rejecting any hardline notions of the peace talks. Most obvious of all was the NDF decision to continue with the peace talks in spite of Salas' arrest.

But the biggest breakthrough of all came November 1 when the NDF negotiation panel proposed a 100-day ceasefire to begin December 10, International Human Rights Day, and continue through the coming constitutional plebiscite.

Most significantly, the NDF proposal contained no preconditions, but rather listed five "talking points," major issues to be discussed over the long haul. These included halting military and rebel operations, disbanding the Civilian Home Defense Force, disarming private armies, restricting police to anti-criminal activities, and clearly defining hostile acts.

## NEEDING EACH OTHER

Aquino initially greeted the proposal coolly, promising only that it would be "studied." But the government posture moved quickly from skepticism to serious consideration.

The President, announced Mitra following a meeting with her November 5, was "pleased with the progress that has been made." Feelings among the negotiators meanwhile grew increasingly cordial.

"I think there is a feeling among negotiators that we have to come to an agreement at our next meeting," Mitra said November 6, "and the atmosphere is very good and very friendly."

The mechanics for monitoring the ceasefire remained to be worked out and the government seemed eager to resolve at least one "talking point" before the ceasefire got under way—defining the term "hostilities." Government officials also suggested that the 100 days were too long and seemed to be leaning toward a 30-day ceasefire renewable for another 30 days thereafter.

But the first step toward actual reconciliation now appears possible. In the wake of the recent foiled rightist move against the government, it has become more urgent than ever. The military has become more powerful and both the President and the Left itself need the presence of a counterweight. The still live and menacing ultra-right threatens them both.

Significant problems remain. Aquino's tendency to roll with the punches rather than stand by her principles remains a nagging source of concern for the Left. And the Left seems to require as yet a more exacting analysis of precisely where to aim its main blow. Nonetheless, the news from negotiations have never been more positive.

As expected, not everyone would like such good news to keep coming from the negotiating table.

On November 2, a day after the NDF submitted its proposal, government troops raided an NPA encampment in Mindanao. With heavy artillery and air strikes, the military claimed to have killed 20 NPA guerillas in what was described as one of the most violent battles in recent months. It couldn't have been more badly timed or maliciously motivated. □

# Aquino's Economic Strategy: Will 'Business As Usual' Work?

By WICKS GEAGA

Having inherited a politically explosive economic crisis from the previous regime, the Aquino government has declared economic recovery its first priority. However, its emerging economic program may only lead to a dead end.

Genuine free enterprise, declared President Corazon Aquino, will be the engine of economic development. In line with this, several steps are being taken.

The brambles of "crony capitalism" are being cleared to encourage renewed investor activity. Plans are afoot to sell to both domestic and local investors over two-thirds of the 280 corporations taken over by the Marcos regime.

Aquino also went on a hard-sell campaign directed at U.S. investors. "We want pioneer stock; brave, smart and enterprising; for the Philippines can be a new frontier for Filipino and American business," she said.

Increased agricultural production for domestic consumption is also being eyed along with a push for small to medium sized rural-based industries to generate employment and raise rural buying power. Little is being said about land reform.

Meanwhile, foreign creditors are politely being kept at bay but not repudiated so that bridges to loan capital will not be burned.

When pressed, Aquino's economic ministers are wont to declare that the program of Export Oriented Industrialization (EOI) prescribed by the World Bank was not given a chance to work under Marcos but is still a worthwhile strategy to pursue.

## DOCTRINAIRE ADVISERS

So far, Aquino's emerging economic strategy does not look radically different from the old regime's except that her government is militantly committed to the eradication of bureaucrat capitalist corruption.

The operating theory is that Marcos thievery and crony capitalism were the main culprits of the economic collapse. Their elimination and the placement of the "business as usual sign" on a more stable footing are the keys to economic health.

Why this obvious underestimation of the structural sources of the economic crisis?

Given the extent of the damage inflicted by the Marcos regime—\$26 billion foreign debt, between \$5-10 billion looted, a combined unemployment and underemployment figure of 60% and two-thirds of the population living in poverty—the conclusion that crony capitalism and thievery are the principal culprits are at first hard to resist.

But the obvious lack of reference to structural problems of land ownership, dependence on foreign capital, etc. that were tremendously aggravated by Marcos-style bureaucrat-capitalist corruption comes from the class orientation of the Aquino government itself.

Aquino's current crop of economic advisers are all steeped in the doctrines of neoclassical laissez faire capitalism and are not expected to look for other frameworks in bringing the country out of the present economic quagmire.

Their orientation narrowly defines the problem as merely a depressed and mismanaged economy that needs resuscitation. Specifically, their approach calls for minimum government intervention with full play given to the private sector. The government's prominent role in coordina-

ting the recovery effort is merely to pave the way for the rule of free market forces.

## LOYALTY TO EXPORT-ORIENTATION

The official notion of "free enterprise" assumes that the dwarfing presence of U.S. investments will continue.

The U.S. not only remains the Philippines' main trading partner—cornering 30% of the latter's external trade—but continues to be a dominant force in its economy. According to former U.S. ambassador Michael Armacost, U.S. investments are worth \$2 billion. Of the nearly 1,000 foreign corporations, 126 have American equity of at least 20% and occupy commanding positions in the business community.

In 1984, these 126 companies cornered 19.2% of the total net sales of the country's top 1000 companies. Their share of the top 1000's total profit amounted to an astounding 58.5%. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. investors earned \$1.86 for every dollar invested in the Philippines from 1946 to 1981.

For years, the dominance of U.S. investments has meant that major business activities have been geared not towards the country's internal development but to the extraction of profits that are remitted abroad. Aquino's active enticement of even more U.S. capital betrays an uncritical view of the debilitating impact of unrestricted foreign capital penetration.

EOI, the World Bank's model for development in the '70s, drew its inspiration from the success stories of Brazil and South Korea. Both experienced dramatic growth rates in the late '60s under an export-oriented strategy that required the systematic depression of wages and the straight-jacketing of labor.

By the '60s Philippine industrial growth based on "import-substitution" had levelled off, triggering a developmental crisis. But by the time EOI was introduced to the Philippines, however, the conditions that made the strategy succeed in Brazil and South Korea were already rapidly evaporating.

Externally, export markets were shrinking and global protectionism was on the rise as economic stagnation overtook the developed Western countries.

Under these circumstances, the inherent contradictions of EOI increasingly came to the fore. While EOI had been peddled as a potentially abundant source of foreign exchange that could be channelled into internal industrial development, the promised returns never materialized.

On the contrary, the country's earnings from EOI were largely spent on the expensive infrastructure needs, raw materials, intermediate goods and capital goods inputs of the labor-intensive export industries—most of these imported from abroad.

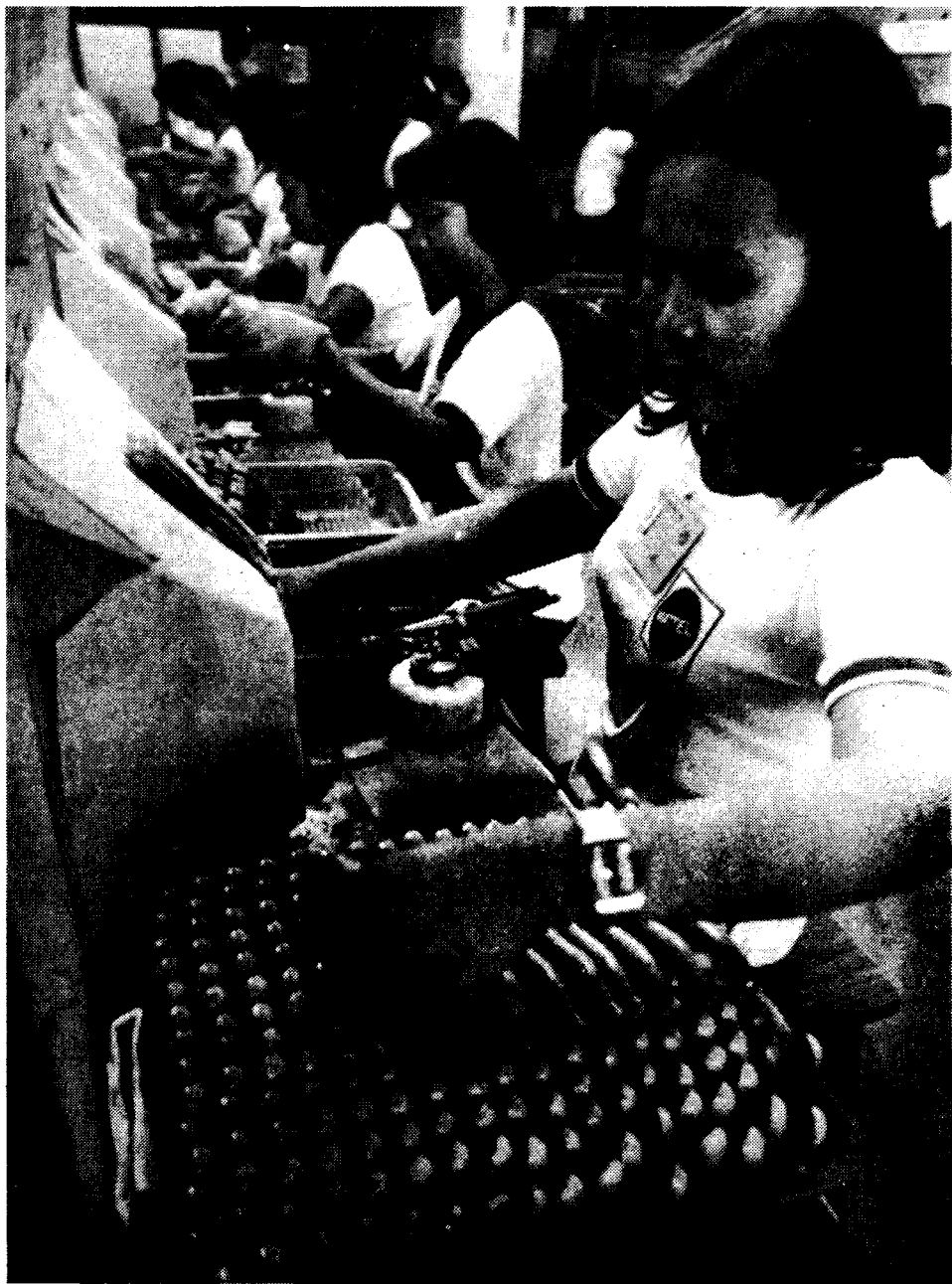
## SIMILAR TO REAGANOMICS

In addition, the huge foreign loans needed to kick off EOI led the country into a vicious debt trap, with more loans needed to service the interests on previous ones, leading to its present \$26 billion debt.

Promoted as a strategy that would spur rapid industrialization, EOI instead created enclaves of foreign-owned export industries that had little interest in supporting the growth and development of nationally-owned intermediate industries.

Finally, while expected to attract more foreign capital than the previous strategy of import-substitution industrialization, EOI did not perform that much better.

Compared to other foreign investments, labor-intensive export industries required



Workers assemble Mattel toys for export.

substantially less capital outlay at the outset. Furthermore, new investments by foreign firms were financed primarily from local profits or loans from domestic banks.

Politically, as in Brazil, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore, EOI required a highly suppressed labor force and severely depressed wages.

Because the implementation and failure of EOI as a strategy for Philippine economic development coincided with the period of free plunder by Marcos and his cronies, its advocates have managed to escape well-deserved blame.

Evidently, Aquino's advisers are entertaining hopes that if the house is set in order, free enterprise within a working export-oriented strategy will generate gains that can "trickle down." During her U.S. trip, Aquino said her strategy was quite similar "to Reaganomics."

## NEEDED: ANOTHER FRAMEWORK

Undoubtedly, an economic program for such a basketcase as the Philippines would have to address both the immediate conditions of poverty as well as the nagging long-term problem of underdevelopment. Reliance on stock and traditional frameworks is no longer viable.

Other underdeveloped countries in straits similar to the Philippines, particularly newly independent states in Africa, have pursued "mixed" or pluralistic economic programs as the way out of economic backwardness.

Former technocrat and political prisoner Horacio "Boy" Morales, now head of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, describes such economic schemes as "a common transition program" between capitalist and socialist development.

The pluralistic or "mixed" economy places vital economic sectors and social services under the central planning of the government or state sector. To promote national planning, natural monopolies such as utilities come under public ownership and management.

While essential consumer goods such as staples also come under some government regulation, all non-essential consumer industries are left to private sectors, free from government intervention.

The prominent role of the government in the planning and management of vital industries is aimed at providing a counterweight to the structural imbalances inherent

in "free enterprise." Leaving such imbalances under the mercy of free market forces or the profit motive, as the Aquino government plans to do, will not lessen but exacerbate the economic disparity that already prevails.

To effect asset and income distribution, a thoroughgoing land reform is implemented, backed by government programs and initiatives that encourage cooperatives, provide credit and farm assistance and promote commercial not subsistence, production to meet general consumption requirements.

## DIVERSIFIED RELATIONS

Instead of the failed strategies of import-substitution and export-oriented industrialization, a high priority is given to developing production for the domestic market in a drive for national industrialization. To generate essential foreign exchange earnings, the export of light manufactures is given appropriate support.

Greater emphasis is given to the utilization of domestic sources of capital to ultimately lessen foreign or multinational dominance of key sectors of the economy. Native capital is also given protection and state-initiated incentives. Through state regulations foreign investments are encouraged but on terms more favorable to the host economy.

Foreign economic assistance in terms of loans and grants are critical in taking an economy through this mixed phase. Financing land reform and state sector development, for example, is a formidable challenge. Since this strategy aims to lessen dependence on foreign monopoly capital, the U.S. and lending institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF will be hostile to it.

The government, therefore, has to be prepared to diversify its international economic relations, necessitating a visible shift to a more independent foreign policy. While working for a more equitable relationship with the U.S. in the immediate term, diversified economic relations with the rest of the developed Western countries and most importantly, the socialist bloc can be simultaneously pursued.

The significance of this option for developing countries struggling to extricate themselves from the stubborn vestiges of neo-colonialism cannot be underestimated.

India, a former British colony, is a case

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# Parties Gear Up for Plebiscite and Polls

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

**E**lection fever is once more sweeping the country as old politicians and Young Turks, established parties and political newcomers, gird for an electoral season expected to be the most open and participatory in 20 years and perhaps the most ideologically charged.

The first post-Marcos race to elect representatives to a 200-member House of Representatives and a 24-member Senate, is scheduled to take place next May. Local elections for gubernatorial and mayoral positions will follow soon after.

Out the window goes the once dominant Marcos machinery. Armed ward leaders, flying voters, ghost precincts and towns will get the boot once electoral reforms are put in place by newly appointed Election Commissioner Haydee Yorac.

Fading fast too is the one-party system of the last 20 years which delivered votes and guaranteed careers to all who were loyal to Malacañang. And as new stars are appearing in the political galaxy, old ones are burning out. Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* now runs on the resentment of its affluent members who can afford belligerence. KBL lessers are reportedly re-aligning quietly with the administration's coalition.

## FIRST THINGS FIRST

But the vehicle that will make all this possible is the 1986 Constitution to be submitted for ratification in early February 1987. As anticipated, the political right is mobilizing for a rejection of the charter, while the left-of-center and left parties are campaigning for ratification.

The 1986 charter, drafted by 44 appointed commissioners, has opened to mixed reviews. From the right, notably Rene Cayetano of the revived Nacionalista Party, the charter is "socialistic" and "anti-American." From the left, it is in the words of *Partido ng Bayan* co-founder Jose Ma. Sison, "overall better than the 1973 charter" but lacking in provisions which address U.S. domination and the rights of the oppressed.

For the left-of-center, the dominant forces in government, the charter "enshrines democracy." But even commissioner Joaquin Bernas, S.J. commented that the document is "eclectic," reflecting the diverse opinions of its drafters and can stand



PDP-Laban leaders huddle at assembly opening October 25.

further amendments by the future legislators.

Notwithstanding its weaknesses, the 1986 charter can rightfully boast of being the Constitution least tampered with in Philippine history. The 1973 charter, completed under martial law, was subject to pressures from the executive, while the 1935 charter, drafted during the Commonwealth period, was compromised by the stipulation that it include parity rights for American nationals.

In contrast, according to Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo, the 1986 charter was immune to executive pressures

When the President did interfere, it was to urge commissioners to get on with the task and minimize internal squabbles.

## PROS AND CONS

The draft charter's chief feature is the protection of the bill of rights and other remedies to curb executive abuse. The charter essentially reflects liberal democratic ideas about the role of the state. Particularly progressive are articles regarding the military. The military is not permitted to participate or be used in partisan politics. A civilian armed force is proposed to replace the notorious Civilian Home Defense Forces. The Philippine National Police, civilian in character, is proposed to replace the Philippine Constabulary/

Integrated National Police and private armies are expressly outlawed. Members of the Armed Forces are to be recruited proportionately from all provinces.

On controversial issues, however, the constitution seeks to strike a middle ground. The constitution recognizes the existing U.S. bases treaty until it expires in 1991. Thereafter, a ban on foreign bases, facilities and troops comes into force. The ban, however, can be modified by a treaty entered into by the Legislature and subject to popular ratification.

On women's rights, however, it is clear that the "Jesuit mafia" representatives in the Commission had their way. A provision supports the sanctity of the family as the primary social unit, protects the rights of the unborn, and continues to deny the right to divorce. This is a notable setback to the social grouping with the least stake in oppressive marriages and unwanted pregnancies—women.

The restoration of the Legislature has invited as much negative hoopla as positive praise. Those on the outskirts of power are of course the first to complain. Inviting the greatest controversy is the term of the president and vice-president, limited to one six-year term. For the rightists, the term is too long. Would-be congressmen complain that congressional terms of three years are too short. Yet all are throwing

their hats in the political fray to jockey for seats.

## OPEN SEASON

What promises to be a new feature of post-Marcos politics is that coalitions, instead of monolithic parties, will define the alignment of forces for some time to come. For 40 years, the electorate had little choice but to vote for candidates from either of the two dominant parties distinguished only by their personalities. "Liberal" and "Nacionalista" were simply brand names for otherwise generic politics whose chief ingredients were conservatism and pro-Americanism.

The KBL machinery under Marcos represented the moribund stage of these politics, a caricature of the patronage system which Philippine elections had become.

## BACK TO POLITICS

The forces who catapulted Aquino to power last February are victims of this legacy and architects of a new, as yet undefined melange called political pluralism.

The 1987 contest promises to be exactly that. No longer defined by the politics of the major power brokers, the 1987 contest promises to demarcate by politics.

On the right, the defunct KBL, Nacionalista Party, Partido Nacionalista ng Pilipinas and a wing of Vice President Salvador Laurel's UNIDO, is fast cohering a conservative coalition. A unification committee is laying the basis for a new alliance.

On the left-of-center, the newly-formed *Lakas ng Bansa* hopes to unite the PDP-Laban and the more progressive wing of the UNIDO as the new pro-administration coalition. The Liberal Party-Salonga wing and PDP-Laban, however, will field its own candidates. A small but influential group of social democrats also hopes to capture some elective posts as does the more left-leaning PnB. PnB aims for 20% of the 200-seat Congress. The participation of the *Partido Sosyalista Demokratika ng Pilipinas* and the PnB, marks the return of left-wing parties to the political arena after a 39-year absence.

"Ideological coalitions" appear to be the order of the day as right, center and left parties struggle for positioning through the ballot box. With the electorate presented with a multitude of choices, the Filipino voter will have to mature fast. Pluralism is a more complex and difficult terrain to tread, but it sure beats the porkbarrelling and "Marcos *pa rin*" choices of yesteryears. □

## ODDS AND ENDS

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**Missing Intelligence Documents.** Brigadier General Luis Villareal, director general of the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee, revealed that many documents are missing from the dissolved National Intelligence and Security Authority. The NISA, headed by former Armed Forces Chief Fabian Ver who fled with Marcos to Hawaii, was the military agency responsible for the harassment, torture, kidnapping, and murder of thousands of Filipinos suspected of subversion by the Marcos regime. According to Villareal, the missing dossiers contained information gathered by NISA against media people, military officers, and political enemies of Marcos. The identities of no less than 600,000 persons who allegedly opposed the dictatorship are included in the missing dossier. □

**Ethnic Hoax.** Anthropologists recently bared that the Tasaday, an alleged Stone Age tribe untouched by civilization found in the jungles of Mindanao, may have been one of the most elaborate and successful hoaxes in the history of science. Gerald D. Berreman, a University of California anthropologist and member

of a scholarly international commission looking into the Tasaday issue, said that massive evidence points to deliberate deception by officials of the Marcos regime. He named Manuel Elizalde, Jr., director of PANAMIN, the Philippine agency set up by Marcos to safeguard the rights of minorities, as one of the engineers of the hoax. Elizalde, a Harvard graduate, reportedly moved to Costa Rica before the Marcos downfall. The motive for the deception centers on the control over potentially valuable land that belonged to the "lost" Tasaday tribe. □

**Soleful Ballad.** A singer could not contain his amazement at Imelda Marcos' 3,000 pairs of shoes, and so decided to enshrine them in song. Entitled "Imelda's Shoes," the song is being played in Hong Kong radio stations. Part of the song goes:

*"All the cobblers have stopped cobbling all around the world today/ They fly their flags at half-mast since Imelda went away/ The global footwear market is in panic and despair/ They say it could be months before she buys another pair."*

The singer's heart goes to the footwear that had to be left behind.

*"Well they must feel so abandoned in the dark for all this time/ Their little soles are crying—God knows what they must feel/ And all because Imelda was married to a heel!"*

**Dioscoro Naman!** Since Cory Aquino became President of the Philippines, thousands of babies have been named after her. Agence France Presse reported that in Cagayan de Oro City alone, more than 1,500 newborn babies were given the president's nickname, a month after the "people power" revolution ousted dictator Marcos from office. Even baby boys were nicknamed Cory—short for Dioscoro.

**Name that Loon.** Speaking of names, it turns out that a member of the Philippine Constitutional Commission unsuccessfully proposed to change the name of the Philippines to Coryland. The reason? The commissioner said, "Since the world has Disneyland, why not Coryland?" Not to be outdone, another commissioner suggested "Republic of Bayanihan," "Rizal," "Maharlika," or "Lapu-Lapu." He was partial to the name "Bayanihan" so Filipino citizens would be called "Bayani" or hero. He was so-so about his other suggestions because "we honor Lapu-Lapu, Magellan's killer, by eating fish known as lapu-lapu and that is not very good." As for "Maharlika," "It would be glamorizing a 'mythical guerilla' unit that Marcos claimed he commanded during World War II." Joining the fray, other commissioners joked that if the Philippines' name is changed to Maharlika, Filipino males will be called "Maharloko" and the females "Maharloka." Weren't those what the Filipinos called the former residents of Malacañang? □

# BUOD NG MGA BALITA

## ALL-WOMEN POLITICAL PARTY FORMED

In the wake of Corazon Aquino's ascendancy to the presidency of the Philippines, Filipino women are beginning to realize their potential as a political force. The most current sign of this sector's stirring is the formation of an all-women political party simply called Women's Political Party.

Conceived August 2 by GABRIELA's Maita Gomez, the WPP has attracted members from other women's organizations like FILIPINA, WOMB, Women's Resource Center and *Lakas ng Kababaihan* (Women's Strength). Its most outspoken member to date is *Lakas ng Kababaihan's* Wilhelmina Orosco.

Explaining the need for a new political party catering to women, Orosco stated: "Women's rights are not a secondary or a tertiary objective. Women should be a primary force in politics. Women should also take the lead. If setting up a women's political party is one way of doing it, then we are doing it."

Right after the announcement of its formation, WPP came under attack not just from Filipino men but also from a number of women. As expected, the men charged that the WPP will "usher in an era of sexist politics, with women acting like chauvinists."

Women critics, mostly intellectuals from the University of the Philippines, had a different concern. Fe Mangahas, member of the editorial board of the *Diliman Review* and the Concerned Artists of the Philippines, pointed out that for WPP to "become a real women's party it has to have objectives different from other political parties."

But in the WPP primer, the new party ranked advancing the development of women towards becoming a powerful political force in Philippine society as only number six. Nationalist and democratic demands like a free and sovereign Philippines and promotion of the principles of social justice, self-reliance, and human rights top the WPP's agenda.

Mangahas added, "If it's all nationalist and democratic, and not feminist, WPP seems to have a problem. The same platform is already being carried by other progressive male parties like *Partido ng Bayan* (People's Party)."

Other criticisms levelled against WPP include its lack of "credible members." Women who are now in the government like Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leticia Ramos-Shahani and Ministry of Social Services and Development's Mita Pardo de Tavera have not yet shown interest in becoming members. □

## RAM SOLDIERS STAGE PROTEST

A regional commander has placed a group of maverick soldiers associated with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile under discipline in the wake of their protest action.

Five hundred officers and enlisted men in Cebu ripped the Philippine flag patches from their uniforms in protest of a provision in the newly-completed Constitution banning soldiers from engaging in political activities, including work as bodyguards of politicians.

They further cited talk of the dismantling of the Civilian Home Defense Force, a paramilitary group, and rumors about a "yellow army" allegedly created by President Corazon Aquino's older brother Jose Cojuangco to counter forces loyal to Enrile and deposed President Ferdinand Marcos.

The group is led by Lt. Col. Tiburcio Fusillero, a member of the Philippine Military Academy class of 1971 and reportedly a founding member of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement.

Fusillero was recently relieved as Philippine Constabulary Provincial Commander of Negros Oriental having mauled a lawyer of the Philippine Commission on Human Rights.

The flag patches were first used to distinguish "rebel" soldiers from Marcos' loyal troops during the February "people's power" revolt that toppled the Marcos dictatorship. Since then, Armed Forces Chief Gen. Fidel V. Ramos has ordered all military personnel to wear the flag patches to represent the "reformed military" now called the New Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The Cebu protest spread rapidly to nearby provinces in Negros Oriental, Bohol and Siquijor islands.

The soldiers threatened to conduct more actions and

"passive resistance moves" following their rejection of recent government decisions which they see as targeting the military. They plan to form a political party, supposedly to blunt the Communist Party and as an outlet for their own political activities.

In what observers saw as a direct response to this and similar actions by Enrile loyalists, Ramos told a conference of top military officials at Camp Aguinaldo October 22 that military officers who take part in politics should resign or take leave from their military organization. □

## POPE INTERCEDES FOR MARCOS PAL

The supposedly neutral Vatican clearly knows who its friends are and has decided to take an active role in Philippine politics. Seat of conservative Pope John Paul II, the Holy City recently intervened for the release of Bienvenido Tantoco, a close associate of Ferdinand Marcos, who was sentenced September 26 in Rome to three years in prison for gunrunning.

Tantoco acted as ambassador to the Vatican under the deposed dictator. A multi-millionaire, he is also owner of Manila's luxurious Rustan's department stores. It is rumored that he donated huge amounts of money to the Vatican during his ambassadorial term.

Tantoco, together with two others, had been detained by Italian authorities after Rome police discovered a arms cache in his villa.

On August 22, he was arrested with Romeo Reyes, former head of security of the Philippine Embassy. Both were sentenced to three years imprisonment and fined \$2,100. The embassy's chief bodyguard, Rodolfo Ferrario, was given an 11-month prison sentence.

Meanwhile, one source claims that the Pope has moved to reassign the activist Jaime Cardinal Sin, Archbishop of Manila, to the Vatican secretariat in Rome before the end of this year. Vatican sources have repeatedly expressed displeasure over the activist role played by the Philippine hierarchy.

Cardinal Sin figured prominently in the February revolt that led to the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship. He called on the Filipino people in Metro-Manila to form human barricades in support of the military revolt at Camps Aguinaldo and Crame.

Attempting to disguise the new assignment as neutral, the spokesperson for Pope John Paul II said that Cardinal Sin will be given a more responsible role in recognition of his leadership in the archdiocese of Manila.

Cardinal Sin will be replaced by Most Reverend Leonardo Legaspi, bishop of the diocese of Nueva Caceres in Naga City and former rector of the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. □

## SENATE VOTES \$200 MILLION AID TO R.P.

Reversing its earlier position, the U.S. Senate voted September 30 to provide \$200 million in aid to the Philippines for fiscal year 1987, which began last October 1.

The House of Representatives earlier authorized the additional aid mere hours after President Corazon Aquino's much-applauded speech to the joint session of Congress on September 18. The House approved the surprising \$200 million in emergency appropriations in addition to the already approved aid from the fiscal 1986 budget.

The 200 million brought to about \$500 million the amount of U.S. aid to the Philippines. But the total is still less than last year's \$553 million figure given to the Marcos regime.

The Senate allowed the bill to pass only after much wrangling to achieve a compromise over how the additional sum was to be procured. The current plan is for small amounts—not more than 3%—to be sliced from a number of foreign operations which are to be determined by the Reagan administration.

An initial Democratic effort to take money out of a \$300 million package of so-called economic aid to Central American *contras* was soundly defeated by Republican senators.

In voicing her gratitude for the aid, President Aquino said, "While I do reiterate my appreciation to both houses of the United States Congress for the aid, I must also thank the American people who during my recent visit to the United States welcomed me with open arms."

Even before Senate approval of the aid, President Aquino had already earmarked the amount for the

economic development of the Philippine rural sector. Mrs. Aquino said two-thirds of the Philippine population are in the rural areas where unemployment and underemployment rates are as high as 70%. □

## MARCOS LEGAL FORTUNES DECLINE

The international judicial system has not given the Marcos family respite, as lawsuits and investigations about their ill-gotten wealth continue.

The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled October 30 that the U.S. government does not have to return the \$7-\$8.5 million worth of property seized by U.S. Customs when the Marcoses arrived in Hawaii earlier this year. It thus overturned the previous order by U.S. District Judge Harold M. Fong in Hawaii.

The property includes Philippine cash, securities and jewelry, with "48 square feet of pearls in a bag."

The ruling, however, leaves to the Reagan administration the decision of what to do with the property which the Philippine government claims on behalf of the Filipino people, charging that it represents ill-gotten wealth of the Marcos regime.

## MARCOS/IMELDA PLEAD THE FIFTH

Meanwhile, Marcos invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination 197 times when questioned about his finances.

Lawyers from Los Angeles and Manila descended on the former first couple's rented \$1.5 million beach-front home in Hawaii for a pair of court-ordered deposition October 1 based on documents accumulated since Marcos fled Manila last February. The lawyers said that the documents prove that for 20 years the Marcoses engaged "in racketeering activities" and criminal violations including mail fraud, wire fraud, extortion, theft of U.S. and Japanese aid money, illegal transportation of stolen property, illegal "laundering" of funds in the U.S. and the establishment of more than half a dozen Swiss bank accounts to hide money taken from the government.

One day later, Imelda followed suit, invoking the Fifth 200 times.

The Marcos children didn't do much better. The United States Supreme Court October 20 ordered daughter Irene and son-in-law Gregorio Araneta to testify before a federal grand jury or be jailed.

The ruling upheld the contempt of court judgment issued by U.S. District Court Judge Claude Hilton against the Aranetas for their non-appearance before a grand jury investigating possible irregularities in the sales of Pentagon-financed arms to the Philippines. The grand jury probe includes kickbacks that may have been paid to the Marcos family and its associates.

The Aranetas refused to testify even under a U.S. government grant of immunity from prosecution because they feared that such testimony might still be used to extradite them and convict them in the Philippines.

The couple also invoked the Fifth Amendment privilege not to be forced to incriminate themselves.

But the high court, voting 6-3, decided that it was unlikely that the Aranetas would be extradited to the Philippines because President Reagan had "informed the Marcos family that they could stay in the United States as long as they wished," and that steps had been taken to prevent disclosure of the grand jury testimony.

As to the Fifth Amendment, it does not protect witnesses against the risk that their testimony may later be used against them by a foreign government.

If the Aranetas refuse to cooperate with the grand jury again, they could be sent to jail for up to 18 months.

## PROGRESS ON SWISS FRONT

Finally, Jovito Salonga, chairman of the Presidential Commission on Good Government, announced in Geneva that the commission is midway through its efforts to arrange the return to Manila of money believed held by Marcos in a number of Swiss banks.

Estimated to total \$2 billion, the money could be recovered within one or two years, Salonga said. His projection was based on the progress made by three Swiss lawyers hired by the Philippine government to find the money.

Although the process of recovering the Marcos assets means working through legal tangle involving several banks and their branches and several different Swiss states, Salonga and the lawyers are confident that their efforts will succeed. □

# Coup Defused — For Now

Continued from front page

Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez and chief of Local Governments Aquilino Pimentel.

## TURNAROUND

Outsiders were hard put to figure out what was actually going on. Palace sources insisted that nothing much was happening while military forces were placed on red alert and guards were stationed around utilities and mass media sites.

Ramos told his office to tell the press he was in Mindanao November 6 while he spent a day in Manila shuttling from one urgent meeting to another with chiefs of the various divisions. The next day, Aquino's office announced plans for her to meet with Enrile but refused to say when or where.

Strangest of all, however, was a press conference November 7 by Lt. Col. Victor Corpus, recommissioned in the Philippine military only two days earlier. Corpus served as training officer to the New People's Army from 1971 until his capture in 1976. He was released after spending 10 years in solitary confinement when Aquino came to power last February.

In a stunning turnaround, Corpus released a letter implicating his former comrades Jose Ma. Sison, Bernabe Buscayno and Jose Luneta in the planning of the Plaza Miranda bombing of 1971 in which a number of opposition politicians were seriously wounded.

Upon the completion of the press conference, Corpus commented, "The tension has been defused. I was just told that the tension has been defused. There will be no coup."

Sources in Enrile's staff indicated that the "Plaza Miranda revelations" were to have been a signal to move against individuals within the Aquino government. Corpus was to have implicated officials in a scheme to cover up knowledge of the bombing, thus undermining public respect. The former rebel commander implicated no one, however, stating merely that palace officials had been "informed" of his charges.

## QUEEN CORY?

Whatever the Corpus angle was all about, the coup-that-didn't-happen confirmed rumors circulating in Manila for some time that Enrile and his supporters in the Reform the Armed Forces Movement had plans to "save" the Aquino government from its own folly. Thus, the plot was codenamed "God Save the Queen."

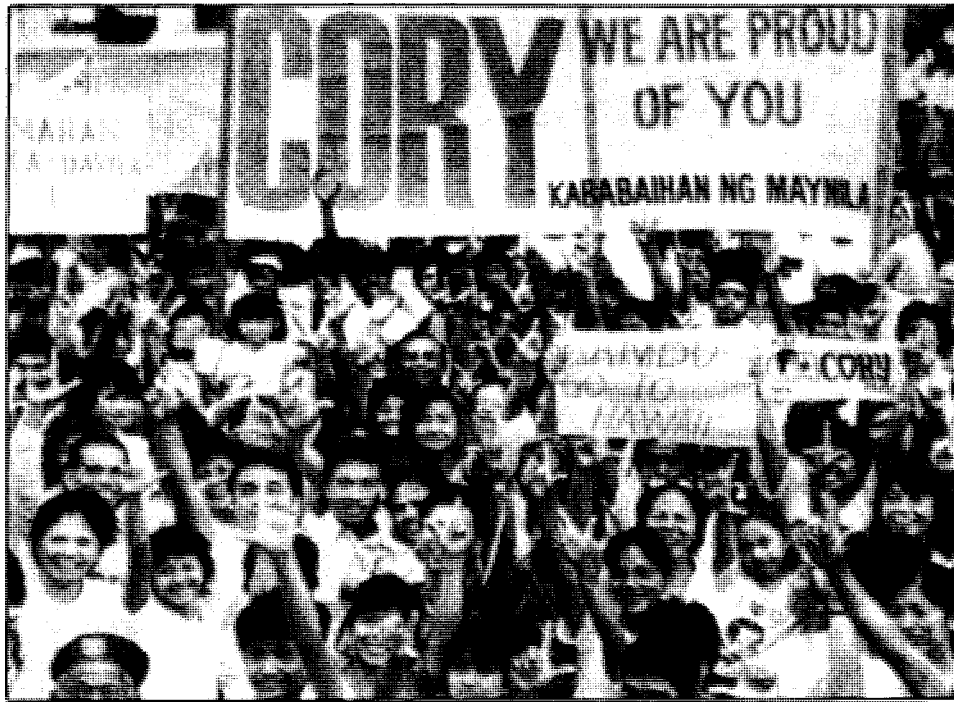
It also confirmed information hitherto coming only from left sources. One movement member with access to inner circles insisted that Enrile's anti-communist propaganda campaign was part of a plan to take over the government.

Enrile's circles reportedly felt that the time to move had come—a feeling fueled by the impatient young Turks of RAM. Ramos was to be asked to join and, if he refused, placed under house arrest. If he accepted, a junta would be formed. Aquino would be invited to join purely as a figure-head—"more like a queen than a president," one source put it.

Aspects of the plan were to include raids and attacks on houses of left forces, assassinations of middle-level *Partido ng Bayan* members, creating new disturbances in the South, anti-communist military maneuvers in the cities and anti-communist rallies. The plan also reportedly involved "terrorist incidents" that could be blamed on the NPA.

Clearly, not all of these materialized. But the rallies continued, "anti-terrorist" commando dry-runs were reportedly held for the public to see in some parts of Caloocan City, and the military opened up an active red scare press release war. Military spokesmen accused Sison and Buscayno of gunrunning and Enrile accused Aquino of encouraging a resurgence of the Moro rebellion in the South because of her negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front.

Ominous "terrorist incidents" did occur around Manila. On October 24, the eve of a major anti-communist rally in Manila,



Rally-round-the-President, supporters chant "Give Peace a Chance" November 2.

two bombs went off, one in the Cojuangco Building, site of the President's campaign headquarters, and another one at the Mondragon Building, owned by Tourism Minister Antonio Gonzales. On November 6, a grenade was thrown inside a movie theatre injuring several people.

Enrile insisted that communists were behind the bombings. But they had been launched from M-79s, a type of hardware most available to the military. It was all eerily reminiscent of the hysteria whipped up prior to the declaration of martial law which Enrile himself has admitted to having helped engineer through a staged ambush on his own limousine.

These similarities were not lost on the public. Nor is the fact that a "special service anti-terrorist force" of several battalions has been undergoing training at the Defense Ministry compound, Camp Aguinaldo. The force is supplemented by a group of "moonlighting" soldiers who train on the northern island of Dalupiri, owned and operated by Enrile's business associate Alfredo Lim.

## STRIPPED NAKED

Observers inside and outside the government seem to agree on Enrile's take-over motive: ambition. After waiting patiently for 20 years under Marcos for a crack at power, the Defense Minister has to answer to an improbable commander-in-chief, a "mere housewife," a neophyte in government no less.

One White House aide put it about as bluntly as possible. "Johnny Enrile is a self-centered snake," he sneered. "He's a very frustrated man because he isn't running the government."

Whether it was intended as a full-fledged takeover ploy or not, the timing of Enrile's "offensive" was no accident. Thinking of himself as Washington's "boy" in Manila, the Defense Minister was crushed when Aquino returned home with the Reagan administration's grudging but open support for her regime. As one cabinet official noted, "She came back wrapped in the American flag and left Enrile stripped naked."

Then, the proposed Constitution, completed in October, fixed Aquino's term as President until 1992 when the next presidential elections will be held. This piqued Enrile who had been pushing Aquino to hold a presidential election next year.

## INSULT TO INJURY

Enrile's campaign began with anti-communist rallies and speeches around the country where he criticized the President for her "weak" handling of the insurgency, denounced negotiations with the rebels and insisted on a military solution to the rebellion.

Upon completion of the Constitution, the Defense Minister added a new set of criticisms on the legality of the Aquino regime. "She threw away the mandate by creating a revolutionary government and issuing a Freedom Constitution," he told one audience.

Meanwhile he continued with his by-now traditional cracks. "Instead of using two hands to contain the rebels," he told the Panday Pira Club October 10, "the present government is trying to make do with only one." He compared the government stance toward the Left to the children's nursery rhyme, "I have two hands, the

left but no right."

Adding insult to injury, Enrile took full credit for having brought the President to power. When demands began to circulate for his resignation, he told 10,000 Marcos supporters in Cebu, "You know the government is a coalition government and if they ask for the resignation of any member of the coalition, well that means that the coalition will have to be dissolved."

Enrile won at least one civilian friend and golf partner within the cabinet. Vice-President Salvador Laurel, fast gaining a reputation as "whore of Philippine politics," shares with the Defense Minister both the desire to rule and the sense of being odd man out.

Echoing Enrile's call for an early presidential election, the Vice President promptly offered himself as a mediator between the Defense Minister and Aquino. Sitting in on the tense summit October 20 between the two, Laurel proceeded to interject his own agenda. Finally, the President had to comment, "You're being more of a problem than Johnny tonight, Doy." Later, when the rumored coup was defused, Laurel changed his posture and said he backed the ratification of the proposed constitution.

## U.S. SIGNALS

Aquino retained her cool, treating the wayward defense minister in a "boys will be boys" manner. Meanwhile, the campaign failed to provoke the support Enrile and RAM had anticipated. Jaime Cardinal Sin, head of the Philippine Catholic Church, issued a strong statement in support of the President. Though Enrile claimed support from Ramos, the Chief of Staff remained scrupulously noncommittal.

Then Washington expressed itself in no uncertain terms. The Reagan White House is hardly a fan of Aquino and her mildly nationalistic tendencies. But George Shultz's State Department SWAT team has for now convinced Reagan and the trigger-happy National Security Council and Pentagon commandos that, for the sake of stability, she is the best they can hope for at this moment.

Embassy officials met with Enrile to pass along the message while Ambassador Stephen Bosworth announced October 24, "There is no ambiguity in the U.S. position. We support the government of President Aquino firmly, totally, unequivocally."

State Department spokesman Charles Redman said the message of support for Aquino and opposition to Enrile's campaign had been conveyed "at all levels." The mouthpiece of the liberal ruling class, the *New York Times*, announced on its editorial page October 29, "Filipinos Don't Need Rambo." Adding their Democratic two cents were Sen. John Kerry and Rep. Stephen Solarz.

Just in case he didn't quite get the point, officials of the U.S. Justice Department suddenly re-opened a charge that Enrile may have siphoned U.S. aid money into the purchase of a couple of valuable properties in San Francisco (*see story this page*).

## RAMOS OFF THE DIME

The effect was like magic. Suddenly the feisty Defense Minister began to sound like a pussycat. Addressing a civic club October 31, Enrile admonished, "We shouldn't fight the President because she is our president." He added, "It is true that I have scaled down my speaking engagements so as not to become a controversial figure."

But Enrile's decision to shut his mouth clearly meant very little. Machinery had already been set in motion. Now the boss could step back and watch his boys complete the job. There is speculation, in fact, that Enrile did not plan to identify himself with the plot, initially, but rather to keep his distance and take credit only if all went well.

But all did not go well because all the swirling talk of plots and counter-plots,

## U.S. Probes Enrile

Just a coincidence, the Justice Department claimed, when it opened up an investigation on the origins of some Enrile funds used to purchase U.S.-based property. The fact that this occurred as Washington was leaning on the Defense Minister to stop mouthing off against President Corazon Aquino was irrelevant.

U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello disclosed early this month that Enrile's wife, Christina Castaner Ponce Enrile paid \$280,000 in cash for a San Francisco condominium in 1977 and \$750,000 for another in 1979. In November 1982 she sold the properties to a dummy corporation, Renatsac Inc. (Castaner spelled backwards), which in turn sold them to an individual who conveyed them to another offshore corporation for \$1.8 million.

The Justice Department wants to

know where Enrile got the hard cash to make the payments and why he went through great lengths to hide the ownership of the properties. Although Enrile claimed that he has disposed of the properties, the byzantine methods which former Marcos officials employed to escape graft charges raises the possibility that Enrile merely re-sold the properties to himself through another nominee.

Russoniello expressed "concern that this exercise was not just for the purpose of evading taxes, but was really a devise that permitted the Ponce Enriles to conceal money taken out of the Philippines." Russoniello raised "whether these monies were U.S. aid funds diverted to his personal use."

Patrick Kortens, Justice Department spokesman, denied that the investigation was politically motivated and said that it was being conducted to determine if any U.S. law had been broken. □

At this time when our country is facing the challenge of rising above the ruins wrought by two decades of a dictatorial regime, it is now imperative that we come to terms with the real issues which confront us as a nation.

Indeed, we are now in a transition period, a critical period which shall bridge our country into the future. And how well we perceive and understand the peculiarities and unique features of this period shall spell the outcome of our future.

Our colleague Randy David has written that there is now a growing consensus that "the present world crisis is not only of the economy of the State but also of social science." He says that "the crisis of social science manifests itself in the chronic inability of social scientists to anticipate the major directions of social events, to uncover the key elements that are at work, as well as to indicate the future course of desirable development."

This statement indicates the urgency of rigorously examining the situation in the country, where, an understanding of the interplay of political and economical forces, both internal and external, would lead us to the appropriate directions which we have to take for our country to achieve development. Such a rigorous analysis is necessary because for a country like ours, development would not be meaningful and authentic if it is not able to effect social transformation.

In the present period we are considering, which is viewed mainly as a transition stage, the turn of events we have been witnessing, to name a few, the conservative stance of the Constitutional Commission, the continued campaign of the military versus the underground leftist movement, the economic recovery that never gets going, are but symptomatic of a political economic crisis that has created the fluidity of the country's present situation.

This crisis is the result of the increasing contradiction between traditional and progressive political forces, mainly represented by those who espouse elite democracy on one hand and popular democracy on the other. The tension created out of this contradiction has produced a far-reaching scope, as political forces of various segments start to realign and profess a political stand. Much of this tension has also been derived from the inability of the present government to consolidate itself. While it has abstained from taking a hard line policy on the communists and the labor sector, at the same time it hasn't formally aligned itself to any exclusive political group.

This position of the Aquino government is understandable as it tries to rise above the prevailing tension by taking a mediating stance. Although well-meaning, it has gained little in easing the tension, a situation which offers its own warning, as the turn of events may compel the government to take sides with those forces which are inclined to frustrate the progressive elements.

As we presently witness the realignment of political forces in the country, we must seek to relate this with the three-fold issue of economic recovery, reform and development.

It is on this note that traditional or elite democracy, which is now fastly inching its way back into the limelight is being challenged by popular democracy. In its bid to make a strong comeback, popular democracy has come to challenge it and pursue the issue of genuine democracy that can only mean empowerment of the people—empowerment in both the political and economic aspects.

What are the features of popular democracy? The first feature of popular democracy is people's participation. This implies a system where the people's power is expressed directly and permanently through people's organizations and alliances that are officially recognized by government.

The second feature of popular democracy is political pluralism. This means that in addition to the traditional elite parties, popular democracy calls for newer political parties representing either middle class and lower class interests, or other political tendencies like nationalism, social democracy, national democracy, or even socialism.

If elite democracy is predominantly composed of conservative democrats, popular democracy could be considered as the joint project of liberal democracy and radical democracy. By itself, popular democracy is not necessarily nationalist, much less socialist. But the popular democratic coalition includes nationalism and socialism among the variety of political and social philosophies that it considers legitimate.

Popular democracy is perfectly compatible with an advocacy of capitalism although this will tend to be more nationalist capitalism because of its commitment to the interests of the middle and lower classes.

Considering the present alignment of forces, a de facto coalition government under Cory Aquino's leadership still prevails. The conservatives still constitute a bigger bloc. The minority liberals and progressives continue to exercise initiative but not as much as they use to in the early months of the coalition government.

Although the coalition, through the on-going peace talks and other programs, is looking for ways and means of accommodating the left forces, both nationalists and socialists, we could say that the coalition is still led

# The Political Economy of Popular Democracy



by political forces committed to capitalist development.

If we look at the different political forces which are part of the popular democratic alliance, we can say that there are two distinct perspectives. All the forces either belong to those who subscribe to a capitalist development framework or to a socialist development framework.

But while the long-run perspective of the various political forces differ, they are forced by the present situation to agree on a common political stance and forced by the economic imperatives to work within a common transition program.

In this paper, we will try to show why these forces will share a common transition program, while the need for a united political stand will be discussed in the second paper.

There are two sets of reasons why we argue for a

## 'Popular Democracy could be considered as the joint project of liberal democracy and radical democracy.'

common transition program. One set is practical, the second set is theoretical.

### PRACTICAL FACTORS

The first practical factor is the common starting point both capitalist and socialist perspectives have to deal with—the state of Philippine economy.

Although the three concepts of economic recovery, reform and development overlap and cannot be strung out in a mechanically linear sequence, it is still possible to identify economic recovery as a distinct and immediate common task. Recovery means at least returning to 1983 (before August) levels of economic activity which can be quantified. It also means the utilization of existing productive facilities, although this is harder to fix more precisely.

The common immediate task of economic recovery calls for the same measures whether the long-term perspective is capitalist or socialist development. In addition, the task of economic reform and development has to deal with certain givens that will not change overnight. Among these are the following basic features of the Philippine economy: 1) it is mainly agricultural; 2) its industry is heavily owned and controlled by foreigners; and c) it is quantitatively and qualitatively dependent on international trade and finance relationships.

The second practical factor that makes for a common transition program is the international economic situation. The Philippine economy is in no position to dictate significant changes in the international economy, at least not in the short term.

### THEORETICAL FACTORS

At first glance, there would not seem to be any theoretical reason for a common transition program between capitalist and socialist development. There are, in fact, theories of socialist and capitalist development that would argue against any common transition program.

However, there are variations in capitalist development theory and socialist development theory which not only allow, but support, our argument for a common transition program.

The first, and more elaborate theory, is the so-called "structuralist" approach. This is a variation of capitalist development theory originally formulated and systematized by the Economic Commission for Latin America especially Raul Prebisch, the first executive secretary of ECLA. It has been modified and expanded by Cambridge School economists and the International Labor Organization.

The structuralist approach is relatively unknown in the Philippines, at least among economic government planners and the main schools of economic thought. What dominates the Philippine economic theory is the neo-classical approach, which is essentially laissez-faire capitalism. Some government agencies, however, appear to be following other variations of the neo-classical approach, particularly, the basic needs approach.

The socialist counterpart of the structuralist approach is less elaborated or systematized. A group of Soviet Union economists has tried to develop what they call a "non-capitalist" path to development, which is, in essence, similar to the structuralist approach. But even those who advocate an orthodox socialist theory of development acknowledge the need for a "transition" approach, especially if the starting point is an underdeveloped capitalist society.

Such a transition approach calls for "historically-specific policies that reflect inherited conditions, including the level of development of the class struggle and external constraints on development."

### PROGRAMMATIC FRAMEWORK FOR A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POPDEM

Putting such a framework to bear on the empirical nomatum of our politico-economic inquiry, we confront the peculiar characteristics of the crisis that beset



# Economy Democracy



Malaya

associated with the socialist perspective because of central planning as the purported norm of macro-economic management, an activist government is also a derivative of nonsocialist development perspectives such as those of the Latin American structuralists. Popular democracy applies this to the Philippine situation with a call for government to mediate in the market in certain sectors for both efficiency and welfare considerations.

At this juncture, government mediation is called for particularly because of the need to consolidate deployment of financial resources that are obviously scarce. While some would argue that the private sector may be a more efficient manager of resources, this sector's hesitance to spearhead the drive toward recovery obligates government to take the lead.

Over the long term, government may have to grant the private sector a more decisive role but it cannot abdicate its implicit task of setting the groundwork for both recovery and growth. In this context, the delineations as well as the synthesis of planning and market must be carefully set.

**A. Plan and Market.** The plan and market mix for popular democracy implicitly calls for a mixed economy. Four economic sectors interplay in this system: traditional businesses in the private sector, state sector, cooperatives, and the peasant and artisanal sector.

Concomitantly, macroeconomic management relies on the combined use of market and planning instruments. Planning is done in a mixed fashion depending on the economic areas for which the plans are being drawn. For vital sectors such as utilities where public regulation is called for, central planning is inevitable. Government regulation of vital social services such as health, education, and welfare is also called for. Public goods, of course, shall still fall within the province of government. For essential consumer and producer goods industries indicative planning is necessary. Government provides corresponding policy guidelines to spur productivity. For all non-essential consumer industries, the market operates unencumbered by government intervention.

In agriculture, indicative planning dovetails with bottoms-up-planning through rural people's organizations in projecting production targets and determining government support needed in achieving targeted outputs.

The rationale for the choice of the different methods for planning the national economy may also be invoked for the marketing and distribution of national production. Coordinated marketing schemes are best adopted for tradable export crops and exportable light manufactures. The role of the government shall be limited to one of coordinating and supervising the movement of goods in and out of the country.

Overall, market pricing and allocation shall still govern the bulk of economic decisions. The areas where government mediates in the market have already been circumscribed: natural monopolies such as utilities, vital consumer, as well as producer goods industries, as well as crucial social services (health, education and welfare) are guided through indicative plans but are not controlled by the government.

In effect, government will still wield the traditional tools of fiscal and monetary policy in managing the national economy. Government's continued mediation in the market is deemed necessary not only because of macroeconomic coordination but to effect the impact of lopsided concentration of resources which would otherwise be overlooked if the neo-classical obsession with free markets is left unqualified. In a developing economy where structural imbalances persist, welfare-ameliorating policies cannot be avoided as the market efficiency criterion alone does not necessarily promote the equity criterion.

A distinct feature of economic management in popular democracy is the pervasive presence of people's organizations and cooperatives that can help government promote efficiency and effectiveness, especially in the public sector. As mentioned earlier, assumption of functions usually performed by government gives people's organizations the chance to save on bureaucratic waste. At the same time, inter-cooperative trade should stimulate enterprise agreements that could help cooperatives compete with their more entrenched competitors in the private sectors. As cooperatives gain greater efficiency and stronger clout in the national economy, peasants, agricultural laborers, urban workers, and all those who belong to the underprivileged classes should enjoy greater economic leverage that would bring them their rightful share in production that has eluded them for long.

**B. Fiscal and Monetary Policy.** Popular democracy espouses steeper direct taxation for higher income brackets and the deliberate reduction in the incidence of indirect taxation which actually penalizes the lower income brackets. Tax policy should increasingly emphasize ability to pay even as non-tax revenues should increasingly be tapped to augment revenue generation. Deficit financing should no longer be countenanced in the guise of public investment when it is obviously meant to gain political capital. Non-government organizations should be mobilized to monitor rationality of public investment projects.

Corollarily, borrowing as a source of revenue should

now be downplayed. Tax administration should be improved further at the same time that non-tax revenue performance should be optimized.

Participation of non-governmental organizations in budget planning should help trim down budget deficits by scuttling at the planning stage expenditures that are without social relevance.

Fiscal incentives to stimulate investment should be granted as long as they do not compromise revenue generation. Credit allocations should have as priority agricultural production and vital consumer industries. Where resource efficiency hinges on market determination of interest rates, this should be allowed free rein but an elbow room should be available for subsidized credit whenever special funds that come as grants or concessional loans are available.

**'At first glance, there would not seem to be any theoretical reason for a common transition program between capitalist and socialist development.'**

**2. A Vibrant Network of People's Organizations.** Over the long term, government's activist role must go hand in hand with a vibrant network of people's organizations to support and sustain all initiatives spearheaded by government. This recognizes the role of people's organizations in responding to the peculiar requirements of a society in transition. Government's active role does not necessarily mean the exclusion of people's organizations but instead the mobilization of people's organizations to support all meaningful activities of government.

Popular democracy proceeds from the fundamental premise of people empowerment in the realm of both politics and economics. Empowerment here means the long-term strategic process of transferring economic and social power from one center to another and/or for the creation of new centers of socio-economic power complementary to or in competition with the traditional centers.

The appropriate mix of power transfer, usually indicated by the changes in the effective control, access or ownership of key resources such as land or facilities and its creation of new centers, is a situational one and may not be completely predictable. By centers, we can mean specific social classes or factions of social classes, and can involve the particular regions and areas in the country.

Empowerment, therefore, is a dynamic process of shifting the balance of social power from one social class or group of classes and may very well also imply the shift in the economic or political importance of one area or region to another, resulting in a different configuration.

Empowerment taps the people's own potential to enable them to take responsibility for their own development. Self-reliance and self-management are seen as inherent in the process of community development. Thus, for example, mass organizations are transformed into decision makers. Socio-economic organizations operate as lower-level organs of popular power. Consultative committees and institutions are constituted into bodies capable of wielding effective power at the community level.

In the countryside, this will entail three types of organizations: community organizations, peasant associations, and cooperatives. Hopefully, these organizations should embrace virtually all the classes and sectors in the rural villages and build a broadly-based democracy.

Village-wide community organizations by their nature will be of a federation type. They will admit and unite all kinds of organizations, be they of the rich peasants or the poor peasant. They will be built around issues common to all.

Peasant associations will be more class-based to be composed mainly of poor peasants. Emphasis will be on this group as it is the sector which needs empowerment most.

Socio-economic organizations or cooperatives will be established to enhance the viability of any economic enterprises that will be set up. Grouped according to economic sectors, they can set up their own banks to serve their own sectoral requirements. Enterprise agreements can be forged among the different cooperatives across the vertical and horizontal levels. At the national level, they can federate into apex cooperatives.

On a higher plane, all these types of organizations will combine to form people's consultative councils. These councils will then concentrate on people's participation and mediate the autonomous activities of the rural masses. Horizontally, these councils can group together into communities of interests to accommodate convergences of group interests while vertically they are linked by their sectoral affiliations into national federations. The binding force linking all these organizations to a common vision is a social compact that lays out consensus on policies such as macroeconomic targets. The social compact, which

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the country now. Let us apply this to how the government views the situation.

Government defines the problem as a depressed economy that must recover and poverty that must be alleviated. It seeks to solve these problems through greater economic productivity with minimum government intervention. Government mediates in the recovery effort but when recovery comes, the market regains free rein. Throughout, growth and equity are presumably fulfilled through a mix of investment and redistributive policies.

I have previously mentioned, however, that the real problem that we must confront is the nagging issue of underdevelopment. Poverty is only the symptom, not the problem.

To pose, therefore, a solution that does not confront the roots of underdevelopment is to mistake the trees for the forest. Popular democracy acknowledges the need for addressing immediate economic problems particularly our overwhelming debt burden and huge public sector deficits but it puts strategic problem of underdevelopment as the proper context within which the short-range difficulties must be attacked.

It calls for asset and income distribution as the centerpiece of its economic program that should be attained through a thoroughgoing agrarian reform and an industrialization strategy that gives increasing attention to the domestic market and a more substantive role for national capital. Generally, agrarian reform

**'The nagging issue is underdevelopment. Poverty is only a symptom, not the problem.'**

bolsters agricultural development upon which a viable industrialization strategy should flourish.

In accomplishing this, it seeks to muster the broadest coalition of political forces to spur recovery efforts and ensure sustained growth. Implicitly, therefore, it recognizes that the political reforms gained through the current democratic space must be channelled toward the attainment of more comprehensive economic reforms.

A programmatic framework spells out popular democracy's positioning vis-a-vis the immediate problem of recovery and the structural problem of underdevelopment through five key elements.

1. An activist government. Although traditionally

# Popular Democracy

Continued from page 9

derives inspiration from the Yugoslavian model of self-management socialism, bears the force of the law once they are signed by contracting parties.

Crucial to the operationalization of such framework for people empowerment is a devolution of government power that should allow for a broader role for people's organizations in policy formulation, program planning and project implementation. Some functions can be shared by government while others can already be assumed by people's organizations.

3. A Thoroughgoing Agrarian Reform Program. This element is closely bound to the activist role of government. Whether the perspective is socialist or capitalist, a thoroughgoing agrarian reform program needs substantial government intervention, politically and economically.

It is a firm commitment of popdem to undertake a genuine land reform program. Popdem believes that in order to implement a successful program, the government should insulate the decision-making machinery from landed interests and create organizations capable of translating central decisions into "decentralized" implementation in the rural areas.

The scope of the land reform program will include all types of farm lands and cover the whole peasantry (i.e., the whole spectrum of the major peasant sub-groups from landless workers to tenant farmers to sharecroppers).

It will also redress the shortcomings (e.g., the stratification of the major peasant sub-classes, the limited scope which included only rice and corn lands, the lack of people participation at the grass roots levels of previous land reform programs. As a whole, popdem's agrarian reform thrust would be more in scope, less exemptions, more participation, less centralization, more speed, less cumbersome technicalities, and most of all, integration and not stratification of the peasantry.

The tensions between the policy and actual practice will be ironed out as soon as possible to include: 1) tillers of farm lands other than rice and corn; 2) since previous agrarian reform left out a sizeable number of tillers particularly the landless workers, they will now be included within the scope of agrarian reform; 3) land tenure reform will be completed speedily and according to its original objectives. From the history of successful land reform programs in Asia, tenure shift has to be accomplished within 2-3 years if it is expected to create any impact socially, economically and politically; 4) No exemptions will be granted whether to small landlords of specific agricultural areas of the last traces of landlordism (and its drain of land rentals from rural areas) is to be successfully eradicated. This will also mean that landlord capital will be transferred to industries; 5) a package of services will accompany agrarian reform. Among these services will be credit and marketing facilities, extension services, and infrastructural development in terms of irrigation, farm-to-market roads, rural electrification, etc.; 6) There will be an emphasis on the use of appropriate technology which are ecologically relevant and versatile, simple, sparing in use of capital relative to labor, applicable to small productive units, and minimize market risks; 7) "People's participation" will be an indispensable condition for land reform. The active participation of farmers in the planning, implementation and evaluation of reform policies is rendered essential; 8) Group farming schemes based on the principles of co-operativism and the entire community's control of local resources will pervade throughout popdem's agrarian reform program. Ultimately, the effects of agrarian reform will bring about a fairly homogeneous society of small farmers-based cooperative cultivatorship.

4. An Industrialization Strategy Hewing Closer to the Domestic Market and National Capital. In the area of industrialization, popular democracy calls for a progressive, employment-creating, anti-poverty, and income-generating industrialization policy. This emphasis is invariably hinged on the principle of economic efficiency, but at the same time acknowledging the need for welfare ameliorization, with production addressed to both the domestic and foreign markets.

In order that this may be achieved, the thrusts in the industrialization priorities of the previous administration have to be corrected. Previously, the country's industrialization effort was largely directed towards the export market, with domestic consumption left out as a residual concern of an import-substitution but foreign raw-material dependent import-substitution strategy. The immediate consequence of this, of course, was that the best of Filipino workmanship somehow automatically became earmarked for foreign markets, and that the domestic market had to be content with either the surpluses, rejects, and spoils of the country's industrial manufactures, or their imported counterparts.

While the foreign exchange earnings argument for exports is valid and recognized to be crucial especially for a developing country like ours, popular democracy calls for greater people's participation in the economic life of the country, and this should be read to include a proportionate increase in the production of manufactures for the domestic market. For this reason, the inordinate emphasis on the export market insofar as the country's industrial manufactures are concerned must necessarily be rectified. The requirements of the domestic market must now occupy increasing prominence in the country's industrialization drive. However, by recognizing that the foreign exchange earnings from the export of light manufactures already being produced in the country are equally important for economic recovery, the continued production of these light manufactures must be encouraged.

While economic efficiency underpins the industrialization drive, it is necessary for government to mediate in the market to foster welfare amelioration concerns. To this end, popular democracy recognizes that "natural monopolies" must be publicly owned and managed. With these natural monopolies under state control, rational planning of these critical areas of the economy should be enhanced. At the same time, economies of scale should be operational.

Outside of natural monopolies and utilities, all other industries must be left to the private sector subject to the national guidelines of encouraging production for the domestic market and for export generation.

Alongside the promotion of greater productivity in industry, popular democracy also calls for the promotion of self-sufficiency in the country's industrialization policy. To



this end, the sourcing of capital should reflect an increasing reliance on domestic sources. However, this does not mean that foreign participation in industry is precluded. Foreign participation is in fact encouraged in all the non-critical industries of the economy. In similar fashion, the sourcing of producer goods and intermediate inputs for the country's industries should, wherever feasible, reflect the same thrust toward self-reliance encouraged by the principle on which popular democracy is founded.

Oftentimes raised as an issue in the industrialization efforts of most developing countries is the balance between the labor and capital-intensiveness of the industrialization program itself. Following the fundamental assumptions of popular democracy, the country's industrialization program should allow for both labor and capital-intensive industries depending on considerations like factor endowments and the criterion of economic efficiency.

Closely related to this would be popular democracy's call for a regional dispersal of the country's industries in order to optimize the different factor endowments of the country's regions, as well as to take advantage of the market potentials of these areas. Previous experience with regional dispersal has been through infrastructure expansion in the countryside and the inordinate hope on the "trickle down" effect. In contrast to this, the thrust toward regional dispersal based on the principle of popular democracy places infrastructure expansion only secondary to the dispersal of the industries themselves. In other words, the impetus to relocate the industries to other areas aside from the national capital region should not be made to depend solely on the development of infrastructure in the regions. Rather, infrastructure expansion should be seen as a means of providing the necessary support for

any effort to bring industries to the different regions of the country.

The industrial expansion outlined above, based on the principle of economic efficiency, increasing self-reliance, and a regional dispersal of industries is expected to allow for a phased development of light and heavy industries in the country. While this should be the ultimate objective of the country's industrialization policy, the movement to light, medium and heavy industries should be prudently made, depending on the stages of the already existing inter-industry linkages.

A final note on the industrialization strategy anchored on popular democracy. It is recognized that the country can make a go of its effort to industrialize if and only if the necessary support systems are in place. To this end, it becomes necessary to protect the various industries considered to be vital to the country's economic recovery from cheap imports from abroad. Liberal policies may be adopted towards all other industries but the corresponding tariff protection in these liberalized industries must be implemented. And finally, in order to stimulate industrial activity in the country, the government should introduce the necessary fiscal and monetary incentives while at the same time ensuring recognition of the rights of labor and stability in the nation's payments balance.

5. Diversified International Relations. Under popular democracy, foreign policy partakes of the overall principle of increased independence, pluralism of relations, and the pragmatic pursuit of national and popular interests.

While the Philippines will not be able to immediately extricate itself from its dependence on the U.S., it should begin a process of actively seeking to reform the terms of such a relationship in order to achieve more equitable terms, for instance, in economic relations while working for the removal of the most dangerous and onerous aspects of security relations as in the bases agreement.

At the same time, a policy of diversifying relations with Western industrialized countries in the OECD (Japan, EEC, Canada, etc.) in order to loosen the excessive dependence on the U.S. and to increase our economic and political options and leverage vis-a-vis the U.S. can be pursued.

Economic relations based on mutual benefit with socialist and communist states can be further expanded especially where economic gains can be clearly achieved and again to further diversify external economic relations and lessen vulnerability to fluctuations in world trade.

Realistic expectations from our relations with Third World countries built on a continuing solidarity with them on the NIEO issues and other UN or North Sea issues will be maintained. Greater solidarity with the Asia-Pacific regions especially on disarmament and arms control and nuclear-free zones in the region can be pursued vigorously.

Relations with other countries on a people-to-people basis especially where alternative development experience can be studied and learned by our people will be expanded.

## CONCLUSION

In closing, may I stress that the political economy of popular democracy which has been spelled out offer an alternative that has been drawn from a rigorous understanding of the presently fluid political situation. It also considers the transitory nature of the current set-up and as such responds to urgent short-term requirements which meanwhile have a bearing on long-term objectives. In essence, therefore, it responds to both the immediate and long-term real needs of the country.

As an alternative today, popular democracy is surely our only best bet against the resurgence of the reactionary tide which is all out to gain ground in the political and economic system of the country.

The political economy of popular democracy gives us a viable solution to the current economic crisis that could be used by some men of dubious intentions to invoke a fascist restoration in the guise of benevolent despotism while keeping a longer view toward the structural causes of underdevelopment that beset the country.

We have arrived at our conclusions only because we did not allow ourselves to be constrained by the artificial distinctions that divide politics from economics or both from the general context of the social sciences. After all, political economy, when considered in its essence is an art and discipline of the simultaneous—that is to say, its real standpoint requires it to view the social processes in a specific society as having simultaneous political and economic dimensions. We have, therefore, freed our minds from the confining perspective of a social science that puts divisions among disciplines where there should be none. □

*This paper was read at the UP Faculty Center for a forum sponsored by the Third World Studies Center and the Institute for Popular Democracy (September 22, 1986). Horacio "Boy" Morales is the president of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement. He was imprisoned for several years by the Marcos dictatorship for being a top leader of the National Democratic Front.*

# Voices

## The Military Must Be Denied Political Power

By ARTURO M. TACA, M.D.

With the recent capture of the commander of the New People's Army by military authorities in the Philippines, a new monkey wrench has been thrown into Cory Aquino's efforts to seek a peaceful resolution of the festering insurgency in the Philippines. Things were not helped much when Cory Aquino herself hailed the capture of Rodolfo Salas while seeking medical treatment in a Manila hospital. Not surprisingly, negotiators for the NPA were visibly alarmed by this latest episode and warned that such act by the military is viewed as a show of open contempt for the negotiations and will irretrievably doom the process to failure.

It is widely believed that Cory Aquino was not speaking for herself when she welcomed the arrest. In the wake of her recent visit to the United States, there is a growing perception that she may be succumbing to U.S. pressures to adopt a more belligerent stance in facing the insurgents and rely more on military solutions than peaceful negotiations. This could only mean that the Philippine military will assume a more dominant position in determining what the future holds for the country. In which case, except for the departure of Marcos and his cronies, nothing has changed and the Filipino society remains besieged by forces of revanchism.

### TENUOUS HOLD

It is becoming evident that President Aquino's hold on the military is tenuous at best. Despite her honest attempts to reform and professionalize it, the Philippine military remains highly politicized. Three distinct power alignments exist. There are still those unrepentant Marcos loyalists who conveniently, and for the moment, keep their true sentiments *en pectore* and there are those who have sided with Aquino and her government. A third block, Minister Enrile's cabal of so-called "reformists," decidedly small in number but firmly entrenched in critical positions, serves as a buffer between the two main contending forces. The loyalty of this third bloc remains suspect.

Although the Defense Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, had frequently and publicly expressed his support for the Aquino government, his continuing machinations belie his statements of support. All these fuel Filipinos' fears that Cory may not be able to keep a tight rein on the military. Contrary to common belief, the Enrile bloc within the military establishment is a distinct minority. The loyalist and pro-Marcos factions hate his guts for his role in the February revolt while the pro-Aquino elements mistrust him. One wonders where his main source of support lies. Is it with the U.S. government?

Because of the constant tug-of-war for the hearts and



minds of the military between the different contentious factions, professionalism takes a back seat and the anti-insurgency campaign takes a beating.

Under Marcos, the military had never enjoyed a substantial degree of success in countering the NPA inroads despite their vastly superior firepower and numbers which is way above the ratio of 10 government soldiers for every guerilla in the fields. This ratio is considered by many counterinsurgency experts as acceptable to keep guerilla growth and activity in check. The growth in strength and influence enjoyed by the NPA during the Marcos years is partly due to the fact that only one soldier in 10 is involved in actual anti-insurgency activity. Many of the conscripts and NCOs serve as drivers, gardeners, househelps, bodyguards, babysitters for military bigwigs, government officials, regional warlords and their families. Under Marcos, many highly trained and heavily armed military units were stationed in the metropolitan Manila area where NPA activity is minimal to nonexistent, purely to serve as a military cordon to protect the presidency. Under the new dispensation, nothing has substantially changed.

### REAGAN'S MILITARIZATION

Of course the recent successes of the New People's Army cannot be solely attributed to such factional infighting and misuse of manpower within the Philippine military. It is a direct effect of the increased militarization brought about by the increases in U.S. military aid programs to the Philippines in the past decade. The NPA, just a rag-tag group of ideological malcontents in the early '70s, has bloomed into a credible guerilla movement. With the ever-increasing firepower on both sides, it is not surprising to see a dramatic escalation of violence with resultant deaths, destruction and human

rights violations in the countryside. Ironically, the source of such increased firepower on both the military and the NPA is the U.S., through its military aid and support programs. The NPA, to a large extent, uses American arms pilfered through the U.S. bases in Clark and Subic, from dishonest elements in the Philippine military and from battlefield retrievals.

In this context, it is hardly reassuring to see the Reagan administration expand the scope of militarization in the Philippines with promises of more military aid and anchor the processes of democratization upon the Philippine military. It will only aggravate already deepening misery and wreak more horrific destruction on the Philippines rather than act as a force for economic reconstruction or bolster badly needed social services. Militarization offers only the grim prospect of pushing the country away from the path of political and economic liberation and recovery. Rather than provide the vital support for Cory Aquino to initiate and sustain her programs of peaceful reforms, militarization will surely compel her to embark on counterproductive, unpopular and unrealistic programs which in her heart she is philosophically opposed.

### REDUCE THE MILITARY

All Filipinos fervently pray for a de-escalation of hostilities between the military and the insurgents and for an enduring process that would ultimately lead to national reconciliation and democratization. Cory Aquino has already taken the critical steps to achieve this cherished goal with her series of dialogues and peaceful negotiations with the NPAs and the Muslim secessionists. Americans should not jeopardize and sabotage her solemn mission and social contract with her people with more military aid.

The Philippine military must be emasculated. As a necessary first step the U.S. should tone down its anti-communist and anti-NPA rhetoric and drastically reduce its military aid to the Philippines.

With reduced manna from the Pentagon, Aquino must reciprocally reduce the size of the Philippine military, bloated as it is now, to more manageable and affordable levels. To a certain extent, the military must be rendered impotent to prevent it from muscling its way into political power. Reduced, its ranks will be easier to professionalize, it can be better equipped, better trained and properly motivated to exercise its appropriate role in Philippine society under civilian authority.

Instead of littering our rice paddies with more dead bodies, the U.S. should be more concerned with putting more food on the Filipinos' dinner table. □

Arturo M. Taca, M.D., is the National Chairperson of the Movement for a Free Philippines.

### To A Poetaster from a Once-Imprisoned Poem-Scribbler (though I may not be the addressee)

What matters that  
you've never been in prison?  
One wall is just the same  
as any other.  
Injustice felt over  
a selfish whim  
of some inconsistent boss  
(or perhaps lover)  
is not much different  
from the regular  
prison torment.  
Tyrants abound,  
be they petty or  
just mentally unsound.

Besides, prison  
does not necessarily make  
for fire.  
Haven't you seen lines  
obviously heated up  
by dandy feudor flicks?  
The plastic ones,  
I mean.

So with the jungle.  
Dried leaves need not be found  
in plenty  
on some verdant forest ground.  
Prick up your ears,  
and the crackle of one  
can resound  
to hound  
whichever torturer it is  
who'd have you bound.

So keep on writing,  
yes, but let  
the particular way  
in which a whiff of dust  
strikes your lashes  
to befoul your sight  
find itself  
in your own lines.  
And never mind  
cold floors  
or dark canopies —  
they're hackneyed anyway.  
Aren't they?

### Cleanliness

Try and tell us  
to be clean  
and we will show you  
the price we pay  
per greasy gallon  
of water  
or the distance  
from the faucet to our  
hovel.

Dirt in our fingernails?  
Stop us from handling  
mother's soot-laden  
pot.

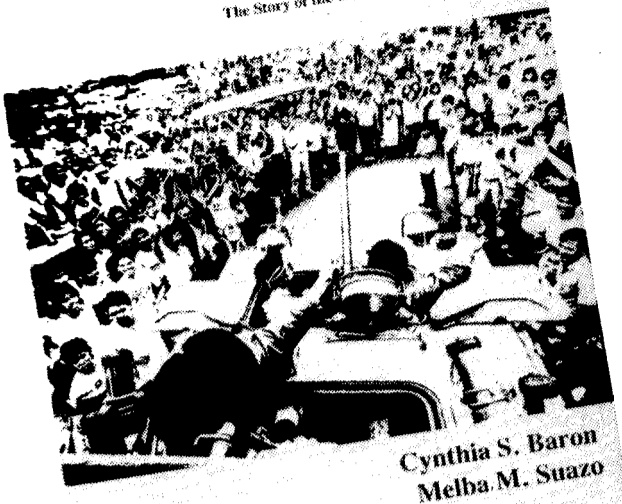
Garbage all around?  
We live on it,  
our hovel atop,  
our stomachs daily churning  
the cans to be sold  
for our next meal.

Cleanse us.  
For with cleansing  
we shall find  
our own cleanness.

Mila Aguilar  
Manila, Philippines

Nine Letters

The Story of the 1986 Filipino Revolution



Cynthia S. Baron  
Melba M. Suazo

### NINE LETTERS

The Story of the 1986 Filipino Revolution  
By CYNTHIA S. BARON and MELBA M. SUAZO  
Gerardo P. Baron Publisher, Quezon City, R.P.  
107 pp. \$14.95

By MARIE C. PRUDEN

Comes now another coffee-table book on the 1986 Philippine Revolution, reminiscing with pride how over one million Filipinos brought down their much-feared dictator.

This book did not bite off more than it could chew. It merely took a slice of the various ingredients leading to the revolution and processed them, as a mother does with baby food.

In fact the book admits to being a story of the moment, "presented as a series of letters to the children of 1986, who would one day need to know why the four days in February were so important to all Filipinos." A heartwarming touch is its gray-and-white frontispiece of a child's drawing of the revolution.

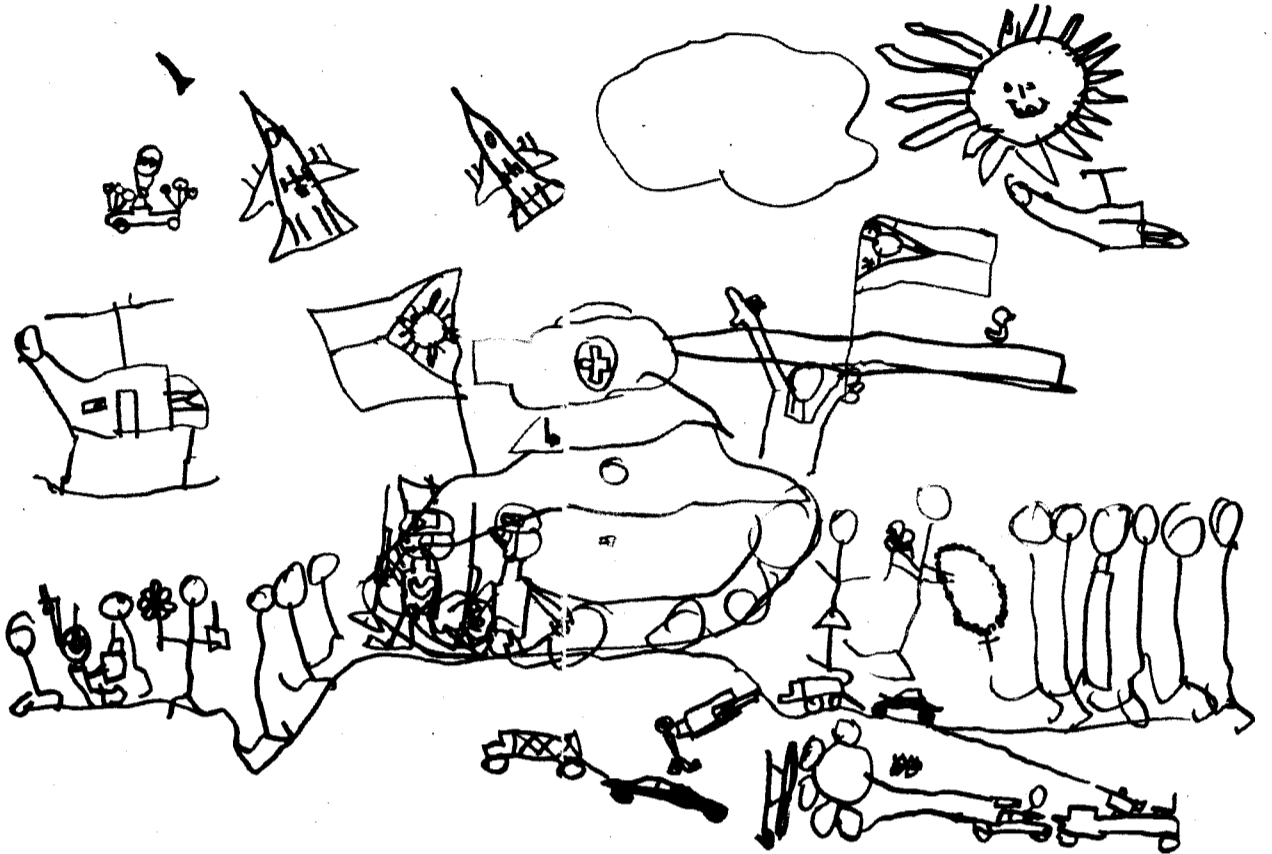
What Cynthia Baron and Melba Suazo had done is every Filipino mother's dream to do for her children. On top of the housework, childcare, and day-to-day process of earning a living, Mrs. Baron and Mrs. Suazo had gone out to join the revolution.

And granting that they have husbands, a few assistants, and perhaps housemaids at their beck and call, it is no mean task to write a book, collect excellent black-and-white photographs, put them together, publish it, and distribute the book themselves. For their efforts alone, and without financial help from big corporations, these women should be congratulated.

The way it was presented, though, raises a lot of questions. For instance, why should the book start with the climax, on through the denouement, and with the setting and *dramatis personae* last? One would think that children should be able to comprehend a story better, if it were presented say, chronologically.

Also, as the text is a series of letters, they should have been presented in a letter format, starting with the date on top (which it did), the salutation "Dear Child"—or whoever—(which is optional), and signed at the bottom (which is necessary). As they had been laid out, I found it upsetting that I had to leap back from

# Nine Letters Straight from the Heart



To G-2, Teyish, Victor and Donny

time to time to the table of contents to see whose letter I was reading at the moment. This is not so trivial a pursuit, since most of the letters sounded like they have been written by the same person acting out several characters—and not always successfully.

Of the nine letters, only three showed distinct personalities of the writers: the one from a journalist, the letter from Uncle, and Ninoy Aquino's (in which he was identified). Otherwise, the nun, Mama, Lola, and Ninang were all interchangeable.

The journalist's portrayal of himself/herself was hazy even to a child below the age of 15. Much as it is a practice among colleagues to refer to people in government using familiar names, I'm afraid such people may have to be re-introduced properly to future children who have yet to hear of them. Also, it's quite telling that while the reporter gave his/her age—46—he/she didn't know that the Magsaysay we knew was as much a product of media hype as Marcos was. One only needs to listen to J.V. Cruz to find out. But then again, perhaps our mothers should have written a book on RM to pass on to us. And that's another story.

My favorite of the letters is one from Aunt—not in

style, but in content. It pointed out the role of American neo-colonialism in contemporary Philippine history, which two other coffee-table books on the revolution failed to discuss. However, the letter charged that "Even if the Americans in government realize that they did nothing to help us, they make even Filipinos living in America believe that they [the Americans] were the heroes." I beg your pardon, Auntie. The Americans can make us believe that they had always been our President-maker (as in the case of Magsaysay), but we know deep in our hearts that it was not the case with Cory. This time, it was truly the Filipinos themselves who chose their President.

Everything considered, *Nine Letters* is a good book to pass on to our children, that they may learn about the 1986 Philippine Revolution. It's not the best book on the subject, but it was a labor of love, and surely, there's a lot of room down there. □

*Nine Letters* is available from Baron Products, Inc. 2416 Fulton St., San Francisco, CA 94118 and SorpresaGram, 1161 Dutton Ave., San Leandro, CA 94577, call toll free 800-722-7009 or 800-233-5777. Add \$1.80 for postage and California residents add 6.5% sales tax.

## In Shantytown (After Ernesto Cardenal)

In shantytown, behind the soap factory,  
no trace can be found  
of the cannons and bamboo forts of a noble  
age. Shreds of newspapers,  
shards of Coca-Cola bottles,  
mud, moss, phlegm, ash, broken chamber pots  
—these are the masterpieces on display  
in the garbage heap of shantytown,  
village of cardboard and tin, the city's stinking mudhole.  
The alleys smell of prison,  
smell of shit and piss and old rags sticky with grease,  
distant from grace.

The entire night is one long  
wailing.

In shantytown the moonlight  
also shines  
on Goodyear tires on top of tin roofs.  
The moon floats on viscous waterways.  
Blessed are the poor for  
they shall inherit the moon.

Jose F. Lacaba  
Manila, 1986

Jose Lacaba is the editor of *Midweek*.

### 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 Filipino Vote: A Generation Behind

By MADGE KHO BELLO

A journalist in Hawaii called it "an awakening tiger." American politicians are now frequently paying respect to its potential. More aspiring Filipino politicians are throwing their hats in the ring as an indication of its latent power. Indeed, the "Filipino vote" is finally getting noticed. The Filipino, as a voter or candidate, may still have a long way to go in terms of the financial base, organization and political experience necessary to make an impact on the U.S. electoral process. But politicians from the two major parties have begun an early courtship.

It has been 40 years since Filipinos were allowed to become U.S. citizens and statistics show they have been naturalizing in record numbers lately. From a yearly average of a couple of hundred when immigration laws started allowing more Filipinos into the U.S. in 1965, the number of new U.S. citizens rose to a few thousands by the early 1970s.

The numbers have stayed up since, so that from 1979 to 1983 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) recorded an average of 19,000 Filipinos naturalizing each year. This means larger numbers of Filipinos are qualified to vote and join the electoral arena.

In two of the states most populated by Filipinos, they are beginning to make a difference in the electoral process.

In Hawaii, where Filipinos now account for 13% or 140,000 of the population, they are the third largest member of registered voters next to white and Japanese, accounting for 10% of the electorate.

There has been a dramatic surge in Filipino political involvement in recent years according to a study by the Lieutenant Governor's office in Hawaii. Political analysts believe they are now a key swing vote in the state.

In California, where Filipinos are the third largest minority, they are estimated to represent almost 4% of the registered voters. More than half of the state's Filipinos were believed to be eligible to vote in the 1986 election.

## UNPREDICTABLE VOTE?

"The Filipino vote is unpredictable," says Melecio Jacaban, former editor and publisher of *Bataan News* in Sacramento, California.

"They vote strictly on party lines on a given election, and at another they cross to the other party and support the candidate they think would give them the best political deal."

The reason for that, he says, is because they have been victims of discrimination. "They will use their



At a random precinct polling during the 1984 Democratic presidential primaries, Leni Marin, who headed up the Bay Area Filipinos for Jesse Jackson, said that a sizable number of Filipinos confessed they arbitrarily chose their party affiliations because they thought they had to belong to one in order to vote.

## POLITICAL HOPEFULS

Many Filipinos are aspiring for public office. A study compiled by the Asian-American Studies of the University of California at Los Angeles showed there were more than a dozen Filipinos elected and appointed to major federal and state offices in 1984. That number has increased in the last two years and is likely to rise after the November 4 election.

"We have the qualifications," says Ed Portugal, recently elected mayor of the Village of Rouses Point in New York. "It just takes guts." Portugal, who is only 30, went against all odds: he was young, inexperienced, immigrant and new to the town.

Sana believes "Filipinos are qualified but don't know how to sell themselves."

Pabilonia sees developments in the Philippines as having a great impact on how the American public now views Filipinos. "The restoration of democratic process there has given U.S. Filipinos a positive image which is very good. And, we should take advantage of it."

Except for Marcos loyalists, politically active Filipinos agree that the end of the Marcos era has ushered in a new agenda for the community. They are now getting ready to take on the uphill battle for empowerment.

"Being Filipino is not a reason to win, neither is it a reason to lose," Asera believes. He has campaigned for three public positions.

"Being in a party can enhance one's candidacy. However, people will support the Filipino candidate, if he is qualified, regardless of the party."

Portugal, who moved to Rouses Point only in 1983, says he was elected because he became very visible in that community of less than 3,000. There were only three Filipino residents—himself, his wife and another Filipino who did not even vote for him.

When he was appointed to the Youth Commission, he organized an "Adopt-a-Grandparent program which made me very popular with the town's youth, parents and elderly."

In larger cities, the price of visibility is not as cheap. Ted Villacorte, who ran unsuccessfully for city council of Hercules, California in April 1984 says that money can make a difference in one's campaign.

As proof, he likes to show how each candidate lined up according to how much he spent in the city's past election. Villacorte spent between \$2,000-\$3,000 for a two-and-a-half month campaign and came out fifth in the race while the incumbents who spent over \$10,000 retained their seats. The candidate who spent the least came out last.

Villacorte also attributes his loss to a low voter turnout. "And, not all Filipinos who came out to vote necessarily voted for me."

Pabilonia estimates he spent close to \$100,000 in the Republican primary. He lost by a large margin because "a small group of people who control the party did not want me to run." In an open primary, Pabilonia says, he would have won easily.

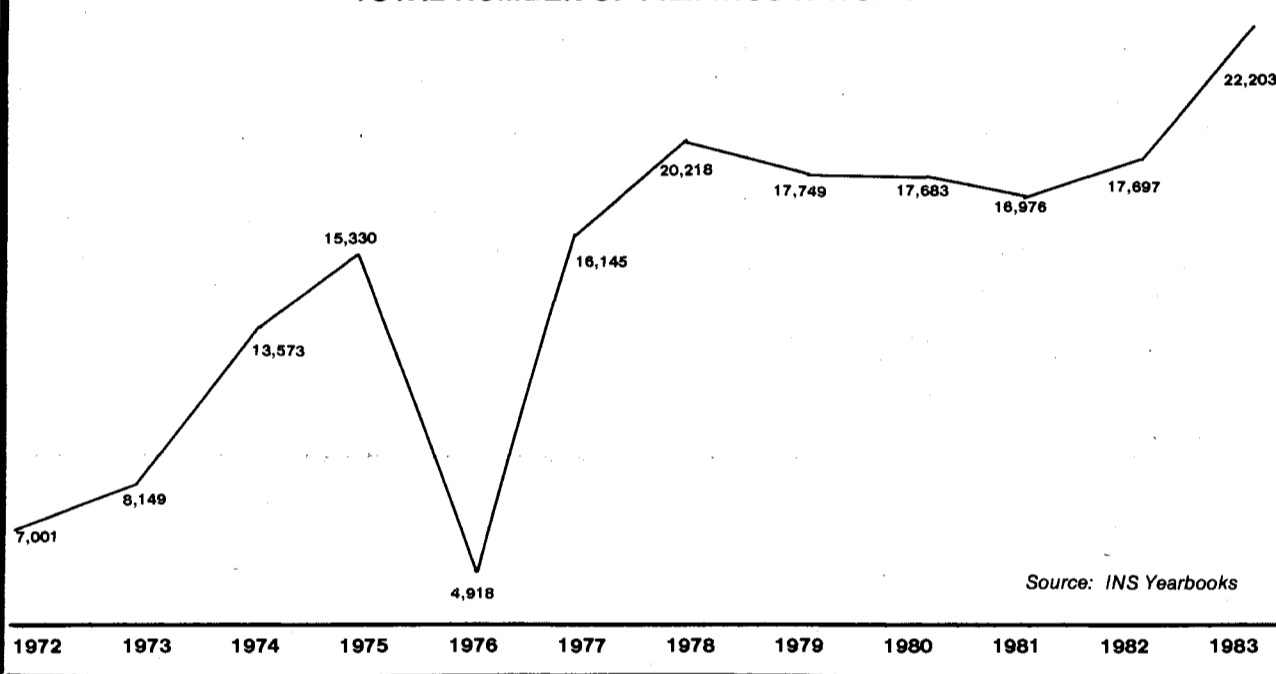
Asera, who was elected to the Vallejo, California city council at the age of 22 in 1972, says he spent close to half a million when he attempted to garner a seat in the California State Assembly in 1980. He lost by a narrow margin to incumbent Republican Don Sebastiani.

"It was a hard campaign because I was running against the multi-million dollar winery money." His being young, minority and inexperienced compounded his problem. Although racial remarks were not obtrusive, Asera says, Sebastiani's campaign slogan "He's One of Us" implied that "I wasn't."

Most Filipino politicians acknowledge that the lack

Continued on page 15

TOTAL NUMBER OF FILIPINOS NATURALIZED



Though Filipinos are now the third largest minority group in both California and Hawaii, they still lag behind in public office representation. Larry Asera, former member of the Solano County (California) Board of Supervisors, says this is because Filipinos as a group are "a generation behind" other minorities in interacting with electoral politics.

## 'THINGS ARE CHANGING'

"Politics is not a major consideration for immigrants," says Jim Pabilonia, a financial controller with Merrill Lynch in New London, Connecticut and who lost in the Republican primaries for congressman early this year.

When they arrive in the U.S., Filipinos are concerned with survival matters such as employment and bringing the rest of their relatives to the U.S. In addition, according to Pabilonia, they succumb to an inferiority complex due to their accented English and brown skin.

Irene Natividad, president of the National Women's Political Caucus, who prefers to be identified as Asian rather than Filipino, claims many Filipinos are not registered voters. And even "if they were, they are not inclined to vote because of their preoccupation with homeland politics."

But things are changing, Pabilonia argues. With at least 10 years behind them, Filipinos have now stabilized and acculturated themselves to American life. Many are participating actively in the electoral arena—voting and supporting candidates. More Filipinos are also running for public offices more than they did 10 to 20 years ago.

"I see a vibrant intensity that I've not seen before," notes Asera. New immigrants, he says, are also replacing the fading "old guard politics" with a new political sophistication.

New immigrants are bringing experience from a country where politics is a "hot subject," Asera says, which is a contrast to his generation of Filipino-Americans who were raised with the orientation of getting a good job and staying away from politics. This, he says, also accounts for why there are fewer American-born Filipinos who run for public office than Philippine-born.

vote to improve their lot."

Tessie Zaragoza, an aide to Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-CA) disagrees. She says that while Filipinos have a stake in voting against conservative candidates like Reagan and California governor Deukmejian, their voting pattern in the past elections has not been very different from the general public.

"There is a shift to the right in the general electorate's voting pattern, and Filipinos are not exempt," she argues, citing that a majority of Filipinos voted for Reagan and Deukmejian in the last election. Jacaban says 58% of Filipinos indeed voted for Deukmejian in 1982.

"Filipinos do tend to vote conservative on issues such as the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] and abortion rights," observes Maxi Villones, an organizer for the Filipino Immigrant Services.

"Even on the California proposition to make English the official language, many were inclined to vote for it." She thinks that the Filipino's relatively better English-speaking abilities have made them carry the same prejudices as whites towards non-English speaking immigrants.

Jacaban, a registered Republican, says that based on his experience in political campaigns, his calculation is that approximately 70% of Filipino voters were registered Democrats five years ago. But with the active recruitment by the Republican Party in the last two years, he estimates that close to 42% are now registered Republicans.

However, Filipinos do not necessarily vote the way they are registered, claims Ernie Sana, former head of California's Filipino Republican Party. Sana told the *AK* that he was joining the San Mateo Filipino Democratic Club in a "Filipinos for Bradley" campaign. (Los Angeles City Mayor Tom Bradley who ran against Republican Governor George Deukmejian last election).

Sana, who had not decided whether to switch to the Democratic Party, was not happy with Deukmejian's failure to deliver campaign promises to the Filipino community.

Jacaban saw the same shortcomings and explicitly said he was voting for Bradley because "being Black, Bradley will understand the Filipino concerns better."

# Mental Health and the Immigrant Experience

By VINCE REYES

Rosa, a Filipino immigrant, would appear at a law firm at least three times a week insisting that someone was trying to break into her home, extort money and harass her. She wanted to sue the "intruders" and get police protection. At first she sounded believable. But after a while, people began to notice that she was "a little off" and the law firm staff politely dismissed her as just another "nut."

Rosa's severe case of paranoia is only one of the many mental ailments afflicting an undetermined number of Asian immigrants. Behavioral dysfunctions became apparent enough that by the late '70s a number of Asian "mental health advocacy" groups emerged to press for government funding of studies and community-based services.

Few people are aware of what can cause "mental illness" among U.S. Filipinos in particular and what can be done about it. But there are a number of experts trying to provide mental health services especially for the needs of Filipinos and other immigrants. These experts seem to agree that, by far, social and cultural adjustment to the U.S. is a major factor surrounding behavioral disorders.

## TRANSITION ORDEALS

Susan Muñoz, a rehabilitation counselor for California's Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, finds that most of her Filipino clients have problems arising from their transition to the U.S. from the Philippines. "Often, they can't adjust to their supervisors and work environment," claims Muñoz. "They feel they can't speak out because they will get reprimanded. They ask why none of these things happened to them in the Philippines yet they happen here or why they are depressed and emotionally unstable."

Sometimes people succumb to the pressures completely. For example, after weeks of counseling and rehabilitation, one of Muñoz' female clients found a job matching her vocational capacity. But after a short while, she just quit and went back to the Philippines.

"In the realm of the disorders, you usually see depression, some displaced anger," says Dr. Joseph Cousart, program director of the Richmond Maxi-Center in San Francisco.

"Bringing these on are the typical cases of a doctor working as a medical technician, the dentist working as a dental hygienist, the lawyer becoming a clerk, or even worse, a doorman . . . this happens a lot. So what they get then is depression as a result of their not living up to their sense of their own potential.

"They may have to work two jobs—two menial jobs—even though they may have masters or Ph.Ds. You may get displaced anger, the family feels a sense of shame, so it's pervasive not just with the individual but it cuts into the relationships of his or her family."

## 'I GO TO RENO'

Depression is, indeed, among the most common symptom signalling mental disorders. Lillian Bucton, a clinical psychiatrist in private practice in San Mateo County, says depression includes a pervasive feeling of not being able to do what one once did, a loss of appetite, the inability to sleep due to anxiety. There may also be a number of physical complaints that refuse to go away even after stress is removed.

"It's hard for Filipinos to admit they're depressed," says Bucton. "Filipinos usually say that 'whenever I have problems I forget about it, go to my friend's house, go to the disco, go to Reno.'"

Although the depression may be hidden, sometimes its symptoms are manifested in negative family relations. The individual may become short-tempered, cause physical abuse or does not come home at night.

"These can cause complications. The teenager's problems with the parents may be the result of the father's depression over not having the job he feels he should have." Kids may also show symptoms that something's wrong with the family through erratic school attendance, drug use, or sexual problems.

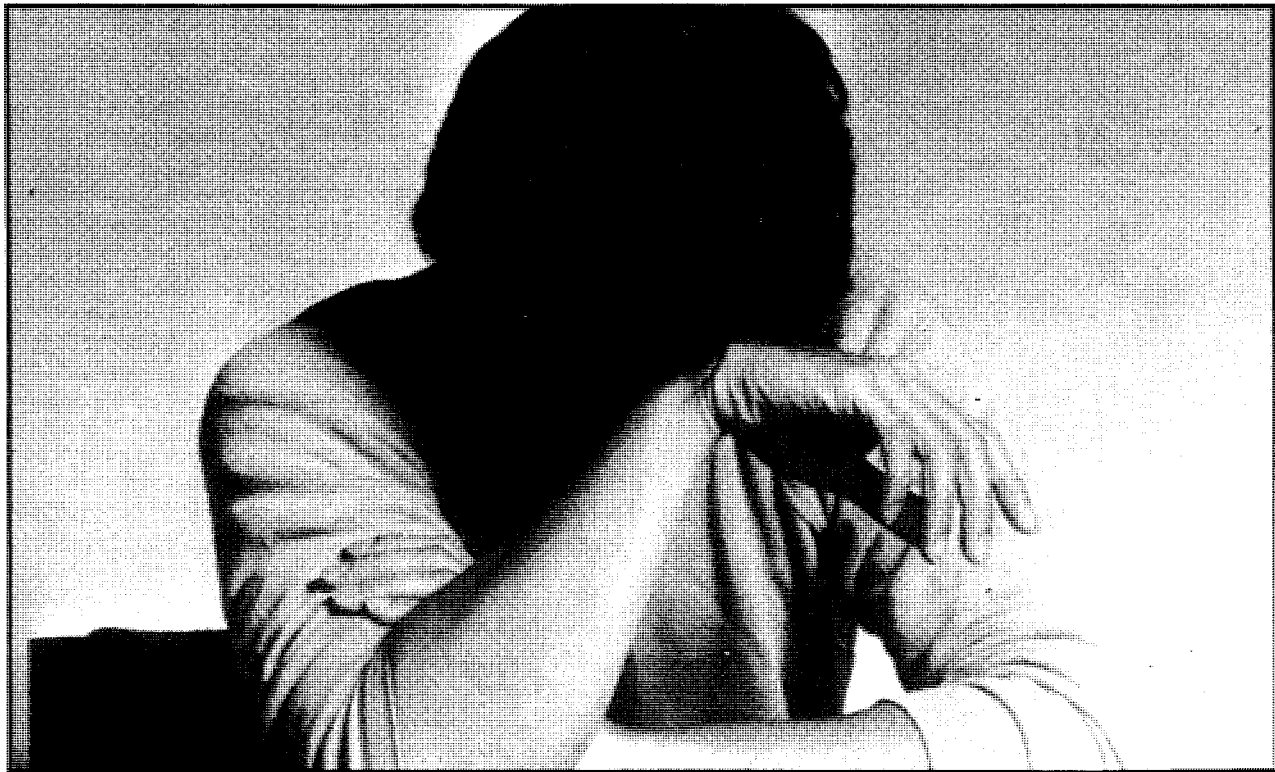
Filipinos are not immune to problems of society, and may exhibit mental disorders common to the larger population. "Child abuse, incest, sexual abuse which are just being uncovered, exist in the community—but the stigma is tremendous," claims Bucton. "It makes helping the person difficult."

## COPING

Bucton notes differences in the ways various groups of immigrants cope with problems.

"Professional women deal with status loss better than male professionals. The woman may only become a clerk typist but the man might not even be able to get a job."

The wife might end up working in order to support



G. Reyes

the husband's efforts to earn a professional license which, often, never comes about. Their roles become reversed with the woman becoming the principal wage earner. "The role reversal causes resentment on the part of the man."

Cousart says "there are even differences in adjustment within one family based on their time of immigration. A time lapse of four or five years before an entire family gets reunited in the U.S. can cause generational contradictions.

"Different value systems come along and cause conflicts . . . for instance, the parents may not agree with their children's dating or sexual practices." These can add to the mental burden, increase levels of anxiety and so on.

## STIGMA

Understanding the mental health needs of the Filipino community is not easy. "There is a real stigma associated with people coming to our facility," observes Nan Santiago, a clinical psychology intern at the Richmond Maxi-Center.

Oftentimes, the symptoms are ignored by the individual or by the family to the point that he or she is already suffering a "mental breakdown."

"The stigma of so-called 'crazy' behavior is stronger among immigrants and reflects how such disorders are still viewed back home," says Bucton.

"Filipinos seem to follow the Asian tradition of preferring to solve problems within the context of the family . . . It is even shameful to admit to problems," Santiago added.

Cousart says there is a pattern of resolving problems through the family or the extended family.

"There's a *comadre* and *compadre* level. Sometimes they go one step further, to the church. If the priest can't help, then they may get a referral to see a counselor." If an individual fails at each step the emotional distress worsens.

Mental illness is handled differently in the Philippines, says Bucton. "When people hear voices, become schizophrenics—they don't get outside help—instead they are kept at home. In the U.S. there isn't such an elaborate support system." Here, there is a breakdown of the extended family.

"The family can't maintain, accept or understand what is going wrong," adds Bucton. "Then the affected individual will start exhibiting abnormal behavior to the community—possibly to the police. Then they go to psychiatric emergency." Unfortunately, that is how many Filipinos get professional attention for the first time.

## ATTENTION VIA REFERRALS

Most mental health clinics and hospitals receive patients from referrals. Rowena Catery of the South of Market Mental Health Clinic observes that "a number of our patients first went to their own physician for medical reasons and the doctor noticed something else and sent them to us."

Usually, medical doctors are the first to hear of the problems because Filipinos go to them for symptoms like depression, the inability to sleep, poor appetite, sensations of the body they cannot account for, blood pressure increase, etc.

"If the doctor can't see anything physically wrong," says Bucton, "they may ask 'how long have you been in the U.S.?' The doctors usually end up making referrals to a mental health counselor.

Many referrals including Filipinos come from employers, such as banks, telephone and utility

companies. Most come through employee assistance programs after supervisors or co-workers detect something wrong.

"I have some leverage in working with people because their employers say they have to see me," confides Bucton.

If mental services are not availed of and other "informal" means of coping are tried, the problems usually lead to other serious ones. Sometimes, according to Santiago, the inability to work through problems can lead to drug abuse or even criminal activity.

"By the time I see patients, they are pretty chronic already," says Bernadette Navarro-Simeon who works as a psychologist specializing in stress management at the Cortland Home in San Francisco. The home is an "acute residential program" which receives patients from hospital and ward referrals.

"They may be schizophrenic or hear voices, they may have thyroid problems which make their mental state even worse. We help patients get to a level of independent living." The Cortland Home also takes in substance abusers.

At the other end of the spectrum, Muñoz, the rehabilitation counselor, is involved with reintegrating people into society. "I work with people who have physical and emotional health problems which prevent them from keeping jobs." Muñoz' clients are referred to her from mental health agencies.

"My clients have psychological problems but are supported by a therapist or psychiatrist and are prepared for vocational rehabilitation, competitive work or volunteer work." However, Muñoz finds that most Filipinos will not accept their disabilities. This can hinder a smoother recovery.

## PREVENTION

Mental health advocates consistently point to education as a means of prevention. "There is an inclination to work within the conflict format but the main emphasis should be on education and outreach," asserts Cousart.

"We have on-going outreach to schools, community organizations, churches and professional agencies," says Gail Pacheco, coordinator of community services at the Richmond Maxi-Center.

"Immigrants need to know that mental health services are part of their survival," adds Bucton. "Prevention is also a priority and the community needs to know what the system has to offer."

But maintaining funding for mental health services, especially at the community clinic level, has always been difficult.

Government funding has always been scarce. It is also hard to keep good professionals in community mental health because they can make more money in the private sector.

"Community mental health workers are very dedicated and there should be a recognition of their role," Cousart states. "With good mental health, there's apt to be less people sick at work or involved in crime—it can be rationalized in many different ways."

The problem of funds aside, encouraging Filipinos to avail of mental health services in the community remains a challenge. Bucton relates one of her outreach experiences:

"Once when giving a talk at a church on how counseling can help with emotional problems, one man very objectively raised a question regarding a particular marital problem. The whole group looked at him as if he had the problem—there's an obvious stigma still attached to admitting to difficulties." □

# Aquino's Economics

Continued from page 4

in point. While it still is a poor country, India has achieved remarkable economic development and deepened its economic independence partly through the use of expanded relations with the Soviet bloc.

Indian-Soviet cooperation since the mid-50s has played a critical role in forming the nucleus of a new Indian economy, specifically, in the development of the state sector. While private monopolies play a significant role in the Indian economy, the state sector has been considerably strengthened to rationalize and manage the vital industries and to regulate foreign penetration into the economy.

## OVERCOMING NEO-COLONIALISM

India has benefitted tremendously from preferential trade and credit terms, soft long-term and short-term loans, and scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is Soviet policy to focus its foreign assistance to the development of state sectors.

As opposed to the proliferation of non-essential consumer goods, industries promoted by MNCs in developing countries, the bulk of Soviet-Indian cooperation has involved the development of manufacturing and power industries.

Moreover, all the facilities the Soviet Union has helped build in India are wholly owned by the Indian state. It is part of Soviet economic policy not to funnel out profits following the erection of such enterprises.

Due in no small part to its diversified economic relations, India has become an industrial-agrarian nation, with significantly diversified exports. Since independence, its industrial production has expanded more than threefold, and consequently is today one of the world's ten leading industrial manufacturers.

It has significantly overcome what once was its one-sided economic and technological dependence on Great Britain.

Of course, this made the leadership of the late Indra Gandhi somewhat controversial in Western circles. Her rise as a prominent figure in the movement of non-aligned countries accompanied India's pursuit of "a common transition program" between capitalist and socialist development.

This "common transition" however, is no bed of roses, being a constant struggle between two contradictory economic impulses. Ultimately, one system has to emerge from this common transition and prevail. But the concrete bases would have been set for choice by popular mandate.

The economic direction taken so far by the Aquino government may preempt any kind of choice other than a course that has already failed the Philippines.

Politically, Aquino has gently warned U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that her government might give Washington "some diplomatic headaches." Unfortunately, this intimation of independence does not seem to be in connection with an economic orientation similar to Gandhi's. □

# U.S. Has New Immigration Law

After almost five years of battles over the provisions of sweeping immigration law reforms, the U.S. Congress finally came up with a package that was signed into law by President Reagan on November 6.

Critics charge that despite revisions of the original Simpson-Mazzoli bill, the new law remains repressive. Reagan, however, hailed the law saying that "future generations will be thankful for our efforts to humanely regain control of our borders."

Major provisions of the new law include:

- Penalties of up to \$10,000 for employers who hire undocumented workers. Jail terms of up to six months could be imposed for those found to have a pattern of hiring undocumented workers.

- Provisions designed to prevent employer sanctions from being used as an excuse not to hire minority workers.

- Amnesty to those undocumented aliens who have lived in the U.S. before January 1, 1982. After 18 months on a temporary legal status, they would be eligible to apply for permanent residency if they can demonstrate a minimal

understanding of English and some knowledge of U.S. history and government.

- Undocumented who have worked for at least 90 days in the fields between May 1, 1985 and May 1, 1986 will be eligible for temporary resident status immediately and for permanent residency after two years. Those who have worked for 90 days a year for three years could be granted permanent resident status after one year.

- Up to 350,000 temporary workers will be allowed to work during harvest seasons in the agricultural field.

- The Immigration and Naturalization Service would have to carry search warrants when raiding agricultural fields in search of undocumented aliens. Deportations would be suspended for as long as 18 months while eligible aliens apply for amnesty.

INS officials are still unclear on how amnesty applicants will be processed. Immigration advocates, however, are cautioning those eligible not to turn themselves in to the INS until procedures are clarified. □

# Coup Defused

Continued from page 7

coups and counter-coups forced Fidel Ramos, known for his vacillation, off the dime.

The Chief of Staff, though strongly anti-communist and an advocate of a military approach to the insurgency, is a different kettle of fish from Enrile altogether. Up to this decisive moment he was careful to frame his remarks as recommendations and refused to take sides in the political wranglings.

## SECOND MOST POWERFUL FIGURE

Above all, Ramos has insisted that the military must stay out of politics.

Upon the appearance of the *Business Day* report, Ramos' office "warned any militarist adventurists against embarking upon such a rash course of action because it could be bloody and destabilizing."

The Chief of Staff directed the commanding generals of the army, air force, navy and constabulary to "take immediate action to neutralize such a plot, if any, and to re-orient any personnel involved in their respective commands."

Some observers speculate that, just as Enrile was sent a signal from Washington, Ramos may have received one too. A West Point graduate and highly pro-U.S., he might more easily have been encouraged to drop his neutral posture by a word from on high. Then, too, if the rumor mill was correct, he was destined for house arrest if he failed to act.

In any case, his decision to step forward at this particular moment raises his political potency.

Ramos remains to date an avowed constitutionalist. But, the second most popular figure in Philippine politics, he is now the second most powerful as well. With him he brings the institution of the Philippine military which can only establish a powerful conservative pole within the civilian government.

Ramos is popularly credited with having averted the coup—or whatever it was. And with him on her side and securely on top of the military, Aquino's position has been strengthened as well. She thus felt comfortable enough to leave for Japan November 10.

"I shall oppose any attempts from any quarters to interfere with or dictate to my government," she warned before leaving.

Aquino appealed as well to her popular base, saying she would "call upon the people to take to the streets" should there be any attempts to destabilize her government.

Several thousands of her supporters have demonstrated in Makati and Manila shouting slogans like "Give Peace a Chance" and brandishing placards that read "Rambo—Go to Hawaii."

Although the unpopular Enrile and the RAM boys may have been neutralized for now, they are down, but not out. The Defense Minister seems to have retreated to a corner to sulk. But as everyone knows, a quiet corner is the ideal spot for your average bad boy to plot his next dangerous prank. □

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# Filipino Vote

Continued from page 13

of an economic base has been a handicap in the community's ability to develop political clout.

It is a reason, they say, why Filipinos have not been seriously courted by national or statewide candidates. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese communities, which boasted of having contributed close to 15% of former president Jimmy Carter's 1980 reelection campaign funds in California, the Filipino community does not have powerful business associations like the Association of Asian Manufacturers or the Chinese American Flower Growers Association. The biggest contributors among Filipinos are the medical doctors.

## POLITICAL SAVVY

Apart from financial power, however, Filipino poli-

ticians have to grapple with the fact that in larger arenas, positions cannot be won through the Filipino vote alone. Thus, the art of building links with other voting constituencies and coalition politics also have to be mastered. In this regard, the Filipino community is still much too isolationist.

Monty Manibog, who has been a city councilor since 1976 and mayor of Monterey Park, California for the third time, says that a coalition with other groups is very important to achieve victory.

Manibog's city has less than three dozen Filipino voters. "I relied on the support of Chinese, Latino and Anglo people inside and outside Monterey. Had I relied only on the Filipino votes, I would have been only elected dog catcher."

In an area where Filipinos made up only 5-8% of the population, Asera says, he had to count on other support. It is essential to achieve unity with other minorities to build a strong base, he says.

Although Filipinos have the basis to gravitate to alliances that will support and enhance their democratic interests, they still have a long way to go, however,

before they can identify with the politics of the Rainbow coalition of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, says Villones.

Filipino political figures acknowledge the need for political alliances and see the positive aspects of the Rainbow Coalition, but right now view its militant appeal as "too radical."

As things now stand, Filipino participation in the electoral process is still going through its early and highly spontaneous phases.

It will take several more years of exposure to the rigors of the electoral arena before the Filipino electorate and candidate can accumulate enough experience to hasten the process of solidification of a relatively shrewd power bloc that many believe now exists in the Black, Latino and Chinese communities.

That process, however, does not necessarily assure the emergence of a politically conscious vote. For that, increased Filipino involvement in the fight against discrimination, increased interaction with other victimized communities, and the articulation of these experiences in the electoral arena would be necessary. □

# Near Accord Zapped by Star Wars



Stalemate at Reykjavik.

For a few hours on October 12, it seemed as if the unbelievable might be happening in Reykjavik. The U.S. and the Soviet Union seemed on the verge of breaking through years of stalemate and growing East-West tensions to achieve a sweeping nuclear arms reduction agreement.

But just as hopes were building, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev gathered their papers and with grim faces left the negotiating table.

It was then that the world learned the historic topic of the meeting: the heads of the two nuclear superpowers had seriously discussed eliminating nuclear missiles in Europe at once, reducing by 50% all strategic nuclear arms (ballistic missiles, bombers and cruise missiles) in five years, and completely eliminating offensive nuclear weapons in ten years.

But the historic opportunity of Reykjavik was not to be.

The talks ended when it became clear that President Reagan would not budge on the development of the U.S. Star Wars (or Strategic Defense Initiative—SDI) space-based missile defense system.

Why did Reagan say no to a deal that Congressman Edward Markey (D-Mass) described as “the best offer the Russians have made since [they sold us] Alaska?”

## SOVIET PROPOSALS

Reagan went to Reykjavik prepared to make specific and narrow agreements on reducing the number of intermediate range missiles in Europe—just enough concessions to give Gorbachev the “concrete steps” he demanded as a precondition for a full summit meeting in the U.S. at a later date.

But from the beginning of the Reykjavik meeting, Gorbachev challenged this narrow approach by advancing the most sweeping arms reduction proposals in the history of U.S.-Soviet negotiations. Pulling a single sheet of paper from his briefcase, Gorbachev read three proposals to Reagan.

The first proposal was to cut by half all strategic nuclear arms—missiles, bombers, and cruise missiles—in the first five years, and to eliminate them completely in the second five years, by 1996. This proposal was in line with Gorbachev’s sweeping disarmament plan, issued January 1, 1986, to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The second proposal was to eliminate entirely all U.S. and Soviet intermediate range missiles from Europe.

This represented a major concession by the Soviets. They agreed to let U.S. allies Britain and France keep their missiles, at

frozen levels, pending future negotiations to reduce and eliminate them. The Soviets also agreed to reduce their Asian-based missiles to 100.

The third proposal was to strengthen the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, and to start talks on a total ban of nuclear tests. (The Soviets implemented a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing on August 6, 1985, but the U.S. has been testing very actively, mainly to develop components of its Star Wars system.)

Gorbachev wanted an agreement by both sides not to pull out of the ABM treaty for at least ten years, and during this time to limit any research on space-based missile defense to the laboratory.

## U.S. RESPONSE

Although Reagan was clearly caught off guard and unprepared by their unprecedented scope, the rest of the meeting was basically spent discussing these three proposals.

On the first proposal, to cut and then eliminate strategic nuclear weapons, the U.S. at first sought to limit the reductions to just intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), the area of greatest Soviet strength.

But Gorbachev insisted that bombers and cruise missiles, areas of U.S. strength be included. Reagan then agreed, reportedly saying, “If that’s what you want, all right.”

On the second proposal, to eliminate nuclear missiles from Europe, Reagan found it difficult to argue against what was really his own “zero option” plan, which he first advanced in 1981. Agreement was

won on this point too.

It was really on the third proposal, to strengthen the ABM treaty and curb the development of Star Wars, that the impasse was reached that led to the collapse of the entire agreement. Reagan was willing to agree with the idea that both sides would be bound by the ABM treaty for at least ten years. This in itself did not really restrict Star Wars development anyway, for the system is at least ten years away from deployment.

Where Reagan drew the line was on Soviet insistence that any research on Star Wars during these ten years be confined to the laboratory. Without the ability to test the Star Wars weapons in space, the system could not be developed.

At this point Gorbachev asked Reagan, “But what is the function of a defense if there are no missiles?” Reagan countered that the U.S. needed Star Wars as an “insurance policy” in case the Soviets cheated on an arms reduction treaty;

## CONFLICTING BOTTOM LINES

Star Wars is at the center of the conflicting U.S. and Soviet bottom lines. The Soviets are willing to do away with their own nuclear missiles only if the U.S. first reciprocates and stops developing the revolutionary new generation of Star Wars weapons that could threaten their country from space.

As former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, “We must admit that we too would be uncomfortable about spaceships firing lasers and particle beams circling over our heads.”

On the other hand, Reagan’s bottom line is to make Soviet acceptance of Star Wars development part of any arms control agreement. Those people who thought Reagan was just bluffing about Star Wars and would in the end use it as a bargaining chip to win Soviet concessions were proven wrong. *Reagan is committed to building Star Wars no matter what, even if there are no more Soviet strategic nuclear missiles because he is trying to regain nuclear superiority for the U.S.*

Of course, the Soviets know this too, and they will never agree to such inequality.

Given these starkly conflicting bottom lines over Star Wars, the talks collapsed with no agreement in any area, and no date was set for the summit in the U.S.

## FALLOUT FROM REYKJAVIK

The fact that the arms talks broke down because Reagan refused to curb development of Star Wars has put his space weapons program on the hot seat as never before.

Strong criticism of Reagan was voiced around the world and in the U.S. Former U.S. arms negotiator Paul Warneke said, “Giving up the chance to get very, very major reductions in the Soviet nuclear threat to pursue pie in the sky just doesn’t make sense.”

And Senator Gary Hart, a leading candidate for President in 1988, said, “It appears that building Star Wars is more important to this administration than meaningful arms control.”

The uproar in Reykjavik’s aftermath is particularly strong in Western Europe, where the disarmament movement is again gaining steam.

In Great Britain, the Labor Party has called for a “nuclear free Britain” as its basic platform for the next general election.

In West Germany, the Social Democrats and Free Democrats have criticized their government’s support of Star Wars, and 150,000 people demonstrated for disarmament at a U.S. air base on the final day of the summit.

Meeting in Copenhagen a week after Reykjavik, 2,400 delegates to the World Peace Congress from 136 countries condemned the development of space weapons and called for a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union—and the entire world—came up empty at Reykjavik. But the summit did accomplish two very important things.

It showed the world that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is possible. And it showed that the main obstacle to this historic achievement today is Star Wars. □

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BY MIKE PETERS FOR THE DAYTON DAILY NEWS