

# Millions Say 'Out Now!'

By WICKS GEAGA

With nearly two million Filipinos jammed into Luneta Park at last Sunday's "People's Victory Rally," Corazon Aquino launched a program of non-violent, popular resistance whose militance and consistency will determine how soon Ferdinand Marcos will be kicked off his throne.

The biggest political demonstration in recent years, which Marcos tried to dismiss as no more than a regular Sunday in the park, asserted that Cory Aquino was the real winner at the polls. The rally also signalled Washington to abandon any lingering hopes of the opposition reconciling with the dictator.

Within a massive sea of yellow shirts, blouses and hats—the color of the Aquino campaign—were numerous placards, buttons and T-shirts bearing such anti-U.S. slogans as "U.S. No. 1 Meddler" and "Ronnie Go Home."

At the February 16 rally, Aquino unveiled a program of non-violent actions that will include strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and other creative protests against the regime. A national strike and school boycott is scheduled for the day following Marcos' inauguration, and an immediate boycott of government television stations, as well as four pro-Marcos newspapers and seven major banks owned by Marcos cronies and relatives was announced.

The impact of Aquino's program, which has the backing of the Church, was immediately felt. In the days following the rally, sales of the pro-Marcos *Bulletin Today* ground to a halt, banks reported large withdrawals of money, the value of San Miguel stock fell by over 20%, the value of the peso suffered its biggest single-day devaluation in 15 years

and spontaneous demonstrations and bonfires appeared in the streets of the capital.

## SOME DISAPPOINTMENT

Not all opposition forces were satisfied with the projected tactics announced by Aquino. According to the *New York Times*, "Some Aquino supporters were disappointed that she had not taken a more militant stand." Contrary to earlier suggestions, Aquino did not advance an agenda of full-scale civil disobedience.

The apparent slackening of Aquino's stance is attributed to the influence of her more conservative backers such as business executive Jaime Ongpin, and high Church officials. The partial backing off is also viewed as a possible concession to the Church in return for its recent strong endorsement of the opposition's "non-violent struggle for justice."

Some Aquino advisers admit that there had been debate within her inner circle of advisers over the level of militance of the protest actions. Representing the more assertive wing, Assemblyman Pimentel stressed that "Any slowdown on our part, any calming down of our protest, is working into the hands of Marcos."

To build the varied protest actions into a formidable national campaign, Aquino will embark on a 10-city tour to spread the message of resistance. Aquino also plans to hold daily broadcasts on the Church-run Radio Veritas and any other available radio outlets.

## LEFT HELD AT DISTANCE

While Aquino strategists believe that the success of their campaign will largely hinge on the depth of organized support that they can gather, they are conspicuously maintaining their distance from the left, which had offered to lend its long established nationwide organizational network in ad-

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## Plays 'Neutral'

# U.S. Maneuvers for Its Interests

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The Reagan administration is working overtime in an effort to make the best of a complex situation—a situation which it did a great deal to bring about.

The election Washington hoped would provide a legitimate mandate to a new regime and draw the moderate opposition into a two-party system instead has proven that the Philippine ruling class is hopelessly split.

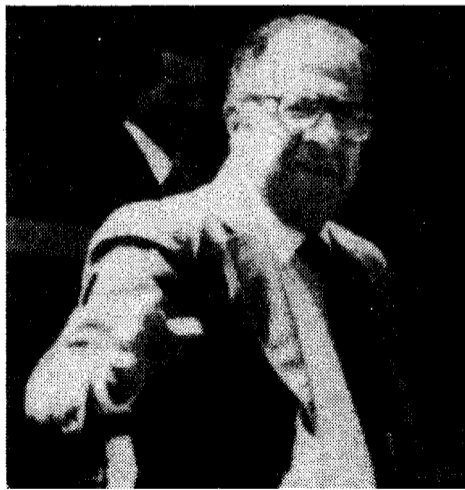
Ferdinand Marcos has proclaimed himself winner. Corazon Aquino, convinced her victory was stolen, vows to "bring the Marcos regime to its knees." Meanwhile, the U.S., which pressed Marcos to hold the election in the first place, may find itself the biggest loser of them all.

The choices for Reagan & Co. are painful: back Marcos and run the risk of alienating the moderates for good or back Aquino who presently stands at the head of millions of the poor and disenfranchised.

The unknown and potentially explosive factor in the Aquino formula is her followers. Many, coming from the country's poorest classes, may have economic and political expectations far more radical than those of the candidate herself. This could provide a distinct threat to U.S. interests and ultimately mean a loss of access to the two largest U.S. military bases outside the country.

## WASHINGTON UNDERESTIMATES THINGS

It was only last August when the ultra-rightists and pragmatists in the Reagan administration reached a consensus on Ferdinand Marcos. Ironically, they found themselves agreeing with the liberals that the unpopular



Philip Habib and isolated Marcos had become too great a liability to the U.S. and had to go.

Plans were made for a post-Marcos era. A parade of Reagan representatives pressured the Philippine president to reform the country's political, military and economic establishments. The election, they hoped, would provide an opportunity for Marcos to lose a reasonably fair fight to an acceptable opponent or to win a new mandate and then graciously step down.

But Washington underestimated two important things: Aquino's appeal and Marcos' obstinacy.

Twenty years of pent-up hatred for Ferdinand Marcos exploded into a vibrant mass movement uniting millions behind Aquino. The election campaign swelled beyond a mere poll to determine a changing of the guard to become a people's crusade for liberation from a dictator.

And Marcos soon revealed his determination to hang on at all costs. Unwilling to

recognize that his time was up like Jean-Claude Duvalier of Haiti, he pulled out all the stops and committed fraud on a massive scale beneath the noses of the world press and the U.S. observer team.

## BUYING TIME

Washington was initially thrown by the crisis that erupted. In a knee-jerk reaction, the far-rightwing of the administration reverted to its "stick-to-the-fellow-you-know" doctrine. On February 11, Reagan came out with a statement that fraud had been committed on both sides but that he was pleased to see a healthy "two-party system" in the Philippines.

Following that—which State Department officials themselves admit was a "glitch"—Washington moved quickly to minimize the damage and defuse a potentially explosive situation.

Ace negotiator Philip Habib was dispatched to Manila to counter the possibility of a mass upsurge. While administration officials claim that Habib's role is purely to gather information for the president, at least one source says the presidential envoy will "tell [Marcos] the facts of life."

Habib will also try to buy time with the Aquino camp. One plan initially floated was to push for Gen. Fabian Ver's removal as Chief of Staff as a signal to the opposition that Washington was not standing still.

Marcos undercut that move, however, with his post-election announcement of Ver's resignation. For the opposition, convinced of Ver's complicity in the murder of the candidate's husband Sen. Benigno Aquino, this was too little, too late.

Marcos then reduced the concession to nil when he later revealed that Ver will stay on

until March 1 after which he will remain chief of the National Intelligence and Security Agency and a top military "advisor."

Aquino and her supporters have so far resisted U.S. pressures. But there is a right-wing within her camp, bolstered recently by the formal addition of the Church.

Jaime Cardinal Sin has historically represented the arch-reconciliationist stand within the opposition. It is forces like these to whom Habib will appeal while attempting to minimize the influence of the more radical and nationalist wing.

## 'SHORT-SIGHTED SELF-INTEREST'

The Habib mission represents the re-assertion of the consensus that was temporarily split in the wake of the election.

Reagan's spontaneous dodge to the right during his February 11 news conference made significant waves. Ferdinand Marcos was delighted and considered himself appointed

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# What Reagan Wants to Do in Manila

"Buying time"—the Reagan administration is buying time with its post-election moves in Manila, says the U.S. media. Time for what? Didn't the Filipino people make it clear enough that Corazon Aquino won and that Ferdinand Marcos, the usurper, must go? But Ronald Reagan hems and haws and must "create space for compromise" because the U.S. has its own interests to look after—interests that gravely hinder the Filipinos' push for victory over fascist rule.

Why buy time? Washington, as *New York Times* analyst Leslie Gelb put it, "would not like the issue of who rules to be settled in the streets." Why not, if Marcos by his refusal to leave has given Cory no other choice but to rely on the direct action of the millions who gave her the mandate to govern? Regardless of her situation, the U.S. would do anything to diffuse that looming mass upheaval for the simple reason that the U.S. fears it.

The millions of people whose political passions have been ignited by Aquino's candidacy have a spontaneous but straightforward agenda. They want democracy, the truer the better. They want justice, the fuller the better.

They want freedom from poverty, the sooner the better. These aspirations are unencumbered by any regard for what America wants or feels. These are legitimate Filipino self-interests, pure and simple. Given the chance, the millions who cling to them could certainly sweep away anything that lies in their path—including Washington's precious concerns.

Thus, the White House is trying to hold Cory Aquino and her millions at bay. For this it needs to buy time so that through friendly conservative quarters in Manila, Cory could be pressed to tone down her promised program of civil disobedience—so it won't "get out of hand."

Washington also wants time to steer Cory towards the road they wish for her to take. Expect therefore, for Cory to face increasing direct and indirect pressures as the U.S. tries to impress upon her the idea that she too, like Marcos, needs the U.S. Washington wants to turn Aquino into another Magsaysay—popular, credible, effective in counter-insurgency. Before the U.S. lets Marcos go, it wants assurances that Cory would be a better anti-communist

than Marcos. For this it is buying time.

Reagan's agenda is thinly veiled. Nothing, he publicly stated, could be more important than the U.S. military bases in the Philippines. For this he wants to hold back the angry millions from tearing Marcos to shreds tomorrow. For this self-interest he wants Cory to reconcile with tyranny. He is holding back recognition of her victory unless he can be sure she will take up *counter-insurgency* where Marcos leaves off—an endeavor that would require her not only to organize repressive military campaigns but also to increasingly *violate the democratic and human rights* of her own people.

All this means that if the Filipino people were to give in to U.S. pressures, they would be denying themselves their hard-won victory. Worse, it means that a democracy without independence would be an unstable one, that without resisting foreign agendas, the victory over fascism would be diluted into a painful betrayal. The Filipino people therefore, while making a final push for a *democratic* victory must fight for their *independence* as well. □

## Litter from Manila:

INIDORO DELIHENCIA



## TO MY LOYAL FANS:

I have not been feeling very well lately. For some reason my heart feels it is where my rear end should be but my doctor doesn't know what's wrong as he's too busy packing up to go abroad himself. I just pray to God almighty that He not be unduly swayed by the political prejudices of the Philippine Church hierarchy, and that He will cast a merciful and understanding eye on me and my humble possessions, despite all the purported transgressions attributed to yours truly by many a misinformed compatriot who has not, dear Lord, an ounce of forgiveness in his vengeful soul. Whether I shall be back to enlighten you once more depends entirely on Fortune's temperament which in the past had been made kind by international loans and generous military aid. Should I suffer a political or, O heaven forbid, any other kind of demise, I only wish to come back in my next life as a seer who shall know years in advance where the wind shall ultimately blow so that I won't have to suffer ever again, my present inconvenience.

## ATTENTION AK READERS

To keep pace with the fast-moving events in the Philippines, we are TEMPORARILY changing AK into a 4-page biweekly, distributed free and in the tens of thousands.

We want to quickly disseminate precise analyses of the developments in Cory Aquino's and the Filipino people's heroic struggle to defend and uphold their democratic will against the Marcos regime's desperate schemes. It is also important for all Filipinos to determine their real friends and become alert to the forces who stand in the way of their victory against fascist rule.

We appeal to our SUBSCRIBERS and all our READERS to send GENEROUS DONATIONS in addition to the support you have already given. Please send these donations to us IMMEDIATELY to help cushion the financial sacrifices involved in producing, distributing and mailing several thousands FREE copies of AK here and in the Philippines.

AK will return to its usual 16-page format as a monthly containing political analyses, satire, poetry and verse as soon as it is appropriate. Again, please send those generous donations immediately to *Ang Katipunan*, P. O. Box 2759, Oakland, CA 94602. Thank you very much.

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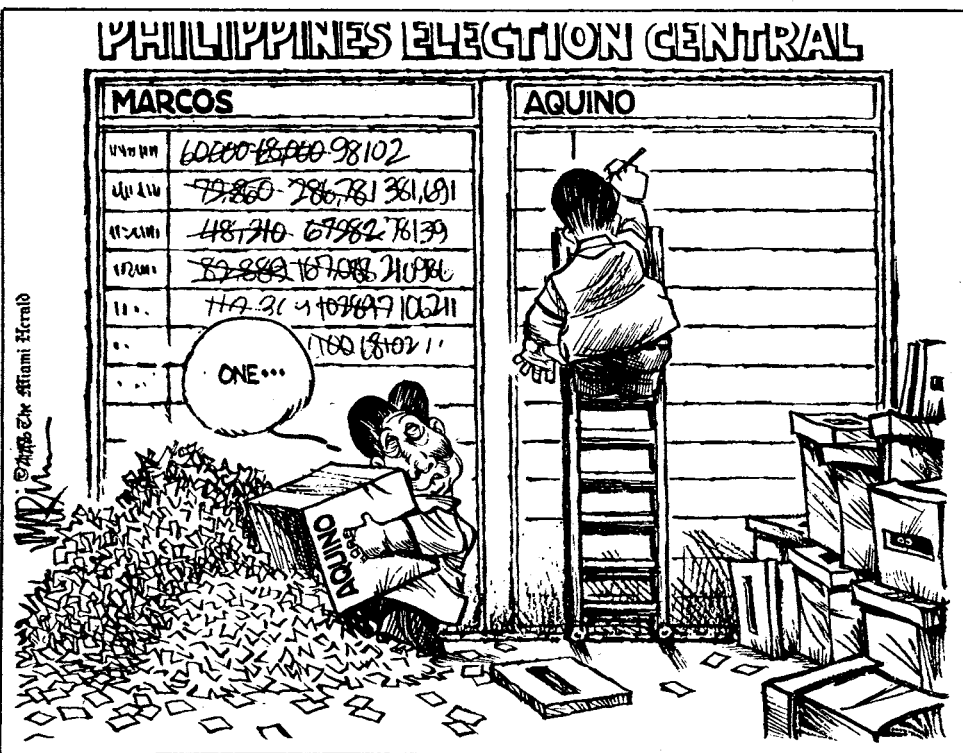
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## Hit Back at Marcos Now!

Write to the WHITE HOUSE (President Ronald Reagan, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500) and to your LOCAL congressperson and DEMAND:

- 1) Recognize Cory Aquino's victory
- 2) Stop all U.S. aid and support for Marcos.

Join the NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST on February 25. Inquire from your local CAMD, MFP, and NAM chapters for details.

Also BOYCOTT Philippine Airlines and San Miguel beer.

Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network

(FOR INFORMATION, donations, membership applications, write to Geline Avila, National co-coordinator, CAMD/PSN, P.O. Box 31794, Oakland, CA 94604, or call 415-547-6818.)

# Filipino Heroism Stuns the World

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

**A** time comes in the life of a nation when the opportunity for greatness presents itself: the snap election in the Philippines was one such juncture.

Despite the formidable Marcos machinery—the goon threats, intimidation and terrorism—the Filipino people rose to display dramatic acts of heroism and courage, telling the world that the dictatorship must end.

For some, the very act of voting was a defiant act, a way to express opposition to the regime. For others, the collective action of defending the vote entailed great danger and personal sacrifice. By the time the voting was over more than 100 opposition forces were murdered, with many more wounded by Marcos' thugs.

That Marcos would resort to such violence was not unexpected. However, his open efforts to cheat and terrorize the people—in full view of the international press—created a grand spectacle which won the Aquino opposition widespread sympathy and admiration.

## DEFENDING THE BALLOTS

The sacrifices and dangers endured by the opposition became a national movement. Half a million people joined the NAMFREL to watch the voting and attempt to ensure free elections. They and the electoral workers, especially the teachers, braved the threats and intimidation by Marcos' thugs.

The widely publicized picture of a gunman aiming his pistol at an unarmed electoral worker to let a "flying voter" in told much of the story of the electoral exercise. ("Flying voters" were paid to go from precinct to precinct to cast votes.) Without an army to protect them, these volunteers and electoral workers guarded the ballots with their own bodies. Linking their arms around ballot boxes, they defiantly tried to keep away the thugs who were ready to steal the boxes or replace their contents with fake



Guarding the ballot with their bodies.

ballots. Many of the volunteers were mauled and killed.

There were other forms of heroism. On February 10, 30 computer operators at the government's Commission on Election tally board in Manila walked out to protest the repeated manipulation of the voting tallies by election officials who inaccurately depicted Marcos as the front runner. They brought with them the computer tapes as evidence and sought and obtained sanctuary from the Catholic Church. Not only did they sacrifice their jobs—their lives are now at risk.

## A COUNTRY GRIEVES

During the heat of the vote counting, newspapers the world over carried the tragic story of the murder of Aquino's campaign chairman for the province of Antique. Evilio Javier, 43, was the governor of Antique from 1972 to 1980. He was also a professor of government at the Ateneo de Manila University and held a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University.

On February 11, Javier was chased down and shot in cold blood in the San Jose town

square by six Philippine Constabulary men. His killers fled in a maroon jeep identified as belonging to Marcos loyalist assemblyman Arturo Pacificador. Javier was killed for no apparent reason other than being a Cory supporter.

Javier's killing provoked widespread indignation, and his funeral was attended by Cory Aquino along with the ambassadors of Spain, the Netherlands, France, and West Germany. A political officer of the British Embassy also attended.

## TERRORISM CLAIMS OTHER LIVES

Other victims may not have led such illustrious careers as Javier's, but their loss is in no way less important. Arsenio Toribio, 20, better known as "Archie" was a hairdresser for Rios Beauty parlor in Metro-Manila. He was the third among 12 children from a poor family from Zamboanga City, 540 miles south of Manila.

A day after the elections Archie attended a victory rally for Aquino carrying a placard with the words "Marcos Concede" in bold display. A shot rang out and seconds later,

Archie lay on the ground mortally wounded. A bullet had pierced the placard and his chest, fatally wounding him.

Archie's parents were so poor, no one could make the journey for his funeral. Aquino's campaign organization made arrangements to send his body home.

For many, the act of voting was a powerful statement against the dictatorship. Estrella Rubino cast her ballot amidst horrid reminders of the Marcos regime's brutality. Her son, Florentino, a part-time laborer, was the opposition leader of San Remegio, Antique. He had crossed paths with town mayor Gideon Gavigunda, the local KBL head. Florentino and his son, Florentino, Jr., were shot by goons last January 3. Florentino was killed but his son survived with wounds on his arm and leg. The rest of the family fled along with 90 of the town's 90,000 residents.

Florentino's home is now a burned out shell on a hillside 100 yards from the road. Despite the obvious dangers to herself, Florentino's mother defiantly returned to vote.

There were many other victims of state violence. Jeremias de Jesus, 49, was the first Aquino aide killed. He was from Aquino's home province of Tarlac, and was shot four days before the election. Arturo Fernandez, 41, brother of opposition assemblyman Jolly Fernandez, was shot dead February 8. The body of Arsenio Cainglet, 43, Cory's campaign coordinator for Tarlac, was found February 13 riddled with gunshot wounds and his face mutilated.

However, instead of intimidating the opposition and its supporters, the Marcos-inspired terrorism fueled the people's anger and revealed the true face of the dictatorship to the world. While Marcos and his political machine were busy stealing the election, he could not stop the massive outpourings of anger and disgust with his rule.

The sacrifices and heroic actions by the people in their attempts to make their voices heard was a powerful statement of their demand for an end to the dictatorship. □

# Fraud of the Century

By HILARY CROSBY

**V**ote buying, ballot box stuffing, altering of ballot returns, massive disenfranchisement of pro-Aquino voters, and blatant goon intimidation, terrorism and assassination—all were elements of a brazen campaign by Marcos to steal the presidential election.

The corruption of the February 7 vote was evident to every observer, and it was broadcast into households around the world. In the days following the vote, eyewitness accounts in the press and television recounted story after story of numerous irregularities which, when all added together, amounted to a wholesale defrauding of the Filipino people.

The voting was so obviously rigged that the country's Roman Catholic bishops were moved to issue a special statement on February 14 in which they decried the vote as "unparalleled in the fraudulence of their conduct."

The bishops' statement, which was subsequently read in churches throughout the country the following Sunday, was a powerful rebuke to the dictatorship and challenged the legitimacy of the Marcos regime.

"A government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis," asserted the bishops. "Such an access to power is tantamount to a forcible seizure and cannot command the allegiance of the citizenry."

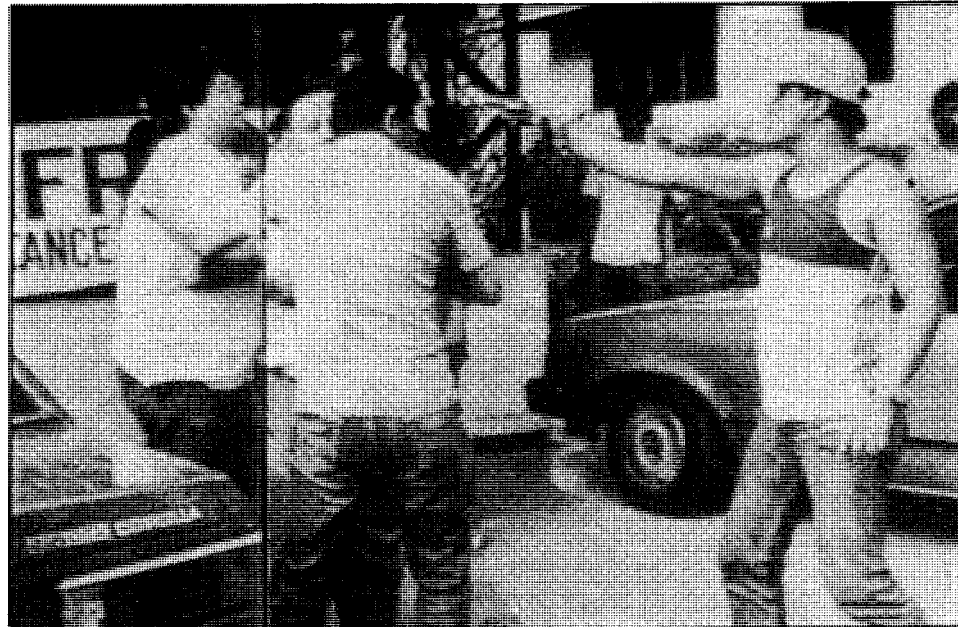
According to the bishops, the vote fraud was no less than the "criminal use of power to thwart the sovereign will of the people."

## SCHEME TO ROB OPPOSITION VOTES

How did Marcos manage to steal the election, one which observers felt Aquino won by 20-30% of the vote?

- Disenfranchisement of up to two million Aquino supporters through a sophisticated scheme to keep anti-Marcos voters off the registration rolls.

According to a February 16 *New York*



Goon aims gun at opposition poll watcher.

*Times* article, government letter-carriers and water meter readers secretly kept records of which households were Aquino supporters. They were able to determine this by placing pro-government stickers on the front doors and windows of the houses on their routes, then carefully noting which houses subsequently removed the Marcos stickers. The occupants in the houses determined to be pro-Aquino were then taken off the voter rolls.

The manipulation of the voting rolls explained why voter turnout in pro-Aquino districts were dramatically lower than in the pro-Marcos districts. Thus in Quezon City, a pro-Aquino area, the turnout was only 72% as opposed to the 87% turnout for the 1984 elections. Officials from the National Movement for Free Elections, estimated that the Aquino forces lost up to two million votes due to this tactic.

- Widespread and massive buying of votes. Utilizing the government bureaucracy and institutions, as well as his own political

machine, Marcos conducted a cynical campaign to buy votes on a huge scale. With \$73 million to spend on his campaign, a large portion went directly to vote-buying schemes from \$2.50 given to pedicab drivers in Manila to sacks of rice handed out to peasants in the countryside.

The full power of the government was also brought into play. Mass mailings from the Bureau of Internal Revenue endorsing Marcos were conducted, and government employees of Philippine Airlines and the BIR received bonuses of up to two weeks' pay. In addition, Marcos announced a 22% reduction of interest rates during one campaign speech, and a decrease in fuel prices in another speech, a barefaced effort to make the general electorate sympathetic to the regime.

## BALLOT TAMPERING

- Widespread and massive ballot tampering and manipulation of election returns. From the blatant use of armed thugs to steal ballot boxes to the almost undetectable

electronic manipulation of returns, the Marcos regime brazenly altered the election's outcome.

In numerous cities, armed goons stormed polling stations, threatened poll watchers and forcibly stole ballot boxes and stuffed them. While poll watchers from NAMFREL often defended the ballot boxes from tampering, the cases of armed seizure were numerous and widespread.

Even when the people were able to cast their ballots, the final vote count was altered and manipulated. Thus the 588 registered voters on the Turtle Islands found that they cast 1,125 votes, all for Marcos. J.V. Cruz, the government's ambassador to Britain who took a leave of absence to campaign for Marcos admitted that "It's all high jinks, things that you would do yourself if you had a chance—like switching ballots."

Manipulation of precinct tally sheets—which often carried votes by non-existent persons—bordered on the absurd. In one case, a tally sheet turned in was signed by a man who turned out to be dead. Labor Minister Blas Ople, when informed of the incident, responded, "That can be pretty serious. The sequence will have to be determined. Was he dead when he signed it?"

After all of the cynical efforts to affect the vote outcome failed to cut Aquino's lead over Marcos, the final manipulation of the vote occurred. At the government's vote counting center in Manila, computer-terminal operators and data processors noticed that what they fed into the computer did not agree with the results being officially posted. Aquino, who had been leading Marcos during the vote count, was suddenly and inexplicably falling behind the incumbent. "The inputs were all valid," said one of the operators. "The discrepancy was in the computer-generated output."

Outraged and distressed over the situation, the 30 computer workers decided to stage a walkout, charging the results fraudulent and manipulated to favor Marcos. It was a dramatic protest to an election already facing a credibility gap. As they left the center, many in tears and clearly fearing for their personal safety, the formality of counting the vote and declaring Marcos the winner would proceed. But by then the election would show that Marcos won only because of his ability to defraud the Filipino people—on an unprecedented scale. □

# Filipino Community Explodes With Anti-Marcos Fury



Demonstrations like this one of 600 people in San Francisco hit Philippine Consulates across the country.

By MADGE BELLO  
and VINCE REYES

While the streets of Manila have been reverberating with the sounds of millions of angry Filipinos denouncing Ferdinand Marcos' cheating, Filipinos in North America have enthusiastically raised their voices in solidarity with their compatriots back home.

"All the Filipinos you meet have the Philippines on their minds," remarked Romy Villanueva of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship. Villanueva, like most members of his group, has been distributing leaflets, agitating small crowds, and staying up late for planning meetings for several weeks now. "Before, some people used to think twice before taking a leaflet—now, they snatch them right out of our hands."

Indeed the Filipino community has been following every twist and turn of the controversial elections and raised a public outcry every step of the way. Before, during and after the final count, Filipinos monitored the news and organized public activities to raise their objection to the Marcos regime. "I'm taking this very personally," said Sarah Gonzales of the Movement for a Free Philippines. "I feel Marcos has personally insulted me and my children!"

Major opposition groups such as the Ninoy Aquino Movement, CAMD/PSN (which supports the National Democratic Front), and MFP have been working together to lead the various protest activities. Together with local groups such as Friends of Cory, Liberal Party, Jaycees, SANDIWA, and Boholanos, they had organized campaigns in many cities in support of Cory Aquino.

## TO THE STREETS

Demonstrations, motorcades, church cere-

monies, press conferences, and community meetings have drawn huge numbers of Filipinos in every major U.S. city, as well as cities in Canada, into a groundswell. Many protestors had never walked a picket line or raised a clenched fist before.

"With daily front page headlines and television reports every hour, anti-Marcos sentiments have been running high—it's been 'which side are you on?'" said Geline Avila, CAMD's national co-coordinator.

The most obvious targets of protest have been Philippine Consular offices all over the U.S. Simultaneous demonstrations in at least a dozen cities last February 10 brought out thousands of Filipinos and their supporters. San Francisco's rally attracted over 600 angry Filipinos who filled a city block end to end.

Pickets ranging from 200 to 300 people converged on consulates in New York and Los Angeles. There were also protests in Toronto, Montreal, Seattle, and Sacramento. Protestors even braved a snowstorm in Washington, D.C. during a lunch hour picket.

As part of a protest delegation, Irene Natividad, president of the National Women's Political Caucus told Philippine embassy officials: "We Filipino-Americans know that Cory has won. Thanks to her courage and energy she has awakened the will of the Filipino people. People want change and Cory represents that change and hope."

In New York, Marcos' effigy was burned and enthusiastic participants called for yet another action. The next evening, in the freezing snow, people donned their heaviest coats and staged a vigil.

All opposition groups have been soliciting "opiniongrams" directed at the White House and Congress demanding "a recognition of Cory Aquino's victory" and an "end to all U.S. support for Marcos."

## MITING DE AVANCE

A week prior to the election, *miting de*

bases . . ." (First articulated in *NSSD: "U.S. Policy Towards the Philippines Executive Summary."* See *AK, Vol. XI, No. 3.*)

Meanwhile, Ambassador Stephen Bosworth called twice on the Aquino headquarters to explain, as diplomatically as possible, that the president didn't really mean what he said. Finally, Reagan was persuaded to issue a new statement February 15 which placed the blame for fraud in the election squarely on Marcos.

During her meeting with Habib February 17, Aquino reportedly told him, "The crisis [can] only be resolved through a swift and orderly transfer [of power] to the Aquino presidency that the Filipino people had chosen overwhelmingly at the polls." Added close adviser Aquilino Pimentel, there is no way the U.S. can convince the opposition to call off its anti-Marcos campaign.

Meanwhile, one prominent Philippine observer insists that Marcos' days are definitely numbered. Richard Holbrooke, former negotiator of the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement, told CBS News February 16 that Marcos would be out within the next 12 weeks or, at the very latest, by the end of the year.

Washington would love to see Marcos go within 12 weeks, but only if it feels safe with his successor. If Aquino's more militant advisers prevail and the radical instincts of her mass base assert themselves, the U.S. will try to stall and look for alternatives.

avances or traditional pre-election rallies packed Cory supporters into auditoriums and churches throughout the country. Some 600 Filipinos attended a *miting de avance* in Honolulu which is dubbed "Marcos country" for the support he usually commands from the large Ilocano population. In some cities, motorcades brightly decorated with anti-Marcos slogans paraded through Filipino neighborhoods.

"We must remain vigilant that Marcos does not steal the victory from Cory," asserted Fr. Rey Culaba, whose St. Paul's of the Shipwreck Church in San Francisco was the scene of a *miting de avance* of over 300 Filipinos. Culaba represented the Bay Area Political Prisoners Adoption Group, one of the several participating groups in that day's activities.

Congressman Ron Dellums (D-CA) sent a strong message of support. Dellums recently called for an examination of the U.S. bases in the Philippines.

"The world can no longer tolerate regimes which must resort to election fraud to remain in office," Washington, D.C. councilor Hilda Mason told a hundred people. Mason also called on President Ronald Reagan not to interfere with the Filipino people's call for democracy and issued a \$200 "solidarity" check to the coalition that sponsored the program, which included KABAYAN, NAM and CAMD/PSN.

Some 250 people attended the Los Angeles rally where Sen. Alan Cranston was a guest. The Rev. Jesse Jackson called Aquino from the city and has been scheduled to speak before Filipinos in the Bay Area. In Seattle, 80 people responded spiritedly to a skit involving a charade in which the audience guessed the different methods of cheating Marcos would use at the polls.

## 24-HOUR POLL WATCH

On the weekend of the election, 24-hour "pollwatches" were set up in private homes in several cities. Some had telex machines

But, as recent events have proven, there is only so much that Washington can do.

If the Aquino movement continues to gather steam, the campaign of civil disobedience she recently inaugurated grows and Aquino herself resists the urgings of the more conservative among her followers, the U.S. may find itself scrambling far more quickly than it would like.

Under those conditions, Washington just may find itself ushering a dictator off the stage of history to replace him with a disconcertingly unknown quantity. □

## Out Now!

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vancing the Aquino-led effort.

The left's boycott of the elections apparently strengthened the hand of the conservatives within the Aquino camp who are strongly opposed to any alliance with national democrats and communists.

In a last minute effort to salvage its damaged relations with the Aquino camp, the left apparently decided to field "anti-fraud" teams—a departure from its boycott stance—during the polling. Signs of differences within the left surfaced after the election, when left-led Bayan spokesperson Lean Alejandro criticized another Bayan leader for "self-righteous" statements that the group's boycott position has been vindicated.

and "Manila hotline" phone connections. People from the community streamed in and out bringing food, volunteering for tasks, and joining informal political "consciousness-raising" discussions. MFP, NAM, and CAMD posted spokespeople to receive inquiries from the media.

"It was a way of updating our supporters and gaining new adherents," said Fely Villasin, CAMD co-coordinator who "camped out" at NAM member Gloria Navarette's home in Daly City.

Navarette, like many anti-Marcos activists in the U.S., allowed her home to be used as opposition headquarters during the election watch. She had made a promise a few years ago that when the crisis accelerated in the Philippines, her home could be used as the "rebel headquarters."

## MORE PROTESTS TO COME

For three days, Navarette not only acted as host to the many activists who plotted the response to Marcos' cheating, but also to reporters who constantly dropped in. The phone rang around the clock.

Community support came in many ways. A popular Filipino-owned restaurant, Max's Fried Chicken, sent over complimentary buckets of chicken to help keep the poll-watchers' energy up through the long late night hours.

The aftermath of the fraudulent election promises to keep the U.S.-based opposition's momentum going full swing.

Activists have pledged to keep in step with the expected escalation of civil disobedience and national strikes the opposition back home has pledged to utilize to bring down the Marcos dictatorship. Political community meetings attended by scores of Filipinos eager for updates and direction are becoming weekly events.

As this report goes to press, hundreds of Filipinos from Toronto to San Francisco to New York are staging demonstrations in solidarity with the People's Victory rally in Manila. □

## Marcos Critic Killed in L.A.

**FLASH!** Marcos terrorism may have reared its head again in the Filipino community in the U.S. A day after he received a death threat, Oscar Salvatierra, Philippine News Los Angeles chief, was gunned down in his home in Glendale on the morning of February 19.

"[T]hrough your paper your unwarranted accusation and lies, you have attacked your countrymen," the letter charged. "You should be ashamed to call yourselves Filipinos."

"For your crime, you are sentenced by execution," the letter concluded.

Salvatierra was a vocal Marcos critic. His associate Art Aragon, who also received a similar letter is now under police protection.

On June 1, 1981, Gene Viernes and Steve Dunningo, ILWU Local 37 officials and KDP activists were gunned down in Seattle by Marcos operatives. A civil suit against the Philippine government and Marcos loyalist Tony Baruso will be tried this fall. □

Despite repeated attempts to hold joint street actions with the Aquino forces, Bayan leaders have so far failed to move the Aquino camp toward reconciliation. "They want to keep their lines with us open—but that's all," said a Bayan member.

Consequently, the left—which had been at the forefront of the mass anti-Marcos struggle over the last decade and a half—appears to have been overtaken by the moderates, at least in the country's large urban centers. Barely hiding its glee, the *New York Times* noted that during last Sunday's Luneta Park rally, groups of "left-wing supporters carrying red flags for the most part were shunted to the edge of the park."

Some opposition observers point out that such a state of division serves neither the interests of the moderates nor the left and is harmful to the efforts of the whole anti-Marcos opposition.

Washington, which fears the escalation of mass protest, is no doubt happy with the split. A reconstructed left-moderate alliance would serve to bolster the militance, organization and consistency of the campaign of mass civil disobedience. It would also enhance a nationalist and independent posture among oppositionists in the face of pressures from the U.S. and its conservative allies within the opposition camp.

Whether such an alliance can be reached and what it might take to achieve it, however, remain open questions. □

## U.S. Interests

Continued from front page

by the U.S. president. Government television stations played and replayed the Reagan remarks to emphasize the point.

Aquino reacted with outrage. "I would wonder at the motives of a friend of democracy who chose to conspire with Mr. Marcos to cheat the Filipino people of their liberation," she commented. "Do not make the mistake in the name of short-sighted self-interest of coming to the support of a failing dictator. In this time of need, we will learn who our real friends are."

Members of the congressional foreign policy and defense community were quick to respond as well. Senate Foreign Relations Committee chief Richard Lugar, who led the observer team, called the president "misinformed." A consensus quickly developed that aid to the Philippines should be cut or set aside in escrow until Marcos goes.

## CHANGING REAGAN'S MIND

The State Department swung into gear, trying, as the *San Francisco Examiner* put it, "to rescue a policy that had been devised among the Defense Department, the intelligence community and the National Security Council—that of promoting a legitimate, stable, reformist government in the Philippines as the best way to retain access to the