

# Ang Katipunan

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Tanada

## TO RUN OR NOT TO RUN

Story on page 5



Laurel



December 1983 AK story on U.S. scenario.

May 14 Polls:

## Key to U.S. Transition Ploy

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

**T**he United States should not act to humiliate Marcos, but should approach him as a friend . . . . The purpose of . . . intervention should be to convince Marcos to act, however reluctantly, to avert civil war . . . ."

So wrote William Sullivan, former ambassador to both the Philippines and Iran. Writing in the December 4, 1983 issue of *Foreign Policy*, he laid out a prescription for easing Marcos out of office via Reagan-style "quiet diplomacy." His purpose: to avoid the U.S. foreign policy fiascoes of Iran and Nicaragua in which the U.S. placed all its bets on tottering regimes and lost very strategic interests in the process.

But in order not to go down with the

loser, Sullivan urges Reagan to recognize once and for all, that "the days of the Marcos administration are numbered."

He need not do that much urging. Evidence is everywhere that U.S. plans to protect its interests as Marcos becomes an increasing liability—have moved into high gear; and they closely resemble Sullivan's prescription.

### BORN-AGAIN DEMOCRAT

Reports from Manila indicate that U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost has been meeting regularly with members of the opposition, according to Ed Lachica of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, "under the jackfruit trees that shade the patio of his Forbes Park residence or in the privacy of hotel meeting rooms." The ambassador has been trying to convince leaders of the opposition to participate in the May 14 elections.

Others describe Armacost as a born-again proponent of "democracy" in the country, speaking with great enthusiasm and whenever possible of the need for "free and open elections." He obviously also has the delicate task of nudging Marcos to agree with this proposition.

Grumbles emanating directly and indirectly from the regime confirm that

silent pressure from Washington is indeed on. The Marcos-controlled press is complaining about foreign "meddling" without specifying the guilty country. Army Chief of Staff Josephus Ramas recently told correspondents, "We are a sovereign nation and should not account for our acts to any other nation."

Even more telling is Marcos' recent face-saving insistence that the U.S. is not pressuring him because "they would[n't] dare to do that."

"I think they would know how I would react," he told a *Newsweek* reporter. "I would tell the whole world about it."

But events themselves reveal that the U.S. is already unfolding its plan for a "smooth transition," though no doubt less smoothly than planned.

The scenario, first unveiled in Washington in October and later taken up in Manila by those pushing for national reconciliation, consists of three parts: an impartial investigation of the Aquino assassination; "fair elections" for the *Batasang Pambansa*, or National Assembly; and, maximally, the formation of anything that could pass for a coalition government composed of both the Marcos regime and opposition forces.

The formation of the Agrava panel, in spite of its inevitable limitations (*see story, page 5*), and the continuing hearings into the assassination represent an attempt by the regime to cooperate on demand number one.

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# The Problem With Senator Laurel

Senator Salvador "Doy" Laurel still refuses to grasp the obvious lesson in Marcos' attempt to frame him up with a planted gun at the Manila International Airport. He is still going around the U.S. trying to convince Filipinos that democratization can be achieved through participation in the regime's May 14 elections, even though Marcos' political future is staked on the credibility of that cosmetic electoral exercise.

The senator has gone so far as to imply that those who support the boycott are helping Marcos. Laurel says Marcos allies are behind the boycott because the elections would shift in Marcos' favor if voters stayed away from the polls in great numbers. But if that is the case, then how does he explain the regime's determined attempts to discredit the boycott movement? Or its frantic efforts to depict the boycott of last January's plebiscite as a failure?

Laurel still has to satisfactorily explain how participation in the election can accomplish the Filipino people's greatest desire: the ouster of Marcos. He says an opposition majority in the Batasan can force the impeachment of Marcos. How, pray tell, is this possible when Marcos has the "constitutional" power to abolish the Batasan altogether?

Laurel also claims an opposition majority can make it certain that Marcos' successor will be an opposi-

tionist. This certainly looks good on paper. But even now Marcos is trying to poison the ink by introducing new legislation that would ensure a KBL majority after May 14. Moreover, how can a regime whose military has a penchant for firing and planting guns at the airport be expected to respect the authority of an opposition majority?

At bottom, Laurel says he believes a boycott would only hasten a civil war. His manipulation of middle class fears aside, the senator still has to explain how participation in Marcos' elections will *not* help the

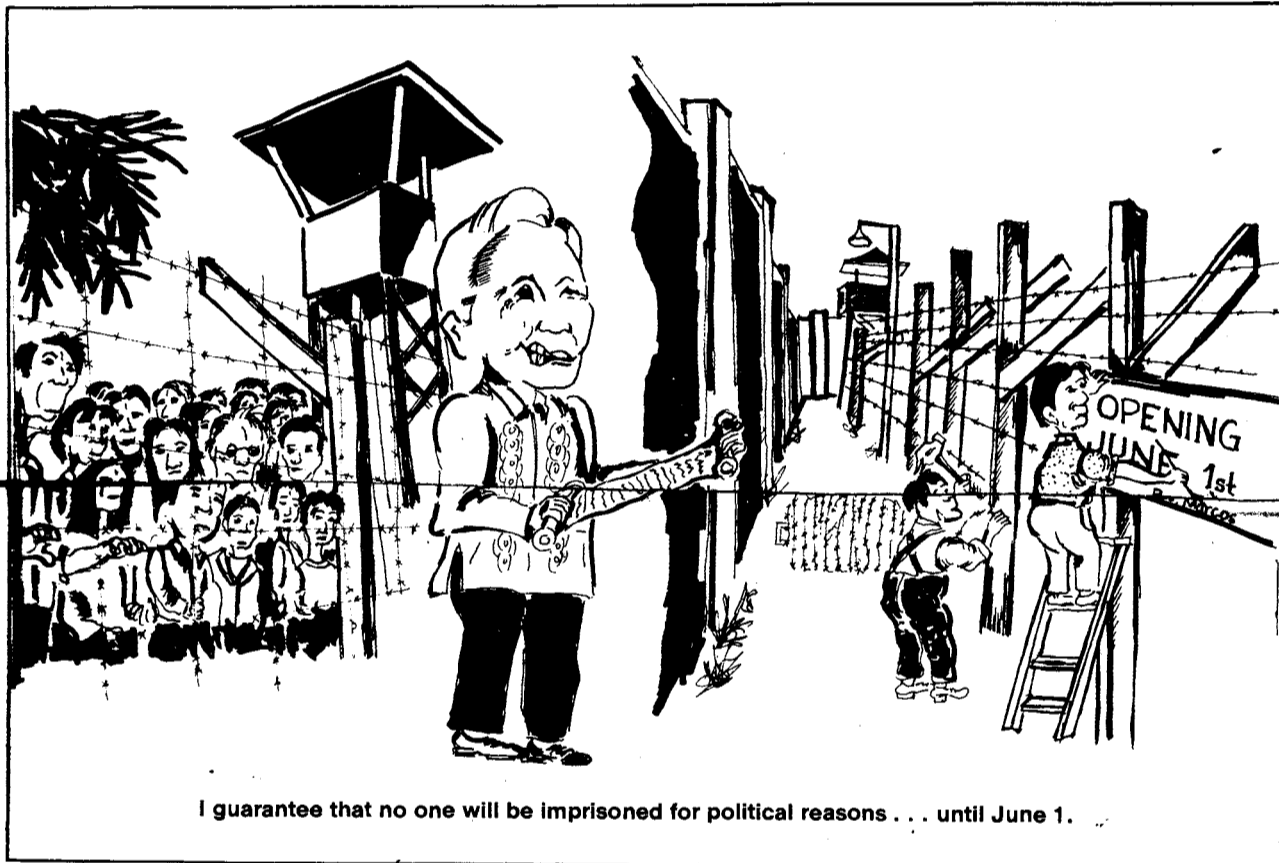
**'Is he going to help show the way to liberation, or lead the opposition to the morass of self-delusion?'**

perpetuation of the regime's institutionalized violence against the people. He has yet to explain how participation will *not* help legitimize Marcos' violent rule; how it will *not* give the credibility that the Reagan State

Department so strongly desires for the rubberstamp Batasan. The pro-boycott oppositionists have certainly tried hard to convince him that participation will only help Marcos' desperate struggle for credibility.

While in the U.S. Laurel will urge U.S. legislators to deny aid to the regime. Fine. We wish him luck in this endeavor. He should realize, however, that in doing so he is contradicting himself. The Reagan administration, too, wants to forestall a civil war; that is why it is pouring aid to Malacañang. Because Laurel shares Washington's fear, shouldn't he, by logic, be campaigning for the continuation of U.S. aid instead? For certainly, an end to U.S. aid will set favorable conditions for a decisive, and radical confrontation between Marcos and the people's movement.

Senator Laurel's image as an oppositionist was boosted by his protest resignation from the rubberstamp Batasan after the Aquino murder. His credibility grew because this act united him with the great spirit of civil disobedience—which is the only appropriate response to autocratic rule. Laurel should decide once and for all whether he will unite with this spirit or be the source of disunity within the popular opposition; whether his will be an uncompromising opposition or a qualified one. Is he going to help show the way to liberation, or lead the opposition to the morass of self-delusion? □



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## Litter from Manila



## Athletes Do More

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

There's no denying that foreign creditors were incensed when they caught the Central Bank overstating our international reserves by \$600 million. But it is not true that the President kicked CB governor Jaime Laya out of the post as punishment. It is not true that Laya's sudden appointment as Minister of Education, Culture and Sports was meant to teach him a lesson in finesse. The appointment was a promotion. The education system needs Laya's financial wizardry to train future leaders who are now in our schools. The President knows we will need highly trained officials who can outwit our creditors for generations to come. Laya is competent but not perfect. Once in a while even our best officials get caught doing their job to the best of their ability.

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If there's anyone who should be demoted to a higher position (as Highways Minister, for example), it's Finance Minister Cesar Virata. He is responsible for all our money troubles. With due respect for the President's excellent taste and impeccable judgment, I just don't know what he sees in that guy. A true

incident according to a *WHO Magazine* reporter: when a foreign correspondent asked Virata what he thought qualified Jose B. Fernandez as Laya's replacement at the Central Bank, he replied, "The fact that he accepted." I can already see him answering creditors who want to know what makes us confident we can pay back our loans: "The fact that we borrowed." Please, Mr. President promote that guy now.

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Some of my critic friends ask me why I am still staking my future defending a sinking ship-of-state. I reply by quoting the American naval hero John Paul Jones who said, "We have not even begun to sail." (Editor: not sure I got Jones quote right/have one of your stupid writers check it before typesetting this item/appreciate it—I.D.)

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The U.S. press made so much of the opposition's "Tarlac to Tarmac" run they pretended the January 27 plebiscite wasn't even taking place. Speaking of sports, President Marcos said sports development is vital to world understanding "because athletes seem to accomplish more than statesmen or politicians." Now I know why Ninoy-brother-turned-opposition-leader Butz Aquino is busy organizing these jogging marathons. He thinks he can accomplish more than the President. Well, he's in for a big surprise. The President was an olympic-class athlete himself in his college years, specially in the marksmanship competition.

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Salvador Laurel flew to San Francisco (after failing to smuggle a gun he intended to use for terrorist

activities for which, by the way, he has become a prime suspect in the Aquino murder) to address the founding of the New Aquino Movement among Filipinos abroad. These opposition -in-exile groups are so overrated here in Manila it's not even funny. When they make noise, their comrades make big news out of it. People here don't realize how insignificant Filipinos in America really are. Compared to our 52 million population, Filipinos in America are a drop in the bucket. The truth is, there are more dogs than Filipinos in New York City. The exile opposition is actually a puppy with a loud bark.

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Foreign Minister Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, the grand old man of Philippine diplomacy, retired on his 85th birthday for health reasons. CPR is true to his motto, "a friend of all, an enemy of none." Asked whether he thought the President is handling the political situation correctly, CPR said, "he is doing what he is doing even though some people think he should not be doing what he is doing." Is he critical of the opposition bandwagon? "Some of my best friends are bandwagons." A diplomat extraordinaire. CPR was given the highest civilian honor by the U.S. government for having acted like an American even though he wasn't even an immigrant. CPR has a number of other honors including, according to the Philippine News Agency, the distinction of being the only signatory of the UN charter still alive. Good luck, General.

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Some of my critic-friends ask me why I am still staking my future in a sinking-ship-of-state. I reply by quoting the American naval hero Jennifer Jones who said: "Real rats don't abandon a sinking ship until they're quite sure it is sunk." □



# 'Agrava board constrained by FM's power...'

—Sison

Below are excerpts from a letter of the alleged chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines to his lawyer, Atty. Juan T. David—Editor.

Sometime ago during a military commission hearing, you asked me what I thought of Rosendo Cawigan and what he had been claiming in press interviews. On the basis of the reports that I had read, I told you that his claims were self-contradicting, self-cancelling and obviously fabricated. Repeating the words of Cory Aquino, the widow of our mutual friend Ninoy, I called him a liar and a mercenary agent of the military.

The presentation of Cawigan as a "star witness" and as an "NPA commander" before the Agrava board proves once more the malicious, immoral and criminal character of the Marcos regime. The fabrications that this man held captive by the military is made to utter are all calculated not only to slander the New People's Army but also the murder victim Ninoy Aquino.

The Cawigan testimony was clearly a big joke and a jumble of lies so much so that the audience of the Agrava board could not resist laughing at it. But I take seriously the determined attempt of the military to use such a testimony for hoodwinking the Agrava board and for propaganda purposes.

As one who has extensively and seriously studied the ideology, political program, system of organization, activities, and morality of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA, I am in a position to make some well-informed observations. Here they are:

I have not come to know of any antagonism between Ninoy Aquino and the NPA. It is well known in Tarlac and in the entire country that Ninoy and his family always relayed themselves in an enlightened manner with peasant masses and the rest of the people. In fact, Marcos himself has so often accused Ninoy of being a "communist" or a sympathizer of the CPP and NPA. Even Cawigan foolishly calls him the highest NPA commander and the NPA as meaning Ninoy's People's Army.

The truth is that Aquino was considered an avowed liberal democrat, a populist and an outstanding anti-fascist leader by all those who love freedom, including communists. The CPP and NPA respected him for his courage in fighting the fascist regime even as he was subjected to the most cruel kind of persecution and considered him an ally.

The NPA is an enlightened and well-disciplined army fighting for the national and democratic interests of the people. The NPA cherishes and seeks unity and cooperation with all antifascist leaders.

It is the Marcos regime and its bigshots that have the penchant for coddling and hiring self-confessed murderers such as Rosendo Cawigan who are kept in reserve either as killers or fall guys. While there is no evidence that Cawigan or Rolando Galman have any connections with the NPA, there is evidence of their connection with the Marcos regime as agents before the Aquino assassination.

Any motive can be attributed to the NPA by anyone. False witnesses can be rehearsed to harp on any motive. But the real assassins of Aquino are narrowed down as we proceed to the investigation of the means and the opportunity to commit the crime.

I would like to make some further observations:

1. It is ridiculous for Mr. Marcos and his military minions to claim that the NPA and/or Galman had the following capabilities:

a. Communicating with Philippine diplomatic and consular offices, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Immigration Office, the Interpol, the Taiwan Garrison, and the airline companies as well as having relays of secret agents in order to trail and monitor the movements of Ninoy from the U.S. through Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan to Manila;

b. Knowing the exact plane and time of arrival which Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara had kept to herself and from even the closest Aquino kin and friends until some minutes before Ninoy's arrival;

c. Knowing in advance that Gate 8 would be used or having Galman run from gate to gate without being checked;

d. Knowing Gen. Custodio's supposed shift from Plan A (tube passage) to Plan B (stairway) ten minutes before Ninoy's arrival;

e. Going through several security rings and obstacles (composed of at least 1,200 security agents) and injecting Galman in ill-fitting disguise into the most sanitized area;

g. Coming from a blind side (from under the plane) and knowing the exact time (in seconds) when Aquino would appear on the killing spot;

2. I do not think that Marcos as commander-in-chief and Enrile as his minister of national defense can disclaim command responsibility in the Aquino assassination by simply declaring that the maximum security for Ninoy was a routine matter under standard operating procedures for which the chief of staff Gen. Ver or even lower officers are responsible.

Marcos and Enrile are on public record as having warned Aquino of some serious assassination threat and trying hard to prevent him from exercising his right to return home. It is ridiculous if they say that they had never been consulted by Gen. Ver on so serious a matter as security preparations for the Aquino arrival. As it is their notoriously arrogant style, they might as well assert that they all enjoy presidential immunity in line with their own kind of constitution.

3. I do not think that the Agrava board can pursue the investigation up to the level of the mastermind of the Aquino assassination. It is unacceptable that the prime suspect (to use a gracious legal term) should be the one to form the body to investigate the crime of which he is suspected and for which the people have held him responsible in protest demonstrations.

4. I do not think that Marcos has the noble but tragic character of Oedipus Rex who accepted his guilt upon evidence. He has created one board of inquiry after another only because by doing so he implies that he is not guilty of the crime. He is also sure that the Agrava board is constrained by his own power.

Under the present circumstances, not all witnesses and other evidence contrary to the military's version can be presented before the Agrava board for fear of those in power and because of the active cover-up by them. The controlled mass media are also being used now to drum up the military version and discredit contrary witnesses and evidences. If ever the Agrava board would make conclusions which would run counter to the military version, Marcos will not hesitate to use the armed forces, in the same manner that he staged a coup against the established system of government in 1972 and coerced the constitutional convention.

Many people believe that the board will clear the Marcos regime, especially, for the simple reason that most of the witnesses and evidence contrary to the military version will not be presented. Those who tend to give the board the benefit of the doubt believe that the most it can do is to hold some small-fry responsible for negligence.

There are those who even think that the board members are of such conservative mold that they would be concerned about their own lives and material possessions and that Marcos can easily sway them to his anti-communist and anti-NPA line as well as the line that the conclusions of the board should be so made as to "improve" the international credit standing of the Marcos regime (although according to



Jose Ma. Sison. (Who Magazine)

some sources, even the Reagan administration would drop Marcos if he were found guilty).

The opinion most uncomplimentary to the board is that it has become a propaganda platform of the Marcos regime, especially after the board declared that it was satisfied with the sanity of Cawigan and the controlled mass media was referring to him as an NPA commander without even the qualification "alleged." Of course, Cawigan's sanity is distinguished from his mendacity.

At any rate, I believe that an international board of inquiry would eventually be the best body to look into the Aquino assassination, while Marcos is in



Judge Corazon Agrava salutes; one of only five people in the country who don't know who killed Aquino? (Who Magazine)

## Aquino Probe

# More Witnesses Say Soldier Shot Ninoy

By MADGE BELLO

New evidence provided by non-government witnesses continue to rip apart the Marcos regime's theory that a lone man hired by the Communists killed Benigno Aquino last August 21.

"I just saw him falling down from the stairs," declared Fred Viesca, a 24-year-old Manila Airport employee at a hearing February 9 before the Agrava Commission investigating Aquino's murder.

Viesca's testimony is one of the latest pieces of evidence submitted before the five-member panel, which continues to contradict government claims that Aquino was killed by Rolando Galman.

Under long questioning by panel chief Corazon Agrava, Viesca told the panel that he was standing near a loading vehicle across from the plane, where Aquino was descending with his four military escorts, when he heard a shot. He caught a glimpse of Aquino falling off the staircase, and began to run without looking back after he heard the shot and saw Aquino lying on the tarmac.

Another airport worker, Nicodemus Garido, testified that he was about 50 yards away from the assassination scene, where he saw Galman sitting on a loading dolly about half an hour before the shooting.

Garido's testimony matched that of another airport employee, Celso Loterina, who told the panel in late January that he was at the left side of the front of the China Airlines plane when he heard a single shot. He looked back and saw Galman being fired upon by a soldier standing in the rear of the van with three other soldiers. There were no other persons or any man in white [referring to Aquino] on the tarmac.

### SOLDIER WAS THE GUNMAN

These testimonies support a widespread belief that Galman was shot even before Aquino and that Aquino was shot by one of his escorts. Galman's son Reynaldo earlier claimed that his father was picked up by a man he identified as Arnulfo de Mesa. De Mesa was one of the four soldiers who escorted Aquino off the plane.

The government claims the soldiers were unarmed. But another witness, Ruben Regalado, said he saw de Mesa fire at Galman. Regalado said in an interview with NBC News in Tokyo on December 23, that one of the soldiers shot Aquino.

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power. This board can be formed under the auspices of the International Commission of Jurists, any of the United Nations human rights agencies, Amnesty International, or any other respected international body.

Respect for Philippine sovereignty can be maintained by including eminent Filipinos (a retired supreme court justice, a Catholic bishop, a prominent lawyer, and an educator or businessman) as majority members of the board. It would be fine if these are acceptable to the aggrieved Aquino family.

This international board of inquiry is necessary for the following reasons:

a. This international board can be truly impartial and independent of the Marcos regime. The Agrava board is a creation of Marcos and will be able to prove its independence and integrity or lack of these only when it concludes its investigation, and makes its conclusions and recommendations.

b. Under the present circumstances, the Marcos regime is in a position to prevent or discourage a number of witnesses and experts, Filipino and otherwise, from appearing before the Agrava board.

c. The Aquino assassination is an international affair. There are foreign witnesses and experts who would not want to submit themselves to the Agrava board because they oppose it as a creation of Marcos, doubt the integrity of its prospective conclusions or are simply afraid to come over to Manila.

d. The international board of inquiry would enjoy the confidence of the foreign witnesses and experts (ballistics, camera, etc.), as well as Filipino witnesses who have sought refuge abroad.

e. The international board or its members will be able to secure more expeditiously such material evidence as the tape recording of the conversation between Ninoy Aquino and Gen. Aguirre, the surveillance reports on Aquino, and related communications with Philippine authorities by foreign intelligence agencies that monitored his movement from the U.S. to Taiwan.

f. The international board will be able to test further, rectify or augment the findings and conclusions of the Agrava board. The former will have the advantage of going over the records of the Agrava board and having more testimonies and other evidence to go by in making more comprehensive findings and conclusions.

g. The international board will enjoy the confidence of the foreign entities that have an interest in the Philippines and the moral and material capability of undertaking the appropriate sanctions against the Marcos regime should it be found guilty. If the Agrava board finds Marcos guilty as the mastermind or as being negligent of his command responsibility, the autocrat can simply attack the Agrava board as a tool of some conspiracy.

h. The international board of inquiry will establish a reason for entities in the international community to take definite actions without being met with the argument of sovereignty by Marcos. In fact, whenever he cites sovereignty, he means his monarchic sovereignty and not our national sovereignty.

i. The international board will become the custodian of the testimonies and other documents which are pertinent to the Aquino assassination but cannot be presented to the Agrava board. These as well as the conclusions of the international board can be turned over to the post-Marcos government in due time.

The international board of inquiry should look not only into the Aquino assassination but also the cover-up that has been done by Marcos and his agents. Nixon could not be pinned down for ordering or taking part in the Watergate break-in. But he was found culpable for the cover-up.

You may use this letter as you deem fit. Please do not worry about what Marcos and his military henchmen might do sooner or later against me. They only accelerate their fall as they commit more barbarities.

Happy New Year!

(sgd.) JOSE MA. SISON

# Living Without Marcos

*This article has been abridged from a much longer piece that appeared in Foreign Policy Magazine last December 4. William H. Sullivan was the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines from 1973-1977, and to Iran from 1977-1979. He also played a key role in America's secret war in Laos during the Vietnam War.*

*Since the Aquino assassination, Sullivan has been energetically pushing the Reagan administration to discard Marcos "without humiliating him"; all for the sake of preserving the U.S. military bases in the Philippines, of course.*

*Sullivan is a "battle-hardened" diplomat; and the approach he wants Reagan to take in the Philippines would not necessarily force the Republican White House to adopt the Carter policy that it has so vehemently attacked. It is safe to say therefore, that Sullivan is at the very least being listened to in the State Department. In fact, the moves currently being taken by the U.S. in Manila closely resemble the approach Sullivan prescribes in this article—Ed.)*

By WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN

One of the most vexing issues in foreign policy faced by the United States in recent years has been how to deal with transitions of power in authoritarian regimes with which America has had friendly relations. Since most countries in which this problem arises—such as the Philippines—are of strategic importance to America, how the United States handles these transitions has assumed major significance. The Carter administration left a valuable legacy in this regard. It consists of case-book examples of how to do it wrong.

The case with which I am most intimately familiar is Iran. There, former President Jimmy Carter foolishly committed the prestige of the American presidency to the person of an authoritarian leader long after it was apparent that the leader would fall. At the same time, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski recklessly sought to persuade the demoralized Iranian armed forces to use brute force to crush a revolution that had already succeeded . . . .

Although I am not personally acquainted with the case of Nicaragua, the Carter administration's tactics there seem to have demonstrated the other extreme form of reaction to such crises. Failing to see the handwriting on the wall, Washington was slow to withdraw support from dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle; then, when it recognized Somoza's weakness, the United States moved so

quickly to be rid of his regime that the moderates remaining had no time to organize, and the Sandinistas and the Cubans moved in by default . . . .

... There is ample basis for assuming that American diplomacy, skillfully, decisively, and wisely deployed, can assist in the constructive, peaceful restoration of democracy in countries with which the United States has friendly relations and where those relations are perceived as being conducted primarily with an authoritarian ruler, such as President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines. It should not prove too difficult for the Reagan administration to reach the conclusion that the days of the Marcos administration are numbered. Either they will come to an end because, as Benigno Aquino, the assassinated opposition leader, believed, health problems will soon incapacitate the president, or they will come to an end because his administration has lost political support. Once Washington has reached that conclusion, the White House will have to decide what to do.

It could, at one extreme, follow the Brzezinski model in Iran and encourage the Philippine military to stage a coup d'état. . . . Such a tactic, however, would guarantee a pervasive anti-American radicalization of the opposition, just as it did in Iran.

At the other extreme, the White House could follow the Nicaragua example, wait until Marcos is close to the end and then abruptly cut all ties with him. This course of action would be a clear invitation to the leftwing, anti-democratic opposition to choose its moment and move in for the political kill. It would probably change the nature of the opposition's struggle, to the advantage of those well-organized extremist groups that seek power without the cachet of an election. . . .

Perhaps the most tempting option of all is to do nothing and to wait until the passage of time makes it necessary to develop the schedule for President Ronald Reagan's April 1984 trip to Asia . . . . Such a course of *attentisme* would entail serious risks.

First, it would risk being misunderstood by both Marcos and his opponents as support for a policy of repression against moderate opposition. It could contribute to a sharp polarization of the political situation and raise the level of violence. Second, it would waste valuable time and, as in the case of Nicaragua, help the more extreme, better-organized, anti-democratic factions rather than the more moderate, traditionally less-structured political forces. Finally, it would throw upon Reagan, assuming that he does make a visit to Manila in April, the complex task of seeking to mediate a frenetic effort at Philippine national

reconciliation rather than having such a mediation carried out in advance by his staff and his diplomats. Ideally, Reagan should be able to go to Manila to underwrite by his presence an acceptable program for transition already developed with the active and constructive involvement of American officials.

To achieve that result, the Reagan administration can take immediate, positive action to lend American weight to a process of orderly political transition. The United States should not act to humiliate Marcos but should approach him as a friend; the American public should understand that Marcos has been a reliable partner of the United States in political and strategic measures that have helped establish the essential equilibrium in East Asia. . . . The purpose of the intervention should be to convince Marcos to act, however reluctantly, to avert civil war . . . .

... [W]hen Cardinal Jaime Sin, acting on information supplied by 68 bishops throughout the country, raises the spectre of civil war, his voice should be heard with attention . . . .

Marcos is a man who has a sense of his place in history and can be expected to appreciate the difference between the judgment that history will make about a president who arranges a peaceful transition toward an elected democratic government and about one who plunges his country into chaos. . . .

... Numerous well-educated, intelligent, and sophisticated individuals are willing to assume political responsibility if truly honest elections can be assured. Overwhelmingly, Filipino leaders are moderate, friendly to the United States, and responsible. . . .

Similarly, although their senior leadership has been politicized by the Marcos administration, the armed forces still contain a cadre of responsible professional officers who can be depended on to supervise and police honest elections if given that mandate. . . . In short, the ingredients are present for an orderly transfer of authority through a democratic process, with American help.

Therefore, the White House can step actively into this situation and use the prospect of the state visit as an anvil against which to hammer out an acceptable formula for elections agreed to by Marcos, on the one hand, and the responsible opposition, on the other, and endorsed by such respected figures as the cardinal. While the United States need not be involved in the active implementation of such an arrangement, it would probably have to participate as an observer in the process.

It will be argued that such open, naked involvement in the internal affairs of the Philippines is contrary to accepted international policies of nonintervention. It must be repeated that America's relations with the Philippines are unique. I know no country where American influence is more pervasive. The United States has found good reasons to intervene in other countries. It has real reasons to intervene in the Philippines. □



## U.S. Transition Ploy . . .

Continued from front page

### BATASAN: KEY LINK IN U.S. PLOY

All eyes are now focused on the May 14 elections for representatives to the permanent Batasang Pambansa. It is in hopes of encouraging credible opposition participation, and in the face of a powerful and potentially devastating boycott movement, that Armacost has become such an enthusiastic proponent of "open elections."

For the Batasan represents the key link in the U.S. succession formula. Until 1987, when the office of vice president will be restored, the Assembly Speaker will serve as temporary president should Marcos die or become incapacitated. The Speaker is then obliged to call elections within 60 days for a new president.

(The recently concluded plebiscite which approved constitutional changes necessary to restore the vice presidency and designate the Batasan Speaker as Vice President *pro tem* was an integral part of the formula.)

The new Batasan, therefore, must not have the image of being just another rubber stamp outfit like the current one. If so, its Speaker will be labelled a Marcos stooge, and the entire Washington succession effort will be back to square one. A fair percentage of the opposition must not only participate in the election, but win in order for the Batasan to acquire credibility.

If the election process suffices to defuse opposition sentiment, Washington may rest content and allow Marcos to complete his term until 1987. But if the anti-Marcos movement continues to build, Washington

can pressure Marcos to retire, knowing that a credible mechanism for succession is already in place. And with opposition forces safely co-opted within the Batasan it should not take much to slap together a "KBL-opposition" coalition government through the plebiscite-approved succession formula.

That is how Washington intends to shelter its strategic military bases from the political storm that is now battering its ally, an ally that has become a liability.

### 'DON'T HUMILIATE F.M.'

To help Armacost convince a reluctant Marcos to go along with the U.S. contingency plan, Washington sent emissaries to Manila to do some quiet arm-twisting. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Monjo visited, obviously not as a tourist. So did Reagan hatchetman Gen. Vernon Walters. And to back up the "courtesy calls" in Malacañang with just a hint of muscle, ex-CIA coup expert Col. Edward Lansdale was also commissioned to pay a visit.

But while arms are twisted in Manila, "Don't humiliate Marcos" is the word of the day in Washington. Armacost, back home for the week of January 30, met privately with members of Congress and assured them that all was well in Manila despite "exaggerated press reports." There were problems, he told the congressmen, but the situation was under control and Marcos was bending over backwards to

cooperate.

Monjo, testifying February 7 before the Asia-Pacific Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, struck a similar chord. In his prepared testimony, he praised the regime for "showing restraint" in the face of the upsurge in opposition following the Aquino slaying.

"To their credit," he added, "they have avoided violence." He further credited Marcos for behaving flexibly, responding to opposition pressures and "helping to defuse the tense political atmosphere."

More revealing was the question-and-answer period that followed. Monjo simply refused to criticize Marcos openly. In spite of repeated efforts by Committee Chairman Stephen Solarz (D-NY) to pin him down with such questions as "Is Marcos the Asian version of the Shah or Somoza?" "Are Marcos' days numbered?" Monjo's replies remained evasive and bureaucratic.

Asked whether the opposition's pre-

## 'A fair percentage of the opposition must not only participate in the election, but win in order for the Batasan to acquire credibility.'

conditions for participating in the coming elections were necessary for honest elections, (see story, page 7), he replied that they were "good and desirable," but "not absolutely necessary."

### APPROPRIATIONS TIME AGAIN

Finally, and most significantly, Solarz asked how the administration would regard Congressional preconditions to the granting of U.S. aid to the Philippines—particularly in the realm of human rights. "This is a very

extreme course," responded Monjo. "It would be considered intrusive."

Both Monjo and Armacost are practitioners *par excellence* of the Reagan administration's new foreign policy gospel: quiet diplomacy. In contrast to the Carter years, when the U.S., in many instances, tried rhetorically to distance itself from strongmen (see excerpts from William Sullivan, this page), Reaganites believe in behind-the-scenes maneuvering while remaining the best of friends with their allies on the surface.

The Armacost-Monjo performance comes at a particularly sensitive moment in U.S.-R.P. relations. Not only is the U.S. working desperately to implement its transition plan in Manila, once again it is appropriations time in Washington.

Up for approval is the first installment of the \$900 million aid package to be paid out over the next five years in exchange for U.S. use of the Philippine bases. This comes to \$180 million, a full 80% increase in aid over the package negotiated during the Carter years.

The message to a potentially balky Congress is clear: hand over the money and leave the rest to us. The State Department is concerned not only about Solarz' committee, which initiates authorization procedures. The Foreign Operations Subcommittee kicks off appropriations, and its Chairman, Clarence Long (D-MD), has a record of challenging the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

### BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARD?

The State Department has problems enough on its hands without having to deal with a troublesome Congress.

But the real challenges to Armacost and company remain the Philippine opposition movement, and ironically, Ferdinand Marcos himself.

The opposition, leaning toward a complete boycott of the election, is a major fly in the State Department's ointment. Everyday, it seems less likely that any but a small segment representing the most op-

Continued on page 6



## Controversy Over May 14 Elections

## To Run or Not to Run

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

"Five, four, three, two, one. We're going to boycott!" shouted an exuberant Agapito "Butz" Aquino to 5,000 supporters at the stroke of midnight on February 14 as fireworks exploded and whistles and horns shrilled.

The brother of the assassinated former senator Benigno Aquino, and other opposition leaders called the countdown rally to mark the deadline set earlier for Ferdinand Marcos to comply with their demands. If Marcos did not meet these by February 14, they had vowed, they would boycott the coming May 14 elections for the *Batasang Pambansa*.

Two days later, however, Cory Aquino, the late senator's widow, hinted to the Manila Rotary Club that she favors participation. Ninoy, she reminded her audience, participated in the 1978 IBP elections despite the massive boycott movement and thereby gave life to the opposition.

The vacillation of the Aquino family symbolizes the dilemma confronting the legal opposition movement, particularly the more prominent segment of it. For former politicians, a number of businessmen, and certain members of the church hierarchy, the burning question remains: to run or not to run?

**'THE PEOPLE WILL LOSE'**

Certain key groups and individuals are staunchly sold on their positions.

The United Nationalist Democratic Organization whose most active spokespersons are former senators Salvador Laurel and Eva Estrada Kalaw, has taken an all-out pro-participation stand. A boycott, warns Laurel, could trigger "violence and civil war."

Other groups such as Justice for Aquino, Justice for All, are staunchly pro-boycott. "Regardless of who wins the May 14 elections, the people will lose," noted JAJA at its January 10 general assembly. "The only decent and honorable course is to boycott."

Supporting the JAJA position is the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. NAJFD spokespersons insist that "the Batasan election is an attempt to fool the public into thinking that democratic processes have been restored..." and "... that clean and honest elections are possible under the present regime."

Lined up with JAJA and NAJFD are the *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, one wing of the Liberal Party, the *Alyansa ng mga Mag-sasaka sa Gitnang Luzon*, and a wing of the PDP-Laban.

**'PARTICIPATION IF/BOYCOTT UNLESS'**

But the majority of the politically visible types remain caught in the middle, leaning toward one of two subtly differing postures: "boycott unless" or "participate if" Ferdinand Marcos meets certain basic demands.

Hopes ran high throughout January of uniting the entire opposition. January 7-8 witnessed a remarkable gathering of oppositionists of all stripes from the ardently pro-electionist Laurel and Kalaw through the militant pro-boycotters of NAJFD to speakers who read statements of political prisoners identified with the National Democratic Front and Communist Party of the Philippines namely, Horacio Morales, Jr. and Jose Ma. Sison.

KOMPIL—the *Kongreso ng Mamatayang Pilipino*—was called and presided over by the Aquino family in the person of Butz.

The group settled upon six non-negotiable demands: 1) Repeal of Amendment 6 to the Philippine Constitution which empowers Marcos to dissolve the Batasan Pambansa; 2) repeal of decrees and promulgations inimical to citizens' rights and well-being; 3) a general reorganization of the Commission on Elections; 4) a new voters' list; 5) creation of a commission on appointments; and 6) new legislation to make it mandatory that the Batasan approve any declaration of martial law by a two-thirds vote.

Lorenzo Tañada, at 85 the grand old man of the boycott movement brought down the house and ended the meet on a note of unity. As closing speaker, he too would participate in the elections "if the demands... granted" before February 15 include "amnesty to all political prisoners... the immediate restoration of the writ of habeas corpus... [and] restoration of press freedom."

**COMPACT: 'MARCOS RESIGN'**

The unveiling two weeks later of COMPACT, an agreement between six opposition groups to launch a nationwide campaign to oust Marcos or force him to resign, further underscored the growing opposition unity. The group told a press conference of plans to set up a preparatory commission before January 31 "which

shall direct the campaign to cause the resignation or removal of the Marcos government and prepare for a peaceful and orderly transition of power from the Marcos government to a transitional government."

The goal of the transitional government, a spokesman explained, would be to enact a new constitution, hold a plebiscite, and, four months later, stage simultaneous national and local elections. COMPACT signatories included JAJA, the Liberal Party, NAJFD, PDP-Laban, the *Kilusang Kapangyarihan at Karapatan ng Bayan* and the Interim National Association.

**PLEBISCITE—DRY RUN**

The boycott movement identified the January 27 plebiscite as both the opening salvo in the U.S.-Marcos succession scheme (see story, page 1) and an important dry run for their campaign. They were thus highly pleased both by the scanty poll turnout and the enthusiastic opposition activities surrounding the exercise.

In Metro-Manila, 500,000 turned out to greet the participants of a jogging marathon organized by Butz called "From Tarlac to Tarmac." The runners flaunted their non-participation in the plebiscite. Though frequently stopped and harassed by the military and delayed for several days, the group swelled in numbers—from 300 leaving Aquino's hometown of Concepcion, Tarlac to 20,000 by the time it reached Manila. The joggers, eventually slowing to a march as their numbers increased, were warmly greeted along the way.

Meanwhile, official figures indicate that only 46% of the voting age population turned up at the polls, a sharp contrast to regime forecasts of 80%. The National Movement for Free Elections, however, reported a turnout of 35%.

Keeping up the momentum, little more than a week later, KMU sponsored a rally on February 5 for which 20,000 turned out, again urging "Boycott! Boycott!"

**FM: DEAF EAR TO OPPOSITION**

Meanwhile where was Ferdinand Marcos? Under pressure from the U.S., Philippine business circles and Jaime Cardinal Sin, he responded to the boycott ferment by conceding to a limited number of demands prior to the plebiscite. (See story, page 1.)

But with regard to the more substantial demands, Marcos was not only silent but provocative. He angered even pro-election forces by proposing legislation designed to favor participation for incumbents of his *Kilusag Bagong Lipunan* in the elections and insure his continued dominance of the Batasan no matter what the outcome.

In the face of the increasing pull of the boycott movement, the U.S. Embassy stepped up its attempts to persuade the opposition to participate. U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Monjo testifying February 7 before Congress described the opposition demands as "not absolutely necessary" to the conduct of free elections.

**DIVISIONS REAPPEAR**

But in spite of the apparent dominance of the pro-boycott trend, things turned out not so simple when deadline time came around February 14.

Appearing with Butz at the countdown rally were only three other opposition leaders: Jose Diokno of KAAKBAY, Tañada of JAJA and NAJFD, and the radicalized former president Diosdado Macapagal, spokesperson for the Liberal Party.

Absent were representatives of UNIDO, and, more significantly, Cory Aquino. Two days later, Mrs. Aquino hinted that she favored participation, and unidentified opposition leaders announced that the February 14 deadline had been extended to February 29.

One day later, Laurel announced that UNIDO would field a full slate in the elections, provoking a violent denunciation



by Macapagal who referred to the current government as the Marcos-Laurel regime.

The situation thus remains highly fluid and somewhat unpredictable. Evidence indicates that the swelling mass movement of workers, peasants, students, teachers, and urban poor continues to favor a boycott. But the so-called "middle class" is more difficult to pin down, particularly the ex-politicians whose ability to grab headlines outweighs their actual political clout.

**DILEMMA FOR THE OLD GUARD**

These figures are trapped in a thorough dilemma. Products of an earlier era, they rose to prominence via political patronage on the provincial level. They emerged upon a scene characterized by an absence of political or ideological differences between more like social clubs and switching up and back was common.

But those days are gone forever. The growth of the left as a recognized force in Philippine politics means that ideological questions have now been placed squarely before the population. In addition, under fascist rule, being in the opposition requires at the very least going over into the realm of civil disobedience and its attendant sacrifices.

Laurel, Kalaw, and others like them, however, are unable to resist the intoxication of local power and national prominence—even if it means compromise. Laurel, for example, wants to be a national opposition leader but also preserve the Laurel family's political hegemony in Batangas province. Boycotting the elections could jeopardize this local interest. But not boycotting jeopardizes his national ambitions. Laurel wants to change the rules so he can have it both ways.

Not to be ignored is the U.S. interest in splitting the opposition especially given the stakes Washington has in having a credible May 14 election. Who knows what promises or offers—that cannot be refused have been made by U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost to persuade certain oppositionists to run?

But nothing is simple in Philippine politics. Ferdinand Marcos makes life as difficult as possible for the opposition—even those willing to be co-opted. On February 17, he had Laurel arrested at Manila International Airport as he prepared to leave to address pro-election groups in the U.S. Even Laurel's wife, Celia, was forbidden to leave to deliver her husband's speeches.

Laurel was released one day later and the charges were dropped. But this outrageous attack on one of the tamest of opposition figures can only undermine Laurel's position on the elections.

It was almost as if Marcos was deliberately trying to reinforce the position of the NAJFD and other popular forces prominently displayed at rallies and demonstrations: "There can be no compromise with a dictator." □

**Accused of Firearms Possession****Laurel Arrested, Released**

"I am vindicated," cried opposition leader Salvador Laurel when Pasay City Judge Dionisio Capistrano dropped all charges against him February 18.

Former senator Laurel was arrested at the Manila International Airport February 17 as he attempted to leave the country for a visit to the United States. He planned to address the inaugural congress of the Ninoy Aquino Movement in Millbrae, California (see story, page 10), plus groups in New York, Chicago, Washington and Los Angeles. His wife Celia was forbidden to leave the country to deliver her husband's speeches.

Laurel was charged with attempting to smuggle a gold-plated Luger out of the country. The pistol allegedly showed up when his bag was X-rayed at the Pan Am departure lounge. Illegal possession of firearms in the Philippines is punishable by 20 years to life imprisonment.

The former senator insisted that the gun was "obviously planted." "People are trying to smuggle guns into the Philippines," he noted, "but why would anyone try to smuggle one out?"

Prosecutor Ernesto Bernabe pleaded with Laurel to post the P20,000 bail following a three-hour inquest, but the ex-

senator refused. "My conscience and my conviction do not allow me to yield on this point," he insisted.

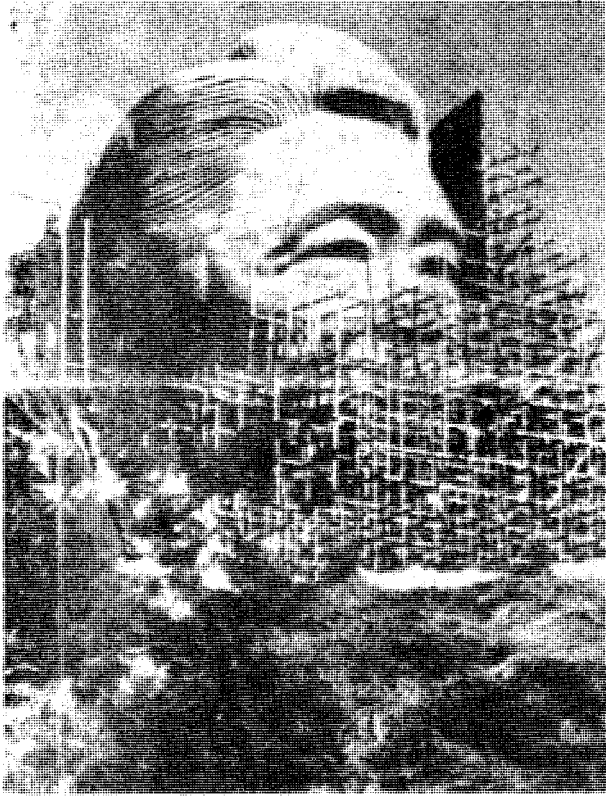
Laurel's arrest drew international attention. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY), who planned a luncheon for the opposition leader in Washington, both sent inquiries.

The day after the incident, Ferdinand Marcos ordered a "re-investigation" of the matter and called for Laurel's release. Laurel, however, refused to leave prison unless the charges were dropped altogether. "I do not want to face the American people with [the charges] over my head," he announced in court.

Thirty-nine lawyers, all representing the imprisoned leader were lined up on the defense bench and 200 supporters and journalists packed the courtroom. After an hour's recess, Capistrano complied and the audience burst into applause and song.

Laurel represents the mildest of opposition figures within the Philippines today. Only hours before his arrest he announced the intention of his coalition, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, to participate in the May 14 elections for the *Batasang Pambansa*. □

# Buod ng mga Balita



**MT. APO FERDIE?** Ferdinand E. Marcos will remain forever etched not only in Philippine history but geology as well. A ten-storey bust of the president is being carved out of a mountain lining the Marcos Highway. The road links Baguio and Agoo, La Union. Work on the Marcos version of Mt. Rushmore was stopped late last year in light of the grave economic crisis the country now faces. □

## LUCENA PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Two political prisoners at Camp Nakar in Lucena City are in serious condition after a one-month-old hunger fast was escalated into a hunger strike. Leticia Sequi and Isabelita Sabillo, along with nine others, went on a hunger fast December 6, 1983 to press for the release of three women detainees and the transfer of two male detainees from solitary confinement to regular detention.

By January 6, 1984, the two women began refusing solid foods to protest military inaction on their demands. The two currently subsist only on water, tea or fruit juice. On January 14, Sabillo collapsed and Sequi's health condition worsened. Vicente Ladlad and Geminiano Gualberto, both in solitary confinement, have since reduced their food intake to biscuits and milk. Ladlad and Gualberto also charge that they are denied sunning privileges and subjected to arbitrary confiscation of personal belongings including books, magazines and Christmas cards.

Other camp detainees—Rolando de Luna, Aristides Sarmiento, Nenito Casimiro, Isagani Amparo, Agapito Sambula, Victorino Ujano, Salome Crisostomo, Edita Bravo, and Marcelino Atenar—will continue their fast "in the face of continued adamance of their [military] custodians."

Meanwhile, in Batangas, Arnel Salvador was placed in the *bartolina* January 7 for refusing to take his food ration. Salvador is one of three political prisoners at the Provincial Jail who have been on a hunger fast since December 22 in protest of their continued detention. □

## CORY AQUINO VISITS BAGONG DIWA DETAINEES

Cory Aquino December 29 paid 28 detainees at Camp Bagong Diwa a visit, bringing with her presents

of rice, sugar, canned goods, and rubber slippers.

Mrs. Aquino, widow of slain Marcos oppositionist Benigno Aquino, was entertained by the detainees with a program of songs and poems. Visibly touched, Mrs. Aquino, herself a detainee's wife for eight years, wished her hosts "will be out of here next week."

Bagong Diwa detainees include long-term veterans Satur Ocampo and Alan Jasminez. □

## SAKADAS, LANDLORDS IN JOINT PROTEST

Sun-darkened *sakadas* joined with fashionably-dressed hacenderos February 2 to protest domination of the sugar industry by Marcos crony Roberto Benedicto.

Over 5,000 marched through the streets of Bacolod, the country's sugar capital, behind a fleet of tractors festooned with yellow streamers. Their signs read, "Restore Free Enterprise in the Sugar Industry!" and "Stop Economic Terrorism!"

The demonstrators called for the dismantling of the Philippine Sugar Commission and the National Sugar Trading Corp., both of them headed by Benedicto. Hortensia Starke, spokesperson for the National Movement for Reforms in the Sugar Industry, claimed that Nasutra and Philsucom have shortchanged producers by \$571 million since 1979.

Philippine sugar workers, among the most poorly paid of the country's laborers, have a tradition of militance and labor organizing. Few hacenderos, however, have ever walked a picket line.

"We are marching because we are already at the point of extinction," commented Starke. "All we want to do is survive." Planter Manuel Lacson noted that sugar had declined from the country's number one export to number seven. □

## Soldier Shot Aquino . . .

Continued from page 3

From the very beginning, there has been widespread belief that the Marcos regime had a hand in the assassination. A six-member panel established on August 24, 1983, headed by Chief Justice Enrique Fernando folded less than two months after widespread criticism of its efforts to legitimize the government's Galman-is-the-gunman alibi.

### 'STAR WITNESS'

Meanwhile, the government's current star witness, Rosendo Cawigan, has proven to be only an embarrassment. Cawigan, who professes to be an NPA commander, claimed that the Communists ordered Aquino's murder. However, he contradicted himself over a dozen times during his testimony in December 1983. Meanwhile, Raul Gonzales, a lawyer, recently disclosed that Cawigan has earned himself a concession on the Basa Banana Plantation in Davao City in return for his testimony.

On February 2, an alleged officer of the New People's Army made a surprise appearance before the Agrava factfinding board. The surprise witness revealed that based on the NPA's own investigation, Rolando Galman could not have shot former Senator Aquino.

Daniel Peralta, who claimed to be the secretary to the head of the NPA's Bureau of Justice, said the NPA is willing to supply the board with intelligence reports and documents regarding the NPA's own investigation of the Aquino assassination. He said that the NPA never ordered the killing of Aquino.

In his testimony, Peralta also told the board that the NPA was compelled to come out and give certain confirmation regarding the Aquino murder because of Cawigan's testimony. He denied that Cawigan was ever an NPA member. He also informed the board that neither former Senator Aquino nor Galman was a mem-

ber of the NPA. The 44-year-old Peralta, who has been an NPA member since September 21, 1972, has been regularly attending the public hearing by instruction of his commander.

The panel also summoned Jose Ma. Sison, alleged chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, to speak to Cawigan's allegation that the Communists hired Galman to kill Aquino. Sison was, however, disqualified and ejected from the courtroom when he refused to admit he was the chairman of the CPP. Sison said he refuses to incriminate himself in a subversion case lodged against him by the government. He did inform the panel that Aquino was viewed by the NPA as a liberal democrat who dealt with the peasant masses in an enlightened way.

The panel announced that it will call Imelda Marcos to testify in the light of Senator Doy Laurel's testimony last January 31. Laurel said Imelda had informed him that, if Aquino returned to the Philippines, he would be killed.

### AGRAVA'S AGGRAVATION

Because of recent testimony, even panel chief Agrava was forced to admit January 20 that "There is now evidence that puts into doubt that Galman is the killer."

Meanwhile, Aquino's widow, Cory, recently reaffirmed her refusal to have anything to do with the panel's probe. Aquino's brother Butz also refused to divulge the names of 11 witnesses who he claims saw a soldier shoot his brother. "How can I rely on the government to protect these witnesses, if it could not protect my brother," he asked the panel during a brief appearance in which he reiterated his refusal to "legitimize" the government-sponsored probe.

Witnesses have expressed fear of government retaliation. Ramon Balang, an airport worker who contradicted the government's version of the assassination, revealed at a hearing that government agents visited him even before he appeared before the panel. Ruben Regalado, who is reportedly hiding in the U.S., was recently slapped with a ₱4 million (\$286,000) libel suit by the four soldiers he implicated in Aquino's murder.

Many doubt if the commission will ever arrive at anything substantive or conclusive. For one thing, a number of witnesses who

## Transition...

Continued from page 4

portunist and pro-U.S. opposition figures is likely to participate (see story, page 7). The poor voter turnout at the January 27 plebiscite (less than 40%) shows that the boycott is already gaining momentum.

A boycott could leave the U.S. with nothing but another blatantly rubber-stamp assembly, or push Marcos into a replay of the 1981 election. As columnist Max Soliven put it, "... the KBL might find itself selecting not just its own ticket but a handpicked sort of opposition slate, a patently false, company-union 'opposition party' which is credible neither at home nor abroad." Either course would topple all the efforts of all the quiet diplomats combined.

Then there's Ferdinand Marcos, a desperate figure and a man who hates to let go of power.

Under pressure from Washington, the Makati business community and members of the church hierarchy, Marcos grudgingly granted a number of concessions to the opposition.

This included reregistration of voters; accreditation of the United National Democratic Organization as a legal opposition party; replacement of military poll guards with ROTC cadets; allowing the opposition to nominate new members to the Commission on Elections; and, most recently, suspending the President's emergency

may shed more light into the assassination are still hiding for fear of their lives.

For example, a woman identified as Avelania Santos, is nowhere to be found. Santos was reportedly shouting hysterically, "They've already killed him" as she descended the China Airlines carrying Aquino, but was whisked away by Col. Vicente Tigas, Jr., a presidential media relations officer before reporters could ask any questions. When pursued by newsmen, she recanted her statement and said she was only carried away and did not see anything.

Being a Marcos creation, the Agrava Commission is caught between a rock and a hard place. To project its independence and build its credibility, it has gone to the extent of announcing that Galman may

powers against dissenters through June 1. (Of this Solarz asked, "What happens on June 2, carnage?")

But then Marcos turned around and angered everyone—including the most ardent reconciliationists—by proposing IBP legislation that would insure dominance by his *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*.

The KBL caucus introduced a substitute election bill that would allow IBP incumbents to run in any province they choose, but limit new candidates to their home provinces. Even more infuriating, it proposed to increase the size of the Batasan from 183 to 203, the additional 20 members to be appointed directly by the President. As it is, the Batasan already has 18 members appointed by the President.

His arrest February 17 of Salvador Laurel, chief pro-participation oppositionist, can only have galled the hard-working State Department crew.

Marcos' moves threaten to expose the entire electoral process as a meaningless exercise. It is not as if the U.S. has objections to the maintenance of a KBL majority. As Monjo told Congress, the complete dismantling of Marcos' political rule is not necessary for "honest" elections to take place. But Marcos' crude tactics tend to jeopardize Washington's interest in a cosmetically presentable poll on May 14.

In any case, if the boycott movement takes off, it will certainly rip apart whatever veneer of credibility Marcos himself has failed to destroy before May 14. For Washington, that can only mean it's back to the drawing board on May 15. □

not have been the assassin after all.

But the board is only a fact-finding body. It does not have any power to make judgement on the evidence it uncovers. Observers believe that the investigation could drag on like the Warren Commission that looked into the John F. Kennedy assassination, but it may never point the finger at the real assassin.

Chairman Agrava herself admitted that a cloud of public cynicism still hangs over her commission. "I know there is a joke going around that there are only five people in the Philippines who still don't know who killed Aquino," said the head of the five-member investigative panel.

The commission flew to Tokyo in mid-February to seek witnesses from the Japanese press corps. □



## Economy Update

## R.P. Printing Extra Cash?

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

One scandal too many has meant an abrupt shift in career for one of the Philippines' top technocrats. Former Central Bank Governor Jaime Laya January 11 was booted upstairs to become Minister of Education, Culture and Sports.

President Ferdinand Marcos described Laya's transfer as a promotion. But observers recognized that the move, in fact, was a response to continuing financial irregularities which have knocked the country's credibility with the International Monetary Fund to rock bottom. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that, at this point, Prime Minister Cesar Virata "remains virtually the only one in government the IMF still trusts."

Things were already bad enough last October when Virata and Laya confessed to the 12-member committee of the country's top creditors that the technocrats who run the economy had been deliberately lying about the country's foreign exchange reserves, inflating the figures by a full \$600 million.

## OFFICIALS PRINTING EXTRA CASH?

But when members of a visiting International Monetary Fund auditing mission discovered that the overstatement of foreign reserves was accompanied by a 20% surge in domestic money supply, that was the last straw. IMF dictates had limited the growth in money supply to 3% between September 1983 and January 1984.

It was more than just a case of blatant disregard for IMF dictates. Officials of the international outfit suspected that the surge reflected hanky-panky by senior government officials.

Their fear was that officials with access to the peso printing presses had simply run off a few billion extra notes in order to purchase dollars on the black market

either for hoarding purposes or to purchase "non-priority" imports. The presence of sequenced numbers of new peso notes on the black market and an increase in money in circulation by 25.8% bore out their suspicion.

Few bankers blamed Laya directly for the problem. Laya, according to one, is "still highly respected and a man trusted by the international community. He was one of the best people in the government."

But somebody had to take the axe. On January 9, while the Central Bank governor was in China with Mrs. Marcos, the chief of the IMF team, Hubert Niess, let Marcos know that, if his outfit were to continue with the Philippine bailout program, Laya would have to go.

## NEW DEVALUATION LIKELY

The new discovery meant a big setback for the team negotiating the crucial IMF standby loan of \$630 million upon which an additional \$3.27 billion in bailout funds from commercial banks, foreign governments, the World Bank and Asian Development Bank depend. The foreign exchange exposé had already postponed approval to mid-March. The new discovery meant another round of auditing altogether.

It also meant more troubles for the economy as a whole. Reabsorbing the excess cash in circulation will likely mean an upward spiral in interest rates and quite possibly another devaluation.

Meanwhile Virata will have to scramble to repair Philippine relations with the IMF. Observers expect constant monitoring by on-site IMF staff members. The Letter of Intent signed by Virata and approved in principle by the institution's managing director, Jacques de Larosiere, will be tossed out and a new set of targets and requirements planned.

## NON-CRONY APPOINTED TO CENTRAL BANK

One new request is that the country disclose fully all dollar transactions—in



Jose B. Fernandez (Asiaweek)

particular those concerning the export of sugar and coconut products. The regime has kept secret the dollar flows from these two industries, both under the control of Marcos cronies. Some suspect that these secret cash operations may have been used to salt Marcos money abroad.

Meanwhile, in an effort to avoid any further controversy, Marcos appointed Jose B. Fernandez January 12, to take over Laya's position. "He's the best candidate I can think of," commented David Sycip, former president of Rizal Commercial Banking Corp. "At least they're putting in a man with banking experience," noted an American banker. "He has no political favors to curry with anyone," added another.

Fernandez, known to his friends as "Jobo," comes to the Central Bank having served as a banker for 30 years. He leaves behind the Chairmanship and Presidency of the Far East Bank and Trust Co. Until his elevation to his new position, he was also president of Beneficial Life Insurance Co., chairman of the Board of Philippine Hoteliers Inc., and director of Private Development Corp. of the Philippines, and Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co. Most importantly, he is not seen as a Marcos crony.

## U.S. HELPS OUT WITH 'BRIDGING LOAN'

Fernandez' first assignment is hardly easy. He must join Virata in negotiating the new IMF plan.

Meanwhile, though the country's foreign exchange situation has improved slightly in the last few months, things remain tight. The country has begun once again to pay interest on its loans. But only the day before Fernandez' appointment, the Committee of 12 was forced to extend the moratorium on repayment of principal by another three months.

To see the Philippines through these difficult times, talk continues of a major bridging loan from the U.S. Exchange Stabilization Fund. Though reports conflict, some rumors place the figures at as much as the entire IMF standby loan.

World Bank sources, however, claimed in early January that the U.S. Treasury was preparing bridging finances of 145 million special drawing rights. Other reports claim that the ESF funding awaits formal approval of the IMF standby fund. ESF cash is the only source of U.S. foreign aid which does not require approval by Congress.

## INFLATION, LAYOFFS HURT WORKERS

Filipinos feel an increasing squeeze in their daily lives. Inflation rose to 26% in December, up from 17% in November, and the largest increase recorded since 1975. Average inflation for 1983 was 10.05%.

Even more painful are the layoffs. In one week spanning the end of January and the beginning of February, 1,558 firms filed applications with the Ministry of Labor and Employment for permission to terminate a sizeable number of workers. MOLE expects 50 more firms to fold up in the next month because of the absence of imported raw materials.

Sources report that the planned cutbacks in imports will hit 22,000 textile workers, 17,900 in metal product manufacturing, 6,400 in chemicals, and 3,300 in paper products. One source predicted that 300,000 could be laid off in the first quarter of the year alone. □



Imelda is warmly greeted as she arrives in China: support from a "big brother."

(Fil-Am Reporter)

## China Bails Out Marcos

With his regime in the midst of a politically threatening financial crisis, Ferdinand Marcos seems to know where to turn for help. Last January, he dispatched his ambassador for all seasons Imelda Marcos to Peking.

On her return Mrs. Marcos exclaimed that she was "overwhelmed by the spontaneous and generous support extended by the government and leaders of China within 24 hours of my arrival."

Specifically, the People's Republic of China granted the Philippines direct and immediate assistance amounting to \$250 million, and a trade agreement amounting to a minimum of \$500 million with a potential of growing to at least \$2.5 billion in five years.

The agreement negotiated by Mrs. Mar-

cos provided for the immediate placement of an initial \$40 million with the Central Bank of the Philippines and a \$60 million oil credit good for 90 days with free interest for the first 30 days.

Chinese President Li Xiannian also pledged China's full support to the Philippines' pleas for more loans in the International Monetary Fund. Some IMF officials and a number of foreign creditors have expressed a lack of confidence in the current state of affairs of the Philippine economy and in Marcos' ability to maintain political stability. China thus joins the U.S. in giving Marcos a clean bill of health within the IMF.

## PEKING-MANILA ALLIANCE

Chinese premier Wan Li commended

President Marcos' efforts to achieve political stability and economic prosperity and expressed his appreciation for the Philippines' "independent foreign policy."

President Marcos said the First Lady's visit to the People's Republic of China will have both an immediate and long-range impact on the country's economy. He claimed that the \$500 million minimum trade agreement between the two countries would give the Philippines a "head start" in the international race for the lucrative Chinese market. Finally, he commended and described China's disposition toward the Philippines as the brotherly and affectionate attitude shown by a big brother to a younger brother.

After its rapprochement with the U.S. in the early '70s, China publicly declared an

end to its material support to "national liberation movements" in the region. Subsequently, Peking began to develop stronger economic and political ties with the Marcos government.

When the first trade agreement with China was signed in 1978, both countries projected a mere \$40 million trade; today it amounts to at least \$300 million.

Most significant, however, has been the forging of political relations between Peking and Manila. Overlooking Marcos' subservient economic and political position toward Washington and his role as the protector of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, China has considered Marcos an ally. Peking has repeatedly commended his stance against the "spread of Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonic influence" in the region.

## PLAYING THE CHINA CARD

Shortly after Mrs. Marcos' trip, the regime disclosed the possibility of granting selective amnesty to "Maoist Communists who have disowned subversive beliefs and expressed readiness to return to peaceful society," strongly hinting that this was a request made by the Chinese government.

This can only be read as an effort by Peking to neutralize any disenchantment that might arise among Filipino revolutionaries over its recent acts of support for the regime.

For his part, Marcos is clearly utilizing his "China card" for its psy-war impact. His contemplated amnesty offer is no different from earlier invitations to surrender. But by announcing that it is being worked out with Peking, he is hoping to increase its persuasive, if not demoralizing power among communists.

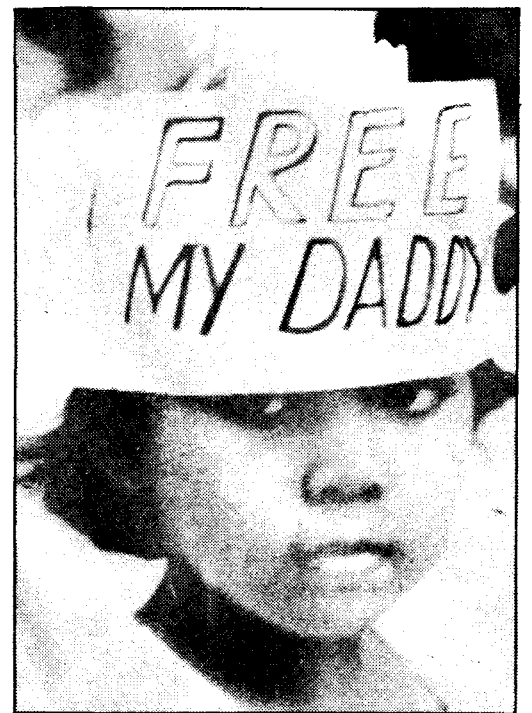
Mrs. Marcos even highlighted the Peking angle by calling for precautions that criminals might take advantage of the amnesty by pretending to be Maoists. The precautions are necessary, she said, because "even the People's Republic of China would not want to be taken for a ride." □

# The New Spirit of Dissent



Moro women march in Makati to assure "Ninoy, you are not alone."

(Mr. & Ms.)



Child of a political prisoner makes her feelings known.

(Mr. & Ms.)



Run(ning) On for Aquino and for Resignation.

## Civil Disobedience Everywhere

Benigno Aquino's assassination August 21, 1983 spawned a broad and open defiance of the Marcos government's utter disregard for human life and rights. Now half a year after Aquino's death, people of all walks of life still come out on the streets. Protest is no longer confined to students, workers and the radicalized clergy.

A sampler of Metro-Manila's street activities range from businessmen jogging for justice, dentists marching against "truth decay," doctors diagnosing "Marcos Cronyitis." Even children are no longer afraid of the symbols of military rule.

### 'BOYCOTT POLL WATCHING'

Twenty thousand public school teachers refused to watch polls or count ballots as part of their boycott of the January 27 plebiscite. The move was initiated by the Association of Concerned Teachers of the Philippines to underscore their continuing struggle against low wages and unfair working conditions.

Some 12,000 of the boycotting teachers in Pampanga, Camarines Norte and Davao now face harassment from the Commission on Election for neglecting their "civic duty." Public school teachers traditionally serve as poll watchers and are not paid for their services.

ACT chairperson, Loretta Ann Rosales, spoke of the teachers' concern for the government's use of already limited resources to hold political exercises such as the plebiscite and the upcoming elections in May, over meeting economic demands of the underpaid and overworked government employees.

### TEACHERS' STRIKES AND SLOWDOWNS CONTINUE

Teacher organizations in ten other provinces voiced their support of the electoral exercises. School teachers continue to turn to more militant protest actions.

Secondary public schools in Metro-Manila were at a standstill throughout January when 3,500 school teachers refused to

conduct classes until their demands for a wage increase were granted. Public school officials, however, could only promise "dialogues" to discuss the issue. Public elementary school teachers and professors of state colleges and universities in Metro-Manila, Pampanga, Rizal, and other Luzon provinces, in the meantime, vowed to continue their strikes and slowdowns until the ₱1,500 basic wage and ₱300 cost-of-living allowance were granted. A total of 45,000 government-employed teachers nationwide have staged sitdown strikes or mass leaves since the year's beginning.

Rosales also commented that the new Minister of Education, Juan Laya, had better consider the teachers' demands. Laya, removed from the Central Bank governorship following the near disastrous foreign reserves scandal late last year, is believed to have been appointed to the ministry as part of government efforts to implement the World Bank-initiated Philippine education program. Rosales said that Laya is the "logical choice" for the ministry—a technocrat favored by the World Bank to supervise the multi-million dollar investment in the education system to produce skilled manpower required by the transnational corporations.

President Ferdinand Marcos recently

spoke of pay increases for all public employees, but the teachers to date have seen nothing of it.

### 'BOYCOTT THE CCP'

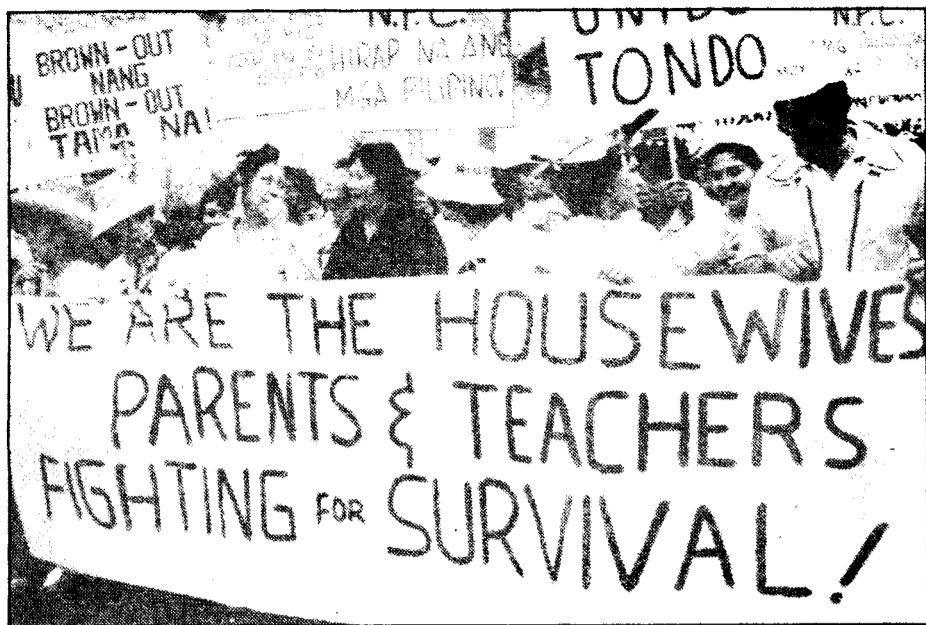
Artists and performers are often the last to move on political issues. Because of the myth of "art for art's sake," they see their work as immune from repression and devoid of political content.

But artists in the Philippines are on the move now, having discovered that artistic expression is not free from the Marcos government's control.

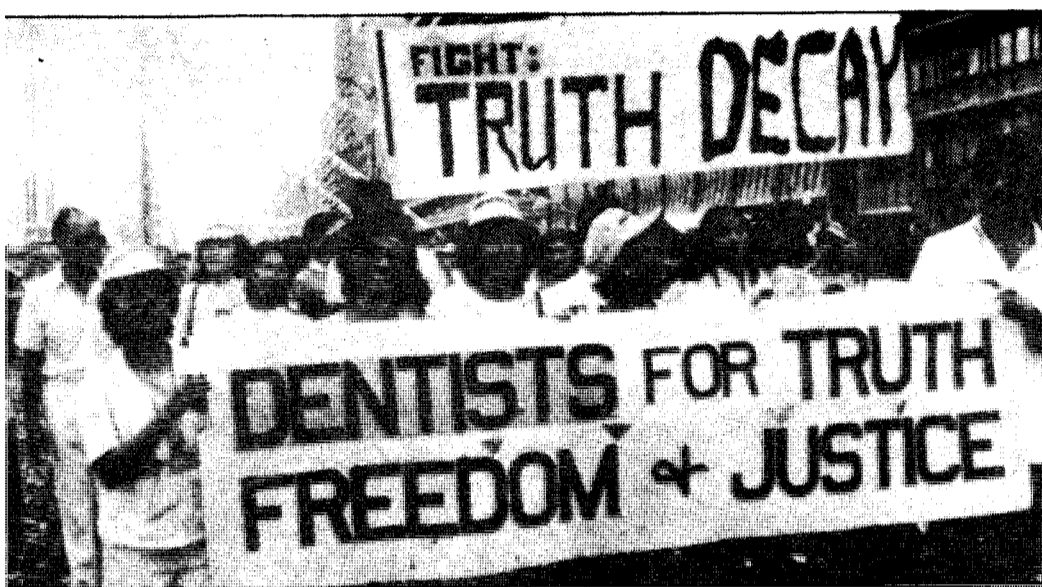
First was a full-blown rally to "Free the Artist" and "Ban Censorship" on August 4, 1983. The Liwasang Bonifacio saw actors, directors, producers, cinematographers, soundmen, and other film industry folk amass in protest of the Board of Review for motion Picture and Television chairman Maria Kalaw Katigbak's "contemptuous attitude toward [Filipino] films and filmmakers."

Then came the boycott of the Cultural Center of the Philippines initiated by the Concerned Artists of the Philippines. The CAP sees one of Imelda's many pet projects as "an institution that is used for the propagation of foreign culture and arts at the expense of Philippine culture." □

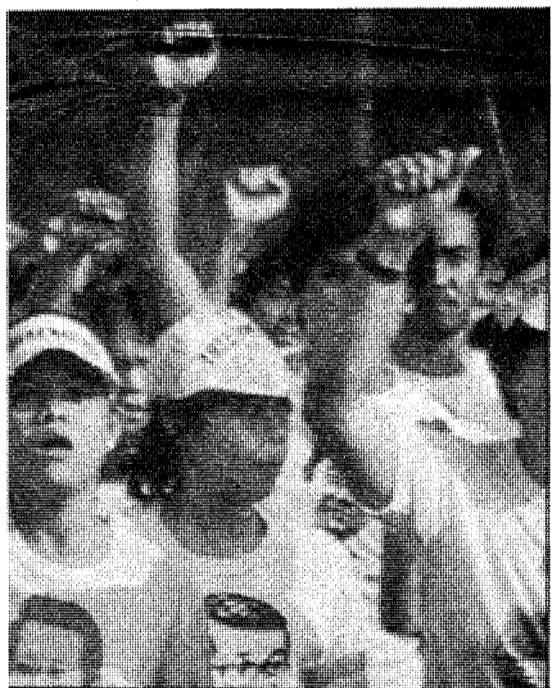




(Mr. & Ms.)



(Mr. & Ms.)

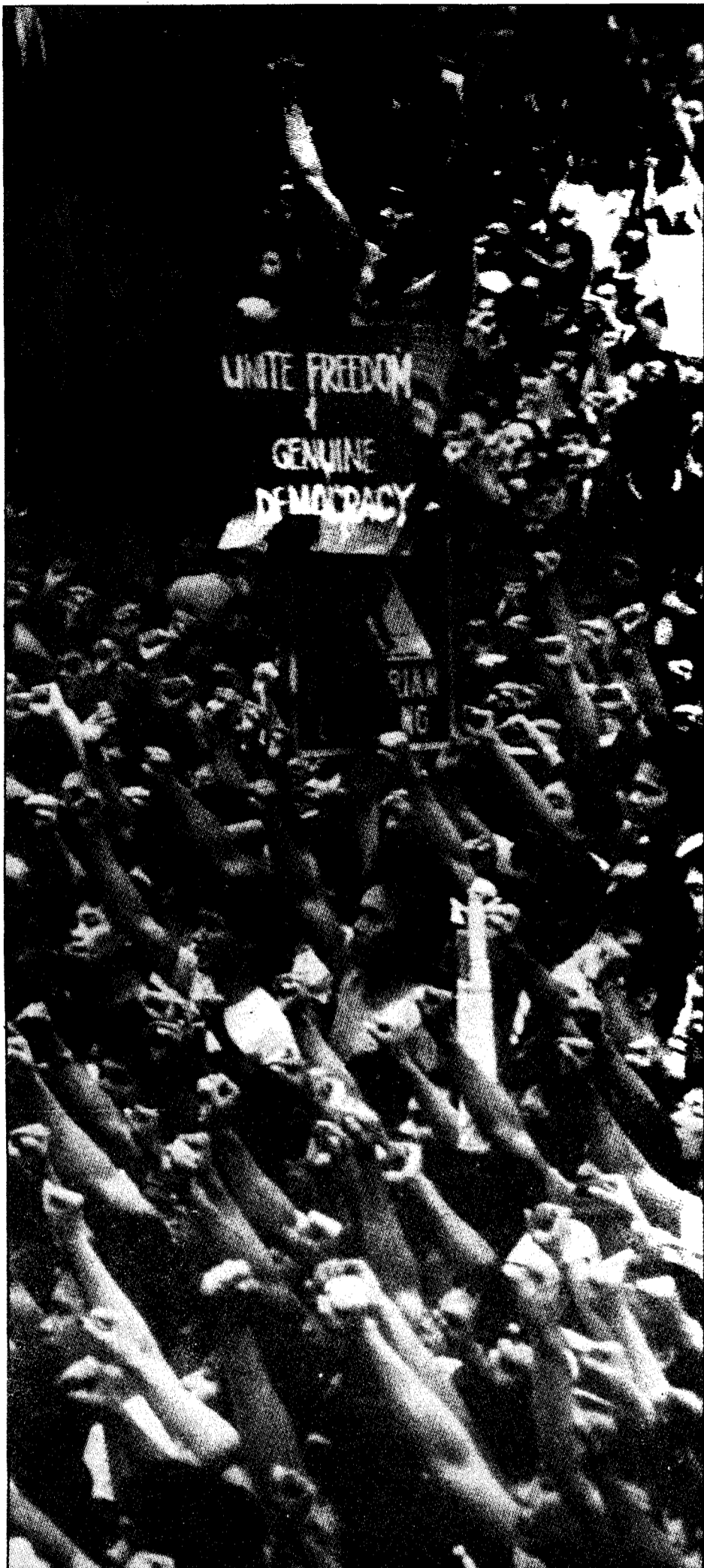


(Newsweek)



Prominent directors Lino Brocka and Behn Cervantes lead artists in demanding artistic freedom.

(Who Magazine)



(Mr. & Ms.)

## The Armed Opposition



(Der Spiegel)

City-dwellers opposed to the January 27 plebiscite marched, jogged together or simply stayed home from the polls to express their sentiments.

But in a number of rural areas, opposition to the exercise was far more swift and direct.

New People's Army guerillas armed with automatic rifles and grenades walked off with 261 boxes of ballots cast in 228 *barangay* polling centers. Most of the ballot confiscations occurred in the "critical" provinces of Davao, Zamboanga del Sur, and Cotabato.

The Philippine Armed Forces and the Philippine Constabulary were especially mobilized in these areas to ensure "peaceful and orderly voting" and the "safe delivery" of ballots to the provincial capitols for counting.

PC Chief Fidel Ramos, in a press briefing following the plebiscite, reported eight encounters between government troops and the NPA, resulting in the death of 10 people. Casualties included a *barangay* captain in South Cotabato and a police chief in Albay.

NPA activity, especially in the southern provinces, has increased significantly in the past period. Their organization is now

acknowledged even by their staunchest opponents as the "invisible government."

*Agence France-Presse* reported that a recent issue of *Ang Bayan*, the Communist Party's official organ, placed NPA strength at 20,000 fulltime and part-time guerillas. The NPA started with merely 50 guerillas in 1969. NPA operations, the document claimed, now cover 530 towns in 53 of the Philippines' 73 provinces.

Guerilla warfare is conducted on 45 fronts, a tremendous growth from the mere two 15 years ago. Membership in the outlawed Communist Party has also grown from 100 in 1968 to the present 30,000.

*Ang Bayan* also credited NPA engagements with government troops in the last three years for netting them a third of the 10,000 rifles in their arsenal.

The NPA "still lacks sufficient strength to overthrow the fascist dictatorship," *Ang Bayan* stated. But it reiterated the party's contention of one year ago that the People's War has entered the advanced substage of the strategic defensive. The intermediate stage prior to the strategic offensive, the party publication noted, has drawn significantly nearer. □

# The New Armed Forces Poverty Draft: The Poor Protecting the Comfortable

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

I joined the army because my life is at a standstill. I have no job and no challenges after I graduated from school. The army is affording the security and future I want," explained a 19-year old Filipino youth who was just leaving a San Francisco recruitment center. He is among the thousands of young people now joining what used to be a much-discredited U.S. armed forces.

The armed services have been so successful at recruitment in the last three years that many applicants have had to be turned away. The U.S. Army quota for 1983 alone was 145,337.

With hard promoting, more younger men and women are being lured to sign up. For advertising, the army alone spent \$72.4 million last year and \$49.3 million the year before, according to a public information officer of the U.S. Army Recruitment Command.

Promises of travel and career training plus incentives and bonuses are attracting many bright and talented young people. The army's main attraction is a \$21,100 college fund set aside until the enlistee finishes his or her three-year hitch. The army puts up most of it except \$100 a month deducted from the enlistee's \$3,600 salary. All one needs is a high school diploma and a score above the national armed forces entrance examination.

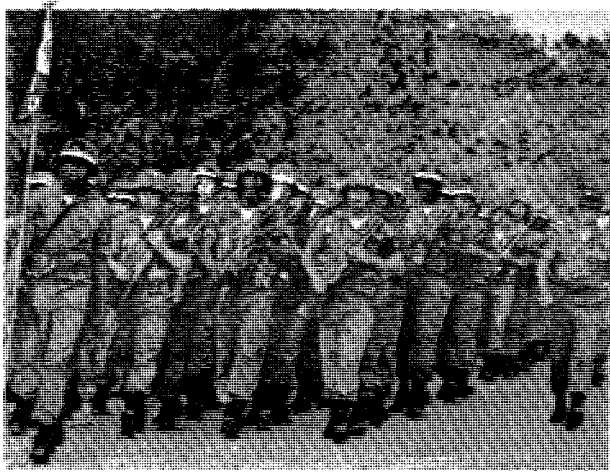
## REVERSING VIETNAM SYNDROME

No doubt the armed services' success has been aided by the Reagan White House's stepped-up campaign to undermine the Vietnam anti-war consensus which has dominated American sentiments since 1973.

"When we came to office," a senior Reagan official told the *New York Times* last year, "our primary mission was to get Americans out of the Vietnam syndrome and get them accustomed again to the idea of projecting power overseas... well it worked." The popular support for the Grenada invasion late last year illustrates his point.

President Reagan, too, does not miss any opportunity to glorify the armed forces. In his January State of the Union address before Congress, he publicly commended a young soldier for "heroism" in the face of enemy fire in Grenada.

But the strongest push, especially among minority youth, for joining the armed forces is economic in nature, prompting critics to label voluntary enlistment



as the Poverty Draft. Not surprisingly, the last three years of successful levels of enlistment in the armed forces coincided with the deepest periods of the recession. The recession has produced the highest unemployment rate for Black youth ever in this country—52.6 percent.

Harold Brown, secretary of defense under President Carter conceded, "Though growing unemployment figures represent a major problem, they may act to improve our recruiting and retention [in the armed]."

## ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

As public education for Black and minority youth continue to deteriorate, more and more young people are entering the job market with little or no employable skills.

The Center for Philosophy and Public Policy wrote, "It appears that our armed forces are currently staffed to a disturbing degree by those who have few or no other options in the civilian labor market—the unemployed and the unemployables."

It is therefore no surprise that 20 percent of the armed forces is Black, double in proportion to the Black population of the country which is 11 percent. The army alone has over 30 percent Blacks. Add the other minorities and the total goes up to 40 percent. Combat units that are 50 percent Black are not uncommon. Filipinos and other Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders make up .5 percent of the army.

Critics have objected to the disproportionate casualty rates Blacks and minorities could face in intense combat situations. Studies by the Brookings Institution show that in wartime, the army alone will suffer a 33 percent casualty rate. With many combat units being

40 percent Black, minority casualties are expected to be extremely high.

## CONVENTIONAL WARFARE

The poverty draft dovetails neatly with the Reagan administration's strategic military build-up. The linchpin of this build-up is the drive for nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. By attaining superiority, the U.S. hopes to make the Soviets backpedal in their support for revolutionary movements. At the heart of the nuclear build-up is the deployment of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe.

Once nuclear superiority is achieved, the U.S. believes it can more freely escalate conventional military operations or conventional wars of intervention against national liberation movements. Thus, the need for a huge standing army, trained for rapid deployment and specialized operations such as counter-guerilla warfare or quick invasions.

Not since Vietnam has there been a revival of offensive special warfare programs: U.S. Army special forces (Green Berets), Air Force Special Operation Wings, Navy Seal (sea/air/land) commando teams and Marine Corp Reconnaissance companies. All are a part of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's 1984-1988 "Defense Guidance" plan.

## CLASS-BASED DISCRIMINATION

The Selective Service System's draft apparently is not the most effective means of recruitment for an armed forces intended for sustained counter-revolutionary adventures.

First of all, after the Vietnam experience the draft has become extremely unpopular especially among middle class youth. President Carter's reintroduction of draft registration drew such a visible outcry. Over a half a million young men have refused to register. California leads the country with the worst draft registration record of only 49 percent signed up. Reports are that Justice Department lawyers are reluctant to prosecute because of the cost and the length of time involved for so many cases.

With the poverty draft, the armed forces fill its ranks without the fetters of political controversy. Unlike the Selective Service draft, the compulsion is hidden—it's the economy that acts as the recruiter. Ideologically, the poverty draft has a more effective impact: cannon fodder "knowingly" and willingly walk to their slaughter in exchange for tangible material benefits.

As John Kester, a former manpower official in the Department of the Army said, "What we have right now is an army of poor being paid to protect society for the comfortable. With respect to the danger and inconvenience of the military service, the middle class does not pay its dues... conscription may appear existentially unfair on an individual basis, but the AVM is class-based discrimination." □

# NAM Congress Debates Boycott Issue

By VINCE-REYES

With the purpose of galvanizing anti-Marcos support from overseas Filipinos, members of the Ninoy Aquino Movement for Peace and Democracy gathered for an Inaugural Congress at the Clarion Hotel outside of San Francisco on February 17-19.

The highpoint for the more than 200 delegates from a dozen countries and 30 U.S. cities was the appearance of opposition leader Salvador "Doy" Laurel, a former Philippine senator who resigned from the Interim National Assembly after Benigno Aquino was assassinated last August 21.

Laurel's visit was nearly thwarted by the Marcos government February 17 when he was arrested at Manila International Airport en route to San Francisco after security agents claimed they found a gold-plated handgun stuffed in his luggage. The charges were dismissed the next day.

Laurel spoke at the closing inaugural dinner of the newly-elected officers of NAM, recounting his detention and the events surrounding Aquino's murder. But for most of the delegates, the topic of the day was Laurel's opinion on whether or not to participate in the coming May 14 elections for Philippine National Assembly.

## RUN OR BOYCOTT?

The issue of participating in the elections has become a crucial question for traditional oppositionists concerned with



Anti-Marcos delegates at the New Aquino Movement Congress.

(AK/V. Reyes)

strategies to topple the Marcos regime. Some believe that participation is tantamount to legitimizing Marcos' notoriously fixed elections while others believe that the oppositionists should win seats in the Batasan and dismantle the regime from within.

Laurel's statements were almost anticlimactic because for the two days previous to his coming, a vigorous internal debate broke out over the boycott question.

Laurel came out for participating while qualifying his position by saying "There is

no real conflict between those that want to participate and those that don't... we have a common denominator—dismantle the dictatorship of Marcos and effect the restoration of democracy."

He emphasized his belief that "a free and fair election will be a better way of effecting a [peaceful] transition without bloodshed."

Laurel favored participation if Marcos grants the opposition's demands for an assurance that the elections will be free and honest. Laurel contended that in the

event these demands are not met "we would have the option to boycott anytime the moment we realize that participation is futile; that to me is the solution—that is how we can unite the opposition."

## 'ONE LAST TRY'

Laurel's sentiments were echoed at the Congress' opening session by his nephew, Governor Joey Laurel of Batangas province who said that "We will participate while reserving the right to pull out at any time. We'd like to give democracy one last try."

The governor asserted that winning seats in the Batasan could begin the process of dismantling the Marcos regime."

The opening session evolved into a vigorous debate between Gov. Laurel and delegates with pro-boycott positions.

Jose Calderon, a former Constitutional Convention delegate asked whether joining in the elections of an illegitimate government means it should now be considered legitimate.

Ernie Rondon, also a former Con-Con delegate, now living in Daly City, raised that "if Marcos is not even running himself, why should we induce other people to run? How can we advocate Marcos' resignation when we want people to participate?" Former Philippine Secretary of Education Alejandro "Anding" Roces also called for a boycott.

The Congress deferred the issue to the NAM Executive Board. President-elect Heherson "Sonny" Alvarez said the board will "seek consultation with the opposition in the Philippines."

Aside from Alvarez, nine people were elected to the executive board. Elected officers were Ruben Mallari, vice-president; Steve Legasto, executive secretary; Rashid Lucman, International Vice-President; Andrea Luna, Treasurer; and Josie San Juan, Auditor. □



# Filipinos for Jackson Say Why



By VICKY PEREZ

Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is making waves within the established two-party system. Jackson, according to a national poll, has already eclipsed Sen. John Glenn as number two behind Walter Mondale. Though the traditional Democratic Party affiliates are not throwing their support behind Jackson, Jackson's Rainbow Coalition platform is gaining momentum in the Black, Chicano and even Asian minority communities.

The Filipino minority, which is made up mainly of immigrants, is still largely politically disenfranchised. But among the politically active Filipinos, there is a current emerging that recognizes the merits of Jackson's anti-racist and anti-war platform. This current runs counter to the support given by voting Filipinos to mainstream Democratic candidates in previous years—as with the "Browns for Brown" or "Filipinos for Carter" committees.

Although established Filipino civic groups or Democratic clubs are expected to endorse Walter Mondale, word is out that "Filipinos for Jackson" committees are being organized by activist-oriented Filipinos in a number of cities.

In San Francisco, we spoke to some Filipinos who have decided to add their hue to Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

Bill Sorro, 44, is an ironworker and a member of the Jackson support campaign in San Francisco. Luisa Blue, 32, is a registered nurse, a member of the Service Employees International Union, Local No. 390-400 Rank-and-File Committee for Jackson. Ed Ilumin, 35, is a fair housing specialist and a member of the Jackson campaign voter registration drive. Leni Marin, 34, also active in the Jackson campaign, is working with the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes; she is also a member of the Union of Democratic Filipinos.

**BILL SORRO:** What we're seeing in every battle in the world today, is the battle between the rich and the poor, the landed and the landless, the disenfranchised and the politically powerful. What we're seeing under the Reagan administration is that they always relegate this struggle to a formula that puts the U.S. versus the Soviet Union; no matter what it is . . . it's the Cubans, it's the Soviets. But Jackson's foreign policy, in a nutshell, is one that doesn't come from a 16-inch gun on the battleship *New Jersey* or the amphibious capabilities of the Marines; it's not the policy of carrying a big stick.

One thing that's significant is that Jackson is moving the Democratic Party and its forerunners in the elections in 1984 off of the center. In other words, they can't stay in the center any more, they have to move to the left, or a more progressive stand, especially on issues like Central America.

There are limitations to Jesse's campaign. After all, he's part of the Democratic Party. But he's far beyond any of the other dudes who are running because of who he is and what he represents in this country.

There are particular things that we need, but they're not unlike the Chicano

community, or the Chinese community. We need bilingual services, multilingual expressions for where our youth are. We need jobs, boy do we need jobs. We need affirmative action. He's the only candidate who's taken a position on affirmative action. I do believe there will be a segment of the community that will be behind Jackson and will have an understanding that what he represents is more than what Mondale or Glenn or Harte or any one else does.

The Rainbow Coalition represents class unity; it is a development of the class towards our own interests, towards all the things that we need and what we believe we have a right to. Everybody knows that, no way in hell is a Black man going to be nominated for president in 1984. But if all the ingredients of the disenfranchised, the poor, Blacks, browns, Asians, Native Americans, women, the peace groups, etc. come together, it's a tremendous mass movement that can find expression in the Rainbow Coalition. He'll reach people who have never voted before, who refuse to vote, who have given up voting, and in that sense, it strengthens the mass movement that is emerging.

Even if he loses, I already have the feeling that my vote won't be wasted.

**LUISA BLUE:** I've never seen people so excited about a candidate. Jackson is very different from the old Republican/Democratic party. I see them as basically the same. He's actually speaking to the needs of minority people and workers, and is not connected to the big corporations. He brings out a lot of issues that I agree with, his stand on the nuclear freeze, his stands



Luisa Blue, RN

on Central America—that people have the right to their own self determination, his commitment to the Equal Rights Amendment.

If the Democratic platform adopts some of his policies, if there's enough people supporting him that scares the party leaders, then it will be a victory already. Of course, he's not perfect. He can do anything, too—maybe he'll eventually throw his support to Mondale. But it's the issues he brings out that I'm interested in. He even points out the racism in labor, in the labor leadership.

For the most part, I think minorities of this country have been locked out of the electoral picture. Jackson's the only one who would go into the south and enforce the Voting Rights Act. There really hasn't been any candidate that has spoken to their needs. Like my mother, they vote Democrat, they don't care about the issues, they don't question anything. There's also a lot of racism. Like my mother, they'll say I won't support that Black man. But I think a lot of people have been disillusioned about the presidential candidates.

The AFL-CIO jumped right away and supported Mondale. They say it's the first time labor has been solidly behind someone. But that doesn't count the rank-and-file. But there are smaller unions who have come out in support of Jackson.

I think Filipinos should support Jackson. There's this whole anti-alien attack where foreign labor is blamed for the problems, instead of blaming the people who are making the money off the workers. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill is going to put more

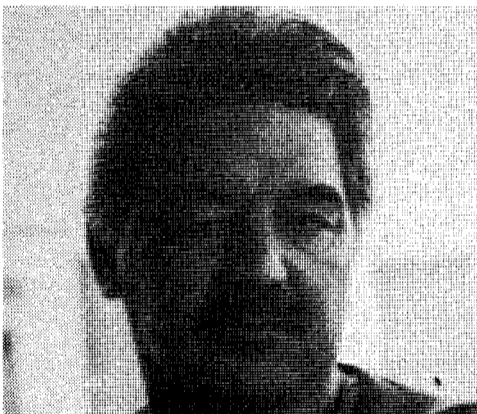
restrictions. I think that Filipinos need to wake up to the fact that nothing has improved for them. The Marcos dictatorship is being supported by the government here in the U.S. by pouring billions of dollars to keep him in power. And Jackson speaks to that, how the intervention has to stop.

There is a lot of support for Reagan's foreign policy, but then people complain of how things are at home, of not getting the wage hike this year. They don't make the connection between the domestic policy of putting money into the military budget and being very aggressive in all parts of the world. Jackson has a good way of making the connection.

**ED ILUMIN:** I agree that Jackson doesn't have a strong chance. But a strong showing of support from the minority communities and other people who feel very strongly about social reforms can get the Democratic convention to focus more on domestic issues that are affecting minorities and disadvantaged people.

I have to approach it from a realistic point of view. He may fall short of even the vice-presidential nomination, but he will leave an impact on the Democratic convention with a platform on human rights and domestic issues.

When talking about domestic issues, I'm talking about the need for employment, housing, more adequate social and health services, those services that are depended on by Third World peoples. For Jackson to make that trip to Lebanon tells a lot of what he considers a priority in foreign policy. It is a human rights issue. That guy has walked more picket lines than any other candidate. He is very outspoken as



Bill Sorro, ironworker

far as the human rights issues that affect other third world countries. Jackson epitomizes those concerns. I will campaign for him as the best candidate for president. The other choices don't measure up to the man.

The Filipino community is to a large extent, newly arrived and did not experience the civil rights movement. The community more than doubled after the struggle had been waged and concessions won. I see that many Filipinos have a hard time grasping the whole issue of civil rights, not just for Blacks, but for other minorities. There has to be a lot of education in the Filipino community so they are aware of what that struggle meant in order for them to see that they have a lot in common with Jackson's campaign.

Filipinos probably lack the history and information that would make Jackson a viable candidate for the community. Again, a lot of education has to happen. Those Filipinos who are part of the Rainbow Coalition really have their work cut out for them because they have to try to educate the community on the different positions candidates have on civil rights and on issues such as defense spending versus spending for social needs.

Our established Filipino community still feels we need the bases, Clark and Subic, and supports the general establishment point of view. And when you look at the middle class Filipinos, like in Daly City, it is a very moderate constituency because they are after the American dream, that American dream that a greater number of Blacks and Hispanics have yet to see.

But there is a constituency of Filipinos who are disenfranchised as far as employment opportunities, housing. To a large extent, they live in the South of Market areas, and they are the laborers, the dishwashers . . . they would have the greatest affinity to Jackson. Again, that depends on the amount of education that goes into introducing Jackson and what he stands for. Maybe the Filipinos in Daly City need less than the Filipinos in South of Market. But they should be helping their brothers and sisters.

We should vote on principle.

**LENI MARIN:** On the issue of war there is only a subtle difference between Reagan and the conventional Democrats. Reagan is blatantly building up the military at the expense of social programs and services; for the military, he has no qualms about drastically reducing working people's standard of living. The Democrats don't disagree that the U.S. should project more military power, in fact they say it should. But they say the cuts in social services or the erosion in the standard of living shouldn't be too drastic. So they're for gearing up for war but doing it "correctly."

On the issue of racism, Reagan's record shows he wants to push back civil rights to the pre-1965 period when equality among races or protection against discrimination wasn't even designated as a legal right of the minorities. Reagan even wanted to abolish the Voting Rights Act; now he wants affirmative action destroyed. The Democrats mainly don't want to alienate the Black vote so they pay lip service to recognizing the formalities of civil rights; but their record shows they don't mind if



Leni Marin, activist

these rights are not implemented or are eroded in action.

Jackson's campaign platform opposes war and calls for peaceful negotiation as the main instrument of foreign policy. Instead of a war build-up, it calls for a build-up in social programs that could alleviate the conditions of the poor, the disenfranchised and the minorities. On racism, Jackson's platform goes beyond the recognition of legal civil rights but calls for a change in the actual conditions of minorities—the implementation of civil rights to the point that they actually begin to take minorities out of the dumping ground of society; in other words civil rights in action. Jackson may not win but his platform forces a national debate on the real issues of the day—this is the importance of his campaign.

Voting Filipinos or Filipinos organized around traditional party circles tend to look at elections uncritically. They tend to get swayed by mainstream party politics. If the majority of Democrats say Mondale is a sure winner, they'll tend to go for Mondale. This has to change. They should vote on platforms. Do they want continued U.S. support for Marcos and other dictators like him? Do they want to remain second-class citizens because they are a racial and national minority? If they don't want any of these to go on, then they should take the opportunity that Jackson's campaign presents—that of bringing these issues to a broad section of the U.S. public; of saying "Hey, this is what justice means to us minorities: no war, no intervention, no racism, no second-class citizenship." □

# 40,000 Members of Four Unions Involved Hawaii Public Workers Set to Strike

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

In an unprecedented show of strength and unity, Hawaii's four major public employees' unions unanimously rejected Governor George Ariyoshi's hard-line stance on wage hikes. This could trigger the state's first multi-union strike involving some 40,000 government workers.

Labor experts noted that never has a U.S. public work force threatened to walk out of so many types of jobs—from teachers to truck drivers, zoo keepers and lifeguards—with such potential repercussions on practically every aspect of life in any single state. The strike poised for February 22, if no settlement is reached, could shut down all state and county-operated schools (from the elementary to university levels), hospitals, the court system, garbage collection, ambulance services, sewer and roadway repairs. It could also halt the issuance of welfare payments, birth certificates, marriage licenses and automobile registrations.

All of the public employee unions—namely, the 18,345-member Hawaii Government Employees Association, the 9,060-member Hawaii State Teachers Association, the 10,000-member United Public Workers and the 2,700 faculty members of the University of Hawaii Professional Assembly—are dissatisfied with the state's pay offer of zero wage increase this year, and only 2.88% in the 1984-85 fiscal year.

## SHOULDER TO SHOULDER

Calling the state's proposal "an insult to Hawaii's dedicated public employees," these unions combined their forces in a coalition "because there remains no alternative to us for achieving a fair and equitable wage settlement."

The unions' proposed package calls for modest improvements in wages but substantial improvements in medical and/or health insurance benefits.



Union officials confer during strike talk.

(Star-Bulletin)

"We believe that the wage demands being sought by the public workers is an effort to meet basic cost of living in Hawaii, which has the second highest cost of living in the U.S. after Alaska," declared faculty members of the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Program in an open statement urging students to support the strike. "The offer by the Hawaii state government . . . will not even meet the percent increase of the cost of living over these two years and actually result in the decline of the real income that we as public workers earn."

Vowing they will not allow government negotiators to split one union off from the rest, HSTA's John Radcliffe declared, "The united coalition will stand together, shoulder to shoulder."

While Governor Ariyoshi has stubbornly maintained that the state's budget does not permit any new wage increases, 13 state legislators contended that the governor's budget actually has funds for pay hikes totaling six percent—double

what the state has offered for a two-year period. The State Treasury reportedly will have an estimated surplus of \$60 million as of June 30, 1984.

## UNDERMINING RIGHT TO STRIKE

State public workers were given the right when a collective bargaining law was enacted by the state legislature in 1970. It was meant to insure the right of public employees to "share in the process of determining wages and working conditions."

The law was amended seven years later, setting a common contract expiration date for all public workers unions to achieve a "more effective and orderly operations of government." State Personnel Services Director James Takushi attacked that amendment warning that it gives unions immense power if they decided to walk out at the same time.

In the current state-union standoff, the state is seizing the chance to apply the collective bargaining law in its favor.

Under the law, the state government

can request that certain public employees be declared "essential to the public health and safety" thus forbidding them to strike.

With the current pay dispute, state and local governments are trying to designate as "essential" 10,000 out of the 40,000 public workers of Hawaii's four major unions. For example, the Department of Education sparked an outcry from the labor community when they petitioned to declare teachers as essential, since—according to the DOE—a strike shutting down schools would result in a "rise in crime, pregnancies and sexual activities" if students could not go to school.

Charging that the state public workers' right to strike is being eroded, HGEA Executive Director Russell Okata sarcastically remarked: "Why strike? It's just a useless tool."

## ERODING BENEFITS

In addition, the current collective bargaining law bars public workers from negotiating the terms of their retirement, health benefits and job classifications. (The state government claimed the limitation was meant to keep such benefits equal across all union groups.)

Thus, last year, public employees took drastic pay cuts when the Hawaii Medical Services Association raised its rates, while the state refused to increase their 50-50 contributions for health benefits. Whereas government workers previously paid only \$49.14 a month for their HMSA share, they now pay \$72.46 a month due to the rate hike.

In addition, while the Hawaii retirement system is billed as "one of the best in the nation" for its very liberal benefits, government workers must contribute 7.8% of their salary to enjoy the benefits, higher than what most workers in private industry contribute.

In 1979, when Hawaii's last large public workers' strike took place, three unions settled but UPW's 10,000-member garbage workers, custodians and other blue-collar workers struck for 42 days. Workers, from all four unions, won a small but uniform wage increase.

This year, the confrontation promises to give off more sparks. Not only are all four unions adamant, the stakes are more than just important bread-and-butter issues, and include public workers' collective bargaining rights. □

## Filipino Veterans Denied Citizenship

A decision by the U.S. Supreme Court January 10 threatens the naturalization of over 1,000 Filipino veterans who fought in the U.S. Armed Forces in the Far East during World War II.

The Supreme Court decision involving the case of Sergio Elejar Mendoza ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service cannot be prevented from opposing the veterans' petitions for naturalization, and can challenge the ruling made in previous cases. Over 1,600 cases for naturalization are presently pending in U.S. District Courts, with 1,100 cases pending in Los Angeles alone. While observers feel there is no immediate danger of deportation, the vets' status is unclear.

A 1942 law extended U.S. citizenship to personnel who served honorably in the U.S. Armed Forces in the Philippine Commonwealth just after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Over 175,000 served the USAFFE and legally could bypass the residency and English literacy requirements to gain citizenship. But a well-concealed fact deemed December 31, 1946 as the deadline for all petitions for naturalization.

The citizenship privileges were revoked because according to U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist, Philippine and U.S. officials feared that "large numbers of Filipinos would be naturalized and would immigrate to the United States."

Since the passage of the exclusionary act, Filipino vets have challenged the denial of citizenship on a case-by-case



basis. Marciano Hibi was one of the successful veterans, having won his case in lower courts. The INS appealed the ruling and later lost in the Supreme Court.

But in the case of Mendoza, the Supreme Court's recent decision reversed its previous ruling. The Justice Department successfully argued that the U.S. government should be allowed to challenge previous decisions to enable it to change public policy.

The Justice Department claims that over 250,000 beneficiaries are involved, but community spokespersons claim that this figure is grossly exaggerated, with 10,000 being the actual number of people still alive.

Hundreds of veterans have come into the U.S. hoping for the naturalization that was promised them over 40 years ago. "There were all these guys out there who were never told what was going on," said San Francisco attorney Donald Ungar, representing Mendoza.

The veteran's case is expected to be brought before Congress. □

## Baruso Sentenced to 3 Years

Constantine (Tony) Baruso, former president of the Alaska Cannery Workers' Union Local 37 and prime suspect in the slayings of union activists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, has been sentenced to three years in prison for embezzlement, mail fraud and filing false records during his presidential term from 1978-81.

Baruso was also ordered to pay back \$5,650 restitution to the union and is barred from contacting any union officers or their families without permission.

Baruso was sentenced by U.S. District Judge Jack Tanner on February 11 to three years for each of the 16 counts which he was convicted last December, to be served concurrently. Baruso will be placed on five years probation to begin after his prison sentence. Baruso's attorney, Tony Savage, stated that no appeal is planned.

Baruso was allowed to remain free on \$25,000 bail until he is ordered to report to prison.

Cindy Domingo, speaking for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, said that "the CJDV feels that the sentence was fair in relation to the embezzlement charges. But those were only a small part in his long list of crimes. We remain determined to press the authorities to bring charges against Baruso for the murders of Gene and Silme."

Baruso was president of Local 37 when

reform union leaders and anti-Marcos activists Domingo and Viernes were shot to death at the union headquarters in 1981.

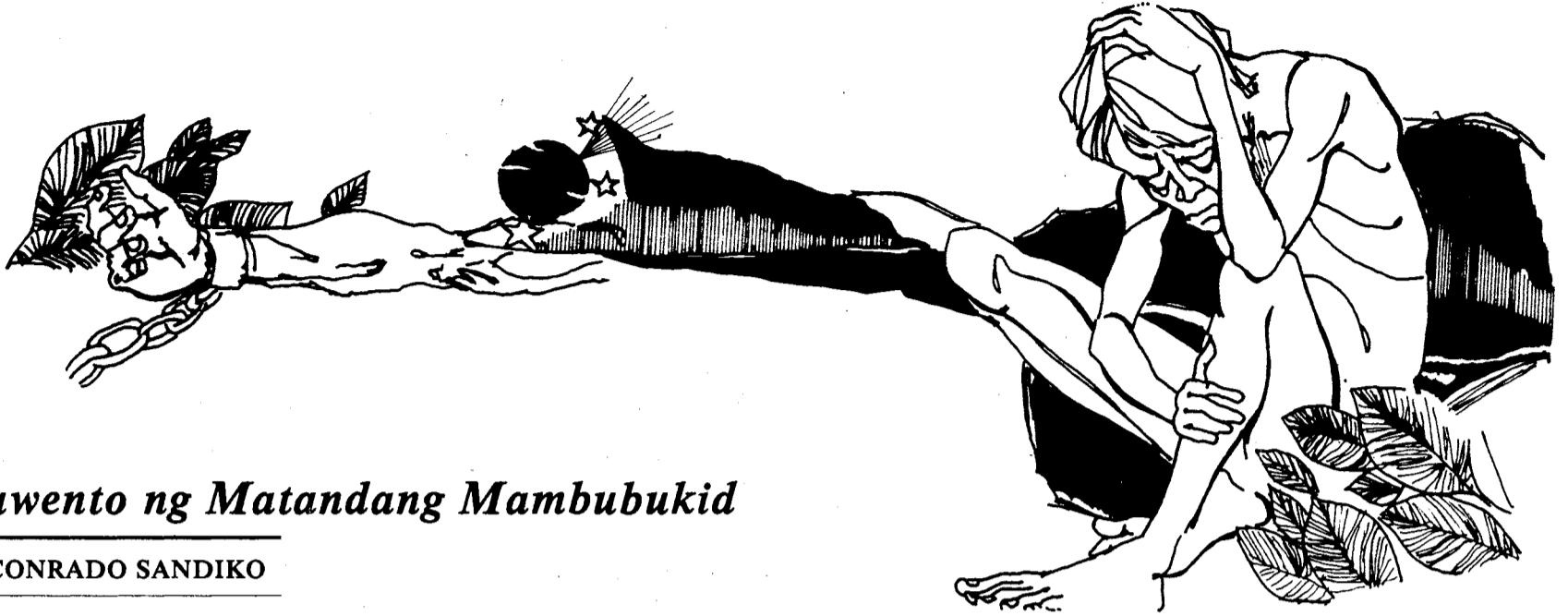
It was discovered that the murder weapon belonged to Baruso. Although he was arrested in connection with the slayings he was not charged because of lack of evidence. Baruso was thrown out of office in a recall election later that year amidst suspicions of his role in the murders and for corrupt practices.

The CJDV was also critical of Judge Tanner's decision to let Baruso turn himself in voluntarily within two weeks of the sentencing. It contends that Baruso has every incentive to escape his sentence and flee to the Philippines where he will be protected by the Marcos government.

Baruso is named in a civil suit sponsored by the CJDV against the U.S. and Philippine governments for an alleged conspiracy to kill Domingo and Viernes. Lawyers of the victims' families have revealed that within one year of the June 1, 1981 murders, Baruso's monthly bank deposits were \$30,000 more than any amount he ever deposited the previous two years. The sums were well beyond his known sources of funds, "including his union job, his wife's income, and even the \$5,600 he is convicted of embezzling," the CJDV said. The committee says the huge amount of money was given to Baruso as pay-off for the murders. □



# Voices



## Kuwento ng Matandang Mambubukid

By CONRADO SANDIKO

Sa dakong silangan  
 nitong sandaigdig  
 ay may bayang munting  
 ligid ng tubig;  
 doon ang panahon  
 lagi nang tag-init  
 pangarap ang buhay  
 tapat ang pagbig.

Saganang saganang  
 sa mga halaman,  
 Ang tubig niya't bundok  
 ay may mga yaman;  
 doon ang mahirap  
 ay may hanapbuhay  
 doon ang mayama'y  
 nasasaganaan.

Ang kanyang gubat  
 ay puno ng hayop,  
 sa bunga't bulaklak  
 ay saganang puspos;  
 malalaking kahoy  
 ay bigay ng bundok  
 at sapat ang tao  
 sa lahat ng sulok.

Ang bayan kong mahal  
 sapagka't maganda,  
 mayama't maraming  
 tinatagong sigla;  
 masasamang loob  
 siya ay kinuha  
 at siya'y nalugmok  
 sa hirap at dusa.

Mabagsik na leon  
 labis na masakim,  
 sinunggaban siya  
 saka inalipin;  
 pinalo, sinipa  
 ngunit buhay pa rin  
 at sa katapusan  
 bayani'y binaril!

Sa ganyang pag-api  
 siya ay lumaban;  
 pumatay, pinatay  
 sandaling tagumpay!  
 agad-agad namang  
 sinugod, nilastay,  
 mabangis na lawin  
 ganid at matakaw.

Ang sabi ng iba  
 sa panahong iyan,  
 lumaya ang tao  
 sumaya ang buhay;  
 laya daw sumulat  
 at magsalita man;  
 lumago ang bayan  
 bata'y nag-aaral.

Hindi nila alam  
 iya'y isang pain,  
 mabuti sa labas  
 sa loob ganid din;  
 'pagkat ang alipin  
 kailan ma'y alipin  
 kahit na banal  
 ang papanginoonin.

Lumayang sandali  
 Ang bayan kong api,  
 Walang panginoon  
 Siya'y nagsarili;  
 ngunit sa mahirap  
 ang laya ay kubli;  
 tuluy-tuloy pa rin  
 ang buhay pulubi.

Nagdaan ang araw  
 malungkot, masaya,  
 ang buhay ay ganyan  
 may hapis, may sigla;  
 biglang bigla naman  
 tadhana'y nagdala  
 ng isang pinunong  
 walang kaluluwa!

Ang pinunong ito'y  
 halimaw na ganid,  
 matakaw na lubha  
 masama't malupit;  
 bali ang katuwiran  
 ang budhi ay pangit,  
 ang mga gawain  
 ay nakakagalit.

Ang tao'y napoot  
 sumigaw, nag-alsa,  
 nagmartsa sa kalye  
 nasaktan, nagmura;  
 sa galit ng madla  
 walang madadama  
 kundi ang suklam  
 sa pinuno nila.

Araw't gabi ngayon  
 Bayan ko'y lumalaban!  
 ang siklab ng poot  
 ay di magkamayaw!  
 sa lahat ng dako  
 tao'y lumilitaw  
 "Pinuno'y itapon!"  
 taginting na sigaw.

Sa kalye, sa bukid  
 sa bundok, sa parang,  
 iisa ang loob  
 ng mga matapang!  
 ang lahat sa atin  
 ay tinatawagan  
 Baba ang diktador!  
 Itaas ang Bayan!

Ang daing ng tao  
 Ang sigaw at galit,  
 Hundi tumitigil  
 Bagkus humihigit;  
 Lubos ang pag-asang  
 Ang tapang ng matuwid  
 Ay magwawagi rin  
 Sa tulong ng langit!

*Conrado Sandiko grew up in a farm in Bulacan and has been writing poems since he was 14 years old. He comes from a family of cultural workers who use artistic expression as a vehicle of resistance against injustice and oppression. His father, as a young man, was jailed by the Spaniards for distributing "Solidaridad," a "subversive" newspaper published during the Spanish colonial period. From the reader who made the poem available comes this: "Ang kumatha nitong tula ay ama ng isang masidhi ding lumalaban sa pagkakaalipin ng bayan. Siya'y nasa Pilipinas, at ang sigaw nilang mag-ama ay ang sigaw din natin."*

## Journeys to Myself

By WILLIAM OANDASAN

Here at Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico  
 On the dry, harsh and hard ancestral  
 Land of my spouse who is sleeping inside  
 This adobe house of her mother's parents,  
 I sit on a rough wooden porch beneath  
 A mid-August moon, marking  
 These words on this new leaf.  
 But I have always been here, inside  
 Myself, a song of earth and sky.  
 My father sailed from Ilocos Sur,  
 Beside the ageless China Sea beyond sight,  
 On the lush, northwestern coastline  
 Of the Philippine Isles. My mother was born  
 In Round Valley, the focus of her  
 Pre-American culture, high  
 In the Coastal Ranges of Northwest California  
 Near the redwoods where rivers  
 Rush down mountains to the sea. And I  
 Have journeyed across the Golden Gate, to Big Sur  
 North to Vancouver and Kodiak, and resisted  
 The diabolic Vietnam War.  
 Like figures forming in the moving moonlight,  
 The far flung roots of my tree  
 Have been taking the shape of  
 A long Pacific salmon.\*

© 1984 William Oandasan

\*The salmon leave the mountain streams where they are born, travel around the Pacific, return to their homes, spawn then expire.

*William Oandasan is Yuki and Filipino in ancestry. He wrote A Branch of California Red Wood, a book of poems that expresses his Native American heritage, and his political vision. A new book, Round Valley Songs, will be published this year by West End Press. Oandasan is editor of "A," a literary journal and lives in Los Angeles.*

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Movie Review

# The Fall of the International Hotel



I-Hotel at San Francisco's Manilatown.

(AK Photo File)

By VINCE REYES

The International Hotel in San Francisco had been a home for Filipino and Chinese immigrants since the 1920s. Located on the border of Chinatown, the hotel was a gateway to the predominantly bachelor society revolving

around the numerous cheap hotels, restaurants, barbershops, and poolhalls in what was known as Manilatown.

Besides being a home for local residents the hotel became a headquarters for labor contractors recruiting Pinoy for the fields of the Central Valley and Southern California as well as for the canneries of Seattle and Alaska.

"The Fall of the International Hotel" by filmmaker Curtis Choy traces the history of the hotel from its earliest times to the final smashing blow of the wrecking ball. The film focuses on the dramatic eviction of the tenants in 1977, some of whom had lived there for over 40 years.

The film is an indictment of San Francisco's policy of coddling real estate developers and their expansive "Manhattanization" plans at the expense of the low-cost housing needs of working class minorities.

Choy begins the film by painting a sensitive portrait of the "manongs," or the Filipino immigrants of the '20s and '30s, letting them speak for themselves. Their narratives recall experiences with anti-miscegenation, denial of citizenship rights and racist physical abuse.

Choy chooses not to portray the manongs as hapless victims but rather as enduring fighters conscious of their history in America. Thus, during their final and brutal eviction from the hotel by the police, the viewers are seized not so much by pity for a group of unfortunate oldtimers but by the spirit of political defiance.

The I-Hotel struggle started with a handful of tenants and sympathizers in the early '70s and grew to a movement which received broad citywide support. The film shows students, clergy, union members, and people of all races demanding the preservation of the hotel if alternative low-cost housing cannot be guaranteed for its tenants. Their adversaries, the large and

powerful Shorenstein Investment Company, and later the multinational Asia-based Four Seas Corporation unrelentingly and ruthlessly resisted community efforts to keep the hotel intact as low-cost housing.

The scores of demonstrations and negotiations over a seven-year period culminated in a 5,000 person human barricade that was broken by mounted police in riot gear. The tenants were forcibly evicted one night in August 1977. Choy's cameras, rolling with an eye for documentary statement, captured the lopsided confrontation between police and peaceful demonstrators.

The film could have done more by way of analyzing the conflict between city politics and low-cost housing needs; how the city government, despite some of its officials' moralistic expressions of sympathy for the tenants, remained loyal to the capitalist code of property rights—hence the dispatch of riot police to enforce "the law." Much of the film is seen through the eyes of community workers, which although legitimate, does not recreate the full scope and intensity of the bitter political negotiations between tenants and city officials which twisted and turned for several years.

But even with these limitations, a cursory explanation of San Francisco's corporate expansion plans can be gleaned from the panoramic camera work which shows the I-Hotel being closed in by high rises on all sides.

*The Fall of the International Hotel* can be interpreted mainly as a tribute to the courage and determination of the manongs. □

## Sore Loser . . .

Continued from page 16

The Security Council and the General Assembly, along with UN agencies such as the UNESCO, UN International Children's Emergency Fund, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the World Health Organization, served the U.S. well in its effort to project itself as a benevolent and humanitarian power. The U.S. never missed the opportunity to utilize the UN and its agencies for the anti-communist crusade against socialism, especially the Soviet Union.

### SHIFT IN BALANCE OF FORCES

All that has changed. No longer can the U.S. drag the UN with impunity into wars of aggression. Lebanon exemplifies this fact. U.S. diplomacy could only yield British, French, and Italian additions to the U.S. "peacekeeping force" in Lebanon. This time, this "multinational peacekeeping force" is not even sanctioned by the UN.

Just as the old UN reflected the balance of forces existing shortly after WWII, the present 158-member body captures the new realities. The UN now reflects the stalemate between the two social systems of imperialism and socialism.

The liberation of a number of countries since 1945, the Soviet Union's achievement of nuclear parity with

the U.S., as well as the socialist bloc's growing economic, political and diplomatic influence have broken U.S. hegemony in the UN. But the most significant development in recent years is the emergence and increased influence of the non-aligned nations.

Since the Asian-African Conference of 1965, a new block has tilted the balance of power in the UN and foiled U.S. attempts to maintain dominance over it. Led by Cuba, Mexico and India, among others, these nations have made a decisive break away from total submission to the Western powers. The non-aligned nations, and the socialist bloc, now constitute a majority in the UN.

Thus the UN is no longer at the beck and call of the U.S. During the Korean plane incident, for example, the U.S. barely managed to get the Security Council to pass a resolution mildly critical of the Soviet Union despite tremendous pressure the U.S. brought to bear on the members of the Council.

Such a resolution would have had no chance in the General Assembly where the socialist bloc and the non-aligned nations have the popular votes. It is in the General Assembly that the U.S. has suffered the most serious defeats on the important questions of nuclear freeze, disarmament, and colonialism.

### NO PULL-OUT

But vitriolic as the U.S. attacks may be, it is doubtful whether it will actually pull out of the UN. Opposition

from liberals like Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan or the *New York Times'* Tom Wicker and even the public consensus in favor of the U.S. staying are hardly the factors deterring Reagan.

Irked as he and his conservative base might be at being unpopular within a body that U.S. money is helping keep afloat, total withdrawal would be too big a tantrum to throw. The U.S. would only appear like a spoiled brat who refuses to deal with others simply because he cannot have his way. It would only exacerbate the U.S.' isolation. The politically astute Reagan knows this.

Besides, the UN—although politically impotent—is still the only global forum wherein the contending interests of the world powers can get a systematic hearing. The U.S. needs to contend here for propaganda, and in fact, never misses that opportunity. It is the UN's 38th Assembly session that Reagan used as a forum to counter the increasingly anti-U.S. mood of the peace movement in Europe.

As things now stand, the U.S. will continue champing at the bit for having to foot much of the UN's bill only to find itself the target of constant criticism. Reagan will also continue threatening to pull out. But that is merely a threat, an attempt to put other member nations in line. The U.S. ruling circles know that pulling out completely would be an admission of defeat in the face of the growing challenge posed by non-alignment, independence and national liberation. □

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By WICKS GEAGA

A month after being condemned by the United Nations Security Council for its obstruction of Namibian independence, South Africa's apartheid regime showed its utter lack of respect for international public opinion by invading the sovereign nation of Angola.

On the pretext of neutralizing South West African People's Organization guerillas inside Angola, South Africa launched the largest act of military aggression in the region since its "Operation Protea" in 1981.

Unlike its previous invasions, however, the South Africans admitted that they encountered much fiercer resistance than they had expected from Angolan SWAPO and Cuban forces. But what Pretoria least expected was a direct warning from the Soviet Union that its aggressive actions would not go unpunished.

Three days after the Soviet warning was officially transmitted, the South Africans began their retreat into Angola's southern region which is occupied by the counterrevolutionary National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi.

By that time, however, several hundred Angolan civilians had perished from indiscriminate bombing raids against towns and cities more than 200 miles inside Angola. The ruling Movement for Popular Liberation of Angola also accused the invaders of attacking and engaging their armed forces without provocation.

Before an outraged UN Security Council, the U.S. attempted to justify the South African attack as a reasonable reaction to the rejection of its "peace offer." Just prior to unleashing its 10,000-man invasion force against its northern neighbor, Pretoria offered to end its two-year-old occupation of southern Angola if the MPLA agreed to drop its support for SWAPO and if SWAPO abandoned its armed struggle for Namibian independence.

Because the MPLA and SWAPO had unwisely rebuffed the generous offer, so went the U.S. argument, then the responsibility for the invasion and its destructive toll rests squarely on them.

Unconvinced, the UN Security Council condemned Pretoria's action and demanded its immediate withdrawal. Whereas the U.S. vetoed a similar resolution during the 1981 South African invasion of Angola, this time around it decided to abstain along with Great Britain.

#### UNDECLARED OBJECTIVES

While South Africa officially claimed that the invasion was meant to strike at 1,400 SWAPO guerillas it said were preparing a rainy season offensive into South African-occupied Namibia, Pretoria had broader undeclared objectives.

Angolan sources noted that the South African campaign was partly aimed at reversing the recent heavy losses suffered by UNITA—South African-funded and trained mercenaries attempting to overthrow the MPLA—at the hands of the Angolan people's army. South Africa has greatly enlarged its support for UNITA forces in southern Angola since the latter's defeat in the hands of the MPLA during the 1975 civil war. If UNITA proves incapable of unseating the MPLA, Pretoria at least aims at a forcible partition of the country, with the southern region under Savimbi's control.

Although Angola has been the main target of South African aggression in the recent period, the apartheid regime's strategy extends to the other frontline states as well—namely, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana, and Zambia.

In Mozambique, Pretoria continues to finance and train a saboteur outfit called the Mozambican National Resistance. The MNR includes former Portuguese secret police and colonial troops, disaffected settlers and mercenaries connected with the ousted Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith.

Directing its attack on agricultural cooperatives, schools and medical centers, railroad lines, oil storage tanks and other major economic projects, the MNR has inflicted \$10 billion worth of damage on the Mozambican economy over the last eight years.

## Invasion of Angola

# U.S. Backing Emboldens South African Racists

#### HANGING ON TO NAMIBIA

In October, South African forces participated directly in a bombing raid on the Mozambican capital of Maputo. They have also conducted a number of raids on alleged African National Congress bases. The ANC has been fighting for South African national liberation since 1912, from bases inside and outside South Africa.

In Zimbabwe, Pretoria is sponsoring efforts to build a terrorist counterpart to the MNR and UNITA, with the goal of undermining the government of Robert Mugabe.

While attempting to crush SWAPO's 18-year struggle for Namibian independence, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in total defiance of international opinion and UN Resolution 435.

Instead, Pretoria—in cooperation with Washington—has demanded the expulsion of the Cuban troops assisting in Angola's defense in return for Namibian independence. The MPLA has firmly rejected this demand for "linkage" as a ploy to disarm Angola and to subvert SWAPO's struggle for national liberation.

Meanwhile, both the UN General As-

sembly and the 48-member commonwealth of underdeveloped nations officially condemned the South African-U.S. demand as irrelevant to the issue of Namibian independence.



**'If [the frontline states] wish to aid the ANC, then they must pay the price.'**

—Chester Crocker  
U.S. Asst. Sect. of State  
for African Affairs



Top: Botha (r) and Crocker meet in Cape Town to discuss settlement for Namibia. Bottom: Invading South African troops in Angola.

(Time/Guardian)

sembly and the 48-member commonwealth of underdeveloped nations officially condemned the South African-U.S. demand as irrelevant to the issue of Namibian independence.

#### SUPPORT FROM REAGAN

Pretoria's intransigence and arrogance in the face of international ostracism owe a lot to the support it receives from the Reagan Administration. Since assuming office, Reagan has given quiet approval for South Africa's aggressive campaigns.

The Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa is meant to legitimize its warm relations with the apartheid regime, and to pave the way for the latter's re-admittance

to modernize and further consolidate apartheid.

#### U.S. VIOLATES EMBARGO

Aside from its diplomatic usefulness, "constructive engagement" has enabled the Reagan administration to relax sanctions imposed during the Carter presidency, and to quietly reestablish economic and military trade with Pretoria.

As recently documented in a report by the American Friends Service Committee, the Reagan administration has deliberately violated a 1977 UN embargo (which passed with U.S. support) barring the sale of "arms or related material" to South Africa. According to information obtained under the Freedom of Information Act,

the State Department licensed \$28.3 million worth of military technology sales to South Africa during the fiscal years 1981-83.

To further strengthen South Africa's economic dominance of the region, the U.S. has given it preferential treatment while curtailing economic assistance to the less developed frontline states. Of all the non-oil-producing African countries, South Africa has exported the most goods to the U.S. Recently, the U.S. cut economic aid to drought-stricken Zimbabwe for its condemnation of the American invasion of Grenada.

In 1982, despite overwhelming opposition from the UN General Assembly, the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund easily granted a \$1 billion loan to the apartheid regime, whereas the other African countries applying for loans were forced to comply with stringent conditions such as substantial currency devaluations.

"Perhaps nowhere in Africa have our security concerns and our security policies been more intensely engaged than in southern Africa," stated U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, explaining the importance of the illicit Washington-Pretoria alliance.

"This region, from Zaire to the Cape of Good Hope, contains the bulk of Africa's mineral wealth, its most developed industrial structure, and almost two-thirds of the continent's gross national product."

#### PRETORIA'S FEAR

But it is precisely this economic and military dominance of the apartheid regime that poses the greatest obstacle to the economic and social development of the whole region.

While the frontline states have achieved their respective struggles for national independence, they remain significantly tied to a vastly wealthy South African economy. Despite crucial international assistance from socialist and Western European countries, two years of severe drought coupled with the worldwide economic recession have seriously undercut their efforts to achieve steady economic growth.

The frontline states also have to cope with South Africa's attempts to sabotage their economies. Pretoria is fearful that economic growth and the accompanying consolidation of power in the frontline states would only hasten the demise of its apartheid system.

Confronted by tremendous obstacles, the frontline states have stepped up efforts to consolidate the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference. The SADCC, was specifically formed in 1980 to accelerate regional development away from Pretoria's economic stranglehold. In response to South Africa's destabilization campaigns, the frontline states have also moved to strengthen their defense capacities.

To especially assist Angola in this period of economic and military adversity, the Soviet Union postponed the repayment of the former's loans and immediately sent requested anti-aircraft defenses. Cuba has nearly doubled its combat support to Angola, bringing the total number of Cuban troops to 30,000.

#### MORE TERROR EXPECTED

Conspicuous gains by the liberation forces of the ANC and SWAPO are also creating grave concerns in Pretoria. The apartheid regime itself admits that SWAPO would win over 80% of the vote if free elections were held in Namibia.

ANC forces have made significant political advances as well. It led the formation of the broad United Democratic Front last summer in opposition to South Africa's bogus reforms. Moreover, ANC military actions within South Africa have markedly increased in frequency and sophistication.

Faced with the inevitable consolidation and growth of the combined revolutionary forces in the region, it is highly unlikely that Pretoria will peacefully concede to the overwhelming demands for fundamental change, i.e., majority rule, racial equality, the total dismantling of apartheid.

On the contrary, the white minority regime can be expected to heighten its dangerous course of repression at home and terror against its neighbors. This with Washington's encouragement and U.S. military hardware to boot. □

# The U.S. at the UN A Sore Loser Threatens to Pull Out

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

Conservatives in and out of the U.S. government have been hurling much abuse at the United Nations lately. Even the Reagan administration's recent decision to pull out of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization by 1985 was but a raising of conservative tirade by another decibel. The anti-UN rhetoric had been building way before the decision was announced.

Late last year U.S. delegate to the UN Charles Lichenstein violated diplomatic good taste by telling UN members that those "who think the US is failing in its obligations as host country should consider removing the organization from New York."

Lichenstein went as far as to say that the Americans would even go to the New York Harbor to wave their UN colleagues goodbye. His rude remarks came after the U.S. received a round of criticism for the New York and New Jersey authorities' refusal to let Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko disembark in any of their airports following the Korean Airlines Flight 007 incident.

Reagan quickly endorsed Lichenstein's statement, saying that "disgruntled members of the UN are free to leave." Reagan had earlier called the UN "morally bankrupt" while New York city mayor Ed Koch called it a "cesspool." Koch even ordered cuts in New York City's \$15 million subsidy for UN security despite the fact that the city gained \$690 million in 1980 alone from the presence of the 35,000 member UN diplomatic community. Immediate adverse public reaction, however, compelled Reagan to modify his position. He ended up softening it to a suggestion that the UN stay in Moscow half of the time.

## TEN-YEAR OLD COMPLAINT

Even before the Gromyko episode, the U.S. had shown its dislike for the world body by waving its purse. Late last year the U.S. Senate voted 66 to 23 to cut U.S. contribution to the UN by 25% or \$500 million over the next four years, and threatened to increase the cut to 50% or cut U.S. contributions altogether if other members refused to increase their contributions. Even more drastic, the State Department's 1984 budget calls for a reduction of \$500 million in U.S. contributions over the next two years.

But the decision to pull out of UNESCO was by far the most substantial move in the White House's dump-on-the-UN drive. It was taken despite objections from 41 out of 49 members of the U.S. Commission on UNESCO, a body which advises the State Department.

Frederick Hill of the *San Francisco Examiner* noted that "As one of the biggest agencies of the United Nations, UNESCO developed into a principal extension of the battle between the United States and the Soviet Union." Apparently, the U.S. has lost the propaganda battle here, with member-nations grown increasingly critical of the U.S. role in the educational and cultural spheres worldwide.

The decision to pull out of UNESCO was hailed by arch-conservative William Buckley, although he expected the U.S. to do more—get out of the UN completely.

Another conservative, ABC television's George

Will, who functions as a quasi-voice of the Reagan administration, called on conservatives to dedicate 1984 to swinging public opinion in favor of the U.S. leaving the UN in 1985.

In actuality, this mounting rightwing campaign against the UN has been going on for more than a decade. In 1970, the John Birch Society floated the slogan, "Get the U.S. Out of the UN." The same organization claims to have gathered three million signatures on a petition to get the U.S. out.

That the U.S. government, under Reagan, has adopted this cry only shows that Washington's frustration over its weakening influence within the world body has reached a boiling point. In simple terms, Washington's anger is that of a sore loser's. The UN of some 35 years ago was America's turf, where no nation outside the socialist camp dared challenge the great power.

## U.S. UNPOPULARITY

Washington's frustration is not hard to imagine. In spite of its considerable responsibility to the UN, (Washington contributes about 25% of the world body's \$2 billion budget), the U.S.' political clout has waned dramatically in recent years.

It certainly hurts to be told by the smaller and poorer nations in the UN that the U.S. is a bully, that it is oppressing peoples around the world, that it better conform to international law and norms of conduct if it is to deserve the respect of the family of nations.

What is particularly frustrating for the U.S. is that many of the weaker nations used to be easy prey to the West's diplomatic manipulations. But the spirit of non-alignment has changed all that. It is the temerity of such small and poor nations that has caused that "Iron Lady," Jean Kirkpatrick, to complain of "deep depression and frustration." She laments that "the Third World tends to vote in blocks" against the interests of the U.S.

The resounding condemnation of the U.S. invasion of Grenada by the UN General Assembly, with Israel casting the only dissenting vote, was perhaps the most telling reflection yet of the degree of America's isolation.

Just as recently as last December, the General Assembly voted 124 to 4 to endorse the International Conference on Palestine to be held on August 20 to September 7 this year. Only the U.S., Canada, Israel, and Australia voted against the resolution.

Also a resounding rebuff was Nicaragua's election to the UN Security Council by the General Assembly in 1982, over the most desperate objections of the U.S. This capped a long list of defeats already suffered by the U.S. at the UN.

Back in 1971, Washington's most vigorous objections could not stop the UN General Assembly from expelling Taiwan and admitting the People's Republic of China. Before the world's television cameras, delegates from African nations sang, clapped, and danced with joy at their victory over the U.S.' 22-year-old China exclusion policy. President Richard Nixon, very much a sore loser, bitterly complained about the "uncivilized behavior" of the joyous delegates.

In another slap at the U.S., the UN gave the Palestine Liberation Organization observer status in 1974 and asked its Chairman, Yasir Arafat, to address the organization. The PLO since then has been granted the right to participate in General Assembly deliberations on questions relating to Palestine.



Ambassador Kirkpatrick at General Assembly session on Grenada. (AP)

Israel has been repeatedly condemned for aggression, and the U.S. rebuked for supporting Israel. U.S. delegates grew livid when the General Assembly declared that Zionism is racism. (Zionism is the movement that created the State of Israel in 1948, and has guided it since then, by evicting millions of Palestinians from their homeland and denying the human rights of those who remained in Israeli-occupied territories.)

In another defeat, a U.S. ally, South Africa, was again expelled from the UN in 1981 for apartheid and aggression against neighboring black governments. Since then, South Africa's application to rejoin the organization has been repeatedly rejected.

Resolution after resolution, the U.S. has suffered rebuffs. Even Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. colony has become a source of embarrassment amidst a body where national independence is a fiercely guarded principle. In the last three years, the U.S. position has not improved. Phyllis Kamensky of the UN Information Center remarked, "UN diplomats are indifferent or hostile to the Reagan administration."

## LOST ECHOES OF THE PAST

The U.S.' current unpopularity is a painful contrast to its commanding position in the UN of yesteryears. At its inception in San Francisco in 1945, the UN reflected the existing balance of forces in the world, namely, America's unchallenged position of dominance after World War II. Spared from devastation while Western Europe lay in ruins, the U.S. at that time was also the only nuclear power. It had just demonstrated its capacity and willingness to drop the A-bomb on an adversary.

Not that the U.S. had no fears. In fact it was immediately preoccupied with the rise of socialism from the rubbles of war. The Soviet Union's Red Army had crushed the Nazi war machine and liberated the whole of Eastern Europe. This was followed in 1945 by Ho Chi Minh's declaration of independence of the whole of Indochina. The forces of socialism—a social system anathema to the Western alliance now presided over by the U.S.—were chopping away at imperialism's traditional spheres of influence.

A mechanism was needed to hold the Soviet Union by the collar, put the other imperialist powers in line, and keep the smaller nations under the West's hegemony. The UN met that need. It was envisioned as "an instrument for peace"—peace on the U.S.' terms.

Quite revealing of what the UN stood for in its early years was the election of Gen. Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines as the fourth UN General Assembly president in 1949. An aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Romulo was author of several books in praise of the U.S., including *Mother America*. The West could not have found a more obliging figurehead.

The initial 60 members of the UN were mainly the big powers and their puppet regimes in the neo-colonies. The Soviet Union and the socialist bloc—a small minority in the UN—were given almost token participation, and only to make them accountable to the decisions of that body. The U.S. called the shots.

For the most part the Soviet Union had to boycott important UN deliberations as the U.S. rammed through the Security Council or the General Assembly resolutions to justify military aggression against the national liberation movements.

In 1948 the UN orchestrated sham elections in South Korea to install the pro-U.S. Syngman Rhee regime. The Soviet Union vigorously protested and declared the action illegal.

When the Korean civil war escalated in 1950, Washington intervened militarily, using UN military contingents as a cover for a larger U.S. expedition. The UN took a similar military action in the early 1960s on behalf of Joseph Mobutu of the Congo.

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## Why U.S. is Quitting UNESCO

After having dominated it for more than 25 years, the U.S. is quitting the UNESCO because the agency has "extraneously politicized" every issue it deals with and adopted a position "systematically hostile to Western values," according to Assistant Secretary of State Gregory Newell.

The decision caps a decade of griping against what the U.S. considers politicization of that world body. In 1974, the U.S. withheld its contribution to the agency (the U.S. foots 25% of UNESCO's present \$374 million budget) to protest the exclusion of Israel after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem which endangered Moslem holy places there.

UNESCO's work in the field of peace education continues to antagonize the U.S. Its \$1 million funding for a study on peace and disarmament was particularly bothersome given the peace movement's criticism of the U.S. as the main threat to peace. U.S. displeasure was heightened by UNESCO's participation in the World Disarmament Campaign, a program denounced by the U.S. as anti-American.

Newell also criticized the UNESCO for promoting "collective rights." He called for the elimination of grants to "armed national liberation movements" and said that the organization must preach the primacy of individual rights.

A number of initiatives at the UNESCO such as the demand for a New Information Order to neutralize biased reporting by the Western media were sponsored by the socialist bloc nations. As former Assistant Secretary of State C. William Maynes put it, "UNESCO is the Grenada of the UN."

The U.S. decision to pull out of a UN agency is not unprecedented. In 1977 the U.S. pulled out of the International Labor Organization when it criticized the U.S. for human rights violations. The U.S. rejoined the ILO in 1980.

Observers believe that the U.S.' notice to withdraw from UNESCO by the end of 1984 is a ploy to influence UNESCO's politics. This belief is reinforced by Newell's recent statement that the U.S. decision was "firm but not final." □