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VER TRIAL OFF TO A SUSPICIOUS START

(Story on page 4)



Confident Aquino murder suspects in their holding cell.



Reagan Fine Tunes Philippine Policy

BUT IF THE LEFT CHOOSES TO JOIN THE MODERATES IN AN ELECTORAL CHALLENGE,
IT COULD THROW THE U.S. FORMULA COMPLETELY ASKEW.

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

There is a danger that the Americans may overstep the bounds so that sympathy may turn into intrusion or intervention," the solemn speaker told his audience.

No, it was not an oppositionist lecturing on the evils of continued U.S. support to the Marcos dictatorship. Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines was none other than Labor Minister Blas Ople, loyal Marcos supporter and member of the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (New Society Party).

Ople's warning signalled the Marcos regime's response to the chillier wind blowing out of Washington. For something had happened: after months of forging its new policy towards the Philippines, the Reagan administration finally signalled its full implementation.

As early as June of 1983, before the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino, State Department officials were beginning to plan for a post-Marcos era. "The Marcos government is entering its twilight and we don't want to find ourselves in the same position as we did when the Shah was overthrown," commented a

member of Secretary of State George Shultz' party during a visit to Manila.

Two months later Aquino was shot and all hell broke loose. State and Defense Department circles recognized immediately that Ferdinand Marcos had outlived his usefulness. An interagency task force was formed to debate policy options and search for a means to stabilize the situation even if it means easing Marcos out gracefully.

Ideological hardliners such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Ronald Reagan himself, however, preached loyalty to old friends. Thus, there was little visible change beyond a discreet distancing and a continuation of Reagan-style "quiet diplomacy."

But quiet diplomacy wasn't getting the job done and this January the pragmatists finally prevailed. In the process, they neutralized congressional liberals who have been demanding a more decisively anti-Marcos posture.

It was Marcos' health crisis of last November and the imminent need for a transition plan that appeared to shake the ideologues loose. But some keen observers suggested that there was more to it than met the eye. Marcos' ill health, they suggested, was a convenient smokescreen for matters of even more urgent concern to the U.S. foreign policy establishment.

Early this January Reagan signed a foreign policy directive calling for more

direct pressure on Marcos for "democratization" and reform. Key areas of concern were the economy, and, in particular, the military.

His administration lost no time in communicating these concerns to Marcos himself. Two high-level officials were dispatched to Manila in quick succession. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Richard Lee Armitage arrived for meetings with Marcos January 10, followed days later by Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Paul Wolfowitz.

Wolfowitz carried with him a letter from Reagan himself which laid out the position clearly. "Our administration," the U.S. president explained, "supports strongly the efforts of you and your government, working with all Filipinos of moderate political views, to revitalize and strengthen your democratic institutions." He went on to urge Marcos to insure free elections, undertake structural and economic reforms and increase professionalism within the military.

His functionaries were even more direct. Feathers were ruffled when Wolfowitz took the unusual step of chastising the Philippine military in public for its record of brutality and civilian abuse. During a January 16 press conference, he referred to the need to control the growing insurgency

led by the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. "One can't be effective in that effort unless there is strong discipline and strict control over mistreating of civilians," he told the press.

'PART OF THE PROBLEM'

Both officials made clear the U.S. desire to see trusty Gen. Fidel Ramos formally

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FIRST CLASS

He's Different, But is He Crazy?

Perhaps Dr. Lorimer H. Pangilinan, a native of the Philippines, was just trying too hard to please the people of Lake County, Tennessee where for three years he has practiced as the only full-time physician. But his different style has led the State Board of Medical Examiners to question his sanity. According to an *Associated Press* dispatch, the board has ruled that Dr. Pangilinan, 43, must submit to a psychiatric test to get his medical license renewed.

Dr. Pangilinan, you see, decorates his office with travel posters and record album jackets, and has taken out newspaper ads promising free medical care for the unemployed, congratulating graduates of the local high school and warning area residents not to get sunburned on the Fourth of July "while firecracking." In addition, a letter of his to the board apparently included a salutation of "glad tidings, warmest greetings, and nothing but the smashingest, super megabest to you all." Dr. Howard Foreman, board secretary concluded that the letter, which was not released to the public, "appeared to be the ramblings of an unorganized mind."

Any immigrant who has experienced the pains of assimilation will easily understand Dr. Pangilinan's supposed eccentricities and sympathize with his predicament. It is obvious that the doctor may have been

trying too hard to be "well-liked by the Americans." What is more obvious is that he expresses himself differently and uses the English language in a way Americans may find strange—but it doesn't necessarily mean he's crazy!

It is even safe to bet that Dr. Pangilinan is not insane. But something is definitely wrong with the board. It is called national chauvinism. It is a widespread disease in a society that has trained generations to believe in the superiority of the "American way" and in the myth that people who come from "funny cultures" and speak with "strange" accents are inherently inferior or even mentally deficient.

This is the same mentality that automatically tracks non-English speaking immigrant schoolchildren into classes for the mentally retarded. Ultimately, it merges with the mentality that insists that Blacks are genetically inferior to whites. Leave Dr. Pangilinan alone and examine his medical practice in its own right. On the other hand, the Tennessee Board of Medical Examiners should probably be asked to submit to a decency test.

With Meese in Charge . . .

After a year-long probe into his financial dealings, presidential adviser Edwin Meese was finally confirmed as the nation's 75th Attorney General. The man who gave government jobs to people who gave him money to buy his house is now America's chief law enforcer. He is to enforce, among other things, civil rights laws and laws that ensure civil liberties. It makes one shudder just to think of the implications.

Meese has always wanted to crack down on "real" criminals, but his real targets are the protections which he believes coddle them. Thus, he has attacked the American Civil Liberties Union as a "criminals lobby" because the group acts as a watchdog against law enforcement abuse and violation of individual liberties.

What else to expect from Meese? He will definitely push Reagan's drive for school prayers and against abortion rights and to continue the Justice Department's opposition to school desegregation through mandatory busing, and to hiring and promotion quotas that remedy job discrimination. He will pursue Reagan's attempts to narrow the interpretation of laws against housing and sex discrimination and those that protect the handicapped.

Meese's record speaks for itself. As presidential adviser he has been instrumental in shaping Reagan's twisted civil rights policies. He helped revamp the Civil Rights Commission into a body that now shamelessly declares that affirmative action quotas are a gross violation of "the rights of white males." He led the assault on the Legal Services Corp., an agency that provides aid to the poor, and backed attempts to lift the ban on tax exemptions for schools that practice racial discrimination.

Although he was tagged as a "sleaze factor" in the Reagan administration because of his shady dealings, Meese deftly managed to go through probes unscathed. Definitely, civil libertarians and equal rights advocates are in for an even tougher four years. They will be dealing with not only a hardened rightwinger but one who has the quality of sleaze needed for skirting constitutional protections and civil rights laws or turning these completely on their heads.

Reagan's 'Second American Revolution'



Letters

Where's the Loot?

Are there no Filipino newspapers with enough guts who can publish names of big-time Malacañang cronies who have smuggled billions of dollars out of the Philippines and hoarded them abroad? The American ambassador in Manila revealed to the National Press Club that about \$10 billion have been smuggled out by martial law millionaires.

In California, Hawaii, Texas, New York, Florida, Bermuda, London, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, many know those Filipino mansions, high rise office buildings, condos, subdivisions, huge bank accounts, bonds under fictitious names. Right here in the Bay Area are mansions and banks owned by Filipinos.

Major Boni Gillego created a bombshell when he exposed the fake Marcos medals. Why can't a Filipino paper document those hoards with facts and figures? Aren't public records available? If they are exposed, then maybe after the dictatorship in Manila is kicked out, that loot could be recovered and pay a part of our huge \$25 billion foreign debt.

Field Marshall Goering specialized in looting museums of priceless works of art. He kept them abroad. What happened to them? Were they recovered? The Shah of Iran made heavy investments several years before he fell. Shortly before he fled to Cairo, billions worth of diamonds and other treasures flew out of Teheran. Were they recovered? How? Magdalena Adgao San Francisco, CA

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Art and Production: Emil De Guzman, Wicks Geaga, Nene Ojeda, Vince Reyes

Litter from Manila

Is Aquino Really Dead?



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

It looks like an honest-to-goodness credible trial is shaping up for Gen. Fabian Ver, Gen. Prospero Olivas and 24 others. Judge Manuel Pamaran made a scary opening remark: "THE LAW HAS NO SEX, NO RELATIVES AND NO POLITICAL COLORATION." Seeing the picture of the accused soldiers in their holding cell, my heart went out to them. I had to pay a visit.

"Is this the cell of the 26 accused?" I asked. "We're I didn't who killed innocent do it Aquino!" "Gentleman, speak one at a time please," I appealed. "Where's General Olivas?" "Sir, go over to that bar beside the Betamax, walk four potbellies from there and turn right at the next paunch—he's next to the guy who's having his fifth scotch-on-the-rocks," a lieutenant said.

General Olivas was a pathetic sight. He was trying to think. How did he feel about the trial?

"You heard the judge, Doroy. He said the law has no sex, no relatives, and no political coloration. It's going to be hard."

A sergeant stood up to console Olivas. "General, sir, as an enforcer of the law I happen to know that the law

has sex all the time, is still happily married to Order, and my partner here swears he can prove that it is green."

"Thanks sarge, you'll get a promotion for that. I'm already getting some competent advice, Doroy, from the only guy I think can get me out of this mess—Adrian Cristobal.

Adrian Cristobal? Malacañang's intellectual-in-residence? The guy who writes the president's more philosophical speeches? Adrian, the philosopher of the New Republic?

"Yes, They don't call him Pilosopong Tasyo for nothing. He has armed me with the tools to act as my own counsel. I will challenge all the facts presented to the court."

Like what facts?

"Like the allegation that Aquino was assassinated. With Adrian's coaching, I have challenged that as a fact."

Hmmm. Isn't that difficult to challenge?

"Doroy, if a tree falls in the middle of a forest, but no one was there to see it, hear it, smell it or feel it fall—did it really fall?"

Good question. But millions of people saw pictures of TV footage of Aquino lying dead.

"Uh, uh. They only saw images seen by the lenses of the cameras. The reporters' eyes in turn saw only the lenses of their cameras, and only these lenses can purport to have seen Aquino lying there. Let the prosecution make the lenses testify in court that Aquino is really dead. Hah!"

A very impressive argument, I must say.

"And Adrian also said that those who insist that the tree fell and that Aquino is really dead regardless of what we feel about it—I think that's how he explained it—

that those people are really Marxists and should all be in jail."

But what if the evidence against him is so overwhelming he can no longer challenge the facts?

"Adrian gave me an ultimate argument that would convince the judge."

Which is?

"I think I am innocent. Therefore, I am."

A *non-sequitur*, I said.

"Hey," Olivas suddenly stiffened, "whatever that was you said sounds funny. I can't use it. The judge already said 'no sex,' remember?"

The fuss over the supposed two versions of Reagan's letter to President Marcos really amuses me. Oppositionists claim that the palace released a false version that said Reagan "supports strongly the efforts of you and your government, *working with Filipinos of moderate views*, to revitalize and strengthen your democratic institutions." They claim the real version said, "Reagan supports strongly the efforts of you and your government, *working with all Filipinos of moderate views*, to revitalize and strengthen your democratic institutions." Well, I happen to have a true copy of the real letter and I must say people have jumped to the wrong conclusions. The genuine version actually reads: "Gosh, President Marcos, I encourage you to *work only moderately* like I do, in order to revitalize your internal organs and strengthen your physical constitution. I sneak back to the ranch as often as I can myself. Hope you recover soon and regards to what's-her-name, Amilda." It was a simple get-well card that had the opposition crying foul! These guys are running out of issues. □

'There have been changes in the objective conditions.'

Sison Calls for Electoral Coalition



Jose Ma. Sison, long-time political prisoner and reputed chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, is calling for a left-moderate coalition that would participate in the coming local and presidential elections. In an interview which appeared in the University of the Philippines Philippine Collegian January 29, 1985, Sison also bares his views on the legalization of the CPP, the opposition's efforts for unity, the U.S. bases, and his release.

Reprinted from the
PHILIPPINE COLLEGIAN

Q: Those who boycotted the 1984 elections are now busy preparing to participate in the forthcoming local and presidential elections. What do you think of this development?

A: There have been changes in the objective conditions. The political and economic crisis has further worsened and the Marcos clique has become even more isolated.

The legal opposition can further weaken the Marcos clique. Through the elections, they are likely to contribute significantly to the defeat of the fascist puppet clique by coordinating their electoral struggle with the other forms of mass struggle.

The elections are an occasion to further isolate the Marcos dictatorship and strengthen the democratic forces, including the revolutionary forces, which can go on ventilating the fundamental issues.

The local elections can be more closely watched by the candidates and their supporters and the legal opposition would have very good chances of winning many local seats. It is in the presidential elections where the ruling clique would have more opportunity of "winning," of course, through fraud and terrorism.

The KBL [New Society Movement] will surely lose in both local and presidential elections, if these are kept relatively clean and honest. If the KBL "wins" again through fraud and terror, the desire for armed revolution will grow stronger among the people.

Will not participation in these elections sort of endorse the nature and workings of the Marcos regime? Will it not mean that the boycotters of 1984 have already abandoned their 1984 call for meaningful elections?

Far from being an endorsement of the nature and workings of the regime, these elections will be occasions for and some means of further exposing and opposing the anti-national and anti-democratic

character of the regime.

I do not think that the 1984 boycotters have abandoned their call for meaningful elections. They have not stopped condemning the evil character of the regime as well as the unjustness of present electoral rules and procedures.

The U.S. and the Marcos regime are using counter-revolutionary dual tactics in staging the elections. The most determined opposition forces, however, can also use revolutionary dual tactics.

Are not the 1984 participationists correct after all and the 1984 boycotters riding on the successes of the participationists?

It is wrong to conclude that the 1984 participationists were correct and the boycotters were not. We cannot say that the boycotters were wrong in making just and reasonable demands concerning the elections. Even if they had participated, they would not have changed the election results of 70-30 in favor of the KBL by virtue of prearrangement between the U.S. and Marcos. The boycotters were not wrong when they said that the Batasang Pambansa would be a sham parliament—a mere embellishment on a despotic regime. A 30% opposition minority in a sham parliament is not, by any indication, a whopping success.

The elections staged by the U.S. and Marcos to conjure an illusion of democracy are a mere by-product of the fundamental struggle between all democratic forces and the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The most steadfast among the opposition forces are not the electioneering politicians who wait for opportunities in elections but those who have been risking their lives and limbs fighting the fascist dictatorship since 1972.

Will not these elections isolate, undermine or take away the initiative from the armed revolution, the Left in general and the CPP in particular?

I do not think so. Elections staged by the ruling clique are periodic occurrences that do not by themselves provide any profound and lasting answer to the fundamental national and democratic demands of the Filipino people. There will be no losing sight of the fact that elections are merely one of the legal forms of struggle and are subordinate and ancillary to the militant mass struggles and the mass organizing being conducted on a daily basis.

These elections can aggravate rather than solve serious contradictions among the reactionaries and can also result in the ascendancy of progressives in many areas where the people's organizations are strong.

These elections cannot dismantle the

CPP, NPA, NDF, organs of democratic power nor the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, and so on.

If again the KBL wins through fraud and terrorism, the revolution will grow even faster. If the legal opposition wins despite the odds, it will have to adopt fundamental policy changes if it is to come to terms with the revolutionary organizations. It will have to deal with the grave problems the Marcos autocracy will leave behind.

What do you think would be the stand of the Left in general and/or the CPP in particular regarding these elections?

I have access only to legal publications. I observe that the legal forces of the Left are open to supporting progressive candidates, especially those responsive to national and democratic demands.

The CPP, being illegal, cannot come out openly and field candidates under its banner. The CPP is the political party leading the armed revolution in the fundamental struggle between the fascist dictatorship and the democratic forces.

But the Party can determine and influence the results of the elections in many parts of the country. It is quite experienced in letting local officials of the reactionary government serve as facades for local organs of democratic power. Otherwise, such officials would be totally rejected by the people in their local areas.

What is your view of the Convenors' Group and the National Unification Council of the UNIDO?

Both are serious attempts to unify the opposition. But I observe that both exclude the progressive organizations of the workers and peasants as well as those of the middle strata, which have a long record of resolutely and militantly fighting the fascist dictatorship.

These are excluded in the conception, organization and decision-making of an electoral coalition against the Marcos autocracy. I hope that the Convenor Group and the National Unification Council of

be satisfaction of the national and democratic demands of the people? The new regime will have to take concrete measures in this regard.

Then the CPP will ask: Will the new regime reorient and reorganize the Armed Forces of the Philippines so that it becomes an instrument of the people and not a coercive instrument of the U.S. imperialists and the local reactionary classes against the people?

Anyone can see that the CPP is justifiably very wary of the AFP, especially because it has been used by the U.S.-Marcos clique to conduct a bloody fascist counter-revolution against the broad masses of the people. It would be wise for a new president to unilaterally and unconditionally legalize the CPP and invite it to a democratic coalition or a united front government.

The status of the AFP and the NPA can then be subsequently discussed, especially because by 1987 the stage of strategic stalemate in the people's war shall probably have begun.

In the past, Mr. Marcos and Minister Enrile had been publicly offering legalization to the Communist Party. Why have they failed in attracting the CPP?

The lack of good faith on the part of Marcos and Enrile in offering CPP legalization shows in the fact that they are now attacking the legal opposition for offering the same thing and that they are urging the legal opposition to join an anti-communist campaign so as to obscure the urgent issues against puppetry, brutality, corruption and the all-round bankruptcy of the Marcos regime as well as all the other evils of fascist dictatorship.

Marcos and Enrile failed to attract the CPP because they simply wanted the Party and the people's army to surrender to fascist dictatorship and render the people and the broad opposition completely defenseless and hopeless. They were simply asking the CPP and the NPA to commit political and physical suicide.

If the CPP and NPA capitulate to the

'The most determined opposition forces can also use revolutionary dual tactics.'

UNIDO would include them and give them a fair share of responsibility in a broad based democratic coalition.

Do you think the CPP will accept legalization if the legal opposition wins?

I cannot speak for the CPP. But I surmise that it will set a number of preconditions for accepting legalization. Among these could be *first*, some prior satisfaction of the national and democratic demands of the people; *second*, the legal forces of the Left and the Left and Middle alliance are existing freely and are developing a new setting; *third*, all components of the National Democratic Front agree to discuss matters with the new government; and *fourth*, the CPP will have to decide if it is truly beneficial to the people to discuss matters with the new government.

At any rate, I suppose that the CPP is pleased to be recognized as an important factor by the legal opposition in its offer of legalization.

Do you suppose the CPP will disarm and dissolve the NPA in order to become legal?

My opinion can only be as good as yours. But I would say that before military questions can be tackled, political questions have to be settled first.

I suppose the CPP will ask: Will there

fascist dictatorship, their officers and members would not only be politically discredited but physically wiped out anytime. The dynastic ambitions of Marcos would prevail.

Incidentally, Marcos has legalized the so-called PKP. And this party has had to surrender and submit to humiliating terms.

Mr. Marcos and Mr. Enrile have admitted the growing strength of the NPA. What is the source of this strength?

First, the political and economic crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system has been aggravated by the fascist regime of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

Second, the people intensely desire revolutionary change—essentially the fulfillment of their demand for national liberation and democracy.

Third, the people have their revolutionary party and their army—the NPA—is led by this party correctly pursuing the national democratic line. It is, as a consequence, growing stronger everyday.

The NPA is not just a fighting force. It is also an education, mass organizing and productive force. In all its tasks, it seeks to serve the people.

The NPA is supported by local organs of democratic power, mass organizations and local militia units. The armed struggle is integrated into a program of genuine land

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Ver Trial Off to a Suspicious Start



By CHRISTINE ARANETA

Two weeks into the trial of Gen. Fabian Ver and 25 others accused of the murder of former Senator Benigno Aquino and Rolando Galman, the credibility of the exercise is already in question.

Five key witnesses, among the very few who admitted glimpsing the murder at the Manila International Airport August 21, 1983, failed to appear February 27 prompting Judge Manuel Pamaran to call for a five-day recess.

The witnesses include four airport se-

curity guards and a cargo handler. All five testified before the Agrava Commission and contradicted the government's "lone gunman" version of the slaying. Court Sheriff Edgardo Urieta reported that Ruben Regalado, Wilson Llasos, Ramon Layoso, Efrén Ranas, and Oliva Reyes could not be found at their last known address.

Ramon Balang, however, the airplane mechanic who testified before the Agrava Commission that Aquino could not have been killed by Rolando Galman, repeated his testimony March 4 before the court. Galman, he insisted, was standing surrounded by soldiers "gesturing to them, explaining to them, smiling..." immediately prior to the killing.

Balang was the first to contest the military's version of the killing.

Meanwhile, President Marcos gave notice that his top aide's career is far from over by disclosing at a news conference February 26 that top military officers have agreed to reinstate Ver once he is acquitted.

Ver is currently on leave from his post as Chief of Staff of the armed forces, replaced by Vice Chief Fidel Ramos. Many would like to see things stay that way. (See story, page 1.)

'THE LAW HAS NO RELATIVES'

Ver and Maj. Gen. Prospero Olivas, initial investigator of the crime, are charged along with six others as *accessories* in trying to conceal the assassination conspiracy. Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, chief of the Aviation Security Command, and 16 others are charged as *principals*. A lone civilian, Hermilio Gosuico, is charged as an *accomplice*.

All pleaded not guilty during their February 1 arraignment. If convicted, the principal suspects face life imprisonment and possibly the death sentence. Accessories face 20 years imprisonment.

The case is being tried before the Sandiganbayan, a martial law era creation designed to try low level graft and corruption cases. Chief Judge Pamaran, known as the "hanging judge" because of his penchant for handing out death penalties, is also known as a loyal Marcos supporter.

"The law has no sex, no relatives, no political color," he intoned as the case opened. "I am very confident that we can

dispense justice," he added. "This will not even take one year." Later he lowered his estimate to three months.

THE LAW IS RELATIVE

But no sooner had Pamaran announced that there were no relatives under the law than signs began to emerge that the law can also be relative.

Following the arraignment, Pamaran ordered the 17 principals detained at the National Penitentiary. Defense, however, immediately moved that officers be kept in the custody of their units.

As if on cue, penitentiary officials complained that the facility, built to hold 3,000 inmates but currently housing 7,000, could not house an additional 17. Manila City Jail authorities, for their part, counseled against interning the principals there on the ground that inmates with connections to the underworld wanted to do them in.

Pamaran relented, ordering Air Force and Presidential Security Command chiefs Vicente Piccio and Santiago Barangan, both Ver loyalists, to produce the accused when summoned by the court.

The 17 principals are currently housed in newly-built barracks outfitted with air conditioning and well-equipped bars. Though earnestly denied by Piccio, groups of his wards were reportedly seen roaming freely, unescorted and packing firearms on at least two occasions.

MURDER—A LESSER CRIME

Military counsel scored yet another coup before the trial even began when Pamaran agreed that the case be retitled "The Philippine People vs. Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, et al." and not "The Philippine People v. Gen. Fabian Ver, et al." Ver had been named first as the highest ranking among the accused. But to

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By NENE OJEDA

Gov't Tries Selective Crackdown

It may not be Operation Mad Dog, once planned by the Marcos regime as the final solution to the political opposition in the Philippines, but a number of sectors are feeling the bite.

For the government of Ferdinand E. Marcos has recently engaged in a program of selective repression designed to remind the opposition who's in charge. The result has been a series of arrests, assaults on demonstrators and strikers and at least one attack upon a squatter community resisting orders to vacate its homes.

Moderate oppositionists, whose arrest upon the declaration of martial law brought unfavorable publicity and international protest, have been left relatively untouched, with the exception of Aquilino Pimentel who was arrested late February. But few sectors of the burgeoning mass movement have been spared. Peasants, workers, students, squatters, even prominent artists—all have been hit by the regime's latest assault.

Within the first two months of the year, 170 were arrested during four protests in Metro-Manila alone, among them world renowned movie director Lino Brocka and stage director Behn Cervantes. Many are still missing.

'CHARGE! CLUB THEM!'

The arrests came in response to a wave of protest activities with which the popular movement welcomed the new year.

Bouyed by the success of the October transport strike that came close to bringing Metro-Manila and other parts of the country to a stop, the Association of Concerned Transport Organizations once again called for a halt to jeepney runs January 28. The January strike was called to protest the government-ordered cut in fares despite the continuing rise in the cost of operation.

The 20,000 jeepney drivers and operators in ACTO also called for the repeal of Presidential Decree 918, a new licensing scheme that would bring fees to prohibitive levels, as well as the jeepney rerouting plan to accommodate the First Lady's pet project, the Metro-Manila Light Rail Transit System.

Responding to their demands were truncheon-wielding troops who stormed through



Injured demonstrators trying to avoid blows.

two shopping districts and one residential area where pro-strike sympathy rallies were being held. When protesters in Cubao, Quezon City set up roadblocks to keep police at bay, troops fired into the air warning them to disperse. "Charge! Club them!" a police officer was heard to order.

Near downtown Manila, tear gas broke up a march of several hundred students supporting the strike. By day's end, Brocka and Cervantes, neither of whom had any role in organizing the action, along with 150 others were in jail. Fifty were injured, among them a 40-year-old man with sharpnel wounds in the head, and 20 were reported missing.

BUSY DAY—ARRESTS AND INJURIES

The government responded similarly to other forms of resistance.

Residents of Pook Ricarte, a squatter area off the University of the Philippines' Diliman campus, managed to delay the demolition of their homes by several months through a variety of tactics. But on February 4 the blow fell.

A combined force of the Philippine

Constabulary METROCOM, Quezon City police and campus security men descended, helmeted, with clubs swinging, forcing 1,300 residents out of their homes. Twenty-two were injured—one seriously—in the two-hour melee and four were arrested.

February 13 was one of the busier days for the Philippine Constabulary's Northern Command. First it cleared the front steps of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of a group of peasants camping there for nine days to demand a rollback in the costs of fertilizer and pesticides and protesting the increase in the price of rice.

Bearing armalites and backed by water cannons, the troops rudely awakened the camp. Just past 6 a.m. the police took Jaime Tadeo, head of the *Alyansa ng mga Mag-sasaka ng Gitnang Luzon* (Central Luzon Peasant Alliance), Atty. Dante Laya, and 16 other farmers and peasants into custody. Those who remained claim that 16 people have disappeared in the wake of the attack that left 34 injured.

HITTING THE STUDENTS

That afternoon, the Northern Command moved on to the shopping district of

Cubao through which students planned to march on their way to Camp Crame.

The more than 500 marchers were to meet with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile at Constabulary headquarters. They never made it for tear gas scattered the group, sending many to take refuge in a nearby convent.

From their sanctuary emerged League of Filipino Students leader Lean Alejandro and J. Virgilio Bautista of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. Both attempted to negotiate with Northern Command Chief Alfredo Lim.

Instead they were arrested on Preventive Detention Action orders. A student alighting from a passing vehicle was also taken.

Truncheon-wielding troops that same week also dispersed a student demonstration in front of the American Embassy. The youths were protesting U.S. intervention in Philippine affairs and the presence of U.S. military advisors in the country.

Alejandro and Bautista to date remain in detention. Tadeo was allowed to post bail and later released. The arrest of Brocka and Cervantes sparked enough local and international outrage to embarrass Marcos who finally ordered them freed. An earlier Supreme Court order to release them was ignored by the overzealous local police force. A recent march protesting Marcos' special powers embodied in the PDA brought 6,000 only meters away from Malacanang.

Although several have been released, the outlook for others is grim. The country's judiciary may be showing a few signs of independence (see story, page 9), but it is clear that Ferdinand Marcos has no intention of renouncing violence and arbitrary arrests as a way of dealing with the popular opposition.

The intensity of the response to the latest round of mass actions reflects a fear that the rash of protest with which 1985 began is part of a nationwide, multi-sector plan to rock an already unstable regime. Since the opposition shows no sign of letting up in spite of its losses the first two months of this year, that may very well turn out to be the case. □

The Real Story of Josephine Bracken

by LILIA RAMOS-DE LEON

("Dr. Jose Rizal's wife" was the kindest recognition historians had been willing to give Josephine Bracken, the Irish widow of the Philippines' designated national hero. But new research reveals that the much-maligned Josephine Bracken was a woman ahead of her time and a heroic figure in her own right. In commemoration of March 8, International Women's Day, and in honor of Ms. Bracken, AK has taken the liberty to reprint this article by Lilia Ramos-de Leon which originally appeared in the January 1-8, 1985 issue of *Mr. & Ms Magazine in the Philippines*. This is a slightly edited and abridged version—Ed.)

"One hundred years is too long a time for infamy; and this is what the image of Josephine Bracken has suffered. There are a number of myths surrounding her, and it is time that her worth as the wife of Rizal and as an individual be reevaluated and the myths surrounding her vanished."

Sagrario Mina-Ofilada
granddaughter of Josephine Bracken,
August 1976

While the nation had elevated and placed Jose Rizal on the highest pedestal among its heroes, it has kept his widow—who picked up gun and dagger to join the Revolution—down at its foot to be spattered by mud by writers, biographers, and historians offering incense to Rizal.

Yet research on Josephine Bracken uncovers a woman of today born yesterday—just as Rizal was the modern Filipino of 19th century Philippines. And she was made of such stuff, that if she had lived today, she would have marched at anti-Marcos rallies—or fought with the rebels underground.

But the Josephine image that first slithered into the Filipino public's awareness was that of a manipulated, stupid Mata-Hari. Mainly responsible for this spy image was her friendship with Manuela Orlac, a woman reputed to be the mistress and confidant of one of the Spanish friar canons of the Manila Cathedral. This association caused many people—at first including Rizal and his family—to suspect her of having been sent by the friars to spy on Rizal in Dapitan.

Then after Rizal's death, Wenceslao E. Retana, a Spaniard and a rabid anti-Filipino turned ardent Rizal admirer, published his *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal* (Life and Works of Dr. Jose Rizal), where, without citing any source, he identified George Taufer to be Josephine's lover who had picked her up in a Hong Kong cafe where she worked as a singer-entertainer. Retana being a noted writer and scholar, the Filipinos believed this slander about the girl to whom Rizal, a few hours before going to his death, left his copy of Thomas Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, writing on its fly-leaf, "To my dear and unhappy wife, Josephine."

Even Dr. Rafael Palma—possibly using Retana as his source—etches the false image deeper in his *Pride of the Malay Race*: "When she [Josephine] was left an orphan, she became a dancer in one of the cafes of Hong Kong." However, Palma drops the "lover" tag and says Taufer took her from the cafe "to have someone to take care of him, for he had become 'blind'; and so Josephine's image metamorphoses closer to the truth. But still, not a word about her joining the Revolution of 1896. Neither does Leon Ma. Guerrero say anything about this part of her life in his Rizal biography, *The First Filipino*.

'FIRMNESS OF CHARACTER'

Then 71 years after the Retana slander saw print, Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil, former head of the National Historical Institute of the Philippines, rebuked Rizal in an article (*Archipelago* 1976-II, A.26, Vol. III) for demanding of his "paisanas" the "virtues of courage, independence of mind, strength, and a thirst for knowledge" when he himself "fell in love and found happiness—not with a woman like Sisa . . . or like Gregoria de Jesus . . . who embodied his ideals—but with an Irish girl of dubious origins . . . half-literate, exploited, pathetic Josephine, who was ashamed of their love and could not summon the mental and moral resources to do justice to his patriotic mission." If she had researched deeper, she would have struck gold instead of rubbish about Josephine. She would then understand why Rizal fell in love and married his "sweet foreigner."

The popular myth is that Rizal tarried so long in marrying (he was 34 years old when he and Josephine lived together) because there wasn't any room for any other woman in his life aside from his motherland. But Rizal himself did not seem to think of marriage as incompatible with patriotism. In fact, in a letter to Blumentritt, he wrote, "It is not good that man should live alone, God foresaw that." And he did propose



marriage to Nelly Boustead, a pretty and wealthy Parisienne.

The reason for the tardiness could well be that his ideal soul mate could not be easily found. He delineates her in his "Message to the Young Women of Malolos": "Let the young man love her not only for her beauty and sweetness of disposition, but also for the firmness of character, her lofty ideas that invigorate and encourage the weak and timorous man or arouse brilliant ideas."

Nelly Boustead—over whom Rizal and Antonio Luna nearly fought a duel—was the only woman besides Josephine to whom he proposed marriage. A good fencer, she would often seize the foil for a fencing bout with the Luna brothers, the Pardo de Taveras, or Rizal—a far cry from Maria Clara! Rizal appreciated her independent spirit and strong character and that she was "free and well-informed," but he easily gave her up.

ORPHANED AT BIRTH

Then came Josephine. He first met her at a seaside resort in Hong Kong where he practiced medicine for about a year. When Taufer's eye condition worsened, Josephine convinced him to seek out Dr. Rizal, who had gone back to the Philippines. Like all the girls who had attracted Rizal, she was of a gay, convivial nature. Chestnut hair flecked with gold framed a smiling face. Blue eyes twinkled in mirth and turned limpid and deep in pensive moments. In one thing did she differ from Rizal's other "loves," all sheltered children of ease and comfort—she was an orphan given out when she was only a few days old to an American boiler engineer and his wife.

Josephine's baptismal certificate says that Josephine Leopoldine Bracken, born August 9, 1876 to James and Elizabeth Jane McBride Bracken, both Irish, was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception in Hong Kong on September 27, 1876 with Mr. and Mrs. Taufer as sponsors.

Another important paper in Josephine's life is the adoption document signed by her father, Corporal Bracken of a British Army regiment stationed in Hong Kong, which gave his youngest child, orphaned of mother a few days after her birth, to her godparents.

One of the conditions set by Bracken to his daughter's adoption was that she be educated in a convent school. Therefore, when she was seven years old, the Taufers placed Josephine and their own daughter in a convent school in Hong Kong run by Italian nuns. Here the two girls stayed until they were 15 years old, when Mrs. Taufer died. Consequently, the two girls were recalled to keep house for Mr. Taufer.

In his book, *The True Story of Ms. Rizal*, Dr. Austin Craig reports that the nuns in the convent remembered

Josephine as a girl of high spirits. And she was intelligent; far from being "half-literate," she spoke Portuguese, German, English, French, and Macao. (During her brief wedded life with Rizal, she learned Spanish and a little Tagalog. After the Philippine-American War, she taught English in one of the public schools in Cebu. In this province, one of those to whom she gave private lessons in English was the young Sergio Osmena, future president of the Philippines. She also taught at the *Liceo de Manila*.)

FRIARS DENY MARRIAGE

Josephine's trials started when Taufer got married again, this time to a neurotic shrew whose vile temper drove Josephine back again and again to the Italian convent. Josephine's capsule autobiography, which ends with Rizal's execution, reads like a soap opera storyline with the series of dramatic travails she had to survive; this accounts in part for the fortitude, self-discipline, and seriousness that Rizal perceived in her in Dapitan, although she was then only 18 years old.

Barely a month after her arrival in Dapitan, Rizal proposed marriage, but because the church refused to marry them unless Rizal retracted his belief in Freemasonry and all that he had written against the friars, the two had to live together without benefit of clergy. To someone like her who had been raised as a devout Catholic, this must have been a tremendous violation of conscience. There was no civil marriage in the Philippines in those times, and since what the Church was demanding of Rizal was a sacrifice of integrity, she squared her jaw and decided to bear what must be borne for the sake of their love—and suffered the brunt of the consequent sneers that included those of her in-laws.

The priests in Dapitan thundered against their "sin" from the pulpit, but despite this, for over a year, they were, in Josephine's words, "very very happy," with her feeling as safe and cared for by her beloved "Joe" as a "child on its Mother's knee."

Rizal, in turn, wrote his sister Trining about their domestic bliss: "Until now we have not quarreled; we are always gay. . . The public can say that it is a scandal; without doubt it is. It is very scandalous to live better than married people."

They parted when Rizal's offer to serve as a medical officer in the Spanish Army in Cuba was accepted. Josephine must have despaired over their separation, but was jubilant in the presence of Rizal, since this meant a chance for him to leave his place of exile, which, though idyllic, was beginning to give him claustrophobic feelings. Before proceeding to Cuba, he would have to get his official assignment in Spain; this meant being back in the land of his days of wine and roses.

ON THE EVE OF EXECUTION

While Rizal waited in the cruiser anchored in Manila Bay for the ship that was to take him to Spain, he wrote Josephine, asking her to visit him together with members of his family; but she refused to do so and instead sent him a letter:

I am suffering a great deal with them in Trozo [residence of Rizal's sister Narcisa] it is quite true they ought to be ashamed of me as they say in my face . . . because I am not married to you. So if you hear that I don't go to Trozo any more don't be surprised . . . If you go to Spain you see any one of your fancy, you better marry her, but dear, hear me, better marry than to live like we have been doing. I am not ashamed to let people know of my life with you but as your dear Sisters are ashamed I think you had better get married to someone else. Your sister Narcisa and your Father are very good and kind to me.

But the friars would not let the author of the *Noli* and *Fili* escape their rage, and "they brought him back again and shot him. . . before his execution he married me at 5 o'clock in the morning. This is when I am twenty years of age 1896. Josephine Bracken de Rizal. A widow. Goodbye Father, I am dead." And this is how she ends her autobiography. (Indeed, she would not have long to live. Five years after, she would die of tuberculosis of the larynx, brought on by the privations she had suffered as a revolutionist.)

A chapter of the book *General Aguinaldo and the Filipinos* (Henry Turot, France: 1900) is entitled "How Wife of Jose Rizal Described Bagumbayan Tragedy." In this chapter, Josephine narrates:

He was to be executed at sunrise the following morning. It was then I entreated to be married to him. Believing that the separation following the nuptials would add to the torture of the martyr, they granted my request.

The marriage celebration was performed by a

Continued on page 8

Coconut Monopoly Dismantled

Under pressure from international creditors, Pres. Marcos ordered the dismantling of the state monopoly over the nation's largest export industry—coconuts.

The order issued January 21 is one step in a series of economic restructuring measures worked out by the International Monetary Fund in exchange for a P615 million standby credit loan. The restructuring is expected to ease the debt burden of the country. But critics charge that the coconut industry itself will not undergo basic changes.

The coconut monopoly, United Coconut Oil Mills (UNICOM), was set up by Pres. Marcos in 1979 and was managed by close friend and crony Eduardo Cojuangco. Cojuangco, reportedly the second richest man in the Philippines—second only to Marcos, owns six of the country's most profitable mills.

The coconut industry supports one quarter of the Philippine population. When UNICOM was formed in 1979, coconut farmers were made to pay tax on the sales of their coconut meat to millers. The money was supposed to go into a fund to benefit the coconut farmers.

Instead, the funds were used to create a government-controlled bank headed by Mr. Cojuangco and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the United Coconut Planters Bank. Following this, several mills were merged to form UNICOM, in effect giving Cojuangco the unilateral right to decide the price of coconut and influence the price of exports.

UNICOM today accounts for 80% of the country's coconut milling capacity. The country's 13 million coconut farmers are still waiting to see some benefit from the supposed coconut farmers cooperative.

Industry spokesmen now claim that the dismantling will do little to alleviate the plight of the farmers. Export prices will still be regulated by the government. Millers and planters are encouraged to form cooperatives, maintaining their dominant position in dictating the price of coconut products. No new investments will be allowed in the industry without government approval, creating a situation where only favored coconut planters and millers can engage in capital improvement. □

Lopezos Want Seized Media Back

Oscar Lopez, president of the defunct ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporation, announced plans to sue the National Media Production Center for P250 million in damages unless the government radio-TV network signs a lease agreement. Speaking last January, he gave the NMPC and Roberto Benedicto, operator of the Kanlaon Broadcasting System and Radio Philippines Network, one week to vacate the premises formerly

owned and operated by the Lopez family.

ABS-CBN had assets P71.9 million when it was taken over in 1973 and its studios and equipment were the most modern and up to date in the Philippines. The NMPC and Benedicto entities have paid nothing in rent or compensation on the properties. Meanwhile they have grossed more than a billion pesos over the last 11 years.

Eugenio Lopez offered to sell the facilities to the government in November of 1973. The government-owned station had already occupied the premises in the wake of a fire of mysterious origins which devastated KBS studios shortly after martial law. The purchase plan however fell through and a gradual takeover began. Subsequent attempts to demand rental payments proved futile.

The powerful and wealthy Lopez family, once known as makers of Philippine presidents, rapidly descended from power when martial law was declared in 1972. Apart from ABS-CBN, the Lopezos were divested of MERALCO, a public utilities firm by the government and Marcos cronies in a supposed crusade against the oligarchy. At the same time, Eugenio Lopez Jr. was accused of subversion and imprisoned by the regime. With "Geny" in prison as a government security risk, the family felt powerless to challenge the outright takeover.

The changing political situation according to Oscar Lopez, has made it possible to take up the cause again □

600 NPA Raid Mountain Tourist Spot

Some 600 soldiers of the New People's Army led by Conrado Balweg, conducted a dawn raid on the picturesque tourist town of Sadanga, Mountain Province early last month. The action was executed with ease and precision; the result, according to Brig. Gen. Tomas Dumpit of the Regional Unified Command I, of infiltration into the town the day before.

Members of the Integrated National Police, Civilian Home Defense Forces, and local police were taken by surprise when NPA fighters entered their homes and hogtied the men and their families. By daybreak, the bulk of NPA soldiers had moved in and entered the municipal hall and confiscated office equipment.

Dumpit claimed no shots were exchanged because the NPA had superior firepower. Later in the day, residents were gathered into the plaza to listen to Balweg, the legendary priest-turned-revolutionary, explain the NPA's objectives.

The Sadanga raid was the latest in a series of daring actions staged by the NPA in recent months, involving company-sized formations. Many occurred on the island of Mindanao.

Meanwhile, a massive hunt is on for the ambushers of Brig. Gen. Pedrito de Guzman, PC-INP Region 10

Commander and five of his security escorts in Cagayan de Oro January 21. De Guzman was believed ambushed by the NPA while he was leading a counterinsurgency drive.

Clashes were also reported in early February between NPA fighters and Army troops in Eastern Samar and Northern Luzon. Army forces were surprised to be engaged by as many as 300 NPA fighters in some actions. □

Cagayan's Businessman-Terrorist

A Chinese-Filipino businessman, Alfonso Lim, multi-millionaire, political kingmaker of the North, and close friend of President Marcos, is waging a one-man war against subversives, the Philippine Constabulary and illegal loggers.

According to Paul Quinn-Judge, correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Lim runs the town of Claveria, Cagayan where his logging concern, Taggat Industries is based.

In addition to Taggat Industries, Lim reportedly manages three firms for the president: two logging concerns, Veterans and Sierra Madre, and Tropical Wood, a processing plant. Because of his immense holdings, Lim has taken it upon himself to safeguard the two most precious assets of Cagayan, from a capitalist's point of view: labor and logs.

The main threat to access to these resources, is the NPA which has been organizing in the valley for over 11 years now. Among the issues which have endeared the local people to the NPA are an end to illegal logging, protection of *kaingin* (slash-and-burn) farmers, and fair labor policies for workers in the logging and wood products industries.

The NPA, Lim complains is tightening its grip over the province. "The way things are going, there isn't going to be an election here in '86. We'll be communist by then."

Lim scorns the military for its incompetence in handling the insurgency. "There's nothing wrong with the military that can't be solved by firing 20 colonels and 20 generals. They're all on the take. A general is corrupt so the officers act in the same way, then the enlisted men... They go into the forests chasing the subversives with Caltex road maps," he says assuring the correspondent that he is not exaggerating. "We have to loan them our maps... and they can't even read maps properly."

The solution: Lim is taking the law into his own hands. He has built a private army of about 100 men armed with high-powered firearms; he has three armored cars equipped with .30 caliber machine-guns.

Lim has his own counter-insurgency formula for beating the NPA: "Higher income for the people and superior firepower for us. There is no point capturing these people. They're out in a few weeks or years." And he declares ominously: "We have to gain the balance of terror." □

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More Pinoys Arrested in Anti-Apartheid Protests



CAMD's Jon Melegrito with Remo de la Pena (behind him) and TransAfrica leader Randall Robinson.

Over 1,500 people nationwide—including civil rights leaders and congresspeople—have been arrested in the on-going civil disobedience against South Africa's apartheid system. Following the arrest of David Valderrama in Washington last January, more Filipinos have joined the protests. Jon Melegrito of CAMD/PSN and Remo de la Pena of the Pilipino Senior Citizens Club were arrested in the capitol early February along with four other Asian-Americans. In Seattle, among Filipinos arrested were: Bob and Danny Santos, Cindy Domingo (KDP), Marline Pedragoza and Vique Claraval (CAMD/PSN), David Della and John Foz (Local 37), and Jeanette Lazam.



New York Times Magazine

Reagan Policy

Continued from front page

installed as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and given a free hand to rebuild the military. Fabian Ver, currently on leave from the position while being tried for the Aquino murder, and his men are "part of the problem," congressional and administration sources told the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

(The dislike of Ver was reemphasized last month when a State Department official was asked by a reporter what would happen if Ver resumes his position once he is acquitted. "We won't let that happen," came the off-the-record reply.)

The immediate need, according to Wolfowitz, is not so much for "additional programmatic assistance as much as policy change to get at some of the structural problems in the way of further growth."

On the economic front this means creating "a climate of confidence" to entice back the foreign investment and domestic capital which fled the country in the wake of the Aquino murder.

As to "strengthen[ing] your democratic institutions," Marcos is being urged to expand the Commission on Elections, strengthen the watchdog NAMFREL and insure the independence of both the *Batasana Pambansa* and the judiciary. This means first and foremost a credible trial for Ver and the 25 others accused in the Aquino murder.

Perhaps most crucial, however, was Washington's emphasis on the need for Marcos to cooperate with the moderate opposition. The regime tried to distort this part of the message by having the government-controlled press print Reagan's letter minus the phrase "working with all Filipinos of moderate political views . . ." The State Department, however, was merciless. It quickly issued a formal correction.

U.S. BACKING—KISS OF DEATH

The Reagan definition of "moderate" was clearly a broad one including not only the legal opposition, but anyone in the Marcos camp other than the president himself and his wife Imelda.

Thus Cord Meyer, a syndicated journalist reputed to be close to U.S. intelligence circles, used it to refer to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, "a candidate . . . [who] would be able to provide moderate and reformist leadership while the opposition is trying to take steps to unite." Even Capitol Hill liberals have bought into the U.S. succession plan for a coalition of safe oppositionists and members of the Marcos camp.

The scenario has disarmed congressional critics making for a bipartisan policy. Thus former troublemaker Stephen Solarz,

Chief of the Subcommittee on Asian-Pacific Affairs, agreed to tone down his criticism of Marcos. Not surprisingly, he welcomed Laurel and refused to see former Senator Jovito Salonga prior to his return home. Salonga, a nationalist and "Fast Track" signer, advocates removal of the bases.

Thus, the push is on to produce a united opposition and to groom a candidate who would oppose Marcos or his representative in the 1987 elections or earlier should polls be called before then. The harmony within U.S. foreign policy circles facilitates the effort.

At the same time, the U.S. is wise enough to sense that, in the increasingly nationalist climate surrounding the Philippine opposition, recognition as an American favorite could be the kiss of death. Noted one diplomatic source, "[we are] very concerned not to give the appearance of backing any candidate for that would not only harm the candidate but could bring about an anti-American backlash."

LAUREL SHOCKS CONGRESS

Nonetheless there are favorites. Batasan member Eva Estrada Kalaw refused to sign the opposition's recent Fast Track agreement with its clause on the removal of U.S. bases purportedly because she found the process "undemocratic." In a speech to the Manila Rotarians January 12 however, she announced that she favors retention of the bases to ward off "communist inroads" into the country. She was warmly welcomed in Washington.

Salvador Laurel, chief of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, was accorded even a more obvious red carpet treatment, including a meeting with Vice President Bush. Laurel specifically disagreed with the Fast Track position on the bases and refused to sign the agreement.

Congressional aides who met Laurel expressed surprise at his pro-Americanism and absolute willingness to cooperate. Laurel reportedly supported a non-reduction of aid to Marcos and was even willing to accept an increase; his only remaining qualification—a "credible" trial for Ver.

INCREASING MILITARY AID

While U.S. policymakers may be scheming to ease Marcos out, they still have to rely on him as the main protector of their strategic interests—for the moment. An increase in military and economic aid is therefore in the works. Washington's concern is focused on the growing threat posed by the New People's Army.

The current 1986 package scheduled for hearings March 6 and 12 before the Solarz committee contains a \$15 million increase in military aid and an overall increase of \$100 million. The request thus includes \$100 million in military aid (\$50 million of it in grants), \$40 million in development aid, \$95 million in economic aid,

and a new U.S. food aid program of \$90 million over a two-year period.

The increase in the military portion is an attempt to make up for last year's cut—a gesture of congressional disapproval for the Marcos regime. According to Wolfowitz, the increase is "premised on the full expectation that the incipient reforms we have seen will continue and expand."

The administration hopes to see the total amount passed. Given the flabbiness of the liberal front in Congress, it is likely to accomplish its goal.

But the White House isn't taking any chances. Reagan spokesmen are playing hearts and flowers over the Philippine military's dire situation. Armitage, on his return, told Congress that many Philippine ships and planes are grounded by shortages of spare parts. For lack of communication equipment, commanders "have to rely on runners to transmit operation orders," he added.

Meanwhile, Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, in town last month for a briefing urged reporters to focus their attention on the insurgency.

MORE THAN A HEALTH CRISIS

The combination of pressure on Marcos, courtship of the opposition, focus on the insurgency and stepped-up aid suggests a level of urgency Washington hasn't exhibited towards the Philippines since the days of the Huks.

The obvious change is Marcos' health. Clearly it was more than a bout of flu that removed the president from the scene for two months entirely. Marcos reportedly has been unable to go out of Malacanang for the last four months and some sources claim he alternates between periods of energy and absolute exhaustion.

There is no question that the health crisis has the U.S. seriously worried as to how long Marcos can keep it up. Meyer quotes one official as claiming, "We're talking about a few weeks or at most a year."

The level of concern has given rise to rumors in both Washington and Manila that the elections may be held early, rumors that Marcos has repeatedly denied.

One astute observer in Manila, however, suggests that the U.S. has an even greater worry. Emilia Tagaza, writing for the *Financial Times* of London, suggests that the real fear is that the left—specifically the Communist Party with its powerful following—might enter the mainstream of Philippine politics.

In an interview published in the *Philippine Collegian* on January 29 (reprinted on page 3), the imprisoned Jose Ma. Sison proposed a coalition between the left and the legal opposition to field candidates in the local and presidential elections of 1986 and 1987. Sison does not propose

a switch from armed to electoral struggle. It would be, he explained, a complement to the on-going work of the CPP, providing the party and its supporters with a no-lose situation. Sison did not claim to speak for the CPP and it will be interesting to see how the Philippine left reacts.

Government-controlled papers played down the interview. But it sent shivers down the Reagan administration's spine. On February 12, Reagan made a revealing comment in the *New York Times*:

"We realize that there is an opposition party that is also pledged to democracy. We also are aware that there is another element in the Philippines that has communist support and backing . . . I think it would be a disaster for all of us if, out of the friction between [Marcos and the moderates] . . . the third element, the communist element, should get in, because we know that their result is always totalitarian."

MONKEY WRENCHES

Complicating Washington's transition plan is President Marcos himself. Marcos is less than eager to cooperate and has so far dragged his feet.

To date, regime spokespersons have refused to admit that Marcos is ill. Five employees of the government-owned Channel 4 were fired, including the news director, for broadcasting a videotape showing Marcos being fanned by an aide while he presided over a KBL caucus.

More seriously, Marcos announced at a February 26 press conference that senior military advisors have agreed to reinstate Ver as chief of staff once he is acquitted.

This could throw a major monkey wrench into Washington's plans. Observers agree that congressional approval of the aid packages hinges on being assured of Ramos as commander of the Philippine military.

If Marcos does continue to resist, or if he shows the slightest hint of leaning towards a Ver-Imelda succession combine, which Washington has expressed distaste for, the U.S. will be forced to shift options. Manila coffee shop gossip refuses to dismiss the possibility of a coup d'etat led by Ramos and backed by Washington. This is hardly Washington's choice, but until Marcos shapes up, the possibility cannot be dismissed.

Thus while Washington has come a long way toward implementing what was a mere glimmer of a policy after Aquino's death, it is still up against some fairly thorny problems. Marcos himself, though he might be in his twilight, still has enough tricks up his sleeve to force the hand of his long-time backer, making for some exciting and unpredictable times ahead. And if the Philippine left chooses to join forces with the moderate opposition in an electoral challenge, it could throw the U.S. formula completely askew. □

Tolentino Fired

President Marcos fired Foreign Affairs Minister Arturo Tolentino March 4, accusing him of taking stands that were "incompatible with those of the party and the government."

According to palace sources, the dismissal was triggered by a disagreement over Foreign Ministry appointments. But immediately prior to his dismissal, Tolentino created enough of a flap to cause some questioning of his credentials as his country's chief diplomat.

Following the Armitage and Wolfowitz visits (see story, page 1), the Foreign Minister took on the topic of stepped-up military aid with the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines. Increased aid, he said, might include military advisors coming to the country.

Two weeks later he returned to the subject. Advisors, he explained, would instruct Filipino soldiers in the use of U.S. equipment. As to serving as commanders in the field however, "That to me is inconceivable."

The subject brought up by Tolentino provoked protest, outrage and denial. Marcos responded adamantly on February 6. "We will not allow the participation of foreign troops in quelling

civil disturbances and civil disorders within the country."

The next day, several hundred demonstrators protested before the U.S. Embassy against the sending of military advisors charging that the country "was becoming another Vietnam." They were violently dispersed, catching the eye of the international media.

The U.S. Embassy quickly denied any intention of sending advisors as part of the coming aid package.

In the process, however, it revealed something not widely known: the U.S. already has advisors serving in the Philippines. In connection with the JUSMAG (Joint U.S. Military Aid Group) program, 27 U.S. servicemen are helping the government in "attaining a self-reliant posture through the use of security assistance plans and programs." The program has been operative since 1947.

The entire affair gave nationalists such as Jose Diokno a fine chance to agitate about the need "to be united in resisting American intervention in Philippine affairs." It may also have given Marcos cause to dump the unpredictable Tolentino. □ NFR

Sison

Continued from page 3

reform and mass base building; and is complemented by united front work.

The NPA applies the theory of people's war to the Philippine situation. It builds up its revolutionary strength by relying on the people and seizing arms from its enemy. Strategically, the AFP is superior in the number of personnel, equipment and training. But tactically, the NPA can launch offensives that can wipe out AFP forces piece by piece.

The NPA combination of the people's support and the correct strategy and tactics in accordance with the theory of people's war has been the undoing of the AFP. Its most fatal weakness is its inherently anti-people character—its being the coercive instrument of an anti-national and anti-democratic regime.

How do you view the stand of President Marcos, Doy Laurel and the Convenor Group regarding the U.S. military bases in the country?

Marcos would like to have these bases in exchange for U.S. support for himself and his clique. In the past, he would sometimes claim "nationalist" credit for the so-called five-year renewable tenure of the U.S. military bases, and the token AFP command over the same, and the commitment for removal of foreign bases under the 1976 ASEAN Accords. But at other times, when he thinks that an outright pro-imperialist position is more profitable, he is for the perpetuation of these bases; his stand is double-dealing in the pursuit of selfish interests.

Laurel can improve on his current stand. He need not appear too eager to please the U.S. If these bases were imposed on the country by virtue of an executive agreement, there is no reason why this cannot be removed by a truly patriotic chief executive. The military bases agreement allows the Philippine government to initiate the removal of these bases on the grounds of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity. The proposal for a plebiscite on these bases is superfluous.

The stand of the Convenor Group can also stand some improvement. U.S. military bases should be removed immediately or not later than 1991 when the bases agree-

ment expires. Pending removal, the AFP command over these bases should have authority to inspect and control every inch of the same.

What do you think will be the role of the U.S. in the elections? Which of the presidential candidates will it support?

U.S. authorities are making a lot of noise about the U.S. being a champion of democracy; about their desire of strengthening supposedly democratic institutions and processes. But the Filipino people know that the U.S. imperialists have been conniving with and supporting the fascist dictatorship to suppress the democratic forces, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Now that the Marcos clique is openly detested by the aggrieved people, they come assuring certain elements of the opposition that they are about to phase the Marcos clique out through elections. But at the same time they are providing Marcos with advice and logistics to go on an anti-communist rampage in order to undermine the broad democratic opposition against puppet autocracy.

The U.S. is a double-dealer. It will place bets on both Marcos or his surrogate and an opposition presidential candidate. It places the bigger bet on its favorite. If local elections come ahead of the presidential elections, local election results will indicate to the U.S. on what side to place the bigger bet but the U.S. will try to make both sides beholden to itself.

Do you expect to be released in case the legal opposition wins the presidency? If released, what would you do? Would you be willing to help the government of the new president?

The legal opposition have come out with a commitment to unconditionally release all political prisoners and grant amnesty to all political offenders. On the basis of this commitment and on the grounds that my constitutional and human rights have been so grossly violated by the fascists, I expect to be released.

If released, I would immediately go back to teaching in a university. I would continue with research and writing. Even in detention, I keep abreast of national and international affairs and do a lot of reading and writing.

If a legal opposition candidate wins the presidency and he seeks my advice, I would gladly give it to him in my individual capacity as I would give advice to whoever comes sincerely seeking it. □

Ver Trial Opens

Continued from page 4

remove any prejudice to the chief-of-staff the order of the accused was altered, replacing his name with the highest ranking of the principals.

Pamaran also ruled that the defendants did not have to resign their posts, but could voluntarily take administrative leave if they chose. If they were accused of graft, he told a solemn courtroom, they would be required to resign, but in the case of mere murder, there was no such law in the books.

Defense made it clear that it intended to take nothing lying down. It contested 13 of 27 "facts" submitted to the Sandiganbayan, some of which were based on testimony by the accused. "I don't see any reason why they should deny even the simple facts," mumbled a befuddled Deputy Tanodbayan (ombudsman) Manuel Herrera. He was referring to a defense objection to the "fact" that Aquino was killed on August 21, 1983.

BLOOD ON THE STAIRWAY?

But the windiest of arguments came from Gen. Olivas who chose to act as his own counsel. Olivas clearly intends to revive the lone gunman theory, long ago discredited by the Agrava Commission, and prove somehow that Rolando Galman killed Aquino after all.

Olivas demanded a confrontation with the Agrava Board "after they crucified me in public through the media . . . after they have caused anguish to my family and nearly ruined my career." Agrava Board members so far have refused to testify.

He then proceeded to cross-examine two medical witnesses. Leonora Vallada, a government chemist, admitted to a "mix-up" in a ballistic report which established that the bullet lodged in Aquino's skull did not match those of the .357 magnum allegedly used by Galman.

Then on came Dr. Benjamin Munoz whose testimony before the Agrava Commission attempted to prove that Aquino was standing on the tarmac at the time he was shot where Rolando Galman could have shot him rather than on the stairs. The downward trajectory of the bullet through the late Senator's skull indeed could have come from the gun of Galman

if Aquino looked up at the time he was shot.

Munoz stuck to his original story as Olivas added another twist. If Aquino were still on the stairs, he asked, "the stairway would be spattered with blood?" "Yes," Munoz answered. No witness to date has mentioned blood on the stairway.

CREDIBILITY GAP

Critics of the regime were not surprised at the VIP treatment accorded the accused. They predict a whitewash for Ver, with a sacrificial lamb—most likely Custodio—taking the rap.

Protesters gathered outside the courthouse during the first day of the trial demanding a "people's jail" to incarcerate the accused. Led by Butz and Cory Aquino, brother and widow of the late senator, they protested that 40 people arrested at a rally remained in detention while the murder suspects roamed free.

With the suspects out on the town, Munoz' repeat performance and Olivas' bluster, the Philippines' trial of the century is already beginning to look like the circus of the year as critics predicted.

Yet the credibility of the proceedings is of acute importance. The U.S. government is planning a transition to a post-Marcos era via purportedly democratic means in the not-too-distant future. A credible trial of Ver is one of its requirements.

But both the U.S. and Marcos are in a no-win situation. Few will take a Ver acquittal seriously, and if he is reinstated, Washington will be embarrassed. Yet a conviction will not necessarily make for a credible trial either. Few believe that the loyal Ver would dream of ordering an operation such as Aquino's assassination—or even its coverup—on his own. The Chief of Staff once told an interviewer he would walk out a third story window if Marcos ordered him to do so. Thus, convicting Ver would not necessarily erase the popular belief that Marcos himself was the mastermind.

So those who are pinning their hopes on credibility in the Ver trial are likely to find themselves disappointed. Meanwhile, those who have become familiar with Marcos-style justice are settling in to enjoy the show. □

Bracken

Continued from page 5

friar. I spent the whole night on my knees in prayer, in front of the door where my husband was held. At daybreak, the doors were opened and Rizal came forward, surrounded by the soldiers who were to shoot him . . .

I asked for the remains of my husband, but I was refused. Then I swore to avenge his death. With a revolver and dagger, I reached the camp of those in arms. They promised to aid me in accomplishing my object and they gave me a Mauser gun captured from Spanish troops.

Seven days after Rizal's execution, Josephine, together with Paciano Rizal and her two sisters-in-law, Josefa and Trinidad joined Gen. Aguinaldo's troops in Cavite. Subsequently, she led a charge against the Spaniards, killing a Spanish officer with her own rifle. She participated in many skirmishes as in the Battle of Santa Cruz de Malabon (now Tanza), Cavite. Most of the time, she spent barefoot and hungry.

One wonders how our historical writers could have missed parts of important Filipino works that mention Josephine Bracken's contribution to the Revolution. Mariano Ponce, for example, wrote Ferdinand Blumentritt, narrating how Josephine had impressed her comrades in Imus, Cavite with her courage in the face of danger from Spanish guns.

Gen. Artemio Ricarte, in his *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan*, wonders at the dedication of this foreigner



to the Filipino cause, "rendering much service to the insurrection and suffering much want and misfortune" for it. "At her request," he remembers, "there was installed in the estate house in Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon (now Gen. Trias) also in Cavite, a field hospital. And day and night, she attended and dressed the wounded with care. She also gave hope to all

soldiers who went to visit their companions lying in the hospital."

Like *La Loba Negra*, widow of Governor-General Fernando Manuel de Bustamante, who was murdered by the friars, Josephine might have joined the Revolution to avenge her husband's death—as she said in her narration—but her humanitarian service could only be motivated by a tender sensibility.

FROM LOVER TO REVOLUTIONARY

Rizal fell in love with the Josephine who could thrust and parry even with a man like Governor General Camilo Polavieja, who upon learning of her activities had her brought to him.

"What did you go to Imus for?" Polavieja asked her.

"What did you go there for, too?" retorted Josephine.

"To fight," answered the general.

"So did I."

"The friars will not leave you alone if you stay here, and I have no power to overrule them."

"Then what is the use of being governor general?"

Because her adoptive father was an American, she was put under American protection, and so escaped her husband's fate. But she was made to leave the country, and in May 1897, she sailed on the *S.S. Yuensang* to Hong Kong.

Months later, a news item appeared in a San Francisco newspaper reporting the raising of a big expedition of arms, ammunition, and men in Hong Kong by the widow of Jose Rizal. This expedition, according to the release was on its way to Japan where a crew of Filipino rebels would sail it to the Philippines. This spurious story must have risen from desperate hopes spun around Rizal's widow, the revolutionist.

It was this Josephine Bracken who fulfilled Rizal's ideals of womanhood. What more, it was this slip of a girl, suspected of being an enemy spy, who in the end took the step he himself dreaded to take—the giant step from reforms to revolution. M.M.

Some Prisoners Freed as FM Dodges High Court

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

Some political prisoners have unexpectedly won release as a result of President Marcos' attempts to avoid embarrassment at the hands of his own Supreme Court in these days of his declining regime.

In a landmark ruling that placed Marcos in an awkward position, the nation's highest court December 19 ordered the release of Cynthia Nolasco and Willie Tolentino on bail. The two had been in prison since August 6, 1984, and are charged with subversion. They petitioned the Supreme Court after the military refused to let them go despite an authorization for their release on bail by a lower court. The President had to reluctantly order their release last January 10.

A third detainee, Mila Aguilar-Roque, who was arrested and detained with Nolasco and Tolentino and who filed the same petition with the Supreme Court was excluded from the release order. Like Nolasco and Tolentino her release on bail was authorized by a lower court in August last year.

Aguilar-Roque is charged with two counts of rebellion and subversion for her alleged membership in the central committee and political bureau of the communist party of the Philippines.

AN OPENING FOR DETAINEES

The Nolasco-Tolentino case has given

a boost to the hopes of other political prisoners for their early release. On January 16 the President ordered eight more detainees released before their cases reached the Supreme Court. Released were: Nestor Bodino, Rodolfo Benosa, Manuel Mario Guzman, Alfredo Mansos, Charlie Palma, Rolando Salutin, Benjamin Ssegundo and Edwin Tulalian. All of them are charged with subversion.

At first the military refused to let go of the eight even after their release was authorized by Judge Lantin of the Quezon City Regional Trial Court on January 3 and after the required P16,000 bail bond was posted by each of the detainees. Enrile maintained that only the President could release them. Fear of another embarrassment from the Supreme Court evidently prompted the President's action. More petitions for release are pending in the lower courts.

STARTED WITH AGCAOILI

The pattern of Marcos' behavior started with the release of Fidel Agcaoili last October 24. Agcaoili's parents petitioned the Supreme Court October 22 for their son's release. The following day the Supreme Court asked the solicitor general to explain in a hearing scheduled for October 25 the reason for Agcaoili's continued detention despite the fact that he had already served his sentence. In fact, three justices voted outright for the issuance of an immediate release order even before the hearing. On

October 24 Marcos signed a release order for Agcaoili in an obvious attempt to preempt a formal Supreme Court decision on the petition which could establish a precedent on similar cases.

In the Nolasco-Tolentino case Enrile refused to uphold the Supreme Court release order, asserting that only Marcos could release the two. But this backfired and put Marcos on the spot even more. The opposition press, notably *Malaya*, commended the action of the Supreme Court. Finally, Marcos ordered their release but deliberately did not refer to the Supreme Court's ruling.

INDEPENDENCE

The Supreme Court's handling of the Agcaoili and Nolasco-Tolentino cases represents a departure from its previous behavior. It had been notorious for its blind loyalty to Marcos since the declaration of martial law in 1972. In fact, it was this Court that gave the seal of legitimacy to Marcos' 1973 constitution and declared martial law constitutional.

In 1977 the same Court confirmed the death penalty for three of Marcos' most prominent opponents: Benigno Aquino, Bernabe Buscayno and Victor Corpuz. When the President appointed Supreme Court Chief Justice Enrique Fernando to head up a panel to investigate the Aquino assassination there was a public outcry since the Court was seen as nothing more than an appendage to the dictatorship.



Nolasco: Released.



Aguilar: still jailed.

The Nolasco-Tolentino ruling is a reversal of a 1983 Supreme Court decision not to intervene in cases under Marcos' Preventive Detention Action (PDA).



Judy Taguiwalo and baby in prison.

By VICKY PEREZ

In June last year the Taguiwalos, most of whom are now residents of the United States, learned that a baby girl was born in the Philippines to Judy, one of the seven Taguiwalo children. What would have been a joyous occasion was dampened by the family's fear for the safety of Judy and her baby. The baby girl named June was born in a military prison where her mother had been languishing as a political detainee.

Judy, 34 years old, and her now nine-month old baby, have spent the last year in prison, despite a recommendation for her release signed by acting Chief-of-Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos.

On January 28, 1984, while four months pregnant, Judy was arrested in Angeles City, Pampanga and sent to a prison in Antique province. Subversion charges against her were dropped but replaced with criminal charges of murder and assault on a person of authority to concur with the government's claim that there are no political prisoners. She was moved from the Antique prison to Camp Crame where she is presently detained.

This is Judy's second bout with political detention. Active in the protest movements of the early 70's, Judy was detained without benefit of charges from June 1973 to November 1974. As a political prisoner, she was subjected to severe torture at the hands of the Antique provincial commander. The same commander is presently trying to have her transferred back to the

Antique prison from Camp Crame and deny her the right to bail.

EMOTIONAL ROLLER COASTER

From her home in Macedonia, Ohio, Debbie Taguiwalo, 27 and the youngest of the seven children, has been furiously trying to draw attention to her sister's case. She has disseminated 5,000 post-cards and collected more than 2,000 signatures for a petition asking vice president George Bush to appeal for Judy's release. The experience has been an emotional roller coaster. "We hear the news of Gen. Ramos recommending her release," Debbie explains, "then we hear that a lower office rescinded it. It's all hypocrisy: It gets you mad and at the same time, you can't afford to be mad because you don't want to worsen her situation. You feel so helpless, like you can't do anything."

Debbie is new to political activism. "Only since Judy's arrest did I start attending all the Filipino meetings, discussing political issues."

Sent to Maryknoll College in Manila to avoid the ferment sweeping other campuses, she managed not to get politically involved. However, she could not be sheltered completely from politics. At fourteen, she received her first lesson in Philippine justice.

"Military personnel came to our house just after martial law was declared, and without any warrant of arrest or search warrant, they went through our house and possessions. I knew they were looking for my brother and sister, but I didn't know why because I knew they weren't criminals. "I was very frightened and determined to leave the country at such a young age. Seeing those men with guns, I realized it was not the democratic country it professed to be."

"I was very frightened and determined to leave the country at such a young age. Seeing those men with guns, I realized it was not the democratic country it professed to be."

TWO WEEKS WITH JUDY

While Debbie gets much support from her parish and from support groups in the U.S. and Canada, her voice breaks when

she talks about the response from the Filipino community in her area. "The attitude is 'We don't want to get involved—we've got families over there.' This is very disappointing because this can happen to anyone. . . If people would only try to imagine how they would feel if their sister were imprisoned and treated like a criminal just for her political convictions.

"You read about it in the paper, that it's happening in Central America, and it's happening in the Philippines, too. I just hope everyone will get involved, listen carefully to the issues."

Their mother, Virgilia, who lives with Debbie in Macedonia, spent two weeks in prison with Judy during her delivery.

"When I first saw my daughter, she was emaciated. Her mat was delapidated, a hand-me-down from one detainee who had just been released. . . It was difficult for me to imagine how the baby will be brought up. The washroom is very far from Judy's quarters. They have a very limited water supply."

In those two weeks, Virgilia ate, slept and spoke with other detainees. "I was able to understand why they were all there."

She met with Cardinal Sin and approached several military officials to appeal for Judy's release—with little success.

"I want to go back and see what I can do myself. I just hope that there is more pressure put on the military for the release of the political prisoners. Until now, no formal charges have been filed against her. Meanwhile, the court investigating her has been dissolved, so she is not being investigated. She is just rotting in jail."

Meanwhile, opposition groups here were relieved to hear of the release of Lino Brocka, Behn Cervantes and 39 other protesters arrested during the January 28 transport strike. Hundreds of petitions and mailgrams were sent to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile from the U.S. and

Canada. The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network teams along with the Concerned Artists of the Philippines (in New York) solicited petitions and mailgrams and brought "Brocka-Cervantes photo displays" to Filipino film showings and stage events.

The arrests of Brocka and Cervantes polarized artists and generated an outpouring of domestic and international support. CAMD joined a very broad campaign for their release and within a few days collected 24 telegrams, 71 letters and 382 signatures to a petition directed to the President coming from major cities in the U.S. More telegrams, letters and petitions were also sent from Canada.

"The arrest of Lino Brocka is a material expression of the fear of the Marcos government of the social awakening of the members of the art community in the Philippines to the reality of Philippine Society," declared Geline Avila, national coordinator of the CAMD.

"Lino represents that awakening, for he no longer interprets the lives of the subject of his films, but he lives it too. He participates in the struggle of the impoverished," Avila added.

The arrests drew protests from Peter Scarlet, Executive Director of the San Francisco Film Festival, Richard Springer of *East West Magazine*, Tom Luddy, special projects director of Zoetrope films, Edith Kramer of the Pacific Film Archives and many cultural groups here.

News of the arrests of youthful J.V. Bautista of MABINI and Lean Alejandro of the League of Filipino Students provoked pickets in front of Philippine consulates in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The protests were called by groups like the Philippine Resource Center and Solidarity with Nationalist Alliance. It was joined by the Ninoy Aquino Movement, the Movement for a Free Philippines and CAMD/PSN. The latter also activated its "urgent alert network" to press Enrile for the leaders' release. □

Ohio Immigrant Presses for Her Sister's Freedom

Groups Kill Hawaii Death Penalty Bill

Hawaii conservatives recently suffered a set-back when their efforts to reinstate the death penalty was defeated by the concerted efforts of civil libertarians, religious and community groups.

Despite the growing support in this state for capital punishment, the Judiciary Committee of the State House of Representatives killed HB 411 which would have reinstated the death penalty. The action followed a rigorous lobby by an impressive array of religious, civic and community leaders.

Capital punishment has been outlawed in Hawaii since 1957 when Hawaii became the first local government to repeal the death penalty in the U.S.

Conservative Republicans and the business sector are the main advocates of the death penalty. They claim it would be a "deterrent" to violent crime in the state. Hawaii's tourist industry is also crying for "law and order" out of fear that the state's crime rate would drive away tourists.

Among those who spoke out against HB411 at the committee hearings Feb. 14, were the heads of the religious community—Bishops Joseph Ferrario of the Catholic Diocese, Edmund Browning of the Episcopal Church, R. Fujitani of the Buddhist Hongwanji Mission, and Ray Takumi and Emmat Cahill of the American Friends Services Committee and the Hawaii Council of Churches, respectively—who based their opposition on moral and ethical grounds.

But the strongest testimonies came from representatives of ethnic groups who would be more affected by HB 411. They claimed that historically, capital punishment has been applied in a discriminatory way, "primarily against the poor, powerless and minorities."

In his testimony, Dean Alegado of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) reminded members of the judiciary committee, who were mostly descendants of Japanese and Filipino immigrants, that their parents' generation were brought to Hawaii on the plantations and were the first victims of capital punishment.

"In Hawaii, between 1897 and 1944, when the last execution took place, forty-seven persons were executed. Of this number there were 24 Filipinos, 10 Japanese, 6 Koreans, 3 Hawaiians, 3 Puerto Ricans, and 1 Caucasian," Alegado stated.

"U.S. statistics since 1930 show the death penalty fell most heavily on Blacks. 95% were executed for rape, 76% for robbery, 83% for assault, and 100% for burglary."

As to whether capital punishment would deter violent crime, Alegado said, "In Hawaii, the murder rate per 100,000 was 4.3 for the decade 1947 to 1957, the year the law was repealed. The rate fell to 2.9 per 100,000 in the decade following that."

Adelaide "Frenchy" De Soto, representing the state's Hawaiians said, "Executions just don't accomplish what we think it does. I have grave doubts if it is any deterrent. The answer is raising better youngsters in a better atmosphere and with more moral and civil responsibility."

Despite the rejection of the death penalty its proponents say they will be back again in the legislature next year. □

INS Raids Island

Sixty hotel workers mostly Tongans and including at least two Filipinos fell victim to INS raids in Maui resorts during the first week of February. The raids were part of an orchestrated drive by the Immigration

and Naturalization Service against undocumented immigrants working in Hawaii's four major islands.

Using what witnesses called "gestapo-like" tactics, the INS agents barged into workplaces while reportedly accompanied by the Maui vice squad. The agents demanded personnel files from employers, looked for workers with Tongan and Samoan names in particular. Many of those arrested were reportedly heads of households who held jobs as dishwashers, housekeepers, janitors, and groundkeepers.

As in previous raids in Hawaii, the INS claimed in press statements that those arrested had criminal records, were "welfare cheats," and were "taking jobs from Americans." But Renata Foster-Au, attorney for twenty of those arrested challenged this saying, "None of the people I know are on food stamps, welfare, or have criminal records."

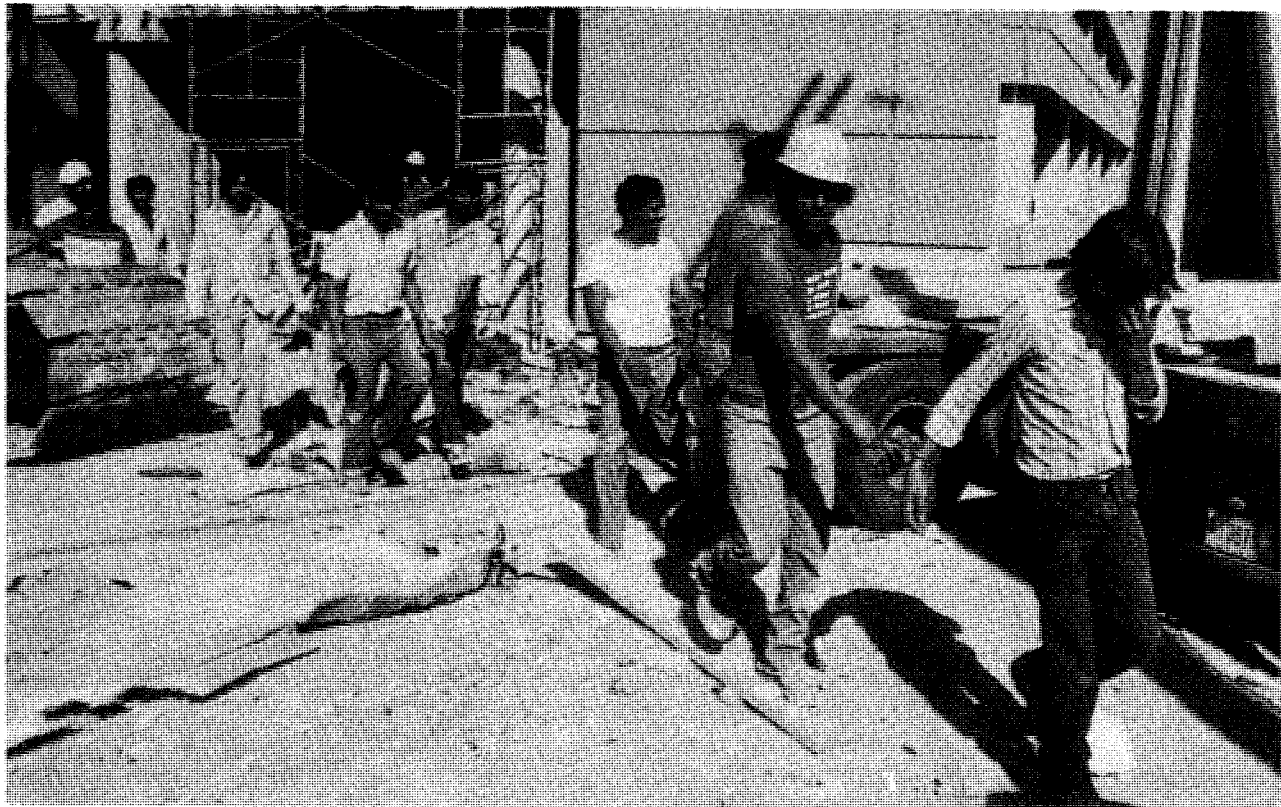
Responding to the raids and reports that the INS will conduct similar sweeps on other islands, the Coalition to Defend Immigrant Rights (CDIR) met with William Craig, acting director of the INS Honolulu Office. "We raised our concern about civil rights violations to which undocumented immigrants are often subject to," says Helen Toribio, coordinator of the Coalition.

For example, we know for a fact that these undocumented immigrants were not provided bilingual interpreters who could explain their rights as undocumented workers. Under duress, these people signed statements they did not understand thus providing the INS the upperhand in enforcing deportation," she explained.

Craig suggested that quarterly meetings take place between the INS and CDIR. However, he maintained the INS position that the raids were necessary and said in a recent interview that the drive will take place in all of the islands.

The coalition will be producing a number of know-your-rights brochures in various languages to be distributed among immigrant communities and labor unions. In addition, workshops will be scheduled to go as far as the neighboring islands to provide both immigrants and the general public information on "the political nature of the INS raids" and how the rights of immigrants can be protected. □

Immigration Bills in Congress — Again



Undocumented workers nabbed by INS at Dallas construction site.

By VINCE REYES

New bills seeking "immigration reform" have once again been introduced in Congress.

Although Senator Alan Simpson (R-Wyo) and Representative Romano Mazzoli (D-KY) have indicated they may push for a streamlined version of their bill which died in the closing days of last year's session, they have not formally introduced any legislation as yet.

However, Rep. Daniel Lungren (R-Calif) has introduced a bill which, similar to Simpson/Mazzoli, imposes legal penalties on employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers, and offers amnesty to undocumented.

Lungren's bill sets a more restrictive date on legalization—January 1, 1980—compared to January 1, 1982 in last year's House version.

ROYBAL BILL

Coming as a surprise, Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif) introduced his version of an immigration reform

package on the opening day of Congress. Last year, Roybal played a key role in the efforts to stop Simpson/Mazzoli by authoring an alternative bill.

But Roybal's current bill has caught immigrant rights advocates off guard as it departs from last year's version by including controversial employer sanctions within its enforcement provisions.

Sanctions would be enforced by a Special Counsel established by the bill, and individuals would have a private right to sue.

Roybal also proposes penalties against employers should they discriminate against citizens and legal residents in the guise of respecting the sanctions. Lungren's bill does not have this provision.

Roybal's office said the Congressman felt that the early introduction of his bill would be a positive way of initiating discussion on the immigration question and that the inclusion of employer sanctions is the only way an effective legalization plan would be passed.

However, if Roybal's plan is to use his bill as an alternative to measures such as Lungren's, he may have problems convincing a wide range of minority and civil libertarian organizations that have been fighting

restrictive immigration plans. He apparently did not consult any major national immigrant rights offices in preparing his bill. Because of his bill's sanctions provisions, immigrant rights advocates may even end up being at odds with it.

Employer sanctions had drawn criticisms for the legal and political problems their enforcement might cause. Simpson/Mazzoli relied solely on the INS for sanction enforcement. But under Roybal's plan, that power widens to include legal actions by almost any conceivable party including employees, unions, immigrant rights groups and even conservative anti-immigrant organizations. Also, sanctions would not be limited to new hirings.

FIGHTING TWO BILLS

Bill Tamayo, of the Bay Area Committee Against the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill said the Roybal bill "so closely resembles the version that came out of the House-Senate Conference last year that it will seriously invite consideration for passage by both houses."

Tamayo added that if Roybal's bill will not gain the support of the immigrant rights movement, "we may end up fighting two bills." He also speculated that the bill's quick introduction may preclude other alternative bills that could play a better role in setting back the more conservative efforts of Lungren and Simpson/Mazzoli.

"Roybal's bill unnecessarily concedes to the conservatives on the issue of sanctions," Tamayo said. "Sanctions will only serve to increase discrimination against immigrants and act as a barrier to their finding future employment."

HARD TO IMAGINE

"Roybal's provision giving an individual immigrant the right to challenge employers on discrimination is weak," according to Tamayo. "It is hard to imagine that the Special Counsel Roybal is proposing would give high priority to discrimination charges raised by immigrants because the same office in charge of receiving complaints would also be responsible for enforcing the employer sanctions."

Roybal's bill also includes; 1) a temporary worker program allowing undocumented workers now residing in the U.S. to convert their status to seasonal agricultural workers; however, they would not be able to adjust to any other status unless they are qualified for legalized status. 2) A two-tier program giving permanent resident status to any alien who lived in the U.S. before January 1, 1982 and temporary status to all others. In order to qualify, applicants must demonstrate knowledge of English and American history. They would not be eligible to receive federal government benefits for five years after becoming a legalized immigrant. 3) Formalization of an integrated federal information sharing network between the INS, Internal Revenue Service and the Social Security Administration which would lead to fuller federal efforts to investigate and identify undocumented workers. □

Recollections of a Lost Generation

By VINCE REYES and EMIL DE GUZMAN

One group of Filipinos can view the entire history of the community from a unique vantage point. They are the surviving members of the so-called "Lost Generation". As the children of First Wave immigrants, they are a rare breed. The First Wave were mostly young single men who were prevented by law and social strictures to intermarry with white women. The term "Lost Generation" refers to the children who should have been born to the First Wave but weren't. But some, very few, did manage to see the light of day. Now in their fifties, they stand witness to the evolution of the U.S. Filipino community, having known first hand the three distinct historical waves of immigration.

Their fathers had the hardest time. The First Wave began immediately after the Philippine-American war at the turn of the century and lasted until the start of World War II. Pushed to the U.S. by the poverty of their country and the ravages of Spanish and American colonialism, men from peasant backgrounds were recruited by California and Hawaiian contractors to work in the burgeoning agricultural industry. At the peak of their migration, during the early 1920s and '30s, Filipinos were found working for the lowest possible wages in the most backbreaking jobs.

They were scapegoated for the unemployment of American citizens during the Great Depression and subjected to all forms of racial abuse. Ineligible for citizenship, unable to vote, buy land or intermarry with whites, these young men found themselves on the periphery of a society eager to exploit them as a labor force but unwilling to let them assimilate into the mainstream. Whatever semblance of a community existed was highly unstable. The immigrants were an itinerant group, and could not strike deep roots—although a few lucky individuals found wives and did. Their organizations and institutions were mainly mutual protection groups, brotherhoods and labor associations.

There were of course very few children.

Despite being only in his early 50s, Jerry Paular is somewhat of a living historical relic as far as Filipino-American history is concerned. Like many of his generation, he has a hundred tales to tell about the yesteryears of the manongs and the coming of the warbrides.

Photographs of him and his friends in their youth show them looking like rebellious teenagers with pegged jeans, rolled up shirt sleeves, dangling cigarettes and ducktail hairdos. Americana.

Jerry still has the ducktail, although it is thinner and grayer now. He can get into a California street-kid accent, affect a Southern drawl as well as imitate an 80-year old manong.

"I was just another kid selling newspapers and shining shoes on Vermont Street," recalls Jerry of his youth in the Temple Street neighborhood in Los Angeles in the 1930s and '40s. He now lives in Sacramento.

"Fact was, we were so few, not many people knew what Filipinos were. . . We were treated real good in school, but after school and on the streets—that's where we had to deal with prejudice." Jerry's older brother Ray recalls being denied entrance to a public swimming pool in Los Angeles when he was 10 years old. More than a decade later, while a student at San Jose State, Ray would write an editorial to the local newspaper lashing at the racism of a prospective employer who shunned him because he was a Filipino. Ironically, Jerry is now Chief of Human Relations for the Department of Corrections for the State of California, in charge of affirmative action.

"I can't begin to tell you all the things the old Pinoys went through," says Jerry. He and his peers lived on the edge of American society, barred by racism from melting into the white pot. Without the benefit of an established Filipino community which could provide social and cultural support, their assimilation veered towards other non-whites.

"Most of my friends were Black and Mexican. We could relate to each other. Our parents were working in the same fields and restaurants. When I was a teenager, people called us gangs. Well, in a way we were gangs. We weren't angels—considering some of the things we did. But we had to hang out together just to protect ourselves

"It's not that we didn't have a community but it was small and most everybody was poor. All the pinoys knew each other from Seattle to Stockton to San Francisco, to Livingston and Los Angeles."

Adele Urbiztondo, a petite and trim 52-year-old



First Wave children: Stockton, California, 1942.

Courtesy of Jerry Paular

grandmother, was living in San Francisco in the middle of the Great Depression. She still lives there. Her father was a cook, often holding down two jobs to put food on the table. Her mother was a housewife but occasionally worked as a seamstress. The Fillmore district, now a predominantly Black neighborhood, only had a smattering of minorities then, mostly Japanese. In the all-girl Catholic school Adele attended, she was the only Filipino in her class. There were only four Filipino children in the whole school.

"Most of my first friends were Black," recalls Adele. "Our Black neighbors used to help care for my mother whenever she was too sick to take care of me and my brother and sister."

In a community composed mainly of bachelors, being a young girl was always a special thing. "Everyone loved it when us young girls participated in events, or rode on the floats during festivities.

Despite their small numbers, the "First Wave youth" still tried to get together as Filipinos and to assert that identity. Athletic clubs became important social institutions. One club people seem to remember the most was the "Mango Club."

"It started out in a gym just a place for people to meet. Then organized basketball teams started to play other teams as far away as Seattle, Los Angeles, San Diego, and even Hawaii. Then, the sports expanded into other social functions and we got together with kids from Salinas, Stockton, San Jose, and Alameda.

"As a teenager, I met more Filipino kids and went to different places across the Bay and Peninsula to go to parties. As soon as I learned how to put on lipstick and wear high heels, I was off. I met my husband in the Mango Club."

When their "uncles" came back from the Philippines after WWII, the handful of First Wave descendants saw the community change overnight. The Second Wave had begun. This wave started after the war and is mainly associated with the U.S. military. The second wave represents two groups. The first were members of the First Wave who were drafted or enlisted into the U.S. armed services to fight Japanese imperialism in the Philippines. Many returned to the U.S. with "warbrides." A second group were Filipinos who joined the U.S. armed services while in the Philippines and were given rights to become U.S. citizens. Both groups and their warbrides together created the Filipino community's first "baby boom" generation, one that would become recognized as the honest-to-goodness first generation of American-born Filipinos.

With citizenship rights and the advent of "family life" the Second Wave would ultimately define a more stable, identifiable Filipino community.

"Man, it was really great when the old guys came back with their wives—funny I call them 'old guys.' The wives they came back with were our age," Jerry explains. "You see, when the manongs came back with their wives, they had a lot of catching up to do. They didn't get to raise families. They had to wait until they were 40 years old or more.

"When guys my age were starting to raise our families—these manongs were just starting out and there was a 30-year difference in our ages. That's where 'lost generation' comes from—there's a whole

group of kids who should have been born but weren't."

Side by side with the Second Wave, the First Wave descendants built their families and careers. "It was such a good feeling just going someplace and seeing more Filipinos—it reinforced my identity. I was going to be able to relate to other Filipinos. Not that I wasn't satisfied with the friends that I had—but there was always a feeling of loneliness. Imagine going someplace and being the only young Filipino around."

The Second Wave brought with it a pronounced conservatism in political outlook. There was a "pro-Americanism" that resulted from the "liberation of the Philippines" by the U.S. McCarthyism would soon also sweep the nation. There were also privileges from having served in the military. But people like Adele and Jerry were aware that not all was well, even though Second Wavers hardly protested.

"Filipinos still faced problems," said Adele, "especially when it came to looking for a place to live. I got married in the early '50s and we had to stay with my mother because we couldn't afford housing in the neighborhoods we wanted to live in. In 1952 when my mother wanted to move to a better neighborhood like St. Francis Woods—the realtors wouldn't permit it even though she had the money. Even as late as 1964 when my husband and I couldn't move into Lake Merced because the real estate people wouldn't even bother with us."

Finding a job was the hardest thing to do, according to Jerry. He married early so by the time he was in his early 20s, he had a lot more responsibility than most of his friends. He worked as a construction worker on the Folsom Dam for three years and then lost the job.

"I went to school and took up criminology and wanted to go to law school. It was so expensive. When I finished one course, I was still paying on the books from the course before. I finally scored well on a civil service test for an insurance investigator.

"I got hired and was so happy. When I reported to work and stepped into the supervisor's office he was looking down at the work on his desk. He held out his hand and began to greet me, 'Hello Mr. Paular' . . . then he looked up at me, stopped smiling and said, 'I'm sorry the job has already been taken.' Man, I was so devastated, I didn't know what to think at first. Here I worked hard and did good on a test only to get treated like dirt. I hold the record for the shortest civil service career in history—two hours."

Jerry recalls going to over 60 companies and being turned down; as far as he could tell, because of his skin color. He had to get together with other minority friends to survey which companies in Sacramento would hire non-whites. He eventually became his own boss and opened up a private investigation firm which he ran for 25 years.

The new Filipino community stressed the need for rapid assimilation or Americanization as a means for getting accepted. Education occupied a high premium. There were, of course, success stories.

Joe de Guzman, a 47-year-old physiologist who earned his doctorate at Columbia University in New York said his parents always stressed education as the way to success. Joe learned to play the violin, learned ballet and was an excellent athlete.

Continued on page 12



Dexter Del Mar

By MADGE BELLO

On September 26, 1983 as Dexter Del Mar, an American-born Filipino, waited for his girlfriend Cathy Brydon to finish her exercise class at the exclusive Arden Hills Swimming and Tennis Club in Sacramento, the owner, ex-Olympic coach Sherman Chavoor, asked him in a rapid-fire fashion, "Who are you? Who are you with?" As Del Mar tried to explain, Chavoor got even more agitated and started yelling, "Don't get smart with me, you dirty yellow Jap!"

Del Mar could not believe what he heard. "I was very stunned." Chavoor began shoving and yelling at him "I want you out of here!" There were at least 125 people who witnessed this incident.

Del Mar filed a complaint accusing Chavoor of violating his civil rights. The complaint was taken up by the Department of Fair Employment and Housing, the legal arm of the Fair Employment Practices and Housing Commission.

DFEH counsel Valerie Toohy told AK that the department normally takes employment and housing discrimination cases but that the Del Mar case was so compelling. This case is the first ever to be heard under California's Ralph Civil Rights Act of 1976, which protects individuals from any acts or threats of racial violence. If successful, Del Mar could receive compensation for statutory damages of up to \$70,000.

The complaint reached the administrative hearing stage early this year. At the February hearings held by administrative law judge Karl Engeman of the Sacramento Human Rights Commission, some of the 125 people who saw the incident stepped forward and testified on Del Mar's behalf.

'He Called Me A Dumb Jap'

Racism Rap Against ex-Olympic Coach

Connie Morrisowe, dancercise instructor and Susan Potter, a student in Morrisowe's class verified Del Mar's testimony. George Macias, district administrator for the DFEH also testified that Chavoor admitted to him at the time of the investigation that he pushed and called Del Mar a "dumb Jap."

In an interview with an Asian-American newspaper, East West, Chavoor said his club never discriminated against Orientals or Blacks. He said he is, in fact, seeking more membership from minority groups. "I've never turned away any fees from anyone." Membership in the club costs \$200 a year. New members are allowed in only when there's a vacancy.

At the recent hearings, Chavoor's attorney, Stephen Boutin, argued that the altercation occurred because Del Mar was being argumentative, that Chavoor was merely referring to Del Mar's "cowardice" when he used the word "yellow Jap," and not to his race.

He also told the judge that this is not the first time Chavoor has called anyone names. In fact, he stated, Chavoor has called the Olympic swimming champion, Mark Spitz a "goddamn Jew," and they remain very good friends. Spitz is expected to testify on Chavoor's behalf when the hearings resume on April 29.

The defense is building up an argument that ethnic namecalling is not unlawful, an observer noted. In cross-examining Del Mar, Boutin attempted to portray him as an irresponsible person who did not care about his ethnic heritage.

"For the past 15 years with only a couple of exceptions, he has gone out with white women," Boutin said. It was questionable, he said, whether Chavoor had demeaned Del Mar because the latter "has never held any position of responsibility" in the community.

Boutin also questioned Del Mar's feelings towards Japanese. "Isn't it true that in Sacramento, there were tensions between Filipinos and Japanese, and that's how you were brought up?" he asked, indicating that Del Mar should not

have felt demeaned when he was called a "Jap."

The past year has been very trying for Del Mar. He lost his job at a swimming pool company and his 7-year relationship with Brydon but is not concerned about the monetary reward, he said. "From the very beginning, I felt this shouldn't go unnoticed. I want to let people know that what happened was wrong and this act of violence should not happen to anyone."

The Del Mar incident took place amidst what area residents describe as a rise in racist sentiments directed at Asians. In May of 1983, a few months before the Del Mar incident, a Vietnamese youth was stabbed to death in a racially motivated fight. □

was handed down by Federal Court Judge Donald Voorhees. The appellate court reasserted Voorhees' ruling that sovereign immunity does not protect foreign governments nor their officials from being brought to court for illegal acts, especially when American citizens are murdered as alleged in the Domingo v. Marcos civil suit.

U.S. GOVERNMENT DISMISSED

Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes were officials of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 37, Alaska Cannery Workers Union in Seattle. Both were gunned down in their union hall in 1980. Viernes died instantly and Domingo died shortly afterwards, after identifying their assassins. Three Filipinos were convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

The CJDV and the families of Domingo and Viernes contend that the Marcos government headed a murder conspiracy with the prior knowledge of U.S. authorities. The families filed a civil suit against both governments.

In his ruling, Judge Voorhees dismissed the U.S. as a defendant but gave the families another chance to appeal this motion, and amend their complaint if they can present more factual evidence.

DISCOVERY BEGINS

The civil suit contends that the U.S. knew of the Philippine government's plans to infiltrate agents into this country to harass the anti-Marcos movement. Secondly, the U.S. provided intelligence to the Philippines regarding Viernes' 1981 trip to the Philippines and falsely reported that he carried \$290,000 with him. By providing this information, U.S. government officials knew that Viernes' and Domingo's lives were in jeopardy.

Speaking for the CJDV, Cindy Domingo stated that the committee and its supporters applauded the final decision. Thus, it set the stage for "discovery" of the facts and information presently in the Philippine government's possession. However, Domingo cautioned that although the Philippines must answer requests for discovery, they will be expected to raise numerous reasons for not complying.

"But in spite of this," she said, "the CJDV intends to pursue justice in this case no matter what barriers are thrown before us. We have waited almost three years for this decision. We entered this struggle without any illusions that we would get justice tomorrow." □

Seattle Murder Civil Suit Justice Cmtte. Wins Big Round

The Philippine government must remain a defendant in the Domingo v. Marcos civil suit, the Federal 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled last February 12. Ferdinand Marcos' government stands accused of masterminding the 1981 murders of Seattle trade unionists and anti-Marcos activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

The Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV) welcomed the decision stating that the court's decision "puts the Philippines in this case once and for all."

In mid-1984, the Philippine government appealed the 9th Circuit Court to overturn a lower court decision dismissing the Philippines' assertion that it has the right to sovereign immunity. The decision

Lost Generation

Continued from page 11

Adele can rattle off names of scores of American-born Filipino success stories.

But Jerry can name just as many who died young or landed in jail. In all, the Filipino community was like any immigrant group undergoing growing pains as part of the working class.

The First Wave descendants and Second Wave certainly had mixed emotions about the Third Wave immigrants who began coming in 1965, after the relaxation of immigration laws which allowed certain professionals to enter the U.S. to fill a vacuum in certain fields. They would bring their families and over the years, a complex labyrinth of sponsorship would bring entire networks of families and relatives. This wave would ultimately become the largest group of immigrants. It is still growing 20 years after it began and has engulfed and changed the Filipino community that Jerry and Adele had come to know. The newcomers were not quite like the Second Wave who extended their family networks. They were not as Americanized as they or their fathers and uncles have become.

The First Wave descendants for many years had to accept a marginal existence and were just beginning to gain economic stability. Then all of a sudden, a new mass of Filipinos came in who did not fit the pattern of people they grew up with.

The first of the Third Wave were professionals, highly educated and goal-oriented. It befuddled the lost generation to see new arrivals procure jobs in what seemed like an instant. With little contact with the Third Wave, it looked to the lost generation that the



American-born Mango Club members at a 1984 reunion.

Third Wave was "making it."

Adele admits to feeling "slight resentments" toward newcomers. "Those who came in the early '70s walked into jobs and schools. They do not realize that my parents who came in the 1920s were pioneers."

Eddie Fernandez, a 47-year-old San Francisco engineer points to a lack of appreciation for Filipinos who had been here before.

"The First Wave had tremendous fortitude to adapt and come out ahead. They worked hard. The manongs, *manangs*, *titos* and *titas* did a lot for us. I can't help feel but pride for the elders and their sacrifices . . ." In the '60s, some newcomers, especially the professionals, tended to look down on their predecessors as "hardware types." This class prejudice was reciprocated by resentful Filipino-Americans who reserved terms such as "FOBs" ("fresh off the boat") for the adjusting newcomers.

Jerry's resentment is focused on the role some newcomers have played in Filipino community politics in Sacramento. "You know, these professionals, I hate to say, some may have degrees, but what good is education if

you're just all out for yourself. Many of us worked for so many years trying to do something good for the community and then some of these established families and professionals try to take it out from under us. I'm over 50 and they still refer to us as kids. It's their way of trying to discredit our progressive ideas."

Jerry realizes, however, that the Third Wave is very complex and constantly changing. It is not all professionals and even those who are but came later are also having a tough time. This wave has varying ages and educational and class backgrounds. As the director of a social service organization serving the Filipino community, he identifies with the tests many of the new arrivals face.

In the end, he is aware that all immigrant waves have some basic things in common—an experience all immigrants share for the most part.

"When I see these young Filipino immigrant families without work and no money to pay the rent, man, my heart goes out to them. I know what they're going through—I was there—and I don't want to see any other Filipino have to go through that." □

Voices

For A Grand Coalition On Fast Track and Related Matters

By ELI ANGELES

"Fast Track" is used generically here to refer to various plans (e.g. of the Convenor Group, of the UNIDO National Unification Committee and even of the KBL) to cope with a sudden presidential election situation. In this brief commentary, we take the standpoint of militant, cause-oriented opposition.

1. It is good to be prepared for any eventuality. A sudden presidential election situation is only one possible eventuality. The best preparation for all eventualities is continuing political education, organization and mobilization of our people whose participation and support is indispensable. The preparation of a "fast track" system is best situated as part of the overall preparations of our people in their struggle against the dictatorship.

Horacio "Boy" Morales said in *The New Philippine Review* forum on the coalition government that "The key determinant, whether short-term or long-term, is the capacity of the opposition forces to expand their organized strength and political influence and their success in building both a working and formal unity or coalition."

It is a bit pathetic to anchor political planning on the President's health. As Jose Ma. Sison ended his Message to KOMPIL, "Let us rely on the strength of our own people and not on the U.S. or on lupus!"

2. Electoral struggle is one form of struggle against the dictatorship. Even the radicals recognize the possibility. Morales said that "It would be interesting to find out if revolutionary forces see future elections, especially the 1987 elections (presuming Marcos is still around), as offering more realistic chances for political gains compared to the forthcoming Batasan elections."

Plaridel Papers No. 2 went as far as to state that "Since the National Democratic Front's comprehensive strategy includes non-violent and even electoral struggle, those who contribute to its decisive victory through participation in these forms of struggle will also form part of the leadership of the coalition."

Still and all, electoral struggle should be placed in the proper context of the over-all struggle which involves a totality, combination and complementation of all forms of struggle—legal and illegal, open and underground, non-armed and armed. As to which is the principal form of struggle, this is perhaps best left to practice, history and the people.

3. The capture of the presidency, if ever, would be significant. But the presidency is only part of a whole system. We seek a change in the system, not just in the presidency.

We seek not only to remove the Marcos government from power but also to demolish the authoritarian structures and institutions it built. We also seek to free the nation from economic, political and cultural domination by the U.S. In short and stated positively, we seek a Philippine society that is both democratic and independent.

4. In a presidential election, the role of personalities is unavoidable. But such a role should be made subordinate to that of causes.

A presidential candidate is really merely representative of a coalition of forces and interests. The ideal situation would be a president who is merely the chief executive of a democratic coalition government. As expounded by Morales, "By the very nature of a coalition government, leadership would have to be more collective and one essential figure need not play as crucial a role as it seems to play in the current legal political experience of Filipinos."

In the choice of personalities, the criteria proposed by Sison for KOMPIL's council of leaders is a good guide: commitment to the national and democratic interests of the people, competence in political and organizational work, representation of major class and sectoral interests, accommodation of various ideological and political trends, and consideration of regional distribution.

5. A good step towards the subordination of personalities to causes is the Declaration of Unity forged by the Convenor Group. It is also good that the Declaration of Unity preceded the procedure for choosing a presidential candidate.



But a great document of unity can become a mere scrap of paper. Still fresh is the experience of a transient unity on the "Call for Meaningful Elections."

The basis of unity is stronger where there is agreement on the particulars of "freedom," "democracy," "sovereignty," and "independence." In this regard, Letizia R. Constantino wrote in the aftermath of the Aquino assassination that "Perhaps for short-term, electoral objectives, it may be useful for some leaders to project demands for reconciliation, unity, justice, freedom, truth, democracy, simply as disembodied absolutes. This practice should be resisted because in the long run it is a disservice to the real interests of the Filipino people."

It takes concrete issues such as the U.S. military bases to separate the fake from the genuine oppositionists.

6. The idea of unifying the opposition in fielding a common candidate is good. But nothing may come out of it because certain personalities are deadset on running, or certain groups are deadset on fielding their respective standard bearers or proceeding with their respective procedures for choosing a presidential candidate.

The worst case is the personality deadset on running who has a procedure for choosing a presidential candidate that is pre-cooked (*lutong laurel*) to legitimize his personal ambition.

On the other hand, the UNIDO's charge that the Convenor Group's "fast track" system is heavily stacked in favor of PDP-Laban appears well taken. Also noted is the leading role of Jesuit and Jesuit-trained or influenced elements—and all that implies.

MP Luis Villafuerte says that "Now, if not all 11 (potential standard bearers of the Convenor Group) are serious candidates, then some were placed there to give undue advantage to some persons." It takes a thief to catch a thief?

7. Just as the Convenor Group reminded Sen. Laurel about the position on the bases that he had taken and signed in June 1983, we wish to remind Messrs. Tanada, Butz Aquino, Diokno, Manglapus, and Salonga that they signed "An Appeal for Unity and a Pledge of Solidarity" in Hong Kong on April 5, 1984. This document stated that "To hasten the collapse of the Marcos regime, our people must unite and engage in militant, non-violent mass actions."

They were among those who organized and initially composed a "Preparatory Committee to lay the ground work for a Transitory Government representing all sectors of our society." The Preparatory Committee has since been expanded to broaden the base of those who will participate. In other words, there already was a broad-based committee that could be the instrument for the opposition to attain its objectives.

The precursor of the Preparatory Committee was the Preparatory Commission of the COMPACT formed

on January 6, 1984 which involved, among others, Messrs. Tanada, Diokno, Guingona, Pimentel, and Salonga. According to former President Diosdado Macapagal, "The main objective of this alliance of political parties and cause-oriented groups is to rally and galvanize the people, in whom all political power ultimately resides, to topple the regime through peaceful but militant, energetic and resolute pressure from all sectors."

A broad-based committee can function as a collective unified command that will determine strategy and tactics, lay down policies, draw up plans, direct and supervise campaigns and actions, and decide the procedure for choosing a presidential candidate, with binding force on the opposition.

8. The more the representation of the participants in the struggle and of major class and sectoral interests, the more effective a collective unified command will be. Morales once said that "As it stands, the proposed prepcom/transition government is not representative enough. A leadership coalition must include representatives of sectoral organizations, not only of the peasant and worker majority but also of the middle class professions. In addition, there is the problem of reflecting the existence of a revolutionary opposition in what is a legal committee."

Plaridel Papers No. 2 envisions a new popular coalition composed of the traditional legal opposition, the new legal opposition and the clandestine and armed revolutionary opposition—"as the truly representative alternative to Marcos."

What a grand coalition that would be!

January 13, 1985, Seattle, WA

(Eli Angeles is becoming quite a regular "Voices" contributor but we know nothing about him other than his Seattle postmark. We request Mr. Angeles to tell his readers a little more about himself when he sends in his next contribution—Ed.)

TO OUR READERS:

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

1. Contributions must be generally progressive in content. However, all written materials accepted for publication are edited only for length. The contributors are responsible for the political opinions expressed in their work.
2. Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed 2,000 words. All articles must be typed double spaced and received by us within the first week of the month. Only articles with self-addressed stamped envelopes will be sent back if not accepted for publication.
3. Photos of art work will be sent back upon request by the contributor.
4. For now, AK cannot give monetary compensation for published material although we wish to do so in the future. But your contribution to the enrichment of the Filipino community's cultural experience will itself be a satisfying reward.

Social isolation led him to the brush and palette. Now Macario Pascual is acclaimed for his paintings of Hawaii's plantations, its workers and the surrounding landscape.

A noted Honolulu art critic described the young painter as an artist who has "developed a mature and confident painting style (a combination of brushwork and palette knife), that supports a keen sense of visual structure and a quietly reflective world view."

Born on November 26, 1956 in Liwag, Ilocos Sur, Pascual and his mother joined his father, a plantation worker in Maui, in 1962.

At age 13, Pascual became the first and youngest recipient of the Lahaina Art Society Art Scholarship in Maui. In 1974 while still a high school senior, he was awarded his first solo exhibition by the Society. He was the youngest person ever invited to exhibit at the Society's gallery.

Then followed an exclusive representation by the Larian Galleries of Maui and California for the next three years and eventually, with the Village Galleries. Pascual was commissioned by the State of Hawaii for the 75th Filipino Anniversary Commemoration in 1981, and by Alexander and Baldwin, Inc. for its centennial in 1982.

Pascual's "Hana Ko IV," received a top award in oil painting in the prestigious National Exhibition of Contemporary Realism in Springfield, Massachusetts.



'Workers at Noon'



Interview with Painter Macario Pascual

The Plantation is his Palette

In 1983, one of his original oils was included in the Chataqua National Exhibition of American Art in New York. His work was one of only 68 pieces accepted from the 2,600 entries.

Pascual received his BFA degree in Design from the University of Hawaii and after graduation, moved back to Maui.

Q: What brought your family to Maui?

A: My father, Luis, came here first in 1946. He was among the 6,000 plantation workers recruited from the Philippines. After ten years working the plantations, he went back to the Philippines and married my mother, Natividad. Mother and I came here to join him in 1962. I'm just starting to learn more about my parents' younger days. My father is in his 60s now but he's still working in the plantation, the Pioneer Mill Company in Lahaina. My mother works as a maid for one of the hotels in Kaanapali, a resort area on Maui.

Q: How did you get interested in painting?

A: When I first arrived, drawing became an outlet for me since I didn't know how to speak English and didn't have friends. I don't know how I ever got through first, second or third grade. It wasn't until the fourth grade that I started to socialize and began playing sports and stuff.

I think I was about 12 years old when I first started painting. I did everything—sunsets, waterfalls, flowers and mountains. I used to paint on black velvet and I'd sell them for twenty bucks or so just to be able to buy more materials. We used to have a little circuit where I hung around artists a lot older than I was—they gave me their old paint brushes. From there, I slowly became more familiar with the medium. I was offered an art scholarship when I was 13 years old which I used up to the time I went to the University of Hawaii as a freshman.

It wasn't until my first solo exhibit at the Lahaina Art Society—I was 17 years old then—that I decided painting is what I wanted to do. My father wasn't all that excited because it's such an unstable occupation and coming from the Philippines, where it's hard to get employment and have a steady income, I can understand.

Q: When did you first become interested in using the plantation as your subject?

A: After college, I wanted to do a whole series on the workers, on the plantation people. I didn't really look at them as Filipinos or Japanese or Hawaiian or Chinese, because it didn't really matter. When I lived on the plantation they were all friends, they were people I really liked. They could be Filipino or any nationality. . . to me, they're wonderful hard-working people.

I think art is a reflection of your environment or your feelings about the environment. Maui is a beautiful island and it's always changing. . . in a way it's good and in a way it's sad, too. You see some of the old things go, lifestyles change. Now you see new homes for the plantation workers, but the conditions are still the same, they still do the same hard work.

Q: You seem to identify a lot with workers.

A: I think part of the reason is my father. He only had sixth grade education when he came here and he worked and worked while we in the family benefited from his sacrifice. He was working two jobs and one time we talked to him about education but instead, he told me and my four brothers, "You guys get the education while I work." I also think of my mother's drive to work hard and provide for the family. . .



'One-Four-Five'

Q: Is painting your full time profession?

A: Yes, it helps pay my bills. I have a studio in Lahaina (Maui) where I live and I'm happy that I can paint full time. On the side, I teach tennis at the Hyatt Hotel two days a week.

I do primarily oil paintings; my goal as a painter is to create images that will stay with the viewer for a long time, paintings that have lasting impressions whether it's abstract or representational.

I'm not a factory, I work out one idea at a time. I think to be good at something you have to focus more on the subject, you have to have tunnel vision. By concentrating on too many things you tend to get distracted. But working with oils can also be boring, so I do other things to refresh me a bit like watercolors, where I get different feelings. That's how I break the boredom—to make my art more exciting. That's how art should be—it cannot be stale because it reflects on the work.

Q: What are your plans for the future?

A: I have a solo exhibit scheduled in March on the island of Kauai for two weeks. At about the same time, I was one of the 16 artists nationally who were invited to participate at San Francisco's "Flora and Fauna" exhibit sponsored by the Art Programs, Inc.

I hope to be a better painter. I try and learn what others have done, in the hope of making me a better artist. There are things that I use for myself, and there are things I learned which don't work for me. There are certain qualities that attract me to Rembrandt's work—the way he handles the brush, how he applies the paint. When you get up close to a Rembrandt you see globs of paint, but when you step back you see not just the image or likeness but you can almost feel the person. There's also Vermeer, a Flemish artist—he did interior scenes, people. He wasn't appreciated during his lifetime.

Several years back, I approached one of the galleries in Honolulu about showing my work, but nobody was interested in buying paintings of Hawaiian plantation life. Today, even mainland galleries are coming after me. It's a very nice position to be in. □

Tagpi-tagpi Pangarap

Kung minsa'y di magkatugma
Kung baga sa kanta
Sintunado sa tono.
Kita'y maghabi
Ng ating bukas
Ika'y sa sinulid . . .
Ako nama'y sa karayom.
Pagmasdan mo kaibigan—
Tarukin mo ang kahulugan
Ng bukas.
Liripin mo't pagnilayan
Ang pangarap
Na Tinagpian.
Saan ang hantungan?
Saan ang simula?
Mula sa butil . . . ay binhi
O baka naman butil at binhi
Ay iisa . . . tama ba?

Ipunla mo . . . ipupunla ko
Sa matabang lupa
Lupang pinagyaman ng lipak
Na kamay ng mga nuno nating
Nangamatay
Nangamatay sa galamay ng
Ganid na iilan . . . ng mga dayuhan.
Buhay, pawis, at dugo
Puhunang likas na kanila
Tanging yaman . . .
Nilagot . . . binawi
Para saan? . . . Para kangino?
Sa iyo . . .
. . . at sa akin!

Marie Tungol
November 1, 1984

You wouldn't catch them wearing white sheets or brown shirt uniforms. That stuff is for their unsophisticated lunatic fringe cousins who get off on burning crosses and flashing Nazi salutes. No, today's vanguards of the American right prefer business suits and slick public relations campaigns.

These ideologues have succeeded in softening the rightwing movement's old Klansmen-and-Birchers image so much so that the "New Right" (an effective euphemism for the more precise term, neo-fascist) has acquired unprecedented legitimacy.

As its drive for power and the political soul of white middle America, the New Right movement has employed state-of-the-art computer technology, sophisticated mass communications strategies using advanced satellite and cable broadcasting systems, well-oiled Washington lobbies, and overlapping networks of "issue-oriented" activist groups.

In the process, it has rallied millions under its banner and gained a broad influence that its airheaded fore-runners—the KKK, Nazis and Birchers—could only dream about. In ten short years, the New Right became a central force in twice electing a U.S. president: Ronald Reagan. It has moved to the very center of the Republican Party and no doubt, now plays a major role in shaping government policies in particular, and American politics in general.

At the center of this movement are three individuals often credited with masterminding its meteoric resurgence: Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich and John Terry Dolan.

Survival of a Free Congress, Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee, and Howard Phillip's Conservative Caucus. He was crucial in launching fundraisers for these groups and continues to oversee the tight coordination of their combined operations.

Also acting as main propagandist for the network, Viguerie publishes the monthly *Conservative Digest* and the biweekly *New Right Report*, a newsletter designed for the movement's political activists.

WEYRICH: CHIEF STRATEGIST

Paul Weyrich formed the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress in 1974. A highly successful political action committee, the CFSC provides funds to new right candidates but specializes in developing electoral organizations at the precinct level. Among the three ultra-conservative leaders, Weyrich is considered the chief architect of the new right's renaissance and is seen as its main strategist. Some observers consider him the "driving force" behind nearly every religious, social and political concern of the movement.

Credited to Weyrich was the fusion of the religious right with the new right network in 1979. After discovering that born-again Christians formed the largest bloc of unregistered voters in the country, Weyrich set his energies to reining in this constituency. Soon three national religious organizations were formed under Weyrich's close guidance—the Christian Voice, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, and the Religious Roundtable—to help cement the new alliance.

In 1973, with money from beer brewer and staunch John

devastatingly effective in unseating liberal and moderate congressmen. Dolan admitted that "a group like ours could lie through its teeth and the candidate it helps stays clean." Consequently, Dolan remains one of the most feared figures in Washington and is often referred to as the "hit man" of the new right.

Viguerie, Weyrich and Dolan dominate the New Right's leadership core. In regular biweekly meetings (called the Kingston meetings after the building where they were first held), about 30 leaders of various new right groupings plan strategy, allocate resources and assess on-going efforts.

The participants are less secretive about the existence of the meetings than they are about the specific agenda discussions. But the meetings obviously serve a vital coordinating function for the New Right's myriad activities, including the campaigns and actions of single-issue affiliate groups, and its religious right contingents.

SINGLE-ISSUE STRATEGY

In reaction to the progressive and liberal social agitation of the '60s and '70s for civil rights and against the Vietnam war, conservative activists and lobbyists launched a series of campaigns and organizations based on "single-issues": anti-busing, anti-affirmative action, anti-abortion, anti-women's rights, anti-gay rights, etc. These campaigns were crucial in triggering a conservative resurgence whose slogans were a slick refinement of the "old" rights unsophisticated and blatantly racist and self-isolating rallying cries.

Of these issues, opposition to abortion proved to be the most potent organizing focus. It not only rallied fundamentalist constituencies but also drove a wedge within Protestant denominations and Catholic circles that have been sympathetic to progressive and liberal causes.

The New Right proceeded to cohere local and independent anti-abortion organizations under more encompassing PACs and lobbies such as the National Pro-Life Political Action Committee, the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, and the American Life Lobby.

These efforts were handsomely rewarded in the 1980 elections when four of NCPAC's five targeted liberal senators were defeated. An NCPAC study found abortion was the most effective single issue that prompted Democrats to vote Republican and a major factor in unseating the four liberals.

MARRIAGE WITH RELIGIOUS RIGHT

No doubt, the abortion issue played a key role in the integration of the religious right and its fundamentalist preachers into the new right coalition. This fusion ranks as one of the most significant gains for the movement. The fundamentalist preachers of the airwaves already commanded an advanced system of mass communication, an established tax-exempt financial base, and a gospel that was fully compatible with the new right political agenda.

The "electronic church" is vast and reportedly includes 1,400 radio stations, 3,500 local television and cable systems and four all-religious satellite networks. Altogether, they bring in half a billion dollars in small donations annually. The Christian Broadcasting Network, for example, is the largest non-commercial network in the world. In the U.S., it reaches more than 75% of all homes with television, over 150 local stations and 2,500 satellite-cable systems. Its programs are also aired in Japan, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and the Armed Forces Radio and Television Network.

The most notorious religious rightwinger is Jerry Falwell with his powerful lobby, the Moral Majority. Falwell's "The Old-Time Gospel Hour" on television, reportedly attracts as many as 50 million viewers weekly, and one million in contributions. Since its formation the Moral Majority has struck roots in numerous states, and claimed to have registered hundreds of thousands of new voters. Falwell has made it known that he intends to use his power to influence any Supreme Court nominations.

Although not widely known, possibly the most active force on the religious right is the Campus Crusade for Christ International whose area of operations is not limited to the nation's university campuses, but extends to 131 countries worldwide.

Charged with undertaking the organization's mission of world christianization is its "Great Commission Army," composed of 6,000 staff members and hundreds of thousands of volunteers. The Army's stated goal is "to share the gospel with every person on earth" and "to make disciples of all nations."

The New Right has indeed come a long way in altering the ideological climate in the U.S. and positioning itself in key institutions. Many Americans who are convinced "fascism can't happen here" are most likely thinking only of goose-stepping uniformed hordes. Meanwhile, they miss the significance of the New Right's growing political clout and its deliberate and systematic undermining of this country's democratic institutions. □

(The sources used in this article were the Data Center in Oakland, CA and the book, *Holy Terror* by Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, Delta Publishing.)

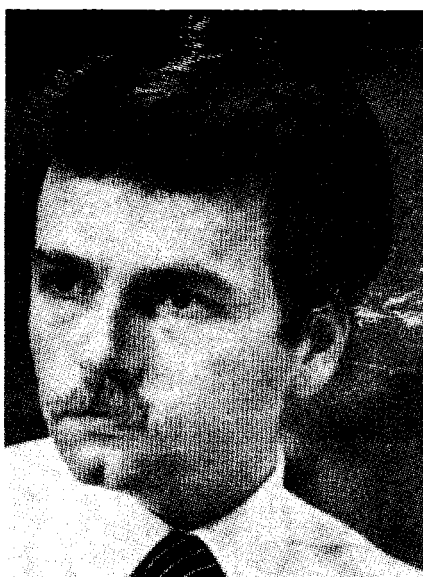
How New Right Became New



Viguerie



Weyrich



Dolan

Each controls a central multi-issue organization. These core groups branch out into numerous single issue groups, think tanks, political action committees (PACs), or have drawn existing ones into their orbits.

The governing boards of this sprawling and widening rightwing complex are so tightly intertwined that it has been described as an "octopus trying to shake hands with itself."

VIGUERIE: DIRECT MAIL CZAR

Richard A. Viguerie and his computer company RAVCO form the financial backbone of the fundamentalist right network. His infamous direct mail-fundraising service is directly responsible for the formation and continued success of the movement's leading PACs which have given valuable support to several rightwing politicians like Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Helms in turn has erected his own network of political organizations including four tax-exempt foundations: the Institute of American Relations and its Foreign Affairs Council; the American Family Institute; the Center for a Free Society; and the Institute on Money and Inflation. The senator's latest project is a direct mail appeal to conservatives to key Columbia Broadcasting Systems stocks so that they can take control of the network and "become Dan Rather's boss."

Over the years, Viguerie's computers amassed the names and addresses of over 25 million Americans, from whom he reportedly raises \$15 million annually, mostly in small donations. In the process, Viguerie builds his own fortune by charging a high percentage from the money raised. Among the groups he has solicited millions for are the Panama Canal Truth Squad, Gun Owners of America, and the American Security Council.

Viguerie is especially committed to the multi-issue core groups that make up the political nucleus of the new right network: Weyrich's Committee for the

Birch Society backer Joseph Coors, Weyrich formed the Heritage Foundation. This think tank has emerged as a major influence on the Reagan administration's overall policy.

Ten days after Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 the foundation released a set of recommendations in the form of a transition plan for the government. The foundation's president, Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., claims that 61% of the plan's recommendations were subsequently adopted by the administration.

In the wake of Reagan's reelection, Heritage Foundation released its "Mandate for Leadership II: Continuing the Conservative Revolution," which among other things calls for greater efforts to destabilize and overthrow the governments of Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Iran, and Libya.

DOLAN: HIT MAN

Terry Dolan founded and presides over one of the largest and most powerful new right political action committees—the NCPAC. Established in 1974, NCPAC raises close to \$10 million annually, using Viguerie's direct mail lists. These funds are used primarily to defeat "ideological enemies" aspiring for elective office.

Dolan describes the strategy he masterminded as NCPAC's "attack"-style campaign. Through research and polling measures, NCPAC identifies the weaknesses in image and voting records of liberal incumbents. Dolan's "gut-cutting organization" then proceeds to unseat these politicians through often unethical saturation-type publicity campaigns.

The other half of the game plan involves the selection of conservative and usually politically inexperienced candidates to challenge NCPAC's liberal targets. According to Dolan, political unknowns make ideal candidates because they have no political enemies and no public records that can be attacked by the other side.

So far Dolan's "attack"-style method has proven

Arms Talks, Arms Race

Why U.S. Wants Star Wars and Can't Avoid Geneva

The Reagan administration was the first one [Andrei Gromyko] had to deal with that deliberately offered proposals [it] knew were unacceptable to the other side," declared George McGovern after meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister in Moscow recently.

"The administration," he continued, "seems to be looking for proposals that would be rejected. They do not want agreements, but they want the appearance of negotiations."

Despite this backdrop, U.S.-Soviet arms talks will convene in Geneva on March 12, more than one year after arms negotiations broke down in 1983 when the Soviets walked out in protest over the deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe.

The agenda drawn up by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko last January 7-8 includes space weapons, intercontinental ballistic missiles and intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

Although the U.S. reluctantly agreed to include space weapons and link up all three areas in the talks, it has repeatedly held that space weapons were "non-negotiable." In fact, the talks will take place while the U.S. is engaged in an expensive effort to develop the so-called "star wars" program. Why is the Reagan administration grimly determined to build this space-based "defense system" at all costs? And why, if it has declared such space weapons non-negotiable, is the administration going to the negotiating table?

NOSTALGIA

Reagan's push for the ultra-expensive star wars system is the latest in a series of U.S. attempts to break out of the nuclear parity the Soviet Union has managed to achieve.

Nuclear parity, the foundation for *détente*, means that each side has the capacity to deliver lethal retaliatory blows should one side launch a nuclear attack. This was achieved in the late 1960s when the Soviets caught up technologically with the U.S. and ended the latter's nuclear superiority. With parity, the Soviets also ended the nuclear blackmail the U.S. had imposed since the end of World War II.

Prior to the Soviet attainment of nuclear parity the U.S. had, of course, no incentive to negotiate arms control. With nuclear superiority, the U.S. enjoyed a capacity to threaten the Soviets and the national liberation movements with nuclear weapons in the same way that, as Daniel Ellsberg put it, one points a gun at someone's head to extract concessions.

It was nuclear parity that forced Washington to negotiate with Moscow, out of fear that having technologically caught up, the latter might even surpass America's nuclear strength. Out of the negotiations came five treaties aimed at preserving parity. These treaties sought to insure mutual deterrence and set the stage for arms reduction by: limiting anti-ballistic missiles (ABM); and limiting or freezing production and banning the testing and spread of nuclear weapons.

Richard Nixon, who 30 years ago advocated the atom bombing of Dienbienphu to prevent its fall to Ho Chi Minh's liberation forces, revealed in a TV interview his frustrations about his inability to use the bomb on Vietnam during his administration because he "was not sure how the Soviets would respond."

Until the Reagan administration the U.S. could only look back to the period of its nuclear superiority with nostalgia as it agonized over the very fear Nixon expressed and watched with resignation the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Nicaragua.

BREAKING PARITY

Building on the call for a renewed build-up initiated by the Carter presidency, Reagan quickened the pace of the drive for a first strike capability. Meaning, the ability to annihilate the Soviet Union, including its retaliatory capacity. This devout wish explains the U.S. refusal to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear



'Even if Moscow can eventually catch up, Reagan is determined to gain a nuclear edge even for a short while.'

weapons, a pledge the Soviets have unilaterally declared.

The first major step in the U.S. effort to break parity was the MX. Originally proposed by President Carter, the plan envisioned 1,000 multiple-warhead MX missiles that would continually shuffle among underground silos to shield them from Soviet attack.

Reagan launched the MX program but trimmed it down to 100 missiles due to the huge costs and congressional opposition to the proposed basing modes. Though still in the agenda, the MX remains a problem as no secure basing arrangement has been found and no state seems willing to accept it.

Reagan's next major attempt was the deployment of missiles in Europe which placed the Soviets six minutes away from destruction. Involving 572 radar-elusive cruise missiles and deadly accurate Pershing 2 missiles, the system would have first strike capability when completed since so many missiles could be discharged simultaneously in an attack.

But Moscow matched the initial phase of the program by dispatching submarine-launched missiles—said to be set on automatic "fire-on-warning"—close to the U.S. Moreover, European vacillations continue to threaten the program's completion.

ENTER 'STAR WARS'

Thus, while not giving up on the MX and on the European deployment, Reagan has made the Strategic Defense Initiative, commonly known as "star wars," the

apple of his eye. To be spiked with "killer satellites," computerized sensors, lasers and other gadgets, this multi-layered system is expected to have the capacity to destroy Soviet weapons as they leave the earth's surface. It will shield U.S. nuclear weapons (a violation of the ABM treaty) and, therefore, provide a first strike capability for the U.S.

No one doubts the Soviet capacity to catch up with this technology. (As a matter of fact, the U.S. Air Force has now begun work on the Advanced Strategic Missile Systems designed to counter any future Soviet versions of star wars.) Also, Gromyko has already reminded Washington that the USSR has "colossal resources, both material and intellectual," to catch up.

Yet the U.S. is pursuing star wars because it knows it is ahead of the USSR in this area. Even if Moscow can eventually catch up, Reagan is determined to gain a nuclear edge *even for a short while*. At no other time has Washington been so desperately in need of such an advantage.

At the minimum, the U.S. could use even a brief period of qualitative nuclear superiority to militarily intervene against the growing threat to its interests in such flashpoints as Central America, the Middle East or any other place without having to face a Soviet challenge. In other words, the U.S. believes it can put to good use even a short period of nuclear blackmail to reverse the tide of political misfortune it has suffered of late on the world front.

But if Reagan is to be taken seriously, a brief period of U.S. nuclear superiority

might lead to more cataclysmic results. His maximum goal appears to be more ambitious. "We shall end this grim and bizarre chapter of history whose last pages are being written even now. We will not be content with denouncing [Communism], we will end it," Reagan declared on one occasion.

That the Reagan White House is intent on gaining the nuclear edge is evident in its arms control record: it refused to ratify three of the five arms control treaties; it caused the collapse in 1983 of the two arms control talks in Geneva; now, it is ready to set aside the ABM treaty in favor of star wars.

PRESSURES ON REAGAN

But if the U.S. does not really want an arms control agreement, why would it negotiate in Geneva now?

For one, Reagan needs to douse, with the appearance of wanting to negotiate, domestic fears and criticism of his nuclear build-up. By posing unacceptable conditions to the Soviets, Reagan hopes to convince everyone that the build-up is America's only real option and is utterly necessary.

This is especially important as like other weapons, star wars has problems, too. The costs are horrendous—\$26 billion in preliminary research alone, with the complete program costing trillions of dollars. This does not sit well with a Congress that is worried about a huge budget deficit, and with a public that is growing resentful about a bloated Pentagon purse. Even within the scientific community, enthusiasm of the kind that built the first atom bomb ("to beat the Nazis to it") is utterly missing.

Reagan also has to comfort his Western allies. The peace movement has generated enough apprehensions among European governments, especially those facing elections in the coming months, and this pressure is being felt in Washington.

The European parliament urged Reagan not to promote star wars but to negotiate a ban on space weapons. Even Britain, France and Germany, the closest U.S. allies, are wary of star wars. Reagan's best friend, Margaret Thatcher, is walking on a tightrope by first questioning the need for star wars and then expressing support "only for star wars research." Already opposed to star wars, Belgium now has second thoughts about the missile deployments in its territory.

DOOMED TALKS

That Washington will negotiate only to ease European jitters and dampen domestic opposition, but still proceed with arms escalation does not bode well for the Geneva talks.

In fact, the U.S. has already strained the coming talks by going ahead with star wars and asserting its determination to deploy more missiles in Europe. It has also tossed unverified charges of Soviet violations of the ABM treaty.

Even the composition of the U.S. negotiating team is quite revealing. Its chairman, Max Kampelman, is an optimistic believer in star wars and as recently as last January 27 extolled the virtues of these space weapons in an article in the *New York Times Magazine*. Another member, the former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Towers, is a passionate supporter of the U.S. arms build-up. Like Kampelman and Towers, the other team member, Maynard Glitzman, has no experience in arms control.

Not surprisingly, Reagan, Kampelman and team consultant Paul Nitze have already aired "doubts" about reaching an agreement. Reagan has also forewarned the public "not to expect too much" from the talks.

Thus, the Geneva talks appear doomed even before it has begun. This does not come as a shock to the Soviet Union which harbors no illusions about this particular U.S. administration. However, the USSR is intent on pressing its bottom line—no militarization of outer space, an end to missile deployments in Europe—in the hope of fueling the pressures on Reagan. Maximally, Moscow has not given up on the possibility of maintaining nuclear parity. Minimally, it hopes to make clear who is really responsible for the arms race. □