

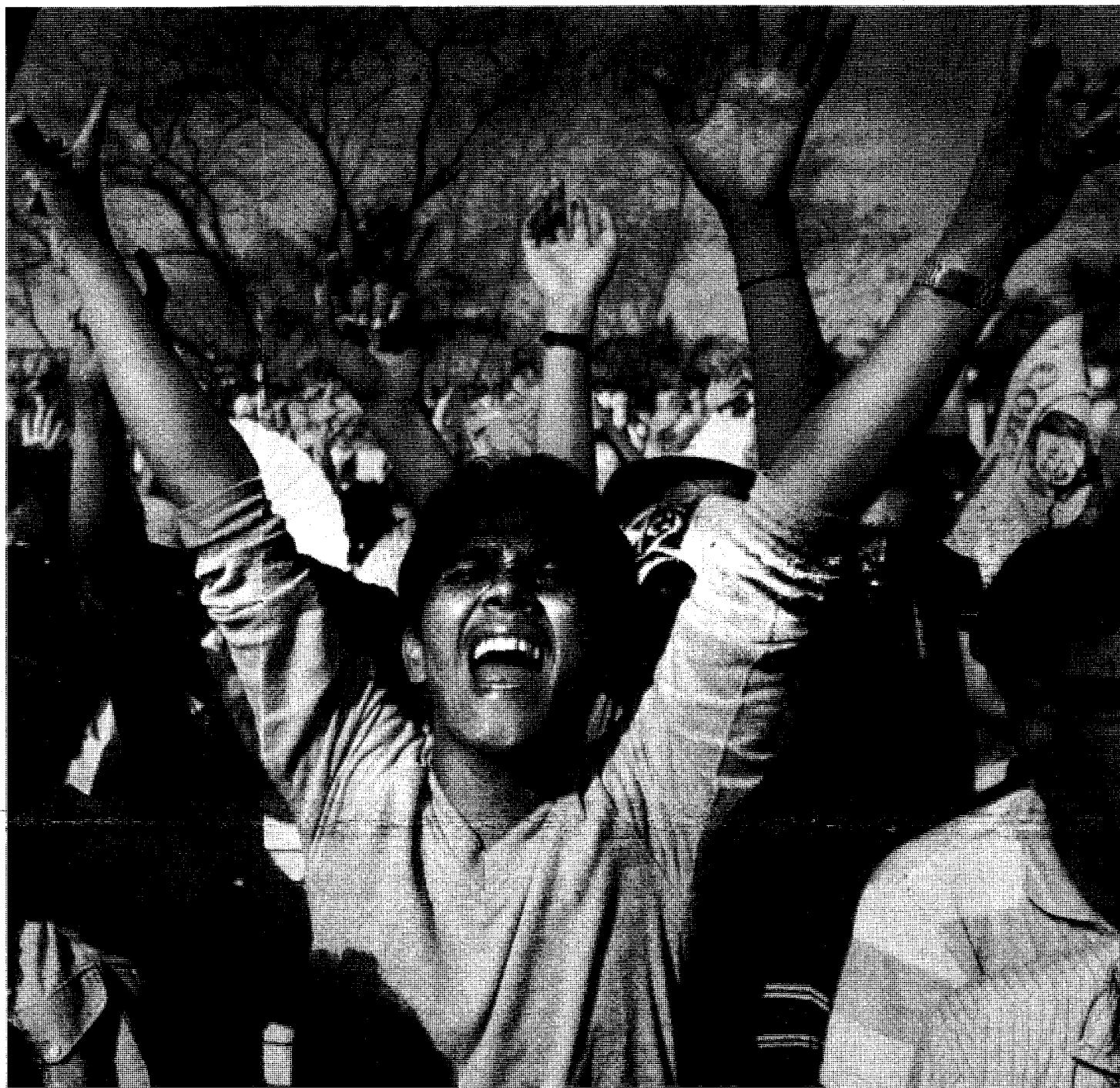
FREE
Victory Issue

Ang Katipunan

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FREE AT LAST!



'I Was There'

By ODETTE TAVERNA

"Where were you on the 25th?" is the question most frequently asked these days as Filipinos continue to savor the downfall of Ferdinand Marcos' 20-year reign. "Crame" or "Aguinaldo" are among the proudest answers.

I can smartly answer "Crame," and add "the Palace." After 12 years of martial law-imposed exile, I found myself among the throngs that ringed Camp Crame on that historic night.

I had quietly slipped into the country a few weeks back. As director of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship's Congress Task Force in Washington, D.C., part of my task had been to take in tour American activists and writers who were observing the elections.

February 25th was foretold by the enthusiastic crowds that greeted Cory Aquino during the campaign. I have never seen so many people, so much enthusiasm, so much resolve in my life.

A few words from Cory, in her even-toned and calm manner, was enough to send the crowd deliriously chanting "Co-ry, Co-ry." It was so contagious.

In the small localities in Caloocan, Pasay, Guadalupe, people would line the streets and wait for hours for Cory. Passing cars with KBL stickers would get a good pounding first before finally being allowed to pass. Overpasses along E. de los Santos Avenue from Makati to Balintawak, were festooned with yellow banners.

Market vendors saved rotting vegetables, and KBL motorcades headed in their direction

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Behind the Scenes

People's Power v. Military Coup

By WICKS GEAGA

While Filipinos and their friends around the world danced with joy in the streets over the fall of Ferdinand Marcos, a palpable uneasiness dampened the euphoria over an unmistakably historic event. The nagging question: can this new government succeed in reconstructing democracy while containing at its core two key former accomplices of the deposed dictator?

Juan Ponce Enrile and Fidel Ramos served Ferdinand Marcos dutifully for 20 years, as Minister of Defense and Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, respectively. Ramos later became acting Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces as well.

Both were therefore closely linked to Marcos' infrastructure of repression—Ramos as chief of the sector most closely associated with counterinsurgency and Enrile as chief administrator of martial law.

Today they serve President Corazon Aquino. Enrile retains his former position of Defense Minister while Ramos now acts as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. It is an uneasy marriage and Aquino has indicated her discomfort over Enrile's presence in her cabinet.

The presence of these two men in the new

Philippine government represents a sub-plot in the drama of the fall of Ferdinand Marcos.

DILUTED VICTORY

It was essentially a popular anti-fascist uprising that toppled the hated dictator. But this anti-fascist victory was diluted by the shrewd intervention of Enrile. With Ramos in tow, Enrile avoided the fate of his former associates and assured himself a life after Marcos by defecting to the opposition at the opportune moment. Behind him and Ramos was the guiding hand of Washington, D.C.

The Reagan administration had made it known that a stable government in the Philippines was of utmost importance in the protection of its interests there. Washington had for some time hoped to ease the isolated Marcos off the scene and pushed him to hold the February 7 election.

But Cory Aquino, with her millions of followers and their potentially radical demands, refused to accept the fraudulent election results. She vowed to bring down the Marcos regime through non-violent means.

"I will leave Marcos in the palace surrounded by barbed wire. . . It will reach a point where the nation will realize that power has moved entirely to me and that Malacanang has

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After the Victory, the Hard Work

Hats off to the heroic Filipino people! In full view of an astounded international public they drove the Marcos dictatorship to its long-awaited end. History has spoken: February 7 was indeed a chance worth taking. The people took what was ostensibly an election and turned it into the anti-fascist revolution of February 25. The tyrant is gone and now the harder work must be done.

The days of torture, censorship, salvagings and political imprisonment must never return. All of Marcos' fascist structures must be completely dismantled and his reactionary base dispersed and shorn of power. Already, fascist remnants are trying to regroup, directed from Honolulu by their deposed kingpin. There are Marcos loyalists and warlords in local governments and other institutions. There are even a few sitting in the new government as a result of necessary compromise. The new government must do everything in its power to dislodge and break up the fascist remnants so that they would not be able to use the people's democratic gains for their own designs for a comeback.

President Aquino has called on Filipinos to organize into a People's Power movement to check any resurgence of fascism and any abuses of power from the new regime. This call deserves to be heeded so that the demands for the prosecution of all fascist criminals and robbers, the return of stolen wealth and the continued expansion of democratic and human rights would be consistently amplified by a mass voice.

The economy is in shambles, sucked dry by two decades of official corruption and capitalistic plunder by foreign combines. Like an open ulcer, poverty will take long to

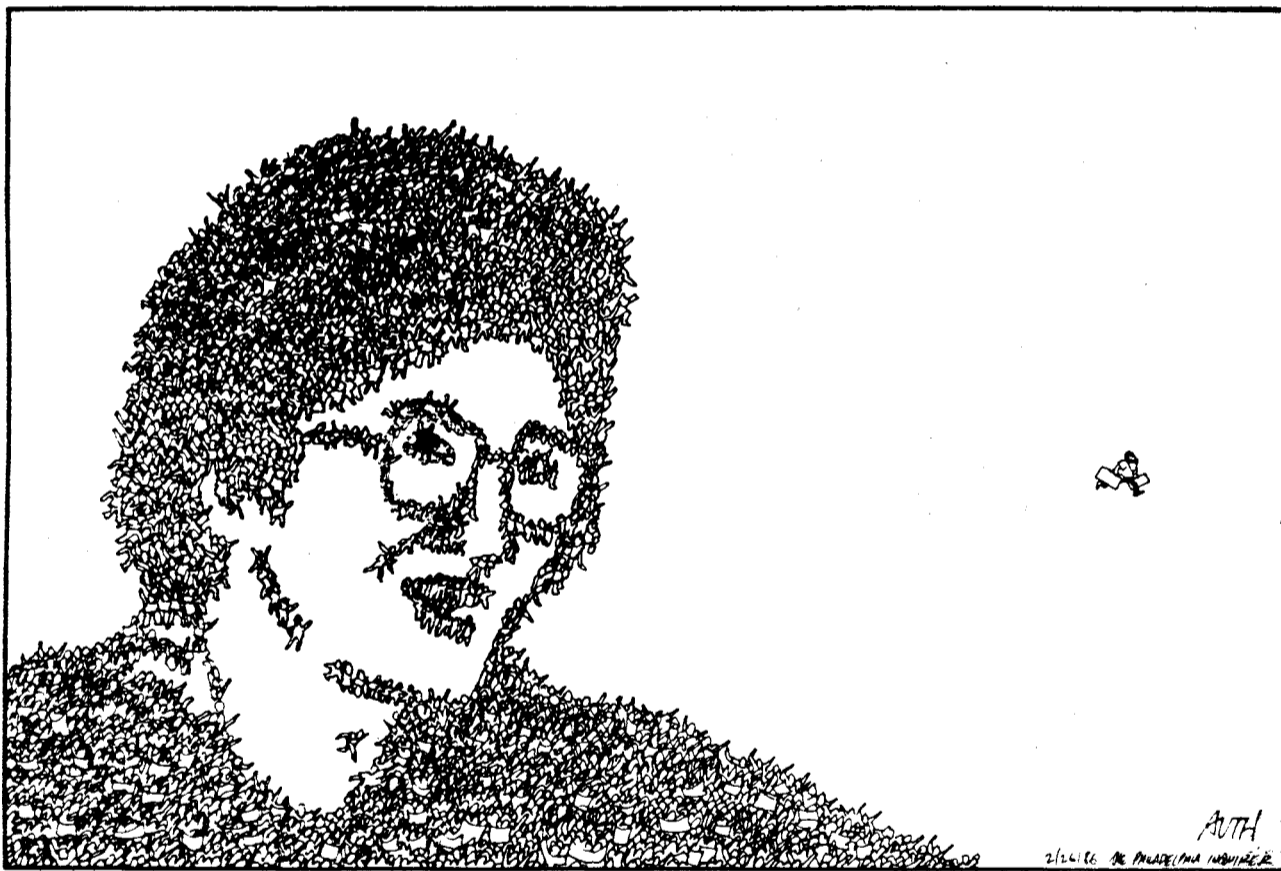
heal. But the people's hunger must be eased. Their welfare must not be sacrificed for the sake of lucrative profit-making and unplanned progress by the private sector. Because the new government is not revolutionary, it may not have the will to push aside powerful class obstacles to economic and social equality. Who knows? People's power must therefore stand fast for land reform, trade union rights, effective social services, improved working conditions, and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Perhaps the economy is the new government's biggest source of vulnerability. On the one hand there are forces within it who may press for foreign aid and investments no matter what the conditions, just so that the stark realities would be quickly alleviated. On the other hand, the U.S. government, with only five years to bend the Filipinos' will in favor of the continued stay of its military bases, can be expected to act like a hungry suitor—plying the government with all sorts of aid with all sorts of strings attached, doing everything to tilt the national consensus in favor of its interests.

Will the new government withstand these pressures? Again it must turn to People's Power. There is a need for mass-based movements for nationalism that would struggle for a Philippines that is economically independent, politically non-aligned, nuclear-free, and completely sovereign.

People's Power on behalf of human and democratic rights and nationalism—this is the force that could safeguard the Filipinos' new democratic victory. It is also a crucial vehicle for the attainment of the long-term goal of complete national and social liberation. □

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STOP THE HYPOCRISY, MR. SHULTZ

By TOM WICKER

(From "In the Nation," *New York Times*, March 4, 1986, "A False Parallel")

President Reagan, citing parallels where none exists between the Philippines and Nicaragua, insisted to members of Congress in a White House meeting that "we stood for democracy in the Philippines; we have to stand for democracy in Nicaragua and throughout Central America and in our hemisphere."

This "parallel" denigrates the remarkable achievement of the Philippine people in their spontaneous uprising against Ferdinand Marcos. It is meaningless rhetoric if anyone thinks it should apply to the dictatorial Pinochet government, though Chile is "in our own hemisphere." And it's only one more excuse with which to pursue Mr. Reagan's pathological fixation on the overthrow of the Sandinistas—this time with \$100 million of U.S. taxpayers' money—because there are no parallels between the Philippines and Nicaragua.

In the former, a real tyrant, through corruption, brutality and murder, brought the population to the boiling point; whatever charges may be made against the Sandinistas, that cannot be said of them. By massive fraud and violence, the tyrant ignored and reversed the clear will of the people expressed in a national election; whatever deficiencies may be laid to the Nicaraguan election of 1984, nothing in it remotely approached the outrage perpetrated by Mr. Marcos.

Filipinos who rose in their wrath to rid their country of the tyrant were not organized and financed by the Central Intelligence Agency or "covert" funds from Washington, as were the Nicaraguan "contras." And when Filipinos had had enough, they swept all before them, disclosing in a matter of days the rotten underpinnings of the tyrant's regime; but after five years of effort and millions of U.S. dollars, the contras have yet to take and hold a single town in Nicaragua, or to set off the smallest ripple of popular uprising anywhere in that unhappy country. Filipinos staged a Glorious Revolution; the contras wage a minor guerilla war, paid for by U.S. taxpayers.

Now, the administration—joined by Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—advances the proposition that \$100 million in additional aid, \$70 million of it for military equipment, must be supplied to the contras, so that they can force the Sandinistas to participate in the so-called Contadora negotiating process.

Aside from the fact that, with or without U.S. aid, the contras have shown no ability to impose Mr. Reagan's will on Managua, this is a deceptive argument. Not only did the Sandinistas agree to accept a Contadora draft treaty in 1984, which the Reagan administration promptly rejected; but just this year they also accepted a statement of principles, advanced by Guatemala and other nations in the region, as a basis for a peaceful settlement in Central America.

That statement called for the elimination of foreign military advisers from the region, including Cuban and Soviet-bloc personnel in Nicaragua. Is the Reagan administration willing to negotiate on the basis of those principles? No—it insists that the Sandinistas must first

New Politics in the Community

A new wind is blowing in the Filipino community in North America. The victory against Marcos fascism at home also signalled the full emergence of a powerful force—the progressive wing of the Filipino community. It is democratic, broadminded, anti-fascist, and filled with civic spirit for their people here and at home.

The reactionaries—concentrated in the pro-Marcos camp—have been routed, dislodged from their consulate redoubts, and placed on the defensive. Now they are peddling "reconciliation," hoping that the people they ostracized, red-baited and insulted over the years would "forgive and forget," while they themselves await fascism's return.

But the progressives must not easily forgive and neither should they forget the dark days when the reactionaries walked about in arrogance and intimidated the community through espionage and intrigue, and in Seattle, through outright murder in 1981. The next generations of Filipino-Americans must be taught how Marcos fascism cast its long shadow even in the Filipino community in North America.

Toward this end, there is enough for progressives to do. Immediately, progressives must demand no asylum for Marcos—for the sake of the community's political and physical safety and so that he cannot direct counter-revolutionary activities from here. The wealth he stole must be returned to the new government. Filipinos here can do a lot in that regard. In addition, the repatriation of Filipino brain power must be encouraged for the sake of the country's rebuilding.

Support must be rendered to the new government's efforts to root out the institutions and forces of dictatorship. The people's movement for democracy and nationalism must be given a wide and strong base of support among Filipinos here.

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Editor: **Rene Cruz**

Philippines: **Christine Araneta, Wicks Geaga, Nancy F. Rocamora**

Filipino Community: **Madge Bello, Vicky Perez, Vince Reyes**

U.S./International: **Eddie Escultura**

Art and Production: **Wicks Geaga, Nene Ojeda, Vince Reyes**

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negotiate with the contras, although the contras as yet have earned no right whatever to sit down as equals with the Sandinistas.

Secretary Shultz, meanwhile, continues to assert that Nicaragua subverts other Latin countries with arms and military training. If that is even partly so, it's all the more remarkable that the foreign ministers of the eight most important Latin nations—Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay, and Panama—came to Washington last month to urge Mr. Shultz and the administration (a) to stop the contra war against Nicaragua and (b) to negotiate directly with the Sandinistas. They got nowhere.

Mr. Shultz also has raised again the tired old threat of a "Soviet and Cuban base on the mainland of Latin America." There's no evidence that Moscow wants such a provocative base; but if it does, the U.S. could hardly stop it with \$70 million in guns and ammunition to a ragtag guerilla band with no real political support and fatal ties to both the CIA and the hated Somoza regime the U.S. once backed. That the Soviet-base argument may be the administration's strongest political medicine suggests how weak its case is.

Mr. Lugar concedes that the appropriation will have a tough time even in the Republican Senate. In the Democratic House, Representative David Bonior of Michigan, chairman of the Democrats' Task Force on Nicaragua, sees a good chance to defeat it. That's why the administration is pulling out all stops. If aid to the contras is cut off, Mr. Reagan will have to turn to diplomacy, which means accepting the Sandinistas in some degree of power, or use U.S. forces to overthrow them directly.

A Delicate Balancing Act

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

For a so-called "simple housewife," Corazon Aquino has so far demonstrated stunning political savvy in making the best of a bad situation.

Stuck with two remnants of the Marcos regime heading the nation's military, she has counterbalanced them with a cabinet otherwise composed of the anti-fascist front that brought her to power. Its politics range from anti-communist and pro-U.S. to firmly nationalist. Against the rightward pull of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, she has handed some of the most sensitive and powerful portfolios to the more left-leaning ministers.

Furthermore, the government's actions during its first ten days reveal that influential forces within it are attempting to destroy the fascist infrastructure through which Ferdinand Marcos ruled for the last 14 years.

LEFT BLOCK

Aside from Enrile and Ramos, cabinet members with nationalist leanings and pro-U.S. block are almost identically balanced. The new president herself remains the wild card, falling somewhere in between.

To the nationalists, Aquino has handed perhaps the two most powerful positions aside from that occupied by Enrile. Joker Arroyo, human rights lawyer and former member of the left-moderate coalition BAYAN, serves as Executive Secretary. Aquilino Pimentel, former mayor of Cagayan de Oro City and leader of the opposition group PDP-Laban, is the new Minister of Local Governments.

Prior to the Aquino campaign, Arroyo devoted much of his practice to free legal services for political prisoners. Aquino colleagues told the *New York Times* that he may well come to serve as acting chief executive if the president chooses to delegate authority.

Meanwhile Pimentel, jailed repeatedly for his opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, is well placed to supervise the destruction of the political machinery by which Marcos extended his rule to the local level.

Other new officials in the Arroyo-Pimentel camp include former Senator Jovito Salonga, ex-BAYAN member Rogaciano Mercado, human rights lawyer Rene Saguisag, and



Ramos, Laurel and Aquino: Uneasy combination.

Teodoro Locsin, Jr.

Salonga heads up the Presidential Commission on Good Government charged with overseeing the repatriation of Ferdinand Marcos' millions. Mercado has been named Minister of Public Works; while Locsin, born into a family of progressive publishers, takes charge of the Ministry of Information.

Saguisag serves as presidential spokesman, but information from Manila suggests that his influence may extend well beyond reading presidential press releases.

PRO-U.S. CAMP

The pro-U.S. block significantly dominates matters that concern the nation's economy. Businessman Jose Concepcion is the new Minister of Trade and Industry while mining magnate Jaime Ongpin serves as Minister of Finance. Former senator and ex-political prisoner Ramon Mitra is Aquino's Minister of Agriculture.

Concepcion, president of Robina Farms, makes no bones about his pro-U.S. leanings. He gained much stature during the 1984 parliamentary elections and, again, during the February 7 poll when he headed up the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). Concepcion has his own strategy of setting up "basic Christian communities," a church-military-business alliance to combat communist organizing in the countryside. He hopes to pursue this in his new position.

Jaime Ongpin's brother Roberto occupied Concepcion's position under the Marcos

government. This did not stop the president of Benguet Mining from becoming one of the first members of the business community to denounce Marcos and organize against him. Ongpin, has been known to take nationalistic positions from time to time.

LAUREL'S BOYS

Also falling into the pro-U.S. category is the UNIDO block, officials associated with vice-president Salvador Laurel's United Nationalist Democratic Opposition. Aquino was forced to cut a deal with Laurel who threatened to run as a third party candidate in the election.

As a result, several positions have gone to UNIDO members, most prominently those to Laurel himself who now serves as both prime minister and foreign minister. Others identified with Laurel include Luis Villafuerte, chief of the Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization, and Ernesto Maceda, Minister of Natural Resources.

Laurel's pro-U.S. credentials are unimpeachable. He was, in fact, Washington's preferred candidate to oppose Marcos. But he simply did not have the popularity of Aquino and he and Washington were forced to accept this fact.

Villafuerte, like Laurel, was once a member of Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*. Laurel bolted in 1980 to form UNIDO, whereas Villafuerte hung on until 1984 when he ran successfully as an opposition candidate in the parliamentary elections. Maceda, former Marcos executive secretary, broke with the

dictator and left the country to practice law in New York City. He returned two years ago to join the opposition.

MARCOS' MINIONS

The holdovers from the Marcos dictatorship, while vastly outnumbered by the anti-fascists, control the nation's most dangerous institution: the military. With Enrile in the cabinet and Ramos as Armed Forces chief of staff, there is an innate instability to the Aquino government and a permanent threat of military takeover.

Given the ways events unfolded during the last days of Ferdinand Marcos, there was no way Aquino could have avoided appointing these two former Marcos minions. They became overnight heroes when their assassination plot against the dictator was uncovered and they were forced to defect. But the instability in her government will remain until Enrile can be safely removed and Ramos neutralized, for there is a difference between these two former fascist agents.

Enrile, an out-and-out political opportunist, warlord and crony, has proven himself time and time again to have no political scruples. He owes both his entire political career and personal wealth to Ferdinand Marcos.

The defense minister's vast fortune comes from the country's sugar monopoly with which Marcos endowed him shortly after he declared martial law in 1972. Under martial law, the former lawyer became warlord over his province and regularly delivered Marcos 100% of the vote in any election or plebiscite in his fiefdom, the Cagayan Valley.

Enrile now presents himself as co-leader of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement. But the defense minister's concern with reform and military professionalism has a short history. Over the last three to five years, more and more of his powers as defense minister were eroded by the growing power of Marcos' most trusted servant, former chief of staff Fabian Ver. At the same time, top Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco moved in on the sugar monopoly until Enrile was pushed over to the sidelines.

Fidel Ramos, on the other hand, is probably more committed to military reform. A respected professional educated at West Point, he is perhaps the only ranking official of the Marcos regime not to have enriched himself through his office.

A devout protestant, Ramos seems committed to the protestant ethic of simple living. His wife still works—something unheard of among Marcos officials.

While strongly pro-U.S. and correspondingly anti-communist, Ramos' professionalism and commitment to serving his country leave him somewhat less dangerous to the new government than Enrile. In particular if Aquino is able to foster a constitutionalist movement within the military, she may be able to function safely with Ramos in command.

EFFORT TO DISMANTLE FASCISM

Government action within its first days revealed a determination to dismantle the fascist infrastructure and expand democracy. At the same time, they already expose the political stripes of the varying members of the coalition.

The three key institutions by which Marcos exercised control were a military dominated by officers blindly loyal to him; the political party machinery of the KBL; and a constitution and legal system tailor-made for authoritarian rule.

Confidante Ver took care of ensuring that all military officers in positions remotely sensitive were thoroughly loyal. The KBL knit together warlords and kept local officials in line through patronage and intimidation. Meanwhile the constitution was altered by decree or phony plebiscite every time it seemed inadequate to Marcos' needs.

CHURCH BALKS AT KBL CLEAN-UP

The new government has so far confronted all three instruments of authoritarian rule head-on.

Realizing that the most pressing problem of all was the military, Aquino dealt with it first. Three days after Marcos' departure, Ramos announced new chiefs of staff for all of the armed forces, none of them part of the former president's inner circle. A day later Aquino fired 22 generals for corruption.

Aquino announced plans March 1 to remove all town and city mayors. Pimentel was to appoint their replacements in an attempt to remove the warlords and centers of KBL power in a single sweep.

This met with predictable resistance from

Barometers of Democracy

By HILARY CROSBY

Although President Aquino's first cabinet appointments included Marcos henchmen-turned-oppositionists very late in the day, there are many indications that anti-fascist "people's power" politics still has the upperhand.

Marcos has fled, but the mechanism of a dictatorship built up over 20 years does not disappear overnight and Aquino is clearly aware of the dangers in leaving the Marcos machine intact. Many of the new president's decisions will be flash points reflecting the struggle that pits "people's power" against the entrenched remnants of fascism.

Presidential spokesman Rene Saguisag is asking for patience. "Too many things have to be done at the same time. Until less than 24 hours ago," he said on Thursday, February 27, members of the new government were not sure "whether we would live or die."

Pushed by the eagerness of those oppressed for 20 years for democracy, Aquino has begun the democratization process. Before 2.2 million Filipinos on March 2, she gave "Proclamation No. 1," restoring the writ of habeas corpus.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT?

She is reportedly considering the declaration of a "revolutionary government" to get around Marcos-inspired legalities and insti-

tutions. Such a move would indeed be a good sign that the new government is not naïve to the fact that fascist elements can attempt a resurgence using their entrenched positions.

The fight for the reorganization of the local governmental bodies will test the new regime's "people's power" and the power of democratic sectors of the military against the power of local warlords and Marcos political bosses. Already, ex-Marcos labor minister Blas Ople said he will regroup the KBL. Presumably, he will call on patronage appointees, dispersed party hacks, Marcos' old provincial bosses in Ilocos to take advantage of the new democratic climate to stage a comeback.

But Aquino is no fool. So far, local elections scheduled for May have been cancelled and the terms of mayors who are part of the local KBL machine have been suspended. Cries of protest from Marcos loyalists that this was a sign of a "new dictatorship" ring hollow because reformers are the ones expected to fill the positions.

When his aides suggested to the new mayor of Makati, Jejomar Binay that he disperse protestors, the human rights lawyer refused, saying, "Look, they used to disperse us. Did you like it?"

Aquino has asked for the resignation of Marcos-appointed Supreme Court justices. Critics of the local reorganization plan have already sued and she must move quickly to delegitimize the current justices. The Marcos majority in the National Assembly must also be dislodged and the entire Marcos

constitution must be rewritten.

"We have the goods on a lot of these people," said Saguisag. "If we confront them and say 'Resign or we'll throw the book at you,' I think they may go."

For these acts, a revolutionary government would indeed be the most potent tool. To what extent the U.S. and the military would tolerate it is an open question.

CRONIES AND CRIMINALS

The prosecution of Marcos cronies and criminals is an important legal venue for containing their influence. Although Aquino has spoken of "magnanimity in victory," she also told ABC's Ted Koppel that "Justice is not only mercy." She is establishing a commission on human rights to investigate those abuses and prosecute the perpetrators.

Since some of her current allies, like Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, will definitely be implicated, these probes and trials will make for an interesting drama.

The political consequences of allowing the Marcos cronies to retain their hidden wealth are grave. This wealth is not just an economic drain on the Philippines, it could be an important weapon for counterrevolution.

Bankers estimate that \$30 billion in Philippine capital may have been sent overseas, an appalling statistic in light of the fact that the Philippine foreign debt is only \$26 billion. So recovering hidden wealth and

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Filipinos Here Cheer Marcos

By MADGE BELLO

It was not Luneta Park or Makati. But people tapped their feet to the tune of "Celebration" as champagne bottles popped amid yellow streamers and anti-Marcos banners. Filipino expatriates across the U.S. and Canada danced at the downfall of their hated dictator, Ferdinand Marcos.

"I never thought I would see this day," said a cheerful Ted Laguatan, a San Francisco attorney active in the Ninoy Aquino Movement. "It's long overdue."

From New York to Seattle, Filipinos could not contain their joy. They hugged and cheered and cried tears of pride and joy. Some reported being stopped on the street to be congratulated "for being Filipino."

INTENSE FEW DAYS

Prior to Marcos' flight to Hawaii, opposition groups across the continent were locked in three days of intense activities starting with the defection of Juan Ponce Enrile and Fidel Ramos, February 23rd.

Some 500 Filipinos demonstrated in front of the White House. Vigils were held in Los Angeles, Sacramento and New York. Pickets, press conferences and meetings were quickly organized in Toronto, Montreal and Chicago.

In San Francisco, about 20 demonstrators stormed the consulate on 447 Sutter Street on Sunday evening, broke down its doors and smashed framed pictures of the president and the first lady.

Representatives of the Ninoy Aquino Movement, Movement for a Free Philippines, Friends of Cory Aquino, and the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, Kabayan, Sandiwa, Coordinating Committee of Opposition Groups, etc., worked together in those cities.

Even small groups that supported an election boycott joined the victory celebrations. Just a few days before Marcos' escape they were chanting "No U.S. aid to the Aquino dictatorship" in San Francisco and New York.

CONSULATES DEFECT

Officials of Philippine consulates in Honolulu and Los Angeles defected early, followed by Houston, San Francisco, New York and Washington. They called on Marcos to "wake up to the realization that the only prudent course of action is to abandon his claims to the presidency."

But loyalist officials in New York carted off valuables from an East 66th Street six-floor townhouse used by the Marcoses as their private preserve. In Washington, D.C., embassy staff shredded important documents including surveillance files on anti-Marcos activists, according to Armin Alforque, CAMD/PSN member who now acts as community liaison.

In San Francisco, opposition forces got a copy of a "black list." *Ang Katipunan* editor Rene Cruz was among those on the list. Frank Perez, a photographer for a pro-Marcos newspaper in Salinas, California, revealed to *AK* that he had been assigned by the consulate to take pictures of anti-Marcos activists, but that his job ended with Marcos' downfall.

BALIKBAYANI

Hundreds of Filipinos began immediately applying for passports, which had been denied them for years. A number including MFP president Raul Manglapuz and NAM president Heherson Alvarez, have already started their journey home to participate in the rebuilding of their country. They call the return *balikbayani*—return of patriots—a pun on Marcos' *balikbayan* program.

Many of these balikbayanis had been anti-Marcos activists in the U.S., but some had simply felt it was not safe to return home. A Mississippi woman who is Cory Aquino's namesake said she had feared assassination because of her name. Now she is returning to visit her family for the first time in 17 years.

One of the balikbayanis, MFP leader



Jubilation in San Francisco's Union Square



Tears for freedom



Gaston Ortigas, said he wants to make sure the new government elevates the Filipino people's standard of living. "Eradication of poverty is where the new emphasis should be," he pointed out. He pledged to bring this to the government's attention. "That's where I want to be of assistance."

"I would like to see an equitable distribution of wealth," said NAM member Presy Lopez Psinakis. "I do not want to go back to a country where the country's wealth is concentrated in 10 percent of the population."

NEW TASKS AHEAD

While everyone rejoiced over Marcos' overthrow, many acknowledged the work still ahead. The rebuilding of the economy and seeking freedom for all political prisoners were two issues cited by many. Others feel the struggle is not ended while the perpetra-

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Downfall



T. Rocamora



T. Rocamora

Fighting words



One press conference on top of another

T. Rocamora



V. Reyes



The consulate has "fallen"

V. Reyes

pression and crimes against the people are not prosecuted. There is a strong agreement that Marcos should be given asylum in the U.S. (see story), while some groups are beginning to work on retrieving Marcos' hidden

assets. The change of Marcos signals a change in the atmosphere in the Filipino community, says line Avila, CAMD/PSN coordinator. Those that have viewed the anti-Marcos groups as pariahs are now extending welcome and salutations." Filipino Jaycees of the Bay Area are joining four major anti-Marcos groups for a rally at Tito Rey's in Daly City, a Filipino restaurant. The Jaycees in Daly City apologized for their past actions and promised a warm reception. They promised to play a crucial role in future Philippine National

Day celebrations, which they had previously boycotted.

"The balance of forces in the Filipino community has changed. Pro-Marcos forces can no longer intimidate us. Even the consulate's mission will take on a more meaningful role than just being special guests at coronation balls. It is an exciting development to watch," uttered Fely Villasin, CAMD/PSN co-coordinator.

Filipino groups are mapping new programs, including fundraising to help the poor in the Philippines, and stepped-up efforts to fight racism and discrimination in the U.S..

One important anti-Marcos group, CAMD/PSN, is planning a national conference in April to review its new tasks. "The Filipino community in the U.S. will continue to play a crucial role in U.S.-Philippine relations," said Villasin. □

'I Was There'

Continued from front page

were pelted with "the greens of the day."

There was no doubt Cory would win hands down if the election was clean. Once it was stolen, the people hit back with a vengeance.

PEOPLE'S POWER

The non-violent civil disobedience tactics adopted by the opposition would have really paralyzed the country. Even San Miguel Corporation, which people thought could live through the boycott, had to admit that it was hurting from a 15-20% drop in sales.

Bank runs were epidemic. At U.P., a favored tactic by students was to open accounts in the morning with small deposits, only to withdraw them en masse in the afternoon. People called up crony businesses and banks all at once to tie up phone lines.

Then Enrile and Ramos announced their defections. By 10:30 a.m. Butz Aquino was on the air and calling on people to go to Crame and form a human cordon around the camp.

People weren't afraid. They came out in pajamas and bathrobes. Imagine the width of EDSA crammed with bodies from P. Tuazon in Cubao to Ortigas Avenue in Mandaluyong! And when that area got filled up, they ringed the camp from behind. It was very tense but festive. Pinoy-style *talaga!* The vendors came out in full force, like a fiesta!

SORBETES!

It was so tense on the night of the confrontation with the tanks. When they withdrew, the tense silence was broken by, of all things, the jingling bells of the ice cream vendors. But it was definitely a life-and-death situation and constant worry always lay beneath the spirit of courage and festiveness. Helicopters hovered overhead. We did not know if they were loyalists or reformers. I kept clicking away with my camera, straining against the Crame gates to get snapshots of the soldiers. One soldier had a yellow foam L-shaped hand fastened on his helmet. If full scale fighting broke out, I thought, that yellow finger would be bobbing up and down amidst the gunfire.

A call went out that people should protect the reformist soldiers at Channel 4. That was the scariest part because the action was not organized and if things went awry,

Quezon City would actually have been the site of a bloodbath.

When the people ringed the building, food started coming—carload after carload. And then the shots rang out. But the people did not retreat despite the random fire from snipers. They scattered for cover but they never left.

On one corner by the wall of the building, my sister-in-law and I were watching the loyalists advance. Shots rang out and we scurried for cover. Glancing up at the spot where we were standing only moments ago, I realized that the wall was now pockmarked from machine gun fire.

When the loyalists withdrew, the people converged in front of the TV station demanding "We want Ronnie! We want Ronnie!" Not Reagan, but Philippine broadcaster Ronnie Nathanielz who earned his mark as a rabid pro-Marcos commentator. He would have been skinned alive.

LIBERATION DAY

News of Marcos' leaving took a while to sink in. The night before was like a dream. It was eerie. The next day, the streets were clean, only bonfire marks on the asphalt served to remind us of the events of the last four days.

Everyone went out in the early morning to help the Metro Manila aides clean up. I guess it was people's way of saying, "Hey there is life after Marcos, and now that we are free let's prove that we are not only good at destroying the old but rebuilding the new."

Packing up our things to return to the U.S., we decided to take one last look at Malacañang Palace. So we asked a salesgirl at a store for instructions. She drew a sketch of the route to the Palace, then she scratched it out and started to sketch again. Then she looked at me and shook her head. She, like millions of Filipinos, had forgotten how to get to Malacañang. She was shaking her head.

These images, like the "Freedom" streamers draping the walls of Crame, the soldier with the Laban foam finger, the society matrons sweeping beside the Metro Aides, Juan de la Cruz posing for a picture under the Seal of the President of the Philippines, the "Marcos buster" extending a welcoming hand to a defecting loyalist soldier, and armies of Western media people recording the drama, swam in my head.

Luckily, a lot is captured in videotapes, we can always rewind the tapes and remember, I thought on the plane back to the U.S.

And that too, felt strange. Contrary to the '60s cliché, THIS revolution was televised. □

People's Power

Continued from front page

ceased to be the seat of power," she told Paul Quinn-Judge of the *Christian Science Monitor* on February 20.

BIG DAY

The big day was to be February 26, the day after Marcos' inauguration. The Aquino forces promised a national strike, an unconventional, extralegal tactic that could escalate into an open insurrection. Members of the Reagan administration, ever fearful for the fate and safety of U.S. military installations Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, did not relish the idea that the issue of who governs would be settled in the streets.

Washington thus opted for what may have been the boldest action yet in its history of manipulating Philippine politics.

Since the massive upsurge following former senator Benigno Aquino's assassination that shattered the stability of Marcos' dictatorial rule, the U.S. began to openly call for military reforms while covertly cultivating ties with disgruntled sections of the military.

These discontented elements congealed into the Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines Movement (RAM) in February 1985. Eventually and perhaps not coincidentally, RAM called for the same reforms being urged by Washington: professionalizing AFP, weeding out corrupt officers, replacement of patronage with proper merit system, and the removal of Fabian Ver as Chief of Staff.

Enrile and Ramos functioned as the anonymous leaders of the reform movement and its roughly 1,200 reformist officers. Both publicly identified with the movement's goals,

and the major reform leaders were members of Enrile's personal staff.

Under Marcos, both leaders had maintained strong and distinct ties with the U.S. military establishment. Fidel Ramos was widely known as Washington's model of the professional soldier and its favorite choice to replace Fabian Ver as AFP Chief of Staff.

COUP ATTEMPT

A RAM plot to stage a coup in Malacañang palace after the fraudulent election is only now beginning to surface. Ramos and Enrile continue to deny such plans, but Marcos' claim that he was the target of a failed coup attempt is being confirmed by primary participants in the conspiracy.

Interviewed by the *San Francisco Examiner*, some of those involved, including Aquino aides, revealed that the plan to storm Malacañang was discovered by Marcos before it could be executed, forcing the plotters into a premature defensive action. Enrile and Ramos thus staged their military rebellion only after learning of Marcos' orders to arrest them.

Curiously, the rebellion occurred one hour after Reagan's envoy Philip Habib left for the U.S., three days ahead of schedule. The Reagan administration immediately declared its support for the rebels while still withholding explicit support for Cory Aquino.

Many observers, including Aquino, have noted that Habib's past missions to the Middle East have gone beyond mere "fact-finding." Some believe that part of Habib's "hidden agenda" was to oversee and give U.S. support to RAM's coup plot.

Now, the U.S. hand in the plot is starting to

Balancing Act

Continued from page 3

those about to lose their jobs. Significantly, however, the Church objected as well through its newspaper *Veritas*, branding it "undemocratic." Aquino was forced to retract the bold plan.

This action revealed the force of the Catholic Church as an unofficial force within the new government both because of Aquino's deep religious belief and reliance on the advice of Jaime Cardinal Sin and because of his demonstrated capacity to mobilize masses of people. Sin who gained more prestige during the final push against Marcos alternately criticized and conciliated the dictator for years. His influence on the new government constitutes a rightward drag.

Finally, Laurel announced March 3 that a new constitution would be drafted within the next two months. This would be followed immediately by local elections.

Meanwhile, 30 appellate court judges tendered their resignations and Aquino asked the Supreme Court to resign as well so that she can appoint new members. All justices are Marcos appointees, five of them his law school classmates. If they refuse to do so, she is reported to be considering the possibility of proclaiming a "revolutionary government" which would enable her to restructure everything from bottom to top.

CIVIL LIBERTARIANS V. MILITARY

At the same time, Aquino moved quickly to restore democratic rights.

Two days after taking the oath of office, Aquino announced the release of all political prisoners. "Without exception," Arroyo emphasized. The hedging that followed immediately exposed the Enrile-Ramos opposition to the plan.

Once again Aquino demonstrated astuteness when she placed civil libertarians Salonga, Saguisag and Arroyo on the Committee for the Immediate Release of Political Detainees to offset Ramos and Enrile.

Within a week, all but four were free. With their release March 5, the human rights advocates prevailed not only over the military, but over U.S. pressures as well. Washington was particularly concerned over the release of Jose Ma. Sison, alleged founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and urged Aquino to keep him in prison.

Then at a March 2 rally attended by 2.2

come to light: a rebel helicopter unit used Clark Air Base; U.S. communications technicians intercepted messages to and from Malacañang and relayed them to the rebels allowing the latter to monitor the deployment of Marcos troops; Enrile and U.S. embassy officials consulted actively.

Aside from deposing the dictator, the plan was evidently designed to guarantee Enrile and Ramos (and Washington) the upper hand in a post-Marcos government.

INSTANT HEROES

Cory was conveniently sent out of town when the coup attempt was scheduled. Her brother and campaign manager, Jose Cojuangco and opposition assemblyman Ramon Mitra had arranged to have her address rallies in Cebu and Mindanao over the weekend.

Without divulging the reformist plot to Cory, the two aides nonetheless assured RAM leaders of Cory's support in the event of a successful takeover.

The reformists knew that Cory's massive popular base was crucial in flanking their relatively small rebel force of roughly 400 soldiers and in securing the success of their mission against Marcos' superior military forces.

According to Mitra, however, the reformists demanded "absolute control" if they succeeded in taking Malacañang.

As it turned out, the plot was foiled and Enrile and Ramos called on Cardinal Jaime Sin for help. It is not known whether Sin, a conservative critic-conciliator of Marcos, knew of the aborted plot beforehand, but he responded quickly to the rebels' call.

Sin moved into high gear, utilizing the Church's vast network and the defiant atmosphere to mobilize tens of thousands of Filipinos in support of the military rebellion.

With Cory temporarily out of the picture, Enrile and Ramos became instant heroes. Cory's moral authority over the anti-fascist upheaval was now partly usurped by two

million, Aquino announced the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus. Marcos suspended this basic right to due process before he declared martial law in 1972. The president also called for a ceasefire and negotiations with the New People's Army.

'WORSE THAN ARGENTINA'

Much remains to be done, however, to guard the victory and extend democracy. Fascism is not destroyed in days or weeks and rooting it out cannot be done solely by decree.

In immediate terms, the new regime will have to protect itself against a Marcos "rear guard" made up of loyalist generals said to be assembling in the dictator's home province of Ilocos Norte.

Aquino has expressed a determination to try the human rights offenders of the Marcos era, something that must be done once the appropriate judicial systems have been put in place. According to Arroyo, the human rights situation in the Philippines will prove to be "worse than Argentina."

Since members of the Marcos military and even a portion of his government now serve under Aquino, this promises to be a delicate matter. Arroyo acknowledged to Ted Koppel on "Nightline" that some of those to be tried might very well be sitting beside him in the new government.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Much of the work remains the people's responsibility. As Aquino herself put it March 2, "All of us should serve as vigilantes and watchdogs over our government." Popular, anti-fascist organizations and movements like the one that brought her to victory must work to make extending democracy everybody's business.

Finally, organizations will have to be formed to counter a predictable five-year ideological blitz from the U.S. in preparation for the 1991 bases negotiations. Aquino has already promised that she will "consult the will of the people" via referendum before making a decision on the U.S. bases one way or another.

Only a well-organized movement devoted to non-alignment can counter the tremendous resources of the U.S. government. Contacts in Manila reveal that progressives are already at work to forge just that—a nationwide movement devoted to human rights and nationalism. □

defectors from Marcos' fascist camp.

PEOPLE'S POWER

When she returned to Manila, Cory discovered that she was in danger of becoming only one of a triumvirate of national saviors, whereas before she was the undisputed leader of the movement. (Apparently, Enrile Ramos and the Church are already starting to exert a rightward drag on the politics of the new government.) (See related stories on p. 3.)

Enrile, formerly one of Marcos' wealthiest cronies is expected to thwart the popular movement's attempts to bring to justice all beneficiaries of Marcos' reign of terror.

Both Ramos and Enrile are obsessed with wiping out the communist movement. On this they have the blessing of both the U.S. government and conservative Church leaders like Sin.

The progressive forces in Cory's government have no illusions about the daunting tasks facing them. As a consolation, they can speculate that it could have been worse.

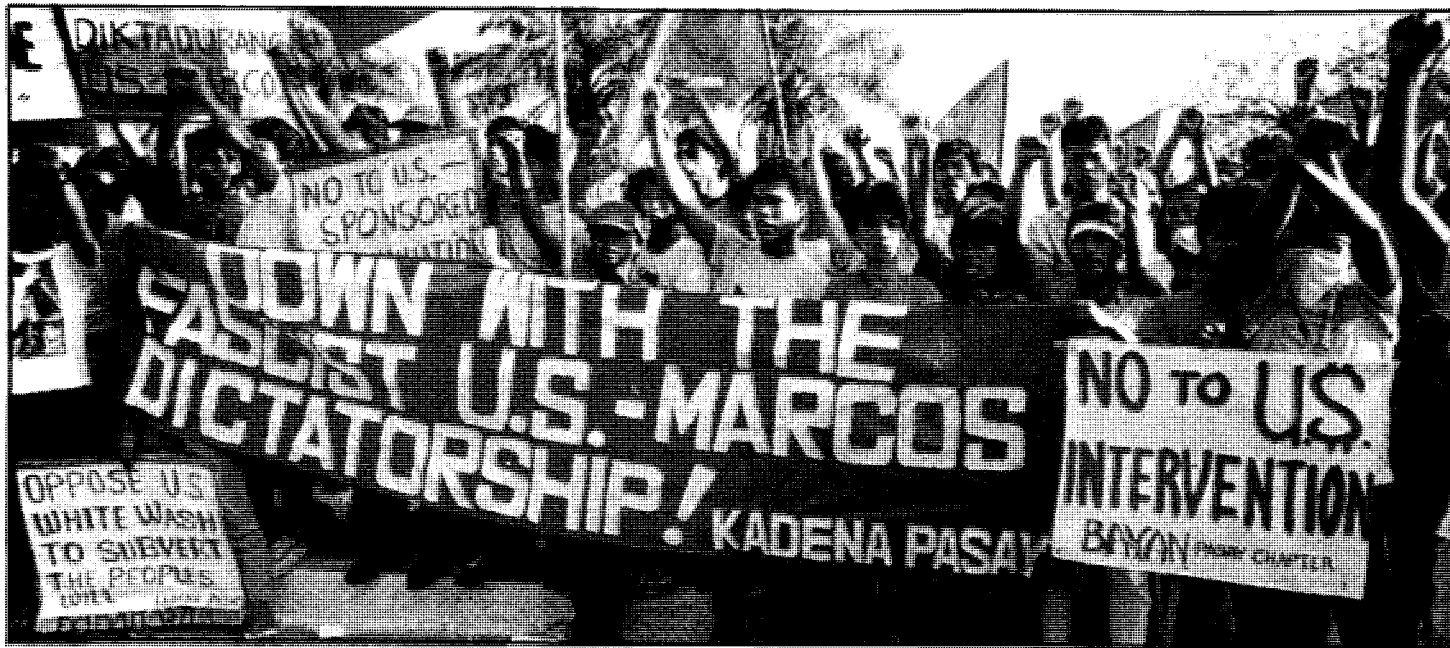
Had the Enrile and Ramos forces succeeded in their palace coup, Cory would have been installed as a mere figurehead in a joint military-civilian junta under the effective control of the military.

But "people power" managed to take some of the wind out of the military's sail. The world was treated to the spectacle of masses of civilians protecting the would-be coup leaders. As a result, Cory and her civilian crusaders, at this moment, have more initiative than her military allies.

The Reagan administration is obviously concerned that Cory has more initiative than it would like. But then, it is politically unwise to turn around and start criticizing her right just now.

Apparently aware of her precarious situation, Cory Aquino has called on her millions to start organizing into "people's power" watchdog organizations. This flank may be her only protection. But then, "people's power" has already just proven itself formidable. □

The Left Reels From a Fiasco



BAYAN activists: marginalized

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

As millions turned out to listen to President Aquino's message to the nation on March 2 at Luneta Park, "dejection" and a sense of "setback" was the mood that prevailed among members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, a founding member of the party said.

It is too early to tell whether the CPP would permanently sink into the political quicksand created by its non-support of the Aquino election bid. But analysts from the new government and from other leftwing quarters predict hard days ahead for the party once considered the only real force capable of toppling the Marcos regime.

Presidential Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo, a long-time legal defender of detainees said in a *New York Times* interview: "I think that the Communists will now wither away. They are containable."

A spokesman for the National Democratic Front, the Party's leftwing coalition, differed only slightly, telling *San Francisco Examiner* correspondent Phil Bronstein: "We can't be very optimistic about this. We will have to reorganize and consider new forms of struggle in response. At the very least this will slow down our organizing efforts."

Reports filed by ABC correspondents claimed that the party rank-and-file were stunned by the rapid turn of events and their marginal role in last month's historic event.

"I guess we've suffered a setback relative to the level of militant struggle we had reached," Leandro Alejandro, general secretary of the legal alliance BAYAN conceded. "But the underground organizations are going to experience the most problems because one of their main calls was for the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship by force."

'TOUGH ACT'

Alejandro, once a hero of the tumultuous 1983 parliament of the streets, conceded that "the people gave Cory a mandate," and that "even if she does not acknowledge BAYAN, we have to support her."

"It's too bad for us. It's a tough act, but that's how things went."

"The initiative has been taken away from us," the unidentified "Bernie" added. "In any situation when events change quickly almost by the hour, it's difficult for an organization like ours to react. The movement as a whole will slow down."

But while the official left pondered its misfortunes and plotted future moves, Aquino held out the olive branch. One of her first acts in office was to make good on a campaign promise to free all political prisoners.

Some 470 prisoners including top CPP and NPA leaders were released, not without opposition from the military. The releases, which included Jose Ma. Sison and Bernabe Buscayno, signified a civilian victory over the objections of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, armed forces chief of staff Fidel Ramos and their followers.

FROM THE HILLS

Sison, asked whether he has renounced violence as a means for social change said, "I have nothing to renounce but my nine

years of imprisonment." He said he would study whether armed struggle would still be necessary.

Victor Corpuz, a former military commander of the New People's Army, best remembered for his daring raid on the Philippine Military Academy armory in 1971, went one step further. "Now that the tyranny has ended, I think my former comrades in the hills will think things over and change their minds."

Relatives and supporters of the detainees meanwhile, are being drawn into developing campaigns to seek justice and retribution for all victims of Marcos repression.

Joker Arroyo, speaking on NBC Nightline said that once "the disappeared" are fully accounted for, the numbers would exceed that of Argentina. The Task Force Detainees agreed and noted that even the ascension of the Aquino administration was not an automatic guarantee against military abuses.

The continued presence of top military officials from the Marcos period in the new regime has caused a sense of unease among human rights workers as to whether the military leadership will cooperate in the prosecution of its own kind.

DIALOGUE AND CEASEFIRE

Aquino is calling for a six-month ceasefire with the NPA and appealed to all "Filipinos, brothers and sisters," to dialogue

with the government so that "their legitimate grievances can be addressed." No specific steps have been outlined on how the ceasefire would be conducted and the left, according to Alejandro, has "only received feelers."

Sison, asked if he would endorse the ceasefire said, "There is some basis [to it]" but said he had "no authority over the NPA" and could not "competently speak about [its] strategy."

The offer of ceasefire and negotiations is expected to spark further controversy and debate within CPP-NDF-NPA ranks. Fr. Conrado Balweg, the legendary Tingguian priest who joined the people's army in the late '70s and had become the object of massive manhunts, has reportedly expressed seeing no further purpose in the armed struggle.

His comrades from the Southern Tagalog region evidently disagree. An estimated 200 guerrillas just recently ambushed a government convoy, killing 13 policemen and four civilians.

An NPA leader has also said that the guerrilla army "will never lay down its arms—we'd get slaughtered."

WHERE WAS THE LEFT?

But more pressing in the minds of millions who supported the NPA against military abusers, but who also supported the Aquino electoral challenge to Marcos, is, where was the left on the eve of the storming of the Palace?

Commentary

No Thanks to the U.S.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

When Ferdinand Marcos finally fled the Philippines abroad a U.S. Air Force plane, Reagan administration officials were ecstatic over what they viewed as a foreign policy coup. Led by Secretary of State George Shultz, they took credit for removing the dictator and avoiding more bloodshed at the critical hours of the upheaval. Some Filipino politicians even thanked Reagan for "saving Filipino lives" which goes to show that some people's memories are extremely short.

There is a concerted effort on the part of the White House to gloss over the fact that the revolution it now so highly praises defeated a dictatorship the U.S. itself had installed and nurtured for 14 years.

The Marcos dictatorship began in 1972 during the Nixon administration. Powerful forces were buffeting U.S. interests in the archipelago. Tensions were high as the nationalist movement, exploding in the streets, began to be felt in the halls of Congress and the Philippine Supreme Court. Bills restricting property rights of foreign citizens and corporations were being upheld by the Supreme Court. The Communist Party and the New People's Army, reestablished just three years before, were gaining mass adherents. Marcos' legal and constitutional claim to the presidency was coming to a close. The imposition of martial law resolved these problems to the satisfaction of both Marcos and the U.S.

But the scheme was not worked out overnight. A year before, Frank Walton of the Agency for International Development moved from Vietnam to the Philippines to lay the groundwork for the military and intelligence apparatus required for authoritarian rule. It

is no secret that there was intensive consultation between Marcos and Ambassador Henry Byroade on the eve of the declaration of martial law in 1972.

Washington's backing for martial law continued under the Ford administration, after Nixon himself had fallen from power. During the Carter administration, Marcos was scolded for human rights violations but U.S. support escalated. The bases agreement of 1979 boosted U.S. military and economic support for the regime to an annual average of \$180 million.

But it was during the Reagan administration that support for the dictatorship reached its peak. The renegotiated bases agreement in 1983 assured Marcos of \$900 million in military and economic assistance over a five-year period. Carter's human rights policy was cast aside in favor of unqualified support for a "trusted ally."

An array of Reagan administration officials from Vice President George Bush to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick took turns visiting Manila to heap praise on Marcos. Bush toasted Marcos for his "adherence to democratic principles and democratic process."

During the pageantry of the Marcos visit to the U.S. in 1982, Reagan appointed Marcos as "The voice of moderation in Asia." Even the elite opposition lost ground during this period. Mrs. Corazon Aquino once complained that the opposition, including Benigno Aquino, lost access to the Reagan administration. She also reportedly blamed Washington for its inability to provide adequate security for her slain husband.

The U.S. finally reached a conclusion that Marcos had become a liability and proceeded with plans for a smooth transition. But even when Marcos had been caught with his hand in the cookie jar, Reagan let his own pre-

Bronstein disclosed that members of the NPA said they were planning a "strategic offensive"—takeovers of municipal centers and other government installations—to coincide with Aquino's call for national strikes and civil disobedience. The offensive was reportedly intended to position them for a "sharing of power" with Aquino.

But the swift turn of events which led to Marcos' flight from the country Tuesday eclipsed the offensive and left the CPP in a lurch. How authentic this underground scheme was remains to be confirmed but events aboveground did seem to reflect a last minute bid for power-sharing.

Alejandro visited Enrile during the siege, offering BAYAN reinforcements. But the hundreds of thousands of unaffiliated masses who formed a human barricade outside Enrile's camp made the offer academic.

Eyewitnesses reported that during the storming of the Palace, BAYAN activists positioned themselves on the frontlines, unfurled banners declaring "Down with the Aquino dictatorship," only to be roughly swept aside by the advancing crowds. Some BAYAN supporters in the United States behaved no differently.

REGRETS, REMORSE?

Observers note however, that the 11th hour crisis of the CPP would not have occurred had it not campaigned for a boycott of the election.

In other words, the "icing out" of the CPP was essentially self-imposed.

Some moderate leaders in Manila said that only a public, and "sincere self-criticism" of the CPP for its boycott position would ease its isolation.

It obviously underestimated the potential of the Aquino challenge to Marcos and held on to a doctrinaire view that Marcos would never be toppled by an election. What took place, however, was an election that turned into an upheaval.

The CPP also held on to the view that the U.S. still considered Marcos its best bet. It therefore did not take advantage of the rift between the dictator and its sponsor.

Major Communist Party meetings are reportedly planned later this month to plan its future course of action, and hopefully, summarize, however painfully, its serious political mistakes.

Said Joker Arroyo, a lawyer for many leftists, "The Communists have become very dogmatic. It's a pity because they have fought longer and suffered many more casualties to get rid of Marcos than the rest of us." □



Good friends

ferences get the better of him and publicly mumbled about "a healthy two-party system in the Philippines" and fraud having been "committed by both sides."

It was only after it became clear that the millions of people backing Cory Aquino wanted no reconciliation with Marcos and was threatening to overwhelm the tyrant that the U.S. decided to pull out all of its life support system.

But U.S. involvement did not end at Marcos' ouster. Providing a safe haven for Marcos and his wealthy entourage, Washington still thanks the deposed dictator for having been a "trusted ally that served the U.S. well." Of course, Reagan does not state that this "service" included repression, torture, and disenfranchisement. (The signal Reagan wants to give is that tyrants who serve the U.S. well will be assured of sanctuary where they can indulge in high living.)

The only thing that the U.S. can claim credit for is that its interests were not swept away with Marcos at the final hour of reckoning. As for the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator and the overcoming of obstacles to democracy that Washington had placed for 14 years, only the Filipino people can take credit for that. □

Reagan Harbors a Friend

By VINCE REYES

Deposed President Ferdinand Marcos got away with more than just his life when he fled Malacanang Palace. As a reward for having been a "good friend," the dictator was promised a sanctuary in the U.S. by President Ronald Reagan. Marcos was also given a red-carpet welcome by Hawaii governor George Ariyoshi and U.S. Pacific Air Force Commander Robert Bazley. But perhaps even more important to Marcos, if he can get his hands on them, are the 22 crates of cargo that accompanied his entourage of 89 friends and relatives.

Marcos' "hot cargo" reportedly includes gold, cash, property deeds, stocks, and a cache of anti-personnel weapons, among other things. Sensing that the contents of the crates are part and parcel of the national resources looted over the years by Marcos, President Corazon Aquino formed a task force to block Marcos' claim to the booty and to return any assets to the Philippines. Cabinet member Jovito Salonga appointed Dr. Belinda Aquino (no relation to the president), the director of Philippine Studies at the University of Hawaii to look into his Hawaii properties. The Aquino government has retained the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York to prevent the dictator from taking possession of the crates and to get a full listing of the contents. The crates have been impounded at Hickam Air Force Base.

Meanwhile, Marcos' assets in New York and San Francisco are coming under the closer scrutiny of his opposition as more exposes of his underhanded real estate dealings are beginning to hit the press. The Aquino administration is also investigating the possibilities of liquidating unscrupulously amassed holdings and returning assets to the Philippines.

But even amidst international uproar over Marcos' blatant dictatorial shenanigans and the fact that his name has become synonymous with cheating, especially among late night television comedians, the Reagan administration continues to give him generous assistance.

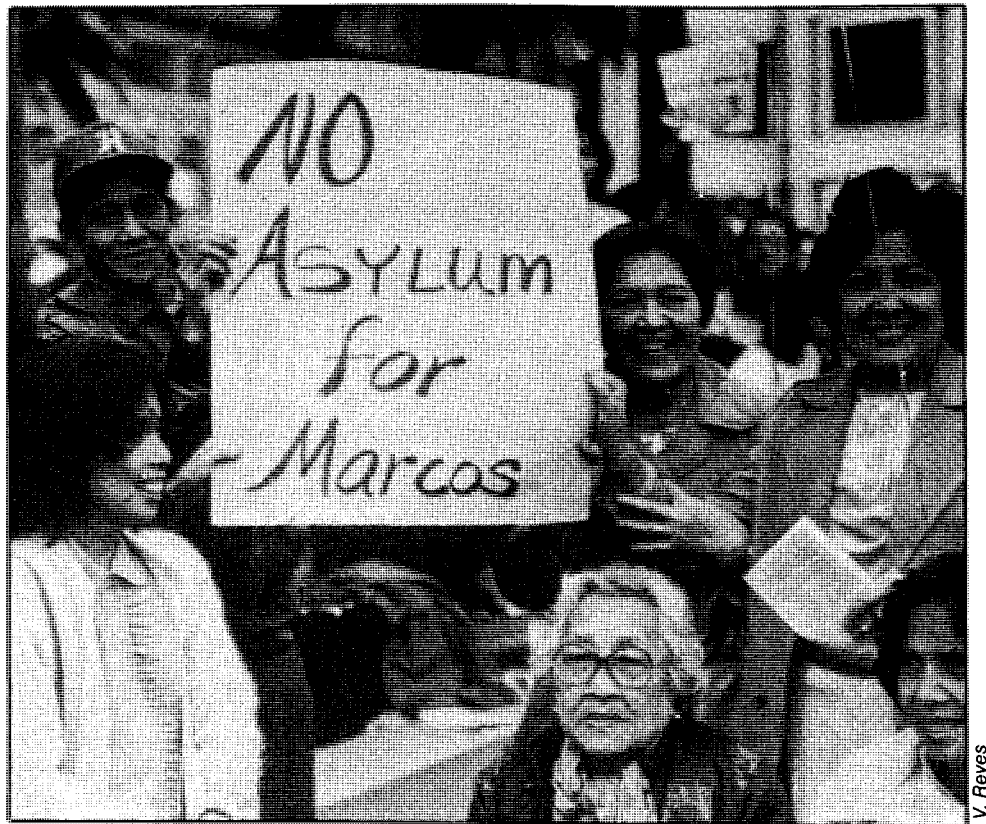
"We have been accommodated very comfortably and treated with utmost respect and generosity," said a weary looking Marcos with his wife Imelda holding back her tears at his side. Marcos was allowed to tell the world from Hickam Air Force Base that he left the Philippines because he chose to use his "authority to protect the Filipino people" and he had "no heart to shed Filipino blood."

Despite Marcos' outrageous conduct during and after the elections, the Reagan administration appears to be hell-bent on giving him political asylum. The White House has continually cited Marcos' longstanding record of being a faithful U.S. ally as the criterion for granting him sanctuary.

ANTI-MARCOS FORCES THREATENED

Anti-Marcos forces have been feeling the impact of the dictator's arrival in Honolulu, mainly in the rise of threats from local Marcos supporters.

"I started to receive threats the day Marcos left," said Dean Alegado, a professor at the University of Hawaii and a leading anti-Marcos activist who has been a part of a committee overseeing Philippine consulate business since the consulate staff defected just before Marcos fled. "Consul General Paul Rabe, who was the first Consul General to pledge support for Aquino, has also received threats," Alegado continued. "Most of the threats have been in the form of very emotional telephone calls accusing us of being 'traitors'



V. Reyes

and warning that 'we'll get you' and 'we won't let you forget!'"

"We've responded by announcing that we will hold pro-Marcos forces responsible for any violence. They should abide by the political and democratic processes and stop organizing to defend Marcos," added Alegado. "The pro-Marcos reactionaries announced they were going to take over the consulate and hold it until Marcos was reinstated," said Alegado. Francisco Ugale, the president of the pro-Marcos United Filipino Councils of Hawaii and publisher of the *Hawaii Filipino News* has already acknowledged the plan. Ugale also stated that he believes Marcos will become a leader in the Filipino community.

FUTURE 'CONTRAS'

Just two hours after Marcos' arrival, more than 200 people, mostly Filipinos, jammed into the state capital for a public hearing on a state resolution seeking to deny asylum for Marcos. Sen. Duke Kawasaki, who sponsored the resolution said he introduced his resolution because he recognized strong anti-Marcos sentiment in Hawaii and was concerned about the dictator's safety and the costs of providing security.

Since Marcos arrived, five similar resolutions have been introduced in the Hawaiian legislature. Kawasaki was quoted as saying "The feelings are so strong in this state that to have Mr. Marcos establish a sanctuary here will only polarize the Filipino community."

The potential for divisions in Hawaii's Filipino community over the Marcos issue is a genuine concern. A sizeable segment of the Filipino population hails from Marcos' home region of Ilocos and has traditionally given him political support.

"It is not inconceivable that Marcos could lead a countermovement here among his followers aimed at undermining the Aquino

government in the Philippines," stated Belinda Aquino.

"We are fearful that Honolulu will become the Miami of the Pacific," added Alegado. "We are fearful Mr. Marcos will establish himself in Hawaii and use his enormous wealth and power to regroup his supporters into a potential rightwing contra force," continued Alegado referring to the name for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

Meanwhile, President Reagan extended Secret Service protection to Marcos and his family for a "limited time" while he remains in U.S. territory. Such a move is normally reserved for foreign dignitaries and is rarely given to a former head of state. The White House commented that Marcos was given the protection after Mayor Frank Fasi of Honolulu rejected a request by the Reagan administration that the police department provide around-the-clock protection for Marcos for up to six weeks.

It is still not known how long Marcos will remain in Hawaii, but in Washington, a Pentagon spokesman said it "would be a good, educated guess that he would remain in Hawaii for some time."

But asylum and Secret Service protection aside, things are getting so bad for Marcos and his pals that daughter Imee and ex-general Fabian Ver had to call for a meeting with some of their supporters asking for resources to tide them over for the next few weeks. Imee, a well-placed source said, was quoted at the meeting as saying that Imelda is so upset over what has happened that she is "losing control."

The latest scheme is for Marcos and his wayward friends to relocate to a Hawaiian isle recently put up for sale. If Marcos can acquire his now-frozen assets, he can move to the island known for being the gigantic sound stage for the television show *Gilligan's Island*. □

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Barometers

Continued from page 3

repatriating funds invested overseas by Marcos cronies will reveal how dogged the economic reform Aquino promised will be.

NATIONALISM?

On January 6 Aquino outlined an economic program at the Makati Business Club. She promised land reform, domestic food production instead of production for the sugar and coconut monopolies, giving domestic investment precedence over foreign investment, support for labor-intensive rural based agriculture over capital-intensive urban industry, and the break-up of the crony monopolies.

Over the next months, Aquino's ability to follow this plan will indicate how well the new government can hold on to its economic agenda in the face of international and

domestic pressures.

Negotiations over foreign loans will produce pressures for austerity measures and preferential treatment for foreign investors.

During the campaign Aquino agreed to honor the U.S.-R.P. bases treaty until 1991. With only five years to affect Philippine national debate on the issue, Washington is expected to pump the country with all sorts of self-serving aid, programs and propaganda. Whether a people's referendum will really be organized or junked at the last minute will show how Aquino's regime stands up to intense U.S. pressures for a back-room deal.

Aquino's stance on the bases issue could set the Philippines on the path of neutrality and non-alignment. Or it could seriously compromise Philippine independence. □

That's Not Fair!

The U.S. government's offer of sanctuary to Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos prompted an unusual and dramatic motion from the defense lawyers representing the 11 church workers on trial in Tucson, Arizona for offering sanctuary to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.

Calling on the court to dismiss all charges against the defendants based on selective prosecution on February 26, defense attorneys James Brosnahan and Karen Snell charged, "Today we witness an extreme example of political bias in action."

"Former dictator, political persecutor, and election fraud perpetrator Ferdinand Marcos has been promised safe haven in the United States while Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees are deported to certain political persecution and probable

death in their homelands," the attorneys argued.

According to attorney Snell, "Our government has extended safe haven not only to Marcos but to his family and 'friends,' including the alleged assassin Gen. Fabian Ver."

"The sanctuary movement defendants are standing trial, while those rendering assistance to Marcos—including Secretary of State Shultz, the U.S. military and President Reagan himself—are not. People are not being treated equally," she added wryly.

Rumor has it that the Tucson trial judge Earl Carroll, a Reagan appointee, was not favorably impressed with the grounds for dismissal of the six-month trial, but he has not yet ruled formally on the motion. □