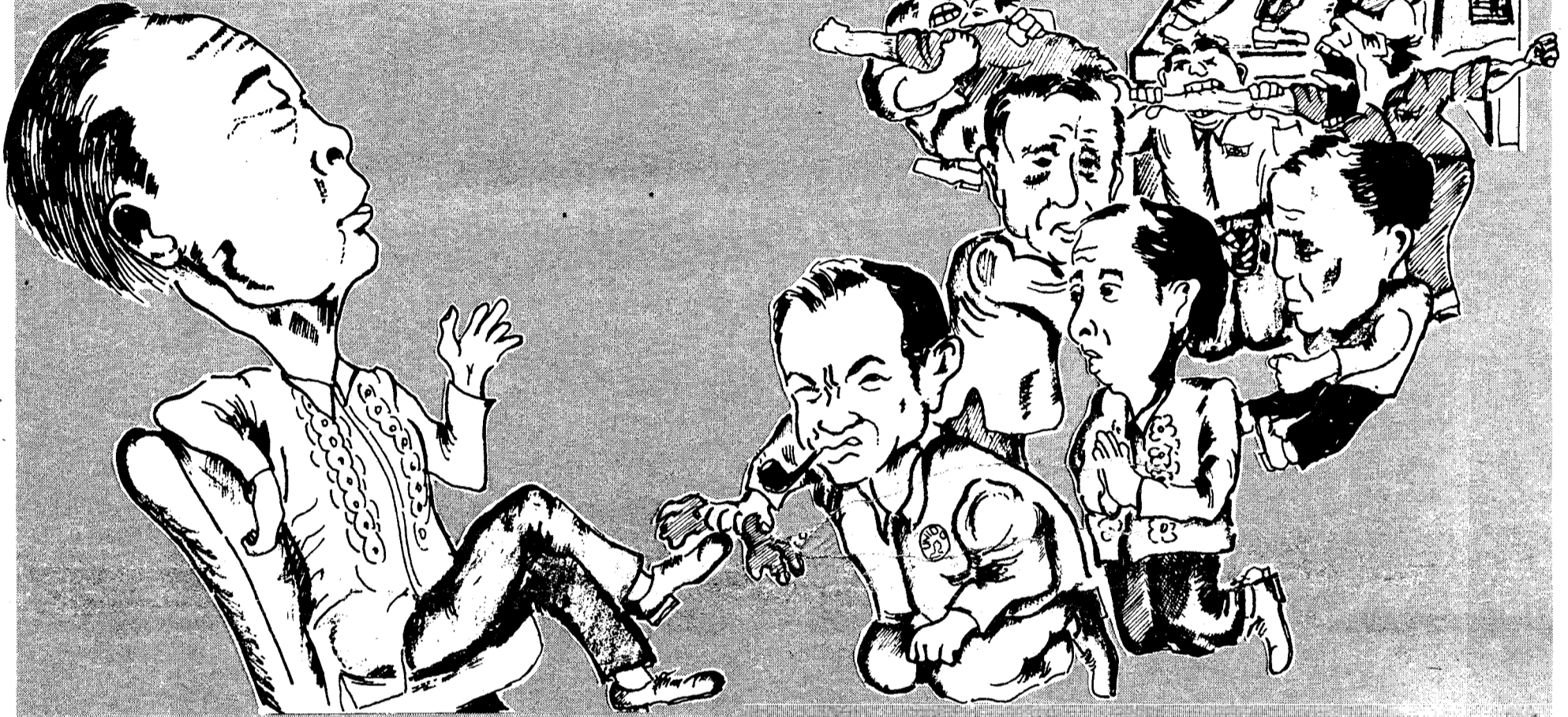


FM's Boys Jockey for Slots in May Polls

Boycott Rolls On



By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Tens of thousands attended the rally in Rizal Park March 27 where President Ferdinand Marcos kicked off the official campaign of his *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* or New Society Party.

It was a classic Marcos event with a roster of singers, dancers and movie stars to please a crowd that had obviously been bused in. Scores of vehicles from various government departments lined the streets beside the park. People had also been given ₱50 each and free T-shirts bearing the KBL emblem.

A good 300,000 packed the park to watch and listen to their favorite stars during the early part of the day. But, reports the *New York Times*, the crowd dwindled to a mere 50,000 by the time the top-billed speakers—Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos—stepped to the mikes.

GLITCHES IN THE MACHINERY

"The KBL has the political machinery," gloated Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez a month earlier, "while the opposition is hopelessly divided." Of course, no one but Marcos has the machinery to pull off the Rizal Park event. But while Marcos and company sound off against an opposition divided between participation and boycott, it is Marcos himself who is suffering the pangs of a divided constituency.

The president appears to be losing his grip over his own tailor-made KBL. With 1,700 aspirants jockeying for the 183 slots on the May 14 ticket Marcos was left in a quandary. The jockeying also exposed a

number of glitches in a formerly well-oiled political machine.

The slate was due to be finalized at a KBL Central Committee meeting on February 14. By mid-March, however, only a partial slate could be announced and the bickering continued until the deadline for filing candidacy.

WARNING AGAINST DYNASTIES

Reports began trickling in as early as the beginning of February that KBL aspirants were spending money against each other. Some made it plain that they planned to run whether endorsed by the party or not. A number threatened to put up their own slates, or leave. This provoked a stern and widely publicized warning by Marcos against political "dynasties."

What is taking place in Cebu is typical of this "dynasty-building" among KBL politicians. Here, with Cebu City and its two seats sliced off into a separate voting region, strongman Ramon Durano, Jr. and Gov. Eduardo Gullas reign supreme. Six seats remain in the province, two, by agreement, for Gullas and four for Durano. Among Durano's choices were Ramon Durano III, Judy Durano-Sybico and Emerito Caldero, a son-in-law.

Elsewhere the problems are no different. In Lanao del Sur, Gov. Ali Dimaporo chose to field his brother and a brother-in-law for the two available seats, though this was strongly contested. Closer to home, Manila Mayor Ramon Bagatsing demanded that his son be placed on the ticket.

BATTLES AND MUTINIES

Throughout the country, Marcos men

were at each other's throats threatening to burst the KBL apart at the seams.

- In Nueva Vizcaya, Political Affairs Minister Perez squared off against incumbent Assemblyman Carlos Padilla;

- In Pangasinan, Agrarian Reform Minister Conrado Estrella was up against Gov. Aguedo Agbayani;

- In Laguna, it was Governor of 25 years Felicisimo T. San Luis vs. Assemblyman Luis Yulo;

- Sorsogon—a three-cornered battle between Gov. Raul Lee, Assemblyman Augusto Ortiz and Bureau of Animal Industries Director Salvador Escudero III;

- Camarines Norte—Assemblyman Marcial Pimentel vs. Joe Atienza—who threatened to bolt the party and run with the opposition if not chosen.

Elsewhere it was more than a threat. Mutinies challenged Marcos' leadership and authority, embarrassing him and some of his most loyal henchmen. Most dramatic was the move by former Congressman Tito Dupaya who set up his own slate in Cagayan and vowed to beat local KBL chairman and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

In Camarines Sur, former Trade Minister Luis Villafuerte bolted the KBL to join the oppositionist United Nationalist Democratic Opposition. Filemon Fernando did the same thing in Cebu. Ambassador Leandro Vercelles was welcomed by UNIDO when he failed to make it to the KBL ticket.

NO DRAFT FOR IMELDA

Meanwhile, a sampling of those selected to

run or are on the verge of running suggested that May 14 could be a real circus. Marcos' faith healer, Ramon Labo, who is treating the president for his kidney ailment, is a candidate. Actor Dindo Fernando is waiting in Marikina.

Most noteworthy among the non-candidates is none other than Ma'am herself. Mrs. Marcos went into her usual coy routine this time, publicly announcing that she was through with politics. She later amended that saying she would have to listen to "the will of the people" if they wanted her.

But Ferdinand apparently decided that

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Guest Editorial: An Open Letter to the People of the United States

From the Farabundo Marti

National Liberation Front



By instructions of President Reagan an invasion of our country has been programmed under the cover of a third stage in the joint military maneuvers which North-American troops have been carrying out in Honduras since August 5, 1983.

It has been announced that the "Ahuas Tara III (Big Pine III) maneuvers will take place during June in the area known as "El Trifinio" where the borders of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala meet. The maneuvers will include a landing of U.S. troops in Salvadoran territory near the Department of Chalatenango, one of the FMLN's principal strongholds.

Intelligence sources affirm that, taking into account the unresolved differences with the Guatemalan government, and, above all, the notable advances of the FMLN, a second variant is in preparation: move the maneuvers up to February, hold them in the southeastern part of Honduras near the Gulf of Fonseca, and carry out the U.S. troop landing in Salvadoran territory next to Morazan Department, another stronghold of the FMLN.

(Editor's Note: The Pentagon announced that it will begin massive military maneuvers in Honduras on April 1. The exercises will involve troops from Panama, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and the U.S. and are planned under the code name "Granadero I." The U.S. has already dispatched 2,000 of its own troops to the Honduras-El Salvador border.)

In either of its two variants, "Ahuas Tara III" would be the cover for an invasion of our country as part of the ongoing efforts to impede the triumph of the Salvadoran people over half a century of genocidal dictatorship, a dictatorship which has caused over 90,000 deaths, 50,000 of which have been in the last four years alone.

The Kissinger Commission Report, which was received with great enthusiasm by Reagan and correctly labelled a "war plan" opposed to the regional peace efforts of the Contadora Group by many Latin and Northamerican personalities, has greatly increased the danger of a U.S. invasion in Central America.

We warn that such landings of foreign troops in Salvadoran territory will be taken for what they are. Invasion and aggression will be met by the FMLN with a corresponding military response.

No one disputes that the FMLN has advanced, defeating the dictatorship and its criminal army, in spite of the continuously growing support this government receives from the United States in money, advisors,

and arms. This situation has just one explanation: the Salvadoran people are on the side of the FMLN. The explanations given by the White House and the Salvadoran dictatorship say that our advances are due to the arms which we supposedly receive from Cuba and the Soviet Union.

If these arguments are true, why is the dictatorship's army being defeated in spite of the fact that it has more soldiers and officials, more and better arms—including planes, helicopters, and naval vessels, none of which we have?

The majority of the dictatorship's soldiers are recruited by force in agricultural plantations, in the city streets; they are pulled off buses or while leaving the schools, stadiums, theatres, and workshops. They don't enter combat willingly and therefore are deserting in growing numbers or turning themselves in as prisoners often without having fired a single shot. Many ask to join the ranks of the FMLN. Relatives of the deserters are rounded up and held as the Army's hostages, as a means to force these deserters to return to their bases. Daily, the population complains about this situation.

U.S. taxpayers' money sent to the dictatorship by the Reagan administration is increasingly consumed by theft among the corrupt military and political leadership. Can such support be called popular, democratic, of the national will, etc.? The U.S. military advisors know this situation all too well and the Northamerican people should demand from them an honest and public accounting.

It is very clear that if U.S. troops come to invade us, they will be fighting against a population of Salvadorans which is prepared to give all it has. U.S. troops will not be fighting a "handful of terrorists" as the White House is accustomed to calling us. In this way, the U.S. will get involved in a long and dirty war in which its soldiers and officials will be covered with shame from the useless assassination of tens of thousands of unarmed people, and the destruction of poor villages and cities. Furthermore, many U.S. soldiers will also needlessly die in our country putting into mourning thousands of simple, working families in the U.S.

In the end, the revolution will triumph anyway, but a new dark spot will mark the country's history throwing a murky shadow over relations between the U.S. and El Salvador, relations which we would prefer to be friendly and constructive. In this way, sowing the wind, they will harvest new storms. Those who govern in the United States continue to behave like arrogant and

implacable emperors toward the people of Latin America.

In no way do we want to get involved in a war with the United States. We don't want to see more Salvadoran blood spilled. We don't want to see our country suffer more destruction. Nor do we wish to kill young Northamerican soldiers; but there should be no doubt that many of them would be killed. We have considerable combat experience and would be fighting on ground which we know like the palm of our hands, and which we love because it is our country. The invaders would

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ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

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Litter from Manila



Government to Supervise Beauty Contests

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

Launching the government's new program for economic self-reliance, President Marcos said: "It is time for us to slay and bury the image of 'Juan Tama', the image of the Filipino as lazy, indolent and weak, helpless before the vicissitudes of fortune and destiny and to enshrine in its place the ideology of sariling sikap."

I respectfully beg to disagree with the President this time. If we slay and bury the guy, we should at least avoid airports. Also, chances are it will be bungled again and then we have to call for an investigating commission, stage a taped reenactment, find communists who were responsible for the dastardly deed... it could be a mess again. May I suggest that collaring the bum on a Preventive Detention Action and locking him in solitary at Camp Bagong Diwa can achieve the desired result. Juan will also be too lazy and indolent to campaign for his own release, thereby lessening the chances for controversy.

It is true, of course, that many of our technocrats are off course. They need primers in elementary business from illiterate businessmen who were successful without half-trying. In contrast, it took President Marcos less than a day to conceive of *Sariling Sikap*. The technocrats tried competing in the world market with ambitious exports that needed imported raw materials and machinery. We got badly beat.

To correct this, *Sariling Sikap* will focus on where we have the edge over everyone else—Filipino resourcefulness. "With capital from government savings and not from foreign loans, two million poor families will plant fast-growing ipil-ipil trees whose wood would be used for energy and the leaves for animal feed... the program will alleviate both our energy and meat problems," the President says, adding that "to be politically emancipated we must be economically liberated." My enthusiastic daughter hastens to add that "with so much cheap animal feed we would also have megaheaps of manure which we could export to countries that do not get as much shit from their governments." For my part I hope our officials and technocrats will hold on to this new policy steadfastly so as to achieve economic independence. Then our critics won't be able to raise a stink.

Don't believe rumors that the opposition will win in

the May elections. My inside source tells me this is really wild. The biggest blow suffered by the noisy opposition came from a silent rejoinder by the President—his recent display of good health. He refused to gratify opposition wishes that he die, be seriously ill or be incapacitated. President Marcos presided over a six-hour KBL Caucus, then went to a last day prayer for a deceased sister-in-law, after which he stayed on until early morning chatting with friends—a good 13 hours on his feet—and on his way home, he made it rain. True, he collapsed shortly thereafter, but so what? The man's no God.

The boycott people led by Butz Aquino think they can upset the May polls with their political gimmicks. My spy says that after the jog-a-thons and the marches, the opposition is going to hold a "40-day Hunger Fast for Freedom, Justice and Democracy" believing they will attract 10,000 people. Well, I have news for Butz. The KBL will counter that with a "40-day All-You-Can-Eat for the New Society" and they are cocksure they will attract an eager 70 percent of the entire population.

So, why is everyone laughing at the KBL announcement that Ramon Labo, the President's personal faith healer is going to run for the National Assembly. The fact is, faith healers can have a tremendous influence on the economic life of the nation. Take Baguio City's Antonio "Tony" Agpaoa,

Continued on page 10

Aquino Investigation

Gov't Version Shot to Pieces

By CARLA MARIANO

"I am here this afternoon to finish my testimony because my conscience is still bothered as to what I had witnessed," Efrén Ranas began his March 20 testimony before the Agrava board investigating the Aquino assassination.

He told the panel that he did not relate the full story at his first appearance because he felt intimidated by the military lawyer's cross-examination.

Ranas then went on to testify that he saw the soldiers drop Aquino, his head limp and with blood on his back, as they left the last step of the staircase.

"They could no longer hold him up, and he fell face forward," he stated.

SHOT ON THE STEPS

Ranas' testimony was one of many presented these past few weeks to the Agrava commission which have not only destroyed the government's version of the assassination but have also pointed to the military as the culprit.

The Agrava panel on March 28 heard a tape recording made by Sandra Burton, the Hong Kong bureau chief for *Time* magazine. Voices can be heard in Filipino dialect saying excitedly, "I'll do it," "Here he is," and "Shoot him!" The sound of a gunshot follows, then a woman's scream: "Oh no! They killed Ninoy!"

According to Burton's tape, 10 seconds elapsed between the time Aquino exited the plane's door and the first shot was heard. Panel members said they had tried to reenact getting from the plane to the runway in 10 seconds and found it impossible, suggesting that the shot that killed Aquino was fired while he was still on the stairs.

In their testimony March 8, Ranas and Olivia Reyes, both security guards assigned to guard incoming aircraft at Manila International Airport told the Agrava panel that, after the shot, they looked towards the stairs and saw a man in white suit, later identified as Aquino, being held by two military escorts.



Ranas (r) explains his version while others act it out; Ninoy was shot on the steps. UPI

Ranas said Aquino appeared to be slumped toward the left with his head "bent toward the ground."

Miss Reyes said she saw Aquino four or five steps from the ground with his head "bowed down."

Ramon Layoso, supervisor of both Ranas and Reyes, explained that he was talking to Reyes when he heard a shot. "I could not see where the shot came from. I turned and saw them [Aquino and his escorts] one or two steps from the ground."

SHOT FROM BEHIND

The government version of the Aquino slaying asserts that Aquino was shot in the back of the head by Rolando Galman who slipped in from behind when the senator stepped off the stairs. Galman was immediately gunned down by military guards stationed around the plane.

But the story was riddled with loopholes. A Philippine Airlines worker, Ramon Balang, told the Agrava board that before Galman was gunned down, he was standing in front of Aquino, "smiling and greeting the soldiers."

Autopsy and ballistic reports showed that the bullet that killed Aquino entered

the back of his neck at a downward trajectory, suggesting that his killer was standing a step above him.

DISAPPEARING WITNESSES

Additional and frightening evidence implicating the military continued to come to the fore—notably the disappearance of two potentially valuable witnesses. Both Galman's wife and the girlfriend with whom he spent his last few days disappeared within the last few months.

A tearful Roberta Masibay, Galman's 16-year-old stepdaughter, told the panel that her mother was forcibly taken by military men on the orders of Gen. Fabian Ver on January 29.

One of the men was also with the group led by Lt. Col. Arturo Custodio which took Galman himself four days before the assassination.

Masibay begged the panel, "Please find her [the mother] for us—dead or alive."

'A GREAT TALENT WASTED'

More testimony was coming in from unexpected places. The U.S. House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee chaired by Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY), heard testi-

mony implicating Philippine military and security officials in the assassination.

Jose Fronda Santos, Jr., 34, told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee that Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, Aviation Security Command chief, instructed him "to kill Senator Aquino, at the right opportunity, outside of the United States."

Santos further stated that if he succeeded in killing Aquino "without embarrassment to President Marcos," Custodio promised him a reward from Gen. Fabian Ver and the president.

More damaging information came from Maj. Ernesto Rosales, a lawyer for the Philippine Constabulary who told Solarz that the assassination was a "military operation."

"A great talent is going to be wasted," Rosales quoted a Philippine Army intelligence officer as saying when he was informed that Aquino was marked for assassination.

High officials of the Philippine military command immediately called Santos' allegation a "brazen lie" and labelled Rosales "a deserter."

The Agrava board is reportedly making plans to travel to the U.S. to question Santos and Rosales.

'PUSILA!'

Other testimony linking the military to the murder came from Tokyo. The entire Agrava commission journeyed to Japan to hear witnesses afraid or unwilling to testify in Manila.

Most important was the evidence presented by 43-year-old Matsumi Suzuki, a doctor of medicine by profession and a sound engineer of distinction.

Suzuki heads a private research laboratory, the Japanese Acoustic Institute, and specializes in voiceprints.

He testified in Tokyo that voice print tests show that the man who shouted "Pusila" (in the Visayan dialect which means "Shoot") seconds before Aquino was gunned down was the head of Aquino's military guards. He was "nearly certain" the man who yelled "Pusila!" was 2nd Lt. Jesus Castro.

But as the cumbersome commission inches toward the truth, it is inching toward an insurmountable predicament. Ferdinand Marcos and his topmost lackeys will not allow themselves to be found guilty of ordering Aquino's death.

As the formal evidence gathered by the commission points toward just that, something will have to give. Curious observers wonder what. □

FM's Boys . . .

Continued from page 1

Imelda was too much of a liability at this delicate juncture. When Mrs. Marcos was finally told that the will-of-the-people wouldn't work this time around, she allegedly flew off in a rage, high-tailing it to New York to attend to a vaguely defined eye ailment.

She made it back to Manila for March 27 to tell the crowd at Rizal Park tearfully, "All my enemies are united to destroy your first lady and destroy her honor and the country."

KALAW HITS BELOW THE BELT

Meanwhile pro-participation opponents of Marcos and the KBL were hard at work trying to drum up support for their position.

This was not always easy. Though PDP-Laban recently decided to join with UNIDO in the elections, the choice was not unanimous. Allegedly only one-half of the listeners applauded when the decision was announced to 800 convention delegates. A compromise plan thus allows boycott supporters within the ranks to launch their own campaign.

Former Senator Lorenzo Tañada, boycott supporter and PDP-Laban chairman, resigned his position.

Also planning to run are a wing of the old Nacionalista Party and the National Union of Christian Democrats. The NP is fielding its own slate nationwide, while NUCD will run principally in Antique and other regions where PDP-Laban is weak.

As the campaign heated up, so did the claims. Former senator Salvador Laurel of UNIDO insisted that the opposition could win a majority then simply impeach Marcos.

Former senator Eva Estrada Kalaw threw a few below the belt March 3 when she labelled the boycott movement "Communist-inspired." In the same breath, she claimed that UNIDO had received reports that the boycott movement was discreetly funded by the Marcos government.

FM NAMES 'OFFICIAL OPPOSITION'

Not to be outdone was Jaime Cardinal Sin. The usually conservative prelate earlier made waves when he publicly sanctioned the right to boycott. But once again Sin did an about-face and claimed that "to boycott in a situation like this would be to default a sacred right. To resort to flight when you can fight would be a mark of cowardice."

Meanwhile UNIDO, dominated by conventional politicians, was up against some conventional problems. Cebu was a case in point. With the six seats of the province at large almost certainly in the pocket of the Durano/Gullas combine, nine oppositionists of various allegiances were eager to run for Cebu City's two seats.

Marcos did his best to aggravate the situation. He named the less distinctly anti-Marcos NP "official opposition" throughout much of the country. It particularly galled UNIDO to see the NP

named official opposition party in Tarlac, home province of the late senator Benigno Aquino.

'PLAINCLOTHES KBL'

For all the self-assurance of Laurel and Kalaw, however, participating oppositionists clearly worry that Marcos may throw them some unforeseen curves. People in Negros Oriental talk of "plainclothes KBL" and "Marcos agents" running under opposition guise.

Observers look suspiciously at the newly-formed Christian Democratic Party. Reports of its founding convention reveal that fat envelopes were handed out to one and all Marcos-style.

Ramon Tagle of the Christian Social Movement denounced the CDP, noting that a background check of its founders "reveals kinship relations to an influential KBL member of the Batasan . . ."

Even more suspect and confusing is a group calling itself the Third Coalition Force founded by two members of the *Lapiang Manggagawa* and *Partido Malayang Pilipino* president Rady Leonardo.

As reported by *Mr. & Ms.*, the Third Coalition plans ultimately to form two parties, one "right," the other "left." If a candidate is running in an area "located on the left side of the country," he is to affiliate with *Lapiang Manggagawa*. If "the *Batasan* seat they are running [sic] is located on the right side of the country," the candidate is to link with PMP.

'BOYCOTT! BOYCOTT!'

While participationists of varying degrees of credibility polish their election rhetoric, the boycott movement barrels on. It shows every sign of swelling still further as May 14 draws closer.



Fifty thousand poured into Manila's streets March 6 to march for boycott. They came from as far as 60 miles away and some had marched for a week as part of Lakbayan (*Lakad para sa Kalayaan ng Bayan*).

Contingents started from Concepcion, Tarlac; San Pablo City, Laguna; Batangas City; Angeles City; Dasmariñas and Silang, picking up more people as they rolled along. The event was sponsored jointly by the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, CORD (Coordinating Committee for the Restoration of Democracy) and the Boycott Coalition Against Tyranny.

The group's reception in Manila was thunderous. Thousands hung out of windows and lined the sidewalks with the usual confetti and fireworks as the group marched along MacArthur Highway.

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Buod ng mga Balita

EDGAR JOPSON'S N.U.S.P. REVISITED

"Ang edukasyon ay karapatan at hindi pribilehiyo" (Education is a right, not a privilege) insisted Efrén Turla, student leader, at a rally of 800 students February 3 before the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports.

The oratory sounded familiar enough, but its source was not. For Turla spoke as representative of the National Union of Students of the Philippines, founded by Edgar "Edjop" Jopson as a moderate organization during the stormy days of the early seventies. The NUSP was killed by martial law which strangled all forms of open protest—however moderate.

Jopson himself eventually became radicalized by his experience as a student activist. He went on to become a leader of the New People's Army and died last year a martyr to his cause.

In the fluid atmosphere following the Aquino assassination, students have apparently chosen to revive the NUSP. This time, the once-moderate organization leans decidedly to the left. The NUSP sounds not all that different from the more militant and openly left-leaning League of Filipino Students.

Demonstrating before the Ministry of Education, the group condemned the "deterioration of the present educational system" which it characterized as "suppressive, colonial and commercialized."

Turla insisted that the current system "caters to the needs of foreign capitalists" and denounced the roles of the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank in dictating and financing Philippine educational programs. "The present system of education would produce not only cheap, but also a docile labor force," claimed another speaker.

The NUSP expressed its support for teachers currently on strike for a decent wage (see story, page 7) in the face of government efforts to force them back to work. □

BONGBONG SHOOTS FOR THE MOON

Presidential spokesman Adrian Cristobal cleared up a mystery last February when he informed *Business Day* that he no longer heads the Philippine Communications Satellite Corp. The board chairman, he announced, is none other than Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.—"Bongbong"—the president's 26-year-old son.

Philcomsat's officials earlier denied that Bongbong held the position and officers of the company's major stockholder, Philippine Overseas Telecommunications Corp., had issued contradictory statements. But, insisted Cristobal, "Bongbong Marcos is now chairman. I stopped receiving my paycheck from Philcomsat. I should know."

And a very respectable paycheck it is likely to be. Philcomsat officials refused to comment on their company's financial standing, but one source noted, "We've been meeting our budget. We do not have a very high rate of return, but the rate of return has been within the targetted figures."

The source may be prone to understatement. Philcomsat leases voice channels from the 127-country consortium Intelstat at \$439 per channel per month. It re-leases them to clients for up to \$5,500 per month.

Clients, including IT&T Globe-MacKay, Eastern Telecommunications, Philippine Global Communications, and Capital Wireless, lease between six and 50 channels. Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company, which leases 200 channels, gets a discount rate of \$3,500 monthly per channel.

Columnist Max Soliven noted that the next highest rate paid anywhere in the world for voice channels is \$2,500 per month. This may account for why some companies send messages to Hong Kong and Singapore for satellite dispatch abroad.

Philcomsat began in 1966 with a ₱55,000 investment from the National Development Corp. It was intended at the time to remain a fully government-owned corporation. In 1982, it divested, leaving as sole owner POTC, a privately-owned firm. Government sources describe it, however, as "semi-governmental."

But with posh executive offices on the 12th floor of the newly-inaugurated Telecom Building along Buendia Avenue Extension in Makati, Philcomsat looks unmistakably like a most prosperous private outfit.

Bongbong's emergence as its board chairman, is in keeping with the Marcos family tradition. He serves simultaneously as Governor of Ilocos Norte. His father

recently gave a widely-reported speech condemning political dynasties. Present company excepted, no doubt. □

PRIESTS' TRIAL: AN INTERNATIONAL EVENT

A murder trial in Kabankalan, Negros may cause serious problems for the Philippines' relations with Australia.

Father Brian Gore, along with Fr. Niall O'Brien, Fr. Vicente Dangan, and six lay workers, face murder charges for the ambush deaths of Mayor Pablo Sola of Kabankalan, Negros and four aides in 1982. The murder case has become a local and international controversy, and was the subject of discussions between Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and visiting Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden on February 25.

Local and European media have played up the controversy stirred by the charges that Gore, a Columban priest from Perth, Australia; O'Brien of Dublin, Ireland; and Dangan, a Filipino, masterminded the March 10, 1982 murders of Sola, his driver, two hacienda overseers, and a bodyguard. The New People's Army claimed responsibility for the ambush but the government insists the priests masterminded the killings.

EMOTIONAL REUNION

On March 29, 1980, eight farmers from Bo. Marcopa in Kabankalan, were reportedly picked up by the Philippine Constabulary. One was later released but the rest remained unaccounted for until six months later, when their bound bodies were found in a mass grave. The seven had been buried alive on land belonging to Sola.

At the time of his death, the mayor was on trial for the grisly murders. Two other Kabankalan farmers, both active churchworkers, meanwhile, also disappeared. They were later found murdered.



Gore and his co-accused in Kabankalan jail; priest demands trial in order to clear his name. (Mr. & Ms.)

Gore was implicated in the Sola murders when a raid on his convent September 23, 1982, allegedly yielded ammunition and subversive materials. He was arrested the next day along with the six lay workers for illegal arms possession and charged with inciting to rebellion. After further investigation, the military linked Frs. Gore, O'Brien, Dangan, and the six others to the Sola murders.

The nine were taken to Kabankalan city jail May 6, but the priests were placed under house arrest three days later following church intervention. The three petitioned to rejoin their co-accused in jail, insisting on equal treatment for all. The nine had an emotional reunion in early January.

Trial for the nine accused, however, did not start until February 23 this year, one day before Minister Hayden was due to visit Marcos. The Negros Provincial Jail in Bacolod was swamped as hundreds flocked to watch the proceedings. Among them were Bacolod Bishop Antonio Fortich; Bishop Myles McKeon of Perth; and Bishop Eamonn Casey of Galway; representatives of the International Commission of Jurists; the Law Council of Australia; Australian and Irish diplomats; local lawyers; and western TV crews and newsmen also attended the opening session.

In the 30-minute talk with Marcos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Hayden was told of evidence "strong enough for conviction." The defendants'

lawyers, however, announced that they would call 127 witnesses, at least one of whom would testify that O'Brien was in Manila at the time of the Sola murders.

The incident has driven Philippine stock down in Australia. An anti-Marcos lobby in Canberra is urging Prime Minister Bob Hawke to drop Australia's development aid program in Samar and Mindanao. The case could also jeopardize the Philippines' request for some \$100 million in financial and trade aid.

A financially strapped Marcos has offered to scrap the case on the condition that the two foreign priests be deported. Gore, however, refuses to participate and insists that trial proceed to clear his name.

At this point, Gore's health and safety are a matter of concern. He reportedly collapsed during a recent prison uprising. As of presstime, there has been no further word on his condition or of the reported uprising. □

GETS OIL BUT NOT SABAH

MR. MARCOS GOES TO BRUNEI

President Marcos tried to kill several birds with one stone last February by attending the gala independence celebration of nearby Brunei, a former British colony on the island of Borneo.

Bringing along a full retinue for his two-day stay, the ailing dictator proved to the world that he is still alive and kicking. More important, Marcos used the event in an image-building effort, hoping to regain both domestically and internationally some of the stature he held prior to the August 1983 assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino. Marcos is widely suspected of masterminding the murder.

Thus upon his return to Manila, Marcos announced to the press that, through a meeting with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, he had finally resolved the simmering Sabah question.

NO TRACE OF BREAKTHROUGH

But Mahathir had a different tale to tell of the February 23 meeting. The Malaysians had viewed the meeting as an informal one and only a few aides attended along with the prime minister. They were surprised when Marcos arrived with a full entourage of aides, security men and press.

The entire encounter lasted no more than half an hour and Sabah came up only briefly during a discussion on maritime borders. There was no trace of a breakthrough. "We're not negotiating. That is their statement," insisted Mahathir. "Malaysia has never entertained the Sabah claim."

The strain between Malaysia and the Philippines dates back to the mid-60s when then-President Diosdado Macapagal laid claim to Sabah. This independent neighbor of both Brunei and Malaysia once belonged to the Sultan of Sulu who leased it to the British. Malaysia never accepted the Philippine claim and the conflict has remained the most serious between members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

ANGLING FOR DEFERRED PAYMENTS

Marcos may have been a bit more successful on another front. As one of the few visiting heads of state to gain a private audience with Brunei's Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, he came quickly to the point.

The point was oil, of which Brunei is an exporter. Manila-based Pilipinas Shell Petroleum Corp. currently buys 14% of its crude from Brunei Shell. The Philippines, Marcos explained to Bolkiah, needs oil desperately but is strapped for cash. The Sultan was not altogether unsympathetic to the possibility of a deferred payment.

Marcos hoped to work out a trade agreement which would cover both oil imports with deferred payments and exports of Philippine agricultural goods and food products.

Seventy-five percent of Philippine foreign exchange currently goes to cover its oil imports. Meanwhile its export earnings last year sagged to \$4.8 billion, the lowest since 1981 and less than a third of its total foreign debt. Thus Marcos is eager to grab at any new export market possibilities. Brunei, he noted with ill-concealed glee, imports 80% of its food.

Marcos also hoped that this newly-independent neighbor might help him deal with the problem of unemployment which has skyrocketed due to the Philippines' deteriorating economic situation. A portion of the trade agreement, he proposed, might cover the import of Philippine labor. Anything to ease the mounting pressure from the Philippine working class. □

The Moro Struggle 400 Years of Resisting Plunder



Members of the MNLF; Filipino capitalists, notably cronies, are cashing in on the rape of Mindanao. (L. Johnson)

By NENE OJEDA

One month to the day after the September 21, 1972 declaration of martial law, Marawi City was awakened by endless bursts of automatic weapons. Quickly, an army of young Moros captured the local military garrison. They had waylaid a Pepsi Cola truck and used it as a blazing roadblock at the bridge leading to the city. By the afternoon, the leaders of the uprising were announcing the Moro demand for secession over the static of the Mindanao State University radio station.

In the months (and then years) to follow, the Philippine government would throw in thousands of military recruits to the south. Hundreds would return to the north in coffins that were rushed through darkened city streets by fleets of well-covered military transports.

The October 21, 1972, uprising in Marawi City marked the official beginning of the Marcos government's war against the Moro people in Mindanao. But it was just the continuation of an old war, a four hundred-year-old war started by Caucasian colonizers and carried out by their political—though of course not racial—descendants.

AFTER SPAIN, THE U.S.

Soon after the northern islands of the Visayas and Luzon were converted to the Christian faith in the 16th century, Spain set about to "destroy the evil doctrine of Mohammad" that dominated the southern islands. But the sultanates of Maguindanao, Jolo and Basilan vigorously resisted Spain's crusading forays. The lurking shadow of Spain's European rivals—Britain, France and Holland—made the subjugation of the south even more imperative. But Spain never quite succeeded.

Still, 300 years of warfare taxed the sultanates. Men were lost in battles and riches spent in war. Cut off from traditional sea trade with China and India, the Muslim south's commerce became largely dependent on piracy. Mindanao's natural resources by the end of the 19th century remained untapped. While encompassing one-third of all Philippine lands, the south remained sparsely populated. Just over half a million Muslims and other non-Christian tribes peopled the islands.

Industrialized America's firepower at the turn of the century more quickly overcame the fierce resistance of the already spent sultanates. Through genocidal military campaigns, divide-and-conquer diplomacy and later, a policy of resettling Christian natives from the north, America succeeded where Spain had failed.

The U.S. moved quickly into Mindanao to prevent the south's involvement in the continuing northern struggle for independence. The Bates Treaty of 1899, signed by Sultan Jamul Kirram of Jolo and Gen. John Bates promised peaceful coexistence. The Tausug version of the treaty upheld the rights and sovereignty of the Jolo sultanate. The English text, however, declared and acknowledged the "sovereignty of the U.S. over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies."

With the creation of the Moro province in 1902, the "act of expediency," as Bates himself called the treaty, was abrogated.

America launched in full scale its Moro Policy. Muslim guns were seized as disarmament became the step to peace. As in the north, public (and Western) education became mandatory, as was military conscription and corvee labor. Taxation, the symbol of Spanish subjugation the Muslims resisted for centuries, was imposed.

ENTER US AND JAPANESE CAPITAL

The Moro Policy's other edge was the "Policy of Attraction"—meaning, attraction of capital. For Leonard Wood, governor of the Moro Province in 1903-1906, it was "difficult to imagine a richer country or one out of which more can be made than the island of Mindanao." Wood sought to change land laws to "inspire" big capital to invest in large-scale cultivation of plantation crops such as sugar. He also urged the reduction of forestry taxes to start up the lumber industry.

American business moved in with relish. In 1910 the American-dominated Zamboanga Chamber of Commerce suggested that Mindanao and Sulu become a territory of the U.S. to facilitate the establishment of American plantations. Later a U.S. congressman introduced a bill suggesting the same. Although neither proposal was taken seriously, American business was to have a field day in Mindanao.

'If the policies of all central governments have been genocidal, it is because the Moros have always stood in the way of colonialism and capitalist plunder . . .'

First to take advantage of the new colony was B.F. Goodrich which began its rubber plantation in 1919. By 1929, Goodyear had two profitable rubber plantations. Firestone Tire asked for a million acres in 1926. This request was denied and Firestone settled for a 1,000-hectare plantation.

Del Monte came to Bukidnon in 1926, acquiring more than the 1,024 hectares permitted by making use of government leases. One lease, signed with the National Development Corporation in 1938 was for 7,922 hectares at ₱1 a hectare.

Americans were not the only ones to take advantage of Mindanao's resources. Between 1905 and 1939, Japanese agri-corporations held choice lands in Davao. Just before the Second World War, Davao was virtually an extension of Tokyo with 90 percent of all businesses Japanese-owned.

In 1938, Japanese companies held title to 63,765 hectares, 29,602 of which were acquired in the Public Lands Act's free-for-all. The rest were acquired through various northern Filipino lawyers and businessmen, one of whom—Jose P. Laurel—was later rewarded with the presidency of the puppet government during the Japanese occupation.

SETTLER COLONIALISM

The penetration of foreign capital into Mindanao served to begin the integration of a resistant population to the Philippine national scheme. But the resistant and native population did not fit the needs of the newly-

introduced industries neatly.

Thus, systematic resettlement began in 1912. Homesteaders were brought in from "the overpopulated areas" of the north. One hundred families from Cebu moved to Cotabato Valley specifically to plant rice. Seventeen agricultural colonies were created in the years to follow, some purposely to mix Muslims and Christians to form a "homogenous Filipino people."

It was not until after 1935, the Commonwealth period, that migration increased with the passage of the Quirino-Recto Colonization Act. The administration saw that "land settlement work" is the only government activity that will furnish an effective solution to the "Mindanao problem."

This land settlement, too, served as a safety valve for the explosive tenancy problem in the north. A succession of government agencies facilitated resettlement. The National Land Settlement Administration, created in 1939 right after the Sakdal and Tugunan uprisings, opened three major settlement areas in the south. In 11 years, the NLSA moved a total of 8,300 families.

The Land Settlement Development Corporation replaced the NLSA in 1950, and relocated 1,500 families. Next came the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration, processing 18,600 families between 1954 and 1963.

The Philippines' "answer to communism," the Economic Development Corporation, transported 1,000 families to Mindanao as a part of the Huk pacification drive. Yet only 246 families were proven Huk members. A sizeable number were Armed Forces families, ostensibly to help maintain peace and order in the new settlements.

Conflict between the Christian homesteaders and the Muslim inhabitants was inevitable. Most settlers held deeds to Muslim ancestral lands that had been declared "public" by the colonial government. For most Muslims, private ownership of the lands was as alien as the settlers. The settler's Christian chauvinism, shaped by generations of Moro-Moros and derogatory portrayals of non-Christian peoples, added insult to injury.

Their lands and livelihood taken and their culture debased, the Moros had no choice but to fight. The Kamlun uprising in the 1950s was just a harbinger of the explosions that were to come in the late 1960s.

MARCOS AND THE MOROS

The Jabidah Massacre in 1968 became an early call for Moro secession. In March of that year, 30 Moro trainees were killed by Philippine Army troops after an aborted "mutiny" in Corregidor. The recruits were to be part of the "Jabidah" unit being readied by the Marcos government to "reclaim" Sabah from Malaysia. The Muslim Independence Movement was launched in the months following. In 1969, some 90 MIM members underwent military training in Malaysia. This was to be the seed for the Moro National Liberation Front which is conducting the present struggle for national self-determination against the Marcos regime.

The years 1970-1971 again saw the south in the front pages of the Manila newspapers. Hostilities between Muslims and Christians flared up and were most pronounced in the Christian-dominated provinces of Cotabato and Lanao del Norte. Christian politicians were using not only armed goons but also government

troopers to harass Moro communities.

In one case, the Christian Ilagas herded 70 Moros into a mosque and mercilessly gunned them down. News reports later said that the Ilagas were paid by various lumber concessionaires who wanted more land for timber. The Philippine Constabulary, in another incident, participated in the Ilagas' massacre of 200 Moros.

In response, Moro politicians used their own paramilitary forces, notably the Barracudas and the Black-shirts. Private political feuds were settled by razing entire villages. As civilians fled the carnage, Mindanao was divided into bitter Muslim and Christian zones. Refugees numbered in the thousands.

Marcos' imposition of martial law pushed the confrontation to even greater intensity. "Outlaws will be annihilated," declared Marcos. Moro villages were searched for weapons. One month later, Marawi City rose up in arms. Jolo City followed suit on November 14, 1972. The MNLF began its rise to prominence as the only armed group, other than the New Peoples Army that is challenging the Marcos regime.

The current war is the costliest and most brutal fighting ever to explode in the south. Abdurasaad Asani, an MNLF spokesperson drew up an accounting of its first five years: 50,000 killed, 200,000 houses burnt, 535 mosques and schools demolished; 35 cities and towns completely destroyed. The Malaysian government sought United Nations' help for the care of

Continued on page 14

\$60M Military Aid Moved to Economic Aid

U.S. Slaps Marcos on the Wrist ... Gently



By MADGE BELLO

I believe that a stronger action is needed at this critical juncture in U.S.-Philippine relations." Ohio Congressman Tony Hall stated March 9 in a written appeal to his colleagues in the House of Representatives. Hall's letter was an attempt to muster support for an amendment to cut off altogether \$25 million in military aid to the Marcos government. The action will be introduced when the full House votes on the 1985 authorization of the U.S. Bases Rental package to the Philippines.

Hall's amendment comes on the heels of a House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) decision February 29 to cut \$60 million out of an \$85 million military aid component and to transfer the amount to the Economic Support Fund of the Bases Rental Agreement. Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY), head of the subcommittee on Pacific and Asian Affairs of the HFAC, initiated the transfer which was immediately condemned by Marcos officials.

The Philippine government had successfully negotiated an 80 percent increase in bases rental in 1983, from \$500 million for 1979 to 1984 to \$900 million to be paid out over the next five years. Of the \$180 million-per-year allocation, \$85 million was to go to military assistance (\$25 million from the U.S. Military Assistance Program and \$60 million from Foreign Military Sales); \$95 million was to be from the Economic Support Fund.

'MESSAGE TO MARCOS'

"The Philippines is hovering on the brink of bankruptcy," Solarz argued in justifying his proposed transfer. "What the country needs is economic aid first, so it can deal with the severe problems facing

the masses of people."

While responding to the Philippine economic crisis, Solarz said he was also sending a strong message to the Marcos government to protect human rights and to provide free and fair elections this coming May.

Deteriorating economic and political conditions in the Philippines and the widening dissent following former Senator Benigno Aquino's assassination in August 1983 have caused considerable alarm to the U.S.

Solarz' concern echoed that of two witnesses who testified February 22 before his subcommittee. Dr. David Joel Steinberg, professor of Southeast Asian History at Brandeis University, described U.S. policy objectives as: 1) the preservation of a stable ally, 2) retention of the U.S. bases and 3) restoration of a viable democracy in the Philippines—in that order.

Steinberg advocated a policy that enhances U.S. interests without appearing interventionist. The U.S., he said, "must avoid the semblance and the reality of neo-imperialism."

POLITICAL CRISIS NEEDS POLITICAL SOLUTION

Former Ambassador to the Philippines, William Sullivan asserted that "whatever its economic and financial manifestations, the current crisis in the Philippines is essentially a political crisis." Attributing this to Marcos' loss of political support from large and important sectors of the population, he called for the "honest return to democracy," without which, he said, the crisis could worsen.

The U.S., he added, must use its influence to persuade Marcos to hold an honest and open election. He endorsed the recently-approved election of a vice-president as

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Group Calls for Amnesty; Rights Violations Continue

One hundred twenty-three signatories of an open letter to President Marcos last February called for a non-discriminatory general amnesty and the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Jaime Cardinal Sin led the petitioners which included seven bishops, and a number of former senators, writers, teachers, lawyers, and other professionals. General amnesty, the letter insisted, "is the necessary first concrete step" that will "heal the wounds of discord and dissatisfaction in our body politic."

But Ferdinand Marcos seemed unlikely to heed the call. The Task Force Detainees revealed that only eight of the 84 prisoners ordered released by the president with much fanfare on January 25 had been detained for political reasons to begin with.

The TFD's parent organization, the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines noted in a recently released six-point document a "sense of insincerity in the government's appeal for reconciliation."

GRUESOME RECORD

"Insincerity" is a polite understatement. The Marcos regime's record of late is no less gruesome than that of previous years.

● Romeo Roces, a farmer, his wife and four children, were reportedly tied up, doused with gasoline, and set afire by members of the Civilian Home Defense Force in Pilar, Sorsogon last November. Roces led a tenant-farmer group fighting off landlord eviction in his hometown.

● The mutilated body of 16-year old

Elvie Degit was found two days after she disappeared January 12 while on her way to pick vegetables for lunch in Himamaylan Negros Occidental. Elvie was the daughter of a witness to a salvaging case.

The Cagayan Valley TFD reported that 27 were salvaged by military units in 1983, bringing the count to at least 200 cases of military abuse in the region since 1980. Ten others have been executed this year, nine women raped, 45 arrested, harassed or mauled, and countless others lost their homes and crops to abusive soldiers and constabulary troops.

DETENTION, HARASSMENT, AND TORTURE

The arrests continue as well.
● In Kalibo, Aklan, Jane Tulgencio remains in military custody without charges. Tulgencio was picked up December 28 following her arrival from Manila.

● Farmer Ramon Alonsaguy was arrested on the same day on suspicion of being a rebel sympathizer. Alonsaguy reportedly aroused military ire when he gave drinking water to unidentified persons who passed by his house.

Farmers in Bontoc, Abra and Ilocos Sur complain of the still-pervasive atmosphere of martial rule as torture, threats and other forms of harassment by government soldiers and paramilitary units continue.

The Anglican-Episcopal Church there complained that anyone suspected of harboring subversive elements is arrested without charges, detained and tortured.

HITTING AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Meanwhile, the Philippine government attacked the human rights group, Amnesty International, for an "attempt to interfere with an issue far beyond its mandate."

The attack was part of a belated response to the group's Report on Human Rights Violations, released September 21, 1982, which raked the regime over the coals for

its human rights record.

The 27-page reply, dated March 23, 1983, but only released in late January this year, takes "strong exception to insinuations" of military abuse. It presented its own innocent versions of each of the cases cited by Amnesty.

The response also praises the government's "firm hand in dealing with violators of the rights of detained persons."

The people of Bontoc, Sorsogon, Aklan, and Negros would like to see some of that "firm hand" applied to their tormentors. But that is unlikely to happen. As a statement by the Kidapawan, Cotabato diocese put it, in the Philippines today, "Death squads under the aegis of officialdom are operating to get rid of those who work toward truth and justice." □



Children of political prisoners calling for the release of their detained parents.



Mr. & Ms.

Teachers Go On Mass Leave

By CARLA MARIANO

We view the initiative as a fundamental teachers' right for restoring the dignity of teachers against long years of economic neglect and political abuse, not an act of nationwide disturbance."

Thus spoke Loretta Ann Rosales, head of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, defending the mass walkout of teachers the last week in February.

"Teachers are tired of government neglect and promises," she added.

The "mass leave of absence" (so termed by the teachers themselves because of a law forbidding government employees to strike) was launched by ACT and two other organizations—the National Association of Public School Teachers Associa-

tions and the Manila Public School Teachers Association—to press the teachers' demand for survival wages.

LEAST POPULAR PROFESSION

Teachers rank among the country's lowest paid workers along with housemaids and nightclub hostesses, according to a survey conducted among 430 full-time teachers in Manila. Only 19% of the respondents currently receive over ₱1,000 a month while 50% receive under ₱750 and 31% between ₱751 and ₱1,000.

Even the yellow-shirted Metro-Manila Aides, glorified garbage collectors, earn more than the college-educated teachers.

Starvation wages have made this once-respected profession the least attractive of careers for college students. The majority of students polled stated that they would not even accept a full scholarship in an

education program if it were offered.

To maintain their families at subsistence level and to reverse the steady decline of the profession's image, teachers are demanding a higher minimum wage of ₱1,500 a month. They are also asking that a cost-of-living allowance of ₱300 and an emergency allowance of ₱300 be added to this for a total of ₱2,100.

The sum is much lower than the government's own estimated poverty-level salary of ₱3,809. Yet, the Marcos regime, citing lack of funds, has consistently rebuffed the teachers' demand.

'SARILING SIKAP'

President Marcos, instead, threatened the strikers with legal action. To pacify them, however, he promised that the government would provide, through its new "Sariling Sikap" (Self-Help) project, new liveli-

hood opportunities for public school teachers and other low-salaried government employees. These, he enthused, would enable them to augment their earnings without causing further budgetary deficits.

Minister of Education Jaime Laya chimed in explaining that the Sariling Sikap project will allow teachers to cultivate sidelines such as tutoring or selling extra professional services to augment their incomes.

REFUSE TO ACT AS POLLWATCHERS

Rosales, however, scoffed at the idea. "We have had to do all this along... sell tocino and longanisa on the side. Otherwise we would all have starved. Sariling Sikap is nothing new."

The central focus of the teachers' activity may have been their pay, but in this period of political turbulence, they have put forward political demands as well.

Traditionally used as pollwatchers during elections, militant teachers under ACT have expressed their intention to boycott the May 14 elections and refuse to serve as pollwatchers. They will not "be used once more as instruments for subverting the people's will... [and] be tools in implementing election frauds," ACT announced.

Other teachers' organizations have stated that they would allow their members to man the polls only with the assurance that they would not be pressured into cheating.

"Without this assurance," they added, "the teachers will not commit themselves to serve in the election."

Finally, teachers have issued a call for an overhaul of the educational system. They criticized as harmful to the national interest the elementary educational reforms dictated by the \$100-million World Bank education loan. The World Bank reforms emphasize technical education for the benefit of foreign businesses. The education of the youth should be geared towards their meaningful participation in building a better society, the teachers insisted. □

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

What's new on the Philippine economic scene is what isn't.

March was to have been bailout month with the International Monetary Fund giving the go-ahead for \$3.9 billion to help the Philippines deal with its \$15-billion foreign debt.

But one fiasco after another placed the Philippines more thoroughly in the doghouse with this all-powerful financial institution than ever. First came the revelation last October that the technocrats running the Philippine economy had been deliberately inflating the figures for foreign exchange reserves by \$600 million. Adding insult to injury, last February an IMF team arrived in Manila to continue negotiations only to discover strong evidence that officials near the top were printing billions in extra pesos. It was back to square one.

Thus March came and went with the Philippines still unable to pay its debts. It was therefore no surprise when Prime Minister and Finance Minister Cesar Virata announced March 14 that the Philippines would seek a third moratorium on repayment of principal. The second such moratorium expires April 16. He pledged, however, that the country would repay all interest falling due during the first quarter, roughly \$150 million.

FOOTDRAGGING

Virata and new Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez packed up for Washington once again early in March with yet another draft of a letter of intent, this one with corrected figures. They will run it past IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosiere and the IMF Executive Board hoping for approval. Circulating the letter among the board members will take roughly a month.

This time, however, there were no promises as to when the IMF cash might finally be released, giving the go-ahead for commercial lenders to release their portions of the package. Word was, however, that the cash would be trickling in in small amounts over time rather than all at once to provide the IMF with a better

opportunity to monitor it closely.

Remarking on the snail's pace with which the bailout process has been moving, some blamed the IMF, whose board members are not all keen on helping Marcos. They suggested that the foot-dragging might be connected to a wait-and-see attitude toward the May 14 elections.

Others blamed Marcos himself. They claimed that, since another devaluation is bound to be part of the stringent IMF requirements, the Philippine president wants to get the election behind him, then let the boom fall.

DISMANTLING HUMAN SETTLEMENTS?

World Bank requirements for a \$300-million structural adjustment loan to come in later this year are more severe and more controversial than ever. Among them, the total dismantling of the Ministry of Human Settlements, national power base of First Lady Imelda Marcos, promises to provoke the most fireworks.

The rationale behind the proposed move is that the outfit absorbs too much cash and is involved in too many wasteful projects. Both Virata and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin favor the move, but as to Imelda, "She's mad as hell," says one presidential aide. The First Lady is reportedly digging in for a fight.

The World Bank is also pushing for a total dismantling of the sugar and coconut monopolies controlled by top presidential cronies Roberto Benedicto and Eduardo Cojuangco with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Apparently Cojuangco has already expressed some openness to the idea of relaxing his control over the \$1-billion-a-year industry.

Economic Update

No Bailout in Sight



Yes, Mr. President, the negotiations for the IMF loans are going on smoothly... No, Sir, I don't think they'll be imposing stiff conditions...
Philippine Signs

CATCH-22

Changes are already under way in the sugar industry. March 15 marked the end of Benedicto's quasi-governmental National Sugar Trading Authority's monopoly over sugar trading. From now on, sugar planters and millers are free to market their own products or continue selling to NASUTRA.

While planters, who recently demonstrated against the Benedicto monopoly, are pleased with the move, there is a catch-22 in the deal. The current spot price of sugar on the international market is 6¢ to 8¢ per pound. NASUTRA's prices, negotiated several years ago and good through the end of this year, average 23.5¢.

Further, Benedicto is demanding that anyone who sells to NASUTRA sign a five-year contract. Moans one planter,

"One wonders if NASUTRA, with all the aces up its sleeve, can ever lose this poker game of the century."

COJUANGCO TAKES OVER SAN MIGUEL

There is no question that the IMF/World Bank requirements aim to undermine two of the president's key cronies. In fact, the unabashed and ambitious aim is to dismantle Philippine "crony capitalism" altogether. This is seen as not just an economic, but a political goal in the effort to clean up the Marcos regime.

"The cronies are made wealthy by Marcos, and they turn around and finance the [election] campaigns," as one diplomat puts it. "Dismantling them is seen as part of restoring fair political contest."

Predictions as to how successful anyone might be at breaking up crony capitalism under Marcos are mixed. Manila *tsismis* reveals that Marcos tried to appoint a crony to succeed Jaime Laya as Governor of the Central Bank but was pressured out of it by the financial community. Crony Ricardo Silverio recently staved off foreclosure of his Delta Motors Corporation via a friendly chat with the president.

Cojuangco's surprising cooperativeness on the coconut front may have been greatly increased by the fact that Andres Soriano's death March 18 left him on top of the giant San Miguel Corporation. Cojuangco purchased 20 million shares of San Miguel from Soriano's cousin Enrique Zobel just a year ago when the cousins were on the outs. In December, he consolidated his grip over 30 percent more of the outstanding stock. Observers hailed it as another crony capitalist victory.

Meanwhile, the foreign sector remains unimpressed by the Philippine economy. Despite Marcos' courtship, capital flight continues. Just about the only ones thriving in Manila today are the moving companies. Global Van Lines reports that business has doubled over the last year. Four Winds International reports, "We're working seven days a week."

As to the direction of the flow, Four Winds claims to be moving six or seven foreign families out of the country for every one it brings in. At Global, the ratio is nine to one. □

Butz Aquino Tour of U.S. Explains Boycott

By JON MELEGRITO

A nine-day speaking and fundraising tour of the U.S. by Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of slain Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino, has once again focused national attention on the crisis that grips the regime of dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos in the Philippines. In particular, Aquino's trip underscored the breadth of resistance to the now-fading U.S. ally, and explained to U.S. audiences the reasons for the mass-based boycott of the elections to the Philippine parliament (the *Batasang Pambansa*) scheduled for May 14.

During his visit, the 44-year old busi-

nessman-turned-opposition-leader spoke before gatherings of Filipino-Americans in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., New York and Los Angeles, gave numerous interviews to the press and met with key congressional leaders. His constant message was that the Marcos dictatorship must be dismantled and that the U.S. should cut off all aid to the repressive regime.

BOYCOTT

At every stopping point, Aquino emphasized the undemocratic character of the upcoming election. "Our elections are a shame," he said in San Francisco before a gathering of 300. "As long as Marcos holds legislative powers, the *Ba-*

tasang Pambansa is useless. Until he relinquishes his powers, we will have an 'ABC'—an Active Boycott Campaign."

The framework for the boycott campaign was laid last January 7-8 at the *Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino* (Congress of Filipino Citizens—KOMPIL), a gathering of over 2,000 delegates representing all elements of the anti-Marcos opposition in the Philippines. The group, whose council of leaders ranges from the imprisoned head of the revolutionary National Democratic Front (NDF) to moderate business leaders and bourgeois liberal politicians, worked out a set of six demands to put before the increasingly isolated Marcos regime. The two key demands were repeal of a provision added to the Philippine constitution in 1976 that gives Marcos the authority to dissolve the *Batasang Pambansa*, and the repeal—not merely the temporary suspension—of certain presidential decrees which curtail the civil liberties of Philippine citizens.

In "A Call for Meaningful Elections" issued soon after the KOMPIL gathering, over 40 different political and civic organizations agreed to these demands as a condition for participation in the May election. February 14 was set as the deadline for Marcos' response, and throughout January mass protests were organized to put pressure on the dictator. The largest of these was a jogging marathon led by Agapito Aquino which brought 500,000 people into the streets to greet the protest runners.

In the face of the growing strength of the boycott movement, Marcos conceded parts of the more inessential demands and the U.S. Embassy stepped up its pressure on more conservative opposition leaders to participate in the elections. This combination of the carrot and stick had its effect. When the February deadline came, a number of opposition individuals and groups based in the Philippine elite and having close ties with the U.S. announced their intention to participate in the elections. Most prominent among these was the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), a 12-party coalition headed by former senators Salvador Laurel and Eva Estrada Kalaw. Cory Aquino, widow of



Agapito "Butz" Aquino

the slain "Ninoy" has also opted for participation.

Holding firm on the boycott demand, however, were a broad array of the more militant and anti-imperialist opposition forces, including the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA) movement, the Nationalist Alliance for Justice Freedom and Democracy (NAJFD), the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Trade Union Movement) and a number of other groups.

UNITY

Aquino told audiences in the U.S. that the boycott campaign will not be the only form of protest against Marcos in the coming months. He stressed that civil disobedience actions will be organized between now and election day, and that his group, the New Aquino Movement, will launch a 40-day "severe fast" to pressure Marcos to give up his dictatorial powers.

Aquino also stressed the importance of uniting the broadest coalition of forces to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship. As part of a "free flow of ideas," Aquino advocated legalization of the Philippine Communist Party (CPP), which is now outlawed and, as the initiator of the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front (NDF), is engaged in armed struggle against the Marcos regime.

"I can honestly say right now, *nagkakaisa na ang Pilipino*," Aquino said more than once during his tour. "We are together in our struggle for freedom and democracy and we are prepared to die for it." □



The late Sen. Aquino's brother is in the forefront of boycott actions.

Opposition Activities Mount

Often closing ranks in joint action, U.S.-based opposition groups have kept up their activities against the Marcos regime and U.S. aid.

• A forum sponsored by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, Congress Task Force, and eight congressmen was held on Capitol Hill February 27 to discuss the U.S. bases, the May 14 National Assembly Elections, and the human rights situation in the Philippines.

The panel was composed of Diane Orentlicher, deputy director of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights; Eric Stover, staff officer of the Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility of the Association for the Advancement of Science; Prof. Richard Falk, of Princeton University who is an expert on International Law; Bobby Brillantes, executive secretary of the Movement for a Free Philippines, Washington office; and Walden Bello, coordinator of the Philippine Support Committee.

Orentlicher and Stover recently returned from investigating missions to the Philippines. Prof. Falk discussed the obstacles posed by the U.S. bases on Philippine sovereignty, and on the human rights content of U.S. foreign policy. Bello and Brillantes discussed Marcos' attempt to defuse the current unrest through illegitimate elections.

According to Odette Taverna, Congress Task Force director and moderator of the forum, the briefing was conducted because of the "need to question the current thrust of U.S. policy of all-out support for the Marcos regime, in particular, its support for the May 14 elections."

Some 40 media people, congressional aides, church personnel and human rights advocates attended the event which was co-sponsored by Representatives Mel Levine, Robert Torricelli, James Jeffords, Matthew McHugh, Fortney "Pete" Stark, Ted Weiss, Gus Yatron, and Robert Edgar.

• On March 2, pickets were held across the country to protest possible loans to Marcos amounting to \$165 million from the International Monetary Fund and other international banks. When it was learned that Japan may come through with a rescue loan, a picket was set up at the Japanese consulate March 9 in San Francisco.

• In New York, the Ad Hoc Committee in Support of Boycott of Philippine Elections held a teach-in March 10 on the current political and economic situation in the Philippines and on the need to support the boycott movement. The Ad Hoc Committee is composed of Justice for Aquino, Justice for All-USA, CAMD/PSN, MFP, the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP),

PAGASA, and the Philippine Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

Over 65 people heard presentations on the political situation by Romy Capulong; on economic conditions by Rick Manapat; and on the boycott movement by Armin Alforque. Aimee Cruz moderated the event. MFP's Boni Gillego announced that the committee will be sponsoring an East Coast "Boycott conference" on April 14.

A similar conference will be held in the Bay Area on April 14. The conference is being organized by the Philippine Educational and Support Committee, MFP, CAMD/PSN, the League for Filipino Students-USA, JAJA-USA, Philippine Support Committee, and the International Movement for a Democratic Philippines.

• In Tacoma, Washington a new group called *Sandiwa* is holding a big educational gathering on April 28. The "First Filipino Statewide Congress" will be held at the Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma with Heheron Alvarez, Geline Avila, Lupita Kashiwahara, and Romy Capulong as guest speakers.

Sandiwa, headed by Joe Pascual was formed in December 1983 in response to the Aquino assassination. The group is being assisted by the Seattle CAMD/PSN chapter in organizing the statewide congress.

• In a related development, San Fran-

cisco's Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2, with members numbering over 16,000, passed resolutions deploring the repressive attacks and restrictions imposed on the Philippine labor movement.

The resolutions called on "the American labor movement's support for working people in the Philippines." The resolutions stood in solidarity with the efforts of the labor federations: *Kilusang Mayo Uno*, Federation of Free Labor, and Trade Union Congress of the Philippines "to attain basic democratic freedoms." They asked the AFL-CIO National Executive Council to call for the release of all union leaders and for an end to the \$900 million in aid to Marcos. An end to aid, the resolutions said, is "the best way to allow the Filipino people to determine their own destiny."

In addition, Local 2 President Charles Lamb sent a letter to President Reagan urging him to "suspend all military and economic aid until there are free and fair elections, guaranteed civil and labor rights," and until all political prisoners and imprisoned labor leaders are released. Lamb urged Reagan to call for an Aquino investigating commission that has the authority to prosecute.

The Local 2 president also asked the White House to inquire into the whereabouts of Jun Flores, a long-time leader of the National Union of Workers in Hotel/Restaurant and Allied Industries who has been missing since March 1983. □

CAMD-PSN 10th National Conference In Berkeley

Activists Call For United Opposition Efforts



National Coordinator Geline Avila

T. Rocamora

By WICKS GEAGA

One hundred enthusiastic delegates to the 10th National Conference of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship-Philippine Solidarity Network endorsed the organization's call for cooperative action among all opposition groups in North America.

"The growing but fragmented opposition within the Filipino community in North America faces very favorable conditions for forging unity against the embattled Marcos regime," CAMD-PSN national coordinator Geline Avila told activists who gathered in Berkeley for the March 23-25 conference.

Delegates representing chapters in New York, Washington, Montreal, Toronto, San Francisco, San Jose, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Seattle, Vancouver and Honolulu spent the weekend discussing CAMD-PSN policies and its plans for the year.

The conference noted that the upsurge of anti-dictatorship activities in the Filipino community was undoubtedly catalyzed by the groundswell of opposition in the Philippines. While the participants said they were waiting for a "program that could unite all the democratic forces back home in one broad anti-fascist front" to emerge, the conference nevertheless decided to proceed with plans to promote joint work among the opposition groups here on the basis of "opposition to the Marcos dictatorship and the U.S. support for it."

Avila said that the only condition for such cooperation is that everyone should "direct their fire at the common enemy and not at one another."

MESSAGES OF SOLIDARITY

Several solidarity greetings were sent to the conference by U.S. and Canadian

labor unions, congressional offices, anti-imperialist groups and human rights organizations. Bobby Ortaliz, vice-president of the Kilusang Mayo Uno, a 300,000-strong labor federation in the Philippines sent a message which read: "We hope the conference will give rise to more unity and militance that is so crucial at this period of our struggle."

Armando J. Malay, chairman of KAPATID, a group of political prisoners' families and friends lauded "the support of numerous organizations like the CAMD in KAPATID's efforts" to free the close to 1,000 prisoners held in over 100 military prisons in the Philippines. Butz Aquino, in his message, encouraged the CAMD's efforts in helping build "a unified broad opposition front."

Gaston Ortigas, executive director of the Movement for a Free Philippines echoed the CAMD's unity call in his message which read in part: "Our paths have crossed many times, not always in the smoothest of ways, but time and perhaps wisdom have made it possible to build on shared objectives; to recognize where differences are imagined and to respect each other's perspectives where differences are real."

CAMPAIGNS AND PROJECTS

Wading through summations and reports, the participants mapped out the group's plans for the year. A good deal of the plans call for involving other opposition groups in activities that include:

- Solidarity actions supportive of the campaign to boycott the May 14 elections. Stress was placed on motorcades, pickets, sympathy fasts and demonstrations coinciding with protest actions in the Philippines, like the 40-day fast being launched in Manila by Butz Aquino's August 21 Movement.

- Actions supportive of a proposed general amnesty campaign for all political prisoners. For its part, CAMD-PSN will popularize the prisoner's issue as a yardstick for judging Marcos' claims of democratization. The group's adopt-a-prisoner project will also continue.

- A movement-wide campaign to cut off or significantly reduce the projected \$900 million aid/base rent package promised by the Reagan administration to Marcos. CAMD-PSN's Congress Task Force pledged to assist the entire opposition in this endeavor.

- Educational efforts to establish the community's bonds with the KMU and to strengthen the latter's ties with the U.S. and Canadian labor movements.

While recognizing the importance of building a "unity front," the conference also emphasized its long-standing support for the National Democratic Front. Participants discussed the need to improve and intensify education work around the NDF's program for democratic rule within a liberated Philippines.

Independently, CAMD-PSN will set up a network of sympathizers that will give aid to the NDF and its organizations. In addition, CAMD-PSN will produce

new literature to amplify its "anti-imperialist perspective" on key Philippine issues.

POLITICAL UPDATES

Among the highlights of the conference were presentations on the international political situation; the balance of forces in the Philippines; and the status of CAMD-PSN's long-range strategy for building an anti-U.S. intervention movement. The presentations were given by AK editor Rene Ciria Cruz; Fely Cusipag, formerly head of Toronto CAMD, now a member of the national staff; and Avila, respectively.

Cruz said that U.S. attempts to reestablish its nuclear blackmail over the Soviet Union, its efforts to confront national liberation movements militarily and its



E. De Guzman



E. De Guzman

backing for brutal regimes are the greatest source of international tension. In Asia, the U.S. alliance with China has undermined both the progressive national liberation struggles and the attempts of revolutionary and socialist states to consolidate.

Cusipag, in her presentation, included a review of the dramatic gains of the New Peoples Army where operations now cover 530 towns in 53 of the country's 73 provinces. While it is not yet in a position to overthrow the Marcos regime, its ranks have grown to 20,000 guerrillas and its effectiveness has greatly improved.

Avila noted in her presentation that as the Filipino liberation fighters grow in strength, the U.S. will begin contemplating direct intervention, as it is now doing over Central America. In that eventuality, the CAMD-PSN must cause the mobilization of the broader anti-imperialist and anti-interventionist movements. This is the reason, she said, why CAMD-PSN should "strengthen and expand its positioning both inside and outside the Filipino community even now."

'RAINBOW' RECEPTION

Capping the weekend event, an evening reception featuring Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. drew a spirited crowd of CAMD-PSN supporters in the Bay Area.

Riles warned of the dangers posed by



E. De Guzman

U.S. militarism abroad and its impact "not only on the Third World but on the deprived and disenfranchised people in this society, a great proportion of whom are Blacks and minorities."

In a rousing call to action, Riles stressed that Rev. Jesse Jackson's bid for the Democratic nomination is the only presidential campaign that has consistently opposed intervention and militarism abroad as well as racism at home. Whether the political concerns of the "Rainbow" constituencies will be addressed by the Democratic Party, he said, depends on Jackson's success.

Spirited performances of Philippine revolutionary songs, food and beer, and get-togethers with Filipino supporters, and activists from the Palestinian, Central American and U.S. anti-intervention movements topped off the evening. □



T. Rocamora

E. De Guzman

CAMD/PSN-Canada members enliven evening reception with songs from the Philippine movement; Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. explains Jesse Jackson's anti-intervention stance.

Manila Squeezes Tax Dollars from U.S. Filipinos



By VICKY PEREZ

We are successful at collecting taxes, because Filipinos feel obligated to support their country as Filipino citizens," claims Chona Galvez, Revenue Attache in San Francisco for the Philippine government.

Galvez echoes Philippine government reports that income taxes paid by Filipinos in the U.S. to the Philippine government rose 15% in 1983. Manila said this indicated "an increasing awareness of their civic duties to their home country."

Filipinos residing in the U.S. are required by the Philippine government to pay income taxes in addition to the taxes they pay to the U.S. government. Those required to pay include all "non-resident citizens" of the Philippines living in the U.S.. Permanent residents, regardless of how long they have been in the U.S. and persons on travel or work visas fall under this category.

According to Delfin Castro, the Bureau of Internal Revenue supervising attache in Washington, D.C., collections by BIR offices last year totaled \$1,274,846.10: \$178,681.61 from Hawaii; \$181,275.80 from Washington, D.C.; \$163,689.58 from New York; \$103,244.36 from San Francisco; and \$177,444.89 from Los Angeles.

PENALTIES FOR NON-PAYERS

The tax must be paid annually by April 15, and only in U.S. dollars. All consular officials are exempt from paying. Consulates provide a brochure (decorated with scenic shots of the Philippines) which explains the amounts to be paid: 1% for incomes less than \$6,000; US\$60 plus 2% for incomes between \$6,000 and \$20,000; and US\$340 plus 3% of any income in excess of \$20,000, the maximum percentage allowed under US-RP tax law.

These amounts are calculated after U.S. taxes, usually amounting to 31% of an individual's income, are deducted. Revenue attaches have publicized the taxation requirements through numerous letters sent to

people on consulate mailing lists and advertisements in pro-government newspapers.

A closer look at what non-payers may face, however, shows there is more to the Filipino's decision to pay than "duty to their country."

Penalties imposed on late and non-payers include interest rates of 20 percent per year, surcharges of 25 percent if filed later than April 15, and 50 percent if there is willful neglect to file and pay.

If these fines are not enough to deter non-payers, more serious penalties and restrictions that hit Filipino

immigrants where they are most vulnerable can be imposed.

The Philippine consulate can deny the issuance of Philippine passports. According to a consular source, non-payment of the taxes "can also affect the U.S. citizenship process." The source claims that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service sends the consulates lists of Filipinos applying for U.S. citizenship to check whether these applicants are in good standing on their Philippine taxes. "We can influence whether they can become U.S. citizens or not," the consular source warns.

However, David Ilchert, INS District Director, in San Francisco denied the Consulate's claim. "Non-payment of Philippine taxes cannot be used to deny U.S. citizenship."

1982 TREATY

To defy these penalties one would have to make a really drastic move.

Ruth Garcia, a permanent resident from New York [AK has decided to withhold her real name] had to renounce her Philippine citizenship because of her refusal to pay. "The Philippine government hasn't done anything for me that I didn't work for. It is just forcing a lot of people who want to avoid paying taxes or getting penalized to become U.S. citizens. We can hardly make it as it is without the Marcos' wanting our money."

Collecting income taxes from Filipinos abroad has become a major preoccupation of the Philippine government. Manila needs all the dollars it can scrounge up in order to replenish its dwindling reserves. The Marcos government is particularly feeling the pinch at this time when interest payments on some of its huge foreign debts are maturing.

Manila's ability to tax Filipino nationals in the U.S. was only formalized during President Marcos' state visit to the U.S. in September 1982, when the two countries signed a tax treaty. However, Filipino nationals have been required to pay Philippine taxes since 1973.

The treaty is similar to other income tax treaties that exist between the U.S. and South Korea, Canada or France, except that it contains modifications "to reflect the Philippine's status as a developing country." Ironically, the treaty is supposed to avoid "international double taxation."

The treaty also provides for "administrative cooperation" between the countries to exchange information on tax evasion and tax compliance. □



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Inidoro . . .

Continued from page 2

the psychic surgeon who put Filipino faith healing on the world map and got rich in the process. Agpaoa died last year when he forgot to heal himself and his heart attacked him in his Mercedes Benz. His death, veteran Baguio hoteliers said, dealt a serious blow to the city's economy when the number of tourist guests seeking cure nose-dived by 80 percent in the following months. So don't underestimate the significance of Ramon Labo. Those who do should have their faith healed.

According to a Philippine News Agency dispatch, President Marcos, issuing Letter of Instruction 1376 "directed the Bureau of Domestic Trade to supervise the conduct of beauty contests in the country." I haven't read his instructions yet but I say it's about time. Too many ugly contestants are winning, and it could be bad for tourism. Imagine coming here and seeing a "Miss Mindanao" who looks like Miss Taal Volcano after it had erupted or a "Mr. Philippines" who looks no better than the late President Magsaysay—after the plane crash. The President should go further and issue strict guidance for beauty. For example, the First Lady's physical attributes can serve as a model oh for the next three years or so. For men, why, his own praetorian guard-country boy-sophisticate looks would do. Specially right after dialysis. Just keep Prime Minister Virata out of the picture. As finance minister he scares away not only bank robbers, but foreign lenders, too. □

MOVING?

Send us your new address as soon as possible so that you don't miss a single issue.

Pinoys Fall for Slave Labor Trap

By EMIL DE GUZMAN

I have been contacted by undocumented Filipinos whose working conditions were so inhumane that to describe them as indentured servants is no exaggeration," commented Lillian Galedo, Director of the Filipino Immigrant Services in Oakland, California.

"Some individuals are literally being held hostage by unscrupulous employers who are taking advantage of their tenuous immigration status," Galedo added.

In recent months, several cases of Filipinos held virtual prisoners by their employers have been reported to FIS and other community organizations. The victims are newly arrived immigrants who were brought to the United States to work as domestic servants or convalescent home employees. In many instances the employers are Filipinos themselves. The victims suffer such abuses as sub-minimum wages, long hours and no time off.

Most cases follow a similar pattern. A prospective employer will recruit an unsuspecting individual in the Philippines by dangling promises of a better life and the

chance of obtaining a green card. The employer will arrange a sizeable loan to purchase a visa, passport and plane ticket to America.

It is agreed that the loan will be paid back with high interest once the individual begins working in the U.S. Once here the new arrival soon realizes he is trapped in a backbreaking job that barely gives him enough every month to repay his loan.

'BLACKMAIL'

"Some employers even blackmail individuals into servitude by threatening to expose them to the INS for deportation," said Galedo.

Two alleged cases of what amounts to "slave labor" were reported to FIS last year. In one case, a woman and her niece were recruited in the Philippines and are now working in two separate senior citizens' boarding houses owned by a Filipina

The woman had quit her job as a university professor believing she could make more money in the U.S. to put her children through school. She is now caring for seven elderly individuals—bathing them, administering medication, cooking and doing all the housework. Of her \$400-month salary, \$300 goes to payments on her debt to her employers. She is discouraged from having visitors or leaving the house and works two weeks straight before getting a day off.

One of her daughters in the Philippines quit school to go to work to help pay off the debt. The woman's niece faces similar circumstances.

LITTLE RECOURSE

In another case, two women working as servants for a Filipino family were threatened with reprisals against their families in the Philippines after they complained about their conditions. The employer claimed he has connections with the Marcos government. One of the women escaped and has applied for legal residence on the basis that her mother was born in Hawaii.



Galedo said most victims of slave labor tend to accept servitude "rather than return to the Philippines where they feel there is no future." Victims usually accept their conditions "for the sake of their families' livelihood."

Undocumented immigrants victimized by slave labor have little recourse beyond identifying abusive employers, itself an act that invites deportation.

In one instance, five undocumented Filipinos sued the Tropical Hut restaurant in San Jose for "false imprisonment" and loss of three years' backwages totalling over \$100,000.

They were immediately reported to the immigration authorities for deportation. However, the workers were able to obtain a six-month stay of deportation in order to complete the proceedings for the suit. Reportedly, the INS may make it difficult for them to obtain another extension.

Bill Tamayo, co-chair of the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson-Mazzoli explained: "Undocumented workers have no legal rights, or protection, to defend themselves in this country."

All the talk in Congress about immigration reform, he said, focuses on repressing the undocumented. "No one in government is talking about giving them rights or protecting them from exploitation and abuses." □

UC Affirmative Action Retains Filipinos



Filipino students hit the University of California's attempts to exclude them from affirmative action plan.

By JERRY ESPEJO

Thanks to the organizing efforts of Filipino and other Asian students, the elimination of Filipinos as a racial category from the University of California's Student Affirmative Action Program was recently stopped.

Filipino students were alarmed when UC announced earlier in the year that it would remove Filipinos from its five-year affirmative action plan. Students from UCLA Samahang Pilipino, UCB Pilipino American Alliance and from numerous other campuses met with UC officials last March 22 in Berkeley to decide the categorization ruling.

Chris Cabaldon, community chairperson for the PAA stated that "In the short term we have won because we can keep the category of Filipinos until 1986 when the issue will be studied again." But in keeping Filipinos as a category, Cabaldon said the UC system's definition of "parity" has to be changed. Cabaldon said students must work with the Student Affirmative Action Committee to do it.

In preparation for the Berkeley meeting, students and community leaders met on the UCLA campus on March 10 to inform students of the impact of eliminating Filipinos from the affirmative action plan.

The essence of the conference was explained by one of the panelists, Antonio de Castro, Coordinator of the Early Outreach Partnership Program at UC Irvine who said "Our intent is to ensure that Affirmative Action remains viable and its integrity to fulfill its purpose maintained."

UC originally came to the conclusion that Filipinos did not need to be included in special enrollment programs because they were well represented on UC campuses. UC claims that "parity" had been reached and that Filipinos could no longer be considered an underrepresented minority in the UC system.

Filipino students countered with a formal statement claiming that UC's conclusions were "questionable and the intent behind them frightening." Student organizers charged that the university's definition of "parity" has not been used consistently and fails to consider attrition rates by using only the numbers of incoming freshmen and transfers.

According to conference organizers, UC must realize that the Filipino high school dropout rate is 46.1 percent. They also assert that although 2.7 percent of incoming freshmen are Filipino, they only make up .7 percent of the university's graduating class. Additionally only .3 percent graduate from masters programs and none from doctorate programs. □



Advocates of higher education meet with students in Los Angeles to prepare arguments against UC.

Chemicals Poison High-Tech Workers

One day in 1981, Lumberto Santos, a 52-year-old Filipino electronics worker in Santa Clara county, California, accidentally inhaled colorless and odorless fumes from a chemical storage tank at his workplace. It caused his eyelids to close shut and his legs to buckle. He could neither see nor walk and remained in this condition for over two weeks.

Since that time he has been on a slow, gradual road to recovery. He is still unable to work and becomes dizzy when he stands up. Even though a poison center traced his illness to chemical poisoning, he has had to fight for workers' compensation which he has not yet received.

Another Filipino, Fred Orillaneda, 54, worked for Plessey, Inc. as a senior maintenance technician from 1976 to 1980. In those four years, he mixed different toxic chemicals like cyanides in processing microchips. He began to get nauseated on the job. Then it led to sneezing, running nose, nose bleeds, and adverse reactions from gasoline fumes, perfume, and other solvents and cleansers. Orillaneda was forced to quit.

Silicon Valley is home for the most advanced high-technology and computer manufacturers in the country.

The total electronics workforce is approximately 180,000. Of these, 75 percent are women and 40 percent are minorities. The industry is not unionized, and its workforce has no collective bargaining power.

Filipinos are estimated at 35,000 workers which is the majority of the minority workforce. There are concentrations of Vietnamese and Hispanic workers as well.

The industry uses powerful chemicals as cleaning agents to process tiny silicon wafers made from sand. The chemicals clean specks of dust that could otherwise disrupt the electricity that flows into the microchip memory banks.

Silicon Valley workers are exposed to massive quantities of toxin hydrocarbons, deadly solvents, and acids—some of which have been linked to cancer. The Santa Clara Center for Occupational Safety and Health has monitored several thousand cases of chemical poisoning in the last three years.

Many soil and underground water wells have been contaminated because of the dumping of toxic waste. The *San Jose Mercury News* reported that industrial chemicals threaten 56 spots in Santa Clara county. Government authorities insist that these are isolated cases of seepage.

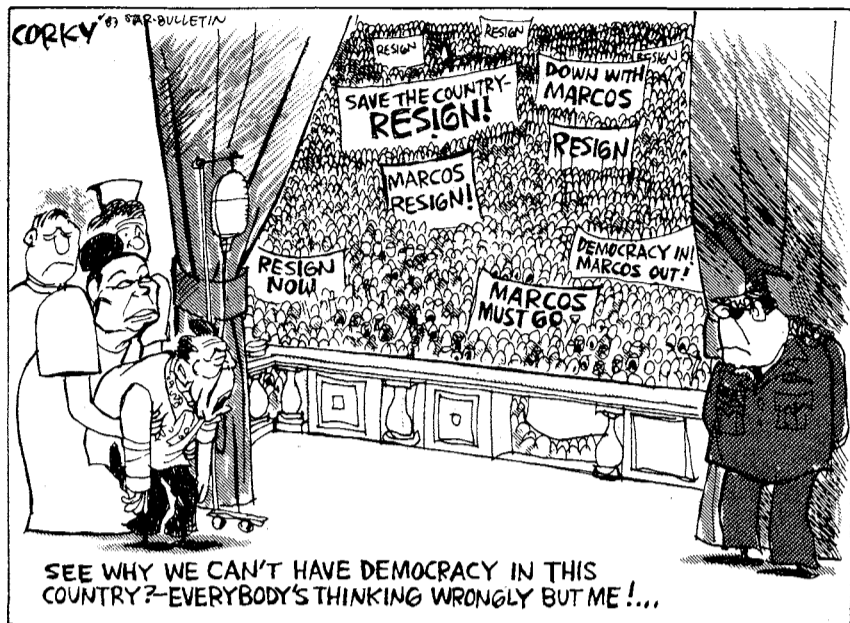
Labor organizers, health professionals, environmentalists, churches, and neighborhood organizations are uniting with victims of toxic exposures and are preparing documentation for legislative action.

However, only a unionized workforce can compel the industry to ensure safe working conditions and to comply with environmental and labor laws. Meanwhile, the unorganized Silicon Valley workers can expect no significant change in their hazardous working conditions. □

Voices

Interview: Corky Trinidad

The Politics Behind Corky's Cartoons



Corky Trinidad, 43, widely recognized as one of the best cartoon journalists in the United States, has been the Honolulu Star-Bulletin's resident cartoonist for the past 15 years. Corky's cartoons were already getting published in newspapers outside the Philippines as early as the mid-60s. He has been published in the most prestigious U.S. print media: Time, New York Times, Washington Post, to name a few. Corky also was a two-time winner of the distinguished International Salon of Humor, a cartoon competition held in Montreal, Canada.



His work inevitably reveals to his readers his political beliefs and ideas. Most of his cartoons have very distinct political messages and have won him both praises and criticisms.

"When Marcos first visited here in Honolulu [April 1980], I drew a cartoon showing him in front of a full-length

mirror. On the mirror was the image of the Shah of Iran. Word got to me, through a former colleague I worked with at the Philippine Herald, galit na galit raw si Marcos! (reportedly, Marcos was really angry.) My former colleague kept telling me that I got this guy all wrong. 'You'll find him to be a real nice person,' he told me and the way he said HIM, he sounded like he was practically equating Marcos with God!"

A product of the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila's school of journalism, Corky worked his way through high school drawing a comic strip called "Jr. Miss" for the Manila Chronicle. Later he landed a job at the Philippines Herald where his career was launched.

AK correspondent Venny Villapando interviewed Corky for Voices. Not only did the ace cartoonist lend a number of his best cartoons, he also voiced the politics that conceived them.

IN your job as a cartoonist, how do you conceive the cartoon you intent to draw?

The process is I'm on my own, the editorial judgement first comes in, so I pick what subject I want to work on and think about the style.

Do your cartoons always reflect your politics?

Oh yes, that's part of my contract here, even when I was working for the *Philippines Herald*. My cartoon is always my opinion. . . I'm a journalist but I work with a different medium.

What if you're asked to do something that's against your principles?

I don't do it. I'm lucky I work for a newspaper that agrees with this working arrangement.

So, you make an opinion on almost every issue?

Yes, I think it's an advantage that I can draw here. I'm an American [citizen], but I can look at the situation more objectively because I can think also of the other side, of the foreign nation's side because I'm also a Filipino. . . I know all the complaints we have against the United States. A lot of Americans can only see from one point of view.

When and why did you leave the Philippines?

I left in August 1968. At that time, I was already syndicated out of L.A. In fact, they [*Star-Bulletin*] offered the job in 1966 *pero ayaw kong umalis sa country* (I didn't want to leave). But I was getting very disillusioned—the press was being bought left and right. It's unfair, if you want to be a responsible journalist, penniless *ka*. *Pero*, at the same time, everybody thinks you're on the take too. I tell you, I just split from the country. I came here on a loan.

Do you still have friends and relatives back home and do you keep in touch with them?

Oh yes, I have a lot but one of my closest friends was Ninoy. His death affected me really bad. . . I was traumatized for three to four months. I'm still trying to get over it.

What do you think it represented, beyond Ninoy?

Beyond Ninoy, it represented the idea that all this gentlemen's agreement, debate for who should be in power is dead! The peaceful debate for power is really dead. . . that's bad, to kill somebody off like that.

So what do you think of this upcoming *Batasang Pambansa* election? Butz Aquino is urging everyone to boycott. . .

In principle, I agree with the boycott. It's so hard to participate in a farce, in something that you know is impossible anyway. There is no machinery or a policing action to make sure that it's legitimate, that if you participate in it, you are really a party to legitimizing the result. After the result has been legitimized, you cannot then complain afterwards, even though you know there's some hanky panky going on.

But at the same time, participating in it, like *sina* Laurel, their participation is more a symbolism—that the opposition is making one last attempt to participate in a peaceful manner. I have mixed feelings.

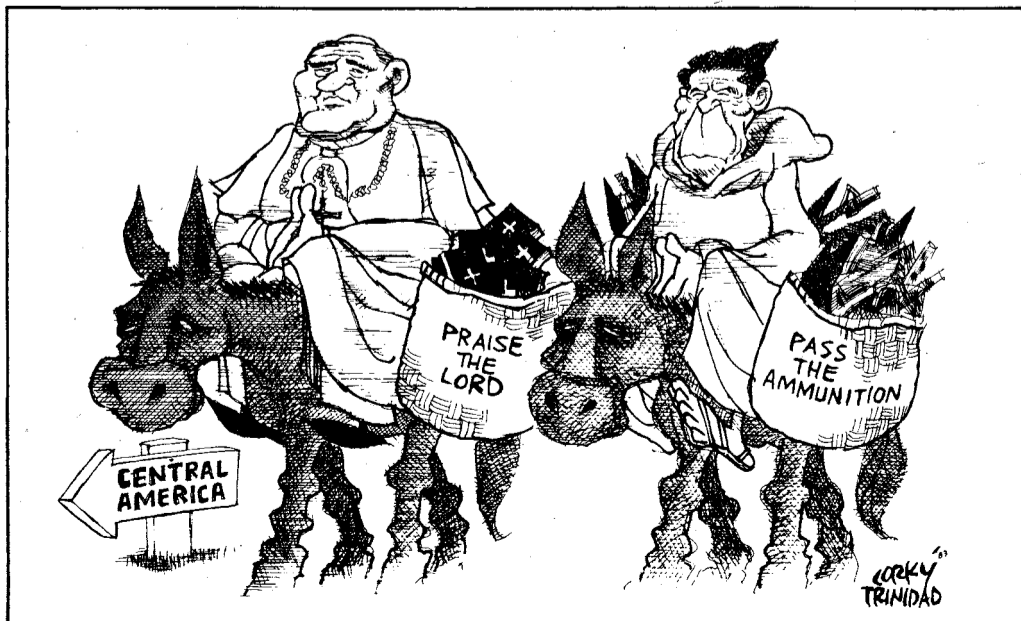
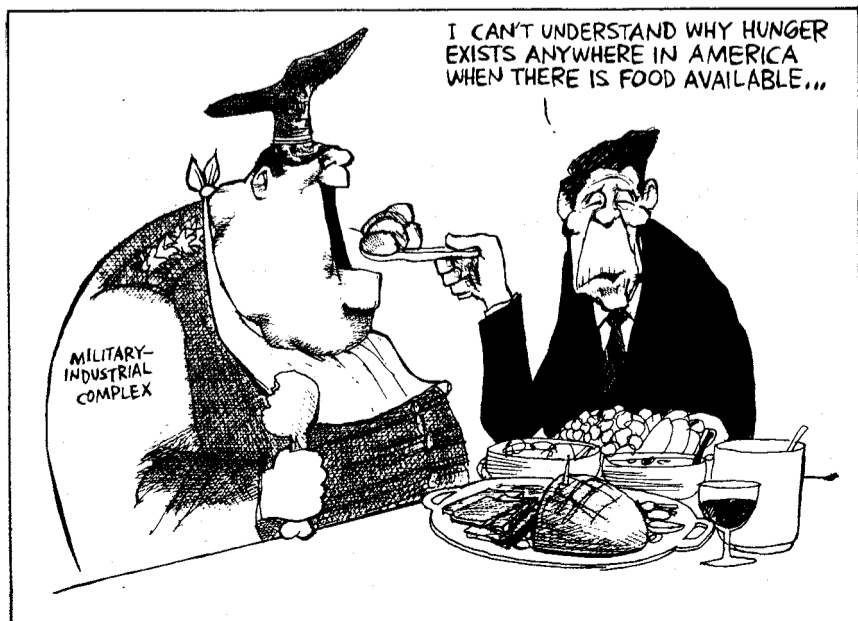
What about your cartoons on the Philippine situation, what kind of comments are you getting?

Oh, they like it! I get lots of phone calls and letters, but mostly, a lot of them like it. Since I work for an American paper, I do a lot of cartoons about the situation here and little about the Philippines, unless a situation becomes internationalized in impact, like Ninoy's killing. I did a lot [of cartoons] on the killing, and most of the phone calls I got were to say they were grateful that I started doing cartoons on the Philippines again.

Have you acted on your political beliefs outside your cartoons?

Oh yes, I was one of three guys who protested against martial law, on the day it was declared. Even the Philippine Consulate here thought I was the head of the movement here, even if I was not. It was haphazardly done, we didn't have an organization, we just called

Continued on page 13



Simpson/Mazzoli Rides Again

By VINCE REYES

The Simpson/Mazzoli Bill is most likely to pass if it gets reintroduced to the House floor this spring, both supporters and opponents of the bill predict. Presently the bill is scheduled to go before the House Rules Committee on April 5 and 6. Following hearings it would go to the floor of the House.

Dubbed by immigrant rights advocates as the most repressive piece of immigration legislation since the 1930s, the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill had been stalled twice previously in the House—in 1982 and 1983. The Senate version of Simpson/Mazzoli, formally known as the Immigration Control and Reform Act (SB 529) passed in May 1983. Its House counterpart HR 1510 was stopped in the latter part of 1983.

House Speaker Tip O'Neill at that time refused to take the bill to the floor noting that the Reagan administration would veto the bill in order to gain political favor from the Hispanic community.

O'Neill, under pressure to place the bill back on the floor by its conservative supporters, has since reversed his position. In putting the heat on O'Neill, House Republicans went so far as to initiate a petition in order to get the bill out of his direct control.

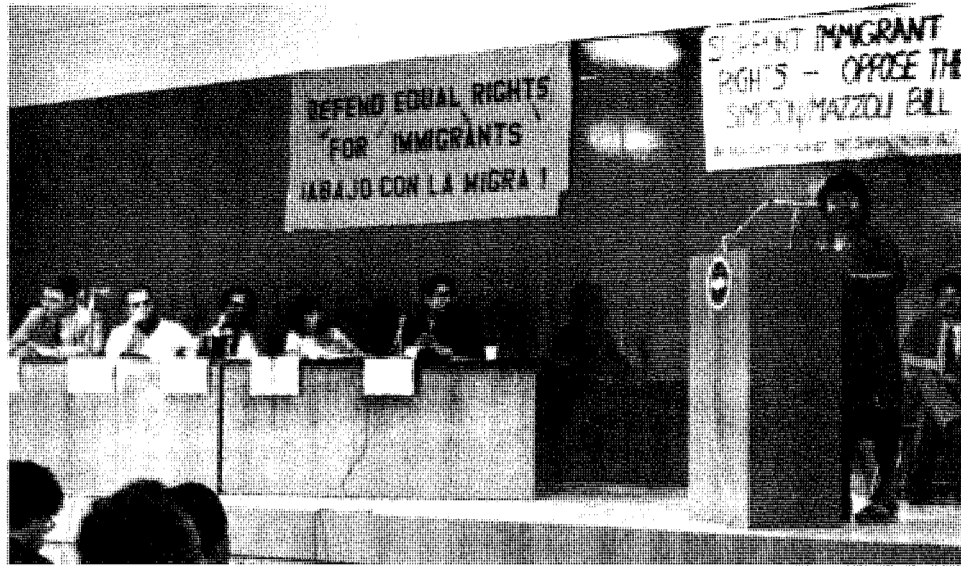
PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL

Simpson/Mazzoli's revival in the House Rules Committee has sparked action from various immigrant rights groups and coalitions throughout the country.

The Midwest Coalition in Defense of Immigrants sponsored a conference in mid-February and is planning a national emergency meeting on April 6 to discuss a national strategy for opposing Simpson/Mazzoli.

The Los Angeles Coalition Against Simpson/Mazzoli held a press conference in mid-March to urge the killing of the bill.

In San Francisco, the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson/Mazzoli held a People's Tribunal last February 24. The tri-



Opponents of the Simpson/Mazzoli bill testify to its repressive character at People's Tribunal in San Francisco.

bunal, attended by 200 people, was meant to show broad opposition to the bill by minority communities and civil rights groups. The BACASM panel included San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt; Luisa Blue, President of SEIU Local 490; and Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. Activists and immigrants gave testimonies on the repressive aspects of Simpson/Mazzoli.

One concern is over the limitations placed on individuals seeking political asylum from countries under repressive regimes that are allied with the U.S. government.

A former teacher from El Salvador, whose son was kidnapped by the death squads, explained why tens of thousands of people flee from Central America. Nancy Hormachea, an attorney for the International Institute of the East Bay and member of the National Lawyers Guild echoed the teacher's concern, explaining how Simpson/Mazzoli will negatively affect political asylum cases because immigrants will not be able to raise their claims in federal courts.

Dorothy Ehrlich, Executive Director of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union warned that Simpson/Mazzoli will "legalize discrimination, and one day we will see a national ID card that

everyone will have to have to be able to work." She said this will encourage discrimination and will only cause the harassment of non-white communities.

ROYBAL BILL

BACASM organizers said that transcripts of the tribunal proceedings will be sent to House Speaker O'Neill, Rep. Claude Pepper, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and to President Reagan. BACASM also asked that mailgrams opposing Simpson/Mazzoli be sent to O'Neill. In addition, the group will demonstrate on the day of the House vote.

Meanwhile, Congressman Edward Roybal (D-CA) introduced last February 22 as an alternative bill, HR 4909. The Roybal bill is an attempt by the Congressional Hispanic Caucus to come up with an immigration reform bill that could block or replace Simpson/Mazzoli.

At this time the Roybal bill has yet to go through the House judiciary committee where further changes or amendments can be attached to it.

Essentially, the Roybal Bill liberalizes the more repressive aspects of Simpson/Mazzoli. It drops sanctions against employers who hire undocumented workers. It also features a legalization program for undocumented workers currently residing

in the U.S. and provides a procedure for immediate relatives (spouses and children) of eligible undocumented immigrants to gain resident status.

Thus far the Roybal alternative is getting support from such Congress liberals as Don Edwards, John Conyers, Roberto Garcia, Sala Burton, and Barbara Boxer.

ROYBAL LOOPHOLES

However, immigrant rights advocates warn that the Roybal bill "leaves much to be desired as a total immigration rights package."

BACASM leader Mila Rodriguez asserted that while the Roybal alternative does provide more due process of law for the undocumented and liberalizes many aspects of the Simpson/Mazzoli bill, "there are enough ambiguities within it that still allow the repressive character of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to emerge."

She further explained that the BACASM views the bill as "not fundamentally changing the framework of the Simpson/Mazzoli bill towards immigration reform since it still basically views the undocumented worker as the problem."

The bill would increase the number of border patrols with the rationale that intensive border enforcement is better than enforcement through INS raids in communities, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

Mariano Contreras, co-chair of BACASM said: "The Roybal bill essentially makes a trade off—ease up on the resident-based communities and come down harder at the border. But this will only create a militarized atmosphere for Latino communities, particularly in the southwest."

There is little possibility that both the Simpson/Mazzoli and the Roybal bills will be heard in the House concurrently. This leaves the door open for Simpson/Mazzoli supporters to consolidate a consensus for stricter immigration control.

During the San Francisco People's Tribunal, guest speaker Bert Corona, a long-time advocate of immigrant rights from Southern California, stated that "the increase in INS repression and violence is closely tied to getting the average U.S. citizen to accept the bill." He said Simpson/Mazzoli's proponents are trying to make the bill "saleable by getting the U.S. public to accept that all countries have the right to impose harsh measures to protect its borders." □

Corky's Cartoons . . .

Continued from page 12

each other up, you know. But even when there was a formal movement here already, the Consulate was telling people back home that I was still the leader—for a long time! I guess because I was the most obvious, that I work for a paper and I was doing cartoons against martial law.

What conditions would encourage you to go back to the Philippines?

First, if there was really a legitimate change in the government. I'm not even saying what kind of government. . . I'm not one of those who insist on having an American form of system. I just want a change into a system governed by law, not by the people. And if those who take over are people who want to make the country better, and if they ask my help I will go. I believe in a system that wins out by popular support and not one that's being forced on the people—like what we have now.

If Marcos is really a well-intentioned person—even if he believes that he didn't even botch it—the facts bear out that he botched it. But the thing is that he has to see the need for him to step down. All arguments lead to Marcos stepping down. One thing I will find very insulting is the question: Who will take over? Like one American senator said, "Who do you want to take over? Who is big enough? What if they're not good?" I find this insulting! So what?! We'll find out for ourselves.

Were your sentiments developed even while you were in the Philippines?

Oh yes, we grew up in a generation where we were fed a lot of baloney, where the U.S. is so "good" to us—always "good" to us. I picked it up in Ateneo. We

were very few supporters of Claro M. Recto. At that time, if you supported Recto, you were called a 'communist,' just because you supported nationalism! They didn't want to hear the fact that Americans have warts too!

For a genuine change to happen in the Philippines, do you believe the U.S. has to be completely stopped from meddling in the internal affairs of the country?

First, I don't believe the U.S. will actually detach itself from the Philippines. It would be ideal if it did. But it won't happen. They are involved in our country whether we like it or not. Those countries that see the U.S. for what it is become targets of U.S. smear tactics. The U.S. takes the posture of "you're either with me or against me."

Just like in Nicaragua now, everything that they do, they are being smeared. We are being told that the Sandinistas are lousy and all that, just because they don't agree with U.S. policies. But that's contradictory, because the U.S. has secured relations with countries that don't agree with its policy, like Russia or China. But I guess they only smear countries that are small. . .

Your cartoons also reflect your politics on Central America and other countries?

Actually, the Philippines, Central America. . . they're all the same! You can change names but the situations are the same. The whole problem here is the American policy, its foreign policy. The policy on El Salvador, the policy on Lebanon, the Philippines, they're all the same. I think the main problem with U.S. foreign policy is that it is not based on set principles. The U.S. only pays lip service to democracy. They say they are for a democratic government but in action, they support the most repressive governments in the world, they suppress people's revolts against repressive governments in the world.

I think U.S. policy is a mixture. . . first of all, the policy is based on whoever is the president. It's a mixture of pressure from lobbyists, of protecting American business interests. For example, it's a mixture of business, and I guess the Pentagon and the CIA

because it's more efficient to support repressive regimes for American interests.

So, we may face a similar problem, just like Nicaragua, if we get a government that is outrightly anti-U.S.?

Oh yes, but you don't even have to be outrightly anti-U.S.—that's the trouble with the U.S.! If you don't agree with U.S. dictation, you're anti-U.S.. And that the frustration of countries like Nicaragua and all other countries that are not U.S.-leaning nations. They keep saying 'we're not anti-U.S., we just don't want you here!' The U.S. doesn't like that; it won't believe that you are neutral; it simply wants you to be pro-U.S. But countries like Nicaragua are just looking out for their own interests. They don't want U.S. policy because they don't give them anything.

So you believe that countries like Nicaragua have the right to defend their own interests?

Oh yes, that's precisely what Nicaragua wants! And then there are countries that, I guess for their own interests, prostitute themselves to the U.S. like Honduras—I mean, the CIA is running that country! I don't want the Philippines to be like that. . . □

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.

- 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.
- Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed 2000 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.
- Photos of art work will be sent back upon request by the contributor.
- 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.

U.S. Aid . . .

Continued from page 6

part of a transition plan towards Marcos' eventual resignation.

But neither Sullivan nor Steinberg was likely to have fully endorsed the Solarz action. Both were adamant about the need to continue current levels of aid to Marcos, stating that the economy is too fragile to alter appropriations now.

Sullivan warned Congress not to tinker with the aid package in cuts or modification, which might cause Marcos to tinker with the Bases Agreement. Always the pragmatist, Sullivan warned that mixing up the aid would merely complicate the book-keeping without preventing Marcos from spending what he wants for military purposes.

In a nationally televised speech a day after the aid mix approval, President Ferdinand Marcos reacted sharply and warned, "We should not build our defense on [the] shifting sands of mutual defense agreements." Addressing a crowd of 80,000, he threatened to renegotiate the Bases Treaty if the aid package were changed, stating that to do so would violate the original substance and character of the agreement. An angry Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile issued a similar blistering threat.

MARCOS MAY HAVE TO GO

"If there was anything significant in the aid discussion," Coordinator of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network Geline Avila stated, "it's the affirmation that there's a consensus in Congress and the Reagan administration that Marcos may have to go if he can not defuse the present crisis."

The events following the Aquino assassination have dramatically placed the Marcos regime on the defensive politically. In addition, the ailing economy is fanning more unrest which in turn could prove disastrous to U.S. interests.

Of utmost concern, however, is the question of a smooth transition of power. William Sullivan, writing for *Foreign Policy* last December, pointed out that the U.S. should learn from the Iranian and Nicaraguan experiences. "There is ample basis for assuming that American diplomacy skillfully, decisively, and wisely deployed, can assist in the constructive peaceful restoration of democracy."

Inaction by the Reagan administration could only complicate matters, he insisted. If the U.S. government waits until Marcos' death or ouster to attempt to play a role in the succession, it could find itself confronted with the complex task of mediating a dangerous scramble by competing factions of

the Philippine elite rather than overseeing a smooth transition.

He encouraged the administration to pursue a negotiation process to culminate in Reagan's April visit to Manila. The components of the plan he proposed include a credible investigation of the Aquino assassination, "fair elections" this May and the formation of some sort of coalition government allowing Marcos either to step down or be graciously voted out of office.

The Reagan administration on the other hand, quietly concedes that a transition from Marcos may be necessary but insists that a dictatorial core that is the feature of the current regime, must remain. Reagan officials feel that the "democratization" pushed by Sullivan and a number of liberals will be unwieldy in a country like the Philippines. Reflective of this view, a high Reagan State Department official said last month that full democratization, as demanded by the Filipino opposition, "is not necessary" for free elections to take place in May.

AID MIX: STILL AID TO DICTATOR

The State Department was noticeably quiet during the debate on the Solarz aid mix proposal. Some Washington observers speculated that members of the U.S. foreign policy inner circle were secretly pleased that a message had been sent to Marcos. State got off the hook neatly. It was not obligated to take responsibility for the signal—and in the complex congressional process to come, both the Solarz and Hall proposals are likely to be tossed into the wastebasket.

For all the stir they caused, the doings in Congress added up to a good deal more form than substance. "The aid mix is still aid to the dictator," Philippine opposition leader Jovito Salonga aptly summed it up. "No genuine threats were posed to the Marcos regime, the signal was not strong enough."

And as Avila noted, even if there is some juggling, Marcos is still receiving 80 percent more aid this year than he did in any of the last five.

Meanwhile the Hall amendment is likely to do little other than gain a few headlines. Its biggest enemy, Stephen Solarz, will work hard to defeat it.

As to the Solarz amendment, it is still only in the authorization stage and must pass through a number of twists and turns before it hits the floor of the House. A genuinely concerned administration could step in and lobby hard anywhere along the way.

Given the Reagan administration's commitment to "quiet diplomacy," it is unlikely that it would allow such a slight to a genuine ally as Marcos as an aid cut. And for all his bluster, Ferdinand Marcos knows it. □

FM's Boys . . .

Continued from page 3

The group made a point of passing the American Embassy on Roxas Blvd. calling, "Down with the U.S.-Marcos Regime!" "Dismantle the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship!" and "Boycott! Boycott!" They symbolically destroyed a portrait of an American eagle.

Hundreds of riot police with truncheons guarded the Embassy. A thousand more blocked all approaches to Malacañang. But the march was orderly and no attempt was made to stop it.

ROYAL TREATMENT FOR LAUREL

While both sides of the opposition debate dug in for the election battle, representatives of each journeyed to the U.S. to drum up support for their positions.

First to arrive was Salvador Laurel who hit the headlines when he was arrested at Manila International Airport February 18 for allegedly trying to smuggle a gold-plated pistol out of the country (see *AK, Vol. X, No. 3*). The leader of UNIDO spoke in a number of cities urging crowds to back participation.

Then, only a few weeks later came Butz Aquino, brother of the slain senator, this time making a pitch for boycott.

Both were warmly received by the Filipino community, though Butz and boycott drew a more rousing response from the crowds. But their treatment in Washington differed noticeably.

Both met with Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY) of the Asian-Pacific Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Laurel was further greeted by Paul Wolfowitz, Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Lawrence Eagleburger, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

BUTZ COLD-SHOULDERED

Topping things off for Laurel was a discreet meeting with Vice President George Bush. It was a classic example of Reagan-style diplomacy. The meeting was publicized to send a message to Marcos, but kept low-key enough to keep from embarrassing him.

State Department insiders told the press that they saw Laurel as "a good guy but not presidential material." Nonetheless the new U.S. policy was clear: from now on, moderate opposition leaders will be received officially.

But apparently, Butz wasn't moderate enough. Aside from Kennedy and Solarz, he had one appointment with lesser State Department figures and that was it.



Butz also found himself in a frustrating debate with those he did meet, all of whom enthusiastically supported the elections. "They simply do not understand our circumstances," he moaned in frustration. "Their understanding of elections is what they have here. They don't realize that to be for boycott is to promote genuine free and open elections."

'THE END OF AN ERA'

Meanwhile, sensing that the end of the Marcos empire may finally be near, a number of formerly abject loyalists are beginning to squirm with anticipation as they prepare to jump into the ring.

Juan Ponce Enrile, recently on the outs with the president, admitted to *Far Eastern Economic Review* that he wouldn't mind being president once Marcos goes. Eduardo Cojuangco, who, together with Enrile controls the coconut industry, is allegedly sounding out supporters in Tarlac on the possibility of running for Vice President in 1987. Also contemplating the 1987 election is Labor and Employment Minister Blas Ople.

"People are beginning to sense the end of an era," noted a senior diplomat, "and, when it comes, they want to be in a position to take advantage of it."

Between the unmanageable KBL and once loyal lackeys champing at the bit, it is clear that Marcos' absolute authority died on the tarmac with Benigno Aquino on August 21. And though the rats may not yet be deserting the sinking ship, some are lining up at the rails and getting ready to jump. □



Thousands of refugees flee the bombing of Jolo in 1974; continuation of a 400-year-old war.

(AK Photo File)

Moro Struggle . . .

Continued from page 5

100,000 refugees who have fled to its territory.

Government response to the Moro resistance has been brutal. In February 1974 the Armed Forces of the Philippines set the city of Jolo on fire to drive out the MNLF. In one night 2,000 people died and 6,000 were left homeless.

Following a February 1981 Bangsa Moro Army ambush of 124 troopers, 15,000 AFP forces descended on Pata Islands. More than 2,000 residents were killed by bombs and machine gun fire. Four thousand were arrested for dissidence. Crops were destroyed and

fishermen were forbidden to go out to sea. The population came close to starvation.

CONTINUING CAPITALIST PLUNDER

The 1979 U.S.-R.P. Bases Agreement and its \$500-million five-year rent/aid came in handy for Marcos who had been spending \$137,000 a day on the war. Also, during the AFP siege of Jolo there were unconfirmed reports that U.S. Navy ships were shelling the city. If the U.S. is only too willing to help, it has good reasons. Next to the strategic U.S. bases in Luzon, the Americans are concerned most about their business interests—a good deal of which are in Mindanao.

Almost all exported bananas and pineapples are grown in the south, mainly by U.S. agribusiness. Del Monte now controls 61 percent of the Philippines' fruit

manufacturing, while Dole (a latecomer in 1963) holds 38.13 percent. Their pineapple holdings combined add up to 16,400 hectares. Dole also owns a 1,000-hectare coffee plantation as well as a 1,300-hectare rice farm.

For every hectare which costs only ₱10 a year in rent (U.S. 72¢), Del Monte yields an estimated \$4,000 in pineapples.

Japanese business interests, weakened in the Second World War, have made a comeback. Within five years following Marcos' approval of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation with Japan in 1973, the Japanese invested in 425 companies, most of them in the south. The biggest is the wholly Japanese-owned Philippine Sintering Plant in Misamis Oriental.

Filipino capitalists, notably the "crony" types, are also cashing in on the rape of Mindanao. The Marcos government has leased 5,000,000 hectares of "public" forest lands to 156 logging concessions. In their scramble for quick bucks, deforestation is occurring nine times faster than reforestation. No wonder Mindanao has not seen peace in 400 years.

The Moro's plight has striking similarities to the dispersal of the Palestinian people. In fact, they almost "became" the Palestinians. Zionism's leaders once contemplated founding the state of Israel in the area around Lake Lanao. That the Zionists changed their minds did not alter the Moros' fate any. The fact is, their dispersal remained as the precondition for the successful exploitation of a rich frontier. If the policies of all central governments toward the Moro people have been genocidal, it is because their resistance has always stood in the way of colonial and capitalist plunder. □

Reagan's Civil Rights Demolition Team



Reagan appointee Linda Chavez



By EDDIE ESCULTURA

Mr. Reagan has an uncanny knack for searching land and sea and coming up with people who are absolutely, utterly incompetent and unfit for the jobs they assume," Benjamin Hooks, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said of President Reagan's new Commission on Civil Rights.

"I don't know how we could have any more incompetent people anywhere unless they wore Ku Klux Klan robes."

Joining Hooks' criticism, Ralph Neas of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights called the Commission "a panel only Ed Meese could love."

Controversy over the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights broke open when President Reagan fired, on October 25 last year, three panel members to make room for three of his nominees in addition to the chairman and vice-chairman whom he appointed earlier. The action sent shock waves to the civil rights community—and for good reason.

The new Commission now seeks to prove that racial discrimination no longer exists in the U.S. and therefore, remedies such as affirmative action and busing are not only unnecessary, they also create new forms of discrimination.

The politics of the new Commission is captured in the views of its staff director, Linda Chavez, who makes policy and program recommendations to the Commission and runs the 230-member staff responsible for implementation.

Chavez claimed in an interview with the *Washington Post* that "the problems of minorities and Blacks in particular cannot be solved by civil rights laws" and that social problems like high unemployment and low educational attainment are problems that are not amenable to solution by civil rights laws or the commission.

In a memo to her staff Chavez explained that "it is not the case that economic and social disadvantages among minorities are necessarily the result of discrimination."

NEW RIGHT AGENDA

The new direction of the Commission is clearly manifested in its agenda which includes:

- a review of the "radical idea" of "pay compatibility" in which men and women with comparable skills and value to the employer are paid equally even if they do different jobs; it is felt that pay compatibility, if implemented, would alter the existing economy.

- a proposal to cancel a study on employment of women and minorities in "high tech" industries; it is claimed that women and minorities lack the mathematics and science training to enter those industries and that there is little evidence of discrimination by those industries.

- a recommendation to continue a study of major violations of civil rights but that "careful attention be paid that the study does not assume that the concept of fair representation necessarily implies that unless minorities are elected in proportion to their numbers in the electorate [then] they have been denied their full right to be fairly represented."

While proposing the cancellation of ongoing studies on the effect of budget cuts in federal student aid on predominantly Black and Hispanic colleges, the Commission wants to study how "the advent of affirmative action in higher education" led to the "general decline

of academic standards."

The panel also wants to study "how affirmative action may have adversely affected members of Eastern and Southern European ethnic groups." Neas commented that the proposed agenda "reads like the civil rights agenda of the New Right."

Congress liberals like Rep. Augustus Hawkins of California, charged the Reagan administration was responsible for the "complete breakdown in civil rights law that infuriates many members of Congress."

Roger Wilkins of the Institute for Policy Studies noted that "Mr. Meese and the Justice Department have been acting on the theory that Blacks and other disadvantaged people have somehow conned the nation into giving them more than is warranted by the Constitution."

The Reagan White House's theory, Wilkins said, ignores the following statistics: Black median family income is less than three-fifths that of whites; the Black unemployment rate is more than twice that of whites; less than 55 percent of Black men over the age of 16 are employed and almost 50 percent of Black children are growing up in poverty.

Wilkins asserted that in light of the continuing racism that has produced these disparities, greater, rather than lesser, efforts are required for remedies.

Criticisms have come from within the Commission itself. Panel members Mary Berry and Blandina Ramirez, who were fired last year but were retained as part of the Reagan compromise with the Congress, attacked the new majority for deciding minority problems can be studied only if "they do not require the use of federal budgetary resources for their solution." The Commission, they charge, also urgently wants a study that would prove "minority problems are not due to discrimination but to social policy deficits such as lack of education." Past staff directors of the panel in a letter to the *New York Times* called the Commission a "chameleon responding to the prevailing political winds."

PROGRESSIVE BACKDROP

The Commission's change of political color and the controversy it has aroused are best understood if assessed in the context of its own history. Established in 1957 as an investigative, fact-finding agency in response to the emerging civil rights movement then, the Commission's recommendations were adopted by previous administrations and the Congress. Civil rights lawyers depended on the panel as a source of data and as an authoritative guide to the law.

The Commission won a string of victories including Congressional action in strengthening the Voting Rights Act and was instrumental in a federal court ruling that upheld numerical goals and quotas to remedy the effects of discrimination. It successfully blocked President Reagan's attempt to grant tax exempt status to segregated schools and helped save the Legal Services Corporation which President Reagan wanted abolished.

The most significant contribution of the Commission, however, is in the area of investigation, research and documentation of racial discrimination and civil rights violations. Its most recent report (October, 1983) revealed the "serious erosion of the enforcement of civil rights by two years of fiscal authority and personnel reduction ordered by the President." The report which Chavez calls "very political" has now been suppressed from wider public distribution by the new panel.

Reagan's open maneuvers to pack the Commission with his ideological cadres was greeted with initial shock and disbelief by civil rights advocates. Congressional pressure led to a revamp of the Commission by increasing its membership from six to eight, granting the

Congress the right to nominate four of its members, and limiting the President to only four appointments. However, Reagan still succeeded in packing the panel with his soldiers. Republican Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker retained the right to recommend at least one of the four Congressional nominees, and thus ensured the White House's political and ideological control of the Commission.

ROGUES GALLERY

Staff director Chavez wields considerable power mainly because she has the support of the panel's majority and is responsible for the implementation of the agency's policies and programs. Her recommendations reflect the panel's direction.

Appointed by Reagan to the \$66,000-a-year job last year, 30-year old Linda Chavez is conservative not only on domestic issues but on foreign policy as well, making her a darling of the New Right. She says she agrees very much with the President on the Soviet Union. "It's a force for evil in the world."

A member of the American Catholic Conference which holds the view that more U.S. weapons "can deter nuclear war," Chavez thinks that "[Jeane] Kirkpatrick is doing a wonderful job." Chavez' husband, Christopher Gersten, is the political director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Israeli lobby.

Clarence Pendleton, Chairman of the Commission, justifies its new direction as "simply giving air to the other side of the debate" and that "those up in arms forgot who won control of the Commission." While he claims independence from the White House he admits ideological compatibility with President Reagan. Pendleton was head of the Urban League of San Diego which accused him of "oppressive fraud and malice" in the use of League funds. Morris Abram, another Reagan appointee along with Esther Buckley, thinks the new program of the Commission is a step towards "supporting equal opportunity for all Americans."

Another Reaganite in the Commission is John Bunzel, former President of Sta. Cruz State University and a senior researcher at Stanford University's Hoover Institute, a conservative think tank where he did research on "War, Revolution and Peace." He believes "quotas are inherently wrong because they are by definition a form of discrimination." He wants to document the decline of discrimination and to prove it is not responsible for the impoverished position of Blacks and minorities.

Congress reappointed civil rights advocates Berry and Ramirez but contributed two members who have since allied with the Reagan appointees. Rep. Tip O'Neill appointed Robert Destro who was a White House choice in the first place, while Sen. Baker named Francis Guess who has voted with the Reagan bloc in the panel. Of the Reagan appointees, only Abram, a



Holdovers Blandina Ramirez and Mary Berry.

lawyer, appears to have some exposure to civil rights issues.

BROAD ASSAULT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Altering the panel's direction has been one of Reagan's biggest victories ever since he brought the New Right agenda to the White House. It reflects this administration's resolve to reverse the civil rights gains of the last two decades.

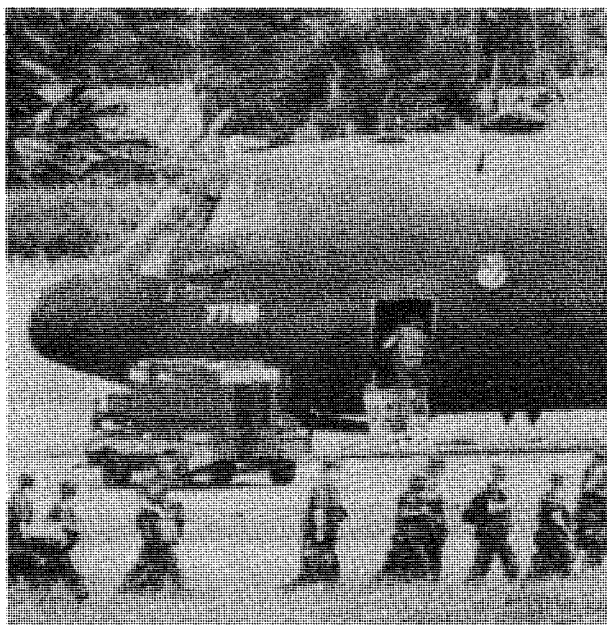
Assaults have been mounted on the Voting Rights Act, Affirmative Action, and the Equal Rights Opportunity Commission. While attempting to give tax breaks to racist schools, the administration has ordered the Justice Department to refuse the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws that it opposes.

Reagan's assaults have fostered a conservative political climate which in turn is affecting judicial decisions on hiring quotas, legal abortion, busing and open admission in schools.

The transformation of the Civil Rights Commission into a tool for Reagan's conservative crusade highlights the political danger lurking over American political life as a whole. When a civil rights commission begins to define inequality as equality, it is also the time that the state begins to insist, as in George Orwell's "1984," that "war is peace" and that "repression is liberty" □

U.S. May Intervene in El Salvador Soon

By WICKS GEAGA



U.S. maneuvers in Honduras.

As President Reagan pleaded before Congress for emergency military aid for the Salvadoran army, the American war machine in Central America hummed with incessant activity.

Recently, some 2,000 U.S. troops were deployed along the Honduras-El Salvador border, allegedly to protect the just-held presidential elections. Meanwhile, the aircraft carrier *America* and three escort ships have been dispatched from Puerto Rico to the Caribbean coast of Honduras.

Almost simultaneously the Defense Department announced the launching of "no notice" exercises or the deployment of U.S. troops to Honduras without public notice. The drills only reaffirmed widespread fears of an impending U.S. invasion of El Salvador as they allow for the unbridled escalation of American forces in Honduras free from public scrutiny.

On top of these, the Pentagon announced that more maneuvers will begin April 1. Code-named "Granadero I," the exercises will involve Guatemalan, Salvadoran, Honduran, Panamanian and U.S. troops.

U.S. WAR MACHINE READY

As if to fill in the U.S. military calendar for the year, the State Department announced yet another exercise: "Big Pine III" which is set in June, around the time of the run-off elections between the Social Democratic candidate Jose Napoleon Duarte and Roberto D'Aubuisson, the fascist candidate of the ARENA party.

Political analysts speculate that should the current frontrunner Duarte win the run-off, he will request an invasion force of American troops to help defeat the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Actually, the apparatus for U.S. intervention is already well in place. Over the last year, the Pentagon has erected a network of supply depots, airstrips, radar installations and training camps throughout Honduras, virtually transforming the country into what some reporters have described as a huge U.S. military camp.

Besides facilitating the rapid construction of the Honduran military infrastructure, the exercises have provided logistical support to the Salvadoran army's military campaigns against the FMLN.

The Pentagon also plans to step up U.S. reconnaissance flights over El Salvador as well as operations along the Honduras-El Salvador border. The focus of U.S. military activity is an area just across the border from FMLN-controlled territory, which may well be the staging ground for the initial U.S. troops incursion into El Salvador.

REAGAN PLEADS FOR AID

In Washington, there is already growing talk of direct participation in the fighting. Gen. Paul Gorman, head of the U.S. Southern Command recently proposed that unmarked AC-130 Spectre gunships flown by the CIA should patrol Salvadoran airspace, using rapid-firing cannon to attack and disperse rebel troop concentrations.

Administration officials privately fear that direct U.S. entanglement in the Salvadoran conflict may seriously jeopardize Reagan's reelection bid. But their greater fear is the prospect of "losing El Salvador" even before the November U.S. elections are concluded.

Reagan's urgent appeals for congressional aid approval only reinforces the prevailing view of a desperate

this base, the holding of truly democratic and honest general elections.

At this time, under the reign of the dictatorship, of the death squads, of the massacres of the civilian population by the Army, there can be no such thing as free voting worthy of the name "democratic elections." For these reasons, we have refused to put down our arms to participate in the electoral farce set for March.

The allegation that we are a threat to the security of the United States is a fallacious absurdity. The facts demonstrate that, to the contrary, the U.S. government, which arms the genocidal dictatorship to the teeth and is preparing to invade us, is today the principal force against the security, life, and independence of the Salvadoran people.

We repeat, if the U.S. government desires it, there will be negotiations and peace. But if it prefers invasion, there will be dirty war, dishonor for the Northamericans, and, in the end, victory of the revolution. The decision is in Washington's hands. The Reagan government must give the U.S. people the opportunity to influence this decision before he sends their offsprings to assassinate pregnant women, children, and the elderly, and to die without glory for an unjust cause.

FMLN
El Salvador, 18 January 1984

White House. So far, it appears uncertain whether the Administration's \$179 million aid request for El Salvador in 1984 will be approved in full by Congress.

Should the aid request be substantially reduced, the Pentagon already has plans to send \$80 million in military aid without congressional approval.

FMLN WINNING

At the root of the Reagan administration's heightening anxiety is a rapidly deteriorating situation for the Salvadoran army. Despite heavy U.S. backing, including the deployment of U.S. military advisers who direct military operations inside El Salvador, the Salvadoran armed forces are severely low on morale.

The FMLN on the other hand, has decisively taken the initiative and dealt continuous blows to its U.S.-supported adversary. According to the Salvadoran armed forces' own estimates, the FMLN has inflicted ten times as many casualties as it has suffered.

Already the FMLN controls one-third of the country and recognizes that military victory over the government army is presently well within its reach. However, the revolutionary forces are always aware of the Reagan administration's fundamental commitment to the fascist Salvadoran regime.

Despite failed attempts over the past three years to get Washington to the negotiating table, the FMLN again recently presented a comprehensive proposal for an end to the war. It called for political negotiations to construct a broadly-based government that excludes only the extreme right wing and their death squads. The proposal includes a call for general elections held under the auspices of mutually agreed upon observers from the international community. Washington has adamantly refused the peace proposal.

HIGH PRICE FOR INVASION

If the FMLN has no illusions of reversing Washington's policy of total military victory, it at least hopes to bring massive international and American public opinion to bear on Reagan's reckless plans.

The FMLN only too keenly realizes the devastating implications of an American invasion and the subsequent protracted Vietnam-type conflict. While they entertain no doubts about their ultimate victory, the cost of such a prolonged war would fall overwhelmingly on the Salvadoran people themselves. "The heroic Vietnamese people eventually defeated the U.S. imperialists after decades of determined struggle. . . and we too long for that day," noted an FMLN supporter. "But for every American invader killed, 20 of our Vietnamese *compañeros* lost their lives, not to mention the destruction of over half the country. That is nothing to look forward to."

Reagan, however, will pay a high price for a direct invasion of El Salvador. It simply would not be like his Grenada success. The FMLN is entrenched, highly experienced and will certainly inflict massive casualties on the U.S. forces in a prolonged guerrilla war.

A U.S. invasion will also heighten anti-U.S. feelings in all of Latin America and threaten the stability of Washington's Latin allies. In Europe, such an invasion can strengthen the peace and disarmament movement at the expense of the U.S.' NATO allies. Already, a wave of neutralism is growing in West Germany, to Washington's annoyance.

Nevertheless, Reagan seems determined to risk everything rather than see another Nicaragua—or another Cuba—in his "backyard." □

Open Letter . . .

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be foreigners in a strange land without motivations to inspire valor and resoluteness.

In keeping with these conditions, we have insisted over the past three years in proposing negotiations to obtain a just and suitable political solution for our people. It has been the Reagan government which has systematically opposed such a solution. In this, Washington has had the full backing of the criminal multimillionaire Salvadoran oligarchy which prefers the destruction and depopulation of the country to losing its insulting privileges.

Even a faction of the Army is in favor of a negotiated peace settlement. This would have already been achieved if the U.S. government had wanted it in spite of the rabid opposition from the oligarchy.

We want a politically negotiated solution to the conflict. We propose the installation of a broadly representative government, a cleaning up of the Army, dissolution of the criminal police bodies, the formation of a single national army integrating our fighters, the necessary socio-economic transformations, and, upon



Part of FMLN's mass base.