

'WE SHALL RETURN'

WOULD-BE CONTRAS
TAKE THEIR CUE FROM
DEPOSED DICTATOR
IN HONOLULU



By CHRISTINE ARANETA and
NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The noises of democracy," presidential spokesman Rene Saguisag called it, as members of Ferdinand Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* convened a protest meeting of the abolished *Batasang Pambansa* surrounded by thousands of pro-Marcos demonstrators.

Others were less generous. The coincidence between a series of Marcos radio broadcasts proclaiming the exile as the country's rightful president and the build-up of demonstrations demanding the deposed dictator's return was too close for comfort.

Clearly afoot was an orchestrated plan to restore fascism and none other than the country's most experienced manipulator of public sentiment—Ferdinand Marcos himself—was behind it all.

In live telephone hook-ups between Honolulu and the rallies, Marcos has exhorted his followers "to fight." He told the armed forces "not to be deceived" and addressed them as "my soldiers."

The first demonstration of any significance took place merely a day after

Marcos' first broadcast via telephone call from Hawaii. A thousand people gathered in Rizal Park to hear KBL vice-presidential nominee Arturo Tolentino, former San Juan Mayor Joseph Estrada and other show biz luminaries.

Speaking over Rafael Yabut's DZBB talk show in an 80-minute interview April 5, Marcos told the public, "I am irrelevant."

"I have no intention of starting a civil war," he added. "I have no intention of intervening in Philippine politics except to bring about peace."

'LET US RECONCILE'

A little over a week later, the demonstrations had grown in size and were positioned in various places around Manila. Four thousand pitched camp outside the U.S. Embassy waving placards that read, "U.S. Kidnappers Bring Back Our President." They beat up a news photographer and took his film when he photographed them thumping on cars and threatening motorists with clubs.

Fifteen to twenty thousand gathered at one Rizal Park rally. Crowds grouped regularly before the DZBB to show their support for Yabut.

And Ferdinand Marcos had changed

his tune. The demonstrations seeking his return would "spread like a flame," he said in an April 15 interview. "We shall return, but the people must be united and they have to ask me to come back."

Addressing himself to President Corazon Aquino, Marcos proposed, "Let us reconcile and I ask them to recognize Vice President Tolentino as acting president in the absence of Marcos, the president of our republic."

DIEHARD SUPPORTERS

Many of the rally participants were die-hard Marcos supporters and backers of his local officials who lost either jobs or access to patronage as a result of the new regime.

The Aquino government contends that that the six-year terms of local officials expired March 2. Numerous new mayors and governors have been appointed by Minister of Local Governments Aquilino Pimentel. The move is a highly controversial one, even within government circles.

Other demonstrators, according to rally leaders, came from military units once directly under Marcos and his chief of

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A Phone Call, A Policy

One of President Ronald Reagan's stated goals in going to the Bali conference of Southeast Asian foreign ministers was to neutralize the sharp criticisms his bombing of Libya provoked in ASEAN countries or win backing for his proposition that "terrorists" must be bombed out of business. But what does he do upon stopping over in Honolulu? He calls the well-known terrorist holed up there under the good auspices of the U.S. government.

Now Mr. Reagan, as much as he can help it, never does anything in public that is not politically calculated. His phone call was announced, rationalized and defended days before it was actually made. The White House denied the phone call was meant to encourage Ferdinand Marcos' bid for a comeback. But it was encouragement plain and simple.

The call was made at the peak of Marcos' open, long-distance exhortations to his followers to fight against the democratic government of Corazon Aquino. Thousands of his diehards have been staging well-financed rallies for his return and openly declaring their intention to "create a climate of instability." These rallies have often featured acts of vandalism and ominously, even "a coffin for Cory."

Reagan's phone call was indeed encouragement enough, especially in light of the fact that U.S. authorities have yet to scold Marcos for using his U.S. sanctuary as a base for his attempts to overthrow a legitimate and democratic government. In addition,

the White House has yet to say how it plans to help the Aquino government in prosecuting Marcos and retrieving the billions he has stashed away. Instead, it has accorded the terrorist the honor of a presidential phone call to "an old friend and ally."

Manila should take Reagan's calculated action as a sign of the treatment it will be getting from Washington. While officially professing support for the Aquino government, Reagan hopes to use every source of pressure available to wean it closer to the imperialist agenda in the Philippines. For leverage, the U.S. hopes to use the reactionary forces in the Philippine military and in Aquino's fragile coalition. And yes, it also plans to utilize the threat posed by the resurgent fascist mobs of Mr. Marcos himself. Why else did Reagan bother to be insensitive to Cory Aquino and the Filipino people by making a friendly phone call to a terrorist dictator they had heroically deposed? □

Once Again, People Power v. Marcos

There he is, in blue Hawaii, pathetically pleading poverty and playing for public sympathy while announcing his bid for a return to power. Manila would do well not to dismiss Marcos' musings as little more than the futile dreams of a broken man. Marcos has been, is, and will remain a fascist, and fascists are the most dangerous breed ever to mutate in the world of politics.

The Marcoses represent the greediest, most terroristic, and reactionary section of the Philippine ruling elite. It

is not surprising that they can command a following among the most backward sections of the population. Anastacio Somoza and Adolf Hitler always had a core following of lumpen proletarians who identified completely with the distorted values and gangster ways of the upper classes. The thousands of rallying Marcos loyalists do not have the virtues of people's power, they have the characteristics and goals of a fascist horde.

Gangster methods were means the Marcoses knew best. They rose to power as hoodlums and held on to it through naked repression and Machiavellian manipulation. Surely they will try to return to power through gangster means. Already, they are taking advantage of the people's democratic gains to regroup rabid followers in an orchestrated assault on the new democratic order. By no means will the resort to violence and assassination be alien to the Marcos remnants.

Democracy does not become stable by mere proclamation. It is folly to think that tolerating remnant fascism, allowing it to make its "noises," contributes to strengthening post-Marcos democracy. The people's victory has a very fragile health. It is democracy just reborn after 20 years of being malnourished in the dark womb of fascism. It should not be left undefended before the abuse of its mortal enemies.

The Aquino government must find every means in its power to still old man Marcos' ambitions and break up the shadowy apparatus that had sustained him. In this regard, Corazon Aquino must utilize her popular backing. It's time for People's Power to put an end to the destructive noises of defeated fascism through decisive government action and mass mobilizations. □



Bill Sanders/The Milwaukee Journal

LETTERS

Sold?

You seem to be sold on the new Aquino regime. Considering the elitist composition of her major cabinet members I am pessimistic that Aquino will be able to improve the ordinary Filipino's welfare and wean the country from U.S. domination. Bienvenido Tan, BIR Commissioner-designate, was a partner of Marcos crony Geronimo Velasco. The two were original Harry Stonehill boys. Tan was picked by Jimmy Ongpin, present finance minister and president of Benguet Consolidated, a firm more than 60% owned by Kokoy Romualdez although Ongpin claims not to know the beneficial owners. Ongpin, Velasco and Tan are known to belong to the SGV-Ongpin mafia which was also responsible for the retention of Jobo Fernandez as Central Bank Governor. They were all imposed by the U.S. on the new Aquino regime because they can be depended on to protect American interests—as in accepting the policy of the World Bank and IMF. I suggest you make further study on this. In the long run, it would be as if Marcos never left.

Jack Fernando
San Francisco, CA

What About the Muslims?

Asalam Alaikum. I recently read your "Victory Issue" and congratulate you on your unprecedented victory over the forces of re-

pression. But I would like information on how the new developments will affect the Muslims and Communists. Under Marcos, the scapegoats were Muslims and Communists. Thus far, we know Mrs. Aquino's policy toward the Communists but I've yet to hear about the Muslims. Here are a few dollars to help in your effort. I'm sorry it couldn't be more.

Jalam Khalid
Camp Hill, PA

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Litter from Manila

COLUMNIST MANIFESTO



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

A spectre is haunting yours truly—the spectre of Coryism. But all the powers of old have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: holdouts and balimbings, Ople and Espina, Hawaiian Ilocanos and military reformists.

Hello there, dear readers. Yes, it's me. The reports of my retirement have been greatly exaggerated. Just when I thought it wasn't safe to get back in the water, Madame Aquino declared magnanimity in victory. So I'm back in the swim of things although no longer as the dean of Philippine journalism but a mere professor without tenure.

(There are even rumors that I won't be a regular in this paper anymore. Who cares? It's run by leftists who can't tell a deadline from a funeral procession anyway.)

To set the record straight, I did not die of a heart attack. It was my good friend macho Mayor Nemesio Yabut of Makati who did. Which goes to show that God is reasonable and all-knowing. I did suffer some kind of stroke which my doctor confirmed as a stroke of bad

luck. So, I started seeing an analyst—a psychoanalyst, not a financial one.

I complained to him about the voices I kept hearing again and again. "Co-ry! Co-ry!" they went. Everything was beginning to sound the same to me. My lunch was "Oxtail Cory-Cory"; my dinner, "Chicken Cory with Laurel leaves and Cory-ander."

Thinking I just needed some sexual excitement, I went to see an old art film. But it was entitled, "I am Cory-ous—Yellow" (!±*&) Imagine the headaches I started getting. Yet the stupid pharmacist had nothing to offer but "Cory-cidin."

Finally, I decided the best cure was to get back to work. So I went to the office of the new Minister of Information. But the mestizos there, Peninsulares all, kept shooing me away, shouting, "Aqui, no! Aqui, no!"

It was terrible I tell you. Like being stepped on by 3,000 pairs of shoes. It got so that I developed this terrible urge to wear 200 gowns but only those with price tags still on. That was when I realized I needed professional help.

My psychoanalyst, who was also a mestizo, was no help. "If I read you correctly," he said, "you are suffering from a mild case of evicta traumatica brought on by a drastic shift in political climate and if you're not careful, the stress will be bad for the old corazon and its arteries."

He said I needed rest. "Perhaps, a vacation in the Netherlands Antilles where I will have you sequestered for awhile."

Sequestered?! That was when I decided to see another analyst, a financial, not a psycho, analyst. These are times that try men's souls and I'm afraid there may be other kinds of trials soon. However, my analyst promised to get the Commission on Good

Government off my back. "After all," he assured me, "they only want to take the shirt off it." That made me feel like five to ten billion dollars.

So now I'm back on my feet, ready to fight to the last six digits of my bank account. I hereby declare myself a contra. All my columns will carry the message of a freedom fighter. To all the oppressed remnants of the KBL, generals who were forced to retire, cronies who have no liquid assets, and captains deprived of baranggays: Stand up and fight! Do not be intimidated by democracy! Brave the cruel lashes of civil liberties!

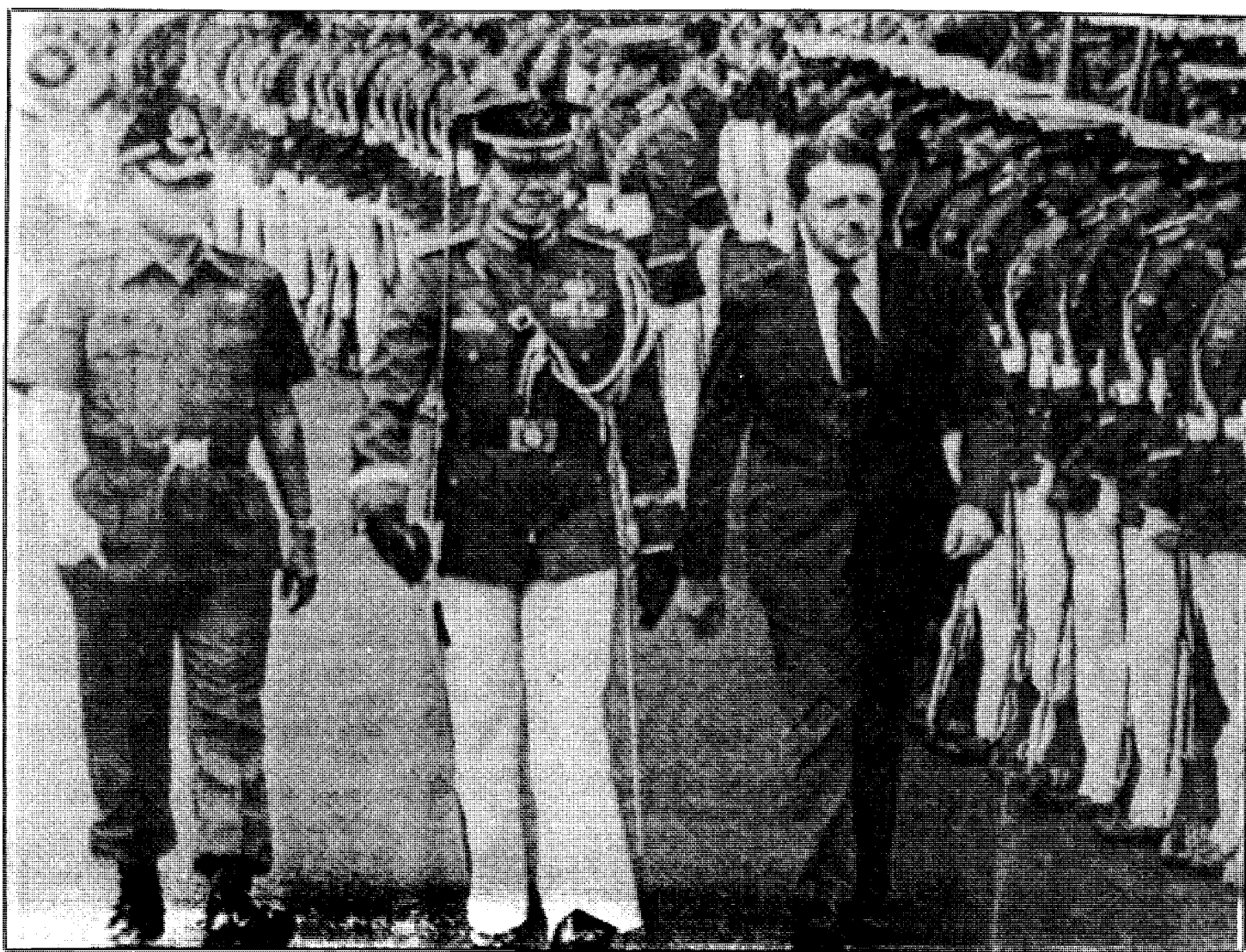
President Marcos and the First Lady have vowed to return. They have been treated shabbily by an ungrateful American administration. They thought they were being taken to Paoay but they ended up in Hawaii. Our legitimate president and his legitimate wife have been suffering the indignity of living on donated roast suckling pig and assorted seafoods. But they're still full of fight.

By phone, President Marcos has been rallying the Filipino people, all 20,000 of them. They have been demonstrating everyday at half the usual price which is an act of great sacrifice. I call on all patriotic Filipinos, especially those who were often abroad during our years of plenty, to commit one simple act of courage.

If everyone of us will send our spare U.S. nickels, dimes and quarters to President Marcos, then he can call from any telephone booth anywhere in Honolulu at anytime and talk at whatever length. Imagine, every single one of us sending just spare nickels and dimes—we, us, united—we can be an unbeatable force.

Loyalists stranded all over the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your change. □

Counterinsurgency or Reconciliation?



Weinberger reviewing Philippine troops.

By WICKS GEAGA

For the Aquino government, reconciliation with the Left is a prerequisite for the rebuilding of a country badly torn by 20 years of Marcos rule.

President Cory Aquino and her more progressive colleagues recognize that the insurgents, who have a long and honorable opposition to Marcos, have legitimate grievances that must be addressed.

Aquino's military leaders, however, are directly at odds with her open-arms approach to the rebels.

AFP Chief Fidel Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile have declared that the military will grant amnesty to the insurgents only if they surrender their arms.

U.S. LINE

The military's posture is in line with Washington's policy of allowing no power sharing with the Left. To the White House, the best solution to the insurgency is the complete destruction of the rebels. This policy was essentially reaffirmed by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger during his visit to Manila in early April.

The first senior Reagan administration official to call on the Aquino government since Marcos' ouster, Weinberger expressed U.S. eagerness to increase aid in order to accelerate the professionalization of the military.

A reinvigorated and "professionalized" Armed Forces of the Philippines is viewed by Washington as the most reliable safeguard against the resurgence of the Left under the new conditions of liberal democracy. Both Enrile and Ramos obviously subscribe to this view.

AMNESTY PROCLAMATION

Over the objections of Enrile and Ramos, President Aquino appears determined to go ahead with her policy of reconciliation with the Left. In addition to having ordered the release of all political prisoners, she is reportedly seriously considering the granting of general and unconditional amnesty to New People's Army fighters, members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and rebels belonging to the Moro National

Liberation Front.

According to Justice Minister Neptali Gonzalez, current laws permit the granting of amnesty to political offenders only upon admission of guilt.

Gonzales stated that the amnesty proclamation being drafted by the Ministry of Justice will grant unconditional pardon to insurgents without requiring them to admit guilt for their past political acts.

The Aquino bloc hopes that such an amnesty program will create favorable conditions for reaching a ceasefire agreement and direct the Left to more "peaceful" strategies.

For its part, the National Democratic Front, through spokesman Antonio Zumel, announced that the front and its member organizations, which include the CPP and NPA, "are open to a dialogue" with Aquino despite existing obstacles to a

meaningful ceasefire and peace. The announcement followed earlier press statements by some NPA field commanders dismissing the possibility of a ceasefire with the military.

INCREASED AFP OPERATIONS

While stressing the NDF's official policy toward the Aquino government, Zumel cautioned that "Right now, we cannot call for a stop to NPA operations because the people must continue to defend themselves against continuing counterinsurgency operations and against abusive landlords."

Echoing the same concern, former head of the NPA Bernabe Buscayno criticized the increased AFP operations, pointing out that to achieve a ceasefire, "all the military has to do is to stop sending patrols

in our areas and stay in the barracks."

Far from slackening off of its campaign against the insurgents, the military appears to be following a policy aimed at undermining Aquino's conciliatory efforts.

CEASEFIRE: NOT AFP POLICY

Announcing that a ceasefire is "not an AFP policy," Ramos ordered the deployment of more troops to several areas of known NPA influence.

In addition to the heightened mobilization of forces, Ramos ordered regional military commanders to intensify intelligence operations against the rebels, to monitor their movements and intercept their plans.

Complained an NPA leader from the Northern Mindanao Command: "While it is Cory's desire to declare a ceasefire, the AFP does not seem to accede to her desire." Instead of the promised formal declaration of ceasefire, "we see more military troops deployed."

In response to the military's maneuvers, the NPA has stepped-up its own operations, including the ambush of several AFP convoys nationwide. Buscayno describes the NPA actions as part of its "defensive stance." According to Buscayno, the NPA has no choice but to defend itself against military intrusions into its areas of influence.

KIDGLOVES TREATMENT

Nonetheless, said Buscayno, the number of clashes between government and rebel troops have sharply declined since the new government took power.

Through the national media, the military has sought to portray the NPA as being the main source of violence and confrontation. Enrile repeatedly blames the government's "kidgloves treatment" of the insurgents for the growing number of military casualties. By presenting an AFP posture of restraint, Enrile and Ramos hope to create a favorable popular atmosphere for a massive crackdown against the rebels.

Enrile promptly used the latest ambush and killing of six soldiers and three media personnel, including a world-class photojournalist, by an NPA unit in Cagayan province as a justification for bearing down full force against the rebels in retaliation.

Aquino herself immediately decried the NPA action, saying that it dimmed the prospects for ceasefire and negotiations.

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Armed Men With Nervous Fingers

"If the military wanted to grab power, we should have done so during the February revolution," goes Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's pat response to questions about rumors of an impending military coup.

Privately, Enrile may be banging his head on the wall for not doing exactly that.

With the Commission on Human Rights hot on the trail of military officials responsible for atrocities during Marcos' reign, Enrile and his closest colleagues in the Reform the Armed Forces Movement are not sleeping too soundly these days.

ALL THE WAY TO THE TOP

Former senator Jose Diokno, who heads the commission, has declared his intention to pursue the guilty parties all the way to the top of the military hierarchy, presumably including Enrile himself as well as AFP Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos.

"I'm a dying man," Diokno reportedly told a visitor. True or not, the respected nationalist apparently feels he has not much to lose in embarking on an admittedly dangerous mission.

"Let the chips fall where they may," warned Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo when asked about charging top military officials. "This is what we fought for," he added, referring to the popular uprising's clamor for justice.

Aware of this widespread popular sentiment, Enrile has been cool and cooperative. He publicly promised to assist with the commission's investigation of human rights violations and said he welcomed the opportunity to cleanse the AFP's image.

HONEYMOON IS OVER

Some military leaders are less able to hide their displeasure over the commission's efforts.

"The honeymoon between the people and the military is not yet over, but I am afraid that the honeymoon between the military and the presidency has waned," said a general in a major urban command.

Said another, a leading RAM member, "The RAM is worried about the radicalization of Mrs. Aquino's cabinet."

Others have tried to be more persuasive by floating coup rumors while some have resorted to outright threats of violence against their perceived op-

ponents in the Aquino government.

CONFRONTATION

Prominent RAM member Col. Hernani Figueroa, reported *Asiaweek*, confronted Arroyo and Presidential Spokesman Rene Saguisag in person and threatened to have them "lynched."

Both influential members of Aquino's cabinet are human rights lawyers, well-known for their stalwart defense of political prisoners incarcerated during Marcos' rule.

Noted a candid Saguisag who is no stranger to military abuse and terror: "We stood up to the military during those long years of martial law. We in the human rights movement have always been threatened. And we have been afraid for the past 15 years or so, but we pretend not to be."

Manila seems to be abuzz with rumors nowadays. One story has Enrile masterminding a coup that includes among its targets the more radical members of RAM. A hit list even surfaced, naming some of these reformists.

Meanwhile, Filipinos seem to be apprehensive but pretend not to be. □

NDF Open to Ceasefire



In a March 24 press conference the National Democratic Front's Antonio Ma. Zumel declared the willingness of the NDF and its member organizations to dialog with the Aquino government on a possible ceasefire between the New People's Army and the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Mr. Zumel's interview with the press was published in major Philippine dailies. In the interest of following up the NDF's declaration, the *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (Free Philippines News Service) reissues the following press statement which it hopes will help crystallize and further project the revolutionary movement's position on the ceasefire.

The National Democratic Front and its member organizations, which include the Communist Party of the Philippines and its military wing, the New People's Army, are ready to dialog with the Aquino government on a possible ceasefire.

In its first press conference since Marcos' ouster, the NDF said its offer is a manifestation of "support of the Filipino people's legitimate aspiration for democratic peace." Speaking through Antonio Ma. Zumel, a ranking officer of the NDF, the underground organization imposed no conditions for the ceasefire, noting that it is still waiting for initiatives from the government.

"Until now, no approaches, formal or informal, direct or indirect, have been made by the government," Zumel said. "We want to know the definite plans of President Aquino. Right now, however, we cannot call for a stop to NPA operations because the people must continue to defend themselves against continuing counter-insurgency operations and against abusive landlords."

In the four-hour press conference attended by five local reporters in a secluded area north of Manila, Zumel issued a statement from the NDF which he said, reflects the view of all its member organizations on a national level. "This statement takes precedence over other views expressed in different areas and various levels of leadership, whether in the NDF, the Party, the NPA or national democratic mass organizations," Zumel said. This means that the statement in effect serves as the national official line of the whole national democratic movement.

He also distributed a statement, jointly signed by the Military Commission of the CPP and the General Staff of the NPA, belying military reports about the NPA's unwillingness to heed peace offers. Said the CPP and NPA, "We assure the President and our people that her call for a ceasefire has not fallen on deaf ears in the ranks of the revolutionary forces and the NPA."

CEASEFIRE IS POSSIBLE

"With just, sincere and prudent moves of the concerned parties, a negotiated ceasefire is possible on a nationwide scale. Moreover, we believe that more than just a ceasefire can be pursued afterwards as more substantial changes are made in the economic, political and military spheres favorable to the broad masses of the Filipino people," added the CPP-NPA statement.

Zumel, the first two-term president of the National Press Club (1969-1971) who went underground upon the declaration of martial law in 1972, however cited obstacles standing in the way of a meaningful ceasefire and of peace. Chief among these, he said, are U.S. imperialism and reactionaries in and out of the government who are pushing a rabid counter-insurgency campaign, the criminal elements in the regular and paramilitary forces of the AFP and the heavily-armed private armies of warlords.

"The revolutionary movement stands for peace," he stressed. "But it must be principled peace, not the artificial peace of the oppressor who holds a gun to the head of the oppressed."

In this regard, Zumel deplored the promotion instead of punishment of military men known to have master-minded grave human rights violations. He cited the cases of Col. Rodolfo Aguinaldo, a notorious torturer of political prisoners who was recently promoted Cagayan provincial commander; Col. Hernani Figueroa, who figured prominently in the salvaging of people's doctor Remberto de la Paz; and Col. Cecilio Penilla,

another known torturer who was recently named Bataan provincial commander.

"These were members of Gen. Fidel Ramos' Constabulary Security Unit, which committed among the most numerous crimes against the people and were among the most sadistic. There are many more like them with many blood debts against the people but who are still there. What does Mrs. Aquino plan to do about them?" he asked.

Zumel urged that the perpetrators of such crimes be investigated by the Commission on Human Rights, which should also be "unafraid to reach top AFP officers pretending to be heroes." "Many crimes against the people have been committed for a long time," Zumel stated. "The blood of our people cry out for justice."

Despite these problems, the former *Manila Daily Bulletin* news editor said the NDF is still open to a dialog and give Mrs. Aquino time to carry out her promised changes. He suggested the holding of a preliminary discussions before the actual negotiations for a ceasefire. The discussions would establish the ground rules for formal talks, name a panel of negotiators and settle the venue. The discussions could either be held in a white area (a place where the revolutionary movement's influence is not deeply felt) or a guerilla front, with safe conduct passes to be issued by the side which arranged the venue.

CEASEFIRE, NOT SURRENDER

Zumel, however, clarified that a ceasefire is different from a surrender. "A ceasefire does not mean surrender. Though it is possible that one or two or three guerillas may go down from the hills for whatever reason, military claims that many NPAs will surrender and lay down their arms is wishful thinking. We see a very insidious propaganda campaign going on to undermine and create confusion in the revolutionary movement."

'We assure the President and our people that her call for a ceasefire has not fallen on deaf ears'

Reading from the NDF statement, he pointed out that "objective conditions at the present time do not permit the surrender of the people's right to bear arms in defense of their revolutionary gains in the past 17 years."

"We must remember that the person who took up arms has a firm and deep reason for doing so. He must likewise have a firm and deep reason for laying down his arms," he explained.

Zumel, however, indicated that the new political conditions have necessitated adjustments in NPA tactics. Instead of a general assault on enemy forces as was the thrust in the 17-year guerilla war, the NPA's main targets of attack now are "remnants of the deposed fascist regime which are still in place." These include the military-backed fanatic sects, the Lost-Command, private armies and notorious military men and even civilians who have many blood debts which the people demand to be settled. Also a key target are military formations and detachments which enter guerilla zones to create trouble among the masses.

He stressed that the NPA will give high consideration to the political basis and political implications of every tactical offensive, to show the people the continuing necessity and justness of revolutionary armed struggle. "Where before we gave heavy consideration for the political justification of tactical offensives, now we shall give twice as heavy consideration," he said.

In relation to this, Zumel singled out the case of Mayor Francisco Baclig of Gonzaga, Cagayan, the hometown of Enrile. He said Baclig, a notorious and abusive henchman of the defense minister, was killed by the NPA last March 19 on the basis of his many crimes against the townspeople who had long demanded his punishment.

WARNING TO CIVILIANS

He told the local reporters who represented major Philippine newspapers to propagate the NDF's warning to civilians, including the wives and children of soldiers to desist from staying in military camps and avoid riding in vehicles carrying AFP soldiers. "Many times, the NPA has postponed or cancelled tactical offensives to avoid civilian deaths. We have however done our best to minimize civilian casualties," he said.

Zumel, who has been acting as the NDF's spokesman in many interviews, reiterated the NDF's positive view towards the presidency of Aquino. "We laud her move to release the political detainees as a very positive step to redress the injustices of the past. We hope that she will also release 500 more who are still languishing in jail."

"We recognize the efforts of Mrs. Aquino and the democratic personalities in her cabinet to institute reforms," Zumel added. But he noted that almost without exception, those holding high positions in the Aquino government come from the upper rungs of society. But he said this does not negate the fact that a number of individuals in her Cabinet are "imbued with democratic aspirations." He urged the government to pursue more essential changes especially in land reform and assert national independence against U.S. imperialism and all outside interference.

"We grant the good faith of Cory Aquino. But whatever her subjective wishes, we also have to consider the subjective wishes of the U.S. and the reactionaries in her Cabinet who are even now placing obstacles to reforms being made," Zumel said. He particularly zeroed in on Enrile and Ramos who not only served under Marcos but were among the main implementors of martial rule. "What will Mrs. Aquino do about them? The people are waiting."

SINCERE DISAGREEMENTS

On the current plans of the NDF, Zumel said they will strive to form an alliance with various progressive political forces to pursue the interests of the people. "We're open to cooperation with other progressive forces, especially in the area of democratic reforms. Acting in concert with each other, we can increase the weight of our influence."

Asked whether the Left's boycott position in the last elections proved to be correct, Zumel disclosed that based on preliminary reports, "progressive organizations failed to effectively lead rallies and the spontaneous masses." He acknowledged "sincere disagreements" among comrades regarding the stand and that assessment of the policy is presently going on in all units and levels. "If we come to the conclusion that it [boycott] was wrong, we will recognize our mistake. In the movement, the ego of comrades is not an important factor," he said.

At the end of the press conference, Zumel issued a special appeal to the idealistic members of the military: "While the NDF recognizes that no essential changes have been made in the fascist military, there are many young officers of the AFP who truly desire democratic reforms. The NDF appeals to these democratic elements within the military to unite with the people in their desire to achieve basic changes."

He called on the military to disobey orders which are patently anti-people and to struggle against these. He urged them to work for "a massive overhaul" of the AFP's character or orientation which is pro-imperialist and anti-people. "Only when the AFP has truly been reoriented can it lay claim to being reformed and call itself the New Armed Forces of the People," said Zumel. □

Newsweek

Sison to Launch New Political Party

Jose Ma. Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, last month disclosed plans to form a new political party. Possibly called the New Democratic Party, the group will draw its membership from cause-oriented organizations and alliances with a nationalist orientation and will contribute to the multi-party system Sison has consistently advocated.

The former CPP chairman, recently released from eight years in prison, told the press that one of the party's key demands will be the dismantling of U.S. military bases in the country by or before the expiration of the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement in 1991.

Membership in the party will be on an individual basis. Thus, alliances such as the *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* and the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy will be able to co-exist comfortably with the new group.

"It would be wise of the Aquino government to seek the support of this new party," Sison suggested. He projects that it will ultimately be broader than the alliance which brought Corazon Aquino to power. Former senator Lorenzo Tañada

may agree to accept the chairmanship while Sison will act as an advisor.

'NO ARGUMENT AGAINST CONCENTRATED POWER'

Questioned about his opinions on the Aquino administration, Sison endorsed the declaration of a revolutionary government.

Eradicating fascism, he told the press, means concentration of power. He would have preferred to see such strength concentrated in a collective rather than a single person, but he added with approval that Aquino had set a deadline for her one-woman rule. "There is no argument against concentrated power," he reiterated.

Sison, who has insisted on the importance of maintaining the broadest possible base against fascist elements, did indicate concern, however, over the possible emergence of a privileged faction within the government. Members of the PDP-Laban, he noted, seem to get "most of the favors."

"To rule effectively, Aquino should distribute the 'favors' among the members of UNIDO, PDP-Laban, and the Enrile-Ramos group as well as the farmers and

workers who opposed the Marcos autocracy."

To the surprise of some, Sison was bothered by the fact that Enrile was apparently rated Number 10 on the list of past officials to be investigated by the Commission on Good Government.

Apparently concerned that survival of the Aquino administration for now means minimizing the pressure on Enrile, he told the press, "Enrile should at least be Number 100 for the time being."

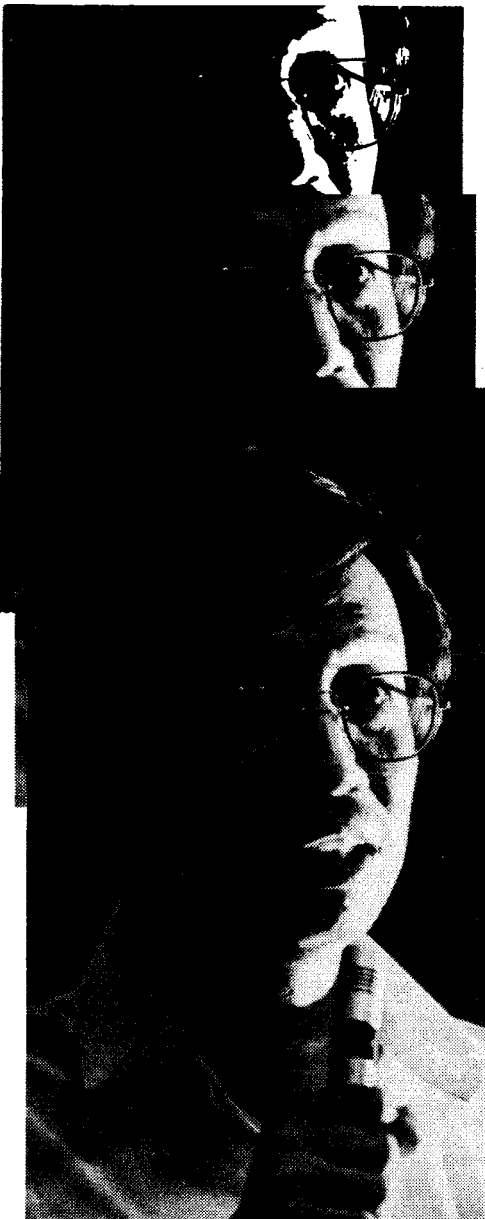
Meanwhile, Enrile "still represents the same instrument that was used by Marcos against the people."

'AN AGRARIAN PARADISE'

Sison was not particularly pleased with some of Aquino's cabinet appointees. Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin, he claimed, had the same policies as Cesar Virata, his predecessor under Marcos.

Ongpin, he said, demonstrates the same willingness to conform to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank strictures on the Philippine economy.

The new finance minister, Sison claims, *Continued on page 14*



Caspar, The Friendly Guest

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

In the wake of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's ever-so-proper visit to the Philippines, the White House April 23 announced an additional \$150 million in aid to the Philippines. One hundred million is to come in the form of economic aid with \$50 million as military assistance. Both are to be carved out of existing Pentagon funds so as not to rock Congress' budget-conscious boat.

"In our judgment, it's a very good bet," announced A. Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development. His agency is taking steps to accelerate the release of \$405 million appropriated in past years so that it can be spent over the next 12 months. For 1987, the administration has requested \$95 million in economic aid and \$100 million in military aid.

The question of aid takes on a new significance in the post-Marcos era with the U.S. intent on securing its defense interests in the Philippines.

SKIRTING THE ISSUE

But the U.S. Secretary of Defense was

so diplomatically correct on his April 7 visit, he could have been the Secretary of State. Throughout his 24-hour stop in the Philippines, the U.S. defense tsar and his entourage remained thoroughly discreet about their not-so-hidden agenda.

Weinberger, aware of President Corazon Aquino's announced intention to honor the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement until its expiration in 1991 and then consult her people as to their continued presence, carefully skirted the issue.

Philippine officials, in fact, were surprised when their visitors failed to bring up Clark Air Force and Subic Bay Naval Base, the two largest U.S. military installations outside the country.

Both Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Presidential Spokesman Rene Saguisag told the press that, although the bases were not an issue from their point of view, they expected the visiting dignitaries to bring them up.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, quiet diplomacy was playing second fiddle to hardball. State Department and Pentagon officials informed a Senate subcommittee on April 10 that they don't intend to move the bases—ever. "We have no plans of

relocating our facilities from the Philippines."

But Weinberger chose to safely echo Aquino on the relative importance of economic over military aid. There was only a hint of disagreement over the handling of the country's insurgency problem.

ASCENT ON THE MILITARY

Only one week before the defense secretary's Manila stop, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chief of Staff, Adm. William Crowe, dropped by. The choice of emissaries for the maiden calls on the Aquino administration prompted criticism by some Filipino officials over U.S. emphasis on military over economic concerns.

Aquino's reminder to Weinberger that economic assistance is more important than military aid thus came as no surprise. Aquino told Weinberger that economic aid was of utmost importance "because it would be in the area of the economy where the government would be judged."

The military vs. economic aid question reflects a political difference between the U.S. and the Aquino government and between the Philippine president and some members of her own cabinet.

While Aquino advocates reconciliation with both the communist-led New People's Army and the Moro National Liberation Front, both the U.S. and the Enrile faction of her government favor a military solution to the insurgency. (See story, page 3.)

INTERNAL DIFFERENCES

But the conflict has yet to break into the open. The militarist school has not frontally opposed the president. Differences are expressed subtly and observers often have to read between the lines to detect the tension.

Enrile, for example, told the press: "I must say we will not refuse any additional help over and above the amount of the current bases agreement." The current agreement allots \$900 million—a mix of economic and military aid but *principally* military aid—to be spent over a five-year period in exchange for the use of the bases.

He added that he would no longer ask for sophisticated gear, but instead request medical and engineering equipment, spare parts for helicopters and light armored units, communications equipment and pos-



Enrile and Weinberger

sibly fatigues and other quartermaster supplies.

Weinberger, on the other hand, surprised some by announcing at his brief news conference before heading for Bangkok, "It is important to have both, but certainly the emphasis has to be on economic aid."

The defense secretary, however, made repeated references to the importance of "stability"—diplomatic shorthand for a squelched insurgency.

Whereas Saguisag described the insurgency problem as "more social and economic and political than anything else," Weinberger insisted more than once, "I think it's recognized as a serious problem."

Further, though Weinberger may have acted with *delicadeza* during his visit, the U.S. obviously intends to work overtime in backing the militarist approach. The economic vs. military aid debate is by no means closed.

'THERE ARE NO SUBSTITUTES'

Talk of moving the U.S. military bases to Guam, Tinian, Japan, and elsewhere floated through U.S. defense circles during the twilight of the Marcos era, though most looked upon it as just another form of pressure on a stubborn dictator that the U.S. wanted to dump. That hunch was confirmed April 10 when Navy secretary John Lehman flatly told the Senate Armed Services seapower subcommittee, "There are no substitutes."

Just as Aquino was renewing her pledge to call a referendum on the future of the bases in an interview with Japanese journalists, Lehman was telling the Congress

Continued on page 14

Phone Pals

Despite editorial pleas such as the *San Francisco Examiner's* "Stay Away from the Phone" and former Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke's suggestion that it really wasn't such a hot idea, Ronald Reagan followed his instincts and dialed Ferdinand Marcos as he passed through Honolulu in a much publicized phone call April 26.

The criticism seemed to jolt the White House sufficiently enough, however, to inspire that great friend of dictators to put in a quick call first to President Corazon Aquino in Manila. The two had not spoken since her assumption of the position in February of this year.

Reagan proceeded to invite the Philippine president for a U.S. visit sometime after the coming elections. She accepted, but left the timing open. She has a few things to do other than make foreign visits right now.

Reagan thus felt free to shoot he breeze in a protracted call to "an old friend and ally who exhibited statesmanship in the orderly and peaceful transition to power in the Philippines" (!) according to White House spokesman Larry Speakes.

The discussion included a claim by Marcos that he is still the rightful president, which Reagan had the sense to rebuff—gently—and a weepy Imelda telling her tale of woe to Nancy Reagan.

Speakes told the press that any attempt by Marcos would be "ill-advised" and added, "We support political stability in the Philippines . . ."

One day later, an inspired Marcos was addressing a rally of 10,000 over international phone hook-up and urging his followers to fight for his return.

With the kind of approach to supporting "stability," who needs *contras* to push for instability? □

I'm Just A Poor Boy

By HILARY CROSBY

The Aquino government has finally charged Ferdinand Marcos and over 20 cohorts of "willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously . . . conspiring with each other" to plunder the nation.

Attorney General Sedfrey Ordoñez filed the criminal charges April 7 with the Commission on Good Government chaired by Jovito Salonga.

With formal charges made, Salonga and his commission can now proceed to prosecute Marcos in either a special court or in the notorious *Sandiganbayan* which acquitted all 26 co-defendants accused of murdering President Corazon Aquino's late husband, Benigno Aquino.

Not surprisingly, Marcos announced that his defense strategy will rely on legal maneuvering and the complex covers for his financial holdings to stymie efforts to repatriate the wealth he stole from the Philippines during his 20-year reign.

During the weeks since he fled the Philippines and forfeited the protection from public scrutiny provided by his muzzled press, his personal fortune has been estimated at between \$5 and \$10 billion. Marcos earned only \$5,700 a year as president.

ADMITS OWNING PROPERTY

After adamantly pleading poverty, Mar-

cos finally admitted to *San Francisco Examiner's* Phil Bronstein in mid-April that he did own substantial properties.

Two estates in New Jersey valued at \$3 million and \$130,000 respectively were bought with "money borrowed from friends and some of our own," Marcos said.

Tracts of land in the Philippines valued at \$25 million were turned over to the government by crony Jose Y. Campos. "I will confirm are mine, although much of it was bought without my authorization," he said.

Salonga claims to have documented "what can only be described as the unprecedented plunder of an entire nation—something that in terms of magnitude and brazenness defies comparison in our history or indeed in the history of any nation."

Salonga, who has been surveilling Marcos' financial acquisitions since 1966, returned to the Philippines from an investigative jaunt in the U.S. reporting that he obtained the documents Marcos took with him to Hawaii, "first-hand information on the suits" filed in New York, and more evidence of Marcos' ill-gotten wealth from sources in the Filipino community in the United States.

Long-time Marcos crony Campos provided extensive testimony and documentation to Commission member Ramon Diaz who interviewed him in his home and offices in Vancouver, Canada.

Although Campos provided Diaz with incorporation papers and stock certificates



Sunday Times Magazine

pertaining to Panama and Hong Kong properties, Diaz concentrated on the documents covering Philippine properties "of which Mr. Campos continues to be the principal stockholder and president, but which Mr. Campos in his sworn statement says belong to Mr. Marcos."

TERRIBLE DILEMMA

Included in these properties are: 184,891 square meters of prime land along Ortigas Ave. worth ₱130 million; a few lots in the townsite of Baguio, measuring about 3-1/2 hectares; properties along the South Superhighway and the highway to Puerto Azul; and 120 hectares of seafront property in Mariveles with a large vacation mansion on it.

Diaz said, "The Commission will now take the most expeditious procedure to convert the above-mentioned properties into cash."

Campos was candid in admitting that he had not filed correct income tax returns for these properties in the past because he felt that income taxes paid to the Marcos regime "usually went to frivolities."

Meanwhile, Salonga speculated that Marcos "is in a terrible dilemma." For example, if he claims the properties in New York City alone, "the whole world

will know that by his own act he has pleaded guilty to having plundered our nation's wealth," Salonga said. "If on the other hand, he does not claim these properties, we will probably get a default judgment, and win sooner than we had expected."

But Marcos has instructed his attorney Stanton D. Anderson, "to vigorously defend the President's rights in any forum." Anderson stated that "there are a number of defenses, starting with the adequacy of service and going up to his immunity as head of state."

Such a legalistic strategy could postpone judicial examination of the substance of the accusations for a long time.

Perhaps aware of this problem, President Aquino announced that she would even give Marcos amnesty if he would voluntarily return the wealth he has stolen.

SQUEALED

The Marcoses have been served with at least 10 civil lawsuits since moving off of Hickam Air Force Base, and several investigations are underway.

The House Sub-Committee on Asian-Pacific Affairs chaired by Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) has been looking into New York City, Long Island, and New Jersey pro-

Continued on page 15

Marcosmania Grips the West

By NENE OJEDA

Most deposed tyrants go into quiet humiliation in exile. The Marcoses, formerly of the Philippines, are a different breed.

Two months after their hurried flight out of Malacañang, Ferdinand and Imelda are still very much in the public eye.

Not everything has been of their own doing. Turned into mere mortals overnight, the dynamic duo became easy targets for the U.S. media which smelled blood and knew that with subjects such as these, there was no danger of overkill.

Thus, soon after the February ouster, a slew of cartoons lampooned an ex-First Family fleeing to the safety of Uncle Ron. Pundits tore into the notorious jewelry-laden boxes of Pampers, the New York real estate mysteries, the legendary shopping sprees, etc.

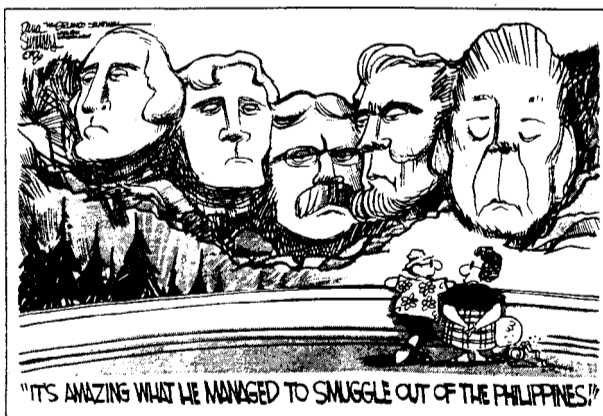
As if meant for a time like this, First Family home videotapes were constantly replayed on national TV. Late-night talk show comedians did not spare the famous couple and shot corny one-liners. The Honolulu papers never failed to perk up the balmy mornings with daily reports—rumors and facts—of the royal exiles' latest doings. When April Fools Day came around, campus organs wrote of hefty bequests from the Marcoses or new honorary degrees awarded to them, outraging many unsuspecting readers.

But the Marcoses are anything but weak-willed wimps. They are determined not to wait until obituaries recall their names and past deeds in print. As they say in Hawaii (maybe), if you can't fight the surf, ride it. The couple, recently went on the offensive and put to use an inexhaustible supply of PR tricks. Tacky as these were, they did grab the headlines.

Just as soon as Ferdinand acquired a business suit and Imelda replaced her dowdy forest green dress with more colorful Hawaiian muumuus, interviews with the press resumed. The record had to be set straight.

WHAT'S WITH THE SHOES?

Foremost in the minds of scoop-hungry reporters



Orlando Sentinel

was "What's with the shoes?" Ted Koppel was the first to ask the question in an exclusive *Nightline* interview. The unruffled Ferdinand had the answer down pat: Imelda, as First Lady, had to change shoes at least twice a day. And then, he added, there were parties where Imelda felt comfortable in high heels, and there were "parties for low heels." And pretty soon, a collection accumulated over 20 years made for a whole lot of shoes.

Imelda told a different story to the *London Daily Mail*. As First Lady of the Philippines, she said, she had to act as a model for locally-made shoes since footwear was a major export of the country.

American capitalists would try to make a buck out of the whole discussion soon enough. An advertisement appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* with this blurb: "Imelda Marcos bought 2,700 pairs of shoes. She could of (sic) at least had the courtesy to buy a pair of ours. —Kenneth Cole" (With shops in New York, San Francisco, and Birmingham, MI.)

A Bay Area cleaning establishment, hard up for a direct connection, tried this angle for a radio spot: "With President Marcos sending his hit squads to the U.S., you don't want them coming to the house when you have dirty carpets and drapes."

As for the 1,200 dresses, the 500 black bras, 200 black girdles, 1,500 handbags, 35 racks of fur, and so on and so on, Imelda dismissed them as mere stocks for gift-giving. She was, after all, the country's most popular *ninang*. Busy as she was as First Lady, Metro-Manila Governor and Minister of Human Settlements, she just did not have the time to go shopping for gifts all the time. The large inventory was from a recent shopping expedition done in January and February for distribution the rest of the year.

Mrs. Marcos' flair for fashion elicited this self-clarification from singer Patti Labelle: "Fashion is part of what I do as a performer, but obviously there is a difference between fashion and fascism."

Of late, the Marcoses have been complaining about their rented existence in a \$1.5 million house overlooking the Pacific. They hope to jerk tears over their donated subsistence of a suckling pig for dinner here, bags of popcorn for *merienda* there.

Imelda has been quick to show the humility she has long bragged about, claiming to keep the envelopes containing \$1 and \$5 bills that "the little people" gave to her. Pleading poverty, they said their \$10,500 a week security guards will have to go soon. Imelda will just have to walk the beach alone.

At the rate the two are going, the interviews can soon lead to longer, chattier talkshows and then possibly the campus circuit for Ferdinand. In due time, he may even get the standing ovation that the American Newspaper Publishers Association gave Richard Nixon recently—the same Tricky Dick these media honchos loved to kick around a decade ago.

For Imelda, the prospects may even be more glamorous. Hollywood is rumored to be keen on making a movie out of the world-famous dragon lady. Evita, that other famous lady, already proved to be a dollar-raker, both on stage and the silver screen.

The *Star* predicted Elizabeth Taylor will play the lead role. She, after all, once played the Serpent of the Nile. Why not the Serpent of the Pasig?

Aspirants should hold their horses, though. The real thing, "blessed by God-given beauty," just might show up for the auditions. □

Land Reform After Marcos

By ED TADEM

It is an acknowledged fact that the popular rising which led to the ouster of the Marcos autocracy was the culmination of a largely spontaneous urban-based movement. However, let us not isolate this singular phenomenon from its historical context.

For it is an equally indisputable fact that it was the countryside struggle that had continuously sustained, in various forms, the popular movement against the dictatorship through all these years. That the agrarian movement had developed into an armed confrontation with the state was an affirmation of the conditions of absolute degradation suffered by the rural population.

The roots of rural unrest are easily identifiable. The countryside-based insurgency of the 16,000-strong New People's Army grew in the midst of widespread indignation among peasant tillers, rural workers, and tribal groups against the injustices wrought by the land tenure system.

Abuses committed by military men in defense of the status quo further fueled dissatisfaction. Thus, the key to the once-and-for-all solution to armed agrarian unrest lies in the sincere adoption by the government of a comprehensive program to dismantle the political and economic structures that have nurtured existing systems of land ownership and control.

UNQUALIFIED DISASTER

Upon the declaration of martial law in September 1972, Ferdinand Marcos proclaimed a land reform program as "the cornerstone of the New Society" and the gauge for his regime's success or failure. The program was an unqualified disaster. Less than a month before Marcos fled, only 2.27% of the targetted beneficiaries of Operation Land Transfer had become actual owners of the land through the acquisition of "emancipation patents."

In the first place, the program itself would not have greatly changed conditions of land tenure even if it were 100% successful. Being limited to tenanted rice and corn lands and covering only about 427,623 tenant-beneficiaries, the Marcos program would have transferred land to a mere 5.4% of the working population in the rural areas. In terms of hectareage, OLT only comprised 10% of the total physical crop area.

This prompted the International Labor Organization of the United Nations to conclude, in 1974, that "the [Philippine] land transfer program as currently organized, would accomplish about one-twentieth of the maximum once-and-for-all improvement in income distribution in the Philippines under a mixed private enterprise system."

The concept of land reform, as currently used, is fraught with contradictions. At first glance, a program that seeks to redistribute farm ownership in small parcels to the direct producers appears to fulfill the aim of equalization. Upon closer scrutiny, however, certain defects stand out.

TRANSFORMED COUNTRYSIDE

As the land frontier in this country has long been exhausted, the concept of individual land ownership no longer appears feasible. For example, under the Marcos land reform program, each farmer-beneficiary is entitled to a mere 1.68 hectares of land, or only half the size of what is generally considered an economically viable family-run farm.

For the country as a whole, the redistribution of all croplands to the actual cultivators (peasants and rural workers) would theoretically result in an average farm size of less than one hectare.

Of course, large modern plantation-estates cannot be subdivided among their farmworkers. The nature of their crop operations precludes substitution by thousands of minuscule agricultural activities. The economy, backward as it is, will not be able to efficiently sustain legions of petty commodity producers, each one planning and working independently of the other. Most of them will eventually lose their lands and private concentration will once again take place.

While all previous agrarian reform programs were exclusively concerned with the problem of landlord-tenant relationships, changes brought about by the aggressive implementation of the commercially-oriented "Green Revolution" have transformed traditional structures in the Philippine countryside. The technology tied to the high yielding seed varieties has increased production, but the costs have also risen. The result has been a decrease in the real incomes of most farmers, and continuing impoverishment.

POINTLESS LAND TRANSFERS

Thus, new and more insidious forces now confront farmer-cultivators and hired laborers. On top of (and sometimes, in place of) the traditional landlord ruling class, new masters have come forward as exemplified by landowner-entrepreneurs, distributors of technological inputs, rural bankers, owners of farm and post-harvest machinery, and marketing middlemen. In many farming regions, these new elite groups have come to appropriate the major share of the agricultural surplus.

For farmers caught in the web of the "Green Revolution," it would be pointless to simply transfer land ownership to them without paying proper attention to the



more pressing problems of spiralling costs of technological inputs, high interest rates, low farmgate prices for their products, and lack of access to and control over marketing facilities.

In many areas of the country, land ownership per se, has already lost its meaning. Small owners in Mindanao who have entered into long-term grower contracts with transnational corporations for banana and pineapple production have seen the de facto takeover of their lands by these firms. These growers have been reduced to the roles of farm overseers or labor contractors. They have also fallen deeply into debt to the TNCs for advances of production expenses. Giant transnational operations in Philippine agriculture have demonstrated that it is not necessary to own the land in order to control it.

The primary victims of these land usurpations are farmers who have long reached the stage still aspired for by tenants covered by the Marcos land reform program. These and other cases of corporate landgrabbing reveal the vulnerable state of small-scale private farming.

But perhaps the greatest omission of a tenant-oriented agrarian program (some would say, more accurately, a landlord-oriented approach) is the disregard shown for landless rural workers. This oversight becomes more

in the process of completing the thorough dismantling of the dictatorship's apparatus of repression, must extend the democratization process now going on in government to the agrarian sector. This way, the quality of life of the eight million or so agricultural workers, smallholders, and tenant-sharecroppers may be uplifted.

The following steps may be initially taken towards this end:

1. Declare that, as a matter of government policy, agrarian reform is to be applied to all croplands and for the benefit of the entire agricultural labor force.

2. Form a Presidential task force to study how such a policy may be implemented.

3. Reaffirm the constitutional provision that the exploitation of the country's natural resources can only be undertaken by Filipinos.

4. Immediately expropriate lands acquired by Marcos cronies through fraudulent means, order them to compensate those from whom the lands were seized, and return these properties to their rightful owners.

5. Immediately issue transfer certificates of title to all tenants covered by Operation Land Transfer without memoranda of encumbrances and regardless of each one's present status.

'As the land frontier has long been exhausted, the concept of individual land ownership no longer appears feasible.'

anomalous if one were to note that the overwhelming majority of the agricultural labor force belong to this forgotten sector. A 1979 study partly funded by the International Rice Research Institute has calculated that 66% of the rural working population at that time were landless workers. Most landless workers are situated below tenant-cultivators in the rural social ladder.

TRIBAL LANDS

The issue of tribal lands has also been left out. Where private landownership is, by tradition, virtually unknown or prohibited it becomes imperative that a special type of land tenure agreement compatible with tribal laws be instituted in these areas. Needless to say, the primary consideration is the upholding of the dignity and cultural heritage of tribal Filipinos and other non-Christian ethnic groups.

All of the above preliminary considerations show that land reform is not simply a matter of redistributing land to tenant-shareholders. Nor is it, as Marcos had tried unsuccessfully to do, a matter of forcing loans on farmers herded into pre-cooperative cells (i.e., the late and unlamented *Samahang Nayon* program). It requires a lot more political will than that which inspired the former dictator to issue P.D. 27 (the so-called Tenant Emancipation [*sic*] Act) in his own handwriting on October 27, 1972.

For notwithstanding the drama that accompanied P.D. 27, succeeding decrees on land use successfully encumbered and rendered useless the redistributive thrusts of agrarian reform. Laws such as G.O. 47 (on corporate rice farming) and P.D. 1159 (on agricultural investment incentives) were based on assumptions that patently contradicted the equity goals of land reform and went against the interests of beleaguered Filipino tenants. Thus, they provided the legal cover to legitimize large-scale landgrabbing by Marcos cronies and other vested interests which resulted in the physical ejection of actual cultivators.

INITIAL REFORM MEASURES

The revolutionary government of Corazon C. Aquino,

6. Rollback the prices of fertilizers and pesticides to pre-1983 levels.

7. Increase the support price for *palay*.

8. Lower interest rates on production loans to small farmers and write off all previous Masagana 99 debts.

9. Encourage the formation and growth of autonomous non-governmental rural organizations and institute guarantees against external interventions.

10. Rescind all illegal lease contracts for public agricultural lands with special reference to those entered into by private persons (local and foreign) with the National Development Company and other government entities.

11. Open all idle public and private farmlands for food crop cultivation by farmers' organizations.

12. Increase the wages of agricultural workers, do away with labor subcontracting, and limit the use of the piece-wage system.

The above measures can be implemented within a relatively short period of time. However, although these are necessary steps to improve agrarian conditions, they may not be sufficient to transform for the better the lives of the rural poor. Given the above discussion, more radical measures may have to be instituted in the long run.

For example, controls can be imposed on profits earned by agricultural corporations. More fundamental is the necessity for a rethinking of medieval concepts of private ownership which invest on the landowner absolute control over natural and human resources. As our historical experience shows, such backward ideas have been primarily responsible for the monopolization of land and concentration of the wealth in the hands of the favored few.

For future consideration, it is proposed that a more meaningful policy would be to declare the country's entire land resource as a common heritage of the Filipino people and that ultimate control over the disposition of the wealth it produces should rest in the hands of the actual cultivator. □

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We Shall Return

Continued from front page

staff Gen. Fabian Ver.

Mario Bañez, in charge of negotiations with police during one Embassy protest, boasted that former members of the Presidential Security Command and the dreaded National Intelligence and Security Agency were policing the event.

Both demonstrations and broadcasts were coordinated with the April 14 session of the defunct Batasan, which drew 93 members of the KBL and new breakaway parties.

The rump session passed four resolutions including one "voiding" Aquino's appointment of officers-in-charge in provinces formerly under the control of KBL governors and mayors.

Tolentino was proclaimed the standard-bearer of the new opposition and a vague call for civil disobedience was issued. Former Labor Minister Blas Ople predicted the "spontaneous" protests against the Aquino government "will continue to gather momentum" until Tolentino takes office as vice president.

It was clear that there is substantial financing behind the campaign for Marcos' return. Rally organizers had elaborate electronic equipment to broadcast live telephone hook-ups between Marcos and the demonstrations. Thousands of newly-printed pro-Marcos T-shirts were usually handed out and rallyists were reportedly given ₱50 each for attending.

'CLIMATE OF INSTABILITY'

Meanwhile, rumors and veiled threats of a military coup continued to waft through the air. Members of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement, appearing on a television talkshow, reassured viewers that there was no rift between Aquino and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

However, they added not so subtly, if the present situation should deteriorate, a coup should not be ruled out.

But all is not harmony. One member of the so-called RAM Quartet—the leadership of the reform movement—reportedly barged into Malacañang and threatened to have Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo and Saguisag, both former human rights lawyers, lynched. (See story, page 3.)

The government's plan to look into human rights violations under the Marcos regime has the military distinctly edgy because many, including members of the reform movement, have been named as torturers by a number of victims.

The combination of a nervous military and an active pro-Marcos movement is a dangerous one, something of which the more conscious members of the Marcos forces are highly aware.

Oliver Lozano, chairman of the "People's Crusade for Supremacy of the Constitution, Rule of Law and Due Process," told one reporter that his group hopes to create a "climate of instability" through the demonstrations.

At the same time, it hopes to gather five

million signatures on petitions asking Tolentino to assume the acting presidency in lieu of Marcos.

The key, however, is presenting the petitions to Enrile and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos who will be urged "not to object to the assumption of President Tolentino." This is to pave the way for the return of Marcos.

NEED FOR CONCESSIONS

The Aquino government is up against not only these blatant threats, but a number of so-called allies who are almost more trouble than they are worth.

Among those who united with Aquino during the election but are not being all that helpful to the president now is her own vice president, Salvador Laurel.

Laurel made no bones about the fact that he disapproved of the abolition of the Batasan, in which members of his own party, the United Nationalist Democratic Opposition, held a number of seats.

Laurel has further spoken out against the appointment of new local officials in place of Marcos' "elected" mayors and governors. A conventional politician, he is particularly galled because far more appointments are going to Pimentel's PDP-Laban than to Unido. At one point, Laurel let it be known that he was on the verge of quitting his post over his differences with the president.

The president herself leans toward PDP-Laban, a structured party with social democratic cadres. Unlike UNIDO, PDP-Laban holds a series of seminars for candidate members before they can join so no one can simply jump aboard.

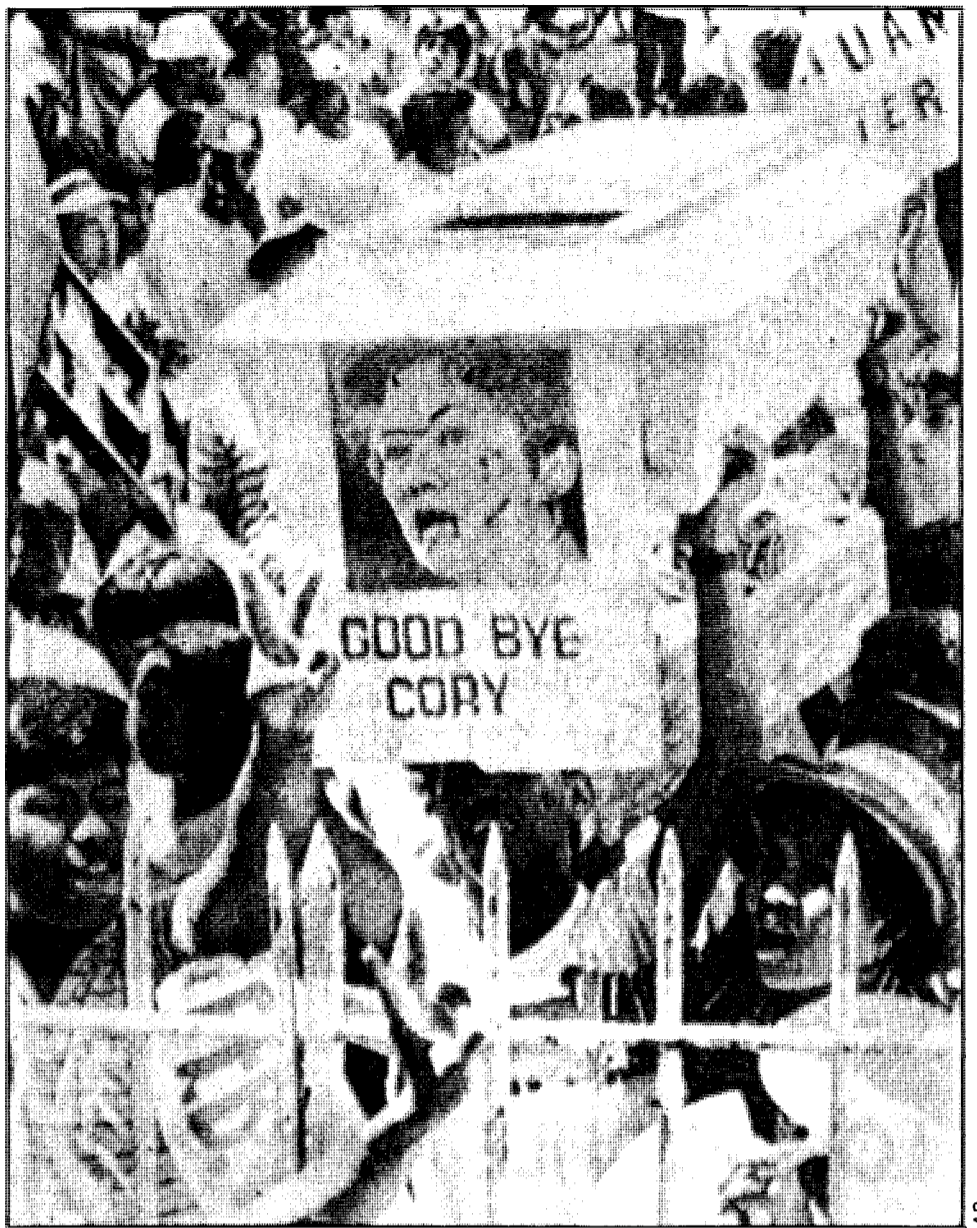
But observers such as Jose Ma. Sison, former chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, suggest that, in the interest of unity, Aquino may have to make some concessions in this area to Laurel and UNIDO.

VOCAL CRITICS

But while Laurel has hung on despite his complaints, he has done nothing to curb other, more vociferous members of UNIDO.

Thus, the party's secretary-general, Rene Espina, is now one of the most vocal critics of the Aquino government. Espina initially planned the rump session of the Batasan with Ople and the KBL. UNIDO's decision not to participate was a last-minute one.

Espina has called for the resignation of several cabinet ministers, in particular Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin whose company, Benguet Mining, was under the control of Benjamin Romualdez during the Marcos years. Speaking before a luncheon audience, Espina claimed that



A coffin for Aquino.

"the situation is now even worse than before" under Marcos.

Another oppositionist assemblyman during the Marcos years, Homobono Adaza, has openly aligned himself with the KBL by describing the appointment of new governors and mayors as not only "objectionable, but shocking."

'Sad to say, Cory Aquino got herself in trouble for being too kind.'

Adaza called on Pimentel to resign and described the Ministry of Local Governments the "most common violator" of the standards set by President Aquino.

Much of the newly liberated media has been less than supportive of the new regime in spite of the ongoing need to dismantle Philippine fascism. Some of the former opposition press have decided, in the name of "objectivity" to turn their guns on the new government. The *Daily Express* continues to run Teodoro Valencia, the former voice of Malacañang, whose whining tone and rightist politics have changed little.

Meanwhile, Marcos and his moves are widely reported. Max Soliven, writing in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, complained: "Sometimes I feel we should stop printing stories about that old fart Mr. Marcos who is slowly melting away in the Hawaiian sun."

Soliven added, "As for those discarded KBLs who are now trying to pass themselves off as birds of a different plumage, they still seem to dominate too many of our front pages."

A HEALTHY SIGN?

Some observers have expressed concern over the visible regrouping of pro-Marcos forces. They note in particular that some who attended the rump Batasan session were KBL *balimbings*—so named for a fruit which turns abruptly yellow, Aquino's color. These turncoats seemed to have jumped over the fence once again.

But most government officials, Aquino

included, are apparently not as concerned and even see the opposition as a healthy sign.

Few were surprised when Information Minister Teodoro Locsin told the media that the president did not think the Marcos demonstrations could grow into a threat to her government.

Pimentel described the Batasan session as "an assembly of disgruntled elements who are entitled to their own opinion."

Even her admirers criticized the president for her tolerance of the harassment and vandalism perpetuated by Marcos' supporters, driving her ultimately to announce, "I will respect their private grief, but my government will not tolerate its violent outpourings."

Many feel that this is not enough. Former Senator Jose Diokno, now chairman of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights, warned Aquino of people out to seek more and more power at her expense.

At the same time, he accused the defrocked assemblymen of indulging in "selfish activities that will merely advance their political interests."

Soliven had similar words for "malcontents in her own ranks—like those childish UNIDO MPs who are now trying to blackmail her."

'TOO KIND'

Soliven criticized Aquino's hesitance to confront her problems and her enemies directly.

"Sad to say, Cory Aquino got herself in trouble by being too kind," he noted. "She didn't want to declare her government 'revolutionary' since this might scare the pigeons as well as foreigners and bankers. She didn't want to arrest people, because grippers might say she was being 'just like Marcos.' She didn't want to abolish the Batasan until much too late, because she didn't want to be called dictator. She got herself called all those bad names anyway."

So far, Aquino has yet to make any effort to revitalize the people's movement that swept her into office.

This has supporters inside the country and abroad worried. As *National Midweek* magazine put it in an editorial, "Magnanimity in victory is a wondrous Christian virtue, but it must be remembered that the Somocistas who were magnanimously allowed to leave Nicaragua came back as vicious anti-Sandinista contras."

It added that people's power is needed "to prevent a similar attempt at fascist restoration here in the Philippines." □



BUOD NG MGA BALITA

BOSSSES WARY OF SANCHEZ

One of his first moves when he assumed the office of Labor Minister was to lambast multinational corporations doing business in the country for the "exploitation" of Filipino workers. Since then, Augusto Sanchez has been sending jitters across the business community and is apparently enjoying every controversial minute of it.

Aurelio Periquet, chairman of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said Sanchez' statements "tend to drive a wedge between owners of the country's productive assets and labor." Paul Whiting, president of the American Chamber of Commerce joined in the fray, hinting of a possible business backlash: "In my view, the Number One inhibition to foreign investments in this country will be the labor situation."

Whiting also speculated that Communist Party activity will intensify in the labor front as a way of recouping from the political setback it suffered during the February revolution. Whiting extolled the Philippine labor force as a "reasonably well educated, reasonably productive with a comparatively good working knowledge of English." Reasonably cheap too. While avoiding the word, Whiting and the MNC crowd know that what brings capital to the Philippines is the \$2.39/day minimum wage that was seldom if ever enforced by the Marcos regime.

Fortunately, the new labor minister does not mince words. Explaining to the press later what he meant by "exploitation," Sanchez said: "When you grab all your profits without regard to the rights of workers, that's exploitation. I don't know what else to call it."

Periquet complained that such words as "exploitation" and "profit-sharing" might scare away the businessmen the new government is trying to woo to create more jobs. Sanchez denied he was trying to create discord, saying "The thrust of what we're trying to do is to create good relations between labor and management. We're going to submit some ideas to the cabinet. Profit-sharing is just one of the concepts we've discussed. This is not a leftist idea or a Communist idea."

Others in the business community agreed and criticized Periquet for taking up the cudgels for the multinationals.

One diplomat opined: "They could triple [the minimum wage] and still be attractive. I can't see labor deteriorating."

Part of the business sector's kneejerk reaction is the plain fact that the tables have been turned on them. Former Minister of Labor Blas Ople was described as "management minded" and Marcos' labor laws were blatantly anti-labor. Sanchez' credentials have also made them nervous. An opposition member of the now-defunct parliament and a nationalist, Sanchez made his mark as a lawyer for the oppressed and repressed. Of the U.S. military's attempt to make him declare the strikes at Subic and Clark bases last month illegal, Sanchez said: "I didn't raise a finger. Why should I? The American military has never submitted to Philippine jurisdiction on labor matters here."

Labor unrest is sure to increase in the next period with 50 strikes now in progress, continuing a trend started in 1983. With a 20% unemployment rate and the era of contractual employment in the Middle East coming to an end, the Philippine labor scene promises to be hot if newly created jobs do not keep pace with unemployment rates.

Organized labor, hardened by the lessons of the New Society's "cheap labor investment schemes," is unlikely to temper its demands in exchange for "employment with no rights." With Sanchez as Labor Minister, labor may just get a fair break, if his head does not get broken first by those who do not like the way he talks. □

'SQUATTER POWER' CAUSES STIR

Manila's four million squatters are creating a stir with their exuberant display of "squatter power." Tent cities have sprouted up in vacant lots and real estate development projects in what critics call a "squatter invasion of private property." Manila's homeless have been staking out land claims using tapes and wooden pegs to draw boundaries that identify the new claimants like "Robles and Talavera Property," "Suarez," etc.

What caused the invasion? Housing authorities were taken aback by the seemingly timed and coordinated occurrences in Manila and elsewhere. While the squatters'

spokesmen denied there was a conspiracy, the highly-organized and militant urban poor communities appeared to be collecting on a campaign promise of President Aquino to champion the cause of the poor.

"All we want is for Cory to listen to our need for the lands. She will give it to us," Lena Domingo said insistently. In an unfinished low-income housing project, Alejandro Avila said: "We appeal to the president for the chance to occupy these apartments."

The president's office has not commented on the takeovers, but Housing Authority official Herminio Aquino has called the actions "illegal," and calculated to "embarrass the president." Ultimately, many believe the squatters may have to vacate, but when and by what means remains to be seen.

The Imelda Marcos solution to the squatter problem was a failed succession of strategies—from building tall walls to conceal the communities, to dumping squatters in faraway provincial "human settlements," to creating the BLISS programme.

Under the BLISS program of former Metro Manila Governor Imelda Marcos, apartment units were leased for ₱600 a month and won through lottery. Eventually, only moderate-income families were able to occupy the dwellings, while the urban poor communities continued to swell. President Aquino has inherited the problem. □

EX-DETAINEES TALK UP A STORM

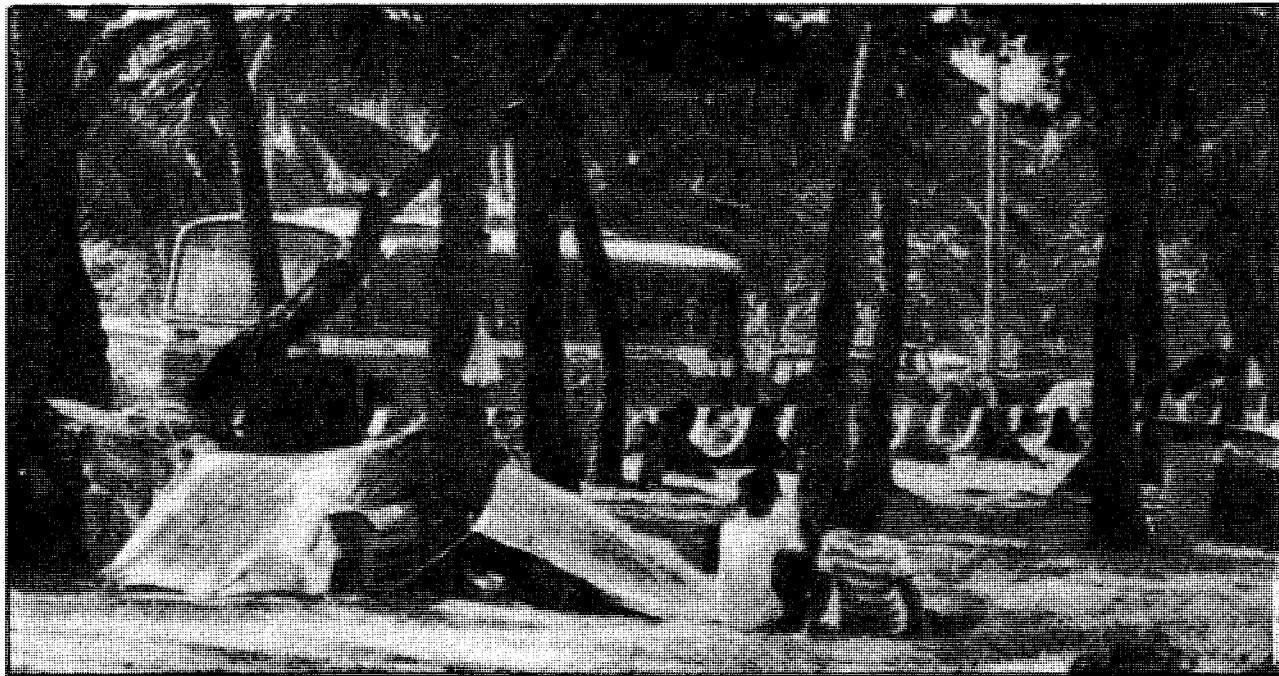
The hottest speakers on the lecture circuit today are those who were gagged, brutalized and imprisoned for speaking out during the Marcos years. Talking up a storm after nearly 10 years of detention, the top "pariahs" under the Marcos regime are giving their views on the Aquino government, the February revolution, and what lies ahead for progressives and nationalists.

Bernabe Buscayno, the enigmatic Commander Dante whose release, according to a popular joke, hinged on the mercies of two generals: General Amnesty and General Uprising, said a military junta was foiled when the discovery of the Enrile-Ramos coup plans by Marcos forced them to rely on People's Power.

With the potentials for an expansion of democratic rights and participation of progressive/left forces in the political arena, the "ex-dets," in particular Buscayno, still see the need for armed self-defense. "We know the reasons why we bore arms and fled to the mountains—because of armed repression and the absence of venues to air our grievances. These factors that pushed us to the mountains are still there. There is no basis to come down. Marcos was the purulence of the wound. But the wound and infection is still there. That's why there's a lot of work for people's power."

Fr. Ed de la Torre, twice-detained, said the potentials of Aquino's government arise from "the combination of Cory Aquino's personal character, vision, whatever she symbolizes and what they call 'People Power' which has its own ambiguities." The point is whether "Cory's personal agenda and the people's agenda will be turned into a government agenda."

On the possibility of a fascist comeback: "People are still wondering whether there might be a resurgence of authoritarianism. I don't think that's an immediate possibility. I see this as a process of movement away from authoritarianism first of all but also away from a more limited elite democracy towards a broader popular democracy. I feel that it is important that the people's power component develops, and for that you need more consciously organized forces there." □



Manila's homeless on Roxas Boulevard.

ODDS AND ENDS

FOR EVERY TERM, A HISTORY.

Major changeovers inevitably produce new fads and fancies. Topping women's list of what is "in" is the term "Gringo," which has replaced "Pabling," meaning playboy, in the popular lexicon. "Gringo," of course, is the nickname of Col. Gregorio Honasan, aide to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who played a prominent role in the February revolt. There are also new epithets for "last-minute converts" and favor seekers. "Balimbing," a sour fruit with many sides, is hurled at those who have a face for every occasion. "Sipsip" (pronounced "sip-seeep" to stress the point) on the other hand, is reserved for favor seekers, flunkies, string-pullers, bootlickers, and the like.

CORYGEIOUS WORDS. Speaking of meaningful words, President Cory Aquino has inspired

new ones. Some samples: What's the popular show running at the Malacañang Palace? Answer: "Cory-da." What do you call frugal officials? Answer: "Cory-put." What is a Band-Aid solution? "Cory-tas." Synonym for presidential charm: "Corysma." Synonym for right: "Cory-ect."

FASHIONATE REVENGE. Cristina Ponce Enrile, who kept a low-profile during the martial law years because Imelda feared being upstaged by the striking mestiza, has made a comeback. Mrs. Enrile has organized a fashion revue "Fashion Revolution 84.6" to benefit the repair work for the damaged broadcast tower of Radio Veritas.

LIGHTS, CAMERA, ACHTUNG. Never mind the corridas. The longest playing "zarzuela," is still a hit despite the fact that its main stars have upped and gone to Honolulu. Art will now imitate life if Filipino moviemakers have their way. The Fascinating Fascists are currently filmdom's great celluloid obsessions, and actors and actresses are being lined up to portray them. For "Da Apo," the choice leads are Luis Gonzales and Willie Nepomuceno (the great Marcos impersonator). For "Ma'am,"

the favorites are Gloria Romero, Susan Rocas, Elvira Manahan, and Charo Santos. For Imee . . . rumours have it that local "bombers" still have to pass the semifinals. For Cory, the people's choice is Laurice Guillen, and for Kris Aquino, the president's youngest daughter who nurses a desire to become an actress . . . film critics suggest, why not get her to play herself? Rebecca Quijano, everyone agrees, would still be second choice to Imelda Marcos for the lead role in "The Crying Lady."

PROUD AND DIVERSIFIED. Real estate hustler Joseph Bernstein, one of the now notorious Bernstein Brothers, is now spilling the beans on his famous patroness. He said that at a Manhattan restaurant, the First Lady, exultant over her hidden millions, waved her Swiss bank statement for all to see. Once, she paid a nocturnal visit to property she had bought. She stood outside the skyscraper for a full ten minutes, turned and said: "I'm kind of proud of it." Satisfied with her purchases, she boasted to Bernstein about her "diversified real estate portfolio." As far as Bernstein was concerned, her assets were exclusively commercial buildings, so he asked Imelda what she meant by "diversified." She replied: "I have real estate in the East Side, West Side, Uptown and Downtown." □

CAMDI Rolls Up Sleeves Again

By MADGE BELLO and
HILARY CROSBY

Ferdinand Marcos has been overthrown, but the tasks of Philippine solidarity activists remain. Thus, the newly renamed Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence (CAMDI), meeting on its 12th annual conference in Oakland April 4-6, mapped out an ambitious program of support for the democratic and nationalist movement in the post-Marcos era.

The gathering brought together over 130 activists from 10 cities in the U.S. and Canada.

Infused with the energy of "People's Power" straight from Manila, the conference received solidarity messages from some of the most progressive members of the Aquino government such as Augusto S. Sanchez, Minister of Labor, and Mita Pardo de Tavera, M.D., Minister of Social Services and Development.

The conferees also cheered messages from former political prisoners, including Jose Ma. Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and Bernabe Buscayno (Commander Dante), and from grassroots organizations such as the women's group GABRIELA and Health Action Information Network (see box).

Although many of the delegates have attended these conferences over the years, about a third came for the first time. "It's another celebration again and a very enriching experience," said Levi Betito, a CAMDI member from New York.

"The mood is very different," said Ia Rodriguez, a veteran. "While it's joyous, it's sobering as well," she said, referring to the new tasks ahead for the democratic forces inside and outside the Aquino government and for the CAMDI.



CAMDI members celebrated Marcos' downfall and planned work for coming year.

MORE THAN EVER

"Now, more than ever, we need a stronger anti-fascist movement to cleanse the country of Marcos' remnants," National Coordinator Geline Avila pointed out. In addition, she said, there is a need for a mass nationalist movement in the event of a polarization between the new government and the U.S. over the former's more progressive and nationalistic positions.

Reviewing CAMDI's work in the last leg of the dictatorship, Avila said the group made a correct decision in supporting the Aquino ticket during the election. "What initially was an electoral exercise turned into the forcible overthrow of the Marcos regime" she pointed out.

CAMDI has deep roots in the long

struggle for democracy and against fascism in the Philippines. It has been active since 1974, first as the Anti-Martial Law Coalition (AMLC) and then, after the fake lifting of martial law in 1981, as the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN).

Its 10 chapters in the U.S. and Canada have built institutions like the Congress Task Force, the Task Force on Philippine Labor, and the National Resource Center on Political Prisoners. Members lobbied Congress to cut aid to Marcos, sent petitions protesting prison conditions, led mass actions against Marcos government officials and in protest of U.S. backing for the regime, and raised material aid for anti-imperialist forces in the Philippines.

CAMDI members were active organizers in nationwide rallies and motorcades supporting the Aquino/Laurel ticket, and occupied consulates with other Aquino supporters during the last tumultuous hours of the dictatorship. In all, these actions included "an average of 10 public events per city joined by about 13,300 people," according to Fely Villasin, CAMDI co-coordinator. "Our propaganda output reached close to 100,000 pieces."

POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Panels, followed by mass discussions, analyzed the key problems facing the Philippines in the post-Marcos era.

Eddie Escultura, *Ang Katipunan* staffer, said that there are encouraging possibilities for the Philippine economy because the people's good will and support from local

business and foreign countries are initial advantages the Aquino government can count on. But there are obstacles as well.

"The Aquino government can only move so far," he said. "Its good intentions will ultimately meet limitations posed by class structures. It will require another People's power movement to break these barriers and blaze the path towards economic emancipation."

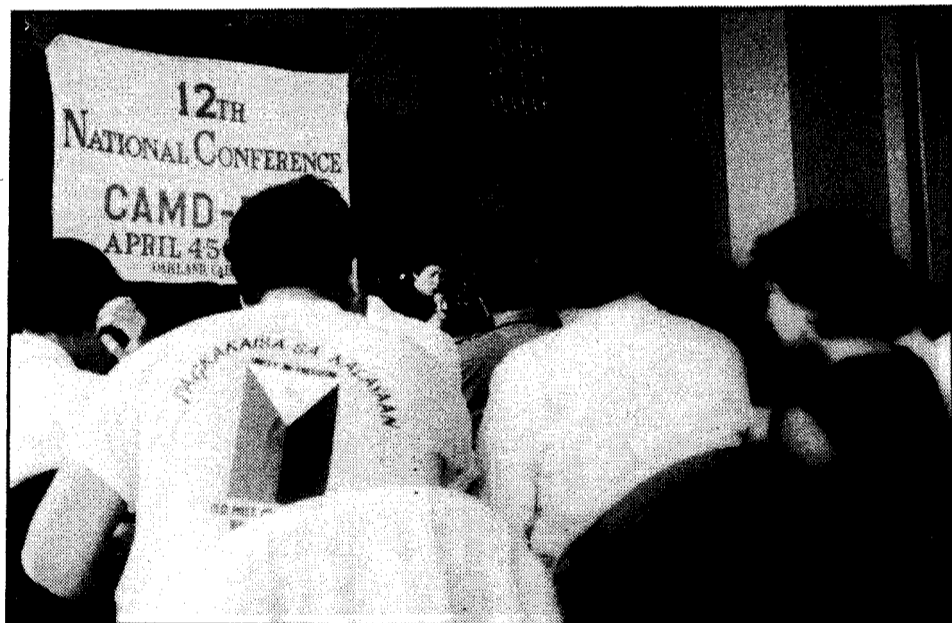
Discussing the Philippine military, Inday Refi, director of the Institute for Filipino Resources and Information, said it poses the biggest challenge to the Aquino government. "It is the most organized force within the government and has the most number of supporters of the old regime." As such, she concluded, it is the biggest obstacle to the complete dismantling of fascism.

Odetta Taverna, director of CAMDI's CTF said the Aquino government should welcome aid from the U.S. but not be totally dependent on it. The country, she said, needs to diversify its sources of assistance, especially from nations with whom it can have a more equitable relationship. This way, the U.S. may have a harder time setting unreasonable conditions.

"We fully expect the U.S. administration to apply the most heavy-handed pressures to prevent the new civilian government from taking a nationalist path of development," Villasin said.

Rene Ciria Cruz, *AK* editor, returned on the eve of the conference from his first trip to the Philippines since before the imposition of martial law. Cruz reported

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Messages of Solidarity (Excerpts)

I congratulate you for having done well your share in overthrowing the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Let us celebrate the victory of our people. At the same time, let us heighten the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. Let us root out the causes of fascist dictatorship and strive for the total victory of the national democratic revolution.

Jose Ma. Sison

The CAMD/PSN can develop the appropriate means through which it can lend both moral and material support to the Filipino people's struggle for liberation and genuine democracy and give substance to the principled unity between progressive forces on the American continent and revolutionary forces in the Philippines. I am sure that whatever differences there may be between their viewpoints can be subsumed by the common effort to combat imperialism in the fulfillment of every progressive's duty to the whole of humanity. I wish the CAMD/PSN a successful conference and a bright future.

Ka. Dante (Bernabe Buscayno)

CAMD/PSN, in whatever name it will come out after this conference, must support the democratization process now in progress in the Philippines until we all shall have succeeded in bringing about a truly nationalist and democratic order.

Isagani R. Serrano

In the past, CAMD/PSN has achieved noteworthy accomplishments. I am confident that in the new government, CAMD/PSN will remain a partner in the country's efforts towards a much needed national reconstruction. May you have a fruitful conference.

Augusto S. Sanchez
Minister of Labor

Natitiyak naming napapasainyo ang taos-pusong pasasalamat ng mamamayan ngayon at ng mga sumusunod na salinlahi. Ito'y pasasalamat at pagmamalaki sa pagkakaisa at pagmamalasakit ng mga kaibigan at kababangyang di-nawawalay dagat ma'y namamagitan.

GABRIELA

Your organization's interest and concern for our country is very inspiring and is indicative of your members' commitment to the cause of freedom and justice. During the dark days of our struggle against the dictatorship, your organization's solidarity with our cause was a source of strength and fortitude for us.

Mita Pardo de Tavera, M.D.
Minister of Social Service and Development

With faith in our people and trust in their strength, KAAKBAY will meet the challenges that lie ahead. It is sure that, in this task, CAMD/PSN will work with it to foster the welfare and happiness of the Filipino people. May many fruitful years lie in store for CAMD/PSN!

Jose W. Diokno
Chairman, Kilusan sa Kapangyarihan at Karapatan ng Bayan (KAAKBAY)

As artists and cultural workers, and as citizens of the land, we share in your resolve to persevere in the struggle against the remnants of the dictatorship and against the forces of exploitation and oppression that mock our national sovereignty and block the road to progress and dignity. In this task we look forward to your continued support and solidarity.

Concerned Artists of the Philippines

OTHER SOLIDARITY MESSAGES

Women's Solidarity in the Philippines; Health Action Information Network; Francisco Campbell, Minister/Councilor, Embassy of Nicaragua, Washington, D.C.; John George, Member, Board of Supervisors, Alameda County; Grantland Johnson, Councilmember, City of Sacramento; Dianne Feinstein, Mayor, City of San Francisco; Ronald Dellums, Member of U.S. Congress, House of Representatives; Dan Heap, Member of Parliament, Toronto, Canada; Alan Cranston, Member, U.S. Senate; Rafael Fernando, Chair, Liberal Party, Los Angeles Chapter and West Coast Coordinator

Continued on page 14

Seattle Murders: The Plot Thickens

By VINCE REYES

New evidence has surfaced linking one of Marcos' close friends in the San Francisco-Bay Area to the murders of Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) activists and Seattle union leaders Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

A *San Francisco Examiner* report fingered Dr. Leonilo Malabed, a wealthy Bay Area physician, and his Mabuhay Corporation as possible conduits for Marcos government intelligence funds.

The links were made when documents Marcos brought with him from the Philippines were released by the U.S. government. The Mabuhay Corporation was listed as receiving \$506,683 in Philippine government funds for "special security projects." The Mabuhay Corporation had earlier been targeted as a depository for illegal campaign funds Marcos funneled to U.S. candidates through Malabed.

SPY FUND

Michael Withey, attorney for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, filed a motion in a Seattle federal court last April 10, asking Malabed to produce documents proving that the Mabuhay Corporation channelled funds to Constantine "Tony" Baruso to pay the hit men belonging to the Tulisan gang.

Baruso, former ILWU Local 37 president, owned the gun that was used in the killings and witnesses established he met with one of the killers two days before the murders. Despite this, he has not been prosecuted. Three members of the Tulisan gang were found guilty and are now serving life sentences.

Withey further obtained evidence showing that Baruso travelled to San Francisco in January 1981, May 17, 1981 and August 1981. Matching Baruso's travel calendar, the Marcos documents list Mabuhay Corporation disbursements of \$33,000 on January 21, 1981, \$15,000 on May 17 and \$15,000 in August.

INTERMEDIARY

"There is no doubt in our minds that Malabed gave the money to Baruso on



Cindy Domingo

May 17, 1981 who then gave \$5,000 each to the Tulisan triggermen," said Terri Mast, Local 37 president and Domingo's widow.

"Obviously, the money originated from Malacañang Palace under the direction of Marcos and Ver, then found its way into the slush fund of "special security projects" of the Mabuhay Corporation, she explained.

Mast said the evidence on the documents found with Marcos "confirm our charges that the murder plot was hatched and paid for by Marcos men and that Baruso acted as an intermediary between agents of the Philippine government and the hit men."

SPY NETWORK

The 1981 murders of Domingo and Viernes in their union offices in Seattle, drew attention to the presence of a Marcos spy network in the U.S. Filipino community.

Both activists were outspoken Marcos critics and Viernes had just returned from the Philippines where he had met with anti-Marcos labor unions.

U.S. intelligence sources said Viernes was suspected of giving \$290,000 to Philippine leftists, a speculation dismissed by the victims' colleagues as "grossly unfounded."

Domingo and Viernes were also instrumental in getting the International Long-



Dr. Leonilo Malabed

shoremen and Warehousemen's Union to support the militant labor movement in the Philippines.

Marcos has been served a subpoena and a hearing is set for April 28 in Hawaii. Attorneys for Marcos, however, are arguing that a 1983 State Department request for immunity is still valid and that he does not have to appear.

Cindy Domingo, CJDV spokesperson, however, countered that Marcos can not claim any type of diplomatic immunity when he is not even a head of state—"even the president of the United States would have to comply with this type of deposition." Meanwhile, Malabed is awaiting deposition hearings in mid-May in San Francisco.

U.S. AGENCIES MUM

The Domingo/Viernes case took another twist on April 14 when the CJDV deposed 10 U.S. government agencies asking them for documents pertaining to the case.

Among the agencies targeted were the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the National Security Agency (which monitored intelligence cables regarding the recent U.S. attack on Libya), and the Central Intelligence Agency.

"All of the agencies said they wouldn't supply us with information, that they

would need National Security Clearance," explained Domingo.

"The INS admitted they have documents but they would not turn them over because we do not have National Security Clearance. The CIA sent a letter saying they would not give us information because it would be too burdensome and costly and that even if they were to find documents, they would be classified anyway," Domingo added.

BELLI LAWSUIT

Meanwhile, in San Francisco, Attorney Melvin Belli may file yet another suit against Marcos on behalf of ex-political detainees.

Last month, Belli filed suit (*see last issue*) for damages on behalf of ex-detainees who accused Marcos of torture and illegal detention. Marcos won a delay against Belli's depositions on technical grounds.

Belli used the intervening time to serve Marcos with interrogatories (additional questions to be answered under penalty of perjury) regarding financial assets in California. Disclosure of assets would prove Marcos' ability to pay for damages suffered by the former prisoners.

"Marcos' answers to the interrogatories were evasive," said Attorney Randall Scarlett representing Belli's office. "Marcos claims he has no financial contacts with the Bay Area yet he admitted to the press that he did."

"We also asked if he ever gave any campaign donations to U.S. candidates running for public office," Scarlett continued. "Even though it is widely reported that he did, he denies or objects on innocuous grounds—and remember, he is doing this under perjury."

Scarlett hopes the courts will not condone any of Marcos' evasive action. "I'd rather get to the merits of the case and cut through the procedural delays."

If the defense cannot win on substance, Scarlett said, they will try to win on procedure. Marcos' lawyers—Anderson, Hibel, Neuheim and Blair in Washington, D.C.—are trying to have the suit dismissed.

Belli's second case involves Vicente

Continued on page 15

Consulates Feel Shake-Up

By MADGE BELLO

Slowly but inevitably, the effects of government shake-ups in the Philippines are being felt by consular offices here.

Former vice-president Emmanuel Pelaez has arrived and has already met with leaders of the former opposition. He is expected to present his credentials as the new ambassador to the U.S. in the coming weeks.

Except for Chicago Consul General Eliotero Espino, other consuls have been recalled. Honolulu Consul General Raul Rabe resigned his post prior to the Marcos downfall and has joined Pelaez' staff in Washington, D.C. Armando Fernandez (Los Angeles), Jose Syjuco (Seattle), Romeo Arguelles (San Francisco), Ernesto Pineda (New York), and Rod Severino (Houston) have been recalled and will return to the Philippines in early May.

Those who have been recalled, according to San Francisco Vice Consul Tessie Marzan, have "overstayed their appointments." An appointment lasts only eight years and an officer is either re-assigned elsewhere or recalled to the home office in Manila.

Transitions are going smoothly, reported Marzan who has been in the service for 30 years. "New appointments are expected to be announced after May 18."

CAREER V. POLITICS

Movement for a Free Philippines mem-

ber Susan Rufino, who was recently appointed coordinator of the Good Government Commission in San Francisco, said she would like to see political activists appointed to consular posts but the limited number of people with foreign service training might not make that possible.

"Apparently, there are tensions in the Foreign Ministry over appointments," said Rufino, "as a delicate balance between foreign service training and political affiliations has to be struck in filling these positions."

One way to correct the problem, she said, is to make the Foreign Service Exams more readily available. "The test is administered only when a vacancy arises, which makes it difficult for many aspirants."

MEETING WITH PELAEZ

Pelaez served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Vice President during the Macapagal administration from 1962 to 1966. He survived an assassination attempt in 1981, when his car was riddled with bullets that killed his chauffeur. Many believe it was connected to his opposition to a levy imposed by the coconut monopoly.

Meeting with former opposition groups in San Francisco on April 18, Pelaez sought suggestions for improving the effectiveness of the consular offices.

The leaders of the MFP, Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence, the Ninoy Aquino Movement, and Friends of Cory Aquino suggested that consulates must repair their



Emmanuel Pelaez



Recalled consul Romeo Arguelles

damaged relations with the community.

Citing past consulate behavior towards the Philippine opposition, they felt strongly that consideration should be given to appointing personnel who are open to building good relationships with the community.

Pelaez revealed that his priority is not so much improving relations with the U.S. government but mobilizing the support of Filipinos for the democratic government. Pelaez allowed Consul General Arguelles to continue his duties until May 14. He also allocated a budget and finalized arrangements for the Good Government Commission to use all office facilities of the consulate and gave it access to all records necessary to pursue the investigation of anomalies under the Marcos regime.

A cursory review of consulates across the country reveals that there is excess in staffing. Many of the positions are unnecessary, according to Fely Villasin, CAMDI Coordinator and a special agent for the Commission on Good Government. Some were created to accommodate personal favors. "Others, such as the monitoring the opposition, were not consular functions at all," chided Villasin.

OVERSTAFFING

Philippine American News editor Gil Roy Gorre found that Los Angeles Consul Lt. Col. Rafael Galvez was funded from NISA to spy on the opposition. Even the shipping of donations for medical supplies to the Philippine General Hospital required the consular title of "PGH Coordinator."

Continued on page 14

For the Philippines—Spring 1986

The Pantheon of freedom has found a new Goddess
says the orator

From out of the kitchen
catapulted by history
pole vaulting by blood debt into leadership
Husband killed as he disembarks
She does not go back on the next plane
Planes and plans and phone calls pass
Meetings, memoos and more murders

"She is not beautiful" said Imelda Marcos
"She doesn't wear nail polish"
Ferdinand Marcos said
"Madam, the one who killed your husband is dead
Go back to the kitchen
or parties in the dining room
Select your widow's weeds"
But no weeds grew where she tread
only orchids stopping tanks
human barricades of People's Power

A power birthing a new Goddess
The Goddess of People's Power
born when the islands of the Philippines
oppressed, indebted and impoverished
overwhelmed all the odds
against their separateness
their many languages
The People's Army away in the mountains
when the people were on the move in the cities and towns
with crooked elections pollwatchers died to straighten
People's Power
A mighty force
sister to volcano, tornado and tidal wave
Elemental as processions, spring rites and marriage
Coupling the winning couple
Benigno and Corazon
Now Corazon
Three years later
would he know you as the same woman?
People's Power
a sunshower hailing victory
bringing you from domesticity to foreign debt
double dealing and military bases
Embraced by strange allies already scheming
The orchid scent lingers in the breeze
as the generals maneuver from plot to plot
across the string of islands
the masses untangled
to reweave
turning their hopes towards you Corazon
though their power remains in themselves

An old U.S. pop tune
toppled Marcos down
"Tie a yellow ribbon round the old oak tree"
the returning exile Benigno crooned to his fans
But as the welcoming yellow banners
shirts and skirts rippled
The Manila airport turned blood red

Marcos declared himself President again
People's Power erupted
and the whole world watched it on tv
U.S. President Reagan put out
clean sheets for his new guests
choosing any army base they liked
to protect the stolen wealth shoved in
and the trail of sausages dangling behind
their hasty retreat
from the citizen's wrath
Outcasts they roam
But there is no room at the inn

And the braided yellow ribbons bounce along
the back of the barefoot girl
running on the shore
skipping from island to island
rejoicing and singing
a hymn to freedom

Nina Serrano ©1986

Nina Serrano, author of "Heartsongs" (1980) and three full-length plays, is a well-known poet in San Francisco's literary and political communities. She co-authored a play in 1968 with the late Salvadoran revolutionary writer Roque Dalton and has won two international film-making awards for "Que Hacer" (Venice, Italy, 1972) and "Despues de Terremoto/After the Earthquake" (Krakow, Poland, 1979). She also narrated "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo," which was nominated for an Oscar this year. Serrano co-chairs the Friends of Nicaraguan Culture.



T. Rocamora



T. Rocamora



T. Rocamora

Now that she with steady fingers

can turn off the news without having to decide
between Marcos or Laurel
or some dark horse from the NPA
that is best for her homeland,
Now that she can type other people's words
and weigh postal parcels without wondering
when she would take up newswriting again
and be anxious over deadlines;
Her money earned without much thinking
and spent without being haunted by hungry little mouths
that mine the garbage heaps of Manila
for plastic, glass, and metal scraps.

Now that a kind man from a distant land
Sleeps by her side and calls her wife
And she does not think she's missing out
On what's going on at the press club . . .

Now then, ignorance and innocence become one virtue,
A bliss without guilt descends upon her.
She has concerns still, but these involve
The mortgage payment on the house
And whether they could afford to send the children
to college. She feels so much richer
and secure by far that she actually is.

At her bravest, or even in the less courageous hours,
When she worries about who or how
had been her husband's old loves,
or whether she'd make it on time
for work in the morning,
what to cook for dinner
or where they would be driving to
during the weekend —

A kind of boring middle-class contentment
rekindles her faith
that life is not cruel, after all,
that one could go back in history
to savor the occasional peace
in between the occasional turmoil —

Thus extend this peace day after day
Until it wraps her very being, and watch her own people
albeit distantly

Grow somehow, anyhow
Until both she and they are ripe
To reach redemption.

Marie C. Pruden
San Francisco, CA



T. Rocamora

For those too busy to care

Sorry we missed you,
where were you?
I'll send you a postcard sometime:
"Miss you. Wish you were here. The tropics
are advancing in the heat."
Even the rottenest writers of the crappiest TV shows
had a glimmer about it, but they lied
and you believed them.
Not Hikmet, not Otto Rene Castillo, Brecht, Bulosan,
not June Jordan, not those women rising up.
It was what Tolstoy wrote War & Peace about
and what Dostoyevsky had attacks of anxiety about
for thousands of pages on end.
But like the dead Indian infant you got left behind
left in the dark on the roadside
in the richest country in the world you were illiterate
in practice if not in truth
like those third world children retarded for lack of protein
you would never mature
you never had a chance
if only because you never decided
to take it
to seize it
to make the time

yours.

You lost the hope of passion
and the passion of hope
(People were talking about it
talking talking talking
but you forgot
to listen, to what it was
you were listening
for.)
Because you did not struggle
against the person
the ruling class made you be,
you did not learn anew your part
the integrity of activism was lost to you
the years passed like days and the days passed like minutes
you lost the precious seconds that were all it might have
In time you were trapped,
and then none of it was yours: not the decisions,
not the lies,
not the bitter and salty acts.
Like the starving in the social machinations of their deaths
(all that was their own) you
(like the dead children) did not grow
in the struggle

you did not struggle
and now each of the tiny children who in their millions
starve to death each minute, each day, each year
are curled, sleeping
in your sleep
dreaming you may one morning awake
(and they with you, one morning you find yourself
not alone—hindi ka nag-iisa—and in your hand a smaller
awakening.
To come to life
and to live.

Sesshu Foster
Los Angeles, CA

Sesshu Foster is a frequent contributor to Voices.

Pandaraya

Kinakaskas na ang mukha ni Cory sa pader
Kinakayod na ang ngiti ni Ferdie sa poste
Gabundok ang basura at polyetos
Sabuyan man ng deodorant ang paligid
Mapanghi pa rin ang bakas ng nagdaang eleksiyon.

Itiniklop na ang mga adorno at kurtina
Nakapikit na ang lente ng mga kamera
Pilay ang mga upuan, nakanganga ang mga mesa
Nakasaklay ang hangin, pumatak dugong sariwa
Lumapot ito sa alikabok na tisa
Dumaloy sa ngalan ng huwad na balota.

Binaklas na ang mga entablado
Agawan ultimong pako
Gumaragal na ang makinarya ng pambobola
Gumiling ang mga telebisyon, radyo at peryodiko
Hindi makasaliw ang mga minamalat na typewriter
Hilong-hilo, sumusuka ang mga computer
Umiling, walang gana pati mga asong matyag
Nakangiwi ang buwitreng akmang sasalakay.

Ay, ay, naku, tayo ay mga laruang nilalaro
De-pindot, de-bateryang luluhod, sasaludo o sisirko
Aasa sa tambiola, loterya, or kaya karera ng usa laban sa suso
Pupusta sa kampeon, kakampi sa dehado
Itataya ang bituka, isasanla pati salin-lahi
Ito ang sugal ng panahon na aking nagisnang
Kawing-kawing na batas na bumansot sa lipunan
Marupok na sistemang nagwawasak sa ating kasaysayan.

R.C. Dacquel
Vallejo, CA

Caspar

Continued from page 5

and the press, that any non-communist Philippine government will see their self-interest in maintaining the bases. To many, it sounded more like a threat than a statement of fact.

Aquino's allies within her administration thus have their work cut out for them. The U.S. clearly plans to fight for the bases no matter what the president and the people's movement may choose.

It will be assisted in this effort early this month when one of the most pro-U.S., pro-bases members of her administration, Vice President and Foreign Minister Salvador Laurel, meets with Ronald Reagan at the Bali summit conference of ASEAN foreign ministers. A visit from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is scheduled in the near future to maintain the pressure.

'MINI-MARSHALL PLAN'

Meanwhile, the very day Weinberger stopped in Manila, Philippine Finance Minister Jaime V. Ongpin appeared in

Washington lobbying for aid from the International Monetary Fund and the U.S.

In Manila that same day, the Asian Development Bank extended a \$100 million loan. One half of the loan was granted interest-free, to be repaid in 40 years. The remainder came at a more conventional rate—9.65%, payable in 20 years.

But Ongpin may not find a similar deal in Washington where there is no such thing as a free, or even reasonably priced, lunch.

Even U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston's proposed "Mini-Marshall Plan" designed to promote Philippine economic recovery has a catch.

Cranston admits that his idea is to make the U.S. come across so friendly that the Philippine government will want to retain the bases.

"Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Australia will be helping. European nations, particularly Italy, France, Great Britain, and others have indicated that they would also be helping," Cranston told the *Philippine News*.

But a good deal more than generosity motivates such international aid. The Marshall Plan, designed to help Western Europe reconstruct in the wake of World War II, was also meant to purge the region of strong leftwing influence. □

New Party

Continued from page 5

has a "strong bias against industrialization and for agriculture. He wants an agrarian paradise of oranges, mangoes and shrimps."

As to the military, "There may be honest elements who transformed themselves, but because the duration of this revolt was so short, there are those who simply joined the Reform Movement without really transforming themselves. The time was too short for a real conversion."

THREE-WAY CRUNCH

Sison told the press that Aquino faces "dangers" from three different directions if she fails to solve the country's fundamental problems within her first year. The first—currently the most visible of these—is the Marcos faction which hopes to re-establish itself with or without Ferdinand.

Next, Sison pointed to the military. Since Aquino has not yet won its unswerving loyalty, a military coup remains a continuing threat and a topic of coffee shop gossip.

Finally, according to the former communist chief, there is the pressure from the New People's Army. Sison speculated that the problems inherited from Marcos might drive Aquino closer to a partnership with the United States. This, in turn, will aggravate the insurgents and make reconciliation more and more difficult.

RECONCILIATION

The reconciliation process, Sison explains, is a complex one and should not be

limited to the actual process of negotiations with the CPP.

It would be wise, Sison said, for the Aquino government to give priority to economic, social and political restructuring to remove "all inequities vestiges of the previous regime."

He also said the term "ceasefire" must be defined because there is ceasefire as truce or armistice and "ceasefire" meaning surrender. The revolutionaries, Sison said, "will never surrender."

No ceasefire can take place, he claimed, without "unilateral acts of good will" by the government. However, the release of political prisoners, he said, was a positive and important gesture. Sison also praised the restoration of civil liberties.

Queried as to whether he had been asked to serve on the government commission to conduct such negotiations, Sison replied that he would not accept the position if he were asked.

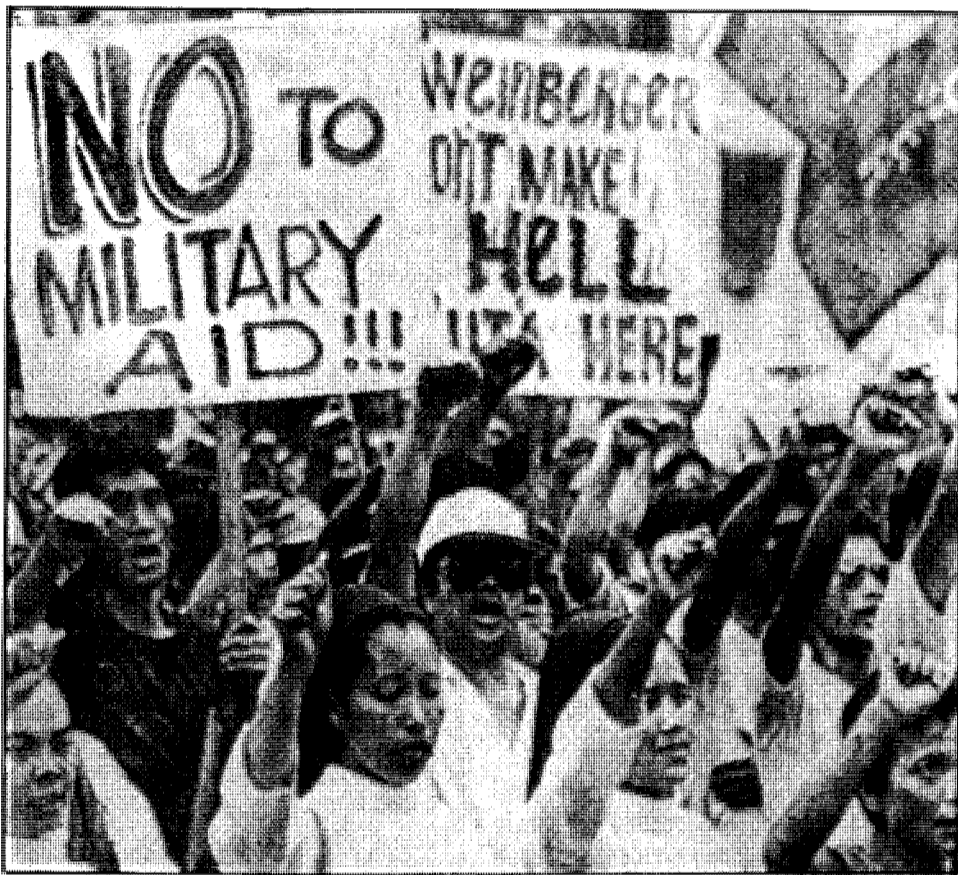
"The burden is too heavy . . . I don't think I am competent to be in it," he said.

Former NPA leader Bernabe Buscayno, however, expressed his willingness to nominate seven qualified individuals to serve on the negotiating team.

But Aquino announced last April 20 that she was not interested in negotiating with intermediaries.

"Negotiations will be with the top leadership of the Communist Party or there will be none," she said at the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines.

Sison did express willingness to serve on the commission to draft a new constitution if chosen by Aquino. "The people in the commission should be trusted by both sides," he noted, "especially the side of the revolutionaries. The side of the government is going to have to do some bending backwards." □



'No to Intervention'—A different welcome.

Consulate

Continued from page 11

Trimming personnel is one of the major steps the new government is taking. This move is expected to save the government a large sum of money. The Los Angeles consulate has reduced its staff from 47 to 18.

Apart from scaling down the staff, others see the need to professionalize the consulates. Complaints had been raised that some of the staff did not even have office administration skills or good telephone demeanor.

"We're looking forward to efficient and better ties with the consulates," said Therese Rodriguez, a CAMDI member in New York who is working with the Good Government Commission there. "I hope they won't concern themselves too much with beauty queen balls or being *ninang* and *ninong* at baptisms and weddings. There's a new role they can play in strengthening the community's support for democracy."

OPPOSITION APPOINTEES

Some former oppositionists have been appointed to official posts.

Eric Furbeyre, a photojournalist and NAM member in Los Angeles, is now information officer for Los Angeles and San Francisco and will administer the National Media Production Center in the West Coast. Another Los Angeles NAM mem-

ber, Danny Lamila, was named Presidential Adviser on Foreign Investment.

In Seattle, Dr. Jessie Ang and Annie Tigdig Cadar of NAM are continuing to function as officers-in-charge while MFP member Buddy Gomez has been running the Honolulu Consulate. An officer-in-charge carries the same responsibility as an acting consul-general, except that they do not have the official diplomatic ranking.

MFP member Ducky Paredes is the new press officer in Honolulu, while Henry Tuazon has filled in the newly-created Community Liaison desk in Washington, D.C.

GOOD GOVERNMENT BODY

A large number of activists have been asked by the U.S. representative of the Good Government Commission, Boni Gillego, to help in probing the Marcos' hidden wealth.

The GGC, headed by former senator Jovito Salonga, is charged with retrieving Marcos hidden wealth. Gillego of MFP is overall responsible for the work here. Severina Rivera of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York has been coordinating the Commission's legal work. Rafael Fernando of NAM is overall West Coast Coordinator. Professor Belinda Aquino is in charge of work in Hawaii while Steve Psinakis is special adviser to the Commission.

Good Government Commission appointees are not paid for their work. Scores of volunteers are staffing commission offices in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, fielding tips and pursuing leads. □

CAMDI

Continued from page 10

on the left's beginning reassessment of the effect of its boycott of the elections. He also reported on efforts by independent progressive groups to organize the People's Power movement that brought Aquino to the presidency.

NEW TASKS

The conference pledged itself:

- to help the anti-fascist movement in its efforts to guarantee a more democratic terrain for debate over the path of Philippine development,

- to support the Filipino people's struggle to end neo-colonial control by U.S. imperialism; to support the Filipino people's aspirations for a non-aligned foreign policy, a nuclear-free Pacific and a zone of neutrality in the Asian region;

- to continue to forge unity within the whole democratic movement in the U.S. and Canadian Filipino communities; and

- to continue to seek support and solidarity from the American and Canadian people for the just struggle of the Filipino people for genuine democracy and independence.

SOLIDARITY NIGHT

In their traditional "Solidarity Night," the delegates took a break and regaled 300 Bay Area supporters with skits, songs and poetry from every chapter in the U.S. and Canada.

Greetings came from U.S. elected officials including Congressman Ron Dellums, Senator Alan Cranston and even San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, who gave Marcos the key to San Francisco when he was here in 1983. Canadian member of Parliament Dan Heap also sent greetings.

Throughout the program, the emcees read solidarity messages from labor leaders and elected officials in the U.S. and Canada. Spokespeople of the Ninoy Aquino Movement, the Friends of Cory Aquino, and the Movement for a Free Philippines delivered messages in person.

"I know the strength and support the

Filipino community has given us over the years will be there," said Avila. "We can count on them as we pursue our new tasks."

The program ended with a rousing rendition of *Bayan Ko*, the anthem of the Filipino people's struggle for true democracy. The crowd raised their arms to display the "L" which signified the Aquino candidacy. As the song ended, the "Ls" closed into fists and the CAMDI embarked on another year of struggle. □

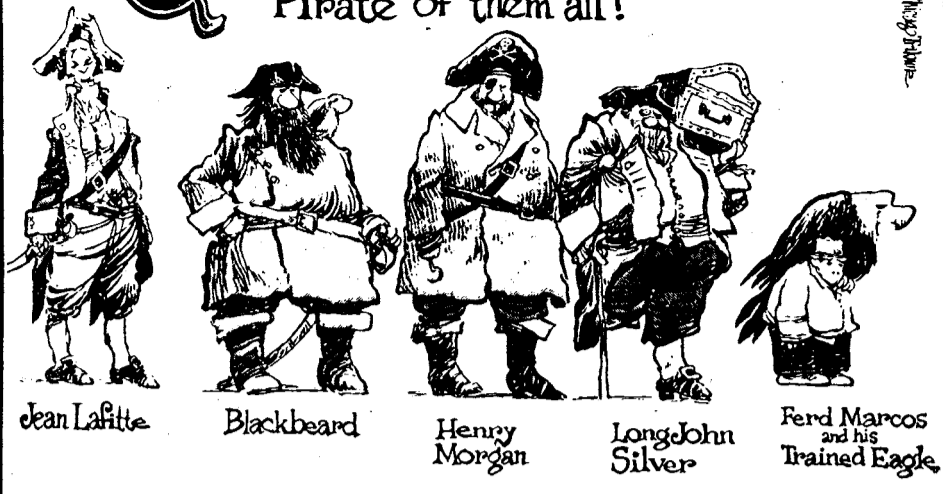
Messages

Continued from page 10

of the Presidential Commission for Good Government; KABAYAN, Washington, D.C.; Socialist Democratic Party of the Philippines, Washington, D.C. chapter; Philippine National Day Committee 1986 of Toronto, Canada; Canadian Campaign for Philippine Reconstruction, Toronto, Canada; United Filipino-American Association of City College of San Francisco; Tulong Sa Bayan, Los Angeles; Movement for a Free Philippines, San Francisco-Bay Area chapter; Ninoy Aquino Movement, San Francisco; Movement for a Free Philippines, New York; Friends of Cory Aquino, San Francisco; Walter Johnson, Sec.-Treasurer, S.F. Labor Council; Rey Pascua, President, Washington Federation of State Employees Local 843; Robert Barnes, Sec.-Treasurer, Ship Scalers, Dry Dock & Miscellaneous Boat Yard Workers Union Local 541, Seattle, WA; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Cannery Workers Local 37; United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, District Council No. 17, William Johnson, President; George A. Davis, Sec.-Treasurer, and Reeva Olson, Senior Business Representative, Office and Professional Employees Local 3, San Francisco; Labor Committee on Central America, Seattle, WA; Francis A. Quinn, Bishop of Sacramento Catholic Diocese; Sacramento Peace Center; American Friends Service Committee, Ann Stever, Executive Secretary, Seattle, WA; Committee in Solidarity with the People of Iran, No. California; Frontline Committee, Sacramento; Somos Hermanas, San Francisco; San Francisco Bay Area Peace Council; Salvapresse, Montreal, Quebec; Committee for a Democratic Palestine; Tamil Refugee Project, Montreal Comite de Solidarite Disparus Tiers-Monde; Friends of Nicaraguan Culture; Casa Chile, San Francisco; Canadian Action for Nicaragua; Peace and Solidarity Alliance; Palestinian Women's Association; November 29th Committee for Palestine; Nancy Wolforth, Vice President, Office and Professional Employees Local 3.

Q: Who was the most successful Pirate of them all?

WEEKLY



Poor Boy

Continued from page 6

parties. Two brothers, Joseph and Ralph Bernstein, New York real estate dealers who refused to reveal their links with the Marcos family, finally "squealed" in the face of contempt charges. They bared numerous details linking the Marcoses with over \$350 million in New York real estate.

In California, a suit has been filed seeking to freeze property owned by Imelda's brother Armando T. Romualdez. In Texas, the Philippine government is suing Marcos for \$500 million in real estate and \$1

billion in damages.

Although the value of Marcos' real estate investments in the U.S. is already substantial, another \$80 million are stashed away in Swiss banks, behind a shield of regulations and laws that protect the identity of the depositors.

SWISS SQUEEZE

The Swiss government, in an unprecedented move, froze all of Marcos' Swiss assets, but one banker called it "a pragmatic decision and I hope it sets no precedent." Another banker said, "Imelda Marcos' 3,000 pairs of shoes and all those designer dresses influenced the government."

In order to prolong the emergency action taken by the Swiss and win the right to withdraw the money, Manila must file criminal charges against the Marcoses

significant role in any of these forums of government:

POLITICAL BATTLE

Implied in Sison's projections is the recognition that the left has much strategizing to do in the upcoming period. While militarily fending off AFP encroachments, it has to simultaneously give equal attention to the battle in the political arena.

Negotiating the conditions for a ceasefire with the new government will be a formidable task in itself, a new challenge for which the Left will have to develop new and untested tactics.

Topping the Left's agenda is the task of reasserting its moral and political superiority in comparison with the deodorized, rightist forces in the military who became overnight heroes during the February uprising.

Among other things, this delicate task will undoubtedly require a skillful combination of concessions and demands to win over and strengthen the liberal forces grouped around Aquino while allowing them room to outmaneuver and outflank Enrile, Ramos, and their supporters.

Already, the strains between the liberals and the rightists are deepening around the issues of amnesty for the insurgents, a mutually agreeable ceasefire, and the investigation of past military abuses by an Aquino-appointed Commission on Human Rights.

ACHILLES HEEL

Some Left strategists believe that iso-

and prove that the money was acquired by illegal means in Switzerland.

The clear-cut trail that links Imelda Marcos' New York spending sprees with withdrawals from the New York branch of the Philippine National Bank should satisfy this stipulation. These withdrawals were reimbursed from funds in the presidential intelligence account on Marcos' personal orders. Also, there is documented proof that Marcos withdrew \$500 million from the national treasury to finance his re-election campaign.

However, Ferdinand and Imelda used pseudonyms, William Sanders and Jane Ryan, respectively, to protect their identities as depositors. Also, if money is deposited on behalf of a non-citizen by a Swiss attorney or trust company, the assurance that the depositor is known and believed not to be criminal is sufficient to protect an account.

WALKING A TIGHTROPE

Meanwhile, it is not yet clear what the Reagan administration is willing to do by way of assisting Manila's efforts. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Reagan has the power to:

- freeze Marcos' assets while litigation is taking place;
- require everyone in the U.S. with knowledge about Marcos' assets to report that information to the Treasury Department under threat of civil and criminal sanctions for failure to comply;
- guarantee to enforce any judgments against the Marcos family obtained in U.S. courts.

Justice Department officials admitted that such steps have been rejected for

lating the rightists in the government may not be enough to really put the military on the run. They regard as equally crucial the need to create differentiations within the military itself. While Enrile and Ramos continue to ride the crest of their new-found popularity, there may be other elements within the ranks whose approach to the insurgency is closer to Aquino's reconciliationist posture.

But it will be difficult to widen any possible cracks for as long as Enrile and Ramos can unite the ranks on the proposition that the AFP is the victim, not the exacerbator of the insurgency.

And the two have every reason to put up a smokescreen for as long as they can. Their new-found popularity notwithstanding, the public clamor for the prosecution of past military crimes—a demand apparently shared by certain true reformists in the military—has not died down. Pro-U.S. rightists in the military know this is their Achilles heel. □

Seattle

Continued from page 11

Clemente, Jose Asuncion, Susan Araneta, Rex T. Brown, Ramon Jalipa, Don Fabric, Eugenia Torres, and Apolinario Madayag. Another suit will be filed the week of April 28 adding at least 15 more names of ex-political prisoners.

now. An official from the department said last March, "we're walking a tightrope. We're trying to support the new government without offending Marcos."

A freeze of Marcos' assets would make it impossible for him even to cash a check. But major banks typically oppose asset freeze because they provoke flights of capital out of the U.S. Asset freeze "sends a signal that our financial markets aren't safe," according to a top New York attorney.

LOOT, MORE LOOT

Meanwhile, new reports of more Marcos treasures keep cropping up.

U.S. customs officials have valued at \$4 million the jewelry the Marcoses brought with them in diaper boxes and plastic garbage bags.

In Australia, the *Sunday Telegraph* of Sydney said Marcos tried to sell more than \$20 billion in gold from a cache left in the Philippines by Japanese occupation forces.

A certain T.C.B. Tan, a middleman close to Marcos' son, Bong Bong, offered the gold to a broker in Sydney who in turn set up a deal with an Arab consortium in London because the stockpile was too big for any Australian buyer. But Marcos was deposed before the deal was finalized. Tan said the gold had been transferred from a Philippine cave to storage in Hong Kong, England, the U.S., Singapore, Switzerland, Panama, and the Netherland Antilles.

Meanwhile, in Honolulu, the exiled patriarch is still fond of telling the press that he is only living off handouts from loyal followers in the island. □

JOMA CHARGES MARCOS

In other actions, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California filed a suit on behalf of Jose Ma. Sison and Jaime Piopongco.

Sison, the alleged chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines was arrested in 1977 and held without charges for eight years. He was tortured and kept in solitary confinement for most of his imprisonment. Sison is joined in the suit by his mother, Florentina Sison, and brother, Ramon Sison, who both live in the U.S. They also charge that another member of their family, Francisco Sison, was murdered by the Marcos regime in 1971 when he disappeared on his way to work as a government advisor.

Piopongco was arrested and tortured after his radio station was shut down by Marcos agents when martial law was declared in 1972.

Marcos and his military chief of staff, Gen. Fabian Ver, are being charged with torture, arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and political killing. ACLU hopes to win punitive damages for its clients.

ACLU Legal Director Paul Hoffman stated that now that Marcos resides in the U.S., the federal courts have jurisdiction over him. "It is not appropriate for human rights violators to come to this nation seeking protection from the legal consequences of their conduct," said Hoffman. □

Counter-insurgency

Continued from page 3

Given the sharpening confrontation between the military and the NPA, the road to a ceasefire may be a tortuous undertaking for all parties involved.

As former CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison earlier suggested, the halting of hostilities does not appear to be within the immediate horizon. Sison outlined a two-stage process that must precede a successful truce between the warring parties.

The first step, Sison said, "involves the improvement of the situation to the extent that the climate for national reconciliation becomes overwhelming."

If the government follows its stated course of giving priority to economic and social restructuring to "remove all inequitable vestiges of the previous regime," Sison sees the first stage quickly leading to the next.

The second and most difficult stage, according to Sison, would involve actual negotiations between the CPP and the highest officials of the new government.

These negotiations, Sison said, could result in an agreement to form a "people's coalition council, coalition government or a coalition in an elected legislature." He expects the revolutionary forces to play a



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U.S. Raid on Libya Backfires



Raid aftermath: Rubble and craters, 37 dead and scores injured.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

When the U.S. bombed Libya's capital city of Tripoli and three other targets April 14, the Reagan administration was taken aback by the universal condemnation this elicited abroad, even among the closest of its allies.

After years of portraying Libya's leader Col. Moammar Qaddafi as a madman, the U.S. expected at least general acquiescence for its action.

The air strike was supposedly in retaliation for the "terrorism" committed against U.S. citizens and Europeans by "terrorists trained and financed by Qaddafi."

With the exception of Britain, which gave logistical support to the operation, and Israel and Canada which stood firmly behind the U.S., Washington's NATO allies criticized the attack as counter-productive, in violation of international law, and barbaric.

Italy criticized the attack and West Germany was skeptical of the U.S. claim that Libya was behind the bombing of a discotheque in West Berlin which triggered the U.S. retaliatory air strike.

France and Spain refused the U.S. warplanes from Britain passage over their territories. The planes had to take a 2,800-mile detour to reach Libya. This lack of cooperation, especially by France, continues to upset the U.S.

BRINK OF DESTRUCTION

In Britain, general disapproval of Prime Minister Thatcher's role in the attack was graphically expressed both in the streets and the British parliament.

At a stormy session of the House of Commons Thatcher was heckled by angry parliamentarians. Dennis Healy of the British Labor Party deplored Reagan's "comic-strip and Rambo-like" approach to international relations while another opposition leader called Thatcher a dog in Reagan's leash.

The Soviets protested by cancelling the scheduled preparatory meeting for the coming summit and pledged to rebuild Libya's defenses. The attack, said the Soviets, brought humanity to the brink of destruction. "Imagine what would happen to humanity if the Soviet Union does what the U.S. did in the international arena?" said the Soviet statement. The Soviets lost seven technicians among the 30 people killed in the previous March 26 U.S. raid in the Gulf of Sidra.

These criticisms were matched by the

angry demonstrations that exploded in European capitals after the attack.

The non-aligned movement joined the chorus of criticisms and denounced the attack. Cuba, India, the Sudan, and several African nations sent observers to inspect the damage.

ARABS UNITE

But even more important to Qaddafi, the entire Arab world closed ranks behind him. Despite the conflicts that have traditionally divided the Arab nations, the U.S. attack on Libya fueled nationalism and unity.

In the face of adverse world opinion, the U.S. media once again became a not-so-subtle extension of the State Department. ABC's *Nightline* host Ted Koppel practically pleaded to cynical European officials to stand behind the United States.

Liberals such as Speaker Tip O'Neill and Senator Alan Cranston applauded Ronald Reagan's action. Only a handful of legislators, including Rep. Ron Dellums, were critical of the U.S. action. Recent polls showed that the majority of Americans backed the raid.

Americans tend to subscribe to the notion promoted by their government that Qaddafi is the source of all "terrorism." Among the skeptics, however, was former hostage Rev. Benjamin Weir who was released by his Lebanese captors last year. Weir found no link between his captors and Libya and said that terrorism in the Middle East stems from so much anger at the U.S. for supporting Israel. The bombing of Libya, he said, only intensifies this anger.

Weir said the anger has something to do with the Palestinian problem. (When Palestine was occupied by the Zionists with the creation of Israel in 1948, under the British and U.S. sponsorship, millions of Palestinians were forcibly evicted from their homeland and scattered throughout the Arab World. Now there are about four million Palestinian refugees.)

CYNICISM

Most former hostages and their families, as well as the relatives of those still in captivity, generally share the same cynicism. They are particularly critical of Washington's refusal to establish a dialogue with the captors. One former hostage highly critical of the military action noted that Qaddafi attempted to establish a dialogue with the U.S. but the latter rejected the idea.

The recent attack on Libya only endangered the lives of the hostages not

because Libya has control over them but because their captors have so much sympathy for Libya. Indeed, British and American hostages and citizens have been executed in retaliation for the attack.

Former president Jimmy Carter criticized Reagan, saying that if his daughter Amy had been killed like Qaddafi's infant daughter, he too would try to take revenge for the rest of his life.

U.S. allies also think "terrorism" cannot be attributed to any single group or individual and that the overthrow of Qaddafi will not resolve the problem. Former CIA deputy chief Edward Inman recognized "terrorism" as a new form of warfare resorted to by weak and small nations or forces in response to a bigger power.

Libya itself has condemned individual acts of terrorism and hostage-taking. But it categorically supports liberation movements, especially in the Middle East and South Africa. Ideologically, the U.S. is determined to establish "terrorism" as the buzzword for national liberation movements.

MUSCLE FLEXING

The U.S. air strike was the most awesome expression so far of this administration's use of military force in pursuit of political goals.

Emboldened by the domestic support for the invasion of Grenada in 1983, Washington wanted to flex its muscle to punish a country that has challenged its political designs. Libya was particularly vulnerable. Years of anti-Arab propaganda prepared the U.S. public for an eventual attack. The chauvinism was enhanced by weeks of provocation and build-up focused on Tripoli.

The timing of the attack was also significant, coming on the eve of the Congressional vote on aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*. Although the aid request was temporarily quashed through skillful legislative maneuvering by the opposition, the air strike allowed Reagan to reassert his capacity to engage in direct military action as a weapon of diplomacy. In an effort to turn the current tide of public opinion against direct military action in Nicaragua, Reagan accused the Sandinistas of "building another Libya" in the region.

The strike also had the effect of daring the Soviets who already suffered casualties in the previous Gulf of Sidra "surgical attack."

LIBYAN PROBLEM

Washington's "Libyan problem" began in 1969 when Qaddafi, then a 27-year-old army officer, led a coup that deposed the

ruling monarchy and established democratic-populist rule. He was influenced by another nationalist, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt who led the non-aligned movement and was a thorn in the U.S. side.

A year after the coup, Qaddafi expelled the two large U.S. military bases and nationalized vital industries. He then established cordial relations with Moscow and began supporting liberation movements, especially the Palestinian cause. (Among others, he backed the Muslim secessionist movement in the Philippines.) Since then Qaddafi has backed the non-aligned movement and supported revolutionary governments, including Sandinista rule in Nicaragua.

For a while Washington engaged in wishful thinking, hoping that pressures from the U.S. would create enough dissensions to oust Qaddafi. But the CIA, with all its sophistication, failed to cultivate any serious challengers within the Libyan military.

Qaddafi effectively utilized Libya's vast oil wealth in uplifting the quality of life of the Libyan people and gained tremendous popular support in the process. He instituted massive social reforms, including advances in education and the emancipation of women.

GREEN BOOK SOCIALISM

Qaddafi's vision of socialism is set forth in his "Green Book." His program broadly calls for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, especially land.

With big strides in industrialization and mechanization of agriculture, Libya has emerged as one of the more developed nations in the region. Its close ties to the socialist bloc ensure more equitable trade relations. Libya has been able to overcome the ravages of the earlier British occupation and raise the standard of living of its 3.5 million people.

Qaddafi broadened popular democracy through the creation of revolutionary committees and the institutionalization of town meetings. He armed the population by establishing people's militias.

The U.S. did not look kindly at the direction Libya was taking. Qaddafi has not only challenged the U.S. openly by supporting liberation movements, he has shown by example what popular democracy, economic reforms, close links with the socialist community and independence from U.S. domination can do for a country.

Thus, U.S. economic, diplomatic and now military pressures were aimed at undermining Qaddafi's leadership. Washington hoped that the pressures would impel the Libyans to overthrow Qaddafi.

When this failed, the U.S. opted for a direct hit to eliminate Qaddafi. There was therefore an unabashed, though premature, expressions of satisfaction on the part of the administration and the media when no word of Qaddafi was heard immediately after the raid. With Qaddafi's reappearance, the U.S. has promoted the speculation that he has been shorn of actual power, if he is not in danger of an internal coup.

But as the Europeans have cautioned the U.S., the military action against Libya was counterproductive. It united the Arab nations, drove a wedge in the Western alliance, dampened the prospects for peace—thus increasing the pressure from jittery Europeans against the arms race and for arms control, reactivated the anti-war movement in Western Europe, and politically isolated the U.S. in the international community.

The attack on Libya gave Moscow an opportunity to advance another proposal for peace: demilitarize the Mediterranean by withdrawing all foreign military forces from the area. Reagan has yet to give a serious reply. □