

# Ang Katipunan

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## PERFECTING DEMOCRACY — U.S.-MARCOS STYLE



By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

Washington must be breathing a sigh of relief," wrote correspondent Paul Quinn-Judge in the June 6 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"For the last 10 months Washington has been distancing itself from the Marcos regime, pressing for clean elections and hoping for revitalization of the political middle ground.

"The elections were not exactly clean, but the middle ground does seem to have been revitalized."

Quinn-Judge's comments, though on target, were not precise enough. For Washington remains divided on the question of Philippine politics. This accounts for the sometimes contradictory signals emanating from the capitol.

The dominant Reaganites are the ones heaving a sigh of relief. They now hope that the revitalization of UNIDO-type oppositionists will serve as a safety valve for an angry population. The May 14 elections were also meant to neutralize Marcos' critics abroad and to soothe international lenders who are anxious over the regime's political stability.

Liberals in Congress and elsewhere are unhappy over the cheating that marked the polls. But for them, the strong showing of the participating oppositionists is proof that there is still time to restore a pro-U.S. liberal democracy in the Philippines.

As to the middle ground, that slice revitalized by the *Batasan Pambansa* elections is actually a narrow one. The umbrella organization known as the United Nationalist Democratic Organization—59 of whose members won *Batasan* seats in the elections—represents only those political moderates willing to play ball with the U.S. and possibly Marcos himself. So far, more moderates lean towards joining

forces with the left in campaigns that seek fundamental change in Philippine politics.

### TOKEN LIBERAL VOICE

As Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) observed, the elections at least temporarily neutralized Washington's liberal camp. The far more immediate question of Central America has given them a convenient excuse to place the Philippine question on the back burner. Though the office of Sen. Ted Kennedy issued a call for a recount of the ballots due to fraud, essentially, according to his office, "It's not on the agenda." An aide to Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY) who was planning a Philippine trip cancelled it indefinitely.

One of the few voices still to articulate the liberal position in the wake of the elections is that of Dr. Richard Kessler. Kessler, a token liberal in the reactionary Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, wrote in a *New York Times* op ed, "[T]he elections made clear [Marcos] is not the only game in town . . . the Filipino people have spoken with one voice calling for an alternative to Marcos' one-man rule."

The Georgetown scholar urged Reagan to issue a statement praising the Filipino people's support for the electoral process and concern that former Senator Benigno Aquino's assassin be brought to justice. U.S. military and economic aid, he suggested, should be made dependent upon Marcos' willingness to share power with the opposition.

"In the future, our aid program should be redesigned to support a new generation of Filipino leaders and reduce the extended economic influence of the Marcoses' family and friends."

### KIRKPATRICK ON THE SCENE

But the majority of liberal minds and voices are elsewhere, leaving the field

clear for the Reaganites, who were obviously delighted with the results of May 14.

To express that sentiment in person, Reagan dispatched his most consistent foreign policy spokesperson. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, arch-conservative U.S. Representative to the United Nations, arrived in Manila May 29, the highest-ranking U.S. official to visit the Philippines since the Aquino assassination.

"When you've got elections that provide a choice and a big turnout and an opportunity for active citizens' participation and verification of the results, you are on a very good path," she told a press conference. "I wish you godspeed in the continuous perfection of your democracy."

Ever the defender of authoritarianism, she added, "There are a good many democratic constitutions that provide some decree-making powers."

New U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth remained decorously quiet. An embassy political officer, however, expressed pleasure over the "clean" elections and the fact that many oppositionists won.

### COURTING PIMENTEL

But while U.S. officials are patting Marcos on the back for a job well done, they are at the same time busy hunting up a successor.

U.S. Embassy personnel have launched a serious courtship of key figures among the newly-elected *Batasan* members. They are particularly interested in the younger, non-radical politicians and civic leaders.

Key among these is Mayor Aquilino Pimentel of Cagayan de Oro City. As Quinn-Judge puts it, "Pimentel's presidential ambitions are clear and his politics seem quite malleable."

Others on the U.S. list of presidential material come from the business world. But both Enrique Zobel and Jaime Ongpin

have already let it be known that they are not interested.

### COJUANGCO IS HOT

The U.S., on the other hand, is not particularly enthusiastic about presidential crony Eduardo Cojuangco, currently the hottest succession candidate within the Marcos camp. Washington has also made it known that it does not view Mrs. Marcos as a credible possibility—reportedly via former Ambassador Michael Armacost (*see related story, page 6*).

Scenarios for 1987 include Marcos retiring prior to the presidential elections;

Continued on page 6

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## Marcos' Death Squad Innovations

It seems that in the community of dictators, Ferdinand Marcos stands out as an innovator, perhaps even a trendsetter in repressive arts. Marcos was tinkering with plebiscites and elections years before Chile's Augusto Pinochet even tried his hand at one. Surely, the American architects of the vaunted Salvadoran elections learned a thing or two from the previous Philippine experiments. Now, Marcos wants to contribute yet another breakthrough: legal, legit, and "human rights certification-free" death squads.

Marcos' 1,000 "secret police marshalls" are openly proclaimed and deputized as "anti-crime" shock troops—licensed to shoot first and ask questions later. The secret police marshalls are obviously very bad shots, having managed to kill 24 suspects in four days despite supposed government instructions to "shoot-and-maim" only. The suspects are presumed guilty and dead unless they are lucky enough to be maimed, thereby getting their chance to be proven innocent.

That they deliberately operate on a very broad definition of crime is officially acknowledged. Maj. Gen. Prospero Olivas stated gratuitously that his boys have been very busy because they also have to deal with "fundraisers for the New People's Army." Meaning, the targets of summary justice can be broadened easily to include people suspected of political wrongdoings.

These Filipino death squads do not have to scrupulously cover up their links with the government.

Unlike the Salvadoran "Maximiliano Hernandez Anti-Communist Brigade" they don't have to zealously guard their anonymity. But they are no less lethal than their Central American counterparts. When the marshalls were first activated in August 1982 they killed 106 people, 47 of them in three weeks.

Since the secret marshalls are officially deputized as "crime fighters" (unlike the Central American death squads) the Reagan administration is not compelled to be defensive about their existence. In fact, Marcos and Reagan seem to celebrate every important juncture of their relationship with an open show of force. The marshalls were unveiled in 1982 as Marcos left to get his official embrace at the White House. Right about the time of this state visit, 3,000 U.S. and Philippine troops staged a mock invasion of Luzon. Now, the marshalls were again unleashed—after an election that was deemed satisfactory by the White House. Again, both governments announced another joint military exercise.

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeanne Kirkpatrick took a look at the fraudulent elections and told Marcos, "We wish you godspeed in the continuing efforts to perfect your democracy." Considering what Marcos is refining nowadays we can only dread the advent of Kirkpatrick's perfect democracy. □

## High Court High Jinks

It's not a dream. The Supreme Court actually decided June 20 by a 7-2 vote that undocumented aliens are entitled to the protections of federal labor law. For example, they cannot be deported in retaliation for their efforts to organize a union. But there

is actually nothing to be thankful for.

The decision will have a short life if the Simpson/Mazzoli immigration bill passed by the House last week becomes law. The new law would make it *illegal* to employ undocumented aliens, making the Court's decision worthless. In fact, the court may have known this all along and decided to come down with a just ruling for once (one that is destined to be moot) only to protect its image—especially after the spate of unjust decisions it has handed down of late.

Key among these unjust rulings is the decision to strike down superseniority. Now, minorities who may have secured their jobs through affirmative action have no protection against the "last hired, first fired" principle that rules the workplace. Affirmative action was in the first place, designed to overcome the discrimination suffered by minorities who have always been the "last hired." Superseniority was meant to prevent them from being "first fired." But what the Civil Rights movement giveth, the Supreme Court taketh away.

The mentality that governs the High Court, especially this Court, is both reflective, and supportive of the racial assumptions that rule this society. Superseniority, the Court knew, was unpopular among the white sections of the working public. Thus, the decision was easy to make. This just shows how far the more privileged white American workers have to go politically and ideologically before unity as a class can be achieved. It shows too how critical it is for those at the lower rungs, especially the non-whites and foreign born, to grapple with the question of political empowerment. In this regard, the Rev. Jesse Jackson's mass-based Rainbow efforts have offered a glimpse of the possibilities. May that movement gather momentum. □



## Litter from Manila



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

## We Need the Debt Squads

The Japanese government will give financial aid to the Philippine government despite opposition efforts to block the promised loan. Japan's foreign minister Shintaro Abe said his government "will go ahead" but explained why they had initial hesitations. It had nothing to do with opposition lobbying but with the depressed value of our currency. Abe said they were initially afraid to give the loan "because your money is like *perang Hapon*."\*

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President Marcos recently lauded the outgoing Interim Batasang Pambansa for six years of work and for setting the transition to the new parliamentary system from the "decades-old check-and-balance

\*Super-devalued money issued by the Japanese in the Philippines during World War II—Ed.

presidential system." The FL (First Lady) echoed the President: "I didn't like the old system of check-and-balance myself. Now, I do the checks and the Ministry of Finance does the balancing."

Speaking of the FL, as HS Minister (Human Settlements), she also called for a sports foundation and the heightening of the SHAPE program (Sports, Health, Physical Education) of the UL (University of Life). She hopes the CB (Central Bank) will clear the dollars she needs for imported equipment. Why sports? She wants to share the secret of her success: "You have to muscle your way to the top." Besides, without athletics our people will always be TIRED (Timid, Irritable, Restless, Exasperated, or Dead).

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What's all the fuss I hear about the debt squads? What's wrong about the government having debt squads? The way the economy is going we need them to keep the social order from falling apart. Without these disciplined teams of technocrats especially-trained to detect, locate and hit potential international lenders for loans (no matter how hard they try to hide or disguise their assets) our streets would be on fire with food riots and flow with blood from the rampant terrorism of criminal elements who are always trying to get ahead of the line in the stores.

What's wrong with our debt squads is their poor aim. They haven't hit any credit source for any substantial loans. Sometimes they leave poorly covered tracks after an operation—like the \$600 million overstatement of

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## MOVING?

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

our reserves which hardboiled World Bank-IMF sleuths caught. If debt squad commander Cesar Virata cannot prevent such bunglings and operate with stealth, accuracy, and accounting secrecy, he should turn in his calculator and close up shop. I say NEVER MIND.

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Kenya, according to Newsweek, is producing wine out of papaya of a quality as good as grape wine. Can you imagine the possibilities for the Philippines if we had the advanced Kenyan technology? I discovered another dollar earning potential right under our noses. Not that. Elections. Economic indices showed that per capita income rose during the campaign period. Meaning, people can make a living by voting. Can you imagine the possibilities? The government should seriously consider turning elections into a basic industry.

Our techniques are far ahead of anyone else's technology on this—and there is a growing international market for votes. Ask U.S. ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick who visited here after the elections. We could be the vote capital of the world. El Salvador's Bobby D'Aubuisson could have easily beaten Nappy Duarte if he only knew where to order the stuff. We better get on the ball before the enterprising South Koreans get the jump on us, as usual. □

# Claro M. Recto: A Politico-Turned-Political Visionary



By CARLA MARIANO

On October 2, 1960, when Claro Mayo Recto suddenly died in a hospital in Rome, rumor spread like wildfire that he was secretly poisoned by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Considering the political controversy that had surrounded the man, the rumor was not easy to ignore.

For Claro M. Recto, at the time of his death, was being attacked in his own country as a communist for his role in reviving the nationalism that eventually swept pre-martial law Philippines and that is now the raging undercurrent of the protests against the Marcos dictatorship. Recto strongly advocated severing the "special relationship, unequal and inequitable," between the Philippines and the United States.

To the many who believed the rumor, Recto's theses on economic nationalism, foreign policy and opposition to the U.S. military bases in the Philippines were reasons enough for the U.S. intelligence agency to plot his death.

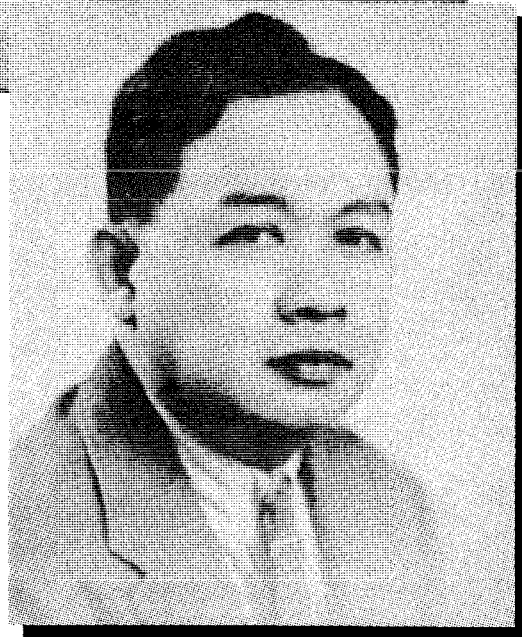
Recto did not have humble beginnings. He was a member of the "ilustrado" class, a scion of a landed family from Batangas province. His political education started in 1913 under the tutelage of Vicente Ilustre, a member of the U.S. colonial regime's Philippine Commission. Ilustre was a mentor who divided society into a "directing class" and an "entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses."

This was the time of diminishing Spanish influence, when the leaders of his class, dictated by their sense of survival, accepted the new occupying force—the Americans. The ilustrados convinced themselves, rather too successfully, that through a demonstration of their talents and ability, they could secure the nation's liberty by peaceful means.

Don Claro's political involvement was weaned in this period. Inevitably, he too, surrendered his anti-American sentiments which had been fired only by his Castilian upbringing and education. He accepted the emerging political order and participated in the game of power, of which the American colonizer was the new dispenser.

## CONVENTIONAL POLITICS

Quickly, Recto developed into a conventional politician whose politics were shaped primarily by party



**Recto's political education started in 1913 under the tutelage of Vicente Ilustre, a member of the U.S. colonial regime's Philippine Commission. Ilustre was a mentor who divided society into a 'directing class' and an 'entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses.'**

interests and personal ambition. The political inconsistencies he displayed in the early part of his career were true to his class' motivation: the preservation of property and social position.

A typical example was his speech before the Rotary Club on September 13, 1934. Recto, having attained the exalted position of President of the Constitutional Convention and eyeing yet another much sought after post, that of justice of the Supreme Court, openly praised the colonial master:

"We have seen that our fear was unfounded. America's record in this country has belied the statements of those who would picture the American people as imperialistic in their dealings with our people. Instead of imperialism we have altruism; instead of selfishness we have cooperation; instead of retention we will soon have independence..."

Earlier, as an oppositionist in the House, he had vehemently fought the proposal of the party in power to call for a constitutional assembly—the very body that he was now presiding over. He had argued that a constitution that was truly Filipino could not be drafted under colonial auspices.

In later years, he was to assail the role that conventional politicians like him played in helping the U.S. maintain a puppet regime. In a 1960 commencement address at the University of the Philippines, Recto stated: "All over the period of American colonization, they allowed themselves to become more and more the tools of colonial rule and less and less the interpreters of the people's will and ideals."

## GREAT DEBATE

How his politics evolved into a coherent and genuine nationalism has been a subject of speculation since his death. Some said his nationalist position was a natural consequence of his great intellectual acumen. Others, less gracious, pointed to the hopelessness of his ambition to become president as the catalyst behind the turnabout.

Still others held that Recto's maturation as a nationalist in the 1950s was markedly influenced by the Huk rebellion. As late as 1949, Recto still believed that the task of Philippine nationalism was the eradication of graft and corruption in the government. But the Huk movement, led by forces outside Recto's political circles, dramatically projected genuine national independence as the real nationalist cause.

Recto's nationalist crusade started in 1951 and centered on three major issues—foreign policy, economic nationalism and U.S. military bases in the Philippines. From then on every speech he delivered and essay he wrote expounded upon these issues.

His views on Philippine foreign policy gained prominence during the 1951 Great Debate on Formosa and Korea with Carlos P. Romulo, then ambassador to the U.S., Recto described the country's foreign policy as "truly foreign" because "it is not our own, being nothing more than the policy of a foreign power, as defined, expounded and elaborated upon by the diplomatic officers of this Republic in the service of that power."

Recto blamed the subservient Filipino leadership for not asserting an independent foreign policy: "A bankrupt administration must necessarily have a foreign policy of mendicancy; and it is inevitable that it should invite foreign intervention to do what it cannot do for itself..."

He would, in later speeches, refine his thoughts on this matter holding principally responsible "an intensive and pervasive cultural colonization... that has nurtured this subservient leadership."

When the U.S. was drawing the Philippines into its war of aggression in Indochina in 1954, Recto put up a fight. Subsequently, President Magsaysay gave official recognition to the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem and stated that the sending of Philippine combat troops to Vietnam was a matter of policy.

Recto in his opposition pointed out that the war in Vietnam was purely a civil war and that Philippine participation would be an act of intervention. Such intervention, he warned, would be considered by other Asian nations as proof that the country, indeed, was "a puppet of the U.S." He emphasized that "there is no cause, no reason for sending our fighting men to assist a colonial power to perpetuate itself against the libertarian ambitions of the native population."

This assertion was very different from his earlier stand on the Korean War and showed the extent of his political development.

Blinded by a legalistic orientation, Recto had accepted America's intervention in Korea in 1950 as a fulfillment of its international obligation. He believed that U.S. military intervention in Korea was in compliance with a United Nations resolution. At this point, he still could not grasp the economic basis for the U.S. power drive.

## ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Later on, Recto would unequivocally call for economic independence from the U.S. According to him, economic independence alone "will enable us to achieve basic and lasting solutions to our problems of mass poverty, unemployment, underproduction, perennial trade imbalance and misery and backwardness in the midst of rich natural resources and abundant manpower."

He advocated the control of the natural resources of the country by the Filipino people "to insure its utilization primarily for their own interest and enjoyment."

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The Closer They Were, The Less They Saw

## TESTIMONY ON AQUINO MURDER STILL POINTS TO REGIME

C1C Rogelio Moreno

C1C Mario Lazaga



T/Sgt. Claro Lat

T/Sgt. Filomeno Miranda

Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa

Raul Gonzales, President of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, resigned June 23 from a panel of interrogators appointed to assist the commission investigating the murder of former Senator Benigno Aquino.

Gonzales was the last of the three-member interrogation team to resign. "I feel I can no longer continue participating in a proceeding with so much public interest at stake when I no longer believe in its credibility and its objectivity," he said in his letter of resignation.

Gonzales walked out of a hearing Friday at which for the first time, a civilian witness confirmed the government version of the story that alleged hitman Rolando Galman shot and killed Aquino. He accused commission chair Corazon Agrava of protecting witness Augusto Floresca by refusing to allow questions regarding his ties with an associate of President Ferdinand Marcos.

His withdrawal comes barely a week before the panel is slated to complete its hearing. And as things draw to a close, evidence continues to point to the Marcos regime as the culprit behind the killing.

Five days of hearings in Los Angeles by the Agrava fact-finding board investigating the murder last June 3-8

turned up little new or conclusive evidence. But it did turn up a number of interesting new bits of evidence.

Highlights of the five-day hearing included testimony by UPI correspondent Max Vanzi who accompanied Aquino from Taipei to Manila on the fatal flight on August 21, 1983. Vanzi provided three interesting new pieces of information.

- The Philippine government, contrary to its allegations, knew precisely which flight Aquino was on. The commander of the Taipei Garrison told Aquino on departure that a Philippine Air Lines official had called the commander and told him to "take care of Aquino."

- Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa, chief suspect as trigger man who escorted Aquino off the plane, first ran his hand across the senator's back and shoulder and under his right armpit in an effort to detect a bullet-proof vest. Aquino was wearing one and was shot in the back of the head.

- Though Vanzi did not see the actual shooting, he saw soldiers of the Aviation Security Command pick up Aquino's body and place it into a nearby van which then sped away. The soldiers pitched it like a carcass, he told the board, hardly the procedure for rushing a wounded person from the site of the accident.

Finally, airport ground crew member Ruben Regalado appeared to reiterate his statement to NBC News that Galman could not have shot Aquino. Regalado claims he saw Galman on the ground in front of Aquino when Aquino was shot from behind.

The witness also repeated that fellow repairman Loterina claims to have seen the actual murder by one of Aquino's escorts but has clammed up out of fear.

The Los Angeles affair occurred three weeks after the long-awaited testimony back in Manila by the four-member escort team of de Mesa, T/Sgt. Claro Lat, Constables 1st Class Rogelio Moreno and Mario Lozaga, and undercover security man T/Sgt. Filomeno Miranda.

"The closer they were, the less they saw!" marvelled Manila observers after their testimony spanning May 22 to 28. All escorts claimed not to have seen Galman crouched behind the airplane stairs where, according to the government version, he waited to kill Aquino. De Mesa claimed he suddenly felt a nudge on the right shoulder as the gun was extended and that was it.

Castro, chief of the escort team, told the panel that he did not accompany Aquino and the others down the stairs because he became preoccupied with keeping back the foreign correspondents who wanted to go with the senator. Like those on the stairway, he claimed to have seen nothing.

A frustrated Justice Corazon Agrava finally burst out to Lat, "Two possibilities can be surmised from your testimony. One is that Galman could not have been on the tarmac when Aquino was shot... The other possibility is that you are not telling the truth."

Yet another bewildering aspect of the escort team's testimony was that they claimed to have run away when they heard gunshots. "Why did you run away?" Why didn't you aid Senator Aquino?" an incredulous Agrava asked Moreno. Moreno is hardly known for cowardice. He was cited eight times for bravery in anti-dissident campaigns and is known to be good at karate and judo.

While all of the escorts' stories are weak, circumstantial evidence points most directly to de Mesa. He was standing behind Aquino and to the senator's left on the stairs, the position of the gunman according to ballistics tests.

Tested for powder burns on August 23, de Mesa was positive on both the face and hands. The sergeant claimed to have spent the entire day of August 20 at target practice, but no one saw him there and powder burns usually wear off in 48 hours. □

## Buod ng mga Balita

### NOTORIOUS GENERAL SHOT DEAD

In a press release delivered in its name to the Associated Press bureau in Manila on June 1, the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines claimed responsibility for the May 24 assassination of Brig. Gen. Tomas Karingal. The document, written on the letterhead of *Ang Bayan*, the CPP's official organ, called the killing "just punishment" for the slain general's "blood debts" to the Filipino people.

A separate letter sent to the Manila bureau of the United Press International named the "Alex Boncayao Brigade" of the New People's Army as Karingal's executors. Alex Boncayao, a labor leader who ran as a Laban candidate in the interim *Batasan Pambansa* elections in 1978, was killed in an encounter with military troops in northern Luzon last year.

Karingal, Northern Police District superintendent, sustained 15 bullet wounds from gunmen who opened fire as his party of four sat down to dinner at the Fisher's Reef Restaurant in Quezon City.

Karingal's just punishment at the hands of a "sparrow unit" of the NPA came just a few weeks after the bloody end to the much publicized Foamtex strike last April. Two picketing workers were killed April 6 when the military and METROCOM troops, under the command of Karingal, opened fire on striking laborers. The general had grown notorious for his unit's brutality against workers and suspected dissidents.

Karingal's three companions were also shot. His driver, Pfc. Rogelio Diswe, is still unconscious with one bullet in the head and three in the body. Constabulary Major Rene Bautista, deputy provincial PC commander of Iloilo, suffered five gunshot wounds, one in the head and four in the body.

Following the attack, five people were arrested in raids conducted in Metro-Manila and Cavite. One, in military custody since May 26, allegedly fired the first shot.

Another, a woman, was apprehended as she visited her wounded husband in a Metro-Manila hospital. The husband was reportedly brought to the hospital barely an hour after Karingal was shot. Hospital authorities summoned military authorities because the man's injury was a gunshot wound.

The still unnamed woman and her husband, military sources claim, are listed in the "order of battle of the CPP." Along with two other visitors, they are being linked to Karingal's murder.

President Marcos, while paying tribute to Karingal, warned of the "clear intention" of NPA guerrillas to step up "subversive campaigns of assassination, ambushes and assault on the servants of the country." Brig. Gen. Jose P. Magno, of the regional unified command in Central Luzon has expressed fears of "communist plans to take over" the region.

Observers dismiss the military's "takeover" warnings as exaggerated, but note that the attack on Karingal may mean the start of increased actions by the CPP's armed city partisans. □

### Marcos Version of Death Squads SECRET POLICE KILL 22 IN FOUR DAYS

In an ominous move, Ferdinand Marcos June 18 reactivated a force of 1,000 secret marshalls allegedly to help fight crime. They were instructed to shoot and disable any robber refusing to surrender.

Within four days, 22 had been killed, with 11 shot in a single 24-hour period. Though police authorities claimed that all were robbers caught in the act, the mother of one victim complained that her son was not a robber, but was in fact a worker preparing to leave for Saudi Arabia.

Observers shuddered at the implications of the new development. Marcos first created the secret corps of plainclothesmen in August of 1982. At least 47 were shot to death at the time and none of the cases were ever investigated.

Worse, the formation of the squad marked the beginning of a massive crackdown which framed Marcos' September visit to the United States. Though specifically targeting the labor movement, the wave of repression struck clergy, students and peasants as well.

Political observers have been predicting a new crackdown aimed at preventing mass actions on August 21, the anniversary of former Senator Benigno Aquino's death and wonder if this may not signal the beginning. Others worry that Marcos may have learned a thing

or two from the fascist rulers of El Salvador and is planning to institute legitimized death squads to eliminate all dissent.

A statement from chief of the Metropolitan Command Prospero Olivas does nothing to calm their fears. The new squad, Olivas told the press, has become necessary to control the activities of the New People's Army. The revolutionaries, he claimed, have taken to robbery in the city for their fundraising activities. At least four so-called robbers killed in a two-day period, Olivas admits, were in fact subversives caught "fund-raising." □

### FIGHTING NUN CREATING CONTROVERSY

Sister Stella L. is an attractive nun whose religious assignments were to help unwed mothers and other lost souls. Then she became aware of the world outside the convent particularly the plight of the workers. Subsequently she joined a group of factory workers on strike.

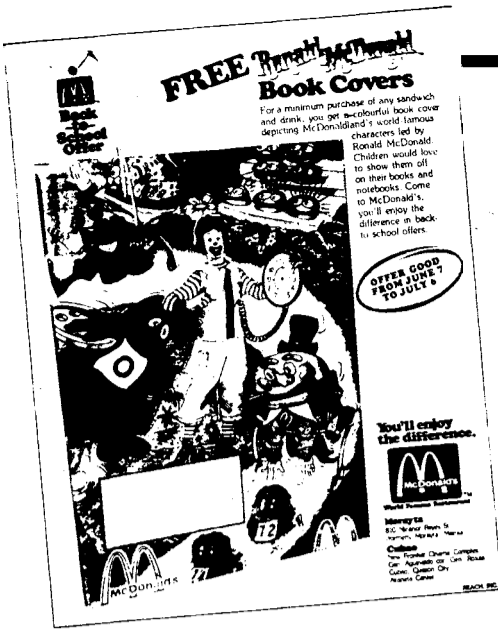
Sister Stella L. is also the central character of a controversial film of the same title starring the popular Vilma Santos and directed by Mike de Leon.

The central theme of the movie is the commitment of a growing number of religious people to various societal issues like the peasants' demand for genuine land reform, the tribesmen's dislocation from their ancestral homelands, the workers' cry for just wages and humane working conditions. A key scene is the finale of the Lakbayan boycott march at the Luneta Park.

One review of the film hailed it "as an authentic testament of the times and an inspiring lesson to Christians." The writer recommended it for those who believe in upholding workers' rights.

Another review saw the strike scene (in which Sister Stella L. participated) as reflecting "practically all our national problems: exploitation of workers, greed of capitalists, terror tactics of the Establishment, salvagings, controlled media and the blanket denunciation of progressives as "subversives."

Many are concerned about the film's fate at the hands of the Board of Censors. A multi-sectoral ad hoc committee has been formed to press the review board to approve the film in its uncut version. □



By NENE OJEDA

Listed among hotels, banks and other business establishments targeted for boycott in protest of the assassination of ex-Senator Benigno Aquino August last year was McDonald's. But what has hamburger to do with political violence?

Perhaps the rumor that some government "hot shots" have interests in the firm, noted *Business Day*, was reason enough for America's fast food industry leader to make the hit list. Justice for Aquino, Justice for All secretary general Fr. Art Balangat, however, thinks otherwise. In a letter Balangat wrote McDonald's Philippines franchisee George T. Yang, "McDonald's must be boycotted because it is a salient symbol of the Marcos regime's penchant to create a veneer of development and prosperity through the entry of foreign enterprises into the local market, even if their net contribution to the real development needs of the majority of impoverished Filipinos is at best dubious and at worse injurious."

And fast food, that symbol of modern life and industrialization, is fast attracting

By NENE OJEDA

It was June 6 and members of the movement which boycotted the May 14 elections were saying, "We told you so."

For Ferdinand Marcos had let the boom fall. "Economic conditions have reached a point requiring firm and decisive action," he declared on the evening of June 5.

With that, he issued three presidential decrees and three executive orders to implement an economic austerity program the likes of which the Filipino people had never seen before.

#### IN TROUBLE WITH THE IMF

Getting the country's economy back on track has been the Marcos government's constant preoccupation in the wake of former senator Benigno Aquino's assassination last year. Capital flight aggravated an already faltering Philippine economy and threatened it with utter collapse.

Discoveries of falsified figures on foreign reserves and a scandal suggesting that government officials printed up extra bills swelling the volume of money in circulation hardly raised the country's stock with the International Monetary Fund.

And the IMF was the one to please. Setting up a committee of the Philippines' leading creditors, it demanded drastic economic reforms before any further loans from international bodies were to be allowed.

Yet neither the repeated trips of Finance Minister Cesar Virata to New York nor those of bank investigating committees to the Philippines set the country's financial woes to rest.

#### PRICES SOAR

Political observers insisted that the measures demanded by the IMF would be so unpopular that Marcos was waiting until after the May 14 elections to implement them. Sure enough, negotiations with international financing institutions were temporarily shelved as the elections drew near.

Scanning the near-empty supermarket shelves a few days after the package of decrees, the Filipino consumer knew in his belly just why Ferdinand Marcos had waited. Rice, sugar, flour, even cement were scarce following the wave of panic-buying. Two weeks later, the Price Stabi-

## Golden Arches in Manila: Big Macs Mean Big Bucks for McDonald's USA

Filipinos—not with clean and efficient service, eye-pleasing packaging, or stimulating ads—but with its classy "all-American" image.

That McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Dunkin' Donuts, Shakey's and other American fast food chains are setting their fares before a captive Filipino market is threatening to change the country's eating habits and tastes. School children asked by IBON, a local research survey center, showed a marked preference towards hamburgers, fried chicken, spaghetti, and pizza as weekend treats.

**₱3.3 MILLION REMITTED TO USA?**  
Fast food also means fast money. Some ₱2 billion was spent on fast food fares in 1982.

It was not until September 1981 when the first franchise was opened on Nicanor St. (formerly Morayta), right by Manila's university belt that the famed golden arches officially spanned the Pacific. In two years, five more outlets were added in Cubao, Greenhills, Makati, Sta. Cruz, and Angeles, Pampanga. This year, a seventh branch was opened on United Nations Avenue near the Manila Hilton.

In just over a year's operation, McDonald's Cubao managed to rank among the top 20 grossers of McDonald's 7,200 outlets worldwide. McDonald's Philippines' growth rate, according to Yang, is between 300% and 400% since 1981. McDonald's Greenhills, with its drive-through, services 700 cars a day. An estimated half a million customers get their Big Macs from the top McDonald's branches—Morayta, Cubao and Green-

hills.

In its first two years of operation, Yang's McGeorge Food Industries, Inc., earned a net four-and-a-half times its initial capital. But much of this growth in earnings left the country "due to affiliated companies"—Golden Arches, Inc. and McDonald's USA. Some ₱3.3 million was sent back to both companies.

Golden Arches, a separate local corporation which supports McGeorge Foods Industries in "everything and anything connected with the running of McDonald's restaurants in the Philippines," is owned largely by McDonald's USA and the Yangs.

#### CULTIVATING FRENCH FRIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

This growth was also set back by the boycott move. A 10-20% decrease in sales was felt by December last year, McDonald's marketing agents told *Business Day*.

To counter this, McDonald's issued a series of placemats dubbed "McDonald's: For the Community" extolling its contributions to the Philippine economy and community in terms of taxes paid, local supplies bought and jobs created for students.

Throwaway placemat propaganda was only appropriate. Only ₱150,442 in total taxes and license fees was collected from McDonald's for 1981 and 1982. And despite substantial budgets for advertising and promotion (equal to 7% of net sales) and royalties (17%) repatriated, McDonald's Philippines allots only 9% of its cost to labor. Food chains in the U.S. spend an

average of 23% on labor.

McDonald's did contribute to Philippine economic development, if only to cut down production costs.

Early this year, some 18,000 kilos of potato seeds, ordered from McDonald's USA at the cost of \$10,000 were shipped to potato seed growers in Benguet. The seeds were distributed in part through the Philippine government's self-reliance *Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlara* projects.

#### THE HAMBURGER TAKES OVER METRO-MANILA

This shipment will boost McDonald's already existing potato growing project in the Mountain Province. The self-reliance program will insure a good and steady supply for McDonald's french fries. In time, Hong Kong and Singapore McDonald's will also be supplied with Philippine-grown potatoes.

Perhaps less known too is the worm growing project initiated, again, through the KKK. Protein-rich worms were reportedly added to the less-than-American-standard Philippine-raised beef. At one time, wormburgers were openly advertised and sold.

Whether pure beef or worm-spiked, hamburgers in the Philippines have become the same symbol of fast food that they are in their home country, the U.S. and local hamburger food chains are finding the foreign competition formidable.

The only Philippine hamburger chain ready to challenge McDonald's, Jollibee Food Corporation, emphasizes a "superior taste suited to Filipinos." In 1982, over 40% of hamburger sales went to Jollibee. With 16 outlets in Metro-Manila, Jollibee caters to a crowd more diverse than McDonald's, and contends with the imported image by appealing to the "nationalistic inclination of the local market." Rice is served when the customer requests it. □

### Devaluation, Austerity Measures:

## Marcos Lets the Boom Fall



Mobbed stores: Devaluation triggers panic buying in Manila.

(FEER)

lization Council repegged prices of necessary items, allowing some to rise by as much as 40% to stem the tide.

Sugar, a major export, leapt the highest—a full 40% to ₱7.70/kilo. Rice went to ₱4.85/kilo from ₱3.80; dressed chicken to ₱29.00/kilo; eggs to ₱18/dozen; sardines to ₱5.05/tin; canned milk to ₱5.75/14 oz. can from ₱4.70; powdered milk to ₱147.50/2000 gram tin; cooking oil to ₱14/pint. A bar of soap was pegged at ₱11.

#### TAXES GALORE

Central to the package was Presidential Decree No. 1929 allowing the peso to float against the dollar from its official rate of ₱14:\$1. It immediately rose to ₱18:\$1, a 22.2% increase and the third devaluation in one year.

Total depreciation against the dollar thus amounted to 64% since June of last year and 96% since December of 1982.

Other measures were designed to stem imports and the flow of dollars out of the country; pull salted dollars out into circulation again; encourage investment in pesos; and regulate government spending. They include:

- New and additional taxes—a wind-fall tax on export profits officially labelled an economic stabilization tax starting at 30% to be reduced by 5% a year, a hike on import taxes from 8% to 10%, and another 10% excise tax on all foreign exchange

sold by the Central Bank;

- A cut in government spending by 5% to reduce the budget deficit from the projected \$14 billion to \$7 billion;

- Strict regulation of both domestic and foreign borrowings of government-owned corporations; and

- Allowing banks to retain 20% of foreign exchange earnings all of which were previously turned in to the Central Bank. This will make some dollars available to industries dependent on imported raw materials.

#### GOVERNMENT FUNDS FOR PORK-BARRELLING

One interesting part of the package forbids the Philippine government from borrowing from the Central Bank. The bank also ordered immediate remittance of all tax revenues from the government until all its outstanding loans are brought back down to pre-April levels.

Government borrowings from the Central Bank for the month of April alone amounted to ₱4.9 billion. This has prompted accusations of using government funds for election pork-barrelling and increased outstanding credits to over half the bank's total loans, up from 37% a few months earlier.

Certain to gall the IMF, it also drove the amount of money in circulation up 46.8% from a year ago to ₱32 billion.

#### PETROLEUM PRICES SOAR

"The dollars will now come out, including those salted away by our own people," gloated a satisfied Marcos the morning after the big announcement. "If you really manage a non-dirty float," agreed banker Jesus Estanislao, "the peso-dollar rate could go up to 22-23 to the dollar. At 23-to-1 the rate is sufficient to stem the outflow and bring back some of the money that went out."

But the impact on the population was devastating. Aside from the skyrocketing commodity prices, the new measures immediately drove up the price of petroleum products by an average of 27.4%.

It was the second increase in oil prices in less than a month. Marcos announced the first 8% hike immediately after the May 14 elections. The second round left prices for premium gas at ₱8.39 per liter, up from ₱6.89, regular gas at ₱8.03 per liter, up from ₱6.69 and liquid petroleum gas at ₱113.55 per cannister.

All of this was part of the plan. Petroleum is the country's key import and the regime is determined to cut back on the volume.

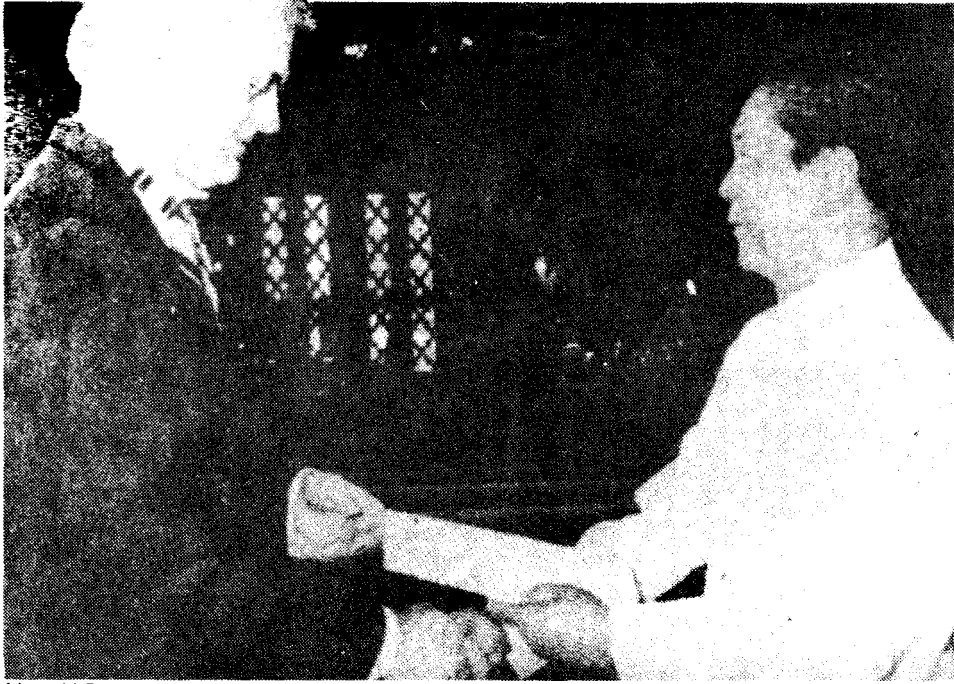
#### LITTLE HOPE IN SIGHT

To stave off any possible unrest resulting from the steeper cost of living, Marcos ordered an ₱8 increase in the daily minimum wage June 12. This is little more than half the amount demanded by labor and does not bring workers' pay levels up to government standards. Before the present hike in prices, an average family of six needed at least ₱75 per day.

Further, Filipino workers have learned that there is a significant distance between a decreed wage hike and money in their pockets.

Uncertainty still haunts the wage earner. Government employees, promised wage increases during the election campaign, fear cutbacks in government spending will mean layoffs.

Meanwhile, capital flight, import restrictions and uncertain credit extension in the past year have already left thousands of industrial workers jobless. In Metro-Manila alone, some 41,000 workers were displaced during the first quarter of this year. Many more companies indicate plans to close shop in the face of their continuing inability to remit dollars. □



New U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth presents his credentials to President Marcos.

## Perfecting Democracy . . .

Continued from page 1

being defeated at the polls or winning and then stepping down in favor of the Vice President. In light of these scenarios, Imelda reportedly has not yet fully renounced her vice-presidential ambitions.

On balance, the May 14 elections did little to resolve the debate in Washington over Philippine policy.

Both Reaganites and liberals agree that Marcos is too unpopular and too unhealthy to last much longer and that preparations for an eventual transition are in order. The squabble centers on the question: "Transition to what?"

The Reaganites want to maintain the core of the Marcos regime, decorated perhaps with an attractive-looking moderate. To them, this is the most efficient way of protecting U.S. strategic interests.

The liberals, though presently neutralized, maintain that such a regime will not gain popular support and will fail to achieve political stability. The Philippines, they insist, is not yet an El Salvador where the left and the moderates have already solidified a revolutionary alliance. There is still time, they claim, to neutralize the Marcos camp and to restore a pro-U.S. moderate regime.

### SEALED WITH THE MARINES

But despite the liberal misgivings, business goes on as usual in Manila. Every time Washington and Manila successfully reach a new stage in their political relationship, they seem to seal the deal with an ominous exercise. A military exercise.

Merely one week after the elections, U.S. and Philippine troops launched joint exercises entitled "Balikatan '84." The activities were climaxed by an amphibious landing of marines from both countries in Botolan, Zambales.

"This represents," said Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, "a clear signal to our potential enemies of the resolve and commitment to the defense of the common interests of both countries to the preservation of peace and stability in this part of the world."

The 11-day exercise was followed June 14 by the annual meeting of the Mutual Defense Board, the body which oversees the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty. Ver, together with Chief of the U.S. Pacific Command Admiral William Crowe concluded the meeting with the announcement of a new defense plan.

In case of external attack, they told the press, the Philippines may jointly be defended by Philippine and American troops operating out of U.S. bases inside the country.

### PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

Meanwhile, an ecstatically "revitalized middle ground" is busily putting together plans to act as a unified parliamentary opposition on June 30, when the new Batasan Pambansa opens its doors.

However, UNIDO is carefully avoiding any talk of reconciliation, at least for now. Much of its attention is focused on gaining more leverage in the Batasan.

In the heady days immediately following the elections, a joyful Ernesto Maceda, UNIDO campaign manager, told the press that UNIDO was "open to any idea that will bring us back to full democracy and solve our economic problems." This, he noted, could even mean a coalition government with Ferdinand Marcos if he promised not to seek another term.

Number one on the agenda is the contest for 25 KBL seats which UNIDO insists were won through fraud. The group now holds 59 seats and would like to gain eight more to make the one-third needed to block any constitutional amendments.

Opposition plans began to take clearer shape at the end of May when a caucus of 70 UNIDO members met to hammer out a program. Spokesman Salvador Laurel announced plans to transform UNIDO into a formal political party. An "open-door policy" was promulgated which underscored a willingness to welcome any KBL defectors or members of the boycott movement into UNIDO ranks.

### SQUABBLING ALREADY

UNIDO's legislative program centers on the goal of stripping Marcos of his decree-making powers. Ambitiously, the group plans to rewrite the Constitution, scrapping Amendment 6 which gives legislative powers to the President. UNIDO also announced it will form a shadow cabinet which will monitor counterpart activities within the Marcos government.

An additional UNIDO caucus meeting June 11 revealed plans to push for two formal political parties, reestablish a presidential system and challenge the KBL over both rules and Batasan leadership.

Speaking of leadership, the question of who will hold the position of minority leader within the Batasan remains open. "Doy" Laurel is pushing for his uncle Jose, while the ambitious Pimentel has expressed his desire for the position. Former Senator Eva Estrada Kalaw, according to the Manila gossip mill, is also eyeing the post.

### FM HOLDS FAST ON DECREES

As to Ferdinand Marcos, he has given no indication of relinquishing his decree-making powers. Such powers, he claims, are necessary to fight insurgency and "not because of any personal wish."

"The power to issue decrees," he told *Asiaweek*, "is part of the Constitution and unless amended, rescinded or revoked, it remains a part of the Constitution, whatever assembly is elected to power, including the opposition."

Marcos does not seem fazed by the presence of an opposition in the Batasan. In fact, he seems thoroughly pleased. "The administration has been given a new mandate to govern and rule the country," he crowed shortly after the election. "We can now say that we have a working democracy in the Philippines," echoed a smug Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

Marcos declared all cabinet posts vacant as of June 30 in preparation for putting together a new cabinet. He also announced

the merging of certain ministries. This, according to Prime Minister Cesar Virata, was designed to cut down on spending. It will also cut down on embarrassment since four ministers and six deputies lost their Batasan seats.

There was no word about the 17 additional assemblymen which the president is entitled to appoint. Marcos did drop several coy hints that he might include the First Lady among them in spite of her decision to "leave politics." This, he added, "will require her making a decision."

### FRAUD IN MARCOS, ENRILE COUNTRY

Meanwhile information on election irregularities continues to pour in.

News leaked out late in May that candidates planning to run for the Batasan from Ilocos Norte against Marcos' daughter Imee had been forced to withdraw by presidential pressure. One contender received a handwritten note from Marcos himself urging him to "give way to the desire of the mayors of Ilocos Norte to bring about unity in the province by drafting Imee."

Enrile country proved to be the site of some of the worst fraud nationwide. "This is the worst election in the history of Cagayan, a tragic case of overkill," lamented Benito Sabban, Vice President of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections.

Operation "Quick Count" was cancelled in Cagayan because returns were broadcast before the ballot boxes were collected. Irregularity reports began flooding NAMFREL offices at 6:30 on election morning from those forced to vote the night before.

In Antique, nine people claimed by the government to be New People's Army soldiers killed in an encounter turned out to be supporters of an opposition candidate. After voting, they were led away from a basketball game by soldiers, tortured and killed.

### EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

Meanwhile the boycott movement by no means remains silent. Thousands from the boycott ranks joined forces with election participants to expose irregularities in the ballot counting. More recently, they joined with others in Cebu City June 10 as thousands marched to protest rigged

results which allowed five out of six members of Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* to win.

Their goal, however, remains much broader: fundamental change to begin with the dismantling of the Marcos regime.

Two thousand demonstrated in Manila on June 12, Philippine Independence Day. Targeting U.S. domination of the country, they marched past the U.S. Embassy and burned Uncle Sam in effigy.

"Right now," commented one prominent boycott leader visiting the West Coast in early June, "our goals are unity and consolidation. It is a little too premature to speak of specific plans, but our overall goal remains that of ousting Marcos."

"Some of us were taken off guard momentarily right after the elections when the results came in favoring UNIDO," admitted attorney Fulgencio Factoran, Jr. "But we warned the UNIDO forces, 'Just wait and see.'"

"Now everything we predicted is coming true. Far fewer oppositionists won than it initially appeared. Economic hardships multiplied overnight with the new austerity plan. Marcos and the U.S. are the winners after all."

### A VOTE OF ANGER

Boycott leader Lorenzo Tañada earlier issued a warning to the winning oppositionists:

"I hope the victorious candidates whom we now wish godspeed perceive the result for what it was, a massive angry protest, a mandate to carry on the crusade to terminate the dictatorship which has caused our people so much hardship, misery, anguish and shame. I hope none will mistake the vote as one for reconciliation, accommodation or collaboration with the present regime.

"The final road to justice, freedom and democracy permits no complacency, but calls for perseverance for the total dismantling of the dictatorship. The most important task now is to organize further the broad masses of our people and strengthen their resolve to stand up for their rights."

The multi-sectoral, cause-oriented opposition outside the Batasan is gearing up for massive protest on the first anniversary of Benigno Aquino's assassination on August 21. However, it warns that Marcos may unleash a major crackdown before that date. □

## Quiet Diplomacy Got Too Loud

When U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost left the Philippines last May after a two-year stint, observers wondered at the timing. He had overseen U.S.-R.P. relations through one of the most difficult crises in recent Philippine history—the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino and the outpouring or rage that followed. "Bewildering!" exclaimed one embassy staffer. "He's leaving just when he's needed to coordinate our assessment of the election."

It was hardly a demotion. Armacost was called back to Washington to take on the post of Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, the Number Three post in the State Department.

Some suspect that the timing of Armacost's departure and his replacement by the circumspect Stephen Bosworth might have something to do with Reagan-style "quiet diplomacy."

The former ambassador was known to be quite a master of the art himself. But observers felt his diplomacy became a bit too loud before the May 14 polls.

For the first one-and-a-half years of his stay in Manila, Armacost was fairly close to the Marcoses. With the assassination of Aquino, the ambassador personally had much to do with the public distance the U.S. suddenly put between itself and the Philippine dictator.

Armacost's arm-twisting is credited for limited changes in Marcos' succession



Michael Armacost (Mr. & Ms.)

plan, such as the introduction of the vice presidency and Mrs. Marcos' announcement that she was no longer interested in succeeding her husband.

The former ambassador is also known to have spent much time meeting with opposition figures, urging them to participate in the elections.

"Armacost listened to quite a lot of people and he got the wrong reading," remarked Jolly Benitez, Deputy Minister of Human Settlements and a staunch member of Mrs. Marcos' camp. "We felt let down."

Manila gossip insists that Armacost was pulled out at the request of the First Lady, who, rumors suggest, has not yet fully given up her ambition to rule. □

NFR

## ConCon Delegate Dies of Heart Attack: Friends Honor Rondon as A Fighter

By FELY VILLASIN

The presence of representatives from all opposition groups at the memorial in honor of Ernie Rondon reflected his quest for unity in the fight against the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship.

Dr. Gaston Ortigas, National Executive Director of the Movement for a Free Philippines, noted this as he recollected his friendship with the former Constitutional Convention delegate who died of a heart attack last June 5.

At the memorial for Rondon on June 7 in Daly City, friends recalled that it was his consistent anti-fascist stand that made Rondon part of the "enlightened opposition" that is seeking to unify the diverse sections of the U.S.-based opposition movement.

Rondon escaped "house arrest" imposed by the Marcos military in 1982 and with his wife, Thelma, and their three daughters, sought political asylum in the U.S. He had been incarcerated three times since the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972.

Rondon and his family went through the harrowing experience of constantly being hounded in their own country, then through the many uncertainties and indignities of

political exile in the U.S. before finally settling in Daly City.

This experience opened his eyes to U.S. complicity in the continuing repression suffered by his countrymen and made him a vocal opponent of U.S. foreign policy in the Philippines.

### ATTACKED PAYOLAS

"Rather than be inveigled by Marcos' promises of reconciliation, Ernie Rondon recalled the past sacrifices and difficulties, the indignities and harassment he and his family had suffered under Marcos rule and concluded without a doubt that there can be no reconciliation with a fascist," said Geline Avila, National Coordinator of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network.

A former radio broadcaster, Rondon's bombastic attacks on the Malacañang-inspired "payola scandal" in the Constitutional Convention in 1972 earned him the unforgiving ire of Mr. Marcos.

But even under threat of continual detention, Rondon did not stop his vehement opposition. In 1978 he joined Ninoy Aquino's ill-fated Laban ticket to pose an electoral challenge to the political machinery of the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*. Whether speaking before 10 people or 10,000, according to Tessie Oreta of the Ninoy Aquino Movement, Rondon inspired

his audiences with his impassioned pleas for a return to democratic rule.

It was to be his last romance with electoral politics. After the Laban candidates were trounced, he gave up all illusions that any meaningful elections could ever be held under conditions controlled entirely by one man. It was no surprise therefore that he was a fervent advocate of the boycott of the last May 14 elections to the *Batasang Pambansa*.

"The outcome of this election will represent what Marcos wants, not the will of the people," he told the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* during a speaking tour sponsored last May by the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, CAMD-PSN's Hawaii chapter.

### 'ANTI-MARCOS ILOCANO'

In Honolulu, a month before his death, Rondon helped bolster the boycott activities with a hectic schedule of public forums, house meetings and press interviews. He also had a chance to renew ties with former MFP members there.

Speaking Ilocano every chance he got, Rondon charmed Hawaii Filipinos who are predominantly Ilocanos and have traditionally displayed regional loyalty to the Philippine dictator. Rondon was an instant celebrity as an Ilocano who was anti-Marcos.



Ernesto Rondon

(AK Photo)

This was not his first joint foray with the CAMD/PSN into predominantly conservative sectors of the community. In Tacoma, Washington, he spoke to immigrant Filipinos who had U.S. military connections. He was as untiring as he was daring in rousing the Filipino community in the U.S. to snap out of their lethargy and indifference.

Back from his trip to Hawaii, Rondon was all enthusiasm, as he put it, "reinvigorated by having fired another salvo at Marcos." His sudden death at 51 shocked and saddened everyone in the opposition. His wife, Thelma, said he had developed hypertension during his stints in Marcos' jails.

"We mourn the loss of an unyielding and uncompromising enemy of the Marcos dictatorship," Avila said. "Ernie Rondon represented an important segment of the opposition, and he joins hundreds of Filipino patriots who have given their lives in the militant struggle for true freedom and democracy." Rondon was buried on June 8. □

## Recto: Political Visionary . . .

Continued from page 3

He also advocated Filipino ownership of vital industries because without it, "it would be impossible to place the benefits to be derived from these industries within the means of enjoyment of the largest majority of the Filipinos." He based his thesis on the simple fact that these vital industries create enormous amounts of wealth that could sustain the ever-increasing needs of the people. If these industries were foreign-owned, as indeed they were, much of the wealth created would be siphoned out of the country.

Ironically, Recto was conspicuously silent during the 1946 debate on the Bell Trade Act—the act granting Americans equal rights with Filipinos to exploit the country's national resources and operate public utilities. Because of collaboration charges against him,

**'A bankrupt administration must necessarily have a foreign policy of mendicacy; and it is inevitable that it should invite foreign intervention to do what it cannot do for itself . . .'**

arising out of his participation in the Japanese puppet government, many thought that Recto remained silent so as not to antagonize the Americans who were in a position to determine his political future.

Later, he would describe the Bell Trade Act as "a diabolical scheme" forced upon the nation by the Americans. "The Bell Trade Act was presented to us in one inseparable package with the war damage payments," he said. "We had to take it or leave it in its entirety. We took it. We had no other way out. Our country was in ruins, the national economy was completely dislocated, there was no food, no shelter, nor clothing for our people as a result of the war.

"Considering our state of economic distress after three years of enemy invasion and occupation followed by American reoccupation, with the misery and destruction attendant to both destructive processes, the proponents of the Parity and the Trade Agreement wielded a formidable weapon over our people."

Industrialization rounded out his program for a national economy. To achieve this he suggested that "economic planning be a must for us. And this planning should be the government's special concern."

"We must formulate and implement a program in which capital assets, i.e., the instruments of production are owned by our own people, individually, whenever possible, nationally whenever necessary."

His detractors were quick to label this socialism. Recto proudly replied, "Be it so."

### AGAINST U.S. MILITARY BASES

Nothing in Recto's declarations of opposition to the

maintenance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines suggested that he was aware of the considerable importance of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base in the worldwide military network kept by the U.S.

His initial opposition to the bases was clothed in juridical terms. He was opposed to the bases because they represented "an odious peacetime military occupation by a friendly country with immunity from our own laws and courts."

The Military Bases Agreement, according to Recto, purported to insure "the territorial integrity of the Philippines but accomplished the very opposite of its declared purpose with the impairment of the country's territorial integrity."

In the beginning, he demanded that "the Agreement should either be amended in order to serve its avowed purpose in terms compatible with our sovereignty and territorial integrity. . . or it should be abrogated completely."

Much later, he amended his position and declared that "in peacetime, foreign bases serve as protection for foreign investments within the country where the bases are established. In time of war, these bases take on their real military character and this is where the problem of our physical national survival enters. . . the role assigned to U.S. overseas bases is to serve as magnets for enemy attacks."

### ILL-FATED CANDIDACY

On January 15, 1957, Recto announced his bid for the presidency. He also announced the formation of a new political party, *Lapiang Makabansa* (Nationalist Party), that would "truly represent the nationalist movement in the country."

Immediately, he became the target of attacks by Magsaysay partisans. Senator Cipriano Primicias, political whip of the Nacionalista Party, attacked Recto's "pronounced anti-Americanism" and minimized the significance of his candidacy.

Recto's speeches in the earlier period of the campaign tried to deflect the anti-Americanism charge. He tended to accommodate the pro-American sentiments cultivated by more than half a century of cultural colonization. Recto soft-pedaled his stand on the colonial question and couched his statements on the economic issue in more conventional terms. He clarified his position as favoring a closer relationship with the U.S. but on the basis of mutual respect and dignity. He concentrated on issues "dearer to the hearts of the electorate" like rising prices, unemployment, poverty, etc.

But as the campaign wore on, he stopped pussyfooting on issues, some said because he thought he was going to win.

Nevertheless, on August 10, he defined the basic issue of the elections as nationalism versus colonialism. He proclaimed: "All other issues must be regarded as

subordinate to the main issue and no plan or program can be carried out with any degree of success unless the pattern of our economy is fundamentally changed." Recto asserted and illustrated through examples that corruption was a natural consequence of an unbalanced colonial economy. To rid corruption, he stressed, the colonial pattern of the economy must be changed.

The more Recto persisted in running the campaign on legitimate issues, the more anti-communist invectives were hurled at him. Sergio Osmeña, Jr., whom Recto had rejected as his running mate, declared that with Recto as president, the Philippines might be "gobbled up by communism."

Recto lost the elections badly. He came in last among four presidential candidates. He humbly conceded defeat, but proudly proclaimed that Lapaing Makabansa would not "fold the banner of Filipino nationalism." His nationalist ardor increased until death caught up with him in Rome.

### RECTO AND THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

Claro M. Recto, were he alive today, would be in the forefront of the struggle to oust the U.S.-supported Marcos regime, considering the conviction with which he held onto his nationalist views.

He would have opposed the \$900-million, five-year U.S.-R.P. Bases Agreement. He would have consistently protested against the continued U.S. domination of Philippine economic and political affairs. Recto would have fumed against Marcos' subservience to U.S. economic and military dictates.

In the political turmoil following the assassination of former senator Benigno Aquino, he would have been

**'We must formulate and implement a program in which capital assets, i.e. the instruments of production are owned by our own people, individually whenever possible, nationally whenever necessary.' His detractors were quick to label this socialism. Recto proudly replied, 'Be it so.'**

among the first to issue a call for the dismantling of the dictatorship and in its place the establishment of a truly democratic coalition government.

But what would he have been is not the most important point in studying Recto. His transformation into a political leader of real historical significance after having been a mere politico is the more engaging lesson. It required taking a stand against the nation's domination by the world's strongest power, a stand which necessitated the abandonment of the "norms of statesmanship" on which every generation of Filipino politicians since the Commonwealth has been weaned.

Present-day elite opponents of Marcos who wish to be respected by their people but cannot quite get over their loyalty to the power in Washington should take note. □

# Setback for Immigrants Simpson/Mazzoli: House Tightens the Noose

By VINCE REYES

The controversial Simpson/Mazzoli immigration bill, the first effort in more than 30 years to rewrite this nation's immigration laws, passed the House of Representatives last June 20 by a close 216 to 211 vote. It must now face a House-Senate conference committee which will reconcile the differences between it and a version approved last year by the Senate.

Touted by proponents as a reasonable and overdue solution to the "unrestricted flow of immigrants" into the U.S., the bill's main features—amnesty, employer sanctions, asylum and a new guest worker program—are extremely controversial. Many minority, civil rights, and church groups have denounced the bill as racist and repressive.

"It's a sad day for Hispanics and for anyone who is brown or black or yellow," Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM) of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus told the *New York Times*.

Rep. Edward Roybal (D-CA) Hispanic Caucus founder and opponent of the bill declared that the final House version was in a "worse state than it was in its original form."

## WHO'S TO BLAME?

Although the Reagan administration clearly backed the bill, the Democrats are largely responsible for its victory.

"At first the Democrats were sensitive because it could affect the Latino vote," observed Marla Kamiya of the Center for Fair Immigration Legislation in New York.

"But in the end, the Democrats did not want to be blamed for not passing the so-called immigration reforms. Despite the fact that there were some strong Democratic opponents, their final actions show they are willing to take criticism from the Latino community rather than lose the support of their main constituency—white Americans," asserted Kamiya.

Democratic presidential contender Jesse Jackson, just days before the bill's passage, criticized rival Walter Mondale for not aggressively opposing it. Jackson accused him of making the Democratic Party a "target of the Hispanic's anguish."

"I could not have agreed more with Jackson," remarked Kamiya, "the Demo-



Pickets and demonstrations, like this one in San Francisco, hit INS offices around the country after the passage of the Simpson/Mazzoli bill.

crats are responsible for Simpson/Mazzoli's passage—even if the vote was narrow—their votes made the difference."

The final count was 125 Democrats voting for the bill and 138 against. Republicans voted 91 for the bill and 73 against.

## HAPPY REPUBLICANS

Republicans have supported Simpson/Mazzoli all along and President Reagan is expected to approve a compromise House-Senate version.

If many Republicans opposed the bill, it was because they thought the amnesty provision was too lenient. The long-debated bill passed only after the House rejected an amendment by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL) to strip it of its central amnesty provision.

In the end, Republicans were still happy with the bill which they believe will stem the tide of "illegals" flowing across U.S. borders. The bill also contains crackdown provisions that do not demand too heavily of business and wealthy individuals. One example is the "Beverly Hills amendment," or the clause that exempts employers of less than four workers from the sanctions. It is dubbed such because many residents of Beverly Hills employ undocumented workers as domestics.

"The Reagan administration is also to be blamed for this bill," said Bill Tamayo of the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson/Mazzoli. "It has deepened backward

notions about immigrants and their role in this society. The administration has diverted attention from the real reason immigrants must leave their home country—unemployment and political repression—both caused by U.S. economic and military involvement in those countries," argued Tamayo.

Organized labor, mainly the AFL-CIO, had strongly supported Simpson/Mazzoli for the employer sanctions provision. The AFL-CIO promoted the sanctions as a means to stop the hiring of undocumented workers so that the jobs "would be available to U.S. citizens."

Critics have raised that this position only spreads the misconception that immigrants, especially the undocumented, are the cause of high unemployment. The AFL-CIO, they said, glossed over the role of runaway shops, plant closures, and increased military spending in causing unemployment.

The AFL-CIO however withdrew its support of the bill only days before its passage but mainly because it was dissatisfied with the temporary workers provisions.

## SPECTRE OF DISCRIMINATION

If Simpson/Mazzoli becomes law, it is expected that workplace raids, arrests and deportations of citizens and non-citizens alike will escalate.

Rep. Robert Garcia (D-NY) and chairman of the Hispanic Caucus in the House

warned that the Simpson/Mazzoli is the "spectre of discrimination" that will haunt Blacks and Hispanic people at the hiring line.

Wayne A. Cornelius, director of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at UC San Diego wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*: "If employer sanctions are vigorously enforced, the effect will be to herd undocumented workers into the parts of our economy in which their labor rights are most likely to be violated."

"This will depress wages even further in those sectors and will make it even more difficult to unionize the undocumented work force, which will be even more fragmented and submerged in the underground economy."

Cornelius found statistics showing that only 6% of non-agricultural firms dependent on undocumented Mexican labor would even try to replace their workers with U.S. citizens or legal immigrants by offering higher wages or other incentives.

## EFFECTS ALREADY FELT

The discriminatory impact of the bill is already being felt by both documented and undocumented workers around the country.

"Employers [are already] requesting citizenship papers or green cards of all Mexican-American people applying for jobs in the service industry areas like hotels and restaurants," Johnny Mata, Texas Director of the League of United Latin American Citizens, told the *Los Angeles Times*. "We think this is because of the threat of Simpson/Mazzoli."

It is believed that precautionary law-offs are also occurring widely to "weed out" undocumented workers in order to prevent being fined under Simpson/Mazzoli's employer sanction provisions.

Recently, Starkist Foods dismissed nine cannery workers at Terminal Island, California, after they refused to comply with a company order to show immigration documents.

The bitterly-debated bill which was first introduced three years ago and stalled twice in the House, went through numerous alterations after being re-introduced for Rules Committee debates last spring.

In the three weeks prior to its passage, at least 69 different amendments were proposed or in the works in an attempt to either stall the bill or make it palatable to both Democrats and Republicans.

The House-Senate conference will probably not begin meeting until late July or September. In the meantime, Latinos and other minority groups affected by the bill's passage have pledged to do battle, even up to the platform debates at the Democratic Convention this July in San Francisco. □

## Cruz Case Gains Public Support

### San Jose Residents Want INS Punished

San Jose—Public indignation over the maltreatment last May of two Filipino San Jose residents by an Immigration and Naturalization agent has put the agent and his regional director in hot water.

On May 21, INS agent Willy Witt entered the home of Emily and Pepe Cruz and their boarder, Pat Bernal. Claiming he was searching for someone else, Witt demanded the occupants' green cards, accused them of lying and threatened them with federal prosecution and deportation because they denied knowledge of the alleged person's whereabouts.

To this day, Witt has not been reprimanded for his actions, despite loud public protests over his violation of the Cruzes' civil liberties. In fact, INS regional director John Senko defended Witt's actions and commended Witt as being one of his best agents. The Cruz case is not the first time Witt has been accused of abuse. He was also the target of a suit claiming he had beaten up Roy Morales, a Vietnam veteran to the point the latter suffered brain damage. That case was settled out of court.

Charges of violation of privacy were filed with the San Jose Police Department for the intrusion and harassment, but were dismissed on the grounds that the police report taken at the time of the incident did

Continued on page 12

## Simpson/Mazzoli Bill's Highlights

Below are the main provisions of HR 1510 (Simpson/Mazzoli Bill) passed by the House of Representatives June 20.

### LEGALIZATION

The House bill would legalize aliens who have lived in the U.S. since January 1, 1982. They would be granted temporary-resident status for two years, after which they would become permanent residents if they were employed, studying English and civics, and had not been convicted of a felony. Those over 65 would be exempted from the language requirement. The newly legalized immigrants would be barred from federal assistance programs for five years.

There are no guarantees that those who apply under this program would be given legal status. Meanwhile, the INS would have gained the names and addresses of hitherto unidentified undocumented workers.

### EMPLOYER SANCTIONS

Under the House bill, employers would be given a citation for the first violation; fines of \$1,000 per alien hired for the first violation and \$2,000 each for the second would apply for

subsequent violations. The House measure does not provide for criminal penalties.

The bill would require employers of four or more persons to check citizenship or work authorization documents. A toll-free number will be set up for employers to verify the Social Security numbers of prospective employees.

These provisions could render all "foreign-looking" job-hunters vulnerable to knee-jerk discrimination in hiring, as employers avoid the sanctions. Fears have also been expressed that this could lead to a "national identity card" or an internal passport, a feature of fascist societies.

### TEMPORARY WORKERS

The House voted to expand the temporary foreign worker program as it applies to growers of perishable crops and to allow those growers to hire workers on three days' notice.

Workers could come in for up to 11 months at a time and could move from one employer to another within specified areas. The bill creates a three-year transition program to allow growers to adjust their labor force to the new laws. Employers can employ their usual number of undocumented workers for the

first year, 67% the second, 33% the third and come into full compliance the fourth year.

Essentially, this new bracero program would legally provide growers cheap labor, a workforce that has no benefits or protection, and one that can be easily expelled if unionization attempts arise.

### ASYLUM

The bill would not require aliens detained at the border to be informed of their rights to counsel and a hearing. It is designed to make application for political asylum so tedious as to assure very few refugees would be able to take advantage of the program.

### FUNDING

The bill authorizes \$80 million in the current fiscal year for "improved service and enforcement activities" by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The amount will increase to \$700 million in 1985 and \$715 million in 1986.

These funds would beef up the repressive capacities of the INS which is mainly a police agency. Border patrols and factory and neighborhood raids are expected to escalate. □



Jesse Jackson on Immigration:

# "I Don't Like the Phrase 'Illegal'"



Frontline

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's efforts to empower the disenfranchised has placed his Rainbow campaign squarely in support of immigrant rights. Unlike his Democratic Party contenders, Jackson has remained morally and politically committed to defending the rights of the undocumented and to the defeat of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

Jackson's views on immigration were presented in a speech he made in Los Angeles, May 19 before a rally against the Simpson/Mazzoli bill. The text of that speech is reprinted below. He is planning a march to the Mexican border in early July to dramatize his position.

Meanwhile, in the few weeks remaining before the Democratic National Convention, Jackson's efforts will be directed towards changing party rules that handicap minority candidates. For example, while Jackson received about 21% of the popular vote, he received only 7% of the delegates.

Though Jackson lacks the delegates to maintain pressure on his contenders to open party doors to the disenfranchised, he carries the popular backing many believe can be decisive in beating Ronald Reagan in November. Jackson's campaign has already drawn in two million new voters, and is expected to bring in an additional one million in November.

Before he rallies behind a presidential nominee, Jackson has repeatedly stated that the Democratic Party platform must reflect the aspirations of "those locked out of the system."

Jackson is also maintaining his policy of bringing internationally relevant issues to the American public. He recently lambasted Reagan administration policies toward South Africa before a UN Special Committee where he received a standing ovation.

"The present U.S. partnership with apartheid is a violation of our national morality," Jackson told the committee. "Choosing dollars over dignity not only in South Africa, but in El Salvador, Chile, the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world is leading us as a nation down the road to moral suicide."

A trip to Central America, including Nicaragua and Cuba is being planned.

I would like to thank all of you who have come out this day to make a statement against repression and meanness and in favor of fairness and the just treatment of all people. In particular, I would like to congratulate all the non-Latinos who are here today. It is easy for Latinos to understand the importance and the immediacy of this issue. For if the Simpson-Mazzoli bill becomes United States law, no Latino will ever be able to go to work, or take a walk, without the threat of harassment, arrest or even deportation. Even as we speak, a young Chicano from Corpus Christi, Texas, is being held by immigration authorities, despite the fact that he is fluent in English and has a birth certificate.

Unfortunately, however, too many for too long have seen the immigration issue as purely a Latino problem. As a consequence, Latinos have had to fight largely on their own. But that is no longer the case. Now the Rainbow Coalition has created a vehicle through which all people of conscience can unite to promote a new direction in American politics—a direction that refuses to blame scapegoats for failed economic policies, a direction that chooses to evaluate people on the basis of their character and their contribution to society, and not on the basis of how they got here. What's more, the Rainbow Coalition believes that all people have the inalienable right to be treated with respect and dignity. Like Benito Juarez, we believe that respect for the rights of others, is the foundation for peace and justice. Respect for the rights of others, means respect for all others—for the rights of Latinos, Haitians, Asians, Africans.

These last few days here in Los Angeles have given me a renewed commitment to helping all those who have been locked out. On Thursday, I spent the night with the family of Heriberto and Carmen Lima, an undocumented family who have lived and worked here for 12 years. Though they live in small, cramped quarters in one of Los Angeles' poorest housing projects, their love and warmth was large and rich. Some would call them "illegal aliens," but their pride, self respect, dignity and love was not illegal and it was not alien. It was right and it was real. I don't like the phrase "illegal." Heroin is illegal. E.T. was alien. But the Limas and other so-called "illegal aliens" are people just like you and I. They breathe the same air, drink the same water, and, yes, they dream the same dreams. And like you and I, they cannot fight their battles alone. They need us, like we need them. And now is the time for us to turn to each other and not on each other. Together, our time has come.

Upon leaving the Lima residence, we went to Hollywood Park Race Track. There we saw the squalid living conditions that the workers, mostly undocumented, lived in. Nine-by-nine rooms shared by three people. No running water, no toilet or kitchen facilities. Families split apart because children are not allowed on the quarters.

And it is the virtual hysteria against the undocumented, fanned by the last two administrations, that allows such inhumane treatment to continue. This hysteria is fueled by a combination of myth, stereotype, meanness and political expediency. No scientifically legitimate study has proven that the undocumented take jobs from U.S. citizens, yet the myth persists. Studies show that few use health care facilities, receive welfare benefits or unemployment compensation, yet the myth persists that they tax city services. Most have social security and income taxes withheld from their wages, yet never collect them. Crime statistics for the undocumented are consistently lower than for the larger community, yet they are stereotyped as crime-prone. What's more, since most undocumented come to the U.S. between the ages of 16 and 20, Mexico bears the burden of producing the worker, while we bear the fruits of their labor. The point is that there is ample evidence that the undocumented put much into our economy and take little out. We must grant amnesty to the undocumented. We must tell organized labor that rather than fighting the undocumented, they should organize them.

The undocumented worker has been used as a scapegoat whenever it is convenient. The only relationship between undocumented immigration and unemployment is a political one. That is, when government economic policies reward the rich and harm the poor. When they cause high inflation and unemployment, they must look for someone to blame, someone who because of their powerlessness, cannot defend themselves—who better than the undocumented? Add to this the fact that the undocumented is "racially different," a factor that is advanced by veiled rhetoric by government officials, and we have a classic case of workers pitted against worker, victim against victim, race against race. We must strip away this veil of meanness and expose Reagan's policies for what they are—

policies that sacrifice the American worker at the altar of higher profits. And when the worker rebels at such policies, they point the finger at the undocumented worker; or at the black, or at the Latinos; or at women—saying, it's their fault that you have no jobs. We have all been victimized by such tactics. We must not allow ourselves to succumb to such propaganda.

We must stop the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, and stop it now. And we must go beyond the letter of the bill and also stop the spirit of the bill. It is that mean spirit that says we should have pass books. This is not South Africa—no pass books here. It is that mean spirit that says we will arrest and punish you because you "look a certain way." We all "look a certain way." It is that same mean spirit that allowed the Palmer Raids in the '30s; Asian-American concentration camps in the '40s; Operation Wetback and blacklisting in the '50s; the Vietnam War in the '60s.

My campaign seeks to expose and end this scapegoating and meanness of spirit. It seeks to build and heal. It seeks to give the locked out a voice; to lift the boats stuck at the bottom. But in order to do this we must turn to each other and not on each other. American life is not like a blanket, one color, one fabric, one texture. American life is like a quilt, many pieces, many sizes, many shapes, many colors, bound together by a common thread. When we come together we provide warmth, security and power to each one of those pieces, and in the end we are all stronger. I have fought to have the Voting Rights Act fully enforced, to end discriminatory rules in the Democratic Party. When these rules are removed and our votes are allowed to count; when we come together under the rainbow all is possible. For when blacks vote in great numbers, Latinos and progressive whites can win. When Latinos vote in great numbers, blacks and women can win. And when we elect each other we can seize power for each other. Then we can stop Simpson-Mazzoli; and we can stop 70% cuts in public housing; we can cut the defense budget and stop the MX and B-1 bomber; we can stop the spraying of malathion in our communities. We can end the war against Nicaragua and the support of death squads in El Salvador. When we seize that power we can help our undocumented brothers and sisters; we can educate our children and choose education over war; we can insure dignity and self-determination for farmworkers. We can buy Ronald Reagan a one-way ticket back to the ranch.

If not now, when? Others have said, you are not the man. Well, if not I, who? This time around, we do not need to march outside the convention, we will be inside the convention. This time around, we will not need to carry signs saying "End the mining of harbors" and "Stop the Death Squads." I will be at the table saying it. This time around, we won't have to choose between the lesser of two evils—between Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum. This time around you can vote for me.

Your task is clear, you must come alive on June 5. You must send a message that will be heard from California to our nation's capitol; from South Africa to the jungles of El Salvador. This time around things are different. This time around we choose for ourselves. This time around we choose action over advocacy; liberation over liberalism.

Do you want somebody who will kill dead the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill?

Here am I, send me.

Do you want somebody who will end the war against Nicaragua and stop the death squads in El Salvador? Here am I, send me.

Do you want somebody who will educate our children, who will build and heal America? Here am I, send me.

Do you want somebody who will study war no more? Here am I, send me.

Do you want somebody who will bring us all together—yellow, brown, black, and white; women and men; gays and lesbians; peace activists and environmentalists; citizens and non-citizens? Here am I, send me.

In 1984, together, *si se puede!* □

**FILIPINO ENDORSERS OF JESSE JACKSON**

SEATTLE: Offie Ambat, president, Salinas Association\*, member of Sandiwa (United Ideals); David Della, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Union Local 37\*; Dionnie Dionisio, member, American Letter Carriers Union\*; Tino Esteban, American Postal Workers Union\*; Rick Farinas, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 37\*; Joe Lalas, student, Washington University, member, Sandiwa; Aleo Lorenzo, Vice President, ILWU Local 37, member Filipino-American Political Action Group of Washington\*; Joe Pascual, President, Sandiwa; Bob Santos, member, King County Steering Committee, Jesse Jackson for President, chair, Asian Americans for Jackson, Director, Inter\*Im; Mario Suson, labor organizer; Cindy Domingo, CAMD/PSN, CJDV; Ia Rodriguez, American Friends Services Committee\*, KDP; Janette Lazam, Alliance Against Women's Oppression; Romy Garcia, KDP, Filipinos for Jackson. BAY AREA: Joy Bagnol, student, California State University; Edwin Batongbacal,

CAMD/PSN; Luisa Blue, President, SEUI Local 390/400\*; Paul Estabalaya, active in community and church groups; Roger Estrella, Ph.D.; Lillian Galedo, Director, Filipino Immigrant Services\*; Remy Galedo, KDP; Emil De Guzman, Senior Escort Program\*; Mila de Guzman, Co-coordinator, Bay Area Coalition Against the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill; Ed Illumin, SF Human Right Commission\*; Leni Marin, West Coast Coordinator, CJDV; Sr. Felicia Sarati, O.S.J.; Bill Sorro, trade unionist; Bill Tamayo, attorney, Coordinator, BACASM; Jing Villareyes, Committee for Democratic Union; Becky Villones, Human Relations Commission, Santa Clara County.\* LOS ANGELES: Paul Daza, student, UCLA; Raul Daza, attorney; Antonio de Castro, Coordinator, Early Outreach—UC Irvine\*; Sumi Haru; Mel Illumin, Director, Asian Coalition, Chairman, So. California Pilipino-American Student Association; Andrea Aquino-Luna; Cas Tolentino, President, Filipino Lawyers of So. California\*.

\*Organizations for purposes of identification only

# PND Fests Mix Music, Food and Politics



Festivity and discussion marked this year's Philippine National Day celebrations.

By VICKY PEREZ

Amidst colorful balloons and coveys of children dressed in traditional garb, 6,000 Filipino residents of Toronto, Canada commemorated Philippine National Day June 9 with food, politics, and music.

"It is a day to take stock of our accomplishments, to express our varied interests as a community and to air our common concerns," Rene Santiago, co-coordinator of the event, said over the loudspeaker in Seton Park.

Philippine National Day is actually a commemoration of June 12, 1898, the day the Philippine revolution won independence from colonial Spain. That victory was snatched by the United States. Filipinos in North America now mark the day to highlight the Filipinos' "continuing desire for freedom" and their experiences as immigrants in the U.S. and Canada.

In its sixth year in Toronto, "PND" has gained much popularity both for its creativity and its political character. The organizers of the event have carefully worked out their "points of unity:" 1) the expression of the Filipino community's concern for the Philippines, a concern heightened by the assassination of Benigno Aquino Jr. last August 21; 2) opposition to Bill C-9, a Canadian bill which will have far reaching repressive implications for minority communities if passed and 3) the establishment of links between the Filipino community and other immigrant and ethnic communities in Canada.

The program reflected much of these concerns. Satish Dhar, editor of the *Asian-Canadian*, explained the need for all immigrant communities to get together in solving common problems. "Only by joining together can we be strong," he said.

Bert Montemayor, a member of the PND Subcommittee on Bill C-9, explained the components of the legislation. If passed by the House of Commons, the bill will expand the powers of the Canadian and international security agencies in their pursuit of threats to national security. The legislation is expected to give Marcos an "eye" into the community, and will stifle criticism of Canadian foreign policy.

A political skit, "*Panalo Sa Botohan, Talo Sa Bilangan* (Winner of the Vote, Loser of the Count), a send-up of the recently held elections in the Philippines delighted the crowd. The cast included a flying voter, an intimidated voter, a dead voter, and a boycott supporter. It was staged by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network. The Movement for a Free Philippines was also there to condemn the repressive efforts of the Marcos regime.

*Tanglaw ng Kabataan* rondalla performed and the Kababayan Women's Volunteer Group as well as the Ontario Filipino Women's Club presented traditional folkdances. A break dance contest raised the most eyebrows. An early-bird work-out and a "*Pasarapan ng Luto*" (cook-

ing contest) were added attractions.

Among the groups supporting the event were the Kababayan Community Center, Silangan Community Center and the Parkdale Action Committee Against Racism.

A few years back, the Philippine consulate started its own June 12 picnic, to compete with the established celebration. The consulate, however, has not been successful in attracting any support.

"We are confident," PND co-coordinator Ging Hernandez told *AK*, that "people unite with our politics and concern over the situation in the Philippines and Canada." Not letting matters rest, CAMD challenged the consulate's motorcade with a counter-motorcade, picketed the latter's gala and even got a lot of media coverage for its efforts.

### 'Educating Concha'

In New York, 300 people attended the indoor PND celebrations June 16 in the Burrough of Queens. The ninth year celebration had the theme "*Patatagin ang ating Pagkakaisa*" (Strengthen our Unity) and featured political workshops in the daytime and a cultural night.

"The Philippine Wonderland," a slide show produced by the Amauan (artists') Workshop was the highlight of the opening session. It creatively depicted Spanish and U.S. colonization of the Philippines with the use of postcards of the period. Cultural and architectural Spanish and U.S. influences illustrated in the post cards portrayed their attitudes towards the Philippines at the time.

"Philippine Crisis and the People's Alternative," the first workshop, predictably drew the most interest. Many of the participants viewed videotapes of the activities and protests of the boycott movement prior to the May 14 elections.

Nio Reyes gave a political and economic update covering the period after the Aquino assassination. Bonifacio Gillego of the Movement for a Free Philippines presented the alternatives that exist to the present repressive regime. The call for a coalition

government or the "CORD proposal" was the heart of his presentation. It is, according to Gillego an alternative that every serious opposition force can agree with.

"Because of the increased awareness about the nature of the regime with the killing of Aquino, there is a lot more interest in the alternatives," said CAMD/PSN member Offie Villero, workshop moderator. The discussion became so lively that it ran overtime until the moderator was forced to end it.

Participants in the second workshop, "Filipinos and U.S. Electoral Politics," viewed a slide show on the history of Filipino immigration to the U.S. which depicted how discrimination has disenfranchised the community. Experiences of being denied equal pay, equal opportunity, or equal rights were discussed in the workshop moderated by Velma Veloria of the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino*.

Part of the workshop was a "ground breaking" discussion of the significance of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign.

"For many in the workshop, interacting with electoral or even broader minority-wide issues is a new experience," explained Veloria. "From the discussion, we developed an appreciation of the need to work with other minority communities for a stronger voice."

The evening featured a lively cultural event. Soloes and duets of traditional and

Aquino. The event ended with a spirited call to organize for next year's 10th PND.

### SACRAMENTO FESTIVITY

"Veteran Philippine National Day celebrants will happily admit," says the Sacramento PND brochure, "that, by design, this event is not a mere cultural and social gathering... it cultivates a deeper appreciation of the real-life struggles of Filipinos, both now and in the past."

Dolores Pizarro explained more of this approach at a program held June 22 at Rizal Hall and attended by "100 kids and 200 parents." The program opened with a slide show, "PND, A New Story Retold," which reviewed the cultural and social history of Filipinos, from the first Philippine Republic to the present.

The Filipino Children's Group performed several crowd-pleasing numbers, including the Filipino folk dance "*Sakuting*" and Hawaiian dances.

Nina and Ed Usteris performed "*La Jota Moncadeña*" and "*Pandango sa Ilaw*" with Charity Vita-Avena and Ed Ustaris. Anna Cruz and Bernadette Guevarra performed some hip-breaking Polynesian dances.

These numbers were flanked by speeches on "Immigrant Rights" and "Building Our Political Strength" by Lillian Galeo of the Bay Area Committee Against the Simpson/Mazzoli and Liz Fenkell from the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), respectively. Songs from Central America



A youngster gives her rendition of a popular song before the Sacramento PND audience.

modern Filipino songs were performed by the Sunnyside-Woodside Senior Citizens' Group. Ernie Santos belted out a *kundiman*, and the Children's Woodside Group sang "*Ang Bayan Ko*."

A skit was staged by the CAMD/PSN, "Educating Concha." It was written by Linda Faigao and directed by Melvie Pacubas. The skit depicted the development of a "typical" Filipinas' awareness of Philippine politics. Concha, a professional immigrant would not get involved in anything political, until the brutal killing of

were introduced to a new audience by Lio Casindio.

The Coalition against the Marcos Dictatorship brought the spirit of the Philippine struggle through the songs "*Kailan Ka Pa Lalaya Bayan?*" and "*Meme na Bunso*."

The event was successful despite attempts by pro-Marcos elements to undermine it. PND's sponsors complained of redbaiting and attempts to pressure the administrators of the site to deny them use of the hall. □

Keep informed of developments . . .

- in the Philippines
- in the U.S. Filipino community
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I WAS AFRAID OF THIS....



# Rightists Gun Down Vietnamese Activists

By VINCE REYES

In what is clearly a politically-motivated attack, long-standing peace and solidarity activists, Nguyen Van Luy, 72, and his wife, Pham Thi Luu, 72, were shot in front of their San Francisco Sunset District home on Memorial Day, May 28.

The attack left Thi Luu dead and Van Luy critically wounded. Witnesses said the suspect, an Asian male about 25 years old, fired four shots and then jumped into a car driven by another man and sped away.

Five days after the attack, the "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation," claimed responsibility for the killings in a letter sent to a Southern California Vietnamese tabloid, *Nguoi Viet*.

The weekly newspaper has been sympathetic to rightwing Vietnamese exiles living in Santa Ana, California. The communique said the shooting was an act of "punishment" against Nguyen Van Luy whom they charged was a "special agent for Vietnamese communism."

## VICTIMS WERE FOR FOR NORMALIZATION OF VIET-U.S. TIES

Three years ago, the same group claimed it assassinated pro-Vietnam activist Lam Trong Duong, 27, also from San Francisco. That murder has never been solved.

Van Luy has lived in the U.S. for 43 years and had been in the forefront of the anti-Vietnam war activities during the 1960s and '70s. He was a founder of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the

U.S. and is its honorary president.

Since the end of the war, Van Luy has remained active in seeking the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Vietnam and was recently involved in seeking humanitarian aid for Vietnamese flood victims.

Friends of Van Luy believe it was his identification with the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam that made him a candidate for assassination by rightwing Vietnamese extremists. It appears that his humanitarian aid and pro-normalization activities have also displeased U.S. government agencies who are quick to label him a "communist agent."

On the morning of the shootings, Jack Anderson's nationally syndicated column claimed that the U.S. Customs Service is investigating a purported Vietnamese government scheme to extort "millions of dollars from Vietnamese refugees in the United States." The column alleged that "one Hanoi agent in the San Francisco area" was sending \$200,000 a month to Vietnam.

Thi Luu was active along with her husband in seeking normal ties between Vietnam and the U.S. Her will stated it was her desire that the family home "shall go to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for its use as a consulate." Most other property will go to Vietnam's permanent mission in the United Nations upon her husband's death. Other property and cash would go to the Association of Vietnamese in the U.S.

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST FASCIST VIOLENCE

The shootings have led to a campaign



Nguyen Van Luy

among peace and solidarity activists for a government investigation of the case. San Francisco police officials at first discounted politics as the motive in the attacks, but are now convinced that it is. Public outcry against the shootings has led the city to post a \$10,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the attackers. The campaign also wants the federal authorities to conduct an investigation and to end the violent activities of criminal and fascist elements that have been victimizing the Vietnamese community.

Spearheading the campaign is the Committee for Justice for Thi Luu and Van

Luy. It views the shootings as an attack on civil liberties, the Vietnamese community and the peace movement. Committee members include trade unionists, anti-racist activists, peace and solidarity activists, journalists, lawyers, and clergy.

The Association of Vietnamese in the U.S. (formerly the Association of Vietnamese Patriots) issued a statement from Los Angeles condemning "the heinous assassination by terrorists who still dream of the restoration of the puppet and corrupt regime which has been swept away by history. We demand that the government investigate this killing and take appropriate action against those responsible."

Committee organizers note that the list of political murders that have victimized peace and solidarity activists is getting longer. This includes, among other cases, the assassination of Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier in 1977, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, anti-Marcos KDP activists working with the Cannery Workers Union Local 37 in Seattle in 1981, and Lam Trong Duong in 1981. All of the murders were perpetrated by U.S.-supported reactionary governments or movements.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson sent a telegram to the Committee a few days after the shootings expressing his concern and recognized Van Luy and Thi Luu as "important leaders of the Vietnamese peace movement in our country."

"Black, brown, red, yellow, or white, we all deserve the right to live freely in our society without fear. Every American should condemn the taking of another's life for their political beliefs. It is a great tragedy when those who work for peace and justice in our own land meet with violence on our city streets." Jackson is asking the federal government to investigate the murder.

Van Luy is recovering from his wound and is strong enough to assist the San Francisco police in the investigation. Friends expect him to be able to speak in public soon and participate in the campaign to bring his wife's killers to justice. □

by ELAINE LEE

SEATTLE—Two hundred fifty supporters gathered here June 3 to commemorate the third anniversary of the political murders of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, officials of the Alaska cannery workers' union Local 37 and members of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP).

The Local 37 union hall was packed as Bob Santos, steering committee member of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes presided over a program that summed up the status of the committee's work after three years of hard crusading.

Since the cold-blooded assassinations on June 1, 1981, the CJDV has gathered evidence pointing to a conspiracy involving the Marcos dictatorship in complicity with the U.S. government to eliminate the two leaders because of their effective work in the U.S.-based anti-Marcos movement, and their efforts to link the U.S. and Philippine labor movements, specifically the *Kilusang Mayo Uno*—May First Movement.

A civil suit filed in September 1982 makes specific charges against the government defendants and other conspirators including Tony Baruso, ex-president of Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Immediately after the murders, a concerted cover-up began.

"We have been continuously frustrated by the array of tools which the government utilized to cover-up their culpability in these political crimes, most notably the use of the 'national security' doctrine to shield the U.S. and U.S.-backed dictatorships around the world from prosecution," Cindy Domingo, national coordinator of the CJDV, told supporters. Cover-up activities includes the injection of a professional witness into the criminal trials, the murder of a key witness, and the refusal of federal and local authorities to charge Baruso with the murders.

Although three lower-level conspirators were convicted in the murders, Baruso

## 3rd Anniversary of Domingo-Viernes Murders

# Memorial Sums Up Justice Efforts



Romy Garcia



Cindy Domingo



Bob Santos

remains the unindicted connection between the Philippine government and the hit men. Despite a clear motive to murder Domingo and Viernes, ownership of the murder weapon, and direct ties with the State Department and Marcos himself, Baruso has not been charged by the local prosecutor. The CJDV has also pressed unsuccessfully for federal charges in light of clear evidence of federal violations by Baruso and others. After overwhelming pressure, Baruso was convicted on minor charges of embezzlement of Local 37 funds, mail fraud and filing false declarations. "It was a way of getting the Feds and Baruso off the hook for the murders,"

said Domingo.

## UNION REFORM MOVEMENT

Terri Mast, Local 37 president and Domingo's widow told the crowd that the CJDV's justice efforts helped the reform movement in the union gain victory. "The campaign for justice shielded the reform movement from further physical attacks from the corrupt leadership's gangsters. In addition, the CJDV's efforts drew public attention to the efforts to change a union riddled with graft, efforts that were initiated by Gene and Silme."

Viernes and Domingo were the two foremost leaders of a reform movement to rid Local 37 of the corrupt leadership

which had dominated the union since the 1950s and signed one sweetheart contract after another with the seafood industry. With the 1980 election of Domingo as secretary-treasurer and Viernes as dispatcher and a reform majority on the local's executive board, a progressive foothold was secured.

At the ILWU International Convention in May 1981, they led the fight for a successful resolution to send an investigating team to study conditions of workers under the fascist dictatorship. Soon after, they were gunned down.

Amado David, organizer for the Association of Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees and head of the labor task force of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, reported on his recent trip to the Philippines to meet with KDU leaders and participate in its convention. David told the audience at the memorial that he is essentially taking over the task left behind by Domingo and Viernes, that of "building supportive links between progressive labor forces here and the militant Philippine labor struggle."

## DEADLY INTERSECTION

Seattle KDP member Romy Garcia asserted, "We are witnessing increased repression against the U.S.-based anti-Marcos movement of which political assassination is the most extreme form," noting also the murder of former Senator Benigno Aquino.

"Domingo and Viernes were victims of the Reagan administration's interventionist and pro-dictatorship policies," Garcia observed further. "The administration has whipped up such a climate that offensives can be launched against those, particularly in the minority and immigrant communities, who stand opposed to both the domestic and international aspects of U.S. policy. Those are the ones silenced first," Garcia said.

The civil suit is currently awaiting a final ruling on a motion to exclude the government defendants. Other legal channels are also being investigated to hold similar repression experienced by other solidarity and progressive movements. □

## Equal Opportunity Worker Sues Firm for Bias

NEW YORK—A New York Filipino filed discrimination charges against her former employer, RKO General, Inc., for firing her and for systematically basing its promotion, compensation and termination practices on the race and national origins of the employees.

Lourdes Avelino, an employee with the firm for three and a half years, was corporate manager for equal opportunity compliance, a position charged with monitoring federal equal opportunity policies and their implementation.

Avelino believes she was singled out for firing because she was the only Asian-American in the managerial position in the company's national headquarters and because she took her job seriously.

With ten years of experience in the field, Avelino uncovered and brought to the attention of her superiors discriminatory practices her company was guilty of in the areas of salaries, benefits, hirings, transfers, resignations, and job segregation.

"Your color determined where you would be routed in the company," Avelino told AK.

"Blacks were put in the mailroom, Asians in accounting, and they'd stay there, with no chance of promotion or upward mobility. Whites, on the other hand, were hired onto the managerial ladder, even if there were minorities who were more qualified and competent to take the job."

Whites in those positions, she explained, can then determine policy, jurisdiction, etc.

"It is a very systematic and sophisticated form of discrimination," she added.

Avelino was also responsible for producing a survey of compensation which pointed out that in the entire corporation, minorities who were in management level positions received 60% less in wages than their white counterparts.

Regarding her own position, Avelino stated she received an annual salary \$10,000 less than her white counterparts who had less education and experience.

When the results of these findings were brought to the attention of her superior, they were ignored, Avelino alleges. After repeatedly being passed over in promotions, Avelino was dismissed January 6 for what she alleges were minor technical reasons.

Avelino filed charges of discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission May 25, after a lengthy period of legal red tape, consultation and procuring the needed funds for the expensive effort.

"I don't want things like this to be happening in the world," Avelino explained. "I feel it's my obligation to challenge these unfair practices."

Avelino hopes minority and immigrant groups will support her case since "it's really a minority-wide issue." The Asian American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Union of Democratic Filipinos, Movement for a Free Philippines, and the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All have pledged their assistance, she reports. □

## A Blow to Affirmative Action

In a 6 to 3 ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down "superseniarity" or affirmative action in layoffs June 6. Superseniarity was the main protection for minority beneficiaries of affirmative action programs from being "first fired" in times of cutbacks or recessions.

The case involved white firemen laid off by the city of Memphis during the belt-tightening period of 1981. The year before the city had began an affirmative action program to hire blacks. The white sued on the ground that their layoffs were dictated by affirmative action considerations.

The Supreme Court could have declared the case moot since the whites were rehired in three months. But the Reaganites in the Court saw it as a chance to weaken affirmative action altogether. The majority opinion penned by Justice Byron White

asserted that in order to justify superseniarity individuals have to show that they have been unjustly denied seniority as a result of intentional discrimination.

The court's decision reaffirms that the seniority system, that is, the practice of "last hired, first fired" in employment must prevail over affirmative action. But is precisely the discrimination against minorities and women that makes it difficult for them to get hired and, if hired at all, to earn seniority. Thus, as the least protected by the existing seniority systems, they are the most vulnerable to layoffs and firings.

Civil rights groups including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Organization of Women denounced the court's decision as a major setback for the civil rights movement. □

## Local 37 Official Visits Nicaragua



U.S. and Nicaraguan trade unionists met in Corinto, Nicaragua last month, the site of CIA organized terrorist attacks and mining operations. David Della (left), Secretary-Treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37 in Seattle, gives a solidarity handshake to a member of the local Sandinista trade union organization. Della was one of 30 U.S. delegates representing 17 national unions who attended the International Trade Union Conference for Peace held in Managua April 24-27. (from People's World)

## Trade Unionist Reports Back on KMU



Amado David, organizer for the Association of Federal, State, County, and Municipal Employees (above) speaking before a group of trade unionists at the Service Employees International Union Hall in San Francisco last June 9. David recently returned from the Philippines after being invited by the Kilusang Mayo Uno as part of an international delegation to observe the conditions of workers under the Marcos dictatorship. David is touring the U.S. on behalf of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network's Task Force on Philippine Labor. He also spoke in Seattle at the anniversary memorial of murdered trade unionists/anti-Marcos activists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo. David's tour aims to promote awareness of the KMU among U.S. trade unions and to popularize a petition campaign to free leading trade unionists imprisoned by Marcos.

T. Rocamora

## San Jose Residents Want INS Punished . . .

Continued from page 8

not indicate Witt was told to leave.

"He was asked to leave," said Pepe, "but the police didn't ask that when they made out the report. Witt refused to leave because he kept insisting it was a federal issue."

### INS DEFENDS INTIMIDATION

Angered by the incident, Filipino and Asian community leaders met with Senko June 1 in his San Jose office. In the meeting with Alex Melendez of the Filipino American Political Association, Becky Vilones, Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino; Alex Hubbard, People United for Human Rights; Tony Yap and Jovenal Castro, FAPA and Richard Konda, Asian Law Alliance, Senko unabashedly defended Witt as an agent he personally hand-picked "using strict criteria."

The delegates discovered through the meeting that both Senko and Witt were former border patrol agents. "It's no wonder why he has a border patrol mentality," said Melendez. Senko was himself like a



Picket in front of San Jose INS office denouncing harassment of local Filipino family.

"tough cop" in the meeting, one of the participants said.

Senko justified the interrogation of Cruz and Bernal because "illegals will most likely have dark hair, dark eyes and brown skin." When asked to justify the reasons for intimidating the household, he responded, "You don't get the kind of information you want without intimidation. Most of law enforcement is intimidation. Like when you see a red light, you get intimidated, so you stop."

"We are bringing the issue before him as members of the community," said Melendez, "but he refuses to consider our case." As far as he's concerned, Senko said the Cruz case is closed.

### CITY COUNCIL ASKS SENKO'S OUSTER

After the meeting, a picket protested in front of the INS downtown office denounced INS harassment and raid in the minority communities and workplaces.

Some 120 people attended, representing groups such as Raza Si, the Mexican American Service Agency, the Latino Agenda Coalition, members of the Central Labor Council, the Filipino Community Organization of Santa Clara County, KDP, Asian Law Alliance, FAPA, and CAMD/PSN.

Shortly after the incident, Cruz presented her case before the Commission on Human Relations, which pledged an investigation.

The Cruzes also met with Local Congressmen Don Edwards and Norman Mineta, who each promised they will look into the matter.

In a victory for their case, the San Jose City Council heard Emily Cruz on Tuesday, June 19. After hearing Emily's complaint, the city council passed several motions. First, a hotline will be established to handle complaints about the INS. The council will also send a letter to Mineta and Edwards to push for an investigation and to give information on services that could be of assistance to the community (e.g. English proficiency classes).

Lastly, the council moved to send a letter to the Director of the INS urging Senko's removal. "He's responsible for the incursions and terror resulting from the raids into the community," said council member Blanca Alvarado. "He sets the tone for the actions of the office."

Cruz and Bernal will have an opportunity to be heard before the Civil Rights Commission, which will be in San Jose in July to hear complaints of INS enforcement.

Future actions will be coordinated by Filipino, Chicano and civil libertarian groups that have been pulled together by their anger at INS harassment.

"We're fighting a strong discriminatory power," Melendez explained, "a government power that is prejudiced against browns and Blacks. We need to band together to be heard." □

(AK Photo)

# Voices

## Lines in Red & White for L.A. (No. 12)

The high schools were all named  
after Anglo U.S. Presidents so  
why not soup or toothpaste brand names?  
In its way the city memorializes Brecht every time  
it levels another block of poor housing  
for an institutional parkinglot  
For instance, in Chavez Ravine they wiped out  
a whole ramshackle neighborhood to build Dodger Stadium,  
and when the stands are empty and the diamond is silent,  
above the sound of the Golden State freeway can be heard  
something like distant laughter,  
the cough of Carlos Bulosan.  
Luckily for him when he died of TB  
he was buried in Seattle.  
But the faces of people like him are like the land,  
they are always in the sun here, even those  
manhandled by the California Youth Authority  
and would have been conquerors but now only  
play the electric guitar of angel dust and sing  
about that ungrateful bitch, la chingada.

## On the Road with Dad

The woman shows Mom how to make tortillas  
as the white windows of the house shine on  
the trunks of the night where the children  
run and hide in the warm orchard.  
Inside the kitchen on that worn table  
those hands working as hard as their hearts.

## desktop human rights policy for the U.S. State Department

Put the arms in the top drawer  
Put the heads in the middle drawer  
Put the legs in the bottom drawer  
Waste basket for miscellaneous  
No other drawers are needed  
for human rights

*Sesshu Foster, a Japanese-American was born in Santa Barbara in 1957. One half of his family spent World War II behind barbed wire in the Arizona desert. His mother is a grade school teacher and his father is a laborer. Sesshu was a gardener, bouncer in a Palo Alto strip joint, printer in Seattle, forest fighter in Colorado and Wyoming, and is currently a high school teaching assistant and economics student. He grew up in the Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles, where he now lives with his wife and three-year-old daughter. His works have been published in small press publications. Sesshu's most recent works are due to appear on Compages (San Francisco), La Comuna (Seattle), and Guatemala: Between the Lines in Los Angeles.*



## Taghoy ng Dayong Rebolusyonaryo

Sa pakikibaka  
Tayo ay nagkasama  
Mag-kapatid  
Sa dugo . . . at sa lahi  
Ka-isa sa adhikain.

Kapatid . . .  
Nasaan ka ngayon?  
Nasaan ka?  
H'wag mo akong talikuran!  
Hintay!

Tulad ng sanga  
Mawala man ito sa puno  
Bahagi pa rin . . . ito  
Tulad mo . . .  
Ikaw . . . ako . . . iisa.

Tulad mo  
Nais ko ring magtaya  
Tulad mo  
Ako ay nakikibaka.

"Nais ko ring sumaubayo  
Magmahal at magpalaya.  
Wala nga lamang magawa,  
Kundi umawit at tumula . . ."

Ito ay iyo . . .  
Pakinggan mong muli  
At minsan pa'y  
Balikan at pagnilayan.

j. antonio  
4/3/84

*Joey, an active organizer in the Philippines, came to the U.S. to be with his parents. Now 24, he lives on the East Coast and hopes to go back to the Philippines.*

### TO OUR READERS:

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

1. Contributions must be generally progressive in content. However, all written materials accepted for publication are edited only for length. The contributors are responsible for the political opinions expressed in their work.

2. Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed 2,000 words. All articles must be typed double spaced and received by us within the first week of the month. Only articles with self-addressed stamped envelopes will be sent back if not accepted for publication.

3. Photos of art work will be sent back upon request by the contributor.

4. For now, AK cannot give monetary compensation for published material although we wish to do so in the future. But your contribution to the enrichment of the Filipino community's cultural experience will itself be a satisfying reward.

# Lino Brocka: Portrait of the Film Director as An Angry Filipino

By OFFIE VILLERO  
Ang Katipunan New York Correspondent

Film enthusiasts in the Philippines, and more recently around the world, have seriously divided the history of Philippine cinema into the "pre-Brocka" and the "post-Brocka" periods. While not minimizing the achievements of other Filipino movie directors, this judgement recognizes director Lino Brocka's contributions to the development of Philippine cinema.

Lino Brocka is the major figure in Philippine cinema today. Famous for movies like *"Tinimbang Ka Ngunit Kulang"* (1974) and *"Maynila: Sa Kuko ng Liwanag"* (1975), Brocka has transformed Philippine cinema into a more relevant and meaningful genre.

Before him, Philippine films were regressing from the escapist costume pictures of the '30s to the low quality, soft core exploitation "bomba" craze of the 60s. When Brocka crashed into the scene in the 70s, he revitalized filmmaking by mastering the art of the melodrama and making it a vehicle for social criticism, like Fassbinder.

With this adventurous step, Brocka inspired a new wave in filmmaking in the Philippines. Other famous directors like Ishmael Bernal, Mike de Leon and Eddie Romero followed with their own movie breakthroughs.

## AS REAL AS THE SLUMS

Brocka has made over 50 films since 1970. He actually started his film career as an assistant in Monty Hellman's "Flight to Fury." Before that, he had a stint as a Mormon missionary at a leper colony in Molokai.

Already imbued with a social conscience even before his film career, Brocka used his directorial skills to depict the reality of the Philippine social setting. *Maynila*, for instance, portrays the life of a peasant who follows his sweetheart to Manila only to find himself a victim of the exploitative labor system.

In another movie, "Insiang" which is regularly shown in film festivals abroad, Brocka tells the story of a mother and a daughter who share the same lover—a situation common in the slums of Manila. As Lino puts it, "My characters are as real as the slum environment they live in."

Brocka, however, is first to say that not all of his films have "quality" and touch on social phenomena. He has expressed little esteem for the last films he has made for the local commercial market. "In every director's career, I believe there are films he would prefer to forget," Brocka once commented.

But these commercial films have made possible the production of his other more serious projects, which spotlight the Philippines' underprivileged class.

Sympathizing strongly with the Filipino working class, Brocka has, time and again, set his films in Tondo where Manila's poor huddle. And with social realism well on its way to becoming a trend in Philippine cinema, other directors started location shooting in Tondo.

## OPENLY ANTI-MARCOS

The practice caused First Lady Imelda Marcos to summon members of the Screen Directors Guild and lecture them on "the goals" of Filipino films. The gist of her lecture was: "American films make everyone

want to be an American. Filipino films should make us all pleased to be Filipinos, and should only reflect the good, the true, and the beautiful." Since then, Tondo has been off limits for filming.

Speaking of the incident before a crowd in New York City recently, Brocka said, "I don't know what she means by the good, the true, and the beautiful. All I know is as a director, I want to use the film medium to depict reality, and Tondo is one of the harshest realities in the Philippines today."

With government restrictions widening, Brocka geared himself up for a fight to regain the rights of the film industry. The move has driven him to take a more open stand against the Marcos regime.

During the 1982 Manila International Film Festival (MIFF), a special project of Mrs. Marcos, Brocka and another outspoken colleague, Mike de Leon, distributed a press release which said in part:

"We believe that in a third world country, the ostentation and extravagance accompanying the MIFF are unnecessary. The MIFF has misled the public that movies played in commercial theaters are festival films. With two or three exceptions, they are cheap, exploitation pictures with little or no artistic merit. Under the guise of fostering artistic freedom and raising funds for the disabled, cynical commercialism is being encouraged."

Brocka followed the press release with a boycott of the MIFF. Writing about the film festival, Richard Elliott

**'I see the suffering of my people and I try to depict it on film. But it is not enough. If I want the conditions of the art to change, then I should try to help to change the conditions of the people.'**

Stein said, "With no representation from the country's most prestigious director, there was a black hole in the center of things."

## FREE THE ARTISTS

The black hole widened into a gaping chasm. As soon as the MIFF ended, President Marcos issued Executive Order 868 strengthening the power of the censor board to include jurisdiction over all live performances, including fashion shows. Producers would be required to relinquish the master negatives of finished films to the board, permanently.

Performers in all the arts (the clause included script writers and directors) would have to be licensed in order to work—the licenses to be renewed yearly or cancelled if the performer's "ethics" did not conform to the board's standards.

Brocka responded by organizing the Free the Artists movement which held a series of protest rallies against the executive order. Other directors, opera singers, actors, sculptors and painters participated.

The protest movement forced the government to shelve the licensing of artists. However, the board of censors was granted even stricter control. With his usual fire and determination, Brocka turned up at the Philippine Academy Awards ceremony on May 17, 1982, to read the list of nominees for best director with



Lino Brocka in New York sharing his views with compatriots a shirt emblazoned with the words "Ban the Censors." the audience included Mrs. Marcos and the chief censor Maria Kalaw Katigbak.

## CONFRONTING POWER

Continuing his protest, Brocka with Mike de Leon refused to go to the Pesaro Film Festival with their films. Their reason: the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the president's power to detain suspected political offenders through a presidential commitment order (PCO). The PCO, charged Brocka and de Leon, empowers the military to arrest and incarcerate those suspected of being subversives on the flimsiest of evidence.

In an open letter to the Pesaro Festival Brocka and de Leon added:

What is even more alarming to us is the discovery of certain secret presidential decrees which would impose the penalty of life imprisonment or death to organizers or even mere participants in public rallies and demonstrations.

"As filmmakers and artists, and as organizers of a recent public rally against censorship, we feel that the Supreme Court ruling and the secret decrees have intensified the climate of apprehension that tends to stifle freedom of expression in general and artistic freedom in particular."

Brocka's widening involvement in the protest movement in the Philippines has led him to speaking tours all over the country as the chairman of the Concerned Artists of the Philippines. CAP is affiliated with the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, and the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All movement.

"I believe that the artist cannot be seen separate from his environment, from the conditions around him. As a director, I see the suffering of my people and I try to depict it in film. But it is not enough. If I want the conditions of the art to change, then I should try to help change the conditions of the people."

Brocka joined the boycott movement against the May 14 elections. With his influence, major performers of the cinema and stage also joined in.

"The boycott... is but a first step in the people's move to overthrow the dictatorship. Since we don't have guns, we can only resort to a militant and continuing protest action against the government," Brocka firmly declared in his speech in New York City.

## LOUDER THAN WORDS

Recently, the censors banned Brocka's newest film, "Bayan Ko," which shows clips of the boycott movement. However, with his usual gumption, Brocka sprung the film out of the country and showed it at the Cannes Film Festival last May.

"According to my lawyer, I am breaking the law by bringing the film out of the country," Brocka told his New York audience. "But there is no way I can leave the master negative in the hands of the government. First, the film is my personal property. Second, they will store it at the film archives in Manila. Do you know where the film archives is located? By the sea. And any filmmaker with brains knows the sea will ruin any film."

Brocka also "smuggled" out a short documentary made by film students about *LAKBAYAN* (*Lakad ng Bayan Para sa Kalayaan*, People's March for Freedom), or the people's march from Laguna to Rizal Park in March this year.

"It showed the true feelings of the people about Marcos, that they want Marcos out now. They cannot wait for three more years in 1987 to see him go."

Lino Brocka attended a film showing to raise funds for the impoverished students.

"They had to steal the films and use government facilities clandestinely in order to make this film about the people. They must be helped because they are doing a great service to the people by exposing the Marcos regime. As a medium, film speaks louder than words."

And as an accomplished director and activist, Lino Brocka makes them speak even louder. □



Lino Brocka's Bona.

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

## Summit Strains

Not All Quiet  
on the Western Front

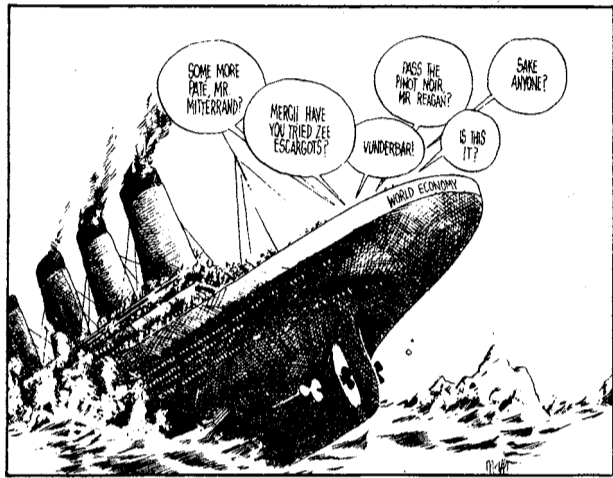
With great pomp and circumstance the leaders of the capitalist world's seven industrial giants—the U.S., Britain, West Germany, Japan, France, Italy, and Canada—gathered in London on June 8-9 for their tenth annual summit conference. Behind their smiles, however, these leaders were very much aware of the serious strains developing within their alliance.

To begin with, the decision of the Dutch parliament on June 1 to postpone for two years the deployment of 48 U.S. cruise missiles in the Netherlands hovered over the summit.

The U.S. is understandably anxious about the ripple effect the Dutch action might have on the other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (the core of the Western alliance) especially as the postponement has already given a tremendous boost to the European peace movement.

Outside the summit conference, 200,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of London demanding the removal of the U.S. nuclear missiles. On his way to London, Ronald Reagan already got a taste of the European opposition to his foreign policy when thousands of demonstrators marred his address to the Irish parliament.

Even Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald chided Reagan at a banquet in Dublin, saying that the conflict



in Central America "must be resolved by the people of the region." He also urged Reagan to negotiate with the Soviet Union and resume arms talks.

Four days before the summit, a quarter of a million demonstrators, joined by socialist legislators and led by anti-war groups and the Communist Party of Spain, marched through the streets of Madrid to demand Spain's withdrawal from NATO, and the scrapping of agreements that leased four military bases to the U.S.

King Juan Carlos of Spain, in a speech at Harvard University on June 9, called on the U.S. to resolve the Central American conflict through dialogue.

## SOFTENING THE IMAGE

Aware of the tempest that awaited them in Europe, Reagan's party carefully orchestrated a scenario designed to soften his militaristic profile. A less confrontational tone towards the Soviet Union, and George Schultz' quick trip to Nicaragua to project an administration seeking peace through negotiations, were all part of the scenario.

Reagan's summit counterparts, worried about the mounting cry for peace among their constituents, did fancy foot work. Thus, the very first major declaration of the summit was an ill-concealed attempt to distance themselves from Reagan's trigger-happy image.

The declaration stated, "We are convinced that international problems and conflicts can and must be resolved through reasoned dialogue and negotiations, and we shall support all efforts towards this end." It was initiated by the U.S.' closest ally, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

Still, the summit generally endorsed Reagan's policies, confirming the fact that the U.S. still calls the shots in the Western alliance. However, tensions over the worsening East-West relations and the strains of economic rivalry within the camp could hardly be kept from the surface.

## "DAMN IT, PIERRE!"

Pressed by the lame duck Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada to negotiate arms control and promote detente with the Soviet Union, Reagan at one point blurted out, "Damn it, Pierre, what do you want me to do, we'll go sit with empty chairs to get those guys to the table?"

(Reagan's failure to shift the blame onto the Soviet Union for the tense East-West relations was echoed even here in the U.S. Referring to the suspended arms talks, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill, asked rhetorically, "After tearing down the fence around your neighbors and throwing stones at them, would they sit down and talk with you?")

In the recent past, a number of issues dampened relations between the U.S. and Western Europe. When the U.S. urged its allies to stop the export of high tech equipment to the Soviet Union for the construction of

the gas pipeline to Western Europe, the latter rejected the idea.

Central America, particularly the invasion of Grenada and the mining of Nicaragua's harbors created strains.

Currently, pressure from the U.S. on the NATO governments to spend more on defense is building, to the annoyance of its economically hard pressed allies. Today only the U.S. and Luxemburg are able to meet the 3% annual military budget increases projected for NATO in 1979.

## ECONOMIC STRAINS

But much of the summit's attention focused on economic matters, with the Europeans quietly voicing their resentment over the gains the U.S. is making at their expense.

While the U.S. and Japan are bouncing back from recessions, their European counterparts are reeling from deep economic crises and are virtually still in a state of depression. More and more, economists are convinced that there is no way Western Europe can ever catch up with the U.S. and Japan. The continent, they believe, will remain a junior partner in the imperialist bloc at best.

While industrial production in the U.S. increased 20.5% over the depression low in 1982 and Japan showed 14.2% growth in industrial production, France, Italy, West Germany, and Britain are up from their 1982 depression levels by only 0.5%, 0.6%, 4.6% and 6.3%, respectively. On top of these, massive strikes have paralyzed Britain, France, and West Germany.

The unemployment situation shows the same pattern. Japan (which escaped the last depression) leads the way with 2.7% followed by the U.S. with 7.8%. Their European counterparts have unemployment rates hovering around 11%.

Hostage to U.S. capital, the European economies are being gutted by the huge U.S. deficits and high interest rates under Reagan. High interest rates are siphoning off precious European investment capital. High interest rates have also pushed the underdeveloped countries, whose indebtedness is fast approaching the trillion-dollar mark, to the brink of disaster.

One of the concerns raised by European summit leaders is that default in payment by a number of these indebted countries could trip up the international banking system. At the very least, they fear that indebted countries, like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Columbia might lead the formation of a debtor's cartel for collective bargaining with the world's banks. This would put considerable burdens on European countries such as France which has distributed large loans.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French Finance Minister Jacques Delors attacked high interest rates. The latter complained that U.S. financial policy is carrying Europe "to the edge of the precipice."

## TORN ASUNDER

Despite their differences, the summit participants kept a public face of "solidarity and resolve." Confident that official harmony will be the image projected by the meeting, Reagan's aides have unabashedly billed the gathering as a "re-election summit."

The Soviet Union, however, analyzed the summit as one wracked by "differences that tear the capitalist world asunder."

The Communist Party paper *Pravda* observed that the summit "took the road of grandiloquent political statements" because the participants were "unable to work out any concrete recommendations on the substance of the economic problems that divide them."

It also noted that "Washington has gone as far in its military-political adventurist actions that even its closest allies, although not willing to tear the North Atlantic bloc, prefer not to stick their necks out."

The Western European governments' fear of sticking their necks out too far comes not only from the growing popular perception that their economic ills are the result of their economies' subordinate relationship to U.S. capital, but also from the powerful peace and working class movements that have swept Western Europe in the last four years.

Pressure from these movements led to the Dutch postponement of the U.S. missile deployment.

While Britain, Italy, and West Germany remain committed to the deployment of the missiles, they have tried to balance their alignment with the U.S. by opening up stronger ties with the Soviet Union.

More diplomatic exchanges and state visits between the Soviet Union and Western Europe have been going on lately and more are scheduled to take place.

Spain is also moving towards a non-aligned position

and has raised the possibility of ultimately dismantling the U.S. bases there.

The strength of the peace movement was clearly evident in the recent elections to the European Parliament (the joint advisory body for members of the European common market). In general, political parties opposed to the deployment of nuclear missiles and supportive of a nuclear freeze gained significantly, relative to their performance in previous elections.

In contrast conservative governments lost significant shares of the popular vote as well as seats in the European Parliament. Helmut Kohl's conservative government in West Germany suffered losses while the anti-nuclear Greens Party gained some seats in the Parliament and has increased its share of the popular vote by 250% since the 1979 elections. In Britain, the Labor Party which opposes the nuclear missiles also made significant gains.

Among the incumbent governments only the socialist government of Andreas Papandreu of Greece emerged stronger after the elections. Papandreu has been gravitating towards a non-aligned position, supports the nuclear freeze and reduction of arms, and is reconsidering Greece's membership in the NATO. He also wants nuclear arms and the U.S. bases ultimately removed from Greece.

## PRESSURE FROM THE EAST

Aside from economic rivalry, the Western alliance's difficulties are filled by yet another set of factors: the increasing diplomatic and economic influence of the Soviet Union, the consolidation of the socialist economies, especially in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet's attainment of nuclear parity with the U.S.

At the time of the summit, the 10-nation Council for Mutual Assistance, known as Comecon, was also holding its conference. The Comecon has an integrated economy—based on division of labor and responsibility—that reinforces the strengths and overcomes the weaknesses of the individual member countries.

Although the Comecon is still unevenly developed, with the Soviet Union being the most advanced having reached the stage of developed socialism, it is now on par with its Western European counterpart, the common market, in terms of productive capacity.

Locked in an economic crisis and overpowered by U.S. capital, Western Europeans see increased economic ties with Comecon countries as an attractive prospect. This is arousing sentiments in favor of Western European neutrality which could really weaken the imperialist bloc.

The Soviet's attainment of the capacity to stand up and match every step of the U.S. nuclear build-up is



bringing Western European leaders to a rude awakening: that the U.S. can no longer play the game of nuclear blackmail and that the road to peace is through negotiations.

These leaders are beginning to understand that the Soviet Union now has the capacity to back up its words when it said "Whomever makes others a target will inevitably become a target itself," or when it told Italy, which has deployed the missiles, that "Italy will be turned into another Pompei if it commits the mistake of attacking the Soviet Union."

Soviet nuclear strength, in other words, has triggered a reassessment of the implications of the U.S. militarization of Europe, of which the deployment of the missiles is a part.

For Western Europe, detente is clearly a more viable situation, both economically and politically. In essence, this is the sentiment fueling the peace movements in the continent. Reagan's allies, who must respond to U.S. pressures and at the same time appease their constituents, are trapped between a rock and a hard place. Their dilemma leads nowhere but to the widening of the cracks in the entire Western alliance itself. □

## The U.S. Maneuvers for Gains

## Iran and Iraq Bleeding Each Other Dry



By WICKS GEAGA

While the tragic four-year war between Iraq and Iran is bleeding both nations dry, the Reagan administration is exploiting the conflict to gain a new foothold in the Gulf region. With the war's current tempo, the U.S. it seems, has much troubled waters to fish in for a while.

On the offensive militarily, Iran insists on continuing the war unless Iraq meets three non-negotiable demands: the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime, payment of war indemnities of around \$100 billion, and the acceptance of the previously negotiated status of the Shatt al-Arab border, the alteration of which was one goal of the original Iraqi attack. Iraq, now on the defensive, has agreed to the last two conditions. But the Khomeini regime, which seeks to replace the Iraqi government with an Iranian-style fundamentalist Islamic system, will settle for no less than Hussein's ouster.

## WAR BEGINS

The Iraqis launched their invasion of Iran in September 1980 and within weeks had laid siege to the border Iranian province of Khuzistan. After successful assaults on key cities and oil installation, the Iraqi forces were soon within easy reach of road and rail networks leading directly to Teheran.

But contrary to Hussein's expectations, the Iranian government was not thrown into a political crisis. Instead, Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Party consolidated its hold on power while adamantly refusing to heed Baghdad's demand for a new border treaty that would impose Iraqi sovereignty on the whole Shatt al-Arab waterway.

## HUSSEIN'S GOALS

Hussein had two main political objectives for invading Iran: the seizure of Iranian-held territory (considered essential for Iraqi security), the land occupied during the Shah's reign; and the overthrow of the Khomeini regime, and its replacement by exiled anti-Khomeini forces led by former Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar.

Iraq's initial thrust into Khuzistan aimed to secure at least enough territory on the Iranian side of the Shatt al-Arab waterway to establish undisputed Iraqi control over this principal access to the sea.

Aside from the longstanding territorial disputes, Khomeini's Islamic Revolution represented a destabilizing threat to Iraq, whose Moslem majority belong to the same Shiite denomination which encompasses Iran's Muslim majority. The threat further extended to the other Arab Gulf states with substantial Shiite Muslim communities.

Thus, when Iranian clerics in 1979 exhorted these communities to follow the example of their recently victorious revolution and rebel against their respective regimes, an alliance of imperiled Arab rulers soon formed under Hussein's leadership.

When it invaded Iran, Baghdad confidently rode on the support of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates. However, it also operated on the wishful assessment, provided by exiled and former Shah associates seeking to regain power in Teheran, that the toppling of the young and unstable Khomeini regime would be a cinch.

## KHOMEINI'S AIM

After nearly two years of military stalemate, Iran managed to drive Hussein's troops back into Iraq. Then, to Baghdad's horror, the Iranians did not stop. Instead, they took the war into Iraqi territory on July 1982.

The Khomeini regime is obviously bent on maximizing the war's favorable turn. While Iran's previous incitements to rebellion in the region seemed like mere fundamentalist rhetoric, the prospect of spreading its Islamic revolution to neighboring Iraq now has become very tempting.

## FINAL OFFENSIVE

But Khomeini's four "Dawn" offensives, launched in 1983, gained only heavy losses and little ground for Teheran. Last February's offensives, code-named Dawn V and Dawn VI, nearly resulted in an Iranian advance into the key Iraqi port city of Basra. Iraq, however, claimed it repelled the massive human-wave assaults, and exacted 30,000 casualties.

However, Iran has not given up its aim of achieving a complete rout of the Iraqi forces. An estimated half-million Iranian

troops are reportedly massed along the 700-mile border, poised for what Khomeini warns would be "the final offensive" into Baghdad.

Iraq, no longer shooting for its war's initial goal, now just wants to bring Iran to the negotiating table. Baghdad is obviously afraid that Khomeini has enough fundamentalist fervor and economic resources to make good his word.

## INTERNATIONALIZING THE CONFLICT

To forestall defeat, Iraq has decided to internationalize the conflict. By threatening to attack the main Iranian oil facility on Kharg Island, Hussein expectedly drew a retaliatory threat from Khomeini to block the vital Strait of Hormuz, through which a major portion of the western world's oil supply is shipped daily.

Ronald Reagan quickly seized this opportunity to declare U.S. intention to keep the Straits open with its already sizeable naval force lingering in the Gulf.

To bring more international pressure on Iran, Iraq, along with its Arab allies, won a UN Security Council resolution that indirectly condemned Iran for air attacks on shipping. Far from sparking dialogue between the two adversaries, the resolution appears to have further hardened Iran's uncompromising position.

For Hussein, the prospect of negotiations seems farther from reach than are the original goals that led him to initiate the war in 1982.

The Palestinian national liberation movement has condemned both acts of aggression by Iraq and Iran that have inflicted massive human losses estimated at 350,000 killed, 400,000 wounded, and 50,000 imprisoned.

The war's continuation, the Palestinians warned, seriously undermines the long-standing struggle against U.S.-Israeli influence in the region. They pointed to the increased U.S. and British naval presence in the Gulf area as a clear danger sign.

## HIGH PRICE

If Teheran decides to press forward with its final offensive, the price will undoubtedly be high. Military analysts estimate that close to 300,000 Iraqi troops are "well dug in" to defend Basra and that any offensive would prove costly for Iran. Iraq also has superior armor, artillery and air power arrayed against Iran's massive human assault force.

On the other hand, the steadily deteriorating economic situation of both countries may drive either one to increasingly desperate actions.

Iraq's reserves have been virtually depleted while its oil exports, which were three million barrels a day before the war, have fallen to less than 900,000 barrels. Since Iraq stepped up its "tanker war" of Kargh in March, Iranian oil exports have dropped from 1.8 million barrels a day before the war to a mere 600,000 barrels. Teheran's oil revenues have also dropped to about \$450 million a month—half of what the government needs to sustain the

war and to import basic necessities.

Already, there are signs that the Iranian leadership are not all that united in pursuing the conquest of Iraq to the bitter end. Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of Iran's Parliament, has recently made several conciliatory statements toward the Iraqis. "We will not fire a single bullet in the Gulf, if Iraq stops attacking oil tankers in the area," Rafsanjani told a prayer meeting in Teheran. Other clerics have likewise begun to openly express doubts about continuing the war.

## REAGAN MANEUVERS

Washington is, of course, losing no time in mining the present crisis to gain a new positioning in the Middle East—especially after its debacle in Lebanon.

After Iran reversed the tide of the war in its favor, U.S. official statements have increasingly expressed a pro-Iraqi tilt. Originally, a protracted and draining conflict would have well suited U.S. interests as a power broker. Now the apparent U.S. goal is to prevent an outright Iranian victory.

This, it hopes would enmesh it to the reactionary Arab regimes which are fearful that an Islamic revolution could sweep away the whole existing order in the Gulf region if Iraq fell.

To increase its leverage, the Reagan administration quickly authorized the shipment of 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Saudi Arabia. Citing dubious intelligence information that warned of impending Iranian air attacks on Saudi oilfields, Reagan undercut an otherwise stiff opposition to the arms sale.

Through such unprecedented gestures, the White House seeks to reestablish a direct link to the ruling military circles in Riyadh. The acceptance of U.S. military bases, it hopes, would soon follow.

Ever since the overthrow of the Shah, Saudi Arabia, in the eyes of Pentagon strategists, has replaced Iran as the "keystone" of the Western position in the Gulf.

Guided by this strategic regional view, the Reagan administration has painstakingly maneuvered in the past to draw the Saudis, not only into an alliance of reactionary Arab states friendly to U.S. interests, but into an Arab-Israeli alliance against the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements in the region.

To Washington's gratification, the Iran-Iraq war may just be the long-awaited stepping stone to that elusive goal.

## THE SOVIETS PARRY

Seeing the danger of destabilization that the war could bring to the region, the Soviet Union condemned the initial Iraqi invasion of Iranian territory. When the tide turned however, Moscow became critical of Iran's refusal to bring the war to a negotiated end. This position reflects regional and international opposition to Teheran's fundamentalist intransigence.

To help prevent a disastrous overpowering of Iraq and to induce the Khomeini regime to negotiate, Moscow has started supplying Baghdad with modern weaponry. At the same time, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met with the Iranian foreign ministry's Sayyed Mohammed Sadr mid-June on "mutual interests in preventing a heightening . . . of the war to the point at which the Arab oil-producing nations might invite intervention by the United States or other nations." □

