

Coup? Who's Plotting A Coup?



Behind Smiles, Aquino Bolsters Her Defenses

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

There was method to Arturo Tolentino's Manila Hotel madness after all. It was just a question of whose method was involved.

True, Ferdinand Marcos may have engineered the comical July 7 Manila Hotel occupation, which locals branded as "coup d'etuta." But Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who observers insist had a great deal more to do with pulling it off than he's admitting, clearly went home with the prize.

Through his handling of the affair, Enrile managed to raise his stock within the armed forces, send a strong warning to President Corazon Aquino that much of the military is opposed to her liberal of the danger that holdovers from the Marcos regime pose to the new government, moved systematically to bolster her flanks.

BULLETPROOF VEST

As Marcos' defense minister, Enrile suffered from his civilian status. The men in the field divided their loyalties between then Philippine Constabulary Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos and ultimate Armed Forces Chief Fabian Ver.

Philippine Military Academy and West Point officers formed Ramos' base while those from the ROTC followed Ver. Enrile was seen as a politician and bureaucrat with no real base in the military.

Meanwhile, civilians saw the man as an opportunist who enjoyed crony wealth while acting as a willing perpetrator of martial law.

Little wonder Enrile tailored his suits to

policies and strengthen the right pole within the Philippine government. Not bad for one-and-a-half day's work. Aquino, on the other hand, long aware

accommodate a bullet proof vest even after his dramatic jump onto the Aquino

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WHO NEEDS THE U.S. BASES?

If a regional balance of power is what would guarantee peace in Southeast Asia, then we have an urgent reason to get rid of the U.S. military bases in Clark and Subic as soon as we can. Their continued stay tilts the balance decisively in favor of the U.S. and, in turn, encourages the USSR to enhance its presence in our region.

Clark and Subic were established on Philippine territory long before Vietnam gained control of what was once the U.S. naval base at Cam Ranh Bay. Therefore it is a distortion of history to argue that the Americans need Clark and Subic in order to neutralize the Soviet presence at Cam Ranh Bay.

This is a typical problem of Third World countries who get embroiled in big power politics. When a big power is allowed to use another country as a military base, its rival will try to find a neighbor willing to play host to the same purpose.

If we are serious about making Southeast Asia a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality," why don't we offer Vietnam a reasonable formula? We shall dismantle Clark and Subic if Vietnam agrees to dismantle the Soviet base on Cam Ranh Bay. We shall then keep the big powers out of the region and live in peace with each other.

Will the Soviets come should the Americans leave? Are we condemned to choose between two forms of domination? Can we not be a truly sovereign nation?

Very few Asian countries have American bases, but the Soviet Union has not attempted to conquer those who don't. Defenders of the bases insist, however, that we are too important to be left alone! With a blend of ignorance and mendacity, they claim for the Philippines a geo-political value it does not possess.

Let's stop flattering ourselves into servitude and anni hilation. If we are strategic to the U.S., we are not necessarily stratetic to the USSR, except as a target for nuclear retaliation. The U.S. originally installed the bases here to maintain its presence on this side of the Pacific. It was only recently that Clark and Subic gained an added value in American imperialist strategy: i.e. to improve its capacity for intervention in East Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. Clark and Subic are important to the U.S. not in themselves but as a back-up to its naval base in Diego Garcia, a tiny Godforsaken island in the middle of the Indian Ocean.

The liquidation of Clark and Subic will not throw our country into the arms of the USSR because the Philippines does not have as much geo-political value to the USSR as it does to the U.S. The powerful Soviet bases around Vladivostok are more than sufficient to establish its presence in the Western Pacific. Soviet missiles can bit any target in the U.S. from launching pads in the Soviet Union itself. Unlike the U.S. naval strategy, that of the Soviet Union is founded on the concept of a "floating base" or a self-sufficient armada. Its submarines and aircraft carriers are designed to operate without land bases outside Soviet territory.

Australia, Singapore and Malaysia have advised us to keep the U.S. bases ostensibly because they are needed for regional security. If Clark and Subic are that important to them, they are most welcome to take over these enclaves of inequity! Why must we bear the political and social burden of "regional security?"

We want to see the Philippines become an independent and self-respecting nation, free from American or any other foreign interference, and free from the prospect of nuclear extinction.

For as long as these U.S. military bases sit on our soil, we shall continue to be vulnerable and treated with contempt in the community of authentically free nations.

BISIG therefore supports the campaign for a basesfree and nuclear-free Constitution.

BISIG – Bukluran sa Ikauunlad ng Sosyalistang Isip at Gawa Manila, 4 July 1986

LETTERS

Grateful Recipient

This well-deserved letter of thanks is long overdue. As an inmate in a New York State prison, I have been the grateful recipient of a free subscription to AK since 1978. Eight years of faithful service gratis, reporting events you won't see on the 6:30 news or read about in The New York Times, keeping my ear to the ground on issues affecting Filipinos here and in the homeland abroad (my father was a black G.I. who also returned with MacArthur, met and married my mother, who is from Rosario, La Union).

The brevity of your Letters Column disallows lengthy statments so I will offer a terse comment on the new Aquino government. I urge all Filipinos to please remember that her leadership, while still in its embryonic stages, can best be served by our continued support and patience.

I don't mean to romanticize President Corazon Aquino, in the very least, represents the chance for a new beginning, questionable cabinet appointments, economic woes, and the pathetic emergence of an orchestrated "opposition movement" notwithstanding. Naysayers and prophets of doom beware: Premature criticism in the post-Marcos era is a luxury we cannot afford. I've enclosed a small sum-my wages here at the prison aren't much-with the hope that the AK continues to reach this cell. Thank you.

> Randolph Jackson #73-A-175 Auburn, NY

We promise to provide more space for letters in the near future. **AK** encourages comments from our readers. We reserve the right to edit in the interest of brevity.

FRENCH/REVOLUTION

Litter from Manila

subject once, over aperitif at the Closerie des Lilas. By the way, no one knows this but he said he really liked my columns. The poor soul is dead now and has taken that secret with him to the grave. 'Sacre bleu!' as the froggies say. Now where were we?

'Oh, coup. Yes coup d'etat is a French term literally meaning a 'stroke of state.' It involves a coup de main or a sudden attack in force and marks a political coup de theatre or a sudden dramatic turn of events."

Did he learn that from his old friend Camus? "No from my old English pal Sir Oxford Unabridged. As for hotels, that is of course where people commit a lot of French stuff."

See what I mean? How could you expect Tolen-



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

Devastated as I am by the historic setback President Tolentino's democratic forces suffered at the Manila Hotel, I must urge them to sum up the valuable lessons from that noble but failed revolutionary undertaking. That would be the only way to avoid future failures and ensure a decisive victory next time. What went wrong? Why didn't Tolentino's Manila Hotel strategy check out?

I am convinced that the brave lovalists completely underestimated the requirements of a successful coup d'etat. It is hard to imagine how they could have succeeded without the mastery of French and familiarity with hotel etiquette. When it comes to coups everything seems to be in French. We don't even have a Tagalog or Ilocano term for coup d'etat. Come to think of it, "etiquette" is French, too.

My colleague, Maximo Saliva, who was a welltravelled foreign correspondent bears me out on this. He is, you know, newspaperdom's resident sophisticate and raconteur, and the foremost authority on French things.

"Coup d'etat did you say old chap? I had a talk with my good friend the writer Albert Camus on that tino's commandos to succeed if they didn't know all these French technicalities. Knowledge of the Gallic tongue is indispensable for anyone plotting a coup, and once you know French, it means you're sophisticated enough to know how to comport yourself in a five-star hotel. And we know that when it comes to bourgeois revolution and gracious hotel living, the French are the granddaddies of them all.

President Tolentino seems to have taken this lesson to heart and is meticulously assessing his blunders.

"Yep. We committed what is, according to this French for Beginners, a faux pas. Na-beaucoup tuloy kami.'

Nabuko talaga. But Tolentino has already learned a thing or two:

Fact. The two thousand loyalists who took over the hotel forgot to tip the bellboys, a serious violation of hotel etiquette. The staff thought they were coup ripot and started eavesdropping on Tolentino's private phone calls to Honolulu.

Fact. The loyalists ransacked the pantry and the wine cellar without due regard to table manners. As a result, the public thought their revolution was just one big coup rakot.

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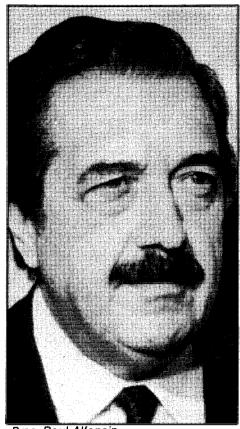
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Two Populists Meet



Pres. Raul Alfonsin

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

he visit to Manila last month of Argentine President Raul Alfonsin proved a meeting of kindred spirits and provided President Corazon Aquino with a statement of support from the head of a state whose conditions closely parallel those of the Philippines.

Ruled by military-supported dictatorships for decades, both countries recently overturned fascist regimes through popular struggles. Their peoples, fed up with autocratic minority rule, elected liberal democrats determined to set centrist courses and recover democratic rights. Emerging from the shadow of despotism, the countries share similar problems: how to effect national reconciliation and still deliver retribution to past victims of abuse, and how to cope with enormous debt obligations.

Alfonsin's "working visit" as it was described by the Buenos Aires press did prove to be more than a diplomatic social call. In a state dinner tendered in his honor July 17, President Aquino touched on the common problems inherited by both governments. Responding, Alfonsin said the Argentine and Filipino peoples will open "a new book of freedom and close a book of tyranny.'

After confering mutual honors, the two

heads of state held a two-day meetmeeting on how to expand bi-lateral relations and cooperation in matters concerning human rights. In a gesture designed to underscore the depth of his country's support to the new Philippine government, Alfonsin announced that Argentina, a country that can hardly afford it, was extending a \$500,000 grain grant to the Philippines.

ON THE RIGHT PATH

Public interest riveted on Alfonsin's views. The local press badgered him for the "advice" he would offer Aquino given Argentina's lengthier experience in democratization. Eschewing any impression that he is an expert on the topic, Alfonsin replied: "I will dare not give any advice to Mrs. Aquino," but added "she's an extraordinary fighter for democracy; she knows her people; she loves her people.'

Nonetheless, Alfonsin's astute comments on the problems of developing democracies struck a resonant chord among officials of the Philippine government eager to learn lessons from the strategies charted by newly re-established Latin American democracies.

Alfonsin, like Aquino, faces resistance from his country's military. Pledging support for the difficult effort to restore democracy, he noted, "I have no doubts that we have chosen the right path, nor do I downplay the obstacles that we will encounter following it."

On the debt problem, Alfonsin was heartened that the Philippines is following a similar formula of pegging repayment to a portion of its trade earnings instead of fixed interest rates. Currently 50% of the Philippines' trade revenue goes toward interest alone on its \$26 billion principal.

Alfonsin understands the problem well for Argentina shoulders a staggering \$50 billion external debt. The Argentine president proposed a joint study of the debt problem and called for the expansion of the North-South dialogue-the discussion between Latin America and its western creditors-to include all developing nations with the same problem.

Echoing criticism of International Monetary Fund-World Bank policies which prescribe contractionary (no growth) measures to avoid inflationary pressures for a country to maintain a good credit standing, Alfonsin insisted that "the problem of debt should be considered a problem of growth." While stable currencies and prices are the purported reward of the IMF posture, stagnation is often its attendant twin, and the only growth the country experiences is the ballooning of interest on outstanding loans.

The media eagerly asked Alfonsin what suggestions he might offer Aquino on her impending trip to the U.S. during which time she will hold extensive talks with foreign bankers. "I am convinced that she will tell them she wants to face the commitments of her country," he replied, "but it will not be done on the basis of her people's hunger . . . any creditor knows perfectly well that in order to be able to cash in on his debt, he must allow the debtor to work."

Alfonsin also emphasized the political stakes in pursuing a correct economic policy. "The possibility of development is directly related to the establishment of democratic governments as far as we are concerned. Stagnation and backwardness are directly related . . . to the loss of rights of our citizens," he noted. Urging unity among developing countries in dealing with industrialized powers, the Argentine president added, "Democracy is the only solution to our problems, including the economic one.'

Finally Alfonsin enjoined the Philippines to add its voice to the international clamor for nuclear disarmament and world peace. He noted an imperative need to replace violence by rational negotiations in the handling of international relations.

The Alfonsin visit could not have been more auspiciously timed. Faced with an abortive coup only ten days earlier, Aquino's fledgling government in its first five months has been subjected to numerous challenges which daily test its ability to rule. The post-Marcos democracy which Aquino hopes to shape, has as much uncertainty as it has potential. With "people's power" in her favor, Aquino has a wide mandate to institute the changes necessary to usher in a democratic order. But with a staggering foreign debt, rightwing threats, an uneasy truce with the left, her task is not an easy one.

Alfonsin's visit was a reassuring reminder that the new Philippine government is not only on the right track, it is not alone, and can count on the solidarity of new found friends.

KEEPING OPTIONS OPEN

That reassurance is no small matter for the country which is beginning to find out that it cannot count on its traditional supporter, the U.S. Philippine Ambassador to Washington Emmanuel Pelaez expressed distress over what he perceives as a "waitand-see" attitude of the U.S. towards the



Pres. Corazon Aquino

Philippines. The concern was triggered by a Congressional sub-committee decision to defer a 1987 allotment of \$73 million in rental payment for Clark and Subic Bases pending "the stabilization of the Philippines.'

The deferment was the latest in a series of moves withholding actual disbursement of aid though Senate and Congressional committees continue to pass measures to increase it. The delay in disbursements is a reflection of the Reagan administration's reluctance to underwrite a regime which has yet to prove its subservience to Washington. Aquino's recent pronouncements concerning the U.S. bases have done little to ease White House disquiet over her administration.

During an interview with the Christian Science Monitor July 25, Aquino proved elusive on the question of the bases. Reiterating her stand to honor the agreement until it runs out in 1991, Aquino added, however, that the Philippines will not face an external threat even if the bases are phased out. The statement can only have fanned speculation that Aquino is toying with the notion that the bases can

A planned September visit to the U.S. by Aquino will mark a new stage in relations between the two countries. The Aquino government is making it apparent that it will not barter away Philippine options regarding the bases to ease the country's pressing cash flow problem.

Washington's reluctance to release fresh aid, has provided added impetus for the Philippines to seek help elsewhere. During a swing through Europe in mid-July, Vice President and Foreign Minister Doy Laurel obtained commitments from the European Economic Community and several countries. The mission resulted in pledges from Spain for a \$10 million loan and \$22 million in financial and technical aid from West Germany. The EEC extended \$40 million in aid for small-scale projects and \$5 million in food aid. Additionally, Singapore President Lee Kuan Yew, during a recent Manila visit, pledged \$5 million over a three-year period. Meanwhile, despite the insistence of conservatives within the Aquino cabinet that the country fulfill its debt obligations, Economic Planning Minister Solita Monsod is seeking ways to repudiate part of the debt, especially that portion where mismanagement and corruption played a role in swelling the debt. Monsod is studying the debt repayment approaches of both Mexico and Peru, which advocates selective repudiation of certain types of loans. Her efforts represent the nationalist streak within the Philippine government as it applies to the country's economic problem and have the U.S. distinctly nervous.



Clark Air Base: Phase-out will not lead to external threat on the Philippines, Aquino says.

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Differences Brew as Visit Nears Hardliners, Softliners Tussle Over Cory

By RENE CRUZ

Washington, D.C.

Security Council staff have confirmed that the Reagan administration is as divided today over policy toward the Philippines as it was during the final days of Ferdinand Marcos.

At that time, Secretary of State George Shultz and his supporters kept up a steady campaign to convince Ronald Reagan that Marcos had become a liability to U.S. interests. Reagan, a loyal Marcos friend, tried to hang on to the bitter end but finally had to give in to the pressure of events.

"We could do a lot worse than Marcos," lamented White House chief of staff Donald Regan the night Marcos flew to Hawaii.

Today, while Shultz says he is "bullish on the Philippines," both the White House and the Pentagon are unnerved by what they see is an unknown quantity now seated in Malacañang.

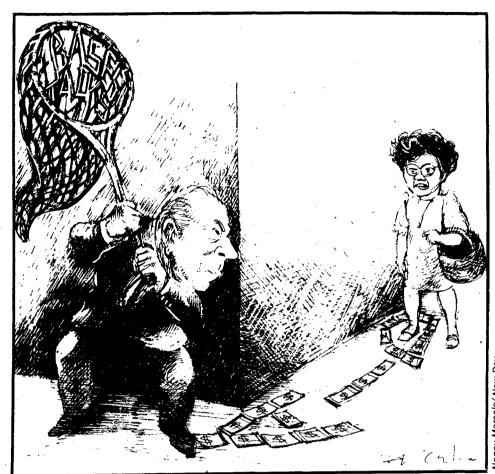
Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, NSC members and the White House staff are reportedly on edge over some of the "mildly nationalistic" tenor of President Corazon Aquino's policies. They also fear that instead of routing the Communist Party of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front, she may try to reach accommodations with the Left.

FAVORITES

According to reliable sources in the security council staff, the White House wants her to listen more closely to the advice of their favorites in her administration, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos.

Enrile has consistently stressed the military approach in dealing with the insurgents and has boldly aired his differences with Aquino. Ramos at times expresses skepticism over Aquino's ceasefire efforts but carefully reiterates his deference to her civilian authority.

The meeting of minds between the two countries' defense establishments is unmistakeable. "There is little doubt in our minds that, at the end of the day, military action will be required to end the insurgency," Assistant Secretary of Defense



Richard Armitage told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee June 3.

MENDING FENCES

Security council insiders are hinting that the White House may apply some pressure on Aquino to veer more rightward when she visits the United States on September 18.

No doubt Shultz and his staff ultimately share the White House and the Pentagon's fears. But his State Department cadres feel that, for now, the emphasis should be placed on mending fences with Aquino.

The Reaganites' up-to-the-last-minute support for Marcos created serious strains between Washington and the new government. Putting pressure on the new president now, the State Department believes, could endanger the still fragile relationship Shultz though the patched up during his two visits to Manila. Once that relationship is more firmly established, they argue, pressure can be more safely applied. They also believe that if the U.S. is generous enough, Aquino can be won over anyway.

Some State Department officials also believe that a calculated ceasefire offer is, in fact, a far better way of destroying the Left than pure military operations.

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur, argued that the ceasefire policy will separate the wheat from the chaff.

A ceasefire, he said, will draw all the soft-core rebels out of the hills and leave only the incorrigible revolutionaries to be dealt with militarily.

SHARPLY DIFFERENT STANCE

In the U.S. Congress, meantime, a position sharply different from that of the White House has emerged for the first

time in many years.

Democrats and all but the most rightwing Republicans are sympathetic to Aquino and would like to see her regime strengthened. To this end, they are apparently putting emphasis on economic aid and with the Reagan recommendation of generous military assistance but limited economic doleouts. Liberal Democrats like Rep. Stephen Solarz have pushed for vast increases in economic assistance.

Aquino's September trip, in fact, is the work of House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill and has been deliberately labelled a "working visit" rather than a State visit. Though she will meet with Reagan, the high point is to be an address before a joint session of Congress.

Liberal Democrats and Republican moderates such as Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R-N.Y.) are currently sympathetic to the State Department approach.

PRESSURE DURING VISIT

⁵ The Aquino visit is likely to bring these

simmering differences to the surface. The White House-Pentagon combine is steadily making its views known and will one way or another pressure Aquino to show a more rightward drift on issues affecting U.S.-Philippine relations.

Meanwhile Congress Democrats are expected to ride on Aquino's popularity while Republican moderates will try to tag along. As a symbol of the "people's power" revolution that has fascinated the U.S. media and public, Aquino will be a boon to the Democrats' political agenda.

Congress liberals hope that her visit and their association with it would help their campaign in the coming elections, and serve as a source of initiative against Reagan's hardline foreign policy decisions.

Observers believe it was particularly astute of the Aquino government to go along with the Democrats' invitation to a "working visit." It has the potential of driving a fat wedge between the White House and a Congress dominated by sympathetic Democrats while neutralizing the State Department and moderate Republicans. All in all, that would increase Aquino's leverage in the looming face-offs over key sticking points in U.S.-Philippine relations. \Box



Rally for Aquino

Supporters carried portraits of Philippine President Corazon Aquino and her assassinated husband, Benigno, in a pro-government rally of about 20,000 people at Manila's Rizal Park August 3. The demonstrators urged strong government action against the followers of ousted leader Ferdinand Marcos and protested the killing of a man who was kicked to death the previous week because he was wearing yellow, the color associated with Aquino's presidential campaign.

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- Balance - Real and Angel

Economy Starts and Sputters

By WICKS GEAGA

Not even rightwing efforts to destabilize her government can overshadow Corazon Aquino's worry over the dismal state of the country's economy.

As she herself put it, "The country is nearly as ravaged today as it was immediately after the bombs and plundering of the Second World War." The country hit such a low point under Marcos it seemed the only possible way was up.

But the pending repair job is massive and sobering. Observers are therefore careful to avoid overly rosy or premature assessments.

In bread and butter terms, an estimated 70% of Filipinos live below the poverty line, most in depressed rural areas. The government places the jobless rate at 15% while some analysts believe it is closer to 25%; meanwhile, underemployment hovers around 45%.

Recent encouraging signs are being celebrated, but with caution. Inflation is now down to 3.3%, from 50% in 1984 and 23% in 1985. Interest rates have dropped from 30% to 15%. After two consecutive years of decline in the Gross National Product by 10% under Marcos, the economy is projected to grow this year by 1%.

DEFENDING LABOR RIGHTS

Still, the government has a severe cash flow problem and expects a \$1.3 billion budget deficit at year's end. Analysts cite several factors hampering the dramatic recovery that was widely predicted to follow Marcos' ouster.

Business is reportedly wary of the government's progressive and social-oriented policies. Criticisms commonly center on efforts by the Presidential Commission on Good Government to track down Marcos' hidden wealth, Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez' pro-labor sympathies, and suggestions from within the cabinet to selectively repudiate the country's smothering debt of nearly \$27 billion.

President Aquino strongly justifies her government's sometimes radical actions as dictated by the crimes of the previous regime. The PCGG's sequestration effortswhile viewed by the business community as disruptive-are considered crucial to ensuring the government's financial solvency. She similarly rejects claims that some members of her administration have either acted imprudently or scared away potential investors. Defending her labor minister's advocacy of workers' rights, Aquino argues: "The militancy of Philippine labor is the inevitable result of years of economic plunder and mismanagement, from which you all suffered but from which labor suffered even more."

Ministry of Labor."

Turning the tables, Aquino has admonished the private sector for not doing its part even after the government fulfilled its pledges to abolish monopolies, decisively undercut corruption and lower inflation.

"I remember your wild applause when I vowed to remove the obstacles that prevented you from being the engine of the economy," Aquino told a group of business leaders referring to a speech she made during her presidential campaign.

"I have removed the obstacles. But where is the engine?"

CONTROVERSIAL REQUIREMENTS

While pleading with business to get off its laurels and on the stick, Aquino is forging ahead with her own economic program. Her stated goal is to create one million new jobs over the next 18 months by concentrating on small-scale and laborintensive agricultural projects. The projects are linked to Ongpin's unproven thesis that agricultural and consumer demand will create small-business activity, which in turn will spur large and medium-sized business investment and growth.

To stimulate the depressed agricultural regions suffering from low world market prices, Agricultural Minister Ramon Mitra wants to lower the costs of seeds, fertilizers, animal feed, and credit. Another project aimed at easing the extreme unemployment problem is a plan by Economic Planning Minister Solita Monsod to earmark \$1.66 billion for public works spending to employ another million in the 18 months starting July.

IMF STRICTURES

An impediment to the government's ambitious spending projects will be the tight money policies demanded by the International Monetary Fund as a prerequisite for the rescheduling of the country's huge debt. The IMF's austerity program places a high priority on the conserving of foreign exchange in order to ensure that the country meets its debt payments. Economic Planning Minister Monsod argues that the IMF strictures are greatly responsible for constricting demand and causing the GNP to drop over the last two years.

Other IMF prescriptions, such as the lifting of import barriers, are causing a stir within government and business circles. The government recently expressed "se-



rious reservations" over IMF demands for import liberalization and accused the international financier of using a "heavy hand" in pushing its state banking reforms.

Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo announced a 90-day postponement of the decision on whether to comply with the IMF import schemes. Before making the decision, the government needs time to study which is less desirable: to risk a possible suspension of badly needed loans or risk the further deterioration of already weak domestic industries under the weight of cheap imports.

Until the Aquino government satisfactorily meets its tough requirements and comes up with a favorable economic program, the IMF is tightly regulating the flow of aid to the cash-strapped country. While an estimated \$740 million has already come into Manila, another \$1.7 billion worth of pledged aid is still somewhere in the pipeline.

Given the snail-paced arrival of aid from the outside, the government is devoting extra effort to generating income inside the country through its sequestration efforts.

SEQUESTERING SAN MIGUEL

Under Presidential Executive Order No. 2, the Presidential Commission on Good Government is empowered to sequester or take temporary possession of assets suspected to be part of the "hidden wealth" plundered by Marcos, his family and business associates. When the rightful owner of a piece of property is determined and no wrongdoing is uncovered, the item is returned. Companies or properties found to be illegally acquired will be sold to raise funds for the government treasury. As of early June, three months after its formation, the PCGG had sequestered over 200 companies, netting 16.16 billion shares of stock and \$525 million worth of equity. Included in the PCGG's tally sheet are \$72 million in money and treasury bills, \$15 million worth of jewelry, mansions, museums and real estate covering 38.8 sq. km., as well as private planes and cruise ships.

Of invaluable help to the PCGG's effort was the securing of 2,300 pages of documents brought by Marcos to Hawaii. The scope and extent of Marcos crony holdings in the country revealed in the documents compelled commissioner Pedro Yap to exclaim: "Is there a company in the Philippines which does not appear in those papers?"

Topping the PCGG's list of sequestered crony holdings is none other than San Miguel Corporation, the country's largest private company. The PCGG took 54.6% of the company's shares owned by top Marcos-crony Eduardo Cojuangco who fled with the dictator, and used those shares to name seven directors to the SMC's 15-member board.

CONSENSUS WITH PCGG

Another major catch was the sequestration of 94% of the shares of United Coconut Planters Bank, one of the country's largest commercial banks. While the stocks seized are also traced back to Cojuangco, especially noteworthy is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's major interest in the institution. When the PCGG recently took over major control of the bank's board, Enrile resigned the chairmanship.

The PCGG's critics commonly charge that the commission's zealous actions have undermined the business community's confidence in the government and hurt the stock market. Its supporters point out that sequestered companies generally continue to operate and that, contrary to widespread charges and misperception, stocks of these companies are rising in value. Meanwhile, some former Marcos supporters are trying to thwart the PCGG's efforts legislatively by cutting its presidentially decreed powers altogether. Such was the purpose of a resolution submitted by former Labor Minister under Marcos Blas F. Ople to the Constitutional Commission. Most signs show, however, that the national consensus is with Aquino and her Good Government Commission. As the gross excesses of Marcos and his cronies are daily bared, more and more tolerance is shown for the incidental miscalculations and errors that inevitably result from the PCGG's extraordinary powers and monumental task.

'WHERE IS THE ENGINE?'

Refuting charges that strikes are running rampant and obstructing recovery, Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin—a leading conservative in Aquino's cabinet—states, "If you examine the actual record you will find that there has been a very substantial reduction in the number of strikes. And most of the new strikes have been settled much more promptly through collective bargaining and conciliation efforts by the



MRS. AQUINO, WHAT IS YOUR ANALYSIS OF WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PHILIPPINE: ECONOMY?



The Man Who Would Be King

By WICKS GEAGA

ost political observers agree that Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile is a coup d'etat waiting to happen.

Enrile still denies he has presidential ambitions, but through not-so-subtle hints and snide jokes about the presidency, he has kept the rumor mill spinning.

While Enrile has outwitted and outlasted his former boss, deposed tyrant Ferdinand Marcos, not much separates the two ideologically. Both remain staunchly pro-American, and virulently anti-communist.

In more ways than one, Enrile is etched in the likeness of his one-time mentor. Similarly originating from Northern Luzon, both launched their careers as highly ambitious young lawyers. Both also love to boast about their alleged heroic WWII exploits although in this category, Marcos has the overwhelming edge in medals.

JOHNNY, THE LAWYER

An illegitimate child, "Johnny," as his friends call him, eventually reunited with his father Don Alfonso Enrile, after the war. Don Alfonso who unsuccessfully ran for the Philippine legislature representing Cagayan province apparently wanted his son to follow in his footsteps. He put his son through school until the latter graduated from Harvard Law School.

Enrile remembers one bit of advice from his father very well: "If you cannot earn money being with them, then earn money being against them. That is the rule of a lawyer.'

Enrile immediately joined his father's law firm in Manila as a partner. Among his major clients was Castle and Cooke, the agricultural giant based in Hawaii and owner of Dole Corporation. The lucrative Dole account involved finagling vast tracts of Philippine real estate for eventual conversion into cash-crop plantations.

BIG BREAK

Enrile's big political break came in 1964, when Marcos, then president of the senate, asked him to join his presidential

campaign staff. Technocratic wonderboy Rafael Salas reportedly hooked him up with Marcos. As a result of Ferdinand's presidential victory in 1966, Johnny became undersecretary of finance.

In the short span of two years, Enrile also handled customs and the Government Service Insurance System; he became chairman of the Philippine National Bank and the Philippine Coconut Authority and the secretary of justice. Finally, in 1970 Enrile assumed the post of defense minister.

As defense chief, Enrile took charge of implementing Marcos' martial law declaration in 1972 and presided over the incarceration of thousands of dissidents including several current members of Cory Aquino's cabinet.

President Aquino often recounts the instances when she had to beg Enrile for a pass to visit her husband, Benigno, during his imprisonment by Marcos.

Not only was Enrile chief administrator of martial law, he later admitted having been centrally involved in the Marcos-led conspiracy to stage the pretext for the declaration of emergency rule.

Marcos, in concert with his generals, except for Army Commander Rafael Ileto, staged an attack on Enrile's limousine, without Enrile in it of course. This supposed New People's Army attack became the excuse for the declaration of martial law.

When asked about his role during the Marcos years, the straightfaced Enrile replies: "I was acting as an administrator, a government functionary. My personal choices were different from the policies established by higher authority."

FINANCIAL EMPIRE

But it was while he held the powerful post, that Enrile was able to forge his personal financial empire.

In close association with another major Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco, Jr., Enrile struck it rich in the multi-billion peso coconut industry. He and Cojuangco (who fled the country with Marcos during the February uprising) lorded over the industry through interlocking institutions. Enrile was chairman of the United Coconut Oil Mills and United Coconut Planters Bank, while Cojuangco was president of both the UNICOM and UCPB as well as chairman of the Philippine Coconut Authority.

Through UNICOM, the Cojuangco-Enrile combine, at its height, controlled more than 80% of the industry's milling capacity. Meanwhile, the UCPB became one of the country's largest banking institutions.

At a certain point, Enrile's accumulated wealth, power and ambition to succeed Marcos spurred the latter to preemptive actions.

Marcos gradually shifted command of the military to the fiercely loyal Fabian Ver. Finally in July 1983, Marcos declared that his defense minister could no longer giver orders to the military. Enrile now claims that Ver's men had been trying to assassinate him since 1982.

NOT OVERNIGHT

In the wake of the Aquino assassination and the resurgence of widespread opposition against Marcos, Enrile began to echo more conspicuously the U.S. State Department's criticism of military patronage and abuse.

Not coincidentally, Enrile's contacts with U.S. policymaking circles increased around this time with the launching of the biannual ministerial-level talks between the two countries' defense establishments.

In any case, it was unlikely that Enrile's subsequent cultivation of a reformist movement within the armed forces would have been undertaken without support and prodding from Washington.

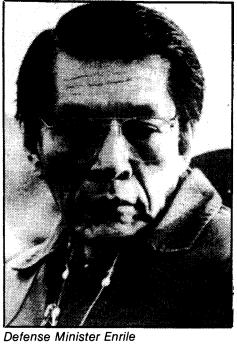
This was confirmed by the emergence of the Reform the AFP Movement reform program which was identical in content to the reforms being pressed by Washington.

Asked at what moment he seriously decided to take on Marcos, Enrile answered: "You can't do [that] overnight."

SEIZING POWER

Enrile made his final move by staging a military revolt at the height of mass disenchantment with Marcos' sinking ship. Thus, he was able to abandon ship and hang on to his old job in the new administra-

Outnumbered in Aquino's cabinet by liberals who want to punish Marcos-era military abusers and economic carpet-



baggers, Enrile has been visibly shoring up his defenses.

His suspected encouragement of Tolentino's coup attempt and lenient response to the affair are widely believed to have strengthened his position not only in the military but among Marcos loyalists as well.

The emerging alliance between Enrile and the loyalists is more natural than might first appear. While he may still draw resentment from some lovalists for his role in ousting Marcos, he actually shares their rightwing vision.

Explaining his lenient attitude towards the loyalists who occupied the Manila Hotel in early July, Enrile said, "For as long as we are maintaining a very soft approach against the Communist Party . . . then we should apply the same yardstick against the very people who believe in our system."

The loyalists, of course, are cheered by his very public opposition to Aquino's attempts to negotiate with the Left, the sequestration of suspected hidden wealth. the abolition of the Batasang Pambansa, and the replacement of local Marcos-era officials.

The defense minister repeatedly denies any coup plans and even led the military in . taking an oath of loyalty to Aquino's interim constitution. But as usual, he voiced an ominous qualifier. The military, he said, pledged loyalty to the interim constitution, not to a particular person, and will be loyal to "whoever is president."

Said one anonymous RAM officer. "Enrile will read the signs from different sectors first, but he will not shrink from seizing power if it's necessary." And as the defense minister has intimated, you can't do that overnight. \Box

Who's Plotting A Coup?

Continued from front page

bandwagon last February. He also told a reporter shortly before the Manila Hotel caper that he was a "dead man" should he



tuency, the torturers and human rights violators popularly considered the scum of the military. Many of this crowd, most notably members of Marcos' elite Presidential Security Command, went AWOL after the February revolution. Others stayed around grumbling that they were merely following orders.

ment's efforts to track down the illegally accumulated wealth of Marcos and his cronies (including that of Defense Minister himself (see story above), Enrile also reached out to officers who had enriched themselves through graft during the Marcos years. Still, for a man with evident presidential ambitions, Enrile was coming up from behind. Former Abra governor Arturo Barbero told Asiaweek that military officials were "more likely to blindly follow Ramos than Enrile."

leave his present post.

NEW ENEMIES

Enrile's first step in building a power base in the military came as the Marcos years drew to a close: he functioned as the invisible godfather of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement or RAM. This group fed on the demoralization of middlelevel officers whose avenues for advancement were blocked by Marcos' pattern of allowing overstaying officers to fill all choice positions.

RAM gained sympathy from reformistminded officers in the ranks. But it remained organizationally small, centered in Camp Aguinaldo, the headquarters of the Defense Ministry. During the February revolution's EDSA standoff in front of the Defense Ministry, RAM gained instant star status and leaders such as Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan became cult figures.

But RAM wasn't big enough to provide all the support Enrile would need. Furthermore, his last-minute switch to Aquino

Enrile and Ramos

earned him a new set of enemies, the vicious Marcos loyalists who branded him a traitor.

Enrile moved to appeal to another consti-

OVERLAPPING BASES

Enrile quickly drew a line between himself and the Human Rights Commission headed by former Sen. Jose Diokno. The Commission announced its intention to expose and punish those responsible for the torture, disappearance and murder of political prisoners. Enrile insisted that the investigation was unjust. Since insurgents were being allowed to get off scot-free, members of the military should hardly be punished, he argued.

But he was speaking not only for the acknowledged riff-raff. Observers pointed to an overlap between the human rights violators and his own RAM. Released political prisoners alleged that some of the RAM members-even the superstarshad acted as their torturers in prison. By indicating his disdain for the governThat was before the Manila Hotel affair.

ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE

While Aquino, the U.S. State Department and the denizens of Manila's streets all agreed that Marcos was the main mover of the Manila Hotel "armed farce," many found it hard to dismiss the hunch that Enrile somehow had a hand in it.

Particularly strange was the identity of some of the participants. A group of soldiers in full battle gear with special forces insignia and black headbands trooped to the Hotel and served as a sort of rebel security ring. Covering their name tags with white labels bearing the Philippine

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Loyalists: Hotel Dreams

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

Some people say Arturo Tolentino is keeping a low-profile nowadays to evade government charges of sedition and dodge a \$500,000 bill for his takeover of the Manila Hotel last July 7. But in all likelihood, Mr. Tolentino is simply avoiding further ridicule.

Since his former boss fled to Hawaii last February, Tolentino and his followers have been insisting that Ferdinand Marcos is merely "indisposed." They have taken to using "on forced leave," "physically absent," and other euphemisms to describe the status of a man most Filipinos regard as finished, *kaput*.

Marcos' vice presidential running mate has gone so far as to stake his reputation as a barrister, diplomat, and politician on the dubious claim that he, Tolentino, is the rightful acting president. More pragmatic excohorts like former labor minister Blas Ople, have decided to cut their losses and publicly distance themselves from their deposed benefactor. But not Tolentino who seems bent on squandering whatever respect he gained as a *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* maverick soon after the assassination of Benigno Aquino.

Tolentino, who by now should be basking in serene reitrement, has apparently plunged headlong into a second career; some say, a second childhood.

MENTAL

The elderly politician had threatened to take the oath of the president, last March, evoking giggles from the rowdy Manila press. Tolentino even dared the newly constituted government to arrest him if it could prove that his claim to the presidency was without legal basis.

Minister of Local Governments Aquilino Pimentel did him one better by pledging to commit Mr. Tolentino to the National Mental Hospital.

Soon, Filipinos were swapping Tolentino jokes which began upstaging Imelda "shoe" and Marcos "hidden wealth" jokes. According to "Champoy," a comedy duo, Arturo Tolentino has replaced funny guy Dolphy as the Philippines' greatest comedian.

The Manila Hotel caper earned for the acting president international star status. He was lampooned in editorial cartoons, skewered in radio talk shows and even spoofed on the Johnny Carson's Tonight Show in the United States.

EXPENSIVE TERM

But as the July 7 caper showed, the man is dead serious about being president.

To take the Manila Hotel by surprise, Tolentino and his shock force checked into several rooms and at an appointed time a loyalist mob gathered at the hotel's driveway. Then he took his oath of office, jubilantly flashing "victory" signs. The man of the hour kept tempo with the crowd's chants of "To-len-ti-no, To-len-ti-no!"

the crowd's chants of "To-len-ti-no, To-len-ti-no!" Soon, news-hungry local and foreign reporters dogged Mr. Tolentino for the important details of the coup. But the acting president left newsmen incredulous. Newsman: "Mr. Tolentino, were you in touch with Mr. Marcos earlier today?" Tolentino: "Yes." Newsman: "What did he say?" Tolentino (grinning): "He said (pause) 'Congratulations!""

A cool President Corazon Aquino issued a 72-hour



Members of the Guardians, active-duty soldiers who showed up with Tolentino.

ultimatum to vacate the building. But Tolentino declared with bravado: "I plan to go to Malacañang, but I don't want to do it by force." Then, as more government soldiers ringed and blockaded all entries to the hotel, bravado gave way to frazzled nerves. In what will go down in history as "Tolentino's Last Stand," the presidential pretender swore: "I will stay here in Manila Hotel... as long as I have money to pay for my room."

It took loyalist generals some time to negotiate surrender terms such as amnesty and 30 push ups and Tolentino impatiently complained: "I can't stay here very long, it's very expensive here." Luckily, the illfated putsch lasted only 72 hours, saving Mr. Tolentino a bundle of money. Temporarily.

As the last loyalist straggled out of the hotel, Tolentino regretfully explained, "I was pressured to do it." Ending what was perhaps the shortest, most expensive term in office of a presidential hopeful, the irresolute putchist toadied on home. The country remained calm and bemused, all throughout the affair but at consular offices overseas some Filipinos gathered to get the latest developments. Honolulu Consul Tomas "Buddy" Gomez was very reassuring. "Mr. Tolentino is now president," he said, "of the Manila Hotel."

SECOND MALACANANG

Despite its failure, the Manila Hotel coup was apparently quite symbolic. Why did Tolentino establish "a second Malacañang" in the five-star hotel? One loyalist revealed that the hotel meant a lot to the Marcoses. It was there that young Ferdinand was nominated presidential contender in 1965, again in 1969 and fatally, in 1985. Even the appointed day of the coup was scheduled to coincide with Mr. Marcos' lucky numbers—on the 7th hour of the 7th day of the 7th month of the year.

Manila columnist Louie Beltran called the loyalists "desabandonados." Indeed they are. Aside from abandoned Marcos officials, their ranks are made up of AWOL presidential guards, displaced government employees and Ilocano diehards. Attendance fees often fire up the spirit of these cast-offs and hardened thugs. One former employee of the Batasan admitted her salary is paid up to September on condition that she make an appearance or two at the rallies.

A smattering of second-rate movie stars often grace their rowdy Sunday gatherings at the Luneta, where they pounce on anything in yellow that moves including Japanese tourists who like yellow sun visors. Thoroughly steeped in "Bagong Lipunan" mentality, these brownshirts are disoriented by liberal democracy and when pressed to articulate their issues, could only complain that Cory was a communist and Cardinal Sin, the devil.

ROOM-TO-ROOM

But the Manila Hotel pastiche would not have been complete without the debut of yet another brawny batch of "officers and gentlemen" from the "New Armed Forces of the Philippines." If February had its RAMbos, July had the GUARDIANS—300 loyalist soldiers, bandoliered and combat-ready who made their first public appearance by Tolentino's side. The troops kept referring to a mysterious "Secretariat" that apparently called them to action. (Documents at the securities and exchange commission revealed that the group's president was in fact RAM star Col. "Gringo" Honasan.)

The soldiers, according to a ringleader, were not only tough and loyal, they were the embodiment of every letter of their acronym G-U-A-R-D-I-A-N: Gentlemen, United, Association, Reality, Dauntless, Ingenious, Advocator, Nation, Society. Wooo. Gentlemen or not, the ingenious advocators bowed to reality and were "persuaded" by Enrile's RAM boys to go back to the barracks, presumably to do 30 push-ups.

While Tolentino and his loyalists bombed, some other hotshots eagerly hugged the limelight. Honasan crowed that "once again" Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's boys had saved the government. Enrile himself could not resist striking a macho pose. Asked about the possible scenarios for flushing out the loyalists, Enrile bragged, "We were prepared to conduct room-to-room warfare if necessary." Wooo, again.

Coup |

Continued from page 6

flag and the slogan "Long Live Democracy," the group called itself the Guardians.

One curious Manila columnist found out to his surprise that the registered head of the Guardians Foundation, Inc. was none other than RAM hero, Col. Gringo Honasan. Thickening the plot, it was Honasan who "negotiated" with the rebels for their surrender.

Meanwhile Arturo Tolentino, the frustrated "acting president," claimed to have been told he had Enrile's support. Twothirds of the 300 soldiers defending Tolentino also claimed they had been told by someone that they were coming to Manila to help Enrile. They abruptly abandoned ship when they found out he was not part of the coup.

Adding to the suspicions, Enrile and his aides freely admitted to have known about the coup some time in advance.

According to one RAM officer, "we had them under surveillance from the time they reached the city limits. But we were more interested in gathering intelligence. If we had cut them off, we wouldn't have gotten any information."

The explanation rang peculiarly hollow since nothing was done with the intelligence. Upon negotiating a surrender, Enrile promptly forgave all military participants. "We are not going to humiliate, punish or embarrass any of you. There will be no retaliation against you," he announced as the troops returned to the barracks.

NATURAL AFFINITY

Enrile's instant forgiveness of the coup plotters won the Defense Minister a new set of admirers—the Marcos loyalists. Of the 11 officers ranked colonel or above who participated in the occupation, several were high on intelligence lists as likely to seek vengeance on Enrile for his "treachery" in abandoning Marcos. All now owe him a dose of *utang na loob*, and some bad feelings over his turncoatism have been wiped out.

The new combination of supporters— RAM, the human rights offenders and the Marcos loyalists—bear a natural affinity to one another. They detest the Human Rights Commission and the Presidential Commission on Good Government.

More important, all consider the liberals in Aquino's cabinet "pinkos" and a threat to national security. All fiercely oppose the president's program of ceasefire and possible reconciliation with the insurgent left.

As the New York Times put it in the wake of the coup, "Indeed the question of softness on Communism is emerging here as a buzzword for opposition to Mrs. Aquino, and is the subject on which Mr. Enrile's troops say they have found their immediate common ground with the returning pro-Marcos defectors."

Adds James Clad of the Far Eastern Economic Review, "The anti-communist tone, too bitterly persistent to be insincere, rang much more clearly in the rebel officers' statements than did any pining for Marcos' return."

PROFESSIONALS

There remain, of course, vast portions of the military who are not Enrile's boys. One military observer points out that the elite RAM, whose members come chiefly from the PMA, has managed to generate its share of resentment from younger even PMA—officers. On July 22 one RAM offshoot broke with the parent organization.

There also exists scattered through the ranks a significant number of professionals, officers dedicated to support the state no matter who stands at its head. Such officers would identify more closely with Ramos and Deputy Defense Minister and former Army Chief of Staff Rafael Ileto than with Enrile.

But while Enrile cannot yet claim the full support of the military, he now has, according to one observer, "the three Continued on page 14

BUOD NG MGA BALITA

PRESIDENT ORDERS EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

In a move designed to counter the impact of 20 years under fascism and weaken the influence of the dictatorship's remnants, President Corazon Aquino last month ordered teaching on human rights in all schools in the country.

Executive Order No. 27, issued a day after the President warned the military against torture and human rights violations in dealing with the insurgency, directed the inclusion of human rights principles in all civil service qualifying examinations and in police and military training.

Aquino asked the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports and the Civil Service Commission to coordinate the implementation of the executive order with the Presidential Commission on Human Rights headed by former Senator Jose W. Diokno. She said that aside from the formal teaching methods, the education ministry should initiate and maintain regular eduational programs stressing the importance of human rights.

In a memorandum to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, she also ordered the study of human rights by police and military personnel assigned as arresting and investigating officers and those in charge of prisoners. The memorandum said that police and military men handling arrest and investigation work should be removed from their present assignments until they complete the human rights course. She ordered tests for investigators; those who pass will retain their jobs.

The following principles are among those to be emphasized:

• All persons are born with human dignity and inherent rights and should not lose their dignity or rights regardless of their acts or political convictions.

• Torture, other cruel and degrading treatment or punishment, unexplained or forced disappearances and extralegal executions (salvaging) are crimes punishable by Philippine laws under any and all circumstances.

• Anyone may question the legality of the arrest and detention before the appropriate court.

• Prisoners shall be treated with humanity. Juvenile prisoners shall be kept separate from those over 18 and the different sexes shall be kept apart. The visits of parents and friends who desire to exert a moral influence over prisoners shall at all reasonable times be permitted under proper regulations. \Box

NEW TRIAL CALLED ON AQUINO MURDER

special commission created by the Philippine Supreme Court July 31 recommended that a mistrial be declared in the case of 26 men acquitted of assassinating Benigno Aquino, husband of President Corazon Aquino.

In a 63-page opinion the panel found "adequate credible evidence" that the prosecution and the threejudge trial court "acted under the compulsion of some pressure . . . beyond their capacity to resist."

The Supreme Court created the panel after the chief prosecutor in the trial, Manuel Herrera, revealed that

who witnessed the scrambling of Philippine military jets to intercept the Aquino plane. Other major pieces of evidence in the new trial have to do with irregularities in the government's autopsy of Aquino's body and cables sent from a Marcos cabinet minister to the airline used by Aquino on his return to Manila.

Most of the defendants are in the country and still on active service in the armed forces. One, Gen. Luther Custodio, was involved in the abortive coup last month. \Box

WESTINGHOUSE DEMANDS ADDITIONAL PAYMENT



Anti-nuke demo in front of Clark AFB.

www.estinghouse, supplier of the Bataan nuclear power plant, has asked the Philippine government for \$200,000 a month for suspending the project. This comes on top of the yearly \$120 million in interests payments the Philippines is shelling out to the international creditor banks that financed the project.

National Power Corporation counsel Marcelino Ilao, however, announced that the Bataan Nuclear Committee has decided not to give in to Westinghouse's demand.

Westinghouse is also asking NPC to assure P10million a quarter in expenses incurred by the four American Westinghouse consultants. The amount includes salaries, allowances, support staff and office expenses for the four expatriates. Finding the amount "unconscionable" the NPC asked the four to leave, claiming it can maintain the mothballed \$1.3 billion 620-megawatt plant without foreign help.

Westinghouse announced the suspension of the project May 20 following a government decision to shutdown the plant on safety and economic considerations.

In a press statement, Presidential spokesperson Rene Saguisag, chairman of the Bataan Nuclear Plant Committee, said the project "has not been merely suspended, it has been effectively scrapped as to the nuclear portion of it." The non-nuclear portion "will be the subject of future study in light of our energy acted as a business front for Marcos on condition that he turn over the Marcos assets and properties in his trust. His \$7.3 million in cash were turned over to Aquino July 23. Salonga claimed more Marcos cronies were "on the point of unloading their ill-gotten wealth."

Meanwhile, Solicitor General Sedfrey Ordoñez turned over to the PCGG documents to support criminal charges that the ousted dictator illegally deposited at least \$229.5 million in overseas bank accounts. On April 7 Ordoñez filed charges before the Commission against Marcos, his wife, Imelda, their three children, and 21 relatives of illegally amassing assets worth at least \$5 billion. The first hearing on the Anti-Graft and Corruption Practices Act has been scheduled for September 21.

Ordoñez found documents in a file-safe at the palace on Marcos accounts, under assumed names, with Chase Manhattan and Swiss Credit Bank in Zurich.

In a related development U.S. District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer last month issued a preliminary injunction at the request of the Philippine government which seeks \$4.5 billion in actual damages and \$50 billion in punitive damages against Marcos. The lawsuit accuses Marcos of violating U.S. racketeering laws during 20 years of looting his nation.

Pfaelzer's order froze control of a \$4 million house in Beverly Hills and a bank account containing 797,000.

POPE SCOLDS PHILIPPINE BISHOPS

Pope John Paul II, the most political of all popes, has issued a strongly worded warning to the bishops of the Philippines to avoid political involvement and confine their work to "the disinterested service of the common good."

The Pope's comments were sent to the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines and 10 Filipino nuns. In a statement July 14 the Pope made clear his misgivings about the activist role played by the Filipino Roman Catholic heirarchy.

During the February revolution in the Philippines, Jaime Cardinal Sin called on the Filipinos in Metro-Manila to flock to Camps Aguinaldo and Crame and form human barricades to protect the leaders of the military revolt—Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Philippine Constabulary Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos. The people responded overwhelmingly and blocked the column of tanks sent to attack the rebels.

Catholic bishops, nuns and lay workers played a major role in organizing opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, especially in the cause of justice and human rights. The Task Force Detainees formed to give material and moral support to the political detainees was initiated and sustained by the religious.

The Vatican originally seemed to signal neutrality or even partial support for Cardinal Sin's efforts. But as time went on it became increasingly clear that the Pope was uncomfortable with the role of the Cardinal.

Pope John Paul said that the role of the Church was to achieve "reconciliation and communion." While the Church has an obligation to express "preferential love for the poor," he said, "this service of love and fidelity to man must, however, be in conformity with the nature of the mission of the Church."

now-ousted president Ferdinand Marcos intervened in the case, ordering an acquittal and asking members of the court and prosecutors to "play-act."

Tanodbayan Raul Gonzalez, the equivalent of the U.S. attorney general, told reporters that there was a "strong possibility" Marcos would be charged as an accessory and added to the list of accused in the 1983 assassination.

"Marcos will have to be indicted at least as an accessory because he tried to tamper with the evidence in order to cover up, like Richard Nixon," Gonzalez explained. "We might charge one top crony of Mr. Marcos as well because some of this crony's people were monitoring [Aquino] beginning in Singapore."

Although Gonzalez did not name names, observers believe the person he had in mind to be Eduardo Cojuangco who fled with the former dictator to Hawaii. He was mentioned in the trial but never charged.

Although there is "no substantial new evidence" that has come to light since last year's acquittal," according to Gonzalez, "we have gotten new signals from the direction of some of the defendants that they might cooperate."

The Tanodbayan intends to call as witnesses half a dozen U.S. Air Force men on duty in the Philippines

requirement," Saguisag said. 🗆

MORE MARCOS WEALTH RECOVERED

Presidential Commission on Good Government Chairman Jovito Salonga July 24 announced the recovery of some \$100 million in cash and half a billion dollars in real estate from ousted president Ferdinand Marcos and his business associates.

Salonga said that Manila wanted to know the full extent of Marcos' wealth before deciding whether to go to court to regain the rest of it or agree to a settlement with the fallen dictator.

The recovered wealth includes approximately 200 titles to prime real estate estimated at \$500 million and shares of stocks "of inestimable value." The decision to sue or settle out of court will be deferred "until after we have identified all his ill-gotten wealth," Salonga said.

Estimates of the Marcos fortune run as high as \$10 billion. The PCGG granted pharmaceuticals tycoon Jose Campos immunity from prosecution for having

MARCOS KIN GRANTED REPRIEVE

Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger July 19 granted a reprieve to Irene Marcos Araneta and her husband Greggy Araneta III, daughter and son-in-law of deposed dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The two had been ordered to testify before a grand jury about Marcos' finances or face jail.

The Aranetas asked the Supreme Court for a stay of a May 21 order by a federal circuit judge in Alexandria, Virginia. They had been held in contempt and ordered to jail for failing to testify. The order means that the Supreme Court will decide whether to review the case. Until such a time as it makes that decision, the Aranetas are free from testifying. Meanwhile, the couple has Aranetas are free from testifying. Meanwhile, the couple has until August 5 to file an appeal of the circuit court's decision.

Despite a grant of immunity by the federal court, the

Continued on page 15

Young and Restless in California



By VINCE REYES

Growing up in America can be tough for immigrant kids. There is a "new world" to deal with, and its economic mazes, biases and strange mores can be a forbidding challenge. Then there is also an "old world" to tangle with, the world of their parents whose values, aspirations and set ways can also be a "bummer."

The experience can be very disorienting and the conflicts are very real, sometimes even tragic. There is no escaping the pains of adjustment and it does not matter, it seems, whether one is growing up in a "good" neighborhood or in the mean streets of the inner-city.

The rows of neatly-kept tract houses in the East Bay bedroom community of Hayward is a picture of serene suburban living. It is just the place Filipino immigrant families would love to settle in; and many have, in fact, taken to the relatively more affordable homes of Hayward. They are not too far from the offices of San Francisco or the high tech factories of Silicon Valley.

But late last year, Hayward was shocked by the eruption of gang-related violence. Last November, two Filipino gangs fought it out. It ended in the shooting death of Mike Estavilla, a sophomore at Mt. Eden High School. He was apparently a good student who was going to join the Marines after graduation. But Mike hung out with the "Hayward Boys," a gang composed mainly of Philippine-born teenagers. minutes by the police. John confessed to juvenile authorities that he "shot at" a Hayward Boy. "This is only the second time I've messed up," he said, referring to the fight that got him kicked out of school.

Authorities decided that John Anguillon, 17, would be tried as an adult because his crime was too violent for him to be jailed with other juveniles. He now faces murder charges which could lead to a life sentence if he is convicted.

How do young people like Mike and John get involved with the "wrong crowd?" Worried parents, educators and students recently came together to figure out the sources of the growing problems of Filipino youngsters. The Filipino Immigrant Services, a social service agency, organized forums to

Last November, two Filipino gangs fought it out in Hayward, ending in the shooting death of a sophomore at Mt. Eden High School. "Parents expect a large amount of respect and obedience. To them, arguing means talking back. I feel that they are old-fashioned when it comes to dating and phone calls," said Evelyn Peña, a student. "I would like to be independent. I am trying to accept beliefs which are a mixture of Filipino and American cultures."

Nina Garcia, a mother of four who has been in the U.S. since 1970 said she had a problem deciding on whether her children would be raised as Filipinos or Americans.

"I decided to pick the good points of each culture," she said. The values she and her husband emphasized centered on religion. They enrolled the children in Catholic schools even though it was extremely hard on the budget. One thing that helped make the decision was that their kids were being "picked on" in the public school.

To Garcia, retaining Filipino family values means a family member could be depended on for anything. But this was easier wished than done because the kids soon pursued their own interests.

Another parent, Willie Aglubat, was brought up the "Filipino way," observing the value of respect. He could never argue. "If you have faith, it equals discipline and you have respect—kids here are too independent." Aglubat sighs.

"Filipinos have close family ties and they want their children to be somebody," said Aglubat. "So they try to protect the children's future."

"Yes, parents have been known to choose the career for their children with the thought that it will benefit the family," added Gaspar Sardalla, of the Peralta Community College District.

A rival gang, the ABTs, short for All Brothers Together, composed of Filipinos, Blacks, Whites, Guamanians, and Cambodians, often taunted the Hayward Boys by calling them "FOBs," short for "fresh off the boat." One night, the feuding reached a tragic climax. John Anguillon, a Filipino member of the ABTs shot Mike to death.

John had previously been expelled from James Logan High School for fighting and was attending a continuation school. He and some ABTs had gone to a dance the night before the killing and "got jumped" by 15 Hayward Boys. John was beaten bloody with baseball bats while his girlfriend looked on.

The next night, John and 20 other ABTs piled into cars and went looking for some Hayward Boys. At 11:00 p.m. at a gas station across the street from a high school, they found what they were looking for.

The ABTs surrounded Mike and fists flew. Mike's friend Rolan Camins tried to stop the fight. "I was trying to break it up, saying, 'hey, what's up—we're not Hayward.... They hit me and I went down, and then I was kicked in the jaw." Rolan heard a gun go off and saw Mike holding his sides with both hands before collapsing.

The ABTs drove off but were stopped within five

sort out some of these questions and to find answers.

Dr. Don Cohen, a consultant at the University of California, San Francisco School of Medicine said that the immigration process definitely adds to the pressures on the family.

"A factor of migration is the great loss of the relationship with familiar surroundings. Uprooting means urbanization, modernization, and rapid social change—migration is an extreme example of uprooting."

Uprooting usually causes traditions and values to change or become lost over a period of time. "For the Filipino family however, there appears to be a strong" emphasis on preserving values and traditions," Cohen observed. "As a result, parents encounter problems with their children."

Youngsters acquire much of their outlook in school and model their behavior patterns after the dominant peer group. In the U.S., role models for the youth change so rapidly as the shifts in popular tastes and cultural trends. There is, therefore, a quicker erosion of tradition and "a move away from the culture of their parents," Cohen said.

The clash of values puts pressure on young people.

Another source of tension is the parents' high expectations of their children's school performance. Many Filipinos are driven by the perception that their children have unlimited opportunities in the U.S. as compared to the Philippines.

"Parents push youth to be successful as professionals, like doctors," said Peña. "They feel that the amount of education one receives is their measure of achievement they are too protective."

But some youngsters do perceive their parents' own difficulties. "My mother and father work two jobs and are faced with a lot of prejudice because they are of a different color," noted Peña. "Having to tolerate racial prejudice will often cause alienation for parents. This can certainly contribute to increased tensions at home, parents and children get estranged."

Aglubat noted that parents often do not know what their children do all day long because they are working. "Kids left alone have no one to talk to and this is how they go off the track," he said. "Children should be

occupied in school activities to keep them busy so they don't fool around."

Continued on page 15

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CIVIL RIGHTS ALERT

BILL WANTS \$250,000 FINE FOR FAKE MARRIAGES

new bill has been introduced in the U.S. Senate penalizing those immigrants and U.S. citizens involved in fraudulent marriages. If found guilty, they will be fined \$250,000 and serve a five-year prison term.

The bill would also give conditional residency to citizen spouses for two years, during which time the immigrant could be deported if the marriage is found to be fraudulent.

Senator Paul Simon (D-III.), who introduced the bill last month, claims that this will close a loophole in current immigration law that leave law-abiding immigrants waiting in line. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that close to 30% of 149,296 people who entered as spouses in 1984 were "involved in suspect marital relationships."

Some immigration lawyers say the punishment is very harsh. "It is also very deceptive because U.S. citizen spouses, as immediate relatives, are not subject to any quotas like any other immigrants," said Attorney Bill Tamayo of the Asian Law Caucus. In addition, the conditional residency provisions could potentially put valid marriages under heavy immigration surveillance.

The bill is supported by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), co-author of the infamous Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill, who claims that over 50,000 aliens enter the U.S. each year through fraudulent marriages.□

EEOC TO USE HIRING QUOTAS AGAIN

A fter a brief abandonment of hiring goals and timetables, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is resuming this practice, announced its chairman Clarence Thomas.

Thomas, who joined Attorney General Edwin Meese in opposing affirmative action in hiring and promotions, said the agency will begin to seek remedies for race and sex discrimination.

The agency's decision came following the Supreme Court's ruling late last month upholding the use of hiring quotas in correcting discriminatory practices in the workplace in two separate cases involving a sheetmetal workers' union in New York City and the Cleveland, Ohio Fire Department.

Last fall, EEOC general counsel Johnny Butler unilaterally directed the agency to abandon the decadelong use of goals and timetables. Butler later claimed he acted in accordance with the commission majority who shared the Reagan administration's position on affirmative action.

UNDOCUMENTED CAN GET BACK WAGES

aid-off undocumented workers can seek lost wages and job reinstatement, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled July 22. The court overruled the National Labor Relations Board, which had required laid-off workers in a manufacturing plant in South Gate, California, to show proof that they were legally entitled to work in the U.S. before they could collect back wages. The court found Felbro. Inc. in violation of the National Relations Act in 1981, when contrary to the contract it signed with the Warehouse and Office Workers' Union it fired five union members and refused to rehire them. "The board's proposed remedy encourages employers to continue to violate the NLRA," wrote Judge Harry Pregerson. Unscrupulous employers, the judge said, would be encouraged to take advantage of an environment relatively free of labor safeguards in hiring undocumented workers. He was joined by one of two other judges who reviewed the case. Courts have previously recognized undocumented workers' rights in labor disputes under the NLRA. But the recent ruling extends the rights to hired undocumented workers so long as they remained in the U.S. It is unclear now how this ruling will be implemented since a 1984 U.S. Supreme Court decision in Sure Tan still stands. The 1984 decision allows undocumented workers to back pay and reinstatement only if they proved they later re-entered the U.S. legally.



CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION TO BE AXED?

Representatives to replace the 29-year-old Commission on Civil Rights with a congressional civil rights office.

Proponents of the bill charge the present commission has not acted in accordance with its intended goals of overseeing the elimination of racial and sexual discrimination in employment, housing and education. Instead, it has acted in accordance with the Reagan administration's belief that discrimination no longer exists and that hiring quotas are unconstitutional.

By a vote of Congress in 1983, the Commission's existence was extended through 1989. The House Appropriations Committee, however, decided on June 26 to defund the agency, which could potentially paralyze the commission unless the full House reverses the panel's decision.

The proposed new civil rights office will investigate allegations of discrimination; research the causes of discrimination including bias in the administration of justice; appraise federal discrimination laws and policies; serve as a clearinghouse for information on discrimination and investigate allegations that some citizens are denied the right to vote in national elections. \Box

SCHOOLS: HIGH COURT OKs CENSORSHIP

reache U.S. Supreme Court gave greater powers to

performing "Working," a play by Studs Terkel, because it was about prostitutes.

During his senior year, Fraser said, parents and some school board members tried to stop a performance of "Jesus Christ, Superstar."

Joseph Symkowick, chief attorney for the California Department of Education believes the court is "now starting to turn around" and recognizing "educators' responsibilities." Together with a ruling last year giving school administrators greater powers to search students, he said the courts seem to say: "The schools should get out there and teach values."

RACIAL CRIME VICTIMS CAN GET RELIEF

The California legislature passed a bill last month providing victims of hate crimes or unlawful discrimination with attorney's fees, increases in damages and expanded relief to encourage people to

pursue, such crimes. The legislation came as a result of a two-year study by the California Attorney General's Office, which found an alarming pattern of violence directed against racial minorities in the state. It also found that the Ralph Civil Rights Act, which protects victims of violent crimes, were underutilized.

The bill, SB 1961, amends the Ralph Act, which provided limited civil penalties, barely enough to cover the costs of time-consuming civil rights litigation.

The amendment provides for attorney's fees for plaintiffs in successful actions, expeditious and inexpensive administrative remedies through the State Department of Fair Employment and Housing, and triples the damages awarded in addition to fines of up to \$10,000 against those found guilty. Sponsors of the bill hope the inclusion of stronger penalties will act as a deterrent to potential perpetrators of racial violence. \Box

school officials to regulate what students are allowed to say in school.

Ruling July 7 on a case of a high school student from Spanaway, Washington who used sexual metaphors and innuendoes in an election campaign speech, the court said the right to free speech does not include "lewd and indecent" expression.

Although the student Matthew Fraser's speech did not contain any profanities, school officials reacted by suspending Fraser for three days.

Chief Justice Warren Burger said schools have a duty to teach the "habits and manners of civility" and "by example, the shared values of a civilized social order."

The high court chided the lower courts which ruled in Fraser's favor stating that they [lower courts] inappropriately cited a 1969 Supreme Court ruling which said that the right to wear black armbands as a protest against the Vietnam War was included in the student's right to free speech.

Fraser, who is now an undergraduate at the University of California in Berkeley sees the ruling as a go signal for school officials to censor whatever they feel is offensive. He said that the year after he graduated, students at his old high school were prevented from

OAKLAND — CITY OF REFUGE

The city of Oakland became the 16th city in the U.S. to become a "City of Refuge." The Oakland City Council voted unanimously July 8 to provide refuge for South Africans, Haitians, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans.

Like many of its counterparts, Oakland will ofer protection to refugees and will not cooperate wihe the Immigration and Naturalization Service in its search and detention of refugees.

The "City of Refuge" resolutions are part of a national movement giving sanctuary to refugees fleeing war-torn countries under U.S.-backed military or dictatorial regimes. The U.S. has refused to give blanket asylum to these refugees, despite their well-documented fear of persecution in their home countries. Many have been sent back only to face death or persecution. \Box

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Deposition in Hawaii

Marcos Forced to Talk on Seattle Murders

By VINCE REYES

laintiffs for the Domingo v. Philippines civil suit have forced Ferdinand Marcos to answer questions related to the 1981 murders of anti-Marcos activists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo.

A U.S. district court ruled that the deposed dictator did not have immunity from depositions despite his being a former head of state. The actions bring the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes one step closer to pinning down Marcos as the perpetrator of the assassinations.

The depositions took place last July 14 and 15 in Hawaii on the beachfront veranda at Marcos' rented home. Lawyers representing the CJDV, the government of the Philippines and Marcos were present.

"I believe we have set an important precedent-dictators must be held accountable for their crimes and have to answer to legal processes," said Terri Mast, civil suit plaintiff and Domingo's widow.

MARCOS ADMITS SPYING

At the beginning of the depositions, Marcos attempted to skirt questions by asserting claims of "national security." He even avoided such innocuous inquiries related to intelligence training he may have received from the U.S. military during WWII.

Philippine government counsel Mark Bernstein made it clear that the present government did not recognize any authority by Marcos over questions of national security and his claim should not be an obstruction to obtaining information from him.

Eventually, Marcos stopped raising objections and finally admitted that at least four Philippine intelligence agencies had been monitoring the anti-Marcos opposition in the U.S. He also confirmed that Philippine Consulate military attaches conducted routine intelligence work but that he did



Marcos talks then seeks "gag order."

not directly control their activities. The deposed dictator claimed that he did not have to dispatch agents because they were already in the U.S.

Marcos affirmed that documents found in the possession of former Los Angeles consul Armando Fernandez which included information on anti-Marcos activist Rene Cruz and a "one year plan" of the Union of Democratic Filipinos were evidence of intelligence gathering.

He further admitted to having information on the U.S. activities of the Movement for a Free Philippines, Benigno Aquino, Jovito Salonga, Bonifacio Gillego, and Primitivo Mijares. CJDV lawyer Michael Withey said that Marcos claimed that "all these people tried to kill me." Marcos said his source of information was Victor Burns Lovely, the man connected with alleged anti-government bombings in the late 1970s.

GAG ORDER

Marcos immediately moved to obtain a 'gag order" to prevent Mast from speaking to the public. He charged that the CJDV was in collusion with the Philippine government and that they want to use the information to further "embarass" him.

CJDV spokesperson balked at his reasoning. "In light of Marcos' international reputation of being a ruthless dictator, plundering the wealth of his country, being implicated in the murder of Benigno Aquino -how could the findings of the deposition further embarass or humiliate him?" asked Mast.

"For 15 years Marcos used his intelligence operations to intimidate and silence any opposition against him-the surveillance, harrassment and especially the murders of Gene and Silme were definitely intimidating," said Cindy Domingo, CJDV chairperson and sister of the slain Domingo.

His efforts to secure a gag order is an extension of his attempts to further intimidate the community," added Domingo. "It is important to end the atmosphere of intimidation because it may bring more witnesses forward who may have information on the murders.'

Mast said "the entire international public

has a right to hear Marcos speak under oath about the atrocities committed under his regime. "A gag order would deny our right to free speech and will only help him hide behind a cloak of secrecy.'

Judge Harold Fong in Honolulu, however, declined to rule on the imposition of a gag order and sent the case back to Seattle. Mast indicated that she agreed that the best forum for resolving the issue in court would be in Seattle. "The courts are already thoroughly familiar with the case and have never seen the need to invoke a gag," she said.

In all likelihood the issue will be moved to Seattle for hearing in mid-September by a U.S. District Court.

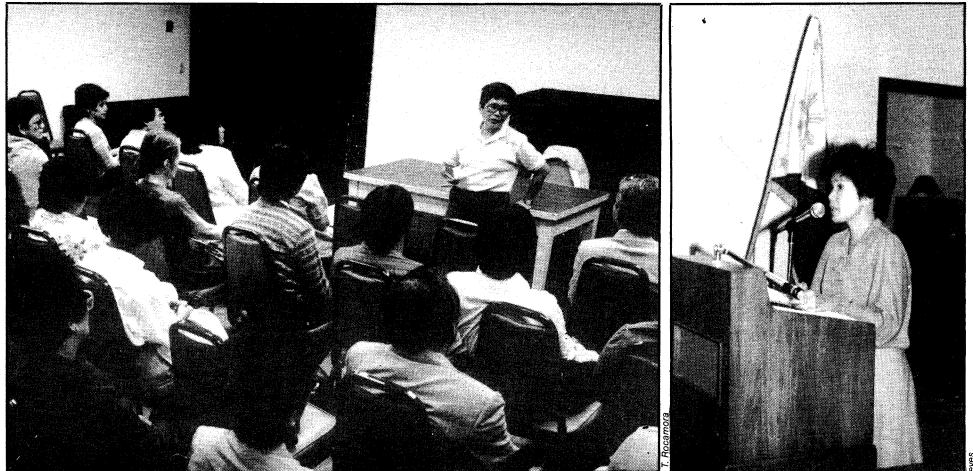
MORE HELP

The case received an extra boost when Domingo and Withey travelled to the Philippines last month and met with Jose Diokno, chair of the Commission on Human Rights and with Jovito Salonga, chair of the Philippine Commission on Good Government.

"The CJDV and Philippine government representatives agreed on cooperative efforts in pursuing Marcos for his crimes, seeking retribution for his illegal plundering of the nation's wealth and in particular, in securing further documentation for our current efforts to bring the suit to trial in April 1987," stated Domingo.

The CJDV is also continuing its efforts to press criminal charges against Constantine "Tony" Baruso (whose gun was used in the murder) and others for initiating, directing, bankrolling and/or covering up the murders.

In addition to Baruso and San Francisco physician Leonilo Malabed (whose defunct Mabuhay Corporation is suspected of being a conduit for Marcos intelligence slush funds), the plaintiffs have scheduled more depositions of key Marcos agents who were operating in Seattle, Hawaii, and San Francisco at the time of the murders. 🗆



FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER Fr. Orlando Tizon told community groups in San Francisco "people's power" must be harnessed both to defend government efforts in dismantling fascist structures to make it accountable to the people's interests. CAMDI, the Movement for a Free Philippines, the Philippine Consulate, and St. Paul of the Shipwreck Church sponsored the July 26 talk at the Dimasalang House.

APPEAL: Inday Avancena-Arenas, Confidential Assistant to Vice President Salvador Laurel asked Filipinos in San Francisco to translate their support of the new government into vigilance and projects and investments that help the needy. Arcenas spoke at the Philippine Consulate social hall July 16 at a reception organized by the Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence.

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Eighty Years of Toil in Hawaii

By VENNY VILLAPANDO

Hawaii is home for the second largest Filipino community in the United States and its presence is felt markedly all over the Islands. With a population estimated at more than 150,000, the Filipinos today constitute close to 14% of Hawaii's total population, making this ethnic minority the fastest growing community. Latest census figures reveal that Filipinos have one of the highest birthrates among ethnic groups in Hawaii; combined with a steady stream of immigrants coming in from the Philippines, the percentage of the state's Filipino population is projected to hit the 20% mark by the 1990 Census.

The Filipino community has unquestionably become an integral part of Hawaii's multi-ethnic society, adding color and vitality to the Islands' rich array of customs and traditions. Festive "barrio fiestas" are as commonplace in Hawaii as Japanese bon festivals. The popular *tinikling* (or bamboo dance) continues to be performed by local-born Filipino youth garbed in *barong tagalog* and the fancy Maria Clara with its famous butterfly sleeves. Cockfights, though still illegal, continue to draw bets up to thousands of dollars in old plantation towns on every Island—Kunia, Waianae and Kahaluu on Oahu; or along the Hamakua Coast on the Big Island.

www.first arrived in Hawaii aboard the SS Doric on December 26, 1906, little did these hardy pioneers realize they would become a major backbone of Hawaii's plantation labor force filled with a rich legacy of union organizing. These first immigrants planted the seeds of the Hawaiian Filipino community and sparked waves of Filipino migration that continuously rejuvenated the community's strong links to the homeland.

In 1908, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association commissioned Honolulu lawyer A.F. Judd to recruit plantation workers from the Philippines, a country recently acquired from Spain by the United States and considered an ideal labor source.

"... The whole thing with the Filipino, as far as I have been able to learn," recounted Judd, "is that if he is treated right he is a first class laborer... possibly not as good as the Chinaman or the Japanese, but steady, faithful and willing to do his best for a boss for whom he has a liking."

Pitting workers of different nationalities was already an established practice among sugar growers. Because planters were already beleaguered by a number of strikes staged by Japanese workers, it was an impetus for them to hire other Asian nationalities, those whom they believed would be more willing and subservient to their dictates.

During the 1906 Waipahu strike when 1,700 Japanese laborers walked off their jobs, the importation of other races, according to a leading newspaper's editorial, was to teach the Japanese a lesson and "subdue their dangerous faith in their own indispensability."

Between 1906 and 1919, approximately 24,000 Filipino men, 3,066 women and 2,330 children arrived in Hawaii through the auspices of the HSPA. The majority were recruited from the Philippines' most heavily populated regions at the time, Ilocos and the eastern Visayas. As recruiting stations sprung up all



continued unabated. Between 1920 and 1929, close to 75,000 more Filipinos arrived and by 1925, 50 percent of workers in the sugar plantations were Filipinos.

Many of the immigrant workers were young, single and male with no intention of staying in Hawaii beyond their three-year contract. Sugar planters discouraged Filipinos to come with women and children in large numbers, since recruitment of transient, single male labor proved cheap. Had families been allowed to come in droves, plantation owners would have had to provide special housing, schools and medical aid to "nonproductive" dependents.

In addition, plantation wages were only sufficient for the needs of a single individual. Although Filipino workers worked extra long hours (12 hours a day, six days a week in the sugar mills; 10 hours a day, six days a week in the fields with 15 minutes for breakfast, 30 for lunch and short breaks for water), they were paid a measly \$16 a month for the first year, and an additional dollar each for the next two years.

Following a policy of divide and rule, plantation owners segregated them from workers of other nationalities. By living together in the same plantation housing camp, it forged the early Filipino community life in Hawaii, facilitating the spontaneous reproduction of Filipino cultural and traditional patterns, including language, which were the Ilocano and Visayan dialects.

Filipinos adapted to their new environment despite the harsh economic and social conditions they found in the plantations. An artificial kinship system developed, enabling Filipinos to meet their obligations to the families they left behind in the Philippines. Filipino men living in the same housing collective pooled their monies together, taking turns in sending the pot of ciations which would tide them over the most difficult situations. The association, for example, assisted members in dire financial needs due to untimely deaths or accidents. Funeral expenses were taken care of, and money was sent to the family of the deceased.

Thousands of Filipinos depended on these associations. In Wailuku, Maui, for example, one such group called the Oriental Benevolent Association listed a membership of 21,000, registering assets of \$2 million.

Social and recreational-type organizations began to develop as well, sponsoring barrio fiestas that featured dancing, singing, games and patriotic speeches when they celebrated Philippine national holidays, like Rizal Day on December 30 honoring the country's national hero. Given a limited number of Filipino women, beauty queen contests highlighted many of these activities.

Disillusioned with deplorable conditions and wages, combined by the harsh treatment they got from racist plantation bosses, an era of awakening accompanied an era of growth, and Filipinos found themselves actively involved in the labor movement.

Initially, Filipino unions organized by the fiery and charismatic leader, Pablo Manlapit, experienced a number of setbacks. In 1924, when he called for strikes on various plantations demanding a minimum of \$2 a day wage and eight, instead of 10 hours a day work, 23 of the 45 plantations participated and the strike lasted for eight months. However, it culminated as Hawaii's most tragic strike when on September 9, 1924, 20 men were killed in Hanapepe on Kauai.

These incidents did not deter Filipinos from labor organizing. In 1932, the Filipino Labor Union was formed on Maui which later became known as Vibora Luviminda led by Antonio Fagel. On April 20, 1937, it struck for higher wages, minimum pay and the ouster of several overseers. In May, Fagel and nine others were arrested but the strike continued until July, when the union won a 15% wage increase for field hands.

As Filipinos continued their uphill struggle in the plantations, the Filipino community was beginning to see itself more as a permanent fixture of Hawaii's multi-ethnic society. By this time, second generation Filipinos had been born, and an additional 50,000 Filipino laborers arrived from the Philippines between 1930 and 1934. By 1935, there were eight Filipino newspapers (four with English sections), 29 Filipino churches, and 34 small businesses in Honolulu.

Filipino immigration virtually came to a halt in 1934, with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act which formally established the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and set a transition period of 10 years "from the date of the inauguration of the new government" when the United States would "withdraw all rights of possession" over the Philippines.

During this transition period, Filipinos were treated as if they were aliens and subjected them to a quota of 50 immigrants per year. While the HSPA lobbyists in Washington maneuvered to insert a provision enabling them to continue the importation of cheap Filipino labor, Filipino recruitment did not happen for the next 10 years due to the Great Depression and the World War that followed.

After World War II, Hawaii again needed to step up sugar production which called for the importation of immigrant laborers. Many field workers moved on to higher paying government and military-related positions, while those who stayed in the plantations intensified

over these provinces, replete with films showing the "good life" in Hawaii, the flow of Filipino laborers

money to their families on a regular basis. This became the cornerstone of mutual aid asso-



Filipinos form bulk of Hawaii's agricultural force.

their labor organizing.

The HSPA resumed its recruitment of workers from war-torn Philippines and in 1946, 6,000 Filipino laborers arrived in Hawaii in the wake of the first major ILWU strike. Lasting for 79 days, the strike saw 21,000 workers in 33 plantations stage their biggest walk-out ever.

The post-war period was marked by an all-out effort by the ILWU to unionize Hawaii's migrant longshore and agricultural workers. These organizing drives, often resulting in long and bitter strikes, successfully mobilized thousands of Filipinos who joined the union. The ILWU sponsored a daily morning radio program in Ilokano directed at its Ilokano-speaking members; between 1948-1958, it sustained the Ilokano version of the Honolulu Record, *Ti Mangyuna*, which was distributed to about 3,000 ILWU members throughout Hawaii.

Prominent Filipino union leaders emerged at the helm of ILWU's leadership, including Tony Rania of Waialua, who became the first Filipino ILWU president; Carl Damaso, who led the 1937 Puunene strike

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Filipino Community

ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS PUR ESSAYS POEMS ESSAYS POEMS ESSA SHORT STORIES SHORT STORIES SHORT STORIES SHOP



Manila Hotel, after the craziness.

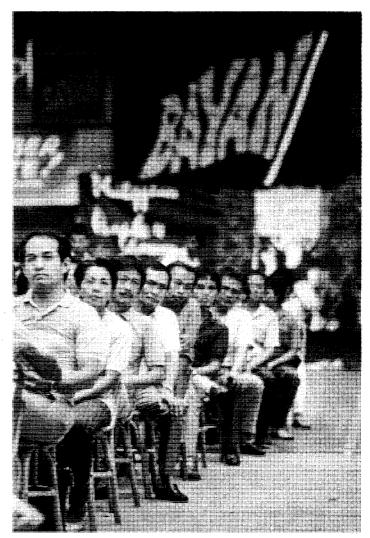
July Scenes

The lure of familiar surroundings keeps AK photographer Totoy Rocamora to his beloved Manila. But once there, it's to the political landscape that his lenses are drawn. July sweltered, but it was not just the weather.



Loyalists, still crazy after all these years.





Anxious for the disappeared

Anxious for what is to be done

Ĭ.

Poems

Looking at Palestine from Beirut

i have the urge to sleep to fall into a dream of eathquakes fire on the roof tops little children sent dancing in the sky (that whoring sky sold to jets) their mothers waving at them from the sidewalk waving long sad fingers straight at one's eyes like Van Gogh's cypresses (women whose only momentary wish was to arrange smoothly the family linen with those boat-rib digits) and submerged in the acquamarine of the dream dont leave yet! - where the chapparal can be recognized from the inside out in other colors, in a light reflected from someplace else someplace new

- - no, dont exit - a dream of hills on fire and the sky shaking and the same taste of the soil in all our mouths, on our lips instead of dusty shadows in the corner it will have been a cloud gone past our feet

by Sesshu Foster

These Are Our Streets!

a police car turns through the intersection and stops in the overpass at a red light. eastern avenue over the san bernardino. you, where are you from? you're not from here. all you see is a street, a gas station where an alley comes out between a bunch of little houses but i tell you we live here a life that cannot be denied through long lines of men, watching a man dying. a boy waiting the phone ringing, someone answer . . . what are you gonna do about it? heat/ broken glass/ alcholism/ parked cars/ no jobs/ cops/ kids walking from school/ otra voz canta cars go through the smog. alley wall of wino piss/ placas: chuey momo guero happy el salvador vencera CT boys/ RTD bus stop/ lost teeth smog blows through the yards. the streets are ours. here other voices speak. listen!

TO OUR READERS:

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

 Contributions must be generally progressive in content. However, all written materials accepted for publication are edited only for length. The contributors are responsible for the political opinions expressed in their work.
Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed

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.

Coup II

Continued from page 7

most tightly organized factions within the Philippine military" behind him.

'SHADOW MILITARY'

Aquino is fully alert to the threat the Defense Minister poses and is not sitting still.

She has begun cultivating pro-Aquino forces within the military by promoting supporters such as Southern Commander Jose Magno who she recently named major-general. She is also deepening her ties with professionals like Ileto and reportedly nurturing an alliance with Ramos.

At the same time, as a woman president in a country where macho sentiments die hard, Aquino has reached out to officers and men alike in an effort to win support. She addresses nearly every major military function and visits the military hospitals, provincial camps and battlefields. But building a pro-Aquino faction within the military is a long-term project while a coup can happen overnight. Aquino supporters are thus working overtime to build a security network, a "shadow military," to protect the president from the threat of a sudden takeover.

Under the guidance of the president's brother, Jose Cojuangco, a combined military/civilian force of several thousand is being trained at the Malacañang security compound and the family homestead, Hacienda Luisita, in Tarlac province.

Since armed forces headquarters refused to provide weapons for presidential security, they are being imported from abroad.

COUP NOT YET LIKELY

The question which circulated through Manila's coffeehouses throughout June continues in the wake of the Manila Hotel affair: is Juan Ponce Enrile about to launch a coup? Though the defense minister has unquestionably gained ground in the past two months, the answer remains the same: not likely.

Felipe Miranda, an academician, explains that to succeed, any group of plotters would have to "project that communism is just about to take over." It must neutralize "constitutionalists like lleto and Ramos." Finally, he says, "the February revolution is just too recent to forget." Adds Jose Ma. Sison, "There is no legal basis... [and] I do not think Gen. Ramos would go along with [Enrile] without some legal basis."

A military observer agrees. "Neither Ramos nor lleto will go all-out for Enrile unless they are told to by the U.S." What the three share, he adds, is an abiding loyalty to U.S. interests.

So far, Enrile has made head way in consolidating a virulent anti-communist unity in the military. He has also managed to send a message to Washington that he stands as a willing reserve for U.S. policies in the country. But the U.S., though uncomfortable with Aquino, is by no means ready to signal her end.

PEOPLE'S POWER-THE KEY

Enrile is yet to gain ground in the popularity department. He may have the upper hand militarily for now, but on the political front it is something else again.

The Defense Minister, conveniently the only powerful government figure in the capitol at the time of the coup, forgave the military men involved but had to reassure Aquino of his loyalty. Upon her return from Cagayan de Oro, all plotters and the entire armed forces were ordered to swear an oath of loyalty to the government. Only then were charges of rebellion against 41 soldiers, including five generals, dropped. Under laws made during the Marcos years, the charge carried a mandatory death penalty.

Her widespread popularity remains the key to Aquino's political superiority, and the survival of her liberal regime. "People's power" brought Corazon Aquino into office and only "people's power" can keep her there.

But that spontaneous movement has remained largely unorganized. An alliance with the Left would go a long way in turning Aquino's popularity into an organized force not to mention bolstering her armed defense.

Both Aquino and the Left may not yet be keen on the idea of repairing any cooperative ties they had while opposing Marcos. Then again, both may be simply trying to figure out how to proceed. Meanwhile, Enrile and the right are already forging *their* alliance. \Box

"All we had to do," said Col. Ringo Punasan, RAM (Reward the Armed Ec Movement) leader, "was do a crash study of the English translation of a little-known but deadly handbook called 'French Foreign Legion Tactical Hotel Management Manual.' " They must have prepared for closequarters, commando-style, room-to-room combat with the hotel rebels. "No. We were prepared to give them room-to-room service. The Defense Minister said we must be magnanimous and make the enemy as comfortable as possible. The point was to respond with leniency. After all, like us they are also against the communists in the cabinet.' So when Punasan and his men moved in to wipe out the atmosphere of hostility and misunderstanding, Tolentino's fate was sealed. Has he given up on setting up a new regime? "Au contraire, Doroy. Maybe I'll try the Holiday Inn next time to make things easier for my boys. But I'm boning up on the very French subject of coup d'etat. Although I must admit at this point it is still all Greek to me. \Box

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Inidoro

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Fact. When Tolentino's elite commandos checked in a few days before the appointed time of the takeover, they failed in the proper use of what the French call *noms de guerre*. They all registered as "Mr. and Mrs. Smith"—a dead giveaway. "We were using an American covert action manual," rued Tolentino. And what does the CIA know about coups, excuse me?

Fact. Tolentino failed to inform his followers that a coup d'etat is not a toilet function. "They kept eating the *haute cuisine* and then going to the *coup beta*," he said. "So when Cory cut off the hotel from water *aurevoir* it was torture. With the toilet backing up, the government didn't even have to use teargas on us. I now think that what we needed at that point was...let me see... page 121...ah yes, a *cordon sanitaire*."

Because of these fatal mistakes, it was easy for the government forces to spot the hotel rebels' weaknesses and move in without reservations.

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80 Years

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and later beame ILWU president; and Eddie Lapa, who is currently the ILWU president.

The ILWU thus became a central institution on all plantation communities and heavily influenced many Filipino community activities. This development signalled the period when the Filipino community saw itself more seriously as an integral part of the Hawaiian society.

When Hawaii gained statehood in 1959, an urbanbased Filipino community began to take shape. Spearheaded by former Philippine Consul General Juan Dionisio, community leaders joined forces to maximize their participation in Hawaii's broader political spectrum. An umbrella organization called the Council of Filipino Community Organizations in Hawaii was launched to "further the political, economic and social aims of Filipinos in Hawaii.... The Filipinos here must first achieve unity through a common identification before they can be successfully integrated into the [larger] community."

In founding this organization, it was the first serious attempt to counter various forms of factionalism emerging within the Filipino community—the local born vs. the immigrants, one regional group vs. the other, the successful vs. the not-so-successful.

As Hawaii's Filipino community became more deeply entrenched, the post-1965 period signalled a new wave of Filipino immigrants to Hawaii, when the U.S. Congress passed a more liberalized immigration policy allowing 20,000 from all countries in the Eastern Hemisphere to enter the United States as permanent residents.

The 1965 immigration law accomplished two things: it reunified families through the admission of family members petitioned by relatives in the United States who are naturalized citizens, and it admitted a "new breed" of Filipino professionals—doctors, nurses, lawyers, engineers, etc.—recruited to fill a manpower need in the U.S.

Continuous, steady immigration since the 1965 immigration law today makes the Filipinos the largest immigrating group to Hawaii. Latest Census reports indicate that in the last decade, out of 76,068 immigrants who made Hawaii their permanent residence, 40,497 or 53%—were Filipinos.

Young and Restless

Continued from page 9

But school could be a problem, too. "After the killing in Hayward, some students were expelled from schools there simply because they looked like gang members," claimed Maria Borje, an FIS organizer. "Schools should be centers for sensitivity and education, not discrimination."

cross the bay, in a section of San Francisco, the landscape looks much different. Narrow alleyways littered with old newspapers and leftover beer bottles serve as playgrounds for immigrant kids. They are lucky to find a park that has not been taken over by winos.

While not all Filipino neighborhoods are in such bad shape, new immigrants who are just starting out and "old" ones trapped in low-paying jobs invariably end up staying in similarly appointed environs.

"School sucks!" exclaimed Ron. He was 18 been in the U.S. for six years, and was hanging out with ten teenage Filipino males in front of Balboa High School at lunchtime. All had long black hair and baggy pants, a few had silver-spiked black leather bracelets. Their ghetto blaster [portable radio] was on maximum volume. "The rules are stupid, the principal is too strict, and the teachers don't treat us [Filipinos] right-they think we don't know English," sneered Ron. Still, he hoped to go to a state college and become an engineer. The police, he claimed, often stop him and his friends "for having long hair.' Edgar, who was 16, grinned behind Ron saying he didn't have to worry about school because he had been kicked out of it already. Balboa High School has one of the largest minority populations in San Francisco. Of its 2,100 students, 25% are Filipinos. Another 25% are Hispanics, and 40% are Blacks. There are only 40 to 50 white students. Ray Cordoba, a Filipino-American, is vice-principal of Balboa High. For the most part, he said, the school's Filipinos are high academic achievers. Balboa High rated second in statewide achievement tests. He noted that most of the student body's officers are Filipinos



In Oahu, large concentrations of Filipinos are found, particularly in Waipahu, where they comprise 50% of the town's total population of 29,135, making it the largest Filipino community in the state next to Kalihi-Palama. In Ewa Beach, they make up one-third of the community-5,997 out of 16,998.

On the Neighbor Islands, Filipinos comprise 13.8% on the Big Island; 26.2% on Kauai; 18.9 on Maui; almost 55% in Molokai, and about 65 in Lanai.

Filipinos are fast gaining statewide visibility in the field of government and politics.

Kauai's Eduardo Malapit gained the distinction of being the first U.S. mayor of Filipino ancestry. Federal Judge Alfred Laureta, a second generation Filipino-American, became the first U.S. district court judge from the community; Ben Menor won the distinction of being the first and only associate state Supreme Court justice in the U.S. of Filipino ancestry. Simeon Acoba is now a judge of the state circuit court.

Those in top government posts include Mario Ramil, the state insurance commissioner; Abelina Madrid Shaw, deputy director of health; and Ben Junasa,

who often earn honors. But a good number of Filipino youth do have difficulties in school. In fact, the overall drop-out rate for Filipinos in the city is high.

Cordoba said that most of the problems Filipino immigrant youth encounter come from trying to adjust to the U.S. and their present environment.

"Most families in the neighborhood are lowerincome, with parents working in restaurants, the post office and hotels," he explained.

"Many times, both parents are working, there are financial problems, there's not enough discipline in the home, no guidance. It is very hard on the kids.

"Sometimes the kids come to school without eating breakfast—they can't stay awake, nor do they have the energy to get through the day. The main problem is lack of parenting. The parents often can't make the time when they are adjusting to the U.S. themselves."

Getting through high school is one thing, what to do after that is quite another question. Many inner-city youth do not receive the proper guidance to go on to college.

"Most kids get lost in the paper shuffle," lamented Cordoba. "Counselors have 500 to 800 kids on their program administrator of the State Office of Community Services.

Joshua Agsalud, who used to be the head of the Labor Department, has recently joined the University of Hawaii as vice-president for university relations.

The election of Republican Mayor Frank Fasi brought in a "bumper crop harvest" of appointees from the Filipino community, namely Rizalino Vicente, finance director; Germiniano Arre, deputy finance director; Vicky Bunye, Human Resources director, Vic Guillermo, deputy director of Human Services; Zachary Labez, Data Systems deputy director; Roberta Cabulong, Municipal References and Records head; Ambrose Sison Fernandez Jr., Buildings Department deputy director; Dr. Gimo Manuel, Health deputy director; and Johnny Verzon, City Neighborhood Commission executive secretary.

The State Legislature also has a number of lawmakers of Filipino ancestry, many of whom will be running for reelection this year with a few aiming for higher government posts.

Senator Ben Cayetano is joined by his colleagues in the House of Representatives: Robert Bunda, Romy Cachola, Reynaldo Graulty, Danny Kihano, Jake Manegdeg, Alfred Lardizabal, Ron Menon, and Eloise Tungpalan.

Donna Mercado Kim, who used to be a House Representative, currently serves as a City Council member.

Ben Villaflor, former world junior lightweight boxing champion, is the sergeant-at-arms for the State Senate.

Today, thousands of recent immigrants from the Philippines man the stevedoring, construction, hotel and tourist industries. The constant stream of Filipino immigration rejuvenates the Filipino community's rich cultures and traditions, a dynamism distinct to this community.

Although the progress seems impressive from a backdrop of plantation beginnings, there is a strong feeling within the Filipino community that because of its numbers and the skills and talents that abound, Filipinos can be better represented in all facets of Hawaii's society. Initial signs are beginning to emerge. More and more Filipinos in government and politics participate in shaping Hawaii's socio-economic and political direction. More recently, the statewide elections for example, gave positive indications of an emerging "Filipino vote"—not quite decisive, but significant enough to swing the critical votes. \Box

(This article first appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin and the Honolulu Advertiser in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Filipinos in Hawaii.

them a semester. You can't determine anything for them in that amount of time."

He said that cutbacks, small salaries and difficult working conditions are no incentives for teachers and counselors to do a better job.

"It's a ridiculous situation for teachers to work with limited resources, how can they get motivation?"

While some Filipino students will become class valedictorians and go on to professional careers, others only seem to have military service as the most convenient next step.

Johnny, a 16-year-old Balboa High student is joining the Navy. Debbie, 19, is already in the Army Reserves. She was born and raised in the South of Market section of San Francisco. "I joined because I wanted to get some training, now I'm getting some clerical skills." Apollo, 15, of Westmoor High wants to join the Marines.

Buod

caseload. They can only devote about one half hour to



Alcoholism and drugs prey on the youth.

Continued from page 8

Aranetas cited Fifth Amendment rights against selfincrimination claiming that their grand jury testimony could be used against them in legal proceedings in the Philippines.

The contempt order was affirmed June 18 by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals which refused to issue a stay while the case was appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Marcos family is charged by the Philippine government with conspiracy and violation of Anti-Graft and Corrupt Practices and other Philippine laws. The action alleges, among other things, that the Aranetas and their co-defendants including Marcos and his wife obtained unlawful profits or caused damage to the Philippine government by taking undue advantage of their position.

Meanwhile, the federal grand jury in Virginia has been investigating whether Marcos and others close to him violated U.S. laws. The grand jury has subpoenaed many of the individuals charged in the Philippines including the Aranetas, former military Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver and former ambassador to the United States Benjamin Romualdez, brother of Imelda Marcos.

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Botha Feels the Heat, Reagan Sweats



Botha: Intransigent and inflexible

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

ey advisers of President Ronald Reagan now admit that his July 22 policy speech on South Africa "was a total backfire," "a major P.R. goof," a disaster.

International outrage over the South African government's recent imposition of a state of emergency and bipartisan calls for economic sanctions coming from the U.S. Congress compelled Reagan to make what was billed as a major policy address.

But Reagan insisted on being soft with Pretoria whose state of emergency measures have caused the death of 200 people and the jailing of 8,400 foes of apartheid. He chose instead to warn of the danger of communism should Pietr Botha's apartheid regime be prematurely destablized.

This provoked another ruckus in Congress whose House of Representatives had voted for sanctions, a vote expected to be duplicated in the Senate soon.

Nobel Prize winner Bishop Edmund Tutu told American reporters after Reagan's speech, "Your president is the pits. The West can go to hell as far as I'm concerned."

DIM PROSPECTS

The White House had to backtrack a few days later, claiming that sanctions had always been a "live option."

The "clarification" was of course meant to soften the mounting international clamor for sanctions. Reagan is in a tight squeeze and trying to buy time. He hopes that Pretoria would weather the recent storm, break the back of the revolutionary resistance to apartheid, and cultivate "moderate" Black forces who could be drawn into a non-threatening power-sharing arrangement.

But the prospects are dim. Botha has shown no willingness to make significant concessions to Black aspirations. Also, Black collaborationists such as the Zulu tribe's Gatsha Buthulezi have not gained credibility while the African National Congress has remained the undisputed leader of the revolutionary, mass antiapartheid movement. Six years of Reagan's "constructive engagement" have not amounted to any dent in apartheid's structure, critics now even more confidently assert. Reagan, meanwhile, has to search for a viable policy that would stem both public criticism and the revolutionary tide in South Africa. He apparently has nothing to say to that country's 25 million Blacks but to be patient with apartheid because reforms will come one way or another. But as Sen. Joseph R. Biden told Secretary of State George Shultz at a recent hearing on South Africa: "Hell, they've tried compromise for 20 years. They have tried everything in their power. They begged. They crawled. They are being crushed."

their place of work. They can be arrested or detained without charge or trial.

South African society is so polarized that the Black majority is now generally ungovernable by the 3 million ruling white minority. Despite the Botha regime's sheer military superiority, the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) has shown improving capacities to conduct military raids on economic targets and selective ambushes of security and police forces.

Overall, the political balance of forces has reached a stand-off, paving the way to a revolutionary confrontation. Despite the brutal repression, the June 16 general strike marking the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising shut the country down. It was also a powerful display of the cohesiveness of the ANC's underground organization.

While the ANC remains the leading and oldest organization (74 years old) in the anti-apartheid struggle, other people's organizations have developed in the last five years. The United Democratic Front is a broad front of anti-apartheid forces which include anti-racist church activists. Its founding in 1983 was a major advance in the popular movement. The formation last November of the Congress of South African Trade Unions represented a new level of cohesion within the Black labor movement.

WEAKENING CONSENSUS

Within white South Africa, there is a spectrum of forces ranging from those who are concerned with human rights to those who realize that Botha's hardline policy is counter-productive and only bringing the white community closer to revolutionary violence and economic disruption. Even the apartheid-initiated "coloured and Asian" parliament refused to support legislation backing the state of emergency.

In the apartheid parliament itself the Progressive Federal Party calls for reforms and denounces the regime's excesses although it accepts the basic structure of apartheid.

The Black Sash, an organization of white women

Electric, and Pepsi Cola. Twenty-six of the 100 largest U.S. banks now have formal policies banning new loans to either public or private sector borrowers from South Africa. Fifty-five prohibit loans to the South African government or its agencies.

American companies are under continuing pressure from the anti-apartheid movement to pull out. As of last June, 65 American cities, 10 counties and 19 states have adopted some form of divestment and are considering selective purchasing policies. All told, these regulations by state and local governments affect investments worth \$5 billion. Some 120 universities have also adopted divestment in one form or another affecting \$500 million in investments. Twenty-five cities including Los Angeles and Chicago have enacted laws prohibiting purchase of goods and services from companies doing business in South Africa.

While there are holdouts, among which are Allegheny International, General Motors, Good Year, Mobil, RJR Nabisco, and USG Corporation, capital flight has strained the South African economy immensely. This has been exacerbated by long-term inflation and falling gold prices.

With interest rates at 20%, consumer spending has dried up. The rand has declined in value and international banks have refused to re-finance South Africa's \$24 billion debt. Annual average rate of return on investment registered a 9% loss by 1984.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

Unable to arrest the economy's deterioration and the resistance movement's advance, Botha has attempted to shift the debate away from apartheid to the issue of an "impending" communist take-over, a line echoed by Reagan.

Botha's strategy is to focus on the alleged domination of ANC by the South African Communist Party and the Party's ties to Moscow. His Bureau of Information has circulated an alleged SACP document which sets the transfer of political power to the Black majority in one united democratic South Africa as the bottom line of any future negotiations. The document also calls for a "multi-pronged uprising" as the strategy for victory.

While the document contains all the buzzwords for those schooled in anti-communism, it lays out rather accurately the only viable response to Pretoria's intransigence. Responding to Ted Koppel's question on ABC Nightline about "who at the end may have the power," the ANC's Tambo explained:

"The ANC has its program, the Communist Party supports that program. What is going to happen at the end when apartheid is gone is that the people of South Africa, millions of them, will be in a democratic country. They will form organizations according to their ideological convictions, and they'll participate in the political debate at the time, exercising their rights, democratic rights. What is the matter with that? There is a communist party in the United States. What's wrong with the Communist Party in South Africa? If South Africans want to be members of the communist party, who can stop that?"

WAGON CIRCLE

But Pretoria's propaganda, including anti-communism, has failed to deodorize apartheid. The international clamor for sanctions which could deal a crippling blow to the regime, is getting louder each day. When sanctions are imposed, South Africa will be obliged to "withdraw into a *laager* [a defensive ring of wagons

POLARIZED

Until now Blacks are politically disenfranchised. Although they comprise 72% of the population they are squeezed into 13% of the most barren lands, in settlements called "tribal homelands." They need passes and are considered foreigners in white South African cities where they have to be bussed for miles to formed in the 1950s targets apartheid as a system that must be abolished to improve the conditions of Black South Africans. Similar organizations have blossomed among white students. These formations help weaken the white racist consensus.

Further evidence of strains within the ruling circles was shown by the willingness of white business leaders to meet in Zambia with the ANC leadership. These leaders are now calling for the release of ANC's titular head, Nelson Mandela, and for negotiations between the Botha regime and the anti-apartheid forces, including the ANC.

While Reagan continues to call the ANC terrorist, he has been forced to call for Mandela's release and for the "unbanning" of political organizations. Even Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had to acknowledge the role of the ANC in any future negotiations, while Shultz publicly stated his willingness to meet with ANC president Oliver Tambo.

ECONOMIC SLIDE

Its economic crisis adds another dimension to the problems of apartheid. Scores of American companies have withdrawn from the country. Among the largest ones which have done so are Carnation, General used in colonial days to confront Black attackers]," said Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Britain and the U.S. are stubbornly holding out against sanctions. But Thatcher's position is causing problems for the British Commonwealth of which South Africa is a member. More than half of the 49 member-nations boycotted the recent Commonwealth Games. Wracked by dissension over apartheid, the Commonwealth is threatening to explode at the upcoming London summit the first week of August. The Queen of England, the sovereign head of this symbol of past glory, has expressed her royal displeasure over Thatcher's hardline against sanctions. (The Queen's beef reportedly goes back to Thatcher's support for the U.S. raid on Libya.)

In the U.S. the call for sanctions is getting louder as well. The sanctions bill passed by the House last year has a counterpart in the Senate in SB 2570 which calls for total divestment within six months of the bill's approval. There are other bills in Congress calling for various forms of sanctions.

The question now is not whether the U.S. will go along with sanctions but how light or how severe it will be. For apartheid itself, the question is not whether it will end, but how soon. \Box

U.S./International

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